2013

Galen, Plato, and the Physiology of Eros

Ralph M. Rosen

University of Pennsylvania, rosen@sas.upenn.edu

Follow this and additional works at: https://repository.upenn.edu/classics_papers

Part of the [Classics Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Rosen, R. M. (2013). Galen, Plato, and the Physiology of Eros. *Erôs in Ancient Greece*, 111-127. Retrieved from https://repository.upenn.edu/classics_papers/125

Rosen, Ralph M. "Galen, Plato, and the Physiology of Eros." In Sanders, E., Thumiger, C., Carey, C., & Lowe, N. (Eds.) *Erôs in Ancient Greece*. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford UP, 2013. 111-27. DOI:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199605507.001.0001

This paper is posted at ScholarlyCommons. https://repository.upenn.edu/classics_papers/125
For more information, please contact repository@pobox.upenn.edu.

Galen, Plato, and the Physiology of Eros

Abstract

Eros and 'the erotic' are terms generally applied to psychological and emotional states, but as most people know from personal experience, it can be small step from the psychological to the physical. From ancient poetry to the pop songs of our own day, the effects of love on the body have been well catalogued and long lamented, and in extreme cases the doctors have to be brought in. Greek medical writers have not left us copious clinical discussions of the physical consequences of eros, but they have certainly aware that an individual's emotional state could be profoundly affect the body, and erotic desire was commonly implicated in a variety of physical pathologies. Just where - or how - these emotional state could profoundly affect the body was a constant puzzle for Greek and Roman doctors, especially those whose materialist orientation encouraged them to map emotional states on to specific organs.

Disciplines

Arts and Humanities | Classics

Comments

Rosen, Ralph M. "Galen, Plato, and the Physiology of Eros." In Sanders, E., Thumiger, C., Carey, C., & Lowe, N. (Eds.) *Erôs in Ancient Greece*. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford UP, 2013. 111-27. DOI:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199605507.001.0001

Erôs in Ancient Greece

Edited by

ED SANDERS, CHIARA THUMIGER,
CHRIS CAREY, AND NICK J. LOWE

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

8

Galen, Plato, and the Physiology of *Erôs*

Ralph M. Rosen

Erôs and 'the erotic' are terms generally applied to psychological and emotional states, but as most people know from personal experience, it can be a small step from the psychological to the physical. From ancient poetry to the pop songs of our own day, the effects of love on the body have been well catalogued and long lamented, and in extreme cases the doctors have to be brought in.¹ Greek medical writers have not left us copious clinical discussions of the physical consequences of *erôs*, but they were certainly aware that an individual's emotional state could profoundly affect the body, and erotic desire was commonly implicated in a variety of physical pathologies. Just where—or how—these emotional forces 'resided' within a person's body was a constant puzzle for Greek and Roman doctors, especially those whose materialist orientation encouraged them to map emotional states on to specific organs.²

INTRODUCTION: GALEN'S AND PLATO'S
TREATMENT OF *ERÔS*

As a doctor with an undisguised reverence for Plato, and especially for Plato's notion of a tripartite soul, Galen theorized at length in several treatises about the complex interactions of the emotions, organs, health, and disease within the framework of a fundamentally Platonic psychology.³ For Galen *erôs* was an

¹ See e.g. Kozak (2004) 49–65 on the medical discourse of Phaedra's lovesickness in Eur. *Hipp.* Further discussion and bibliography on medicine and erotics at R. Hunter (1999) 224, on Theoc. *Id.* 11.1–6. See also Winkler (1990) 71–93.

² See Van der Eijk (2005) 119–38, esp. 124–31.

³ See Hankinson (1991) esp. 198–200, on Galen's assimilation of, and divergences from, Platonic psychology. See also Tieleman (2002).

emotion associated with the appetitive part of the soul, the *epithumêtikon*, it was powerful, difficult to control, and was responsible for all manner of irrational behaviour that could bring ill to oneself and others alike.⁴ Galen could have assimilated this position easily enough from various Platonic discussions of the *epithumiai*,⁵ even though it is also clear that much of his Platonism was indelibly marked by the intervening centuries of Stoic discourse about classic questions posed originally in Plato.⁶ *Erôs* as one of the Platonic *epithumiai*, therefore, becomes in Galen's works a *pathos*, a 'passion' or 'affection'—a very Stoic term, but located by Galen specifically in the appetitive (*epithumêtikon*) and (sometimes) spirited (*thumos*) parts of the Platonic soul.⁷

It comes as something of a surprise, however, that Galen showed no explicit engagement with the broader, more nuanced treatments of *erôs* also found in Plato, and then in subsequent philosophers up to Galen's time.⁸ And it is perhaps especially surprising that in his monumental work *On the opinions of Plato and Hippocrates* (= *PHP*, from here on),⁹ where *erôs* as *pathos* is repeatedly discussed, Galen takes virtually no notice of Plato's *Symposium* and *Phaedrus*, works that transform *erôs* into a force far more profound than mere appetite.¹⁰ Galen unquestionably knew both works, as occasional allusions to each indicate, but none of these passages is especially illuminating. Across his vast literary output he alludes to the *Symposium* only infrequently,¹¹ and mentions it by name only once, in his commentary on the Hippocratic work, *Prorrhetics* 1—and there only to make a small philological point about a particular term in Hippocrates.¹² He mentions *Phaedrus* six times, all in *PHP*, but his interest there was largely in the section of *Phaedrus* on division and classification, not the metaphysical parts that attempt to assign a positive role to irrational forces such as madness and *erôs* in a philosophical life. In fact, the one place in *PHP* where Galen mentions the famous passage in *Phaedrus* where the soul is likened to a chariot pulled by two horses and

⁴ For Galen's understanding of the Platonic *epithumêtikon*, see De Lacy (1988).

⁵ See below for fuller discussion.

⁶ See Gill (1983) and esp. 187 on Galen's adherence to Plato's tripartite soul (in contrast to Chrysippus' notion of a unified, fundamentally rational soul). See also Donini (2008) 188–90.

⁷ See Donini (2008) 194 with n. 59. Also Gill (this volume).

⁸ See e.g. Nussbaum (2002) 55–94, Renaut (this volume) with his n. 2, and Gill (this volume).

⁹ Translations from *PHP* throughout are from De Lacy (2005).

¹⁰ Nor, for that matter, does Galen seem much interested in subsequent Stoic notions of *erôtikê aretê*, on which, see Sorabji (2000) 281–2, and Gill (this volume). On *erôs* in Plato's *Phaedrus*, see Cairns (this volume).

¹¹ De Lacy noted that Galen *PHP* 4.6.31, a quotation from Chrysippus, may allude to Pl. *Symp.* 183a–b (Pausanias' invocation of the popular notion that the gods forgive lovers even if they break their vows). For discussion of this passage, see below.

¹² The word at issue is *καρῶδες* ('drowsiness'), at Galen *Hipp. Prorrh.* 5.9.2 (ὅταν οὖν ἐν οἴνῳ πόσει πλεῖον κεκαρωμένον τινὰ λέγωμεν, ὥσπερ ὁ <Πλάτων> ἐπὶ τοῦ Πόρου κατὰ τὸ Συμπόσιον εἶπεν).

drawn erotically to beauty,¹³ Galen does so only to say that he likes the simile Plato uses in *Republic* 4 and 9 better.¹⁴ Galen thereby forestalls any engagement he might have undertaken with the most grandiloquent section of *Phaedrus* (e.g. 248–56), where Plato describes in poetically charged narrative the soul's attempt, spurred on by the madness of love, to return to an original state in which it consorted with absolute being.

Galen's apparent lack of interest in Plato's expansive treatment of *erôs* is, I think, worthy of our attention for a number of reasons. First, Galen was every bit as concerned as Plato with the problem of desire and pleasure in human activity, especially—and here Galen's medical orientation comes into play—when they are not well regulated and so could lead to disease and physical suffering.¹⁵ Second, like Plato too, Galen did not, as we shall see, repudiate *tout court* the *pathê* associated with the *epithumêtikon*, but allowed them a positive role in human behaviour, provided they remained subservient to the rational part, the *logistikôn*.¹⁶ Since Galen had a strong interest in the interrelations of the three parts of a Platonic soul, it does seem rather odd that he evidently took no interest in Plato's own attempt to explore an element of human psychology as complex as *erôs*, which, as the *Symposium* and *Phaedrus* make clear, could have profound effects, both positive and negative, on all parts of the soul.

Finally, it is surprising, given his obsession with Hippocrates, that Galen never had anything to say about the Hippocratic Eryximachus' speech in Plato's *Symposium*. Even if we do not take this speech altogether seriously, Eryximachus' startling statement (186c6) that 'medicine . . . is knowledge of the erotic affairs of the body in relation to filling up and emptying' touches closely on Galen's own interest in how medicine intersects with ethics, and

¹³ On this passage, see Cairns (this volume).

¹⁴ *PHP* 4.1.2. The image of the soul in *Republic*, which likens the three parts of the soul to two animals (the *epithumêtikon* to a many-headed beast, the *thumos* to a lion) and a man (the rational part), Galen says, is more fitting than the one in *Phaedrus* (ἡ εἰκὼν οἰκειοτέρα τῆς κατὰ τὸν Φαῖδρον), by which he seems to mean that the simile in the *Republic* does a better job of specifying how the parts of the soul differ from one another in function and location in the body. See further in De Lacy (1988) 45 with n. 4.

¹⁵ The programmatic opening of Galen *Quod animi mores* (*QAM*) illustrates his position on the interrelationship between the condition of the soul and the body, although he is most concerned in this work with the effects of nutrition on behaviour: 'since in fact . . . through food and drink and our other daily activities we accomplish a good bodily mixture, and from this mixture, we effect virtue in the soul' (ἐπειδὴ περ [γάρ] . . . [καὶ] διὰ τῶν ἐδεσμάτων τε καὶ πομάτων ἐπὶ τε τῶν ὁσημέραι πραττομένων εὐκрасίαν ἐργαζόμεθα καὶ ταύτης εἰς ἀρετὴν τῇ ψυχῇ συντελέσομεν). Much of *Aff. Dig.* reverses the perspective of *QAM*, highlighting problems of temperament and habit rather than bodily mixtures, and urging a therapy of self-control. The rhetoric of this treatise is largely ethical, but the many vices Galen describes typically involve the body (especially gluttony and sex) or have bodily consequences (e.g. anger, which can lead to violence). See esp. e.g. chs. 7 and 8—Magnaldi (1999) 41–53.

¹⁶ Galen often used the Stoic term, 'the governing part' (*hêgemonikon*); cf. e.g. *PHP* 2.3.4 or 3.1.8–15, and Donini (2008) 186.

Eryximachus' subsequent claim (188) that a 'good' *erôs* lies behind the 'harmony' and balanced 'mixture' of the hot, cold, wet, and dry is not so far off from Galen's own fundamentally Hippocratic notions of humoral mixtures.¹⁷ If nothing else, Eryximachus' speech (and indeed the other speeches of the *Symposium* as well) encourages the reader to consider what it even means to speak of *erôs* in these terms—whether it makes sense in the first place to divorce it from sex, for example, and from there to transform it into an abstract philosophical principle. And if we are willing to think of *erôs* as a cosmic principle, or simply as a positive psychological force (both of which are broached in the *Symposium* and *Phaedrus*), rather than as a mere unreflective animal instinct, how can we really say that it resides in the desiderative part of the soul—typically, in Platonic, Stoic, and Galenic terms, a place that requires continual external restraints against its natural propensity for excess? In short, whereas Plato has offered us a sophisticated and subtle disquisition on *erôs* as a rich, but deeply ambivalent, principle of the human condition—part appetite, part catalyst, part physical, part intellectual—for Galen, we might say, it was a missed opportunity.

It would be an empty exercise, and a risky argument *e silentio* at that, to speculate too much about why Galen failed to take his cue from Plato and address the problem of *erôs* in Plato's nuanced terms. The most banal explanation may, after all, end up the truest: perhaps he found Plato's treatment of *erôs* in the *Symposium* and *Phaedrus* just a bit too fanciful for his scientific tastes. Galen certainly thought of himself as a philosophical doctor and even wrote a treatise arguing that 'the best doctor is also a philosopher'.¹⁸ But he had little interest in the more purely speculative aspects of the Greek philosophical traditions because they offered little practical utility, and he remained agnostic about the famously intractable dilemmas of philosophy, such as the immortality of the soul or the origins of the universe.¹⁹ So it could simply be that Socrates' description in the *Symposium* of the soul's ascent to absolute beauty, propelled by various forms of *erôs*, or his description in the *Phaedrus* of how the erotic attraction of the soul to a beautiful boy encourages the soul's wings to regenerate and ascend again to heaven—thrilling narratives though they may have been—might just have been too much for the hard-nosed Galen

¹⁷ For varying approaches to this famous scene, see Edelstein (1945), Craik (2001), Kozak (2004) 27–9, Berg (2010) 37–55.

¹⁸ Text in Boudon-Millot (2007) 235–92; and see Lloyd (2008) 42–3.

¹⁹ Galen's remarks at the end of *PHP* 9 are typical; cf. e.g. 9.7.9: 'To inquire also into matters that are not useful for ethics and political action is appropriate only for those philosophers who have chosen speculative philosophy. . . But such inquiries as these contribute nothing to managing one's own household well or caring properly for the public interest, or acting with justice and friendliness towards kinsmen, citizens, and foreigners'; or 9.9.9, where Galen says that the question of whether or not the soul is immortal is 'of no use at all to medicine or to the philosophy called ethical and political, and physicians and many philosophers have with good reason omitted it'.

to take seriously.²⁰ A passage in his treatise *On prognosis* (ch. 6) suggests that Galen had in general little interest in anything but a physicalist attitude towards *erôs*. There he debunks the notion of an ‘erotically motivated pulse’ on the grounds that ‘there is no pulse indicative of love, and that the pulse rate changes . . . when the mind is in any way disturbed’.²¹

Even though Galen seems to have shown little overt interest in Plato’s philosophically enhanced treatments of *erôs* in *Symposium* and *Phaedrus*, however, he was not uninterested, as we shall see, in the power of *erôs* and, given his commitment to a fundamentally Platonic psychology, the question remains whether his own analysis of the soul allowed any room for the more capacious view of *erôs* that we find in Plato. What we would really like to know is whether Galen would have at least been ‘sympathetic’ to Plato’s famous accounts of *erôs*, but since that is an unanswerable question, we can simply ask here how exactly Galen’s far more limited view of *erôs* squares with Platonic psychology, and whether he found in *erôs* anything that might distinguish it from the other emotions he also located in the *epithumêtikon*.

At first glance, the answer to this question might seem fairly straightforward: Galen never singles out *erôs* for any kind of discrete theorizing when discussing the soul’s various desires and appetites, and on the relatively few occasions when he does bring up the topic (when he uses the word *erôs* explicitly), it is usually part of a more general discussion of other *pathê*, either of the desiderative or the spirited part of the soul (*thumos*). He will often speak in terms familiar from Plato, for example, of the anger paradigmatic of the Platonic *thumoeides* (‘spirited part’), and of the various bodily desires—food, drink, sex, love—typically associated with the *epithumêtikon*.²² He endorsed Plato’s metaphor of the *epithumêtikon* in *Resp.* 9 (588c) as a many-headed beast, and that image sums up his suspicions about the activities of these wild, untamed creatures of the human psyche (e.g. *PHP* 6.2.4). Unlike many Stoic thinkers, with whom he was in continual conflict on this point,²³ Galen followed Plato in envisioning the discrete parts of the soul as entities capable of operating independently from one another and, unless reason steps in to manage the irrational parts, always at risk of endangering both body and soul.

²⁰ None of it could be scientifically demonstrated, after all, and that was the chief criterion he looked for in the philosophical principles that he felt most comfortable embracing. See Tieleman (1996) 8–37 on Galen’s scientific methods.

²¹ Galen *De praecog.* 6.16 (trans. Nutton (1979)). As Nutton notes, Galen’s point is not to deny the psychosomatic effects of emotional states, only that love in particular would affect the pulse differently from any other mental disturbance (197). See also Jackson (1969).

²² Discussed well e.g. in Gill (1983) and Hankinson (1991).

²³ See e.g. *PHP* 5.7.42–3, where, in endorsing the Platonic notion that ‘it is not within the province of the same power both to reason and to desire food or drink or sexual pleasure’, Galen notes that this is a ‘fact that somehow escaped Chrysippus and many Stoics’.

Erôs falls into line in this scheme more or less where we would expect it to, consonant with its Platonic background as one of the *epithumiai*.²⁴

ERÔS AS EPITHUMIA IN PLATO

Before we consider Galen's treatment of *erôs* as one of the soul's *epithumiai*, a brief discussion of Plato's attitude to this same topic is in order, for, as it happens, the nature of *erôs* as *epithumia* in Plato is complex and inconsistently treated across his works. The classic discussion of *epithumia* as a bodily appetite is *Resp.* 436–439e, where *erôs* appears alongside other appetites such as thirst and hunger. At 436b1, Socrates refers euphemistically to the 'pleasures of food and procreation, and things that are related to them' (ἐπιθυμοῦμεν . . . τῶν περὶ τὴν τροφήν τε καὶ γέννησιν ἡδονῶν καὶ ὅσα τούτων ἀδελφά), but in reiterating the point that the appetites reside in the 'third part of the soul' at 439d4, he uses the verbal form ἐράω: '(we call the third part of the soul) with which it feels *erôs*, hunger and thirst, and with which it gets excited over all the other desires, irrational and appetitive, the companion to various satieties and pleasures' (τὸ δὲ ὃ ἐρά τε καὶ πεινῇ καὶ διψῇ καὶ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπιθυμίας ἐπτόηται ἀλόγιστόν τε καὶ ἐπιθυμητικόν, πληρώσεών τινων καὶ ἡδονῶν ἐταίρον). In these contexts, Plato is clearly thinking of a basic notion of *erôs* as sexual appetite, not the more elevated, relational notion of desire he explores in *Lysis*, *Charmides*, *Symposium*, or *Phaedrus*.²⁵ But even in Plato *erôs* never entirely loses its association with the appetites, and even when he entertains the idea of an *erôs* tamed by reason and re-oriented towards virtue, there always looms the threat that it will spin out of control. His fundamental suspicion of *erôs* is vividly on display in his description of the 'tyrannical man' in *Resp.* 9 (571–80), a man Socrates there imagines to be devoted first and foremost to gratifying his bodily appetites, with Eros orchestrating everything (573d2): 'for I think that next there are banquets, revels, celebrations and girls, and all things of that sort for people in whom Eros resides as a tyrant within and directs all aspects of their soul' (οἶμαι γὰρ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἑορταὶ γίγνονται παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ κῶμοι καὶ θάλειαι καὶ ἐταῖραι καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα, ὧν ἂν Ἐρως τύραννος ἔνδον οἰκῶν διακυβερνᾷ τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἅπαντα). At 573e3, when Socrates describes the rabble of desires that afflict the tyrannical man, he singles out *erôs* as the most powerful: 'and [such

²⁴ See above, n. 5.

²⁵ See Lorenz (2006) 45, who stresses the importance of distinguishing between translations of *epithumia* as 'appetite' and 'desire' in Plato—certainly Plato's widely differing notions of *erôs* across his works is a case in point. For *erôs* as a form of non-bodily desire in Plato and the Stoics, see Leontsini (this volume).

men] driven on by other desires, as if by a goad, and especially by *Eros himself*' (τοὺς δ' ὥσπερ ὑπὸ κέντρων ἐλαυνομένους τῶν τε ἄλλων ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ διαφερόντως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἔρωτος). Indeed, in a strikingly impassioned paragraph, beginning at 574c5, Socrates invokes *erôs* three times, each time conceptualizing *erôs* as the ultimate tyrant over the appetites in the tyrant's soul.²⁶

GALEN ON THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF ERÔS

When Galen looks to Plato to affirm his argument about the desiderative part of the soul in *PHP* 5.7.40–1, he cites *Resp.* 4.439–40, where Plato speaks of it as ἀλόγιστόν τε καὶ ἐπιθυμητικόν, the part that 'loves, feels hunger, thirst, and flutters around the other desires' (ἐρᾷ τε καὶ πεινῇ καὶ διψῇ καὶ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπιθυμίας ἐπτόχεται). In such passages *erôs* is just another one of the standard components of the irrational part of one's soul, Plato's 'many-headed beast'. But not all the many heads of that beast are equivalent, and Galen does seem to see *erôs* as a particularly powerful and dangerous *pathos*, usually working at cross purposes to a person's better judgement and very difficult to master. Let us look more closely at how Galen addresses the effects of *erôs* on human psychology and physiology.

It is probably no mere chance that most of the explicit occurrences of the words *erôs* and *eraô* in Galen are found in *PHP*, where so much of the focus of this meandering work is on the *epithumêtikon*. Much of Galen's energy in this work is spent sparring with the views of the Stoic Chrysippus on the soul, both on the question of its physical location in the body and, even more urgently for Galen, whether it is a singularity (as Chrysippus believed) or divided into parts as Plato held.²⁷ Galen takes a good bit of pleasure throughout *PHP* in pointing out how often Chrysippus is either wrong or inconsistent, and this is especially evident on the question of the causes of the affections (*pathê*), about which Chrysippus had written a treatise (*On the affections, Peri pathôn*). At *PHP* 4.5.4 Galen accuses Chrysippus of failing to 'anchor to any one doctrine'—'He tosses continually as on a stormy sea'—and, more specifically, of wavering on the question of whether the passions arise 'apart from judgment' (*χωρὶς κρίσεως*) or *because* they are judgements. It is in this context that Galen has occasion to bring up several examples—all taken from by-then classic Greek

²⁶ Cf. *Resp.* 575d5, 575e2, and the final flourish at 575a1: 'But *Erôs* resides in him like a tyrant, in complete anarchy and lawlessness, acting as sole authority' (ἀλλὰ τυραννικῶς ἐν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἔρως ἐν πάσῃ ἀναρχίᾳ καὶ ἀνομίᾳ ζῶν, ὥστε αὐτὸς ὢν μόνναρχος). See also Nussbaum (1994a) 140–91, for post-Platonic anxiety and ambivalence about the status of *erôs* in human activity; also, Nussbaum (2002) 55–94.

²⁷ Donini (1995) and (2008) 183–93.

literature—that fasten on *erôs* as illustrative of the autonomy of the *epithumêtikon*.

The first example is one he found discussed in Chrysippus, who had adduced two lines from Euripides' *Andromache* (629–30), supposedly to show that passions are judgements. Galen finds Chrysippus' thinking on this issue muddled and inconsistent: while Chrysippus claims to hold that the affections of the soul are caused by bad judgements (*μοχθηρὰ κρίσις*, 4.6.2), he also speaks (according to Galen) of a 'power beyond the rational' (*ἀρετὴ δυνάμειος ἐτέρας παρὰ τὴν λογικὴν*, 4.6.3), to which he gives the name *τόνος*, which influences these judgements and so our behaviour: 'there are times when we abandon correct judgements because the tone of the soul yields and does not . . . carry out fully the commands of reason' (4.6.3). This is how he would explain what happens when people find themselves in situations in which their former resolve to act in one way is defeated by some other, presumably non-rational, part of their psychology. Euripides, says Chrysippus, 'has presented Menelaus as this kind of person':

σπασάμενος γὰρ τὴν μάχαιραν φέρεται ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλένην ὡς ἀναιρήσων, ἰδὼν δὲ καὶ καταπλαγείς [εἰς] τὸ κάλλος ἐξέβαλε τὴν μάχαιραν, οὐδὲ ταύτης ἔτι δυνάμενος κρατεῖν, καθὰ καὶ ἡ ἐπίπληξις αὐτῇ εἴρηται αὐτῷ. 'σὺ δ' ὡς ἐσείδες μαστὸν [ἐκείνης] ἐκβαλὼν ξίφος | φέλημι' ἐδέξω προδότιν αἰκάλλων κύνα' (PHP 4.6.9)

He drew his sword and rushed at Helen to kill her, but on seeing her and being struck by her beauty he let the sword drop, no longer able even to keep his hold on it. He was accordingly rebuked with these words: 'When you caught sight of her breast you dropped your sword | and took her kiss, fawning on the shameless traitor.'

We need not enter into the particular points of disagreement Galen had with Chrysippus in this section about the exact psychological cause of Menelaus' lack of resolve. More interesting for our purposes, rather, is the way in which *erôs* is talked about here, originally by Chrysippus, of course, since Galen is largely culling texts for discussion from him. How negative are these examples? Are they morally equivalent to the other examples of potentially dangerous passions that one might bring up in such cases?²⁸

The quotation from Euripides' *Andromache* does not actually use the word *erôs*, but this is clearly the background he has in mind: the lines mention the erotic effect on Menelaus of seeing Helen's breast, kisses, and the kind of fawning one associates with lovers. Galen describes Menelaus as 'smitten by her beauty' (*ἐκπλαγείς τοῦ κάλλους*) and a few paragraphs later speaks of him as 'bewitched by his desire' for her (4.6.19: *ψυχὴν δელεασθεῖσα πρὸς τῆς ἐπιθυμίας*). In the course of the ensuing discussion, also peppered with

²⁸ Galen notes at 4.6.16, e.g., that there are 'thousands of individual things that induce people who live by the passions to depart from their original judgements'.

ample quotations from Chrysippus, Galen describes *erôs*, along with anger, as the most intense, and so most emblematic, of the passions that can afflict a soul. A phrase he cites from Chrysippus makes this clear (4.6.27), where lovers are paired with ‘others who have extreme/violent desires’ (διὸ καὶ τοιαύτας ἐστὶν ἀκούσαι φωνὰς ἐπὶ τε τῶν ἐρώντων καὶ τῶν ἄλλως σφόδρα ἐπιθυμούντων καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀργιζομένων).

Our disappointment begins to mount: how can Galen engage with the topic of *erôs*, base his entire treatise on promulgating a Platonic conception of the soul, and fail to show any appreciation for Plato’s own nuanced perspective on the subject? As if to torment us even further on this point, Galen proceeds to quote Chrysippus again at length (4.6.28–34) on how lovers behave with one another, and what social norms have evolved to accommodate them.

‘οἷας μάλιστα φορὰς καὶ οἱ ἐρώμενοι ἀξιούσι πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἔχειν τοὺς ἐραστάς, ἀπερισκεπτότερον καὶ ἄνευ ἐπιστροφῆς λογικῆς ἰσταμένους καὶ ἔτι τοῦ παραινούντος λόγου αὐτοῖς ὑπερβατικούς ὄντας, μᾶλλον δ’ οὐδ’ ὅλως ὑπομονητικούς ἀκούσαι τινος τοιούτου.’ καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα τῇ παλαιᾷ δόξῃ μαρτυρεῖ, καθάπερ καὶ τὰ ἐφεξῆς αὐτῶν τάδε· ‘οὕτως τε μακρὰν ἀπέχουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου, ὥς ἂν ἀκούσαι ἢ προσέχειν τινὶ τοιούτῳ, ὥστε μηδὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀπο τρόπου ἔχειν γ’ αὐτοῖς λέγεσθαι’

‘Κύπρις γὰρ οὐδὲ νουθετούμενη χαλᾷ.
ἂν γὰρ βιάζῃ, μᾶλλον ἐντείνειν φιλεῖ.
νουθετούμενος δ’ Ἔρως
μᾶλλον πιέζει.’ (28–30)

‘ἔτι δ’ ὥσπερ ἄκαιρον ἐπιτιμητὴν καὶ οὐκ ἐπιγνώμονα τοῖς γινομένοις ἐν τῷ ἐρᾷ ἀποκλίνουσι τὸν λόγον, καθάπερ ἄνθρωπον ἀκαίρως δοκοῦντα νουθετεῖν, ἥνίκα δὴ καὶ οἱ θεοὶ δοκοῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἐφίεναι ἐπιорκεῖν’ (31)

λόγῳ δ’ οὐτ’ ἐν τούτοις οὐτ’ ἐν ἄλλῳ τινὶ τῶν ἐξῆς ἀκολουθεῖν φήσει τοὺς ἐν πάθει καθεστηκότας, ἀλλ’ ἀπεστράφθαι διὰ παντὸς αὐτὸν καὶ φεύγειν καὶ μὴ προσίεσθαι καὶ πάνθ’ ὅσα τοιαῦτα. (33–4)

‘Loved ones especially expect that the conduct of their lovers towards them should be of this kind, that their attitude should be rather uncalculated and without concern for reason, and furthermore, that they should defy the discourse that gives them advice, or rather, have no patience whatever with any discourse of that kind.’ All such statements support the ancient view, and his [Chrysippus] next words do also: ‘They keep so far away from admonitory discourse, from listening or attending to anything of the kind, that it is not out of place to say to them such things as these.’

‘Even when censured Cypris does not let go;
if you use force she loves to strive the more.
Eros, when admonished,
presses more heavily.’

‘they reject the discourse as an untimely censor, unsympathetic to the affairs of love, like a man who is held to admonish unseasonably, at a time when even the gods are thought to permit them to swear false oaths.’

Neither here nor anywhere in the subsequent discussion will he [Chrysippus] say that persons in an affected state follow reason. But that they reject it entirely, flee from it, do not admit it, and every expression of that kind.

Galen here wants to make the relatively simple point that people in love, when in the grip of that *pathos*, flee rational thought, and in doing so he seems to have Plato’s *Symposium* on his mind, if only mediated by Chrysippus. Section 31 is not quite a verbatim quotation of that work, but it does seem to allude to *Symposium* 183a–b, the part of Pausanias’ speech where he too mentions the special divine dispensation offered to lovers for their notoriously unbecoming behaviour—obsequiousness, swearing questionable oaths, and in general any kind of indecorous behaviour (b2). Pausanias himself is not so much endorsing bad behaviour, of course, but he does point out that the matter is not simple (183d4):

οὐχ ἀπλοῦν ἐστίν, ὅπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐλέχθη οὔτε καλὸν εἶναι αὐτὸ καθ’ αὐτὸ οὔτε αἰσχρόν, ἀλλὰ καλῶς μὲν πραττόμενον καλόν, αἰσχροῦς δὲ αἰσχρόν. αἰσχροῦς μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ πονηρῶς τε καὶ πονηρῶς χαρίζεσθαι, καλῶς δὲ χρηστῶς τε καὶ καλῶς. πονηρὸς δ’ ἐστὶν ἐκείνος ὁ ἐραστῆς ὁ πάνδημος, ὁ τοῦ σώματος μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐρών· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ μόνιμός ἐστιν, ἅτε οὐδὲ μόνιμου ἐρῶν πράγματος.

As I said from the start, it is not simply beautiful in and of itself, nor shameful, but beautiful if done beautifully, and shameful if done shamefully. [Something is done] shamefully when one gratifies a base lover basely, but beautifully when one gratifies a wholesome lover wholesomely. That vulgar lover is base who loves the body more than the soul; for he cannot be stable since he doesn’t love a stable thing.

Despite the fact that both Galen and Chrysippus had evidently consulted Plato’s text at some point, each here seems oblivious to the grander import of Pausanias’ speech as a small sample of the work’s sustained problematizing of *erôs* as both a positive and negative psychic force. Other examples in *PHP* where passages from Classical poetry are cited specifically to illustrate the psychic properties of *erôs*²⁹ add little more to the basic picture of *erôs* in Galen as an unwelcome distraction from an orderly, moral life.

²⁹ e.g. *PHP* 4.6.38, quoting Eur. *Alc.* 1079–80, where Admetus speaks to Heracles of his *erôs* for Alcestis; Galen comments: ‘It is clear that his love, being an affection of the desiderative power, not of the rational, distracts his whole soul and leads the man to act contrary to his initial judgment.’ Cf. also e.g. *PHP* 3.4.23–5, where Galen again adduces the Euripidean Medea—a favourite Stoic exemplum (cf. Gill (1983))—overpowered by her *erôs* for Jason: ‘Sufficient indications of the magnitude attained by the immoderate movement in the desiderative part of her soul are the things she did because of her love for Jason’ (τὰ περὶ τὸν ἔρωτα τοῦ Ἰάσονος).

GALEN ON THE *ENERGEIA* OF *ERÔS*

If we dig a little deeper in Galen's *PHP*, however, we find some scope for a more nuanced view of *erôs* and the other desiderative drives in the soul. We may begin by considering how Galen distinguished the soul's *pathê*, which are by definition unwelcome, from instantiations of those same psychological drives that are well regulated and so do no harm. Or to put this another way, when does one of the soul's drives *become* an actual *pathos*? Can Galen imagine, as Plato could, any circumstance in which *erôs* is a positive force, or at least not something categorically harmful or undesirable? Or did *erôs* imply for him only biological desire for sex unregulated by reason, mere animal appetite that had little to do with more complex forms of human relationships and sociability?³⁰

Galen may not have had the philosophical interest in *erôs* that Plato had, but he was hardly an ascetic, and probably not a proponent of complete Stoic *apatheia*,³¹ the idea that we should rid ourselves completely of the influence of the passions. And however much a moralist he was, he was also enough of a biological materialist to acknowledge not only that the passions have a physical location in the body (more on which below), but that they are in fact 'natural' phenomena, with a natural part to play physiologically and socially. This was a position consistent with Plato, and has its own kind of self-evident logic: gluttony may be a vice, but eating and the *desire* for food is biologically necessary for survival and so, we might say, 'natural'.³²

Galen theorizes this notion further when he discusses the 'natural kinship' that each part of the soul feels towards an object, at *PHP* 5.5.6–8, using Stoic terminology—an *οἰκείωσις φυσικὴ*—for an essentially Platonic idea. Here,

³⁰ It is interesting that when Galen wanted to refer to sexual intercourse in ethically neutral terms as a purely biological activity, he used the verb *ἀφροδισιάζειν* and the nominal phrase *τὰ ἀφροδίσια*. These words tend to occur in strictly physiological or pharmacological passages, as in *Ars med.* Kühn i. 339 line 14, or 340 line 15, *De usu part.* Helmreich ii. 321 line 17, or *De simpl. med.*, where *τὰ ἀφροδίσια* occurs ten times in Galen's discussions of drugs. *Erôs* is not synonymous with *τὰ ἀφροδίσια* in Galen—the former describes an emotion, the latter an activity ('sex')—but *erôs* does imply a type of desire that includes, even if only implicitly, a desire for sex. Galen tends to use *erôs* when he is interested in the relational consequences of the term, which is to say when he is concerned with the moral implications of erotic behaviour. Even the more general term *φιλεῖν*, indicating friendship or other kinds of non-sexualized love, however, although inherently a positive term can in Galen's eyes become a *pathos* if carried to excess: cf. *Aff. Dig.* 3.1: 'being excessively quick to love or hate any sort of thing is a *pathos*' (*τὸ φθᾶσαι πάνυ σφόδρα φιλεῖν ἢ μισεῖν ὁτιοῦν πρᾶγμα πάθος ἐστίν*). See now Konstan (2010b) on *philia*. See also Sorabji (2000) 274–87, on the general pre-Christian separability (he calls it 'coming apart') of love, sex, marriage, and having children, although, as his discussion makes clear, the lines between them are often blurry.

³¹ See Donini (2008) 194–5.

³² See De Lacy (1988) 54.

Galen observes a ‘natural kinship’ for *pleasure* in small children, who have not yet acquired full control of their *epithumêtika*:

οὕτως οὖν οἰκτιροῦσθαι καὶ τὰ παῖδιά φαίνεται καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ πρὸς νίκην, ὥσπερ ὕστερόν ποτε δείκνυσιν, ἐπειδὴν προβαίνει κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, ὅτι πρὸς τὸ καλὸν ἔχει τινὰ φυσικὴν οἰκείωσιν. αἰδεῖται γοῦν ἀμαρτάνοντα προΐουσης αὐτοῖς τῆς ἡλικίας καὶ χαίρει τοῖς καλοῖς ἔργοις καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν ἀντιποιεῖται καὶ πράττει πολλὰ κατὰ τὰς τῶν ἀρετῶν τούτων ἐννοίας, ἐμπροσθεν, ἡνίκα ἦν ἔτι σμικρά, κατὰ πάθος ζῶντα καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ λόγου προσαγμάτων οὐδεμίαν φροντίδα ποιούμενα.

In the same way children also appear to feel a *kinship* with pleasure and victory, and at some later time, as they grow older, they show that they have a *natural kinship* with what is right. Thus they are ashamed of their errors as they grow older, they take pleasure in noble acts, they lay claim to justice and the other virtues, and they perform many acts in accordance with their notions of these virtues; but earlier, when they were still small, they lived by their affections and took no notice of the commands of reason.

It is worth remembering, in short, that in the face of Galen’s sustained emphasis on the dangers of the passions, the problem is not so much the existence of the passions *themselves* as the ways in which they are regulated by reason.

At the beginning of PHP 6, Galen refines his discussion of the psychic *pathê* and *pathêmata* with a nod towards their natural functions, and suggests here more complex ways in which to understand the workings of the erotic in human affairs. Here Galen makes a distinction between what he calls the *energeia* and the *pathos* of the soul. *Energeia* is generally translated as ‘activity’, and seems to mean basically ‘what the soul (or the part of the soul) does’. As such, the term is neutral; the spirited part of the soul (*thumos*) feels anger because that is what that part of the soul is supposed to do; but *pathêmata* arise, as Galen describes it, in other parts of the soul when ‘our body is forcibly driven to its actions by anger’ (PHP 6.1.7: *ὅταν ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ βιαίως ἄγεται πρὸς τὰς πράξεις*). Anger is a natural aspect of our souls, in other words, but we must keep it under control, or it easily becomes a dysfunction. Galen sums up his definition of *energeia* by considering how the parts of the soul actively seek out their objects. In describing this movement, Galen says that *energeia* is ‘a motion according to nature, and *pathos* a motion contrary to nature’ (6.1.8: *τὴν μὲν ἐνέργειαν κατὰ φύσιν τινὰ κίνησιν ἡμῶν νοούντων, τὸ δὲ πάθος παρὰ φύσιν*). A physiological explanation makes it clearer what he has in mind (6.1.11): the natural *energeia* of the heart is for it to beat regularly; when it beats *irregularly*, we consider this a *pathos*.

If we think of *erôs* in particular according to this schema, it is likely that Galen would have said that it can be considered part of the *energeia* of the *epithumêtikon*. Exactly what term Galen might use to refer to *erôs* when it is *not* a *pathos* is unclear, since *pathos* is the word he typically used to describe any of the passions in general, whether or not they are functioning

‘appropriately’. But it seems safe to say that, if pressed, he would think of *erôs* as a natural, not intrinsically unwelcome, feature of human psychology, useful not only for procreation, but perhaps even for pleasure.³³

Galen’s psychic *energeia* is not, in fact, very far removed from the discourse about *erôs* in the *Symposium*. To take just one example, we may consider Diotima’s account of the force of *erôs* in human behaviour, as Socrates relates it at *Symp.* 206c–d:

κυοῦσιν γάρ, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, πάντες ἄνθρωποι καὶ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα καὶ κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ ἐπειδὴν ἐν τινὶ ἡλικίᾳ γένωνται, τίκτειν ἐπιθυμεῖ ἡμῶν ἡ φύσις. τίκτειν δὲ ἐν μὲν αἰσχροῦ οὐ δύναται, ἐν δὲ τῷ καλῷ. ἡ γὰρ ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς συνουσία τόκος ἐστίν. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο θεῖον τὸ πρᾶγμα, καὶ τοῦτο ἐν θνητῷ ὄντι τῷ ζῳῷ ἀθάνατον ἔνεστω, ἡ κύησις καὶ ἡ γέννησις.

All humans . . . are pregnant in body and soul, and when they come to the right age, we naturally desire (lit. ‘our *physis* desires’) to give birth. It’s not possible to give birth in ugliness, but rather in beauty. For the coupling of a man and a woman is a (kind of) giving birth. This is a divine thing, and this is an immortal thing, though it’s in a creature that’s actually mortal, this pregnancy and giving birth.

This is *erôs* conceptualized not only as an intrinsic aspect of human nature, but as a glorious, ennobling one at that. All the speeches of the *Symposium* offer variations on this theme—no one wants to banish *erôs* from human interactions, even though they all recognize that there will always be some people whose lives are degraded by perverse or excessive forms of it.³⁴ While not explicitly interacting with the *Symposium* in his *PHP*, Galen does seem to share with Plato, after all, a confidence that the bodily desires can in fact be a positive, productive force in a person’s life when properly channelled and ordered.

This is not the most obvious lesson one can take away from *PHP*, but it becomes more apparent when Galen discusses, as he does at great length, the physical location of the parts of the soul in the body. In taking on this topic, Galen was entering a long-standing ancient debate where the lines were essentially drawn (if somewhat loosely and not always accurately) between

³³ Stoic influence on Galen’s thinking here is clear; cf. Gill (this volume) 150: ‘Stoicism maintains what I have described as “psychophysical holism”, in which human beings are seen as unified, whole entities, whose functions, including mental or psychological ones, have a physical dimension. Hence, the Platonic tendency to present body-based emotions and desires, including sexual ones, as necessarily lower than mental or intellectual ones, does not hold good in Stoic thought.’

³⁴ The contrast Pausanias draws in his speech (Pl. *Symp.* 181b–d) between the ‘vulgar’ (τῆς Πανδήμου Ἀφροδίτης) and ‘heavenly’ *erôs* (ὁ δὲ τῆς Οὐρανίας) is emblematic of this constant tension between a ‘good’ and ‘bad’ *erôs* in the *Symposium*. In works such as *Aff. Dig.* and *PHP*, Galen worried mostly about the ‘bad’ *erôs*, of the sort that in Pausanias’ description makes people care only about sexual consummation, without any thought for whether they are pursuing such bodily pleasure ‘finely’ (καλῶς) or not (181b5).

Platonists, on the one hand, and Aristotelians and Stoics on the other, who differed especially on the physical location of the rational part of the soul (essentially, brain or heart, respectively). These discussions, however turgid and derivative they may sometimes appear, are nevertheless fascinating for the way in which they allow Galen to apply medical research and contemporary scientific procedures to these perennially intractable problems of psychology. This would certainly characterize his long attempt at the beginning of *PHP* 6 to prove, by various experimental procedures and a knowledge of anatomy, that the desiderative part of the soul resides in the liver. We may pass over the many details here, but focus for our purposes on the intimate connection Galen posits between the nutritive function of the liver within the human body and the desires that reside there.

CONCLUSION: GALEN AND THE PHYSIOLOGY OF ERÔS

De Lacy highlighted well the importance for Galen of food and drink in this 'third part of the soul', since it 'ties the *epithumêtikon* to the nourishment of the body'.³⁵ Galen thought he had good authority to make this connection from Plato's remarks about the liver in *Timaeus*,³⁶ and he adopted also from Plato (cf. *PHP* 6.3.10, quoting *Tim.* 77b3–4) the notion that humans share the desiderative part of the soul with plants. He put great stock in his plant analogy (*PHP* 6.3.11 ff.), in fact, and was especially interested in the function of roots, the source of nutrients to the parts of the plant that grew above the ground. His argument at *PHP* 6.3.35–6.4.12 is quite involved, but the main point is that the roots of a plant map on to the liver, as the trunk of the plant maps on to the heart. We might expect the roots to be analogized to the stomach, but Galen deals with this by citing Hippocrates (*De hum.* 11), who likened the *soil* that nourishes trees to the stomach of humans. Never mind that this rather ruins the neatness of the plant analogy—the point is that Galen is quite fixated on the centrality of the liver to all physiological functions of the body. The bulk of book 6 of *PHP* offers in fact a highly detailed account of the liver's anatomy in an effort to demonstrate that blood originates in the liver, where it processes the nutrients received from the stomach, and then distributes these nutrients to the rest of the body, beginning with the heart. Galen's 'proof' of this process invokes observations from dissection and embryology, which we cannot address in detail here, but his conclusions are powerful: at 6.4.6, he says, 'For the liver appears *not as a servant* who prepares

³⁵ De Lacy (1988) 46.

³⁶ De Lacy (1988) 46–8.

suitable material for his master, but *as the master himself* who has the authority to distribute the material' (φαίνεται γὰρ οὐχ ὡς ὑπηρέτης ἡγουμένῳ προπαρασκευάζων ἐπιτήδειον ὕλην τὸ ἥπαρ, ἀλλ' ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ ἡγούμενος ἐξουσίαν ἔχων τοῦ διανέμειν αὐτήν). A few sentences later (6.4.9):

οὔτε γὰρ ὑπηρέτου τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔργον, ἀλλ' ἡγεμόνος καὶ ἄρχοντος, οὐθ' ὕλης ἐλλιπῶς παρεσκευασμένης τὸ πάθος· ὑπηρέτου γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ παρασκευάζειν μόνον ὕλης τ' ἐλλιποῦς ἐστὶ τὸ μὴ διανέμεσθαι, καὶ μὴν οὐθ' ὡς ὑπηρέτης τὸ ἥπαρ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄρχων, οὐθ' ὡς ὕλην ἐλλιπή [ὕλην] τὸ αἶμα διανέμειν πεπίστευται.

For distributing is not the work of a servant but of a leader and ruler, and being distributed is not what is done to matter that has been incompletely prepared; it is appropriate to a servant that he only begins the preparation, and to unfinished matter that it is not distributed. But the liver has been entrusted with distributing the blood, the liver *not as servant but as ruler*, and the blood not as unfinished matter.

There are many striking aspects to this passage, not the least of which is the apparent discontinuity between the physiological and the psychological functions of a single organ within a body. In terms of its bodily function, in other words, Galen sees the liver as taking a lead role—all the other major organs depend on its role as producer of blood and supplier of nutrients. Galen was, to be sure, taking his cue (*PHP* 6.8.51) from Plato in the *Timaeus* (70a7–b2), who referred there to the liver as a 'manager . . . [fashioned] for the nourishment of the body', but his systematic scientific study of this organ in *PHP* allows him to invest it with an authority, even nobility, that is all his own. Indeed, the language of ruling, leading, and controlling that he applied to the liver in book 6 reminds us of the ways in which Platonists, including Galen, would describe the rational part of the soul, associated with the brain, *in contrast to* the desiderative part of the soul, associated with the *liver*. We might well ask, then, how Galen could so readily locate the desiderative part of the soul, with all its potential for excess and anarchy, in an organ that he regards as the supreme, authoritative regulator of bodily functioning.

The shortest answer to such a question is to say simply that for Galen the soul and its 'home organ' were different things, and could have different functions within the body. But Galen, like his predecessors, did not just assign the parts of the soul to organs randomly, and here, I think is where we can get a better sense of how he regarded such passions as *erôs*. It is the liver's specifically *nutritive* functions that make it an especially appropriate home for the passions, insofar as the passions that reside there are so often themselves associated with the body's nourishment—the desire for food, drink, and sex, for example, to cite Plato's favourites. This is why it made sense for both Plato and Galen to say that the desiderative part of the soul could be found in plants as well as humans: each creature had *bodily* mechanisms the functions of which were to distribute nutrients to the other parts of the body, but they also needed something to motivate them to *seek* such nourishment—plants

need to know how and when to take in the nutrients from the soil, and, analogously, humans need to know how and when to eat, drink, or procreate. In each of them, this function, this *energeia*, is performed by the desiderative part of the soul. What is interesting about the relationship Galen imagines to exist between the parts of the soul and their home organs is that each seems to be able to operate more or less independently of one another. This is why he can envision, on the one hand, a liver in supreme control of its blood and nutrient distribution, and, on the other, an *epithumêtikon*, located in the liver and in some sense motivating it, but incapable of regulating *itself* without the intervention of reason. Whatever their inherent dangers, therefore, the passions were for Galen one of the fundamental, essential aspects of human existence itself, as elemental for maintaining life as a plant's ability to absorb nutrients from the soil.

It is likely that Galen, in a different work from *PHP*, might entertain the kind of nuanced discussion of *erôs* we find in Plato's *Symposium*. Certainly he would be sympathetic to Plato's view, as it emerges from nearly all the speeches in that work, that *erôs* manifests itself in human behaviour in good and bad ways, and that its effect is best when regulated by other parts of the soul. It also seems likely that Galen would be able to draw physiological parallels to the ways in which Plato makes *erôs* into a motivating force for the pursuit of reason. But we have to concede that none of this is in evidence in *PHP*, and if anything, *erôs*, in this and probably all of his work, is little more than one of the routine examples of a passion that can lead to catastrophe if left unrestrained. Any discontinuity that we may sense between the high praise Galen lavishes on the anatomical liver in book 6 of *PHP* and the suspicion he harbours for the part of the soul that *inhabits* the liver is nowhere to be found in Galen's own thinking. He ends book 6, in fact, with a final example, Homer *Iliad* 11.578, to illustrate his argument that the desiderative part of the soul resides in the liver.³⁷ There, Odysseus describes Tityos' punishment in the underworld for his attempted rape of Leto—stretched out over nine acres with two vultures tearing out his liver. Galen notes (*PHP* 6.8.81) that 'the poet did not portray Tityos' heart or brain or any other part as being eaten because of the wanton attack he had made *through erotic desire*, but only his liver, saying that his punishment was on the organ guilty of the wanton act, as was reasonable' (οὐ τὴν καρδίαν ἢ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον ἢ τι τῶν ἄλλων μορίων ἐσθιόμενον ἐποίησε τοῦ Τιτυοῦ δι' ἐρωτικὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἐξυβρίζειν ἐπιχειρήσαντος, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἥπαρ μόνον εἰς τὸ τῆς ὕβρεως αἵτιον σπλάγχνον κολάζεσθαι φάμενος αὐτόν, ὥσπερ ἦν εὐλογον).

Clearly, Galen is not much interested here in considering whether *erôs* might, in other contexts, be capable of nourishing the body or mind in any

³⁷ See De Lacy (1988) 49.

positive or enriching way. But, as I also hope to have shown, he was not on a crusade to demonize *tout court* the passions of the body either. The symbiotic relationship he envisions them to have with the chief nutritive organ of the body suggests in the end that they too at least had the potential to offer the kind of spiritual nutrition that Plato ascribed to *erôs* six centuries earlier.

References

- Adkins, A. W. H. (1982) 'Values, goals, and emotions in the *Iliad*', *Classical Philology* 77.4, 292–326.
- (1996) 'The "Speech of Lysias" in Plato's *Phaedrus*', in B. Loudon and P. Schollmeier (eds) *The Greeks and us: Essays in honor of Arthur W. H. Adkins* (Chicago) 224–40.
- Ahlrichs, B. (2005) 'Prüfstein der Gemüter': *Untersuchungen zu den ethischen Vorstellungen in den Parallelbiographien Plutarchs am Beispiel des 'Coriolan'* (Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft 16) (Hildesheim).
- Alesse, F. (2005) 'Fonti Socratiche e Stoiche nella Vita Alcibiadis', in L. De Blois, J. Bons, T. Kessels, and D. M. Schenkeveld (eds) *The statesman in Plutarch's work: Proceedings of the sixth international conference of the International Plutarch Society (Nijmegen/Castle Hernen, May 1–5, 2002)*, ii: *The statesman in Plutarch's Greek and Roman Lives* (Leiden) 187–97.
- Alexandridis, A. (2008), 'Wenn Götter lieben, wenn Götter strafen: zur Ikonographie der Zoophile im griechischen Mythos', in A. Alexandridis, M. Wild, and L. Winkler-Horaček (eds) *Mensch und Tier in der Antike: Grenzziehung und Grenzüberschreitung* (Wiesbaden) 285–311.
- Allan, W. (2002) *Euripides: Medea* (London).
- Allen, D. S. (2003) 'Angry bees, wasps, and jurors: The symbolic politics of *δργή* in Athens', in S. Braund and G. W. Most (eds) *Ancient anger: Perspectives from Homer to Galen* (Cambridge) 76–98.
- Aloni, A. (2009) 'Elegy', in F. Budelmann (ed.) *The Cambridge companion to Greek lyric* (Cambridge) 168–88.
- Anagnousta-Laoutides, E. (2005) *Eros and ritual in ancient literature: Singing of Atalanta, Daphnis, and Orpheus* (Piscataway, NJ).
- Anderson, G. (1982) *Eros sophistes: Ancient novelists at play* (American Studies 9) (Chico, CA).
- Annas, J. (1993) *The morality of happiness* (Oxford).
- Arafat, K. (1990) *Classical Zeus: A study in art and literature* (Oxford).
- Aubretton, R. (1969) 'Le Livre XII de l'Anthologie Palatine: La muse de Straton', *Byzantion* 39, 35–52.
- Bain, D. (1991) 'Six Greek verbs of sexual congress', *Classical Quarterly* 41, 51–77.
- Baldry, H. C. (1959) 'Zeno's ideal state', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 79, 3–15.
- Baldwin, B. (1977) 'Four problems in Agathias', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 70, 295–305.
- (1980) 'The date of the Cycle of Agathias', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 73, 334–40.
- Balot, R. K. (2001) *Greed and injustice in Classical Athens* (Princeton).
- Barnes, J. (1982) *The Presocratic Philosophers* (London).
- (1987) *Early Greek philosophy* (London).
- Barrett, W. S. (1964) *Euripides: Hippolytos* (Oxford).
- Barron, J. P. (1984) 'Ibycus: Gorgias and other poems', *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 31, 13–31.

- Barry, A. M. S. (1997) *Visual intelligence: Perception, image and manipulation of visual communication* (New York).
- Bartsch, S. (2006) *The mirror of the self: Sexuality, self-knowledge, and the gaze in the early Roman Empire* (Chicago).
- Baumann, H. (2007) *Flora mythologica: Griechische Pflanzenwelt in der Antike* (Kilchberg).
- Beckby, H. (ed.) (1965–8) *Anthologia Graeca* (Munich, 2nd edn, 4 vols).
- Belfiore, E. (2006) 'Dancing with the gods: The myth of the chariot in Plato's *Phaedrus*', *American Journal of Philology* 127.2, 185–217.
- Ben-Ze'ev, A. (2000) *The subtlety of emotions* (Cambridge, MA).
- Berg, S. (2010) *Eros and the intoxications of enlightenment: On Plato's Symposium* (Albany, NY).
- Berger, J. (1972) *Ways of seeing* (London).
- Bermejo Barrera, J. C. (1980) "'Nérites": Contribución al estudio de la mitología marina de la antigua Grecia', *Emerita* 48, 127–31.
- Bertman, S. (2005) *Erotic love poems of Greece and Rome* (New York).
- Beta, S. (1999) 'Madness on the comic stage: Aristophanes' *Wasps* and Euripides' *Heracles*', *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 40.2, 135–58.
- Betz, H. D. (1996) *The Greek magical papyri in translation including the demotic spells* (Chicago, 2nd edn).
- Billault, A. (1999) 'Le Dialogue sur l'amour de Plutarque et les Dialogues de Platon sur l'amour', in A. Pérez Jiménez, J. García López, and R. M^a. Aguilar (eds) *Plutarco, Platón, y Aristóteles: Actas del V congreso internacional de la I. P. S.* (Madrid) 201–13.
- Bing, P. (1988) *The well-read muse: Present and past in Callimachus and the Hellenistic poets* (Göttingen).
- and R. Cohen (eds) (1991) *Games of Venus: An anthology of Greek and Roman erotic verse from Sappho to Ovid* (New York).
- Bittrich, U. (2005) *Aphrodite und Eros in der Antiken Tragödie* (Berlin).
- Blaise, F., P. Judet de la Combe, and P. Rousseau (eds) (1996) *Le Métier du mythe: Lectures d'Hésiode* (Lille).
- Blundell, S. and N. S. Rabinowitz (2008) 'Women's bonds, women's pots: Adornment scenes in Attic vase-painting', *Phoenix* 62, 115–44.
- Bonnafe, A. (1985) *Eros et Eris: Mariages divins et mythe de succession chez Hésiode* (Lyon).
- Bonnano, M. G. (1973) 'Osservazioni sul tema della "giusta" reciprocità amorosa da Saffo ai comici', *Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica* 16, 110–20.
- Borg, B. E. (2002) *Der Logos des Mythos. Allegorien und Personifikationen in der frühen griechischen Kunst* (Münich).
- (2005) 'Eunomia or "Make love not war"? Meidian personifications reconsidered', in E. J. Stafford and J. E. Herrin (eds) *Personification in the Greek world* (Aldershot) 193–210.
- Borthwick, E. K. (1979) 'ΦΥΛΑΣΣΩ or ΛΑΦΥΣΣΩ? A note on two emendations', *Eranos* 77, 79–83.
- Børtnes, J. (2000) 'Eros transformed: Same-sex love and divine desire', in T. Hägg and P. Rousseau (eds) *Greek biography and panegyric in late antiquity* (Berkeley).

References

315

- Boudon-Millot, V. (2007) *Galien, i: Sur l'ordre de ses propres livres; Sur ses propres livres; Que l'excellent médecin est aussi philosophe* (Ord. Lib. Prop.; Lib. Prop.; Opt. Med.) (Paris).
- Boulogne, J. (1999) 'Trois eros? Comment Plutarque réécrit Platon', in A. Pérez Jiménez, J. García López, and R. M^a. Aguilar (eds) *Plutarco, Platón, y Aristóteles: Actas del V congreso internacional de la I.P.S.* (Madrid) 215–26.
- Bowen, A. J. (1998) *Xenophon: Symposium* (Warminster).
- Bowie, A. (1993) *Aristophanes: Myth, ritual, and comedy* (Cambridge).
- Bowie, E. (1986) 'Early Greek elegy, symposium, and public festival', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 106, 13–35.
- (1987) 'One that got away', in M. Whitby, M. Hardie, and M. Whitby (eds) *Homo viator: Classical essays for John Bramble* (Bristol) 13–24.
- Bowra, C. M. (1961) *Greek lyric poetry: From Alcman to Simonides* (Oxford, 2nd edn).
- (1963) 'Arion and the dolphin', *Museum Helveticum* 20, 121–34.
- Boys-Stones, G. (1998) 'Eros in government: Zeno and the virtuous city', *Classical Quarterly* 48, 168–74.
- Brandwood, L. (1976) *A word index to Plato* (Leeds).
- Braund, S. M. and C. Gill (eds) (1997) *The passions in Roman thought and literature* (Cambridge).
- and G. W. Most (eds) (2003) *Ancient anger: Perspectives from Homer to Galen* (Cambridge).
- Breitenberger, B. (2007) *Aphrodite and Eros: The development of erotic mythology in early Greek poetry and cult* (London).
- Bremer, J. M. (1975) 'The meadow of love and two passages in Euripides' *Hippolytus*', *Mnemosyne* 28, 268–80.
- A. M. van Erp Taalman Kip, and S. R. Slings (1987) *Some recently found Greek poems* (Leiden).
- Bremmer, J. (1990) 'Adolescents, symposion, and pederasty', in O. Murray (ed.) *Symptica: A symposium on the symposion* (Oxford) 135–48.
- Brenk, F. E. (1988) 'Plutarch's *Erotikos*: The drag down pulled up', *Illinois Classical Studies* 13.2, 457–71.
- (1998) 'The Boiotia of Plutarch's *Erotikos* beyond the shadow of Athens', in F. E. Brenk (ed.) *Relighting the souls: Studies in Plutarch, Greek literature, religion, and philosophy, and in the New Testament background* (Stuttgart) 50–8.
- Brennan, T. (2003) 'Stoic moral psychology', in B. Inwood (eds) *Cambridge companion to the Stoics* (Cambridge) 257–94.
- (2005) *The Stoic life: Emotions, duties, and fate* (Oxford).
- Brès, Y. (1973) *La Psychologie de Platon* (Paris).
- Brisson, L. (2002) *Sexual ambivalence: Androgyny and hermaphroditism in Greco-Roman antiquity* (Berkeley).
- Broneer, O. (1932) 'Eros and Aphrodite on the north slope of the Acropolis', *Hesperia* 1, 31–55.
- (1933) 'Excavations on the north slope of the Acropolis in Athens, 1931–2', *Hesperia* 2, 329–49.
- (1935) 'Excavations on the north slope of the Acropolis in Athens, 1933–4', *Hesperia* 4, 109–88.

- Brooten, B. (1996) *Love between women* (Chicago).
- Browne, T. (1969) *Religio medici and other writings* (London).
- Buffière, F. (1980) *Eros adolescent: La pédérastie dans la Grèce antique* (Paris).
- Bumke, H. (2004) *Statuarische Gruppen in der frühen griechischen Kunst* (Berlin).
- Burkert, W. (1985) *Greek religion: Archaic and Classical* (Oxford).
- Burn, L. (1987) *The Meidias painter* (Oxford).
- Burnett, A. P. (1998) *Revenge in Attic and later tragedy* (Berkeley).
- Cairns, D. L. (1993) *AIDÔS: The psychology and ethics of honour and shame in ancient Greece* (Oxford).
- (1996a) “Off with her *aidôs*”: Herodotus 1.8.3–4, *Classical Quarterly* 46, 78–83.
- (1996b) ‘Hybris, dishonour, and thinking big’, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 116, 1–32.
- (1997) ‘The meadow of Artemis and the character of the Euripidean Hippolytus’, *Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica* 57, 51–75.
- (2001) ‘Anger and the veil in ancient Greek culture’, *Greece and Rome* 48, 18–32.
- (2002) ‘The meaning of the veil in ancient Greek culture’, in L. Llewellyn-Jones (ed.) *Women’s dress in the ancient Greek world* (London) 73–93.
- (2003a) ‘Ethics, ethology, terminology: Iliadic anger and the cross-cultural study of emotion’, in Braund and Most (2003) 11–49.
- (2003b) ‘Myths and metaphors of mind and mortality’, *Hermathena* 175, 41–75.
- (2005) ‘Bullish looks and sidelong glances: Social interaction and the eyes in ancient Greek culture’, in D. L. Cairns (ed.) *Body language in the Greek and Roman worlds* (Swansea) 123–55.
- (2008) ‘Look both ways: Studying emotion in ancient Greek’, *Critical Quarterly* 50.4, 43–63.
- (2009) ‘Weeping and veiling: Grief, display, and concealment in ancient Greek culture’, in T. Fögen (ed.) *Tears in the Graeco-Roman world* (Berlin) 37–57.
- (2011) ‘Looks of love and loathing: Cultural models of vision and emotion in ancient Greek culture’, *Mètis: Anthropologie des mondes grecs anciens* 9, 37–50.
- (forthcoming) ‘A short history of shudders’, in A. Chaniotis and P. Ducrey (eds) *Emotions as historical factor* (Stuttgart).
- Cairns, F. (1998) ‘Asclepiades and the Hetairai’, *Eikasmos* 9, 165–93.
- Calame, C. (1991) ‘Prairies intouchées et jardins d’Aphrodite’, in A. Moreau (ed.) *L’Initiation* (Montpellier) 103–18.
- (ed.) (1997) *L’amore in Grecia* (Bari).
- (1999) *The poetics of eros in ancient Greece* (Princeton; trans. J. Lloyd).
- Cameron, A. (1981) ‘Asclepiades’ girl friends’, in H. P. Foley (ed.) *Reflections of women in antiquity* (New York) 275–302; repr. revd. in A. Cameron (1995) *Callimachus and his critics* (Princeton) 494–519.
- (1993) *The Greek Anthology from Meleager to Planudes* (Oxford).
- and A. Cameron (1966) ‘The Cycle of Agathias’, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 86, 6–25.
- Campbell, D. A. (1967) *Greek lyric poetry* (London).
- Cantarella, E. (1996) *I supplizi capitali in Grecia e a Roma* (Milan).
- (2008) ‘Introduction. Section I: Textual evidence’, in Lear and Cantarella (2008) 1–23.

References

317

- Carone, G. R. (2006) 'The virtues of Platonic love', in J. Leshner, D. Nails, and F. C. C. Sheffield (eds) *Plato's Symposium: Issues in interpretation and reception* (Hellenic Studies 22) (Cambridge, MA) 208–26.
- Carson, A. (1986) *Eros the bittersweet* (Princeton).
- (2001) *Spartan reflections* (Berkeley).
- Cartledge, P. (1981) 'The politics of Spartan pederasty', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 27, 17–36.
- (2001) *Spartan reflections* (Berkeley).
- Casanova, A. (1979) *La famiglia di Pandora: Analisi filologica dei miti di Pandora e Prometeo nella tradizione esiodea* (Florence).
- Cavallini, E. (1997) *Nel giardino delle vergini* (Lecce).
- Chaniotis, A. (ed.) (2012) *Unveiling emotions: Sources and methods for the study of emotions in the Greek world* (Stuttgart).
- Cingano, E. (2003) "'Genre" et performance de la lyrique grecque', in J. Jouanna and J. Leclant (eds) *La poésie grecque antique* (Paris) 17–45.
- Clarke, J. R. (1998) *Looking at lovemaking: Constructions of sexuality in Roman art 100 B.C.–A.D. 250* (Berkeley).
- Clarke, W. M. (1994) 'Phallic vocabulary in Straton', *Mnemosyne* 47, 466–72.
- Cohen, D. (1987) 'Law, society, and homosexuality in Classical Athens', *Past and Present* 117, 3–21.
- (1990) 'The social context of adultery at Athens', in P. Cartledge, P. Millett, and S. Todd (eds) *NOMOS: Essays in Athenian law, politics, and society* (Cambridge).
- (1991) *Law, sexuality, and society: The enforcement of morals in Classical Athens* (Cambridge).
- Collard, C. and M. Cropp (2008) *Euripides: Fragments* (Cambridge, MA, 2 vols).
- Compton-Engle, G. (1999) 'From country to city: The persona of Dicaeopolis in Aristophanes' *Acharnians*', *Classical Journal* 94.4, 359–73.
- Cooper, C. (1995) 'Hyperides and the trial of Phryne', *Phoenix* 49, 303–18.
- Cooper, J. (1999) 'Aristotle on the forms of friendship', in *Reason and emotion* (Princeton) 312–35.
- Cope, E. M. (1877) *The Rhetoric of Aristotle, with a commentary* (Cambridge, rev. and ed. J. E. Sandys).
- Cornell, T. (2003) 'Coriolanus: Myth, history, and Performance', in D. Braund and C. Gill (eds) *Myth, history, and culture in republican Rome: Studies in honour of T. P. Wiseman* (Exeter) 73–97.
- Corner, S. (2010) 'Transcendent drinking: The symposium at sea reconsidered', *Classical Quarterly* 60, 352–80.
- Corrigan, K. and E. Glazov-Corrigan (2006) *Plato's dialectic at play: Argument, structure and myth in the Symposium* (University Park, PA).
- Craik, E. (1990) 'Sexual imagery and innuendo in *Troades*', in A. Powell (ed.) *Euripides, women, and sexuality* (London) 1–15.
- (1993) 'Tragic love, comic sex?', in A. Sommerstein (ed.) *Tragedy, comedy, and the polis* (Bari) 253–62.
- (2001) 'Plato and medical texts: *Symposium* 185c–193d', *Classical Quarterly* 51.1, 109–14.
- Crichton, A. (1993) "'The old are in a second childhood": Age reversal and jury service in Aristophanes' *Wasps*', *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 38, 59–80.

- Cummins, W. J. (1981) 'Eros, *epithumia*, and *philia* in Plato', *Apeiron* 15, 10–18.
- Dale, A. M. (1969) *Collected papers* (London).
- D'Alfonso, F. (1994) 'Stesicoro versus Omero nel Fedro platonico', *Rivista di cultura classica e medioevale* 36, 167–75.
- D'Angour, A. J. (2006) 'Conquering love: Sappho 31 and Catullus 51', *Classical Quarterly* 56, 297–300.
- Darwin, C. (1872) *The expression of the emotions in man and animals* (London).
- Davidson, J. (1997) *Courtesans and fishcakes: The consuming passions of Classical Athens* (London).
- (2001) 'Dover, Foucault and Greek homosexuality: Penetration and the truth of sex', *Past and Present* 170, 3–51.
- (2007) *The Greeks and Greek love: A radical reappraisal of homosexuality in ancient Greece* (London).
- (2013) 'Politics, poetics, and eros in Archaic poetry', in E. Sanders (ed.) *Erôs and the polis* (Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies supplement 119) (London).
- Davies, J. K. (1971) *Athenian propertied families* (Oxford).
- Davies, M. (1980) 'The eyes of love and the hunting net in Ibycus 287 P.', *Maia* 32, 255–7.
- (1986) 'Symbolism and imagery in the poetry of Ibycus', *Hermes* 114, 399–405.
- Davies, M. I. (1978) 'Sailing, rowing, and sporting in one's cups on the wine-dark sea', in T. L. Shear, Jr (ed.) *Athens comes of age: From Solon to Salamis* (Princeton) 72–95.
- Degani, E. (1974) 'Il nuovo Archiloco', *Atene e Roma*, 113–28.
- De Lacy, P. (1988) 'Galen's Platonism', *American Journal of Philology* 93.1, 27–39.
- (ed., trans., and comm.) (2005) *On the doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato* (Berlin, 3rd edn, 3 vols) (= CMG V.4.1.2).
- Delivorrias, A. (1997) 'A new Aphrodite for John', in O. Palagia (ed.) *Greek offerings: Essays on Greek art in honour of John Boardman* (Oxford) 109–18.
- Del Re, R. (1955) 'Marco Argentario', *Maia: Rivista di letteratura classica* 7, 184–215.
- De Mauriac, H. M. (1949) 'Alexander the Great and the politics of *homonoia*', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 10, 104–14.
- Demos, M. (1999) *Lyric quotation in Plato* (Lanham, MD).
- Depew, D. J. (1991) 'Politics, music, and contemplation in Aristotle's ideal state', in D. Keyt and Fr. D. Miller (eds) *A companion to Aristotle's Politics* (Oxford) 346–80.
- De Romilly, J. (1972) 'Vocabulaire et propagande ou les premiers emplois du mot *homonoia*', in *Mélanges de linguistique et de philologie Grecques offerts à P. Chantraine* (Paris) 199–209.
- (1982) 'Les Conflits de l'âme dans le Phèdre de Platon', *Wiener Studien* 95, 100–13.
- Desmond, W. (2008) *Cynics* (Stocksfield).
- DeVoto, J. G. (1992) 'The Theban Sacred Band', *Ancient World* 23, 3–19.
- De Wet, B. X. (1983) 'An evaluation of the *Trachiniai* of Sophocles in the light of moral values in Athens of the 5th century B.C.E.', *Dioniso* 54, 213–26.
- Dickie, M. W. (1991) 'Heliodorus and Plutarch on the Evil Eye', *Classical Philology* 86, 17–29.
- Dierichs, A. (1993) *Erotik in der Kunst Griechenlands* (Mainz).
- Dillon, M. (2002) *Girls and women in Classical Greek religion* (London).

References

319

- Donini, P. (1995) 'Struttura delle passioni e del vizio e loro cura in Crisippo', *Elenchos* 16, 305–29.
- (2008) 'Psychology', in R. J. Hankinson (ed.) *The Cambridge companion to Galen* (Cambridge) 104–209.
- Dontas, G. S. (1983) 'The true Aglaurion', *Hesperia* 52, 48–63.
- Dover, K. J. (1964) 'Eros and *nomos* (Plato, *Symposium* 182A–185C)', *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 11, 31–42.
- (1972) *Aristophanic comedy* (Berkeley).
- (1980) *Plato: Symposium* (Cambridge).
- (1988) 'Greek homosexuality and initiation', in *The Greeks and their legacy: Collected papers*, ii (Oxford) 115–34.
- (1989) *Greek homosexuality* (Cambridge, MA, 2nd edn, orig. 1978).
- (2002) 'Two women of Samos', in Nussbaum and Sihvola (2002) 222–8.
- DuBois, P. (1982) 'The homoerotics of the *Phaedrus*', *Pacific Coast Philology* 17, 9–15.
- (1985) 'Phallocentrism and its subversion in Plato's *Phaedrus*', *Arethusa* 18, 91–103.
- Duff, T. E. (1999) *Plutarch's Lives: Exploring virtue and vice* (Oxford).
- (2003) 'Plutarch on the childhood of Alcibiades (*Alk.* 2–3)', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 49, 89–117.
- (2008) 'Models of education in Plutarch', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 128, 1–26.
- (2009) 'Plato's *Symposium* and Plutarch's *Alcibiades*', in J. Ribeiro Ferreira, D. Leão, M. Tröster, and P. Barata Dias (eds) *Simposion and philanthropia in Plutarch* (Coimbra) 37–50.
- (2011) 'Platonic allusion in Plutarch's *Alcibiades* 4–7', in P. Millet, S. P. Oakley, and R. J. E. Thompson (eds) *Ratio et res ipsa: Classical essays presented by former pupils to James Diggle on his retirement* (Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society supplement 36) (Cambridge) 27–43.
- Durup, S. (1997) 'L'espressione tragica del desiderio amoroso', in Calame (1997) 143–57.
- Düsing, E. and H.-D. Klein (2009) *Geist, Eros, und Agape: Untersuchungen zu Liebesdarstellungen in Philosophie, Religion, und Kunst* (Würzburg).
- Easterling, P. E. (1977a) 'The infanticide in Euripides' *Medea*', *Yale Classical Studies* 25, 177–91.
- (1977b) 'Literary traditions and the transformations of Cupid', *Didaskalos* 5, 318–37.
- Ebert, T. (1993) 'A Presocratic philosopher behind the *Phaedrus*: Empedocles', *Revue de philosophie ancienne* 11, 211–27.
- Edelstein, L. (1945) 'The role of Eryximachus in Plato's *Symposium*', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 76, 85–103.
- Edmonds, L. (2009) 'Tithonus in the "new Sappho" and the narrated mythical exemplum', in Greene and Skinner (2009) 58–70.
- Bidinow, E. (2007) *Oracles, curses, and risk among the ancient Greeks* (Oxford).
- Eitrem, S. (1991) 'Dreams and divination in magical ritual', in C. A. Faraone and D. Obbink (eds) *Magika hiera: Ancient Greek magic and religion* (New York) 175–87.

- Ekroth, G. (2009) 'Why (not) paint an altar? A study of where, when, and why altars appear on Attic red-figure vases', in C. Scheffer (ed.) *The world of Greek vases* (Rome) 89–113.
- Elderkin, G. W. (1936) 'The seated deities of the Parthenon frieze', *American Journal of Archaeology* 40, 92–9.
- Elster, J. (1999) *Alchemies of the mind: Rationality and the emotions* (Cambridge).
- Erskine, A. (1990) *The Hellenistic Stoa: Political thought and action* (London).
- (1993) 'Review: The Stoic polis (The Stoic idea of the city by Malcolm Schofield)', *Classical Review* 43.1, 92–3.
- Etchegoyen, R. H., B. M. Lopez, and M. Rabih (1987) 'On envy and how to interpret it', *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 68, 49–61.
- Evans, C. and L. Gamman (1995) 'The gaze revisited, or reviewing queer viewing', in P. Burton and C. Richardson (eds) *A queer romance: Lesbians, gay men, and popular culture* (London) 13–56.
- Fabrini, P. and L. Ghilli (eds) (1998) *Plutarco: Vite Parallele, Pelopida e Marcello* (BUR Classici Greci e Latini) (Milan).
- Faraone, C.A. (1995) 'The "performative future" in three Hellenistic incantations and Theocritus' second *Idyll*', *Classical Philology* 90, 1–15.
- (1999) *Ancient Greek love magic* (Cambridge, MA).
- (2002) 'Agents and victims: Constructions of gender and desire in ancient Greek love magic', in Nussbaum and Sihvola (2002) 400–26.
- Fasce, S. (1977) *Eros: La figura e il culto* (Genoa).
- Ferrari, G. R. F. (1987) *Listening to the cicadas: A study of Plato's Phaedrus* (Cambridge).
- (1992) 'Platonic love', in R. Kraut (ed.) *The Cambridge companion to Plato* (Cambridge) 248–76.
- Finley, M. I. (1975) *Use and abuse of history* (London).
- Fisher, N. R. E. (1992) *Hybris: A study in the values of honour and shame in ancient Greece* (Warminster).
- (2013) 'Erotic charis: What sorts of reciprocity?', in E. Sanders (ed.) *Erôs and the polis* (Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies supplement 119) (London).
- Fitzgerald, J. T. (ed.) (2007) *Passions and moral progress in Greco-Roman thought* (London).
- Floridi, L. (ed.) (2007) *Stratone di Sardi: Epigrammi* (Alessandria).
- Foley, H. P. (1998) '"The mother of the argument": Eros and the body in Sappho and Plato's *Phaedrus*', in M. Wyke (ed.) *Parchments of gender: Deciphering the bodies of antiquity* (Oxford) 39–70.
- Forsén, B. (1996) *Griechische Gliederweihungen. Eine Untersuchung zu ihrer religions- und sozialgeschichtlichen Bedeutung* (Helsinki).
- Fortenbaugh, W. W. (1966) 'Plato *Phaedrus* 235c3', *Classical Philology* 61, 108–9.
- Foster, B. O. (1899) 'Notes on the symbolism of the apple in classical antiquity', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 10, 39–55.
- Foster, G. (1972) 'The anatomy of envy: A study in symbolic behavior', *Current Anthropology* 13, 165–202.
- Foucault, M. (1977) *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison* (London; trans. A. Sheridan).

References

321

- (1986) *The history of sexuality*, iii: *The care of the self* (New York; trans. R. Hurley).
- (1992) *The history of sexuality*, ii: *The use of pleasure* (London; trans. R. Hurley).
- (2008) *History of madness* (London).
- Fountoulakis, A. (2001) 'A Theocritean echo in Achilles Tatius', *Classica et medievalia* 52, 179–92.
- Fränkel, H. (1975) *Early Greek poetry and philosophy* (Oxford; trans. M. Hadas and J. Willis).
- Frazier, F. (2005) 'La "Prouesse de Camma" et la fonction des exempla dans le dialogue sur l'amour', in A. Pérez-Jimenez, and F. Titchener (eds) *Historical and biographical values of Plutarch's works: Studies devoted to Professor Philip Stadter by the International Plutarch Society* (Malaga) 197–212.
- (2005/2006) 'L'Érotikos: Un éloge du Dieu Éros? Une relecture du dialogue de Plutarque', *Ploutarchos* 3, 63–101.
- French, R. (1994) *Ancient history: Histories of nature* (London).
- Freud, S. (1922) 'Some neurotic mechanisms in jealousy, paranoia, and homosexuality', *Standard Edition* xviii, 223–32.
- (1962) *Three essays on the theory of sexuality* (New York; trans. J. Strachey).
- Friedrich, R. (1993) 'Medea apolis: On Euripides' dramatization of the crisis of the polis', in A. Sommerstein et al. (eds) *Tragedy, comedy, and the polis* (Bari) 219–39.
- Frijda, N. H. (2007) *The laws of emotion* (Mahwah, NJ).
- Frontisi-Ducroux, F. and J.-P. Vernant (1997) *Dans l'œil du miroir* (Paris).
- Funke, P. (1980) *Homónoia und Arché: Athen und die griechische Staatenwelt vom Ende des peloponnesischen Krieges bis zum Königsfrieden* (Wiesbaden).
- Furiani, P. L. (1987) 'Omofilia e androcrazia nella società maschile di Stratone di Sardi', *Euphrosyne* 15, 217–26.
- Furley, W. (2000) '"Fearless, bloodless . . . like the gods": Sappho 31 and the rhetoric of godlike', *Classical Quarterly* 50, 7–15.
- Gabriel, A. H. (1992) 'Living with Medea and thinking after Freud: Greek drama, gender, and concealments', *Cultural Anthropology* 7, 346–73.
- Gaca, K. (2000) 'Early Stoic eros: The sexual ethics of Zeno and Chrysippus and their evaluation of the Greek erotic tradition', *Apeiron* 33, 201–38.
- Gaca, K. L. (2003) *The making of fornication: Eros, ethics, and political reform in Greek philosophy and early Christianity* (Berkeley).
- Gallavotti, C. (1981) 'La primavera di Ibico', *Bollettino dei classici* 2, 120–35.
- Gallé Cejudo, R. J. (2007) 'Transformaciones genéricas en el Erótico de Plutarco', in Nieto Ibáñez and López López (2007) 41–9.
- Galli Calderini, I. G. (1976) 'Su un epigramma di Asclepiade (Anth. Pal. V 7 = 9 Gow-Page)', *Vichiana* 5, 192–205.
- Ganson, T. S. (2009) 'The rational/non-rational distinction in Plato's *Republic*', *Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy* 36, 179–97.
- Gantz, T. (1993) *Early Greek myth: A guide to literary and artistic sources* (Baltimore).
- García Valdés, M. (2003) 'Ciencia y moral: Eliano desde Aristoteles y a la luz des Estoicismo y la "zoofilia" moderna', *Emerita* 71.1, 1–50.
- L. A. Llera Fueyo, and L. Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén (2009) *De natura animalium* (Berlin).

- Garlan, Y. and O. Masson (1982) 'Les Acclamations pédérastiques de Kalami (Thasos)', *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 106, 3–22.
- Garrison, D. H. (1978) *Mild frenzy: A reading of the Hellenistic love epigram* (Hermes Einzelschriften 41) (Wiesbaden).
- Garvie, A. F. (1969) *Aeschylus' Supplises: Play and trilogy* (Cambridge).
- Geier, A. (2002) *Plato's erotic thought: The tree of the unknown* (Rochester, NY).
- Geiger, J. (1985) *Cornelius Nepos and ancient political biography* (Stuttgart).
- Gelder, K. (2007) *Subcultures: Cultural histories and social practice* (London).
- Gentili, B. (1972) 'Il "letto insaziato" di Medea e il tema dell'*adikia* a livello amoroso nei lirici (Saffo, Teognide) e nella *Medea* di Euripide', in *Studi classici e orientali* 21, 60–72.
- (1984) 'Eros custode: Ibico, fr. 286 P. e Meleagro, Anth. P. 12, 157', *Estudios Clásicos*, 191–8.
- (1988) *Poetry and its public in ancient Greece: From Homer to the fifth century* (Baltimore).
- (2000) 'La *Medea* di Euripide', in B. Gentili and F. Perusino (eds) *Medea nella letteratura e nell'arte* (Venice) 29–41.
- Georgiadou, A. (1997) *Plutarch's Pelopidas: A historical and philological commentary* (Stuttgart).
- (2006) 'The wanderings of the Sacred Band: Uses and abuses of an erotic tradition', in W. Brandes, A. Demandt, H. Leppin, H. Krasser, and P. von Möllendorff (eds) *Millennium: Jahrbuch zu Kultur und Geschichte des ersten Jahrtausends n. Chr.* 3 (Berlin) 125–41.
- (2010) 'Plutarch's *Amatorius*: Towards a reconstruction of a cult of Eros', in L. Van Der Stockt, F. Titchener, H. G. Ingenkamp, and A. Pérez Jiménez (eds) *Gods, daimones, rituals, myths, and history of religions in Plutarch's works: Studies devoted to Professor Frederick E. Brenk by the International Plutarch Society* (Logan) 229–53.
- Ghali-Kahil, L. B. (1955) *Les Enlèvements et le retour d'Hélène dans les textes et les documents figurés* (Paris).
- Giacomoni, A. (2000) 'La *Dike* di Medea e la *Dike* di Trasonide', in B. Gentili and F. Perusino (eds) *Medea nella letteratura e nell'arte* (Venice) 101–9.
- Giannuzzi, M. E. (ed.) (2007) *Stratone di Sardi: Epigrammi (Satura 7)* (Lecce).
- Gill, C. (1983) 'Did Chrysippus understand Medea?', *Phronesis* 28.2, 136–49.
- (1990) 'Platonic love and individuality', in A. Loizou and H. Lesser (eds) *Polis and politics: Essays in Greek moral and political philosophy* (Averbury) 69–88.
- (2000) 'Stoic writers of the Imperial period', in M. Schofield and C. Rowe (eds) *The Cambridge history of Greek and Roman political thought* (Cambridge) 597–615.
- (2005) 'In what sense are ancient ethical norms universal?', in C. Gill (ed.) *Virtue, norms, and objectivity: Issues in ancient and modern ethics* (Oxford) 15–40.
- (2006) *The structured self in Hellenistic and Roman thought* (Oxford).
- Giuliano, F. M. (2005) *Platone e la poesia: Teoria della composizione e prassi della ricezione* (Sankt Augustin).
- Golden, M. (1998) *Sport and society in ancient Greece* (Cambridge).
- and P. Toohey (eds) (2011) *A cultural history of sexuality, i: A cultural history of sexuality in the ancient world* (Oxford).
- Goldhill, S. (1986) *Reading Greek tragedy* (Cambridge).

References

323

- (1994) 'The naïve and knowing eye: Ecphrasis and the culture of viewing in the Hellenistic world', in S. Goldhill and R. Osborne (eds) *Art and text in ancient Greek culture* (Cambridge) 197–223.
- (1995) *Foucault's virginity: Ancient erotic fiction and the history of sexuality* (Cambridge).
- (2002) 'The erotic experience of looking: Cultural conflict and the gaze in empire culture', in Nussbaum and Sihvola (2002) 374–99.
- (2003) 'Tragic emotions: The pettiness of envy and the politics of pitilessness', in Konstan and Rutter (2003) 165–80.
- Gomme, A. W. (1962) *More essays in Greek history and literature* (Oxford).
- González Rincón, M. (ed.) (1996) *Estratón de Sardes: Epigramas* (Seville).
- Gooch, P. W. (1992) 'Has Plato changed Socrates' heart in the *Phaedrus*?', in L. Rossetti (ed.) *Understanding the Phaedrus: Proceedings of the II symposium Platonicum* (Sankt Augustin) 309–19.
- Görgemanns, H. (2005) 'Eros als Gott in Plutarchs "Amatorius"', in R. Hirsch-Luipold (ed.) *Gott und die Götter bei Plutarch: Götterbilder, Gottesbilder, Weltbilder* (Berlin) 169–95.
- (2011) 'Text, Übersetzung, und Anmerkungen', in Görgemanns et al. (2011) 46–197.
- B. Feichtinger, F. Graf, W. G. Jeanrond, and J. Opsomer (eds) (2011) *Plutarch: Dialog über die Liebe* (SAPERE 10) (Tübingen, 2nd edn).
- Gow, A. S. F. and D. L. Page (eds) (1965) *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic epigrams* (Cambridge, 2 vols).
- (eds) (1968) *The Greek Anthology: The Garland of Philip and some contemporary epigrams* (Cambridge, 2 vols).
- Graf, F. (2011) 'Der Kult des Eros in Thespiä', in Görgemanns et al. (2011) 201–16.
- Graver, M. R. (2007) *Stoicism and emotion* (Chicago).
- Greene, E. and M. Skinner (eds) (2009) *The new Sappho on old age* (Cambridge, MA).
- Greier, A. (2002) *Plato's erotic thought: The tree of the unknown* (Rochester, NY).
- Greifenhagen, A. (1957) *Griechische Erosen* (Berlin).
- Gribble, D. (1999) *Alcibiades and Athens: A study in literary presentation* (Oxford).
- Griffin, J. (1980) *Homer on life and death* (Oxford).
- Griffiths, E. (2006) *Medea* (London).
- Griffiths, P. E. (1997) *What emotions really are* (Chicago).
- Gronewald, M. and R. W. Daniel (2004) 'Ein neuer Sappho-Papyrus', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 147, 1–8.
- Guichard, L. A. (ed.) (2004) *Asclepiades de Samos: Epigramas y fragmentos* (Bern).
- Guthrie, W. K. C. (1962) *A history of Greek philosophy, i: The earlier Presocratics and the Pythagoreans* (Cambridge).
- Gutzwiller, K. J. (1998a) *Poetic Garlands: Hellenistic epigrams in context* (Berkeley).
- (1998b) 'Meleager: From Menippean to epigrammatist', in M. A. Harder, R. Regtuit, and G. C. Wakker (eds) *Genre in Hellenistic poetry* (Hellenistica Groningana 3) (Groningen) 81–93.
- (2004) 'Gender and inscribed epigram: Herennia Procula and the Thespian Eros', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 134, 383–418.

- Gutzwiller, K. J. (2007) 'The Paradox of Amatory Epigram', in P. Bing and J. S. Bruss (eds) *Brill's companion to Hellenistic epigram* (Leiden) 313–32.
- Halliwell, S. (2000) 'The subjection of *muthos* to *logos*: Plato's citations of the poets', *Classical Quarterly* 50, 94–112.
- (2002) 'Aristophanic sex: The erotics of shamelessness', in Nussbaum and Sihvola (2002) 120–42.
- Halperin, D. M. (1986) 'Plato and erotic reciprocity', *Classical Antiquity* 5, 60–80.
- (1990) *One hundred years of homosexuality and other essays on Greek love* (New York).
- (2002a) 'Forgetting Foucault: Acts, identities, and the history of sexuality', in Nussbaum and Sihvola (2002) 21–54.
- (2002b) 'The first homosexuality?', in Nussbaum and Sihvola (2002) 229–68.
- (2005) 'Love's irony: Six remarks on Platonic eros', in S. Bartsch and T. Bartscherer (eds) *Erotikon: Essays on eros, ancient and modern* (Chicago) 48–58.
- J. J. Winkler, and F. I. Zeitlin (eds) (1990) *Before sexuality: The construction of erotic experience in the ancient Greek world* (Princeton).
- Hankinson, R. J. (1991) 'Galen's anatomy of the soul', *Phronesis* 36.2, 197–233.
- Harris, W. V. (2001) *Restraining rage: The ideology of anger control in classical antiquity* (Cambridge, MA).
- (2003) 'The rage of women', in S. Braund and G. W. Most (eds) *Ancient anger: Perspectives from Homer to Galen* (Cambridge) 121–43.
- (2010) 'History, empathy, and emotion', *Antike und Abendland* 56, 1–23.
- Harrison, S. (2001) 'Fatal attraction: Paris, Helen, and the unity of Catullus 51', *Classical Bulletin* 77, 161–8.
- Hauser, M. (2009) 'The Mind', *Scientific American* 301.3, 44–51.
- Hawkins, T. (2001) 'Seducing a misanthrope: Timon the Philogynist in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*', *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 42.2, 143–62.
- Hebdige, D. (1979) *Subculture: The meaning of style* (London).
- Heiserman, A. (1977) *The novel before the novel: Essays and discussion about the beginnings of prose fiction in the West* (Chicago).
- Henderson, J. (1976) 'The Cologne epode and the conventions of early Greek erotic poetry', *Arethusa* 9, 159–79.
- (1987) *Aristophanes: Lysistrata* (Oxford).
- (1991) *The maculate muse: Obscene language in Attic comedy* (New York, 2nd edn).
- (2002) *Aristophanes: Frogs, Assemblywomen, Wealth* (Cambridge, MA).
- Hermay, A. (1990) 'Himeros', *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*, v (Zurich) 425–6 [LIMC Himeros].
- H. Cassinatis, and R. Vollkommer (1986) 'Eros', *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*, iii (Zurich) 850–942 [LIMC Eros].
- Herrlinger, G. (1930) *Totenklage um Tiere in der antiken Dichtung: Mit einem Ahnang byzantinischer, mittellateinischer und neuhochdeutscher Tierepikeden* (Stuttgart).
- Hershkovitz, D. (1998) *The madness of epic* (Oxford).
- Heubeck, A., S. West, and J. B. Hainsworth (1988) *A commentary on Homer's Odyssey*, i (Oxford).

References

325

- Hicks, R. D. (trans.) (1925) *Diogenes Laertius: Lives of eminent philosophers*, ii (Cambridge, MA).
- Himmelmann-Wildschütz, N. (1959) *Zur Eigenart des Klassischen Götterbildes* (Munich).
- Hindley, C. (1994) 'Eros and military command in Xenophon', *Classical Quarterly* 44, 347–66.
- (1999) 'Xenophon on male love', *Classical Quarterly* 49, 74–99.
- Hine, D. (trans.) (2001) *Puerilities: Erotic epigrams of the Greek Anthology* (Princeton).
- Hobbs, A. (2000) *Plato and the hero: Courage, manliness, and the impersonal good* (Cambridge).
- Holland, L. (2003) 'Πᾶς δόμος ἔρπον: Myth and plot in Euripides' *Medea*', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 133, 255–80.
- Hook, B. S. (2005) 'Oedipus and Thyestes among the philosophers: Incest and cannibalism in Plato, Diogenes, and Zeno', *Classical Philology* 100.1, 17–40.
- Hörschele, R. (2006a) *Verrückt nach Frauen: Der Epigrammatiker Rufin* (Classica monacensia 31) (Tübingen).
- (2006b) 'Dirty dancing: A note on Autodemon AP 5.129', *Mnemosyne* 59, 592–5.
- (2009) 'Meleager and Heliodora: A love story in bits and pieces?', in I. Nilsson (ed.) *Plotting with eros: Essays on the poetics of love and the erotics of reading* (Copenhagen) 99–134.
- (2010) *Die blütenlesende Muse: Poetik und Textualität antiker Epigrammsammlungen* (Classica monacensia 37) (Tübingen).
- Hubbard, T. K. (2002) 'Pindar, Theoxenus, and the homoerotic eye', *Arethusa* 35, 255–96.
- (2003a) 'Sex in the gym: Athletic trainers and pedagogical pederasty', *Intertext* 7, 1–26.
- (ed.) (2003b) *Homosexuality in Greece and Rome: A sourcebook of basic documents* (Berkeley).
- Hübner, W. (1984) 'Der Mensch in Aelians Tiergeschichten', *Antike und Abendland* 30.2, 154–76.
- Hunter, R. (ed.) (1999) *Theocritus: A selection* (Cambridge).
- (ed.) (2003) *Theocritus: Encomium of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (Berkeley).
- Hunter, R. L. (1987) 'Medea's flight: The fourth book of the *Argonautica*', *Classical Quarterly* 37, 129–39.
- Hupka, R. B. (1981) 'Cultural determinants of jealousy', *Alternative Lifestyles* 4, 310–56.
- (1991) 'The motive for the arousal of romantic jealousy: Its cultural origin', in P. Salovey (ed.) *The psychology of jealousy and envy* (New York) 252–70.
- Hupperts, C. (1988) 'Greek love: Homosexuality or pederasty? Greek love in black-figure vase-painting', in J. Christiansen and T. Melander (eds) *Proceedings of the 3rd symposium on ancient Greek and related pottery* (Copenhagen).
- Hutchinson, G. (2001) *Greek lyric poetry* (Oxford).
- Icard-Gianolio, N. (1994) 'Peitho', *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*, vii (Zurich) 242–50 [LIMC Peitho].
- Inwood, B. (1985) *Ethics and human action in early Stoicism* (Oxford).

- Inwood, B. (1997) ‘“Why do fools fall in love?”’, in R. Sorabji (ed.) *Aristotle and after* (Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies supplement 68) (London) 57–69.
- (1999) ‘Rules and reasoning in Stoic ethics’, in K. Ieradiakonou (ed.) *Topics in Stoic philosophy* (Oxford) 95–127.
- and L. P. Gerson (1997) *Hellenistic philosophy: Introductory readings* (Indianapolis, 2nd edn).
- Irwin, T. (1995) *Plato’s ethics* (Oxford).
- Jackson, S. W. (1969) ‘Galen: On mental disorders’, *Journal of the History of Behavioral Sciences* 5, 365–84.
- James, W. (1884) ‘What is an emotion?’, *Mind* 9, 188–205.
- Jebb, R. C. (ed.) (1967) *Sophocles: The plays and fragments: The Ajax* (Amsterdam).
- Jenkinson, A. J. (1984) ‘Prior analytics’, in J. Barnes (ed.) *The complete works of Aristotle* (Princeton, 2 vols) i, 39–113.
- Jenks, C. (2005) *Subculture: The fragmentation of the social* (London).
- Johansen, H. F. and E. W. Whittle (1980) *Aeschylus: The Suppliants* (Copenhagen).
- Johns, C. (1982) *Sex or symbol: Erotic images of Greece and Rome* (London).
- Jope, J. (2005) ‘Translating Strato: The role of translations in the study of ancient sexuality and the understanding of classical erotica’, *Mouseion* ser. III 5, 47–57.
- Kadletz, E. (1982) ‘Pausanias 1.27.3 and the route of the Arrhephoroi’, *American Journal of Archaeology* 86, 445–6.
- Kaempf-Dimitriadou, S. (1979) *Die Lieber der Götter in der attischen Kunst des 5 Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Bern).
- Kaimio, M. (2002) ‘Erotic experience in the conjugal bed: Good wives in Greek tragedy’, in Nussbaum and Sihvola (2002) 95–119.
- Kalimtzis, K. (2000) *Aristotle on political enmity and disease* (New York).
- Kampen, N. B. (ed.) (2006) *Sexuality in ancient art* (Cambridge).
- Kamtekar, R. (2004) ‘What’s the good of agreeing? *Homonoia* in Platonic politics’, *Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy* 26, 131–70.
- Kanellou, M. (forthcoming) ‘Erotic epigram: A study of motifs’ (Ph.D. Diss., UCL).
- Kaster, R. A. (2005) *Emotion, restraint, and community in ancient Rome* (Oxford).
- Kelly, M. (ed.) (1986) *Jousts of Aphrodite: Erotic verse* (London).
- Kenaan, V. L. (2010) ‘The seductions of Hesiod: Pandora’s presence in Plato’s *Symposium*’, in G. R. Boys-Stones and J. H. Haubold (eds) *Plato and Hesiod* (Oxford) 157–75.
- Keuls, E. (1993) *The reign of the phallus* (Berkeley).
- Kilmer, M. F. (1993) *Greek erotica on Attic red-figure vases* (London).
- Kindstrand, J. F. (1998) ‘Claudius Aelianus und sein Werk’, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.34.4, 2954–96.
- Kiritzi, S. (2013) ‘Eros in Menander: An “Aristotelian” reading’, in E. Sanders (ed.) *Erôs and the polis* (Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies supplement 119) (London).
- Kirk, G. S., J. E. Raven, and M. Schofield (1983) *The Presocratic philosophers* (Cambridge).
- Kirstein, R. (2002) ‘Companion pieces in the Hellenistic epigram (Call. 21 and 35 Pf.; Theoc. 7 and 15 Gow; Mart. 2.91 and 2.92; Ammianus AP 11.230 and 11.231)’, in M. A. Harder, R. F. Regtuit, and G. C. Wakker (eds) *Hellenistic epigrams* (Hellenistica Groningana 6) (Leuven) 113–35.

References

327

- Klein, M. (1957/1975) 'Envy and gratitude', in *Envy and gratitude and other works 1946–1963* (London) 176–235.
- Knox, B. M. W. (1977) 'The Medea of Euripides', *Yale Classical Studies* 25, 193–225.
- Knuuttila, S. (2004) *Emotions in ancient and medieval philosophy* (Oxford).
- Koch-Harnack, G. (1983) *Knabenliebe und Tiergeschenke: Ihre Bedeutung im pädagogischen Erziehungssystem Athens* (Berlin).
- (1989) *Erotische Symbole: Lotosblüte und gemeinsamer Mantel auf antiken Vasen* (Berlin).
- Kokkini, D. (2013) 'The rejection of erotic passion by Euripides' Hippolytos', in E. Sanders (ed.) *Erôs and the polis* (Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies supplement 119) (London).
- Konstan, D. (1994) *Sexual symmetry: Love in the ancient novel and related genres* (Princeton).
- (1996) 'Greek friendship', *American Journal of Philology* 117.1, 71–94.
- (1997a) *Friendship in the classical world* (Cambridge).
- (1997b) 'Philosophy, friendship, and cultural history', in M. Golden and P. Toohey (eds) *Inventing ancient culture: Historicism, periodization, and the ancient world* (London) 66–78.
- (2001) *Pity transformed* (London).
- (2002) 'Enacting eros', in Nussbaum and Sihvola (2002) 354–73.
- (2003) 'Before jealousy', in Konstan and Rutter (2003) 7–27.
- (2006) *The emotions of the ancient Greeks: Studies in Aristotle and classical literature* (Toronto).
- (2010a) 'Στοργή in Greek amatory epigrams', in F. Cortés Gabaudan and J. Méndez Dosuna (eds) *Dic mihi, musa, uirum: Homenaje al Profesor Antonio López Eire* (Salamanca) 363–9.
- (2010b) 'Are fellow citizens friends? Aristotle versus Cicero on *philia*, *amicitia*, and social solidarity', in R. M. Rosen and I. Sluiter (eds) *Valuing others in classical antiquity* (Leiden) 233–48.
- (2010c) *Before forgiveness: The origins of a moral idea* (Cambridge).
- (2011) 'A pig convicts itself of unreason: The implicit argument of Plutarch's *Gryllus*', in N. Almazova, O. Budaragina, S. Egorova, D. Keyer, D. Panchenko, A. Ruban, and A. Verlinsky (eds) *Variante Loquella: Alexandro Gavrilov Septuagenario (Hyperboreus 16–17 (2010–11))* (St Petersburg) 371–85.
- and N. K. Rutter (eds) (2003) *Envy, spite, and jealousy: The rivalrous emotions in ancient Greece* (Edinburgh).
- Kost, K. (ed.) (1971) *Musaïos: Hero und Leander* (Bonn).
- Kovacs, P. D. (1980) *The Andromache of Euripides: An interpretation* (Chico).
- Kovaleva, I. (2005) 'Eros at the Panathenaea: Personification of what?', in E. J. Stafford and J. E. Herrin (eds) *Personification in the Greek world* (Aldershot) 135–43.
- Kövecses, Z. (2000) *Metaphor and emotion* (Cambridge).
- Kozak, J. C. (2004) *Heroic measures: Hippocratic medicine in the making of Euripidean tragedy* (Studies in Ancient Medicine 30) (Leiden).
- Kristjánsson, K. (2002) *Justifying emotions: Pride and jealousy* (London).
- (2006) *Justice and desert-based emotions* (Aldershot and Burlington).
- Lacan, J. (1977) *The four fundamental concepts of psychoanalysis* (London; trans. A. Sheridan).

- Lacan, J. (1997) *Seminars VII: The ethics of psychoanalysis* (London; trans. D. Porter).
- Lakoff, G. (1987) *Women, fire, and dangerous things: What categories reveal about the mind* (Chicago).
- and M. Johnson (1980) *Metaphors we live by* (Chicago).
- Laks, A. (2005) 'Some thoughts about Empedoclean cosmic and demonic cycles', in A. L. Pierris (ed.) *The Empedoclean κόσμος: Structure, process, and the question of cyclicity* (Patras) 265–82.
- Lardinois, A. (2009) 'The new Sappho poem (P. Köln 21351 and 21376): Key to the old fragments', in Greene and Skinner (2009) 41–57.
- Larivée, A. (2005) 'Malaise dans la cite: Éros et tyrannie au livre IX de la République', in M. Dixsaut (dir., avec la collaboration d'A. Larivée) *Études sur la République de Platon, i: De la justice: Éducation, psychologie et politique* (Paris) 169–97.
- Lavagnini, B. (1954) *Aglaia* (Turin).
- Lear, A. (2008a) 'Pederasty and the gods', in Lear and Cantarella (2008) 139–63.
- (2008b) 'Kalos-inscriptions', in Lear and Cantarella (2008) 164–73.
- and E. Cantarella (2008) *Images of ancient Greek pederasty: Boys were their gods* (London).
- Lebeck, A. (1971) *The Oresteia: A study in language and structure* (Cambridge, MA).
- (1972) 'The central myth of Plato's *Phaedrus*', *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 13, 267–90.
- Leighton, S. R. (1996) 'Aristotle and the emotions', in A. O. Rorty (ed.) *Essays on Aristotle's Rhetoric* (Berkeley) 206–37.
- Leitao, D. D. (2002) 'The legend of the Sacred Band', in Nussbaum and Sihvola (2002) 143–69.
- Leo, F. (1901) *Die griechisch-römische Biographie nach ihrer literarischen Form* (Leipzig).
- Leontini, E. (2007) *The appropriation of Aristotle in the liberal-communitarian debate* (Athens).
- Létoublon, F. (1993) *Les Lieux communs du roman: Stéréotypes grecs d'aventure et d'amour* (Leiden).
- Leuzinger-Bohleber, M. (2001) 'The "Medea fantasy": An unconscious determinant of psychogenic sterility', *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 82, 323–45.
- Lewis, M. and J. M. Haviland-Jones (eds) (2000) *Handbook of emotions* (New York, 2nd edn, orig. 1993).
- Lewis, S. (2002) *The Athenian woman: An iconographic handbook* (London).
- Li Causi, P. (2008) *Generare in comune: Teorie e rappresentazioni dell'ibrido nella zoologia dei Greci e dei Romani* (Palermo).
- (2009) 'Generare in comune: L'ibrido e la costruzione dell'uomo nel mondo greco', in A. Alexandridis, M. Wild, and L. Winkler-Horacek (eds) *Mensch und Tier in der Antike: Grenzziehung und Grenzüberschreitung* (Wiesbaden) 441–64 (online: http://www.pietrolicausi.it/public/p.licausi_mensch&tier.pdf).
- Lindner, R. (1984) *Der Raub der Persephone in der antiken Kunst* (Würzburg).
- Lissarrague, F. (1990) *The aesthetics of the Greek banquet* (Princeton).
- (2001) *Greek vases: The Athenians and their images* (New York).
- Littlewood, A. R. (1968) 'The symbolism of the apple in Greek and Roman literature', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 72, 147–81.

References

329

- Lloyd, G. E. R. (2008) 'Galen and his contemporaries', in R. J. Hankinson (ed.) *The Cambridge companion to Galen* (Cambridge) 34–47.
- Lloyd-Jones, H. (1996) *Sophocles: Fragments* (Cambridge, MA).
- Long, A. A. (1996) *Stoic studies* (Los Angeles).
- and D. N. Sedley (eds) (1987) *The Hellenistic philosophers* (Cambridge, 2 vols).
- Longoni, V. (1986) *Plutarco: Sull'amore* (Milan).
- Loraux, N. (1987) *Tragic ways of killing a woman* (Cambridge, MA).
- (1993) *The children of Athena: Athenian ideas about citizenship and the division between the sexes* (Princeton).
- Lorenz, H. (2006) *The brute within: Appetitive desire in Plato and Aristotle* (Oxford).
- Ludwig, P. W. (2002) *Eros and polis: Desire and community in Greek political theory* (Cambridge).
- (2007) 'Eros in the Republic', in G. R. F. Ferrari (ed.) *The Cambridge companion to Plato's Republic* (Cambridge) 202–31.
- Ludwig, W. (1962) 'Ein Epigrammpaar des Asklepiades (AP V.7/150)', *Museum Helveticum* 19, 156–61.
- Luginbill, R. D. (1995) 'Ibycus 286: The beleaguered heart', *Maia* 47, 343–7.
- Lutz, C. E. (1947) 'Musonius Rufus: "The Roman Socrates"', *Yale Classical Studies* 10, 3–147.
- MacDowell, D. M. (1971) *Aristophanes: Wasps* (Oxford).
- (1995) *Aristophanes and Athens: An introduction to the plays* (Oxford).
- Macé, A. (2006) *Platon, philosophie de l'agir et du pâtir* (Saint Augustin).
- McGing, B. and J. Mossman (eds) (2006) *The limits of ancient biography* (Swansea).
- McHardy, F. (2008) *Revenge in Athenian culture* (London).
- McKay, K. J. (1983) 'Broken appointments in Asklepiades', *Mnemosyne* 36, 135–42.
- Maehler, H. G. T. (1990) 'Symptome der Liebe im Roman und in der griechischen Anthologie', in H. Hoffman (ed.) *Groningen colloquia on the novel III* (Groningen) 1–12.
- Magnaldi, G. (ed.) (1999) *Claudii Galeni Pergameni: Peri psychês kai pathôn hamartêmatôn* (Rome).
- Mair, A. W. (trans.) (1928) *Oppian, Colluthus, Tryphiodorus* (Cambridge, MA).
- Mansfeld, J. (1999) 'Sources', in K. Algra, J. Barnes, J. Mansfeld, and M. Schofield (eds) *The Cambridge history of Hellenistic philosophy* (Cambridge) 3–30.
- Marchiandi, D. (2003) 'L'Accademie: Un capitolo trascurato dell' "Atene dei Titanni"', *Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene* 81, 11–81.
- Marcovich, M. (1971) 'Der Gott Lychnos', *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 114, 333–9.
- Mark, I. S. (1984) 'The gods on the east frieze of the Parthenon', *Hesperia* 53, 295–302.
- Martin, H. Jr. (1969a) 'Amatorius, 756E–F: Plutarch's citation of Parmenides and Hesiod', *American Journal of Philology* 90, 183–200.
- (1969b) 'Plutarch's citation of Empedocles at Amatorius 756d', *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 10, 57–70.
- (1984) 'Plutarch, Plato, and Eros', *Classical Bulletin* 60, 82–8.
- Martínez Hernández, M. (2007) 'El dios Eros en Plutarco', in Nieto Ibáñez and López López (2007) 369–96.
- Mastronarde, D. M. (2002) *Euripides: Medea* (Cambridge).

- Matt, S. J. (2011) 'Current emotion research in history: Or, doing history from the inside out', *Emotion Review* 3, 117–24.
- Maxwell-Stuart, P. G. (1972) 'Strato and the Musa puerilis', *Hermes* 100, 215–40.
- Mayhew, R. (1997) *Aristotle's criticism of Plato's Republic* (Lanham, MD).
- Merkelbach, R. (1984) *Mithras: Ein persisch-römischer Mysterienkult* (Königstein).
- and M. L. West (1974) 'Ein Archilochos-Papyrus', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 14, 97–113.
- Michellini, A. N. (1978) 'Hybris and plants', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 82, 35–44.
- Mikalson, J. D. (1975) *The sacred and civil calendar of the Athenian year* (Princeton).
- Moles, J. L. (2000) 'The Cynics', in C. Rowe and M. Schofield (eds) *The Cambridge history of Greek and Roman political thought* (Cambridge) 415–34.
- Momigliano, A. (1993) *The development of Greek biography* (Cambridge, MA).
- Monoson, S. S. (1994) 'Citizen as erastes: Erotic imagery and the idea of reciprocity in the Periclean funeral oration', *Political Theory* 22, 253–76.
- (2000) *Plato's democratic entanglements: Athenian politics and the practice of philosophy* (Princeton).
- Morales, H. (2004) *Vision and narrative in Achilles Tatius' Leucippe and Clitophon* (Cambridge).
- Moreno Soldevila, R. (ed.) (2011) *Diccionario de motivos amorios en la literatura latina (siglos iii a. C.–ii d. C.)* (Exemplaria Classica ii) (Huelva).
- Moreschini, C. (1992) 'Elementi dell' esegesi del Fedro nella tarda antichità', in L. Rossetti (ed.) *Understanding the Phaedrus: Proceedings of the II symposium Platonicum* (Sankt Augustin) 191–205.
- Morgan, K. (1994) 'Socrates and Gorgias at Delphi and Olympia: *Phaedrus* 235d6–236b4', *Classical Quarterly* 44, 375–86.
- (2000) *Myth and philosophy from the Presocratics to Plato* (Cambridge).
- Most, G. W. (2003) 'Two notes on Hesiod's *Theogony* (116–22, 426–39)', in A. Hornung, C. Jäkel, and W. Schubert (eds) *Studia Humanitatis ac Litterarum Trifolium Heidelbergense dedicate: Festschrift für Eckhard Christmann, Wilfried Edelmaier, und Rudolf Kettmann* (Frankfurt am Main) 175–85.
- (2005) 'Six remarks on Platonic eros', in S. Bartsch and T. Bartscherer (eds) *Erotikon: Essays on eros, ancient and modern* (Chicago) 33–47.
- (2006) *Hesiod, i: Theogony, Works and days, Testimonia* (Cambridge, MA).
- (2007) *Hesiod, ii: The Shield, Catalogue of women, other fragments* (Cambridge, MA).
- (2011) 'War and justice in Hesiod', in M. Formisano and H. Böhme (eds) *War in words: Transformations of war from antiquity to Clausewitz* (Berlin) 13–21.
- Motte, A. (1973) *Prairies et jardins de la Grèce antique: De la religion à la philosophie* (Brussels).
- Mulvey, L. (1975) 'Visual pleasure and narrative cinema', *Screen* 16.3, 6–18.
- Munteanu, D. L. (ed.) (2011a) *Emotions, genre, and gender in Classical antiquity* (London).
- (2011b) *Tragic Pathos: Pity and fear in Greek Philosophy and tragedy* (Cambridge).

References

331

- Murray, J. and J. M. Rowland (2007) 'Gendered voices in Hellenistic epigram', in P. Bing and J. S. Bruss (eds) *Brill's companion to Hellenistic epigram* (Leiden) 211–32.
- Nehamas, A. (2007) "'Only in the contemplation of beauty is human life worth living": Plato, *Symposium* 211d', *European Journal of Philosophy* 15, 1–18.
- and P. Woodruff (trans.) (1997a) 'Symposium', in J. M. Cooper (ed.) *Plato: Complete works* (Indianapolis) 457–505.
- (trans.) (1997b) 'Phaedrus', in J. M. Cooper (ed.) *Plato: Complete works* (Indianapolis) 506–56.
- Neils, J. (1983) 'A Greek nativity by the Meidias Painter', *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 70, 274–89.
- (1999) 'Reconfiguring the gods on the Parthenon frieze', *Art Bulletin* 81c, 6–20.
- (2001) *The Parthenon frieze* (Cambridge).
- Neu, J. (1980) 'Jealous thoughts', in Rorty (1980) 425–63.
- Neuser, K. (1982) *Anemot: Studien zur Darstellung der Winde und Windgottheiten in der Antike* (Rome).
- Newmyer, S. T. (1992) 'Plutarch on justice toward animals: Ancient insights on a modern debate', *Scholium* 1, 38–54.
- (2006) *Animals, rights, and reason in Plutarch and modern ethics* (New York).
- Nichols, M. P. (2009) *Socrates on friendship and community: Reflections on Plato's Symposium, Phaedrus, and Lysis* (Cambridge).
- Nicolai, W. (1981) 'Der Mythos vom Sündenfall der Seele (bei Empedokles und Platon)', *Gymnasium* 88, 515–24.
- Nieto Ibáñez, J. M.^a and R. López López (eds) (2007) *El amor en Plutarco: IX simposio internacional de la Sociedad española de plutarquistas* (León).
- Nightingale, A. W. (1995) *Genres in dialogue: Plato and the construct of philosophy* (Cambridge).
- Nilsson, I. (ed.) (2009) *Plotting with eros: Essays on the poetics of love and the erotics of reading* (Copenhagen).
- Ní Mheallaigh, K. (2007) 'Philosophical framing', in J. R. Morgan and M. Jones (eds) *Philosophical presences in the Greek novel* (Groningen) 231–44.
- Nisbet, R. G. M. and M. Hubbard (1970) *A commentary on Horace: Odes, book I* (Oxford).
- (1978) *A commentary on Horace: Odes, book II* (Oxford).
- Nussbaum, M. C. (1986/2001) *The fragility of goodness: Luck and ethics in Greek tragedy and philosophy* (Cambridge).
- (1994a) *The therapy of desire: Theory and practice in Hellenistic ethics* (Princeton).
- (1994b) 'Platonic love and Colorado law: The relevance of ancient Greek norms to modern sexual controversies', *Virginia Law Review* 80, 1515–651.
- (1998) 'Eros and the wise: The Stoic response to a cultural dilemma', in J. Sihvola and T. Engberg-Pedersen (eds) *The emotions in Hellenistic philosophy* (Dordrecht) 271–304 (first published in *Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy* 13 (1995) 231–67).
- (2001) *Upheavals of thought: The intelligence of emotions* (Cambridge).
- (2002) 'Erôs and ethical norms: Philosophers respond to a cultural dilemma', in Nussbaum and Sihvola (2002) 55–94.

- Nussbaum, M. C. and J. Sihvola (2002) *The sleep of reason: Erotic experience and sexual ethics in ancient Greece and Rome* (Chicago).
- Nutton, V. (ed., trans., and comm.) (1979) *Galen: On prognosis* (Berlin) (= CMG V.8.1).
- Oakley, J. H. (1995) 'Nuptial nuances: Wedding images in non-wedding scenes of myth', in Reeder (1995) 63–73.
- and R. H. Sinos (1993) *The wedding in ancient Athens* (Madison).
- Oatley, K. (2004) *Emotions: A brief history* (Oxford).
- O'Brien, D. J. (1997) 'L'Empédocle de Platon', *Revue des études grecques* 110, 381–98.
- Ogden, D. (1996) 'Homosexuality and warfare in ancient Greece', in A. B. Lloyd (ed.) *Battle in antiquity* (London) 107–68.
- Olson, S. D. (2002) *Aristophanes: Acharnians* (Oxford).
- Opsomer, J. (2007) 'Eros and knowledge in Plutarch's *Amatorius*', in Nieto Ibáñez and López López (2007) 149–68.
- Osborne, R. G. (1996) 'Desiring women on Athenian pottery', in N. B. Kampen (ed.) *Sexuality in ancient art* (Cambridge).
- Padel, R. (1974) "'Imagery of the elsewhere": Two choral odes of Euripides', *Classical Quarterly* 24, 227–41.
- Page, D. L. (1938/2001) *Euripides: Medea* (Oxford).
- (1979) *Sappho and Alcaeus* (Cambridge).
- Palumbo, L. (2001) *Eros, phobos, epithymia: Sulla natura dell'emozioni in alcuni dialoghi di Platone* (Napoli).
- Parisinou, E. (2000a) "'Lighting" the world of women: Lamps and torches in the hands of women in the late Archaic and Classical periods', *Greece and Rome* 47, 19–43.
- (2000b) *The light of the gods: The role of light in Archaic and Classical Greek cult* (London).
- Parke, H. W. (1977) *Festivals of the Athenians* (London).
- Parker, R. (2005) *Polytheism and society at Athens* (Oxford).
- Parrott, W. G. (1991) 'The emotional experiences of envy and jealousy', in P. Salovey (ed.) *The psychology of jealousy and envy* (New York) 3–30.
- Paton, W. R. (ed.) (1916–18) *The Greek Anthology* (London, 5 vols).
- Payne, M. (2007) *Theocritus and the invention of fiction* (Cambridge).
- Pease, A. S. (1911) 'The omen of sneezing', *Classical Philology* 6, 429–43.
- Pellegrini, E. (2009) *Eros nella Grecia arcaica e classica: Iconografia e iconologia* (Rome).
- Pelling, C. B. R. (1986) 'Synkrisis in Plutarch's Lives', in F. E. Brenk and I. Gallo (eds) *Miscellanea Plutarchea: Atti del I convegno di studi su Plutarco, Quaderni del giornale filologico Ferrarese* 8, 83–96.
- (1989) 'Plutarch: Roman heroes and Greek culture', in M. Griffin and J. Barnes (eds) *Philosophia togata: Essays on philosophy and Roman society* (Oxford) 199–232.
- (2002) *Plutarch and history* (Swansea).
- (2005) 'Plutarch's Socrates', *Hermathena* 169, 105–39.
- Pender, E. E. (1992) 'Spiritual pregnancy in Plato's *Symposium*', *Classical Quarterly* 42, 72–86.
- (2000) *Images of persons unseen: Plato's metaphors for the gods and the soul* (Sankt Augustin).

- (2007a) 'Poetic allusion in Plato's *Timaeus* and *Phaedrus*', *Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaft* 10, 21–57.
- (2007b) 'Sappho and Anacreon in Plato's *Phaedrus*', *Leeds International Classical Studies* 6 (online: <http://www.leeds.ac.uk/classics/lics>).
- Percy, W. A. (1996) *Pederasty and pedagogy in Archaic Greece* (Urbana, IL).
- Perrin, B. (1914) *Plutarch: Plutarch's Lives*, i (Cambridge, MA).
- Petropoulos, J. C. B. (1997) 'Συμπτώματα Έρωτος στους Ερωτικούς Μαγικούς Παύρους', in A.-F. Christidis and D. Jordan (eds) *Γλώσσα και Μαγεία: Κείμενα από την Αρχαιότητα* (Athens) 104–19.
- (2003) *Eroticism in ancient and medieval Greek poetry* (London).
- Petrovic, I. (2004) 'ΦΑΡΜΑΚΕΥΤΡΙΑ ΟΗΝΕ ΦΑΡΜΑΚΟΝ: Überlegungen zur Komposition des zweiten Idylls von Theokrit', *Mnemosyne* 57, 421–44.
- Petsios, K. (1993) *Φιλοσοφικές έννοιες ως τρόπος επιχειρηματολογίας στους άττικούς ρήτορες* (Ioannina).
- Pirenne-Delforge, V. (1989) 'Éros en Grèce: Dieu ou démon?', in J. Rien (ed.) *Anges et demons* (Louvain-le-Neuve) 223–39.
- (1991) 'Le Culte de la Persuasion: Peithō en Grèce ancienne', *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 208, 395–413.
- (1994) *L'Aphrodite grecque* (Kernos supplement 4) (Liège).
- (1998) 'Quand Éros a les honneurs d'un culte...', *Uranie* 8, 11–31.
- (2008) *Retour à la source: Pausanias et la religion grecque* (Liège).
- Pizzocaro, M. (1994) *Il triangolo amoroso: La nozione di 'gelosia' nella cultura e nella lingua greca arcaica* (Bari).
- Plamper, J. (2010) 'The history of emotions: An interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein, and Peter Stearns', *History and Theory* 49, 237–65.
- Planalp, S. (1999) *Communicating emotion: Social, moral, and cultural processes* (Cambridge).
- Poole, W. (1990) 'Male homosexuality in Euripides', in A. Powell (ed.) *Euripides, women, and sexuality* (London) 108–50.
- Pollitt, J. J. (1993) *The art of ancient Greece: Sources and documents* (Cambridge).
- Pranger, B. (1990) *The arena of masculinity* (London).
- Price, A. W. (1981) 'Loving persons Platonically', *Phronesis* 26, 25–34.
- (1989) *Love and friendship in Plato and Aristotle* (Oxford).
- (2002) 'Plato, Zeno, and the object of love', in Nussbaum and Sihvola (2002) 170–99.
- Price, S. (1999) *Religions of the ancient Greeks* (Cambridge).
- Race, W. (1992) 'How Greek poems begin', *Yale Classical Studies* 29, 13–38.
- Rackham, H. (trans.) (1944) *Aristotle: Politics* (Cambridge, MA).
- Radt, S. L. (ed.) (1985) *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta*, iii: *Aeschylus* (Göttingen).
- Ramelli, A. (ed.) (2009) *Hierocles the Stoic: Elements of Ethics, Fragments and Excerpts* (Atlanta; trans. D. Konstan).
- Rawls, J. (1999) *A theory of justice* (Cambridge, MA, 2nd edn, orig. 1971).
- Rawson, G. (2006) 'Platonic recollection and mental pregnancy', *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 44.2, 137–55.
- Reckford, K. J. (1987) *Aristophanes' Old-and-New Comedy*, i: *Six essays in perspective* (Chapel Hill, NC).

- Reddy, W. M. (2001) *The navigation of feeling: A framework for the history of emotions* (Cambridge).
- (2009) 'Historical research on the self and emotions', *Emotion Review* 1, 302–15.
- Reeder, E. D. (ed.) (1995) *Pandora: Women in Classical Greece* (Baltimore).
- Renaut, O. (2007) 'Les Conflits de l'âme dans la République', *Etudes Platoniciennes* 4, 183–203.
- Repath, I. (2007) 'Emotional conflict and Platonic psychology in the Greek novel', in J. R. Morgan and M. Jones (eds) *Philosophical presences in the Greek novel* (Groningen) 53–84.
- Reydam-Schils, G. (2005) *The Roman Stoics: Self, responsibility, and affection* (Chicago).
- Rhodes, J. M. (2003) *Eros, wisdom, and silence: Plato's erotic dialogues* (Columbia, MO).
- Richlin, A. (ed.) (1992) *Pornography and representation in Greece and Rome* (Oxford).
- Riedinger, J.-C. (1976) 'Remarques sur la timê chez Homère', *Revue des études grecques* 89, 244–64.
- Riedweg, C. (1987) *Mysterienterminologie bei Platon, Philon, und Klemens von Alexandrien* (Berlin).
- Rissmann, L. (1983) *Love as war: Homeric allusion in the poetry of Sappho* (Konigstein).
- Rist, J. M. (2001) 'Plutarch's *Amatorius*: A commentary on Plato's theories of love?', *Classical Quarterly* 51, 557–75.
- Robertson, N. (1985) 'The origin of the Panathenaia', *Rheinisches Museum* 128, 231–95.
- (1992) *Festivals and legends: The formation of Greek cities in the light of public ritual* (Toronto).
- Robin, L. (1964) *La Théorie platonicienne de l'amour* (Paris).
- Robinson, D. (1986) 'Plato's *Lysis*: The structural problem', *Illinois Classical Studies* 11, 63–83.
- Robinson, J. M. (1968) *An introduction to early Greek philosophy* (Boston).
- Robson, J. E. (2009) *Aristophanes: An introduction* (London).
- Rorty, A. O. (ed.) (1980) *Explaining emotions* (Berkeley).
- Rosenwein, B. H. (2002) 'Worrying about emotions in history', *American Historical Review* 107, 821–45.
- (2006) *Emotional communities in the early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY).
- Rosenzweig, R. (2004) *Worshipping Aphrodite: Art and cult in Classical Athens* (Ann Arbor).
- Ross, D. (1980) *Aristotle: Nicomachean Ethics* (Oxford).
- Rowe, C. J. (ed.) (1986) *Plato: Phaedrus* (Warminster).
- (1990) 'Philosophy, love, and madness', in C. Gill (ed.) *The person and the human mind: Issues in ancient and modern philosophy* (Oxford) 227–46.
- (2009) 'The charioteer and his horses: One Platonic myth in its context', in C. Partenie (ed.) *Plato's myths* (Cambridge) 134–47.
- Rudhardt, J. (1986) *Le Rôle d'Eros et d'Aphrodite dans les cosmogonies grecques* (Paris).
- Rudolph, K. (2011) 'Democritus' perspectival theory of vision', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 131, 69–83.

- Ruprecht, L. A. (1999) *Plato, the erotic, and moral value* (Albany).
- Russell, D. (1973) *Plutarch* (London).
- (1995a) 'Plutarch, Alcibiades 1–16', in B. Scardigli (ed.) *Essays on Plutarch's Lives* (Oxford) 191–207.
- (1995b) 'Plutarch's *Life of Coriolanus*', in B. Scardigli (ed.) *Essays on Plutarch's Lives* (Oxford) 357–72.
- Russell, D. A. and N. G. Wilson (eds and trans.) (1981) *Menander Rhetor* (Oxford).
- Rusten, J. (ed.) (2011) *The birth of comedy: Texts, documents, and art from Athenian comic competitions, 486–280* (Baltimore; trans. J. Henderson, D. Konstan, R. Rosen, J. Rusten, and N. Slater).
- Sabetai, V. (1997) 'Aspects of nuptial and genre imagery in fifth-century Athens: Issues of interpretation and methodology', in J. Oakley, W. D. E. Coulson, and O. Palagia (eds) *Athenian potters and painters* (Oxford) 319–35.
- Saco, D. (1992) 'Masculinity as signs: Poststructuralist feminist approaches to the study of gender', in S. Craig (ed.) *Men, masculinity, and the media* (Newbury Park, CA) 23–39.
- Salovey, P. (1991) 'Social comparison processes in envy and jealousy', in J. Suls and T. A. Wills (eds) *Social comparison: Contemporary theory and research* (Hillsdale, NJ) 261–85.
- and J. Rodin (1986) 'The differentiation of social-comparison jealousy and romantic jealousy', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 50, 1100–12.
- Sanders, E. (ed.) (2013) *Erôs and the Polis* (Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies supplement 119) (London).
- (forthcoming) *Envy and jealousy in Classical Athens: A socio-psychological approach* (New York).
- Santas, G. (1992) 'The theory of eros in Socrates' second speech', in L. Rossetti (ed.) *Understanding the Phaedrus: Proceedings of the II symposium Platonicum* (Sankt Augustin) 305–8.
- Saunders, M. (2010) *Self impression: Life-writing, autobiographical fiction, and the forms of modern literature* (Oxford).
- Saunders, T. J. (trans.) (1975) *Plato: Laws* (Harmondsworth).
- Sauvé Meyer, S. (2008) *Ancient ethics: A critical introduction* (London).
- Scanlon, T. F. (2002) *Eros and Greek athletics* (Oxford).
- Scarcella, A. M. (1991) 'Struttura narrativa dell'*Amatorius*', in G. D'Ippolito and I. Gallo (eds) (1991) *Strutture formali dei Moralia di Plutarco: Atti del III convegno Plutarcheo* (Palermo, 3–5 Maggio 1989) (Napoli) 347–56.
- Schachter, A. (1981) *Cults of Boiotia*, i (Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies supplement 38.1) (London).
- Schamp, J. (1976) 'Sous le signe d'Arion', *Acta classica* 45, 95–120.
- Schefer, C. (2003) 'Rhetoric as part of an initiation into the Mysteries: A new interpretation of the Platonic *Phaedrus*', in A. N. Michelini (ed.) *Plato as author: The rhetoric of philosophy* (Leiden) 175–96.
- Schefold, K. (1992) *Gods and heroes in late Archaic Greek art* (Cambridge).
- Schnapp, A. (1997) *Le Chasseur et la cité: Chasse et érotique dans la Grèce ancienne* (Paris).
- Schoeck, H. (1966/1969) *Envy: A theory of social behaviour* (Indianapolis; trans. M. Glenny and B. Ross).
- Schofield, M. (1991) *The Stoic idea of the city* (Cambridge).

- Scholtz, A. (2004) 'Friends, lovers, flatterers: Demophilic courtship in Aristophanes' *Knights*', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 134, 263–93.
- (2007) *Concordia Discors: Eros and dialogue in Classical Athenian literature* (Washington, DC).
- Schuchhardt, W. H. (1939) 'Rundwerke ausser den Koren: Reliefs', in H. Schrader (ed.) *Die archaischen Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis* (Frankfurt am Main) 187–42.
- Scruton, R. (2006) *Sexual desire: A philosophical investigation* (London).
- Seaford, R. (1987) 'The tragic wedding', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 107, 106–30.
- Segal, C. (1977) 'Sophocles' *Trachiniae*: Myth, poetry, heroic values', in C. Segal (ed.) *Greek tragedy* (Cambridge).
- Seltman, C. T. (1923–5) 'Eros in early Attic legend and art', *Annual of the British School at Athens* 26, 88–105.
- Sens, A. (ed.) (2011) *Asclepiades of Samos: Epigrams and fragments* (Oxford).
- Sergent, B. (1986a) *Homosexuality in Greek myth* (London; trans. A. Goldhammer).
- (1986b) *L'Homosexualité initiatique dans l'Europe ancienne* (Paris).
- Sfyrsoeras, P. (2008) 'Ἰσόως Ἐνριπίδου: Reading *Andromeda* in Aristophanes' *Frogs*', *American Journal of Philology* 129, 299–317.
- Shapiro, H. A. (1981) 'Courtship scenes in Attic vase-painting', *American Journal of Archaeology* 85, 133–43.
- (1986) 'The origins of allegory in Greek art', *Boreas* 9, 4–23.
- (1989) *Art and cult under the tyrants in Athens* (Mainz).
- (1992) 'Eros in love: Pederasty and pornography in Greece', in Richlin (1992) 53–72.
- (1993) *Personifications in Greek art* (Zurich).
- (2005) 'The judgment of Helen in Athenian art', in J. M. Barringer and J. M. Hurwit (eds) *Periklean Athens and its legacy IX* (Austin) 47–62.
- (2009) 'Alcibiades: The politics of personal style', in O. Palagia (ed.) *Art in Athens during the Peloponnesian War* (Cambridge) 236–63.
- Sharpsteen, D. J. (1991) 'The organization of jealousy knowledge: Romantic jealousy as a blended emotion', in P. Salovey (ed.) *The psychology of jealousy and envy* (New York) 31–51.
- Sheffield, F. (2001) 'Psychic pregnancy and Platonic epistemology', *Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy* 20, 1–33.
- Sheffield, F. C. C. (2006) *Plato's Symposium: The ethics of desire* (Oxford).
- (2011) 'Beyond Eros: Friendship in the *Phaedrus*', *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society* 111, 251–73.
- Shengold, L. (1994) 'Envy and malignant envy', *Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 63, 615–40.
- Sider, D. (1989) 'The blinding of Stesichorus', *Hermes* 117, 423–31.
- (ed.) (1997) *The Epigrams of Philodemos* (Oxford).
- Sihvola, J. (2002) 'Aristotle on sex and love', in Nussbaum and Sihvola (2002) 200–22.
- and T. Engberg-Pedersen (1998) *The emotions in Hellenistic philosophy* (Dordrecht).
- Silk, M. S. (1974) *Interaction in poetic imagery: With special reference to early Greek poetry* (London).
- (1987) 'Pathos in Aristophanes', *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 34, 78–111.

References

337

- (1996) 'Tragic language: The Greek tragedians and Shakespeare', in M. S. Silk (ed.) *Tragedy and the tragic* (Oxford) 458–96.
- (2000) *Aristophanes and the definition of comedy* (Oxford).
- Silverman, K. (1984) 'Dis-embodying the female voice', in M. A. Doane, P. Mellencamp, and L. Williams (eds) *Revision: Essays in feminist film criticism* (Frederick) 131–49.
- Simon, B. (1978) *Mind and madness in ancient Greece* (Ithaca, NY).
- Simon, E. (1983) *Festivals of Attica: An archaeological commentary* (Madison).
- Slater, W. J. (1976) 'Symposium at sea', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 80, 161–70.
- Slaveva-Griffin, S. (2003) 'Of gods, philosophers, and charioteers: Content and form in Parmenides' proem and Plato's *Phaedrus*', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 133, 227–53.
- Slings, S. R. (1978) 'Anacreon's two meadows', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 30, 38.
- Small, S. G. P. (1951) 'Marcus Argentarius: A poet of the *Greek Anthology*', *Yale Classical Studies* 12, 65–145.
- Smith, M. F. (2001) *Lucretius: On the nature of things* (Indianapolis).
- Smith, R. H. (1991) 'Envy and the sense of injustice', in P. Salovey (ed.) *The psychology of jealousy and envy* (New York) 79–99.
- (2004) 'Envy and its transmutations', in C. W. Leach and L. Tiedens (eds) *The social life of emotions* (Cambridge) 43–63.
- Soble, A. (ed.) (1989) *Eros, agape, and philia: Readings in the philosophy of love* (New York).
- (2008) *The philosophy of sex and love: An introduction* (St Paul; 2nd edn, orig. 1998).
- Solomon, R. C. (ed.) (2004) *Thinking about feeling: Contemporary philosophers on emotions* (Oxford).
- Sommerstein, A. H. (1980) *The comedies of Aristophanes: Acharnians* (Warminster).
- (1982) *The comedies of Aristophanes: Clouds* (Warminster).
- (1983) *The comedies of Aristophanes: Wasps* (Warminster).
- (1985) *The comedies of Aristophanes: Peace* (Warminster).
- (1990) *The comedies of Aristophanes: Lysistrata* (Warminster).
- (1994) *The comedies of Aristophanes: Thesmophoriazusae* (Warminster).
- (1996) *Aeschylean tragedy* (Bari).
- (1998) *The comedies of Aristophanes: Ecclesiazusae* (Warminster).
- (2001) *The comedies of Aristophanes: Wealth* (Warminster).
- (2008) *Aeschylus: Fragments* (Cambridge, MA).
- Sorabji, R. (1993) *Animal minds and human morals: The origins of the western debate* (Ithaca, NY).
- (2000) *Emotion and peace of mind: From Stoic agitation to Christian temptation* (Oxford).
- Souilhé, J. (1919) *La Notion platonicienne d'intermédiaire dans la philosophie des Dialogues* (Paris).
- Spielman, P. M. (1971) 'Envy and jealousy: An attempt at clarification', *Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 40, 59–82.

- Stadter, P. A. (1995) '“Subject to the erotic”: Male sexual behaviour in Plutarch', in D. Innes, H. Hines, and C. B. R. Pelling (eds) *Ethics and rhetoric: Classical essays for Donald Russell on his seventy-fifth birthday* (Oxford) 221–36.
- Stafford, E. (2000) *Worshipping Virtues: Personification and the divine in ancient Greece* (London).
- Stafford, E. J. (2003) 'Brother, son, friend, and healer: Sleep the god', in K. Dowden and T. Wiedemann (eds) *Sleep* (Nottingham Classical Literature Studies 8) (Bari) 71–106.
- (2007) 'Personification in Greek religious thought and practice', in D. Ogden (ed.) *The Blackwell companion to Greek religion* (Oxford) 71–85.
- (2009) 'Visualising creation in ancient Greece', in D. Merolla (ed.) *Creation myths and the visual arts: An ongoing dialogue between word and image* (Religion and the Arts 13) (Leiden) 419–47.
- Stähli, A. (1999) *Die Verweigerung der Lüste* (Berlin).
- Stalley, R. F. (1991) 'Aristotle's criticism of Plato's *Republic*', in D. Keyt and F. D. Miller (eds) *A companion to Aristotle's Politics* (Oxford).
- (1995) *Aristotle: The Politics* (Oxford).
- (1999) 'Aristotle on Plato's ideal state', in D. N. Koutras (ed.) *Aristotle's political philosophy and its influence* (Athens) 389–402.
- Stallsmith, A. B. (2008) 'The name of Demeter Thesmophoros', *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 48, 115–31.
- Stamm, C. (2003) *Vergangenheitsbezug in der Zweiten Sophistik?: Die Varia Historia des Claudius Aelianus* (Frankfurt am Main).
- Stamplididis, N. C. and Y. Tassoulas (eds) (2009) *Eros: From Hesiod's Theogony to late antiquity* (Athens).
- Stanford, W. B. (1983) *Greek tragedy and the emotions: An introductory study* (London).
- Starkie, W. J. M. (1909) *The Acharnians of Aristophanes* (London).
- Stearns, C. and P. Stearns (1985) 'Emotionology: Clarifying the history of emotions and emotional standards', *American Historical Review* 90, 813–36.
- Stehle, E. (1997) *Performance and gender in ancient Greece: Nondramatic poetry in its setting* (Princeton).
- Steinbichler, W. (ed.) (1998) *Die Epigramme des Dichters Straton von Sardes. Ein Beitrag zum griechischen paiderotischen Epigramm* (Frankfurt am Main).
- Steiner, D. T. (2001) *Images in mind: Statues in Archaic and Classical Greek literature and thought* (Princeton).
- Stephens, S. and J. J. Winkler (eds) (1994) *Ancient Greek novels: The fragments* (Princeton).
- Sternberg, R. H. (ed.) (2005) *Pity and power in ancient Athens* (Cambridge).
- Stewart, A. (1997) *Art, desire, and the body in ancient Greece* (Cambridge).
- Strauss, L. (2001) *On Plato's Symposium* (Chicago).
- Sutton, R. F. (1992) 'Pornography and persuasion on Attic pottery', in Richlin (1992) 3–35.
- (1997–8) 'Nuptial Eros: The visual discourse of marriage in classical Athens', *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 55–6, 27–48.

References

339

- Swain, S. (1990) 'Hellenic culture and the Roman heroes of Plutarch', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 110, 126–45; repr. in B. Scardigli (ed.) (1995) *Essays on Plutarch's Lives* (Oxford) 47–74.
- Taillardat, J. (1965) *Les Images d'Aristophane: Études de langue et de style* (Paris).
- Tarán, S. L. (1979) *The art of variation in the Hellenistic epigrams* (Leiden).
- (1985) 'ΕΙΣΙ ΤΡΙΧΕΣ: An erotic motif in the Greek Anthology', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 105, 90–107.
- Taylor, R. (1997) 'Two pathic subcultures in ancient Rome', *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 7, 319–71.
- Tedeschi, G. (1978) 'L'elegia parenetica-guerriera e il simposio: A proposito del fr. 1 W di Callino', *Rivista di Studi classici* 26, 203–9.
- Thompson, D'A. W. (1947) *A glossary of Greek fishes* (London).
- Thompson, D. B. (1964) 'Glauc and the goose', in L. F. Sandler (ed.) *Essays in memory of K. Lehmann* (New York) 314–22.
- Thornton, B. S. (1997) *Eros: The myth of ancient Greek sexuality* (Boulder, CO).
- Tieleman, T. L. (1996) *Galen and Chrysippus on the soul: Argument and refutation in the De placitis books II–III* (Leiden).
- (2002) 'Galen on the seat of the intellect: Anatomical experiment and philosophical tradition', in C. J. Tuplin and T. E. Rihll (eds) *Science and mathematics in ancient Greek culture* (Oxford) 256–73.
- Titchener, F. (2003) 'Cornelius Nepos and the biographical tradition', *Greece and Rome* 50, 85–99.
- Tortorelli, W. (2004) 'A proposed colometry of Ibycus 286', *Classical Philology* 99, 370–6.
- Tov-Ruach, L. (1980) 'Jealousy, attention, and loss', in Rorty (1980) 465–88.
- Trapp, M. B. (1990) 'Plato's *Phaedrus* in second-century Greek literature', in D. A. Russell (ed.) *Antonine literature* (Oxford) 141–73.
- Travlos, J. (1971) *Pictorial dictionary of ancient Athens* (London).
- Tueller, M. A. (2008) *Look who's talking: Innovations of voice and identity in Hellenistic epigram* (Leuven).
- Turcan, R. (2004) *Liturgies de l'initiation bacchique à l'époque romaine (Liber)* (Paris).
- Ucciardello, G. (2003) 'Sulla tradizione del testo di Ibico', in S. Grandolini (ed.) *Lirica e teatro in Grecia. Il testo e la sua ricezione. Atti del II incontro di Studi, Perugia, 23–24 gennaio 2003* (Napoli) 21–88.
- Ussher, R. G. (ed.) (1973) *Aristophanes: Ecclesiazusae* (Oxford).
- Valverde Sánchez, M. (2005) 'El Erótico de Plutarco: Mimêsis, diêgêsis, logos', in M. Jufresa, F. Mestre, P. Gómez, and P. Gilabert (eds) *Plutarc a la seva època: Paideia i societat. Acta del VIII simposio internacional de la Sociedad española de plutarquistas* (Barcelona, 6–8 nov. 2003) (Barcelona) 485–99.
- (2007) 'Tipología del *Exemplum* en el Erótico de Plutarco', in Nieto Ibáñez and López López (2007) 67–82.
- Van der Eijk, P. (2005) *Medicine and philosophy in classical antiquity: Doctors and philosophers on nature, soul, health, and disease* (Cambridge).
- Van der Valk, M. (1976) *Eustathii Archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes, ii* (Leiden).

- Vander Waerdt, P. A. (1991) 'Politics and philosophy in Stoicism', *Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy* 9, 185–211.
- (1994) 'Socrates and Stoic natural law', in P. A. Vander Waerdt (ed.) *The Socratic movement* (Ithaca, NY) 272–308.
- Van Geytenbeek, A. C. (1963) *Musonius Rufus and Greek diatribe* (Assen).
- Verdegem, S. (2010) *Plutarch's Life of Alcibiades: Story, text, and moralism* (Leuven).
- Vermeule, E. T. (1979) *Aspects of death in early Greek art and poetry* (Berkeley).
- Vernant, J.-P. (2006) *Pandora, la première femme* (Paris).
- Viansino, G. (ed.) (1963) *Paolo Silenziario: Epigrammi* (Turin).
- (ed.) (1967) *Agazia Scolastico: Epigrammi* (Milan).
- Vlastos, G. (1981) 'The individual as an object of love in Plato', in *Platonic Studies* (Princeton, 2nd edn) 3–42.
- Voelke, A. J. (1961) *Les Rapports avec autrui dans la philosophie grecque* (Paris).
- Vogt, K. (2008) *Law, reason, and the cosmic city: Political philosophy in the early Stoa* (Oxford).
- Von Wilamowitz Moellendorff, U. (1924) *Hellenistische Dichtung in der Zeit des Kallimachos* (Berlin, 2 vols).
- Wachsmuth, C. and O. Hense (eds) (1884–1912, repr. 1958) *Ioannis Stobaei: Anthologium* (Berlin, 5 vols).
- Wallace, R. (1994) 'Towards a poetics of gay male theatre', *Essays on Canadian Writing* 54, 212–36.
- Wallace-Hadrill, A. (1995) *Suetonius* (London; 1st pub. 1983 as *Suetonius, the scholar, and his Caesars*).
- Webster, T. B. L. (1964) *Hellenistic poetry and art* (London).
- Weiss, M. (1998) 'Erotica: On the prehistory of Greek desire', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 98, 31–61.
- Wellmann, M. (1894) 'Claudius Aelianus (11)', in *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft: Neue Bearbeitung*, i (Stuttgart) 486–8.
- Wersinger, A.-G. (2001) *Platon et la dysharmonie: Recherches sur la forme musicale* (Paris).
- West, M. L. (ed.) (1966a) *Hesiod: Theogony* (Oxford).
- (1966b) 'Conjectures on 46 Greek poets', *Philologus* 110, 147–68.
- (1970) 'Burning Sappho', *Maia* 22, 312–13.
- (1980) '“Other early poetry”', in K. J. Dover (ed.) *Ancient Greek literature*, (Oxford) 29–49.
- (1982) *Greek metre* (Oxford).
- (2005) 'A new Sappho poem', *Times Literary Supplement*, 25 June 2005.
- White, F. C. (1990) 'Love and the individual in Plato's *Phaedrus*', *Classical Quarterly* 40.2, 396–406.
- Wierzbicka, A. (1999) *Emotions across languages and cultures: Diversity and universals* (Cambridge).
- Wilkinson, L. P. (1953) 'Note', in *L'Influence grecque sur la poésie latine de Catulle à Ovide (Entretiens Hardt 2)* (Vandoeuvres).
- Willi, A. (2003) *The languages of Aristophanes: Aspects of linguistic variation in Classical Attic Greek* (Oxford).

References

341

- Williams, G. A. (1999) *Roman homosexuality: Ideologies of masculinity in classical antiquity* (New York).
- Williamson, M. (1995) *Sappho's immortal daughters* (Cambridge, MA).
- Wilson, L. H. (1996) *Sappho's sweetbitter songs* (London).
- Winkler, J. J. (trans.) (1989) 'Achilles Tatitus: *Leucippe and Clitophon*', in B. P. Reardon (ed.) *Collected ancient Greek novels* (Berkeley).
- (1990) *The constraints of desire: The anthropology of sex and gender in ancient Greece* (New York).
- Wohl, V. (2002) *Love among the ruins: The erotics of democracy in Classical Athens* (Princeton).
- Wolf, E. R. (1955) 'Types of Latin American peasantry: A preliminary discussion', *American Anthropologist* 57, 452–71.
- Wurmser, L. and H. Jarass (2008a) 'Introduction', in L. Wurmser and H. Jarass (eds) *Jealousy and envy: New views about two powerful feelings* (New York) xi–xix.
- (2008b) 'Pathological jealousy: The perversion of love', in L. Wurmser and H. Jarass (eds) *Jealousy and envy: New views about two powerful feelings* (New York) 1–23.
- Yates, V. (2005) 'Anterastai: Competition in eros and politics in Classical Athens', *Arethusa* 38, 33–47.
- Yiakoumis, C. and L. Bonato (2005) *Ο ερωτισμός στη γλυπτική: Η αισθητική της ελληνικής γλυπτικής όπως την αποκαλύπτει η φωτογραφία/L'Érotisme sculpté: Esthétique de la sculpture grecque révélée par la photographie* (Athens).
- Zanetto, G. (1985) 'Imitatio e variatio negli epigrammi di Paulo Silenziario', *Prometheus* 11, 258–70.
- Zanker, G. (2004) *Modes of viewing in Hellenistic poetry and art* (Madison).
- Zeitlin, F. I. (1990) 'The poetics of eros: Nature, art, and imitation in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*', in D. M. Halperin, J. J. Winkler, and F. I. Zeitlin (eds) *Before sexuality: The construction of erotic experience in the ancient Greek world* (Princeton) 417–64.
- (1992) 'The politics of eros in the Danaid trilogy of Aeschylus', in R. Hexter and D. Selden (eds) *Innovations of antiquity* (New York) 203–52.
- Zografou, A. (2008) 'Sous le regard de λύχνος: Lampes et dieux dans une "invocation apollinienne" (PGM I, 262–347)', *Mythos: Rivista di storia delle religioni* 2, 61–76.
- (2010) 'Magic lamps, luminous dreams: Lamps in PGM recipes', in M. Christopoulos, E. D. Karakantza, and O. Levaniouk (eds) *Light and darkness in ancient Greek myth and religion* (Lanham, MD) 276–94.
- Zucker, A. (2009) 'Les Citations dans le *Dialogue sur l'amour* (Eroticos Logos) de Plutarque', *Rursus* [online journal: <http://rursus.revues.org/312>] 4.