

ROBERT W. WALLACE



RECONSTRUCTING
DAMON

Music, Wisdom Teaching, and Politics
in Perikles' Athens

OXFORD

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Hamdorf, Kerameikos 10 (1976) 210 K 100 Abb. 231= Testim.
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Brueckner, AM 40, 1915, 20 f. Nr. 50 Taf. 4 = Testim. A 22 (b).
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ROBERT W. WALLACE

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*Ai carissimi colleghi fiorentini,
milanesi, pisani, romani, senesi, siracusani,
torinesi, ed urbinati*

Introduction

Damon son of Damonides was ancient Athens' most important theorist of music and poetic metre. Best known from several passages in Plato's *Republic*, Damon's work on music's psychological, behavioural, and political affect remained influential down through antiquity. Plato calls him Sokrates' good friend (*Lch.* 197d = A 12¹). Isokrates says he was thought to be the most intelligent Athenian of his age (*Antid.* 15.235 = A 7). No less significant, Damon worked alongside Perikles during the most vibrant decades of Athens' democracy. Plutarch (*Per.* 4 = A 9) reports a contemporary charge that Damon's music investigations were only a camouflage, concealing his political activities. He is credited with the idea of providing pay for the public courts, an important development in the growth of fifth-century democracy ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 27.4 = A 8). *Ath. Pol.* adds that he was ostracized from Athens for ten years because 'he was thought to have been the proposer of most of Perikles' measures'.

Yet despite such impressive testimonia, Damon has remained an elusive figure. No work by him survives, and reconstructions of his theories and activities depend on secondary sources of variable quality. Inadequate sources partly explain why most historians and philosophers have passed him by. In his six-volume history of Greek philosophy, W. K. C. Guthrie comments: 'If more were known of [Damon], he might occupy an important place in the history of the sophistic movement, but in our comparative ignorance he can only appear as a footnote to it.'² Some few scholars have endeavored to reconstruct his ideas, sometimes by attributing to him material from the contexts where his name appears. Much of this work will prove problematic.

Explanations for Damon's neglect go well beyond our impoverished sources. Scientific developments from the seventeenth century, rationalism, and then the Romantic movement came to fracture the

¹ Letters and numbers refer to the testimonia in Part II of this volume.

² Guthrie, *History* iii 35 n. 1. Ehrenberg remarks, 'Damon must have been an interesting man; but our sources say little about him, and this little provokes more questions than it does answers' (*Sophocles and Pericles* 92).

intricate, imaginative links between music and philosophy that had flourished from classical antiquity down through the Renaissance and even into the eighteenth century (in the theory of *mimêsis* and the *êthos* theory of music affect).³ Music came to be seen as essentially irrational, the language of emotional expression and arousal. Although modern philosophers continue to write especially on the aesthetics and understanding of music, with the signal exception of Theodor Adorno few have worked on music theory or music sociology, despite these subjects' impressive classical antecedents.⁴ Science, rationalism, and Romanticism met in the great age of nineteenth-century German scholarship. In consequence, Damon and other Greek music theorists missed the systematic attention accorded other pre-Platonic philosophers. His status in Diels and Kranz's *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* is paradigmatic. Omitted altogether from the first three editions of what then was only Diels (1903, 1906, 1912), Damon was mentioned in the fourth edition in a supplement to the preface (1922), as Wilamowitz one year earlier in *Griechische Verskunst* had gathered some references. Damon received his own number—albeit a subordinate one (25a; Ion of Chios is 25)—in the fifth edition of Diels and Kranz, but with a wholly inadequate record of the ancient sources that was not rectified in the sixth edition, which awarded Damon number 37.⁵ In consequence, all

³ On the *êthos* theory from the Renaissance to the eighteenth century, see B. Vickers, 'Figures of Rhetoric/Figures of Music?', *Rhetorica* 2 (1984) esp. 6–16; Rossi, 'Musica' 81–6; on the nineteenth century, see Rossi, *ibid.* 86–9. On *mimêsis*, see chapter 4a.

⁴ M. Budd, *Music and the Emotions* (London, 1985) is Damonian, although his survey includes no theorists before the twentieth century. Some works by Peter Kivy are relevant: e.g. 'Music and the Liberal Education', in *The Fine Art of Repetition. Essays in the Philosophy of Music* (Cambridge, 1993) 11–34 (also the following essays in the volume, largely against Plato and the *êthos* theory), and more generally, Kivy's *Introduction to the Philosophy of Music* (Oxford, 2002).

⁵ DK's treatment of Damon is further consistent with the many general criticisms of *Fragmente* beginning with the first edition (and which in the preface to the second edition Diels brusquely dismissed). Its selection of texts is inadequate; contexts are ignored; valuable and problematic traditions are not differentiated (as Diels had done in *Dox. graec.*); no distinction is made between paraphrases and passages professing to quote; its claim to present genuine fragments of original writings is often unfounded; divisions between testimonia and fragmenta can be arbitrary. For DK's inadequacies on Prodikos, see A. Henrichs, 'Two Doxographical Notes: Democritus and Prodicus on Religion', *HSCP* 79 (1975) 111–12; on Hippias, see Kerferd, *Sophistic Movement* 47–8, 52.

modern work on Damon rests on a defective knowledge of the ancient evidence.

This book seeks a sounder basis for studying Damon, first by recovering new information. It includes the first complete collection of the testimonia for Damon's life, theories, and political activities. In *Verskunst* Wilamowitz assembled 12 passages, purportedly of a speech by Damon to Athens' Areopagos Council. DK⁵⁻⁶ added one further reference to that speech and nine testimonia for Damon's life; it cites without quoting four other passages. In a chapter on Damon in *Plutarque De la musique* (1954), Lasserre listed 21 'fragmenta' of Damon's 'Areopagitikos', including some passages that mention neither Damon nor anything musical.⁶ In a systematic canvas I have recovered 51 passages mentioning Damon by name, of which 28 do not appear in earlier collections; three additional passages mention Damon's followers, in two cases by name; three more passages show his direct influence; finally, several well-known papyrological texts have required significant emendation.

Even more crucial, a fresh approach to the evidence has helped in recovering this important fifth-century teacher, theorist, and public intellectual. A series of brilliant and imaginative scholars (Bücheler, Wilamowitz, Diels, Ryffel, and Lasserre), following a doubtful inference from Philodemos' *De musica* that c.462 Damon published an 'Areopagitikos' on the music education of boys, and then building on one another instead of reexamining the sources, progressively attributed to this hypothetical speech an ever-increasing number of passages drawn from Aristotle, Aristides Quintilianus, and others, some not mentioning Damon or music. These efforts yielded a composite Damon—the standard modern Damon—poorly grounded on questionable texts. In chapter 4 I shall argue that Damon's speech to the Areopagos was most likely a late fourth-century philosophical conceit, the reality of which Philodemos himself questioned. Following Bücheler's 1885 essay, a century of Damonian studies went mostly off the deep end. Yet, as we shall see, in that same essay Bücheler offered a key to a more constructive approach.

The contents of this book are quickly outlined. After a Preface on Plato, a major but complicated source for Damon, the first chapter of

⁶ Wilamowitz, *Verskunst* 59–65; Lasserre, *Plutarque* 74–9. See also Timpanaro Cardini, *Pitagorici* iii 346–65.

Part I begins with Damon's teachers, the music theorists and wise counsellors, *sophoi* or *sophistai*, who worked in Athens during his formative years. It then reconstructs what we can of Damon's own teaching and wise counsel to Athens' elite. The second chapter reconstructs what we can of Damon's work, primarily on music and metre. The third chapter integrates Damon's theories on music and metre with Athenian society and politics. Music's social and political affects were one of Damon's principal interests. His political entanglements helped get him ostracized. Chapter 4, 'Damon after Plato', examines the later source traditions, beginning with Philodemus, that muddled the waters.

Part II includes a text and translation of Damon's testimonia, each with a commentary. I have discussed these testimonia in the connected arguments of Part I as far as possible. Part II provided a convenient place for various discrete points and detailed argumentation unsuited to the narrative.

Finally, Appendix 1 argues that Damon left no written work. Appendix 2 disentangles the evidence for Damon's chronology. Appendix 3 discusses the appropriation of Damon's *êthos* theory by neo-Pythagoreans in the Roman imperial period. Iamblichos and other late Pythagoreans have misled some scholars into believing that Damon only systematized ideas derived from their founder. The relationship between Damon and the Pythagoreans poses a nexus of source problems as complex as those for Damon's 'Areopagitikos'. Because neo-Pythagoreans appropriated Damon's work, they do not receive a (largely negative) chapter of their own, but are relegated to the end. Appendix 4 concludes that Damon did not teach schoolboys, and briefly discusses several modern hypotheses about Damon that remain unproved.

This project has demanded a varied competence, in metrics, musicology, the history of music theory, ancient theories of psychology, philosophy, literature, and political and social history. Writers mentioning Damon, as remote from him as Olympiodoros, Libanius, and Stephanus of Byzantium, must be approached from their own contexts. Local experts may well find my brief discussions of various topics deficient. I can only hope that these deficiencies do not disqualify my assessment of these topics in regard to Damon. Some tangential areas I cannot pretend to have mastered. Writing to his mentor Piero Vettori on Greek harmonic theory in 1562, Girolamo Mei exclaimed, 'I had to turn completely around more than twice

before I could arrive at the truth. I swear to you that I have passed more than ten nights without sleeping because of these trifles.⁷ Greek music itself is notoriously obscure. After a one-page discussion of *harmoniai*, *tropoi*, and *tonoi*, Ingemar Düring remarked, 'this is briefly the explanation of the unbelievable confusion which is so characteristic of all accounts of Greek music in antiquity, in the Middle Ages and in modern times.'⁸ At a minimum, those interested in Damon can now work from a greater knowledge of the sources, a first step in rescuing an important Athenian intellectual from obscurity.

I began this project in 1986 at the American Academy in Rome, at the start of the Via Aurelia. I completed it some twenty-five years later near that road's end, at the Maison Méditerranéenne des Sciences de l'Homme in Aix-en-Provence. An earlier version of part of chapter 2, disconnecting *êthos* and *harmonia*, was published in Hagel and Harrauer, *Ancient Greek Music*; an earlier version of part of chapter 3 on Damon's ostracism was published in Wilson and Murray, *Music*; a very early version of the first part of chapter 4, on Philodemos, was published in Wallace and MacLachlan, *Harmonia Mundi*. Over the course of this project I have published a number of essays on Greek intellectual or musical history that are used in the following pages. The Bibliography supplies full references.

I have had the honour to lecture on Damon at Brooklyn College, Brown, Bryn Mawr, Columbia, Duke, Harvard, and Johns Hopkins, the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Warwick, Leipzig, and Crete at Rethymno, the Università statale di Cosenza, Florence, Milan, Rome, Siena, Trent, and Urbino, the Scuola Normale Superiore in Pisa, the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, the Center for Hellenic Studies, annual meetings of the APA and the Association of Ancient Historians, the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna, and the Institut für alte Geschichte in Munich. For advice on specific sections, sometimes long ago, I am grateful to Andrew Barker, Stefan Brenne, Thomas Buchheim, Lowell Edmunds, John Graham, Jürgen Hammerstaedt, Carl Huffman, Penelope Murray, Dirk Obbink, Peter

⁷ *Letters on Ancient and Modern Music to Vincenzo Galilei and Giovanni Bardi*, ed. C. Palisca (Stuttgart, 1977²) 181.

⁸ 'Greek Music', *JWHist* (= *Cah. d'Hist. mond.*) 3 (1956) 311.

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For collegial friendship during the course of this book, I am pleased to acknowledge Pamela Morton, John Austin and Christine Froula, Chloe Balla, Tim and Susan Breen, David Cohen, the late Peter Derow, Martin and Maria Dreher, Lowell and Sue Edmunds, Jon Everett, Mary Everett, Clive Foss, John Franklin, Michael Gagarin, Dan and Tina Garrison, Stefan Hagel, Julia Hairston, Stephen Halliwell, Brook and Margarita Manville, Josh Ober, Robin Osborne, Apostolos Pierris, Kurt Raaflaub, Anne Stewart, John and Chris Taft, Richard Talbert, Loeta Tyree, the late Ray Westbrook, and Maria Youni. My graduate assistant at Hopkins, David Berkey, worked cheerfully and diligently during my years in Baltimore. A University Fellowship from the National Endowment for the

Humanities for 1992/1993 enabled me to finish background articles and an early draft of two chapters. Two terms in 2001 as Keeley Visiting Fellow at Wadham College, Oxford, saw significant progress. Finally, over many years Northwestern University has proved a potent supporter of scholarly research. Many thanks to all.

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Abbreviations and References

- DK H. Diels and W. Kranz (eds), *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*⁶
 (Berlin, 1952)
- FGrHist* F. Jacoby (ed.), *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Berlin
 and Leiden, 1923–58)
- K–A R. Kassel and C. Austin (eds), *Poetae Comici Graeci*, 9 vols (Berlin
 and New York, 1983–)
- LSJ H. G. Liddell and R. Scott (eds), *A Greek–English Lexicon*⁹ (rev.
 H. S. Jones and R. McKenzie, rev. supp. by P. G. W. Glare: Oxford,
 1996)
- PMG* D. L. Page (ed.), *Poetae Melici Graeci* (Oxford, 1962)
- RE* G. Wissowa, W. Kroll et al. (eds), *Real-Encyclopädie der
 classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart and Munich,
 1893–1978)

In abbreviating ancient authors' names and titles I have followed LSJ, occasionally expanding their forms. Most modern works mentioned more than once are cited by last name and short title; full references are given in the Select Bibliography. Unless otherwise attributed, translations are my own, typically adapted from standard versions. My text shows more than the usual confusion on the spellings of Greek names, Latinize in connection with books, otherwise mostly transliterated. None should mislead. Barker, *GMW* i and ii provide superb translations of many of the ancient sources on ancient Greek music and music theory. All students of this material are greatly in his debt.

Preface: Plato on Damon

For Damon, as for other fifth-century intellectuals, Plato is a major source. The value of his evidence is not transparent. Born in 428/7, Plato could just have known Damon, who was still teaching in the later 420s and was probably alive in 415 (see Appendix 2). Both moved in upper-class circles, and many of Plato's friends will have known Damon well. Plato's uncle Charmides was Damon's close friend—*Axiochos* 364a (A 19) is confirmed by Andokides 1.16 (A 20)—and his brother Glaukon, Sokrates' interlocutor in *Republic*, was a musician (*Rep.* 398e = E 2). I am tempted to infer from *Republic* 400 (B 1, partly quoted below) and other passages that Plato's guru Sokrates was familiar with Damon's work and possibly even liked him. Plato thus had direct access to best-quality, first-hand sources for our teacher theorist.

As we will see, Plato's dialogues and especially *Republic* also show the deep influence of Damon's theories of music *êthos*. In *Rep.* 424–425 Plato's Sokrates says that 'music infiltrates gradually and softly flows over the *êthê* and activities of men', and thence into their business dealings, the *nomoi*, the *politeia*, and all things public and private. 'Styles of music are never changed without changing the most fundamental rules of the polis, as Damon says and I believe.' In 401d he says, 'Music education is most sovereign, because more than anything else rhythm and *harmonia* find their way to the inmost soul and take strongest hold upon it, bringing with them and imparting grace, if one is rightly trained, and otherwise the contrary.' In *Prt.* 326b Plato's Protagoras states that as the music instructor 'forces the boys' souls to become familiar with rhythms and *harmoniai*', so they become more civilized and more capable in speech and action. In *Tim.* 47c–e Plato writes that *harmonia* and rhythm 'are given to us not for irrational pleasure, as is now thought, but to correct any defect in the soul'. Barker (*GMW* i 168) rightly observes, 'Plato mentions [Damon] with respect on a number of occasions, and there is probably nothing ironical about the *Republic's* suggestion that he is the expert to be consulted on the details of its musical proposals.'

At the same time, Plato's references to Damon and other intellectuals are rarely straightforward. Although some have accepted his

dialogues' praise for Damon as honest reflections of their author's opinions,¹ Anderson was right to query Plato's flatteries.² In many instances, praise is qualified by complex irony or *faux naïveté*.³ In *Rep.* 400 a–b (B 1), Sokrates gently makes fun of Damon's work on metre:

I think I have heard him obscurely naming some 'in-armour' (a composite), and a 'finger', and a 'heroic' which he somehow arranged and made equal up and down . . . and I think he named something an iamb and something else a trochee. . . . And in some of these he criticized or praised the tempo of the foot no less than the rhythms, or else some combination of the two; I can't say.

The humour is apparent, not least in *daktulos*, 'finger', as a metrical term. Possibly also parodying Damon (see D 1), in Aristophanes' *Clouds* 647–54 Sokrates asks the bumpkin Strepsiades whether he wants to learn which 'rhythm is according to the "in-armour" and which according to the "finger"' (first here as a metrical term). (Strepsiades replies that in any case he knows about *this* finger, making a gesture that both he and Professor Dover [*Clouds*, p. 181] charmingly associate with little boys.) Sokrates' phrase 'up and down' (*anô kai katô*) means raising and lowering the dance step but also 'topsy-turvy' (e.g. *Crat.* 386e; *Phaed.* 89d–90c, 96b; cf. *Hdt.* 3.3). The indefinite 'some in-armour' (*enoplion tina*) signals unfamiliarity or unintelligibility, just as in *Prt.* 334c Sokrates feigns not to understand Protagoras.

Praise of Damon in *Laches* is even more qualified. In 180c–d, Nikias happily reports that Sokrates had recommended Damon as a teacher for his son Nikeratos. Notwithstanding Sprague's 'unusual

¹ On *Lch.* 180c–d (A 2), Sprague (*Plato Laches* 16 n. 7) remarks: 'to be recommended by Sokrates is certainly an unusual honor'.

² Anderson, 'Importance' *passim*, commended by Winnington-Ingram, 'Ancient Greek music' 53; see also Rispoli, 'Filodemo' 59 n. 11 (Plato treats Damon with respect but irony) and Anderson, *Ethos* 74–80. Pace Anderson ('Importance' 91, citing Plato's attacks on Hippias), it is uncertain whether Nikias' praise of Damon as versatile (*Lch.* 180c–d = A 2) must be ironic because Plato thought people should do just one thing. This passage may be directed against contemporary *harmonikoi*, some of whom considered themselves Damon's successors, but whom Plato considered overly narrow and technical (*Rep.* 531a–b).

³ See esp. G. Vlastos, *Sokrates, Ironist and Moral Philosopher* (Ithaca, 1991) ch. 1: 'Socratic Irony'.

honor' (n. 1 above), Plato's Sokrates himself tells us (*Theaet.* 151b) that pupils who cannot attain wisdom

have no need of me and with all good will I seek a match for them. Without boasting unduly, I can guess pretty well whose society will profit them. I have arranged many of these matches with Prodikos, and with other men of inspired sagacity.

In Plato what is Sokrates' attitude toward Prodikos, with whom according to *Lch.* 197d Damon had a close working relationship? In *Chrm.* 163d and *Meno* 75e, he treats Prodikos' approach to language with irony and even contempt. In *Prt.* 337a–c, 339e–341e, and 358a–e, he mercilessly parodies his hair-splitting analyses (see further A 12 comm.). In *Lch.* 200c–d, Nikias and Laches agree that Sokrates should teach Nikias' son Nikeratos. 'But I observe', Nikias says, 'that whenever I mention the matter to him he recommends to me some other tutor and refuses himself.' Nikias' praise of Damon's wisdom in *Lch.* 200b must be judged in the light of Sokrates' ironic (197d = A 12) and Laches' sarcastic (199e–200a = A 13) comments about Prodikos and Damon, as well as Nikias' failure to learn from Damon and the irony in the scene as a whole. In *Lch.* 194e Sokrates gets Nikias to admit that the wisdom they sought was not that of playing the *aulos* or lyre.

Plato loved this sort of irony and verbal sleight-of-hand. In the second half of *Crito*, having said that one must never do anything unjust, Sokrates—condemned by a democratic court—appears to say that he must and will obey the laws of democratic Athens even if unjust. However, in fact only the 'Laws' and Crito say this, while at one point (52d) the 'Laws' say that Sokrates never said it. Plato also enjoyed calling Athens' laws unjust.⁴ In *Charmides*, a dialogue on *sôphrosunê* ('self-control'), Plato has Kritias say that Charmides 'is considered to be far and away the most self-controlled person now alive, while in every other respect, for a youth of his age, he is second to none' (157c–d). In fact both Kritias ('he bore the palm for greed and violence': Xen. *Mem.* 1.2.12) and Charmides had utterly disgraced themselves in the anti-democratic violence of 415, 411, and 404. Plato's words are especially ironic if Sokrates had encouraged Charmides to enter politics (ibid. 3.7.1–9).

⁴ See my 'Plato's Sokrates on Obeying the Laws of Democratic Athens', *Philosophia* 41 (2011) 87–97.

Why might Plato have been ambiguous about Damon? Certainly he will have had important philosophical differences with Damon's approach to music. According to *Philebus* 55e1–56a3, once any art is deprived of number, measurement, and weighing, what remains is mere guesswork, an empirical concern with what the senses detect, rather than what is mathematically certain. Music and certain *harmonikoi* ('harmonicists') are his prime examples of this difficulty, although he also criticizes the Pythagoreans for their exclusive concern with the numerical properties of consonances (*Rep.* 531b7–c4). Plato will also have had fundamental differences with Damon on music ethics. He expressly bans from his ideal polis the 'relaxed Lydian' *harmonia* that Damon is said to have invented ([Plut.] *De mus.* 1136e = B 6). Whether or not the latter claim is true, [Plutarch]'s tradition associates Damon with a *harmonia* that Plato judged not of the highest moral quality. Differences over ethics may also explain why Plato only mentions negative qualities (*hubris*, *mania*, *aneleutheria*) when discussing Damon's metrical work in *Republic* 400. Damon's technical interests, naming and diagramming metres (see ch. 2c), will not have interested Plato. As Koster observed ('Quaestiones metricae' 164), such trifles were unworthy of a philosopher. Finally, Plato will not have approved of a theorist who was active in city politics and counselled Athens' democratic leaders Perikles and Nikias.

How far is Plato's value as a source for Damon compromised by his characters' ironies and ambiguities? Bertrand Russell once wrote that he would far rather that his views 'be reported by my bitterest enemy among philosophers than by a friend innocent of philosophy'.⁵ Of course Plato was not writing a history of music theory and had no reason to adhere to Damon's *ipsissima verba*, could he have known them. (In respect to Russell's comment, Plato was not reporting.) We can reasonably say that Plato described Damon's work in ways that were useful for his purposes, which might be complex. For a relevant example, most scholars conclude that when Sokrates in *Clouds* and Sokrates on Damon in Plato's *Republic* use the same metrical terms, Aristophanes also was alluding to Damon's work. Instead, might Plato have wanted his readers to remember some odd metrical

⁵ *A History of Western Philosophy* (New York, 1967) 82.

terms by Sokrates in *Clouds*, because for Plato the Athenians' memories of that play were responsible for Sokrates' execution?

The main problem posed by Plato's fifth-century 'sophists' is the absence of primary texts or ancient doxographies. As we shall see in chapter 1, Plato scorned their teachings as false, corrupting, and technical. For these and other reasons Aristotle excluded them from the Lyceum's philosophical surveys, notably *Metaphysics*. Their writings eventually disappeared and they had no successors.

Damon poses different problems. He seems to have left no writings (Appendix 1). Plato was intrigued by his work on the *êthos* affects of music and metre, and so became our most valuable source for it. Various followers continued Damon's work but they, along with later Platonists and neo-Pythagoreans, lacked texts by Damon to guide their comments. After the classical age, the historical reliability of Damon's traditions rapidly degraded.

For reconstructing Damon, therefore, Plato is central but must be used with caution. As Damon's work had practical political applications, various fifth- and fourth-century testimonia, including [Aristotle] *Ath. Pol.*, Damonian *harmonikoi* of the later fourth century, and some material preserved by Plutarch, yield a fuller picture of his professional life. Material associated with Damon (or 'Damon's followers') by post-classical writers is valuable for later developments. As we shall see in chapter 4, it proves nearly worthless for Damon himself.

Part I

Teaching and wisdom counsel

(A) DAMON AND ATHENS' EARLY MUSIC *SOPHOI*

Born c.500 (see Appendix 2), Damon was fortunate to grow up both during the heady first years of Athens' democracy and in a brilliant period of music innovation and research. At Athens this humane science was the first flowering of what Plato later scorned as the 'sophistic' movement, down-dating, homogenizing, and misrepresenting three generations of extraordinary achievement. Three developments lay at the source of Damon's success: Athens' emergence as a centre for music research, the intellectual, cultural, and political importance of men called *sophoi* or *sophistai*, and the invention of higher education.

By 500 Athens had been Greece's epicentre of music innovation and experimentation for a generation. The cultural interests of Athens' benevolent tyrants Peisistratos and Hipparchos (560–510 BC) were famous (see esp. Slings, 'Literature'). The festival of Dionysos where tragedies were staged was established under Peisistratos, who also stabilized the text of Homer (Lykourg. *Leokr.* 102). His son Hipparchos ('fond of music and poetry': [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 18.1) offered hospitality and patronage to leading Greek poets including Anakreon of Teos and Pratinas of Phlious, creator of the satyr play (*Ath. Pol.* 18.2; [Pl.] *Hipparch.* 228c; Ael. *VH* 8.2).

Born in the 58th Olympiad (548–544), Lasos of Argolid Hermione—itself apparently a music centre¹—also came to Athens

¹ When Themistokles 'was still young and obscure, he prevailed upon Epikles, the kitharist of Hermione who was much sought after by the Athenians, to practice at his home' (Plut. *Them.* 5.3). The later sixth-century poet Kydias (Pl. *Chrm.* 155d; Plut. *Mor.* 931e; named on a psykter [E 767] c.510) also came from Hermione, if he is the

under the Peisistratids. Herodotos (7.6) mentions that Hipparchos expelled the Athenian oracle collector Onomakritos after Lasos caught him inserting a prophesy into the oracles of Musaios. Like Pratinas, Lasos stayed on under the new democracy. In many ways Damon's predecessor, Lasos was Greece's first great music experimenter and theorist, and an innovator in music and public performance.² According to *Souda* (s.v.) he introduced Athens' annual dithyrambic contests, in 508/7 (the first year of the democracy) according to the *Marmor Parium* (46). *Souda* also reports that he 'introduced speech contests' and wrote the first book about music. As a teacher, Lasos is said to have attracted young Pindar from Thebes (A 2 comm.).³ He wrote hymns and dithyrambs in new styles, anticipating Athens' 'New Music', now no longer dated after 450.⁴ 'By altering the rhythms of the movement of the dithyramb and by pursuing the example of the multiplicity of notes of the *auloi* and so making use of more notes, widely scattered about, he transformed the music that existed before him' ([Plut.] *De mus.* 1141c, trans. Barker).⁵ Notoriously, he experimented in avoiding the letter 's', for reasons of euphony (Athen. 455b–d; Porter [n. 5 above]). He experimented with other sounds also, filling vessels with different amounts of liquid and

'Kyrides' of the RV schol. to Ar. *Clouds* 967 (Dover, *Clouds* ad loc.; Slings, 'Literature' 65). According to Hdt. 3.131–2, during the tyranny of Polykrates (c.540–522) 'the Argives were held to be the first among the Hellenes in music'. Pratinas' Phlious was not far away, in neighbouring Arkadia. Close by at Sikyon were Lysander, an innovative kitharist (Barker, *CQ* ns 32 [1982] 266–9), and Epigonos, who emigrated there from Corinth's Epeirote colony Ambrakia and experimented on a 40-string zither. Epigonos' students are linked with Lasos (Aristox., *Elem. Harm.* 1.3; Barker, *Harmonics* 80–1 with ref.).

² On Pythagoras, see Appendix 3. Aristotle's student Chamaileon wrote a book on Lasos: Athen. 338b.

³ For Pindar's many references to the history of music innovation, see Franklin, 'Remembering music' 18–19; and West, *Greek Music* 344–7, also for Pindar's own musical innovations.

⁴ See D'Angour, 'The New Music—So What's New?'. The answer to D'Angour's question is that some New Music was new after 450, but he rightly finds musical innovation much earlier: see also my 'Plato, *poikilia*' and Barker 1995 on the complexities of early music. D'Angour's 'How the Dithyramb Got Its Shape', *CQ* ns 47 (1997) 331–51, is mostly about Lasos.

⁵ J. Porter, 'Lasos of Hermione, Pindar and the Riddle of s', *CQ* ns 57 (2007) 11–13, suggests that Lasos 'transposed the lively, melodic, and polyphonic qualities of the *aulos*' onto the *kithara* and vocal music.

striking them like a glass harmonica.⁶ According to [Arist.] *Chreiai* fr. 1 Rose (= Stob. *Flor.* 3.29.70), when asked what was most important, he said 'experiment', *peira*. He claimed that a note had breadth, a claim Aristoxenos (*Elem. Harm.* 1.3) disliked. Frank (*Plato* 160) brilliantly deduced that Lasos' approach to music was empirical rather than mathematical or Pythagorean. Like Damon, he profoundly differed from the Pythagoreans in showing no interest in music's cosmic or abstract qualities. He may have first systematized music into the scales called *harmoniai* (Lasos *PMG* 702 fr. 1: 'the deep-toned Aeolian *harmonia*'), a word not previously attested in its technical musical sense. As we shall see (ch. 2b), there is reason to think that Damon continued his work on the *harmoniai*. Martin West (*Greek Music* 225) suggested that Lasos also coined the abstract term *mousikê*, a word not attested earlier.

These sources attribute to Lasos innovations in music, instrumentation, acoustic experiments, and performance. Empiricist, theorist, and composer, he was friendly with Athens' political elite; he taught; he wrote; and he promoted the civic uses and public performance of music, dithyrambic poetry, and rhetoric (cf. *Souda*'s 'speech contests') especially in the democracy. In these ways Lasos was a 'sophist' even on Plato's definition (for which see my 'Plato's sophists'). In the next generation Damon followed in his footsteps, building on his accomplishments.

Four other music theorists worked in Athens during Damon's formative years. According to ?Plato i *Alc.* 118c (A 4) and possibly Aristotle (Plut. *Per.* 4 = A 9), one of Perikles' music teachers was Pythokleides of Keos, the island home also of Bacchylides, Simonides, and Prodikos: like Hermione, Sikyon, and Athens, another culture centre. Although Hellenistic reports of teacher/student relationships are suspect, i *Alc.* is of a different order (see A 4 comm.). Although the teacher/student succession Pythokleides–Agathokles–Lamprokles–Damon in the scholiast on i *Alc.* (A 3) cannot be trusted, the construction of that list indicates that Pythokleides was thought to be at

⁶ Theon Smyrn. 59.4–21. G. E. R. Lloyd, 'Experiment in Early Greek Philosophy and Medicine', *PCPS* 10 (1964) 50–72 (repr. in *Methods and Problems in Greek Science* [Cambridge, 1991] 74–99), accepts experimentation in some areas including acoustics. See also G. Comotti, 'Laso, Ippaso e il metodo scientifico sperimentale', in Wallace and MacLachlan, *HARMONIA MUNDI* 20–9, and for the later musical experiments of Glaucos of Rhegion, see Barker, *Harmonics* 84–5; cf. Guthrie, *History* ii 220–6. While acknowledging Lloyd, Creese, *Monochord* 82–97 is more critical.

least a generation older than Damon.⁷ Just as Lasos may have invented the *harmoniai*, so Pythokleides ‘the aulete’ invented the Mixolydian *harmonia* according to [Plut.] *De mus.* 1136d, citing ‘the *harmonikoi* in their historical works’, most likely as reported by the fourth-century Peripatetic Aristoxenos in his book on the *harmonikoi* (see B 6). Possibly following these same *harmonikoi*, Olympiodoros associates Pythokl(eid)es with the *êthos* theory of music in terms very similar to Damon: ‘he harmonized the citizens through the appropriate songs’ (B 4). Thus in the opinion of Olympiodoros’ source, Damon and Pythokleides were close. In *Prt.* 316d–317a Plato may imply that Damon was Pythokleides’ student (see A 9 comm.). Like Lasos a poet, teacher, music theorist, and innovator, Pythokleides gravitated to Athens in the late sixth and early fifth centuries. His student Perikles, one of Athens’ wealthy elite, was Damon’s student also.

Plato (*Lch.* 180c–d = A 2) states that Agathokles of Athens taught Damon. Plato’s brief reference suggests that Agathokles was still famous in Plato’s day, although little is known of him (A 2 comm.). In *Prt.* 316d–317a Plato calls him ‘a great sophist’, but the passage is playful (A 9 comm.).

A fourth theorist musician of this period was Lamprokles ‘the aulete’, also an Athenian (see my ‘Aulos’ 73–5 and Barker, *Harmonics* 83–4). According to [Plut.] *De musica* 1136d, ‘Lamprokles the Athenian, realizing that the disjunction in the [Mixolydian] *harmonia* is not where almost everyone supposed it to be, but at the top of its range, gave it the form of the series from *paramesê* to *hypatê hypatôn*’ (here two notes on the enharmonic scale: Barker, *GMW* i 221 n. 113); Damon later invented the opposite *harmonia*, the relaxed Lydian. If the scholion to i *Alc.* 118c that Lamprokles was Damon’s teacher is of uncertain value, it may nonetheless confirm that he was older than Damon and shared similar interests. Athenaios 491c calls him a composer of dithyrambs, another genre linked with Lasos and also Pratinas.

Finally, Simonides, Lasos’ contemporary and competitive rival (Ar. *Wasps* 1406–12), illustrates a similar type, combining music, poetry, politics, technical studies especially of human culture, and

⁷ The scholiast’s comment that Pythokleides was a *didaskalos* of ‘serious music’ (*semnê mousikê*) and a Pythagorean may echo an era when all music theorists were being baptized Pythagoreans: see Appendix 3.

professional rivalry with his peers. Born on Keos in 556, Simonides led a peripatetic life, also visiting Athens under Hipparchos ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 18.1; [Pl.] *Hipparch.* 228c). He left when Hipparchos' brother Hippias was assassinated, but returned to the city during the Persian wars, when he had ties with the democratic politician Themistokles (Plut. *Them.* 1, cf. 5, 15.4; Cic. *De fin.* 2.32), attacking in verse Themistokles' enemy Timokreon of Rhodes (*AP* 7.348; cf. Plut. *Them.* 21). According to Pliny (*HN* 7.204), he added an eighth string to Terpander's seven-string lyre (*Souda* iv.361.8 called this the missing third note c' : see [Arist.] *Pr.* 19.32). Although again Plato's calling Simonides 'a great sophist' is playful (*Prt.* 316d–17a), Albin Lesky observes:

the prominence of the human element in his choral poetry is one of the features [that look forward to the sophistic movement]. In the scholion for Skopas [of Thessaly, 4 Diels = Pl. *Prt.* 339a–c, where Simonides questions the wisdom of Pittakos] and the protest against Kleoboulos we detect a penchant towards a critical approach which sets up the results of individual reasoning against traditional ideas.⁸

Pittakos and Kleoboulos were two of the original 'seven *sophoi/sophistai*', who shortly will be important for us. Also casting Simonides as a 'sophist', Marcel Detienne notes that he opposed *doxa* ('appearance') to the *alêtheia* ('truth') of the poets.⁹ Cicero (*De nat. deor.* 1.60) tells that when questioned by Hiero of Syracuse about the nature of the gods, Simonides 'asked for longer and longer periods to consider his answer; at last he said that the question became the more obscure the more he thought about it'. This tradition echoes the opening of Protagoras' *On the gods* (80 B 4). He was interested in mnemonics and orthography, reputedly first introducing the distinction between long and short vowels (for Damon's interest in this topic, see Pl. *Rep.* 400 = B 1). He was, notoriously, also interested in money ('no one would deny that Simonides loved money': Aelian *VH* 9.1, see also, e.g. Ar. *Peace* 695; Cic. *De orat.* 2.86), as were Plato's sophists. A dictum indicates reflection on the relationship between

⁸ *A History of Greek Literature*, trans. J. Willis and C. de Heer (New York, 1966) 189.

⁹ *The Masters of Truth in Archaic Greece*, trans. J. Lloyd (New York, 1996) 111 (pp. 107–17 on Simonides are superb) = *Les Maîtres de la vérité dans la Grèce archaïque*² (Paris, 1990) 164 and 159–79. Cf. J. M. Bell, 'Kimbix kai Sophos. Simonides in the Anecdotal Tradition', *QUCC* 28 (1978) 77–86.

the different arts: poetry is spoken painting, painting is silent poetry (Plut. *De glor. Ath.* 3). Compare Gorgias' *Helen* 82 B 11.9, that poetry is speech in metre.

A nexus of mostly fifth- and fourth-century reports thus illuminates these theorist musicians' varied collaborations: Pythokleides', Lamprokles', and (we shall see) Damon's work on *harmoniai*, a genre linked with Lasos; the *diadochê* Pythokleides–Agathokles–Lamprokles–Damon; Perikles' instruction by Damon and Pythokleides; Damon's instruction by Agathokles; Pythokleides' link with the *êthos* theory; Simonides' and Damon's interest in vowel length. To judge from their later fame, these men dominated Athens' early fifth-century music culture, the most vibrant and innovative in Greece. The first half of the fifth century shows no parallel in other humanistic fields such as rhetoric for the emergence of music research, teaching, and public performance. Damon's own research, teaching, and engagement with politics were products of the extraordinary milieu in which he trained.

(B) DAMON DIDASKALOS

Damon and Athens' other teacher-theorists appear to have started a second cultural revolution, inventing higher education and research. Like 'New Music' and 'the sophists', this revolution too has been wrongly dated to the second half of the fifth century, when detailed evidence begins.

In traditional education, upper-class youths (15 to 18 years of age) learned in the *gymnasion* (Pl. *Lch.* 178a–184c) and the *symposion* to become 'free gentlemen' (*eleutheroi*), 'fair in mind and body' (*kaloi-kagathoi*), and *polis*-leaders. The later sixth century first attests the introduction of formal group education for boys (*paides*) in music and gymnastics (see Appendix 4a), and of higher education for youths and adults. Leading theorists, Lasos, Pythokleides, Agathokles, and Damon all taught, but not as schoolmasters (for Damon, see Appendix 4a). If Pindar came from Thebes to study with Lasos, he presumably did so not as a *pais*. Isokrates calls Damon Perikles' teacher (*didaskalos*, A 7); the comic poet Plato called him 'the Cheiron who raised up Perikles' (A 9). As Damon was born c.500, their relationship will have started when Perikles (born c.495) was a

teenager in the early 470s. As we shall see, from the 460s these men worked together in politics.

Most of our evidence for higher education comes from the period after 429 (the death of Perikles), when intellectual developments became darker and more divisive, at times supplanting rather than supplementing the traditional education in *gymnasia* and *symposia*.¹⁰ Sophisticated, ambitious young men now ‘deserted the *gymnasia*’ to hear ‘the wisest [*sophôtatoi*] of the Greeks’ (Hippias in Pl. *Prt.* 337d). In Aristophanes’ *Banqueters* of 427, when the clever son asks his more traditional brother if he has ‘the *sophismata* that I possess’, the latter exclaims that his brother ‘ran away from the *didaskalos*’—here the traditional music master (fr. 206 K–A). In Plutarch (*Alc.* 7.1), Alkibiades, then ‘getting on past boyhood’, struck a *grammatodidakalos* for not having a text of Homer. When another teacher offered him a text that he had corrected himself, he exclaimed, ‘You are teaching *grammata* when you are competent to edit Homer? Do you not teach young men (*neous*)?’ Intellectuals increasingly replaced poets as educators of upper-class youths, as from the end of the century public poetry evolved into entertainment and *symposion* culture ceased to be the focus of elite education.

Except regarding Perikles, most of our evidence for Damon’s teaching also postdates 429. In Pl. *Lch.* 180c–d (A 2) Nikias says that Sokrates recommended Damon as a *didaskalos* for his son Nikeratos, as ‘worthy to spend time with *neaniskoi* of that age’. *Neaniskoi* were between 16 and 25 to 30; at the dramatic date of Plato’s *Laches*, sometime between 424 and 418, Nikeratos was at least 15.¹¹ According to [Pl.] *Ax.* 364a (A 19), a later Hellenistic text here possibly using the fourth-century Herakleides of Pontos (see ch. 4a and A 19 comm.), Damon was also the music *didaskalos* of

¹⁰ See my ‘Plato’s sophists’ 226–31 and Ar. *Frogs* 727–733. This development may lie behind the corrupt report in [Xen.] *Ath. Pol.* 1.13 that the demos ‘dissolved’ (?) those practising music (see ch. 4 n. 5).

¹¹ E. Cantarella, ‘*Neaniskoi*: classi di età e passaggi di status nel diritto ateniese’, *MEFRA* 102 (1990) 37–51 = *Diritto e società in Grecia e a Roma: Scritti scelti*, ed. A. Maffi and L. Gagliardi (Milan, 2011) 327–44. Nikeratos was trierarch in 409 (*A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.*, ed. R. Meiggs and D. M. Lewis [Oxford, 1969] no. 84, line 36) and so was born by 439. Although according to Dem. 21.165 ‘physically an utter weakling’, he often served as trierarch (*IG* II² 1618; 1627; 1629; 1631). According to the conservative Xenophon (*Smp.* 3.6), he studied with Stesimbrotos of Thasos, whose writings criticized Themistokles and Perikles (progressives) but praised Kimon (a conservative).

Kleinias, son of Axiochos and Alkibiades' cousin. This passage may find support in Andokides 1.16, linking Damon, Alkibiades, and Axiochos (A 20 and comm.). According to Davies (*APF* 336), Kleinias 'could quite well have been born in the early 440s'. The dramatic date of *Axiochos* is uncertain (A 19 comm.). However, as this passage represents Kleinias as both *erastês* and *erômenos* of Charmides son of Glaukon, he was a teenager when Damon taught him. In Aristophanes' parody of trendy intellectuals (as noted in the Preface), Sokrates begins by suggesting that Strepsiades—both he and his son Pheidippides are adults—learn the latest theories of music and metre. Strepsiades responds, 'How will rhythms help me earn a crust?', to which Sokrates answers, 'First, they'll teach you to behave properly in company, if you know which rhythm is according to the in-armour and which according to the finger' (*Clouds* 636–51). *Clouds* contrasts metrical instruction of Damon's type with old-style education in music and gymnastics. In *Clouds* 636–8, 966–1023, and 1353–72, New Music and music theory have replaced old-fashioned singing and lyre-playing at the *symposion*, as Sokrates, 'Just Argument', and Pheidippides explain.

For Damon's other students, ancient biographical practices pose difficulties. Later writers freely invented master–pupil relations—often on flimsy evidence—most conspicuously in the genre called *Successions* (*Diadochai*). Late reports that Damon taught Plato's music teacher Drakon (A 15), ?Megyllos (A 16), and Sokrates (A 17–18) are probably unjustified inferences from Plato (see *ad locc.*).

Fifth-century intellectuals taught by lectures, seminars (including question and answer: Pl. *Soph.* 268b–c), public speeches, and individual instruction. Plato's charming scenes recreate their high-powered conversations with Athens' sophisticated elite. Generating tremendous excitement around the Greek world, famous *sophoi* travelled and might be well rewarded. As a teacher of wealthy, upper-class young men, a close working associate of Prodikos ('the most distinguished and respected intellectual of the day, [like] Einstein': Dover, *Clouds* lx; Pl. *Lch.* 197d = A 12), and humanist researcher, Damon takes his place within this intellectual scene.

Advanced education included liberal studies and practical instruction for public and private life. As *Clouds* 649–50 indicate, liberal studies aimed to produce 'polished gentlemen' who knew how 'to behave properly in company' (Ford, 'Sophists' 94–102). Apparently starting from the late sixth century (compare Lasos' book on music),

intellectuals created the genre of research and scholarship, sometimes with a practical bent. Among the various fields they cultivated, including astronomy, history, the history of literature, and mathematics, Protagoras taught 'correctness in speech' (*orthoepeia*), and Prodikos the correct usage of words (Pl. *Crat.* 384b), a subject he worked on with Damon (Pl. *Lch.* 197d = A 12). *Clouds* and other texts make clear the prominence of music theory in the new curriculum. Hippias wrote a book *On rhythms and harmoniai* ('tunings' or 'scales'), and studied 'the power of letters, syllables, rhythms, and *harmoniai*' (Pl. *Hip. Maj.* 285d; *Hip. Min.* 368d). Demokritos wrote *On rhythms and tuning (harmonia)*, *On good-sounding and bad-sounding letters* (compare Lasos' 's'), and *On song* (Diog. L. 9.47). In Pl. *Prt.* 339a–347b, Protagoras, Prodikos, Hippias, and Sokrates debate the meaning of a difficult poem by Simonides, priding themselves on their knowledge of poetry. *Clouds* makes fun of speaking correctly (*orthôs*: 659, 679) and language studies (what is the feminine of chicken? 666). From the later 420s, increasing popular scorn was directed against intellectuals for their *adoleschia* ('idle prattling') and *leptologia* ('subtle quibbling'). *Clouds* 359 calls Sokrates 'high priest of the most hair-splitting twaddle'. A fragment of Aristophanes (506 K–A) comments, 'a book has ruined this man, or Prodikos has, or at any rate one of the idle prattlers [*adoleschoi*].'¹²

Such 'serious conversations (*logoi semnoi*) in the company of learned and clever men' (Ar. *Wasps* 1174–5) were widely satirized as overly specialized and technical. In Pl. *Prt.* 312a–b, Sokrates contrasts the sophist's instruction with 'the sort [Hippokrates] had from his *grammatistês*, *kitharistês*, and *paidotribês*, for he did not learn these lessons for *technê*, to become a practitioner (*dêmiourgos*), but for education (*paideia*), as suits a private person and a free man'. Here the words *technê* and *dêmiourgos* aimed to blacken the new education as technical or even base, not producing good citizens but instead overly practical. *Prt.* 315a introduces Antimoiros of Mende, 'who is the most highly reputed of Protagoras' pupils and learns for *technê*, in order to become a sophist'. In *Hip. Maj.* 281d, *technê* is the sophist's specialty. In *Soph.* 229c–d, the 'sophist' Theaitetos says that what others call *dêmiourgikai didaskaliai* ('the teaching of crafts', White; 'handicraft arts', Cornford) 'we call *paideia*'. In Plato the new

¹² C. Natali, 'Adoleschia, leptologia, and the philosophers in Athens', *Phronesis* 32 (1987) 232–41.

intellectuals refused to be called 'practitioners' or 'craftsmen', but did claim to educate.¹³

How did Damon's instruction fit within the context of contemporary paideutics? In Plato, Nikias and Sokrates present Damon as a morally worthy instructor and someone to consult, although Plato's text may be tinged with irony, as I discuss in the Preface. If Damon taught what he worked on (see chapter 2 below), his instruction will have considered technical questions of music and metre, the correct usage of words, the affect of music and metre on mood, behaviour, character, and what Plato calls the *phusis* of the psyche, the relationship of culture and civic life, and practical methods of affecting civic life through music and metre. As we shall see in chapter 3, Perikles applied Damon's instruction to the task of governing Athens.

It may seem unlikely that Damon charged for his teaching, in any conventional sense. His known students including Perikles, Kleinias, and Nikeratos all came from Athens' wealthiest and most famous households, and Damon himself was probably an aristocrat (his wife Agariste came from a very blue-blooded family, that of Perikles' mother). Some of the property owned by Kleinias' father Axiochos (Aspasia's cousin or nephew) is listed on the 'Attic Stelai' of 415 as confiscated by the democracy (Davies, *APF* 17). Nikeratos' father Nikias was very rich. According to Xenophon, himself no lover of democracy, Nikeratos was 'wealthy and like his father had never done anything *dêmotikos*' (*Hell.* 2.3.39). If greater leisure and education became accessible to the broader public in the fifth century (see [Xen.] *Ath. Pol.* 1.13 [n. 10 above]), *Ath. Pol.* 2.10 and Aristophanes' *Banqueters* suggest that they did not aspire to music education.

Perikles' death in 429 marked a turning point in intellectual as well as political history (see my 'Plato's sophists' 226–33). Intellectuals such as Antiphon were now less involved with the democracy and became a harsher, more negative force. None of these men wrote laws for cities, as Protagoras had, or worked on town planning like Hipodamos, or counselled politicians. Their withdrawal from politics into darker, more private moods reflected three developments. Many upper-class citizens (who supported them) were now alienated from city politics, refusing to compete for honour against non-aristocrats, including the 'demagogues'; these were years of war and plague;

¹³ See A. Balansard, *Technè dans les dialogues de Platon. L'empreinte de la sophistique* (Sankt Augustin, 2001) esp. 89–95.

finally, various theoretical positions now evolved into more extreme or offensive forms, as intellectuals sought fame or notoriety by bolder conceptual novelties, such as 'might makes right'.

After Perikles' death, Damon continued his research and teaching, as Plato's dialogues show. He was no longer conspicuous around town. His absence from the scenes in Plato's dialogues and Nikias' comment (*Lch.* 200b: A 14) set in the 420s that Laches ridicules Damon 'without ever having seen' him suggest that he was no longer a public or controversial intellectual, as he had been when working with Perikles.¹⁴

(C) SOPHOI, SOPHISTAI

During the seminal decades 600–580, in response to the corruption of tyrants and the ineffectiveness of laws, a new type of political figure, the *sophos* or *sophistês*, offered wise counsel, mediation in civil strife, and political leadership to many Greek communities (see my 'Charismatic leaders'). The earliest figures of this type, including Solon of Athens, came to be called 'the seven *sophoi*' or '*sophistai*'.¹⁵ *Sophoi/sophistai* cultivated practical and political wisdom. According to Plutarch (*Sol.* 3):

In philosophy, like most of the *sophoi*, Thales ['the first to be called *sophos*': Diog. L. 1.22] cultivated chiefly the domain of political ethics . . . it seems that the *sophia* of Thales alone in that period carried

¹⁴ A. E. Taylor, *Plato: The Man and His Work*⁶ (London, 1949) 58: 'The assumption [from his absence in Plato] is that Damon is living in retirement from society generally.'

¹⁵ Their number seven, first attested in Pl. *Prt.* 343c, is not mentioned by Herodotos (cf. 1.29). See J.-P. Vernant, *The Origins of Greek Thought* (Ithaca, NY, 1982) ch. 5 ('The crisis of the city: the earliest sages'); Lloyd, *Revolutions* 83–108 ('*Sophia* and the Sophistic Debate'); Lattimore, 'Wise adviser'; Nightingale, 'Sages'. Although Plato and many post-Platonic sources call the seven sages *sophoi*, Isokrates (15.235, insistently), Aristotle (fr. 5 Rose), and the fourth-century ps.-Demosthenic *Erotic essay* (61.50) call them *sophistai*; and in the fifth century various poets, musicians, music teachers, other teachers, intellectuals, and others (but only very rarely professional teachers of rhetoric) might be called *sophistai* (see Edmunds, 'What was Socrates called?' 418–21). Diogenes Laertius says that *sophoi* (and also poets) were also called *sophistai* (1.12).

speculations beyond the limits of strictly practical problems; the rest gained their reputation for *sophia* from their prowess as statesmen.

In calling himself *sophistês*, Plato's Protagoras says he was not setting himself off from many who came before him, including Simonides and (Damon's teacher) Agathokles (*Prt.* 316d–317c). In Herodotos (1.170; 5.36), Bias of Priene (another of 'the seven'), Thales, and later Hekataios of Miletos give sage political advice to the Ionians. The *sophoi/sophistai* were known for apophthegms, pithy wisdom, such as 'know yourself', 'hard is it to be noble' (*Pl. Prt.* 343a), or Periander's 'Keep to old law but fresh fish' (*Stob.* 3.1.172). In a famous story (see, e.g. *Diog. L.* 1.27–8), Milesian fishermen recovered a golden tripod from the sea, sent to Delphi to discover its owner, and were told it belonged to the wisest man. They gave it to Thales, he passed it to another of the seven, and so around the group. Finally, Thales deposited the tripod at Delphi.

Lasos came to be ranked as one of the seven (*Diog. L.* 1.42; *Souda* s.v. 'Lasos'). He was the author of his own type of pithy witticisms called *Lasismata*: for example, 'raw fish can be called cooked' (*optos*, also meaning 'seen': *Athen.* 338b–c, with a second fishy play on words). ?*Pl. i Alc.* 118 calls Pythokleides a *sophos*. Peisistratos' son Hipparchos fancied himself a poet and *sophos/sophistês*, inscribing apophthegms (e.g. 'Do not deceive a friend') around the Attic countryside on herms.¹⁶ In Plato's *Republic* (335e), Sokrates links 'Simonides, Bias, Pittakos, and any other of the *sophoi* and *makarioi*, blessed men'.

Sophoi/sophistai were also wise counsellors to community leaders, just as in Herodotos (1.29–33) the *sophistês* Solon counsels Croesus who tells him he is famous for *sophia*, and *philosopheôn*, 'loving wisdom' (1.30; cf. *Thuc.* 2.40.1).¹⁷ In Athens such counsellors are attested down through the fifth century, notably in connection with Perikles' democratic predecessor Themistokles. According to *Hdt.* 8.57–8, Mnesiphilos of Phrearrioi suggested to Themistokles the

¹⁶ [*Pl.*] *Hipparchos* 228b–9b. One such herm has been found: *SEG* 15.53. See Slings, 'Literature' 58–60.

¹⁷ [Plato]'s *Second Letter*, to the Syracusan tyrant Dionysios, notes that people often mention this phenomenon, as 'it is a natural law that intelligence (*phronêsis*) and great power attract each other' (310e–11b). [Plato] suggests that Dionysios and Plato will be like Periander and Thales (both among the seven *sophoi/sophistai*), Perikles and Anaxagoras, and Cyrus, Croesus, and Solon.

Greek naval strategy at Salamis. Plutarch calls Mnesiphilos ‘not a *rhêtôr* or a physical scientist, but a cultivator of what was then called *sophia*, although it was only political cleverness and practical sagacity’ (*Them.* 2.6). Twelve ostraka against Mnesiphilos have been recovered (Siewert, *Ostrakismos* 64). In Xenophon (*Mem.* 4.2.2) someone asks Sokrates, ‘was it by constant association with one of the *sophoi* or by natural ability that Themistokles stood out among his fellow-citizens’ as a leader? Sokrates replies that it is absurd to suppose that polis leaders could arise of their own accord. They require competent *didaskaloi*. We have noticed Themistokles’ ties with Simonides. In addition, according to Plutarch (*Them.* 6.5) Cheileos the Tegean helped him unite the Greeks against Persia. Herodotos (9.9) reports that Cheileos—‘a man with more influence in Sparta than anyone else who was not a native’—advised the Spartan ephors not to fight Persia at the Isthmus but to ally with Athens. In Pl. *Theaet.* 166d–167d, Protagoras says that ‘wise and good *rhêtores*’, like doctors, should make just, admirable, and beneficial things for individuals and for cities, and the sophists produce such politicians. Herodotos reports that after the victory at Salamis, throughout Greece Themistokles was considered ‘by far the wisest [*sophôtatos*] of the Greeks’, and the Spartans gave him an olive wreath for *sophia* and *dexiotês* (8.124.1, 9).¹⁸

Damon followed in the traditions of the *sophoi/sophistai*. As we shall see in chapter 3b, his work on the *êthos* of music and metre was premised on their use in training the polis. For most of his career he was a public intellectual, prominent enough to be ostracized by the demos. He was Perikles’ *didaskalos* and then his wise counsellor, from the 470s until Perikles’ death. According to *Ath. Pol.* 27 (A 8), he ‘was thought to have suggested many of [Perikles’] proposals’, in particular the introduction of dikastic pay in the later 460s or early 450s; ‘Give the people their own’ may have been Damon’s apophthegm (see A 8 end). In *i Alc.* 118 (A 4), written by Plato or in his Academy and set in 432 or 431, Alkibiades observes, ‘they say at any rate, Sokrates, that

¹⁸ Thucydides 1.137.2–138.3 also praises Themistokles for his intelligence (*sunesis*), but, perhaps polemically, stresses that his was a natural, personal (*oikeia*) intelligence, not the result of early or later training (*oute promathôn es autên ouden out’ epimathôn*). He also says nothing of Perikles’ teachers and advisers, in marked contrast to their importance in Plutarch’s *Perikles* and its sources. The polemic may have targeted contemporary accusations that politicians derived their ideas from others.

(Perikles) became *sophos* not by himself but by associating with many *sophoi* including both Pythokleides and Anaxagoras. Even now, in spite of his age, he studies with Damon for this very purpose.' When Plutarch reports (*Per.* 4 = A 9) that Damon was 'a *sophistês* of the highest order, who hid behind the name of music, concealing his cleverness from the people' and 'associated with Perikles like a "rubber" and trainer for an athlete of politics', the source of this conceit, possibly a comic playwright, has turned the traditional figure of wise counsellor against Perikles. More positively, Plutarch says (*Lyc.* 4):

one of those regarded as *sophos* and *politikos* was Thales [of Crete], whom Lykourgos persuaded, out of favour and friendship, to come to Sparta. Now Thales appeared to be a poet of lyric songs and screened himself behind this art, but in reality he did the work of one of the mightiest lawgivers. For his odes were speeches exhorting to good obedience and civic harmony, through songs and rhythms having much of the orderly and tranquility, so that those who listened to them were insensibly softened in their characters (*êthê*), and renouncing the mutual bad feelings that were so rife at the time, lived together in the common pursuit of what was fair. In some way, therefore, Thales was a forerunner of Lykourgos and his education.

Lykourgos' 'Thales' (probably corrupt for Thaletas) also appears to be a forerunner modelled on Damon. According to an older tradition known to Lasos' coeval Pratinas, Thaletas (in later sources, Thales) saved Sparta from a plague.¹⁹

Throughout his life Perikles took counsel from many *sophoi*.²⁰ As we have seen, according to ?Pl. i *Alc.* 118c (A 4) and possibly Aristotle (see A 9), one of his music teachers was the aulete Pythokleides, whom i *Alc.* 118c calls *sophos* (A 2 comm.). Plutarch reports that Perikles hosted philosophical meetings (*Per.* 36.2), associated with Protagoras (*Per.* 36.5; [Plut.] *Consol. ad Apoll.* 118e = DK fr. 9), and

¹⁹ See ch. 2 n. 10 and A 9 comm. In a context similar to Plutarch's, 'Thales' recurs in Strab. 10.4.16, while Paus. 1.14.4 has 'Thales' save Sparta from a plague and write verses on Epimenides. For Plutarch's various examples of rulers and thinkers, see A. Wardman, *Plutarch's Lives* (London, 1974) ch. 6 ('Political' philosophy'; Damon is mentioned on pp. 201–2 and 215).

²⁰ See, e.g. Isokr. *Antid.* 15.235; Pl. *Phdr.* 269e–70a; ?Pl. i *Alc.* 118c; cf. [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 27.4. See Ehrenberg, *Sophocles and Pericles* 91–8; cf. Aelian *VH* 3.17 ('who will deny that Perikles, too, the son of Xanthippos, was a philosopher?'); Podlecki, *Perikles* 17–34. Stadter, 'Perikles among the intellectuals' is overly sceptical, as Giangiulio, 'Pericle e gli intellettuali' 151 and *passim* agrees; see also Cataldi, 'Filosofi e politici nell'Atene del V secolo'.

attended the lectures of Zeno the Eleatic (*Per.* 4.3; DK 29 A 4). Born like Damon c.500, Anaxagoras was Perikles' best-known teacher and wise counsellor.²¹ The reports of Perikles' scepticism toward religion echo Anaxagoras.²² Plutarch says that Anaxagoras was responsible for Perikles' dignified appearance and behaviour (*Per.* 4.6, 5.1). Like Damon, their relationship began well before 450, by which time Anaxagoras probably left Athens for good (Sokrates learned of his views from books: Pl. *Phd.* 97b–98b). In Plutarch (*Per.* 16), Anaxagoras is Perikles' 'counsellor in government' (*tês politeias sumboulos*). According to i *Alc.* 118c he was *sophos*, and taught Perikles *sophia*. In ?Pl. *Hip. Maj.* 281c, his fame for *sophia* is compared to that of Pittakos, Bias, and Thales, three of the seven *sophoi/sophistai*. Herimippos' *On the sophoi* said that some ranked him one of the seven (Diog. L. 1.42 = fr. 6 Wehrli).

Above all Anaxagoras' teaching aided Perikles in rhetoric, in ways parallel to Damon's music instruction. In Pl. *Phdr.* 269e–270a Sokrates says that Perikles acquired from Anaxagoras' 'idle prattling' (*adoleschia*) the mental elevation and finished execution needed for success in rhetoric.

By enriching himself with high speculation (*meteôrologia*) and coming to recognize the nature of mind and mindlessness (*anoia*)—on which topics Anaxagoras was always discoursing—Perikles drew from that source and applied to the art of rhetoric what was advantageous to it.

The passage is satirical—*adoleschia*, *meteôrologia*, *anoia*—but stresses the close association of these two men especially in rhetorical instruction.

The comic poets mercilessly parodied Perikles' attachment to teachers and wise counsellors, ridiculing Damon (his 'rubber' or 'trainer'), Anaxagoras, and also Aspasia, supposedly another of his rhetoric teachers (Schwarze, *Beurteilung* 160–4).²³ Like Damon,

²¹ See Isokr. *Antid.* 235 (A 7); Pl. *Phdr.* 269e–70a; ?Pl. i *Alc.* 118c (A 4); Plut. *Per.* 4–6, 8, 16; and [Pl.] *Second Letter* 311a (in n. 17 above).

²² Plut. *Per.* 35.2, 38.2; *Dem.* 20.1; Arist. *Rhet.* 1419a. Thucydides' Perikles never mentions the gods, although Thucydides himself mostly maintains an atheist attitude.

²³ As the comic poet Plato called Damon Perikles' 'Cheiron', so Eupolis' *Philoï* (fr. 294 K–A) called Aspasia that same name, parodying the wise counsellor. Kallias' *Pedetai* (fr. 21 K–A) also joked that Aspasia taught Perikles rhetoric. Probably from a comic source, the fourth-century Sokratic Aeschines of Sphettos said that Aspasia taught rhetoric to 'the sheep seller' Lysikles (fr. 23 Dittmar) after Perikles' death.

Anaxagoras and Aspasia attracted suspicion and were used to damage Perikles' reputation (ch. 3a).

As fifth-century *sophoi/sophistai* were not themselves politicians but taught *sophia*, so Damon and Anaxagoras made Perikles *sophos* (Pl. *Prt.* 319e–320a) and even *sophôtatos* (?Pl. i *Alc.* 118c). Isokrates (*Antid.* 15.111) says that Perikles had the highest reputation for *sophia*, justice, and *sôphrosunê*. In Thucydides, Perikles' chief quality is confidence in his intelligence and judgement (*gnômê*: 1.140.1, 2.61.2). In *Per.* 15, a passage we shall later consider in detail (ch. 3b), Plutarch well imagines Perikles' ideals, comparing him to a wise physician, curbing or encouraging the demos as appropriate, and

proving that rhetoric, in Plato's phrase [*Phdr.* 271c] is the art of working upon the souls of men by means of words, and that its chief business is the knowledge of men's characters and passions, which are so to speak the strings and stops of the soul and require a most skilful and delicate touch.

His words echo Damon's work on music.

After Perikles' death most intellectuals became bitter enemies of democracy. Damon, however, continued to offer wise counsel to another democratic leader, Nikias. In Pl. *Lch.* 197d (A 12), Sokrates says that Nikias acquired *sophia* in defining terms from Damon. In *Lch.* 199e–200a (A 13) Laches says he had hoped that with the *sophia* Nikias had learned from Damon he could have defined courage. In *Lch.* 200b (A 14) Nikias says that despite others' sarcasm about Damon, he will seek to correct his statements with Damon's help. As often, Plato is relentlessly playful. His picture of Nikias as an eager student of wisdom hardly squares with Nikias' traditional piety and conservatism. Were Plato's comments another little joke?²⁴ In some way surely yes, but Nikias may have considered himself Perikles' successor in more than politics, taking on Perikles' same wise counsellor, and continuing the tradition of such counsellors. In

²⁴ Cf. Ed. Meyer's suggestion that Plato 'transferred' Damon's relationship with Perikles to Nikias (*Gsch. Alt.* 3 [Stuttgart, 1901] 567). G. Marasco, 'Osservazioni su Nicia in Platone', *A&R* 20 (1975) 56–60, misses Plato's devilish irony toward Nikias, notably by having this sometimes hesitant general seek to define courage. The comic poets ridiculed him for cowardice and a reluctance to fight (*Ar. Birds* 639; *Phryn.* fr. 62 K–A = *Plut. Nic.* 4, which is otherwise relevant).

Thucydides, he often echoes Perikles.²⁵ Nikias was a prominent and successful *chorêgos* for plays (Plut. *Nic.* 3) and dithyrambic contests (Dinsmoor, *AJA* 14 [1910] 459–60, 478–9), both involving music, while Damon was deeply democratic and committed to Athens.

Producing wise counsellors for politicians outside Athens was a goal of Plato's Academy.²⁶ In Macedonia, Aristotle and Alexander continued the tradition. In Athens it ended when politicians turned against intellectuals after 429, and they in turn distanced themselves from the democracy. Barring the odd couple Alkibiades and Sokrates, Damon was the last *sophos* to an Athenian politician.

(D) DAMON 'SOPHIST'?

Was Damon what we or Plato would consider a 'sophist'? Although Plutarch calls him a 'sophist of the highest order' who concealed his sophistries behind music, modern scholars divide on this question²⁷ and Plato does not say. The problem lies in our concept of 'sophist'. Plato largely formulated that concept, sharply distinguishing 'sophists' from philosophers before and after them.²⁸ Plato primarily defines his sophists (including Protagoras, Prodikos, Hippias, and Gorgias) as travelling professors of rhetoric for hire. They taught expository and argumentative techniques to 'make the worse cause

²⁵ Thus at 6.9.2 Nikias maintains a weaker version of Perikles' view on selflessness at 2.60.2–4. At 6.13.1 he echoes Perikles' anti-expansionist advice at 2.65.7 and stresses *pronoia*, which Thucydides considered one of Perikles' chief qualities.

²⁶ T. J. Saunders, "'The RAND Corporation of antiquity'? Plato's Academy and Greek politics', in *Studies in Honour of T. B. L. Webster* i (Bristol, 1986) 200–10.

²⁷ Yes: Guthrie, *History* iii 35 n. 1; Kerferd, *Sophistic Movement* 18; Anderson, 'Importance' 92–3. No: C. J. Classen, *Sofistik* (Darmstadt, 1976) 15; Stadter, 'Pericles' n. 21; J. Dillon and T. Gergel, *The Greek Sophists* (London, 2003: cf. 264 n. 23 'a noted musician [*sic*] and theorist of music').

²⁸ See my 'Plato's sophists'; Edmunds, 'What was Socrates called?', a detailed source analysis which dates the 'narrow' meaning of 'sophist' to the fourth century; and also, e.g. Kerferd, *Sophistic Movement* 1 (and *passim*); and G. Striker, 'Methods of Sophistry', in *Essays on Hellenistic Epistemology and Ethics* (Cambridge, 1996) 3. On the concept of 'philosopher' see Striker *ibid.* 3–6 and *passim*; A. Nehamas, 'Eristic, Antilogic, Sophistic, Dialectic: Plato's Demarcation of Philosophy from Sophistry', *Hist. of Philos. Quart.* 7 (1990) 3–7, repr. in *Virtues of Authenticity. Essays on Plato and Socrates* (Princeton, 1999) 108–12 and *passim*; Nightingale, 'Sages', 156–8, 179–85.

seem better', and rejected positive doctrine, truth, and moral certainty in favour of pandering to the masses. There is little evidence that Damon fit this pattern.

Yet the brilliant intellectuals whom Plato called 'sophists' were far more complex, more diverse, and less distinct from others than he represents.²⁹ To understand the intellectual life of fifth-century Athens, Plato's homogenizing, prejudicial term—before him the word was mostly not prejudicial (Edmunds [n. 28] 421)—should be discarded. Even those whom Plato identified as 'sophists' were not a school or even a movement, neither monopolizing nor limiting themselves to the topics that Plato attributes to them sometimes in misleading ways. Few if any intellectuals after 450 were 'relativist' or amoral.³⁰ That misrepresentation, and the criticism that they were paid, were meant to blacken them. Plato distorts and exaggerates his sophists' preoccupation with rhetoric. The wide-ranging questions that engaged these *sophoi* continue to rank among the most significant issues of philosophical debate. Often polymath, they were principally concerned with human questions, exploring various aspects of human culture including language, social customs (including comparative anthropology), ethics, politics, music, and literary criticism. Like Thucydides, most were critical of or avoided religion and the metaphysical. How words designate, and how words are connected (if at all) with external realities, became—as they remain—fundamental issues of debate (Kerferd, *Sophistic Movement* 88–110). They also taught *technai*, as subjects in their own right and as useful in politics. Most did not toil in ivory towers but applied their skills and ideas to social and political ends.

As we shall see in chapter 2, Damon was fully a participant in these developments. His research focused on humanity; it was scientific and not moralizing; its goals were both theoretical and practical, to benefit Athens; he worked with Prodikos on the meanings of words; he was a polymath; his interest in music, including the *êthos* theory, was shared by contemporaries including Hippias and Demokritos; he was politically engaged. When Plato's Sokrates questioned Delphi's claim that there was no one wiser (*sophôteros*) than he (Pl. *Ap.* 21a),

²⁹ See my 'Plato's sophists'; and S. Goldhill, *Reading Greek Tragedy* (Cambridge, 1986) ch. 9, 'Sophistry, philosophy, rhetoric'. For recent trends compare *OCD*² (1971) with *OCD*³ (1996), s.vv. 'sophists'.

³⁰ See Richard Bett, 'The Sophists and Relativism', *Phronesis* 34 (1989) 139–69.

he assimilated himself to Thales and the seven *sophoi/sophistai*. Last avatars of the seven, Plato's Hippias calls fifth-century intellectuals *sophôtatoi*, 'the wisest of the Greeks' (*Prt.* 337d). In *Rep.* 600c–d Sokrates says that their students celebrated both Protagoras and Prodikos for their ability to teach *sophia* in managing their homes and cities. According to Athenaios (454f = DK 85 A 8) citing Neoptolemos of Paros, the last line of Thrasy machos' epitaph was *technê sophia*: 'his skill was wisdom'. Damon was not one of Plato's 'sophists', but *sophos* and *sophistês*.

Êthos theories of music and poetic metre

(A) FIFTH-CENTURY AFFECT THEORIES AND DAMON

As they do for other polymath *sophoi*,¹ ancient texts attest Damon's broad interests, both intellectual and in politics. In Plato *Lch.* 180d (A 2), Nikias calls him 'the most accomplished of men not only in music but in anything else you wish'. In *Lch.* 197d–200b (A 12–14), Sokrates says that Damon associated with Prodikos and was skilled in making distinctions in terminology. Cicero (*De orat.* 3.33.132 = B 14) laments that the overly specialized intellectuals of his own day ignore the 'wide domains of human knowledge' cultivated by earlier men such as Damon. In *Per.* 4 (A 9), Plutarch says that Damon 'appears to have been a sophist of the highest order, who hid behind the name of music'. He then quotes Plato the comic poet, probably in the 410s, that people called Damon the 'Cheiron who raised up Perikles'. 'Cheiron' in what sense? Martin Vogel argues that centaurs and in particular Cheiron (par excellence the teacher of heroes [Xen. *Cyn.* 1] and therefore of Perikles) taught not only music but 'encyclopedic culture'.² Plato's term 'Cheiron' (which Plutarch quotes in a passage

¹ As we have seen (ch. 1a), the poet Simonides worked with democratic politicians as well as monarchs, and studied mnemonics and orthography. Specializing in astronomy and mathematics, Hippias of Elis also worked on language, history, poetry, mnemonics, music theory, and archaeology. With a showman's flair for the practical applications of *technai*, he once returned to Olympia—local boy made good—wearing or carrying only things that he himself had made, including a ring, a seal, an oil can, and his clothes and shoes (DK 86 A 12).

² *Chiron der Kentaure mit der Kithara* (Bonn and Bad Godesberg, 1978) 28, 581, cf. 214; also Marrou, *Education* 7. In Hom. *Il.* 4.219, 11.831–2 and Pind. 3 *Pyth.* 5–7, 45–54, 63–7 and other odes (see [d] below), Cheiron especially teaches medicine. See E. Robbins, 'Jason and Cheiron: the Myth of Pindar's Fourth Pythian', *Phoenix* 29

on Damon's versatility) may well imply that Damon was thought to have taught Perikles more than music. If music was a theme of Pherekrates' *Cheirôn* (see fr. 155 K–A = [Plut.] *De mus.* 1141c, the famous satire of New Music), Eupolis was presumably not thinking about music instruction when he called Aspasia Perikles' Cheiron (fr. 294 K–A). As we have seen, comic poets often joked that Aspasia taught Perikles rhetoric.

Our limited sources make it difficult to know much about Damon's work outside music and poetic metre, although his has proved a name to conjure with. Some suggested areas of interest (medicine, experimentation, instrumentation) are considered at the end of this chapter and in Appendix 4b. Damon's work on music and metre caught Plato's interest, and so we have better information.

If extant evidence is representative, a main focus of Damon's research centered on the psychological, behavioural, and hence social and political affects of music and poetry.³ In *Rep.* 399e–400b (B 1), on the question of which types of rhythms 'imitate' which sorts of life, Sokrates says to Glaukon that they will 'take counsel with Damon, as to which steps are appropriate to *aneleutheria* ("ungentlemanly behaviour") and *hubris* or madness and other evils, and what rhythms we must leave for their opposites'. In *Rep.* 401d Sokrates well formulates the premise of the *êthos* theory of music and poetic rhythm: 'More than anything else rhythm and *harmonia* find their way into the inmost soul and take strongest hold upon it, bringing with them and imparting grace, if one is rightly trained, and otherwise the contrary.' From his discussion of the *harmoniai* at 398b–399c down through 425a, Plato's arguments on music, rhythm, and metre are driven by a potent political version of the *êthos* theory that he attributes to Damon. At 424a–e Sokrates concludes:

(1975) 209–13. In Philostr. 308.17 Kayer, Cheiron teaches warfare, medicine, and music.

³ Older studies on music *êthos* include Abert, *Lehre*; Anderson, *Ethos*. L. Harap, 'Some Hellenic Ideas on Music and Character', *Musical Quarterly* 24 (1938) 153–68, was improved by E. A. Lippmann, 'The Sources and Development of the Ethical View of Music in Ancient Greece', *Musical Quarterly* 49 (1963) 188–209. Both essays are by intelligent amateurs guided by secondary scholarship, and avoid hard questions. Malhomme and Wersinger 2007: *Mousikè et arètè. La musique et l'éthique de l'antiquité à l'âge moderne*, including a short piece by Moutsopoulos on Damon, is noted. Barker's *Psicomusicologia nella Grecia antica* replaces all.

The polity, if once it starts off well, proceeds as it were in a cycle of growth. For a good (*chrêstê*) nurture and education if maintained create good natures, and in turn good natures receiving an education of this sort develop into better men than those before. . . . In brief, it is this that the overseers of our polis must cleave to, lest it insensibly be corrupted. They must in all ways guard against innovations in music and gymnastics counter to the established order, but to the best of their power guard against them, fearing when anyone says that 'That song is most regarded among men which hovers newest on the singer's lips' [*Odyssey* 1.351–2], lest someone think that the poet commonly means not new songs but a new style (*tropos*) of song, and praise this. But we must not praise that sort of thing or suppose it to be the poet's meaning. For a change to a new type (*eidon*) of music is something to beware of as altogether dangerous. For styles (*tropoi*) of music are never changed without changing the most fundamental rules (*nomoi*) of the city, as Damon says and I am convinced. . . . By gradual infiltration music softly overflows upon people's *êthê* and pursuits, and from these it issues forth grown greater to attack their business dealings, and from their business dealings it proceeds against the *nomoi* and the *politeia* with wanton license, until finally it overthrows all things public and private.

According to Damon as Plato represents him, music has the power to affect people's emotions and behaviour and thereby change the laws, the society, and government. Plato's Sokrates accepts Damon's *êthos* theory with no hint of sarcasm or irony.

Later texts, from the later fourth or early third century as I shall argue, confirm Damon's close connection with the *êthos* theory of music. Apparently drawing from the 'historical works' of fourth-century *harmonikoi* (see [Plut.] *De mus.* 1136d = B 6), Olympiodoros (B 4) mentions 'the songs which Perikles learned from Damon and through which he harmonized the city'. Philodemos (B 12) reported a tradition that according to Damon, 'music is useful for all the virtues, and in singing or playing the *kithara* a boy ought not only to acquire⁴ courage and moderation, but also justice'. This tradition well suits a late fourth-century context and most probably derives from Heraikleides of Pontos (see ch. 4a). Heraikleides studied under Plato (he was put in charge of the Academy while Plato spent 361–360 in Sicily). He later worked with Aristotle, and his music historical scholarship is judged worthy of respect (see Barker, 'Heraclides and musical

⁴ The verb is restored, but the sense is apparent: see B 12 ad loc.

history'). Finally, as we shall see (ch. 4c and D 2), in the late fourth or early third century the *harmonikoi* in PHibeh I 13 (D 2) accept the *êthos* theory of music—'some melodies make people self-disciplined, others prudent', and so forth—and seem to be Damonians.

The fifth-century origin of the *êthos* theory of music is also supported by contemporary evidence for music and in parallel areas of research. Euripides often mentioned music's effects on mood and behaviour. In one of his typical 'position speeches', Medea's nurse complains (*Medea* 190–203):

The men of old times had little sense; if you called them in no way *sophoi* you wouldn't be far wrong. They invented songs to perform at feasts, banquets, and celebrations, the pleasant sounds of life; but no one thought of using music and many-stringed songs to banish pains (*lupas pauein*). From these pains deaths and terrible disasters destroy families. And yet, on the one hand, for men to cure (*akeisthai*) these things by songs is a gain. But where there are well-banqueted feasts, why do they raise up this cry in vain? For there is already abundance of pleasure for men, with a joy of its own.

The nurse here acknowledges music affect, which in the past she says was misapplied. Older poets lacking *sophia* did not think to cure pains, while at banquets curative singing was unnecessary. Plutarch understood these pains as psychological: anger, grief, gloominess (143d, 710e), judgements confirmed by the context of the play. *Medea* was staged in 431, a year or two after Damon, himself *sophos* and prime theorist of music *êthos*, returned from his ostracism (Appendix 2). Later, in *Herakles* 867–79, 892–9, the playwright uses the verb *kataulein*, 'to cast a spell by *aulos* music'; in *IA* 1211–15 Iphigeneia says she wants to be like Orpheus, charming the rocks with song; in *Helen* 1338–52 the chorus sings that song and dance banish sorrow; in *Bacchae* 381 music puts an end to care. Moutsopoulos ('Euripide' 447) has seen Damon's influence in these passages.

Furthermore, Damon's work parallels and probably anticipated similar endeavours in other fields. During the fifth century, affecting human behaviour became a principal topic of humanist investigation. The most significant parallel study explored the *êthos* affects of *logoi* or rhetoric. According to Pl. *Phdr.* 267c, Thrasy machos (active c.430–400) was clever at arousing anger in many, and then allaying their anger by rhetorical 'charms and incantations'. According to Quintilian (3.1.12), Prodikos, Hippias, Protagoras, and Thrasy machos

all discussed the appeal to passion, the emotional effects of words. Above all, Gorgias of Leontini was interested in rhetoric's *êthos*. In *Defense of Helen* he wrote, 'All poetry can be called speech in metre. Its hearers shudder with terror, shed tears of pity, and yearn with sad longing; the soul, affected by the words, feels as its own an emotion aroused by the good and ill fortunes of other people's actions and lives' (9). For Gorgias the force of *logos* works directly on the psyche. It 'changes the psyche into another state' (10), it 'can make any impression it wishes on the psyche' (13), 'the power of *logos* over the constitution of the psyche can be compared with the effect of drugs on the bodily state' (14).

Following a suggestion by Wilhelm Kroll,⁵ Charles Segal argued that in *Helen* Gorgias applied Damon's theories of music *êthos* to the science of rhetoric. 'Damon's work represents another, perhaps earlier, phase of the rational systematization and control of obscure psychic processes. Gorgias continued this kind of approach in the area of rhetoric and poetry' ('Gorgias' 127–8, see also 141–2 n. 41, and 150–1 nn. 103–4). Gorgias visited Athens in 427 when Damon was teaching; *Helen* is usually dated sometime in the 410s, in relation to Euripides' defense of Helen in *Trojan Women* of 415 and *Helen* of 412. Athens' music hall the Odeion, built when Perikles was working with Damon (ch. 3b), had been a project of the 440s.

It is also possible that Gorgias was Damon's rival. According to Plato (*Meno* 76c), Gorgias accepted Empedokles' particle theory of sense perception, according to which words and sounds are physical things that stream into the ears, effluences into pores. As we have seen, for Gorgias words are physically drugs, and the psyche also is physical. Plato says that the aim of Gorgias' rhetoric was to put persuasion into the psyche of the audience (*Gorg.* 452e). When *Helen* 19 calls love an 'illness' (*nosêma*), that term equates psychic-emotional activity with physiological processes. Gorgias maintained this same theory regarding sight, which also had affective qualities. 'What we see does not have a nature as we would like it, but as it actually has. And the soul is moulded by the sight even in its *tropoi*' (*Helen* 15–16). Thucydides followed Gorgias' and Empedokles'

⁵ 'Randbemerkungen', *Rhein. Mus.* 66 (1911) 168–9; see also Rostagni, 'Aristotele' 73–4 = *Scritti* 155–6.

theory of sense perception.⁶ Sight and sound have psychological consequences, as for example din or the sight of arms produces fear.

It may well be that Gorgias used his fellow Sicilian Empedokles' theories of perception to explain phenomena that Damon had first identified. However, although he performed in rhapsode's robes, Gorgias may have turned his back on music, transferring from sung poetry ('speech in metre' [*Helen* 10], ignoring song) into rhetoric various formal devices including balanced antitheses and metrical patterns that enabled orators to move their listeners by the supra-rational forces that Damon had studied in music and poetry. As Epicurus did later, he emphasized the importance of subject matter: 'The soul, affected by the words, feels as its own an emotion aroused by the good and ill fortunes of other people's actions and lives' (*Helen* 9). As we shall see (ch. 4a), Epicurus opposed the *êthos* theory of music.

Fifth-century work on rhetorical affect left many traces in Plato, drawn to its conclusions as he was to Damon's. In *Phdr.* 270b Sokrates remarks, 'just as for medicine we must determine the *phusis* of the body, so for rhetoric we must determine the nature of the soul if we are to apply *technê* to implant convictions and virtues.' In *Chrm.* 157a he discusses 'the treatment of the soul by means of certain charms. These charms are fair words, and from such words self-control is engendered in our souls, and as soon as it is engendered and present we may easily secure health to the head and to the rest of the body.' In *Phdr.* 261a–b he observes, 'in its entire nature rhetoric is a psychagogic *technê* through words.'

Antiphon, a generation younger than Damon, further illuminates contemporary interest in psychological affect. According to [Plut.] *X Orat.* 833c–d, while Antiphon was still writing poetry and before he turned to logography in the 430s, he composed *Technique against pain* (*Technê alupias*), and

invented a method of curing distress, just as physicians have a treatment for those who are ill. At Corinth, fitting up a room near the marketplace, he wrote on the door that he could cure by words those who were in distress; and by asking questions and finding out the causes of their condition he consoled those in trouble.

⁶ V. Hunter, 'Thucydides, Gorgias, and Mass Psychology', *Hermes* 114 (1986) 421–6.

According to Philostratos (*Vit. Soph.* 499), 'he announced a course of sorrow-assuaging (*nêpentheis*) lectures, claiming that no one could tell him of a grief so terrible that he could not expel it from his mind.' Admittedly the sources for Antiphon's psychiatry are late. However, as scholars including Guthrie have shown, their report is consistent with fifth-century research.⁷ As Damon and Gorgias sought to effect emotions and character by music or words ('as if by a drug'), Antiphon helped people by personal interrogation.⁸ He also worked on dreams.

Two last parallels to Damon's *êthos* theory of music come from *Airs Waters Places*, written toward the end of the fifth century or later, and which Jaap Mansfeld and others attribute to Hippokrates himself.⁹ First, according to this text, environment influences not only health but character. For example, people who live exposed to cold winds 'have characters that are fiercer rather than milder' (4.32), while those experiencing winds of a more moderate temperature 'are better in respect to temper and intelligence' (5.19–20). *Airs, Waters, Places* also discusses the effect of political institutions (*nomoi*) on character, particularly the debilitating effects of despotism, which makes a coward even of someone whose nature is brave and spirited (16.31–9). For the Greeks, freedom had the opposite effect (23.28–40, 24.19–22). 'Thus the *nomoi* not least produce courage' (23.41). For people in warm regions, 'phlegm will be more dominant than bile, and by nature there will not be courage or endurance in their soul, but if *nomos* is introduced it can produce them insofar as the characteristic is not present' (24.3). Unlike Damon and Antiphon, it is unclear whether Hippokrates favoured intervention. He implies that people might change their characters if

⁷ See Guthrie, *History* iii 168, 290–1; Kerferd, *Sophistic Movement* 51; and R. Kassel, *Untersuchungen zur griechischen und römischen Konsolationsliteratur* (*Zetemata* 18: Munich, 1958) 9: 'in its core, without doubt a believable tradition'. In *Ar. Wasps* 112–24, the first cure listed for madness is persuasive words. In 'Ancient Psychotherapy', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 46 (1985) 314–15, C. Gill discusses several psychotherapeutic scenes in fifth-century tragedy, also critiquing G. Devereux, 'The Psychotherapy Scene in Euripides' *Bacchae*', *JHS* 90 (1970) 35–48. On pp. 320–1, he discusses possible fourth-century philosophical parallels to the Antiphon tradition.

⁸ Motto of the Society for Classical Studies: *psychês iatros ta grammata*, 'literature is the soul's healer'.

⁹ F. Heinimann, *Nomos und Physis* (Basel, 1945) 170–209, dates this work shortly before 430; J. Jouanna, *Hippocrates* (Baltimore, 1999) dates it 410–350. See also J. Mansfeld, 'Plato and the Method of Hippocrates', *GRBS* 21 (1980) 342 and n. 6.

they emigrated or lived under different regimes. He does not suggest moving, or revolution.

Although the Greeks had always known the affective power of music (ch. 3b), Damon studied music affect formally and scientifically. Did he 'invent'—that is, first formulate and investigate—the *êthos* theory of music? Olympiodoros attributes an interest in this phenomenon to Pythokl(eid)es ('he harmonized the citizens through the appropriate songs': B 4), who was older than Damon and another of Perikles' teachers (ch. 1). But the origin and trustworthiness of this tradition are uncertain.¹⁰ Damon's younger contemporaries may also have shared his interests. As we have noted, Hippias wrote a book *On rhythms and harmoniai*, and studied 'the power [*dunamis*] of letters, syllables, rhythms, and *harmoniai*' (Pl. *Hip. Maj.* 285d; *Hip. Min.* 368d; see also Cic. *De orat.* 3.32.124–5). Although Abert ('Stellung' 144) argued that Demokritos opposed the *êthos* theory, the evidence proves more complicated.¹¹ According to 68 B 179, Demokritos thought that children learn reverence by music. He accepted music's curative powers (see [d] below). According to 68 B 33, nature and instruction are similar, since instruction transforms a person and by transforming him creates his nature. Diogenes Laertius (9.45–9) attributes two books to Demokritos, *On rhythm and harmonia* and *On song*. Yet despite these considerations, in *Republic* 400 Sokrates wants specifically to consult with Damon about the *êthos* of different metres; and in *Republic* 424 he attributes the *êthos* theory to him. The *Republic* and the many later traditions linking Damon with music *êthos* carry weight. Certainly the theory was particularly his.¹²

¹⁰ According to [Plut.] *De mus.* 1146c, 'they say' (*phasi*) that Thaletas the Cretan went to Sparta 'and cured the people there by means of music, releasing Sparta, as Pratinas says, from the grip of the plague' (trans. Barker). If Barker is right that 'plague' may be a metaphor for civil strife (*GMW* i 214 n. 66; and see Plut. *Lyc.* 4 ['Thales the Cretan'], quoted in ch. 1 above), Pratinas (coeval with Lasos) might have anticipated Damon. However, other sources claim that Thaletas cured an actual plague (e.g. Paus. 1.14.4; Ael. *VH* 12.50: see ch. 1 n. 19). While 'Thales' in Plut. *Lyc.* 4 is surely an error for Thaletas, this tradition should be considered post-Damonian. Gostoli, 'Terpandro' 232–3, accepts the tradition that Terpander's poetry promoted civic harmony in seventh-century Sparta. However, the earliest source for this tradition is Diod. 8.28. It too is arguably post-Damonian.

¹¹ See Rispoli, 'Filodemo' 61–2; A. Brancacci, 'Democritus' *Mousika*, in A. Brancacci and P.-M. Morel, eds, *Democritus: Science, the Arts, and the Care of the Soul* (Leiden and Boston, 2007) 194–5.

¹² For L. E. Rossi, Damon was the first to show an 'exclusive, coherent interest in musical *êthos*' (review of Anderson, *Ethos*, in *A&R* 14 [1969] 43–4).

How did Damon think music affects its listeners? In scientific fact, the networks of cells that extend through the brain's emotional circuits in the limbic system absorb sound waves, producing sensations.¹³ In analogous ways, some fifth-century theories of cognition were materialist (Guthrie, *History* ii 151 n. 1), as we have seen was Empedokles' particle theory of sense perception.

For Plato and Aristotle, by contrast, music affects by imitation and habituation. Plato writes that after long imitation (*mimêsis*) people assimilate what they hear, which then becomes their nature (*Rep.* 395c–d, 401d–e). Aristotle says, 'action develops the corresponding predisposition in a preexisting potential' (*EN* 1152a30–3).

None of the ethical virtues arise in us by nature. For nothing that is by nature is made otherwise by habit. For example, a stone, which moves down by nature, could not be made by habit to move up. . . . So the virtues arise neither by nature nor contrary to nature, but we are of such a nature as to receive these qualities and we are perfected by means of habit. (*EN* 1109b1–7; cf. *Pol.* 1332a38–b8)

'Those who have become uncontrolled through habit are more easily cured than those who are unrestrained by nature, since habit is easier to change than nature' (*EN* 1152a30–2).

As we will see in chapter 4a, although Koller and others suggested that Plato derived his concept of *mimêsis* from Damon, Else argued that *mimêsis* was Platonic and Halliwell concurs, noting the 'danger of overinterpreting' pre-Platonic mentions of *mimêsis*, which refer to visual correspondences rather than enactments.¹⁴ On the other hand, the concepts of practice and habituation were fifth century. A later fifth-century intellectual and poet, Euenos of Paros proclaimed, 'habit is practice for a long time, / and in men this ends up being nature'

¹³ 'The Mystery of Music: How It Works in the Brain', *The New York Times*, May 16, 1995, p. B 5.

¹⁴ S. Halliwell, *Aristotle's Poetics* (London, 1986) 109–16. Barker (*GMW* i 110–11, 169) suggests that Aristophanes *Thesm.* 146–56 parodies 'an early, probably Damonian version of the thesis that the artist, or any performer of "imitations", takes on the character of what he imitates', as Plato later argued. Agathon has dressed as a woman to play a woman's role: 'what we do not possess ourselves, imitation [*mimêsis*] must hunt out' (lines 155–6, trans. Barker). However, Agathon's view would seem to be opposite to Plato's. Agathon says that one must seek to imitate a dramatic character; for Plato, by singing like a woman a man becomes (like) one. Aristophanes goes on to say that 'a man must make things like what his nature (*phusis*) is' (167). Plato would claim that performance changes a person's character. It remains uncertain whether Damon also made that claim.

(Arist. *Pol.* 1152a32–4 = fr. 9 West). At least in Plato, Protagoras says that people do not view the virtue of justice ‘as natural or spontaneous, but as something taught and acquired from practice’ (*Prt.* 323c). Therefore, Damon will have been familiar with this idea. Whether or how far it reflected his thinking is unknown.

Did Damon regard music’s power as temporary, affecting only mood or behaviour, or as permanently changing a person’s character? In Thucydides and Gorgias, fear is temporary, and the pleasure of words is momentary (Thuc. 2.41.4, 3.38–40, 6.83.3). For Thucydides, people are affected by external circumstances (in particular by war: 3.82), but at least human nature, *to anthrôpinon*, does not change (1.22.4, 3.84). Diodotos says (3.45.3), ‘By nature everyone, whether as an individual or in public life, does wrong, and there is no *nomos* that can keep people away from this.’ By contrast, Plato (*Rep.* 424c = B 2) indicates that Damon thought changes in music could significantly change society. As for individuals, Plato’s three examples of metrical affect in *Rep.* 400 (madness, outrageous violence, ungentlemanly conduct) are more ambiguous, and not necessarily Damonian. Later writers did think of permanent change, as Damon in Philodemos says that music can teach justice and *sôphrosunê*. That concept appears to be post-Platonic (see ch. 4a).

(B) THE AFFECTIVE QUALITIES OF HARMONIAI AND POETIC METRE

Although older types of music variously called *nomoi* (but compare Barker, ‘Heraclides’ 289–94) continued to be performed, much fifth-century music was systematized in a series of *harmoniai*, musical scales, possibly first by Lasos. These scales are variously problematic, as titles will tell: Jacques Chailley’s ‘Le mythe des modes grecques’ (1956); *L’imbroglia des modes* (1960); *Expliquer l’harmonie?* (1967); and—who can forget?—M. Dabo-Peranič, *Les harmonies grecques classiques: ces inconnues* (self-published, 1959). Part of the explanation for these difficulties is that already by the time of Aristoxenos in the later fourth century, music was again reconfigured into a uniform scale called the Greater Perfect System, and musical patterns were no longer *harmoniai* but ‘species’ (*eidê*) of the octave (see, e.g. West, *Music* 218–23).

Harmonia should mean a 'fitting together', an adapting or adjusting, either of notes on a scale or the tuning of a stringed instrument. Scholars agree that musical *harmoniai* were scales or 'tunings' of the lyre, each constituted from different sequences of musical intervals as arranged in two tetrachords whose two outer notes were fixed and two inner notes were moveable; on a seven-stringed lyre, these tetrachords shared one note.¹⁵ As the traditional lyre was pretuned to the seven notes of a particular *harmonia*, the performer was restricted to those notes. Already during Damon's lifetime, more versatile stringed instruments were invented. In themselves the *harmoniai* were purely melodic, without fixed rhythms (see, e.g. Winnington-Ingram, 'Greek music' 39).

On the standard view, Damon correlated *harmoniai*, melodic scales, with *êthos*: different emotions and types of behaviour.¹⁶ We find such correlations in Plato's *Republic* 398c–399c (= E 2) and many later sources.¹⁷ Plato also links the *êthos* theory with imitation, *mimêsis*. Sokrates says (*Rep.* 399a–c),

I don't know the *harmoniai*, but leave us that *harmonia* that would fittingly imitate the utterances and accents of a brave man who is engaged in warfare or in any enforced business... and another for such a man engaged in works of peace... not bearing himself arrogantly, but acting modestly and moderately and acquiescing in the outcome. Leave us these two *harmoniai*—the enforced and the voluntary—that will best imitate the utterances of men failing or succeeding, the self-controlled, the brave—leave us these.

Did Damon also correlate *harmoniai* with *êthos*? Such is the standard view, but no source near contemporary with him, including Plato, makes that claim. Notoriously, Plato does not name Damon in connection with the *harmoniai* which Glaukon and Sokrates discuss in *Rep.* 398c–399e (= E 2).¹⁸ In fact, in the passage just quoted,

¹⁵ Barker, *GMW* i 163–4; West, *Music* 160–1; Landels, *Music* 100–7.

¹⁶ See, e.g. Barker, *GMW* i 169; Comotti, *Music* 31; West, *Music* 246–9.

¹⁷ See, e.g. Arist., *Pol.* 1342b22–34; Athen. 624c–6a; and Apul. *Flor.* 1.4 (*Ludium querulum, Phrygium religiosum, Dorum bellicosum, Iastium varium*).

¹⁸ When Plato introduces the topic of rhythms after discussing the *harmoniai* (*Rep.* 400 = B 1), Sokrates says *alla tauta men kai meta Damônos bouleusometha*: 'but these things also with Damon we shall deliberate about'. *kai*, 'also', does not imply that Sokrates had also discussed the *harmoniai* in reference to Damon. That meaning would require *kai tauta meta Damônos*: 'and these things too we shall deliberate about with Damon'.

Sokrates himself expresses no knowledge of such correlations, although he seeks them. In the late fourth or early third century (see D 2 comm.), the apparently Damonian *harmonikoi* in PHibeh I 13 correlated *êthê* with genera: ‘And they say how some *melê* [“songs”] make men self-controlled, some thoughtful, some just, some courageous, and others cowardly, little knowing that the chromatic does not make those who use it cowardly, nor the enharmonic courageous.’ Several later sources link Damon and the *harmoniai*, but do not indicate that Damon correlated *harmoniai* with *êthos*. According to [Plut.] *De mus.* 1136e (B 6) probably derived from fourth-century *harmonikoi*, Damon invented the ‘relaxed Lydian’ *harmonia* (which Plato banned from Kallipolis as ‘soft and sympotic’: *Rep.* 398e–399a). As we shall see in Appendix 1, Aristides Quintilianus (B 5) states that a number of *harmoniai* were ‘handed down’ by Damon. In his commentary on Plato’s *Republic*, Proklos (B 3) refers to Damon’s *harmoniai* when discussing the controversy over which *harmoniai* Plato permitted in his state. Except for drinking songs and the *harmoniai* that elicit lamentation, ‘certain people think that [Sokrates] accepts as proper for education the other *harmoniai*, the Phrygian and the Dorian, of those which Damon taught’. At most this passage claims that Damon taught *harmoniai*, not that he correlated them with *êthos*. As we shall see, Proklos’ statement about Damon is almost certainly an unjustified inference from Damon’s mention a little later in *Republic*, when Plato discusses metre.

Only a late and untrustworthy anecdote in Galen (B 7) and Martianus Capella (B 8) links Damon with the *êthos* of *harmoniai*. When some drunken youths were acting crazy to a Phrygian tune, Damon had the aulete change to a Dorian *harmonia* and the youths were calmed. Late sources tell similar stories about Pythagoras (e.g. Quint. 1.10.32; Sext. Emp. *Adv. mus.* 6.8), the Pythagoreans (Planud. V 458.8 Waltz), and Empedokles (ibid. 459.5; Iambl. *Vit. Pythag.* 112–14: see B 7 comm.).

Did Damon think that different *harmoniai* produced different affects, as Plato’s Glaukon did? It has always puzzled scholars that a shift of even one note in a scale could produce profoundly different emotional and behavioural consequences. In standard diagrams (see, e.g. Barker, *GMW* i 165–6; West, *Music* 174), the Dorian and Phrygian *harmoniai* differ only in the last note of the scale, e’ or d’. Yet at least Plato and post-Platonic writers describe these *harmoniai* as entirely different in character: the Dorian serious, the Phrygian

ecstatic (although Plato's Glaukon thought it promoted voluntary peaceful activity¹⁹). How did *harmoniai* achieve different affects? Was pitch a factor?²⁰ [Aristotle] *Probl.* (19.49) calls a low note soft and calm, a high note exciting. According to Ptolemy (*Harm.* II 58, III 99, trans. Barker),

We shall not find that the construction of modulation with respect to *tonos* exists for the sake of higher and lower voices—as when whole instruments are raised or lowered in pitch, to accommodate that source of difference, and no alternation in the melody results . . . but it exists in order that the same melody, in the same voice, starting sometimes from a higher position and sometimes from a lower, may produce a change [*tropê*] in character [*êthos*].

Such correlations make obvious sense. But were the *harmoniai* fixed at different pitches? The evidence, while slim, does not suggest this. Lasos (*PMG* 702) calls the Aeolian *harmonia barubromos*, 'deep-thundering', while his near contemporary Pratinas (*PMG* 712) calls it 'neither tight-strung' (*suntonos*, 'high-pitched') 'nor relaxed' (*aneimenos*, 'low-pitched'), but *mesê*, 'middle of the field' (trans. and parenthetical comments: Campbell). This suggests that a *harmonia* could be played at different pitches, with correspondingly different affects, despite the single *êthos* correlations which Plato's Glaukon attributes to the Dorian and Phrygian *harmoniai*.

Most scholars suppose that the different *harmoniai* were performed in different musical styles, reflecting their different cultural origins or associations.²¹ Each *harmonia* was named for a particular people: Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian, and so forth, and these ethnic adjectives sometimes modify the word *tropos*, 'manner' or 'style' (Anderson, *Ethos* 25, 41), as in Pindar *Ol.* 14.17 'the Lydian *tropos*', or else are used adverbially. Early on, each *harmonia* is thought to have been a distinct phenomenon, played in the typical melodic patterns of a certain people, and bearing no necessary resemblance

¹⁹ See C. Tartaglini, 'Êthos hekousion e paideia musicale nella Repubblica di Platone', *SemRom* 4 (2001) 289–311; id., 'Êthos del lamento e ethos simposiale nella paideia musicale dei guardiani nella Repubblica di Platone', in *RYSMOS Studi . . . L.E. Rossi* (Rome, 2003) 319–45; and A. Gostoli, 'L'armonia frigiana nei progetti politico-pedagogici di Platone e Aristotele', in Gentili and Perusino, *Mousike* 133–44.

²⁰ See Anderson, *Ethos* 34–5.

²¹ Anderson, *Ethos* 11–14, 25–7, 46–7; Winnington-Ingram, 'Music' 708; Comotti, *Music* 24–7; Barker, *GMW* i 163–4; cf. Landels, *Music* 102–3.

to other *harmoniai*. Eventually, by a process which must have entailed striking alterations (and which Lasos may have started), the dimensions of the intervals were regularized by the imposition of standard units, and musicians found creative freedom by modulation and ornament (Anderson, *Ethos* 27; Barker, 'Heterophonia').

Did Damon associate particular *harmoniai* with particular *êthê*—the Dorian with manly conduct, and so forth? Plato wants to do this, and as we have seen, general correlations of this sort are certainly made later, after the *harmoniai* were no longer used or understood. However, it is worth looking closely at Plato's words. Sokrates asks Glaukon which are the dirge-like *harmoniai* and Glaukon says, 'the Mixolydian and the tense Lydian *and similar such*'. Sokrates then asks which of the *harmoniai* were soft and sympotic. Glaukon says '*certain* Ionian and Lydian *harmoniai*'. Plato retains for his polis only the Dorian and Phrygian, as promoting either 'enforced activity' in war or voluntary peaceful activity. However, he implies that not all Ionian and Lydian *harmoniai* were soft and sympotic.²² Furthermore, are we to suppose that the only songs ever written in Mixolydian, tense Lydian 'and similar such' were dirges? In *Pol.* 1290a19–23 Aristotle states that the 'relaxed and soft' (*aneimenai, malakai*) Lydian *harmoniai* were suitable for democracies, while the 'tenser' (*suntonoterai*) Lydian *harmoniai* were oligarchic. West (*Music* 179) writes that the Dorian *harmonia* was 'used for processions, paeans, songs of love, and in tragedy, especially for laments', and hence was 'clearly compatible with more than one mood'. Citing Plato (*Rep.* 399c) and Aristotle (*Pol.* 1342b12; cf. 1340b4), he adds that 'generally [the Dorian *harmonia*] was perceived as dignified and manly'. West's pre-Platonic sources for this conclusion are Pratinas (*PMG* 708), who contrasts Dorian dance-song [*choreia*] with wilder *aulos* music, and Pindar, who calls 'the Dorian melody [*melos*] most serious [*semnotaton*]' (fr. 67). As West admits, these passages may refer to other qualities of Dorian music rather than its *harmonia*. If Glaukon says that certain Ionian *harmoniai* were soft and sympotic, Ionian poetry included epic, elegiac, and iambic, all genres typified by different *êthê*. Finally, it cannot be that the Phrygian *harmonia* was always or necessarily played in a 'voluntary, peaceful' *tropos*. Both

²² Barker, *GMW* i 167: 'Plato's language . . . strongly suggests the existence of a network of rather similar *harmoniai* . . . whose interrelations and differences may have been only rather imprecisely conceived.'

Aristotle (*Pol.* 1342a31–b11, cf. 1340b4–5 and more generally a40–b8) and Aristoxenos (ap. [Plut.] *De mus.* 1136f = fr. 82 Wehrli) take Plato to task for that supposition. Aristotle states that the Phrygian *harmonia* was appropriate for ecstatic inspiration, while Aristoxenos calls Plato ‘ignorant of the fact that [the relaxed Lydian and the Mixolydian *harmoniai*] can also be of use in a well-ordered state’. As West writes (*Music* 180), the Phrygian *harmonia* encompassed ‘a range of moods, from cheerful bonhomie or pity to wild excitement or religious frenzy’.

It is furthermore striking that Plato’s Sokrates has no idea about the *êthos* correlations of the different *harmoniai*. Later writers describe these correlations, but often disagree. For the Platonist Herakleides, the Hypodorian was ‘haughty, pompous, and somewhat conceited’ (Athen. 624e = fr. 163 Wehrli). The Aristotelian *Proble-mata* calls it ‘majestic and steady’ (19.48). Herakleides regarded the Hypophrygian as ‘hard and austere’ (Athen. 625b = fr. 163 Wehrli), while Lucian (*Harmonides* 1.10–12) called it ‘elegant’ (*glaphuron*). No writer links such correlations with Damon. At 623e–625a, Athenaios discusses at length the correlations of *harmoniai* and *êthê*, but does not mention Damon. In discussing Damon’s views of the *harmoniai* (*In Rempubl.* I 61.20–62 = B 3), Proklos reports a long-standing debate over the character assigned to the Phrygian and Dorian *harmoniai* in *Pl. Rep.* 399. He gives his opinion on the basis of *Pl. Lch.* 188d and *Min.* 318. He too does not mention Damon regarding this debate.

These statements suggest that *êthê* were not inherent or patent in the various *harmoniai*, and that Damon’s views, if any, on such correlations were unknown. Each *harmonia* could be used in different ways, reflecting different *êthê*. Depending on the character of the song, its *harmonia* would be played differently. Did Damon associate each *harmonia* with an *êthos*, as Plato’s Glaukon did? Plato does not attribute his interpretation of the *harmoniai* to Damon, and there is no reason to think that Damon was thus reductive. Although we cannot know the source of Glaukon’s associations, Damon was a professional music theorist as Plato was not.

How did Damon approach the *êthos* of music? If he could not have categorized the *êthos* of individual *harmoniai* because that varied from song to song, what remains are the other, more variable qualities of music, sometimes called the *poikilia*, which might include many different things such as pitch and tempo (*agôgê*), an interest in which *Republic* 400 expressly attributes to Damon. *Poikilia*, ‘variety’, made

music an immensely flexible tool for generating mood and emotion. When the Dorian *harmonia* was played differently between one song and another, did Damon study those differences? Plato in fact confirms this interpretation of Damon's work. In the only passage where he mentions Damon's approach to music, *Rep.* 424c (B 5), we recall that Sokrates states, 'styles (*tropoi*) of music are never changed without changing the most fundamental rules (*nomoi*) of the city, as Damon says and I believe.' *Tropoi* are not *harmoniai*, but 'styles', broader aspects of music that Sokrates rightly does not seek to define more precisely. Damon necessarily explored more widely than the formalisms of basic *harmoniai*, because *harmoniai* did not determine the *êthos* of Greek songs.²³ For a modern illustration, Led Zeppelin's 'Stairway to Heaven' is widely considered a rock masterpiece: dark, brooding, and explosive (Plato would have hated it). A pop version by an Australian Beatles imitation group, the Beatnix, available on the internet at the time of writing, makes this song sound like 'I Want to

²³ A first version of these arguments on *êthos* and *harmonia* was presented at Stefan Hagel's Symposium 'Ancient Greek music in performance', Vienna, Sept. 2003, and published in the Symposium proceedings (Wallace, 2005). Later versions were delivered (as 'Damon and fifth-century affect theories in ancient Greece') at the conference 'The interface between philosophy and rhetoric in classical Athens', Rethymno, Crete, in October 2004; (as 'Damone e il mistero delle armoniai') at the Università statale di Milano (2/04) and the Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa (5/09); and (as 'Ethics and *harmoniai*') at the conference 'Art and morality in ancient philosophy', Leuven and Louvain-la-Neuve (4/10). In 2007 Barker briefly stated that he does not believe 'Plato's account of the ethical affinities of the various *harmoniai* in the *Republic* are derived from the work of Damon' (*Harmonics* 72) and that 'the arguments [Sokrates] puts forward against some [*harmoniai*] and in favour of others do not depend at all on representations of the different structures which distinguish them' (ibid. 310). In *Kitharôidia* (2010) 141 n. 340, Tim Power writes:

To appreciate the relationship between mode and movement, it is important that we should understand *harmonia* not merely syntactically, as a systematized collection of intervallic relationships—*harmonia* is hypothetically a discrete tuning of the seven-stringed lyre—but also processually, with each differentiated mode involving its own 'fuzzy' parameters outside of pure harmonic syntax, such as pulse, tempo, tessitura, timbre, mood, performative dispositions, those affective, non-structural stylistic elements that add up to what a jazz musician might call a 'vibe' or a 'feel', and what Greek writers on music call an *êthos*.

In 'Aristoxenus and the Early Academy' (in Huffman's 2012 vol.: pp. 300–1), Barker elaborates the point that 'it is obvious that the *harmonia* in which a melody is set can be no guarantee of its *êthos*, as Plato apparently imagined, at least when he wrote *Republic* 3', arguing that Aristoxenus insists on this point. In 'Did Aristoxenus Write Musical History?' (same vol.), Barker returns to these themes (e.g. pp. 22–4), also arguing that Aristoxenus did not really say that Plato was ignorant of the *harmoniai* (e.g. pp. 16–17). I confess I am not yet persuaded.

Hold Your Hand'. Played in the style of bubblegum pop, the notes are the same but its *êthos* differs entirely.

Similar conclusions for Damon on metre help support these interpretations. Although Plato does not mention Damon in connection with the *harmoniai*, immediately afterwards in *Rep.* 400 he mentions Damon's work on rhythm and metre. This passage proves to be more helpful for musicologists than it might at first seem. For although the melody and dance of Greek poetry are lost, we do possess its metres, and as scholars of Greek music and metre agree, notwithstanding experiments in *poikilia* as early as Lasos (ch. 1a), the metre of a song was closely tied to its rhythm, its 'up and down', *arsis* and *thesis*. Martin West writes,

We can claim knowledge of the rhythms of ancient music because there is good reason to believe that they are reflected with reasonable fidelity in the metre. . . . As A. M. Dale put it, 'every Greek poet was his own composer, and no poet would write words in elaborate metrical schemes merely to annihilate and overlay these by a different musical rhythm'.²⁴

Furthermore, poetry's rhythmic metres were applied to texts that have meaning and sometimes therefore an *êthos*, whether angry or joyful, impassioned or sad, etc. These correlations permit us to examine the relation between musical rhythms and the content *êthos* of a sung text.

Returning to *Republic* 400, in a discussion of which rhythms imitate which sorts of life, Sokrates wants to know 'which steps are appropriate to disgraceful behaviour and *hubris* or madness and other evils, and what rhythms we must leave for their opposites. I think I have heard him obscurely naming some in-armour (a composite), and a finger.' In the Preface I discussed this passage's humorous qualities, as Sokrates pretends not to understand Damon's theories. For Adam in his *Republic* commentary (I 163), the passage strikes a mood of 'airy nonchalance'. Yet there is one good reason why Sokrates and this time Glaukon, too, might claim ignorance of the best rhythms for Kallipolis.

Among the many important issues raised by this passage, we first must ask, what rhythm or metre was suited to disgraceful behaviour or madness or *hubris*? As with the *harmoniai*, later writers make

²⁴ West, *Music* 130; see earlier West, *Metre* 21; A. H. M. Dale, *Collected Papers* (Cambridge, 1969) 161. On early *poikilia*, see Barker, 'Heterophonia'.

certain correlations between different metres and emotional qualities. Aristotle (*Poet.* 1459b) calls the 'heroic' (i.e. the hexameter) 'the most sedate and stately of the metres'. Dionysios of Halikarnassos (*De comp.* 17–18) offers a lengthy discussion of the different affective and moral qualities of many metres: the dactyl is dignified and solemn, the anapaest is energetic and animated, the Ionic is gentle and loose, and so forth. Aristides Quintilianus (2.15) discusses which metres are peaceful, which restless, which elegant or graceful or agitated or passionate. The *epibatos* he calls 'most agitated... It disturbs the soul with its double thesis, and lifts the mind upwards with its long arsis.'

At the same time, a moment's glance into any modern treatment of Greek metre shows how imperfectly any metre correlated with *êthos*. In practice, some metres—most famously, the dactylic hexameter—had certain associations, for the hexameter with epic and what epic implies. However, every metre was used in a wide variety of poems and in many different contexts. West (*Metre* 152) notes that in the late classical and Hellenistic periods, the hexameter was 'the usual medium of narrative, didactic, and oracular verse, and hymns, bucolic poetry, satire (Crates, Timon), laments, and other things'. If the dactylic hexameter had a particular *êthos*, how could the *êthos* of a lament compare with that of heroic poetry? Furthermore, within each hexameter poem many different kinds of emotions were sung in the same metre and to the same rhythm and instruments, from Achilles' rage against Agamemnon to Hektor's poignant conversation with his wife Andromache. The iambic trimeter was used of earnest political poetry but also scurrilous iambic verse. It was the dialogue metre of speakers in Attic tragedy, in all kinds of contexts (West, *Metre* 39–40). When Ajax appears raving on stage in the opening scene of Sophokles' tragedy, he speaks in the same iambic trimeters as the arrogant goddess Athena and the cautious, prudent Odysseus, within the same scene. What then was the *êthos* of the iambic trimeter?

It is therefore not surprising how rarely modern students of Greek metre mention any correlations of metres or rhythms with specific emotions or behaviour. In the very few entries under 'ethos' in the index to *Greek Metre*, West notes that Cretics were 'most energetic' (55), that from Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* onward trochaic tetrameters are 'associated with scenes of heightened tension' (78), that in dochmiacs the 'tone is always urgent or emotional' (108), and that 'sotadeans' (a metre cultivated especially by Sotades in the 280s and 270s)

are associated with low-class entertainment especially of a salacious sort, although they were also 'used for moralizing and other serious verse' (144).²⁵

Similarly in her book on lyric metres Dale writes very rarely of *êthos*, observing only that dochmiacs and iambo-dochmiacs (which are 'exceedingly common in tragedy') 'to a much greater extent than any other metrical type appear[s] to have a definite emotional connotation. All three tragedians use [these metres] freely to express strong feeling, grief, fear, despair, horror, excitement, occasionally triumph and joy.'²⁶ What are these metres' *êthos*? As Dale notes, some of tragedy's most impassioned speeches mix dochmiacs with trimeters, normally a calmer spoken metre.

Only George Thomson dared to correlate a series of literary texts with metrical *êthos*, in his 1929 book on Greek lyric metres. His conclusions were immediately and then continuously condemned as hypothetical and arbitrary.²⁷ West, Dale, and Gentili-Lomiento nowhere cite this book.²⁸

Composed in the polymetric style of the late fifth and early fourth centuries just after Damon's era, Timotheos' *Persians* illustrates the seemingly random correlations of metre and content. On West's analysis (*Metre* 138–9), the poem begins with one or more hexameters; through line 126 iambs predominate with occasional choriambs and some 'trochaic segmentation'; cretic sequences occur at lines 44–5 and 116–20, dochmiacs at lines 66–9, dactylic cola at 82 and 139, anapaests at 88–9, and aeolics at 90–3. In these 126 lines

²⁵ West's source for Cretics as 'most energetic' is the fourth-century historian Ephoros (*FGrHist* 70 fr. 149 s. 16 = Strab. 10.4.16). This text calls Cretics *suntonôtatoi*, 'most high-pitched', and especially useful for military training, perhaps because of their penetrating sound.

²⁶ A. H. M. Dale, *The Lyric Metres of Greek Drama*² (Cambridge, 1968) 110.

²⁷ G. Thomson, *Greek Lyric Metre* (Cambridge [Heffer], 1929). Koster, *Traité* 15 called Thomson's work 'hypothétique et subjectif'. Jean Irigoin, *REA* (1962) 163, mentioned its 'vues très personnelles... sur l'éthos des rythmes'.

²⁸ More subtly, William Scott, *Musical Design in Aeschylean Theater and Musical Design in Sophoclean Theater* (Hanover, NH, 1984 and 1996), analyzes metric patterns in Aeschylus and Sophokles, extracting meaning from echoes of metrical patterns and other metrical phenomena (e.g. a consistent metre indicates a speaker's certainty, mixed metres the opposite). Although Scott's books have mostly been ignored, in a review of the *Sophocles* D. H. Roberts (*AJP* 119 [1998] 123–5) calls his conclusions ad hoc, contradictory, or simply unconvincing. Does a simple metre always indicate naivety? 'It's not as if one could establish a set of rules or procedures for determining the effect of a particular meter or metrical pattern.'

(and the rest of the poem) I can detect no basis in the contents for Timotheos' different metres. His was a tour de force of metrical variation, *poikilia*. Many other poets also mixed metres. For example, lines 966–77 of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* mix trochaic, dactylic, and dochmiac; Pindar's sixth *Pythian* mixes Paeonic and Aeolian; Aristophanes' comic choruses also mix. Why and to what effect? Modern commentators including K. J. Dover on Aristophanes offer no explanation, and in both comic and tragic choruses the same metrical patterns characterize stanzas of contrasting emotional qualities. Barring Edith Hall's exploration of metrical variation as many-voiced and hence democratic, sympotic, and imperialist ('The politics of metrical variety'), it appears that within traditional parameters, no one understands why poets chose particular metres.

Rather than linking metres with *êthos*, scholars sometimes associate *êthos* with metrical variation within metres. West remarks that in conjunction, 'long syllables were felt to produce an effect of grandeur in themselves' (*Metre* 55 n. 66, citing Dionysios and later writers). Dale mentions that uncommon metrical resolutions are associated with stress (*Lyric Metres* 63). To be sure, these emotional effects (tension, grandeur) are more general than Plato's 'madness', 'violent outrage', and 'ungentlemanly behaviour'.

In *Republic* 400, Sokrates wants to know what metrical rhythms are appropriate to madness, *hubris*, and ungentlemanly behaviour. With possibly certain exceptions (such as the dactylic hexameter), is the answer that no particular metre is, or that many metres might be? Sokrates and Glaukon are just as puzzled as modern scholars. Glaukon says he has no idea about the *êthos* correlations of metres, and Sokrates does not say that Damon knew: his following remarks indicate only that Damon was a metrical expert. Plato here exploits the dramatic potential of a dialogue to postpone a problem. He wants to control the metres of Kallipolis—as he does everything else—but he did not know how, and so leaves the question open. The absence of established *êthos* correlations for metre explains Glaukon's and Sokrates' tone of puzzlement, and Plato's failure to draw any conclusions on metre.

Some may wish to infer that, even though Sokrates does not say that Damon studied the *êthos* correlations of metres, that conclusion is implied by Sokrates' suggestion that they discuss this topic with him. Like Plato's Glaukon on the *harmoniai*, did Damon posit some more or less artificial or reductive evaluations of different metres? These evaluations will have been arbitrary or reductive, because in

practice, we have seen, metres in themselves did not have much in the way of *êthos* correlations. Or did he study what modern scholars also detect, that certain metrical practices (such as runs of long syllables) or metrical variations, *poikilia*, have *êthos* consequences? If so, his work on metre paralleled his work on the *êthos* effects of musical *tropoi*.

(C) TECHNAI OF METRE AND MUSIC

In *Republic* 400, as we have seen, Plato's Sokrates mentions Damon's metrical interests:

I think I have heard him obscurely naming an in-armour [*enoplion*] (a composite), and a finger [*daktulos*] and a heroic which he somehow arranged and made equal up and down, passing into a short and a long, and, I think, he named something an iamb and something else a trochee, and he added longs and shorts. And in some of these he criticized or praised the tempo of the foot no less than the rhythms, or else some combination of the two.

These lines provide our principal evidence for Damon's technical work on metre. Some of their information may be confirmed by Aristophanes *Clouds* 648–51, where Strepsiades asks 'How will *rhythmoi* help me in terms of barley?' and Sokrates replies, 'First, they'll teach you to behave properly in company, if you know which rhythm is according to the in-armour and which according to the finger.' Here Sokrates may echo Damon's teaching (see D 1 comm. and the Preface).

Beyond a number of technical matters discussed in B 1 comm., *Republic* 400 indicates that Damon's work on metre consisted of dissecting, classifying, and naming.

First, Damon distinguished metres by dissecting their internal structures. As West ('Music' 216), Gentili and Lomiento (*Metrica* 31, 34, 46, 53), and others have noted, *Rep.* 400 is our earliest evidence for the division of metrical feet into segments, the 'up and down' (*arsis* and *basis* or *thesis*), originally from the movement of the performers' feet (whence the metrical term 'foot').²⁹ As Wilamowitz observed, henceforth the metrical foot is always divided into two parts. Gentili contends that Damon first identified the fundamental

²⁹ West, 'Music' 216. See also Privitera, *Laso* 40–2.

characteristics of lyric poetry as based on equal (2:2), double (1:2 or 2:1), or composite feet, based on the conventional 2:1 ratio of long and short syllables whose alternation constitutes the basis of metre (Gentili and Lomiento, *Metrica* 4, 197 and elsewhere). Damon's work on metre established the fundamental parameters of that subject for Greco-Roman antiquity.

Division was also characteristic of other contemporary research. Hippodamos 'invented the division of cities into blocks and cut up Peiraieus' (Arist. *Pol.* 1267b). His theoretical political constitution (which Aristotle describes) divided the land into three zones (sacred, public, and private), divided the population into three groups, and distinguished three types of laws, against violent outrage (*hubris*), damage, or homicide. Boundary markers in the Peiraieus show formal divisions of land at least partly overlapping with the categories that Aristotle mentions.³⁰ Hippodamos may have worked in the Peiraieus c.450, and was another polymath. Aristotle ridicules him for 'trying to be knowledgeable about all of *phusis*' (*Pol.* 1267b).

Secondly, Damon classified different metres. Similarly, Protagoras divided *logos* into wish, question, answer, and command, and discussed the three genders of names: masculine, feminine, and inanimate (DK 80 A 1).³¹

Third, Damon named metres. Paul Maas notes (*Metre* 55), 'the name *trochaïos*, whose origin is obscure, occurs first in Damon ap. Plato, *Rep.* 400 B'. Naming and thus distinguishing things was also characteristic of Damon's contemporaries. In *Prt.* 337a–c Prodikos distinguishes between impartial and equal, dispute and wrangle, esteem and praise, enjoyment and pleasure. In *Crt.* 384b, Sokrates says he could not afford Prodikos' 'fifty-drachma *epideixis*' ('display') on names, settling for the one-drachma version.³² In Pl. *Lch.* 197d (= A 12), a debate on the definition of courage, Sokrates says that Nikias 'has acquired this wisdom from Damon, our good friend; and Damon constantly

³⁰ See A. Burns, 'Hippodamos and the planned city', *Historia* 25 (1976) 414–28. The correlations are not exact: see H.-J. Gerhke, 'Bemerkungen zu Hippodamos von Milet', in W. Schuller, W. Hoepfner, and E. Schwandner, eds, *Demokratie und Architektur. Der hippodamische Städtebau und die Entstehung der Demokratie* (Munich, 1989) 58–68.

³¹ D. Fehling, 'Zur griechischen Sprachphilosophie', *Rhein. Mus.* 108 (1965) 212–17.

³² See J. de Romilly, 'Les Manies de Prodicos et la rigueur de la langue grecque', *MH* 43 (1986) 1–18; and more generally, A. Graeser, 'On Language, Thought and Reality in Ancient Greek Philosophy', *Dialectica* 31 (1977) 360–88.

associates with Prodikos, who is thought to be the cleverest of the sophists at distinguishing terms like these'. Demokritos wrote *Orthoepia*, 'Correctness of words'. In his 'Archaeology' Thucydides analyses the early names of different Greek peoples (1.3). Plato's *Cratylus* also deals with names.

We can only guess about the nature of Damon's technical work on music, extrapolating from *Rep.* 400 on metre. If these efforts were similar, he thought about notes (both single and multiple) which parallel the *arsis* and *thesis* of metrical feet, and set out the different *harmoniai*. Did he formulate the harmonic labels 'hyper-' and 'hypo-'? These designations are not attested before him and look artificial, but again we only speculate. Others were working on music in Damon's period. He may well have 'invented' certain *harmoniai* such as the 'relaxed Lydian' (so, probably, the fourth-century *harmonikoi* in [Plut.] *De mus.* 1136e = B 6) to fill out the categories he posited. As we saw at the start of chapter 1, in some measure *harmoniai* were artificial constructions, possibly first devised by Lasos. Damon seems to have continued this work.

(D) MUSIC AND MEDICINE

An increasingly well-known component of contemporary behavioural psychology,³³ music's medical applications were also familiar to the ancients, 'so very close is the connection between people's bodies and minds' (Aulus Gellius 4.13).³⁴ The Greeks had long used incantations (*epôidai*) to effect cures, primarily through words of religious magic.³⁵ In *Od.* 19.457–8, the sons of Autolykos 'stayed the black blood' of Odysseus by binding and singing incantations

³³ Compare for example the journal *Music and Medicine*, available online, and the International Association for Music and Medicine. Music is said to reduce stress and pain, and to affect blood pressure, pulse rates, and the electrical activity of muscles. It may also build and strengthen connections among nerve cells in the cerebral cortex—the 'Mozart effect'.

³⁴ M. L. West, 'Music Therapy in Antiquity', in P. Holden, ed., *Music as Medicine. The History of Musical Therapy since Antiquity* (Aldershot, 2000) 51–68 is a survey. Cf. B. Meinecke, 'Music and Medicine in Classical Antiquity', in D. M. Schullian and M. Schoen, eds, *Music and Medicine* (New York, 1948) 47–95.

³⁵ See F. Pelosi, 'Epodê: persuasione, purificazione, cura dell'anima nella riflessione platonica sulla musica', *PdP* 59 (2004) 401–17.

over his wound. In *Pythian* 3.51–4, Pindar writes that men visited Cheiron with different illnesses including wounds and fevers. ‘Some he treated with soft incantations, some with healing potions to drink, or by wrapping *pharmaka* all around their limbs, and others he set right with surgery.’ As we have seen, the late sixth- and early fifth-century poet Pratinas sang that the poet Thaletas cured the Spartans of a plague.

In the more critical intellectual climate after 450, incantations came under attack. ‘It is not a wise physician who sings incantations (*thrênein*) over pains which should be cured by cutting’ (Soph. *Aj.* 581–2; cf. *Tr.* 1000–1). The Hippocratic *On sacred diseases* (2.1–32) denounces ‘witch doctors, faith healers, charlatans, and quacks’, who conceal their ignorance by prescribing *katharmoi* and *epôidai*. At the same time, as medical research progressed, contemporaries attempted more serious therapeutic applications of music, just as the emotional, behavioural, and physical effects of music were now studied more systematically. In *On deadly infections*, according to Gellius (4.13 = DK 68 B 300), Demokritos ‘shows that *aulos* music is medicine for very many illnesses of humans’, claiming that ‘snake bites and many other things are cured by the music of the *aulos* when played skilfully and melodiously’. In the fourth century BC, according to the Roman medical writer Caelius Aurelianus (*De morb. acut. et chron.* 555):

others approved of the use of songs, as the brother of Philistion [doctor of Dionysios II of Syracuse and friend of Plato] also remarks in the twenty-second book on remedies, writing that a certain piper had played his melodies over parts of the body which, quivering and throbbing, were relaxed after the pain had been destroyed.

If Aristotle thought that music was useless for health or vigour (*Pol.* 1338a18–20), Gellius (4.13) reports that in *On inspiration*, his student Theophrastos wrote that ‘many men believed and had written’ that a hip afflicted with sciatica was relieved if *aulos* music with a certain *harmonia* was played over it.³⁶ In Athenaios 726a, the second century BC paradoxographer Apollonios (*Hist. mirab.* 49, in A. Giannini *Paradox. Gr.* [Milan, 1965]) said that Theophrastos believed that music could

³⁶ Fr. 726c Fort., cf. fr. 726b where Athenaios (624a–b) says that Theophrastos himself believed that the Phrygian *harmonia* could cure sciatica; so also briefly Pliny *NH* 28.21; Mart. Cap. IX 926; Eustath. p. 1078, 41–3. These later traditions may have glossed over the distinction that Gellius records, but see below.

cure 'many of the illnesses of the soul and the body, such as fainting, fears, chronic mental disturbances, and *aulos* music cures sciatica and epilepsy'. A contemporary of Aristotle, 'Diokles holds that one has to understand friendly consolation as incantation. For it stops the flowing of blood when the wounded man is attentive and, as it were, connected with the man who speaks to him' (fr. 92 Wellmann). Not surprisingly (see Appendix 3), the later Pythagoreans appropriated music's medical benefits to their founder's glory, just as they appropriated the *êthos* theory. Caelius Aurelianus remarks, 'Some say that Pythagoras invented this kind of help' (loc. cit.). According to Iamblichos, Pythagoras and his students 'healed some afflictions and diseases by singing over them' (*Vit. Pyth.* 114). Finally, in Martianus Capella 9.926 = B 8, dense with examples of music therapy, the *virgo* Music sings how she affected health and emotion, including by 'one of my followers, Damon'.

Did Damon study the medical uses of music as Martianus claims? His collaborator Prodikos was interested in medicine (DK 49 B 4), and Gorgias cites medicine as parallel to speech, one acting on the body, the other on the soul (*Helen* 14).³⁷ For Damon himself, direct evidence is thin but suggestive. As we have seen, the nurse in *Medea* acknowledges the force of music *êthos* theory, and (as Rossi points out: 'Dottrina' 241) she uses 'medical-therapeutic' vocabulary, 'to cure' (*akeisthai*) and 'to banish pains' (*lupas pauein*), although the context (*Medea*'s suffering) suggests that these are largely psychological. Plato the comic poet says that people called Damon Perikles' 'Cheiron', a centaur often associated with medicine, as we saw in Pindar's third *Pythian* (n. 1 above). Barker has argued that Damon may have influenced Theophrastos on music, although Sicking questioned that suggestion.³⁸ The text of [Aeschines Socraticus] (B 17) includes the phrase 'we hear of (*akouomen*) Damon who knows medicine and music', but the passage is corrupt. The word *akouomen* should probably read 'Akoumenon', a physician and father of

³⁷ The claim in Soranus' *Life of Hippokrates* that Hippokrates studied with Gorgias is probably a biographical fiction: J. R. Pinault, *Hippocratic Lives and Legends* (Leiden, 1992) 7, 10 n. 22.

³⁸ A. Barker, 'Theophrastus on Pitch and Melody', in W. W. Fortenbaugh, ed., *Theophrastus of Eresus. On His Life and Work* (New Brunswick, 1985) 289–324; C. M. J. Sicking, 'Theophrastus on the Nature of Music', in J. M. van Ophuijsen and M. van Raalte, eds, *Theophrastus. Reappraising the Sources* (New Brunswick, 1998) 97–142.

Eryximachos, a character in Plato's *Symposium* (see B 17 comm.). In [Aeschines], Damon knew music and Akoumenos medicine.³⁹

(E) EXPERIMENTATION

As we have seen (ch. 1, n. 5), Lasos and other early theorists are said to have experimented with acoustics by means of hammers, discs, jars of water, and lengths of string or pipe. As Lloyd remarks (*Methods* [ch. 1 n. 6: 1964] 57 = [1991] 82), although some of these experiments will not work, the legends themselves recognize the value of experimenting. Experimentation continued through the classical period. Many 'sophists' engaged in applied research, like Sokrates in Aristophanes *Clouds* 144–52, measuring the length of a flea's jump. Plato criticizes some of the *harmonikoi* for 'measuring the *harmoniai* and sounds they hear against one another' and 'looking for numbers in these heard *harmoniai* . . . torturing strings' (*Rep.* 531a).

Did Damon experiment? In particular L. E. Rossi ('Dottrina', see earlier *Metrica* 29–33, and more recently 'Musica' 62) has defended that hypothesis. As he observes, the great division in ancient music theory lay between Pythagorean mathematical abstractions and *aisthêsis*, 'perception', based on *peira*, 'trial, attempt', which was central to Lasos' work and which may imply experimentation. Damon's *êthos* theory depended on the realia of perception. Where might he have conducted music experiments? Rossi argues that he did so in the *symposion*, a possibility which I consider in Appendix 4b. In any case, we shall see in chapter 3 that Perikles and Damon conducted applied research through the music performed for Athens' demos.

(F) INSTRUMENTS

Was Damon associated with an instrument? In Athens from the mid-fifth century, the *aulos* went at least partly out of fashion among the

³⁹ Eryximachos' speech on music in *Symposium* shows that music can affect character and make people better (187c–e). He mentions no curative properties.

upper classes,⁴⁰ and no decent evidence (contrast Galen = B 7; Martianus Capella = B 8) links Damon with that instrument. Earlier sources—circumstantial but consistent—link him with stringed instruments, notably the lyre, which for a period from the mid-fifth century seems to have become the elite instrument (Power, ‘Ion’ 189–94; for the increasingly democratized *kithara*, see also Wilson, ‘Athenian strings’ 281–7; Martin [n. 40]). In Plut. *Per.* 4, possibly based on a fifth-century comedy (A 9 comm.), Damon is said to have ‘hidden’ behind the lyre. In Philodemos (B 11, 12), possibly from a fourth-century dialogue by Herakleides of Pontos (see ch. 4b), Damon says that ‘by singing and playing the lyre a boy ought to learn not only courage and moderation but also justice’. These passages associate Damon with an elite instrument, although how far that link reflects Damon’s elite social status and not his music activity is unknown. In addition, in the late fourth or early third century PHibeh I 13 (D 3) complains about one group of *harmonikoi*, apparently followers of Damon (see ch. 4c): ‘These people have the effrontery to waste [their entire lives] on strings. They play on strings [much worse than real instrumentalists], they sing much worse than real singers.’ In addition to any elite associations, stringed instruments (quintessentially the later fourth-century monochord) permitted much greater accuracy in hitting particular notes (Wilson, ‘Athenian strings’ 288–9; Creese, *Monochord*). The sources linking Damon with stringed instruments may also reflect their greater importance in music research.

As for the *aulos*, Alkibiades, a cousin of Damon’s pupil Kleinias, famously rejected that instrument (Plut. *Alc.* 2.5–6) which Plato condemned as ‘the most polychordal of all, and things panharmonic are themselves an imitation of the *aulos*’. He banished it from his ideal state (*Rep.* 399c–d). Rejecting the *aulos* was not however obligatory, as Athenaios (184d–5a) states, quoting much counter-evidence, for example Aristophanes’ *Banqueters* (427 bc: fr. 232 K–A) where the sophisticated son of a farmer exclaims, ‘I’ve been worn out using the *auloi* and the lyres, and you order me to dig?’ Damon was interested in mass music affect, and would not have supported Plato’s anti-populist politics.

⁴⁰ See Wilson, ‘*Aulos*’, ‘Athenian strings’; Wallace, ‘*Aulos*’ 82–92; R. P. Martin, ‘The Pipes Are Brawling: Conceptualizing Musical Performance in Athens’, in C. Dougherty and L. Kurke, eds, *The Cultures within Ancient Greek Culture. Contact, Conflict, Collaboration* (Cambridge, 2003) 153–80; LeVen, ‘New Music and Its Myths’.

Music and politics

(A) DAMON'S OSTRACISM

If musicologists and metricians know Damon chiefly as Plato's inspiration on music and metre, for Aristotle's Lyceum and Plutarch he was no less important for his role in Periklean politics. In *Life of Pericles* 4, probably deriving from a fifth-century comedy (A 9 and comm.), Plutarch says that Damon associated with Perikles 'like a "rubber" or trainer for an athlete of politics'. *Ath. Pol.* 27 (A 8) credits him with the idea of 'giving the people their own' by providing pay for the public courts. He was 'thought to be the proposer of most of Perikles' measures, and for that reason they later ostracized him'. Although comic fragments call for particular caution, the line from Plato comicus—Damon was 'the Cheiron, they say, who raised up Perikles' (Plut. *Per.* 4 = A 9)—suggests that their association was commonly thought to have begun when Perikles was young. Isokrates also notes that Damon was Perikles' teacher (A 7). A fourth-century text, ?Pl. i *Alc.* (A 4) reports that even in old age Perikles continued to receive wisdom instruction from Damon.

On a social level too, virtually all our information links Damon with Perikles. He married Agariste, whose later marriage to Alkmeonides confirms that she was a blue-blooded Alkmaionid like Perikles' mother (Andok. 1.16 = A 20). That is, Damon came to be related to Perikles by marriage. Damon's student Kleinias (A 19) was the son of Axiochos, brother or nephew of Perikles' companion Aspasia. Damon was also friendly with Alkibiades, Perikles' ward (A 20).

Born in the early years of Athens' new democracy,¹ Damon's politics were Periklean and democratic. Many scholars have rejected

¹ On the atmosphere after 508/7 see Hdt. 5.72–78 and my 'Revolutions and a New Order in Solonian Athens and Archaic Greece', in K. A. Raaflaub et al., eds, *Origins of Democracy in Ancient Greece* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2007) 76–80.

Ath. Pol.'s statement that Damon suggested most of Perikles' measures as slander implying that Perikles' ideas were not his own.² Similarly, and probably from hostile sources, Herodotos reports that Mnesiphilos suggested to Themistokles the Greek strategy at Salamis (8.57–8). Plutarch excoriates Herodotos for slandering Athens' great general which in part he does, although Herodotos has also transfigured Mnesiphilos into a 'wise warner'.³ The larger story behind *Ath. Pol.* 27 also proves complex, as we shall see. Representing dikastic pay as a bribe to the masses is certainly anti-Periklean and anti-Damonian. Yet even the allegation that dikastic pay was Damon's idea confirms that he worked with Perikles and supported the democracy. As Wilamowitz observed ('*ΔΑΜΩΝ*' 319), democratic leaders realized that democratic institutions could not function if citizens were not compensated for time away from work. The small sum—2 obols, the cost of a day's food—facilitated the people's administration of justice, after the Athenians reduced the archon's jurisdiction to a preliminary inquiry and the popular court (*Eliaia*), divided into *dikastêria*, became courts of first instance and required thousands more judges.⁴ I and others also like Wilamowitz's suggestion that *Ath. Pol.*'s 'give the people their own' was Damon's phrase (see A 8). This slogan joins other evidence including the term *dēmokratia* for the emergence of democratic ideology in the 460s.⁵ According to Libanios (A 25 and see below), either Anytos (in 399) or Polykrates (in 393–392) said that although Damon was ostracized, he was not accused of trying to destroy the democracy.

Disregarding his close ties with Perikles, many have thought that Damon's politics were conservative or even anti-democratic. As we

² See Ed. Meyer, *Gsch. Alt.* 3 (Stuttgart, 1901) 567; G. Busolt, *Gr. Gsch.* (Gotha, 1897) 3.248 and n. 1 (on 249); C. Hignett, *A History of the Athenian Constitution* (Oxford, 1952) 342–3; Dover, 'Freedom' 140; Meister, 'Damon' 34–5; Rhodes, *Comm.* 342; Ameling, 'Komödie' 395–6.

³ *De Hdt. mal.* 869d–f. See J. Moles, 'Herodotus and Athens', in E. Bakker et al., eds, *Brill's Companion to Herodotus* (Leiden, 2002) 45–8.

⁴ Arist. *Pol.* 1320a17–19: 'The final forms of democracy tend to have large populations and it is difficult to take part in the assembly without pay.'

⁵ See Pind. 2 *Pyth.* 86–8 (468?) for three types of constitution: tyranny, 'the wise', and 'the turbulent host'; the public *epitaphios* (funeral oration) for all of Athens' war dead, introduced c.464; Aesch. *Suppl.* of 463 (e.g. 'the ruling hand of the people', *dēmou kratousa cheir*, line 604); Ephialtes' Areopagos reforms of 462/1; Rhodes, 'Oligarchs' 124–5; and K. A. Raafaub, 'The Breakthrough of *Dēmokratia* in Mid-Fifth-Century Athens' in Raafaub et al. (n. 1) 112–13.

shall see in chapter 4, their evidence proves evanescent. Damon did not write a speech to the Areopagos inspiring Isokrates' conservative, wrongly titled *Areopagitikos*. Philodemos' supposed claim that Damon reserved music education for an elite is based on a misreading of the papyrus. Instead, Philodemos seems to cite a late fourth-century philosophical dialogue in which Damon recommended that the Areopagites learn music. When Sokrates warns against musical innovation in Plato *Republic* 424c, it has proved too easy to attribute this sentiment to Damon.⁶ As Anderson points out ('Damon' 94; see also *Ethos* 77), Plato's statement that Damon thought changing music changed society 'does not necessarily constitute, either explicitly or implicitly, any indictment of such musical change'. According to [Plutarch] *De musica* 1136e (B 6), probably based on fourth-century Damonian *harmonikoi*, Damon invented the 'relaxed Lydian' *harmonia*, which the reactionary Plato banned from his ideal city as 'soft and sympotic' (*Rep.* 398e). Aristotle called such *harmoniai* characteristic of democracies (*Pol.* 1290a 19–29). These statements may indicate that the source of *De musica* 1136e, fourth century or later, thought Damon democratic. In sum, Damon was a progressive, consciously ideological democrat like Perikles.

Reports of Damon's ostracism, which *Ath. Pol.* links to Damon's work for Perikles, raise an even more intriguing controversy. Although K. J. Beloch, Anthony Raubitschek, Kurt Meister, John Davies, Peter Rhodes, Peter Siewert, and others have accepted this event as historical, a century ago Jérôme Carcopino and more recently Kurt Raaflaub have thought it sufficiently strange that a music theorist should be ostracized—after the Persian Wars, a procedure otherwise used only against leading politicians—that they believe it a fiction.⁷ The impressive number of attestations of Damon's ostracism makes theirs a difficult position. Written in the 320s in Aristotle's school,

⁶ Thus Morrison, 'Origins' 204; Rispoli, 'Filodemo' 59–60; Raaflaub, 'Ostracism' 325; Csapo, 'New Music' 236 (and see his general conclusions, 247). Cornford translates: 'The introduction of novel fashions in music is a thing to beware of. . . . So Damon declares, and I believe him.' See B 2 comm.

⁷ Carcopino relentlessly challenged the tradition: 'Ostracisé?' 415–29; 'Histoire' 178–85; *L'ostracisme* 125–42; see also Raaflaub, 'Ostracism'. Beloch remarked (*Gr. Gsch.*² 2.1 313 n. 1), 'The doubts expressed by Carcopino seem to me without foundation'; and so De Sanctis, *Atthis* 603–4 n. 143 (contrast Podlecki, *Perikles* 183 n. 26: 'I find [Carcopino's arguments] quite persuasive'). The iconoclast H. Mattingly ('Facts' 287; 'Ostracism' 22) summarily rejected Damon's and other obscure ostracisms because of their 'dubious literary sources'.

Ath. Pol. 27 attests it. (H.-J. Gehrke once said to me that if Aristotle did not write this text, he read it.) Plutarch mentions the ostracism in three different *Lives* (*Per.* 4; *Arist.* 1; *Nic.* 6). Above all, Libanios' *Defense of Sokrates* (1.157 = A 25), a response to Polykrates' attack on Sokrates in 393 or 392, addresses Polykrates' comments on Damon and Anytos' comments in his 399 prosecution of Sokrates:

As for Damon, if he did wrong, he was rightly thrown out (*ekballein*). But if he was falsely accused (*sukophantein*), it was no better that he should have suffered for it than that on his account Sokrates suffered also. And yet he [Anytos or Polykrates] says that Damon was driven out (*exelaunein*) on less serious charges, and was not charged by his enemies with destroying the democracy, as is the defendant today. This is proof that Damon had enemies more moderate than Sokrates.

Ekballein, 'throwing Damon out', can only refer to his ostracism. As Raaflaub himself notes ('Ostracism' 319–21), *ekballein* is used of an ostracism in [Andokides] 4.5, possibly in the early fourth century. Moreover, Plutarch (*Per.* 14) describes the ostracism of Thoukydides son of Melesias (immediately before Damon's) using just this term: 'when Perikles stood in contest against Thoukydides and took the risk, he threw him out' (*exebale*).⁸ Raubitschek ('Damon' 78) brilliantly deduced from Libanios ('Sokrates suffered on account of' Damon's being thrown out) that Anytos had cited Damon's ostracism as an *exemplum* in his prosecution of Sokrates.⁹ Anytos' mention of Damon's ostracism in a public trial in 399 must be considered compelling evidence for its historicity. The same applies to Polykrates who mentioned it in 393 or 392, as Mesk and others observed.¹⁰ Even Plato may allude to Damon's ostracism. The common source of *Pl. Prt.* 316d–17a and *Plut. Per.* 4 almost certainly implied that Damon was attacked; in *Protagoras* Plato plays off that event (see

⁸ Libanios mentions Damon in the context of the demos' harassment of Anaxagoras, Protagoras, and Diagoras (s. 153). Dover ('Freedom'), I ('Private lives'), and Raaflaub agree that at least the first two of these cases are unhistorical. In contrast to Damon, however, Libanios does not say that Polykrates or Anytos had mentioned these cases (as N. Loidol in Siewert, *Ostrakismos* 336 admits). He adds them from his own knowledge.

⁹ And so Loidol (ibid. 335). [Andok.] 4.32–4 also cites the parallels of various ostracisms.

¹⁰ J. Mesk, 'Die Anklagerede des Polykrates gegen Sokrates', *WSt* 32 (1910) 76; Wilamowitz, *Platon* II (Berlin, 1919) 100–1 n. 3; *Verskunst* 59–60 with n. 2; and Meister, 'Damon' 43.

A 9 comm.). The comment in ?Pl. i *Alc.* that in 432 or 431 (the dramatic date of the dialogue) Perikles ‘now’ studies with Damon, may point to the hiatus in their relations after Damon’s ostracism c.442 (see below; A 4 comm.; and Appendix 2).

Finally, Damon’s ostracism is supported by the discovery so far of four ostraka with Damon’s name, two of them possibly written by the same hand (A 22). To be sure, as Carcopino noted, one swallow—now four swallows—do not make a spring. On the other hand, only 67 ostraka survive from the ostracism of Thoukydides, and only three from the ostracism of Hyperbolos.¹¹ Attic soil still conceals the remainder of these men’s ostraka.

Our sources also yield a date for the ostracism, most likely c.442 as I have mentioned (and see Appendix 2). A number of Platonic dialogues set in years from 432 or 431 place Damon in Athens (i *Alc.* 118c [432 or 431, when Damon ‘now’ teaches Perikles]; *Lch.* 197d [424–418]; *Rep.* 399e–400b [421 or later]). By contrast, he is not mentioned in any account of Perikles’ troubles preceding the outbreak of war c.435–431 (Ar. *Ach.* 515–30; *Peace* 605–15; Diod. Sic. 12.38–40; Plut. *Per.* 29–32). As *termini post*, *Ath. Pol.* 27 says that Damon recommended dikastic pay, dated in the later 460s or early 450s (Appendix 2 [14]), and one of Damon’s ostraka (A 22) comes from a pot dated c.450. We cannot be certain that this ostrakon was cast at the successful ostracism. However, no one will have cast an ostrakon against Damon once he was in exile. We shall see other reasons why Damon’s ostracism might well have followed Thoukydides’ c.443.

Yet even if Damon’s ostracism is remarkably well documented, especially for an event in the 440s, Carcopino and Raaflaub raise an important question. Damon was not a leading politician but the adviser to one and a music theorist. How could he have attracted some thousands of hostile votes from the demos? To be sure, if ostracizing a music theorist seems improbable, its very improbability gives it credence. Who would have invented this story? And why ‘rectify’ the sources to eliminate the unexpected? Yet if history is sometimes unpredictable, our sources supply three explanations for Damon’s ostracism, all reflecting contemporary concerns and linked to his work with Perikles.

¹¹ Mattingly, ‘Ostracism’ 12–16; Rhodes, ‘Hyperbolos’ 85.

First, in *Life of Pericles* 4 as we have seen, Plutarch says that Damon was a clever sophist working with Perikles, but was caught out and 'ostracized as a schemer of great designs [*megaloportunon*: A 9 comm.] and lover of tyranny [*philotyranos*], and became a target for the comic poets'. Plutarch then quotes Plato comicus that Damon was Perikles' Cheiron. *Philotyranos* and *megaloportunon* are political accusations. The charge that Damon was *philotyranos* echoes the comic playwrights' accusations that Perikles and his *hetairoi* were 'Peisistratidai', 'sons' of Athens' tyrant Peisistratos (Plut. *Per.* 16.1). Damon was certainly one of Perikles' *hetairoi*. Plutarch says that after Thoukydides' ostracism c.443, the comic poets 'urged Perikles to swear not to become a tyrant, because his preeminence was too oppressive and incommensurate with democracy'. Plutarch quotes three lines of Telekleides, that 'the Athenians had handed over' to Perikles control of the empire. Predecessor of Aristophanes, Kratinos' joke that Perikles 'wore the Odeion on his head' suggests a monarch's crown, shaped like the tent of the Persian King (as we shall see). So, too, in *Cheirones* Kratinos labelled Perikles the 'greatest tyrant', son of 'civic strife [*stasis*]' (fr. 258 K-A), comments fitting the period after his last rival Thoukydides was driven out. In fr. 259 Aspasia is called Perikles' 'tyrant' (see nn. ad loc.). The 'Cheirones' are the music teachers of heroes; the fragments often comment about music (fr. 247, 248, 254, 263: compare Plato calling Damon Perikles' Cheiron); fr. 250 and 258 refer to Perikles' strangely shaped head, said to resemble the Odeion; fr. 248 might even allude to the *ethos* theory ('music brings unceasing joys to temperate men').

These satirical accusations by Athens' comic poets reflected and influenced the demos' concerns. In *Per.* 7.1, in a non-comic context, Plutarch writes that as a young man Perikles was thought to resemble Peisistratos, 'and when men well on in years remarked also that his voice was sweet and his tongue glib and speedy in speaking, they were struck with amazement at the resemblance'. In 442 Sophokles' *Antigone* criticizes a *strategos* (line 8) who becomes increasingly tyrannical (e.g. lines 506-7, 739, 757). As Bernard Knox and others have noted, Kreon's opening speech, 'I could never make that man a friend who is hostile to our country, knowing this, that our country is our safety. Only when it sails upright can we establish true friendships' (lines 187-90, see also 182-3), echoes Thucydides' Perikles: 'I think that when the whole polis is upright it is a better thing for each individual than when personal interests are satisfied but the polis as a whole

is going downhill' (2.60.2). Knox, Ehrenberg, Meier, and others have suggested that Perikles was a model for Sophokles' Kreon.¹² A *stratêgos* who dominates the democracy and descends into tyranny is what many feared of Perikles in 442. The first known instance of electing two *stratêgoi* from the same tribe, an important modification of the democracy, occurred in 441, when Wade-Gery ('Thucydides' 219–20) dates this reform. An admirer of Perikles but no democrat, Thucydides praises Athens' government as 'in name a democracy, but in fact the rule of the first citizen' (2.65). Working in Athens in the 440s and 430s, Herodotos also seems to designate Perikles a tyrant.¹³

Was ostracism an appropriate weapon against potential tyrants? Our sources attest that preventing tyranny was ostracism's main purpose. According to Androtion (*FGrHist* 324 fr. 6) followed by *Ath. Pol.* 22.3 and Philochoros (*FrGHist* 328 fr. 30), the Athenians instituted ostracism 'on account of the suspicion of those around Peisistratos, because as a demagogue and a *stratêgos* he tyrannized'. Thucydides (who as a teenager will have witnessed Damon's ostracism) shared a similar concept, commenting that, perversely, Hyperbolos was ostracized 'not on account of his power or prestige' (8.73.3). Ostracism's first two victims were Hipparchos, a Peisistratid, and Megakles, a member of the Alkmaionid family suspected of treachery on behalf of Persia and the Peisistratids (*Hdt.* 6.115, 121.1).¹⁴ Stadter (*Pericles* 71) aptly points out that against the charge of being *philotyrannos* 'Damon's marriage to an Alkmaionid would not have helped'. Athenian democrats always feared tyranny.¹⁵ Their conception of ostracism is not negated by its further use for other

¹² B. M. W. Knox, *The Heroic Temper. Studies in Sophoclean Tragedy* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1964) 86; see also *Oedipus at Thebes* (New York, 1971) 64; Ehrenberg, *Sophocles* 95, 98, 145–9; C. Meier, *The Political Art of Greek Tragedy*, trans. A. Webber (Cambridge, 1993) 196–7.

¹³ H. Strasburger, 'Herodot und das perikleische Athen', *Historia* 4 (1955) 17; Moles (n. 3) 41–2.

¹⁴ Lasos' student Pindar wrote a victory ode (*Pyth.* 7) for Megakles in 486, expressing unhappiness at the Athenians presumably for having ostracized him that year (see ch. 1a).

¹⁵ See K. A. Raafaub, 'Stick and Glue: The Function of Tyranny in Fifth-Century Athenian Democracy', in K. A. Morgan, ed., *Popular Tyranny: Sovereignty and its Discontents in Ancient Athens* (Austin, 2003) 59–93. Other essays in Morgan's volume (Henderson, Osborne) are relevant.

political purposes.¹⁶ This weapon was ideally suited against those suspected of tyranny. As Rhodes says, 'There was a need to deal with politicians whose influence was dangerous but who could not be proved guilty of offenses against the laws, as narrowly understood' ('Hyperbolus' 97). The charge that Damon was *philotyrannos* begins to supply a political context for his ostracism.

Second, *Ath. Pol.* 27 (A 8) states that Damon was ostracized 'because he was thought to have been the proposer of most (*τῶν πολλῶν*) of Perikles' measures', probably not in the assembly but behind the scenes (A 8 comm.). An exaggeration, *τῶν πολλῶν* confirms that *Ath. Pol.*'s statement reflects anti-Periklean comment. Yet despite the hatred conservatives felt for public pay and for Perikles (see, e.g. Pl. *Gorg.* 515e), this particular charge probably does not derive from anti-democratic circles, but echoes the demos' objections to the undue influence on political leaders of secret advisers, and to politicians' use of surrogates. Confirming *Ath. Pol.*'s report, Plutarch's comment (probably from a fifth-century comedy) that Damon concealed his work for Perikles behind the screen of music, also indicates popular hostility to such practices. Old Comedy often mocked Perikles as taught by others, because of his many connections with *sophoi* (see ch. 1c). Plato comicus sang that Damon taught Perikles (A 9); Eupolis' *Philoï* called Aspasia Perikles' 'Cheiron', a teaching centaur (fr. 294 K-A); in *Pedētai* (fr. 21 K-A) Kallias wrote that Aspasia taught Perikles rhetoric (Schwarze, *Beurteilung* 57–9, 91–3).

The practice of using surrogates in politics was common. According to Plutarch (*Arist.* 3), Aristides often 'introduced his assembly measures through other men, so that Themistokles might not be driven by the spirit of rivalry to oppose what was advantageous'. Plutarch notes how frequently Perikles used associates: 'He did not choose to speak on every question, but reserved himself like the state galley, the Salamina, as [the second-century Peripatetic] Kritolaus

¹⁶ On one modern view, ostracism helped the demos choose between opposing policies (for the 480s, well stated by M. Ostwald in *CAH* 4² [1988] 334–46, esp. 344–5; contrast S. Forsdyke, *Exile, Ostracism, and Democracy* [Princeton, 2005] 165–77, nb 170; but cf. my review, *Polis* 24 [2007] nb 378; see also, e.g. Jacoby on Androtion *FGrHist* 324 fr. 6.) This will also apply to later ostracisms: whether to oppose Persia and befriend Sparta or attack Sparta and ignore Persia (Kimon vs. Perikles and Ephialtes in 461); whether to use allied money for the building programme (Perikles vs. Thukydides in 443). In each of these cases the demos decided on a policy and then ostracized opposing leaders, to forestall further opposition.

says, for great occasions, and allowed his *philoi* and other *rhêtors* to deal with other matters' (*Per.* 7.7–8, see also 9.5). The demos objected to this practice. Andokides complains that politicians do not dare to 'stand in the middle, fearing refutation', but 'send others who are shameless' (2.4). In *Precepts of statecraft* (*Mor.* 811c–13a) Plutarch includes a lengthy discussion of the phenomenon in fifth-century Athens, quoting from a comedy criticizing another of Perikles' *hetairoi*, Metiochos (*Adesp.* 741 K–A):

Metiochos is general, Metiochos inspects the roads, Metiochos inspects the bread, Metiochos the flour, Metiochos takes care of all things, and Metiochos will come to grief (*oimôxetai*).

Metiochos was architect of Athens' public court—possibly its largest public court, the *Eliaia*¹⁷—in a building called the *Metiocheion*, and was apparently himself a politician ('an architect and a *rhêtôr* of those not giving best advice' [*?tôn ou ta beltista sumbouleuontôn*]: Phot. *Lex.* s.v. *Mêtiochos*). Plutarch comments, 'He was one of Perikles' *hetairoi*, and used the power he got through him, it seems, in such a way as to arouse odium and disgust.'¹⁸ *Ath. Pol.* reports that Damon's political activities for Perikles also provoked the demos' hostility.

According to Plutarch's *Pericles*, a third factor behind Damon's ostracism was the Athenians' suspicion of his 'cleverness', *deinotês*. Similarly, in *Arist.* 1 he says that Damon was ostracized because he was overly 'skilled in thinking' (*to phronein perittos*). In *Nic.* 6 he says that the demos was always suspicious of those who were clever (*tôi phronein diapherontes; deinoi*), and therefore ostracized Damon. To be sure, the intellectual openness and curiosity of Athens' demos are abundantly documented, especially for the second half of the fifth century. Thucydides' Kleon complains to the assembly about their fascination with clever words and new paradoxical arguments (3.38.4–7). 'In a word you are in thrall to the pleasures of listening, and are more like spectators of *sophistai* than those who deliberate about the polis.' According to Diodoros (12.53), when Gorgias arrived in town in 427, 'he dazzled the Athenians, who are by nature

¹⁷ Poll. 8.121; Bekker, *Anecd.* 309.17; Hesych., s.v. *Metiochou*; see D. M. MacDowell, *Aristophanes Wasps* (Oxford, 1971) 273–5; compare Damon's proposing dikastic pay.

¹⁸ See briefly P. J. Rhodes, 'Political Activity in Classical Athens', *JHS* 106 (1986) 138–9. The practice continued in the fourth century. Demosthenes used his associate Timarchos to strike at Aeschines in 345, provoking Aeschines to attack Timarchos (*Aeschin.* 1).

clever and lovers of words, by his exotic [*xenikon*] speech', 'he was wondered at for his rhetorical *technê*'. From around the Greek world *sophoi* were drawn to Athens, 'the very town hall of wisdom in Greece' Plato's Hippias remarks (*Prt.* 337d), because of its intellectual openness.

At the same time, the masses sometimes displayed their intellectual acumen by a suspicion of cleverness, best documented in connection with intellectuals and 'clever speech'.¹⁹ Euripides' Medea says, 'If you bring novel wisdom (*kaina sophia*) to fools, you will be regarded as useless, not wise, and if the city regards you as greater than those with a reputation for knowing something *poikilon*, you will be thought vexatious' (298–301). In the Mytilenean debate (*Thuc.* 3.37.3–5), the people's leader Kreon praises 'ignorance with temperance' (*sôphrosunê*) over 'cleverness with licence'. More intelligent people, he says, always seek to dominate public debates but bring ruin on cities; *deinotês* and 'intellectual rivalry' can be inconsistent with good judgement. Thucydides notes that Antiphon, 'second to none in *aretê*, with a most powerful intellect and ability to say what he thought', never spoke in public because he was mistrusted for his *deinotês* (8.68.1).

The demos knew that words could mislead. Every assembly began with a curse against anyone who deceived the people (*Ar. Thesm.* 356–67; *Dem.* 18.282, 23.97). Suspicion of the archetypical sophist's skill of 'making the worse *logos* seem better' reflected similar attitudes. Demosthenes states, 'I never reproached my enemy for being a sophist and paying silver to Isokrates, but people should not look down on others and covet the property of others, trusting in *logos*. That is the part of a rascally sophist, who should be made to suffer for it.' His opponent is *deinos* and 'trusts in speaking and in the 1000 drachmas he has paid to his teacher' (35.40–3). Aeschines calls Demosthenes 'the pirate of politics, who sails on his craft of words over the sea of state' (3.253). Demosthenes retorts that Aeschines 'bids you be on your guard against me, for fear that I should mislead and deceive you, calling me a clever speaker, a mountebank and a sophist and so forth'. Demosthenes admits his *deinotês*, which he calls *empeiria* (experience) that he claims to use only to benefit the demos

¹⁹ On charges of *deinotês* and sophistry, see Ober, *Mass* 165–74; Halliwell, 'Public and private' 121–6; J. Hesk, *Deception and Democracy in Classical Athens* (Cambridge, 2000), e.g. 211–19.

(18.276–7).²⁰ According to Plutarch (*Per.* 4, probably from a comic text), Damon was seen as ‘a sophist of the highest order’ who concealed his *deinotês*.

As Thucydides indicates, the Athenians were not always suspicious of sophisticated intellectuals. What was their mood in the later 440s? While these years are poorly documented, extant sources suggest an atmosphere of uncertainty and conservatism. Although Perikles prevailed against Thoukydides son of Melesias, their struggle indicates a state of some ambivalence, and the demos was nervous about tyranny. Probably c.444 Sophokles staged *Ajax*, an ambiguously anti-progressive play that (among other points) criticized the notion of ‘living as you like’ (lines 1073–88), a key democratic ideology first attested here and championed by many including Thucydides’ Perikles (2.37).²¹ Furthermore, while the community’s ruler Menelaus argues in defence of the ‘ship of state’, the aristocratic Ajax refuses to submit to the community’s leaders or the people’s vote—*hoi polloi kritai*, ‘the masses who judge’ (1247), an explicit democratic reference (440–9, 1135–7). Ajax despised the people’s judgement in awarding Achilles’ arms to Odysseus. He went on a rampage to slaughter the army and its leaders, destroying undistributed (the text is specific: 26–8, 54, 148) community property and its guards. Ajax’s brother Teuker also defies the community’s rulers (1093–1117, 1266–1315, 1415–18), claiming that Ajax was never subject to them and stressing, along with the chorus (158–71) and Ajax’s own enemy Odysseus (1332–45), that Ajax was a ‘nobleman’, *esthlos anêr* (1352). Without their leader, Ajax’s Athenian crew (201) are frightened ‘like timorous doves’ (140). ‘Great and little together is best. The great do well when the little are there to help them’ (155). Despite his outrageous crimes against the community, Ajax receives an honourable burial which the play presents as worthy of approval. Although the popular reaction to

²⁰ See also Dem. 51.20–2; Aesch. 1.173–5, 3.206–8; Isai. 10.1; Isokr. 15.4–5; Hyper. Eux. 25–6 and fr. 80 Jensen (*rhêtores* are like snakes’); and the many references to drama in Halliwell, ‘Public and private’ 131 n. 34.

²¹ For *Ajax*’s date, see A. F. Garvie, *Sophocles Ajax* (Warminster, 1998) 6–8 (‘nothing contradicts a date in the 440s’). For ‘living as you like’, see my ‘Law, Freedom and the Concept of Citizens’ Rights in Democratic Athens’, in J. Ober and C. Hedrick, eds, *Demokratia: A Conversation on Democracies, Ancient and Modern* (Princeton, 1996) 105. On the politics of *Ajax*, see my ‘Tecmessa’s Legacy: Valuing Outsiders in Athens’ Democracy’, in I. Sluiter and R. Rosen, eds, *Valuing Others in Classical Athens* (Leiden, 2010) 137–54.

this elitist, anti-democratic drama is not recorded, the following year the demos elected Sophokles *hellenotamias*, treasurer of the Athenian alliance.

Similarly, in 442 Sophokles' *Antigone* championed women, the prudent young (Kreon's son Haimon), the family, its gods, the gods' unwritten laws, and elite individuals like Antigone and Polyneikes, against virtually every Athenian democratic development since 480, including a powerful polis and civic authorities, the city's laws, men, the headstrong democratic older generation, and (we have seen) a powerful official who degenerates into tyranny. Antigone champions the right to bury her brother Polyneikes even though he attacked his own city and tried to burn its temples (line 199). The *stratêgos* Kreon learns that his attitude must be modified, to honour an elite family member whom the play presents as a traitor. Although Simon Goldhill and others rightly stress that Attic dramas often subvert polis norms, Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood is persuasive that *Antigone* was consistent with the general mood.²² Elected treasurer of the Athenian alliance in 443, two years later Sophokles was elected *stratêgos* 'as a result of *Antigone*' according to the play's hypothesis. Although some condemn this report as a *post hoc propter hoc*, Sophokles had no known military or financial credentials. His plays were his main contribution to the city. The parallel is striking that in 412, during another difficult period, Sophokles was elected *proboulos*, 'councillor', a political official, and handed Athens over to an oligarchy. In 441 Sophokles' fellow general was Lakedaimonios, son of Perikles' late opponent the conservative Kimon,²³ and a relative of Thoukydides. In 440 the Athenians voted *mê kômôidein*, 'not to comedize', restricting comic freedoms on the public stage apparently by limiting personal attacks; the restriction lasted three years (schol. Ar. *Ach.* 67).²⁴

²² S. Goldhill, 'The Great Dionysia and Civic Ideology', in J. Winkler and F. Zeitlin, eds, *Nothing to Do with Dionysos?* (Princeton, 1990) 97–129; C. Sourvinou-Inwood, 'Assumptions and the Creation of Meaning: Reading Sophocles' *Antigone*', *JHS* 109 (1989) 134–48; and on the politics of *Antigone*, see my 'Sophokles' Lucky Day: *Antigone*', *Erga/Logoi* 1 (2013) 7–22.

²³ Rhodes, 'Oligarchs' 126–7 can boldly write that Kimon 'preferred a non-democratic form of government'.

²⁴ See my 'Law, Attic Comedy, and the Regulation of Comic Speech', in M. Gagarin and D. Cohen, eds, *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Law* (Cambridge, 2005) 362–4.

For a shadowy half-decade this constellation of data is impressive, all of it consistent with an anti-progressive, anti-intellectual mood of the demos.

In Plutarch, Damon failed to conceal his cleverness from the demos despite his best efforts. They grew suspicious of him and ostracized him. Damon's opponents could exploit the potent contradiction that despite Damon's populist politics he was the clever adviser of Athens' now dominant leader, whom some suspected of tyranny. Even some of Perikles' supporters will have agreed with these arguments against Damon.

Finally, if Damon was ostracized one year after Perikles' rival Thoukydides, factional politics will have played a role.²⁵ Opposition to Perikles drove some supporters of Thoukydides against Perikles' *hetairos*. As we shall see, the Odeion music hall was associated with Perikles. As Comotti has pointed out (*Music* 30–1), opposition to Damon could be linked with opposition led by Thoukydides to the building programme. Two of the four extant ostraka against Damon, if written by the same hand, suggest a campaign like those against Themistokles (191 ostraka in fourteen hands), Themistokles' enemy Kallixenos (seven ostraka in one hand), or Alkibiades (two of five ostraka from the same tile).²⁶ Raubitschek ('Damon' 57) concluded that Damon's ostracism was organized.²⁷

Was Damon's ostracism in 442 too soon after Perikles' victory over Thoukydides the preceding year, as Carcopino wondered? In 472 Aeschylus' victorious *Persians* celebrated Themistokles' deeds, but

²⁵ So, e.g. Ehrenberg, *Sophocles and Pericles* 93; Stadter, *Pericles* 117–18.

²⁶ See Rhodes, 'Hyperbolus' 94. Compare M. H. Hansen, 'The 190 Themistokles ostraka as Evidence of Large Political Groups', in K. Ascani et al., *Ancient History Matters. Studies Presented to Jens Eric Skydsgaard on His Seventieth Birthday* (Rome, 2002) 193–8.

²⁷ Several alternative explanations for Damon's ostracism have been floated. Morrison links the ostracism with violence against Pythagoreans in southern Italy c.450 ('Origins' 206; see Polyb. 2.39.1–4 with F. W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* [Oxford, 1957] 222–4). This argument, in any case circumstantial, is further weakened if (as I argue in Appendix 3) Damon was no Pythagorean. In 'ΔΑΜΩΝ' Wilamowitz suggested that Damon was ostracized for proposing dikastic pay, just as Ephialtes had been murdered for his Areopagos reforms. *Ath. Pol.*—unpublished when Wilamowitz wrote—will not support that connection. Schmid (*Literatur* 732) suggested that proposing dikastic pay shows that Damon was 'sharp and without scruples'. His political influence with Perikles was therefore so feared that he was ostracized. However, why should a popular measure make people suspect its proposer? *Ath. Pol.*, our only source for Damon and dikastic pay, implies that Damon was ostracized not for it but for his many proposals to Perikles.

probably the next year Themistokles was ostracized. Plutarch gives the reason as incessant self-glorification (*Them.* 22), a judgement possibly confirmed by an ostrakon, 'for the sake of prestige' ([*t*]imês he[n]eka), the prestige accruing to him. Carcopino also objected that if Damon's ostracism followed Thukydides', the newly powerful conservatives would never have targeted only Perikles' adviser. This speculation is far from compelling, as Carcopino himself finally admitted.²⁸ Damon's was Athens' penultimate ostracism. Its last one, Hyperbolos', was judged to have been abused for political ends.

Was Damon so insignificant a target? If Stephanos' mention of Damon derives from Krateros' collection of decrees (A 1 comm.), he proposed at least one decree and was active in the assembly. The many comic criticisms of Damon in the 'forties, 'thirties, and 'twenties show that he was an important public figure. He remained sufficiently famous that many years later, in 399, Andokides could identify Agariste only by the phrase 'she had been Damon's wife' (A 20). Forty-three years after Damon's 'driving out', Anytos and Polykrates still discussed that episode in their speeches against Sokrates. Damon worked closely with Perikles, also attracting envy and fear.

(B) MUSIC AND THE POLIS

One question remains. Damon was a music theorist. How far did his music research relate to his political activities? Some have thought the two tracks of his career were unrelated. For Warren Anderson, Damon's 'political counseling had no essential relationship to his musical theorizing' (*Ethos* 76). Others conclude that either politics or music was his major concern. This idea may have occurred in Damon's lifetime, if Plutarch's comment that he hid his political activities behind the 'name' of music echoes fifth-century criticism. Did Damon's work in music help motivate his ostracism?

²⁸ *L'ostracisme* 127:

Certes on peut se demander si, découragés à l'avance par la certitude de leur défaite, incapables de frapper le chef dont ils eussent voulu se débarrasser, mais que, dès lors, son écrasante popularité cuirassait contre leurs assauts, les partisans de Thucydide ne se sont pas vengés au petit bonheur sur l'entourage de Périclès de leur impuissance à l'atteindre personnellement.

Once Athens made peace with Persia in 449 and with Sparta in 446, Perikles could direct his formidable energies in toward his city. His first project was the Akropolis building programme, started in 447. In 446 he turned to music. First, according to Plutarch (*Per.* 13), he was now elected *athlothetês* and passed a decree reorganizing the musical component of the Panathenaic festival, personally selecting the musicians for the first competition and 'himself prescribing how the contestants must play the *aulos* or sing or play the *kithara*'.²⁹ In *De musica* 1134a [Plutarch] appears to refer to this decree: 'singers to the *aulos* originally performed elegiacs set to music, as is made clear by the inscription dealing with the musical contest at the festival of the Panathenaia' (trans. Barker). *Athlothetês* is Perikles' only known office except for the generalship. It is interesting to note that the first victor at Perikles' newly organized Panathenaia was probably Phrynys (schol. Ar. *Clouds* 971 = Ister, *FGrHist* 334 fr. 56), who variegated harmonic and rhythmical traditions and invented a nine-string lyre (see *Clouds* 971; West, *Greek Music* 360–1). As D'Angour (above, ch. 1 n. 4) and others have seen, innovations associated with 'New Music' began well before the later fifth century.

Second, Perikles oversaw construction of the Odeion music hall.³⁰ A common date in the mid-440s for this enormous wooden structure—according to Travlos, c.62.4 by 68.8 metres—is plausible.³¹ In the

²⁹ Although Plutarch says that Perikles' decree established the Panathenaic music contest, Perikles must merely have reformed this event. Panathenaic vases show that music contests had long been held at this festival (see, e.g. Shapiro, 'Agones' 57–8).

³⁰ Plut. *Per.* 13; also Lykourg. fr. 9 Conomis = 58 Blass (vs. *Kephisodotos*): 'Perikles built the Propylaia, the Odeion, and the Hekatompedon'; Stadter, *Pericles* 173–4. For a floor plan of the Odeion, see Travlos, *Dictionary* 387–91. See also O. Broneer, 'The Tent of Xerxes and the Greek Theater', *Univ. of Calif. Publ. in Class. Arch.* 1 (1944) 305–11; H. Kotsidu, *Die musischen Agone der Panathenäen in archaischer und klassischer Zeit: Eine historisch-archäologische Untersuchung* (Munich, 1991); M. Miller, *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC. A Study in Cultural Receptivity* (Cambridge, 1997), ch. 9 'The Odeion of Perikles and Imperial Expression', 218–42. (It is unclear how 'onion-headed' Perikles could have 'borne on his head' [see Kratinos below] Korres' reconstruction of the Odeion, which she illustrates on pl. 147 and discusses on pp. 229–30.) Mosconi, 'La democrazia ateniese e la 'nuova' musica: L'Odeion di Pericle' is a 100-pp. study of that building.

³¹ See A. L. H. Robkin, 'The Odeion of Perikles: The Date of its Construction and the Periklean Building Program', *AncW* 2 (1979) 3–16; J. M. Camp, *The Archaeology of Athens* (New Haven, 2001) 101. Vitruvius attributes it to Themistokles, presumably from its alleged construction out of Persian spoils (*De arch.* 5.9: odeum, quod Themistocles columnis lapideis dispositis navium malis et antennis e spoliis Persicis pertexit), but see Mosconi, 'Democrazia' 250–70. To answer Stadter's question

context of Perikles' building programme, which his rivals led by Thoukydides challenged, Plutarch writes (*Per.* 13),

The Odeion, many-seated and many-columned in its interior arrangement, and with a roof with a circular slope from a single peak, they say was an image and a copy of the Persian King's tent, and that Perikles oversaw construction of it. For this reason, in *The Thracian Women* Kratinos [fr. 73 K–A] again made fun of him: 'This onion-headed Zeus comes, / Perikles, bearing the Odeion on his head / Since the ostracism has passed by' (*paroichetai*). Then first did Perikles pass a decree [for the Panathenaia]. Both then and later the people watched the [Panaethnaic] musical contests in the Odeion.

Kratinos may have compared the odd shape of Perikles' helmet—made for his supposedly misshapen head—with that of the Odeion. The ostracism he mentions is usually thought to be that of Thoukydides c.443. That conclusion would suit Plutarch's context: once the principal opponent of Perikles' building programme was banished, Perikles can appear 'bearing the Odeion on his head'. It would also imply that the Odeion was built in the mid-440s.³² There is however one complication: this same play ridiculed Kallias III, born c.450 (Davies, *APF* 263), for excessively visiting prostitutes (fr. 81; cf. 12 K–A). Some scholars therefore cannot exclude a date for the play in the later 430s.³³ If so, we are ignorant as to which ostracism it

(*Pericles* 172) whether 'such an enormous building could have been constructed simultaneously with the Parthenon', the Odeion was built of wood (Paus. 1.20.4; App. *Mithr.* 38). Once it made peace with Persia, Athens will have had many unemployed shipbuilders.

³² So A. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Theatre of Dionysus in Athens* (Oxford, 1946) 1–2 n. 4; and Schwarze, *Beurteilung* 64–9, dating the play to 443.

³³ Geissler, *Chronologie* 21–2 dates it 435–430; and so M. Hose, 'Kratinos und der Bau des Perikleischen Odeions', *Philologus* 137 (1993) 3–11 (but against his argument that 446 is too early for Phrynys and New Music, see D'Angour, ch. 1 n. 4 above); K–A IV p. 159 dates it c.430. It is commonly agreed that this play must have been performed before 429, as Perikles appears on stage. (In Kratinos *Cheirones* fr. 246 K–A, however, Solon returns from the dead.) Like others before him, H. J. Mattingly ('Vocabulary Change and Epigraphic Dating', *Mnemosyne* IV 30 [1978] 66–9) dates the play c.430 because fr. 82 K–A mentions Euathlos, whom Aristophanes seems to name as a younger co-prosecutor (*sunēgoros*: *Ach.* 705–10, fr. 424) of Thoukydides son of Melesias soon after he returned from his ostracism in 433. However, as J. M. Edmonds, *The Fragments of Attic Comedy* i (Leiden, 1957) 45 n. f, and others point out, *Ach.*'s references to Euathlos need mean only that he was much younger than Thoukydides, not that he was young in 425, *Ach.*'s date.

refers to: none is known between Damon and Hyperbolos in 417.³⁴ In any case, Kratinos' lines need not imply that the Odeion was recently built.

Plutarch states that the Odeion was built as a venue for music contests. According to Aristophanes' *Wasps* 1107–11 of 424 (see also [Dem.] 59.52–4), dikasts heard court cases in the Odeion, and the excavated floor plan (Travlos, *Dictionary* 389) reveals a forest of some ninety interior columns, echoing Xerxes' tent and possibly Persepolis' Hall of a Hundred Columns but obstructing many views.³⁵ Nonetheless an 'Odeion'—Kratinos guarantees the name—must have had some musical function, and the building was too large for a music school (*pace* Kotsidu [n. 30] 144–9; compare Mosconi, 'Democrazia' 240–3). As a covered structure available for use year round, Peter Wilson suggests that it was intended 'to house the burgeoning number of music contests attested in this period'.³⁶

Holding some thousands of people (Mosconi *ibid.* p. 233 and n. 49), Perikles' massive Odeion should be linked with his interest in music and the demos. Just in this period, we have seen, Metiochos constructed the large public court that bore his name, and the lantern-roofed Telesterion—of similar size (52 by 54 metres) and shape to the Odeion (cf. Miller n. 30: p. 232)—was built at Eleusis, allowing thousands to take part in the mystery cult of Demeter (Plut. *Per.* 13.7). To judge from Plutarch's *kai toutôî*, 'for the Odeion, too' (13.9), Perikles supervised construction not only of the Odeion but also the Telesterion, Long Walls, and Parthenon. As compared with these other structures, Plutarch's extended treatment of the Odeion reflects its controversies and prominence. Dikastic pay, which Damon

³⁴ Wilamowitz ('*ΔΑΜΩΝ*' 319 n. 3) suggested that in any year the question whether to hold an ostracism was voted and might 'pass by'. Mattingly takes the phrase in a different sense: 'since ostracism is a thing of the past' ('Poets and Politicians in Fifth-Century Greece', in K. H. Kinzl, ed., *Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean in Ancient History and Prehistory* [Berlin and New York, 1977] 242). I and most agree that an actual ostracism is meant.

³⁵ A question typical of 'idle chatter' is, 'how many columns are there in the Odeion?' (Theophr. *Char.* 3).

³⁶ 'Athenian strings' 285 with *refff.*; add Mosconi, 'Democrazia' 240–3. Miller (n. 30: p. 240) argues that the Odeion's original 'purpose appears to have been purely semiotic', its Persian form a victory monument and 'so completely impractical that functions had to be invented for it', perhaps very soon for music contests (p. 234). However, as the Odeion's name is attested very early, Miller's Persian argument may indicate that a music hall was designed in the Persian style.

proposed, aimed to enable as many Athenians as possible to take part in judicial proceedings (some in Metiochos' court). Plutarch adds (*Per.* 9.1, cf. 34.2; cf. schol. [Ulpian] *Dem.* 1.1, p. 33 Dind.) that Perikles introduced the public subvention of theatre tickets, *theorika*. Meier (*Discovery* 203, 293 n. 82) explains this measure by the theatre's role in educating the demos. Unfortunately, the *theorika*'s date is uncertain. Plutarch ascribes its institution to Perikles, and Harpokration (s.v. *θεωρικά*) and several later texts report that 'in the archonship of Diophantos [395/4], the *theorikon* became one drachma', evidently adjusting an earlier rate. However, as Rhodes (*Comm.* 514) and others point out, we lack fifth-century evidence for *theorika*: 'Aristophanes and other [texts] are conspicuously silent on the theoric fund both in the late fifth century and in the 390's.' If Perikles introduced the *theorika*, promoting popular interest in the theatre paralleled his contributions to music with the Odeion and to cult at the Telesterion, and Damon's idea of compensating some thousands of dikasts.

In *Per.* 11.4 Plutarch describes Perikles as 'educating the city by not a-musical pleasures', *diapaidagôgôn ouk amousois hêdonais tèn polin*. The underlined words form an iambic trimeter and so may come from a comic dialogue (the Loeb prints them in quotation marks). Because Plutarch's context is Perikles' policy of pleasing the people with pageants, feasts, and processions, LSJ translates *diapaidagôgein* 'to entertain, amuse'. However, we should not pass over the verb's educational implications.³⁷ In the next chapter Plutarch says, 'what gave the greatest *hêdonê* to Athens' was the building programme. When some objected to it, Perikles *edidasken ton dêmon*, 'taught the demos', that the league money was theirs. The comic trimeter may confirm that Perikles' educating the demos through music was contemporary comment.

Following Thoukydides' ostracism, Plutarch writes (*Per.* 15.2–4),

Perikles was no longer the same man as before, nor equally submissive to the demos... From his former relaxed (*aneimenê*) and sometimes effeminate style of *dêmagôgia*, as if from a flowery and soft *harmonia*, tuning (*enteinamenos*) an aristocratic and kingly *politeia* he employed it for the best interests of all in a direct and undeviating fashion. He led

³⁷ So also in *Plut. Sert.* 16.5: by exhortations Sertorius *diepaidagôgei* his undisciplined Spanish troops to await the right opportunity (and see Stadter, *Pericles* ad loc.).

the demos who were for the most part willing, persuading them and teaching them. There were times when they bitterly resented his policy, and then he reined them in and forced them to do what was to their advantage, much as a wise physician treats a prolonged and complicated disease, allowing the patient at some moments pleasures which can do him no harm, and at others giving him caustics and bitter drugs which cure him. . . . Perikles was the only man capable of keeping [a mass of citizens with an empire] under control. He achieved this most often by using the people's hopes and fears as if they were rudders, curbing them when they were arrogant and raising their hopes or comforting them when they were disheartened. In this way he proved that rhetoric, in Plato's phrase [*Phdr.* 271c], is the art of working upon the souls of men by means of words, and that its chief business is the knowledge of men's characters (*êthê*) and passions, which are so to speak the pitches (*tonoi*) and notes (*phthongoi*) of the soul and require an especially musical touch (*emmelês aphê*) and stroke (*krousis*).

If Mosconi ('Democrazia' 285) too boldly suggests that the underlined words in this passage preserve traces of Damon's words (the passage combines Thucydides' perception of Perikles with Plato's), here Plutarch suggests how Perikles may have applied Damon's *êthos* theory.

Finally, we return to the question whether Damon's music experimentation could have caused such concern that it helped get him ostracized.

Greek music sociology helps to illuminate the significance of Damon's *êthos* theory and the implications of musical change. For the Greeks, the experience of music was profoundly different from its mostly passive quality in the modern West. Music was communal, present at most social gatherings. Sung poetry, a central medium of social communication, included prayers to the gods, hymns and paians; *parthenia* (maiden songs); *prosodoi* (processional hymns); *epinikia* for athletic victories; funerals with their *thrênoi*; marriages with their *hymenaios*; work songs. Every year a thousand Athenians, twenty choruses of fifty men and fifty boys, performed dithyrambs at the festival of Dionysos. In the archaic and classical periods, poetry was not the private, silent, elitist experience that it became in and after the Hellenistic age.³⁸ It existed in the voices of its performers:

³⁸ See Frank, *Plato* 1–19; Abert, 'Stellung' 138–45 (in *Die Antike*, Werner Jaeger's journal; cf. Anderson's *Ethos*, once a Jaeger dissertation); Calame, *Choruses* 221–43; Gentili, *Poetry and Public*; Rossi, 'Musica' 77–81.

choruses sang the poet's words as their own. Poetry for these occasions reflected the traditions, needs, and concerns of its performers, inextricably linked to the social occasions for which it was written. "Master of truth", the archaic Greek poet . . . retains and transmits through his *sophia* the system of ethical values and the mythology on which the coherence of the community depends' (Calame, *Choruses* 230). Plato's demand in *Republic* that art serve the state reflects that role. Choruses renewed the training 'in right disciplines' that people acquired when young (*Laws* 653d).

Poetry's communal quality was reinforced diachronically by education, through traditional songs transmitting values, ideals, and history. Through the end of the fifth century poet-musicians were seen as educators of the polis (Gentili, *Poetry* 156–8). In Aristophanes' *Frogs* 1008–10, when Aeschylus asks Euripides 'for what qualities ought a poet to be admired?' he responds, 'for skilfulness and good counsel, because we make people better members of their communities'.³⁹ Aeschylus says that poets should not 'bring on stage or teach' what is wicked. 'Young children have a *didaskalos* who guides them, adults have poets' (1054–5). As Rossi points out ('Musica' 74–9), ancient controversies about poetry centre on questions of music's effects on its audience, not on a poem's meaning.

Music accompanied athletics, as young men exercised in the palaestra to the rhythms of the *aulos*.⁴⁰ In the military, music fired the troops' enthusiasm before battle, then kept them in order. [Plutarch] *De musica* 1140b–c remarks, 'music is useful for all occasions and every serious activity, and especially in the dangers of war.' Phalanxes approached the enemy singing paiaons to Apollo or Artemis, even when singing meant detection.⁴¹ On the Corinthian 'Chigi' Vase c.650, an aulete leads hoplites into battle. Herodotos says that every year Alyattes invaded Milesian territory at harvest time,

³⁹ See also Ar. *Ach.* 656–8; Pl. *Prt.* 325c–6c; O. Taplin, 'Tragedy and Tragedy', *CQ* NS 33 (1983) 332–3; J. Henderson, 'The *Dêmos* and the Comic Competition', in J. Winkler and F. Zeitlin, eds, *Nothing to Do with Dionysos?* (Princeton, 1990) 271–2, 297–307, 312–13; W. Kraus, 'Die Auffassung des Dichterberufs im frühen Griechentum', *WS* 68 (1955) 65–87.

⁴⁰ W. J. Raschke, 'Aulos and Athlete', *Arete: The Journal of Sport Literature* 2 (1985) 177–200.

⁴¹ See W. K. Pritchett, 'The Marching Paeon', *Ancient Greek Military Practice = The Greek State at War* i (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1971) 105–8.

'marching in to the music of syrinxes, harps, and high- and low-pitched *auloi*' (1.17). The pipes orchestrated rowers at sea. The Trojan queen Hekabe laments the Greeks' passage to Troy 'to the accompaniment of a hateful paian of *auloi* and voice of tuneful *suringes*', in Euripides' *Trojan Women* (126–7). Armed men performed a complex series of war dances to music, most famously the *pyrrhikê*.⁴² According to a late report (Aelian *VH* 3.8), the poet Phrynichos was elected *stratêgos* because he wrote good pyrrhics. Vases depict naked men holding shields and spears, dancing to the rhythms of an aulete.⁴³ The *gumnopaidikê* imitated wrestling and the *pankration*. Xenophon describes a scene of troops competing in war dances (*Anab.* 6.1), one dance simulating a fight between a robber and a plowman protecting his field. Those who fought in the front lines were called *proorchestêres*, 'fore-dancers' (Luc. *Salt.* 14). Poursat collected the depictions on Attic vases of armed dances to the *enoplios*, a rhythm linked with Damon.⁴⁴ These scenes mirror literary descriptions of that dance in Lysias 21.1, 4, and Isaïos 5.36. If the pyrrhic retained little military significance in Damon's Athens, 'on the symbolic level [it] appears as an extremely important element of Athenian "song and dance" culture' (Ceccarelli, 'Dancing' [n. 42] 117). Athenaios (628f) quotes two lines from Sokrates' poetry (see Pl. *Phd.* 60c–d): 'those who best honour the gods in choral dances are the best in war.'⁴⁵ In *Laws* 803e Plato states, 'we must spend our whole lives playing at certain games—sacrifice, singing, and dancing—so as to win the gods' favour, protect ourselves from our enemies, and conquer them in battle.' Alan Boegehold ('Archaic Greece') suggested that the Greeks attained the dexterity required for 170 men to row a trireme and for extended hoplite battle-lines to

⁴² P. Ceccarelli, *La pirrica nell'antichità greco romana: studi sulla danza armata* (Pisa and Rome, 1998), and 'Dancing the *Pyrrhichê* in Athens', in Murray and Wilson, *Music* 91–117 (see 104–5 on Phrynichos).

⁴³ In addition to Ceccarelli (n. 42 above), see D. G. Kyle, 'The Panathenaic Games: Sacred and Civic Athletes', in Neils, *Goddess* 94–5; and G. Pinney, 'Pallas and Panathenaea', in *Proceedings of the 3rd Symposium on Ancient Greek and Related Pottery* (Copenhagen, 1988) 468.

⁴⁴ J.-C. Poursat, 'Les représentations de danse armée dans la céramique attique', *BCH* 92 (1968) 550–615. On war dances, see W. K. Pritchett, *The Greek State at War* ii (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1974) 216–19.

⁴⁵ Xenophon says that Charmides once caught Sokrates dancing early in the morning (*Smp.* 2.19; see also *Athen.* 20f; V. Wohl, 'Dirty Dancing: Xenophon's *Symposium*', in Murray and Wilson, *Music* ch. 12).

turn during combat, through the rhythmic abilities born of communal dancing.

Military uses of music were associated especially with Sparta.⁴⁶ According to Xenophon (*Lac. Pol.* 13.8), before entering battle but with the enemy near enough to see, it was *nomos* for all auletes to play to the garlanded Spartans while a goat was sacrificed. 'It was a sight both grand and terrifying when they marched to the rhythm of the *aulos*, with no gaps in the phalanx or confusion in their souls, but calmly and cheerfully moving to the song into the danger' (Plut. *Lys.* 22). In *Inst. Lac.* 238a–b, Plutarch again uses *êthos* terms: music stimulated the soldiers' *thumos*, *phronêma*, and *hormê* toward courage.⁴⁷ Lykourgos linked the Spartans' love of music with military drill, so that 'the excessively warlike element, mixed with melody, might have *symphonia* and *harmonia*'. [Plutarch] *De mus.* 1140c–d details the military uses of the *aulos* by the Spartans and Argives, of the *kithara* by the Cretans (see also Athen. 627d; Aul. Gell. 1.11.6), and of the trumpet. In Sparta, Alkman's performers sang, 'rivalling the use of arms / is excellence in playing upon the lyre' (fr. 100 Diehl = Plut. *Lyc.* 21). Terpander sang, 'flourish both the spear of the young and the clear-voiced Muse, and justice walks the broad streets' (fr. 4 Diehl = Plut. *Lyc.* 21). Pindar's choruses sang of Sparta's 'councils of elders, and the young men's conquering spears, and choruses, and the Muse, and joyousness' (fr. 199 S.-M. = Plut. *Lyc.* 21).

Construction and demolition moved to musical rhythms. By playing his lyre Amphion raised the walls of Thebes (Hes. fr. 182 M.-W.). In 369, Pausanias (4.27.7) says, Messene was built to the sound of Boiotian and Argive *auloi*. At the end of the Peloponnesian War, the Spartan Lysander gathered many *aulos*-girls, tore down Athens' city walls, and burned its triremes, all 'to the sound of the *aulos*'.⁴⁸

Many texts attest music's power over the psyche. Music soothed Achilles' offended spirit by the sea at Troy. The Sirens enticed Odysseus. 'Pain-dissolving, anger-soothing... music makes one

⁴⁶ See esp. Gostoli, 'Terpandro'. For other sources, see Thuc. 5.70; Dio Chr. 32.6; Paus. 3.17.5; Athen. 627d; Mart. Cap. 925.

⁴⁷ See also [Arist.] *Probl.* quoted in Aul. Gell. 1.11; Val. Max. 2.6.2.

⁴⁸ Plut. *Lys.* 15.5; see also Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.23 (but the story may be slander, as *aulos*-girls were not respectable: A. Barker, 'Transforming the Nightingale: Aspects of Athenian Musical Discourse in the Late Fifth Century', in Murray and Wilson, *Music* 197–8).

forget everything bad' (*Od.* 4.221). In *Theogony* 98–103 Hesiod observes (trans. West):

Though a man's heart be withered with the grief of a recent bereavement, if then a singer, the servant of the Muses, sings of the famous deeds of men of old, and of the blessed gods who dwell in Olympus, he soon forgets his sorrows and thinks no more of his family troubles, quickly diverted by the goddesses' gifts.

In the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* (416–96) the young thief god placates Apollo by playing his lyre. By his *kithara* Apollo 'brings *eunomia* without discord into the hearts of men' (Pind. 5 *Pyth.* 66–7). Music had the power to entrance, 'a philtre in the *thumos*' (Pindar 3 *Pyth.* 64), a *desmion*, 'binding spell' (Aesch. *Eum.* 306). While refusing to play the *aulos* as it disfigured his face, Alkibiades commended the bewitching powers of the aulete Marsyas in Plato's *Symposium*. 'It can still be done, too, by anyone who can pipe his tunes. . . . Whoever plays them, from a good aulete to a paltry *aulos*-girl, they alone are able to seize us profoundly' (215b–c).

Just so, music's ability to restore or disturb the social order was widely recognized, in anecdote, poetry, and political theory. By listening to Terpander, called in to calm civil strife, the Spartans grew unified in concord ([Plut.] *De mus.* 1146b–c); 'they were entirely changed, embracing and tearfully kissing one another', Diodoros imagines (8.28); Terpander's songs 'established *homonoia* among the Spartans' (Aristid. *Or.* 46.189). Even if its historical source be unreliable, the tradition that the Spartans compelled the helots to perform grotesque and vulgar dances and songs (Plut. *Lyc.* 2.8) is significant. In *Laws* 816e, Plato requires that citizens watch comic dances where slaves and hired foreigners enact unseemly behaviour, to learn what must be avoided. When the Thebans invaded Sparta, helots who were asked to sing Terpander and Alkman were said to have refused to do so, citing their masters' prohibitions (Plut. *Lyc.* 28.9–10). According to Pratinas (coeval of Lasos and inventor of the satyr play), by his music Thaletas saved Sparta from a plague ([Plut.] *De mus.* 1146c, see ch. 2 n. 10). In *Frogs* 1010–12, Aeschylus and Dionysos say that if Euripides has made noble-hearted and virtuous men base and rascally instead of vice-versa, he deserves to die. Dover called this passage 'from some points of view the most important in the play'.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ K. J. Dover, *Aristophanes Frogs* (Oxford, 1993) ad loc.

In consequence, some Greeks feared musical innovation. Sparta again helped to focus these emotions. Plutarch records that the ephors at Sparta—representatives of the demos—condemned Terpander because he added an eighth string to the lyre. An ephor nailed his instrument to the wall (*Inst. Lac.* 238c). Similar anecdotes are told of Phrynis, Panathenaic victor in 446 in a contest organized by Perikles and one of Athens' mid-fifth-century avant-garde. He added two new strings to the lyre. The ephor said, 'do not *kakourgein* music' (Plut., *Apoth. Lac.* 220c). In the early fourth century another avant-gardist, Timotheos, apparently turned up at Sparta's Karneian games—as well as at Delphi, the premier venue for string contests—with an eleven- or twelve-string lyre. An ephor came up with a knife, asking from which side he should cut the extra strings.⁵⁰ In Athens, Aristophanes' 'Just Argument' longs for the good old days when musical innovations were forbidden (*Clouds* 963–74). Strepsiades burns down the *phrontistêrion*, the 'thinkery' where his son learned new music and metrics that look Damonian (1356–60; cf. 961–71; 641–51). Precisely because unhistorical, these stories' prejudice against musical change is significant.

In Plato's *Republic* Sokrates warns most earnestly of the dangers to the polis of music innovation (424b–e, abridged):

The overseers of our polis must be watchful against innovations in music that are counter to the established order. . . . We must not praise that sort of thing. For a change to a new type of music is something to beware of as altogether dangerous. For styles of music are never changed without changing the most fundamental rules of the city. So Damon says and I believe.

As others later studied the uses of rhetoric, Damon developed the *êthos* theory of music because of music's powerful effects in warfare, society, and the polity, patent for centuries in many aspects of Greek life. For several years from 446, he and Perikles worked to apply that power in Athens' democracy. 'Perikles learned from Damon the songs through which he harmonized the city.' Olympiodoros' report, possibly derived from fourth-century Damonian *harmonikoi*, points to the central link between a music theorist working on the emotional, behavioural, and civic consequences of music, and

⁵⁰ On these stories see Csapo, 'New Music' 215 and n. 37; Plut. *Agis* 10.6; *Inst. Lac.* 238c; Boeth. *De mus.* 1.1; Athen. 628b, 636e; and Gostoli, 'Terpandro' esp. 233–5.

a democratic politician wanting to educate and influence the demos. In 442 when political trouble came, Perikles proved untouchable. Damon was not. Deeply embedded in Attic society, the civic importance of music helps explain why Perikles' enemies chose as their target not the hated architect Metiochos or other *sophoi* linked with Perikles, but Damon his music counsellor.

Damon after Plato

(A) DAMON'S 'AREOPAGITIKOS'

In the mid-eighteenth century a splendid Roman villa was discovered at Herculaneum, apparently once the property of the Epicurean L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus (cos. 58 BC). Among its treasures was a library containing hundreds of carbonized papyri, many of them texts by Philodemos, a first-century BC Epicurean philosopher and Piso protégé. The first of these charred lumps was unrolled in 1754, on a cylindrical wire contraption still displayed in the *Officina dei Papiri* at Naples. It proved to contain a substantial fragment of Philodemos' *De musica*. Other papyri of *De musica* were opened between 1822 and 1848. In 1884 J. Kemke published the first critical text. Often illegible, *De musica*'s blackened fragments mention Damon several times.

Although immediately drawing hostile notice,¹ for Damon Kemke's 1884 Teubner marked a turning point. The following year, in an article prophetically titled 'Οἱ περὶ Δάμωνα' ('Damon's followers'), Franz Bücheler (Kemke's teacher) hypothesized from one passage in Kemke's text that Philodemos knew of an 'Areopagitikos', a speech to Athens' Areopagos Council purportedly written by Damon. Bücheler also attempted to reconstruct its major arguments. In *De mus.* IV coll. 33–4 (B 13) as Kemke restored it,² Philodemos, following earlier

¹ See esp. T. Gomperz, *Philodem*; also H. Landwehr, *Gött. Gelehrt. Anz.* (1885) 979–84.

² While Kemke distributed the extant fragments of *De musica* to Books I, III, and IV, Delattre 2007 has assigned all fragments to Book IV (see below, Part II at n. 61). I cite either edition as needed, and otherwise my own numbers from Part II, as my texts are not identical with Delattre's.

Epicureans,³ continues his diatribe against the supposed behavioural and educational significance of music, opposing those who think it ‘the most important art’. Any benefit from music comes only from the words that accompany it.⁴

It is stupid for music’s disciples to assert its great usefulness, something they say children also share in. For they can put on false pretensions and be led astray.

καὶ πολλοὶ [λ]έ-
 35 γουσι μηδ[έ]ν ἐπ[α]νωρθώ-
 σθαι τοὺς ἀφ[υ]εῖς οὐδ[έ]
 . . . π[ο]λλοὶ δ’ ὅτι νομί-
 ζουσι προσήκειν αὐτ[ῆ]ς με-
 τ[α]λαμβάνειν τοὺς χα[ρί]ε-
 40 ντ[α]ς καὶ μετεῖληφ[έν]αι
 col. 34 καὶ Δά[μ]ων [ε]ἰ τοιαῦτα
 πρὸς τοὺς ἀληθινού[ς] ἀρεο-
 π[α]γ[ί]τας ἔλεγε καὶ [μ]ὴ [τ]οὺς
 πλαττομένους, ἐφεν[ά]κι-
 5 ζεν ἀτηρῶς.

And many say that the foolish are in no way improved nor . . . and many, that they think the elite ought to participate in music, and to have participated in it and Damon, if he said such things to the actual Areopagites and not to fictional ones, was deceiving them badly.

In Kemke’s (defective) text, Philodemus mentions Damon in the context of music education; *tous charientas* seemed to designate an elite, for Bücheler the educated classes (‘die Gebildete’); and Damon addressed the Areopagites, whether ‘actual or fictional’. Because Isokrates later wrote an *Areopagitikos*, a conservative tract recommending that the Areopagos regulate public conduct especially of the

³ See Neubecker, *Bewertung* 82–3; G. M. Rispoli, ‘Elementi di fisica e di etica epicurea nella teoria musicale di Filodemo di Gadara’, in Wallace and MacLachlan, *HARMONIA MUNDI* 69–103. In *On Poetry*, following his master, Philodemus denied that poetry had any moral or practical function; its sole purpose was pleasure and *psychagôgia* (R. Janko, *Philodemus On Poems Book One* [Oxford, 2000] 8–9). Epicurus’ *On music* (Diog. L. 10.28) is lost.

⁴ See D. Delattre, ‘Vers une reconstruction de l’esthétique musicale de Philodème (à partir du Livre IV des Commentaires Sur la musique)’, in C. Auvray-Assayas and D. Delattre, eds, *Cicéron et Philodème: la polémique en philosophie* (Paris, 2001) 371–84; a later English version appeared one year earlier in *Studien zur Musikarchäologie* II, ed. E. Hickmann et al. (Rahden, 2000) 287–93.

young (7.37, 49), and because Plato, also conservative, mentioned Damon favourably on music education and *êthos* in *Republic* 400 (Bücheler inferred that 'a book with Damon's name lay open in front of him'), as the inspiration for both Isokrates and Plato Bücheler concluded that a fifth-century 'Areopagitikos' published under Damon's name 'recommended music to the Areopagites as a means of educating the young in matters of morality' (p. 311). He suggested that this work was also the source for later testimonia about Damon, in Athenaios and Aristides Quintilianus. ('In those later tracts on music the name and the testimony of Damon doubtless have come from one and the same written text,' p. 310.) Finally, from Philodemos' reference to 'actual or fictional' Areopagites, Bücheler concluded that this text was not an actual speech but a 'literary invention, an epideictic *Machwerk*'—a 'pathetic effort'—to fictional Areopagites, written not by Damon ('the statesman and teacher of Perikles') but by one of his students, perhaps shortly before 423 when Ps.-Xenophon (the 'Old Oligarch') 1.13 says that the demos in some way restricted music, and Aristophanes' Strepsiades asks Sokrates, 'what use are rhythms to me?' (*Clouds* 648).⁵

Although later scholars disagreed whether Damon's 'Areopagitikos' was an actual speech to the Areopagos or else an epideictic display, with one apparent exception (Robert Philippon) everyone concurred that Damon (rather than a student) wrote an 'Areopagitikos', and many tried to reconstruct its contents. Like Bücheler, these scholars use extant reports of Damon's views, the contexts of these reports, and suppositions about Damon's influence especially on Plato and Isokrates. Believing that Damon's 'Areopagitikos' was accessible for many centuries, most have been willing to accept subsequent mentions of Damon's theories as accurate, down through antiquity.

Following Bücheler, six major milestones marked the fabrication of Damon's 'Areopagitikos'. As these constructions, each progressively bolder, continue to shape the contemporary understanding of Damon, they may be summarized. Despite much ingenuity, they led down a path to fantasy and confusion.

⁵ Ps.-Xen. 1.13 is corrupt: 'The demos have dissolved (? *kateleluken*) the athletes and those practicing music at Athens, thinking that this is not *kalon*, knowing that these things are impossible to practice.'

(1) Wilamowitz—who first published on Damon in 1879—first attempted to assemble the fragments of what he called ‘one of the oldest Attic books’ in *Griechische Verskunst* (1921). His collection consists of four passages from Philodemos (B 10–13), three from Plato (A 12; B 1, 2), an anecdote in Galen and Martianus Capella (B 7, 8), [Plutarch] *De musica* (B 6), and references to Damon’s ‘followers’ in Athenaios (C 1) and Aristides Quintilianus (B 5). Citing Plato *Rep.* 400c, Bücheler, and Kemke’s early critic Theodor Gomperz (n. 1 above), Wilamowitz concluded that Damon’s ‘Areopagitikos’ promoted music’s usefulness in educating the young in *euschêmosunê*, ‘grace and refinement’ (pp. 60, 64). In this book on *Verskunst*, he also supposed that Damon’s text reported his work on metre, including quite technical material. No later scholar assigned the ‘Areopagitikos’ any metrical content.

(2) One year after *Verskunst* and inspired by it, Diels/Kranz⁴ allowed Damon a foothold in their canon of select Presocratics, in a supplement to the preface (I xxxiv–xxxvii). DK⁵ (1934–37) awarded him his own entry (25a). DK⁵ expanded Wilamowitz’s ‘Areopagitikos’ fragmenta by one, Cicero’s general reference to Damon in *De oratore* (B 14).

(3) The same year as DK⁵, Schmid/Stählin’s history of Greek literature (*Gk. Lit.* 732–3) offered a fuller if admittedly hypothetical construction of Damon’s text. Citing Bücheler, Schmid wrote that like Isokrates, ‘Damon must have worried about proper behavior and order’ by the Athenian citizenry. From Philodemos he deduced that Damon’s ‘Areopagitikos’ was ‘a polemic against a pedagogy that denied music an educational usefulness’. Damon offered a theoretical justification for what Schmid called the Pythagorean notion of music’s educative effects (for the Pythagoreans, compare Appendix 3 below). In addition, his speech ‘may well have’ discussed the central musical issues of its day: Apollonian as opposed to Dionysiac music, Dorian versus Phrygian, *kithara* versus *aulos*, *nous* (‘reason’) versus *aisthêsis* (‘perception’) as the best judge of music, the controversy over New Music (cf. ch. 1 with n. 4), and possibly ‘much of the defense of older music and the Pythagorean-Attic conceptions of music’ in Plato, Aristoxenos, Philodemos, Plutarch, Sextus Empiricus, and Aristides Quintilianus.

The post-war decade saw three rather bolder attempts to reconstruct Damon’s ‘Areopagitikos’, again building on instead of reexamining earlier hypotheses.

(4) In 1947, citing Wilamowitz and Schmid, Hermann Ryffel ('Eukosmia') construed Damon's 'Areopagitikos' still more systematically and imaginatively. He accepted that Damon addressed the Areopagos c.462/1, proclaiming music's *êthos* benefits for the demos over whom the Areopagos traditionally exercised moral oversight.⁶ In a series of 'working hypotheses' (scholars soon forgot their hypothetical quality), Ryffel then attempted to recover the contents of Damon's speech, from words and concepts in the contexts where Plato mentions Damon, and from Isokrates' *Areopagitikos* which he says 'slavishly' and 'perfunctorily' copied Damon's 'leading ideas' (p. 35). In particular, just before mentioning Damon in *Republic*, Sokrates says that he and Glaukon must search for rhythms that promote a *kosmios kai andreios bios*, 'an orderly and courageous life' (400a). In his *Areopagitikos* (7.37), Isokrates says that the early Areopagos was charged with promoting *eukosmia* and *eutaxia*. Ryffel concluded that the aim of both 'Areopagitikoi' was the restoration of *kosmiotês* or ('as I believe') *eukosmia*, produced by *êthê* not by laws, and illustrated by similar examples such as respect for one's elders (compare Isokr. 7.49; Pl. *Rep.* 562e; and the musically conservative 'Just Argument' in Ar. *Clouds* 969). Plato thought that music affects the soul (*Rep.* 400d); Plato accepted Damon's notion that music cannot be changed without changing the most important rules of the polis (*Rep.* 424c = B 2); and Isokrates' *Areopagitikos* includes the phrase 'soul of the polis' (7.14). From these passages Ryffel concluded that for Damon, music education shaped individual *êthê* and 'the soul of the polis'. If Damon wrote his speech after Ephialtes' Areopagos reforms of 462/1, it will have culminated in a demand to restore the democracy of Solon and Kleisthenes and the Areopagos' moral authority, a demand that may have led to his ostracism (pp. 34, 37).

(5) In 1954, Hermann Koller's book on *mimêsis* proposed an even more imaginative construction of Damon's speech. Like others before him, Koller attributed to Damon much of the music discussion in Book 3 of Plato's *Republic*, including the concept of *mimêsis* (see esp. pp. 15–36, 63–8, 175, 212). For Koller, however, Plato diluted Damon's concept of *mimêsis*, which for Damon and the early Pythagoreans meant 'the expression of the soul' through music and dance, and to which they attributed a range of emotional, 'therapeutic-cathartic',

⁶ On p. 24 he states that since we know of only one work by Damon, he will have expounded his teachings in it.

and educational effects. Koller first presented to a wider public the notion that Damon's speech had exercised a profound impact on Aristides Quintilianus' *De musica*, written in the late third or early fourth century AD. Aristides mentions Damon by name only once, but often cites 'the very old' (*hoi palaiotatoi*) music theorists. Aristides also shows marked Pythagorean influence, which Koller attributed to Damon.⁷

(6) The creative reconstruction of Damon's 'Areopagitikos' culminated in François Lasserre's elegant history of Greek music theory, in the preface to his 1954 edition of [Plutarch] *De musica*. Lasserre's chapter on Damon (pp. 53–79, esp. 74–9) is the final milestone on a road which Bücheler began some seven decades earlier. Acknowledging the inspiration chiefly of Ryffel, Lasserre assigned nearly every ancient mention of Damon to his 'Areopagitikos'; he imagined some of its structure and contents⁸; and he expanded the number of passages where he thought Isokrates, Plato, or others had borrowed from Damon, quoting these as fragments or else 'réminiscences probables de l'Aréopagitique (on n'en a donné ici qu'un choix)', and including various passages that mention neither Damon nor music.⁹ Thus for example, following others, he considers Isokrates *Areop.* 7.39, 41 a 'probable reminiscence' of Damon's speech:

Such a council, then, as I said, our forefathers charged with the supervision of *eutaxia*, a council which considered that those who believed that the best men are produced where laws are prescribed with the greatest exactness were blind to the truth; for in that case there would be no reason why all the Greeks should not be on the same level, at any rate in so far as it is easy to borrow written codes from each other. . . . Men who are well governed should not fill up stoas with texts, but have justice in their souls.

⁷ Koller's conclusions were influenced especially by Rudolph Schäfke's 1937 Berlin book on Aristides, which developed earlier ideas of Deiters (*De Aristidis*) followed by von Jan ('Damon' 2073) but otherwise enjoyed little influence presumably because of Aristides' obscurity and the war. Already R. Wagner, *Arch. f. Musik Forsch.* 4 (1939) 316–19 criticized his ideas on Damon. Schäfke is not a milestone.

⁸ Cf. p. 55, 'Dans le préambule, un exposé des motifs qui ont incité l'auteur . . . semblerait topique'; p. 56, 'On peut supposer que Damon défendait . . .'; p. 57, 'Après avoir fait ainsi l'apologie de la musique . . . Damon pouvait passer . . .' (my emphases).

⁹ Cf. p. 55: 'Bien qu'Isocrate ne fasse aucune allusion explicite à la musique, le raisonnement . . .'; p. 53: 'Il y faut cependant procéder avec prudence, non qu'il soit grave d'ajouter à sa pensée et à son oeuvre des suppléments qu'elles comportent logiquement.'

In Lasserre's narrative (p. 65) this passage shifts categories, from 'probable reminiscence' to fragment 3 of Damon's text.¹⁰ For a second example (of many), Lasserre quotes Aristotle *Politics* 1340b7–11 ('The same holds good about the rhythms also, for some have a more stable and others a more emotional character, and of the latter some are more vulgar in their motions and others are more liberal') as fr. 20 of Damon's speech. Lasserre believed that Damon composed his 'Areopagitikos' between 461 and 450, 'en rapport avec la mission éducative confiée à l'Aréopage à la suite de la réforme d'Ephialtès'. He concluded (p. 80) that for classical Greece, the history of music education 'pourrait s'arrêter à Damon'. During the next two centuries, Greek music theorists merely repeated his ideas.

As had Kemke's edition of Philodemus *De musica*, these works by Ryffel, Koller, and Lasserre immediately attracted fairly withering criticism.

Victor Ehrenberg called Ryffel's 'an ingenious theory [which] I cannot accept' (*Sophocles and Pericles* 92 n. 1). R. P. Winnington-Ingram remarked, 'in general, [Ryffel's] argument labours under the notorious difficulty of tracking a cliché to its lair' ('Greek music' 52–3, cf. 26).

W. J. Verdenius observed that Koller's *Mimesis* lacks 'a single bit of actual evidence' for its concept of *mimêsis*. The notion that Damon was Plato's source for *mimêsis* is 'altogether arbitrary'; Damon's influence on Plato is rated 'much too high'. 'This book is one of the many unripe, unclear, and wordy books on Greek philosophy that spoils one's pleasure in reviewing' (*Mnemosyne* 4 X [1957] 254–8). Gerald Else's 1958 essay, '"Imitation" in the fifth century', is a direct attack against Koller's theories on Damon. Lasserre himself was sternly critical (*Plutarque* 53). In a four-page footnote ('La filosofia musicale di Aristide Quintiliano', *QUCC* 24 [1977] 77–81 n. 116), Luisa Zanoncelli delivered a massive, frontal assault on Aristides' alleged debt to Damon, a key point for Koller.

Finally, Ingemar Düring dismissed Lasserre's chapter on the early history of Greek music theory as 'a house of cards' (*Gnomon* 27 [1955] 432–3). Winnington-Ingram ('Greek music' 26, cf. 52–3) judged it 'a bold, and often highly speculative, attempt to place in

¹⁰ 'On se rappelle que le préambule de l'Aréopagitique présentait l'éducation de l'âme comme la condition nécessaire de la santé morale de l'Etat (fr. 3). Cette partie du programme de Damon . . .'

historical perspective the work of Damon, to which the writer attributes paramount importance. . . . Plato was certainly indebted to Damon; but to what extent? Was Isokrates indebted to him for more than a title?’

These and other criticisms are justified. Ryffel draws many doubtful inferences: that Plato’s discussion of the *harmoniai* derives from Damon (contrast ch. 2b); that Damon like Plato condemned any musical innovation and promoted ethics and music conducive to virtue (contrast ch. 3a); that Damon like Isokrates opposed legislation as a way to educate society, a notion not attested before the fourth century.¹¹ Ryffel’s claim that Isokrates has replaced music with philosophy is a fancy way of acknowledging that he ignores music altogether.¹² Damon is nowhere linked with *eukosmia*. Plato’s Protagoras links education and *eukosmia* (Prt. 325d), although he argues that teachers should be more concerned with instilling *eukosmia* than the lyre. At one point Isokrates’ *Areopagitikos* advocates *eukosmia* or else *eutaxia*, and Plato’s Sokrates advocates a *kosmios kai andreios bios* just before seeking Damon’s opinion on *êthos* and metre. Can we conclude from these passages that *eukosmia* ‘must have been Damon’s *Leitbegriff*’? In the fourth century *eukosmia* was a fairly standard conservative term.¹³ Ryffel admits (p. 33) that attributing to Damon the *Leitidee* and *Leitbegriffe* of Isokrates’ *Areopagitikos* is hypothetical. Equally near his discussion of Damon, Plato twice mentions *euschêmosynê* and *eurhythmia* (Rep. 400c, d). Why should these terms not have been Damon’s *schlagwörter* [sic] as Wilamowitz had proposed? Ryffel does not ask how a friend and counsellor of Perikles and an advocate of the public courts could have recommended that the Areopagos’ authority be restored.¹⁴

As for Koller, Appendix 3 below argues that Damon had nothing to do with Pythagoreanism. Aristides Quintilianus wrote some eight

¹¹ See my ‘Law’s Enemies in Ancient Athens’, in Eva Cantarella, ed., *Symposion* 2005, *Akten der Gesellschaft für griechische und hellenistische Rechtsgeschichte* (Vienna, 2007) 183–96.

¹² See also 7.45, where Isokrates’ failure to mention music is even unexpected.

¹³ For example, the *proedroi* are said to have been in charge of *eukosmia* in Athens’ Assembly and Council: [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 44.3.

¹⁴ Ehrenberg, *Sophocles and Pericles* 93: ‘It is difficult to imagine that the man who was among Pericles’ friends probably in the sixties and most likely still in the fifties, could have pleaded for the right and the sanctity of the same Areopagus which Pericles at that time decisively weakened.’

centuries after Damon and displays many neo-Platonist and neo-Pythagorean influences. In Book I 20–9, his lengthy discussion of metres virtually ignores questions of *êthos*; in Book II, his discussion of the soul is heavily Platonic; Book III is mathematical, celestial, and Pythagorean, all remote from Damon.

Finally, while Lasserre's sparkling intelligence is a pleasure to read, even describing his *macédoine* of 'fragments' suffices to discredit it. I add that any 'educational mission' of the Areopagos after 462/1 is unattested and unlikely. For a half century after Aeschylus' *Oresteia* in 458, that council slips into obscurity. As for Düring's point about titles, Isokrates probably did not call his seventh speech *Areopagitikos*. That council plays only a minor role in his text.¹⁵

Yet although the critical response to Koller effectively buried him, Ryffel and especially Lasserre have continued to be influential. Their critics forgotten, they shape the contemporary assessment of Damon. In 1959, E. Moutsopoulos (*Musique* 188–95) followed Ryffel and Lasserre in detail on Damon, adding several speculations of his own (for example, that Damon may have written about poetry). Echoing Lasserre, in 1966 Warren Anderson noted that Damon may have addressed the Areopagos after 458, when it exercised some supervisory power over education (*Ethos* 190). In 1969, citing Lasserre, Gioia Rispoli wrote, 'Of Damon we know (Isokr. *Areop.* 48) that he forbade young men to waste their time in gambling dens or with flute girls' ('Filodemo' 104). That same year, Guthrie cited Lasserre without comment in his note on Damon (*History* iii 35), and Schachermeyr ('Damon' 197), citing Ryffel, argued that Damon's 'Areopagitikos'—'that famous text'—attacked the Areopagos, now diluted by ex-archons chosen by lot and therefore lacking a proper musical education. Such men were incapable of remedying the social ills that had befallen Athens. 'The classicism, the pedagogical idealism, and above all the rigorous distinction made in this speech between actual Areopagites and ideal Areopagites^[16] lead us to think that Perikles fully approved the ideas expressed by Damon.' In 1974 Lukas Richter wrote that 'Damon proclaimed in a speech or a text on the Areopagos (before 462?) the perseverance of old-fashioned traditional music as a

¹⁵ If anything, the orator may have called his speech 'On the Public Safety': see 7.1 and my *Areopagos* 262 n. 1.

¹⁶ Schachermeyr thought τοὺς ἀληθινοὺς ἀρεοπαγ[εῖ]τας...καὶ μὴ τοὺς πλαττομένους was Damon's own phrase: the Areopagites were not doing their job!

requirement of the citizen's education'.¹⁷ Lasserre affected virtually every line of Comotti's 1979 treatment of Damon (*Music* 30–2). His remains the first work cited on Damon in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*³ (1996).

If, however, Düring and others were right to reject the increasingly elaborate and speculative constructions of Damon's 'Areopagitikos' that culminated in Lasserre's *Plutarque*, can we nonetheless accept some version of Bücheler's original idea that Damon published an 'Areopagitikos' which transmitted his ideas to later generations? What are we to conclude from Philodemos' report that Damon addressed the Areopagites, 'actual or fictional', on music education and *êthos*?

(B) THE AREOPAGOS AND HERAKLEIDES OF PONTOS

In addition to hypothesizing a Damonian 'Areopagitikos', Bücheler advanced a second hypothesis, that one intermediary source of Philodemos' information about Damon was a philosophical dialogue written by Herakleides of Pontos in the later fourth century. This hypothesis was based, first, on a fragment (B 11) of Kemke's edition of *De musica* Book I:

-]τάτην *ἐπιζητή-
- 5 [σαντος] δέ τινος πότερον εἰς-
[]ας ἀρετὰς ἢ τινας ἡ-
[]η προάγει Δάμονα
[]σιν τὸν μουσικόν,
[]ς σχεδὸν οἶσθαι, λε-
- 10 [γοντα πα]ρ' αὐτὸν προσήκειν
[ἄιδοντ]α καὶ κιθαρίζον-
[τα τὸν π]αῖδα μὴ μόνον [vac.]

¹⁷ 'Stilwandel' 1455; see earlier, Richter's *Zur Wissenschaftslehre von der Musik bei Platon und Aristoteles* (Berlin, 1961) 24. See also G. Wille, 'Damon (2)', *Lexicon der alten Welt* (Zurich and Stuttgart, 1965) col. 688, that Damon delivered his *politische Hauptschrift* against musical innovation to the Areopagos before 462.

(4) ... When someone inquired further whether he thought (music) will produce < > virtues or certain ... he brings forward Damon ... the musician, who said he thought that generally speaking ... that in himself singing and playing the *kithara* a boy ought not only ... [vac.]

Bücheler saw that this passage seems to record a philosophical dialogue. Characters speak, in a group discussion that includes Damon. A question is raised and someone brings Damon forward to answer it. Following Kemke's idea that in Books I–III Philodemos summarized the theses which he then opposed in Book IV (Delattre retained this structure within Book IV), Bücheler connected the fragments from Book IV (where Damon spoke to the Areopagites on the educational value of music) and Book I (where someone brings Damon forward to speak on the educational value of music).¹⁸ He identified the author of this dialogue from *De mus.* IV 23 (col. 137.30 D.) = Herakleides fr. 162 Wehrli, where Philodemos cites Herakleides for his views on 'appropriate (*preontos*) and inappropriate songs, masculine and soft *êthê* [of music], and actions suitable or unsuitable for the [dramatic?] characters who perform them'. The subject of Philodemos' mention of Damon in Book I Kemke, whether music produces virtue, is consistent with Philodemos' further report of Herakleides' remarks in IV 23–4, in particular that 'music has many uses throughout life, and enthusiasm for music is conducive to most virtues, or rather to all of them'. Cicero *Ad Att.* 13.19.3–4 and *Ad Quint. frat.* 3.5.1, among other passages, attest that Herakleides was famous for writing dialogues where early statesmen spoke with philosophers. Bücheler therefore hypothesized that Philodemos derived his knowledge of Damon's student's 'Areopagitikos' (which influenced Plato and later writers) through a fourth-century dialogue by Herakleides.

Independently of Bücheler, in 1938 Robert Philippson ('Philodemos') appears to have proposed a similar but simpler hypothesis, that a dialogue by Herakleides was Philodemos' single source for Damon. Philippson surmised that the dramatic scene in *De musica* Book I took place before the Areopagos: someone (possibly Sokrates, whom he calls Damon's teacher) was conversing with the Areopagites, and called Damon over to discuss music and education. In his

¹⁸ See the introduction to Kemke's Teubner; and Rispoli, 'Primo libro' 25–6, cf. 31–2. In 2007: cxc–cxci, Delattre assigned these summaries to the first part of Book IV.

saw, Philodemos derived his information about Damon through the second-century head of the Stoics, Diogenes of Babylon.¹⁹ Van Arnim (*Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, Leipzig 1903–24) attributed some 37 passages (fr. 54–90) of Philodemos *De musica* to Diogenes, including fr. 56 where Damon comes forward to speak. Diogenes shared Plato's views on the educational and *êthos* value of music, himself writing a *De musica*.²⁰ In IV.23 (col. 137.28 D.) Philodemos indicates that his discussion of Herakleides on 'appropriate and inappropriate songs, and male and soft *êthê*' came through Diogenes (Herakleides fr. 162 Wehrli = Diogenes fr. 88 van Arnim).

Now, did Damon address Athens' Areopagos Council on music education and *êthos*, or was that notion an invention of Diogenes' source, a dialogue by Herakleides, as transmitted to Philodemos through Diogenes?

Four converging factors—conceptual, historical, musical, and literary—establish that the second half of the fourth century was both a *terminus post quem* and the approximate date of the ultimate source for Philodemos' conceit. These same factors make it difficult to imagine that Damon wrote a speech to the Areopagos on *êthos* and the music education of children before or after 462/1.

1) In the fifth century, education was a private, family matter.²¹ No fifth-century intellectual is known to have advocated public involvement in educating the young, or addressed a public institution such as the Areopagos on that subject. By contrast, in the fourth century many conservatives including Plato, Isokrates, and Aristotle actively promoted the official supervision of education. Plato's *Republic* is a massive effort to institute formalized educational controls. In *Politics* 1337a11–26 Aristotle writes,

No one would dispute the fact that it is a lawgiver's prime duty to arrange for the education of the young. . . . The responsibility for education must be a public one, not the private affair which it now is, each man looking after his own children and teaching them privately whatever private curriculum he thinks they ought to study.

¹⁹ So now above all Delattre 2007: 1–20; also, Barker, 'Diogenes'.

²⁰ See, e.g. Rispoli, 'Filodemo' 64–6 and 77–83, followed by A. A. Long, 'The Harmonics of Stoic Virtue', in *Stoic Studies* (Cambridge, 1996) 214 and n. 27; and Delattre 2007: 1–20.

²¹ See, e.g. Marrou, *Education* 42–3, 103; Dover, *Clouds* lx.

The public education of children above all in music (1339a12–42b35) is a principal topic of *Politics* VIII. In 358/7 Isokrates first represented the Areopagos as a moral and educational force in the polis, in his wrongly titled ‘Areopagitikos’ written more than 50 years after Damon’s death. Furthermore, through ideologies of the *patrios politeia*—fantastic ‘ancestral constitutions’ supposedly responsible for Athens’ early success—Isokrates and other conservatives retrojected their recommendations for social improvement onto pre-Ephialtic Athens.²² Isokrates was not copying Damon. Rather, he was part of a wider fourth-century movement promoting a fantasy Areopagos that was also reflected in Philodemos’ original source.

2) In the aftermath of its disastrous defeat at Chaironeia in 338, the Athenian state itself began to take a role in educating the young. From 336/5, newly constituted officials called *sôphronistai*, ‘temperance guards’, and *kosmêtai*, ‘order guards’, were charged with the education and supervision of the ephebes, Athens’ military trainees (*Ath. Pol.* 42.2–5).²³ Other educational officers, *paidonomoi* and gymnasiarchs, were also institutions of this period. In 319/18, when the *ephebeia* had been weakened, the Eleusinians passed a decree honouring one Derkylos because as ‘general of the countryside’ he took measures ‘that the boys in the deme might be educated [*hoi paides paideuôntai*]’.²⁴ Only now did the Areopagos come to exercise a public authority over education. In connection with the *sôphronistai* and probably drawing on Herakleides as we shall see, [Plato] *Axiochos* 367a mentions that the Areopagos constituted ‘a committee for young men’ (*hairesis epi tous neous*). Diogenes Laertius (2.116) reports that it summoned up and expelled the philosopher Stilpon

²² See my *Areopagos* 145–8, 174–206; and (in general) H.-J. Gehrke, ‘Das Verhältnis von Politik und Philosophie im Wirken des Demetrios von Phaleron’, *Chiron* 8 (1978) 149–93.

²³ See Rhodes, *Comm. ad loc.* *Sôphronistai* (almost certainly a Lykourgan institution) are attested between 334/3 (*IG* 2² 1156) and 303/2 (*IG* 2² 1159). They were apparently abolished between 294 and 287, as they do not recur in the many later ephebic inscriptions: see Ch. Habicht, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte Athens im 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Munich, 1969) 32; and *Athens from Alexander to Antony* (Cambridge, MA, 1997) 16–17 with n. 19; also U. Köhler, ‘Attische Ephebenstele’, *MDAI* (A) 4 (1879) 324–8.

²⁴ *IG* 2² 1187.1–6, with F. W. Mitchel, ‘Derkylos of Hagnous and the date of *I.G.* 2² 1187’, *Hesperia* 33 (1964) 337–51. See also *SIG*³ 578.8–20, where Polythros funds the annual appointment of three *grammatodidaskaloi*, two *paidotribai*, and one *kitharistês* or *psaltês*, in third-century Teos.

(c.380–c.300 BC), for saying that Athena was ‘not a god’ (she was a goddess). He also reports (2.101) that the philosopher Theodoros narrowly escaped being brought before the Areopagos on a charge of impiety, after Athens’ oligarchic governor Demetrios of Phaleron himself intervened. The Areopagos summoned Demetrios’ own grandson and ordered him ‘to live a better life’ (Athen. 167e). Under Demetrios’ oligarchic regime (317–307), partly inspired by his teacher Aristotle, philosophers governed Athens and introduced various political reforms of an intellectual and moralizing character.

Around the Greek world, state involvement in education began in the later fourth century.²⁵ Either before Ephialtes’ 462 reforms (when the Areopagos was a major political institution), or afterwards (when it virtually disappears), addressing that Council on music *êthos* or the education of children would have been absurd, as Bücheler noted. He concluded that the ‘Areopagitikos’ was a ‘pathetic’ effort written by one of Damon’s students against what Bücheler thought was public hostility to music in the 420s. Philodemos’ tradition about Damon reflects concerns and realities of the later fourth century.

3) In Philodemos Damon discusses what children might gain from a music education. As I explain more fully in chapter 1 and Appendix 4a, such education was standard for respectable citizens down into the fourth century. In Aristophanes, ‘not to play the lyre’ epitomizes a lack of culture (*Wasps* 959, 989), and Plato championed music education (esp. *Rep.* 376e, *Laws* 653–654b, 812d). Increasingly in the fourth century, however, such education was criticized, and in the Hellenistic period it might even be omitted from the curriculum.²⁶ Two reasons for this development were the increasing complexity of music, which put it out of the range of amateurs, and the emergence of the professional musician ‘who was no longer a cultivated man’ (Henderson, ‘Greek music’ 340). Mastering the requisite skills entailed the risk of becoming banausic, a ‘mechanic’, not a gentleman. Hence, from the fourth century, performing music was increasingly reserved for professionals.²⁷ According to Plutarch (*Per.* 1), when Antisthenes the Socratic heard that the Theban Ismenias was an

²⁵ A. H. M. Jones, *The Greek City from Alexander to Constantine* (Oxford, 1940) 220–6.

²⁶ Henderson, ‘Greek Music’ 338–40; Marrou, *Education* 138–41.

²⁷ See my ‘Speech, song, and text’ 210–12; cf. Wilson, ‘Athenian strings’ 276–87, who dates the start of this development even earlier.

excellent *aulos* player, he remarked that he must then be good at nothing else. According to [Arist.] *Probl.* 19.15 in the later fourth century, choruses no longer consisted of free men. In *Pol.* 1337b27–38b5 Aristotle indicates that music education had become controversial. The principal issue he discusses is how far music should be part of education. He questions at length whether *eleutheroi* should learn to play any music (*Pol.* 1340b20–1b18). Certainly music must not be studied to a high level of competence, for this would make the performer a *banausos* and compromise his citizen's *aretê*. 'In fact, we call music performers "mechanics", and think that a man should not perform except for his own amusement or when he has had a good deal to drink' (*Pol.* 1339b9–10: i.e. in the *symposion*). The discussion in Philodemos over the value of music education fits this context.

4) Born c.500, Damon almost certainly could not have published a speech to the Areopagos on the uses of music. Andokides' *On the peace with Sparta*, written c.391, is the earliest extant deliberative speech delivered and published by its author.²⁸ Antiphon is the first known logographer of forensic rhetoric, writing speeches for others from c.430. He was the first person known to have written down a speech that he himself would deliver, in 411.²⁹ [Plutarch] *Life of Antiphon* 832d remarks, 'no legal speech is extant of any of those who lived before [Antiphon], nor even of his contemporaries, because speech-writing was not yet in vogue, not of Themistokles, not of Aristeides, not of Perikles.'

Could Damon's speech have been epideictic, as Bücheler suggested? Epideictic speeches were sometimes published, at least in Damon's later years. For several reasons, however, this possibility is hard to credit. Damon is not known to have been a rhetorician. Extant epideictic speeches consist of funeral orations, panegyrics, encomia, and invectives, sometimes set in the mythic past. None of these categories fit the one clear point in Philodemos, that Damon recommended to the Areopagites that they learn music. Harvey Yunis writes, 'epideictic contests resemble contests for dramatic poets or rhapsodes rather than political contests to decide issues of public concern; entertainment, not policy, is the chief product. Gorgias' speech in defense of Helen, one of the formative epideictic texts,

²⁸ G. Kennedy, *The Art of Persuasion in Greece* (Princeton, 1963) 204–5.

²⁹ M. Gagarin, *Antiphon and Andocides* (Austin, 1998) x–xi.

ends with the comment that the whole speech is a game.³⁰ None of this was appropriate for a major political counsellor of Perikles.

Presumably because of these difficulties, Wilamowitz supposed that Damon's text was a book in the form of a speech to the Areopagos.³¹ However, no fifth-century parallel for such a work is known.

Other points reinforce the conclusion that Damon's address to the Areopagos can only have been a later fourth-century conceit. In Philodemos, Damon says that by singing and playing the lyre a boy ought to learn not only courage and self-control but also justice. This passage attributes an ethical teaching to Damon that is absent from earlier sources, as we have seen. Moreover, the three virtues mentioned in this passage are precisely the most important virtues in Plato's *Republic*.³² This passage seems to reflect an elaboration of Damon's teaching in the light of Plato's ethics. Furthermore, as Philodemos (*De mus.* IV 24.9–36; col. 138.25 D.) noted, Plato himself does not say that music produces justice. Music and justice are analogous, but there is no inner bond. Walter Burkert remarked, 'That which was later regarded as the philosophy of Pythagoras had its roots in the school of Plato' (*Weisheit* vii). Just so, some of what was later considered Damonian seems to have been invented to accommodate Plato.

As for Damon's alleged links with Isokrates, Philodemos' Damon is said to have addressed the Areopagites ('whether actual or fictional'), whereas Isokrates merely mentioned that Council among many other points. As I have noted, we have no reason to suppose that Isokrates called his speech 'Areopagitikos'. Damon's 'Areopagitikos' sinks along with it.

Was Philodemos' ultimate source for his conceit a dialogue by Herakleides, as Philippson may imply? Herakleides was born not later than 384 and was alive in the last decade of the fourth century (Gottschalk, *Heraclides* 4). He was a Platonist and might well reflect Platonic virtues. He might well have wanted to say good things about

³⁰ *Taming Democracy. Models of Political Rhetoric in Classical Athens* (Ithaca, NY, 1996) 182–3.

³¹ Wilamowitz, *Arist. u. Ath.* i 134, *Verskunst* 60; see also Rostagni, 'Aristotele' 73 = *Scritti* 156; Janssens, 'Damon' 499; Meister, 'Damon' 42; Ziegler, 'Damon'; Lesky, *Greek Literature* 636.

³² *Rep.* 429a–430c *andreia*, 430d–432b *sôphrosunê* and (433a: 'above all') 432b–445e *dikaiousunê*: see, e.g. P. Friedländer, *Plato* 3. *The Dialogues, Second and Third Periods*, trans. H. Meyerhoff (Princeton, 1969) 99–101.

Damon, whom Plato praises. He also wrote philosophical dialogues set in the past. In POxy 664, for example, the narrator of a dialogue, in exile when Peisistratos was Athens' tyrant, visits Solon in Ionia and then returns to Athens. Peisistratos is present at the discussion whether it is sometimes better to be governed than to govern.³³ Diogenes Laertius (V.87, 89) attributes to Herakleides a historical dialogue *Περὶ μουσικῆς*. Our most detailed discussion of this dialogue, in Athenaios 624c–625f (= Herakleides fr. 162 Wehrli), focuses on the *êthos* correlations of the Dorian, Aeolian, and Ionian *harmoniai*, quintessentially post-Platonic Damonian questions.³⁴

Philippson's implication is further supported by similarities between Herakleides' mention in *De mus.* IV 23 (quoted in the text after n. 18 above) and Damon's in Plato *Rep.* 400b (= B 1). In particular, Plato uses the verb *prepein* and Herakleides the phrase *peri prepontos melous kai apreous*.³⁵

Some details of Herakleides' dialogue may be recovered from a late Hellenistic dialogue, [Plato] *Axiochos*. *Ax.* 364a (A 19) includes a striking parallel with Andokides *De myst.* 1.16 (A 20). The opening scene of *Axiochos* includes Kleinias son of Axiochos, Charmides son of Glaukon, and Damon, at a place near Kallirhoe; Axiochos himself is a main character in the dialogue. Andokides mentions these same persons or close relatives, and Charmides' house beside the Olympieion, which was near Kallirhoe (see A 19 comm.). When the author of *Ax.* 364a came to compose a dramatic setting for his dialogue, his grouping of Damon, Charmides, Kleinias, and Axiochos suggests that the association of these men was well known. That point is confirmed by Andokides. From what source did *Axiochos* derive this group? *Ax.* 367 mentions Athens' *sôphronistai*. As we have seen (n. 23 above), these supervisors existed only between 335/4 and sometime before 287. For this and other reasons, many scholars once dated

³³ On the attribution of this dialogue to Herakleides, see Fox, 'Heraclides' 60–2 with reff.

³⁴ For Herakleides and the *êthos* theory of music, see Gottschalk, *Heraclides* 133–5, 138–9. Diogenes' identification of *Peri mousikês* as a historical dialogue is however of uncertain value. As Wehrli notes (*Herakleides* 65), some of the works in Diogenes' list cannot have been historical dialogues. His text has sometimes been emended so that historical dialogues are merely one among several groups. Alternatively, Diogenes' list may originally have contained only dialogues, but was expanded.

³⁵ See further Wehrli, *Herakleides* 116; Gottschalk, *Heraclides* 138; and Appendix 4c below.

Axiochos c.300, although that date is no longer tenable (A 19 comm.). Rather, it appears that the author of *Axiochos* made use of a later fourth-century text set in the fifth century.

Four arguments help identify the text in question as a dialogue by Herakleides. First, both the author of *Axiochos* and Herakleides were Platonists. Second, Martin Nilsson pointed out that *Axiochos* describes cosmology and the afterlife of the soul in a way similar to Herakleides in *Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἄιδου*.³⁶ Third, Prodikos plays a major role in *Axiochos*, supplying two of Sokrates' four arguments against fearing death.³⁷ According to Plato (*Lch.* 197d = A 12), Prodikos was a close associate of Damon. Finally, *Axiochos* mentions Damon and a committee of Areopagites to supervise the young Philodemos' ultimate source mentioned an address by Damon to the Areopagites on the importance of music education.

These arguments support the hypothesis that *Axiochos* incorporated material from a dialogue by Herakleides. That dialogue will also have inspired *Axiochos*' opening scene, and its *dramatis personae* will have included Kleinias, Charmides, Damon, and Sokrates.

Finally, in Libanius' *De Socratis silentio* (A 21), the rhetor contests a decree forbidding Sokrates to speak while in prison awaiting execution. 'Soon enough', he remarks, 'you [Athenians] will be filled full of Sokrates' silences,' when the Lyceum, the Academy, the *palaistrai* and many other places grow quiet; nor will Sokrates any longer converse 'in the lawcourts, or at Agathon's house, or at Kallias', or at Ammon's'. Because no Athenian named 'Ammon' is known or likely, as long ago as 1606 Frederic Morel emended *ΑΜΜΩΝΟΣ* to read *ΔΑΜΩΝΟΣ*: 'Damon's'. Paleographically the emendation is straightforward. Furthermore, Plato *Lch.* 197d (A 12), where Sokrates says he's a 'good friend' (*hetairos*) of Damon, establishes impeccable Platonic authority for any philosophical scene including them. If Morel's emendation is sound, Libanius implies that Sokrates spoke in a philosophical dialogue set at Damon's house (so Rossetti, 'Spuren'). Not to multiply Damonian dialogues beyond necessity, was Philodemos' dialogue also Libanius'?

Quellenforschung will remain speculative. As [Plutarch] *De mus.* 1131f observes, 'most of the Platonists and the best of the

³⁶ *Gesch. gr. Religion* ii (Munich, 1950) 229.

³⁷ See 366d–369b (which includes the reference to *sôphronistai* and the Areopagos), and 369b–d.

Aristotelians' wrote on the history of music. Many Socratics and others including Aristotle wrote philosophical dialogues. Nonetheless, we have reasons to accept that Herakleides was the author of Philodemos' dialogue.

Accordingly, in the later fourth century someone—let us call him Herakleides—wrote a philosophical dialogue in which Damon spoke on music education. In Philodemos' *De musica*, Damon is said to have addressed the Areopagites on this topic; earlier in that book, someone 'calls Damon over' for his opinion. It may seem unlikely that the Areopagites featured as participants in the earlier scene, as Philippson thought. If they did not, then in Herakleides' dialogue Damon presumably stated that he had addressed the Areopagites on some other occasion. That interpretation would be consistent with Sokrates' participation in the dialogue, if our conclusions about Herakleides and Morel's emendation are justified. If Herakleides followed the fourth-century conservative version of fifth-century history, he will have dated Damon's address before 462, when the Areopagos remained powerful (and Sokrates was a child). *Ath. Pol.* 27.4 (A 8) confirms that in the later fourth century, Damon was thought to have been prominent before 462. What did Herakleides' Damon say to the Areopagites? A two-line lacuna precedes Philodemos' mention of Damon's speech in *De musica* IV (B 13). Nonetheless, fresh scrutiny of the blackened papyrus reveals that Herakleides' Damon said not that some elite (*tous charientas*) but rather that 'the Areopagites' ought to participate in music (B 13 comm.).³⁸ The historical accuracy of philosophical dialogues is obviously suspect, and Herakleides had a bad reputation for inventing. (His contemporary Aristoxenos attributed to him forgeries of Thespis: Diog. L. 5.92.) Yet even he had the wit to grasp that Perikles' democratic adviser would have lectured the Areopagites on their need for music instruction.

Philippson's apparent implication eliminates Damon's 'Areopagitikos' as a historical speech. How did his argument fare? In 1957, in a footnote, Neubecker acknowledged his hypothesis as 'quite possible, but not compulsory'. In an appendix to his 1966 *Ethos* volume and mentioning Neubecker, Anderson remarks, 'we may well be dealing with the work of another writer, who has Damon appear', rather than

³⁸ Hence Schachermeyr's speculation that Damon told the Areopagites that they would profit from music proves to be correct, if not in the way he supposed.

a text by Damon. In 1969 Rispoli's position was similar.³⁹ Afterwards, however, like the worthy critics of Kemke, Ryffel, and Lasserre, Philippson's suggestion was forgotten. In 1974 ('Filodemo' 59) Rispoli ignored it; so did Anderson ('Damon') in 1980; and Damon's 'Areopagitikos' continues to be cited (e.g. Rhodes, *Comm.* 341; Podlecki, *Perikles* 21–2; Raaflaub, 'Ostracism' 325). Yet Philippson was right: the speech is a fourth-century fantasy. Any attempt to reconstruct it is—in Düring's phrase—a 'house of cards'. Hence the title of Bücheler's 1885 article, 'Damon's followers', proved in some way prophetic. Not Damon or a hapless student but instead, a century later, Plato's follower Herakleides seems to have spawned the notion of Damon's 'Areopagitikos'.

(C) 'DAMON'S SCHOOL' AND THE *HARMONIKOI*

Reports of 'Damon's school' or 'those around Damon' pose a second question about the Damonian tradition. Porphyry mentioned 'Damon's school' (C 2: *Δαμόνιος αἵρεσις*) in the third century AD. According to Porphyry, Aristoxenos had written about it in the fourth century BC. Although the expression *hoi peri*, 'those around', can sometimes be used to refer to the individual named, Aristides Quintilianus contrasts 'those around Damon', *hoi peri Damōna* (2.14 = B 5) with Damon himself. Athenaios (628c = C 1) also cites *hoi peri Damōna* meaning 'those around Damon' (see C 1 comm.), in connection with doctrines that are almost certainly not Damon's but may be neo-Pythagorean. Finally, many scholars have noted that the *harmonikoi* who are criticized in the Hibeh musical papyrus (D 2) seem to espouse Damonian views.⁴⁰ These *harmonikoi* consider themselves theorists, they praise or condemn various types of music, they 'say that some melodies make people self-disciplined,

³⁹ Neubecker, *Bewertung* 66–7 with n. 2 (see also 93); Anderson, *Ethos* 191; Rispoli, 'Primo libro' 106.

⁴⁰ A. J. Janssens, 'De musikaesthetische papyrus van Hibeh', *Philol. Stud.* 11/12 (1939/40) 90–111 (disciples of Damon); Anderson, *Ethos* 149–50 ('the Damonian school'); M. L. West, 'The Singing of Homer and the Modes of Early Greek Music', *JHS* 101 (1981) 117 (their doctrine 'may be Damon's'). Friedrich Blass, in B. F. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, eds, *The Hibeh Papyri I* (Oxford, 1906) 45–6, thought that Damon himself was the speaker's target.

others prudent, others just, others brave, and others cowardly', and they are interested in rhythm, which they 'beat out on the wooden benches' in the theatres. In Pl. *Rep.* 400 (B 1) Sokrates says he will ask Damon 'which steps suit *aneleutheria* and *hubris* or *mania* and other evils, and what rhythms we must leave for their opposites. . . . In some of these metres [Damon] criticized or praised the tempo of the foot no less than the rhythms.'

[Plutarch] *De musica* 1136d–e (B 6) supplies additional evidence for Damon and 'the *harmonikoi*'. Although Aristoxenos claimed that Sappho invented the Mixolydian *harmonia*,

the *harmonikoi* in their historical works say that the aulete Pythokleides invented it, and also that Lamprokles the Athenian . . . gave it the form of the series from *paramesê* to *hypatê hypatôn*. They also say that the relaxed Lydian, which is the antithesis of Mixolydian and close to Ionian, was invented by the Athenian Damon. (trans. Barker)

Their attribution of the 'relaxed Lydian' to Damon contrasts with an alternative, anonymous attribution to Polymnestos (*De musica* 1141b), if the 'relaxed Lydian' and the Hypolydian are identical as seems likely.⁴¹ The attribution to Damon suggests that [Plutarch]'s *harmonikoi* are related to the Damonian *harmonikoi* of PHibeh. It appears that a passage in Olympiodoros also reflects the 'historical works' of the Damonian *harmonikoi* (B 4 and ch. 3a).

Aristoxenos indicates that different groups of *harmonikoi* were active in the late fifth and fourth centuries. He notes that Eratokles and *hoi peri Eratoklea* alone among the *harmonikoi* considered the question of musical intervals, albeit incompletely (5.6–27, 6.11–33). Later he remarks that 'some [of the *harmonikoi*] do not attempt to enumerate the distinctions between *systemata* but study only the seven octachords which they call *harmoniai*', while *hoi peri* Pythagoras the Zakynthian and *hoi peri* Agenor the Mytilenean, among others, did make this attempt but unsuccessfully (36.15–7.9). He claims that some of the *harmonikoi* believed that the objective of harmonic study is musical notation; others said it lies in the study of the *aulos* (39.4–43.24). Finally, in 37.10–8.17 he discusses contrasting descriptions of the *tonoi* by different *harmonikoi*.

⁴¹ 'The *harmonikoi*' themselves had mentioned Polymnestos (*De musica* 1134d) as employing the *orthios nomos*, probably also a kind of rhythm (Barker, *GMW* i 251).

At 2.25–30 Aristoxenos says he has written a book ‘on the opinions of the *harmonikoi*’. In *Comm. in Ptol. harm.* (C 2) Porphyry mentioned a number of schools of harmonics before Aristoxenos, ‘such as those of Epigonos, Damon, Eratokles, Agenor, and some others, which Aristoxenos mentions’. Since Aristoxenos expressly calls the schools of Eratokles and Agenor *harmonikoi*, and since ‘Damon’s school’ also was *harmonikos* as we have seen, it is quite possible that Porphyry here refers to Aristoxenos’ book on the *harmonikoi*. It is striking that in *Elementa harmonica* Aristoxenos nowhere mentions Damon or the Damonians, and the views of the various *harmonikoi* whom he discusses are very different from those attributed to the *harmonikoi* in the Hibeh papyrus.⁴² The *harmonikoi* described in *Elementa harmonica* sought to develop diagrams to measure the intervals within each musical scale and to relate and compare the intervals in different musical scales.⁴³ The *êthos* theory is not mentioned in connection with these *harmonikoi*, even though at 2.31 Aristoxenos indicates that he himself did not altogether reject it. By contrast, the Hibeh papyrus and Plato on Damon say nothing about diagrams or measuring. In the light of Aristoxenos’ indication that different schools of *harmonikoi* were active in the fourth century, the Hibeh writer appears to attack especially the Damonian school, which Aristoxenos ignores, perhaps because he was attracted to the *êthos* theory.⁴⁴ The Hibeh papyrus adds little new about the Damonians, covering mostly points that Plato also mentions. It does however document the continued importance of that group in the late fourth or early third century (on the date, see D 2 comm.). Furthermore, in contrast to the closeted experimenters ridiculed by Plato and Aristoxenos, the Hibeh (i.e. Damonian) *harmonikoi* gave public demonstrations (*epideixeis*), they were out in the theatres ‘on the wooden benches’, challenging the *rhêtores* (see also Aristox. *Harm.* 31 and

⁴² In ‘Οἱ καλούμενοι ἁρμονικοί’, Barker largely ignores the Hibeh papyrus in reconstructing the work of the *harmonikoi*.

⁴³ For a superb reconstruction of their work and its significance, see Barker, ‘Οἱ καλούμενοι ἁρμονικοί’ 8–18. Plato also referred to these *harmonikoi*: *Rep.* 531a; *Phdr.* 268d–e. See also Theophr. fr. 716 Fort.

⁴⁴ In ‘Οἱ καλούμενοι ἁρμονικοί’ Barker contends that the term *harmonikoi* in Aristoxenos refers to all earlier philosophers of music except the Pythagoreans, whose work Aristoxenos judged to be fundamentally different from his own. Contrast A. Barker, ‘Music and Perception: A Study in Aristoxenos’, *JHS* 98 (1978) 10, that this term refers only to a certain group; and see my ‘Music theorists’ 27–34.

Theophr. *Char.* 5.10: the *harmonikoi epideiknusthai* [codd.; *enepideiknusthai* Cobet] in little arenas). Aristoxenos' failure to mention these Damonians in his critique in *Elementa harmonica*, together with Plato's comparative praise for Damon but sarcasm toward these other theorists, suggests that in the fourth century the Damonian *harmonikoi* distinguished themselves from other *harmonikoi* by concentrating on furthering Damon's work on the *êthos* theory and its public applications (cf. Perikles' Odeion), rather than on more technical matters such as the analysis of musical structures. In the fourth century, 'Damon's school' was one branch of the harmonicist movement.

'Damon's followers' pose a significant problem for extant traditions about Damon. As the mentions of them reveal, these theorists seem to have considered themselves Damonians, and to have written about Damon. However, they had no texts by Damon to control their remarks about him. Sokrates and Pythagoras presented similar problems. Victorinus (*On Cicero's rhetoric* 1.31) said of Aeschines the Sokratic, 'It was the practice of pupils to attribute their own discoveries to their teachers as if they were their teachers' views.' Most conspicuously, such was Plato's practice toward Sokrates. In consequence, some later texts that mention Damon contaminate his theories with Pythagorean, neo-Platonist, and neo-Pythagorean ideas, such as the notion that notes might be male or female. Such later ideas should not be attributed to Damon.

Conclusion

‘The contempt of most people for our subject has convinced me to begin this study, proposing to show what this material is that is so despised.’ So Aristides Quintilianus opened his work on Greek music theory in the late third or early fourth century AD (*De mus.* I 2 = p. 2.23–6 W.-I.). Despite the difficulties he encountered, for Aristides music theory remained a rich, still living tradition. He had access to a full range of classical and post-classical writings on topics of interest to him, including Damon. Shortly afterwards nearly all these texts were lost. Until Kemke’s edition of Philodemos’ *De musica* in 1884, Damon was mostly forgotten.

Following his rediscovery, Damon’s next century proved a difficult one, as scholars tried ever more creatively to reconstruct his theories. Many of Damon’s mentions are late. Some intriguing passages are coloured by Platonism and neo-Pythagoreanism. Several fragmentary lines in Philodemos’ charred papyri sent three generations of scholars down the wrong path, construing Perikles’ democratic *sophos* as an Isokratean and Platonic conservative.

If most of these later texts now seem doubtful, we have gained sources in their place. Plato Comicus brought Damon onto Athens’ comic stage. Andokides mentioned him in court. He appeared in one and possibly more late fourth-century texts, probably including a philosophical dialogue. Plato and [Aristotle]’s *Ath. Pol.* seem to have preserved several of his phrases.

More important, we can now better understand extant classical traditions about Damon within the culture of fifth- and fourth-century Athens. At the forefront of humanistic culture and the practical application of knowledge, Damon first studied the emotional, behavioural, and hence social and political affects of music and poetic metre. He inherited a subject earlier approached by the

Pythagoreans for its cosmic implications, and applied it to the understanding of human psychology. Like other contemporary intellectuals imperfectly represented by Plato, his approach was not negative, sceptical, or relativist. The *êthos* consequences of music and metre were the same for all.

Understanding Damon's theories has depended especially on Plato, a brilliant philosopher neither hostile nor adulatory toward him, a near contemporary whose friends and family had close ties with him but who was always complicated about other intellectuals, for better (Sokrates) or for worse (his 'sophists'). Later sources repeating Plato's values alleged that Damon promoted certain types of music for their positive ethical consequences. He may have done, although no decent evidence records it, and a more neutral ethical stance may explain why Plato did not entirely approve of him.

In addition to his work in musical and metrical *êthos*, Damon described and named various *harmoniai*, rhythms, and metrical feet, a term he may have invented. He taught elite young Athenians, and was wise counsellor to Perikles and Nikias. He and Perikles applied the knowledge they acquired toward educating the demos and the practical manipulation of experience. Perikles learned from Damon the techniques of musical politics. Plato embraced that same purpose in *Republic* III–IV, citing Damon's work.

Finally, Damon paid a price for his political entanglements: c.442 the Athenians ostracized him. The varied sources for his ostracism shed light on key aspects of contemporary democratic politics. When he returned to Athens ten years later, he was less prominent, while still counselling Nikias.

At least among ancient philosophers, Damon's *êthos* theories enjoyed a mixed reception. Even their biggest supporter Plato came to question them. In his last book *Laws* as earlier in *Republic*, music still functions by *mimêsis* (655d, 668), inducing its audience to imitate good or bad behaviour. In *Republic*, however, Plato had argued that bad music must corrupt the soul (401b–c). In *Laws*, people will grow to resemble what they enjoy, not simply what they hear (655d–656b): the important thing is to have correct feelings of pleasure and pain (654d). In *Laws* Plato no longer emphasizes the importance of strictly controlling the types of music that people heard. Musical propriety remains important (669b–670a), but he now permits a greater variety of *harmoniai* than the Dorian and Phrygian (670a–e). The text of a song now acquires a much greater significance (664b–c). Plato even

admits that it is hard to see what music without words imitates (669d–e). Most strikingly, in *Laws* 700a–701b he suggests that for Athens changes in music were themselves of no great significance, but only indirectly disastrous. As a result of innovators such as Timotheos, whose musical contaminations aimed at pleasure,

the audiences, which had been silent, became noisy, as if they understood what is good in music and what is not, and a musical aristocracy was displaced by a degenerate theatrocracy. *Now no doubt it would have been no very terrible thing if a democracy of free men had arisen just in the field of music*; but in fact, from a starting-point in music, everyone came to believe in their own wisdom about everything, and to reject the law, and liberty followed immediately. Believing themselves knowledgeable, people became fearless, and fearlessness bred shamelessness. When boldness prevents one fearing the opinion of a better man, that amounts to depraved shamelessness: it is caused by a liberty that is too self-confidently grasped. . . . The next stage of the journey toward liberty will be refusal to submit to the officials, and on this will follow emancipation from the authority and correction of parents and elders; then comes the effort to escape obedience to the laws. (trans. Barker; my emphasis)

Musical changes first suggested to the mob that it could assert its opinion.

The breakdown of polis ideals, and the public's transformation from performers to spectators, were two reasons why the *êthos* theory of music weakened in and after the fourth century. As culture fragmented into its constituent segments (see my 'Speech, song and text') and communities ceased to perform the music of the polis which increasingly devolved into popular entertainment, the *êthos* theory made less sense. Music education henceforth enhanced the pleasures of a more passive leisure.

Although Damon receives no credit for it, in modern times the social applications of music *êthos* have again become important, through the pervasive power of electronic transmission. 'Muzak' calms in airports, elevators, and dentists' chairs. Jazz and rock have often been condemned as disrupting the social order. For its political overtones and forum, it is relevant to quote testimony to the US Congress in 1958, that rock music was 'the most brutal, ugly, desperate, vicious form of expression it has been my misfortune to hear', written and sung 'for the most part by cretinous goons. . . . By means of its almost imbecilic reiteration and sly—lewd—in plain

fact dirty—lyrics... [it] manages to be the martial music of every side-burned delinquent on the face of the earth.' The concerned citizen who thus testified was Frank Sinatra. In 1969, then an old man, Damon's student Schachermeyr concurred: 'there can be no doubt that the grotesque music which took its departure from Walt Disney's Mickey Mouse films has led to a routine kind of mocking by the international entertainment industry, and that modern *Twistmusik* has had a brutalizing influence on the souls of our young people' ('Damon' 199). In the spring of 1991 during the early days of my Damon project, South Carolina reported more record burning. After watching a film called 'Hell's Bells' on the dangers of rock music, the Society of Christian Athletes built a bonfire of pop recordings, including the Beatles, long-suffering in this regard after John Lennon compared them to Jesus. In Aristophanes' *Clouds*, Strepsiades burned down the *phrontistêrion*, the 'thinkery' where his son learned New Music (1356–60, cf. 961–71) and what Plato called Damonian metrics (641–51).

Yet if his *êthos* theory seems ever more significant in our world, Damon himself has yet to recover his rightful place in the intellectual, cultural, and political history of classical Athens. He would be happy to know that a Swiss society for the study of music and metre bears his name (<<http://www2.unil.ch/damon>>). He would be less happy to find no entry for himself in the new 11-volume *Pauly*.

As teacher, scientific researcher into 'human things', and wise counsellor to elite politicians, Damon was a distinguished and typical *sophos* of Periklean Athens. Two of the three points that once made him distinctive now seem less important. First, he was an Athenian, something not typical of Plato's sophists. We remember, however, that since the later sixth century Athens had been the centre for music theory, and that Damon's predecessor Lamprokles and his teacher Agathokles were Athenian. Second, he was older than Plato's sophists. Teaching and working with Perikles since the 470s, he was certainly not younger than Protagoras, traditionally considered the first 'sophist'. Music researchers were active in Athens from the later sixth century, and *sophoi/sophistai* had offered wise counsel since 600. Third, and paradoxically, unlike so many peers including his colleague Prodikos, Damon was fortunate in that Plato liked his work. Among fifth-century intellectuals, only he and Sokrates had successors who worked in their names down through antiquity.

Part II

Testimonia and Commentary

Except for two apparent quotations in secondary narratives (A 9 [cf. D 1] and B 1), no words of Damon are extant (see Appendix 1). Therefore I list all passages mentioning him as testimonia not fragmenta. Testimonia are classified by subject: (A) biographical reports, including (i) deme, (ii) teachers, (iii) students and associates, (iv) miscellaneous, (v) ostracism; (B) Damon's musical and metrical theories; (C) his followers; (D) some passages possibly showing his influence; (E) two passages alleged to show his influence. D and E are necessarily selective. Much other evidence for Damon's influence could be adduced, especially on the *êthos* theory of music which he first developed. Citations are largely limited to Damon's contemporaries and immediate followers; exceptions include Cicero *De leg.* II 38–9 (B 14) and Plut. *Lyc.* 4 (quoted in A 9). E includes two well-known texts where Damon's influence has been hypothesized but with inadequate justification. Elsewhere, too, Damon's shadow haunts music scholarship. In ch. 2 n. 14 I doubt whether a Damonian concept of *mimêsis* informed Aristophanes on Agathon's transvestism. In Gentili and Pretagostini, *Musica* 14 n. 9, Gentili rightly rejects Radermacher's hypothesis that a series of spondees in Demetrios is (as Radermacher titles his article) 'A Fragment of Damon' (*Wien. Stud.* 56 [1938] 110–11, see also 59 [1941] 1–3).

Testimonia pertaining to more than one category are quoted where most important, and cross-referenced. Ancient commentaries are appended to the texts they comment on. The editions used are standard, except for several passages of Philodemos *De musica* newly edited here; *apparatus critici* are supplemented or reduced, as needed for present purposes. Unattributed translations are mine, based on standard versions. The problem posed by ancient citations of the early philosophers became more acute since Catherine

Osborne's demonstration, further developed by others, that testimonia and fragmenta should not be extracted from their contexts without regard for their interpretation by secondary sources.¹ A relevant example are the mentions of Damon in Plato's *Laches*, each one complimentary but in context ambiguous. I endeavour to orient such testimonia within their contexts.

Finally, I include all ancient passages that mention Damon.² If some later entries breathe an antiquarian air, it is impossible to know what others might find useful. My contribution to Damon is partly the result of DK's decision to omit passages they judged trivial or erroneous.

TESTIMONIA (A): DAMON'S LIFE

(i) Damon's Deme

A 1 Stephanus Byzantius, *Ethnica*, s.v. "Oa, ed. A. Meineke, Berlin: Reimer, 1849 (repr. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1958) p. 482

"Oa, δῆμος τῆς Ἀττικῆς, τῆς Πανδιονίδος φυλῆς. Διονύσιος δὲ ὁ τοῦ Τρύφωνος φησι τὸ πληθυντικὸν "Οεις λέγεσθαι αὐτάς, ὡς καὶ ἄλλα πολλά. ὁ μὲντοι δημότης "Οαθεν λέγεται. «Δάμων Δαμωνίδου "Οαθεν». καὶ ἐκ τόπου τὸ αὐτό. τὰ δ' ἄλλα "Οαζε "Οασι. λέγεται καὶ "Οη. ἔστι δ' "Οη τῆς Οἰνηίδος φυλῆς. ὁ δημότης "Οηθεν.

2 αὐτάς, ὡς] αὐτὰς τοῦ Οἶες ὡς R. an igitur scribendum: πληθυντικῶς "Οεῖς (Οαεύς), ὡς ἄλλα πολλά? 4 "Οασι M, "Οασε libri.

Oa, an Attic deme of the tribe Pandionis. Dionysios son of Tryphon says that the deme is referred to in the plural, Oeis, as he also (says)

¹ C. Osborne, *Rethinking Early Greek Philosophy: Hippolytus of Rome and the Presocratics* (London, 1978). See also P. Brunt, 'On Historical Fragments and Epitomes', *CQ* ns 30 (1980) 477–94, for example on distortions even when purporting to quote.

² I should add, all Greco-Roman passages. Although no book of Greek music theory is known to survive in medieval Arabic translation, Arab music theorists consulted Greek predecessors, including Aristoxenos, Euclid, Ptolemy, Themistius, and Nichomachos—as well as Pythagoras and Hermes: H. G. Farmer, 'Greek Theorists of Music in Arabic Translation', *Isis* 13 (1930) 325–33. It is unknown whether—needle in a haystack—some lost Greek theorist mentioned Damon and an Arab scholar picked this up. Many of these Arabic writings remain unpublished.

many other things. In any case, a person from the deme is called *Oathen* ('from Oa'). Damon son of Damonides *Oathen*. And from the place the same thing applies. Other forms are *Oaze* ('to Oa') and *Oasi* ('at Oa'). 'Oè' is also mentioned. There is an Oè of the tribe Oineis. A person from the deme is *Oèthen* ('from Oè').

The question of Damon's deme is famously difficult, as our two sources disagree. The later epitome of Stephanus' geographical lexicon (itself Justinianic) identifies Damon's deme as Oa, a small deme in the Mesogaia. According to *Ath. Pol.* 27 (A 8) written in Aristotle's school in the 320s, Damon's deme was Oè, which inscriptions and the orators imply was much larger and more important (see Dow, 'Oa'). Carcopino's argument ('Damon' 424 and n. 4) that Oè was more important than Oa carries no weight, as *somebody* lived in Oa. As we shall see, the reverse argument is stronger. Dow also argued for Oè, adding that Stephanus 'cannot possibly prevail' against *Ath. Pol.* 'written perhaps 800 years earlier'.³ Rhodes prefers Stephanus, as he was interested in the deme.⁴ Both arguments may be reconsidered.

The value of Stephanus' testimony depends on his source, a problem neither Dow nor Rhodes discusses. Meineke thought that Stephanus' source for Damon was Krateros' *Collection of Decrees*, a work he cites often; and Krateros sometimes used people's full names (*FGrHist* 342 fr. 11), as here. If Meineke is right (and heavy-weights have supported him), his suggestion might indicate that Damon proposed one or more decrees, and *Ath. Pol.* 27 ('Damon was thought to be the proposer of most of Perikles' measures') could indicate that Damon proposed decrees for Perikles (but see A 8 comm.).⁵ Jacoby (*FGrHist* 3b *Comm.* Notes p. 67) argued that Stephanus' source for Damon was more probably Diodoros Periegetes (of the third or possibly fourth century BC), whom Stephanus also cites frequently. Stephanus' citations of Attic demes are commonly thought to derive from four sources: Diodoros Periegetes perhaps as transmitted through Philon of Byblos; Didymos; Dionysios son (or pupil) of Tryphon and grammarian of the early imperial period; and

³ Dow, 'Oa' 180–1, accepted by Stadter, *Pericles* 115 and Scheidel and Taeuber, 'Aristoteles' 460–1. See also Morrison, 'Origins' 206 n. 4.

⁴ Rhodes, *Comm.* 341. Davies, *APF* 383 accepts Oa without argument.

⁵ A. Meineke, *Stephanus Byzantinus* (Berlin, 1849; repr. Graz, 1958) 482, 718, accepted by P. Krech, *De Crateri psêphismatôn synagôgê et de locis aliquot Plutarchi ex ea petitis* (Greifwald, 1888) 101 (27), by Wilamowitz, 'ΔΑΜΩΝ' 320 as *natürlich* (see also Carcopino, 'Damon' 421), and by Busolt (as 'undoubted'), *Gr. Gsch.* 3. 247 n. 3.

Phrynichos, a lexicographer of the Severan period and author of a work on Attic names and places.⁶ Against Jacoby, Stephanus rightly identifies the tribe of Oê as Oineis, not Pandion as in *Souda* and Harpokration (ss.v. *Οἴηθεν*), expressly following Diodoros Periegetes (*FGrHist* 372 fr. 8). Pandion in fact was the tribe of Oa. This argues that Stephanus was not following Diodoros, and that Diodoros confused Oa for Oê, while preserving Oa's tribal designation. Diodoros thus supports Damon's assignation to Oa.

Two other arguments also favour Oa. First, it is more likely that an obscure deme would be confused for a more important one. Second, *Ath. Pol.* can be careless (Rhodes, *Comm.* 422–3), especially in chs. 23–8 on Athenian internal politics after 480 (ibid. 283–6). Its comment on Damon must contain at least one other serious error, probably omitting Damon's name (see Appendix 2). It is not difficult to suppose that *Ath. Pol.* confused Damon's insignificant deme with a deme of similar name that was quite important in the later fourth century when *Ath. Pol.* was written.

Damon's deme was therefore most probably Oa, in the Mesogaia. J. S. Traill, *The Political Organization of Attica* (Princeton, 1975) Map 1 and Rhodes, *Comm.* 763 plot the location of Oa, Rhodes more to the north and Traill slightly to the west of the airport at Spata. (They both also locate 'Oe', beyond Aigaleos toward Phyle.) In *CAH*¹ 73, 175 and the Loeb *Ath. Pol.* 27, the Latinized 'Oea' (from Oê's alternative spelling 'Oie') is unhelpful.

(ii) Damon's teachers

A 2 Plato, *Laches* 180c–d, ed. J. Burnet, Oxford: OUP 1900 (repr. 1967, 1993²)

Asked by Lysimachos about the education of young men, Laches recommends that he and Nikias consult Sokrates. Lysimachos then asks whether Sokrates has ever attended to such matters. Nikias responds.

Τοῦτο μὲν σοι κἀν ἐγὼ ἔχοιμι εἰπεῖν οὐ χεῖρον Λάχητος· καὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ μοι
ἐναγχος ἄνδρα προυξένησε τῷ ὑεῖ διδάσκαλον μουσικῆς, Ἀγαθοκλέους

⁶ B. Niese, *De Stephani Byzantini auctoribus, Commentatio prima* (Kiel, 1873) 34–5; L. Cohn, 'Untersuchungen über die Quellen der Plato-Scholien', *Jahrb. f. Klass. Philol.*, Suppl. Bd. 13 (1884) 852–4; E. Honigmann, 'Stephanos (Byzantios)', *RE* 3 A (1929) coll. 2379–89.

μαθητὴν Δάμωνα, ἀνδρῶν χαριέστατον οὐ μόνον τὴν μουσικὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
τὰλλα ὅπόσου βούλει ἄξιον συνδιατρίβειν τηλικούτοις νεανίσκοις.

This I too could tell you just as well as Laches, for to me quite lately (Sokrates) recommended a music teacher for my son—Damon, a pupil of Agathokles and the most accomplished of men not only in music but in anything else you wish, a person worthy to spend time with young men of that age.

Plato here attests that Damon was a student of Agathokles. Four other texts mention Agathokles. In *Pl. Prt.* 316e, Protagoras lists Agathokles ('a great sophist') among those other 'sophists' (including Homer, Hesiod, and two professional athletes) who disguised their craft, in Agathokles' case by music (see A 9 comm.). *Schol. ?Pl. i Alc.* 118c calls Agathokles a student of Pythokleides and a teacher of Lamprokles (see A 3 and comm.). Finally, two lives of Pindar (*Vit. metr.* 16–17 = *Schol. Vet.* ed. Drachmann i p. 9 lines 1–2, and *Vit. Ambr.* = *ibid.* p. 1 lines 11–12) report that as a *παῖς* Pindar studied at Athens with Agathokles (or alternatively, according to the *Ambrosiana*, with the Athenian Apollodoros, otherwise unknown).

Plato's statement that Damon studied with Agathokles is of first importance. The value of Agathokles' other mentions is less certain. *Prt.* 316e may not be altogether serious (see A 9 comm.). The scholiasts' pedagogic *diadoché* is formulaic and implies an improbable chronology (see A 3 comm.). Finally, ancient biography—an unreliable genre—was entirely capable of inventing links between Pindar and the best-known Athenian musical figures of the generation before his floruit. The scholiasts also tell that Agathokles (or Apollodoros), having to be away from the city, entrusted a chorus to the young Pindar; on this topos see Fairweather, 'Traditional narrative' 324–5. According to the *Vit. Thom.* (Drachm. i p. 4 lines 12–15) and Eustath. *Proem. in schol. Pind.* (Drachm. iii p. 296 lines 19–20, p. 300 lines 1–2), Pindar studied at Athens with Lasos of Hermione, another revolutionary musical figure (see ch. 1a). Lefkowitz has challenged this tradition as a fiction celebrating Athens as the centre of culture, just as that city claimed Tyrtaios, or as a 'pupil-teacher' metaphor based on similarities in their works.⁷ On the other hand, Pindar's riddling comment on asigmatism (an experiment of Lasos) in a dithyramb which contains them (Athen. 455b–d = fr. 70b

⁷ M. L. Lefkowitz, *The Lives of the Greek Poets*¹ (Baltimore, 1981) 59–60; ² (Baltimore, 2012) 62–3, 121, 191 n. 48.

Maehler), his victory in Athens' dithyrambic contest probably in 496/5 (POxy 2439, ii9f) when he was probably 22, his claim that Athena (not Theban Apollo) invented the *aulos* (*Pyth.* 12, c.490: his only known victory ode for a musical contest, here by an Agrigentine), his dithyramb praising Athens (fr. 76 Maehler), and his 486 victory ode (*Pyth.* 7) for the Alkmaionid Megakles, all suggest some early association with a city that by the late sixth century had become the music and literary centre of Greece (ch. 1a).

The scholiasts' reports about Pindar indicate that Agathokles was thought to have been active in the late sixth century. Pindar was apparently born in 522 or 518. The scholiastic *diadochê* implies a similar date (A 3 comm.). Therefore, Plato's report that Damon studied with Agathokles supports the early chronology for Damon, that he was born in the late sixth or early fifth century, not c.460 (see Appendix 2).

On Damon's versatility (which Nikias mentions), see ch. 2a; on Plato's complex attitude toward Damon, see the Preface; on *Laches*, see A 2, 13, 14; on Nikias' son Nikeratos, see ch. 1 n. 11.

A 3 Schol. ?Plato i *Alc.* 118c, ed. C. F. Hermann, Leipzig: Teubner, 1892 vol. 6 p. 279 (= W. C. Greene, *Scholia Platonica*, Haverford, Pa., 1938 p. 95 [repr. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1988])

Πυθοκλείδης μουσικὸς ἦν, τῆς σεμνῆς μουσικῆς διδάσκαλος, καὶ
Πυθαγόρειος, οὗ μαθητὴς Ἀγαθοκλῆς, οὗ Λαμπροκλῆς, οὗ Δάμων.

Pythokleides was a musician, a teacher of serious music and a Pythagorean, who taught Agathokles, who taught Lamprokles, who taught Damon.

Prima facie important not least for its suggestion of Pythagorean influence on Damon, this scholiast's note on the mention of Pythokleides in i *Alc.* (A 4) is of minimal value.⁸ Intellectual 'genealogies' are a standard fabrication of the biographical genre.⁹ For example, the

⁸ So Else, 'Imitation' 89 n. 55: 'an obviously apocryphal *diadochê*' (contrast Morrison, 'Origins' 205: 'all quite plausible'). The attribution of these scholia to Proklos, the extant part of whose commentary on i *Alc.* ends at 116b (L. G. Westerink, *Proclus Diadochus, Commentary on the First Alcibiades of Plato* [Amsterdam, 1954] 160 but cf. p. x) is doubtful (W. O'Neill, *Proclus: Alcibiades I* [The Hague, 1965] 223 n.).

⁹ Cf. A. Szegedy-Maszak, 'Legends of the Greek Lawgivers', *GRBS* 19 (1978) 202–3; J. Fairweather, 'Traditional narrative' 321 and 'Fiction in the Biographies of Ancient Writers', *AncSoc* 5 (1974) 262:

Obviously there must have been cases in antiquity where a famous man really did receive some instruction from the leading exponent of his art of the previous generation . . . However, when one reads solemn assertions about the master/pupil relationships between epic poets before Homer, one realizes to what an extent ancient scholarship was beset with a desire to pigeon-hole everyone into succession lists.

fourth-century rhetorician and intellectual Alkidamas stated that Empedokles was a student first of Parmenides and then of Anaxagoras and Pythagoras. In the next century, Hermippos claimed that he was a student of Xenophanes, Timaios that he was a student of Pythagoras, and Neanthes that he was a student of an unknown Pythagorean; Neanthes rejected reports that he was a student of Hippasos and Brontinos. Many centuries later, Eusebius claimed that he was a student of Pythagoras' son Telauges.¹⁰ On grounds of chronology, Aristotle criticized claims that Zaleukos was a student of Thales and the teacher of Charondas (*Pol.* 1274a29–31).

In addition to general difficulties such as the paucity of decent sources,¹¹ chronology discredits our scholion to Plato. Agathokles was active in the late sixth and early fifth centuries (A 2 comm.). In Plato (A 4) and Aristotle according to Plutarch (A 9 = fr. 401 R.), Pythokleides was Perikles' music teacher. Since Perikles was born c.495 and music study began around the age of 13,¹² Pythokleides was active in the later 480s. This does not encourage support for the scholiast's statement that he was Agathokles' teacher. As for Lamprokles, according to [Plut.] *De mus.* 1136d (= B 6) as restored, possibly from Aristoxenos,

the *harmonikoi* in their historical works say that Pythokleides the aulete invented [the Mixolydian *harmonia*] and also that Lamprokles the Athenian, realizing that the disjunction in this *harmonia* is not where almost everyone supposed it to be, but at the top of its range, gave it the form of the series from *paramesê* to *hypatê hypatôn*.¹³

However, according to the *scholia vetera* to Ar. *Clouds* 967, both Chamaileon and Eratosthenes reported that Phrynichos (probably the comic poet) attributed to Lamprokles a poem partly quoted by *Clouds*' 'Just Argument'. Chamaileon himself was uncertain whether this poem was composed by Phrynichos or by Stesichoros (see my 'Aulos' 73–4). As 'Just Argument' says that his 'education bred the

¹⁰ For ref. see Wright, *Empedocles* 4–5. See in general Riginos, *Platonica* 40.

¹¹ What information about these early music figures could have been available to later scholars? L. Lehnus, 'Scopelino "padre" di Pindaro', *Rend. Ist. Lomb.* 111 (1977) 81, conjectures a fifth-century source, possibly Damon himself. However, Damon probably left no written work (see Appendix 1).

¹² See Davies, *APF* 455 for Perikles; and on the age of musical instruction, Pl. *Laws* 809e–10a; *Euthyd.* 272c; Ar. *Kn.* 987–96.

¹³ Trans. Barker, *GMW* i 221 with minor changes (see his n. 112 on the attribution to Aristoxenos).

men who fought at Marathon' (*Clouds* 985–6), Lamprokles may have been active in the late sixth or early fifth century. Again this does not encourage the claim that Agathokles was Lamprokles' teacher. Any implication about Pythagoreanism is also worthless. As far as we can judge, Pythokleides, Agathokles, and Lamprokles were roughly contemporary, one generation before Perikles and Damon.

Aristoxenos (fr. 110 Wehrli = Athen. 621c) characterizes the music of tragedy as *semmos*.

(iii) Damon's students and associates

For other students and associates of Damon, see A 2 (Nikias' son Nikeratos), A 23, B 4, A 25 comm. (Perikles), and A 18 (allegedly, Sokrates).

A 4 ?*Plato*, i *Alc.* 118c, ed. J. Burnet, Oxford: OUP 1900 (repr. 1967) = N. Denyer, Cambridge: CUP, 2001

This passage is quoted by Aelius Aristides IV 31.

ΑΛ. Λέγεται γέ τοι, ὦ Σώκρατες, οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου σοφὸς γεγονέναι, ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς καὶ σοφοῖς συγγεγονέναι, καὶ Πυθοκλείδῃ καὶ Ἀναξαγόρᾳ· καὶ νῦν ἔτι τηλικούτος ὢν Δάμῳνι σύνεστιν αὐτοῦ τούτου ἕνεκα.

Alkibiades: 'Yes, they say at any rate, Sokrates, that (Perikles) became wise not by himself but by associating with many wise men including both Pythokleides and Anaxagoras. Even now, in spite of his age, he studies with Damon for this very purpose.'

Discussing the knowledge required to give good counsel to the Athenians, Sokrates tells Alkibiades that he has rushed into politics without being educated in 'the just, the fair, the good, and the advantageous'. So have Athens' other leaders, 'except for a few, and perhaps your guardian Perikles'. Alkibiades responds in our passage. Sokrates then shows that Perikles was not *sophos*, as he did not make his sons or wards (Alkibiades and Kleinias) wise in these ways (118c–119a).

This text indicates that as an old man in the late 430s (the dramatic date of this dialogue), Perikles studied with Damon (see Appendix 2 [2]). It also supports the early chronology for Anaxagoras, that he left Athens c.450 and did not associate with Perikles in the late 430s.

Accepted as Platonic by ancients and moderns until 1809, the authorship of this dialogue has since been disputed. Many (including

Denyer) believe it by Plato.¹⁴ Others argue that it was written in the Academy sometime in the 340s or 330s.¹⁵

Olympiodoros

Pagan professor of philosophy in mid-sixth-century Alexandria, Olympiodoros mentions Damon four times (A 5, 6, 15, B 4) in his commentary on ?Pl. i *Alc.* Alan Cameron reports ‘universal agreement’ that Olympiodoros’ Plato commentaries are ‘philosophically worthless’.¹⁶ His commentary on i *Alc.* consists of notes from lectures delivered after c.560, ‘edited by a none too brilliant student’.¹⁷ Our four passages show no brilliance but some knowledge; i *Alc.* was much appreciated in antiquity, especially from the end of the second century AD. Iamblichus called it a complete résumé of Plato’s philosophy (fr. 1 Dillon = Procl. *In Alc.* 11.14–18). Albinus recommended beginning the study of Plato with it (*Isag.* 4–5 = 149.17–37). Proklos’ commentary is partially extant (see A 3 n. 8).

A 5 Olympiodorus, *In Plat. Alc. comment.* 135.17–136.8, ed. L. G. Westerink, Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Co., 1956 (= p. 89); repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1982

εἶτα λαβὼν ὀλίγην ἀνάπαυσιν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης ὡς οἰκείου αὐτῷ ἐπαυεθέντος, ἵνα μὴ πάλιν αὐτὸν ἐρωτήσῃ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Περικλέους, ὅτι «πόθεν γέγονεν σοφός, μαθὼν ἢ εὐρών;» προλαμβάνει καὶ ἀπαριθμεῖται τοὺς διδασκάλους αὐτοῦ. ἐν μὲν γὰρ φιλοσοφίᾳ γέγονεν μαθητὴς Ἀναξαγόρου, ἐν δὲ μουσικῇ Πυθοκλέους. εἶτα ἐξαίρων τοὺς αὐτοῦ διδασκάλους φησὶν «καὶ νῦν ὑπάρχων ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδ᾽ φοιτᾷ παρὰ Δάμῳ τῷ μουσικῷ».

Then taking a short pause [in Sokrates’ examination] because a family relation of his had been praised, Alkibiades anticipates in order that Sokrates not ask again, this time about Perikles, the question he had

¹⁴ See Denyer, *Alcibiades* 14–24; and also, e.g. P. Friedlander, *Platon* 2² (Berlin, 1957) 213–25; A. Motte, ‘Pour l’authenticité du *Premier Alcibiade*’, *AC* 30 (1961) 5–32; C. A. Bos, *Interpretatie, vadeschap en datering van de Alcibiades Major*, (diss.) Amsterdam, 1970; R. Weil, ‘La place du *Premier Alcibiade* dans l’oeuvre de Platon’, *L’information littéraire* 16 (1964) 75–84.

¹⁵ The first to attack Platonic authorship were D. F. E. Schleiermacher in his introduction to i *Alc.* in *Platons Werke* 1³ (Berlin, 1809), and A. Boeckh and G. F. Ast, *Platons Leben und Schriften* (Leipzig, 1816) 403. See also H. Dittmar, *Philologische Untersuchungen* 21 (1912) 65ff.; and C. Vink, *Plato’s Erste Alcibiades. Een onderzoek naar zijn authenticiteit* (Amsterdam, 1939).

¹⁶ Cameron, ‘The Last Days of the Academy at Athens’, *PCPS* 15 (1969) 27.

¹⁷ L. Westerink, ed., *Olympiodorus In Platonis Alcibiadem commentarii* (Amsterdam, 1956) viii; see also Cameron *ibid.* 12.

asked before, about ‘how he became wise, whether by learning (from others) or by discovering (wisdom himself)’, and so he enumerates Perikles’ teachers: in philosophy he was the pupil of Anaxagoras, and in music of Pythokles. Then exalting Perikles’ teachers he says, ‘and now at the threshold of old age he takes lessons with Damon the musician’.

Commentary

Line 2: for Sokrates’ cross-examination of Alkibiades on this point, see esp. i *Alc.* 109d–e and 110d.

Line 3: the quotation paraphrases i *Alc.* 113e, 114a.

Line 6: ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδὲν: *Il.* 22.60; cf. *Od.* 15.246 (γῆραος οὐδὲν). Ὁν φοιτᾶν = ‘to take lessons with’, see LSJ s.v. I 5.

This passage is excerpted from Olympiodoros’ discussion of Perikles and Alkibiades (135.4–137.10). Olympiodoros correctly reports that Damon was called *ho mousikos* (see A 19, B 11), and correctly identifies the general interests of Anaxagoras and ‘Pythokles’, an error for Plato’s ‘Pythokleides’ which recurs at 137.20 and 138.4.

A 6 Olympiodorus, In *Plat. Alc. comment.* 138.12–15, ed. L. G. Westerink, Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Co., 1956 (= p. 90); repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1982

Καὶ νῦν ἔτι τηλικούτος ὢν Δάμωνι: «τηλικούτος», ἀντὶ τοῦ «ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδὲν», παρὰ τῷ Δάμωνι ἐφοίτησεν. τοῦτου δὲ μέμνηται πάλιν ὁ Πλάτων ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ ὡς παρ’ αὐτοῦ ὠφεληθεὶς μουσικῇν.

‘Even now, in spite of his age, with Damon’ [see A 4]: ‘in spite of his age’, instead of the phrase ‘at the threshold of old age’ [= *Il.* 22.60; see comm. A 5 line 6] he took lessons with Damon. Plato mentions this man again in *Republic* [= B 1, 2], that he had been helped by him in music.

Olympiodoros comments on one phrase of a passage he had earlier discussed more generally (A 5). As often, he quotes Homer to show off his own learning. In Homer, the phrase seems to mean ‘at the threshold consisting of old age’, as Priam was already an old man. In 432 Perikles was an old man of some 63 years. Perhaps Olympiodoros understood that sense. His final remark illustrates a familiar type of false biographical inference. *Republic* does not state that Damon ‘helped’ Plato in music. Rather, Sokrates states that he and Glaukon should consult Damon (B 1).

A 7 Isocrates, *Antid.* 15.235, ed. G. Mathieu and E. Brémond, Paris: Budé, 1929 (repr. 1963)

Isokrates argues that rhetorical skill does not make men evil, citing Solon, Perikles, and others.

Καὶ τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν τηλικαῦτα διαπραξαμένων οὐδεὶς λόγων ἤμέλησεν, ἀλλὰ τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων προσέσχον αὐτοῖς τὸν νοῦν, ὥστε Σόλων μὲν τῶν ἐπὶ σοφιστῶν ἐκλήθη καὶ ταύτην ἔσχε τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τὴν νῦν ἀτιμαζομένην καὶ κρινομένην παρ' ὑμῖν, Περικλῆς δὲ δυοῖν ἐγένετο μαθητῆς, Ἀναξαγόρου τε τοῦ Κλαζομενίου καὶ Δάμωνος τοῦ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον φρονιμωτάτου δόξαντος εἶναι τῶν πολιτῶν.

7. πολιτῶν Γ¹ Δ¹ E: σοφιστῶν Γ² Δ² E mg. Θ

And of these men who carried out such great actions not one neglected the art of discourse. On the contrary, so much more did they apply their minds to eloquence than to other things, that Solon was named one of the seven *sophistai* and was given the title which is now dishonoured and on trial here, and Perikles was the pupil of two of the *sophistai*, Anaxagoras of Klazomenai and Damon, the latter thought to be the most intelligent citizen of his time.

Textual notes

Γ, the best MS and from which Δ and E derive, was corrected six times, especially by comparison with the vulgate (which does not survive for our passage, though Θ is similar). Γ's readings are not invariably preferable to the vulgate, but in our passage no editor has accepted what seems to be the vulgate Γ² σοφιστῶν over πολιτῶν.

In Isokrates, 'sophist' chiefly refers to a professional teacher of rhetoric and philosophy (especially eristic) in ways he condemns (e.g., *Antid.* 15.2, 4, 147–8, 168). However, he also uses the term in the older, more general sense of wise man (e.g. 15.313, 268 'ancient sophists like Empedokles or Alkmaion') and teacher, including himself (e.g., 15.203, 220; cf. 215–16). Our passage suggests that Damon was 'a sophist' in the latter sense.

Isokrates' regard for Damon's intelligence could reflect Damon's possible influence on Gorgias (cf. ch. 2a), who is sometimes reported to be Isokrates' teacher.¹⁸ Isokrates' father Theodoros allegedly had some association with *auloi*. He or his son may have been mocked as an *aulos* maker by Aristophanes (fr. 722 K–A) and Strattis (fr. 3 K–A), and either he or his son was called *αὐλοτρύπης*, 'aulos driller', *sens. obsc.* (cf. *Vit. anon.* 87–90 Budé and [Plut.] *X Orat.* 836e,

¹⁸ On the contradictory reports of Isokrates' teachers, see Y. L. Too, *The Rhetoric of Identity in Isocrates* (Cambridge, 1995) appendix 1, 'Isocrates and Gorgias'.

concluding that Theodoros owned and grew rich from an *aulos* manufactory; see also Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* 1.17.4 (2 p. 21.15 Kays. [1871]). For details see K–A on Strattis and Aristophanes ad locc. The tradition may well be comic fantasy.

A 8 Aristotle's Lyceum, *Ath. Pol.* 27.4, ed. F. G. Kenyon, Oxford: OUP 1920 (here M. Chambers' 1986 Teubner changes nothing of substance)

πρὸς δὴ ταύτην τὴν χορηγίαν ἐπιλειπόμενος ὁ Περικλῆς τῇ οὐσίᾳ, συμβουλευσάντος αὐτῷ Δαμωνίδου τοῦ Οἴθθεν (ὃς ἐδόκει τῶν πολλῶν εἰσηγητῆς εἶναι τῷ Περικλεῖ· διὸ καὶ ὠστράκισαν αὐτὸν ὕστερον), ἐπεὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις ἡττάτο, διδόναι τοῖς πολλοῖς τὰ αὐτῶν, κατεσκεύασε μισθοφορὰν τοῖς δικασταῖς·

2. Οἴθθεν: Dow *AJP* 1963 p. 177 5. δικαστηρίοις B, Thalheim

Perikles' property was insufficient for this kind of service. He was therefore advised by Damonides of Oe (who was thought to have been the proposer of most of Perikles' measures; for that reason they later ostracized him) that since he was less well supplied with private property he should give the people their own; and so he devised payment for the dikasts.

Many of the issues raised by this passage are discussed elsewhere in this book (see Index loc.).

Plutarch knew *Ath. Pol.*'s reading 'Damonides' for 'Damon Damonidou' (*Per.* 9 = A 10, where however the MSS read 'Démonides'). W. Wyse ('Notes', *CR* 5 [1891] 227; also Carcopino, 'Ostracisé?' 425; *L'ostacisme* 136–7) argued that 'Damonides' should also be original, since *Ath. Pol.* omits the definite article before ablative demotics in -θεν when mentioning someone's patronymic (*Μεγακλῆς Ἱπποκράτους Ἀλωπεκῆθεν* [22.5]), but includes it (as here) when omitting the patronymic (*Εὐμελίδης ὁ Ἀλωπεκῆθεν* [45.1]; see also 34.1). Because Damon was born in the early fifth century, advised Perikles, and was ostracized, *Ath. Pol.* has either mistaken a patronymic for his name or cited Damon by an alternative, patronymic form of his name (see Appendix 2). *Ath. Pol.* meant to indicate Damon, not his father. This passage shows that Damon was a friend and associate of Perikles for many years beginning early in Perikles' career. On Damon's deme Oa (not Oê), see A 1 comm.

Although in the context of government the term *eisêgêtês* is ambiguous (retained in Rhodes's translation 'proposer'), ἐδοκεῖ

(‘was thought to be’) indicates that according to *Ath. Pol.* Damon did not ‘propose most of Perikles’ measures’ in the Assembly or Council, although proposing decrees on behalf of important politicians was common practice (see ch. 3a, and e.g. Dem. 59.43; Plut. *Dem.* 21.3). Rather, according to *Ath. Pol.* Damon was thought to have suggested to Perikles many of his measures.¹⁹ In 1879 the young Wilamowitz accepted this tradition at face value (‘Perikles’ merit was to have developed the ideas [of Damon and Ephialtes], as well as of Aristides. He did not become a creative statesman’: *ΔΑΜΩΝ* 319). By 1893 (*Arist. u. Ath.* i 134), he stressed the now consensus view that this passage reflects anti-Periklean slander (see ch. 3 n. 2). In ch. 3a I argue that this exaggerated charge echoes popular discontent with secret advisers to Athenian politicians and politicians’ habit of using surrogates. Damon was Perikles’ ‘wise counsellor’ (ch. 1c), and an important part of his research was political. In ch. 3a, I argue that Damon was ostracized because of his political involvement with Perikles. In his case, therefore, the charge had some basis.

Recommending dikastic pay is so distant from Damon’s musical competence that the report may be accepted. For the date of the introduction of dikastic pay (later 460s or early 450s), see Appendix 2 (14).

The epigrammatic ‘give the people their own’ may have been a political slogan coined by Damon (so Wilamowitz, *Arist. u. Ath.* i 134: ‘ein rechtswitziges schlagwort’ [*sic*]), or even a *sophos*’ apophthegm (see ch. 1c). It recurs in Andok. *De redivitu* 17.

A 9 Plutarch, *Per.* 4.1–4, ed. K. Ziegler, Leipzig: Teubner, 1964

Διδάσκαλον δ’ αὐτοῦ τῶν μουσικῶν οἱ πλείστοι Δάμωνα γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, οὗ φασι δεῖν τοῦνομα βραχύνοντας τὴν προτέραν συλλαβὴν ἐκφέρειν, Ἀριστοτέλης (fr. 364) δὲ παρὰ Πυθοκλείδῃ μουσικὴν διαπονηθῆναι τὸν ἄνδρα φησίν. ὁ δὲ Δάμων ἔοικεν ἄκρος ὢν σοφιστῆς καταδύεσθαι μὲν εἰς τὸ τῆς μουσικῆς ὄνομα πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐπικρυπτόμενος τὴν δεινότητα, τῷ δὲ Περικλεῖ συνῆν καθάπερ ἀθλητῇ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀλείπτῃς καὶ διδάσκαλος. οὐ μὲν ἔλαθεν ὁ Δάμων τῇ λύρα παρακαλύμματι χρώμενος, ἀλλ’ ὥς μεγαλοπράγμων καὶ φιλοτύραννος ἐξωστρακίσθη καὶ παρέσχε τοῖς κωμικοῖς διατριβήν. ὁ γοῦν Πλάτων καὶ πυνθανόμενον αὐτοῦ τινα πεποίηκεν οὕτω·

¹⁹ See LSJ s.v. *εἰσηγέομαι*; for a similar usage, see Aesch. 1.172, and *Ath. Pol.* 24: Aristides ‘had suggested’, or ‘proposed’ (probably not by decree). All other occurrences of the term in *Ath. Pol.* ‘have the technical meaning of introducing a case into court’ (J. J. Keaney, ‘Ring Composition in Aristotle’s *Athenaion Politeia*’, *AJP* 90 [1969] 414 n. 17).

πρώτον μὲν οὖν μοι λέξον, ἀντιβολῶ· σὺ γὰρ
ὥς φασι [ὦ] Χείρων ἐξέθρεψας Περικλέα.

2-3 οὗ φασι . . . ἐκφέρειν del Ha. || 3-4 μουσικὴν ἂν διαπ. Υ || 6 συνείναι Rei. || 12 ὦ del. Cob

Perikles' teacher in music, most writers agree, was Damon (whose name, they say, should be pronounced with the first syllable short), although according to Aristotle [fr. 364 R.] the man had a thorough musical training at the hands of Pythokleides. Damon appears to have been a sophist of the highest order, who hid behind the name of music, concealing his cleverness from the people; he associated with Perikles like a 'rubber' for an athlete of politics and a trainer. However, it did not escape notice that Damon was using his lyre as a screen, and he was ostracized as a schemer of great designs and lover of tyranny, and he became a target for the comic poets. At any rate Plato [the comic poet] makes one of his characters inquire of him [fr. 207 K-A]:

First of all, then, tell me please,

For you are the Cheiron, they say, who raised up Perikles.

This passage is excerpted from a section on Perikles' intellectual development, starting with his early musical education, then discussing various later influences on him (especially Anaxagoras), and stressing their effect on his character and political behaviour. Walter Ameling ('Komödie' 395-6) suggests that *ektrephein* 'raised up' could refer to an early stage (perhaps the 450s) of Perikles' political career.

The main question this passage raises is the source of its notion that Damon was a clever political operator hiding behind the profession of music. A number of scholars have noticed the similarities of this passage with Pl. *Prt.* 316d-317a. Here Protagoras remarks that 'while sophistry is an ancient art, its practitioners of old feared the ill-will it brought and thus concealed it', Homer, Hesiod, and Simonides by poetry, Orpheos and Musaios by mystic rites and prophesies, Ikkos and Herodikos by athletics, and the Athenians Agathokles ('a great sophist'), Pythokleides, 'and many more' by music. However, 'I think they did not accomplish what they wanted, for I think the purpose of this disguise did not escape the powerful men (*hoi dunatoi*) in each city. *Hoi polloi* perceive virtually nothing, but merely echo what these men pronounce.'

Some have concluded that Plutarch's account in *Per.* 4 was derived from this passage.²⁰ Olof Gigon criticized this notion, pointing out

²⁰ See, e.g. J. and A. M. Adam, *Platonis Protagoras* (Cambridge, 1905) 99; Carcopino, *L'ostracisme* 138 n. 1 (Plutarch 'has surely borrowed' from Plato); Stadter, *Pericles* 71.

that Protagoras' description of a tension between sophists and *hoi dunatoi* while the people noticed nothing, seems unnecessarily complicated, while Plutarch's story of the demos' suspicion of clever sophists is clear and straightforward.²¹

Gigon's criticism may be reinforced. First, Protagoras' remark that Homer, Ikkos, and the rest were 'sophists in disguise' is partly an invention and a joke. These people were not sophists (in Plato's sense); 'the powerful men' never noticed that they were really sophists; they were never in danger, and cannot illustrate the dangers faced by sophists; and the term 'sophist' is used in its Platonic, not its earlier sense. The traditional association of 'the sophists' with the upper classes implies that Protagoras' reference to the upper classes 'catching out' these sophists is also a joke. Plato's joke presupposes the familiar story that we find in Plutarch, where *the demos* catches out a sophist. In Plato the joke is reinforced, as later in the dialogue his Protagoras is a major defender of democracy and the wisdom of ordinary folk. In classical Athens the demos ostracized Damon, harassed Protagoras, and executed Sokrates (a sophist in Plato's sense, although Plato spent his life denying it).²² Plato's Protagoras mentions none of these real cases, substituting doubtful ones instead.

It is too much to suppose (e.g. with Stadter, *Pericles*) that Plutarch read Plato's passage, grasped that Damon must lie behind Protagoras' 'and many more' after he mentioned musicians, and clarified the allusion. On the other hand, Ryffel²³ and Raubitschek ('Damon' 79) are quite possibly right that *for Plato* Damon lay behind this passage: this inference is more than suggested by Plato's mention of Damon's music teachers Agathokles and possibly Pythokleides (see A 2 and 3 comm.). It is Plato's further little joke that Protagoras mentions inappropriately a series of distinguished Greek culture heroes, and then alludes to the real victim only by mentioning Damon's teachers 'and many more'. Damon is integral to the conceit.

Plutarch could never have seen all this. His version must be based on a story much simpler than Plato's, as Gigon pointed out. Therefore

²¹ O. Gigon, 'Studien zu Platons Protagoras', in *Phyllobolia*, Festschr. P. von der Mühl (Basel, 1948) 91–152.

²² On Sokrates, see my 'Plato's sophists'. Following Dover, 'Freedom', my 'Private lives' argues that most other allegations of intellectual persecution in fifth-century Athens are not historical.

²³ H. Ryffel, *METABOAH ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΩΝ. Der Wandel der Staatsverfassungen* (Bern, 1949) 29 with n. 88. See also Podlecki, *Perikles* 20.

Plutarch and Plato were both inspired by a common source that mentioned Damon.²⁴ Directly or indirectly Plutarch followed that source, while Plato played off it.²⁵ Gigon suggested that the common source might have been a work by Protagoras, without indicating which work was appropriate. (Also, would Protagoras have mentioned Damon, but Plato omitted him?) Other scholars also have hypothesized a common source. Raubitschek ('Damon' 78–9) suggested that source was Polykrates' attack on Sokrates, published in 393–392. On the other hand, in his response to Polykrates Libanius states that no one accused Damon of trying to destroy the democracy (A 21). This seems not very consistent with the charge against Damon which Plutarch also mentions (A 9), that he was *philotyrannos*.

Morrison ('Origins' 205–6) suggested but did not argue an alternative common source. As we have seen (A 8 comm.), Old Comedy often charged that others were responsible for Perikles' success. In Plut. *Per.* 4, Plato the comic poet expressly made this point of Damon; and Plutarch's image of Damon the 'rubber' and trainer and Perikles 'the political athlete', seem at home in comedy. Plutarch and others frequently used comedies and Hellenistic *Kômôidoumenoi* as historical sources (Stadter, *Pericles* lxiii–lxvi). Plutarch expressly says that the charge that Perikles was aiming at tyranny (cf. Damon *philotyrannos*) derived from fifth-century comic sources (*Per.* 16). His remark on the short alpha in Damon's name could derive from metrical comic verse. Finally, the parallel passage in Plato's *Protagoras* is joking. It seems most likely that Plutarch's account was based on a comic source which mentioned Damon and which Plato's *Protagoras* also exploited, retaining the comic vein.

Some of these themes recur in Plut. *Lyc.* 4, on the seventh-century Cretan *sophos* and *politikos* 'Thales', a passage also quoted and discussed in ch. 1 at n. 19:

²⁴ Gigon p. 114: 'it is impossible . . . not to trace them back to a common source.'

²⁵ In *Prt.* 342a–347a Plato's Sokrates continues the joke:

Philosophia has its most ancient roots and is most widespread among the Greeks in Crete and Lacedaemon, and these regions have the highest concentration of *sophistai* in the world. But the natives deny it and pretend to be ignorant in order to conceal the fact that it is by *sophia* that they have ascendancy over the Greeks, like those *sophistai* of whom Protagoras was speaking.

I stop here, but the entire passage is a delightful parody, also linking Spartan laconism with the *apophthegmata* of the seven *sophoi*.

Thales appeared to be a poet of lyric songs and screened himself behind this art, but in reality he did the work of one of the mightiest lawgivers. For his odes were speeches exhorting to good obedience and civic harmony, through songs and rhythms having much of the orderly and tranquillity, so that those who listened to them were insensibly softened in their characters (*êthê*), and renouncing the mutual bad feelings that were so rife at the time, lived together in the common pursuit of what was fair.

Although it is unclear when the figure of ‘Cretan Thales’ was invented, the conception must postdate Damon’s *êthos* theory and may reflect the fourth century’s sharp distinction between poets and *politikoi*. The parallel with Damon is evident. Thales was a poet/musician and wise counsellor to Lykourgos, and his work had a direct political application, as it were ‘harmonizing the city’. ‘Cretan Thales’ is an ideal type, modelled on the figure of Damon.²⁶

LSJ translates *megalopragmôn* as ‘former of grand designs’. It must nonetheless have a negative sense, like its relative *polypragmôn*. Both citations in LSJ are negative: Xen. *HG* 5.2.36 pairs it with *kakopragmôn*; in Plut. *Ages*. 32, Agesilaus uses it of his enemy Epaminondas rashly fording a dangerous river. I have adopted Ehrenberg’s translation (*Sophocles and Pericles* 93).

Plato the comic poet was Aristophanes’ younger contemporary. He staged his first play in his own name in 421 and won his first victory in 420, although POxy 2737.44–51 implies that he had written plays before this.²⁷ The suggestion that our fragment came from Plato’s *Sophistai* (e.g. Cassio, ‘Laso’ 280), dated after 411 (K–A VII fr. 150) or 404 (see also fr. 148), is speculative. Its subject matter would permit his *Paidarion* or any of his attested anti-demagogue comedies (*Peisander*, *Hyperbolos* [both probably in the 410s], and *Kleophon* [405]: note that these titles and our fragment mention politicians and Damon directly) and in any case indicate Damon’s ongoing topicality well after Perikles’ death. Eupolis had earlier called Aspasia Perikles’ ‘Cheiron’ (*Philo*i fr. 294 K–A). Hence as Schwarze, *Beurteilung* 161 notes, Plato’s metaphor is not new. Eupolis’ application of ‘Cheiron’

²⁶ W. G. Forrest, ‘The Date of the Lykourgan Reforms in Sparta’, *Phoenix* 17 (1963) 163–5 suggested that the source of this tradition was Damon himself.

²⁷ See W. Luppe, ‘Zur Datierung einiger Dramatiker in der Eusebios/Hieronymus-Chronik’, *Philologus* 114 (1970) 4; A. Hartwig, ‘The Date of the *Rhabdouchoi* and the Early Career of Plato Comicus’, *ZPE* 174 (2010) 19–31; and on the papyrus, R. Rosen, ‘Trouble in the Early Career of Plato Comicus’, *ZPE* 76 (1989) 223–8.

to Aspasia also shows that the appellation was not limited to music instruction. Plato's *ὡς φασι* may suggest that Damon's long-standing relationship with Perikles was well known.

The short alpha in Damon's name implies that it was not of Doric or Aeolic origin (i.e. *Demôn*) but derived from *δαμείν*, 'to tame, or conquer', as in the Ionic Milesian name *Ἰππόδαμος*.²⁸ As *Kreîôn* means 'ruler', *Damôn* means 'masterer', and may have been an old Athenian name. In the distant past, Damon son of Euktemon is said to have led an Athenian colony to Ionia (Paus. 7.2.4, 3.10). In the light of Plutarch's short alpha, it is droll that in *Per.* 9 (A 10) the MSS call Damon *Dêmonides*, and that Damon was professionally concerned with the quantities of vowels. For the coincidental Pythagorean flavour of Damon's name, see Appendix 3.

As no known work of Aristotle identifies Perikles' music teacher as Pythokleides, Plutarch may have confused Aristotle for ?Plato (i *Alc.* 118c = A 4), although in contrast to Plutarch, i *Alc.* says that both Pythokleides and Damon taught Perikles music. This mystery must remain.

A 10 Plutarch, *Vit. Pericl.* 9.2, ed. K. Ziegler, Leipzig: Teubner, 1964

ἐλαττούμενος δὲ πλούτῳ καὶ χρήμασιν, ἀφ' ὧν ἐκεῖνος ἀνελάμβανε τοὺς πένητας, δειπνὸν τε καθ' ἡμέραν τῷ δεομένῳ παρέχων Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἀμφιεννύων, τῶν τε χωρίων τοὺς φραγμοὺς ἀφαιρῶν ὅπως ὀπωρίζωσιν οἱ βουλόμενοι, τούτοις ὁ Περικλῆς καταδημαγωγούμενος τρέπεται πρὸς τὴν τῶν δημοσίων διανομήν, συμβουλευσάντος αὐτῷ Δημωνίδου τοῦ Οἴηθεν, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης ἱστορεῖ.

6. *Δάμωνος* τοῦ add. Zie. post <*Δάμωνος*> Cob. | *δημωνίδου libri Δαμωνίδου* Sintenis

Perikles could not compete with the wealth and property by which Kimon captured the affections of the poor; for Kimon supplied a free dinner every day to any Athenian who needed it, provided clothes for the old, and took down the fences on his estates so that anyone who wished could pick and eat the fruit. So finding himself outmatched in this kind of popular appeal, Pericles turned to the distribution of the public wealth. He did this on the advice of Dêmonides of Oê, as Aristotle has recorded [= A 8].

In *Per.* 7–14, on Perikles' rise to power, Plutarch notes that Perikles did not begin the contests with his opponents but reacted to political

²⁸ Fr. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit* (Halle, 1917; repr. Hildesheim, 1964) 114–16.

activities by Kimon, to whom in his trial he had even been generous (10.6). Plutarch also stresses the value to the demos of Perikles' programmes. 'The whole section . . . is an artfully presented argument proving Pericles' statesmanship and nobility even in the period when he was struggling to gain and hold power in the city' (Stadter, 'Rhetoric' 260). For Kimon's lavish distribution of his personal wealth, see esp. Plut. *Cim.* 10.1–3.

Plutarch's sources for this passage are *Ath. Pol.* 27.4 (A 8) and Theopompos, *FGrHist* 115 fr. 89 (= Athen. 533a–c): see Stadter, *Pericles* 114–15 with reff.

Because Plutarch's 'distribution of the public wealth' seems much broader than *Ath. Pol.*'s reference to dikastic pay, some have thought Damon was responsible for broader aspects of Perikles' financial programme. Plutarch's implication that his source for this sentence was *Ath. Pol.* disallows that conclusion.

On the name 'Dêmonides', see A 8 comm. and Appendix 2 (1).

A 11 Harpokration, *Lex. in decem orat. Att.*, s.v. Δάμων, ed. W. Dindorf, Oxford: OUP, 1853 (repr. Groningen: Bouma, 1969)

Δάμων: ὄνομα κύριον, διδάσκαλος Περικλέους.

Damon: a proper name, teacher of Perikles.

Harpokration's lexicon to the ten canonical orators dates to the second century AD. In extant orations, Isokrates mentions Damon as Perikles' teacher (15.235 = A 7), and Andokides (1.16 = A 20) also mentions him.

A 12 Plato, *Laches* 197d, ed. J. Burnet, Oxford: OUP, 1900 (repr. 1967, 1993²)

In a debate on the definition of courage, Sokrates tells Laches,

Μηδέ γε εἶπης, ὦ Λάχης· καὶ γάρ μοι δοκεῖς οὐδὲ ᾗσθησθαι ὅτι ταύτην τὴν σοφίαν παρὰ Δάμωνος τοῦ ἡμετέρου ἐταίρου παρείληφεν, ὁ δὲ Δάμων τῷ Προδίκῳ πολλὰ πλησιάζει, ὃς δὴ δοκεῖ τῶν σοφιστῶν κάλλιστα τὰ τοιαῦτα ὀνόματα διαιρεῖν.

Say nothing, Laches, for you seem to me not to have perceived that he (Nikias) has acquired this wisdom from Damon our good companion. Damon frequently associates with Prodikos, who is thought to be the best of the sophists at distinguishing terms like these.

This passage attests Damon's links with Prodikos, and confirms the breadth of his intellectual interests (see ch. 2a).

It is unclear how seriously to take Plato's claim (more clearly in A 13–14) that Nikias studied with Damon (for Nikias and Damon, see the Preface and ch. 1c [the text at n. 24]). Earlier in *Lch.* 180c–d (A 2), Nikias says that Sokrates had recently recommended Damon as a teacher for his son Nikeratos.

The statement that Damon shared intellectual interests with Prodikos is important. (For other possible ties between them, see A 19 comm. on [Pl.] *Ax.*) However, the common inference that Damon was Prodikos' student is unjustified.²⁹ Prodikos was famous for verbal distinctions of the kind that Sokrates mentions here (see e.g. *Pl. Chrm.* 163d that Prodikos drew 'endless distinctions' between words; *Phdr.* 267c on his concern for correct language; and *Vit. Thuc.* 36). In *Rep.* 400 (B 1), Plato's Sokrates notes Damon's interest in naming.

What are the implications of Sokrates' calling Damon *hetairos*, 'companion'? Some modern and probably also ancient scholars have inferred that Damon was Sokrates' teacher (cf. A 17, 18 comm.). That inference is unjustified, as a parallel with Prodikos shows. In *Prt.* 341a Sokrates states flatly that he had been the pupil (*mathêtês*) of Prodikos; according to *Crat.* 384b he could not afford Prodikos' 50-drachma 'display' (*epideixis*) and so heard the one-drachma one; in *Hip. maj.* 282c (by Plato or a contemporary) Sokrates calls Prodikos *ho hêmeteros hetairos*, 'our good companion', like Damon here, and praises Prodikos for the brilliant idea of charging money for his lectures: previous philosophers 'were too simple ever to realize the enormous importance of money'. These passages are ironic. In no sense was Sokrates Prodikos' student or sympathetic to his philosophical views, as I discuss in the Preface. In *Theaet.* 151b, Sokrates says he normally passes along to Prodikos 'and other men of inspired sagacity' students who are incapable of attaining wisdom. Irony also makes uncertain Sokrates' relationship with and attitude to Damon in *Lch.* 197d.

²⁹ Cf. Jan, 'Damon' 2072; Crönert, 'Hibeh' 510 (Damon carried on his teacher Prodikos"Ὀπαί); Meyer, *Gsch. Alt.* 3 (Stuttgart, 1901) 567; Guthrie, *History* iii 35 n. 1. Kerferd, *Sophistic Movement* 74 wrongly infers from *Lch.* 197 that according to Plato, Prodikos derived his method of dividing names from Damon. Nestle, *Mythos* 435–6, suggested that Plato linked Damon and Prodikos because Prodikos and Damon's teacher Pythokleides both came from Keos. However, the evidence that Pythokleides taught Damon is inadequate: see A 3 comm.

A 13 Plato, *Laches* 199e–200a, ed. J. Burnet, Oxford: OUP, 1900 (repr. 1967, 1993²)

After the discussion in A 12, Sokrates concludes,

ΣΩ. Οὐκ ἄρα ἠύρηκαμεν, ὦ Νικία, ἀνδρεία ὅτι ἐστί.

ΝΙ. Οὐ φαίνεται.

ΛΑ. Καὶ μὴν ἔγωγε, ὦ φίλε Νικία, ᾧμην σε εὐρήσειν, ἐπειδὴ ἐμοῦ κατεφρόνησας Σωκράτει ἀποκριναμένον· πάνν δὴ μεγάλην ἐλπίδα εἶχον, ὡς τῇ παρὰ τοῦ Δάμωνος σοφίᾳ αὐτὴν ἀνευρήσεις.

Sokrates: ‘Therefore we have failed to discover what courage is.’ Nikias: ‘Apparently we have.’ Laches: ‘But I, at any rate, supposed, my dear Nikias, that you would discover it, when you scorned the answers that I made to Sokrates. Indeed I had very great hopes that with the wisdom from Damon you would discover it.’

On Nikias’ relationship with Damon, see A 12 comm. and the citations there. That Nikias seeks the definition of courage is ironic, as his reluctance to fight was often ridiculed (see the Preface).

A 14 Plato, *Laches* 200b, ed. J. Burnet, Oxford: OUP, 1900 (repr. 1967, 1993²)

Nikias defends himself to Laches (see A 13), concluding,

ἐγὼ δ’ οἶμαι ἐμοὶ περὶ ὧν ἐλέγομεν νῦν τε ἐπεικῶς εἰρήσθαι, καὶ εἴ τι αὐτῶν μὴ ἱκανῶς εἴρηται, ὕστερον ἐπανορθώσεσθαι καὶ μετὰ Δάμωνος—οὐδ’ οὐ ποὺ οἷε καταγελᾶν, καὶ ταῦτα οὐδ’ ἰδὼν πρόποτε τὸν Δάμωνα—καὶ μετ’ ἄλλων·

I think that I have now spoken appropriately about the matters we were talking about, and if any of my statements have not been adequate, I shall correct them later, both with Damon—whom I know you choose to ridicule, and that without ever having seen Damon—and with others.

According to Sprague (*Plato Laches* 6–8), the soldier Laches comes to realize his own ignorance, wants to discover the truth (194a–b), and makes a little progress. Nikias knows more philosophy but seems self-satisfied with his intellectual condition. Therefore, he will make less progress, and *Laches* is correctly titled. By contrast, T. Penner (‘What Laches and Nicias Miss—And Whether Sokrates Thinks Courage Merely a Part of Virtue’, *Ancient Philosophy* 12 [1992] 18–22) praises Nikias as one of Sokrates’ best interlocutors in the early dialogues. M. C. Stokes (*Plato’s Socratic Conversations* [Baltimore, 1986] 111–12) concludes that neither Laches nor Nikias learns very much from Sokrates.

On Plato's gently ironic attitude toward Damon, see the Preface. On Nikias and Damon, see A 12 comm. and citations there.

A 15 Olympiodorus, *In Plat. Alc. comment.* 2.43–4 (*Vita Platonis*), ed. L. G. Westerink, Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Co., 1956 (= p. 3); repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1982

μουσικῆς δὲ διδάσκαλον ἔσχε Δράκοντα τὸν Δάμωνος μαθητὴν· μέμνηται δὲ τούτου ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ.

(Plato) had as music teacher Drakon, the pupil of Damon. He mentions the latter in *Republic*.

Plato mentions Damon in *Rep.* 400 and 424 (B 1, 2). Drakon is also attested in the anonymous *Prolegomena to Plato's Philosophy* (= A 16) and in [Plut.] *De mus.* 1136f, listing Drakon and 'Metellus of Agrigentum' as Plato's music teachers (A 16 comm.). Whether Drakon was Plato's music teacher is unknown. Fanciful claims of student-teacher relationships were common (A 3 comm.), but Drakon's insignificance might for once encourage belief, as ancient biographers liked to connect the famous. The tradition that Drakon was Damon's student is probably a fanciful inference, linking Damon—important in Plato's dialogues—with the tradition that Drakon was Plato's teacher.³⁰ For other dubious reports of Plato's education, see Riginos, *Platonica* 39–40.

A 16 Anon., *Proleg. Plat. Phil.* 2.28–30, ed. L. G. Westerink, Amsterdam: Paris: Budé, 1990, p. 4 = North-Holland Publishing Co., 1962, p. 7

ἐφοίτησεν δὲ μετὰ τούτους καὶ Δράκοντι τῷ μουσικῷ, ὃς γέγονεν ἐκ † γεμύλλων † τοῦ ἀπὸ Δάμωνος. οὗ Δάμωνος μέμνηται ἐν τῷ Θεαιτήτῳ.

ἐκ Μεγύλλου Weil-Reinach, *Plutarque, De la musique* (Paris, 1900) 69 (ἐκ Μεγύλλου iam Fr. Osann).

Following these (sc. the writing teacher Dionysios and the gymnastics teacher Ariston), [Plato] also took lessons from Drakon the musician, who was from † *gemullôn* † from Damon. This Damon he mentions in *Theaetetus*.

Westerink (ibid. p. L) thinks the author of this text was probably a successor to Olympiodoros at Alexandria in the later sixth century.

MSS γεμύλλων is corrupt. According to [Plut.] *De mus.* 1136f, Plato's music teachers were Drakon (A 15 comm.) and Μετέλλου

³⁰ Maux's statement ('Drakon', *RE Suppl.* 3 [1918] 414) that Drakon transmitted Damon's ideas to Plato may reproduce the assumption of Plato's ancient biographers.

τοῦ Ἀκραγαντίνου. [Plutarch's] *Μετέλλου*, a Roman name, must also be corrupt. C. G. Cobet emended [Plutarch's] *Μετέλλου* to *Μεγύλλου*, which however gains little support from Usener's unrelated emendation of the Spartan *Μετέλλος* (MS) or variants to *Μεγίλλος* in Androtion *FGrHist* 324 fr. 44 (cf. the Spartan Megillos in Xen. *Hell.* 3.4.6, and the Spartan Megillos, a minor character in Plato's *Laws* and [Plato's] *Epinomis*), as [Plutarch's] 'Metellos' is Agrigentine. Lasserre (*Plutarque* 54 n. 1) wrongly identified Plato's teacher as the Pythagorean philosopher Megillos, who was Hellenistic or later (*RE* 15.329–30).

Although γέγονεν ἐκ . . . ἀπὸ Δάμωνος is not easily assimilated to a student-teacher relationship,³¹ γεμύλλων could once have been *Μετέλλου*, reflecting Latin influence; *MET* or *GEM* could easily have once been *MET*; and -OY > ON > ΩN following ἐκ. The name *Μεγύλλος* is attested in Megara (*IG* VII 12⁵ [saec. 4]). Accordingly, Weil and Reinach's *Μεγύλλου* (and so Westerink's trans.) may be preferred to *Μεγίλλου* of Lasserre and others. Volkmann proposed *Μετάλλου* in [Plutarch], but the form is unparalleled.

On Drakon, see A 15 comm. Plato does not mention Damon in *Theaetetus*, although Sokrates speaks there about his own teaching and his habit of recommending other teachers (such as Damon's friend Prodikos) for students incapable of wisdom (150b–151b).

A 17 Diogenes Laertius, *Vit. philos.* 2.19, ed. H. S. Long, Oxford: OUP, 1964 (repr. 1966)

Ἀκούσας δὲ Ἀναξαγόρου κατὰ τινας, ἀλλὰ καὶ Δάμωνος, ὥς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Διαδοχαῖς (= *FGrHist* 273 fr. 86), μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου καταδίκην διήκουσεν Ἀρχελαοῦ τοῦ φυσικοῦ.

Sokrates heard the lectures of Anaxagoras, according to some, but also of Damon, as Alexander says in his *Succession of Philosophers*. After Anaxagoras' condemnation he heard the lectures of Archelaos the physicist.

Successions was a Hellenistic genre of dubious value (see A 3 comm.). Living in Rome in the first century BC, Alexander 'Polyhistor' enjoyed contradicting his predecessors, usually with insufficient justification. So, Eukleides was a native of Gela not Megara (*Diog. L.* 2.106 = *FGrHist*

³¹ Cf. Westerink's translation: 'Draco, who belonged to the school of Megyllus, Damon's pupil.'

273 fr. 87; contra, *RE* 6.1000); Chrysippos was not from Soli but Tarsos (Diog. L. 7.179 = fr. 89; rather, his father was from Tarsos, *RE* 3.2502); the nickname ‘Plato’ derived not from the philosopher’s broad head but from his robust chest (Diog. L. 3.4 = fr. 88; but ‘Plato’ was not a nickname³²). Although some have claimed that Sokrates was Damon’s student (e.g. Lord, ‘Damon’ 32; Lasserre, *Plutarque* 53–4; Schachermeyr, ‘Damon’ 197 n. 16 [‘in a certain sense’]), they and presumably Alexander have been misled by passages in Plato where Sokrates praises Damon or says he needs to consult him. These often ironic comments do not indicate a student-teacher relationship. According to Sextus Empiricus (*Math.* 6.13), Sokrates was taught the *kithara* by Lampon, possibly a confusion for Lampros (*Mnx.* 235e). Plato (*Euthyd.* 272c, 295d; *Mnx.* 235e) says he studied the lyre with Konnos (see Appendix 4a).

A 18 *Souda*, s.v. *Σωκράτης*, vol. IV p. 403.16–18, ed. A. Adler, Leipzig: Teubner, 1935

Starting out as a stonemason, Sokrates

εἶτα φιλοσοφῆσας διὰ τὸ ἀκοῦσαι Ἀναξαγόρου τοῦ Κλαζομενίου, εἶτα Δάμωνος, εἶτα Ἀρχελαίου. Ἀριστόξενος δὲ Ἀρχελαίου πρῶτον αὐτὸν διακοῦσαι λέγει.

Δήμωνος V

then turned to philosophy through hearing Anaxagoras of Klazomenai, then Damon, then Archelaus. Aristoxenos says that he first heard the lectures of Archelaus.

n.b. Adler’s index (IV p. 262.26) confuses this Damon with Damon son of Pythagoras.

As with Alexander Polyhistor (A 17), *Souda*’s statement that Sokrates studied with Damon was most likely someone’s unjustified deduction from Sokrates’ comments about Damon in Plato: see A 17 comm. For chronological reasons L. Woodbury, ‘Socrates and Archelaus’, *Phoenix* 25 (1971) 299–309, attributes the tradition that Sokrates studied with Archelaus—hardly a compliment—to Theophrastos or other Peripatetics. Also Peripatetic, Aristoxenos was notably hostile to Sokrates, claiming that he became Archelaus’ boy lover (fr. 52, 54–9 Wehrli).

³² J. A. Notopoulos, ‘The Name of Plato’, *CP* 34 (1939) 135–45; Riginos, *Platonica* 35–8.

A 19 [Plato], *Axiochos* 364a, ed. J. Burnet, Oxford: OUP, 1900 (repr. 1967)

ΣΩ. Ἐξιώντι μοι ἐς Κυνόσαργες καὶ γενομένω μοι κατὰ τὸν Ἰλισσὸν διῆξε φωνὴ βοῶντός του, «Σώκρατες, Σώκρατες». ὡς δὲ ἐπιστραφεὶς περιεσκόπουν ὁπόθεν εἶη, Κλεινίαν ὁρῶ τὸν Ἀξιόχου θέοντα ἐπὶ Καλλιρρόην μετὰ Δάμωνος τοῦ μουσικοῦ καὶ Χαρμίδου τοῦ Γλαύκωνος· ἦστην δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ μὲν διδάσκαλος τῶν κατὰ μουσικὴν, ὁ δ' ἐξ ἑταιρείας ἐραστῆς ἅμα καὶ ἐρώμενος.

Sokrates: 'I had come out to go to Kynosarges and was near the Ilissos river, when I heard the voice of someone calling 'Sokrates, Sokrates'. When I turned around to see where this came from, I saw Kleinias son of Axiochos running toward the fountain of Kallirrhoe, with Damon the musician and Charmides son of Glaukon. The first of these was Kleinias' music teacher and the latter was one of his companions, whom he loved and by whom at the same time he was loved.'

Axiochos, a *consolatio mortis* echoing Stoic, Cynic, and Epicurean views as well as Plato, was probably composed in the late second or early first century BC.³³ Our passage, which opens the dialogue, contributes to its dramatic setting; Damon, Kleinias, and Charmides are not mentioned elsewhere in the text. Aside from the interesting conceit that Kleinias was both *erastês* and *erômenos* of Charmides,³⁴ the striking parallels between this passage and Andok. *De myst.* 1.16 (A 20) confirm the historical scene it outlines. In a single sentence the *Axiochos* scene includes Charmides, Damon, and Kleinias son of Axiochos, at a place near Kallirrhoe; Axiochos himself is later a main character in the dialogue. In a single sentence Andokides mentions Axiochos, Charmides, Damon's wife, and Charmides' house beside the Olympieion, which was near Kallirrhoe.³⁵ The *Axiochos* passage is

³³ See J. Chevalier, *Etude critique du dialogue pseudo-platonicien l'Axiochos* (Paris, 1915) *passim*; J. Souilhé, ed., *Platon* vol. 13.3 (Budé: Paris, 1930) 132–6; D. Tarrant, 'The Pseudo-Platonic Sokrates', *CQ* 32 (1938) 170 (= *Der historische Sokrates*, ed. A. Patzer, 'Wege der Forschung' 585 [Darmstadt, 1987] 265); M. Isnardi Parente, 'Un discorso consolatorio del "Corpus platonikum"', *Riv. crit. di stor. d. filos.* 16 (1965) 33–47; J. P. Hershbell, *Pseudo-Plato*, Axiochus (Chico, CA, 1981) 10–21.

³⁴ Charmides was born c.450 (Davies, *APF* 330), Kleinias (a 'psychotic delinquent': *ibid.* 18) quite possibly in the early 440s (*ibid.* 336). Contrast K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (New York, 1978) 16: 'Reciprocal desire of partners belonging to the same age category' is 'virtually unknown in Greek homosexuality'. For a fourth-century counter-example, Kritoboulos in Xen. *Smp.* 4.10–18 is still an *erômenos* but desires *paides*.

³⁵ On the locations of Kallirrhoe and the Olympieion, see Travlos, *Dictionary* 204, 402.

especially significant in that it is fiction. When its author came to compose a dramatic setting for his dialogue, his grouping of Damon, Charmides, Kleinias, and Axiochos suggests that the association of these men was well known. (Damon would have sympathized with Xenophon's Charmides [*Smp.* 3.1], that music lulls griefs to sleep and awakens the goddess of love.) It seems unlikely that the author of *Axiochos* invented this group. Rather, it will have derived from an intermediate literary source. In ch. 4b I suggested that this source was a philosophical dialogue by Herakleides of Pontos.

(iv) Other biographical reports

A 20 Andocides, *De myst.* 1.16, ed. D. M. MacDowell, Oxford: OUP, 1962

In *De myst.* 1.11–18 Andokides reports a series of four judicial denunciations (*μηνύσεις*) to the Athenian demos in 415, regarding parodies of the Eleusinian mysteries. After two denunciations including Alkibiades and the brother of Nikias,

Τρίτη μίνυσις ἐγένετο. Ἡ γυνὴ Ἀλκμεωνίδου, γενομένη δὲ καὶ Δάμωνος (Ἀγαρίστη ὄνομα αὐτῇ) αὕτη ἐμήνυσεν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῇ Χαρμίδου τῇ παρὰ τὸ Ὀλυμπιεῖον μυστήρια ποιεῖν Ἀλκιβιάδην καὶ Ἀξίοχον καὶ Ἀδείμαντον· καὶ ἔφυγον οὗτοι πάντες ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ μηνύσει.

A third denunciation followed. The wife of Alkmeonides, who had also been Damon's wife, a woman named Agariste, made a denunciation that in the house of Charmides beside the Olympieion, Alkibiades, Axiochos, and Adeimantos celebrated mysteries. And at this denunciation all these men fled.

The slave Lydos made a fourth denunciation.

In CQ NS 42 (1992) I argued that the Charmides mentioned in this passage is the son of Glaukon (and Plato's uncle), rather than the son of Aristoteles (and Andokides' cousin), as has been supposed. Three points confirm that Andokides' Damon is the music theorist. First, the persons mentioned here recur in [Pl.] *Ax.* 364a, where Damon is expressly identified as ὁ μουσικός: this group of friends was well known (see A 19 comm.). Second, in *Rep.* 400 and 424c (B 1, 2, and see also 399a–c = E2), Plato's brother Glaukon, also a nephew of Charmides son of Glaukon and himself a musician, talks with Sokrates about Damon's music theories. Thus, two relatives of Charmides son of Glaukon (Plato and his brother) are associated with Damon the music

theorist. Third, Andokides' plain mention of 'Damon' 16 years after Agariste's testimony implies that this Damon was well known, and no other Damon is attested for the period.

The consensus view (e.g. Davies, *APF* 382–3) is surely correct, that Damon's wife Agariste was an Alkmaionid, as was Perikles' mother.³⁶ Andokides and Perikles' *hetairoi* Damon moved in the same social circles and will have known each other. Andokides' mother and the wife of Perikles' son Xanthippos were sisters. Andokides' sister married the brother of the wife of Eukrates, the brother of Nikias who according to Plato had ties with Damon (A 12–14).

In CQ I also argued that Andokides mentioned Damon, who was well known as a close friend of Charmides and Kleinias, not as extraneous biographical filler, but as Agariste's source of information for the events in Charmides' house. If so, in 415 Damon was neither dead nor divorced. Agariste's testimony against three of her husband's particular friends, from information he had given her, may have precipitated their divorce and her flight back into the bosom of her Alkmaionid family.

A 21 Libanius, *Declam.* ii (*De Socratis silentio*) 25, ed. R. Foerster, Leipzig: Teubner, 1909

οὐκ ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις ἐρεῖ Σωκράτης, οὐκ ἐν ταῖς στοαῖς, οὐκ ἐν τῇ βασιλείῳ διαλέξεταί τισιν, οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς ποικίλης, οὐκ ἐν ταῖς τραπέζαις, οὐκ ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις, οὐκ ἐν Ἀγάθωνος, οὐκ ἐν Καλλίου, οὐκ ἐν Δάμωνος, οὐκ ἐν ἄστει Σωκράτης, οὐκ ἐν Πειραιεῖ, οὐχ ὑπὲρ Ἰλισσὸν ὑπὸ τῇ πλατάνῳ τῇ καλῇ

Δάμωνος scripsi[t Foerster] ἄμμωνος libri Mor. [= ed. Fed. Morellus] qui *Δάμωνος* conī, sed fortasse οὐκ ἐν ἄμμωνος nihil nisi lectio varia ad οὐκ ἐν Ἀγάθωνος fuit

Not in the gymnasium will Sokrates speak, not in the stoas, not in the Stoa Basileios will he converse with anyone, not at the Stoa Poikile, not among the money-changing tables, not in the courts, not in Agathon's house, not in Kallias', not in Damon's, not in the city, not in Peiraeus, not above the Ilissos under the beautiful plane tree

Textual note

Foerster prints Morel's *Δάμωνος*, an attractive emendation in the absence (and improbability) of any Athenian named Ammon. Foerster's

³⁶ O. Aurenche (*Les groupes d'Alcibiade, de Léogoras et de Teucros. Remarques sur la vie politique athénienne en 415 avant J.C.* [Paris, 1974] 61 and n. 5) speculates on no evidence that Agariste was Perikles' daughter.

alternative explanation (see ap. crit.) is unlikely, as the passage is based on three's (gymnasia, stoas, courts; Agathon's, Kallias', Damon's; city, Peiraeus, above Ilissos). See also D. A. Russell, *Libanius Imaginary Speeches* (London, 1996) ad loc.

Libanius (iv AD) criticizes Sokrates' accusers Anytos and Meletos for a decree passed after Sokrates' death sentence, requiring that he be silent while in prison. According to the speaker, Sokrates did not comply with this restriction. Our passage begins, 'You will have your fill of silence from Sokrates, you slanderers.'

Because Plato's *Symposium* is set at Agathon's house and Xenophon's *Symposium* is set at Kallias' house, Rossetti ('Spuren') inferred from Libanius' emended text that another *Symposium* was set at Damon's house, where Sokrates was a speaker. At a minimum, if Morel's emendation is sound, some philosophical dialogue was set at Damon's house, and its author may have been Herakleides of Pontos (see ch. 4b). This dialogue may not have been a *Symposium*. Although a discussion of pleasures (*hêdonai*) might encourage Rossetti's suggestion, Herakleides' (?) verb *πρόαγει* ('leads forward') does not suggest an enclosed recumbent group. In the same paragraph Libanius goes on to mention many other dialogues in addition to *Symposia*, including Plato's *Republic*, *Gorgias*, *Protagoras*, *Laches*, and *Charmides*.³⁷ As for Rossetti's further conclusion that the dialogue had an erotic theme, he misreads [Pl.] Ax. 364a (A 18) and Xen. *Smp.* 8.2. Neither passage says that Damon was Charmides' lover. Accordingly, we need not seek a literary source common to these texts for that allegation. Xenophon's statement that Charmides had many lovers need not derive from a literary source.

The decree mentioned by Libanius is a fiction, as William Calder has shown.³⁸ Calder argues that Libanius' speech is an allegory defending pagan education represented by Sokrates against the intolerance of the Christian church and state. The basis of Libanius' conceit may be the tradition, in Philostratos (*Vit. Apoll.* 4.46) and the second-century Platonist Maximus of Tyre (3.1–8), that Sokrates stood mute at his trial. That tradition in turn was probably a mistaken

³⁷ In addition to Xenophon's *Symposium*, Plato's *Protagoras* is set at Kallias' house, but Libanius expressly mentions *Prt.* later in sec. 25.

³⁸ W. M. Calder III, 'On the Silence of Sokrates: An Interpretation', *GRBS* 3 (1960) 197–202.

deduction from Pl. *Grg.* 486a–b and 522b, where Sokrates says that if brought to trial, he would be unable to speak in court.

(v) Damon's Ostracism

See also A 8 (*Ath. Pol.* 27.4), and A 9 (Plut. *Per.* 4). These four ostraka will be published by S. Brenne, *Ostraka*, in the series 'Kerameikos. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen'.

A 22 (a) Ostrakon: v. A. Brückner, *Ath. Mitt.* 40 (1915) 20–1 = no. 50 (*ed. princ.*) = IG I² 912 = Brenne 161 (Inv. O 5629), forthcoming. See frontispiece for a photo.

ΔΑΜΟΝ ΔΑΜΟΝΙΔΟ

Damon son of Damonides

Found May 13, 1914 in the Kerameikos in an undated context, the exterior of this fragment of an Attic krater, 11.5 cm. long, depicts a segment of laurel or else olive leaf which Brückner dates 'at the earliest, around 450'. He suggests a date for the krater 'around the mid-fifth century', roughly contemporary with the pot of an ostrakon for Thoukydides son of Melesias (pp. 10–11). Hamdorf (loc. cit. A 22 [b]) concurs. W. Peek notes that this ostrakon 'is no "documentary proof"' that Damon was ostracized.³⁹ Damon's ostracism is otherwise known, although this sherd could have been cast on an earlier occasion (see ch. 3a).

A 22 (b) Ostrakon: v. F. W. Hamdorf in W. Hoepfner, ed., *Kerameikos* 10 (DAI), *Das Pompeion und seine Nachfolgerbauten*, Berlin, 1976, p. 210 K100 (*ed. princ.*) = Brenne 162 (O 5630) forthcoming. For a photo, see frontispiece.

ΔΑ[Μ]ΟΝ

ΔΑΜΟΝΙ

ΔΟ

Damon son of Damonides

Found in 1967/8 also in the Kerameikos, during excavation of the late fifth-century Pompeion ('Procession Hall'). Hamdorf and others have suggested that this and the preceding ostrakon were inscribed by

³⁹ *Inscripfen, Ostraka, Fluchtafeln*, Kerameikos iii (Berlin, 1941) 77 and n. 4.

the same hand; *per elitteras* Brenne disputes this.⁴⁰ As Stephen Tracy pointed out to me, many letter shapes are virtually identical, both texts showing an identical tendency to make the vertical strokes of letters too long at the top; in both the letters display a similar tilt in relation to the vertical (*A* and *Δ* to the left, *N* to the right). The texts themselves are identical, with patronymic in -o not -ou (although Brenne says -o is most common), and without demotic (which Brenne calls the exception on ostraka). Brenne will argue differences in the third stroke of *A*, rising to the right on (a), horizontal on (b); also, the three omicrons on (a) are thicker than those on (b). In any case, Damon's ostracism may have been orchestrated by supporters of Perikles' rival, Thoukydides son of Melesias, who had been ostracized the previous year (see ch. 3a).

A 22 (c) Ostrakon. 163 (O 5632) Brenne, forthcoming. The text is Brenne's, used by permission. I have seen a photograph (Foto DAI Athen: Inst.Neg. 96/615), which Brenne will publish.

[Δ*A*]MON

[Δ*A*]AMON[ΙΔ*O*]

Damon son of Damonides

Brenne reports that the unpainted sherd is from a transport amphora and was found in the Kerameikos, specific provenience unknown (see also S. Brenne, *Ostrakismos und Prominenz in Athen*. Tyche Supplementband 3 [Vienna, 2001] 130–1). Too little remains to attribute the writing style.

A 22 (d) Ostrakon 164 (O 5631) Brenne, forthcoming. The text is Brenne's, used by permission. I have seen a photograph (Foto DAI Athen: Inst.Neg. 96/614), which Brenne will publish.

[Δ*A*]MON

[Δ*A*]MONΙΔ*Q*

Damon son of Damonides

Brenne reports that this ostrakon, also from an unpainted transport amphora, was found west of the tomb (of the Kerykes?) at the Eridanos, and was therefore not part of the 'Großen Kerameikosfund' containing ostraka from 471. The writing style differs from that of (a) and (b).

⁴⁰ Hamdorf comments: 'could be written by the same hand'. I have profited from the opinion of S. Tracy on these texts.

A 23 Plutarch, *Vit. Arist.* 1.7, ed. K. Ziegler, Leipzig: Teubner, 1964

τῷ δ' ὀστράκῳ πᾶς ὁ διὰ δόξαν ἢ γένος ἢ λόγου δύναμιν ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς νομιζόμενος ὑπέπιπτεν· ὅπου καὶ Δάμων ὁ Περικλέους διδάσκαλος, ὅτι τὸ φρονεῖν ἐδόκει τις εἶναι περιττός, ἐξωστρακίσθη.

λόγου Υ: πλούτου S ἢ πλούτον ἢ λόγου Zie. cl. Nic. 11.1 δαίμων S

But as for ostracism, this could be inflicted upon anyone who was regarded as superior to the masses in reputation, birth, or power of speech. It was for this reason that Damon, too, Perikles' teacher, was ostracized, because he was considered to be someone of exceptional intellectual power.

Plutarch's remark comes as part of an argument that Aristeides' ostracism need not mean he was wealthy. Against Jacoby's alternative hypotheses (Ephoros or an *Atthis*), Raubitschek derived Plutarch's four general accounts of ostracism (*Nic.* 11; *Arist.* 7; *Alc.* 13; *Them.* 22.2) from a fourth-century Peripatetic source, possibly Theophrastos or Demetrios of Phaleron. In particular, he attributed *Arist.* 1.7 and *Nic.* 6.1 (A 24) to Demetrios' *Socrates*.⁴¹ Against this possibly reductionist *Quellenkritik*, it is apparent that Plutarch came to have his own interpretation of ostracism, in part based on standard fifth-century conceptions of *φθόνος δόξης* or *ἀρετῆς* as Raubitschek himself pointed out.⁴² *Arist.* 1.7 and *Nic.* 6.1 (see A 24) add a new component, intellectual superiority, to Plutarch's basic view that ostracism was intended to humble those judged superior in fame, wealth, family, or power. Raubitschek attributes these passages to Demetrios' *Socrates* because Damon's ostracism 'was used in the accusation against Sokrates', as indeed it was (see A 25 comm., on Polykrates). However, according to Plutarch (*Arist.* 1.3), in *Socrates* Demetrios said that 'no poor men but only those from great houses which incurred envy because of the importance of their families were subject to ostracism'. This is inconsistent with Plutarch's two statements that Damon was ostracized for being too intelligent. Furthermore, in his accusation against Sokrates, Polykrates appears to have implied that Damon 'did wrong' (*ἀδικεῖν*: see A 25 comm.). This is inconsistent with Plutarch's claim that Damon was accused of cleverness.

⁴¹ 'Theophrastos on Ostracism', *C&M* 19 (1958) 73–109 (see especially 80 n. 4, 97–100), repr. in *School* 81–107; cf. Jacoby, *FGrHist* 328 fr. 30 n. 12.

⁴² See F. Frost, *Plutarch's Themistocles* (Princeton, 1980) 191–2, and Raubitschek *ibid.* 109.

Neither of Plutarch's references to Damon in *Arist.* 1.7 and *Nic.* 6.1 (A 24) is especially relevant to its context. In *Aristides* Plutarch needs to mention a poor man who was ostracized, to support his argument that Aristides was not rich. However, the only example he provides is Damon, whom he does not call poor. So, too, in discussing Nikias' caution in accepting military commands (*Nic.* 6.2, see below), Plutarch mentions three men punished not for any military actions but for their intellectual and oratorical abilities (Perikles, Damon, Antiphon); only his fourth example (Paches) is military. In the light of Plutarch's report elsewhere (*Per.* 35) of Perikles' punishment for military incompetence, his discussion is striking. It seems that Plutarch himself, not his sources for *Nic.* and *Arist.*, added these references to Damon and the others from his own knowledge. Plutarch had referred to Damon's ostracism before writing *Nicias* and *Aristides*, in the earlier *Pericles* (A 9). In that passage he expressly attributes Damon's ostracism to the demos' perception of his δεινότης, as an ἄκρος σοφιστής.⁴³ I argue (A 9 comm.) that Plutarch's source in *Per.* 4 was probably a comedy (we have no reason to think it was Demetrios or Theophrastos).⁴⁴ Therefore, when writing *Nicias* and *Aristides*, Plutarch remembered Damon's ostracism as an intellectual, and used it in two contexts where it was not especially appropriate.

A 24 Plutarch, *Vit. Nic.* 6.1, ed. K. Ziegler, Leipzig: Teubner, 1964

Ὅρων δὲ τῶν ἐν λόγῳ δυνατῶν ἢ τῷ φρονεῖν διαφερόντων ἀποχρώμενον εἰς ἕνια ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις τὸν δῆμον, ὑφορώμενον δ' αἰεὶ καὶ φυλαττόμενον τὴν δεινότητα καὶ κολούοντα τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν δόξαν—ὡς δῆλον ἦν τῇ Περικλέους καταδίκη καὶ τῷ Δάμωνος ἔξοστρακισμῷ καὶ τῇ πρὸς Ἀντιφῶντα τὸν Παμνούσιον ἀπιστία τῶν πολλῶν, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ τοῖς περὶ Πάχχητα τὸν ἐλόντα Λέσβον, ὃς εὐθύνας διδοὺς τῆς στρατηγίας ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ δικαστηρίῳ σπασάμενος ξίφος ἀνείλεν ἑαυτόν.

(Nikias) saw that while the people were ready to make use for some purposes of men who excelled in eloquence or intellectual power, they constantly looked on them with suspicion and took precautions against their cleverness and strove to limit their intellectual arrogance and reputation. There were clear examples of this in the judgement against Perikles, the ostracism of Damon, the distrust by the people of

⁴³ On the chronology of Plutarch's *Pericles* in relation to the other *Lives*, see Stadter, *Pericles* xxvii–xxix, with reff.

⁴⁴ This comic tradition, however, could have been transmitted through a fourth-century philosophical text interested in the demos' rejection of intellectuals: cf. E. Meinhardt, *Perikles bei Plutarch* (Frankfurt, 1957) e.g. p. 63.

Antiphon of Rhamnous, and above all, the case of Paches after his capture of Lesbos. While undergoing the public accounting of his generalship, Paches drew his sword in open court and killed himself.

Plutarch explains Nikias' military caution and reluctance to claim credit for military successes. On Plutarch's inspiration for including examples of discredited intellectuals in this military context, see A 23 comm. He may also have sought victims of the demos' resentment who were more or less contemporary with Nikias. It is otherwise hard to explain why he passed over Miltiades, Themistokles, and Aristeides, all good military examples who are mentioned along with Paches and Perikles in a list of *stratêgoi* ill-treated by the demos in *Arist.* 26.3. To explain Nikias' thinking, Antiphon is an especially bad example, since he was almost certainly punished for anti-democratic activities and despite his eloquence (see Thuc. 8.68), two years after Nikias' death. In *Arist.* 26.3 Plutarch makes clear, as he does not here, that Paches killed himself only after he was condemned in court, a story not so flattering to Paches.⁴⁵

For Perikles' condemnation in 430, see Thuc. 2.65.3, Plut. *Per.* 35.4–5, and Diod. 12.38–45.

A 25 Libanius, *Declam. i (Apologia Socratis)* 157, ed. R. Foerster, Leipzig: Teubner, 1909

Against the argument that the Athenians should punish Sokrates as—Libanius says—they had earlier punished 'the sophists' Anaxagoras, Protagoras, and Diagoras, Libanius responds that Sokrates was not guilty of their crimes (153–6). Against the claim that those who did not associate with sophists proved to be morally good, he observes that Miltiades and Themistokles came to bad ends, but Perikles, who studied with Anaxagoras and even defended him in court, was a brilliant success.

Δάμων δέ, εἰ μὲν ἡδίκηκε, καλῶς ἐκβέβληται· εἰ δ' ἐσυκοφαντεῖτο, κρείττον ἦν μὴδ' ἐκείνον τοῦτο παθεῖν ἢ δι' ἐκείνον καὶ Σωκράτην. καίτοι φησὶν ἐπ' ἐλάττωσιν αἰτίαις ἐξελαθῆναι τὸν Δάμωνα, ἔτι δὲ μὴδὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν αἰτίαν τοῦ καταλύειν τὸν δῆμον λαβεῖν, ὥσπερ τὸν νυνὶ κρινόμενον. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο μὲν τεκμήριον τοῦ μετριωτέρων ἐκείνον

⁴⁵ The charge against Paches, who led Athens' expedition against Lesbos in 428/7 (Thuc. 3.18.4, see 28.5, 35.2; Diod. 12.55.5–10), is unknown. According to an epigram by Agathias (*Anth. Gr.* 7.614: vi AD) he lusted after two Mytilenean ladies whose husbands he then murdered. The women escaped to Athens and told all. Lenschau suggested that this story was a local legend to which Paches' name was attached (*RE* 18 [1942] 2068). In any case, the fiction seems later fourth-century or Hellenistic.

ἐχθρῶν τυχεῖν, κωλύει δὲ οὐδὲν ἐλάττω τε δικαίως αἰτιαθῆναι καὶ μείζω μὴ προσηκόντως.

1 ἐμβέβληται B δὲ συκοφαντεῖ, τὸ Ma Mor qui δ' ἐσυκοφάντει coni Not ad Lib. fol VII^v | 3 ἔτι δὲ scripsi coll t. III 417, 24, ut coni Mor 1.1. αὐτῇ δὲ libri Mor Re qui se non intellegere professus est, delenda censuit Iacobs Add 336 ἀρχὴν δὲ auctore Iacobso Lect 202 Not 47 Rog et Schanz Plat. apol. comm. 39 | μὴ δὲ B καὶ Ma 4 τῶν om Mor | αἰτίαν – νυνὶ om Ma Mor

And as for Damon, if he did wrong, he was rightly thrown out. But if he was falsely accused, it was no better that he should have suffered for it than that on his account Sokrates suffered also. And yet he [sc. Anytos or Polykrates] says that Damon was driven out on less serious charges, and was not charged by his enemies with destroying the democracy, as is the defendant today. This is proof that Damon had enemies more moderate than Sokrates'. Nothing prevented them from bringing lesser charges with justice, and greater charges improperly.

Libanius' speech, like (in all probability) Xenophon's defence of Sokrates in *Mem.* 1–2,⁴⁶ was aimed against Polykrates' 'Indictment of Sokrates', published in 393–392, and mentioned Sokrates' prosecutor Anytos.⁴⁷ (The subject of *phêsin*, 'he said', in line 3 is uncertain, whether Anytos or Polykrates.) In Polykrates, Xenophon, Libanius, and others,⁴⁸ Sokrates' anti-democratic sympathies are a major issue. They are not in Plato's *Apology* or in the text of the public indictment against him. Accordingly, many have argued that in Sokrates' trial, his political views and links with the Thirty tyrants in 404 were a significant factor but either could not be mentioned, because of the amnesty of 403, or else were mentioned by other speakers.⁴⁹ A minority, less persuasive view has argued that politics

⁴⁶ See M. Montuori, *Socrates. An Approach* (Amsterdam, 1988) 60 n. 99, with biblio.

⁴⁷ See H. Markowski, 'De Libanio Socratis defensore', *Bresl. Philol. Abh.* 40 (1910) 1–196 (also arguing that Libanius' work was in part a disguised attempt to vindicate the Emperor Julian [cf. Calder [n. 38]]); J. Humbert, *Polycratès, l'accusation de Socrate e le Gorgias* (Paris, 1930); A.-H. Chroust, 'Xenophon, Polycrates and the "indictment of Sokrates"', *C&M* 16 (1955) 9–10 and *passim*; A.-H. Chroust, *Socrates, Man and Myth* (London, 1957) 69–100; and my 'Plato Logographos: Defense of Sokrates', *Philosophia* 43 (2013) 99–112.

⁴⁸ See Xen. *Mem.* 1.2.9, 12, and also Isokr. *Bus.* 5, Aeschin. 1.173 with 48, 53, 60. For Libanius, see reff. in Chroust, 'Xenophon' (last note) 25–32 with reff.

⁴⁹ See, e.g. J. Burnet, *Plato's Euthyphro, Apology of Sokrates and Crito* (Oxford, 1924) 101; M. H. Hansen, 'The Trial of Sokrates—From the Athenian Point of View', *Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, Historisk-filosofiske-Meddelelser* 71 (1995) 1–31 = *Démocratie athénienne et culture*, ed. M. Sakellariou (Athens, 1996) 137–70.

was not an issue in the trial, but may have been adduced by Polykrates.⁵⁰ As the only other fifth-century intellectual punished by the Athenians (see my 'Private lives'), Damon was highly relevant to Sokrates' prosecution. Many passages in Plato suggest that Sokrates knew him well.

The fundamental importance of this passage lies in its confirmation that Damon's ostracism was mentioned in Sokrates' trial. Libanius implies that according to Anytos or Polykrates, at the time of his ostracism Damon was not accused of trying to destroy the democracy. In the 440s, we have seen (ch. 3a), Damon was charged with being *philotyrannos*, when some feared Perikles' political domination after the ostracism of Thoukydides son of Melesias (Plut. *Per.* 4 = A 9). In the very different world of 399, after Perikles had been replaced by 'the demagogues' and Athens had lost the war with Sparta, Damon *philotyrannos* has been forgotten. The central distinction now was that, unlike Damon, the Thirty tyrants (including Sokrates' students) did destroy Athens' democracy.

TESTIMONIA (B): DAMON'S THEORIES

B 1 Plato, *Rep.* 399e–400b, ed. J. Burnet, Oxford: OUP, 1900 (repr. 1967, 1993²)

Ἦθι δὴ, ἔφην, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ καθαίρωμεν. ἐπόμενον γὰρ δὴ ταῖς ἀρμονίαις ἂν ἡμῖν εἴη τὸ περὶ ῥυθμούς, μὴ ποικίλους αὐτοὺς διώκειν μηδὲ παντοδαπὰς βάσεις, ἀλλὰ βίου ῥυθμοὺς ἰδεῖν κοσμίῳ τε καὶ ἀνδρείῳ τίνες εἰσὶν οὓς ἰδόντα τὸν πόδα τῷ τοῦ τοιούτου λόγῳ ἀναγκάζειν ἔπασθαι καὶ τὸ μέλος, ἀλλὰ μὴ λόγον ποδὶ τε καὶ μέλει. οἷτινες δ' ἂν εἶεν οὗτοι οἱ ῥυθμοί, σὸν ἔργον, ὥσπερ τὰς ἀρμονίας, φράσαι.

Ἀλλὰ μὰ Δι', ἔφη, οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ τρι' ἅττα ἐστὶν εἶδη ἐξ ὧν αἱ βάσεις πλέκονται, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς φθόγγοις τέτταρα, ὅθεν αἱ πάσαι ἀρμονίαι, τεθεαμένος ἂν εἴποιμι ποῖα δὲ ὁποῖοι βίου μιμήματα, λέγειν οὐκ ἔχω.

Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, καὶ μετὰ Δάμωνος βουλευσόμεθα, τίνες τε ἀνελευθερίας καὶ ὕβρεως ἢ μανίας καὶ ἄλλης κακίας πρέπουσαι βάσεις, καὶ τίνες τοῖς ἐναντίοις λειπτέον ῥυθμούς· οἶμαι δέ με ἀκηκοῦναι οὐ σαφῶς ἐνόησιν τίνα ὀνομάζοντος αὐτοῦ σύνθετον καὶ δάκτυλον καὶ ἡρώδην γε, οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως διακοσμοῦντος καὶ ἴσον ἄνω καὶ κάτω τιθέντος, εἰς βραχὺ τε καὶ μακρὸν γιγνόμενον, καί, ὥς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, ἵαμβον καὶ τιν'

⁵⁰ T. Brickhouse and N. Smith, *Socrates on Trial* (Princeton, 1989) 69–87.

ἄλλον τροχαῖον ὠνόμαζε, μήκη δὲ καὶ βραχύτητας προσήπτε. καὶ τούτων
 τισὶν οἶμαι τὰς ἀγωγὰς τοῦ ποδὸς αὐτὸν οὐχ ἥττον ψέγειν τε καὶ ἐπαινεῖν
 ἢ τοὺς ῥυθμοὺς αὐτούς—ἤτοι συναμφοτέρων τι· οὐ γὰρ ἔχω λέγειν—ἀλλὰ
 ταῦτα μέν, ὥσπερ εἶπον, εἰς Δάμωνα ἀναβεβλήσθω· διελέσθαι γὰρ οὐ
 σμικροῦ λόγου. ἢ σὺ οἶε;
 Μὰ Δί', οὐκ ἔγωγε.

14 σύνθετον καὶ δάκτυλον secl. Hartman (sed legit Proclus) 17 1 βραχύτητας AFM: om. D

Sokrates: 'Come then, let us complete the purification. For upon *harmoniai* would follow the consideration of rhythms; we must not pursue complexity nor great variety in the steps, but must observe what are the rhythms of a life that is orderly and brave, and after observing them require the foot and the tune to conform to that kind of man's speech and not the speech to the foot and the tune. What these rhythms would be, it is for you to tell us as you did the *harmoniai*.'

'But by Zeus,' [Glaukon] said, 'I cannot tell. For that there are some three forms from which the steps are combined, just as there are four in the notes of the voice from which come all *harmoniai*, is something that I have observed and could tell. But which are imitations of which sort of life I am unable to say.'

'Well, on these matters we shall take counsel also with Damon, as to which steps are appropriate to disgraceful behaviour and wanton outrage or madness and other evils, and what rhythms we must leave for their opposites. I think I have heard him obscurely naming an in-armour (a composite), and a finger and a heroic which he somehow arranged and made equal up and down, passing into a short and a long, and, I think, he named something an iamb and something else a trochee, and he added longs and shorts. And in some of these he criticized or praised the tempo of the foot no less than the rhythms themselves, or else some combination of the two; I can't say. But let these things, as I mentioned, be postponed for Damon's consideration, for to determine the truth would require no little discourse. Or do you think otherwise?'

'No, I do not.'

Some of the issues raised by this passage, our main evidence for Damon's work on metre and (by extension) music, are addressed in chapter 2 (see also the index locorum).

Sokrates mentions the *enoplios*, 'in-armour', which he calls 'a composite', the dactylic, and the 'heroic'. Since Wilamowitz (*Verskunst* 65) the heroic has been identified as the hexameter, with a relationship of 2:2 between long and shorts, or as Damon said, equal 'up and down'. Sokrates' 'dactylic' has therefore been the subject of

discussion, as he has already mentioned the 'heroic' epic rhythm. The term may refer to a metron, not a rhythm.

The *enoplios* rhythm is described as 'composite', *sunthetos*. It joins measures with a relationship of 1:2 (short long), such as iambics, with 2:2 measures, in this case anapaests. The conception *sunthetos*, which includes the *enoplios* (of anapaests and iambs) and the *logoaedos* (of dactyls and trochees), also implies the concept of non-synthetic metres that admit measures of the same type, either equals (dactyls, anapaests) or doubles (iambs, trochees).

Damon also distinguished between tempo and rhythm. Whether he dealt with other aspects of rhythm, such as caesura or diaeresis or patterns of word endings, is unknown.

The word *baseis*, 'steps', has raised the question (see also Athenaios 628c = C 1) whether Damon studied dance. Steven Lonsdale drew this conclusion,⁵¹ but there are difficulties. First, as Martin West ('Music' 216) writes,

many sources refer to the practice of beating time by clapping, snapping the fingers, or tapping the foot, which was sometimes equipped with a special wooden shoe for the purpose, the *κρούπεζα*. This is what underlies the division of metrical feet or metra, probably as early as Damon in the fifth century, into segments called 'the down' and 'the up', or *βάσις* and *ἄρσις*, or *θέσις* and *ἄρσις*.

The term *basis* may have originated in the context of dancing to sung poetry, but there is no indication that Plato here uses the term in that sense, or that Damon used it. Plato says nothing about dance in this passage. As Lonsdale showed, in *Laws* (e.g. 657d, 664c–d, 667b) he writes often and at length about dance, but *Laws* nowhere mentions Damon and Plato now seems to have abandoned the *êthos* theory of music (see my 'Music theorists' 25–7 and the Conclusion to Part I of this volume). Conversely, as Lonsdale also noted, in *Republic* and other texts where Damon is important, Plato mentions dance only rarely and allusively (*Rep.* 373b, 412b as part of gymnastics; also *Ion* 536a; *Prt.* 347c; *Epin.* 982e; *Tim.* 40c).

Proklos

The greatest of Plato's fifth-century 'successors' (*diadochoi*), Proklos (412–485) raised the recently reinvigorated Academy to new heights during its final century. Among his many virtues including discipline,

⁵¹ *Dance and Ritual Play in Greek Religion* (Baltimore, 1993) 31–3, 38–9.

hard work, good looks, and intelligence (he refuted Christianity on 18 counts), Proklos could conjure up spirits and had a talent for rain-making. Other contemporary Athenian Platonists shared his interest in religion, theosophical speculation, theurgy, and magic.⁵² Dodds remarked, 'Proclus' qualities were all but unique in an age when his defects were all but universal.'⁵³ Recent judgements vary on Proklos' intellectual abilities. Morrow called him 'the last great creative mind in Greek philosophy'. For Dillon he was a great systematizer, but of little intellectual originality.⁵⁴

Neoplatonists typically expounded their own thought by means of commentaries on Plato and Aristotle. Proklos' commentary on *Republic* is a series of perhaps originally separate essays, put into book form by a pupil or else at some later date.⁵⁵ Our passages come from the fifth essay, on ten problems raised by Plato's treatment of poetry. It has been called a 'fairly elementary discussion', part of Proklos' introductory lecture to Plato, and showing Proklos more as teacher than original thinker (Sheppard [n. 55] 25). As Proklos' comments about Damon merely elaborate from Plato's text, they are listed as subordinate testimonia.

B 1a Proclus, *In Rempubl.* I p. 42.26–8, ed. W. Kroll, Leipzig: Teubner, 1899 (repr. 1965)

As the fourth of his ten problems (I pp. 42.1–43.25), Proklos asks why Sokrates denies knowing the *harmoniai* that are appropriate to *symposia* and lamentations (see Pl. *Rep.* 398e), or those which the interlocutor proposes as better and more useful for education (ibid. 399a5).

καίτοι περί γε τῶν ῥυθμῶν εἰδέναι τι προσποιούμενος ἀπὸ τῆς Δάμωνος
ὑφηγήσεως ὁ Σωκράτης, καὶ ὀνομάζων οὓς ἐκεῖνος παρεδίδου ῥυθμούς.

⁵² See Dodds, *Greeks and the Irrational* 283–4; C. Zintzen, 'Die Wertung von Mystik und Magie in der neuplatonischen Philosophie', *RhM* 108 (1965) 71–100; and Marinus, *Vita Procli* 28.

⁵³ E. R. Dodds, *Proclus Elements of Theology*² (Oxford, 1963) xxvi.

⁵⁴ G. R. Morrow, *Proclus. A Commentary on the First Book of Euclid's Elements* (Princeton, 1970) xxi; J. M. Dillon, *Proclus' Commentary on Plato's Parmenides*, trans. with G. R. Morrow (Princeton, 1987) xiv–xv.

⁵⁵ See C. Gallavotti, 'Eterogeneità e cronologia dei Commenti di Proclo alla Repubblica', *RFIC* 57 (1929) 208–19, and 'Intorno ai commenti di Proclo alla Repubblica', *BPEC* 19 (1971) 41–54 (essays 42 years apart!), supported by A. D. R. Sheppard, *Studies on the 5th and 6th Essays of Proclus' Commentary on the Republic, Hypomnemata* 61, Göttingen, 1980.

And yet in any event about the rhythms Sokrates affects to know something, from Damon's instruction, and he names rhythms which Damon taught.

B 1b Proclus, *In Rempubl.* I p. 54.3–7, ed. W. Kroll, Leipzig: Teubner, 1899 (repr. 1965)

Τί δὲ δὴ περὶ τοῦ τετάρτου φήσομεν, πῶς ὁ Σωκράτης ἀναίνεται τὰς τῶν ἁρμονιῶν εἰδέναι διαφοράς, καὶ ταῦτα περὶ γε τῶν ῥυθμῶν ἀκηκοέναι τι παρὰ Δάμωνος λέγων, καὶ εἰς τὸν Γλαύκωνα τὴν γνώσιν αὐτῶν ἀποπέμπει προστιθείς· σὺ γὰρ μουσικός.

What now shall we say about the fourth problem, how Sokrates denies knowing about the differences between the *harmoniai*, especially when he says that he had received some teaching from Damon at any rate about rhythms and how he refers the knowledge of these things to Glaukon, adding 'for you are a musician' [= *Rep.* 398e1].

Proklos begins his discussion of the problem announced in B 1a. He concludes (54.7–55.26) that *politikoi* and musicians must approach music in different ways—musicians from a more detailed and technical viewpoint, but also with a view towards what is useful for the *polis* and for *politikoi* (political theorists) such as Sokrates here, *πολιτείας ὦν δημιουργός* (54.25). The *politikoi* must then decide which are the right *harmoniai*, for example for the education of young people. So 'it is rightly said that the *politikos* must not be *amouso*s, and the musician must not be *apoliteutos*' (54.16–18).

Sheppard ([n. 55] 115–16) suggests that Proklos here responds to Aristoxenos' charge that Plato was musically ignorant (fr. 82 Wehrli = [Plut.] *De mus.* 1136e–f). 'I suspect that Aristoxenos' charge of ignorance was taken up and transformed into an allegation that Plato depicts Socrates in a contradictory way as sometimes ignorant of music and sometimes not.'

B 1c Proclus, *In Rempubl.* I p. 56.7–11, ed. W. Kroll, Leipzig: Teubner, 1899 (repr. 1965)

Proklos turns (55.27–56.19) to Sokrates' discussion of rhythm, which he notes is brief, on account of Glaukon's professed ignorance (400a4–7). Yet Sokrates had to say something on this topic, Proklos observes, in order to complete his discourse on music and education. First, Sokrates points out the educational value of rhythms.

εἴτ' εὐθὺς τὸν πολιτικὸν φυλάττων, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς τὸν μουσικὸν μεταπεσεῖν ἐθέλων, καὶ εἰς Δάμωνα τὴν περὶ τῶν ῥυθμῶν ἀποπέμψας θεωρίαν ἐν ἐκ

πάντων συλλογίζεται, χρῆναι τὸν παιδευτικὸν εὐλογίας στοχάζεσθαι καὶ εὐαρμοστίας καὶ εὐρυθμίας.

2 ἐθέλων εἰς δάμωνα καὶ τὴν π. |

Then straightway, maintaining his political role and unwilling to change into the musical, and having referred to Damon the theory about rhythms, he draws one conclusion from all this, that the educator must aim at beauty of language, of harmony, and of rhythm [*Rep.* 400d].

For Proklos' distinction between political and musical approaches to music, see B 1b comm.

B 1d Proclus, *In Rempubl.* I p. 61.2–14, ed. W. Kroll, Leipzig: Teubner, 1899 (repr. 1965)

As his sixth question, Proklos asks which *harmoniai* and which rhythms Plato permits in his state as useful for education. As he points out, Plato leaves his readers in suspense, 'thirsting to hear' Sokrates' opinions, and does not make clear his answers. However,

τοὺς μὲν οὖν ῥυθμούς, ἐξ ὧν καὶ Δάμωνος ἀκοῦσαι λέγει καὶ ἀποδέχεται τοῦ λόγου, δῆλός ἐστιν τῶν μὲν συνθέτων τὸν ἐνόπλιον ἀποδεχόμενος, ὃς ἐστὶν ἕκ τε ἰάμβου καὶ δακτύλου καὶ τῆς παριαμβίδος· τοῦτον γὰρ ἀνδρικὸν ἦθος ἐμποιεῖν καὶ παρατεταγμένον πρὸς πάσας τὰς ἀναγκαίας καὶ ἀκουσίους πράξεις· τῶν δὲ ἀπλῶν τὸν ἡρώον δάκτυλον, περὶ οὗ καὶ λόγων φησὶν ἀκοῦσαι Δάμωνος καὶ δάκτυλόν γε καὶ ἡρώον διακοσμοῦντος, ἐνδεικνύμενος ὥς ἄρα τὸν τοιοῦτον ῥυθμὸν ἡγεῖται κοσμιότητος εἶναι ποιητικὸν καὶ ὁμαλότητος καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀγαθῶν. ἐκ δὲ ἀμφοτέρων ἀποτελεῖσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν ἅμα μὲν εὐκίνητον ἅμα δὲ ἡρεμαίαν· ταῦτα δὲ ἅμφω καλῶς ἀλλήλοις συγκραθέντα παιδεύειν | τὴν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐντιθέναι.

as for rhythms, of those which he says he learned from Damon and accepts the account, he clearly accepts (of the composite rhythms) the in-armour, which is composed of iamb, dactyl, and the pariambis, for this engenders a character that is moral and prepared for all necessary and involuntary actions. Of the simple rhythms he accepts the heroic dactyl, concerning which he says he also heard Damon's teaching 'ordering at any rate a dactyl and a heroic', and he shows that Damon thinks that a rhythm of that kind produces orderliness, equality, and other such good qualities. And from both rhythms the soul is rendered easy to move and at the same time quiet. And both these rhythms, when well mixed together, produce true education.

Proklos goes on to explain that of *êthê*, it is important to have both the *eukinêton* and the *eremaion* together, to produce a proper middle.

Proklos' deductions that Sokrates and Damon accepted these rhythms are unjustified. His reference to equality is an inference from Plato's ἴσον ἄνω καὶ κάτω τιθέντος. For Proklos' identification of the *harmoniai* which Sokrates accepts, see B 3 comm. On Proklos' sixth question in general, see Sheppard [n. 55] 113–15.

B 1e Proclus, *In Rempubl.* I p. 62.9–17, ed. W. Kroll, Leipzig: Teubner, 1899 (repr. 1965)

After discussing (B 3) which *harmoniai* Sokrates accepts as suitable for education, Proklos considers the rhythms that (he says) Sokrates accepts.

τῶν δὲ ῥυθμῶν τὸν μὲν ἐνόπλιον οὐκ εἰς τὸ παιδεύειν νέων ψυχάς, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ ἐξορμᾶν εἰς τὰς πολεμικὰς πράξεις παρέχεσθαι χρεῖαν ὑπειληφέναι, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα λαβεῖν ἐντεῦθεν τὸν ῥυθμόν· μόνον δὲ τὸν δάκτυλον καὶ ἡρώων ἀρμόττειν παιδευομένοις καὶ ὅλως τὸν τῇ ἰσότητι κεκοσμημένον. διό μοι δοκεῖ καὶ οὕτω εἰπεῖν Δάμωνος ἀκοῦσαι τοῦτον διακοσμοῦντος τὸν ῥυθμόν, ὥς εἰς κατακόσμησιν ὡς ἀληθῶς συντελοῦντα τῆς ζωῆς καὶ παιδευτικόν.

And of the rhythms [Sokrates] held that the in-armour was useful not for educating the souls of the young, but to rouse to military action, and that this rhythm received its name from that quality; the dactylic and heroic alone were suitable for pupils, and any rhythm generally which is graced with equality. Thus it seems to me that when Sokrates says he heard Damon 'ordering' this kind of rhythm, it is in the sense that it truly contributed to the beautiful ordering of life and that it was educational.

Proklos concludes (62.17–27: see B 3) that for education Sokrates accepts only the Dorian *harmonia* (see *Lch.* 188d, but Laches not Sokrates is speaking) and the dactylic rhythm, thus indicating that Proklos identified 'dactylic' with 'heroic', since both were associated with 'equality', ἰσότης, as he then shows in each case. Aristotle (*Pol.* 1342a26–b17) criticized Sokrates for accepting the Phrygian *harmonia* but rejecting the *aulos*, as both were orgiastic, while the Dorian was 'a mean among *harmoniai*' and thus acceptable. Proklos associates the Phrygian *harmonia* with the orgiastic like Aristotle, but says that Plato accepted this *harmonia* only for orgiastic rites (cf. *Minos* 318b), not for education. Accordingly, Proklos answers Aristotle's criticism of Plato, but his reading of *Rep.* is unjustified.

B 2 Plato, *Rep.* 424c, ed. J. Burnet, Oxford: OUP, 1900 (repr. 1967, 1993²)

Sokrates remarks, 'For a change to a new type of music is something to beware of as altogether dangerous.'

οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ κινοῦνται μουσικῆς τρόποι ἄνευ πολιτικῶν νόμων τῶν μεγίστων, ὥς φησί τε Δάμων καὶ ἐγὼ πείθομαι.

For styles of music are never changed without changing the most fundamental rules of the polis, as Damon says and I believe.

This passage forms part of Plato's argument that once a state is properly established it will perpetuate itself, as good men ensure proper education which produces other good men, and so on. Many scholars have assumed that Sokrates' preamble to this statement, 'a change to a new type of music is something to beware of as a hazard to all our fortunes', was also Damon's view. On this basis, they consider Damon a conservative opposed to the musical innovations of his age (see chs. 3a with n. 6, 4a). Nothing in Plato implies that assumption, and the tradition (B 6) that Damon invented the 'relaxed Lydian' *harmonia* which Plato rejected as 'soft and sympotic' (*Rep.* 398e), argues that he was at least not known as musically conservative. Nor was he politically conservative or anti-democratic (see ch. 3).

The meanings of *τρόποι* and *πολιτικοὶ νόμοι* are uncertain. Especially as a later technical term, *tropos* has often been related to pitch.⁵⁶ In older texts the term seems to mean generally 'musical styles', as in Pindar *Ol.* 14.17 the 'Lydian *tropos*'. In 424c Plato helps to indicate a quite general sense by calling a *tropos* an *eidos mousikês*, 'a kind of music'. I therefore follow Anderson, *Ethos* 25, that *tropos* here means 'style' (and so Barker, *GMW* i 140); the common translation 'mode' is incorrect. *Politikoi nomoi* has been taken in different ways. In his *Republic* commentary (I 216) Adam interprets *politikoi nomoi kinesthai* to mean political change; and so T. Griffith: 'politically revolutionary' (*Republic*, Cambridge, 2000). Shorey (Loeb) translates *politikoi nomoi* more broadly, 'political and social conventions'. Anderson (*Ethos* 41) and others interpret more narrowly, 'the most important laws of the state'. The phrase is ambiguous, and so I translate 'rules of the city'.

⁵⁶ Anderson, *Ethos* 35: 'tropos can be largely identified with the kinetic aspect of harmonia. It thus parallels rhythm, dealing with vertical relationships of pitch between successive notes as rhythm does with horizontal relationships of time.' See also Winnington-Ingram, 'Music' 707, and 'Ancient Greek music' 243–7.

B 3 Proclus, *In Rempubl.* I p. 61.19–24, ed. W. Kroll, Leipzig: Teubner, 1899 (repr. 1965)

This passage picks up where B 1d left off. After considering Sokrates' views on rhythms, Proklos now considers Sokrates' opinions of the *harmoniai*:

τὰς δὲ αὐτῆς ἁρμονίας ἤδη μὲν τινες τῶν θρηνησομένων καὶ συμποτικῶν, ὧν αἱ μὲν τὸ φιλήδονον χαλῶσιν, αἱ δὲ τὸ φιλόλυπον συντείνουσιν, τούτων δ' οὖν ἐκβεβλημένων ἀξιούσιν τὰς λοιπὰς, ὧν Δάμων ἐδίδασκεν, τὴν τε Φρύγιον καὶ τὴν Δώριον αὐτὸν ὡς παιδευτικὰς παραδέχεσθαι.

As for the *harmoniai*, there are already some who think that having excluded the *harmoniai* that produce lamentation and the sympotic *harmoniai* (of which the latter lets free the love of pleasure, and the former tends to the love of pain), [Sokrates] accepts as proper for education the remaining *harmoniai* of those which Damon taught, the Phrygian and the Dorian.

Proklos then challenges the view that Sokrates accepted the Phrygian *harmonia* for education, citing *Lch.* 188d (B 1e above).

This passage is listed as a separate testimonium because it adds one point to Plato: that Damon taught various *harmoniai*, apparently including the mixed and taut Lydian. It is unclear if Proklos merely deduced this point from Plato, or if others had made this claim. In either case, even though Damon is elsewhere reported to have invented the relaxed Lydian *harmonia* (B 6), the deduction is probably just that, and unjustified (see ch. 2b).

B 4 Olympiodorus, *In Plat. Alcibiad. comment.* 138.4–11 (on i *Alc.* 118c), ed. L. G. Westerink, Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Co., 1956 (= p. 90); repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1982

Πυθοκλέους δὲ μέμνηται οὐχ ἀπλῶς ὡς μουσικοῦ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀρμόζοντος διὰ τῶν προσηκόντων μελῶν τοὺς πολίτας. ὥσπερ γάρ εἰσι σωφρονικὰ μέλη... οὕτως εἰσὶ καὶ ἀρμόζοντα τοὺς πολίτας μέλη, ἃ ὠφέληθη ὁ Περικλῆς παρὰ Δάμωνος, δι' ὧν ἤρμοξε τὴν πόλιν.

[Plato] mentions Pythokles not simply as a musician, but as one who harmonizes the citizens through the appropriate songs. For just as there are songs which are naturally temperate... so there are songs also which harmonize the citizens, songs which Perikles learned from Damon and through which he harmonized the city.

On Olympiodoros, see the preamble to A 5.

Olympiodoros' first sentence is in error; i Alc. 118c (A 4) does not expressly link 'Pythokl(eid)es' with the ethical and political applications of music, but only with Damon and Perikles. As we saw in A 5, Olympiodoros elsewhere calls Pythokl(eid)es Perikles' music teacher; interestingly, the current passage attributes to him the *êthos* practice of music. Olympiodoros' ultimate source for the information in this passage would appear to be the 'historical works' of fourth-century *harmonikoi* (see ch. 4a, c, and the verb *hêrmoze* here). The passage is markedly Damonian, drawing Pythokl(eid)es into Damon's sphere of research. It is also markedly 'harmonicist', stressing public applications of the *êthos* theory as PHibeh says the (Damonian) *harmonikoi* did in their theatre performances. In their 'historical works' the *harmonikoi* who praise Damon also mentioned Pythokl(eid)es (see B 6 comm. and ch. 4c). Finally, this report about Damon seems to be correct (see ch. 3a). As we saw (ch. 4c), the Damonian *harmonikoi* seem to have respected their Damonian legacy.

In the omitted parenthetical lines after the words 'naturally temperate', Olympiodoros adds: '(and therefore Aigisthos would have been unable to corrupt Clytemnestra had he not earlier killed the singer on the deserted island, whom Agamemnon left as a guard, as the poet says)'. In 'The Bard as the Custodian of Homeric Society: *Odyssey* 3.263–272', *QUCC* 37 (1981) 67–83, S. P. Scully provides a Damonian interpretation of this episode, without mentioning Damon. Might this story also come from the Damonian *harmonikoi*?

B 5 Aristides Quintilianus, *De musica* 2.14, ed. R. P. Winnington-Ingram, Leipzig: Teubner, 1963 (= p. 80.23–81.6)

Ἐοίκασι γάρ, ὡς ἔφην, αἱ μὲν ἁρμονίαι τοῖς πλεονάζουσι διαστήμασιν ἢ τοῖς περιέχουσι φθόγγοις, οὗτοι δὲ τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς κινήμασί τε καὶ παθήμασιν. ὅτι γὰρ δι' ὁμοιότητος οἱ φθόγγοι καὶ συνεχοῦς μελωδίας πλάττουσιν τε οὐκ ὄν ἦθος ἐν τε παισὶ καὶ τοῖς ἤδη προβεβηκόσι καὶ ἐνδομυχοῦν ἐξάγουσιν, ἐδήλουν καὶ οἱ περὶ Δάμωνα· ἐν γοῦν ταῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παραδεδομέναις ἁρμονίαις τῶν φερομένων φθόγγων ὅτε μὲν τοὺς θήλεις, ὅτε δὲ τοὺς ἄρρενας ἔστιν εὐρεῖν ἥτοι πλεονάζοντας ἢ ἐπ' ἔλαττον ἢ οὐδ' ὅλως παρελθιμένους, δῆλον ὡς κατὰ τὸ ἦθος ψυχῆς ἐκάστης καὶ ἁρμονίας χρησιμευούσης. διὸ καὶ τῶν μερῶν τῆς μελοποιίας ἢ καλουμένη πεττεία τὸ χρησιμώτατον ἐν ἐκλογῇ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων φθόγγων ἐκάστοτε θεωρουμένη.

5 δάμωνα VN δάμωνα Rd δαίμωνα (δάμωνα mg.) F 9 μερῶν Mb μέτρων codd.

The *harmoniai*, as I was saying, resemble either the intervals which are commonest in them, or the notes that bound them: and the notes in turn resemble the movements and emotions of the soul. The fact that it is through similarity that the notes—even the notes of a continuous melody—both instil a character previously absent, in children and in older people too, and draw out a character that lay hidden within, was demonstrated by the followers of Damon [see Part C below]. Certainly, in the *harmoniai* which he handed down, we can see that of the moveable notes it is sometimes the female and sometimes the male that are in the majority, or else are used less or not at all. The reason is clearly that the usefulness of a *harmonia* depends on the character of each individual soul. Hence the most important part of melodic composition is that known as ‘distribution’ [*petteia*], which consists in the selection of the notes most appropriate on each occasion. (trans. Barker)

‘If Aristides is reliable’, Barker (GMW ii 483 n. 143) draws five inferences from this passage. First, ‘Damonians thought music a powerful educational force, and this is well known from elsewhere.’ Second, ‘they distinguished the two educational functions mentioned here’, either instilling or drawing out character. Third, ‘they associated the influence of music on character with similar characters attributed to notes.’ As Aristides explains, some notes were masculine in *êthos*, some were feminine, and some were neutral or mixed (2.12 = 77.19–20 W.-I.). Through careful note selection, the *harmoniai* which included them also resembled these *êthê*. As Barker observes (see earlier Anderson, *Ethos* 41; Lord, ‘Damon’ 36), it is ‘at best uncertain that Aristides intends to attribute the male-female classification [the subject of several pages in his treatise] to a Damonian source’. Lord draws the same conclusion for the idea that individual notes had an *êthos*. Fourth, ‘something describable as “Damon’s *harmoniai*” were available to Aristides.’ I discuss these *harmoniai* in Appendix 1. Finally, ‘Damon’s’ *harmoniai*

presented ‘gapped’ structures, in which one or other of the moveable notes between tetrachordal boundaries was omitted. What these *harmoniai* were we cannot say (though the description suggests tuning-structures rather than actual melodies).

Barker (and others) are most hesitant to identify these *harmoniai* with the ‘very old’ gapped *harmoniai* that Aristides links with Plato’s *Republic*.⁵⁷

Barker (and also, e.g. T. J. Mathiesen⁵⁸) rightly distinguishes these followers of Damon from Damon himself. Except for the gapped *harmoniai*, this passage sheds light not on Damon’s work but on the *êthos* thinking of those who considered themselves his followers.

B 6 [Plutarch], *De musica* 1136e, edd. K. Ziegler and M. Pohlenz, Leipzig: Teubner, 1953 (1959²)

ἀλλὰ μὲν καὶ τὴν ἐπανειμένην Λυδιστί, ἥπερ ἐναντία τῇ Μιξολυδιστί, παραπλησίαν οὖσαν τῇ Ἰάδι, ὑπὸ Δάμωνος εὐρῆσθαι φασι τοῦ Ἀθηναίου.

ἥπερ Wyttenbach et s. (Parisin. Gr. 2451); εἴπερ rell. εἴπερ ἐναντίαν τῇ Μιξ. <καὶ> παραπλ. Burette [εἴπερ] ἐναντίαν τῇ Μιξ., παρ. <δ’> Weil-Reinach φησι (sc. Aristoxenus) conj. Weil-Reinach; φασι codd.

They [‘the *harmonikoi* in their historical works’: see below] say further that the relaxed Lydian *harmonia*, which is the opposite of the Mixolydian and similar to the Ionian, was invented by the Athenian Damon. (trans. Barker)

De musica was probably composed in the first or second century AD but not by Plutarch. Its importance ‘lies in its lack of originality’ (Barker, *GMW* i 205), quoting or paraphrasing much earlier material on the history of Greek music and music theory on which more recently Barker has been assiduously working.

The lines preceding our passage and identifying its subject are corrupt. They begin, ‘Aristoxenos says’ that Sappho invented the Mixolydian *harmonia*, *en de tois historikois tois harmonikois... phasi*: ‘but in the *harmonikoi historikoi* they say’. The Loeb editors Einarson and de Lacy persuasively emend *en de tois historikois hoi*

⁵⁷ From this passage Lord (‘Damon’ 34–7) drew four different conclusions. (1) Damon thought that music could affect character only by similarity (*homoiotês*) and not also by opposition, which was Aristides’ own position. (2) Damon thought that music could form character or make a latent character appear, but it could not change character (as Aristides thought), or heal the passions. (3) Damon thought that music could affect only the young and old men, rather than adults which again was Aristides’ position. (4) Damon wrote *Vokaletüden* in two ‘radically different modes’, dominated either by male or by female notes, rather than in a variety of modes. The first three of Lord’s distinctions press Aristides’ text too hard. The fourth does not isolate Aristides’ own contribution.

⁵⁸ *Aristides Quintilianus, On Music In Three Books* (New Haven, 1983) 145.

harmonikoi . . . *phasi*, which Barker follows: ‘the *harmonikoi* in their historical works’. (Ziegler’s Teubner only obelizes.)

These *harmonikoi* are quite possibly fourth-century followers of Damon: see ch. 4c. Did Damon invent the relaxed Lydian *harmonia*? Cassio, ‘Damone’, challenges the tradition, but his three arguments are not compelling. (1) Plato calls this *harmonia* sympotic, and a connection with symposia Cassio thinks ‘antichissima’—much older than Damon. (2) If Winnington-Ingram (*Mode* 13) is right that for Aristoxenos the relaxed Lydian *harmonia* was identical to the Hypolydian (Lasserre, *Plutarque* 172 lists other possibilities), elsewhere *De mus.* 1141b states that Polymnestos of Colophon invented the Hypolydian in the first half of the sixth century. As Barker (*GMW* i 235 n. 187) notes, this disagreement ‘cannot be resolved with certainty’. (3) In a Damonian passage (*Rep.* 398e), Plato rejects the relaxed Lydian, but I argue (ch. 2b) that *Rep.* 398 (= E 1) is not Damonian, and anyway Plato approached Damon’s work critically (see Preface). In favour of Damonian origin, the tradition looks academic, it was not necessarily to Damon’s credit, and no one ever said bad things about Damon. The Damonian *harmonikoi* could well have preserved it in ‘their historical works’. On the negative side, our *harmonikoi*’s attribution of the Mixolydian to Pythokleides suggests that they were keen to assign various musical phenomena to ‘inventors’.

B 7 Galen, *De placit. Hippocr. et Plat.* 5² 473 (p. 330), ed. P. De Lacy, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1981 (= vol. V p. 453 Müller; repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1975)

ἐπεὶ διὰ τί πρὸς θεῶν, ἐρωτήσω γὰρ ἔτι τοῦτο τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Χρυσίππου,
Δάμων ὁ μουσικὸς αὐλητρίδι παραγενόμενος αὐλούσῃ τὸ Φρύγιον
νεανίσκοις τισὶν οἰνωμένοις καὶ μανικὰ ἅττα διαπραττομένοις ἐκέλευσεν
αὐλῆσαι τὸ Δώριον, οἱ δ’ εὐθὺς ἐπαύσαντο τῆς ἐμπλήκτου φορᾶς;

For why by the gods—I’ll ask this too of Chrysippos’ followers—when Damon the musician was present when a female aulete was piping a Phrygian tune to some young men who were drunk and acting crazily, why did he order her to pipe a Dorian tune, and they immediately ceased their demented carrying-on?

Although Barker (*GMW* ii 118 n. 44) associates this passage with musical therapy and Theophrastos’ comment about music’s ability to cure sciatica (which Theophrastos seems not to have believed: see ch. 2d), its subject seems more properly *psychagôgia* than medicine. The anecdote reflects a cliché of fourth-century and later *êthos* theory. In

Pol. 1341b Aristotle writes of people 'under the influence of sacred melodies, when they use melodies that excite the soul to frenzy, being restored as if they had received a cure and a *katharsis*'. It is also a 'floating' biographical anecdote (Fairweather, 'Traditional narrative' 323). Similar tales were told of Pythagoras (Cic. fr. 2 Orelli; Quint. 1.10.32; Boeth. *De mus.* 1.1, etc.) and Empedokles. In Iamblichos' *Life of Pythagoras*, Empedokles once visited Anchitos, a judge who had condemned a man to death. In turmoil and indignation, this man's son drew his sword and rushed to stab Anchitos, but 'Empedokles, as he sat, tuned his lyre, played a soothing, calming melody... and saved his host Anchitos from death, and the young man from committing murder. This youth is reported to have become, after this, Empedokles' best pupil' (112–14, trans. Clark). Although the story seems consistent with Damon's theories, and Lasserre (*Plutarque* 62–4) and others speculate that it began with Damon, Carne Lord ('Damon' 34–5) thought the tale originally Pythagorean, and according to Düring in his review of Lasserre (p. 433), the standard view is that Damon told it about Pythagoras (!) Damon's version is no fifth-century reminiscence but a conventional tale told by later writers to expand Damon's résumé. See also B 8.

B 8 **Martianus Capella**, *De Nupt. Philol. et Merc.* 9.926, ed. J. Willis, Leipzig: Teubner, 1983 (= ed. L. Cristante, Padova: Antenore, 1987)

In an allegory of the harmony of the universe, Harmonia speaks of her powers:

ebrios iuvenes perindeque improbius petulantes Damon, unus e sectoribus meis, modulorum gravitate perdomuit; quippe tibicini spondaeum canere iubens temulentae dementiae perturbationis infregit.

Some drunken young men who were therefore behaving rather rowdily, Damon, one of my disciples, thoroughly subdued by the gravity of his modes. He ordered the pipe player to play a spondaic tune, and broke up their crazy drunken brawling.

Writing in the fifth century, Martianus' main source on music and other subjects is generally thought to be Varro's *Nine books of the disciplines*, written in 34–33 BC.⁵⁹ If Varro was Martianus' source for

⁵⁹ H. Deiters, *Über das Verhältnis des Martianus Capella zur Aristeides Quintilianus* (Progr., Posen, 1881) 21; W. H. Stahl et al., *Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts* i (New York, 1971) 54; D. Shanzer, *A Philosophical and Literary Commentary on Martianus Capella's De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii, Book I* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1986) 37–41.

our anecdote, his reference to Damon joins other late Republican references by Cicero (B 14), Nepos (B 15), Virgil (D 3), and Philodemus, who lived in Italy and was friendly with powerful Romans (B10–13, D 3 comm.). However, Cicero (who admired Varro's learning) and possibly also Philodemus told Martianus' anecdote about Pythagoras, not Damon. The late Byzantine scholar Planudes (V 458.8 Waltz) wrote more generally that the Pythagoreans calmed people by the rhythms of *kitharai* and *auloi*.

B 8a Remigius of Auxerre, *Comm. in Mart. Capell.* 492.15, 492.17,
ed. C. E. Lutz, Leiden: Brill, 1965 (= pp. 326–7)

EBRIOS id est inebriatos, IUVENES PERINDEQUE id est deinde vel subinde, IMPROBIUS turpius, PETULANTES luxuriantes, lascivientes, DAMON proprium nomen musici, MODORUM GRAVITATE id est tonorum temperamento, PERDOMUIT sedavit.

QUIPPE MERITO IUBENS scilicet ille Damon, TIBICINI CANERE SPONDEUM id est spondaicum carmen. Hoc est tractum, non concisum carmen. TEMULENTAE id est ebrietatis, DEMENTIAM id est insaniam, PERTURBATIONIS INFREGIT id est valde fregit vel sedavit.

DRUNKEN, that is 'intoxicated', ACCORDINGLY YOUTHS, that is 'then' or 'thereupon', RATHER ROWDILY, 'more disgracefully', BEHAVING ROWDILY, 'running riot, indulging in license', DAMON, the proper name of a musician, BY THE GRAVITY OF THE MODES, that is, 'by the measure of the tones', HE THOROUGHLY SUBDUED, 'he settled'.

SURELY DESERVEDLY ORDERING, evidently that man Damon, THE PIPE PLAYER TO PLAY A SPONDEE, that is, 'a spondaic song'. This song was drawn out, not concise. DRUNKEN, that is 'intoxicated', CRAZY, that is 'madness', HE BROKE UP THEIR BRAWLING, that is, he really broke it up or calmed it.

This explication of Martianus does not best illustrate the intellectual distinction of Remigius (ix–x AD), otherwise called *egregius doctor* (*Paris. lat.* 5253 f. 13 v.; see Lutz I 3 n. 9), *in divinis et humanis scripturis eruditissimus* (J. Trithemius, *De script. eccles.* 285; see Lutz I 3 n. 10). Remigius had an interest in music, which he taught to Odo of Cluny (*Vit. S. Odonis scr. a Joanne.* 1.3 [*P.L.* 133.45]; Lutz I 9 n. 24).

B 9a Aelius Theon, *Progymn.* 5.2, ed. M. Patillon (Budé: Paris, 1997), p. 23, Spengel 100.8:

εὐκτικῶς δὲ οἶον Δάμων ὁ παιδοτρίβης χωλοὺς ἔχων τοὺς πόδας
κλαπέντων αὐτοῦ τῶν ὑποδημάτων, ἔφη, εἴθε ἐναρμόσειε τῷ κλέπτῃ.

In the form of a wish, as for example Damon the gymnastics teacher, having lame feet, after his shoes had been stolen, said ‘would that they fit the thief’.

In his primer on rhetoric possibly written *c.* AD 50, the Alexandrian Aelius Theon mentions Damon’s joke in a list of *chreiai*, ‘bons mots’, each illustrated by a historical anecdote. The interpretation of this passage, and the identification of ‘Damon the gymnastics teacher’, depend on its relationship with two other texts:

B 9b Plutarch, *Quomodo adolescens poetas audire debeat* (*How a young man should read the poets*) 18d, ed. W. Paton et al., Teubner, 1974 (unchanged in A. Philippon, Paris: Budé, 1987)

καὶ γὰρ αἱ Δαμωνίδα τοῦ χωλοῦ κρηπίδες, αἷς ἀπολέσας εὔχετο τοῖς τοῦ
κλέψαντος ἀρμόσαι ποσί, φαῦλαι μὲν ἦσαν ἐκείνῳ δ’ ἥρμοττον.

1 δαμωνίδα ZA²N δημωνίδα (-ίδου GG²X³υMITS²) O 2 ἀρμόσαι Γ ἐναρμόσαι O

Thus the shoes of Damonides the lame, which he lost, and prayed to fit the feet of the thief: they were worthless, but they fit him.

Comment: I reproduce the Teubner *ap. crit.* Philippon’s Budé assigns the various readings of Damonides’ name to different MSS.

According to Athenaios 338a, Aristodemos in the second book of *Comic memoirs* says that

Dorion the musician [*kroumatopoios*], who was crook-footed [*kullopous*], once lost the shoe of his lame [*chôlos*] foot at a *symposion*. He said, ‘I shall utter no heavier curse on the thief than that the sandal fit him [*harmosai autôî*].’

Theopompos (*FGrHist* 115 fr. 236 = Athen. 435b–c) records that the aulete Dorion was one of a merry group famous for music and wit at the Macedonian court of Philip II. Athenaios quotes some of his *bons mots* (337c–338b). In Middle and New Comedy, Dorion was known as a gourmet of fish (at least in the pages of the gourmet Athenaios). The musical term *harmonozein* and the metrical term for foot, *pous*—these words recur in all three versions—suggest that this punning joke was first told of a musician, and jokes were one of Dorion’s specialities. The anecdote later migrated to the more famous musical figure and teacher Damon, whose name was similar and whom Aelius Theon (B 9a) mistakenly called not a music but a gymnastics teacher, *paidotribês*.

A lame gymnastics teacher betrays its corruption. Mentioned casually and with no further identification, Aelius' Damon (and Plutarch's Damonides) must be our man.

Philodemos

The following four passages are excerpted from Philodemos *De musica*, poorly preserved on carbonized papyri from Herculaneum. Books have been written on the inadequate restoration of *De musica*.⁶⁰ In some cases because of inaccessibility, no editor before Rispoli (1969) worked systematically from the papyri. Still in Neubecker's 1986 edition of Kemke Book 4, use of the papyri remained uneven. In reconstructing *De musica* most editors have relied on *disegni* made when the papyri were opened. While the *disegni* introduce a further possibility of textual error, all later editors' use of them has been too often problematic, not least in the number of textual emendations that presuppose some error in reported letters. Notable phenomena in the editions of these passages are restorations that are almost certainly untenable, and key words (e.g. 'music', 'justice') that are modern emendations inconsistent with the *disegni*. Much confusion has resulted. While not free of these problems, in 2007 Daniel Delattre published a magnificent edition of *De musica*, assigning all fragments to Book IV, ordering fragments in part according to their original catalogue numbers, and including a 290-page preface detailing his methods of reconstruction plus much on Philodemos and other relevant materials.⁶¹ For the fragments that mention Damon, my autoscopic examinations have yielded some readings different from his, and which I present with minimal restorations, as more elaborate ones prejudice judgement. Despite all Delattre's imaginative hard work, the sense of his texts remains conjectural, though I am sympathetic to his endeavour. I also provide detailed *apparatus critici*, not least because, as these documents deteriorate, earlier editors with

⁶⁰ Gomperz, *Philodem*; H. Landwehr, GGA (1885) 979–84; O. Luschkat, *Zum Text von Philodemos Schrift De Musica* (Berlin, 1953). D. A. van Krevelen's text (Hilversum, 1939) is based on Kemke's, supplemented only by other scholars' conjectures.

⁶¹ See earlier D. Delattre, 'La reconstruction du livre IV de la Musique de Philodème: est-elle matériellement impossible?', *ZPE* 117 (1997) 67–71; cf. 'Les rouleaux carbonisés d'Herculaneum: comment les reconstruire pour les lire? Le cas particulier de la *Musique IV* de l'épicurien Philodème', in B. Gratien and R. Hanoune, eds, *Lire l'écrit: textes, archives, bibliothèques dans l'Antiquité* (Lille, 1997) 81–98; and G. M. Rispoli and A. Angeli, 'La ricomposizione del quarto libro del trattato di Filodemo sulla musica', *ZPE* 114 (1996) 67–95. See earlier, M. Schäfer, *Philologus* 91 (1936) 174–96.

access to the papyri (in particular the Accademici) could have read more letters than are now visible. In Naples, no matter how cautiously I handled the boards on which the papyri are mounted, small black flecks appeared on my papers by the end of each morning. In addition, in several places PHerc. 1497 (B 13) and the board it is mounted on have been eaten through by insects—fortunately for us, not in areas relevant here.⁶²

The following abbreviations are used in the *apparatus*: Acc = Accademici; Ar = von Arnim; Bü = Bücheler; Crö = Crönert; Delatt = Delattre; *disegn.* = *disegni*; Gomp = Gomperz; Kem = Kemke; Krev = van Krevelen; Neub = Neubecker; (P) = papyrus; Risp = Rispoli; Wil = Wilamowitz

B 10 Philodemos, *De musica*, PHerc. 411 9 = IX 70 F9 A (I 18 Rispoli [1969 p. 115]; I 13 Kemke; IV col. 22* Delattre)

- ... ΟΔΙ . . ΑΤΑΤΟΙΑΥ
 ...] καὶ τὴν ΕΞΑΝΠΟΙ
]ΙΕ ΟΝΙΚΩΤΑΤΗΝ καὶ
]τάτην *ἐπιζητή-
 5 [σαντος] δέ τινος πότερον εἰς-
 []ας ἀρετὰς ἢ τινος ἡ-
 []η προάγει Δάμωνα
 []σιν τὸν μουσικόν,
 []ς σχεδὸν οἶεσθαι, λε-
 10 [γοντα πα]ρ' αὐτὸν προσήκειν
 [ἄιδοντ]α καὶ καθαρίζου-
 [τα τὸν π]αῖδα μὴ μόνον [vac.]

1-2 ΟΔΙ . . ΑΤΑΤΟΙΑΥ *disegn.*, Ο δι[ὰ τ]ὰ [ΤΑ] τοιαυ[τ]α...] Risp σφ]οδρ[οτα]τα coniecit Delatt 2 ΚΑΙΤΗΝΕΞ *disegn.*, om. Kem, καὶ τὴν ἐξ[ι]ν Gomp Ar, καὶ τὴν ἐξιν Krev, καὶ τὴν ἐξ<ιν>, ἔξιν Delatt, Risp 2-3 ποι[||]ήσεων rest. Gomp 3 ΙΕ ΟΝΙΚΩΤΑΤΗΝ *disegn.*, ἀρμ]ονικωτάτην Gomp Ar, ἀ]ρμονικωτάτην Krev Risp σω]φρονικωτάτην Delatt 4 ρυθμικω]τάτην rest. Gomp ἀνδρειω]τάτην rest. Delatt 4-5 ἐπιζητή[||]σαντος rest. Bü 5-6 οἶε[||]ταί τιν]ας Bü, οἶσ[||]εταί τιν]ας Kem Gomp Krev τίνας Ar πάσας] τας an πλείσ]τας dubitavit Delatt 6-7 ἢ[||]δονάς] ... Kem, ἢ[||]δονάς ἥδη Bü Gomp Krev, ἢ [μουσική] Ar Delatt 7 Δάμ[ω]να Kem Gomp Ar, Δάμωνα Krev, D, Δάμ'ωνα Risp 8. ὃν καλοῦ]σιν rest. Bü ἀγορευ]ειν potius quam ἐπικλη]σιν coniecerit Delatt 9 ταυ]τόδ? Kem in corr., ὃν ταυ]τό Bü, ἀμφοτέρω]ς Gomp, τὰ ὁμοια] Ar, ὃν ταυ]τό Krev, ἀμφοτέρω]ς Risp οἷ<σ>εσθαι Gomp 9-10 λέ[||]γει ὥστε]ρ Kem Krev, λέ[||]γει ὅπε]ρ Bü, λέ[||]γοντα πα]ρ' Gomp, λέ[||]γοντα Brinkman (adn. 2, p. 222 Ar), λέ[||]γοντα γά]ρ Ar 11 ἄδοντ]α Kem Ar Krev, δ' ἄδοντ]α Gomp 11-12 καθαρίζου]ντα τὸν π]αῖδα Kem Ar Krev, καθαρίζου]ντα τὸν πα]ῖδα Gomp καθαρίζου]ντα τὸν π]αῖδα Risp 12 ΑΙΔΑ *disegn.*

⁶² See F. C. Störmer, R. Mehl, F. Gallo, K. Kleve, and B. Fosse, 'Insects in Herculaneum Papyri', *CronErc* 16 (1986) 159.

(1–4) ... (5) When someone inquired further whether (---) virtues or < > certain ... (he or it?) brings forward — Damon < > the musician, who said he thought that generally speaking ... that in himself singing and playing the *kithara* a boy ought not only ...

Textual notes

Rispoli ('Primo libro' 114) reproduces the *disegno*; transcribed in 1825, the papyrus is not extant.

Line 3: The *disegno* begins]ε : α]ρμ is unjustified.

Line 4: The asterisk indicates a space left by the scribe.

Line 5: οἷε[ται] Bü, accepted by Rispoli, is inconsistent with the *disegno* οι, and too short for the lacuna in line 6. Dirk Obbink tells me that οἷσ[] [εται] is an impossible word division. He suggests εἰσ[] [φέρει].

Line 9: [ἀμφοτέρ]ας Rispoli, but the single, slightly faint and wavering verticle stroke of the *disegno* is inconsistent with α.

Commentary

Lines 6–7: If the restoration ἡδονάς is accepted, and if the ultimate source of Philodemos' remarks on Damon is a Peripatetic text from the later fourth century (see ch. 4b), it is relevant to note that for Aristotle (*Pol.* 1340a2–6), music brought both pleasure and moral benefit, while for the Epicureans music brought pleasure (*Diog. L.* 10.6) but no benefit.

Line 7: Rispoli interprets προάγει in the sense 'cite, adduce'. I have found no parallel, and see LSJ s.v. Elsewhere in Philodemos, *proagein* means 'lead or draw forth', physically (*Rhet.* I p. 267.15 Sudh.) or intellectually (*ibid.*, I p. 139.7 Sudh. [= p. 259 Longo Auricchio], II 43.15 Sudh.). Hence, virtues could be drawn forth, or Damon.

Line 8: However we restore the opening of this line, Damon is called ὁ μουσικός in [Pl.] *Ax.* 364a (A 18). The identification here presumably implies that Damon has not been mentioned earlier in *De musica* (IV?).

This passage is echoed in a later passage, B12, ending 'that in singing or playing the *kithara* a boy ought not only <to ... > courage and moderation, but also <justice>'.

B 11 Philodemos, *De musica*, PHerc. 1572, 11 = XI 79 F11 (Kemke p. 6; I 16 Rispoli 1969, p. 103; IV col. 34* Delattre)

17 - - - - -]σιν οἱ παλίζον
- - - - -]ην ἄκροτον

- - Δ]ᾰμωνα παι[γ]νίαν
20 - - -]. δυσχεραι τεθωρηή[ν

(new col.)

17-18 οἱ παίζον[τες] Kem, Delatt μουνσικ]ήν Delatt 18 ταύτην τ]ήν ᾰκ[ρ]οτον Gomp Krev ᾰκροτον Risp ᾰσωτον Wil ᾰκρ[α]1 τον Delatt 19 κατὰ Δ]ᾰμωνα Gomp ITAI NIAN disegñ. [παι[γ]νίαν Gomp παι[γ]νίαν Krev παιγνιάν Vooy-Krev Lex. Philod. 20 δυσχερ<εί>αι rest. Gomp δυσχερ[η]1 dubitavit Delatt τεθωρη[ήνται] Gomp Krev τεθωρηή[νται] Risp

Textual notes

Rispoli ('Primo libro' 102) reproduces the *disegno* by F. Celentano (made 'prima del 1850 (1844?)' according to its folder in the Officina dei papiri). The papyrus is not extant. No sense can be (or has been) made of the fragmentary words preceding line 17.

Based on Gomperz's erroneous reading *A.OTON*, Wilamowitz (*Verskunst* 63) rejected ᾰκροτον as 'unintelligible' and restored ᾰσωτον, presumably deducing a learned connection between Damon's 'Areopagitikos' and Phanodemos *FGrHist* 325 fr. 10, that in early Athens the Areopagos punished 'all *asôtoi* and those not living from some means or resources'. However, Wilamowitz's restoration is inconsistent with the *disegno* (*AK.OTON*), and Damon's 'Areopagitikos' I consider a fantasy (see ch. 4). In the *disegno*, the letter in question is represented ϣ̣̣̣: the restoration *P* is quite possible, based on other rhos in this *disegno*.

Line 20: A trace of a letter is shown before *δυσ*, consistent with the lower right stroke of *A* or *M*. The *disegno* shows the last letter as ϣ̣̣̣. There is insufficient space in this line for Rispoli's *νται*.

The meaning of these lines remains obscure. Following Gomperz (*Philodem* 9) and retaining ᾰκροτον, before 2007 virtually all editors reconstruct a text like the following:

ισιν οἱ παίζον-
[τες ταύτην τ]ήν ᾰκροτον
[κατὰ Δ]ᾰμωνα παι[γ]νίαν
δυσχερ<εί>αι τεθωρηή[νται]

and translate:

those who play this game that according to Damon is without applause
are regarded with disapproval.

However, among other problems, all editors before Delattre ignore the lacuna before $\delta\upsilon\sigma\chi\epsilon\rho<\epsilon\acute{\iota}>\alpha\iota$, a missing word which could obviously affect the sense.

Delattre restores $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\lambda\tau\omicron\nu$, ‘unmixed’, and translates: ‘ceux qui se divertissent de [s’imaginer que la musique] est, selon la formule de Damon, un divertissement sans mélange, puisqu’ils auront observé beaucoup de difficultés.’

None of the speculations about this passage rest on solid ground. Lasserre (*Plutarque* 63), followed by Rispoli ad loc., associates this text with Damon’s supposedly serious approach to music, for which the evidence⁶³ is doubtful. Van Krevelen (p. 13) links it with Plato’s diatribe against popular judgements of musical performances by means of applause (*Laws* 700c–d) and with his use of the term *paignia* for the collective impression made by comedy (*Laws* 816e10–817a1). He translates, ‘those who put on theatre productions where—as with Damon’s—no one applauds’. Van Krevelen believes that, like Plato, Damon thought the absence of applause was a good. (He adds that he knows nothing of any comedies by Damon where the public did not applaud.) Equally speculatively, Anderson (*Ethos* 189–90) infers a reference to Damon’s speech to the Areopagos [cf. $\pi\lambda\alpha\tau\tau\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ in B 13 col. 34 line 5, below], which as a literary fiction was ‘not (meant) to be applauded’. Also accepting that Damon elsewhere attributed to music the serious purpose of leading to virtue, Delattre suggests that here he sought to use music’s playful qualities as a ‘pedagogical ruse’.

B 12 Philodemus, PHerc. 225/21B & 1578/2 = *De musica* IV, cols 100* Delattre (Kemke p. 54 = VIII 7 F2)

col. 100*	 ῆ]-
15	δὲ τῇν ὑπ[... .. οὔ-
	τως παρ[... .. ᾄ-
	ρετῇι *πο[... ..

	(lineae 18–28 legi nequeunt)
29	ζην//[... ..] περὶτ[... ..
30	λεῖσθ//[αι ..] καὶ τῶν αν[... ..
	ῆδον//[... ..] ομονο[... ..
	δετ//[... ..] ργειας [... ..

⁶³ Isokr. *Areop.* 7.48, that in early Athens ‘the young did not waste their time in gambling dens or with *aulos* girls’ (this has nothing to do with Damon), and an anecdote in Galen (B 7).

- ναμ//[. . .]ν οὔτε παρ[. . . -
 σεν οὔδ//[. . .] ουτ' ἐπιτρεπει[. .
 35 τὰ φα//ω[όμ]ενα περιάπτειν
 οὐ συγχ//[. . .]υσομε¹ν ἀποτε-
 λείσθ//[αι Δ]άμων [μ]έν τοι . . .
 νυ//[. . .]φονε[. . .]ν εἶπερ
 ἐν//[. . . τ]ῇν μ[ουσι]ῖ κ' ἦν . . .
]// τὰς ἀρετὰς χρή[. . .
 40 λ]// ἐγὼν δεῖν ἄδο[ν-
 τα καὶ κιθ]// ἀρίζοντα τὸν
 παῖδα μῇ]// μόνον ἀνδρε[. . .
 —————]//νεσθαι καὶ σω[φρο-
 . . .]//ν ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' κ' [αἰο . . .

14–15 ἦ//δὺ τὴν Delatt: /αὐτὴν Kem 15–16 οὔ//τωσ Delatt 28–9 κα//λείσθ[αι Delatt¹ 30
 αν[. . . /Delatt: ἀν[δρῶν/ con. Delatt 30]ομονο[Delatt: [ο μόνο[ο con. Delatt 31 δει[. . .
]ργειας Delatt: δέ τ[ὰς ἐν(αν α)]ργείας Krev 31–2 . .]/ναμ[. . . Delatt δυ]/νάμ[εις con.
 Delatt 32–3 παρ[. . .]/λείσθαι Delatt παρ[ακαλεῖ]/σθαι Delatt 33 ἐπιτρεπει[. . /Delatt:
 ἐπιτρέπει/ Krev 34 φα[νώμ]ενα Delatt 36 συγ[. . .]υσομε¹ν¹ (υ an τ P) : σύγ[χωρ]ῖ¹ ἴσομεν
 Delatt]πενσόμε[θ]α Krev ἀποτε/λείσθ[αι Delatt: πότε[ρον/ Krev 37 Δ]άμων[α μ]έντοι Krev
 [. .]/νυ[. . .]φον Delatt: [τὸν π[άσσο]φον Krev ε[. . .] Delatt: ἐ[χρή]ν Krev εἰπεῖ[ν/ Krev
 38 τ]ῇν μ[ουσι]ῖ κ' ἦν Krev χην P [εἵναι/ Delatt 39 εἰς πάσας Delatt: 39–40 χρή[σι]μον
 Delatt: 40 . .]/ειων Delatt: . . λ]έ[γ]ων Risp δεῖν Delatt: δ[ε]ῖν Risp ΔCIN (P) 40–1
 ἄδο[ν/τα Delatt: ἄ<ι>δο[ντα Risp 41 καὶ Delatt: ἦ Risp 42]/παῖδα Delatt: [παῖ/δα Krev
 Risp μῇ] Delatt: οὐ] Kem 43 /ἐπισημαί]νεσθαι Delatt: /ἐμφαί]νεσθαι Kem 45 δι' κ' (a
 disegñ.) [αἰοσύ]νην Kem

Delattre has edited this passage twice. Earlier emendations are marked Delatt¹

....

(36) Damon however . . . said in . . . that (?) music (?) [see n. on line 38] is useful <for all> the virtues . . . and that in singing or playing the *kithara* a boy ought not only <to . . . > courage and moderation, but also <justice>.

Textual notes

PHerc. 1578 is not extant; text and apparatus are those of Delattre, except for lines 40–1 where the apparatus is from Rispoli. NB however:

Line 32: read δετ, not δει

Line 34: Obbink and I clearly saw υδ, both of which however Delattre dots.

Line 35: ΔΥΣΟΜΕΤΑΠΟΤΕ (P)

Line 36: Gomperz's restoration Δά]μων[α anticipated Δ]άμων[α of van Krevelen. The papyrus preserves the right stroke and half of the left stroke of a letter consistent, e.g. with alpha (no trace remains of a cross stroke) or lambda.

Line 38: note the papyrus reading $\chi\eta\nu$: a striking example of key words that are modern emendations.

Line 43: Neither restoration, [ἐπισημαί]νεσθαι or [ἐμφαί]νεσθαι , ‘reveal’, can be right. Surely we need a word meaning ‘acquire’?

Line 44: $\delta\iota\kappa\lambda[\alpha\iota\sigma\acute{\upsilon}/\nu\eta\nu$ is inconsistent with the *disegni*’s $\Delta I A$.

The final lines of this text join with those of B 10. It is standard for Philodemos to provide information earlier in *De musica* and later to give his opinion of it. Both B 11 and B 12 discuss the educational value of music, and first appear to attest that Damon’s teaching involved a positive ethical element. That is, boys learn and should learn virtue and justice from music. This tradition is not Damonian but post-Platonic (see ch. 4b).

B 13 Philodemos, *De musica* IV, coll. 33 (lines 34–42)–34 (lines 1–5) = PHerc. 1497 = Delattre coll. 147–8.

Despite the importance of this passage, no Damonian scholar, and until Delattre 2007, no editor of *De musica* has examined these lines in PHerc. 1497, the first Herculaneum papyrus to be opened, in 1754. I have done so on three occasions: in 1986, 1989, and 1994—on the second and third of these occasions, with the assistance of Jürgen Hammerstaedt and Dirk Obbink respectively. The letters that we could see—I scarcely call our restorations a text—are given below. The many minor errors in Kemke, van Krevelen, Neubecker, and Delattre are sobering.

Here Philodemos, as typically of the Epicureans, denigrates the significance of music against those who think it the most important of the arts. ‘It is stupid for its disciples to assert music’s great usefulness, something they also give a share of to children. For they can put on false pretensions and be led astray.’

καὶ πολλοὶ λέ-
 35 γουσι μηδὲν ἐπηworθώ-
 σ[θ][a]ι κα[ι] τοὺς]νεῖς – οὐδ’ υ[ε]ῖς
 η[γ]ου[ν]ται –, π]ολλοὶ δ’, ὅτι νομί-
 ζε[τ]αι π[ρ]οσήκειν ἀντῆς με-
 ταλαμβάνειν τοὺς ἀ[ν]δ[ρ]ες[]ρε[ο]π[α]-
 40 γείτ]ας καὶ μετεπιληφέναι
]II[. .]H^QI

2–3]K[1–2]NON O[2–3]

- col. 34 καὶ Δά[μ]ων εἰ τοιαῦτα
 πρὸς τοὺς ἀληθινοὺς ἄρεο-
 παγε[ί]τας ἔλεγε καὶ μὴ τοῦς
 πλαττομένους, ἐφενάκι-
 5 ζεν ἀτηρῶς.

35 EΠIHNΩP- (P) EΠ . NΩP- *disegn.* ἐπ[α]νωρ- Kem ἐπηνωρ- Krev post Crö, MGH, p. 207 36–7... H . A . . O . . YEI OYΔ - - - | - - - OΛΛΟΙ *disegn.* (P hoc loco non iam legi potest: Neub) [-σαι μ]η[ν] ἐ[ν] α[ντ]ο[υς] ὅ[ι]ς, οὐδ[έ] μ[ε] | θαρμ[ο]σαι · π[ο]λλοι Acc -σθαι τοῖς ἀφ[ύ]νεῖς οὐδ[έ]... | ... π[ο]λλοὶ Bū Kem ἀφ[ύ]νεῖς οὐδ[έ] [έως | ἱ]χνους π[ο]λλοὶ Krev οὐδ[έ] τοῖς ὄφ[ι]ς οὐδ[έ] τινας ἄλλους Kuipers in app. Krev οὐδ[έ] [ὠ]φελείσθαι Neub 37 OTI P ἔτι Diels 37–8 νομ[ί]ζουσι π[ρ]οσέκειν Neub 39–40 τοῖς [τε]χ[νι]τ[ας], καὶ μετελη[φθ]αι Acc χ[α]ρί[ε]ν[τ]ας, καὶ μετελη[φθ]αι Neub χ[α]ρί[εν]τ[ας], καὶ μετελη[φθ]αι Kem {χ[α]ρί-εντ[ας] Delatt 41 [...]Τ[ι]·Μ[ο]·[.]M [- - - Neub αὐτὴν τοὺς] τ[ε]κ[ν]ο[υ]ς μ[ε]θ[ρ] [ηρ-] Acc 42 [μο]κ[ε]ν[α]ι φ[α]σι ν[ώ]σ[τε] Acc ..]K[.]M[.]ACI[]ΩC[- - -] Neub 4–5. ἐφενάκιζεν <ἀν>? Philippson, RE, Philodemos 2458 ἐφενάκιζεν Neub

And many say that also their sons are in no way improved – nor do the sons think it – and many, that it is thought [or: it is established usage] that the Areopagites ought to participate in music, and to have participated in it [*vac.*]

and Damon, if he said such things to actual Areopagites and not fictional ones, was deceiving them badly.

Diels' unjustified emendation ἔτι (line 37) is a result of Kemke's omission of the last two lines of col. 33, as Diels attempted to make syntactic sense of the passage.

Textual notes

Line 38: Without doubt the first entirely clear letter of this line is *A* and the lacuna preceding it, of approximately the same size as *ΠΑΑ* (elsewhere in this papyrus), is appropriate for three letters. Therefore the standard restoration νομ[ί]ζουσι or νομ[ί]ζουσι is in error. I have found no alternative restoration to νομ[ί]ζετ[ας], and so now Delattre 2007. The subject of this verb cannot easily be Damon, since he is not mentioned earlier in this passage, which in terms of the extant text is fairly complete.

Line 39: Despite all edd., the lambda in τ[ε]λαμβάνειν is clearly visible. Fundamental for the interpretation of this passage (see ch. 4a), the standard modern reading χαρί[ε]ντας, retained in Delattre 2007, is untenable, since (as the Accademici saw) *chi* does not begin the word, *epsilon* does not end the line, and on line 40 at least three and probably four letters preceded *as*. Together with Malesci (who restored [τε]χ[νι]τ[ας]), I had earlier accepted *χ* as a legitimate letter, written superscript in correction ('Damon' 34–5). Subsequent visual examination, helped by an electronic

microscope, showed that χ is a *sovrapposto*, a higher layer of the papyrus adhering to the surface of our text. As Obbink observed to me, the Naples *disegni* may in fact indicate the *sovrapposto*. Hammerstaedt, Obbink, and I all agreed that the first letter following $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ was *alpha*; the lower stroke is preserved of what is here restored as *rho*. Obbink showed me the *epsilon*, which I had doubted but which subsequently Obbink and I found was indicated in both the Oxford and the Naples *disegni* in exactly the right position. Finally, in my opinion the short vertical stroke which is the last visible mark on the line, is consistent with *pi*, and Obbink agreed that I could print this. Following my session with Hammerstaedt, I guessed the restoration $\dot{\alpha}.. \rho\pi[\alpha|\gamma\epsilon\iota\tau]as$, i.e. $\dot{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\sigma\pi\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\tau as$, which is exactly the right length, and is consistent with Philodemos' subsequent mention of Areopagites. After the morning with Obbink, the text read $\dot{\alpha}\rho\epsilon-\pi-|---as$, which is decisive. At the end of our two-day examination, under the shifting light of a grey and wintry day, Hammerstaedt remarked, 'to solve the problems of this passage, you must return for two weeks in June.' With Obbink I got one bright morning in late March, and we filled a key lacuna.

Line 40: $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\lambda\eta\phi[\acute{\epsilon}\nu]ai$ may well be a part of a separate clause.

Lines 41–2: Far more than I could see in 1994, the Oxford *disegni* record as follows:

[...] $\subset$ 1 τ + - $\vee$ 0 1 $\wedge$ () - [3-4]
[.] $\wedge$ $\vee$ $\wedge$ [.] $\wedge$ $\subset$ [.] $\vee$ $\subset$

The existence of these two fragmentary lines is not indicated in the texts of Kemke or van Krevelan.

Line 42: The final two letters of Neubecker's text are not visible. Her text is identical to that of the Accademici, except in wrongly replacing *N* with *M*.

Col. 34 line 4: Despite all edd. including Delattre, the alpha in $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\epsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\kappa\iota-$ is clear.

B 14 Cicero, *De orat.* 3.33.132, ed. K. F. Kumaniecki, Leipzig: Teubner, 1969

After Crassus' lengthy speech on rhetoric, Catulus praises his wide-ranging knowledge and that of fifth-century Greeks, something he says contemporary Greeks had lost.

tum Crassus 'non in hac' inquit 'una, Catule, re, sed in aliis etiam compluribus distributione partium ac separatione magnitudines sunt artium deminutae. an tu existimas, cum esset Hippocrates ille Cous, fuisse tum alios medicos qui morbis, alios qui vulneribus, alios qui

oculis mederentur? num geometriam Euclide aut Archimede, num musicam Damone aut Aristoxeno, num ipsas litteras Aristophane aut Callimacho tractante tam discerptas fuisse, ut nemo genus universum complecteretur atque ut alius aliam sibi partem, in qua elaboraret seponeret?’

‘[The degeneration of Greek scholarship] is not the only loss’, Crassus replied, ‘but in many other areas also the wide domains of human knowledge have been diminished by their division into separate departments. Do you really suppose that in the time of the great Hippocrates of Cos, some physicians treated illnesses, others wounds, and other eyes? Or that geometry in the hands of Euclid or Archimedes, or music with Damon or Aristoxenus, or even literature with Aristophanes or Callimachus were such entirely separate subjects that nobody embraced the whole field but each one chose for himself a different area to work in?’

This text further documents Damon’s fame in the late Republic (see B 8 comm.). Cicero’s implication that Damon had broad interests is attested elsewhere (see ch. 2a). Cicero probably mentions Damon because he was a distinguished fifth-century Greek who had recently become a figure of interest. In *De leg.* II 38–9, Cicero echoes Plato on Damon:

In the theatre there shall be music, vocal, on stringed instruments, and on woodwinds, but it must be moderate, as prescribed by law. For I agree with Plato that there is nothing that influences immature malleable minds so easily as different kinds of songs; it is impossible to overemphasize their power whether for good or for evil. For music excites men who are relaxed and relaxes men who are excited. Sometimes it keys men up; sometimes it unnerves them. Many Greek states attached importance to preserving their traditional music, but when their national character degenerated and became effeminate, they changed their music too, and (as some think) were depraved by this sweet corruption. It is also possible that when their high moral standards lapsed on account of other vices, there was room in their ears and their souls, changed as they now were, also for innovations in music. This is why Plato, at least, the wisest and by far the most learned man in Greece, especially feared relapse in music. For he said it was impossible to change musical laws without changing the public laws [*Rep.* 424 = B 2]. Now I do not think such innovation is especially to be feared, but I do not think we should ignore it either. But this I do view with alarm, that audiences which used to derive a high moral pleasure from the melodies of old poets like Livius and Naevius now leap up and twist their necks and roll their eyes to the rhythm of the new music. (trans. MacKendrick, adapted)

Elsewhere Cicero also approved of the *êthos* theory: music and rhythm stimulate, inflame, or soothe, producing languor, good cheer, or sorrow (*De orat.* 3.51; see also *Tusc.* 5.28.110–14).

B 15 Nepos, *Epamin.* 15.2.1, ed. P. K. Marshall, Stuttgart: Teubner, 1977

In his comments on Epaminondas' early life, Nepos claims that he was better educated in music, dance, philosophy, and other subjects than any other Theban.

Nam et citharizare et cantare ad chordarum sonum doctus est a Dionysio, qui non minore fuit in musicis gloria quam Damon aut Lamprus, quorum pervulgata sunt nomina.

Lamprus *Longolius lampus LPA*

For he was taught to play the *cithara* and to sing to the sound of strings by Dionysios, whose renown in musical matters was not less than that of Damon or Lamprus, whose names are well known.

This passage also attests Damon's fame in the late Republic (B 8 comm., D 3 comm.). Lampros is called Sophokles' teacher in dance and music (Athen. 20f; see also *vit. Soph.* 3). Probably for reasons of chronology, H. Abert ('Lampros', *RE* 12 [1925] 587) suggested that these traditions might confuse Lampros with Lamprokles (see A 3). Our testimonium confirms that Lampros was famous. Aristoxenos considered him a 'highly reputable' composer for stringed instruments, along with Pindar, Pratinas, and Dionysios of Thebes (fr. 76 Wehrli = [Plut.] *De mus.* 1142b). Plato's Sokrates (*Mnx.* 236a) mocks him as second rank (see Athen. 506f), along with Antiphon whom Plato also will not have liked. The comic poet Phrynichos (fr. 74 K–A = Athen. 44d) ridiculed him as a water-drinker.

B 16 Aelian, *De nat. animal.* 2.11, ed. and trans. A. F. Scholfield, Cambridge, MA: Loeb, 1958

Aelian is discussing the extraordinary ability of elephants to learn to dance to different rhythms and sounds. Man, however, is a rational animal.

Δάμωνα μὲν οὖν καὶ Σπίνθαρὸν καὶ Ἀριστόξενον καὶ Φιλόξενον καὶ ἄλλους ἐπαίειν μουσικῆς κάλλιστα καὶ ἐν ὀλίγοις ἐξετάζεσθαι τήνδε τὴν σοφίαν θανμαστόν μὲν, ἄπιστον δὲ καὶ παράλογον οὐδαμῶς.

That Damon therefore, and Spintharos, Aristoxenos, Philoxenos, and others should be experts in music and should be numbered among the

few for their knowledge of it is certainly matter for wonder but by no means incredible or absurd.

Although Orpheus charmed the woodland creatures and Arion a dolphin, these animals presumably did not dance. Aelian (*De nat. an.* 17.18) elsewhere notes that the *aulos* could captivate the stingray:

it has ears that are sensitive to music, so they say . . . and in answer to the spell, floats gently to the surface. The fisherman continues to put forth all his enchantments, while some other hand manages the creel and draws up the fish. And what is, I think, most extraordinary is that the fish is so beguiled that it is unaware that it has been caught.

Our passage further attests Damon's enduring fame. The elusive Spintharos is called Aristoxenos' teacher or else father: see L. Woodbury, 'Socrates and Archelaus', *Phoenix* 25 (1971) 304 n. 18. Although Praenestine by birth and a long-time resident of Rome, the Hellenizing Aelian (c.170–235) never mentions any Latin writer, as was typical of Greek imperial writers.

B 17 [Aeschines Socraticus], *Epist.* 14.2 (to Xenophon), ed. R. Hercher, *Epistolographi Graeci* (Paris, 1873; repr. Hakkert: Amsterdam, 1965, p. 619; for ap. crit. cf. L. Köhler, *Die Briefe des Sokrates und der Sokratiker*, *Philologus* Suppl. 20 [1928] 27)

οὕτως οἱ ἀπαγγελλόμενοι ὅτι οὖν πράττειν***ἀκούμεν τὸν μαθόντα τὰ
ιατρικὰ καὶ τὰ μουσικὰ Δάμωνά τε καὶ Κόννον τὸν Μητροβίου. οὐ γὰρ
ᾗδεῖτο, οἶμαι, ὥς μὴ ἐργασάμενος αὐτά, ὁπόταν οἱ υἱεῖς αὐτοῦ
ἀκροασάμενοι Σωκράτους***

πράττειν ἐκεῖνο πρᾶττουσιν ὃ ἐπαγγέλλονται, οἷον ἴσμεν Ἀκούμενον Allatii coniect. ὅτι οὖν
πράττειν ἀκούμεν Ἀκούμενον Orelli πράττειν . . . Ἀκουμένον Köhler οἷς προσέσσω ὄντως
(οὕτως cod.) οἱ ἐπαγγελλόμενοι ὅτι οὖν. παρήγγε (? πράττει V) <δ> Ἀκουμένον etc. Sykutris
(see n. 64 below) Δάμωνά MSS

Thus those who are reported to do anything *** we hear of the one knowing medicine and music Damon and Konnos son of Metrobios. For he was not ashamed, I think, that he did not do these things, whenever his sons having heard Sokrates***

The purported writer of this letter was not Aeschines the Sokratic (as a Byzantine editor thought) but Eukleides of Megara. The actual author of this and other 'Sokratic' letters, c. AD 200, sought to construct a 'novel in letters' in which various Sokratiks showed their

individual characters and minimized their differences. He used Plato's letters, Xenophon, and a handbook on the history of philosophy similar to Diogenes Laertius. He had no direct access to Sokratic literature unavailable to us.⁶⁴

This corrupt passage derives from a general discussion of Sokrates' trial. Damon and Konnos (see Appendix 4a) are mentioned presumably in connection with Sokrates' interest in music. However we restore this text, the emendation 'Akoumenon' in line 1 seems very likely. Akoumenos was a physician and the father of Eryximachos, a character in Plato's *Symposium* (176b, 198a, 214b; see also *Phdr.* 268a, 269a; *Prt.* 315c; *Xen. Mem.* 3.13.2). The text should read, 'Akoumenos who knows about medicine, and Damon and Konnos who know about music.' This emendation eliminates direct evidence that Damon 'knew about' medicine (ch. 2d).

B 18 Simplicius, *In Aristot. phys.* II 5, ed. H. Diels, Berlin: Reimer, 1882 (= *Comm. in Arist. Gr.* 9) pp. 185–6

Simplicius of Cilicia studied at Alexandria and Athens. He was a member of the Academy when it closed in 529. Later, he was one of seven philosophers to visit the Sasanian king Chosroes I (Agath. *Hist.* II. 30–1). Upon his return, probably to Athens, he composed massive commentaries on Aristotle: that on *Physics* perhaps during the 540s.⁶⁵ A gifted pagan, Simplicius is generally considered an excellent and objective commentator.

In his comment on Aristotle's view that things cannot act upon each other and turn into one another at random (*Phys.* 188a32–b27: e.g. 'musical comes to be from non-musical, but not from *any* thing other than musical, but from unmusical or any intermediate stage there may be', trans. Hardie and Gaye), Simplicius first gives examples of things turning into other things in specific ways rather than at random ('such as music not from something at random but from non-music, or something between music and non-music') and then mentions things acting on other things in non-random ways:

Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα τὰ παραδείγματα οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ποιούντος εἴληπται, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ πάσχοντος, ταῦτόν δὲ εἰπεῖν ἕξ οὗ γίνεται τὸ γινόμενον καὶ εἰς ὃ

⁶⁴ J. Sykutris, *Die Briefe des Sokrates und der Sokratiker* (Paderborn, 1933; repr. London/New York, 1968) 57–8; and *RE Suppl.* 5 (1931) 981–7. For a bibliography on the letters of the Sokratics, see M. Imhof, *MH* 39 (1982) 71–2 n. 1.

⁶⁵ On Simplicius, see Alan Cameron, 'The Last Days of the Academy at Athens', *PCPS* 15 (1969) 22–4.

φθείρεται τὸ φθειρόμενον. γίνεται δὲ ἐξ ἀμούσου τὸ μουσικὸν ὑπὸ Δάμωνος ποιούντος, καὶ ἐκ ψυχροῦ τὸ θερμὸν γίνεται ὑπὸ τοῦ θερμοῦ ποιούντος.

All of these previous examples have been taken not from the agent, but from the thing affected, but the same thing may be said of that from which the thing arises and into which it deteriorates. Thus music arises from non-music by the action of Damon, and heat arises from cold by the action of heat.

An Academician, Simplicius presumably mentions Damon because Plato had.

Testimonia (C): Damon's followers

See also B 5 (οἱ περὶ Δάμωνα)

C 1 Athenaeus, *Deipnosoph.* 628c, ed. G. Kaibel, Leipzig: Teubner, 1890

οὐ κακῶς δ' ἔλεγον οἱ περὶ Δάμωνα τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ὅτι καὶ τὰς ψᾶς καὶ τὰς ὀρχήσεις ἀνάγκη γίνεσθαι κινουμένης πως τῆς ψυχῆς· καὶ αἱ μὲν ἐλευθέριοι καὶ καλαὶ ποιοῦσι τοιαύτας, αἱ δ' ἐναντίαι τὰς ἐναντίας.

δ' ἔλεγον Κ: δὲ λέγομεν Α δέ φασι Ε, δὲ λέγουσι Mus.

The followers of Damon the Athenian have not badly said that songs and dances must result when the soul is moved in certain ways: souls that are fair and characteristic of free men create songs and dances of the same kind, while the opposite sort create the opposite.

This passage includes two significant ambiguities. First, as Barker notes (*GMW* i 287 n. 10), in the final clause the subject and object may be reversed: beautiful music creates beautiful souls. That translation better fits our understanding of the *êthos* theory. Barker's version better fits the sense. Songs and dances arise when the soul is moved: a beautiful soul makes beautiful dances. It also fits the Hippokleides story, which Athenaios goes on to narrate and which some think Herodotos took from Damon: see E 1. This version reflects an innovation and daring inversion of Damon's ideas.

Second, scholars have disagreed whether this passage refers to Damon's school (Jan, 'Damon' 2073; Barker, *GMW* ii 118 n. 44; Lasserre, *Plutarque*; Lord, 'Damon' 33) or to Damon himself (Vetter *RE* 16.839; Anderson, 'Importance' 89; *Ethos* 39; Rispoli, 'Filodemo')

60 n. 16). In Greek of the imperial period *hoi peri* can have either meaning. However, in every passage where his usage can be determined, Athenaios uses *hoi peri* in the plural sense (e.g. 198e, 255c, 333d, 360e, 548a, 629d). This passage refers to Damon's followers. On Damon's own apparent lack of interest in dance, see B 1 comm.

C 2 Porphyry, *Comment. in Ptol. harmon.*, ed. I. Düring, *GHÄ* 37.2 (1932) (repr. *Ancient Philosophy* II, New York: Garland Press, 1988)

Πολλῶν αἱρέσεων οὐσῶν ἐν μουσικῇ περὶ τοῦ ἡρμωσμένου, ὃ Εὐδόξιε, δύο πρωτεύειν ἂν τις ὑπολάβοι, τὴν τε Πυθαγόρειον καὶ τὴν Ἀριστοξένειον, ὧν καὶ τὰ δόγματα εἰς ἔτι καὶ νῦν σφωζόμενα φαίνεται. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἐγένοντο πλείους αἱ μὲν πρὸ τοῦ Ἀριστοξένου, οἷα ἡ Ἐπιγόνειος καὶ Δαμόνιος καὶ Ἐρατόκλειος Ἀγηνόριος τε καὶ τινες ἄλλαι, ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς μνημονεύει, αἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτόν, ὥς ἄλλοι ἀνέγραψαν, οἷα ἡ Ἀρχεστράτειος καὶ ἡ Ἀγώνιος καὶ ἡ Φιλίσκος καὶ ἡ Ἑρμίπιος καὶ εἰ τινες ἄλλαι, ἔχομεν ἂν λέγειν. ὅτι δὲ τὸ πρωτεῖον ἐν ταῖς εἰρημέναις δύο εὐρίσκεται, δηλοῖ μὲν καὶ ἡ τῶν δοκούντων αὐτοῖς μάθησις, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ τὸ τὰς μὲν ἄχρι ὀνόματος μένειν διὰ τὸ ἐπιπόλαιον ἀφανισθείσας, τὰς δὲ καὶ ἐν ἀμουσίᾳ πολλῇ τῶν μεταγενεστέρων εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐν ἐπιστήμῃς ἀλλ' ἀναγεγραμμένας διασώζεσθαι.

While there are many schools of music about harmony [lit., 'what has been tuned'], Eudoxias, one could suppose that two are of the greatest importance, those of Pythagoras and of Aristoxenos, schools whose philosophical views are clearly preserved even up to the present. For we could mention that more schools existed, some before Aristoxenos, such as those of Epigonos, Damon, Eratokles, Agenor, and some others, which Aristoxenos himself mentions, and some after him, which others have described, such as those of Archestratos, Agon, Philiskos, Hermippos, and whatever others there may be. That first rank is found in the two schools I have mentioned is clear first of all by learning the views that they hold, and secondly, no less, by the fact that some of these schools endure only in name, having disappeared on account of their superficiality, while others, with the great lack of culture of their later adherents (except in the sciences), are preserved only in written form.

For Damon's 'school', see ch. 4c. Born c.232 in Syria, Porphyry was a distinguished student of the Neoplatonist Plotinus, becoming head of the Neoplatonist school after Plotinus' death. One of antiquity's most distinguished scientists, Claudius Ptolemaeus worked in Egypt in the second century AD. Best known as an astronomer, Ptolemy's *Harmonics* is translated by Barker, *GMW* ii 270–391.

**Testimonia (D): Some passages possibly
reflecting Damon's influence**

D 1 Aristoph., *Nub.* 636–51, ed. K. J. Dover, Oxford: OUP, 1968 (repr. 1989)

To educate Strepsiades, Sokrates begins with rhythms.

- Σω. ἄγε δῆ, τί βούλει πρῶτα νυνὶ μαθάνειν
ὧν οὐκ ἐδιδάχθης πώποτ' οὐδέν; εἰπέ μοι.
πότερον περὶ μέτρων ἢ περὶ ἔπων ἢ ῥυθμῶν;
- Στ. περὶ τῶν μέτρων ἔγωγ'· ἔναγχος γάρ ποτε
ὑπ' ἀλφитаμοιβοῦ παρεκόπην διχοινίκῳ.
- Σω. οὐ τοῦτ' ἔρωτῶ σ', ἀλλ' ὅτι κάλλιστον μέτρον
ἦγεί, πότερον τὸ τρίμετρον ἢ τὸ τετράμετρον;
- Στ. ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδὲν πρότερον ἡμέκτεω.
- Σω. οὐδὲν λέγεις, ὦνθρωπε.
- Στ. περὶ δὲ νυν ἔμοι
εἰ μὴ τετράμετρον ἔστιν ἡμέκτεω.
- Σω. ἐς κόρακας, ὡς ἄγροικος εἶ καὶ δυσμαθής.
ταχύ γ' ἂν δύναιο μαθάνειν περὶ ῥυθμῶν.
- Στ. τί δέ μ' ὠφελήσουσ' οἱ ῥυθμοὶ πρὸς τᾷλφιστα;
- Σω. πρῶτον μὲν εἶναι κομψὸν ἐν συνουσίᾳ,
ἐπαῖονθ' ὁποῖός ἐστι τῶν ῥυθμῶν
κατ' ἐνόπλιον, χῶποῖος αὖ κατὰ δάκτυλον.

Sokrates. Tell me then, what do you want to learn first, that you haven't been taught before? Well? About measures, or words, or rhythms?

Strepsiades. Oh—measures for me! The barley-seller swindled me out of two quarts only the other day.

Soc. That's not what I'm asking: I want to know which of the measures you think's best, the triple measure or the quadruple measure.

Str. Half a gallon's what I like!

Soc. Idiot! You're talking nonsense.

Str. What? Don't you agree that four measures make half a gallon?

Soc. What an oaf! Quite unteachable! To hell with you! But maybe you could learn something about rhythms.

Str. How will rhythms help me earn a crust?

Soc. First, they'll teach you to behave properly in company, if you know which rhythm is according to the in-armour and which according to the finger. (trans. Barker; the last line is modified)

These lines were written by a highly intelligent contemporary poet and musician who will have known Damon personally. Since Wilamowitz (*Verskunst* 59, 65), virtually all scholars of ancient metre have accepted that they refer to Damon's work. Their metrical terminology is repeated in *Pl. Rep.* 400 (B 1), and Damon was active in Athens during the 420s when *Clouds* was written. Alternatively, Plato may have wished his readers to remember Sokrates' discussion of metres in *Clouds*, as in *Apology* he blamed that text for his teacher's execution.

G. Hermann, followed by Schroeder and Gentili, describes the metres Aristophanes mentions and Sokrates' little joke. The 'composite *enoplion*' was the feminine *hemiepes* formed of two dactyls and one spondee, — u u — u u —, the acephalous form of the archilochian *enoplion*, or two feminine *hemiepe*, — u u — u u — — u u — u u —. As Gentili says, 'a non expert ear could easily confuse this with a dactylic meter,' as the poet Aristophanes would have realized. Aristophanes himself gives examples of these two metres in the strophe of the *parodos* (275–90), with dactyls, and the lyric dialogue between the chorus and Strepsiades (457–75), with mixed *enoplia* in iambic-trochaic form (see Pretagostini, 'Prime due', with reff.).

Anderson ('Damon') contends that 'as the chief spokesman for the poet-composers in their hostility toward the new, dogmatic philosophy of the Damonian school,' Aristophanes also attacks Damon in *Clouds* 961–71 ('Just Argument' on old-style music education) and *Frogs* 729, 1491–9, which condemn those like Sokrates who reject good old-fashioned *mousikê*. However, these passages need not target Damon.

D 2 HibeH Papyrus I 13, ed. W. Crönert, 'Die HibeHrede über die Musik', *Hermes* 44 (1909) 504

- I πολ]λάκις ἐπῆλθέ μοι θαυμάσαι, ὦ ἄνδρες [*Ἕλληνες, εἰ ἂν*]λοτρίας τιν[ἐς] τὰς ἐπιδείξεις τῶν ρ[ικείων τε-
χν]ῶν ποιοῦμεν[ο]ι λαυθάνουσιν ὑμᾶς. λ[έγοντες γάρ,
ὅ]τι ἁρμονικοὶ εἰσι, καὶ προχειρισάμενοι ὠ[ιδάς τινας
- 5 ταύτας συγκρίνουσιν, τῶμ μὲν ὡς ἔτυχεν
κατηγοροῦντες, τὰς δὲ εἰκῇ ἐγκωμ[ιάζ]οντες.
καὶ λέγουσι μὲν, ὡς οὐ δεῖ αὐτοὺς οὔ[τε ψ]αλτας
οὔτε ὠιδούς θεωρεῖν — περὶ μὲν γὰρ τ[αὐτ]α ἑτέροις
φασὶν παραχωρεῖν, αὐτῶν δὲ ἴδιον [εἶ]ναι τὸ θε-
- 10 ωρητικὸν μέρος —, φαίνονται δὲ περὶ μὲν ταῦτα,
ὧν ἑτέροις παραχωροῦσιν, οὐ μετρίως ἔσπουδακό-

- τες, ἐν οἷς δὲ φασιν ἰσχύειν, ἐν τούτοις σχ[εδιά-
ζοντες. λέγουσι δέ, ὡς τῶν μελῶν τ[ὰ] μὲν
ἐγκρατεῖς, τὰ δὲ φρονίμους, τὰ δὲ δικαίους,
15 τὰ δὲ ἀνδρείους, τὰ δὲ δειλοὺς ποιεῖ, κακῶς εἰδότες, οὔτι
οὔτε χρῶμα δειλοὺς, οὔτε ἁρμονία ἂν ἀνδρείους
ποιήσειεν τοὺς αὐτῇ χρωμένους. τίς γάρ οὐκ οἶδεν
II Αἰτ]ωλοὺς καὶ Δόλοπας καὶ πάντας τοὺς θε[ρ]-
μοπύ]λῃσι διατόνῳ μὲν τῇ μουσικῇ χρω[μένους, μάλ-
20 λο]ν δὲ τῶν τραγωιδῶν ὄντας ἀνδρείο[υς τῶν δι-
ὰ πα]γτὸς εἰωθότων ἐφ' ἁρμονίας αἰδεῖν; [ᾧ]στε
οὔτε] χρῶμα δειλοὺς οὔτε ἁρμονία ἀνδ[ρείους ποι-
εῖ. εἰς] τοῦτο δὲ ἔρχονται τόλμης, ᾧστε χ[ρόνον πολὺ]ν κα[τα-
τρίβ]ειν ἐν ταῖς χορδαῖς, ψάλλοντες μὲν [πολὺ χ]εῖ[ρ]ο[ν τῶ]ν
25 ψαλ]τῶν, αἰδοντες δὲ τῶν ᾠδῶν, συνκρίνοντες δὲ
τοῦ τ]υχόντος ῥήτορος πάντα πάντω[ς χεῖ]ρο ποιοῦντες,
καὶ] περὶ μὲν τῶν ἁρμ[ο]νικῶν καλουμ[ένων], ἐν οἷς δὴ
φ[ασι]ν διακεῖσθαι πως, οὐ(δ') ἥντινα φων[ῇ]ν ἔχοντες λέγειν,
ἐν[θο]υσίωντες δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὸν ῥυθμ[ὸν δέ] παίωντες
30 τὸ ὑποκείμενον σανίδιον αὐτοῖς [ᾧ]μα τοῖς] ἀπ' τοῦ
ψα[λλ]ητρίου ψόφοις. καὶ οὐδὲ αἰσχύν[ονται ἥδ]η ἔξειπ[όντες
τῶ]ν μελῶν τὰ μὲν δάφνης ἔξεω [ἰδιόν] τι, τὰ δὲ κιτ[τοῦ],
ἔτ[ι δὲ ἔρω]τῶντες, εἰ οὐ φαίνεται [ἐνταῦθ]α ἰδία ἐπιτή[δευσις
ἐ[δ]μ[ε]ῖσθαι· καὶ οἱ σάτυροι πρὸς [τὸν αὐλὸν] χορεῖον[τες]-

It has often occurred to me to be surprised, men [of Greece], at the way certain people construct demonstrations not belonging to [their own areas of expertise], without your noticing. For they say that they are 'harmonicists'; and they pick out [various songs] and judge them against one another, condemning some, quite at random, and unsystematically extolling others. Again, they say that one ought not to consider them instrumentalists or singers: these matters, they say, they leave to others, while their own special province is the theoretical branch. Yet they actually display an immoderate enthusiasm for the things they leave to others, while improvising haphazardly in the areas where they say their strength lies.

They also say some melodies make people self-disciplined, others prudent, others just, others brave, and others cowardly, not understanding that the chromatic cannot make cowards nor the enharmonic make brave men of those who employ it. For who does not know that the Aetolians and Dolopes and all those at Thermopylae, though they employ diatonic music, are braver than singers in tragedy, who have [always] been accustomed to singing in the enharmonic? Hence the chromatic does not make people cowardly, nor does the enharmonic make them brave.

These people have the effrontery to waste [their entire life] on strings. They play on strings [much worse than real instrumentalists], they sing much worse than real singers, and in their critical comparisons they do everything worse than any orator one might come across.

As to what is called 'harmonics', with which they say they have a special familiarity, they have nothing articulate to say, but are carried away with enthusiasm: and they beat the rhythm all wrong, on the wooden bench where they sit, [simultaneously] with the sounds of the *psaltérion*.

They do not even hesitate to state openly that some melodies will have a feature [peculiarly characteristic] of laurel, others of ivy.

(trans. Barker, except for the last two lines,
which he calls excessively fragmentary.)

Having discussed this text in chapter 4c, I limit this note to the question of its date (I hope to publish a detailed analysis elsewhere). Most scholars date the Hibeh polemic to the early fourth century. Although Barker (*GMW* i 183) questioned three main arguments used to support this date, by 2001 he declared that he was 'mistaken'. Despite the difficulties, a date close to 380 BC should be regarded as virtually certain.⁶⁶ However, his reversion occurs in a passage on the *genê* where he admits that PHibeh alone uses *genê* terms before Aristoxenos, although perhaps not in the same way as Aristoxenos. These *genê* terms suggest a date for PHibeh not before Aristoxenos.

Two other arguments also favour a date in the later fourth or early third century. First, our writer asks, 'who does not know that the Aetolians and Dolopes and all those at Thermopylae, though they employ diatonic music, are braver than singers in tragedy?' In the late fifth or early fourth century, why should a Greek writer cite the 'well known' bravery of two obscure and outlandish peoples and 'all those at Thermopylae', to argue against the *êthos* theory? Most scholars take the latter phrase to refer to meetings of the Amphityonic League, without explaining why this would be appropriate. And why would a Greek in the early fourth century single out the Aetolians and Dolopians to praise for their courage? The Dolopians in particular are almost never mentioned in Greek texts of the classical period, in any context.

⁶⁶ A. Barker, 'Diogenes of Babylon and Hellenistic Music Theory', in Auvray-Assayas and Delattre, eds, *Cicéron et Philodème*, 359 and n. 20.

In 323 and 279, however, two important events brought the Aetolians, Dolopians, and Athenians together at the pass at Thermopylae, in military engagements appropriate to the theme of courage. In the Lamian War of 323/22, the Dolopians and the Aetolians marched to help the Athenian general Leosthenes who was using Thermopylae as his base against Macedon (Diod. 18.11.1, 5; *IG II²* 236). The Dolopians' assistance was especially noteworthy, as earlier they had supported Macedon (Dem. 18.63, of 343). Later, at Thermopylae in 279, 15,000 Aetolians and 1500 Athenians along with soldiers from other Greek communities repelled a massive invasion by the Gauls. The Dolopians' participation is not specifically recorded, but shortly afterwards (between 279 and spring 277) they became members of the Aetolian League.⁶⁷ News of the Gallic invasion and its repulse spread rapidly through Greece. Either of these two occasions would supply an appropriate context for PHibeh's reference.

Secondly, the PHibeh *harmonikoi* proclaimed that some types of music could make people 'just', *dikaioi*. As Philodemos remarks (see ch. 4b), this conception does not yet occur in Plato. We have also found no early evidence that Damon's approach to music was moralizing. The view associated with the PHibeh *harmonikoi* is attributed to Damon but in a later context. In Philodemos' *De musica* Damon states, 'by singing and playing the lyre a boy ought to learn not only courage and moderation but also justice.' These three virtues are precisely the virtues that Plato's *Republic* considers most important (see ch. 4 n. 32). As I argue in chapter 4b, Philodemos' statement about Damon appears to derive from a text written in the second half of the fourth century by the Platonist Herakleides of Pontos. If so, Damon's teaching was rewritten in the light of Plato's work, and in response to his criticism that the sophists did not promote ethics. It also reflects the more public and political preoccupation with ethics and personal life (especially education) characteristic of the later fourth century and the Hellenistic world.

D 3 Virgil, *Eclogue* 8, ed. R. Coleman, Cambridge: CUP, 1977

Pastorum Musam Damonis et Alphesiboei
 immemor herbarum quos est mirata iuuenca
 certantis, quorum stupefactae carmine lynces
 et mutata suos requierunt flumina cursus
 Damonis Musam dicemus et Alphesiboei. (lines 1–5)

⁶⁷ See Pliny *NH* 4.6, and R. Flacelière, *Les Aetoliens à Delphes* (Paris, 1937) 185.

The Muse of shepherds Damon and Alpheisiboeus,
 Who made a heifer forget the grass and thrill
 To their contest, at whose songs lynxes stood spellbound
 And rivers, transformed, arrested their course,
 The Muse of Damon we'll tell and of Alpheisiboeus.

(trans. A. J. Boyle)

Virgil begins the poetry contest between the shepherds Damon and Alpheisiboeus with the 'Muse of Damon' (metonymy for Damon's song) and an Orphic description of music's power. Damon later sings that his love Nysa has abandoned him for Mopsus, 'since my pipe, my goats filled you with disgust' (33). Lamenting this event, Damon prays, 'Let Tityrus be Orpheus, Orpheus in the woods, among dolphins Arion' (55–6). Coleman comments, 'In nature's reversal even the humblest rustic will become an Orpheus or Arion, capable of charming the elements as Damon has been doing with this very song (2–4).'⁶⁸ But Damon failed to win back his love.

Alpheisiboeus in turn sings of an enchantress, for whom songs are spells with the power to dominate men and nature, hopefully including her lover Daphnis (69–71).

Songs have power even to lead the moon down from heaven,
 By Circe's songs were Ulysses' men transformed,
 The chill snake in the fields song bursts asunder.

Her refrain is, 'Lead him home from the city, my songs, lead Daphnis'. In the end, Circe's magic proved ineffective and Ulysses deserted her. Rather than music, the enchantress's pledges, herbs, drugs, and ash bring Daphnis back: 'he cares nothing for the gods, nothing for songs' (103). Thus, Damon's and Alpheisiboeus' songs prove futile. Despite the legends of Orpheus and Circe, Damon's Muse effects nothing.

The powerlessness of song is also a principal theme of *Eclogue* 9. Moeris begins by mentioning that his farm has been confiscated. Lycidas responds, 'Yet I was sure I'd heard that...all had been saved by your Menalcas with his songs.' Moeris replies, 'So you had heard and that was the story; but our songs have as much strength, Lycidas, among the spears of Mars as, they say, have Chaonian doves when the eagle comes' (from lines 1–13, trans. Boyle).

⁶⁸ R. Coleman, *Virgil Eclogues* (Cambridge, 1977) 241.

Epicurus was a bitter opponent of the *êthos* theory of music affect. The Epicurean Philodemus expounded on that hostility in *De musica*, which often mentions Damon as we have seen. Virgil studied Epicureanism at Naples in the house of the philosopher Siro, Philodemus' friend. Philodemus dedicated at least one book of his *On Virtues and Vices* to Virgil and three other young Roman poets.⁶⁹ 'Shaggy eyebrows and long-straggling beard' (line 34), Virgil's Damon must be our man. These passages from *Eclogues* reinforce and provide clearer evidence than Delattre's (n. 69) that, like Epicurus and Philodemus, Virgil judged Damon's *êthos* theory ineffective.

Testimonia (E): Two passages of alleged Damonian influence

The following texts have been linked with Damon, with insufficient justification.

E 1 Herodotos 6.129

A distinguished group of aristocratic suitors gathered at Sikyon to vie for the hand of Agariste, daughter of the tyrant Kleisthenes. On the evening when Kleisthenes announced that he would make his choice,

the suitors began to compete with each other in music and in talking on a set theme In both these accomplishments Hippokleides proved by far the doughtiest champion, until at last, as more and more wine was drunk, he asked the pipe player to play him a tune and began to dance to it . . . ending by standing on his head and beating time with his legs in the air.

Crönert ('Hibehrede' 510), Lasserre (*Plutarque* 70–2), and Rossi ('Dottrina' 242) believe that Herodotos' story derives from Damon. Their evidence is, first, that Athenaios recounts this tale just after mentioning Damon's school (= C 1):

Whence also came that witty remark of Kleisthenes the ruler of Sikyon, which reveals his cultivated mind. For, as they say, after seeing one of his daughter's suitors (he was Hippokleides of Athens) dancing in a vulgar posture, he declared that Hippokleides had danced away his marriage, believing it seems that the young man's soul was also vulgar.

⁶⁹ See R. Janko, *Philodemus On Poems Book One* (Oxford, 2000) 6; M. Gigante and M. Capasso, 'Il ritorno di Virgilio a Ercolano', *SIFC* 7 (1989) 3–6; and D. Delattre, 'Virgil and Music, in Diogenes of Babylon and Philodemus', in D. Armstrong et al., eds, *Virgil, Philodemus, and the Augustans* (Austin, 2004) 245–63 at 245.

For, whether in dancing or in walking, decency and dignity of bearing are beautiful, whereas immodesty and vulgarity are ugly.

As Lasserre points out, Herodotos' story has a musical setting, and he was working in Athens between 447 and 444 when Damon also was active.

Although evidence suggests that Herodotos was in Athens c.445–441, neither Herodotos' nor Athenaios' story is especially Damonian. Neither attributes Hippokleides' antics to the effects of music. Athenaios says that Hippokleides' dancing showed the nature of his soul; it did not affect it. That Athenaios' version follows on a mention of Damon's *school*, and that Damon's wife Agariste was Kleisthenes' descendent, are coincidental.

E 2 Plato, *Rep.* 398b–399e

'And now, my friend,' said I [sc. Sokrates], 'we may say that we have completely finished the part of music that concerns speeches (*logoi*) and tales (*muthoi*). For we have stated what is to be said and how it is to be said.'

'I think so too,' [Glaukon] replied.

(c) 'After this, then,' said I, 'comes the manner (*tropos*) of songs (*odê*) and tunes (*melos*)?'

'Clearly.'

'And having gone thus far, could not everybody discover what we must say of their character in order to conform to what has already been said?'

'I am afraid that "everybody" does not include me,' laughed Glaukon. 'I cannot sufficiently divine at present what we ought to say, though I have a suspicion.'

(d) 'You certainly, I presume,' said I, 'have a sufficient understanding of this—that the song (*melos*) is composed of three things, the words (*logoi*), the *harmoniai*, and the rhythm?'

'Yes,' said he, 'that much.'

'And as far as it is words, song surely in no manner differs from words not sung in the requirement of conformity to the patterns and manner that we have just now prescribed?'

'True,' he said.

'And again, the *harmonia* and the rhythm must follow the speech.'

'Of course.'

'But we said we did not require dirges and lamentations in words.'

'We do not.'

(e) 'What, then, are the dirgelike *harmoniai*? Tell me, for you are a musician.'

‘The mixed Lydian,’ he said, ‘and the taut Lydian (*suntonolydisti*), and such.’

‘Must these, then,’ I said, ‘not be done away with? For they are useless even to women who must be seemly, let alone to men.’

‘Assuredly.’

‘But again, drunkenness is a thing most unbefitting guardians, and so is softness and sloth.’

‘Yes.’

‘Which of the *harmoniai*, then, are soft and sympotic?’

(399) ‘There are certain Ionian and also Lydian *harmoniai* that are called lax.’

‘Will you make any use of these for warriors?’

‘None at all,’ he said, ‘but it would seem that you have left the Dorian and the Phrygian.’

‘I don’t know the *harmoniai*,’ I said, ‘but leave us that *harmonia* that would fittingly imitate (*πρεπόντως ἀν μιμήσαιοτο*) the utterances and the accents of a brave man who is engaged in warfare or in any violent action, and who, when he has failed, (b) either meeting wounds or death or having fallen into some other misfortune, in all these conditions confronts fortune with steadfast endurance and repels its strokes. And another for such a man engaged in works of peace, not violent but voluntary, either trying to persuade somebody of something and imploring him—whether it be a god, through a prayer, or a man, by teaching and admonition—or contrariwise yielding himself to another who is asking or teaching him or trying to change his opinions, and in consequence faring according to his wish, and not bearing himself arrogantly, but in all this acting modestly and moderately and acquiescing in the outcome. Leave us these two *harmoniai*—the violent (c) and the voluntary—that will best imitate (*μιμήσονται*) the utterances of men in bad or good fortune, the temperate, the brave—leave us these.’

‘Well,’ said he, ‘you are asking me to leave none other than those I just spoke of.’

‘Then,’ said I, ‘we shall not need in our songs (*ōidai*) and melodies (*melē*) instruments of *polychordia* or *panharmonion*.’

‘Not in my opinion,’ said he.

‘Then we shall not maintain makers of *trigona* [triangular harps: Barker *GMW* i 264 n. 17] and *pektides* [many-stringed, high-pitched harps: *ibid.* 265 n. 21] and all other many- (d) stringed and polyharmonic instruments.’

‘Apparently not.’

‘Well, will you admit to the city *aulos* makers and *aulos* players? Or is not the *aulos* the most “many-stringed” of instruments and do not the panharmonic instruments themselves imitate it?’

‘Clearly,’ he said.

‘You have left,’ said I, ‘the lyre and the *kithara*. These are useful in the city, and in the fields the shepherds would have a *syrix* to pipe on.’

‘So our argument indicates,’ he said.

(e) ‘We are not innovating, my friend, in preferring Apollo and the instruments of Apollo to Marsyas and his instruments.’

‘No, by heaven!’ he said. ‘I think not.’

‘And by the dog,’ said I, ‘we have all unawares purged the city which a little while ago we said was luxurious.’

‘In that we show our good sense,’ he said.

(adapted from P. Shorey)

Many scholars, including Ryffel, Koller, and Lasserre (see ch. 4a), have attributed to Damon this and other passages of Plato’s *Republic* that discuss music or are near *Republic*’s two mentions of Damon (424c and 399–400). Many have attributed to Damon the conservative, anti-innovatory sentiments preceding and following *Rep.* 424c (= B 2), that any musical innovation must be avoided, as moving the polis from a lawless spirit to the overthrow of public and private life (see ch. 3a, 4a, and B 2 comm.). Wilamowitz (*Verskunst* 65) quotes the sentence mentioning Damon in *Rep.* 424c and remarks, ‘Auch das Folgende wird zu Damons Gedanken stimmen.’ *Rep.* 398b–399e on *harmoniai*, quoted here, is especially often considered Damonian. In ch. 3a n. 6 and B 2 comm., however, I conclude that these lines need not reproduce Damon’s views. Before Plato many besides Damon wrote on music (see ch. 4c), and Plato was capable of having his own thoughts. He often mentions music, for example in *Rep.* 443d, where the just man ‘puts himself in order and befriends himself, and harmonizes the three things in him like the three harmonic limits, the low, the high, and the middle, and any others there may be between them’. We need not assume that such passages derive from some earlier writer. Plato’s discussions of music education and *êthos* were inspired by Damon. This book has shown the dangers of attributing other concepts to him.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ Janssens (‘Damoön’ 102) never fulfilled his promise to show that the doctrines of musical *êthos* in Plato’s *Republic* replied to Damon’s views.

APPENDIX 1

Did Damon publish?

Various scholars have hypothesized that some written text by Damon supplied later writers with information about him. As we have seen (ch. 4a), Bücheler believed that Plato consulted a book by Damon when he wrote about Damon in *Republic* 400. Adam pointed out that this inference was unjustified. Wilamowitz stated that ‘a book of Damon’s lay open before Aristophanes’ when he wrote the dialogue between Strepsiades and Sokrates in *Clouds*. This inference, too, is unjustified. Gomperz inferred from two rare words in Philodemos (= B 11), ἀκροτον and πα[γ]νίαν, that his ultimate source was a text by Damon. Anderson rightly objected that these words could have come from an intermediate source.¹

One fact suggests that later writers had no access to written work by Damon. Except for [Plutarch] *De musica* and Aristides Quintilianus (both citing Damon’s followers), no ancient music or metrical writer ever mentions him. It may also be noted that the ‘relaxed Lydian’ *harmonia* which fourth-century *harmonikoi* said Damon invented ([Plut.] *De mus.* 1136), is differently named by different expert writers: *chalara* (Pl. *Rep.* 398e, in a Damonian context), *aneimenê* (Arist. *Pol.* 1342b23, in an *êthos* context), and *epanei-menê* ([Plut.] *De mus.* 1136, the passage attributing it to Damon).

Only Aristides Quintilianus (2.14 = B 5), writing some eight hundred years after Damon, claims that he left some written text:

That notes, even of continuous melody, mould through similarity a non-existent *êthos* in children and in those already advanced in age, and bring out a latent *êthos*, those around Damon showed. At any rate, in the *harmoniai* transmitted by him, of the sequences of notes . . .

(a discussion by Aristides follows). This passage claims that Damon transmitted *harmoniai* to his followers.² In what form? Aristides seems to distinguish between Damon’s *harmoniai* and the conclusions about music of

¹ Bücheler, ‘Δάμωνα’ 310, citing Susemihl; contrast Adam, *Republic* on 400b8 (οἶμαι δὲ με ἀκηκοέναι and ‘the general tone of the passage seem rather to refer to an oral demonstration: Plato is affecting to reproduce some half-remembered lecture’); Wilamowitz, *Verskunst* 59; Gomperz, *Philodem* 9; Anderson, *Ethos* 189–90.

² Crönert, ‘Hibeh’ 510 infers a work of Damon comparing and evaluating a collection of *harmoniai* in terms of their effectiveness.

‘those around Damon’ (see ch. 4c and B 5 comm., also for the phrase *hoi peri*). He offers no basis for supposing that ‘the *harmoniai* transmitted’ by Damon included any discussion. Aristides has to draw his own conclusions about the meaning and significance of these *harmoniai* (ἐν γούν ταῖς: ‘at any rate’). In the light of ancient practices, it is equally possible (and in my view more likely) that Damon’s followers attributed a list of *harmoniai* to him, for example the series of *harmoniai* which Aristides mentioned in an earlier book (1.18, trans. Barker):

There are also other divisions of the tetrachord, used for the *harmoniai* by people of distant antiquity (*hoi panu palaiotatoi*). Sometimes they covered the span of a full octachord, and there are cases where they exceeded a six-tone *syntēma*. Often they fell short of it. Nor did they always include all the notes.

Aristides describes and diagrams these *harmoniai* (see Barker, *GMW* ii 420, *Harmonics* 45–52), adding, ‘it is these that the divine Plato mentions in *Republic*, where he says that the Mixolydian and the tense Lydian are suitable for laments, while the Iastian and Lydian are appropriate for drinking parties, and excessively unrestrained. . . . These, then, were the kinds of exposition of the *harmoniai* which they used to give, fitting the qualities of the notes to their respective moral characters.’ As we have seen (B 1d, B 3 comm.), Proklos wrongly inferred from Plato’s *Republic* that Damon was the source of Plato’s opinions on the *harmoniai* and on metres.

Scholars do not agree on the nature of the *harmoniai* that Aristides discusses. In *GMW* ii 483 n. 143 Barker wrote, ‘What these *harmoniai* were we cannot say (though the description suggests tuning-structures rather than actual melodies).’ In *Harmonics* 51 he suggests they were ‘a set of attunements . . . in contemporary use’ in the later fifth century. Others have concluded that they were not musical modes or written compositions, but melodic exercises, what Schäfer (Aristides 289 n. 7) called ‘Vokaletüden’, devised to embody the characteristic *êthos* effects of different *harmoniai*.³

Were these *harmoniai* Damon’s? Aristides does not say so. The only reason why some have tentatively drawn this conclusion (n. 3: Comotti and West) is that Plato later mentions Damon in his discussion of metre. As we saw in chapter 2, however, Plato does not say (and it is unlikely) that Damon was responsible for his treatment of the *harmoniai*. Barker ‘conjectures that Aristides’ material was derived from a source not too far from Plato in date, perhaps a harmonic theorist whose work was discussed in Aristoxenos’ book *On the opinions of the harmonikoi*’ (*GMW* i 167, and see *Harmonics* 45–51; Hagel, *Ancient Greek Music* 390–3).

³ Winnington-Ingram, *Mode* 22–30; Anderson, ‘Importance’ 98 and *Ethos* 18–20; Lord, ‘Damon’ 36; Comotti, *Music* 77–9; Barker, *GMW* i 165–8; West, *Music* 174–7; Landels, *Music* 103–5.

What remains of Damon's own words? At most the phrase 'to give the people their own', in *Ath. Pol.* 27 (A 8 comm.), and what Plato calls the 'obscure' metrical terms *daktylos* ('finger'), *enoplion syntheton* ('composite in-armour'), and *heroon* (*Rep.* 400 = B 1). As we have seen, Aristophanes (D 1) parodies the first two of these terms. Although both men are joking, together they have been taken to suggest that Damon used these words. In publishing nothing Damon was by no means unique among even his younger contemporaries. No Pythagorean published until the end of the fifth century. Sokrates did not write until the final month of his life in prison, and then only poetry; before his incarceration, people talked with him. Not publishing also suggests that Damon did not seek a Panhellenic audience, but was content to work with Athens' elite.

APPENDIX 2

Damon's chronology

Most scholars have thought that Damon was born in the early fifth century, perhaps c.500; from the 460s he was Perikles' political adviser; in the later 440s he was ostracized; in the later 430s he returned to teach in Athens.¹ In a 1955 article Anthony Raubitschek proposed an alternative chronology. He and his followers contend that Damon was born a generation after 500; he worked and taught in the 430s and was ostracized late in that decade when Perikles' other friends were in trouble; he was active down to the end of the century.² According to this view, Damon's father Damonides advised Perikles in the 460s.

Although neither chronology is without complications, the arguments for the traditional, early dating are reasonably strong, and in any case stronger than Raubitschek's alternative.

1) The main evidence for Raubitschek's later chronology is *Ath. Pol.* 27 (A 8). Because Perikles' means were insufficient to compete with Kimon, 'he was therefore advised by Damonides of Oê (who was thought to have been the proposer of most of Perikles' measures; for that reason they later ostracized him)' to institute dikastic pay, sometime in the later 460s or early 450s (see [14] below). For Raubitschek, 'Damonides' is not a mistake for Damon, but was Damon's father. Damon's ostraka (A 22) confirm that Damon's father's name was Damonides. Stylistic arguments indicate that the author of *Ath. Pol.* did write 'Damonides': a preceding 'Damon' has not fallen out of the text (A 8 comm.).

¹ See Wilamowitz, '*ΔΑΜΩΝ*' 318–19 and 319 n. 1 (although he thinks Damon was not alive in the later 420s: see n. 10 below); Busolt, *Gr. Gsch.* 3.1. 248 and 514; Beloch, *Gr. Gsch.* 2.1. 313 and n. 1 (but in his view Damon was ostracized in 428 and the date of his death is uncertain); Meyer, *Gsch. Alt.* 4.1. 532; A. Rosenberg, 'Perikles und die Parteien in Athen', *Neu. Jahrb. Klass. Altert.* 18 (1915) 205–12; Janssens, 'Damoön' 504–7; Nestle, *Mythos* 435; De Sanctis, *Atthis* 478–9 n. 2; Kroll, 'Damon' coll. 324–5; Ziegler, 'Damon' 1376; Meister, 'Damon' 29–39 (but following Beloch, he thinks Damon was ostracized c.430); Davies, *APF* 383 ('by far the most probable'); S. Brenne in Siewert, *Ostrakismos* 51 ('wahrscheinlicher').

² Raubitschek, 'Damon' 88 n. 3, followed ('but I am not completely convinced') by Ehrenberg, *Sophokles und Perikles* (Munich, 1956) 115 n. 1; Anderson, 'Importance' 88 n. 3; Wille, 'Damon', col. 688; Schwarze, *Beurteilung* 161–4; Stadter, *Pericles* 69–70. Schachermeyr, 'Damon' 192–6, leaves the question open.

To be sure, a major difficulty is that while *Ath. Pol.* calls 'Damonides' an adviser of Perikles who was subsequently ostracized, both points are elsewhere attested for Damon (e.g. *Plut. Arist.* 1.7 = A 23; *Per.* 4 = A 9). Can both Damon and his father have been Perikles' advisers and ostracized? To resolve this difficulty, Raubitschek and his followers argue that in two respects *Ath. Pol.* has confused Damon and his father: the son, not the father, was ostracized, and for musical matters, not politics.³ But both father and son were friends and advisers of Perikles, the one on politics, the other on music.

This explication of *Ath. Pol.* 27 is patently problematic. The duplicate function of father 'Damonides' and son Damon is obviously peculiar. We would also expect a political adviser, not a music theorist, to be ostracized, if these roles were distinct. As we have seen, advocates of the later chronology acknowledge that *Ath. Pol.* has in some respect confused Damon and his father. *Ath. Pol.* has probably also mistaken Damon's deme, Oa not Oê (see A 1 comm.). These errors do not encourage confidence in an otherwise idiosyncratic report. Finally, other explanations of *Ath. Pol.*'s 'Damonides' are available. The simplest is that *Ath. Pol.* misremembered Damon's name, as it did his deme. Alternatively, Busolt and others argue that 'Damon' and 'Damonides' are the same man. Other individuals are sometimes called by a name or its patronymic, for example Nikomachos and Nikomachides in *Lys.* 30 (see s. 22 and title).⁴ Busolt's idea may seem unlikely as the phenomenon is rare and Damon's father *was* named Damonides, even if a similar anecdote is told of 'Damon' by Aelius Theon (B 9a) and 'Damonides' by Plutarch (B 9b). Nonetheless, if either of these explanations is correct, the evidence that Damon's father was Perikles' adviser is eliminated. With it goes the main evidence for Damon's later chronology.

2) In ?Pl. i *Alc.* 118c (A 4), Alkibiades remarks that Perikles became wise by associating with many wise men, including Pythokleides and Anaxagoras. 'Even now, in spite of his age, he studies with Damon for this very purpose.' i *Alc.* 118c links Damon with Perikles at the time of its dramatic date, 432

³ Thus (see n. 2) Schwarze (suggesting that *Ath. Pol.* wrongly associated the ostracism with Damon's father because Damon was known only as a philosopher and hence not ostracizable) and Ehrenberg. Meister, 'Damon' 37, judged the argument improbable. Despite Sandys's approval in his *Ath. Pol.* comm. (London, 1912) 116, Carcopino (*L'ostracisme* 140 n. 2) rightly rejected (as an unlikely coincidence of names and demes) T. Gomperz's suggestion (*Deutsche Rundschau* [May, 1891] 232) that Plutarch has confused two distinct persons: Damon of Oa, the musician and son of Damonides, with *Ath. Pol.*'s politician Damonides of Oê.

⁴ Busolt, *Gr. Gsch.* 3.1.247 n. 3; see also Carcopino, 'Ostracisé?' 424; and De Sanctis, *Atthis* 478. For many examples of this phenomenon, see O. Crusius, 'Die Anwendung von Vollnamen und Kurznamen bei derselben Person und Verwandtes', *Neu. Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Paed.* 140 (1891) esp. 390–3 (our phenomenon is 'verwandtes').

or 431.⁵ Chronological details in Platonic dialogues can be inconsistent,⁶ and i *Alc.* contains two minor anachronisms: 113b refers to a line in Euripides' *Hippolytos* of 428, and 124a refers to Agis as the Spartan king, a position he inherited not before 427. These minor anachronisms (not uncommon in Plato) warn against building too much on a dialogue's dramatic dates. However, such inconsequential details differ from a direct statement that Damon associated with Perikles in Perikles' old age. The context suggests no reason why the dialogue would falsify this statement, which in my view also correctly implies that Anaxagoras taught Perikles before the 430s. This text indicates that Damon taught Perikles in the late 430s. Some (e.g. Schwarze, *Beurteilung* 161–2; Stadter, *Pericles* 69) have inferred from i *Alc.* 118c that Damon was Perikles' friend and adviser only in the 430s. This passage need not limit their relationship to that period. Therefore, it need not exclude the early chronology, or support the later one.

3) In Plut. *Nic.* 6 (A 24), Nikias recites a list of men who had been humbled by the demos: Perikles was fined, Damon was ostracized, Antiphon was discredited, and Paches was driven to suicide. The first of these events occurred in 430, the third in 411, the fourth in 428. Because of this series, and inferring from *Ath. Pol.* 27 (Damon proposed most of Perikles' measures 'and for this reason they later ostracized him') that Damon's ostracism 'clearly can be placed only after Perikles' death' in 429, Beloch (*Gr. Gsch.*² 2.1 313 and n. 1) dated the ostracism to spring 428. Although some have accepted this argument,⁷ neither *Ath. Pol.* 27 nor Plut. *Nic.* 6 need support it, and section 8 below presents evidence that Damon was active in Athens in the 420s. *Ath. Pol.* 27 need not mean that Damon suggested most of Perikles' measures during Perikles' entire career; 'later', *husteron*, dates Damon's ostracism some years after he recommended dikastic pay. As for Plut. *Nic.* 6, Antiphon's discrediting 18 years after Paches and two years after Nikias' own death (!) shows that Plutarch has not limited his references to a narrow period around Perikles' last years. He had written about Damon's ostracism in the earlier *Pericles*, and remembered it here. He also might have

⁵ 123d: Alkibiades is 'not quite twenty yet' (trans. Denyer), and Alkibiades was born in 451/0 or 450/49 (Davies, *APF* 18). Denyer's 'about 433' (*Alcibiades* 189) is early; 431 is possible, if tight.

⁶ Athenaios 217d–18e discusses the demonstration by the Hellenistic critic Herodikos of Babylon that 'Plato makes many mistakes in chronology'. For chronological problems in the dialogues, see E. R. Dodds, *Plato Gorgias* (Oxford, 1959) 17–18; C. Kahn, 'Plato's funeral oration. The motive of the *Menexenus*', *CP* 58 (1963) 227–8; R. Hackforth, *Plato's Phaedrus* (Cambridge, 1952) 8; J. Walsh, 'The Dramatic Dates of Plato's *Protagoras* and the Lessons of *arete*', *CQ* ns 34 (1984) 101–6.

⁷ Meister (n. 1 above) and M. Chambers, *Aristoteles Staat der Athener* (Berlin, 1990) 268; contra, Schwarze, *Beurteilung* 163.

mentioned Damon in a life of Nikias because Damon taught both Nikias and his son Nikeratos (A 2, 12–14).

Raubitschek and Meister date Damon's ostracism in the late 430s because Perikles' other friends were then being attacked. On the contrary, the failure of any source (Ar. *Ach.* 515–30; *Peace* 605–15; Diod. Sic. 12.38–40; Plut. *Per.* 29–32) to mention Damon in connection with those attacks argues that he was not then implicated.⁸

4) Many scholars have inferred from Philodemos that Damon wrote an 'Areopagitikos' (see ch. 4a). It is often assumed that such a work, like Isokrates', must have been favourable to that council. But because an adviser to Perikles in the 460s presumably opposed the Areopagos, Ehrenberg argued that father Damonides and son Damon differed on this issue.⁹ I argue in chapter 4b that Damon's address to Areopagites (something Isokrates never wrote) was a later fourth-century fantasy. In any case Philodemos does not show that Damon was well disposed to the Areopagos. His Damon only recommends that it learn music.

5) [Plato] *Axiochos*, a late Hellenistic text, is sometimes assigned a dramatic date of c.405, and represents Damon as flourishing (A 19). Raubitschek concluded that Damon lived to the end of the century and composed his 'Areopagitikos' when that council had regained its political importance. *Axiochos*' dramatic date, however, is calculated only from a reference to the 'recent' battle of Arginousai in 406 (368d). The speech contains various anachronisms, and the battle of Arginousai was a topos even in Plato (see, e.g. *Gorg.* 473e–474a). *Axiochos* himself was executed in 415. *Axiochos* is useless for determining Damon's dates.

Thus far, the main evidence for the later chronology remains *Ath. Pol.* 27, which on this view does not mention Damon but his father Damonides. However, *Ath. Pol.* 27 makes at least two and more probably three other errors about Damon, and 'Damonides' may be otherwise explained. This passage offers only dubious support for any chronological hypothesis.

As for the early chronology:

6) Plato reports that Damon was a student of Agathokles (*Lch.* 180c–d: A 2), active in the late sixth and early fifth centuries (A 2 comm.). Hellenistic reconstructions of teacher-student relationships are often doubtful (A 3 comm., A 2 comm.). Plato is more reliable. The context of his statement suggests no reason why it should misrepresent. Plato will have known Damon's approximate dates, not least as his nephew Charmides, son of his brother Glaukon, is said to have associated with Damon ([Pl.] *Ax.* 364a = A 19, possibly from Herakleides of Pontos) and Glaukon was a musician. His

⁸ The historicity of many of these attacks is uncertain: see Dover, 'Freedom' and my 'Private lives'.

⁹ Ehrenberg, *Sophocles and Pericles* 92–3, followed by Raubitschek, 'Damon' 83.

statement is evidence that Damon received his musical education in the early fifth century.¹⁰

7) According to the scholiast to ?Pl. i *Alc.* 118c (A 3), Damon studied with Lamprokles, who also belongs in the early fifth century (A 3 comm.). If the scholiast's tradition is at least possible, it supports the early not the later chronology.¹¹ Although *diadochai* are of dubious value, it is a different question whether the chronologies they are based on are also false. If this particular *diadochê* was constructed by Damonian *harmonikoi* in the later fourth century (see A 3 comm.), like Plato they might be expected to know that Damon was educated in the early fifth century, not after 450.

8) Probably in the 410s, Plato the comic poet called Damon 'the Cheiron who raised up Perikles' (A 9). This passage evoked Ehrenberg's lingering doubt about Raubitschek's later chronology (n. 2 above), as it implies that Damon was Perikles' teacher. Similarly, both Schachermeyr ('Damon' 195) and Meister ('Damon' 39) ask whether Plato would have called Damon a 'Cheiron' or used the verb 'raise up' (*ektrephein*) if Damon was much younger than Perikles. The possibility cannot be eliminated that Plato's lines were a joke, even if we can't see it. Another comic poet Eupolis called *Aspasia* Perikles' Cheiron (fr. 294 K-A), and *Aspasia* was younger than Perikles, although Eupolis did not use the verb 'raise up', *ektrephein*. Despite these uncertainties, this fifth-century comic text is consistent with the early chronology.

9) As I have argued (ch. 4a-b), possibly a speech to Areopagites on the value of music education was attributed to Damon, probably in the late fourth century, possibly by Herakleides of Pontos. Later fourth-century scholars including the author of *Ath. Pol.* knew that after Ephialtes' reforms in 462/1, the Areopagos lost its broader social jurisdiction. Many scholars who accept Damon's 'Areopagitikos' date that speech shortly before 462/1. Just so, the author of this fiction presumably thought that Damon would have addressed the Areopagites before 462/1.

10) ?Pl. i *Alc.* 118c (A 4) implies that Damon was in Athens with the elderly Perikles in the late 430s (see section 2 above). In the following decade, Damon is prominent in Plato's *Laches*, as the teacher of Nikias (A 12-14) and Nikeratos (A 2), as a 'good companion' of Sokrates (A 12, cf. A 2) and 'frequent associate of Prodikos' (A 12). *Laches'* dramatic date is sometime between 424 and 418, and within this period closer to 424.¹² It includes no

¹⁰ Wilamowitz ('*ΔΑΜΩΝ*' 319 n. 1) thought *Lch.* 180 proved that Damon could not have lived as late as the 420s.

¹¹ From Pl. *Lch.* 197d (A 12), Davies, *APF* 383 wrongly infers that Damon studied with Prodikos (c.475-399: *RE* 23 [1957] 81), implying a late date for Damon although Davies favours the early chronology.

¹² A. E. Taylor, *Plato: the Man and His Work*² (New York, 1927) 58, argues for a date c.423. F. Cornford, *The Republic of Plato* (Oxford, 1941) xx, remarks, 'When

anachronisms. None of these passages suggest that Damon was just back from a lengthy ostracism. *Laches* implies that Damon was well established in Athens in the later 420s. Aristophanes may allude to Damon's teachings in *Clouds* (D 1), produced in 423 and revised before 417.

As Damon was in Athens in the later 430s and 420s, his ten-year ostracism cannot have commenced between the later 440s and the later 420s. As I have noted, he is not mentioned in accounts of the troubles of Perikles' friends in the later 430s. We shall see reason to believe that he was alive in 415. These points indicate that Damon's ostracism began before or during the later 440s, supporting the early chronology. Since *Ath. Pol.* specifies that Damon[ides] was Perikles' counsellor especially during the struggle against Kimon and was 'later' ostracized, Carcopino (*L'ostracisme* 130) and others have suggested that these two episodes should not be too close in time. In any case, *Ath. Pol.* 27 resists an immediate connection between the introduction of dikastic pay and Damon's ostracism.

11) Four ostraka bear Damon's name, two of them published (A 22 a and b). The *krater* of which (a) is a fragment is mid-fifth century, 'around' or 'not earlier than' 450 (A 22 comm.). This ostrakon need not come from the occasion when Damon was ostracized. However, ostraka were not cast against men while ostracized, and as we have seen, Damon was ostracized before or during the later 440s, probably in an anti-Periklean campaign. Two of these sherds have been thought to be inscribed by the same hand, possibly suggesting a coordinated campaign. Could some Athenians have mounted a second coordinated effort to ostracize Damon in the later 430s right after he returned to Athens, or after Perikles' death? For these reasons, both potsherds must have been inscribed between c.450 and the later 440s. These dates constitute the chronological boundaries of Damon's ostracism, incidentally supplying a decent interval after Kimon's ostracism.

In chapter 3a I argued that Damon's ostracism followed that of Thoukydides son of Melesias. On the consensus view, Thoukydides was ostracized in 443 at the start of Perikles' fifteen-year period of supremacy (Plut. *Per.* 16.2), which ended with his death in 429.¹³ A *terminus post quem* for Thoukydides'

Plato wishes to make us feel as if we were living again at some fifth-century time and place, he does so; notably in the *Laches*, the *Protagoras* or the *Symposium*.

¹³ To support his conclusion that Thoukydides was a general in 440/39 and possibly ostracized in 437 or 436, P. Krentz ('The Ostracism of Thoukydides, Son of Melesias', *Historia* 33 [1984] 499–504), relies on a scholion to Aristides and on a *Life* of Sophokles alleging that Sophokles, Thoukydides, and Perikles were generals together. However, the scholiast surely had no evidence to identify the general of 440, and other Thoukydides are attested in this period (see D. J. Phillips, 'Men Named Thoukydides and the General of 440/39 B.C. [Thuc. 1.117.2]', *Historia* 40 [1991] 385–95). Sophokles is known to have been general in 441. Krentz must infer that he served twice.

ostracism is supplied by his opposition to the building programme which started in 447, and possibly by the anonymous *Life* of the historian Thucydides 6–7, indicating that the politician Thoukydides prosecuted Xenokritos, one of the leaders of the expedition to Thourioi in 444 (Diod. 12.10), ‘and afterwards was ostracized for ten years’.¹⁴

If Damon was out of Athens for ten years from the later 440s, ?Pl. i *Alc.* could well remark that c.432 (its dramatic date) Perikles ‘now’ associates with him. In Euripides’ *Medea* of 431, the nurse mentions ‘using songs and stringed instruments to banish the bitterness and pain of life’ and asks whether ‘music could cure sorrow’ (190–203). Damon’s return to Athens may have inspired Euripides’ reference to the *êthos* theory (see ch. 2a).

12) According to Andok. *De myst.* 1.16 (A 20) of 400 BC, in 415 ‘the wife of Alkmeonides, who had also been Damon’s wife, a woman named Agariste’ denounced several men for parodying the Mysteries. Some scholars (e.g. Meister) have supposed that by 415 Damon was dead. I have argued (‘Char-mides’) that in 415 Damon was still Agariste’s husband and was the source of the information she used against his friends: therefore Andokides mentioned her. Andokides’ public mention of Agariste by name suggests that by 400 she was dead.

13) The dramatic date of Plato’s *Republic* is sometime 420–412.¹⁵ Sokrates and Glaukon wish to consult Damon on metre. Would this not be odd, if not categorically unparalleled, if Damon was dead?

14) According to *Ath. Pol.* 27 (as corrected), Damon suggested the introduction of dikastic pay. When was the date of that reform? The presentation of events in *Ath. Pol.* 27 is a jumble. It includes dikastic pay in an overview of Perikles’ career that is not chronological but ‘rambling and anecdotal’ (Rhodes, *Comm.* 335).¹⁶ Combining Theopompos and *Ath. Pol.*,¹⁷ Plutarch

¹⁴ See E. Carawan, ‘The Trials of Thucydides “The Demagogue” in the Anonymous *Life* of Thucydides the Historian’, *Historia* 45 (1996) 405–22. On Thoukydides’ opposition to the building programme, see W. Ameling, ‘Plutarch, Perikles 12–14’, *Historia* 34 (1985) 47–63 (cf. A. Andrewes, ‘The Opposition to Perikles’, *JHS* 98 [1978] 1–8).

¹⁵ A. E. Taylor, *A Commentary on Plato’s Timaeus* (Oxford, 1928) 13–17 argued that *Republic* has a dramatic date of 421. Although consistent with several points in the dialogue (esp. its reference to Lysias), 421 is inappropriate especially for Sokrates’ interlocutor Glaukon, born ‘in or before 428’ and younger than Adeimantos, born 435–430 (Davies, *APF* s.vv.). K. J. Dover, *Lysias and the Corpus Lysiacum* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968) 31–2, 39, 42–3, argues for 420–415, and R. Waterfield, *Plato’s Republic* (New York, 1993) 380, argues for c.420, although the Megarian battle in 368a is probably that of 409.

¹⁶ With a few strokes of his pen E. Badian (*From Plataea to Potidaea* [Baltimore, 1993] 69–70) demolishes the contrary discussion in C. Fornara and L. Samons, *Athens from Cleisthenes to Pericles* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1991) 67–75.

¹⁷ See H. T. Wade-Gery, ‘Two Notes on Theopompos’, *Essays in Greek History* (Blackwell, 1958) 237: cf., e.g. *Cim.* 10.1–3, on Kimon’s generosity; see also Stadter, *Pericles* 114–15 with reff.

(*Per.* 9.2–3) dates dikastic pay before the Areopagos reforms of 462/1: ‘In the beginning’, to counter Kimon, Perikles ingratiated himself with the demos by distributing to them their own money, following Damon’s advice as *Ath. Pol.* says. ‘Soon, with *theorika*, dikastic pay, and other *chorègiai misthophorai*’ he bribed the masses and used them against the Areopagos. Then Kimon was ostracized.

Both *Ath. Pol.* and Plutarch describe dikastic pay as a reaction to Kimon’s deme politics. Kimon was ostracized in early 461; he probably did not return until 451;¹⁸ shortly afterwards he left for Cyprus and died. As Badian writes (see n. 16), ‘unless we want to confine the rivalry to a few months in late 451 and early 450 (which [*Ath. Pol.*’s] language and treatment surely make highly unlikely), there is no place for it except in the early 460s.’ Rhodes points out, ‘the way in which payment for dikast service is emphasized in the sources suggests that this was the first instance of payment for the performance of a citizen’s civic (as opposed to military) duties’ (*Comm.* 338). I have noted other manifestations of democratic ideology in Athens in the 460s (ch. 3 n. 5).

Some historians date dikastic pay after Ephialtes’ death because it is linked with Perikles, Ephialtes’ successor. Some cannot exclude the possibility that dikastic pay was introduced immediately after Kimon’s ostracism, while his memory was still fresh.¹⁹ Perikles could have introduced dikastic pay as a reaction to Kimon’s style of politics when he was no longer around to oppose it.

Accordingly, dikastic pay was instituted most likely in the later 460s, possibly in the early 450s, when according to *Ath. Pol.* 27 (as corrected) Damon and Perikles were friends and collaborators. *Ath. Pol.*’s attribution of dikastic pay not to Perikles but to Damon may have been coloured by contemporary political slander (A 8 comm.). This report implies that Damon and Perikles had been friends for some time.

Against *Ath. Pol.*’s single, error-prone mention of ‘Damonides’ not Damon, the evidence that Damon was born in the early fifth century must be preferred. Of the same generation as Perikles, the two men were associated probably by the 470s and certainly by the 460s or early 450s. Sometime between 445 and 441—most probably in 442—Damon was ostracized. He returned to Athens ten years later, and was active as a teacher, theorist, and wise counselor at least through the 420s. He was probably alive and still married to Agariste in 415.

¹⁸ R. Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire* (Oxford, 1972) 111, 422–3 with Rhodes, *Comm.* 339.

¹⁹ C. Hignett, *A History of the Athenian Constitution to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1952) 343; Rhodes, *Comm.* 338–40; Scheidel and Taeuber, ‘Aristoteles’ 461.

APPENDIX 3

The *êthos* theory and Pythagoreanism

Beginning in the later fifth century, the musical interests of the earliest Pythagorean writers were directed to 'the analysis of the primary intervals of the musical scale in terms of mathematical ratios',¹ based on the proportional theory of vibrating strings. Such analyses put Pythagoreans directly in contact with Number, providing a key to the mathematical principles that inform the universe.² In the early Pythagorean writers the *êthos* theory does not appear.

Philolaus of Croton, who was born sometime between 480 and 440 and died sometime from 399 to the 380s (Huffman, *Philolaus* 1–6), is thought to have produced the first written account of Pythagoreanism and was a source for Plato. Although the authenticity of many fragments is doubted, two accepted fragments (DK 44: A 26, B 6)³ deal with music strictly in mathematical and mechanical terms.⁴ Philolaus is concerned with number and the divisions of the octave. For him the world consists of 'a pair of basic opposites, informed by harmony and defined by number' (Burkert, *Lore* 267). His astronomy is 'a mélange of myth and *φυσιολογία*' (*Lore* 350) partly based on Empedokles, who posited two cosmic forces, love and strife, that act upon the four elements of the universe and are harmonized by Aphrodite. Similarly, in Herakleitos the lyre and the bow exemplify opposing forces that together produce cosmic harmony. Everything is number, mathematics, and cosmology.⁵

¹ Barker, 'ἁρμονικοί' 3; see also, e.g. B. L. van der Waerden, 'Die Harmonielehre der Pythagoreer', *Hermes* 78 (1943) 179, 192. As Ptolemy later said, the Pythagoreans expressed music intervals in numerical ratios rather than tones (*Harm.* 1.5, 9).

² For Pythagorean musical writings, see Barker, *GMW* ii 30–9. R. Crocker, 'Pythagorean Mathematics and Music', *Journ. of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 22 (1963–64) 189–98, 325–35, is an accessible and responsible presentation of Pythagorean musical mathematics; on Pythagorean harmonics, see Barker, *Harmonics* chs. 10 (Philolaus) and 11 (Archytas). On Pythagoreans, number, and experimentation, see Assunta Izzo, 'Musica e numero da Ippaso ad Archita', in *Forme di sapere nei Presocratici*, ed. A. Capizzi and G. Casertano (Pisa, 1987) 137–67.

³ J. A. Philip, *Pythagoras and Early Pythagoreanism* = *Phoenix* Suppl. 7 (1966) 31–3; Burkert, *Lore* 267, 399; Huffman, *Philolaus* ch. 2 'Authenticity'.

⁴ No evidence supports the standard view that Philolaus obtained his ratios by experimenting on the monochord, which Creece dates to the later fourth century: *Monochord* 90–3 and 104–17 on Philolaus.

⁵ In the fifth century AD, Claudius Mamertinus (*De statu animae* 2.3) refers to 'many books' that Philolaus wrote, including 'a third book *περὶ ῥυθμῶν καὶ μέτρων*

A Pythagorean of the first half of the fourth century, Archytas was a mathematician, governor of Tarentum, and close friend of Plato (Pl. *Ep.* 7.338c, 350a). He is attributed a book significantly titled *Harmonics* or *De mathematica*.⁶ According to Ptolemy (*Harm.* 30.9–10), Archytas was ‘of all the Pythagoreans the most dedicated to the study of music’. His musical fragments pertain only to mathematics, acoustics, and acoustic theory (Huffman, *Archytas* 129–48).

Plato credits the Pythagoreans with a mathematical theory of music, noting with approval their view that harmonics and celestial mechanics are sister sciences (*Rep.* 530d). In *Phaedo* 86b, Sokrates attributes to Simmias the Theban, a disciple of Philolaus, the view that the soul is a *harmonia*, a view that Sokrates rejects.

Finally, Aristotle links the Pythagoreans only with musical mathematics. As ‘mathematical principles were the principles of all things’, as ‘of these principles numbers are by nature the first’, and as ‘they saw that the modifications and the ratios of the musical scales were expressible in numbers’, therefore ‘they supposed the elements of numbers to be the elements of all things, and the whole heaven to be a musical scale and a number’ (*Met.* 985b23–986a3).

The question whether ideas of music *êthos* were associated with sixth- and fifth-century Pythagoreans has long been debated. A number of scholars have thought that the early Pythagoreans invented the *êthos* theory, which Damon—therefore a Pythagorean—merely developed and systematized.⁷ Damon’s supposed lack of originality is one reason why scholars have neglected him. Abert (*Lehre* 5–9; ‘Stellung’ 140) argued that Pythagoras’ early followers evolved into two groups, one pursuing the mathematical theory of music, the other the *êthos* theory. Chief among the latter was Damon, ‘responsible for a vital embodiment of the ethical-political view of music, as against the aesthetic view’. Ernst Howald traced to Pythagoreanism a psychological approach to music that was characteristic of Damon and Gorgias.⁸ As some mentions of Damon occur in later texts influenced

(= fr. 22). Burkert (*Lore* 247 n. 45, 242, and III.1) and Huffman (*Philolaus* 411–14) show that its contents are post-Platonic. Hermippos also stated that only one book of Philolaus was known.

⁶ See Huffman, *Archytas* 126 and van der Waerden (n. 1) 163–99; accepted as authentic by Burkert, *Lore* 385–6 and A. C. Bowen, ‘The Foundations of Early Pythagorean Harmonic Science: Archytas, Fragment 1’, *AncPhil* 2 (1982) 79–104.

⁷ L. Laloy remarked, ‘Un musicien philosophe ne pouvait être que pythagoricien’: *Aristoxène de Tarente, disciple d’Aristote et de la musique de l’antiquité* (Paris, 1904) 78.

⁸ ‘Eine vorplatonische Kunsttheorie’, *Hermes* 54 (1919) 187–207, esp. 198–207, developed by Rostagni, *SIFC* ns 2 (1922) 170 with n. 2, 200 = *Scritti minori* i pp. 135–7, 158–9.

by Pythagoreanism (in particular, Aristides Quintilianus), Adolf Busse ('Musikästhetik' 38) argued that Damon's 'Areopagitikos' systematized Pythagorean music theory and explained the influences of the various genera on the soul. While labeling Busse's article 'a fantasy', Anderson called Pythagorean 'Damon's theory of music producing motion in the soul' (*Ethos* 38, 278 n. 12: in fact Athenaios [C 1] attributes this idea only to Damon's followers). Ingemar Düring (*Gnomon* 27 [1955] 433) also described Damon as 'a talented sophist and musician, who put into a system and popularized the Pythagorean doctrine of the ethical effects of music on the soul'. Timpanaro Cardini included some testimonia for Damon ('mezzo pitagorico, mezzo sofista') in her 1958 collection of the testimonia and fragmenta of the Pythagoreans. John's 1962 essay, 'Das musikerzieherische Wirken Pythagoras' und Damons', considers Damon a Pythagorean, while betraying no consciousness of source problems. According to Comotti, Damon's 'doctrine is based on the fundamental principle of Pythagorean psychology, that there is an essential identity between the laws which regulate relations among sounds and the laws which regulate the behavior of the human soul' (*Music* 31). Podlecki (*Perikles* 21) puts Damon 'probably in the Pythagorean tradition'. Finally, in 'Les premiers pythagoriciens et la *catharsis* musicale', J. Figari attributes notions of *katharsis* and the *êthos* theory to Pythagoras, again ignoring source issues (e.g. he quotes scholia to *Iliad* as evidence for Pythagoras).⁹

Why have some scholars associated early Pythagoreans with the *êthos* theory? From the later fourth century BC, a number of sources link Pythagoreans with music *êthos*. In the earliest of these texts, 'the Pythagorean Kleinias, as [Aristotle's pupil] Chamaileon of Pontos records, whose life and character (*êthê*) were exemplary, would always take his lyre and play on it whenever it happened that he was exasperated to the point of anger' (Athen. 624a). Kleinias was a contemporary of Plato.¹⁰ According to Aristoxenos, also Aristotle's pupil, 'the Pythagoreans purified their bodies by medicine and their souls by music' (fr. 26 Wehrli). According to Strabo (1.2.3), the Pythagoreans claimed that music was 'restorative of the character' (*epanorthôtikos tôn êthôn*). By the time of Porphyry in his *Life of Pythagoras* (30), Pythagoras himself is said to have used music to calm the passions. As Iamblichos discusses in *On the Pythagorean Life*,

(110) [Pythagoras] held that music too made a great contribution to health, if properly used: he took this form of purification very seriously, calling it 'healing by music'. In the spring he engaged in singing like this: a lyre-player was seated in the centre, and those who were good at singing sat round him in a circle and

⁹ *Revue de philosophie ancienne* 18 (2000) 3–32.

¹⁰ See *RE* 11 (1921) 617 no. 6, and Aristox. fr. 131 Wehrli = Diog. L. 9.40.

sang, to his accompaniment, paeans, which they thought raised their spirits and established inner harmony and rhythm. They also, at other times, used music as a kind of medicine. (111) There were songs designed for afflictions of the soul, to counter depression and anguish of mind (some of Pythagoras' most helpful inventions); others to deal with anger and bursts of indignation and every disturbance of that kind of soul; and yet another kind of music devised to counter desires. They also used dancing. As a musical instrument, they used the lyre, because Pythagoras thought the *aulos* had an assertive tone, suited to large gatherings but not to cultivated people. They also used selected passages of Homer and Hesiod to improve the soul. (112) It is told of Pythagoras that once, with a solemn tune played on an *aulos*, he calmed the frenzy of a lad from Tauromenion who was roaring drunk and had gone at night to serenade his girlfriend by his rival's door. He was about to set it on fire, for the Phrygian *aulos* music had lit the spark and fanned it, but Pythagoras soon put a stop to that. (He was out early, engaged in astronomy.) He told the *aulos* player to change to a solemn tune, which promptly calmed the young man down, and Pythagoras sent him peacefully home—though a little earlier he had not only rejected Pythagoras' advice but would not endure it, telling him furiously to go to hell just for being there. . . . (114) The entire school of Pythagoras practised what was called 'arrangement' or 'composition' or 'treatment', converting states of soul to their opposite by the beneficial use of appropriate songs. When they went to bed they used particular songs and special tunes to clear their minds of the day's troubles. . . . When they got up they used different songs to get rid of sloth and torpor; sometimes they used tunes without words. They also healed some afflictions and diseases by, quite literally, singing over them: that, in all probability, is how the word 'incantation' came into general use. This, then, was Pythagoras' most beneficial method of correcting human character and lifestyle by music. (trans. G. Clark)

The Doric forms which Iamblichos uses to describe Pythagorean musical practices suggest that his source was the Tarentine Aristoxenos, who wrote on these issues. In the fifth century AD, Martianus Capella writes that the Pythagoreans could soften fierce moods by flutes and lyres, citing 'also Aristoxenus and Pythagoras' (9.923; Aristox. fr. 21 Wehrli).

These sources constitute the primary basis for attributing ideas of music *êthos* to the early Pythagoreans. It is evident that all of them postdate Plato. The earliest evidence that Pythagoreans accepted music *êthos* comes from the Peripatetics Aristoxenos and Chamaileon at the end of the fourth century. It is unclear how far we can trust Chamaileon's statement about Kleinias. Momigliano called his imagination about earlier figures 'very fertile'.¹¹ Chamaileon and Aristoxenos show that some Pythagoreans had adopted ideas of music *êthos* by the end of the fourth century. The evidence that pre-Platonic Pythagoreans espoused such ideas is late and unacceptable.

¹¹ A. Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography* (Cambridge, MA, 1971) 70.

It seems likely that Pythagoras was interested in the soul, at least in a cosmic sense, and in living an ordered life, although the role of music in producing that life remains unclear. Most important, while human psychology and affecting human behaviour were of limited or no interest to the early Pythagoreans, they were of paramount interest to intellectuals working in Athens during the second half of the fifth century (see ch. 2a). The *êthos* theory is quintessentially a 'sophist's' topic of that period. Plato, who in *Republic* 424 and elsewhere accepted that theory, attributes it to Damon, not to the Pythagoreans. Huffmann (*Philolaus* 27) remarks, 'the crucial feature which characterizes the Pythagorean pseudepigrapha is the use of mature Platonic and Aristotelian distinctions and language.' As Burkert observed (*Weisheit* vii: omitted from the Eng. edn), 'that which later came to be considered the philosophy of Pythagoras has its roots in the school of Plato.' In the aftermath of Plato, the Pythagoreans appropriated Damon's views on music *êthos*. Porphyry first attributes that idea to Pythagoras himself in the third century AD. Philip (n. 1: p. 3) noted that for Pythagoras, 'ancient sources provide us material ampler than for any other Greek thinker, but it is only as they become more distant in time from Pythagoras that the accounts grow more precise and more detailed; after a millennium they tell us the composition of the cakes that were his principal sustenance.'

The evidence adduced for Pythagorean influence on Damon himself consists first of three pseudo-biographical reports. The scholiastic tradition (A 3) records that Pythokleides 'a Pythagorean' was the teacher of the teacher of Damon's teacher. Burkert rightly calls this is a 'shaky foundation' for deriving 'the whole doctrine of the moral effect of music' from Pythagoreanism (*Lore* 291 n. 65, cf. 372 n. 12). Such pedagogic genealogies have little value (see A 3 comm.). Even if the scholiast's source meant to imply that Damon was a Pythagorean, this tradition could have been invented at a time when many music theorists (including the 'Damonian school') had been influenced by Pythagoreanism. As Philip points out, the scholiast was writing at a time 'when all possible candidates were being baptized Pythagoreans'.

Second, Iamblichos tells that Pythagoras improved the behaviour of a drunken young man by changing the music. This story is of the 'floating' biographical type; a similar tale was told of Damon himself. We cannot show that it does not derive from a period when the Pythagoreans had laid claim to *êthos* theory.

Third, a late and corrupt tradition (A 16) records that Plato studied with Damon's pupil 'Megillos', and one Megillos was a Pythagorean. However, the name 'Megillos' is corrupt, the tradition is false, and the Pythagorean Megillos lived in the Hellenistic age (see A 16 comm.).

As Greek names sometimes carried implications (cf. Kimon's son 'Lakedaimonios'), so 'Damon' has a Pythagorean flavor. Pythagoras' son was called Damon (schol. *Pl. Rep.* 600b: p. 273 Greene); one of his daughters was called Damo (Diog. L. 8.42; Iamb. *Vit. Pyth.* 146, although the source could be a third-century forgery); and Damon the friend of Phintias was a Pythagorean philosopher from Syracuse. However, our Damon was not given a Pythagorean name. His father's name Damonides presupposes an earlier family name Damon, but as our Damon was born c.500, his grandfather was born not before 550, approximately the same time as Pythagoras.

Finally, Deiters and later Schäfke argued that because Aristides Quintilianus (2.14 = B 5) refers to Damon; because the word *πρέπειν* occurs very early in Aristides' work and Plato used this word in connection with Damon (*Rep.* 400 = B 1); and because a connection between music and natural phenomena was a Pythagorean idea, therefore the Pythagorean elements of Aristides derive from Damon. According to Athenaios (628c = C 1), 'with good reason do those around Damon the Athenian say that songs and dances must arise when the soul is in some way moved.' This passage adds two important points. Not only does music shape the soul, but the soul, when moved, causes music to be produced. Dance works similarly.

However, regardless of the extent to which these concepts may be Pythagorean, we have no basis for attributing them to Damon. Therefore, there is no good evidence that Damon was a Pythagorean or was interested in the number theory of music.

Other scholars also have questioned the connection of early Pythagoreanism with the *êthos* theory. Zeller based his reconstruction of early Pythagoreanism on Aristotle, who does not associate that theory with the Pythagoreans.¹² Wilamowitz pointed out that Damon is not linked with the concept of the music of the spheres, which Aristotle calls Pythagorean (*De caelo* 290b), and that Damon does not appear in Iamblichos' list of Pythagoreans (*Vit. Pyth.* 267). No ancient source calls Damon a Pythagorean. Frank, in *Plato und die sogenannten Pythagoreer*, thought that all Pythagorean natural science, in music, mathematics, and astronomy, was developed in the circle of Archytas c.400, under the influence of Demokritos' atomism.¹³ As Schmid (*Literatur* 735) noted, there is no sign that any Attic music theorist was concerned with number rather than ethics and politics. In Lore's lengthy section 'Pythagorean Musical Theory', Burkert gives the *êthos*

¹² E. Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*⁷, ed. W. Nestle (Leipzig, 1923) i 364.

¹³ Cf. G. de Santillana and W. Pitts' scathing attack against Frank on the Pythagoreans: 'Philolaus in Limbo, Or What Happened to the Pythagoreans?', *Isis* 42 (1951) 112–20.

theory only one footnote (291 n. 65). Segal also expressed doubt in a footnote ('Gorgias' 141 n. 40), as did Carnes Lord ('Damon' 35 n. 10). Citing Burkert, L. E. Rossi states that 'in his exclusive, coherent interest in musical *êthos*, Damon was the first.'¹⁴

¹⁴ A. Kárpáti, 'The Musical Fragments of Philolaus and the Pythagorean Tradition', *AA* 34 (1993) 55–67, partly summarizing his 1990 Budapest dissertation *The Pythagorean Tradition and the Beginnings of Greek Music Theory* (in Hung.: *non vidi*), nowhere connects the Pythagoreans with the *êthos* theory (see esp. p. 67).

APPENDIX 4

Four questions

(a) Did Damon teach schoolboys?

Between the ages of 12 and 15 Athenian schoolboys were taught music and gymnastics by a *kitharistês* and a *paidotribês*.¹ In Aristophanes *Clouds* 961–83, a classic parody, ‘Just Argument’ proclaims that in the good old days of Marathon the *kitharistês* taught ‘the boys of the quarter’ to sing Athens’ great old songs to ‘the *harmoniai* handed down by their fathers’. Plato’s Protagoras describes the wealthier classes’ traditional education in similar terms (*Prt.* 325c–326c). The principal goal was to improve boys’ character and physique, producing not intellectuals but ‘cultured and fit’ young gentlemen. Music played a central role in this process. ‘Not knowing how to play the *kithara*’ (*Ar. Wasps* 959, 989) epitomized a lack of culture and good character. At least until the mid-fifth century and probably afterwards (ch. 2g), boys also learned the *aulos*. Music education of *paides* remained *de rigueur* into the fourth century (ch. 4b).

Did Damon teach boys music in school? In the Roman period Aelius Theon called him *paidotribês*, ‘gymnastics teacher’, but the anecdote is corrupt (B 9 comm.). In Philodemos (B 12) Damon gives an opinion on the musical education of children. This conceit appears to derive from a later fourth-century philosophical dialogue, when children’s education and music education were standard topics of serious discussion (ch. 4b). In Aristides Quintilianus (B 5) ‘Damon’s followers’, not Damon himself, have opinions on the music education of children. Plato’s Protagoras applies the *êthos* theory to schoolchildren, his *kitharistês* ‘forces the boys’ souls to become familiar with rhythms and *harmoniai*, that they be more gentle and, becoming more rhythmic and more harmonized, useful in whatever they say or do’ (*Prt.* 326b). The theory is Damon’s, although we know nothing of his ethical

¹ *Ar. Clouds* 961, see also Xen. *Lac. Pol.* 2.1; and Pl. *Rep.* 376e; *Crit.* 50d. See Marrou, *Education* 36–45, esp. 41–2; Dover, *Clouds* lviii–lxiv; G. Nagy, *Pindar’s Homer* (Baltimore, 1990) 404–10; A. D. Booth, ‘Douris’ Cup and the Stages of Schooling in Classical Athens’, *EMC* 4 (1985) 274–80; and for further evidence from vases, F. A. G. Beck, *Greek Education 450–350 B.C.* (London, 1964), and L. Beschi, ‘La paideia musicale nella Grecia classica’, in *ERKOS. Studi in onore di Franco Sartori* (Padua, 2003) 1–12.

stance. No decent evidence links Damon with school teaching, rather than individual (or small group) instruction of older teenagers and their elders.

It is therefore unclear how far 'the kitharist' Konnos son of Metrobios paralleled Damon, although [Aeschines Socraticus] pairs them (B 17). Konnos' only student attested by name is Sokrates, who attended classes as an old man to learn the *kithara* (Pl. *Euthyd.* 272c, 295d; *Mnx.* 235e; cf. Ameipsias *Konnos* fr. 9 K–A). Plato says the boys laughed at Sokrates and called Konnos *gerontodidaskalos*, 'old-gaffer teacher'.² It seems more likely that Plato joked about Sokrates' music lessons, than invented them. Sokrates nowhere says that he studied music with Damon, although Plato's dialogues indicate that they knew each other well. Like Damon, however, Konnos was a figure in Athens' intellectual avant-garde, to judge from two Old Comedies named after him, by Phrynichos (fr. 6–8, T 1 K–A) and Ameipsias (fr. 7–11 K–A) in 423 (the same year as *Clouds*), with a chorus of *phrontistai*, 'intellectuals' (Athen. 218c) including Konnos.³ In a comic dialogue (*Mnx.* 235e–236a) Plato's Sokrates pairs Konnos with Aspasia, whom he jokingly calls his rhetoric teacher.⁴

(b) Music experiments at *symposia*?

In three separate publications (see bibliog.), L. E. Rossi argued that Damon conducted musical experiments at *symposia*. Rossi points out that in Euripides *Medea* 190–203 (quoted in ch. 2a), Medea's nurse discusses the *êthos* theory in a sympotic context. He contends that *symposia* were the prime (or even only: 'Musica' 62 n. 14) locus for music experimentation which he says was forbidden at Athens' major festivals or dramatic contests. He notes that Damon reportedly invented the transgressive 'relaxed Lydian' *harmonia* ([Plut.] *De mus.* 1136e = B 6). The admittedly fictional anecdotes about Damon in Galen (B 7) and Martianus Capella (B 8) are, he suggests, set in *symposion* contexts and 'perfectly acceptable' as 'general expressions of a cultural system'. Finally, Rossi accepts Lasserre's notion that Damon told Herodotos' story of Hippokleides at Sikyon (see E 1). Rossi describes Hippokleides' dancing as an experimental 'gradation of unseemliness' at a *symposion*, on an 'ethical-musical scale' based on perception and *peira*, 'experiment'.

² In *Euthyd.* 295, Sokrates notes that Konnos always lost patience with him when he did not follow instructions, and thought him a bad student.

³ See R. P. Winnington-Ingram, 'Kónnos, Konnâs, Cheride e la professione di musico', in Gentili and Pretagostini, *Musica* 246–63.

⁴ In Plato, Alan Sommerstein has argued, Konnos represents an expert at one thing who has no understanding of life: 'Konnos' Figleaf?', *CQ* ns 33 (1983) 488–9.

Rossi is right to think that Damon was not concerned with abstract rationalism but human experience. His learned arguments are brilliantly constructed from suggestive passages. Still, the conclusion that Damon experimented with music in *symposia* remains tenuous. Medea's nurse makes the point that music therapy was *not* needed at *symposia*, which are joyful occasions. Music experimentation was pervasive not only in *symposia* but also in public performances, as the many complaints over New Music show. The late and wandering anecdotes about Damon mention drunken youths but not explicitly *symposia*. Finally, the story of Hippokleides is probably not Damonian (see E 1 comm.). We cannot rule out that Damon experimented with music at *symposia*. However, a central feature of his work lay in applying music to the polis, not to a handful of drunken aristocrats. According to Aristophanes, New Music and music instruction replaced outdated singing and lyre playing at the *symposion* (*Clouds* 1355–8).

(c) *prepeia*, *homoiotês*?

Several scholars have attributed to Damon the concepts of *to prepon*, 'appropriateness', and *homoiotês*, 'similarity'. In 'Importance' 95 n. 23 Anderson writes, 'Damon defined music as the *technê* of "what is becoming [*preponontos*] in words and gestures".⁵ Did Damon develop a concept of *prepeia* or use that word? In *Pl. Rep.* 400, Sokrates wants to ask Damon which rhythms or *baseis* are 'appropriate to' (*prepein*) several psychological states or types of behaviour. Aristotle also uses the term in a context of musical *êthos*: the Lydian *harmonia* '*prepei* the age of boyhood because it can produce order and education' (*Pol.* 1342b30–32). *To prepon* in music happens to be the last word of our possibly incomplete text of *Politics*. Philodemos' report of Herakleides (*De mus.* IV 23) also uses the verb *prepein* and shortly afterward mentions Damon (see ch. 4 at n. 35). Much later, Aristides Quintilianus (p. 6 M. = 4 line 21 W.-I.) offers several definitions of music, including *τέχνη πρέποντος ἐν φωναῖς καὶ κινήσει*: 'the art of the appropriate in voices and movement'.

Is *prepein* Damonian? Plato frequently uses that term in connection with music, at least on one occasion where he goes beyond Damon. In *Rep.* 399a Sokrates says, 'I don't know the *harmoniai*, but leave us that *harmonia* that would fittingly imitate (*πρεπόντως ἄν μιμήσαιο*) the utterances and the

⁵ See also W. Jaeger, *Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture* II, trans. G. Highet (Blackwell, 1957) 404 n. 110 ('Plato has Sokrates appeal to Damon as the great authority on the theory of appropriateness [*πρεπόν*']'); Deiters, *Aristidis* 6–7; Neubecker, *Bewertung* 92; Anderson, 'Damon' 173; and (more generally) M. Pohlenz, 'τὸ πρεπόν. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des griechischen Geistes', *Nach. Ges. Wiss. Göttingen Phil.-hist. Kl.* 16 (1933) 53–92 (= *Kl. Schr.* I [Hildesheim, 1965] 100–39: our passage is on p. 55 = 102).

accents of a brave man who is engaged in warfare.’ I have argued (ch. 2a) that this discussion of the *harmoniai* is Plato’s, not Damon’s. Plato often uses *prepein* in non-musical contexts (e.g. *Smp.* 196e; *Polit.* 288a). Furthermore, long before Damon a similar usage is attested. Pratinas wrote, *πρέπει τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀοιδολαβράκταις Αἰολὺς ἁρμονία*: ‘the Aeolian *harmonia* is the song appropriate to all bold talkers’ (PMG 5[b]).

It must be uncertain whether Damon used *prepein* as a technical term or developed a ‘concept of *prepeia*’. Even if later sources such as Philodemus associated Damon with *prepein*, their inspiration may have been our passage in Plato’s *Republic*. Barker notes (GMW ii 402 n. 13), ‘the term *prepon*, “appropriate”, is common in aesthetic contexts from Plato onward.’

Neubecker (*Bewertung* 92) and Anderson (‘Damon’ 173; cf. ‘Importance’ 100: ‘Damon’s theory of similarity’), among others, also contend that *homoiotês*, ‘similarity’ or ‘likeness’, was a Damonian concept. Aristides Quintilianus (2.14 = B 5) says that ‘Damon’s followers’ thought that the *êthos* of music was instilled in its audience by the ‘similarity’ of its notes. This concept recurs in Diogenes of Babylon, a Stoic adherent of the *êthos* theory (see Barker, ‘Diogenes’ 361–4). The term *homoiotês* also has a history. For Plato, *homoiotês* was related to *mimêsis*. When Homer ‘imitates’ Chryses, he ‘assimilates’ (*homoïoun*) his diction as far as possible to Chryses’ (*Rep.* 393c, 395c–d, 396a). Aristotle associates *homoiotês* with the Pythagoreans, ‘who recognized in numbers many *homoïômata* with things that are and are coming to be’ (*Met.* 985b27–33, cf. 1092b13). In *Met.* 987b11–13 he calls that Pythagorean concept the *mimêsis* of numbers. In *Pol.* 1340a18–40, he writes that

rhythms and melodies contain *homoïômata* [likenesses], approximating their true natures, of anger and gentleness, and also of courage and self-control and all their opposites and the other dispositions [*êthê*], and this is clear from the facts: when we hear such things, we are changed in our souls. And habituation (*ethismos*) in feeling pain and delight at the *homoia* of reality is close to feeling them in actual reality. For example, if a person feels pleasure at the sight of a statue of someone for no other reason than because of its form, the actual sight of the person whose statue he is looking at must necessarily also give him pleasure. And it is the case that whereas the other objects of sensation contain no likenesses (*homoïômata*) of character (*êthê*), for example the objects of touch and taste . . . in songs themselves there are imitations (*mimêmata*) of character (*êthê*).

Aristotle goes on to describe how the different *harmoniai* affect people differently. ‘From this it is clear that music can produce a certain character (*êthos*) of the soul, and if it has the power to do this, it is clear that the young must be directed to music and must be educated in it’ (1340b11–13). This passage equates *mimêsis* and *homoïômata*. Again, however, this usage may have begun with Plato.

Empedokles' theory of perception by effluences and pores was based on the attraction and perception of 'like by like' (*gnôsis tou homoïou tôi homoiôï*). So for example, we cannot see or hear odours.⁶ As we have seen (ch. 2a), Gorgias accepted this theory, but despite an interesting suggestion argued by C. Segal, Damon may not have. Aristides' statement that 'Damon's followers' thought that the *êthos* of music was instilled by the 'similarity' of its notes could be Empedoklean. The concept is not attributed to Damon himself. For Plato, *homoiotês* is clearly linked with *mimêsis*, and *mimêsis* was not a Damonian concept.

⁶ See Wright, *Empedocles* 215–17, 233–4; A. A. Long, 'Thinking and Sense-Perception in Empedocles: Mysticism or Materialism?', *CQ* ns 16 (1966) 256–76 (on sound, see 265–6).

Conspectus of Testimonia

The following table lists this volume's letters and numbers for Damon's testimonia, and the corresponding letters and numbers (if any) in DK⁶, Wilamowitz, *Griechische Verskunst*, and Lasserre, *Plutarque De la musique*. The edition of Timpanaro Cardini *Pitagorici: Testimonianze e frammenti* is not independent.

Wallace		DK	Lasserre	Wilamowitz
A 1	Stephanus Byz., <i>Ethnica</i> , s.v. "Oα	A 1	—	—
A 2	Plato, <i>Laches</i> 180c-d	A 2	—	—
A 3	Schol. ?Plato, i <i>Alcibiad.</i> 118c 6	A 2	—	—
A 4	?Plato, i <i>Alcibiad.</i> 118c	A 5	—	—
A 5	Olympiodorus, <i>In Plat. Alcibiad. comment.</i> 135.17-6.8	—	—	—
A 6	Olympiodorus, <i>In Plat. Alcibiad. comment.</i> 138.12-15	—	—	—
A 7	Isokrates, <i>Antid.</i> 15.235	A 3	—	—
A 8	Aristotle's Lyceum, <i>Ath. Pol.</i> 27.4	A 6	—	—
A 9	Plutarch, <i>Vit. Pericl.</i> 4	A 4	—	—
A 10	Plutarch, <i>Vit. Pericl.</i> 9	A 6	—	—
A 11	Harpocration, <i>Lex.</i> s.v. <i>Δάμων</i>	—	—	—
A 12	Plato, <i>Laches</i> 197d	B 8	10	6
A 13	Plato, <i>Laches</i> 199e-200a	—	—	—
A 14	Plato, <i>Laches</i> 200b	—	—	—
A 15	Olympiodorus, <i>In Plat. Alcibiad. comment.</i> 2.43-44 (<i>Vita Platonis</i>)	—	—	—
A 16	Anon., <i>Proleg. Plat. Phil.</i> 2.28-30	—	—	—
A 17	Diogenes Laertius, <i>Vit. philos.</i> 2.19	A 7	—	—
A 18	<i>Souda</i> , s.v. <i>Σωκράτης</i>	—	—	—
A 19	[Plato], <i>Axiochos</i> 364a	—	—	—
A 20	Andocides, <i>De myst.</i> 1.16	—	—	—
A 21	Libanius, <i>Declam.</i> ii (<i>De Socratis silentio</i>) 25	—	—	—
A 22(a)	Ostrakon	—	—	—
A 22(b)	Ostrakon	—	—	—
A 22(c)	Ostrakon	—	—	—
A 22(d)	Ostrakon	—	—	—
A 23	Plutarch, <i>Vit. Arist.</i> 1.7	—	—	—
A 24	Plutarch, <i>Vit. Nic.</i> 6.1	—	—	—
A 25	Libanius, <i>Declam.</i> i (<i>Apologia Socratis</i>) 157	—	—	—
B 1	Plato, <i>Rep.</i> 399e-400b	B 9	16	9
B 1a	Proclus, <i>In Rempubl.</i> I p. 42.26-28	—	—	—
B 1b	Proclus, <i>In Rempubl.</i> I p. 54.3-7	—	—	—

(continued)

Continued

Wallace		DK	Lasserre	Wilamowitz
B 1c	Proclus, <i>In Rempubl.</i> I p. 56.7–11	—	—	—
B 1d	Proclus, <i>In Rempubl.</i> I p. 61.2–14	—	20	—
B 1e	Proclus, <i>In Rempubl.</i> I p. 62.9–17	—	—	—
B 2	Plato, <i>Rep.</i> 424c	B 10	14	7
B 3	Proclus, <i>In Rempubl.</i> I p. 61.19–24	—	8	—
B 4	Olympiodorus, <i>In Plat. Alcibiad. comment.</i> 138.4–11	—	—	—
B 5	Aristides Quintilianus, <i>De musica</i> 2.14	B 7	7	5
B 6	[Plutarch], <i>De musica</i> 1136e	B 5	9	4
B 7	Galen, <i>De placit. Hippocr. et Plat.</i> 5 ² 473	A 8	11	10
B 8	Martianus Capella, <i>De nupt. Philol. et Merc.</i> 9.926	A 8	11	10
B 8a	Remigius of Auxerre, <i>Comm. in Mart. Capell.</i> 492.15, 492.17	—	—	—
B 9a	Aelius Theon, <i>Progygn.</i> 5.2	—	—	—
B 9b	Plutarch, <i>Quomodo adul.</i> 18d	—	—	—
B 10	Philodemos, PHerc. 411 1X 70 F 9 = col. 22 Delattre	B 3	12	1
B 11	Philodemos, PHerc. 1572.11, X1 79 F 11 = col. 34 Delattre	—	—	—
B 12	Philodemos, PHerc. 225/21B & 1578/2 = cols. 100*–101* Delattre	—	—	2
B 13	Philodemos, PHerc. 1497 = cols. 147–8 Delattre	B 2	5	3
B 14	Cicero, <i>De orat.</i> 3.33.132	B 1	1	—
B 15	Nepos, <i>Epamin.</i> 15.2.1	—	1	—
B 16	Aelian, <i>De nat. animal.</i> 2.11	—	1	—
B 17	[Aeschines Socraticus], <i>Epist.</i> 14.2	—	—	—
B 18	Simplicius, <i>In Aristot. phys.</i> II 5	—	1	—
C 1	Athenaios, <i>Deipnosoph.</i> 628c	B 6	18	8
C 2	Porphyry, <i>Comment. in Ptol. harmon.</i>	—	—	—
D 1	Aristophanes, <i>Nub.</i> 636–51	—	17	—
D 2	Hibeh Papyrus I 13	—	—	—
D 3	Virgil, <i>Eclogue</i> 8	—	—	—
E 1	Herodotus 6.129	—	19	—
E 2	Plato, <i>Rep.</i> 398b–399e (<i>et alibi</i>)	—	8, 13	—

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