From Themistocles to Philomathes: *Amousos* and *amousia* in Antiquity and the Early Modern Period[1]

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Greek myth and history are peppered with musician heroes, Orpheus, Amphion, and Arion being only the most prominent examples. Their antithesis was music's *anti*-hero, the *amousos* of fame marked by a deficit of culture. To be worthy of note, a person's *amousia* had to imply a paradox, as is the case with Zethus, Amphion's twin brother, and, above all, Themistocles, on one hand held by his contemporaries to be the "wisest of the Hellenes" (Herodotus), on the other notorious for his non-achievement in the field of music. Plutarch preserves a reference by Ion of Chios to Themistocles' abstention from playing the lyre and resulting disgrace, an episode emblematic of the mores and — seen from the polarized viewpoint of, e.g., Aristotle's *Athenaion politeia* — politics of 5th-c.-BC Athens (§1). Cicero redacted the story to exemplify *e negativo* music's high status in Greece, and Augustine used it to legitimize disdain for classical learning (§2). Cicero's redaction figured in the protreptic *laus musices* of the Early Modern Period (§3) and inspired the beginning of Thomas Morley's *Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (§4). The notions that immunity to music's charm is a sign of innate evil and that statecraft is a kind of music converged with the perennial debate on Themistocles' character in works by John Case, music's foremost Elizabethan apologist (§5), and Aelius Aristides, the second-century Greek orator (§6) respectively. Thus ancient and Early Modern authors related Themistocles' *amousia* to a variety of issues, emancipating it from its original context and instrumentalizing it according to their own agendas.

> *Denique in proverbium usque Graecorum celebratum est indoctos a Musis atque a Gratiis abesse.*
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> Finally, the idea was frequently visited by the Greeks and ended up becoming a proverbial saying: "the uncultured are far from the Muses and Graces." (Quintilianus, *Institutio oratoria* 1,10,21)

1. I am grateful to Professor Joachim Latacz (Basel) and to the anonymous referee for early advice on this paper. In particular I would like to thank Professor Wolfgang Haase (Boston), the editor of this journal, whose patient and insightful counsel is reflected on every page. All the more do I hasten to add that the paper's faults are entirely my own. — The aim of the paper is to sketch the genesis and Early Modern reception of the topic *"amousia"* as exemplified by Themistocles. It is hoped that the paper will appeal both to the classicist interested in knowing what happened to the Themistocles story after the close of antiquity and to the student of Renaissance music interested in knowing where it came from.

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1. Ancient witnesses: the Greek tradition

Plutarch (c. 46-120 AD) describes convivial music-making thus:

> πρῶτον μὲν ἧδον ᾠδὴν τοῦ θεοῦ κοινῶς ἅπαντες μιᾷ φωνῇ παιανίζοντες, δεύτερον δ' ἐφεξῆς ἑκάστῳ μυρσίνης παραδιδομένης...ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ λύρας περιφερομένης ὁ μὲν πεπαιδευμένος ἐλάμβανε καὶ ἧδεν ἁρμοζόμενος, τῶν δ' ἀμούσων οὐ προσιεμένων σκολιὸν ὠνομάσθη [διὰ] τὸ μὴ κοινὸν αὐτοῦ μηδὲ ῥᾴδιον.[2]
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> First everyone sang the god's song, chanting the paean with one voice; second, when a myrtle spray was passed to one after another and then a lyre was handed around, the man of education took [them], tuned [the lyre], and sang; and since the uncultured (*amousoi*) did not accept [them] the scolium got its name from not being sung by all and by being difficult.

The scolium was a genre of sympotic song; chief among *amousoi*[3] in the perception of antique and Early Modern authors was Themistocles (c. 523-459 BC), creator of the

2. *Quaestiones convivales* 1,1, 615b, p. 8.11-17 ed. C. Hubert (*Plutarchi Moralia* IV, ser. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana, Leipzig 1938) (cf. scholia on Plato, *Gorgias* 451e, p. 462 ed. W. Greene [*Scholia Platonica*, Philological Monographs 8, Haverford, PA 1938; reprint Hildesheim 1988], and Richard T. Neer, *Style and Politics in Athenian Vase Painting*, ser. Cambridge Studies in Classical Art and Iconography, Cambridge 2002, pp. 13-14); διὰ supplied from the deleted lines 8.13-14 ed. Hubert. Key words of this symposium description (ἐφεξῆς . . . λύρας περιφερομένης . . . ἧδεν ἁρμοζόμενος) occur in Plutarch's *Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata* 175a-b, an anecdote featuring King Gelon of Gela and Syracuse (early 5th c. BC) who, when it was his turn to sing to the lyre, performed a leap onto his horse instead (cf. his deed with a saying of King Ateas of Scythia contained in the same collection and discussed in n. 154 below).

3. *Amousos* and *amousia* summarize a cluster of alpha-privatives used in the 5th-4th c. BC for labeling different facets of the uncultured and including *akyklios* and *achoreutos* ("not adept in choral dance"), *aschêmosyne* ("lack of adeptness in dance-figures [*schêmata*]") and *ametria* ("lack of rhythmic order in body and soul"); they are discussed by Hermann Koller in *Musik und Dichtung im alten Griechenland*, Bern 1963, pp. 86-95. The correlative of *amousos* is *mousikos* (Plato, *Sophistes* 253b), often used in the wider sense of a person versed in *all* the arts (*mousikos anêr*: id., *Phaedrus* 248d); the correlative of *amousia* is *eumousia* (Plutarch, *De placitis philosophorum* 4,20, 903a, pp. 127.26-128.2 ed. J. Mau (*Plutarchi Moralia* V, 2:1, ser. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana, Leipzig 1971); *eumousos* qualifies things, e.g., *molpê* [song], rather than human character: *A Greek English Lexicon* [= LSJ], ed. H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, revised and augmented by H. S. Jones, with a Supplement, Oxford 1968, s.v. *eumousos*). *Amousia* was an attribute of the ass, cf. the proverb ὄνος λύρας ἀκούων κινεῖ τὰ ὦτα ("An ass listening to the lyre moves its ears"): Apostolius XII 82, *Corpus paroemiographorum Graecorum* 2, ed. E.L. à Leutsch, Göttingen 1851 (reprint as Olms Paperbacks 22, Hildesheim 1965), p. 563-564 (cf. Varro's Menippean satire Ὄνος λύρας, fr. 348-369 ed. J.-P. Cèbe [*Varron, Satires ménippées: Edition, traduction et commentaire* vol. 9, pp. 1469-1547, ser. Collection de l'Ecole française de Rome, Rome 1990] and LSJ, s.v. ὄνος I,1). Zenobius (2nd c. AD) records another proverb at the expense of *amousoi*: οὐδὲ τὰ τρία Στησιχόρου γινώσκεις ("You don't even know the three [sc. strophe, antistrophe, epode] of Stesichoros"): Emmanuel Miller, ed., *Mélanges de Littérature Grecque*, Paris 1868, p.

Athenian navy and commander of Greek forces against the Persian invasion of 480.[4] Plutarch stresses the humbleness of Themistocles' beginnings, which lay in Attica;[5] beyond that though little can be said on the subject with certainty.[6] As a boy he neglected those studies which were "character forming or aspired to pleasure and liberal grace" (poetry sung to the lyre, dance: *mousike*, "the arts practiced by the Muses")[7] in favor of "rehearsing and composing [forensic] speeches";[8] the resulting *amousia* compounded the outsider status which is a leitmotif of his biography. Social and musical skills were put to the test at the symposion, one of the most important cultural institutions of Ancient Greece,[9] a once aristocratic occasion opened to other social

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351 no. 23 (cf. H. Koller, "'Εγκύκλιος Παιδεία," *Glotta* 34, 1954, p. 181). Erasmus discusses *amousoi* in *Adagia* II 6, 18 (no. 1518; *Opera omnia*, ordo 2, eds. F. Heinimann–E. Kienzle, vol. 4, Amsterdam 1987, pp. 30-33; English translation: *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 33, tr. R.A.B. Mynors, Toronto 1991, pp. 299-300), quoting Quintilian 1,10,21 (see above p. 351); Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 2,22, 1395b28; Aeschines, *Against Timarchus* 1, 166; and Aristophanes, *Knights* 188 and citing *inter alios* Plato, *Republic* 8, 548e and Athenaeus 4, 164e-f. Concerning the Plato citation, Mynors mistakenly gives *Republic* 8, 546d (op. cit., p. 441, n. 3 to *Adagia* II 6, 18) — a passage nevertheless apropos for its use of the word *amousoteroi*.

4. Creator and commander: Herodotus 7,143-144 and 8; Thucydides 1,74; Plutarch, *Themistocles* 4 and 7-16. Cf. Robert Lenardon, *The Saga of Themistocles*, ser. Aspects of Greek and Roman Life, London 1978, pp. 45-86 and Frank J. Frost, *Plutarch's Themistocles: A Historical Commentary*, Princeton 1980, pp. 5-13.
5. Humbleness: *Them.* 1,1; Attic origins: ibid. 1,1 and 1,4, pp. 157.18-158.2 ed. K. Ziegler (*Vitae Parallelae* I,1, ser. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana, Leipzig 1957: 4th ed. 1969; within a given chapter of Plutarch's *Lives* I cite Ziegler's section numbers and, where those section numbers differ from the Loeb edition, his page and line numbers too). For the politics of Athenian citizenship in the Periclean age, see Elke Hartmann, *Heirat, Hetärentum und Konkubinat im klassischen Athen*, Campus Historische Studien 30, Frankfurt am Main 2002, ch. 2-3. If his mother was indeed foreign-born (cf. Plutarch, *Themistocles* 1), Themistocles may himself have been affected several generations previously by ambiguities such as outlined by Hartmann (retrospect on Cleisthenes' citizenship-reforms of 508/507 BC: op. cit., p. 50; cf. Neer, as in n. 2 above, p. 6).
6. Cf. Anthony Podlecki, *The Life of Themistocles*, Montreal and London 1975, pp. 1-3 and Frost, as in n. 4 above, pp. 60-63.
7. ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν παιδεύσεων τὰς μὲν ἠθοποιοὺς ἢ πρὸς ἡδονήν τινα καὶ χάριν ἐλευθέριον σπουδαζομένας ὀκνηρῶς καὶ ἀπροθύμως ἐξεμάνθανε ("Now educational subjects which were character forming or aspired to pleasure and liberal grace — he learned them haltingly and unreadily"): *Them.* 2,3, p. 158.12-14 ed. Ziegler. The citharist as educational authority: Plato, *Protagoras* 326a-b.
8. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἀνέσεσι καὶ σχολαῖς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων γιγνόμενος, οὐκ ἔπαιζεν οὐδ' ἐρρᾳθύμει καθάπερ οἱ πολλοὶ παῖδες, ἀλλ' εὑρίσκετο λόγους τινὰς μελετῶν καὶ συνταττόμενος πρὸς ἑαυτόν. ἦσαν δ' οἱ λόγοι κατηγορία τινὸς ἢ συνηγορία τῶν παίδων ("for relaxation and rest from studies, he didn't play and have fun like most of the boys, but rather one found him practicing and composing speeches to himself; the speeches were in prosecution or defense of one of the boys"): *Them.* 2,1-2, p. 158.5-9 ed. Ziegler.
9. Recent studies on the symposium include François Lissarrague, *The Aesthetics of the Greek Banquet*, Princeton 1990 (translation of *Un Flot d'Images: Une Esthétique du Banquet Grec*, Paris 1987); Oswyn Murray, ed., *Sympotica: A Symposium on the Symposium*, Oxford 1990; Klaus Vierneisel and Bert Kaeser, eds., *Kunst der Schale und Kultur des Trinkens*, Munich 1990; William J. Slater, ed., *Dining in a Classical Context*, Ann Arbor 1991; Alfred Schäfer, *Unterhaltung beim griechischen Symposion*, Mainz 1997, and Neer, as in n. 2 above, ch. 1.

strata in the 5th century BC[10] and featuring invocation of Apollo,[11] libations, and, heightened by tempered consumption of alcohol, impromptu speeches and competitive performance of lyric poetry of aristocratic ethic.[12] Guests evaluated each other's efforts; contribution knit, abstention broke the chain of events and shared values linking them.[13] Rounding off his account of Themistocles' education (see above, notes 7 and 8), Plutarch relates the lack of early musical training to the humiliation he was to suffer at such gatherings:

> ὅθεν ὕστερον ἐν ταῖς ἐλευθερίοις καὶ ἀστείαις λεγομέναις διατριβαῖς ὑπὸ τῶν πεπαιδεῦσθαι δοκούντων χλευαζόμενος, ἠναγκάζετο φορτικώτερον ἀμύνεσθαι, λέγων ὅτι λύραν μὲν ἁρμόσασθαι καὶ μεταχειρίσασθαι ψαλτήριον οὐκ ἐπίσταιτο, πόλιν δὲ μικρὰν καὶ ἄδοξον παραλαβὼν ἔνδοξον καὶ μεγάλην ἀπεργάσασθαι.[14]
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> Hence, later on at the entertainments which were called liberal and elegant, mocked by men who considered themselves to be educated he was forced to defend himself rather rudely, saying that he did not know how to tune a lyre or handle a psaltry but rather how to take a small, obscure city and make it glorious and great.

The now lost *Sojourns* (*Epidemiai*) by the 5th-century-BC tragedian, lyric poet and prose author Ion of Chios referred to such an occasion at which, however, the humiliation occurred in Themistocles' absence, behind his back as it were. The passage is preserved in Plutarch's *Cimon*:

> Συνδειπνῆσαι δὲ τῷ Κίμωνί φησιν ὁ Ἴων παντάπασι μειράκιον ἥκων εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐκ Χίου παρὰ Λαομέδοντι, καὶ τῶν σπονδῶν γενομένων παρακληθέντος ᾆσαι καὶ ᾄσαντος οὐκ ἀηδῶς, ἐπαινεῖν τοὺς παρόντας ὡς δεξιώτερον Θεμιστοκλέους· ἐκεῖνον γὰρ ἄδειν μὲν οὐ φάναι μαθεῖν οὐδὲ κιθαρίζειν, πόλιν δὲ ποιῆσαι μεγάλην καὶ πλουσίαν ἐπίστασθαι.[15]

10. Ingeborg Peschel, *Die Hetäre bei Symposion und Komos*, Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe XXXVIII, Archäologie 13, Frankfurt am Main 1987, pp. 360-361, and Neer, as in n. 2 above, p. 6.
11. Cf. *Quaestiones convivales* 1,1, 615b (quoted on p. 352 above).
12. Authors of such poetry include Simonides, Stesichorus (cf. scholia on Aristophanes, *Vespae* 1222a, pp. 192-193 eds. W.J.W. Koster–D. Holwerda [*Scholia in Vespas, Pacem, Aves et Lysistratam*, Scholia in Aristophanem 2, Groningen, 1978ff.]), Alcaeus and Anacreon (cf. Athenaeus 15, 693f-694c). Xenophanes of Colophon (6th-5th c. BC) gave the sequence of sympotic events elegiac expression: Athenaeus 11, 462c-463a (= H. Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, ed. W. Kranz [= Diels-Kranz], 12th ed. Zurich 1985, 21 B1, vol. 1, pp. 126-128); cf. H. Koller 1963, as in n. 3 above, p. 130.
13. Ezio Pellizer, "Sympotic Entertainment," in: Murray, ed., as in n. 9 above, p. 179; Steven H. Lonsdale, *Dance and Ritual Play in Greek Religion*, ser. Ancient Society and History, Baltimore 1993, pp. 24-25, 130, 219-222; Lissarrague, as in n. 9 above, p. 129; H. Koller 1954, as in n. 3 above, pp. 177-179; and Neer, as in n. 2 above, pp. 13-14.
14. *Them.* 2,4, p. 158.16-22 ed. Ziegler.
15. *Cimon* 9,1, p. 343.12-18 ed. Ziegler = F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* [= *FGrHist*], Leiden 1923ff., 392 F 13.

> Ion says that upon his arrival in Athens from Chios as a mere boy he and Cimon attended a banquet given by Laomedon. Libations having been made [Cimon[16]] was asked to sing and having sung not unpleasantly, those present praised him as being more skilled (*dexioteron*) than Themistocles; [Ion says that they paid this compliment] because Themistocles used to say he had not learned to sing or play the lyre, but rather to make a city great and rich.

There is a subtle irony to the key word in this passage, *dexioteron*, the comparative degree of *dexios* (skilled). *Dexioteros* applies here to Cimon and elevates his skill above that of Themistocles. The irony lies in the fact that the Spartans, Athens' hereditary rival or enemy, had honored this very quality, *dexiotes* (skill), in Themistocles in recognition of his victory at Salamis (Herodotus 8,124,2); in Ion's narrative his Athenian countrymen deny him that same virtue.[17] Thus a single word, depending on how it is turned, reflects the conflicting attitudes toward Themistocles which, if we accept a polarized view of Athenian politics, were held by his contemporaries in the factional struggles of the 5th c. BC — to which we shall turn below.

Both passages, *Themistocles* 2,4 and *Cimon* 9,1, emphasize Themistocles' defensive tactic, a subtype of "assumptive juridical issue" called in a later age *concessio*: admission of guilt (here: musical inability) followed by self-justification (here invoking, in compensation for the conceded deficit, the abilities possessed).[18] Each passage contains a negated verb of knowing and three infinitives, two in concession and one in defense, and *polin* and *megalen* occur in each. These similarities suggest that Plutarch used the specific account of Laomedon's banquet he found in Ion's *Sojourns* as basis also for the generalized account in *Themistocles*, chapter 2.[19]

Cimon 9,1 has often been misinterpreted to the effect that Ion portrays Themistocles as being present at Laomedon's banquet[20] speaking in his own defense. The banquet

16. Ernst Koller suggests the singer is not Cimon but Ion ("Musse und musische Paideia," *Museum Helveticum* 13, 1956, p. 23). This however would require from the passage's continuation the unsatisfactory sense "Ion is cleverer than Themistocles because he can sing impromptu whereas Themistocles can only make a city great and rich."
17. That the epithet *dexios* was politically charged proceeds from the ps.-Xenophontean *Athenaion politeia* 1,6 and 1,9 (cf. Raphael Sealey, "The Origins of *Demokratia*," *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 6, 1973, pp. 253-263).
18. *Ad Herennium* 1,14 and 2,16-17 (cf. Hermann Menge, *Repetitorium der lateinischen Syntax und Stilistik*, Darmstadt 1979, p. 389, §551.20 Anm.). — On the basis of *Themistocles* 2,4 and *Cimon* 9,1 Themistocles is often supposed to have *despised* music (W. Schmid–O. Stählin, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* 1,2, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 7,1,2, München 1934, pp. 732-733; Heinrich Ryffel, "Eukosmia," *Museum Helveticum* 4, 1947, p. 24; Max Wegner, *Das Musikleben der Griechen*, Berlin 1949, p. 156; Ernst Koller, as in n. 16 above, pp. 22-23; Annemarie Jeanette Neubecker, ed., *Philodemus: Über die Musik IV. Buch*, La Scuola di Epicuro 4, Napoli 1986, p. 145) — a view held by Augustine as well (*Ep.* 231,2, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* [*CSEL*] 57, 505.15-16; see below pp. 366-368). This, however, proceeds from neither *Themistocles* 2,4 nor *Cimon* 9,1, and *Themistocles* 5,3 (p. 162.18-22 ed. Ziegler) suggests the opposite: the young Themistocles got a popular citharist to practice in his house in order to attract others to come visit (cf. Clearchos ap. Athenaeus 12, 533e; *The Praise of Musicke*, Oxford 1586, reprint Hildesheim 1980, p. 22; and Frost, as in n. 4 above, p. 88).
19. For an account of Plutarch's working-method, see Frost, as in n. 4 above, pp. 40-59.
20. This supposition, first implied in 1877 (Fritz Schöll, "Über Ion von Chios," *Rheinisches*

having taken place sometime between the mid 470s and mid 460s,[21] that would have been possible, but *gar* (for) shows that Plutarch is quoting Ion a second time, now in order to explain the guests' contention that Cimon is more skilled. The problem is that, taken at face value, ability to make a city great and rich contradicts that contention.

In order to interpret this remark let us step back a moment. Two treatises entitled *Athenaion politeia* emerge from the 5th-4th centuries BC. Their respective authorship may be subject to doubt, but of their influence on posterity's perception of Athenian politics in the decades of present interest there is no question.[22] Both treatises portray opposition between two groups. The ps.-Xenophontean *Athenaion politeia* calls them *hoi penetes* (the poor), *ho demos* (the common people), hence *hoi poneroi* (the bad) etc. on one hand, and *hoi gennaioi* (the high born), *hoi aristoi* (the best) and even *hoi dexiotatoi* (the most skilled) etc. on the other.[23] Aristotle's *Athenaion politeia*, which survives on papyrus and was not published until the late 19th century but was known in antiquity,[24] is content to leave it at the *gnorimoi* or nobles (led by Cimon among others) and the *demos* (led by Themistocles among others).[25] Since Aristotle, Themistocles' career has been seen in partisan terms.[26] Frank J. Frost, though, has relativized the political

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Museum N.F. 32, 1877, p. 147), found adherents down until the recent past (Ivo Bruns, *Das literarische Porträt der Griechen*, Berlin 1896, reprint Hildesheim 1961, p. 53; Ernst Diehl, "Ion [11]," *Paulys Real-Enzyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaften* [= *RE*] 9/2, 1916, col. 1861.16-28; Arthur Wallace Pickard-Cambridge and Donald William Lucas, "Ion of Chios," *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* [= *OCD*], 2nd ed., Oxford 1970, p. 549). Already in 1879, however, it was disputed (Ludwig Holzapfel, *Untersuchungen über die Darstellung der griechischen Geschichte von 489 bis 413 vor Chr.*, Leipzig 1879, p. 130, n. 1), and scholars now agree that Themistocles was absent (Albrecht von Blumenthal, *Ion von Chios*, Stuttgart 1939, p. 1, n. 4; Felix Jacoby, "Athenian Epigrams from Persian Wars," *Hesperia* 14, 1945, p. 210, n. 193; id., "Some Remarks on Ion of Chios," *The Classical Quarterly* 41, 1947, p. 2, n. 7; Frost, as in n. 4 above, p. 16; Carlo Carena, *Le Vite di Cimone e di Lucullo*, Milano 1990, p. 232; Alois Leurini, *Ionis Chii Testimonia et Fragmenta*, Amsterdam 1992, p. 151. The *OCD*'s placement, in the 2nd edition, of Themistocles at Laomedon's banquet is deleted and thus tacitly corrected by Andrew L. Brown, "Ion of Chios," *OCD* 3rd edition, 1996, p. 763).

21. After singing, Cimon speaks of the Athenian campaign to regain Sestus and Byzantium (479-478 BC; *Cimon* 9,2-3, p. 343.18-26 ed. Ziegler), *terminus post quem* for the banquet. *Termini ante quos* can be reckoned from both Cimon's ostracism (461 BC) and Ion's reference to himself in *Cimon* 9,1 as a mere boy (*pantapasi meirakion*): *meirakion* age being 14-21, *pantapasi* makes Ion closer to 14 than to 21 years of age; assuming him to have reached his *akme* no younger than age 30 upon winning his first victory as tragic poet in 451 BC gives his presence at the banquet a *terminus ante quem* of the mid 460s. The banquet's date was discussed authoritatively by Felix Jacoby (Jacoby 1945, as in n. 20 above, p. 210 n. 193: "between 475 and 465, and probably nearer to the latter year"; Jacoby 1947, as in n. 20 above, p. 2 [with nn. 4-7]: "middle of the sixties"; Jacoby, *FGrHist* IIIB [Autoren], 392 T 5a, p. 277: "*ca 465*"; and ibid. [Kommentar], p. 192: "*gegen 465*"). Frost's statement based on Jacoby 1947, p. 2 n. 7 that "the dinner [was] given sometime in the 450's" (as in n. 4 above, p. 16 n. 33) can only be a typo.
22. Cf. Frost, as in n. 4 above, pp. 25-31.
23. Cf. Sealey, as in n. 17 above, pp. 253-263.
24. Cf. P.J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia*, rev. ed., Oxford 1993, pp. 1-5.
25. Aristotle, *Ath. pol.* 28 (see also ibid., 20 and 23).
26. Cf. Frost, as in n. 4 above, pp. 26-31.

scenario depicted in the two *Athenaion politeiai*,[27] which is worth bearing in mind when considering post-Aristotelian testimony on Themistocles — including Plutarch's. According to Plutarch for example, Themistocles *did* strengthen Athens, i.e., make it great (he fortified it, established its port and pursued naval supremacy[28]), and *did* increase its wealth, i.e., make it rich (he made common people sea captains, botswains and pilots in the ensuing maritime economy[29]). The purpose was to counter the Persian menace, but his naval policy, according to Ps.-Xenophon, led *also* to radical democracy.[30] To return to *Cimon* 9,1: insofar as the polarized model of Athenian politics is valid, the radical democracy fostered by Themistocles would have antagonized aristocrats, and his claim to know how to make a city great and rich would have galled them — one interpretation of Ion's remark. From a less partisan viewpoint, however, the point may be simply that Cimon, who according to Plutarch had learned neither music nor any other art,[31] is more skilled than Themistocles because he can do what Themistocles says he can do — *and* sing impromptu into the bargain.[32]

Either way the anecdote unfolds in the context of Themistocles' and Cimon's rivalry. That rivalry began early, carried through and ended late. At Olympia in the mid-490s Themistocles

> . . . διαμιλλώμενος τῷ Κίμωνι περὶ δεῖπνα καὶ σκηνὰς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην λαμπρότητα καὶ παρασκευήν, οὐκ ἤρεσκε τοῖς Ἕλλησιν. ἐκείνῳ μὲν γὰρ ὄντι νέῳ καὶ ἀπ' οἰκίας μεγάλης ᾤοντο δεῖν τὰ τοιαῦτα συγχωρεῖν· ὁ δὲ μήπω γνώριμος γεγονώς, ἀλλὰ δοκῶν ἐξ οὐχ ὑπαρχόντων καὶ παρ' ἀξίαν ἐπαίρεσθαι, προσωφλίσκανεν ἀλαζονείαν.
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> . . . competed with Cimon with banquets, entertainments and other munificences and extravagances, displeasing [thus] the Hellenes. For Cimon being young and of a great house, they thought it necessary to allow him such things; Themistocles however, not yet famous (γνώριμος) and seeming to elevate himself above his rank and beyond his means, incurred the charge of ostentation.[33]

27. Frost, "Themistocles' Place in Athenian Politics," *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 1, 1968, pp. 121-124; refuted by Rhodes, as in n. 24 above, p. 346.
28. Fortified: *Them.* 19,1-3, p. 180.1-14 ed. Ziegler; port: 19,3-6, pp. 180.14-181.4; supremacy: 20,1 (cf. Thucydides 1,93,3-8).
29. *Them.* 19,5, p. 180.26-28 ed. Ziegler.
30. Ps.-Xenophon, *Ath. pol.* 1,2 and 1,11-13 and Frost, as in n. 4 above, p. 25.
31. *Cimon* 4,5, p. 336.10-13 ed. Ziegler (cf. *FGrHist* IIIB [Noten], 392 F 13, p. 130 n. 79).
32. Tonio Hölscher has put Themistocles' remark in a larger socio-cultural context: *"Die Entstehung des Individualporträts* [sc. *wie die Ostia Herme von Themistokles*] *ist ein Indikator für eine weitreichende gesellschaftliche Veränderung, für eine neue Erfahrung persönlicher Identität und einen Wandel im Verhältnis des Einzelnen zur Gemeinschaft. In der Tat hat Themistokles seine ganze politische Laufbahn in einer bisher unerhörten Weise nach individuellen Massstäben angelegt. Bezeichnend sein Ausspruch, er habe zwar weder singen noch musizieren gelernt, wisse aber, wie man einen Staat gross und vermögend mache"* (*Die unheimliche Klassik der Griechen*, Thyssen-Vorträge. Auseinandersetzungen mit der Antike 8, Bamberg 1989, p. 9).
33. *Them.* 5,4, pp. 162.22-163.2 ed. Ziegler; cf. Aristotle, *Eudemian Ethics* 3,6,4-5, 1233b10-13 and Frost, as in n. 4 above, pp. 88-89.

During the power struggles following the battle of Salamis, Cimon was Sparta's aristocratic ally against Themistocles.[34] Later in life Themistocles was ostracized and accused in absentia of treason. Unable to defend himself in Athens and about to be arrested and brought to trial, he fled and finally did go over to the Persians, among whom (according to one version), as naval commander, he died by his own hand rather than facing in battle the commander of the opposing Greek forces — his old rival Cimon.[35]

Allusions to Themistocles' *amousia* occur occasionally in Ancient Greek letters; I shall mention a few here.

a.) In verse 959 of *The Wasps* (422 BC) by Aristophanes it is said of the defendant in a mock trial: *kitharizein . . . ouk epistatai* (he does not know how to play the cithara) — an approximation of Themistocles' words as reported by Ion and put here for comparison into direct speech: *ouk emathon kitharizein* (I did not learn to play the cithara). Themistocles' concession had become proverbial. The point lies in the fact that the *amousos* in *The Wasps*, *"Themistocles redivivus"* so to speak, is Labes: a *dog* accused of theft.[36] Aristophanes often adopts a conservative, aristocratic pose,[37] but in his *Knights* of 424 BC Themistocles is made to look very good (vv. 813-819) — especially by comparison with the post-Periclean demagogue Cleon, who brags that he'd "done more for [Athens] than Themistocles" had.[38]

b.) Two interesting allusions survive on papyrus. Aeschines of Sphettus (430/420 — after 376/375 BC) was a disciple of Socrates and author of dialogs featuring him. Cicero and Augustine supply a *"kurze inhaltsangabe"* of Aeschines' dialog *Alcibiades*:[39] Alcibiades, convinced of his own beatitude, is persuaded by Socrates that, in spite of his high birth, he is a fool and thus miserable.[40] Aelius Aristides of Smyrna, a prominent rhetorician of the second century AD, preserves excerpts from the same dialog

34. *Them.* 20,4; *Cimon* 16,2-3.
35. Ostracized: *Them.* 22,4, p. 184.11-14 ed. Ziegler; treason: 23,1-4, pp. 184.18-185.13; unable to defend: 23,4, p. 185.7-13; trial: 23,5-6, p. 185.13-19; fled: 24,1-26,3, pp. 185.20-188.8; Persians: 26,4-28,6, pp. 188.9-190.29; died: 31,4-7, 194.18-195.14; *Cimon* 18,7, p. 357.23-26; Diodorus Siculus 11,58,1-3; Aelius Aristides, *or.* 3,345. See also Thucydides 1,135-138, the letters of Themistocles (trans. by Lenardon, as in n. 4 above, pp. 154-193) and Frost, as in n. 4 above, pp. 5-13 and 227-228. Discussion of the reasons for Themistocles' ostracism: Harold B. Mattingly, "Facts and Artifacts: the Researcher and his Tools," *The University of Leeds Review* 14, 1971, pp. 286-287.
36. Concerning Themistocles' supposed dishonesty in money matters cf. Herodotus 8,4,2-8,5,3 (esp. 8,5,3); Plutarch, *Aristides* 4,3 pp. 253.25-254.4; Podlecki, as in n. 6 above, p. 71; and Thomas Braun, "The choice of dead politicians in Eupolis' Demoi," in: David Harvey and John Wilkins, eds., *The Rivals of Aristophanes*, London 2000, p. 194.
37. Cf. *Clouds* 961-972 with regard to old-time musical *paideia* or education and John C. Franklin, "Diatonic Music in Greece: A Reassessment of its Antiquity," in: Mnemosyne, ser.4, 55, 2002, pp. 687-688.
38. Vv. 811-812. Cf. Podlecki, as in n. 6 above, pp. 59-60 and Frost, as in n. 4 above, p. 18.
39. This was noticed by Heinrich Dittmar, *Aischines von Sphettos: Studien zur Literaturgeschichte der Sokratiker*, Philologische Untersuchungen 21, Berlin 1912, p. 99 with n. 14.
40. Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 3,77 and Augustine, *De civitate dei* 14,8, pp. 19.29-20.2 eds. B. Dombart and A. Kalb (ser. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana, Stuttgard 1981 [5th ed.].

which fill out Socrates' argument,[41] demonstrating in particular his dependence on the example of Themistocles for making his case.[42] In 1919 Grenfell and Hunt published 19 non-consecutive fragments of Aeschines' *Alcibiades* preserved on late-2nd-century-AD papyri. A portion of the beginning of Socrates' argument in that lost dialog, such as we know the argument from Aristides, constitutes the first of those 19 papyrus fragments:

> .[.....περι τους] / σεαυτου γον[εας γεγε?]/νησθαι. οιος περ [ο Θε]/ μιστοκλης λεγεται [πε]/ρι τους εαυτου γο[νεας:] / ευφημει εφη ω Σ[ωκρα]τες: π[ο]τερον δε δοκει [] / σοι το[ις] ανθρωποις αν[αγ]/καιο[ν] ειναι αμου[σους] / π<ρ>οτε[ρο]ν η μουσικο[υς γι]/νεσ[θα]ι· και ποτερο[ν α]/φι[ππους] η ιππικο[υς: α]/ναγ[καιο]ν μοι δοκει [] / αμου[σους] προτερον κ[αι] / αφιπ[πους:] ουκο[υν...[43]
>
> (Socrates:) Would you be willing to have behaved to your parents as Themistocles is said to have behaved to his? (Alcibiades:) Hush, Socrates. (Socrates:) Do you think that men have to be unmusical before they are musical, and unskilled in riding before they are skilled? (Alcibiades:) I think that they must first be unmusical and unskilled in riding. (Socrates:) Therefore...

This fragment shows that Aeschines' *Alcibiades* partook of the debate on whether virtue is innate or acquired (*physei* vs. *mathesei*).[44] Themistocles was sometimes invoked in support of the latter contention, his supposedly dissolute youth[45] demonstrating that virtue is not necessarily inborn[46] — a contention implicit in the reference above to

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41. The fragments of Aeschines' *Alcibiades* have been edited by Heinrich Krauss (*Aeschinis Socratici reliquiae*, Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana, Leipzig 1911, pp. 32-39) and by Dittmar (as in n. 39 above, pp. 266-274); those preserved by Aristides appear in Aelius Aristides, *Opera omnia*, vol. 2, ed. Charles A. Behr, Leiden 1978: or. 2,61-62 (= fr. 3 Krauss[K], fr. 11a-b Dittmar[D]) and 2,74 (= fr. 4 K, fr. 11c D), or. 3,348 (= fr. 1 K, fr. 8 D) and 3,575-576 (= fr. 2 K, fr. 7 D and vestigia K, fr. 9 D). English translation: *P. Aelius Aristides: The Complete Works*, tr. Charles A. Behr, vol. 1, Leiden 1986, pp. 87-88 (= fr. 3 K), 89 (= fr. 4 K), 216-217 (= fr. 1 K) and 258-259 (= fr. 2 K and vestigia K).

42. Cf. Dittmar, as in n. 39 above, pp. 99-108, 114-115 and 120-121; Edmund G. Berry, "The Oxyrhynchus Fragments of Aeschines of Sphettus," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 81, 1950, pp. 1-8; and Frost, as in n. 4 above, pp. 20-21 and 69.

43. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part XIII, eds. B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt, London 1919, no. 1608, fr. 1, ll. 1-15. I have added the square brackets facing left to show the lacuna-end which, when not printed in column-form, is obscured. The English paraphrase is by John Burnet and appears in op. cit., p. 93. Grenfell and Hunt identify Aeschines as the author of these papyrus fragments on the basis of "coincidences [there] with two of the six extant quotations from" his lost dialog *Alcibiades* (op. cit., p. 88).

44. Cf. Frost, "Themistocles and Mnesiphilus," *Historia* 20, 1971, pp. 21-22 and Antonino M. Milazzo, *Un dialogo difficile: La retorica in conflitto nei Discorsi Platonici di Elio Aristide*, Spudasmata 87, Hildesheim 2002, pp. 34-35.

45. Cf. Plutarch, *Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata* 184f-185a, p. 40.16-21 ed. W. Nachstädt *et al.* (*Plutarchi Moralia* II, ser. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana, Leipzig 1935), who provide 16 further testimonia (app. crit. ad loc.).

46. Cf. Frost, as in n. 4 above, pp. 19-23.

Themistocles' ill-behavior toward his parents.[47] Aeschines' Socrates shifts abruptly from that topic to the acquisition of traits, beginning with *eumousia*. He probably did not link the progression "unmusical" → "musical" to Themistocles' personal example, as Themistocles is not known ever to have overcome his *amousia*; indeed Plato's *Republic* 335c suggests that the progressions "unmusical" → "musical" and "unskilled in riding" → "skilled in riding" were conventional. Just how the topics "Themistocles' ill-behavior toward his parents" and "the acquisition of virtue, e.g., *eumousia*" fitted together in Socrates' argument, we shall probably never know. The surviving excerpts suffice to show, however, that the example of Themistocles convinced Alcibiades of his own baseness, reducing him to tears and prompting him to beg Socrates to teach him virtue.[48]

In 1752-1754 excavation of L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus' villa in Herculaneum brought to light a papyrus-roll containing book four of a treatise on music (*Peri mousikes*) by the Epicurean philosopher Philodemus of Gadara (110-40/35 BC) who, according to Cicero, who knew Philodemus personally, "lived with" said L. Calpurnius Piso.[49] Philodemus refutes there views expressed in a now-lost treatise by the second-century-BC Stoic philosopher Diogenes of Babylon on the ethical force of music; Philodemus denies music that power, proclaiming it to be a mere sensual pleasure on the level of cookery.[50] The following passage proceeds in a similar vein:

> τ[εκμή]ρι/όν που [θέλει τοῦ] καὶ [π]ᾶσιν / ἀναγκ[αία]ν εἶνα[ι λ]αβεῖν, / οὐδ[ὲ] τὸ[ν Θεμι]στοκ[λ]έα μὴ / [λαβεῖν φημι[51]] καίπερ ὄν[τ]α / καὶ φρον[ι]μώ[τ]ατον καὶ στ[ρ]α/[τη]γικώτατον ἀκηκ[ο]ώς . . .[52]
>
> [Diogenes] wants [it to be seen as] positive proof that it is necessary to all [people] to understand music; *I* say that Themistocles *did not* understand it,

47. Ancient accounts of Themistocles' youthful depravity culminate in an anecdote recorded by Idomeneus of Lampsacus (ca. 325-270 BC; *FGrHist* 338, F 4) and preserved by Athenaeus, according to whom Themistocles, presumably somewhat later in adolescence than we found him nerdily rehearsing forensic speeches (see above p. 353), harnessed four *hetaerae* to his wagon in order that they pull him through the morning (and thus crowded) Cerameicus (Ath. 12, 533d) and/or through the crowded marketplace (*agora*: ibid. 13, 576c; cf. Plutarch, *Moralia* 552b) — a gesture reinvigorated after a fashion some 450 years later by Mark Antony, who, in Cicero's opinion, as *tribunus plebis* really ought to have known better (Cicero, *Philippicae* 2,24,58), and *mutatis mutandis* anticipating today's annual "Love Parade" in Berlin. Debauchery on this scale may in itself have constituted *asebeia* toward parents by ancient standards (cf. below n. 124); be that as it may, Plutarch records (with salubrious incredulity) that Themistocles' father disowned him, and that his mother, unable to bear the shame, killed herself (*Them.* 2,8, p. 159.16-19 ed. Ziegler; cf. ibid. 2,7, p. 159.9-13).
48. See above, n. 40, and Aristides, *or.* 3,576 (= vestigia K).
49. Cicero, *In Pisonem* 28,68-70; cf. R.G.M. Nisbet ad loc., in: *M. Tulli Ciceronis in L. Calpurnium Pisonem Oratio*, Oxford 1961, and ibid., pp. 183-188.
50. Philodemus, *Peri mousikes*, book 4: iii 34, pp. 40 and 95; xviii 25, pp. 62 and 105; xx 35, pp. 65 and 107; and xxxiii 8, pp. 82 and 115-116 ed. Neubecker. It was customary to disparage music by comparing it to cookery: cf. Aristotle, *Politica* 8,5, 1339a39-41 and Plutarch, *Apophthegmata Laconica* 218c and 223f-224a. Plato has Socrates call activities which he sees as being comparable to cookery, such as rhetoric, "flattery" (*kolakeia*), as opposed to "arts" (*technai*) such as medicine or justice: *Gorgias* 464d-465b.
51. Reading φημι with Kemke instead of φησι with Neubecker.
52. *Peri mousikes*, book 4, xi 31-36, pp. 53 and 145 ed. Neubecker.

> even though I have heard that he was wisest and the most skilled in military leadership . . .

Philodemus could have read that Themistocles was the wisest (*sophotatos*) of the Greeks in Herodotus 8,124,1. That he achieved what he did without any musical knowledge proves, in Philodemus' mind, music's irrelevance.[53] This train of thought had a reprise so unusual that it begs a brief excursion fast-forward into the Early Modern Period. In *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (Oxford 1621) Robert Burton (1577-1640) ponders the "Misery of Schollers," invoking Themistocles in order to plead their cause:

> Because they cannot ride an horse, which every Clowne can doe; salute and court a Gentlewoman, carve at table, cringe and make congies, which every common swasher can doe, *hos populus ridet &c.* they are laughed to scorne, and accompted silly fooles by our Gallants.[54]

Burton identifies the Latin quotation as "Persius Sat. 3"[55] and, alluding to Plutarch, *Themistocles* 2,4 (p. 354 above), annotates "accompted silly fooles" as follows:

> They [sc. Scholars] cannot fiddle? but as *Themistocles* said, hee could make a small towne become a great citty.

"Carve at table" in the main text aligns the annotation with the ancient topic of music's equivalence to the merely sensual flattery (*kolakeia*) of cookery, a leitmotif of Philodemus. Philodemus and Burton differ in that the former invokes Themistocles-*amousos* in order to disparage music, the latter in order to rescue the disparaged scholar-*amousoi*'s honor; both, however, devalue music. The implied equalization of carving and fiddling is an example within the Classical Tradition of "convergence" or independent occurrence of an idea in different times and places.

Returning to the papyri we note that, unlike Aristophanes and Plutarch, who kept the story in the context of 5th-c.-BC Athenian politics, Aeschines and Philodemus recognized its wider implications and thus, emancipating it from its original context, instrumentalized it in support of philosophical agendas of their own. They were not the last to do so.

2. Ancient witnesses: the Latin tradition

In Philodemus' day — some 150 years before Plutarch — the Themistocles story appeared in Latin letters. Downcast by his daughter Tullia's death and Caesar's dictatorship, Cicero in 45 BC wrote the *Tusculanae disputationes*, an expository dialog in five parts on the themes death, pain, sorrow etc.[56] A general motivation for Cicero's philosophical works of that period was desire to compete with the Greeks. This is evident in

53. Cf. H. Koller 1954, as in n. 3 above, p. 181.
54. Part. 1, Sect. 2, Memb. 3, Subs. 15, p. 305 ed. Holbrook Jackson, London 1972.
55. *Satire* 3 (a defense of philosophy), v. 86: *his populus ridet* (the people laugh about these [mannerisms], the mannerisms being those of certain philosophers). Cf. W. Kissel, *Persius. Satiren*, ser. Wissenschaftliche Kommentare zu griechischen und lateinischen Schriftstellern, Heidelberg 1990, p. 465-466.
56. For the date and circumstances of the *Tusculanae*, see Matthias Gelzer, *Cicero: ein biographischer Versuch*, Wiesbaden 1969, p. 290ff. (esp. pp. 304-309).

the exordium to book one of the *Tusculanae* (1,1) and in the subsequent survey of Greek and Roman merits, the latter including justice, valor, gravity, constancy, probity and loyalty (1,2), the former consisting of excellence in every genre of letters. Cato, continues Cicero, showed in his *Origines*[57] that early Romans too as guests at banquets used to sing, to the sound of the tibia player, the virtues of famous men,[58] but that they did not hold this genre [sc. panegyric verse] in honor and thus pursued it with a lack of zeal (1,3, 218.19-24 ed. Pohlenz). This is the cue for Cicero to return to the Greeks, for they *did* esteem letters highly:

> *summam eruditionem Graeci sitam censebant in nervorum vocumque cantibus; igitur et Epaminondas, princeps meo iudicio Graeciae, fidibus praeclare cecinisse dicitur, Themistoclesque aliquot ante annos cum in epulis recusaret*[59] *lyram, est*

57. See Martine Chassignet, ed., *Caton: Les Origines (Fragments)*, ser. Collection des universités de France, Paris 1986, pp. 53-54, lib. VII, fr. 13 and, for secondary literature on the passage, A.E. Douglas, ed., *Cicero: Tusculan Disputations I*, Warminster 1985, p. 91.

58. *. . . est in Originibus solitos esse in epulis canere convivas ad tibicinem de clarorum hominum virtutibus*: 1,3, p. 218.17-19 ed. M. Pohlenz (*M. Tulli Ciceronis Scripta quae manserunt omnia* 44, *Tusculanarum Disputationum Libri V*, Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana, Leipzig 1918).

59. *Recusaret* is the reading of the 9th-10th-c. *Tusculanae*-mss. whose consensus represents the archetype "X" (cf. e.g. Hans Drexler, "Zur Textkritik der Tusculanen," *Helikon* 5, 1965, p. 500 or id., "Zur Überlieferung von Ciceros Tusculanen," *Miscellanea Critica* 2, Leipzig 1965, p. 68. R.H. Rouse offers a somewhat different view of the *Tusculanae*-transmission in: L.D. Reynolds ed., *Texts and Transmission*, Oxford 1983, pp. 132-135). One 9th-10th-c. ms., however, Vatican 3246 (V), has interlinear, marginal and erasure corrections in hands contemporary with that of the main scribe but not supported by the other mss. and therefore not stemming from the archetype X — including *recusasset* in 1,4 (cf. Hans Drexler, *Zu Überlieferung und Text der Tusculanen*, Collana di studi ciceroniani 1, Rome 1961, p. 39). Such corrections could stem from an otherwise lost *Tusculanae*-tradition "Y."

The Y-hypothesis was advanced by Ed. Ströbel ("Die Tusculanen im Cod. Vaticanus 3246," *Philologus* 49, 1890, pp. 49-64) and developed by Pohlenz (*Ciceronis Tusculanarum Disputationum Libri V*, Heft 1: *Libri I et II*, Leipzig 1912, "Die Überlieferung"; ed. Pohlenz 1918, pp. xvii-xix), Drexler 1961 (as above) and others (e.g., M. Giusta ed., *Ciceronis Tusculanarum Disputationum Libri V*, ser. Corpus scriptorum Latinorum Paravianum, Turin 1984, pp. xv-xvi and lvii-lxi). A persistent critic of the Y-hypothesis after Adolf Lörcher ("Bericht über die Literatur zu Ciceros philos. Schriften, III. Teil," *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaften* 208, Jg. 52, 1926, 2. Abteil, pp. 45-53) is Sven Lundström, who engaged in a scholarly dispute with Drexler (see Lundström, "Die Handschriftenklasse 'Y' in der Überlieferung der *Tusculanen*," *Ciceroniana* [new series] 1, 1973, p. 47, n. 1 and Rouse, as above, p. 132, n. 1; contrary to Rouse, Drexler *defended* the Y-hypothesis).

In favor of their hypothesis Y-proponents cite patristic *Tusculanae*-quotations containing unsupported V-corrections (Pohlenz 1918, as above, pp. xvi-xvii; Drexler 1961, as above, pp. 57-58 and 63) — of which Augustine's *recusasset* is a further example (pp. 365 and 367 below). In my opinion, though, the unsupported V-corrections are medieval conjectures. As such *recusasset* would possess no textual authority. It figured highly in the Themistocles story's reception, though, entering later *Tusculanae*-mss. (cf. Thomas Wilson Dougan, *Ciceronis Tusculanarum Disputationum Libri V*, Cambridge 1905, reprint New York 1974 [ser. Latin Texts and Commentaries], app. crit. ad loc.) and thence Early Modern quotations, and sowing ambivalence as to whether his lyre-refusal occurred but once (" . . . *als Themistokles bei einem Gastmahl erklärte, mit der Lyra nicht umgehen zu können*" [Olof Gigon tr., Munich

> *habitus indoctior. ergo in Graecia musici floruerunt, discebantque id omnes, nec qui nesciebat satis excultus doctrina putabatur.*[60]
>
> The Greeks used to think the highest erudition to be in string and vocal music; thus on the one hand Epaminondas, in my opinion the most distinguished man in Greece, is said to have played the lyre brilliantly; Themistocles on the other hand, who lived some years before Epaminondas, because he used to refuse the lyre at banquets, was held to be somewhat uncultured (*indoctior*). Thus, musicians flourished in Greece, all used to study music, and he who knew no music was thought to be insufficiently educated.

Epaminondas (died 364 BC), the Boeotian statesman, military commander and one-time student of the Pythagorean Lysis of Tarentum,[61] epitomized Greek musical ideals.[62] In the chiastic argument of *Tusculanae* 1,4[63] Themistocles exemplifies *e negativo* music's high status among the Greeks. Cicero in his tribulations identified with Themistocles, who also suffered at the hands of the state he had served so well;[64] the list of Roman virtues (*Tusculanae* 1,2) and the Roman literary elite's antipathy for the licentiousness of certain non-Roman (i.e., Greek) genres of performing art[65] suggest

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1984[5]]: = *cum historicum* + *recusasset* and *epulae* "singular" [*ad sensum*], an interpretation corresponding to the single-occurrence scenario of *Cimon* 9,1) or repeatedly, as *recusaret* implies (" . . . in refusing to play the lyre at banquets" [Loeb edition]: = *cum causale* + *recusaret* and *epulae* "plural" [*ad sensum*], an interpretation corresponding to the iterative scenario of *Themistocles* 2,4; cf. Dougan, op. cit., Pohlenz 1912, as above, commentary ad loc. and J.H. Koopmans, *Augustinus' Briefwisseling met Dioscorus*, Amsterdam 1949, p. 152). — Thus the *recusaret/-asset* question proceeding from *Tusculanae* 1,4 has been touched upon by Church Fathers, Carolingian scribes, Early Modern Humanists and 20th c. editors and translators, the response chosen determining the *Gestalt* the Themistocles story took in their hands; the *recusaret/-asset* question therefore exemplifies Classical Tradition in miniature. One bit of evidence however has not yet been brought to bear on the question. In *Tusculanae* 1,3 Cicero, citing Cato, speaks of convivial song at *epulae*, whereby *epulae* is a true plural (see n. 58 above). Therefore it is improbable that in *Tusculanae* 1,4 Cicero should have not wanted the same word *epulae* to be understood in the same way. This observation would speak in favor of the reading *recusaret*. Whether it rules out *recusasset* in the additional sense of "because he had had the habit of refusing," sc. before he "was held to be somewhat uncultured," is another question.

60. *Tusculanae* 1,4, p. 219.2-9 ed. Pohlenz 1918.
61. Cf. Walter Burkert, *Weisheit und Wissenschaft. Studien zu Pythagoras, Philolaos und Platon*, Erlanger Beiträge zur Sprach- und Kunstwissenschaft 10, Erlangen 1962, pp. 163 and 181-182 (English translation: *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism*, tr. by E. L. Minar, Jr., Cambridge, Mass. 1972, pp. 179 and 115-116 resp.), and Christoph Riledweg, *Pythagoras. Leben-Lehre-Nachwirking*, Munich 2002, p. 138.
62. Cf. Aristoxenus, fr. 96 Wehrli (Athenaeus 5, 184d-e) and Cornelius Nepos, *Epaminondas* 1-2.
63. premise (positive) — The Greeks used to think . . .
    example (positive) — Epaminondas
    example (negative) — Themistocles
    premise (positive, recap.) — Thus, musicians flourished in Greece . . .
    premise (negative) — and he who knew no music was thought . . .
64. Cf. Heinz Berthold, "Die Gestalt des Themistokles bei M. Tullius Cicero," *Klio* 43-45, 1965, pp. 38-48.
65. Cf. Quintilian 1,10,31 (nn. 69 and 70 below) and Harmon, "Tanz," *Der Neue Pauly*, vol.12/1, 2002, col. 15.

subtextual disapproval of music in *Tusculanae* 1,4.[66]

In book one, chapter 10 of the *Institutio oratoria* (c. 95 AD), devoted to music's place in the *enkyklios paideia*[67] and to the related proposition that the Roman orator's training should include music and geometry, Quintilian writes:

> *Unde etiam ille mos, ut in conviviis post cenam circumferretur lyra, cuius cum se imperitum Themistocles confessus esset, ut verbis Ciceronis utar, 'est habitus indoctior'.*[68]
>
> Thence too the custom at banquets of passing the lyre around after dinner, and when Themistocles admitted that he was unskilled in it, to use Cicero's words, "he was thought to be somewhat uncultured."

Here again Themistocles exemplifies music's high status among the Greeks. But, in contrast to the beginning of the *Tusculanae*, where the strands of Cicero's argument are subtly woven and the authorial intent and emotive content are not patent, Quintilian, who pursues a different goal than Cicero, namely the outlining of the educational prerequisites of eloquence, lays his cards out on the table, approving wholeheartedly of music's high status among the Greeks in a single panegyric in praise of music (*Institutio* 1,10,9-33) — the music in question being the heroic music of the distant past[69] (as invoked in *Tusculanae* 1,3 with reference to Cato's *Origines*; see above p. 362) as opposed to the "effeminate, lewd" stage music of his own day.[70]

In 410 AD Dioscorus, a young man from a prominent family in the Greek-speaking Eastern part of the Roman Empire about to return home after studies in Rome and Carthage, sent Augustine (354-430) a cover letter asking for help with a series of questions on Cicero's dialogs left unanswered by his teachers;[71] he explains his request by saying that "if one is asked (sc. about those things) and does not answer, one

66. H. Koller came to the opposite conclusion: "Voll Neid *erzählt der Römer Cicero von dieser griechischen Sitte* [sc. *dem Einzelvortrage von Chorlyrik beim Gelage*], *weil es in Rom nichts derartiges gab*" (H. Koller 1963, as in n. 3 above, p. 94; emphasis added).

67. The expression *enkyklios paideia* occurs in *Institutio oratoria* 1,10,1; later its individual disciplines were called the liberal arts. Cf. H. Koller 1954, as in n. 3 above; Harald Fuchs, "Enkyklios Paideia," *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 5, Stuttgart 1962, coll. 365-398; L.M. de Rijk, "'Εγκύκλιος παιδεία: A study of its original meaning," *Vivarium* 3, 1965, pp. 24-93.

68. *Institutio oratoria* 1,10,19, p. 62.20-23 ed. M. Winterbottom (*Institutionis oratoriae libri duodecim*, ser. Scriptorum classicorum bibliotheca Oxoniensis, Oxford 1970).

69. . . . *qua* [*musica*] *laudes fortium canebantur quaque ipsi fortes canebant* . . . : ibid., 1,10,31, p. 64.17-18.

70. . . . *quae* [*musica*] *nunc in scaenis effeminata et inpudicis modis fracta non ex parte minima si quid in nobis virilis roboris manebat excidit* . . . : ibid., p. 64.15-17.

71. Dioscorus' letter and Augustine's response are Epistle 117 and 118 resp. in vol. 34 of the *CSEL*. Date (410): Koopmans, as in n. 59 above, pp. 19-21; prominent family: *Ep.* 117, p. 664.21-22; Greek-speaking Eastern part: 118,2,9, p. 674.10-12; about to return: 117, p. 664.11; studies: 118,1,2, p. 666.18; Rome and Carthage: 118,2,9, pp. 673-674; help: 117, p. 664.1-8; Ciceronian dialogs: 118,1,2, p. 666.14-18; left unanswered: 118,2,9, p. 673.2-4 (cf. Konrad Vössing, *Schule und Bildung im Nordafrika der Römischen Kaiserzeit*, Collection Latomus 238, Brussels 1997, p. 380 n. 1300). For secondary literature on this correspondence, see Vössing, op. cit., p. 301 n. 1104, and for its context in Augustine's thinking on education, Christian Tornau, "Augustin und das 'Hidden Curriculum'," *Hermes* 130, 2002, pp. 316-337.

will be thought to be uncultured and dull" (*indoctus et hebes putabitur*).[72] Augustine opens his response with a lengthy reproof of Dioscorus and his concern[73] before addressing philosophical questions as requested.[74] Augustine's ambivalence is on display: on one hand his immense learning, which had prompted Dioscorus' request in the first place, on the other the wariness toward this learning which Augustine the churchman adopts.[75] He dissects Dioscorus' letter, analyzing the implications of every sentence; reflecting on the place of classical learning in Christian intellectual-life, he challenges in particular Dioscorus' fear of the epithet *indoctus* (the key word in *Tusculanae* 1,4) in an argument[76] culminating as follows:

> *Ille autem, quisquis abs te quaesierit, quae tu a nobis quaeris, audiat, quod ea doctius et prudentius nescias. si enim Themistocles non curavit, quod est habitus indoctior, cum canere nervis in epulis recusasset, ubi cum se nescire illa dixisset eique dictum esset: "Quid igitur nosti?" respondit: "Rem publicam ex parva magnam facere," dubitandum tibi est dicere te ista nescire?*[77]
>
> He though, whoever may ask you about those things you ask me about, he should hear in response that you don't know about them — in a more learned (*doctius*) and more prudent way. For if Themistocles didn't mind that he was thought rather uncultured after he had refused to sing to the lyre at dinners, as soon as he had said that he knew not those things and it

72. *Ep.* 117, p. 664.16-17.
73. Reproof: *Ep.* 118,1,1-3,22, pp. 665-686. Augustine was often asked for exegetical help by ecclesiastical colleagues or others and, as is the case here regarding Dioscorus, tended to react with impatience (cf. Kenneth B. Steinhauser, "Codex Leningradensis Q.v.I.3: Some Unresolved Problems," in: Duane W.H. Arnold and Pamela Bright, eds., *De doctrina christiana: A Classic of Western Culture*, Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity 9, Notre Dame 1995, pp. 34-36).
74. Questions addressed: *Ep.* 118,4,23-5,34, pp. 686-698. Cf. Henri-Irénée Marrou, *Augustinus und das Ende der antiken Bildung*, Paderborn 1982, pp. 306-307 (French original: *Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique*, 4th ed., Paris 1958, pp. 361-362); Harald Hagendahl, *Augustine and the Latin Classics*, vol. 2: *Augustine's Attitude*, Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia 20, Göteborg 1967, pp. 580-581 and 716.
75. Wariness: *Ep.* 118,1,1 p. 665.19-21. Dioscorus' letter makes Augustine consider questions he had wrestled with some 15 years earlier. In *De doctrina christiana* (*DDC*) he had advocated a "balanced interaction between classical learning and Christianity" (Edward D. English, ed., *Reading and Wisdom*, Notre Dame Conferences in Medieval Studies 6, Notre Dame USA 1995, Preface, p. vii; see also Carol E. Quillen, "Plundering the Egyptians: Petrarch and Augustine's *DDC*," in: op. cit., pp. 154-157; Frederick Van Fleteren, "Augustine, Neoplatonism, and the Liberal Arts," in: Arnold and Bright, eds., as in n. 73 above, pp. 14-24). In themselves, however, the "*artes liberales* . . . [brought Augustine] not a step nearer to divine truth" (Christoph Schäublin, "*DDC*: A Classic of Western Culture?," in: Arnold and Bright, eds., op. cit., pp. 53-54; see John C. Cavadini, "The Sweetness of the Word: Salvation and Rhetoric in Augustine's *DDC*," in: op. cit., p. 171 with n. 69 and *DDC* 2,39,58-2,42,63, *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* [*CCSL*] 32, pp. 72-77) and thus he repented of his classical learning (*Confessiones* 1,13,20-1,19,30 and 4,1,1, *CCSL* 27, pp. 11-17 and 40). See too Fuchs, as in n. 67 above, coll. 391-395.
76. *Ep.* 118,1,4-3,13, pp. 668-678.
77. *Ep.* 118,3,13, p. 677.9-15.

> had been said to him "What, then, *do* you know?" he answered: "To make a great republic out of a small one," why should *you* hesitate to say that you don't know those things?

In an inversion of the values held by Laomedon's guests and attributed to Greeks in general by Cicero and Quintilian, Themistocles' example is for Augustine a *positive* one.

Some 20 years after corresponding with Dioscorus, Augustine revisited the Themistocles story, but in much changed circumstances. In *Epistle* 118 we encountered the Bishop of Hippo at his *akme*; in the comparatively little-noticed Darius-correspondence of 429-430 AD (*Ep.* 229-231)[78] he is weak, elderly and trying to shore up the political situation in his homeland, which is endangered from within and without.[79] Bonifacius, sent from Italy to defend the province Africa (Libya) against the Vandal threat, had himself risen against Roman rule (427-429).[80] In 427 Darius, a senior official, arrived to straighten things out; he pacified Bonifacius and concluded a treaty with the Vandals.[81]

Such is the background to *Ep.* 229-231. Augustine initiates the correspondence, praising Darius' peacemaking in beatific terms and asking for an answer in symbolic payment for Augustinian works Darius has received from mutual acquaintances (*Ep.* 229).[82] Darius in turn lavishes praise on Augustine (*Ep.* 230,1) before addressing the matter at hand, peacemaking (230,3). He concludes with requests for three things: a copy of the *Confessions* (230,4), Augustine's prayers (230,5) and an answer (230,6). The bishop duly responds (*Ep.* 231). He is pleased by Darius' praise (*laudes*) and reflects on the admissibility of such pleasure, reflection which, intermingled with references to works Augustine plans to send Darius, occupies the whole letter. Before turning to scriptural authority, Augustine illustrates this reflection with an artful bouquet of quotations from classical literature (231,2-4):

Ep. 231,2, p. 505.2-3:	Persius 1,47
Ep. 231,3, p. 505.13-15:	Cicero, *Tusculanae* 1,4
Ep. 231,3, p. 505.17-18:	Cicero, *Pro Archia Poeta* 9,20
Ep. 231,3, p. 505.20-22:	*Ep.* 118,13 (Plutarch, *Themistocles* 2,4)
Ep. 231,3, p. 505.22-23:	Ennius, *Annales* fr. 560 Vahlen, 574 Skutsch
Ep. 231,3, p. 506.5-6:	Horace, *Epistula* 1,1,36-37
Ep. 231,4, p. 506.7-8:	(a topos first recorded in Homer, *Od.* 19,449-458)
Ep. 231,4, p. 506.11:	Persius 1,48

78. Ep. 229 = *CSEL* 57, pp. 497-498; Ep. 230 = pp. 499-503; Ep. 231 = pp. 504-510. Date (429-430): E.M. Atkins and R.J. Dodaro, eds., *Augustine: Political Writings*, ser. Cambridge texts in the history of political thought, Cambridge 2001, p. xl.
79. Weak, elderly: *Ep.* 229,1, 497.8-10; trying to shore up: *Ep.* 229,2, 497.18-498.9 and Atkins, as in n. 78 above, p. xxv.
80. Cf. Procopius, *De bellis*, liber 3: *De bello Vandalico* 1,3,14-36.
81. Atkins, as in n. 78 above, pp. 229-230 (Bonifacius) and 233 (Darius).
82. An English translation of *Ep.* 229 appears in op. cit., pp. 225-226, and in James Houston Baxter, ed. and tr., *St. Augustine: Select Letters*, ser. Loeb Classical Library, London 1930, pp. 443-447.

Leading up to these quotations and allusions, Augustine repeats the words *laudes meae* four times,[83] thus preparing the reader for the key quotation (marginalia and emphasis added):

	Viderint graves et periti viri, quid de illo Themistocle
Tuscu-	*sentiant, si tamen hominis nomen verum recolo, qui cum in*
lanae	*epulis, quod clari et eruditi Graeciae facere solebant,*
1,4	*canere fidibus recusasset et ob hoc indoctior haberetur*
	totumque illud iucunditatis genus aspernatus esset, dictum
Pro	*illi est: 'Quid ergo audire te delectat?' ad quod ille*
Archia	*respondisse fertur:* 'Laudes meas'. *viderint ergo, quo fine*
9,20	*qua intentione illud dixisse crediderint vel ipse qua dixerit. erat*
	enim secundum hoc saeculum vir magnificus.
Them.	*nam etiam cum ei dictum fuisset: 'Quid igitur nosti?' 'Rem*
2,4	*publicam', inquit, 'ex parva magnam facere'.*[84]

	Let weighty and experienced men see how they feel about
	famous Themistocles, if I remember the true name of the man who,
Tuscu-	when he had refused at a banquet to do what the distinguished and
lanae	erudite of Greece used to do, play the lyre, and thus
1,4	was held to be rather uncultured and had spurned that entire
Pro	class of pleasure, someone said to him, 'What then *do* you
Archia	like to hear?', it is said he answered, 'My praises'. Let
9,20	them (sc. 'weighty and experienced men') therefore see to
	what end and with what intent they (sc. Themistocles' dinner
	fellows) believed they asked that question [sc. *illud dixisse* taking
	up the *"dictum illi est"*] or with what [intent Themistocles] himself
	said [what he said; i.e., gave his answer]. For according to those
	times he was a distinguished man. For again when someone had
Them.	said to him, 'What then *do* you know?', he said, 'How to make
2,4	a great state out of a small one'.

That "weighty and experienced men" feel pleasure upon being praised legitimizes Augustine's emotion. The eight quotations and allusions demonstrate once more the role classical letters played in his thinking. He had already referred to most of the quoted and alluded to *loci* in earlier works,[85] and thus, quoting by memory (*si tamen hominis nomen verum recolo*), reaps here the harvest of a life of scholarship.[86] The central allusion, though, is unprecedented in Augustine's oeuvre, that to Cicero's ora-

83. *CSEL* 57, 504.22, 505.1, 505.7 and 505.18.

84. *Ep.* 231, *CSEL* 57, p. 505.12-22; English tr. (not used here): as in n. 82 above (Loeb Classical Library), pp. 447-463.

85. Cf. Hagendahl, as in n. 74 above, p. 707.

86. One might suppose that *si tamen hominis nomen verum recolo* is the familiar gesture of vilification: "That fellow, I do not even [deem it worthwhile to] remember his name" — except that Augustine has no reason to vilify Themistocles. Augustine used a similar turn of phrase (*si me de nomine hominis memoria non fallit*: "if my memory does not deceive me concerning the name of the man") to introduce the dialog *Alcibiades* by Aeschines (*De civitate Dei* 14,8, p. 19.30) referred to on p. 358 n. 40 above).

tion *Pro Archia Poeta* 9,20.[87] It motivates his use of the Themistocles story in *Ep.* 231. For the sympotic context is irrelevant to the topic at hand, merely setting the stage for and lending drama to the relevant question and answer: what Themistocles (and Augustine) like to hear. Augustine rounds off the story with Themistocles' defense (*Rem publicam . . . magnam facere*), showing him to have been a "weighty and experienced man," before returning to the theme — precedents for the gratification given by praise.

The peace treaty Darius negotiated with the Vandals did not hold: in 429 AD they invaded Africa in full force and besieged Hippo.[88] Three months into the siege Augustine fell ill;[89] somewhat later he died.[90] The Darius-correspondence was obviously a source of consolation for him during the Vandal wars, concerning the horror of which Possidius leaves no doubt;[91] classical learning, along with its negative example Themistocles, accompanied him until the end.

By comparing *Tusculanae* 1,4 with Ion/Plutarch, Quintilian and Augustine, the ancient text-history of the Themistocles story can be conjectured:

1. Cicero re-invents the story by making explicit what Ion only implied: Themistocles' refusal to play the lyre at banquets (*Themistocles . . . cum in epulis recusaret lyram*) and the censure he thus incurred (*est habitus indoctior*); these two motifs more or less take the place of Themistocles' concession and defense as transmitted by Plutarch.

2. Reception of *Tusculanae* 1,4 begins with Quintilian and Augustine, who quote *est habitus indoctior.*[92]

3. Quintilian's and Augustine's texts *also* contain Themistocles' concession, however,[93] and Augustine's text contains his defense[94] — elements *not* present in *Tusculanae*

87. *Themistoclem illum, summum Athenis virum, dixisse aiunt, cum ex eo quaereretur quod acroama aut cuius vocem libentissime audiret: 'eius a quo sua virtus optime praedicaretur'* ("They say that famous Themistocles, the highest man in Athens, when someone asked him which entertainment at table [sc. reading or music] or whose voice he most enjoyed hearing, said: 'That of him by whom his [sc. Themistocles'] virtue is best proclaimed'"): *Pro Archia Poeta* 9,20, ed. A.C. Clark, Oxford 1910. Valerius Maximus renders the setting of this exchange more precisely: *idem theatrum petens cum interrogaretur cuius vox auditu illi futura esset gratissima, dixit 'eius, a quo artes meae optime canentur'* ("This same Themistocles, asked on the way to the theater whose voice he would most like to hear, said: 'That of him by whom my arts are best sung'"): *Factorum ac dictorum memorabilium libri ix*, 8,14 ext. 1, p. 412.3-5 ed. Karl Kempf (ser. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana, Leipzig 1888).
88. Possidius, *Vita Augustini* 28, *PL* 32, col. 59.
89. Id., *Vita Augustini* 29, col. 59.
90. Id., *Vita Augustini* 31, col. 63-64.
91. Id., *Vita Augustini* 28, col. 58.
92. The purely theoretical possibility that Augustine might have gotten *est habitus indoctior* from *Institutio oratoria* 1,10,19 is ruled out by the presence in Epistle 118 of words from Cicero (underlined below) *not* found in Quintilian:
    CIC. *Themistoclesque . . . cum in epulis recusaret lyram . . .*
    AUG. *Themistocles . . . cum canere nervis in epulis recusasset . . .*
93.

Them. 2,4	*legon hoti*	*ouk epistaito lyran harmosasthai . . .*
Cimon 9,1	*ou phanai*	*mathein aidein oude kitharizein . . .*
Inst. 1,10,19	*cum confessus esset*	*se imperitum [lyrae] . . .*
Ep. 118,13	*ubi cum dixisset*	*se nescire illa . . .*

94. Augustine also has the question, found nowhere else, which provoked that defense (contamination from *Pro Archia* 9,20? See above n. 87): "What pray [if not how to sing to the lyre] *do* you know?"

1,4. Therefore Augustine definitely had besides the *Tusculanae* a *second* source of the story containing those elements; Quintilian may have obtained his version of Themistocles' concession from a second source such as Augustine's, or thought it up himself.

4. Augustine's second source was likely a compendium, and given his animosity to Greek,[95] we may suppose it to have been a Latin one similar to Valerius Maximus' *Factorum ac dictorum memorabilium libri ix.*[96] I conjecture that it rendered the story as found in Ion's *Sojourns*; that Cicero deduced from it his re-invention of the story; finally that Augustine obtained from it Themistocles' concession and defense, and Quintilian perhaps Themistocles' concession.

Behind this redactional activity lay the authors' agendas. Themistocles' defense would only weaken Cicero's and Quintilian's point, i.e., music's status in Greek culture; hence they omit it. Some 300 years after Quintilian the tables have turned. Augustine sees Themistocles' defense as strengthening his point, namely that someone who has access to a superior (Christian) kind of knowledge — someone, in other words, like Dioscorus — should not be ashamed of a lack of classical learning, and thus restored that defense to the tale's Latin tradition.

3. Early Modern witnesses

In the world of Latin letters the memory of Themistocles-*amousos* seems to have died with Augustine for the time being; apart from a *sententia* first recorded by Aurelianus of Réôme (9th c.)[97] there is little evidence for the story's resonance in the Middle Ages.[98] In Early Modern literature, on the other hand, it occurs frequently. The story's

95. Cf. *Confessiones* 1,13,20 and Marrou, as in n. 74 above, pp. 25-41 and 489-495.

96. This work contains several Themistocles-anecdotes, including his response to the question "whose voice is most pleasant?" (see pp. 367-368 above with n. 87 and Podlecki, as in n. 6 above, pp. 126-127). Another collection of this type containing Themistocles-anecdotes is Claudius Aelianus' *Varia historia* (cf. Podlecki, pp. 128-129 and Frost, as in n. 4 above, pp. 36-39). Frost contends that Augustine's (second) source of the story was Plutarch (op. cit., p. 66 n. 19); as unlikely as this may seem, there is an argument in its favor. After partial quotation of *Tusculanae* 1,4 (*est habitus indoctior*), Quintilian's and Augustine's renderings of Themistocles' concession (see above n. 93) give the appearance of being independent free translations of a Greek exemplar.

97. *Apud antiquos enim sicut litteras nemo liberorum permittebatur ignorare, ita turpe erat et musicam non nosse* ("For among the ancients, just as no one was allowed to be ignorant of letters, so too it was [considered] base to have no knowledge of music"): *Musica disciplina* 2,9, p. 62.9 ed. Gushee. Conrad H. Rawski points out that *Turpe est musicam non nosse* is a "Fairly frequent topic in the mediaeval literature on music" ("Petrarch's Dialogue on music," *Speculum* 46, 1971, p. 313, n. 28; with exx.). I relate this topic to the Themistocles tradition because it recalls not only Cicero's and Augustine's wording but also, when inverted, their phrasing:

	verb of not-knowing	direct obj.	helping verb	predicate adj.
Tusc. 1,4	*nesciebat*	*id*	*putabatur*	*(non) excultus*
Ep. 118	*nescire*	*illa*	*habitus est*	*indoctior*
MD 2,9	*non nosse*	*musicam*	*erat*	*turpe*

98. For a late antique / early Byzantine partial-citation of the story see Procopius (d. 565 AD), *De aedificiis* 1,1,7: Καίτοι λέγουσί ποτε Θεμιστοκλέα τὸν Νεοκλέους ἀποσεμνύνεσθαι ὅτι δὴ οὐκ ἀνεπιστημόνως ἔχοι πόλιν μικρὰν ποιῆσαι μεγάλην ("Indeed they say that Themistocles, the son of Neocles, once boastfully said that he did not lack the ability to make a small state large"): J. Haury, ed., *Procopi Caesariensis opera omnia*, vol. 3.2, ser. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana, Leipzig 1913, p. 6.10-13. Frost is right in saying

definitive form and its bridge to the Early Modern Period proved to be *Tusculanae* 1,4, from which nearly all Early Modern references derive, occasionally with contamination from Quintilian or via Quintilian only (see below, n. 99). The Ciceronian version lent itself well to Early Modern authors' main use for the story, which was as adjunct to the *laus musices*;[99] the Plutarchean version is cited only rarely and in another con-

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that Procopius "probably saw [the anecdote] in Plutarch" (as in n. 4 above, p. 66 n. 19): words common to *Cimon* 9,1 and *Them.* 2,4 occur unchanged in *De aed.* 1,1,7 (*polin, megalen*), and where *Cimon* 9,1 and *Them.* 2,4 differ, *De aed.* follows one or the other (*mikran* = *Them.* [not in *Cimon*]; *poiesai* = *Cimon* [*apergasasthai* in *Them.*]). As for the verb of knowing in *Cimon* and *Them.* (*epist-*), Procopius varies it by expressing it periphrastically and in litotes (*ouk anepistemonos echoi*).

99. The following is a partial list of references to the Themistocles story in 15th-16th c. *laudes musices*, grouped according to affinity to Cicero, to Cicero with contamination from Quintilian, or to Quintilian only.
—Cicero: Marsilio Ficino (1433-1499), *Epistula* 92 "De Musica," pp. 161-163 ed. S. Gentile (*Marsilio Ficino. Lettere*, vol. 1: *Epistolarum familiarium liber I*, ser. Carteggi umanistici, Firenze 1990; English translation: *The Letters of Marsilio Ficino*, translated by members of the Language Department of the London School of Economic Science, vol. 1, London 1975, pp. 141-144); Tinctoris, *Complexus* (see below p. 372-373); id., *De inventione*, ca. 1481-1483 (Karl Weinmann, *Johannes Tinctoris und sein unbekannter Traktat "De inventione et usu musicae,"* Regensburg 1917, p. 44); Adam of Fulda, *Musica*, ca. 1490 (Martin Gerbert, ed., *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra* 3, St. Blasien 1784, reprint Hildesheim 1990, p. 334); Dietrich Gresemund, *Lucubratiunculae*, Mainz 1494 (Peter Wagner, "Aus der Musikgeschichte des deutschen Humanismus," *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 3, 1920-1921, p. 23); Polydorus Vergilius (c. 1470-1555), *De Inventoribus Rerum*, Basel 1521, fol. 9; Hermann Finck, *Practica musicae*, Wittenberg 1556, reprint Hildesheim 1971, fol. A[i]^{v}; Gioseffo Zarlino (*Le Istitutioni Harmoniche*, Venice 1558, 1,4, reprint New York 1965, p. 6); Gallus Dressler, *Praecepta Musicae Poëticae*, s.l. 1563 (Bernhard Engelke, ed., *Geschichts-Blätter für Stadt und Land Magdeburg* 49/50, 1914/1915, p. 215 [now in a recent edition by O. Trachier and S. Chevalier, eds., *Gallus Dressler. Praecepta ...*, ser. Collection "Epitome musical," Paris 2001]). Although intermediaries are likely in some instances, it is not possible to link any of these citations directly to a surviving Humanist text such as Petrarca's *Remedia*.
—Cicero with contamination from Quintilian: Franchinus Gaffurius, *Theorica Musicae*, Milan 1492, reprint Bologna 1967, fol. a6; Levinus Lemnius, *De vita cum animi et corporis incolumitate recte instituenda*, Antwerp 1574, p. 539.
—Quintilian only: Giorgio Valla, *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus opus*, Venice 1501, vol. 1, book 5, ch. 1, fol. e vi^{r}; Pietro Aron, *Libri tres de institutione harmonica*, Milan 1516, reprint Bologna 1970, fol. Bii^{v}; Heinrich Saess, *Musica plana* (Renate Federhofer-Koenigs, "Die *Musica plana* von Heinrich Saess," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 48, 1964, p. 65 (with a reference in the margin to the *Tusculanae*); Erasmus (see below p. 373).

Readers of Claude V. Palisca's monumental *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought* (New Haven 1985) may be surprised to see Valla's mention of the Themistocles story listed here under the rubric "Quintilian only," for Palisca emphasized the Ancient Greek or Byzantine provenance of Valla's immediate sources for his music treatise (ibid. pp. 67-87). This is correct and noteworthy indeed on account of the tremendous achievement on Valla's part it represents. Palisca however overlooked the fact that material in the protreptic proem of that treatise, paraphrased by him at the beginning of his survey of the treatise's contents (ibid. p. 70), was obtained by Valla not from Ancient Greek or Byzantine sources but from Quintilian, *Institutiones* 1,10. Palisca's first paraphrase ("From reading Timaeus the Locrian ...") renders the spirit (but not the letter) of *Institutiones* 1,10,13. The next paraphrase ("Many of the sages and prophets of the past were musicians") is actually a result clause copied from *Institutiones* 1,10,9 (p. 58.10-12 ed. Ziegler: *tantum iam illis antiquis*

text.[100] *Our* interest in this thematic item of *Antikenrezeption* is a given author's *appropriation* of the story, for in appropriating it that author invokes the Classical Tradition as a living force. Therefore I shall cite here only such quotations as exemplify this in some way.

The first to receive the story was the great Cicero-connoisseur Francesco Petrarca (1304-1374). Book 1, dialog 23 *De cantu & dulcedine a Musica* (Concerning song and sweetness from music) of his *Libri II de remediis utriusque fortunae* (1366) contains the following exchange:[101]

> *Gaudium. Delectat canere.*
> *Ratio. Graia olim delectatio: nunc et vestra. Apud illos quidem cantus ac fidium ignarus quisquis esset indoctus habebatur: quod Themistocli Attico grecorum clarissimo eo quod lyram in epulis recusasset accidisse. Epaminundam vero Thebanum hanc fortassis infamiam declinantem: praeclare fidibus cecinisse: auctor est Cicero.*[102]

> *Ioy.* I delyght to syng.
> *Reason.* This hath been a pleasure unto many heretofore, and now it is to thee. For in olde tyme, who so coulde not syng and play upon instrumentes, was counted unlearned, which iudgement fel upon Themistocles the Athenian, the most noble of all the Grecians, for that he refused to play uppon an Harpe as he sate with company at meate. And Cicero reporteth, that Epaminundas the Thebane, perhaps because he would avoyde that ignominie, could play very excellently uppon instrumentes.

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temporibus . . . venerationis habuisse [sc. *musicen*], *ut idem musici et vates et sapientes iudicarentur*; Valla: "*priscis ei* [sc. *musicae*] *tantum tributum fuisse temporibus, ut qui musici dicerentur iidem et vates et sapientes iudicarentur*"). Valla's rendition of the Themistocles story itself, also paraphrased by Palisca (ibid.), follows *Institutiones* 1,10,19 closely (p. 60.9- 10 ed. Ziegler: *cuius cum se imperitum Themistocles confessus esset*; Valla: "*cuius cum Themistocles se imperitum esse prae se ferret*"). — As for the remarks with which Palisca concludes his consideration of Valla's proem ("This integration of music into the liberal arts as well as the mathematical sciences is a significant new departure in an encyclopedic work": ibid.), it may be noted that music cannot be integrated into the liberal arts because it is itself a liberal art. More germane would be to say that Valla integrates the quadrivial discipline *musica* into the trivial disciplines grammar and rhetoric. This however is not so new a departure as Palisca suggests, indeed it is the grand theme of *Institutiones* 1,10, which chapter Quintilian opens with invocation of the *orbis ille doctrinae, quem Graeci* ἐγκύκλιον παιδείαν *vocant* (*Institutiones* 1,10,1, p. 56.25-26 ed. Ziegler) — invocation, that is, of encyclopedic learning.

100. Cf. *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (see p. 361 above). Jerzy Liban paraphrases *Tusculanae* 1,4 and *Cimon* 9,1, omitting from the latter however Themistocles' defense — which would have diminished the story's value as *laus musices* (*De musicae laudibus oratio*, Cracow 1540, reprint Cracow 1975, fol. Avii^{v}).

101. Date (1366): Conrad H. Rawski, *Petrarch's Remedies for Fortune Fair and Foul*, 5 vols., Bloomington, IN 1991, vol. 2, p. xxi.

102. Rawski 1971, as in n. 97 above, p. 306, ll. 44-49. For an annotated English translation see ibid., p. 313 with nn. 28-29, which translation appears also in Rawski 1991, as in n. 101 above, vol. 1, pp. 71-72 with abbreviated annotations in vol. 2, pp. 130-131, nn. 22-23. The translation supplied is found at fol. 31v of *Phisicke against Fortune, aswell prosperous, as adverse*, Thomas Twyne's rendering of Petrarca's *Remedia* (London 1579; reprint: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints 359, Delmar USA 1971).

Petrarca's *Remedia*, inspired (according to their prefatory epistle) by a work once attributed to Seneca,[103] are a type of *consolatio* in which *Ratio* responds to personifications of good fortune (*Gaudium*, "Joy," or *Spes*, "Hope": book I) as well as of bad (*Dolor*, "Sorrow," or *Metus*, "Fear": book II). The passage quoted is a concession to *Gaudium*'s soon-to-be-deflated melomania. The context here is similar to that in the *Tusculanae*, both works being expository dialogs of consolatory nature; the story's function is also similar, both authors being critical of the Greek devotion to music.[104] The version of the Themistocles story in the *Remedia*, which appeared in numerous editions and translations between 1474 and 1758,[105] seems not to have been quoted by subsequent authors,[106] but may have prompted them to look up *Tusculanae* 1,4.[107]

Johannes Tinctoris (c. 1435-1511), the Flemish musician and music theoretician, lists 20 of music's effects in *Complexus effectuum musices* (ca. 1472-1475), illustrating effect 19, *musica peritos in ea glorificat* ("music glorifies those skillful in it"), thus:

> *Et quoniam olim in Graecia summa musici afficiebantur gloria propter summam eruditionem, quam ipsi Graeci sitam censebant in nervorum vocumque cantibus, non modo praestantissimi viri philosophi operam illi inpenderunt, ut Socrates,*

103. *Ceterum Seneca ipse fortunae partem illam, quae sibi difficilior visa erat et est haud dubie prima fronte rigidior, brevi admodum sermone perstrinxerat. Is libellus passim in manibus vulgi est. Cui ego nil addere, nil detrahere meditor* . . . ("Seneca himself moreover had touched upon that part of fortune which had seemed the more difficult one to him — and it is without doubt the more difficult one at first sight — in a rather short essay. That little book is everywhere in the hands of the crowd, and I intend neither to add to it nor to subtract from it . . . "): Latin from Eckhard Kessler, ed., *Francesco Petrarca: Heilmittel gegen Glück und Unglück*, Humanistische Bibliothek. Reihe II, Texte, Bd. 18, Munich 1988, "Epistolaris praefatio," p. 52 (this edition does not contain Dialog 1,23); English tr. (not used here) in Rawski 1991, as in n. 101 above, vol. 1, p. 6. Petrarca refers to the ps.-Senecan dialog *De remediis fortuitorum* actually authored by the 6th-c. Spanish bishop Martin of Braga (Friedrich Haase, ed., *L. Annaei Senecae opera quae supersunt*, vol. 3, Leipzig 1872, pp. 446-457).
104. Cf. Rawski 1971, as in n. 97 above, p. 304.
105. Editions: op. cit., pp. 302-303 with n. 10; numerous translations: Franciscus Diekstra, *A dialogue between reason and adversity*, Nijmegen 1968, p. 24 n. 1. Cf. too Rawski 1991, as in n. 101 above, vol. 2, pp. xv-vxi.
106. Cf. Rawski 1971, as in n. 97 above, p. 305.
107. The main *Kenner* of Petrarca's *Remedia* in our time is Conrad H. Rawski, whose elucidation of *Dialog* 1,23 (Rawski 1971, as in n. 97 above) is a treasure trove of Classical Tradition. On one point I differ with him, though. Concerning the passage of *Dialog* 1,23 in question he observes that Petrarca's "Reason refers to Cicero, but follows the order of exposition in Isidore, *Etym.* III, 16: (2) *eratque tam turpe Musicam nescire quam litteras*: followed by (3) *in conviviis vero lyra vel cithara circumferrebatur* . . . " (op. cit., p. 313, n. 28). There is no reason to think that *Etymologiae* 3,16 influenced the construction of Reason's answer here. What is not evident in Rawski's argument in n. 28 is that the two *Etymologiae* passages he juxtaposes are separated in the *Etymologiae* by unrelated material (lines 8-11 Lindsay [see n. 138 below]), diminishing the significance of their order. Furthermore, Rawski apparently equates Petrarca's *indoctus* with Isidore's *nescire;* but the equation is skewed because Isidore's *nescire* corresponds not to Cicero's *indoctus* but to Cicero's *nesciebat* — missing from Petrarca.

> *Pythagoras, Plato, Aristoteles, sed et bellicosissimi principes, ut Epaminundas et Achilles; Themistoclesque . . . cum in epulis recusaret liram, habitus est indoctior.*[108]
>
> And since in times past in Greece musicians used to enjoy the greatest renown on account of the high learning the Greeks themselves judged [to reside] in string and vocal music, not only did the most distinguished philosophers expend effort on it, such as Socrates, Pythagoras, Plato and Aristotle, but also the most warlike leaders such as Epaminondas and Achilles; and Themistocles, since he used to refuse the lyre at banquets, was held to be somewhat uncultured.

The Themistocles story assumes here the protreptic role typical of the Early Modern *laus musices*.

Erasmus of Rotterdam (c.1466-1536) uses Quintilian 1,10,19 to illustrate *Adagia* II 6, 21 (no. 1521) *Ad myrtum canere* (To sing to the Myrtle):

> Ἄδειν πρὸς μυρρίνην, *id est* Ad myrtum canere, *proverbio iubebatur imperitus literarum et infacundus quique non posset apud eruditos loqui. Hinc sumpta metaphora, quod apud veteres mos esset, ut in conviviis singuli suam cantionem canerent; quod si quis citharam accipere recusasset, utpote musices ignarus, is per iocum accepto ramo laureo seu myrteo cogebatur ad eum canere. Porro priscis hunc canendi fuisse morem testatur et Fabius libro Institutionum primo*: [Quintilian 1,10,19: see p. 364 above].[109]
>
> "To sing to the myrtle," that is, the unlettered and ineloquent man, unable to speak in the presence of the erudite, used to be commanded by the proverb to "sing to the myrtle." The metaphor derives from the custom among the ancients of each individual singing his song at symposia. If however someone, because he was inexperienced in music, refused to take the cithara, he used to be forced in jest to take the laurel or myrtle branch and sing to it. That this was the custom among the ancients is testified to also by Fabius, book 1 of the *Institutiones*: [Quintilian 1,10,19: see p. 364 above].

"Singing to the myrtle" is mentioned in the anonymous *Praise of Musicke*:

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108. *'That Liberal and Virtuous Art': Three Humanist Treatises on Music*, translated, annotated and edited by J. Donald Cullington with an introduction by Reinhard Strohm and the editor, Newtownabbey 2001, p. 82. The Latin text appears also in E. de Coussemaker, *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi . . .*, vol. IV, Paris 1976, reprint Hildesheim 1987, p. 199. Cullington op. cit. contains an English translation of this passage (p. 65; not used here).

109. *Opera omnia*, as in n. 3 above, p. 34; English translation: Mynors, as in n. 3 above, pp. 300-301 (the above translation is my own); cf. Neer, as in n. 2 above, pp. 13-14. Apart from its function as lyre-surrogate, the myrtle was an attribute of the *homo literatus* (Raymond Klibansky et al., *Saturn and Melancholy: studies in the history of natural philosophy, religion, and art*, London 1964, p. 325) and symbolized in wreath-form "higher level of existence" (Karl Schefold, *Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst*, Basel 1960, p. 53).

> Now amongst [the Greeks'] decrees one was that a Lawrel or mirtle bough shold passe through out the table from hand to hande as an ensigne or standard for each man in his time & course to sing under. Afterward they were put to the harp, & he that refused it sped no better than we read Themistocles did. For *Habilis* [sic] *est indoctior*. Hee was condemned of ignorance and un[s]kilfulnesse.[110]

References to this practice are rare;[111] the *Praise of Musicke* passage quoted here may be borrowing from *Adagia* II 6, 21. *The Praise of Musicke* is often attributed to John Case (c. 1539-1600), the Elizabethan physician and Aristotelian philosopher.[112] Case returned to the Themistocles story in a later work I shall quote below (pp. 382-384).

Erasmus' *Adage* IV 8, 89 (no. 3789) takes an aspect of the Themistocles story as told by Plutarch and inverts it and hones it. In *Themistocles* 2,4 Themistocles implied a concessive relationship between his *amousia* and his governing ability, saying *ad sensum*: "I may not understand music, but I am a proven master of political leadership" (cf. *Cimon* 9,1). *Adage* IV 8, 89 on the contrary *prescribes* political abstention to the *mousikos* and raises it to a maxim: "*Respublica nihil ad musicum*" ("Political leadership is nothing to a cultured man"), naming as examples Plato, Socrates and others and quoting Aristophanes' *Knights* 191-192:

> Ἡ δημαγωγία γὰρ οὐ πρὸς μουσικοῦ
> Ἔτ' ἐστὶν ἀνδρὸς οὐδὲ χρηστοῦ τοὺς τρόπους, *id est*
> *At gerere nunc rempublicam non est viri*
> *Qui musicus sit ac probatis moribus.*[113]
>
> And so leading the state is not the affair of a man
> Who is cultured and of approved character.

This is the response of Demosthenes (the "people's strength"), a household servant of Demos (the "common people") in search of a savior from Cleon (cf. pp. 358 above), to Allantopoles, a "sausage-seller" who tries to escape this calling by claiming that he "does not know music" (οὐδὲ μουσικὴν ἐπίσταμαι: v. 188); in other words, Allantopoles' self-proclaimed *amousia* is neither obstacle nor excuse. Taking Demosthenes' train of thought a step further, we may suppose that an *amousos*-savior, such as Themistocles once was, would be quite *welcome*. *Adage* IV 8, 89 stands thus in a close logical relation *e contrario* to the Themistocles story as told by Plutarch.

The *poeta insignis ac doctor medicinae*[114] Euricius Cordus (1485-1535) of Erfurt, Braunschweig, Marburg and Bremen set the story in iambics:

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110. *The Praise of Musicke*, as in n. 18 above, pp. 83-84.
111. A similar narrative appears in the scholia to Aristophanes' *Wasps* (1238c; p. 196 eds. Koster-Holwerda, as in n. 12 above).
112. Cf. Ellen E. Knight, "*The Praise of Musicke*: John Case, Thomas Watson, and William Byrd," *Current Musicology* 30, 1980, pp. 37-59.
113. Erasmus, *Opera omnia*, as in n. 3 above, vol. 8, p. 178. The English translation of Erasmus' works (see n. 3 above) has not yet advanced to *Adage* IV 8, 89. My translation follows Erasmus' Latin version.
114. "Remarkable poet and doctor of medicine": thus his epithet; cf. Armgard Müller, *Das Bucolicon des Euricius Cordus und die Tradition der Gattung*, Bochumer Altertumswissenschaftliches Colloquium 27, Trier 1997, p. 16.

"In citharam"

Doctos fides decent viros,
Quas dum recusasset, statim
Putatus est indoctior
Doctissimus Themistocles.[115]

"To the lyre"

The lyre becomes the erudite.
When he'd refused it, straight away
Was held for rather uncultured
Most-erudite Themistocles.

Indoctior and *doctissimus*, juxtaposed in the rhetorical figure *contentio* (*Ad Herennium* 4,15,21 and 4,45,58; Greek: *antithesis*), accentuate the point. Baldassare Castiglione (1478-1529) uses the story to emphasize the importance of musical etiquette,[116] and composers of music for *vihuela* portray Themistocles refusing *that* instrument in the *laudes musices* preceding their publications.[117]

4. Abstention from convivial music-making in Elizabethan England: Morley's Introduction

In 1597 Thomas Morley (1550-1603) published his *Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*. It is an expository dialog between Master (Gnorimus [= Morley]) and Pupil (Philomathes) on *musica practica*[118] and begins with the following exchange between Philomathes and his brother Polymathes:

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115. *Delitiae Poetarum Germanorum* II, ed. Jan Gruter, Frankfurt am Main 1612, p. 853 (an anthology of Neo-Latin verse). A number of collections of Cordus' poetry appeared beginning in 1514 and posthumously (cf. Müller, as in n. 114 above, pp. 37-41), one of them no doubt containing *In citharam*. Cordus has recently been rediscovered as a Neo-Latin poet. Concerning his *bucolica* see Gerhard Binder and Armgard Müller, "Est propior cantu fletus: Die 6. Ekloge des Euricius Cordus und die vergilische Bukolik," *Compar(a)ison* 2, 1993, pp. 193-215 and Müller, as in n. 114 above; concerning his epigrams see Jozef IJsewijn, "Euricius Cordus als Epigrammatiker," in: J. Hardin – J. Jungmayr (eds.), *Der Buchstab tödt – der Geist macht lebendig: Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Hans-Gert Roloff*, Bern 1992, vol. 2, pp. 1047-1065. These three studies contain background information on Cordus, his oeuvre and its context but nothing specifically relating to *In citharam*.

116. *"E leggesi . . . molti eccellentissimi capitani antichi, come Epaminonda, aver dato opera alla musica; e quelli che non ne sapeano, come Temistocle, esser stati molto meno apprezzati"* ("And it is read that . . . many most excellent captains of old time [as Epaminondas] gave themselves to music; and such as had not a sight of it [as Themistocles] were a great deal the less set by"): *Il Cortegiano*, Venice 1528, 1,47, p. 106 ed. Carnazzi. English quoted from Sir Thomas Hoby's translation, London 1561, in: Oliver Strunk, ed., *Source Readings in Music History*, vol. 2, London 1981, p. 93.

117. Enrriquez de Valderravano, *Silva de Sirenas*, Valladolid 1547, reprint Geneva 1981, fol. A5^{v}; Alonso Mudarra, *Tres Libros*, Seville 1546, reprint Monaco 1980, p. 18; Miguel de Fuenllana, *Orphénica Lyra*, Seville 1554, reprint Geneva 1981, fol. +3^{v}.

118. *Musica practica* is elementary notation and counterpoint as opposed to *musica theorica* (number theory) or *musica poëtica* (composition). The distinction between *practica*, *poëtica* and *theorica* (sc. *techne/ars*) goes back ultimately to Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* (1,1,1-5; 6,2,5-6,4,6; 10,8,7).

Pol(*ymathes*). Staye (brother *Philomathes*) what haste? Whither go you so fast?
Phil(*omathes*). To seeke out an old frind of mine.
Pol. But before you goe, I praie you repeat some of the discourses which you had yester night at master *Sophobulus* his banket: for commonly he is not without both wise and learned guestes.
Phil. It is true in deede. And yester night, there were a number of excellent schollers, (both gentlemen and others:) but all the propose which then was discoursed upon, was music.
Pol. I trust you were contented to suffer others to speake of that matter.
Phil. I would that had been the worst: for I was compelled to discover mine own ignorance, and confesse that I knewe nothing at all in it.
Pol. How so?
Phil. Among the rest of the guestes, by chaunce, master *Aphron* came thether also, who falling to discourse of Musicke, was in an argument so quickely taken up & hotly pursued by *Eudoxus* and *Calergus*, two kinsmen of *Sophobulus*, as in his owne art he was overthrowne. But he still sticking in his opinion, the two gentlemen requested mee to examine his reasons, and confute them; but I refusing & pretending ignorance, the whole companie condemned me of discurtesie, being fully perswaded, that I had beene as skilfull in that art, as they tooke mee to be learned in others. But supper being ended, and Musicke bookes, according to the custome being brought to the table: the mistresse of the house presented mee with a part, earnestly requesting mee to sing. But when, after manie excuses, I protested unfainedly that I could not: everie one began to wonder. Yea, some whispered to others, demaunding how I was brought up: so that upon shame of mine ignorance I go nowe to seeke out mine olde frinde master *Gnorimus*, to make my selfe his scholler.[119]

Philomathes' tale features elements of the Themistocles story's Greek and Latin strains. His concession of musical ignorance corresponds to those in Plutarch, Quintilian and Augustine:

THEMISTOCLES 2,4	*. . . legon, hoti lyran harmosasthai . . . ouk epistaito . . .*
CIMON 9,1	*. . . ou phanai mathein . . . kitharizein . . .*
INST. OR. 1,10,19	*. . . cuius cum se imperitum . . . confessus esset . . .*
EPISTULA 118,13	*. . . ubi cum se nescire illa dixisset . . .*
INTRODUCTION	. . . I was compelled to . . . confess that I knew nothing at all in it.

Philomathes' banquet-account on the other hand resembles that invented by Cicero:

REFUSAL

Tusculanae 1,4	*Introduction to Practicall Musicke*
cum in epulis	supper being ended . . .
recusaret	I protested . . . that I could not
lyram	[sing a part];

119. *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, London 1597, reprint Oxford 1937, fol. B2.

CENSURE

est habitus indoctior.	some whispered . . . demanding how I was brought up, so that upon shame of mine ignorance . . .

Philomathes' speech has prompted much debate on the sociology of music in Elizabethan England. In his *Popular Music of the Olden Time* (1859) William Chappell concluded from it that "during the long reign of Elizabeth, music seems to have been in universal cultivation."[120] Edmund Fellowes, however, noting the story's promotional value for Morley's *Introduction*, warned against taking at face value the "high state of musical efficiency among the educated classes in the days of Elizabeth" the story implies,[121] and subsequent scholars emphasized the gap Philomathes' inability reveals in the "universal cultivation" supposed by Chappell.[122] David Price reconciles the two viewpoints as follows: While "the underlying theme was no doubt one of self-advertisement on Morley's part, there was enough truth in this assumption of general literacy for him to be able to commit it to paper."[123]

Given the affinities of Philomathes' and Themistocles' stories, however, I propose considering the former from a new angle. The *Introduction* begins with a dedicatory epistle referring to Plato and Cicero[124] and liminary verse on mythological motifs, the participants in the dialog have Greek names,[125] its opening sequence is straight out of

120. *Popular Music of the Olden Time* 1, London 1859, reprint New York 1965, pp. 98-100. Chappell's followers on this point include W. Barclay Squire ("Music," in: Charles Talbut Onions, ed., *Shakespeare's England*, Oxford 1916, pp. 21-22), Henry Davey (*History of English Music*, 2nd. ed., London 1921, reprint New York 1969 [Da Capo Press Music Reprint Series], p. 156), M. St. C. Byrne (*Elizabethan Life in Town and Country*, London 1925, pp. 222-223 and n. 2), Edward Naylor (*Shakespeare and Music*, London 1931, reprint New York 1965, pp. 4 and 7) and Morrison Comegys Boyd (*Elizabethan Music and Music Criticism*, Philadelphia 1940, p. 3).

121. *Introduction*, as in n. 119 above, p. xi (cf. id., *The English Madrigal*, London 1925, p. 19).

122. J. A. Westrup, "Domestic Music under the Stuarts," *Proceedings of the Royal Music Association* 68, 1941-1942, pp. 19-21; Walter L. Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth to Charles I*, Princeton Studies in History 9, Princeton 1953, pp. 201 and 223; F.W. Sternfeld, *Music in Shakespearean Tragedy*, ser. Studies in the History of Music, London 1963, p. 54; Henry Raynor, *A Social History of Music from the Middle Ages to Beethoven*, London 1972, p. 146.

123. *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance*, ser. Cambridge Studies in Music, Cambridge 1981, p. 7 (cf. E.D. Mackerness, *A Social History of English Music*, ser. Studies in Social History, London 1964, pp. 53-54).

124. "There be two whose benefites can never be requited: God, and our parents, the one for that he gave us a reasonable soule, the other for that of them we have our beeing. To these the prince & (as *Cicero* tearmeth him) the God of the *Philosophers* added our maisters, as those by whose directions the faculties of the reasonable soule be stirred up to enter into contemplation, & searching of more then earthly things" (unnumbered folio prior to fol. B[1]). Cicero calls Plato "god of the philosophers" in *De natura deorum* 2,32 (*quidam deus philosophorum*); if indeed it is Plato whom Morley means, the closest thing in that philosopher's oeuvre to the "unrequited benefits" idea is *Laws* 4, 717-718, which however speaks of debt to God (717a-b), parents (717b-718a) and *others* (not explicitly teachers; 718a-b); cf. Cicero, *De officiis* 1,160 and Aelius Aristides, *or.* 3: *Pros Platona hyper ton tettaron* 265-271.

125. Polymathes means "having learned much" (its nominal form is *polymatheia*, Heraclitus' word for the wisdom of Pythagoras: Diogenes Laertius 8,6), Philomathes is "fond of learning," Gnorimus is "the notable one" etc.

Plato[126] etc.[127] This *captatio benevolentiae* addressed to the classically-oriented reader culminates in the Philomathes story and is that story's primary context; whatever the story may reveal about the sociology of music in Elizabethan England is secondary to what it reveals about the resonance there of the Classical Tradition. Not that Morley's tactic is in the least unusual. It was standard procedure among Early Modern music theoreticians, composers, publishers and copyists to invoke such themes prefatory even to works lacking any antique connection. For Ancient Greek aesthetics were felt to lie at the heart of music's essence, and antique motifs were used to legitimize and ennoble contemporary practice.[128]

That said, I would like to append one additional observation on Morley's reading of the Themistocles story. "Gnorimus," the name Morley gives the music teacher in the *Introduction*, is the singular form of the epithet Aristotle gives to the aristocratic opponents, including Cimon, of the *demos* or "common people" led by, among others, Themistocles,[129] and is what Plutarch says Themistocles "had not yet become" in contrast to Cimon at the time of their rivalry at Olympia.[130] Transferring the background of the name Gnorimus to the Philomathes story, we observe that, in order to gain admission to the social elite, Morley's contrite *amousos* submits to a "notable," i.e. "noble," individual in the person of Gnorimus, as if Plutarch's *amousos* in *Themistocles* 2,4, instead of snubbing his mockers in wounded pride, were to beg Cimon for lyre lessons — a twist to the story which opens the floodgates of music's lore in Morley's *Introduction*.

5. The being immune to music's charm is damnable.

Music's power to move the soul was a matter of daily experience and prompted reflection along various lines:

I. The idea that the soul is a kind of harmony like that of the tuned strings of a lyre was debated pro and (mostly) con by Plato and Aristotle and influenced Neoplatonist writers.[131]

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126. "Staye . . . what haste?": cf. the beginnings of the *Republic* and *Symposium*; "Whither go you so fast?": cf. the beginnings of the *Lysis* and *Phaedrus*; "I praie you repeat some of the discourses which you had yester night at master *Sophobulus* his banket": cf. the beginning of the *Symposium*.
127. The title-page compartment, found in a variety of publications between 1559 and 1613 (cf. R.B. McKerrow and F.S. Ferguson, *Title-page Borders used in England and Scotland 1485-1640*, Oxford 1933, pp. 92-93, no. 99), uses antique motifs like the quadrivium to depict mankind's quest for knowledge; the epistle to the reader quotes Augustus (fol. B1v); etc.
128. Cf. Roger Harmon, "Listeners in Depictions of Orpheus and Francesco da Milano," *The Lute* 36, 1996, pp. 17-36; id., "Luys Milan's Orpheus Woodcut," *The Lute* 37, 1997, pp. 37-43; id., "Studies in the Cambridge Lute Manuscripts I: 'Musica'," *The Lute* 38, 1998, pp. 29-42; id., "Timotheus' Speeches in Robinson's *Schoole of Musicke*," *The Lute* 41, 2001, pp. 39-46; id., "The literary and philosophical history of the fantasy," *The Lute* 42, 2002, forthcoming.
129. *Ath. pol.* 28,2 (cf. ibid. 23,3; Frost, as in n. 4 above, pp. 26-28; and Rhodes, as in n. 24 above, pp. 348-349).
130. ὁ δὲ μήπω γνώριμος γεγονώς: *Them.* 5,4, pp. 162.26-163.1 ed. Ziegler (cf. p. 357 above). *Gnorimos* in the sense "aristocratic" was standard usage: cf. Aristotle, *Politica* 4,4, 1291b17-30 and LSJ, s.v. γνώριμος, II.
131. Plato, *Phaedo* 85e-86c; Aristotle, *De anima* 1,4, 407b27-408a34 and *Politica* 8,5, 1340b17-19. Macrobius, *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis* 1,14,19; Boethius, *De institutione musica* 1,2, p. 189.1-3 ed. G. Friedlein (*Anicii Manlii Torquati Severini Boetii De institutione arithmetica libri duo, De institutione musica libri quinque etc.*, ser. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana, Leipzig 1867, reprint Frankfurt 1966).

II. In his chariot-metaphor (*Phaedrus* 246a-248e) Plato says the soul which has seen *the most* (πλεῖστα ἰδοῦσα: 248d) of truth (τῶν ἀληθῶν: 248c) while still in the train of God (θεῷ συνοπαδός: 248c), upon falling to earth (ὅταν . . . ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν πέσῃ: 248c) is born as a philosopher, a lover of beauty, a musical man (ἀνήρ . . . μουσικός) or a loving man (248d). This doctrine of the soul's innate recollection of its divine origin was called *anamnesis*.[132] Plotinus (ca. 205-270 AD) picks it up, defining in a rhetorical question the *mousikos aner* as him who, having seen (ἰδών) the *harmonia* of the intelligible,[133] upon becoming flesh and hearing the harmony of perceptible sound, is moved:

> Τίς γὰρ ἂν μουσικὸς ἀνὴρ εἴη, ὃς τὴν ἐν νοητῷ ἁρμονίαν ἰδὼν οὐ κινήσεται τῆς ἐν φθόγγοις αἰσθητοῖς ἀκούων;[134]
>
> What musical man could there be who, having seen the harmony in things perceptible to the mind, is not moved when he hears the [harmony] in sounds perceptible to the senses?

III. Macrobius (fl. 430 AD) connected *anamnesis* with the impossibility that someone immune to music should exist:

> *in hac vita omnis anima musicis sonis capitur . . . quia in corpus defert memoriam musicae cuius in caelo fuit conscia et ita delenimentis canticis occupatur ut nullum sit tam immite, tam asperum pectus quod non oblectamentorum talium teneatur affectu.*[135]
>
> In this life every soul is captivated by musical sounds . . . because [the soul] brings down into the body recollection of the music of which it was conscious in heaven, and is so captivated by song' charms that there is no breast so cruel or harsh that it is not gripped by the spell of such delights.

This passage is rendered in *The Praise of Musicke*:

> For as the Platonicks & Pythagorians think al soules of men, are at the recordation of that celestial Musicke, whereof they were partakers in heaven, before they entred into their bodies so wonderfuly delighted, that no man can be found so harde harted which is not exceedingly alured with the sweetnes thereof.[136]

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132. Plato, *Meno* 81c-87c and *Phaedo* 72e-77d.
133. Sc. with the *nous*, the "eye of the soul" (τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμμα: Plato, *Republic* 7, 533d), while yet in the unembodied state viewing the ideas.
134. *Enneades* 2,9,16,39-41, pp. 248-249 eds. P. Henry–H.-R. Schwyzer (*Plotini opera*, vol. 1, Museum Lessianum. Series philosophica 33, Paris–Brussels 1951). Cf. the 11th c. didactic poem *Quid suum virtutis: Quem non invitat, que non precordia mulcet / Musica?* ("Whom does music not allure, which breast does music not soften?"): Anke Paravicini, ed., *Quid suum virtutis: Eine Lehrdichtung des XI. Jahrhunderts*, Editiones Heidelbergenses 21, Heidelberg 1980, p. 75, vv. 675-676.
135. *Commentarii in somnium Scipionis* 2,3,7, p. 105.5-13 ed. J. Willis (ser. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana, Leipzig 1963).
136. *The Praise of Musicke*, p. 41.

IV. Isidore of Seville (c. 559-636) saw the basis for man's essentially musical nature in the affinity of macro- and microcosm, a Neoplatonic idea:[137]

> *. . . haec ratio quemadmodum in mundo est ex volubilitate circulorum, ita et in microcosmo in tantum praeter vocem valet, ut sine ipsius perfectione etiam homo symphoniis carens non constet.*[138]
>
> . . . this ratio, just as it exists in the universe on account of the revolution of the spheres, so too in the microcosm it has such power above and beyond the [human] voice that without its perfection even man cannot exist, since he would be lacking in consonances.

The *ratio* in question is the "harmonic mean" between two extremes as expressed in the numbers 6:8:12; inherent in this proportion are the basic consonances of the fourth (8:6), fifth (12:8) and octave (12:6).[139] Thus, the sense of the passage is: no harmonic mean, no consonances; no consonances, no man.

V. Taking this a step further we must inquire into the nature of a being, unlikely as his existence may seem (cf. Macrobius and Isidore above), *immune* to music's charm. Theo of Smyrna (2nd c. AD), having quoted Socrates' exclamation that until we are acquainted with temperance (*sophrosyne*) and other virtues we shall never be musicians (Plato, *Republic* 3, 402b-c), recapitulates by stating that "only the philosopher is really a musical man; the bad man is an *amousos*."[140] Early Modern writers invoke often this hypothetical being, inviting as it did the drastic depiction of personified evil. Johann Stigel (1515-1562) merges the theme with a Homeric metaphor:

> *Ferreus est, durasque gerit sub pectore cautes,*
> *Quem iuvet haud aliquo Musica blanda sono.*[141]
>
> Iron is he, and bears hard, sharp stones under his breast,
> Whom music with enticing sound delights not.

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137. Affinity: Plotinus, *Enneades* 3,4,3,21-27, p. 313 eds. Henry-Schwyzer; Proclus, *Commentaria in Platonis Timaeum* 348a, ad Tim. 44 c-d, vol. 3, p. 355.7-9 ed. E. Diehl (ser. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana, Leipzig 1906, reprint Amsterdam 1965); Macrobius, *Commentarii in somnium Scipionis* 2,12,11; cf. Rudolf Allers, "Microcosmus from Anaximandros to Paracelsus," *Traditio* 2, 1944, pp. 319-323 and 342.
138. *Etymologiarum Libri XX* 3,23,2 ed. W. M. Lindsay (*Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, ser. Scriptorum classicorum bibliotheca Oxoniensis, Oxford 1911; unpaginated). For translations of this passage see Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History*, New York 1950, pp. 99-100, and Jacques Fontaine's authoritative discussion in *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique*, Paris 1959, vol. 1, pp. 423-424. Strunk renders *praeter vocem* with "inexpressible," Fontaine with *"en dehors même de la musique vocale."*
139. Cf. Boethius, *De institutione musica* 2,16, p. 247.15-17 ed. Friedlein, where the proportion is stated in its simplest terms 3:4:6.
140. μόνος ὄντως μουσικός ὁ φιλόσοφος, ἄμουσος δὲ ὁ κακός: p. 11.8-9 ed. E. Hiller (ser. Bibliotheca . . . Teubneriana, Leipzig 1878).
141. Liminary verse to Johann Spangenberg's *Quaestiones Musicae*, Nuremberg 1536, fol. A1v. Cf. Cicero, *In Catilinam*, 4,2,3 and Homer, *Iliad* 22,357 or *Odyssey* 5,191. On Spangenberg see Volker Riedel, *Antikerezeption in der deutschen Literatur vom Renaissance-Humanismus bis zur Gegenwart*, Stuttgart 2000, p. 62.

Gioseffo Zarlino (1517-1590) and Friedrich Taubmann (1565-1613) vary the theme.[142] Pierre Ronsard (1524-1585) expressed it thus:

> *celuy . . . lequel oyant un doux accord d'instrumens ou la douceur de la voyx naturelle, ne s'en resjouit point, ne s'en esmeut point et de teste en piedz n'en tressault point, comme doucement ravy, et si ne sçay comment derobé hors de soy: c'est signe qu'il a l'ame tortue, vicieuse, et depravée, et duquel il se faut donner garde, comme de celuy qui n'est point heureusement né.*[143]
>
> He who, hearing the gentle harmony of instruments or the sweetness of the human voice, rejoices not, is not moved and does not tremble from head to toe as if gently ravished, and is not somehow transported outside of himself — it is the sign of a tortured soul, vicious and depraved, and of whom it is necessary to beware, as of him who is born under a bad sign.

The theme's prototype is expressed in a Latin proverb *non est harmonice compositus qui musica non delectatur* ("he is not harmonically composed who delights not in music")[144] spoken by "Nature" in *The Praise of Musicke*:

> When I made man I gave him a soule either harmony it selfe, or at least harmonicall [cf. Aristotle, *Politica* 8,5, 1340b17-19]. Nay besides this, *Non est harmonicè compositus qui Musica non delectatur.* If I made any one which cannot brook or fancy Musicke, surely I erred and made a monster . . . If

142. Zarlino (as in n. 99 above): *"(si potrebbe dire,) colui non essere composto con harmonia, il quale non piglia diletto della Musica"* ("One could say that he is not composed with harmony who delights not in music"), p. 9 (cf. Thomas Browne: "Whosoever is harmonically composed delights in harmony . . . ," *Religio Medici*, London 1642, 2,9, p. 1.84 ed. Keynes); Taubmann: *"Quem non viva suo delectat Musica flexu, / Hunc ego non hilum cordis habere puto"* ("Whom living music with its turning delights not, / That one I think not to have a whit of a heart"): *Melodaesia*, Leipzig 1604, p. 380. *Cor habere* is neither "to have a heart" (to show mercy) nor *avoir du coeur* (classically "to have courage," in modern usage "to have human warmth"), but "to have intelligence," understood not only as intellect but also as responsiveness. Taubmann's line thus comes to the same thing as both "brutish stupiditie" in a passage by Henry Peacham ("I know there are many who are *adeo* amousoi, and of such disproportioned spirits, that they avoide [music's] company . . . I dare not passe so rash a censure of these as *Pindar* doth, or the Italian, having fitted a proverb to the same effect, *Whom God loves not, that man loves not Musicke*: but I am verily perswaded, they are by nature very ill disposed, and of such a brutish stupiditie, that scarce any thing else that is good and savoureth of vertue, is to be found in them": *The Compleat Gentleman*, London 1622, p. 96) and "flintlike and senselesse" in a passage from *The Praise of Musicke* quoted above on this page.

143. "Preface de P. de Ronsard au Roy Françoys II," *Livre de Meslanges*, Paris 1560, *Oeuvres complètes*, eds. Jean Céard, Daniel Ménager and Michel Simonin, vol. 2, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade 46, Paris 1994, p. 1171.

144. Hans Walther cites numerous proverbs of the *non est* type (*non est* + predicate adjective and relative clause) in *Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit*, vol. 3, Göttingen 1962 (interspersed among nos. 17573b-17742a) and vol. 8, ed. Paul Gerhard Schmidt, Göttingen 1983 (interspersed among nos. 38881-38911), e.g., *non est aurum, quidquid rutilat fulvum* (no. 17582a; "all that glitters is not gold").

> there be any such flintlike and senselesse man, let us leave him as a desperate patient unrecoverable, to the course of his owne hatefull constellation . . . [145]

Thus to deny a person's musicality is to deny his humanity. Shakespeare brings these themes together in *The Merchant of Venice* (5,1). Having praised music (lines 2466-2493), Lorenzo concludes:

> Since naught so stockish, hard, and full of rage,
> But musicke for time doth change his nature,
> The man that hath no musicke in himselfe,
> Nor is not moved with concord of sweet sounds,
> Is fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoyles,
> The motions of his spirit are dull as night,
> And his affectations dark as Erobus,
> Let no such man be trusted: marke the musicke.[146]

Lines 2494-2495 render the Macrobius passage (number III above, p. 379),[147] lines 2496-2500 elaborate on the proverb *non est harmonice compositus* (above, p. 381 with n. 144) and line 2501 corresponds to Ronsard's warning to beware of him unaffected by music (above, p. 381).

I would like to cite in this regard one last appropriation of the Themistocles story, in John Case's *Sphaera civitatis* (Oxford 1588). *Sphaera civitatis* is about statecraft; it follows Aristotle's *Politics*[148] and culminates, like *Politics* book 8, in an exposition of music's role in education[149] including the following passage:

> *Hae omnes musicae formae (ut docent Philosophi) si opportunè adhibeantur, singularem in republica usum & dignitatem habent, imò Socrates apud Platonem tanti aestimat ut auderet dicere mutationem musices aut defectionem reipublicae maximè periculosam esse, perinde ac si diceret civium fortunam, bellum, pacem, virtutem totamque vitae rationem quodammodo à fidibus dependere. Hinc Timotheus musicus ille egregius patriâ explosus fuit, quia unum nervum musico instrumento addit;*[150] *hinc Themistocles cum in epulis recusarit lyram, habitus est indoctior: quid multis? Tanti fecerunt majores nostri hanc praxim artis ut indignos vitâ, luce, civitate putarent, qui lyram aut contemnere ut AEtas; aut mutare ut Timotheus; aut ignorare ut Themistocles videbantur.*[151]

145. Pp. 73-74. Cf. p. 90: "Now although there be none but a few men so senselesse & blockish by nature, or of disposition so pevish, & waiward, that taking no delight in Musick themselves, & measuring the worth and price thereof, by their own affectations, do account of it as a thing either vain & unlawful, or idle & unprofitable . . . ."
146. *The First Folio*, London 1623, reprint New York 1968, p. 200.
147. Cf. James Hutton, "Some English Poems in Praise of Music," *English Miscellany* 2, 1950-1951, p. 38 = Hutton, *Essays on Renaissance Poetry*, ed. R. Guerlac, foreword by D. P. Walker, Ithaca and London 1980, p. 49.
148. Cf. J.W. Binns, *Intellectual Culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England*, ARCA. Classical and medieval texts, papers, and monographs 24, Leeds 1990, pp. 367-370.
149. *Sphaera civitatis* 8,3 and 8,5-7, pp. 708-715 and 720-740.
150. The reading for this passage in the *Sphaera civitatis* editions of both Oxford 1588 and Frankfurt am Main 1593 (p. 495) is indeed *addit*, not *addidit* or *addiderat*.
151. *Sphaera civitatis* 8,6, p. 731.

If all these forms of music (as Philosophers teach) are used opportunely, they have a singular utility and dignity in the state; indeed Plato's Socrates values [them] so highly that he ventures to call the change or demise of music very dangerous to the state,[152] just as if he were saying that the fortune of citizens, war, peace, virtue and the entire way of life in a certain measure depended on string [music]. Thus it is that that outstanding musician Timotheus was expelled from his fatherland, because he adds another string to the musical instrument;[153] thus Themistocles, after refusing the lyre at a banquet, was held to be somewhat uncultured: what more is there to say? Our ancestors esteemed this artistic practice so highly that they thought them unworthy of life, the light of day and citizenship whosoever should seem, like AEtas,[154] to condemn the lyre; or, like Timotheus, to change it; or, like Themistocles, to ignore it.

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152. Case refers to *Republic* 4, 424c, where Socrates quotes his teacher Damon to the effect that musical style is nowhere changed without the most important political customs being affected too (cf. Ryffel, as in n. 18 above, p. 31).

153. Timotheus of Miletus (c. 450-360 BC), *praised* by Case only a few pages before as the fourth of four great musicians, the first three being Amphion, Orpheus and Arion (*Sphaera civitatis*, p. 710), was a citharode, composer of nomes, prooimia, hymns and dithyrambs and leading exponent of the "New Music" of 5th-4th c. BC Greece. Cf. J.H. Hordern, *The Fragments of Timotheus of Miletus*, ser. Oxford Classical Monographs, Oxford 2002 and M.L. West, *Ancient Greek Music*, Oxford 1992, pp. 356-372 and 399. Timotheus was expelled not from his fatherland Miletus but from Sparta, charged not only – as Case says – with adding a string, presumably to ease modulation between *harmoniai* or modes (cf. the fragment of Pherecrates' comedy *Cheiron* in Plutarch, *De musica* 30, 1141d-1142a [= Pherecrates, frg. 155, in: *Poetae Comici Graeci* (PCG), ed. R. Kassel and C. Austin, vol. 7, Berlin and New York 1989, pp. 179-182]), but also with corrupting youth (cf. the charges against Socrates in Plato, *Apology* 24b) with his musical innovations (cf. Boethius, *De institutione musica* 1,1, pp. 182.1-184.5 ed. Friedlein). For a list of aspersions made against Timotheus' music, see Harmon 2001, as in n. 128 above, p. 43 (notes 21-25). These aspersions are a subtext to Plato's treatment of music in the *Republic*. His ideal state requires guardians trained in gymnastics and, of present interest, *mousike*. Poetry describing death and mourning is circumscribed (*Rep.* 386a-391c; cf. Timotheus' *Persai*, passim), as is unseemly mimetic-presentation (*Rep.* 392c-398b, esp. 397a-b; cf. Aristotle, *Poetics* 26, 1461b26-32 and Athenaeus 8, 338a and 352a). *Harmonia*-change within a song (*Rep.* 399c and 404d-e; cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De compositione verborum* 19, pp. 85.18-86.7 ed. Usener [*Dionysii Halicarnasei quae exstant*, vol. 6 = *Opuscula* 2, ser. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana, Leipzig 1904, reprint Stuttgart 1965]) and the increased number of strings necessary for such modulation (*Rep.* 399c; cf. Plutarch, *De musica* 30, 1141c and Boethius, above) are forbidden. Musical innovation (the essence of Timotheus' oeuvre) is prohibited (*Rep.* 424b-425b), and in music too reason is to prevail over the appetitive part of the soul (*Rep.* 441e-442b; cf. Pherecrates, above). Thus, gracefulness (*Rep.* 401d-402a; 522a) and moderation (sophrosyne: *Rep.* 431e-432b), in short a kind of Socratic καλοκἀγαθία, mark Plato's concept of music — to which Timotheus provided dissonant counterpoint.

154. This name is sometimes spelled in Greek *Anteas* or *Ataios* and in Latin *Ateas* (cf. Henricus Stephanus, *Apophthegmata graeca regum & ducum*, Paris 1568, pp. 23-24) or *Atheas* (cf. Erasmus, *Apophthegmata*, lib. V, *Opera omnia*, vol. 5, Leiden 1703, reprint Hildesheim 1962, col. 233e-f); perhaps conflation with the name Aeetes, king of (Scythian) Colchis and father of Medea, led to misspellings such as *AEtas* (as quoted above), *Aeteas* (Case, *Sphaera civitatis*, Oxford, 1588, p. 710), *Æteas* (id., *Sphaera civitatis*, Frankfurt am Main, 1593, p. 480) and *Æetas* (ibid.,

The tricolon diminuendo "unworthy of life, the light of day and citizenship" mirrors similar constructions in the invective by Peacham, Ronsard and Shakespeare quoted above, but Case exaggerates. Timotheus was not judged *that* severely, Ateas not at all. Themistocles *was* sentenced to death, but not for his *amousia* (see above p. 358). By a sleight of hand Case evokes the censure Themistocles the politician, incidentally long since rehabilitated,[155] had once received and applies it to Themistocles the *amousos*, whose value as negative example in the Elizabethan debate on music's place in worship and society rises accordingly.[156]

6. Statecraft as music

If in defending musical abstention by the claim to know instead how to make a city great the underlying idea was that *statecraft* is his "music," Themistocles was ahead of his time. For, apart from a speech attributed by Iamblichus to Pythagoras and allegedly held in Croton,[157] the earliest equation of state and music is in Plato's *Republic*, in the following exchange between Socrates and Plato's brother Glaucon:

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p. 495). Ateas was King of Scythia and expanded his realm to the point of conflict with Philip II of Macedonia, against whom he fell, over 90 years of age, in battle (Ps.-Lucian, *Macrobii* 10, vol. 1, p. 76.2-4 ed. M. D. Macleod [ser. Scriptorum classicorum bibliotheca Oxoniensis, Oxford 1972]). Case refers here to Ateas' remark that he had rather hear his horse whinny than listen to Ismenias, an aulete he had captured in battle (Plutarch, *Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata*, 174e-f; *De Alexandri Magni fortuna aut virtute oratio II* 1, 334b; *Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum* 13, 1095e-f). Mention of Ateas at *Sphaera* p. 731 refers back to a passage on p. 710: *Qui . . . musicam contemnit lapis est non homo, degener & spurius non naturæ filius, ut olim Aeteas ille fuit, qui magis equos hinnientes, aut balantes oves audire quàm homines canentes peroptavit* ("He who condemns music is a stone, not a human being, [he is] degenerate, illegitimate and not a son of nature; such [a person] in times past was Aeteas the notorious, who much preferred listening to whinnying horses or bleating sheep than men singing"). Case's *Apologia musices* (Oxford 1588) makes the same allusion (pp. 5 and 26) and draws a parallel between Ateas and Midas, whose failing it was to prefer the playing of Pan, a half-goat, to that of Apollo (cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 11,85-193, esp. vv. 173-174).

155. Cf. Aristophanes (pp. 358 and 374 above) and Aelius Aristides (pp. 388-390 below).

156. Concerning that debate see Boyd, as in n. 120 above, pp. 13-36; Percy Scholes, *The Puritans and Music*, Oxford 1934; Woodfill, as in n. 122 above, pp. 207-209; Raynor, as in n. 122 above, p. 125; Peter le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660*, ser. Cambridge Studies in Music, 2nd ed., Cambridge 1978, pp. 32-39.

157. ὃ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς συνεβούλευεν ἱδρύσασθαι Μουσῶν ἱερόν, ἵνα τηρῶσι τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ὁμόνοιαν· ταύτας γὰρ τὰς θεὰς καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν τὴν αὐτὴν ἁπάσας ἔχειν καὶ μετ' ἀλλήλων παραδεδόσθαι καὶ ταῖς κοιναῖς τιμαῖς μάλιστα χαίρειν, καὶ τὸ σύνολον ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀεὶ χορὸν εἶναι τῶν Μουσῶν, ἔτι δὲ συμφωνίαν, ἁρμονίαν, ῥυθμόν, ἅπαντα περιειληφέναι τὰ παρασκευάζοντα τὴν ὁμόνοιαν ("First [Pythagoras] advised the men [sc. of Croton] to build a temple of the Muses in order that they watch over the unanimity [*homonoia*] existing [among them]: for all these goddesses have the same name, they are handed down together [in legend], they rejoice most in shared honors, in general they are ever one and the same choir of the Muses, moreover they embody symphony [*symphonia*], harmony, rhythm [and] all things which provide unanimity"): Iamblichus, *De vita pythagorica* 9,45, p. 25.18-25 eds. L. Deubner–U. Klein (ser. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana, Leipzig 1937, reprint Stuttgart 1975) = p. 58 ed. M. von Albrecht *et al.* (*Jamblich. Pythagoras: Legende – Lehre – Lebensgestaltung*,

> Ὁρᾷς οὖν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὅτι ἐπιεικῶς ἐμαντευόμεθα ἄρτι ὡς ἁρμονίᾳ τινὶ ἡ σωφροσύνη ὡμοίωται; Τί δή; Ὅτι οὐχ ὥσπερ ἡ ἀνδρεία καὶ ἡ σοφία ἐν μέρει τινὶ ἑκατέρα ἐνοῦσα ἡ μὲν σοφήν, ἡ δὲ ἀνδρείαν τὴν πόλιν παρείχετο, οὐχ οὕτω ποιεῖ αὕτη, ἀλλὰ δι' ὅλης [sc. τῆς πόλεως] ἀτεχνῶς τέταται διὰ πασῶν παρεχομένη συνᾴδοντας τούς τε ἀσθενεστάτους ταὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἰσχυροτάτους καὶ τοὺς μέσους ... ὥστε ὀρθότατ' ἄν φαῖμεν ταύτην τὴν ὁμόνοιαν σωφροσύνην εἶναι, χείρονός τε καὶ ἀμείνονος κατὰ φύσιν συμφωνίαν ὁπότερον δεῖ ἄρχειν καὶ ἐν πόλει καὶ ἐν ἑνὶ ἑκάστῳ.[158]
>
> Soc. Do you see then, I said, that it is with a fair measure of truth that we surmised just now that temperance is similar to a kind of harmony?
> Glau. How so?
> Soc. Because unlike courage and wisdom, which, residing each in a certain part, rendered the city brave and wise respectively, temperance [I say] acts differently, being quite simply stretched out [like a lyre-string] through the *whole* [city], rendering the weakest and the strongest and those in the middle such that they sing the same thing together through all (*dia pason*) [the strings] . . . So that it would be quite correct for us to say that this unanimity (*homonoia*) is temperance (*sophrosyne*), is symphony (*symphonia*) of the naturally worse and the naturally better [on the question] which one should rule both in the state and in every single individual.

Diapason means octave: as the octave unites fundamental, octave and fifth, temperance unites the weakest, strongest and middle social classes.[159] Cicero picked up the idea in the *Republic*:

Sapere 4, Darmstadt 2002); Theo of Smyrna had made much the same point: p. 12.19-25 ed. Hiller. The Iamblichus passage quoted belongs to the second speech of a set of four allegedly delivered by Pythagoras to the youths (*De vita pythagorica* §37-44), the council (*synhedrion*) of 1,000 (§45-50), the boys (§51-53) and the women (§54-57) of Croton resp. upon his miraculous arrival there (§36) — a Pythagorean "Sermon on the Mount" as it were. Rohde showed that Iamblichus' source for these speeches was the 1st-c.-AD Neopythagorean sage Apollonius of Tyana, conjecturing further that Apollonius had expanded upon a version of them by the 4th-3rd-c.-BC historian Timaeus of Tauromenium, who in turn had amplified references to said speeches by the Aristotle-pupil Dicaearchus (fr. 33 Wehrli) (Erwin Rohde, "Die Quellen des Jamblichus in seiner Biographie des Pythagoras," *Rheinisches Museum* N.F. 27, 1872, pp. 26-29 [= Id., *Kleine Schriften*, vol. 2: *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Romans und der Novelle, zur Sagen-, Märchen- und Alterthumskunde*, ed. Fritz Schöll, Tübingen and Leipzig 1901, pp. 130-134]. Augusto Rostagni, taking a cue from the Gorgias-pupil Antisthenes' reference to the speeches ("Un nuovo capitolo della retorica e della sofistica," *Studi Italiani di filologia* N.S. 2, 1922, p. 150ff.), saw them in terms of a Pythagorean rhetoric, "corresponding" as they do "to a well-known criterion of formal rhetoric . . . described by Aristotle . . . and concerning the observance of καιρός (or πρέπον) . . . " (op. cit., p. 183). Walter Burkert sees the speeches, as rendered by Iamblichus, as being "a later production" sc. than Rostagni had believed (Burkert 1972, as in n. 61 above, p. 115, n. 38; "a later production" is absent from the German original, p. 181, n. 42). See also Riedweg, *Pythagoras*, as in n. 61 above, pp. 26-33 and 85.

158. *Republic* 4, 431e-432a.

159. Proclus discusses why Socrates relates the virtue of temperance to the octave: *Commentary on Plato's Republic*, vol. 1, pp. 211.4-215.27 ed. W. Kroll (*Procli Diadochi in Platonis Rem publicam commentarii*, ser. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana, Leipzig

> *Ut enim in fidibus aut tibiis atque ut in cantu ipso ac vocibus concentus est quidam tenendus ex distinctis sonis, quem inmutatum aut discrepantem aures eruditae ferre non possunt, isque concentus ex dissimillimarum vocum moderatione concors tamen efficitur et congruens, sic ex summis et infimis et mediis interiectis ordinibus ut sonis moderata ratione civitas consensu dissimillimorum concinit; et quae harmonia a musicis dicitur in cantu, ea est in civitate concordia . . .* [160]
>
> For just as in string- and *tibia*-music and in song itself and vocal music a given concent is maintained from distinct sounds, which learned ears cannot bear if it is altered or out of tune, and just as this concent, although it arises from the "measurement" (*moderatio*) of dissimilar voices, is effected as something concordant and congruent, so too the state "harmonizes" (*concinit*) from the highest, lowest and intermediate estates as from sounds of measured proportion with a consensus of dissimilars. And that harmony which is said by musicians to be in song, in the state this harmony is unanimity (*concordia*) . . .

Apart from some 300 citations and quotations in other ancient texts including Macrobius' famous excerpt of the *Somnium Scipionis*, Cicero's *Republic* was lost from view for 1100 years until 1819, when Angelo Mai, prefect of the Vatican Library, discovered about a quarter of it, i.e., the better part of books one and two — including the above passage until the first syllable of the word *consensu* — plus bits of books three to five, in a Vatican palimpsest, a Bobbio codex from ca. 700 of Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos*.[161] Our passage, however, had escaped this temporary oblivion via quotation, in indirect speech but complete and faithfully rendered, in *De civitate Dei*,[162] in which Cicero's concept of government figures in Augustine's critique of the Roman state, the earthly city juxtaposed to the City of God, and which may ultimately have crowded Cicero's *Republic* out of the medieval market altogether.[163]

Plato's *Republic* 4, 431e-432a and Augustine's *De civitate Dei* 2,21 paved the way for the Early Modern commonplace of the state's affinity to music.[164] Posterity though

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1899, reprint Amsterdam 1965; French translation: *Commentaire sur la Republique*, tr. A. J. Festugière, Paris 1970, vol. 2, p. 17-21); cf. Harmon 1996, as in n. 128 above, p. 21 with n. 17.

160. *Republic* 2,69, p. 78.11-20 ed. Ziegler (ser. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana, M. Tulli Ciceronis scripta vol. 12, fasc. 39, Leipzig 1929).

161. Cf. Eberhard Heck, *Die Bezeugung von Ciceros Schrift De re publica*, Spudasmata 4, Hildesheim 1966, pp. 1-5.

162. *De civ. Dei* 2,21, CCSL 47, 53.14-22. From *consensu* onward the Latin quotation above has been restored to direct speech in accordance with the Vatican palimpsest, Augustinus having rendered the passage in accusative with infinitive (. . . *concinere* . . . *eam esse* . . . *concordiam* . . .).

163. Heck, as in n. 161 above, pp. 2-3.

164. Nicholas of Kues (1401-1464), "*grande Platonista*" (V. da Bisticci, *Vite di uomini illustri*, vol. 1, p. 185 ed. A. Greco [*Vespasiano da Bisticci. Le vite*, Florence 1970]) and theoretician of ecclesiastical harmony in the age of schism, concluded a tract written in 1433 for the Council of Basel as follows: "*Debet itaque citharoedus rex esse, et qui bene sciat in fidibus concordiam observare, tam maiores quam minores, nec nimis nec minus extendere, ut communis concordantia per omnium harmoniam resonet*" ("Thus the king should be a lyre-player, and should know well to observe concord in strings great and small, and not to tighten them

was not quick to make this connection on Themistocles' behalf. Neither Cicero in *Tusculanae* 1,4 nor Plutarch in *Themistocles* 2,4 even hint at the self-redemptive metaphor Themistocles' defense implies, instead letting matters rest with presentation of the paradoxically proud *amousos*. One ancient author however *did* connect Themistocles' statecraft with music.

We encountered Aelius Aristides of Smyrna in connection with Aeschines' dialog *Alcibiades* (pp. 358-360 above). The *pax Romana* was well-suited to Aristides' temperament, as is made clear by at least two of his extant speeches, panegyrics delivered in Athens (*or.* 1) and Rome (*or.* 26) in the course of a tour begun in 155 AD. The former speech emphasizes *inter alia* what the Greeks were capable of accomplishing when united in a common cause (a unity which however did not extend beyond the Persian Wars), while the latter celebrates the benefits of Roman rule (under which the Greeks were united by default, as it were). Aristides describes his communal ideal in musical terms: the Emperor as coryphaeus,[165] the people as chorus[166] and governance as being "easier than the stroking of a lyre"[167] — the kind of metaphor which applied in Plato's *Republic* 432a to the internal workings of a single *polis* but in oration 26 is evoked on inter-*polis* level. Aristides' enthusiasm assumes missionary fervor in orations 24 and 23, exhortations to civic unanimity (*homonoia*) addressed in musical terms[168] to the Rhodians (147 AD) and to the *koinon* (assembly) of the province Asia (167 AD) respectively.

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too much or too little, so that a common concord resonates through the harmony of all"): *De concordantia catholica* 3,592, p. 472 ed. G. Kallen (*Nicolai de Cusa De concordantia catholica libri tres*, Bonn 1928). Key words correspond to *Republic* 4, 432a: *maiores = tous ischyrotatous, minores = tous asthenestatous, extendere = tetatai, ut = hoste, per omnium harmoniam = dia pason.* This affinity of *De concordantia catholica* 3,592 to *Republic* 432a stems most likely from Nicholas' familiarity with the *Republic* translation by Manuel Chrysoloras (ca. 1353-1415), revised by Uberto Decembrio (ca. 1350-1427) and Pier Candido Decembrio (1392-1477) and traceable to Nicholas' personal library in Kues (Raymond Klibansky, *The Continuity of the Platonic Tradition*, London 1939, pp. 30-31).

The ruler is the musician, unanimity of the ruled is the music. Shakespeare evoked the Platonic-Ciceronian/Augustinian idea of the three estates' harmony in *Henry V*: "For Government, though high, and low, and lower, / Put into parts, doth keepe in one consent, / Congreeing in a full and natural close, / Like Musicke" (1,2,326-329, *The First Folio*, as in n. 146 above, p. 425). Cf. Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Book of the Governor*, 1531, 1,7, and Pierre de la Primaudaye, *Academie Francoise*, Basel 1587, vol. 1, fol. 352^{r}. Flanking this tradition is the commonplace that the first law-givers were musician-poets such as Orpheus and Amphion: Horace, *Ars poetica* 391-396 and George Puttenham, *The Art of English Poesie*, London 1589, 1,3, pp. 22-24 ed. E. Arber (ser. English Reprints, London 1869).

165. *Or.* 26,29, p. 100.23-24 ed. B. Keil (*Aelii Aristidis Smyrnaei quae supersunt omnia*, Berlin 1898; reprint Hildesheim 2000).
166. Ibid., p. 100.21-23 and *or.* 26,32, p. 101.15-19.
167. ῥᾷον ἤ τις ἂν χορδὴν ψήλειεν: *or.* 26,31, p. 101.1-2. Cf. also *or.* 26,66, p. 109.27-28 ed. Keil (καὶ γέγονε μία ἁρμονία πολιτείας ἅπαντας συγκεκληκυῖα: "And there has arisen a single harmony of the [Roman] state calling together all men") and 26,84 (Roman military-harmony).
168. Cf. *or.* 24,52 (negative metaphor of an out-of-tune chorus for Rhodian dissension) and *or.* 23,75, p. 52.27-30 ed. Keil (μὴ . . . οἴεσθε . . . ἐν . . . ταῖς πολιτείαις . . . τὰ πολλὰ μέρη λυσιτελεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἁρμονίαν...κρατεῖν: "Do not suppose that in states many factions are beneficial, but rather that harmony rule").

The speech by Aristides best-known in Antiquity[169] though was *To Plato: In Defense of the Four* (*or.* 3; ca. 161-165 AD). It was prompted by his wish to respond to Plato's *Gorgias* (ca. 387 BC), a dialog set in 405 BC between Socrates and his companion Chaerephon on one hand and the foremost rhetorician of the era Gorgias of Leontini (483-376 BC), Gorgias' companion Polus and their Athenian host Callicles on the other. Socrates takes on each in turn in an investigation of the nature of oratory. Callicles names Themistocles, Cimon, Miltiades and Pericles as statesmen whose oratory bettered the Athenians (503b-c). Socrates responds by reflecting on the nature of temperance (*sophrosyne*): the orderly states of the soul are justice and temperance (504d); the orator will always seek to instill these virtues in the citizens (504d-e). He concedes that people say those men "made the city great"[170] but doubts their oratory's ability to further virtue in the citizenry, citing in evidence among other things the punishments the Athenians inflicted on them (515c-517a).

These are the "Four" whom Aristides rises to defend in *oratio* 3. A highpoint of the speech is a passage in which he brings together favorite themes such as the benefits of civic unanimity and its intrinsically musical nature, and the Greeks' moment of collective greatness (set against the backdrop of their tendency toward faction):

> καὶ εἰ φήις, ὦ Πλάτων, ὅτι οὐ τριήρων οὐδὲ νεωρίων αἱ πόλεις δέονται, ἀλλ' εὐβουλίας καὶ σωφροσύνης, ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς οὐ μόνον τὰς τριήρεις τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐξεῦρεν οὐδ', ὃ τούτου μεῖζόν ἐστιν, ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν δικαίων καὶ εἰς τὸ δέον πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐχρήσατο αὐταῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ὁμόνοιαν τὴν ἀγαθὴν αὐτὸς ταῖς πόλεσι προσεισηνέγκατο καὶ κατέπραξεν, ὃ τῶν νεῶν αὐτῶν οὐχ ἧττον ἔσωσε τὴν Ἑλλάδα· μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν αὐταῖς ἐποίησε χρήσασθαι. καὶ ὃ μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἔφην, ἐνταῦθα καλῶς ἀναφαίνεται, ὅσῳ τοῦ Τερπάνδρου κρείττων ἀνὴρ τὴν μουσικήν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ὁμονοεῖν ἐποίησεν, ὁ δ' Ἀθηναίους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τότε ταὐτὸν ἔπεισε φρονῆσαι, μᾶλλον δ' ἅπαντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας μιᾶς γενέσθαι γνώμης· οὕτως εὖ καὶ καλῶς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἡρμόσατο, καὶ αὐτός τε ἀπέστη τῆς ναυαρχίας καὶ ἐκείνους ἔπεισε τῆς ἡγεμονίας, οὕτω πολὺ νικῶντας καὶ μόνους ὄντας εἰς ἐλπίδα τοῖς πράγμασιν. καίτοι τοσοῦτον δεῖγμα σωφροσύνης καὶ καρτερίας τίς πώποτε ἐξήνεγκε τῶν ἐν τοῖς τρίβωσι κατασαπέντων;[171]
>
> And if you say, Plato,[172] that the *poleis* need neither warships nor dockyards, but rather good counsel and temperance: Themistocles not only secured warships for the Athenians and (which is greater than that) *used* them in the interest of the common just cause as was needful for *all* the Hellenes, but also induced and effected among the *poleis* "the good unanimity" (*ten*

169. Porphyrius attacked it in a now-lost polemic: cf. Charles A. Behr, "Citations of Porphyry's *Against Aristides* preserved in Olympiodorus," *American Journal of Philology* 89, 1968, pp. 186-199.

170. *Kai phasi megalen ten polin pepoikenai autous*: *Gorgias* 518e. Cf. *Cimon* 9,1: *phanai . . . polin de poiesai megalen kai plousian epistasthai* ("he used to say . . . that he knew how to make a city great and rich").

171. Πρὸς Πλάτωνα ὑπὲρ τῶν τεττάρων 241-243, pp. 374.8-375.1 ed. Behr (English translation: Behr, as in n. 41 above, p. 196; the following translation is my own).

172. Aristides refers to *Gorgias* 519a.

> *homonoian ten agathen*), which saved Hellas no less than the ships themselves; indeed he made (them) *use* those ships. And that which I said a little while ago appears here especially well: all the more was this man superior to Terpander in regard to music.[173] For Terpander made the Spartans agree among themselves (*homonoein*), whereas at that famous time Themistocles made the Athenians *and* Spartans think the same thing, or rather: he made all the Hellenes be of one mind. Thus he well "fitted together" ("harmonized": *hermosato*) Hellas, he himself renouncing the office of admiral and dissuading (the Athenians) from hegemony, although having won so much they hoped to gain sole political power.[174] Indeed: which Spartan (lit. "who among those rotting away in the *tribones*" sc. "Spartan cloaks") had ever brought forth so great a specimen of temperance (*sophrosyne*) and patience?

By embodying temperance and achieving Greek unanimity, Themistocles prefigured for a brief moment in time the civic ideal realized in Aristides' day and demonstrates in his eyes a musicality exceeding that of Terpander, who according to Plutarch "once ended a sedition amongst the Spartans"[175] — presumably the episode upon which Aristides' comparison rests.[176] I would like to add that the *sophrosyne* he attributes to Themistocles was affined to an ancient concept of music expressed by words derived from the Latin stem "mod-" (*modus, modulatio, modulari* etc.): the "correct measure," as of behavior (ethics),[177] so too of sound.[178] Themistocles' "music" therefore was manifested inwardly by his temperance, outwardly by the Greeks' unanimity.

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173. Aristides refers back to 3,231-232, esp. p. 370.6-13 ed. Behr, where he had said that the "proems of Themistocles' government" (τά . . . προοίμια τῆς Θεμιστοκλέους πολιτείας) were less comparable with the (proems, προοίμια in the sense of "preludes") of the citharode Meles than with the music of Terpander, except that Themistocles surpassed Terpander: ". . . for Terpander led one state, that of the Spartans, into unity, whereas Themistocles harmonized and 'composed' all Greece" (. . . ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ τῆς Τερπάνδρου μᾶλλον ἂν εἶναι μουσικῆς εἰκάσαι, πλήν γ' ὅτι καὶ παρελήλυθεν. ὁ μέν γε μίαν πόλιν τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων εἰς ταὐτὸν ἤγαγεν, ὁ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν ἥρμοσε καὶ συνέστησεν). Later in *or.* 3 Aristides says that in the run-up to the battle of Salamis the Athenians hung so closely on Themistocles' every word that not even Orpheus would have drawn them away to himself (οὐκ ἂν τότε γ' αὐτοὺς οὐδ' Ὀρφεὺς ὡς ἑαυτὸν μετέστησεν: *or.* 3,252, p. 379.11-12 ed. Behr).

174. Cf. *Them.* 7,3-4, 164.25-165-.9 ed. Ziegler; Herodotus 8,2-3.

175. Τέρπανδρον . . . τὸν τὴν γενομένην ποτὲ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις στάσιν καταλύσαντα: Plutarch, *De musica* 42, 1146b, p. 34.7-9 ed. Ziegler (cf. Aristides, *or.* 2,336). Terpander of Lesbos (7th c. BC), the musician first entrusted with organizing music in Sparta (Plutarch, *De musica* 9, 1134b), was the author of cithara songs (*nomoi*), hexameter-preludes (*prooimia*) and drinking songs (*skolia*): ibid. 3-6, 1132c-1133d and 28, 1140f resp. On Terpander, see Franklin 2002, as in n. 37 above.

176. Aristides' high regard for Terpander is evident in *or.* 24,3, p. 55.15-16 ed. Keil. The kind of musician Themistocles was *not* is exemplified, in reference to *Gorgias* 501e-502a, by the 5th c. BC aulete Meles and his son Cinesias: *or.* 2,322, p. 242.15-17 ed. Behr and *or.* 3,231, p. 370.6-9 ed. Behr.

177. Cicero defines *sophrosyne* as *temperatio, moderatio* (cf. id., *Republic* 2,69, p. 386 above) and *modestia*: *Tusculanae* 3,16. See also Plato, *Republic* 3,402b-c and p. 380 above.

178. Cf. the essential Latin definition of music as *scientia bene modulandi*, transmitted by (among others) Censorinus (*De die natali* 10,3) and Augustine (*De musica* 1,2-3) and attributed by Hermann Abert to Varro ("Zu Cassiodorus," *Sammelbände der internationalen Musikgesellschaft*

Thus, some 600 years after being humiliated Themistocles found in Aristides a champion who recognized his statecraft as a greater "music." From this point of view Hellas itself, at a turning point in its history, was Themistocles' lyre, the "music" of which, assuming Athens' political and cultural ascendency in the 5th century BC in some measure to have flowed from impulses provided by victory in the Persian Wars, echoes yet today.

Conclusion

The story of Themistocles' *amousia*, originally a mere passing-reference in Ion's memoire on the radiant figure of Cimon, was recognized by ancient and Early Modern authors as being relevant to issues beyond 5th century BC Athenian politics and interpreted accordingly:

1. Philodemus names Themistocles in refutation of the claim that *all* people should have a grasp of music, saying essentially: "Themistocles was very wise (*phronimotatos*) in spite of his *amousia*, therefore music is a good of dubious value," a train of thought which resurfaces in Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*. Augustine in turn made Themistocles the standard by which the low value of classical learning in general should be measured.
2. The opposite interpretation was also possible, taking not Themistocles but music as standard of measurement and interpreting the story to the effect that "music is a good of unquestionable value, therefore Themistocles' *amousia* reveals him to be significantly deficient." Ion attributes this view to Laomedon's guests and John Case adopts it in *Sphaera civitatis*.
3. Cicero emphasizes the paradox inherent in the story, the sense in which most recipients interpret it: "music is a good of such high value that Themistocles' *amousia* was seen to outweigh even his considerable virtues." Quintilian follows Cicero in this regard; by rendering the story in a context of overt praise of music, though, he anticipates the story's Early Modern role in the *laus musices*.
4. A vignette from the 16th century, regarded in the 19th-20th centuries as being the key to understanding the music sociology of Elizabethan England, appropriates the Themistocles story: Philomathes' convivial disgrace as related by Thomas Morley.

Thus Themistocles' *amousia* raised questions whose counterpoint to the deeds of music's heros resonated for some 2000 years and exemplified ancient and Early Modern ways and byways of the Classical Tradition. Furthermore, the accounts of Themistocles' and Philomathes' humiliation reveal the symposium, ancient and Early Modern, as the kind of social ritual by which groups define themselves while excluding those who don't "belong," and musical training as the prerogative of a privileged elite. Rooted thus in consuetude and capable of endless variation, the story is of timeless validity.

3, 1901-1902, p. 447). On this topic see Harmon, "Die Rezeption griechischer Musiktheorie im römischen Reich," in: *Die Geschichte der Musiktheorie*, Vol. 2, eds. Frieder Zaminer and Thomas Ertelt, Darmstadt, forthcoming.