

μελιγάρυες ὕμνοι

Studi offerti dagli allievi di dottorato
a Liana Lomiento

a cura di
Sandy Cardinali, Giampaolo Galvani,
Roberto M. Danese





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I saggi qui raccolti hanno ricevuto una valutazione positiva da parte di esperti del settore, mediante un processo di doppia revisione anonima condotto sotto la supervisione dei curatori

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ATHENAEUS' MENANDER

Valentina Dardano¹

Abstract

Athenaeus' *Deipnosophists* salvaged a great number of passages from several ancient works that would otherwise be completely lost to the us. More often than not, he is our only source, prompting scholars to inquire about his trustworthiness as a citator of different ancient authors or genres. As a result of this effort, many studies are now available concerning prose and poetry citations in Athenaeus, including dramatic quotes from tragedy and Ancient Comedy. This paper aims to offer a similar analysis of Menander's quotes in the *Deipnosophists*, looking into what interested Athenaeus about Menander and his work, examining the formal aspects of the citations, and finally putting Athenaeus' trustworthiness to the test through the study of those few menandrian excerpts which are transmitted both by Athenaeus and (at least) a second source.

Key-words

Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists*, Menander, Fragments, Citator, Citation, Quote.

It goes without saying that the moderns owe a great deal to authors like Plutarch, Stobaeus, and Athenaeus, salvaging a great number of excerpts from several ancient works that would otherwise be completely lost. On the other hand, it is also evident that we won't be able to take full advantage of this priceless legacy unless we fully understand it. To do so, we need to collect as much information as possible about how these citators worked: how they selected the excerpts, what kind of sources they used, how they cut and recontextualized the original texts into their own works, and finally to what extent we can trust them to quote a text accurately. To this end, several studies have been dedicated to Athenaeus as a citator of different

1 A first, shorter draft of this paper was presented on 23rd June 2021 on the occasion of the Ph.D. Seminars of Urbino University Carlo Bo. To Professor Liana Lomiento and all the participants I want to express my gratitude for the useful remarks made about this work on that occasion and thereafter; finally, I wish to also thank the reviewers of this work's latest version, whose suggestions, I think, led to many improvements.

ancient authors or genres². Among the studies focusing on Athenaeus' citations of the playwrights, a lot has been said about tragic quotes in the *Deipnosophists*, slightly less about ancient comedy. In this paper, I would like to consider the case of Menander's quotes in Athenaeus' work.

What kind of data can we hopefully acquire from a systematic study of Menander's citations included in the *Deipnosophists*? In the first place, one might hope to learn something useful about Menander's transmission and fortune. That is to say: what did Athenaeus know and find interesting about Menander and his work? On which occasions did he quote Menander, and what role do his citations play in the *Deipnosophists*? Furthermore, an analysis of the formal aspects of Menander's quotations in Athenaeus – such as length, metrical form, verse integrity, and involvement of one or more speakers – might be useful to determine the original form of Athenaeus' or Menander's passage when the surviving text is troubled or has allegedly been tampered with. Finally, since Athenaeus is *testis unicus* for several of Menander's fragments, it is important to inquire about Athenaeus' trustworthiness as a source of Menander's text, considering those cases when the same Menander's fragment quoted by Athenaeus is also known by other direct or indirect sources, and trying to determinate where Athenaeus stands in comparison with them.

1. TRANSMISSION AND FORTUNE

The first issue I would like to address is that of Menander's reception and fortune in Athenaeus: what did he know and find interesting about Menander and his work? On which occasions does he quote him? What role do his citations play in the *Deipnosophists*?

Let's begin with Menander himself. In a recent essay, Douglas Olson (2020) studied the representation of the tragedians in the *Deipnosophists*. He observed that all the great tragedians draw Athenaeus' attention as individuals as well as authors, albeit in different ways. Sophocles and Euripides emerge from the *Deipnosophists* like people 'of this world'. They have a personal past, a body – and not just a physical body but also specifically a sexual body – they might argue and interact with others and their works

2 On prose quotes in Athenaeus see, among others, Brunt 1980, Ambaglio 1990, Pelling 2000, Sidwell 2000, Trapp 2000, Romeri 2004, Lenfant 2007, Maisonneuve 2007, Carrière 2007, Olson 2018; on poetry fragments in the *Deipnosophists* see Bowie 2020; on the dramatic fragments Apostolakis 2020, Collard 1969, Quaglia 2001, Marchiori 2003 and 2004, Cipolla 2005 and 2006, Olson 2015 and 2020.

are loved and quoted, but they can also be very controversial or even hated. Aeschylus, on the other hand, is almost exclusively a cultural figure, his work is eternal. He

is not funny or clever (indeed, he barely speaks); he is not quoted, used or argued with by others; and he has no youth, no physical form, no tastes or inclinations, and no truly personal adventures. Other than at Marathon, Athenaeus' Aeschylus exists only in the Theater, and he seems much closer to Homer, and to eternity, than to real life³.

As a corollary to these considerations, Olson (2020, 199) argues that comedy isn't any less interesting than tragedy for Athenaeus, whilst comedians themselves apparently are: «What we learn of Aristophanes as a person or a cultural and literary figure in Athenaeus is that he appeared in Plato's *Symposium* and that he supposedly wrote his plays drunk». And what do we learn about Menander? Likewise, very little. Athenaeus does call him *καλός* twice (Ath. 6, 248d and 8, 364d), but one might wonder whether he is referring to his art or his looks. At 6, 242b, he quotes a fragment of Lynceus of Samos' *Menander* (fr. 35 Dalby = T75 K.-A.), but it doesn't concern Menander. Another citation (Ath. 6, 245a) from Lynceus' work (*Apophthegmata*, fr. 27 Dalby) does refer to a Menander, but he isn't the playwright. The only actual references to Menander as a man are found in book 13, during the section devoted to famous *hetairai*. Here, Athenaeus refers twice to Menander's supposed relationship with the *hetaira* Glykera (Ath. 13, 585c and 594d = Men. T16 and 17 K.-A.). The first passage contains an anecdote playing on the double value of *γραῦς*, meaning both "old woman" and "scum of boiled milk": the anecdote is probably designed to point out Glykera's mature age at the time when she was Menander's woman⁴. According to the second passage, Menander came to regret his love for Glykera⁵. Olson's

3 Olson 2020, 196.

4 Μενάνδρῳ δὲ τῷ ποιητῇ δυσημερήσαντι εἰσελθόντι εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν Γλυκέρα προσενέγκασα γάλα παρεκάλει ρόφησαι. ὁ δ' οὐ θέλω, εἶπεν· ἦν γὰρ ἐφροστηκυῖα γραῦς αὐτῷ. ἡ δὲ ἀποφυσήσασα εἶπε· τῷ κάτω χρῶ. «The poet Menander having met with bad luck entered the house of Glycera, who brought him some boiled milk and urged him to drink it down. But he said 'I don't want it'. For there was scum on the top of it. She said 'Blow it off and use what's underneath'» (transl. Gulick 1950, 155-156).

5 ὅτι δὲ καὶ Μένανδρος ὁ ποιητὴς ἦρα Γλυκέρας κοινόν· ἐνεμεσήθη δέ. Φιλήμονος γὰρ ἑταίρας ἐρασθέντος καὶ χρηστὴν ταύτην ὀνομάσαντος διὰ τοῦ δράματος, ἀντέγραψεν Μένανδρος ὡς οὐδεμιᾶς οὖσης χρηστῆς. «That the poet Menander, also, was in love with Glycera is a matter of common knowledge. But he became angry at her; for when Philemon fell in love with a courtesan and called her in his play 'good', Menander in answer wrote that no woman is good» (transl. Gulick 1950, 205).

statement about comedians being less interesting than tragedians to Athenaeus seems therefore to be confirmed: as for Aristophanes, Athenaeus shows little to no interest in Menander as a cultural, political, and literary figure or for the playwright as a person. Nonetheless, he was certainly interested in his work: the *Deipnosophists* include a total of 81 Menandrian quotes, corresponding to 74 fragments⁶. Among them, 70 come from 46 different known comedies; the last four are *fragmenta incertae fabulae*. Whilst being cited much less than Aristophanes, Menander is therefore quoted roughly as much as Euripides and Sophocles and way more often than Aeschylus. Furthermore, Athenaeus quotes at least 42% of the entire Menandrian *corpus*, which, according to ancient sources, consisted of 108 plays in total. Each play is thus quoted on average 1, 8 times, the same number as Sophocles.

	<i>Corpus</i>	Number of Athenaeus' citations	<i>Corpus</i> ' percentage represented in Athenaeus ⁷	Average number of citations per play
Aeschylus	90 Plays	46 ⁸ drawn from 25 plays + 14 <i>fr. inc. fab.</i>	~ 28%	~ 2

6 The same passage of a play is sometimes quoted more than once in the *Deipnosophists*. Beside the 81 Menandrian quotes, there are three instances of Athenaeus offering information about Menander's work without a literal citation. This happens in Ath. 6, 247e, where it is mentioned that Menander talked about parasites in the comedies *Methe* and *Nomothetes* (fr. 228 and 254 K.-A.); in Ath. 15, 691c, on the topic of fragrances, it is stated that perfumes were very expensive in Athens, so much so that one *kotyle* went for no less than 10 *minae* according to Menander's *Misogynes* (fr. 243 K.-A.).

7 I intend to draw to the reader's attention the number of different plays cited by Athenaeus from each playwright's *corpus*; this percentage is thus to be read as a statement about variety rather than extension: one must of course keep in mind that the length of Athenaeus' citations is very variable.

8 The number of Menander's citations included in the *Deipnosophists* has been established according to the index of Canfora 2001. For the tragic fragments, I relied on the most useful tables provided by Cipolla (2006, 119 ff.): the numbers of my table, though, only account for literal citations, excluding testimonies on the authors or their works and literary echoes. Therefore, neither the testimonies regarding the *Cabeiroi* and the *Myrmidons*, respectively found at Ath. 10, 428f (T117a R.) and 13, 601a-b (this testimony is mentioned by Radt in the apparatus for fr. 135), nor the echo of the *Prometheus Bound* spotted by Cipolla at 4, 164b, have been included in the count of Aeschylus' quotes. I also excluded the case of Ath. 5, 215e (fr. **61a R.), where it is likely that the quoting doesn't directly concern Aeschylus' *Edonians*, but rather some kind of parody of it (Cipolla categorises this passage under «citazioni adattate al contesto»). Finally, fr. 313a R., quoted at Ath. 13, 573b, appears in Canfora's index as a fragment from Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, based on Meineke's supplement <'Αγαμέμνονα>: the scholar supplemented the title pointing out that the verb ἐκτείνειν is twice used in this tragedy to mean "to prolong a speech", the same meaning needed here by Athenaeus (καταλέξω δέ σοι, Κύνουлке, Ἰωνικήν τινα ῥῆσιν ἐκτείνας κατὰ τὸν Αἰσχύλου <'Αγαμέμνονα>). Nonetheless, we cannot state with confidence that Aeschylus didn't use the same expression elsewhere: therefore, I included the fragment among the *fragmenta incertae fabulae*, as did Cipolla.

Sophocles	113-23 plays	73 ⁹ drawn from 42 plays + 15 <i>fr. inc. fab.</i>	~ 36%	~ 1,8
Euripides	92 Plays	79 ¹⁰ drawn from 34 plays + 11 <i>fr. inc. fab.</i>	~ 37%	~ 2,3

9 According to the same criteria presented in the previous note, the number of Sophocles' quotes doesn't account for T28, 5 nor *fr.* 121, *361 and 448 R, which are more properly regarded as testimonies than fragments (see Cipolla 2006, 122 ff.). Furthermore, in line with Cipolla 2006, I treated Ath. 2, 66a and 2, 66b as part of one single quote from the *Trachiniae*. As a matter of fact, this is not one of those cases – which are anything but uncommon in the *Deipnosophists* – in which Athenaeus quotes the same passage on two unrelated occasions: 2, 66b is part of a summary of the arguments already made to that point, which leads the speaker to use the same aforementioned Sophoclean quote again.

10 It is worth noting that this total includes a significant number of parodies and secondary citations («esterne», to use Cipolla's words). Such citations are in all respects Euripides' passages: nonetheless, rather than being directly cited by Athenaeus, they are included in different author's quotes used by Athenaeus. The Euripidean quote is thus, so to speak, a 'side effect' of Athenaeus quoting someone else's work: this is of course a result of Euripides' broad fortune in antiquity. A sorting of Euripides' quotes appearing in the *Deipnosophists* based on their specific nature is offered by Cipolla's table (2006, 125 ff.). To the quotes considered by Cipolla the following (also included in my final count of Euripides' quotes in the *Deipnosophists*) might be added: 1) an Euripidean echo, which might be regarded as a «citazione adattata al contesto» of *Antigone's* *fr.* 158 Kn., is included in Clearchus' quote (*fr.* 46 Wehrli) appearing at Ath. 12, 524c; 2) a short citation from the *Cyclops* appears at 1, 10b; 3) a parody of Euripides' *Oenomaus* (*fr.* 576 Kn.) is included in Hippolochus of Macedon's passage quoted at 6, 129f. A few more remarks. The citation at 8, 363a is regarded by Cipolla as coming from Euripides' *Medea* (v. 193) but, as Cipolla himself points out at n. 185, the word *εἰλαπίνη* – which is the whole fragment, namely a gloss – also appears in Euripides' *Helen* (v. 1138). Since Athenaeus only mentions the fact that Euripides used this term, without the name of the specific tragedy he is thinking about, I counted this case among the *fragmenta incertae fabulae*: thereby, whilst Euripides' *Medea*, being cited elsewhere in the *Deipnosophists*, is still included in the 34 Euripides' works known to Athenaeus, the *Helen* is not. *Fr.* 907, 1 Kn. is quoted in Ath. 7, 276f without mentioning neither Euripides, nor the title of the tragedy of provenance: according to Canfora's index, it would be a fragment from Euripides' *Syleus*; both Kannicht and Cipolla more cautiously place it among the *fragmenta incertae fabulae* instead, and so did I. Finally, Canfora's index does not include the following Euripidean passages which are, on the other hand, listed by Cipolla and are therefore included in my total: 1) two verses from the *Antiope* and *Iphigenia in Tauris* (*fr.* 187, 1 Kn., v. 535) are parodied in Diphilus' *fr.* 75 K.-A., quoted at Ath. 6, 247a-c; 2) Machon's *fr.* 18 Gow, quoted at 13, 582d, includes two Euripides' citations, one from the *Medea* (v. 1346), the other from the *Aeolus* (*fr.* 19 Kn.): the former is though the only one appearing in Canfora's index; 3) a parody of *Medea's* v. 332 is included in Parmeniscus' quote at 4, 156f; 4) *fr.* 670 Kn. of Euripides' *Stheneboea* is quoted at 10, 421f-422a; 5) *fr.* 915, 1 Kn., coming from an unspecified Euripides' tragedy, is part of the Diphilus' quote from the *Parasitos* (*fr.* 60 K.-A.) appearing at 10, 422b.

Aristophanes	~ 40 plays ¹¹	~ 200 drawn from 39 plays (for 4 quotes Athenaeus knows two different versions) + 14 <i>fr. inc. fab.</i>	Only 4 of Aristophanes' known comedies appear to be absent for the <i>Deipnosophists</i> , and two of them might be spurious.	4,5
Menander	108 plays	81 drawn from 46 plays + 4 <i>fr. inc. fab.</i>	~ 42%	~ 1,8

Between the second and the third century A.D. Athenaeus was thus able to quote from a vast number of Menander's comedies, amounting to more than half of the entire *corpus* mentioned by the ancient sources. Furthermore, it needs to be pointed out that only a very small number of Athenaeus' quotes belong to those comedies that the moderns are now used to consider the most 'fortunate', that is to say, the comedies that have been entirely or at least vastly salvaged thanks to the lucky papyrological findings of the last two centuries. As a matter of fact:

- only 2 citations come from the *Dyskolos*;
- just a single quote belongs to the *Epitrepontes*, as many to the *Phasma*;
- several rather well-preserved comedies, such as *Aspis*, *Perikeiromene*, and *Samia* are not quoted at all in the *Deipnosophists*.

Moreover, Athenaeus appears to be very accurate in quoting Menander, so much so that there are only 4 instances of Athenaeus quoting Menander without stating the title of the citation's comedy of origin¹². In these circumstances, it seems within reason to conclude, with Dario Del Corno (1964, 18 ff.), that Athenaeus is likely to have had access to a complete edition of Menander's comedies, and thereby has the potential to be a witness of the

11 The sources (*Vita*, Anon. de Com., *Proleg. de com.* XXXa Kost. and XXXb Kost., cfr. *Suid.* α 3932 Adler) mention 44 comedies: the *Vita*, though, also lists 4 comedies which were rumored to be Archippus' rather than Aristophanes'.

12 Among the quotes of unknown origin, fr. 435 K.-A. (*inc. fab.*) quoted in Ath. 2, 71e is part of the epitome: therefore, it is likely that the play's title was originally stated. The rest of the occurrences are listed as follows: Ath. 5, 189e (fr. 436 K.-A., *inc. fab.*), Ath. 6, 270d (fr. 437 K.-A., *inc. fab.*), Ath. 11, 781e (fr. 438 K.-A., *inc. fab.*). The difference between II-III A.D. Athenaeus and a later compiler like Stobaeus is striking in this matter: looking at the latter's work, no less than 151 Menander passages are quoted without the indication of the play of origin.

utmost importance and highest quality, possibly one of the last ones in the history of the transmission of Menander's work¹³. Not long afterwards, a handful of comedies was likely selected from the *corpus* (leaving a trace in some of the most famous Menander's *codices*, the *Cairensis*, the Bodmer, the *Membrana Petropolitana*), probably causing – in combination with other factors – the gradual disappearance of the 'minor' comedies.

Potentially thrilling as it is, this conclusion needs to be treated with caution. The problem of Athenaeus' quotation method is much debated as are his sources¹⁴. Most likely, it was hardly univocal: even if he had access to the complete work of Menander, he might have often quoted from memory. Furthermore, Menander's *corpus* famously circulated in multiple forms: it cannot be ruled out that Athenaeus also occasionally used different kinds of anthologies or thematic collections of *excerpta*. The quality of Menander's text transmitted by this material probably varied.

Concerning the different circumstances that prompted Athenaeus to use Menandrian quotes, the analysis shows that the vast majority of Menander's citations in the *Deipnosophists* focuses on linguistical issues: Menander's text is used to exemplify the meaning and use of a word or an expression. The point of interest may be the purity of the language, the gender of a word, or a syllable quantity; sometimes, Athenaeus offers a parade of fragments in which the same word occurs just to show which authors used it. This is typical of those sections of the *Deipnosophists* discussing the name and kinds of fishes, birds, food, lights, drinking vessels, and tableware: up to 28 Menander's citations recur in such sections. Approximately one-fourth of the total of Menander's citations in the *Deipnosophists* show a prosopographical interest, focusing on single historical characters – mainly parasites and *hetairai* – or on a category, usually corresponding to the main comedy stock characters, again parasites and *hetairai*, and also cooks and servants. Finally, what is certainly most surprising considering Menander's huge success as a gnomic author, is that the gnomic quotes are the vast majority of Euripides' citations in Athenaeus, whilst hardly any is found for Menander¹⁵.

13 On the transmission and the reception of Menander in Antiquity see also Blume 1998, Nervegna 2013, Holzberg 2023.

14 See Nesselrath 1990, 65-79 and the useful overview of the so called 'Athenaeus question' in Paulas 2012, 404 n. 1 and 407 n. 7; but almost each one of the works I cited at n. 2 has offered some insight in this matter (see for example Olson 2018, 425, Cipolla 2005 often coming to the conclusion that Athenaeus cited Euripides' fragments from some intermediate source, Quaglia 2001, 629 ff.).

15 See Cipolla 2006, 113.

2. FORMAL ASPECTS

Moving on to the analysis of the formal aspects of Menander's quotations in Athenaeus, some *caveat* is necessary. As Arnott (2000) pointed out, it is imperative to bear in mind, in dealing with Athenaeus, that the *Deipnosophists'* manuscripts present the quoted fragments as if they were written in continuous prose. Therefore, especially when quotations are short, it is not always possible to identify with absolute certainty the original meter, even if serious corruption is not suspected. In particular, considering Menander, if a fragment is shorter than a verse and is not cited together with at least another complete verse, iambic trimeters and trochaic tetrameters might be hard to tell apart. Furthermore, Athenaeus' manuscripts don't mention the speakers' identity: therefore, when dealing with dialogic fragments it might be difficult to tell apart one character's words from another's.

Let's now consider the overall features of the Menander fragments quoted by Athenaeus.

1. Length: Menander's quotes range from a single-word gloss to a maximum of 16 verses. Most of the quotes are thus short or very short; no more than 11 quotes exceed the 5 verses length, no more than three of them are longer than 10 verses, and only one is longer than 15 verses.
2. Metrical form: leaving aside a few uncertain cases, about 75-80% of Menander's citations are iambic trimeters. Less than 10% are catalectic trochaic tetrameters. Only a single quote appears to be composed in anapaestic meter (either catalectic dimeters – also used in the *Λευκάδια* – or tetrameters)¹⁶.
3. Verse integrity: Athenaeus appears to be far more concerned with syntactic integrity than verse integrity. He has no trouble beginning or ending a citation in the middle of a verse. So much so that about 60% of Menander's citations involve at least one

16 Athenaeus shows a general preference for iambic trimeter texts: among the tragedians' quotes included in the *Deipnosophists*, only a handful of lyric/anapaestic fragments can be found (Cipolla counts 3 for Aeschylus, 5 for Sophocles, 9 for Euripides). Furthermore, among the fragments of the minor tragedians and the tragic *adespota* quoted by Athenaeus, only 9 are composed in lyric meter, whilst in three cases the meter is uncertain. Likewise, concerning Aristophanes' quotes and the rest of the Ancient Comedy's authors in the *Deipnosophists*, Quaglia's analysis (2001, 617 f.) confirms Athenaeus' preference for iambic trimeter passages: «I trimetri, sia pur con le eccezioni ricordate in precedenza, costituiscono in ogni caso la maggioranza assoluta dei versi citati, con un totale di circa 600 su poco meno di 1090 (e rappresentano, quindi, il 55% circa del totale)».

verse that is only partially quoted. When it is possible to compare Athenaeus' excerpt with a larger fragment of the same work, we can see that the beginning and end of the quoted section usually correspond to syntactic pauses.

4. Involvement of one or more speakers: a vast majority of Menander's citations in the *Deipnosophists* involve just one speaker. The longer fragments are therefore likely to come from monologues or long speeches. Only about 10% of Menander's citations involve more than one speaker.

3. TRUSTWORTHINESS

Due to the highly fragmentary *status* of Menander's *corpus*, just a handful of Menandrian quotes appearing in the *Deipnosophists* are – at least partially – transmitted by other sources, either papyri or indirect tradition, namely nine:

- part of fr. 66 K.-A. (*Arrhephoros*) = Ath. 10, 442c-d is quoted by Aelian (*VH* 3, 14);
- *Dysk.* 447-453 = Ath. 4, 146e-f are transmitted by *P.Bodmer* 4 (IV A.D.), whilst vv. 452-453 are also transmitted by *P.Berol.* 21199 (VI-VII A.D.). Furthermore, vv. 449-451 are cited in *Porph. Abst.* 2, 17, 22, and vv. 451-453 in *Clem.Al. Strom.* 7, 6, 31; *Dysk.* 644-646 = Ath. 9, 383f are also transmitted by *P.Bodmer* 4;
- *Epit.* fr. 5 K.-S. = Ath. 3, 119e-f appears in an anonymous fragmentary lexicon (*Lex. Herm.* 325, *Anecd. Gr. Par.* IV 248 Cramer) and is partially quoted in *Ael.Dion.* τ 3;
- *Theoph.* fr. 1, 16 K.-S. = Ath. 6, 248d appears in *Stob.* 4, 42, 3 and *Schol. E. Hipp.* 426;
- part of *Kol.* fr. 3 K.-S. = Ath. 10, 434b-c (see also Ath. 11, 477f) is quoted by *Plutarch (Adul.* 57a);
- fr. 246 K.-A. (*Naykleros*) = Ath. 11, 474b-c is also quoted in *Macr. Sat.* 5, 21, 14f.;
- fr. 381 K.-A. (*Hypobolimaios*) = Ath. 14, 644f is also cited by *Phot. α* 1199 *Theodoridis*;
- *Phasm.* 73-74 = Ath. 14, 661f are transmitted by *P.Oxy.* 2825 (early I century A.D.).

Although this is a very small sample, I think it is worth using it to test Athenaeus' trustworthiness as a source of Menander's text. It goes without saying that, to properly solve this issue, a much bigger sample would be necessary. We shall thereby refrain to consider any conclusion that may arise from the following analysis nothing more than a very limited and very temporary work hypothesis, hoping that it will be possible in the future to test its validity against a larger number of Menander's verses.

1. Fr. 66 K.-A. (*Arrhephoros*):

πάντας μεθύσους τοὺς ἐμπόρους
 ποεῖ τὸ Βυζάντιον. ὄλην ἐπίνομεν
 τὴν νύκτα διὰ σέ καὶ σφόδρ' ἄκρατον, μοὶ δοκῶ·
 ἀνίσταμαι γοῦν τέτταρας κεφαλὰς ἔχων.

Ath. 10, 442c-d, Ael. *VH* 3, 14 (μεθύσους-νύκτα).

2 ἐπίνομεν Ath.: ἔπινε Ael.

The only *varia lectio* is Aelian's ἔπινε instead of Athenaeus' ἐπίνομεν at v. 2. As it is clear, Athenaeus is right, since the plural is required by both the metrics and the context emerging from the rest of the fragment. The speaker says: «Byzantium makes all the traders tipsy. The whole night through we were drinking for your sake, and, I think, it was very strong wine too. At any rate I got up with four heads on me». It is clear from the last verse that the speaker partook in the drinking: the plural ἐπίνομεν is thus the obvious choice. It appears that Aelian – or his source – didn't know the last verse or the original context of the words he quoted.

2. Menander's *Dyskolos* is quoted twice in the *Deipnosophists*. The whole comedy is transmitted by the Bodmer *Codex* and partially by several sources. In both cases, I find it useful to show a longer passage than Athenaeus' excerpt: the latter is underlined.

a) *Dysk.* 444-455 (ed. K.-S.):

<p>Κν. αἱ δὲ Νύμφαι μοι κακὸν ἀεὶ παροικοῦσ', ὥστε μοι δοκῶ πάλιν μετοικοδομήσειν καταβαλὼν τὴν οἰκίαν ἐντεῦθεν. <u>ὡς θύουσι δ'οἱ τοιχωρύχοι</u></p>	<p>445</p>
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κοίτας φέρονται, σταμνί', οὐχὶ τῶν θεῶν
ἔνεκ' ἀλλ' ἐαυτῶν. ὁ λιβανωτὸς εὐσεβὲς
καὶ τὸ πόπανον· τοῦτ' ἔλαβεν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ. 450
ἅπαν ἐπιτεθέν. οἱ δὲ τὴν ὄσφυν ἄκραν
καὶ τὴν χολήν, ὅτι ἔστ' ἄβρωτα, τοῖς θεοῖς
ἐπιθέντες αὐτοὶ τᾶλλα καταπίνουσι. γραῦ,
ἄνοιγε θᾶττον τὴν θύραν. [ποητέ]ον
ἔστιν γὰρ ἡμῖν τᾶνδον ὡς ἔμοι δοκεῖ. 455

P.Bodmer 4, *P.Berol.* 21199 (vv. 452-453), *Ath.* 4, 146e-f (vv. 447-453), *Porphy.* *Abst.* 2, 17, 22 (vv. 449-451), *Clem.Al.* *Strom.* 7, 6, 31 (vv. 451-453)

448]αίφερωνται B, κοίτας φέροντες Ath. || 449 ἐαυτῶν Ath.: εαυτον B | εὐσεβὲς B, Ath.: εὐσεβῆς Porphy. || 452 ὅτι ἔστ' B, Ath.: ὅστέα τὰ Clem. Al. || 453 ἐπιθέντες B, Berol, Ath.: ἐπιτιθέντες Clem.Al. | καταπίνουσι B, Ath.: ἀναλίσκουσι Clem.Al.

This passage is part of a monologue by the main character of the comedy, the *dyskolos* Knemon himself, and was particularly famous. Apart from *P.Bodmer* 4 (IV A.D.), which has the whole comedy, a few verses of Athenaeus' quote are transmitted by *P.Berol.* 21199 (VI-VII A.D.) and quoted by Porphyry and Clement from Alexandria. Athenaeus usually agrees with direct sources against the rest of the indirect tradition. When he disagrees with the Bodmer *Codex*, he appears to have a better text: at v. 499 Athenaeus has the correct genitive ἐαυτῶν, needed by the preceding ἔνεκα; at v. 448 Athenaeus' accusative κοίτας appears to be once again correct, while later on *P.Bodmer's* φέρονται and Athenaeus' φέροντες are both admissible. In extracting the excerpt Athenaeus isolated from the comedy's text only complete sentences: the meter of the opening and closing verses, unlike their syntax, is incomplete.

b) *Dysk.* 639-647 (ed. K.-S.):

(Σικ.) εἰσὶν θεοί, μὰ τὸν Διόνυσον. οὐ δίδως
 λεβήτιον θύουσιν, ἱερόσυλε σύ, 640
 ἀλλὰ φθονεῖς· ἔκπιθι τὸ φρέαρ εἰσπεσῶν,
 ἵνα μηδ' ὕδατος ἔχης μεταδοῦναι μηδενί.
 νυνὶ μὲν αἱ Νύμφαι τετιμωρημένα
 εἴσ' αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ ἔμοῦ δικαίως· οὐδὲ εἴς
μάγειρον ἀδικήσας ἀθῶος διέφυγεν. 645

ιεροπρεπής πως ἐστὶν ἡμῶν ἡ τέχνη.

[]ς τραπεζοποιὸν ὃ τι βούλει πόει.

P.Bodmer 4, Ath. 9, 383f (vv. 644-646)

645 ἀθῶος Ath.: αθωίως B.

This second excerpt from Menander’s *Dyskolos* is part of another monologue, delivered by Sikon the cook. Athenaeus and the Bodmer *Codex* always agree, except for v. 645, where Athenaeus’ text appears once more to be the best option: the adverb ἀθῶος transmitted by the Bodmer *Codex* is, as matter of fact, very rare and it is only used by late authors.

3. *Epit.* fr. 5 K.-S.:

ἐπέπασα

ἐπὶ τὸ τάριχος ἄλας, ἐὰν οὕτω τύχη.

Ath. 3, 119e-f, *Lex. Herm.* 325, *Anecd. Gr. Par.* IV 248 Cramer, Ael.

Dion. τ 3 (ἐπέπασα–ἄλας)

1 ἐπέπασα Ath., Ael.Dion.: ἐπέτασα (ἐπέϊτασα Cramer) *Lex.* || 2 ἐὰν Elmsley: ἄν Ath., *Lex.*

Even though a good portion of Menander’s *Epitrepontes* is transmitted by the *Codex Cairensis*, the *Membrana Petropolitana*, and a couple of *Oxyrhynchus papyri*, none of these sources happen to have Athenaeus’ excerpt. The fragment contains what appears to be a proverbial expression, “If this should happen, I have really sprinkled salt on salted fish” (that is to say, I added fuel to fire), and is also found in two *lexica*¹⁷. All the sources agree; they all have ἄν instead of ἐὰν, which must be restored for the meter: anyway, this is a trivial mistake, not challenging the good quality of Menander’s text as it is transmitted by Athenaeus.

So far, Athenaeus has proved to be a very good witness. Some issues come to light with the next fragment.

4. *Theoph.* fr. 1 is a famous philosophical tirade by a character named Kraton; the longer passage we know is transmitted by Stob. 4, 42, 3, but parts

¹⁷ See Martina 2016, 451.

of the same passage are quoted by several sources. Athenaeus' citation looks close enough to v. 16 to let us think that he intended to quote this passage: the quote itself, nonetheless, is very inaccurate.

Theoph. fr. 1, 16f. K.-S.:

Πράττει δ' ὁ κόλαξ ἄριστα πάντων, δεύτερα
ὁ συκοφάντης, ὁ κακοήθης τρίτα λέγει.

Stob. 4, 42, 3, *Schol. E. Hipp.* 426, ad v. 16 cfr. *Ath.* 6, 248d πράττει
γὰρ πάντων ὁ κόλαξ ἄριστα, ὁ καλὸς εἶπεν Μένανδρος

Shouldn't we have Stobaeus' quote, we would nonetheless know that something is off in Athenaeus' text since the citation obviously doesn't work in an iambic context. Nothing suggests that he intended to paraphrase rather than quote Menander, as he does elsewhere: the syntax of the quote is independent of that of the frame; furthermore, Athenaeus clearly introduces the citation with ὁ καλὸς εἶπεν Μένανδρος. It is worth noting, though, that this is one of the rare Menander's gnomic quotes found in Athenaeus, coming from a famous passage. Moreover, this is one of the only 5 instances of Athenaeus not mentioning the title of the comedy he is quoting. These two aspects might indicate that Athenaeus is here either quoting by memory or using a collection of popular Menandrian excerpts.

5. *Kol.* fr. 3 K.-S., coming from a dialogue between a soldier named Βίας and a flatterer named Στρουθίας, is quoted twice in the *Deipnosophists*, in book 10 and again, partially, in book 11. The second part of the excerpt, which is only featured in book 10, is also quoted by Plutarch in his work *Quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatur* (48e-74e).

Kol. fr. 3 K.-S.:

(Bι.) κοτύλας χωροῦν
δέκα ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ κόνδου χρυσοῦν, Στρουθία,
τρις ἐπέπιον μεστόν γ'. {Στρουθίας} Ἀλεξάνδρου πλέον
τοῦ βασιλέως πέπωκας. {B.} οὐκ ἔλαττον, οὐ
μὰ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν. {Στρ.} μέγα γε.

Ath. 10, 434b-c (ad vv. 1-2 cfr. *Ath.* 11, 477f), *Plu. adul.* 57a
(Ἀλεξάνδρου-πέπωκας)

2 δέκα ἐν Ath. 10: δέκα καὶ ἐν Ath. 11 | Στρουθία Ath. 10: στρουθίον Ath. 11 || 3 ἐπέπιον Meineke: ἐπιον Ath. contra metrum || 3-4 πέπωκας τοῦ βασιλέως Ath. contra metrum, transp. Bentley | τοῦ βασιλέως πλέον Plu.

Considering vv. 1-2, we observe that the text of the excerpt appearing in book 11 is not identical to that of book 10: in the shorter citation of book 11, v. 2 is one syllable too long to be an iambic trimeter; furthermore, we know from Plutarch that the flatterer's name was Στρουθίας. To what do we owe these discrepancies? Did Athenaeus originally have the same text in books 10 and 11? Is he maybe quoting by memory in book 11 or is the misquote of book 11 the result of a transmission issue in the *Marcianus*¹⁸? Looking further at the second part of the excerpt, only appearing in book 10, Athenaeus' text isn't flawless. V. 3 is lacking one syllable, but this issue might be fixed assuming that πίνω originally had a preverb (if said preverb was ἐπί as Meineke suggested, this is a simple haplography, hence it is likely no more than a manuscript tradition issue, once again not concerning in the matter of Athenaeus as a witness of Menander's text). Furthermore, the *ordo verborum* of v. 4 is wrong, as πέπωκας τοῦ βασιλέως appears to be *contra metrum*. Anyway, when we attempt to fit Plutarch's brief citation in the longer fragment transmitted by Athenaeus, Plutarch's *ordo verborum* turns out to be just as garbled and equally *contra metrum*: Athenaeus' longer citation, in fact, shows that Ἀλεξάνδρου needs to be followed by no more than two syllables to complete the trimeter, while Plutarch's text has it directly followed by τοῦ βασιλέως.

6. Fr. 246 K.-A. from Menander's *Naykleros*, another dialogic excerpt, is cut by Athenaeus in two parts separated by καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα; the second part of the first section's last trimeter is known through Macrobius.

Fr. 246 K.-A. (*Naykleros*):

(A) ἤκει λιπὼν Αἰγαῖον ἀλμυρὸν βάθος
Θεόφιλος ἡμῖν, ᾧ Στράτων, ὡς εἰς καλὸν
τὸν υἱὸν εὐτυχοῦντα καὶ σεσωσμένον
πρῶτος λέγω σοι τὸν τε χρυσοῦν κάρθαρρον.
(Στρ.) ποῖον; (A) τὸ πλοῖον· οὐδὲν οἶσθας, ἄθλιε; 5

18 One has to keep in mind that all Athenaeus' manuscripts, except for the Epitome's *codices*, directly or indirectly stem from the *Marcianus gr.* 447. The insertion of καὶ might be the result of the error of some copyist, mistakenly interpreting the preposition ἐν with the numeral ἔν and trying to restore an alternative form for ἔνδεκα (δέκα καὶ ἐν).

(Στρ.) τὴν ναῦν σεσῶσθαί μοι λέγεις; (Α) ἔγωγε μὴν·
† κείνην ναῦν Καλλικλῆς ἐποίησε
τὸν καλούμενον †, Εὐφράνωρ <δ’> ἐκυβέρνα Θούριος

Ath. 11, 474b-c Μένανδρος δὲ Ναυκλήρω ἤκει—πλοῖον. καὶ μετ’ ολίγα·
τὴν—Θούριος, Macr. Sat. 5, 21, 14f. *cantharum* [...] *etiam pro navigio
poni solitum debemus estendere. Menander in Nauclero: ἤκει—ἄθλιε*

2 εἰς Macr.: ἐς Ath. || 4 τὸν τε Ath.: γονδε Macr. | κάνθαρον Ath.: θαρο
Macr. || 5 πλοῖον Ath.: ηλοιον Macr. || οὐδὲν οἴσθας, ἄθλιε Meineke:
ουδεμοισθασαθαιε Macr. P ουδεμοισθασαθαιε Macr. N || 6 ἔγωγε μὴν
Bentley: ἐγὼ τὴν ἐμήν Ath. || 7 κείνην ναῦν Καλλικλῆς ἐποίησε (dicol.
post ναῦν) Ath. A contra metrum, τὴν ναῦν ἐκείνην ἦν ἐποίησε
Kock || 8 τὸν καλούμενον Ath. A contra metrum: ὁ Καλύμνιος Heringa |
Εὐφράνωρ Casaubon: εὐφράνωρ’ Ath. | δ’ ἐκυβέρνα Grotius: ἐκ- Ath. A.

Looking at the first part of the excerpt, Athenaeus always has a better text than Macrobius, the only exception being at v. 1, where he has ἐς instead of εἰς (again, a trivial error). The second part, on the other hand, is very troublesome and has been put between *cruces* by Kassel and Austin: after v. 6, Athenaeus’ text doesn’t fit the trimeter; moreover τὸν καλούμενον doesn’t seem to find a place in the syntax of the sentence.

7. From Menander’s *Hypobolimaïos* Athenaeus quotes the first verse of a passage which is more extensively quoted by Photius.

Fr. 381 K.-A. (*Hypobolimaïos*):

(Α) τὸν ἄμητα, Χαίριππ’, οὐκ ἔας πέττειν; (Χα.) τίνα
ἄμητ’ ἐν Ἄιδου προσδοκᾷς;

Phot. α 1199 Theodoridis, Ath. 14, 644f (τὸν—τίνα)

1 αμητα χαίριππου κεαι ἐς πεττιν Ath., corr. Porson: ἄμητα Χαίριππου
κατὰ Ἄιδην πέμπει Phot.

Athenaeus’ text needs some mending (and it is worth noting that in this case verse integrity appears to be salvaged at the expense of syntactical integrity). Photius’ is far worse. This may be the result of two different attempts to make sense of some confused sequence circulating in Antiquity. This being said, Porson was able to restore a satisfying text based on Athenaeus, working on word division and correcting an itacism error.

8. *Phasm.* vv. 73-74 (ed. K.-S.):

] ἐπισημαίνεσθ', ἐὰν
ἡ σκευασία καθάρειος ἦ καὶ ποικίλη.

Ath. 14, 661f, *P.Oxy.* 2825

73 ἐπισημαίνεσθ', ἐὰν Ath.,]πισημ[...]εσθεαν O || 74 ποικίλη Ath.:]
ηι O.

The short excerpt from the *Phasma* quoted in the *Deipnosophists* is also transmitted by *P.Oxy.* 2825. Although the papyrus fragment is badly damaged, the surviving traces of v. 73 confirm Athenaeus' text. At the end of v. 74, Athenaeus has ποικίλη, while the papyrus reads]ηι. The papyrus most likely had the verb ἦ at the end of the verse, but ἡ σκευασία καθάρειος καὶ ποικίλη ἦ doesn't work as an iambic trimeter. Athenaeus thus appears to have the better text.

Although limited to nine cases, this analysis proves the general high quality of Menander's text as transmitted by Athenaeus. Even though the case of *Theoph.* fr. 1 (and maybe also *Kol.* fr. 3 K.-S.) advises caution, most issues in Menander's quotes appear to be trivial errors, probably resulting from the common dynamics of the manuscript tradition. Overall, as far as we can see, the *Deipnosophists* usually carry a better text than the rest of the indirect tradition, occasionally improving also the text of Menander's papyri.

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