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Yvonne Rösch

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HUNTING HARES AND LOVERS: SOCRATES' PLAYFUL LESSON IN XENOPHON, *MEMORABILIA* III, 11

Yvonne Rösch

Teaching assistant / PhD student
University of Bonn
y.roesch@uni-bonn.de

ABSTRACT

Memorabilia III, 11 is a masterly example of Socrates' ability to combine seriousness with playfulness. By comparing Theodote's search for so-called "friends" with the hunt for hares (III, 11, 6–9), Socrates describes the heteroerotic matrix of the *hetaira's* economics in terms usually associated with male-male relationships. To give Theodote a lesson on the ethical values of friendship (*philia*), he uses euphemistic language and constantly alternates (gender) roles, being either the philosopher and lover, or the object of desire. Socrates ultimately proves to be a perfect connoisseur of a *hetaira's*

expertises, witchcraft and alluring talk, easily outdoing the wealthy Theodote herself. By this means, *Memorabilia* III, 11 offers a delightful picture both of Socratic teaching and of the erotic structure of Socratic philosophy.

KEYWORDS

Hetaira,
hunting,
pederasty,
gender,
Socrates,
Xenophon.

Le chapitre III, 11 des *Mémorables* est une magistrale illustration du talent de Socrate à allier sérieux et humour. En comparant avec une chasse aux lièvres la quête de « compagnons » par la courtisane Théodote (III, 11, 6–9), Socrate décrit le dispositif économique « hétéroerotique » de l'*hetaira* avec un lexique généralement associé au domaine des relations entre hommes. Pour faire comprendre à Théodote la valeur éthique de l'amitié (*philia*), il recourt à de nombreux euphémismes et alterne constamment les rôles de genre pour désigner soit le philosophe et l'amant, soit l'objet du désir. Socrate se révèle finalement être un parfait expert dans tout ce qui touche à la courtisane – ses savoirs, ses talents de magicienne, son discours enjôleur – surpassant même, avec aisance, la riche courtisane Théodote. Ce passage des *Mémorables* offre ainsi un splendide tableau de l'enseignement de Socrate et de la structure érotique de la philosophie socratique.

MOTS-CLÉS

Courtisane,
chasse,
pédérastie,
genre,
Socrate,
Xénophon.

I owe much of this paper to the patience and critical readings of Sandra Boehringer and Ruby Blondell. Earlier drafts were presented to audiences at Bonn, Köln and Leeds. Their comments were most helpful.

Xenophon's *Memorabilia* is committed to portraying Socrates as a teacher of ideal democratic citizenship [1]. Socrates engages in conversations with male representatives of Athenian society, like Critoboulos (e.g. II, 6) or Euthydemus (e.g. IV, 3), about topics such as the use of art (III, 10) and the welfare of the city (III, 6). In *Memorabilia* III, 11, however, Socrates meets Theodote, a famous *hetaira* (III, 11, 1-2) [2]:

At one time there was in Athens a beautiful woman named Theodote, who was ready to keep company with anyone who persuaded her (οἷας συνεῖναι τῷ πείθοντι). One of the bystanders mentioned her name, declaring that words failed him to describe the woman's beauty (κρεῖττον εἶη λόγου τὸ κάλλος τῆς γυναικός) ... "We had better go and see her," (ἰτέον ἂν εἶη θεασομένους) cried Socrates, "since of course what is beyond description can't be learned by hearsay." So off they went to Theodote's house, where they found her posing before a painter, and looked on (ἐθεάσαντο).

Since the dialogue takes its start from an erotic context, it comes as little surprise that the

unspeakable (physical) beauty of Theodote generates a conversation about attracting lovers. Commentators have argued about how the philosopher can be shown as a trustworthy teacher of Athenian citizens by talking about professional love affairs (III, 11, 7-14), and, what is more, by ultimately presenting himself as an arch-*hetaira* acquainted with the skills of witchcraft and alluring talk (III, 11, 15-18) [3]. A few, however, have recommended focusing on the satirical overtones in *Memorabilia* III, 11 [4].

More recent research has used the importance of ἔρωσ for Socratic philosophy to explain why Socrates deliberately disrupts gender roles and social hierarchy in his conversation with Theodote. While Goldhill, for example, stresses the dynamics of viewing within *Memorabilia* III, 11, Azoulay analyzes the system of reciprocity covered by the word χάρις in this very dialogue (and in Xenophon's oeuvre as a whole) [5]. Both contributions are most valuable for reaching a better understanding of Xenophon's Socrates. Nevertheless, they pay virtually no attention to the fact that Socrates compares

[1] In Xenophon, *Memorabilia* I, 6, 15 it is emphasized that Socrates tried to make others good citizens. ERBSE 1961 (especially on p. 282 and 286f.) emphasized Socrates' utility as a key theme of the *Memorabilia*. Erbse is re-read critically by BANDINI & DORION 2000: CXCII-CCXL, here CCXVII: « Si Xénophon insiste tant sur la nécessité, pour l'homme, de rendre service à ses proches, à ses amis et à sa patrie, comment ne pas imaginer que c'est précisément cette progression de l'utilité, qui s'étend par cercles concentriques de l'individu à la cité tout entière, qu'il a voulu illustrer dans le cas de Socrate? » GRAY 2004, argues that Xenophon tried to present Socrates as « un adepte des valeurs démocratiques » (174).

[2] The *Memorabilia* is cited from MARCHANT 1971 [= 1921]; the translation is freely adapted from MARCHANT 1923.

[3] DELATTE 1933: 151 states « l'on s'est indigné de

voir Socrate dans un rôle qui ne sied pas à un philosophe de son caractère » and points to earlier research on page 155. TILG 2004: 194f. gives a concise summary of the long-lasting debate over *Memorabilia* III, 11. In general, *hetairai* are not strangers to Socratic writings. In Plato's *Menexenus*, for example, Aspasia is mentioned as Pericles' teacher of rhetoric (235e5-6), and in Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* she is recommended as a teacher for the newly-wed wife of Ischomachos (III, 14). Plato leaves no doubt that Aspasia's rhetorical power, or rather erotic persuasion, puts male authority and identity into question, and has to be considered dangerous. This is discussed by COVENTRY 1989.

[4] See e.g. DELATTE 1933: 151: « Certains traits ne s'expliquent que par une intention satirique ».

[5] See GOLDHILL 1998 and AZOULAY 2004.

a *hetaira*'s pursuit of lovers, her so-called "friends", to an exclusively male upper class activity, namely hunting (III, 11, 7):

"And do you advise me, then, to weave a trap of some sort (ὕφηνασθαί τι θήρατρον)?" "Of course not. Don't suppose you are going to hunt (θηράσειν) friends (φίλους), the most precious prey in the world (τὸ πλείστου ἄξιον ἄγρευμα), by such crude methods."

Hunting is one of Xenophon's favourite topics and a core capability for his idealized aristocratic males [6]. In *Memorabilia* III, 11, then, Socrates is playing on Theodote a pedagogical trick that rests upon aristocratic male ideals, rather than undermining his own status as a reliable teacher of ideal citizenship. He will succeed in winning Theodote over by integrating activities that are essential for the pedagogical purposes of male-male relationships (hunting and philosophy) into activities that define the heteroerotic relationships of a *hetaira*. Thus, III, 11 should be reconsidered as a comic interlude within the *Memorabilia*. This would be most appropriate to Xenophon's Socrates, since he is a self-styled master of erotics (II, 6, 28 ἴσως δ' ἂν τί σοι κάγω συλλαβεῖν ... ἔχοιμι διὰ τὸ ἐρωτικός εἶναι "Maybe, I myself, as an adept in love, can lend you a hand"), who balances seriousness and play (I, 3, 8 ἔπαιζεν ἅμα σπουδάζων "playfully being serious"). When Socrates, in *Memorabilia* III, 11, disguises his lesson about the real nature of friendship with erotic euphemisms, he chooses a code that is sure to gain Theodote's attention [7]. His subsequent role reversal should be appreciated not only as a playful performance of Socratic persuasive power, but also as a humorous mixing of male-female and male-male erotics for philosophical purposes [8].

[6] See DELEBECQUE 1970: 23: « La chasse figure ... au programme de l'éducation. »

[7] WEISSENBORN 1887: 132, n. 16 has already pointed to Socrates' erotic code, by which „er sich in seiner Ausdrucksweise den Anschauungen der Theodote eng anschließt“.

[8] Compare HENRY 1995: 46 who comments on Xenophon's treatment of Aspasia within his Socratic writings: "Xenophon's Aspasia scarcely transcends her position as secondary to the interests and requirements of men's discourse; Xenophon merely deploys "Aspasian" ideas in a new way, showing us a Socrates who appropriates attributes of the woman and of femininity to his own ends." HALPERIN 1990 draws a similar conclusion when he discusses why Socrates uses the mask of Diotima to teach about ἔρωσ (Plato, *Symposium*, 201d–212c).

EROTIC DYNAMICS AND SOCRATES' LESSON ON ΦΙΛΙΑ

The dialogue between Socrates and Theodote highlights the erotic structure of Socratic philosophy [9]. Entering Theodote's house Socrates switches from the male roles of lover and philosopher to the female role of arch-*hetaira*. He gradually blends the structures of male-male and male-female erotic relationships in order to reshape Theodote's ideas about friendship. A crucial step towards this understanding of Socrates' lesson in III, 11 is the erotic power of viewing, which is prevalent in this dialogue from its very beginning, as Simon Goldhill has brilliantly analyzed [10].

Memorabilia III, 11 illustrates the male gaze fastening upon an object of desire: Socrates hears about Theodote (ἀκούσασί) and immediately decides to see her with his own eyes (ἰτέον ἂν εἴη θεασομένους). His desire to see literally attracts him to her house (πορευθέντες πρὸς τὴν Θεοδότην) [11], where he finds Theodote exposed to the eyes of a painter (καταλαμβάντες ζωγράφῳ τινὶ παρεστηκυῖαν). Visuality clearly dominates the opening scene. And visuality will stimulate the conversation between philosopher and *hetaira* (III, 11, 2–3). It will also be referred to at the dialogue's end, when Socrates and Theodote discuss who is going to visit whom (III, 11, 16–18). Thus, the erotic dynamics between viewer and viewed forms a sort of *Ringkomposition* for III, 11 [12].

When Socrates asks who owes χάρις, gratitude, he explicitly links the erotic dynamics of viewing to another integral part of an erotic relationship, i.e. the system of reciprocity:

"My friends, ought we to be more grateful to Theodote (ἡμᾶς δεῖ μᾶλλον Θεοδότη χάριν

[9] See O'CONNOR 1994 for the *Memorabilia*; for the Platonic Socrates see e.g. WURM 2008.

[10] GOLDHILL 1998.

[11] BANDINI & DORION 2011: 379f. hint at another reading of Socrates' motivation to go to Theodote's house: he is only motivated by his friend's assertion that Theodote's beauty is beyond expression because he wants to fight this hypothesis with his dialectical power. But I do not see why Socrates should not be curious to find out (καταμαθεῖν) whether or not his friend is right.

[12] GOLDHILL 1998: 108 links these dynamics to Xenophon's contemporary "culture of viewing", in which the roles, statuses, positions of the democratic actors were constantly being structured in and through the gaze of the citizens".

ἔχειν) for showing (ἐπέδειξεν) us her beauty, or she to us for looking at it (ἑθεασάμεθα)? Should she thank us (ταύτην ἡμῖν χάριν ἐκτέον), if she profits more by showing it (ἢ ἐπίδειξις), or we her, if we profit more by looking (ἢ θεά)?” (III, 11, 2)

Socrates surely is aware of the male gaze at work, but he also knows that viewing can make subject and object interchange their position: When Socrates and his companions look (ἑθεασάμεθα) at Theodote’s beautiful body, their gaze not only objectifies the woman who is being looked at, but also objectifies the gazing men, since Theodote, by exposing herself (ἐπέδειξεν) to their male gaze, voluntarily makes them the addressees of her bodily spectacle. Socrates thereby constructs the terms θεά and ἐπίδειξις as complementary, and stresses that viewing – in this case – is a double-sided system of power that is unlikely to be entered one-way only.

In Xenophon, χάρις is an indispensable feature of the politics of power in all areas of public life and the social hierarchy of citizens, encompassing both reciprocity and a mode of exchange [13]. Accordingly, *Memorabilia* III, 11 suggests that Socrates is trying hard to make Theodote (and his companions) consider her (and their) own status within the reciprocal system of Athenian society. The opening scene of III, 11 therefore is not only erotically charged by the male gaze but also politically charged by Theodote’s voluntary exposition to this gaze [14].

PHILOSOPHER AND HETAIRA: EXPERTS IN EUPHEMISTIC LANGUAGE

Since Davidson’s *Courtesans and Fishcakes* (1997) Theodote’s description of sex work has become famous [15]. Theodote encodes a *hetaira*’s modes of living and loving in terms of friendship

and presents. According to this, Davidson argues that Xenophon is referring to the core issue of the gift-exchange system within which the much debated relationship between a *hetaira* and her lover should be settled. Indeed, Theodote never openly sells sex for money. She rather wittily glosses over her sex business, by insisting that she makes her living through the good will of her male friends (φίλοι):

Πόθεν οὖν, ἔφη, τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔχεις; Ἐάν τις, ἔφη, φίλος μοι γενόμενος εὖ ποιεῖν ἐθέλη, οὗτός μοι βίος ἐστί.

“Then where do you get your supplies from?” “Whenever”, she said, “someone who has become my friend wants to do me a favour, this is how I make a living.” (III, 11, 4)

When Theodote speaks up, she – apparently unconsciously – disguises the world of ἔρωσ behind the central social relationship of the πόλις, namely friendship. By this means, she is portrayed not only as attractive but as discrete, too. Not a word about greed, the economic exploitation of clients, or sexual licentiousness [16] – well established prejudices against *hetairai* since archaic times [17].

Yet, Theodote is introduced into the text as a woman who is willing to spend time with anyone who persuades her: Γυναικὸς ... οἷας συνεῖναι τῷ πείθοντι. (III, 11, 1). The verbs συνεῖναι and πείθειν refer unmistakably to the fields of ἔρωσ and πειθῶ. While πείθειν, to persuade, is primarily connected with ῥητορικὴ τέχνη, the art of persuasion [18], συνεῖναι, to consort with, clearly refers to the erotic relationship between *hetairai* and their lovers. Granted, Theodote is neither here nor later explicitly called a ἐταίρα. But the facts that she is referred to by name, known for her beauty throughout Athens (III, 11, 1), and described in a way that exposes her luxury life-style are sufficient

[13] This is thoroughly argued by AZOULAY 2004; see esp. p. 281-326 on the importance of χάρις in matters of φιλία. On p. 371-427 he treats the interrelations between χάρις and ἔρωσ, arguing that « l’erôs ne serait qu’une sorte de *philia* amplifiée et exagérée, fondée sur une relation d’échange foncièrement asymétrique » (Azoulay 2004: 371).

[14] GOLDHILL 1998: 109-112 discusses *Memorabilia* III, 10 where the impact of art on the ethical formation of the audience is discussed at length and therefore functions as a kind of preparatory dialogue for III, 11.

[15] See DAVIDSON 1997: 120-129 on Theodote and p. 109-136 on the *hetaira* in general. This work is referred to by all subsequent contributions to scholarship on the

ancient *hetaira*, e.g. McCLURE 2003 and most recently ROBSON 2013.

[16] Even her pose as a model for painters seems to have been decorous (III, 11, 1: καὶ ζωγράφους φήσαντος εἰσιέναι πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀπεικασομένους, οἷς ἐκείνην ἐπιδεικνύειν ἑαυτῆς ὅσα καλῶς ἔχοι “and [someone] added that artists visited her to paint her portrait, and she showed them as much as decency allowed”).

[17] See KURKE 1997: 140-142 and DAVIDSON 1997: 180 on these *topoi*.

[18] I will return to the erotic connotations of πειθεῖν below.

to characterize her as such [19]. Theodote seems to be a μεγαλόμισθος ἑταίρα, a courtesan with a huge income, since Socrates notes the costly clothes in which she is arrayed (ὀρῶν αὐτήν τε πολυτελῶς κεκοσμημένην), her mother's jewelry (μητέρα ἐν ... θεραπείᾳ), and the pretty slave girls (θεραπαίνας πολλὰς καὶ εὐειδεῖς) surrounding her (III, 11, 4). Furthermore, even Socrates is intrigued enough to enter her house in order to find out whether she really is that beautiful and how she can make a living from her beauty [20]. So, by using the word φίλος, 'friend', Theodote is glossing over her marginalized status as a *hetaira* and the fact that her so-called friends are lovers who will have to redeem her sexual favours [21].

But since Theodote never spells out the economic modalities she lives on, she also arouses (the reader's) suspicion. The vast Greek literary tradition revolving around *hetairai* characterizes these women as notorious manipulators and constant threat to the social status of their lovers:

The persuasive *hetaira*, seductive in both speech and body, embodied the strong association between erotic and political persuasion in the Greek imagination. For Aristophanes and Plato, the courtesan who speaks serves as metaphor for political corruption and social disorder. [22]

The importance of this first verbal exchange between philosopher and *hetaira* in *Memorabilia* III, 11 cannot be overstated: on the one hand, they introduce the topic of friendship, φιλία, into the dialogue; on the other hand, Theodote's euphemistic language paves the way for the humorous flavour of III, 11: from now on Socrates will use figurative language as well, albeit for another purpose. He uses it, rather, to disguise the philosophical values embedded in erotics, which are most valuable to the πόλις. He begins with the

metaphor of hunting, which he gradually develops into the metaphor of witchcraft.

THE FEMALE VICIES OF THE HETAIRA-SPIDER

When Theodote states that she lives off her so-called friends (III, 11, 4), Socrates takes the opportunity to start a dialectical reflection on friendship and the question of how to find and keep good friends. Although Theodote is obviously misrepresenting a pedagogically charged relationship between two men as analogous to her libidinous professional relationship to her male lovers [23], Socrates does not judge her for that. He silently accepts her euphemism and focuses on the question whether Theodote uses a special art, τέχνη, to attract her so-called friends (III, 11, 5–6):

"But," he went on, "do you trust to luck, waiting for friends to settle on you like flies, or have you some contrivance of your own (αὐτή τι μηχανᾶ)?" "How could I discover a contrivance (μηχανήν) for that?" "Much more conveniently, I assure you, than the spiders (αἱ φάλαγγες) [24]. For you know how they hunt for a living (ἐκείναι θηρῶσι τὰ πρὸς τὸν βίον): they weave a thin web (ἀράχνια ... λεπτὰ ὑφηνάμεναι) and feed (τροφήν χρωῶνται) on anything that gets into it."

Socrates first parallels the way the *hetaira* makes her living with a spider's hunting for food: θηρῶσι τὰ πρὸς τὸν βίον in III, 11, 6 picks up the expression of III, 11, 5 οὗτός (= τις ... φίλος μοι γενόμενος εὖ ποιεῖν ἐθέλη) μοι βίος ἐστί. The hunting spider thereby becomes the hunting *hetaira*, when Theodote is reminded of spiders, which weave fine webs, ἀράχνια ... λεπτὰ ὑφηνάμεναι. Theodote seems to accept this metamorphosis into a *hetaira*-spider by asking: Καὶ ἐμοὶ οὖν ... συμβουλευεῖς ὑφηνασθαί τι θήρατρον; ("And do you advise me, then, to weave a trap of some sort?" III, 11, 7).

[19] AZOULAY 2004, for instance, calls Theodote « une professionnelle de la séduction » (404). BANDINI & DORION 2011: 378f. point out that it is necessary to interpret Theodote as a ἑταίρα and not a πόρνη, because the latter is considered unable to make friends (see *Memorabilia* I, 6, 13).

[20] Athenaeus XIII.574f mentions a *hetaira* named Theodote, who consorted with Alcibiades. On Xenophon's intention to refer to a well known *hetaira* as sort of «rivale di Socrate» compare NARCY 2007: 58.

[21] The marginalized status of *hetairai* is stressed by e.g. HENRY 1985: 51 ("Menander's courtesans, ... barred from the *oikos*") and GILHULY 2006: 276.

[22] MCCLURE 1999: 23. Cf. also e.g. MCCLURE 2003: 49-50 and GLAZEBROOK 2011: 12.

[23] CHERNYAKHOVSKAYA 2014: 156 speaks of the καλοὶ κάγαθοί as the only persons who are capable of friendship in Xenophon: „nur diejenigen [sind] zur Freundschaft fähig, die die Tugend besitzen (und folglich nur enthaltssame und beherrschte Menschen), weil nur diese das Wissen vom Nützlichen haben". See also NEITZEL 1981: 58 referring to II, 6, 14: „Freundschaft ... gibt es nur zwischen Guten".

[24] According to LSJ ἡ φάλαγξ is – at least in comedy – an alternate term for the more common τὸ φαλάγγιον.

Two things should be kept in mind, when we think about Theodote as a spider. First, III, 11 is not the only instance in Xenophon's *Memorabilia* where spiders appear in an erotic context. Second, the comparison of women to animals is well established in ancient Greek tradition. Let us begin with the first point. Socrates has already used the metaphor of a hunting spider to convey the dangers of erotic attraction in *Memorabilia* I, 3, 13. There a spider's bite is compared to a kiss from an ἐρώμενος.

And do you think, you foolish fellow, that the fair inject nothing when they kiss (τοὺς δὲ καλοὺς οὐκ οἶει φιλοῦντας ἐνιέναι τι), just because you don't see it? Don't you know that this wild beast (θηρίον) called 'fair and young' (καλὸν καὶ ὠραῖον) is more dangerous than the spider (τοσοῦτω δεινότερόν ἐστι τῶν φαλαγγίων) [25], seeing that it need not even come in contact, like the insect, but at any distance can inject (ἐνίησί τι) a maddening poison (ὥστε μαίνεσθαι ποιεῖν) into anyone who only looks at it?

When Socrates warns his interlocutors Critoboulos and Xenophon about the disastrous power that such a kiss – or even a look – can have on the lover's self-control, the venomous spider is used to clarify the relationship between male lovers [26]. In III, 11, however, Socrates transfers the metaphor of the spider from male-male erotics to female-male erotics. It is noteworthy that Xenophon mentions the insertion of poison in the context of homoerotic relationships, while he stresses the production of a hunting web in the context of the *hetaira's* heterosexual relationships. Although this seems to imply

two different ways of hunting, their result is just the same: The male lover is overpowered [27].

Socrates, however, is not only transferring an erotic metaphor. By comparing Theodote's way of living to the hunting skills of a weaving spider he also alludes to several restrictive gender stereotypes concerning women. Since archaic times a woman's carnal lust was commonly linked to the behaviour of irrational animals [28]. For present purposes Aeschylus' Clytemnestra is one of the most useful examples of this misogynistic type of metaphor. The excessive behaviour of the adulterous queen reaches its peak when she lures her husband Agamemnon into a deadly trap like a black widow (Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 1489–1492): Oh, oh! My king, my king ... you lie in this web of a (female) spider [29]. When the old men of Argos call Clytemnestra a spider they are obviously referring to this animal's hunting skills and thereby stressing Agamemnon's position as a victim of his wife, a target of her vices.

The image of the spider that hunts for food with a woven net also draws on the association of women with weaving [30]. The *Odyssey*, for example, contains several instances of weaving women, sometimes portraying the ideal woman dedicated to her female duties within a household, sometimes portraying the danger of women's alluring sexual power. While Penelope is meant to represent the ideal Homeric housewife (I, 356f.) [31], Circe (X, 220–223), Calypso (V, 57–62) and Helen (IV, 121–135) are all portrayed weaving, or at least surrounded by their wool-working tools, before they persuade and control men (sometimes with the help of magic potions). In the last three cases, weaving

[25] MARCHANT 1923 translates τὰ φαλάγγια as scorpions, although Aristotle (*Historia Animalium* 555b7–17) refers to τὸ φαλάγγιον as a species of ἀράχνη.

[26] Note LEAR 2014: 113 who underscores that "both [Xenophon and Plato] portray [Socrates] as participating in the ambient pederastic discourse for ironic, pedagogical purposes."

[27] Also Aristotle (*Historia Animalium* 623a27–623b5) distinguishes venomous spiders (φαλάγγιον) from non-venomous ones (ἀράχιον), but he doesn't imply that biting is an exclusively male capacity. Interestingly, he states that it is the female (wolf) spider, who knows how to weave and hunt, while the male spider only takes a share in the prey. Pliny (*Naturalis Historia* XI, 28), on the contrary, suggests that preying is distributed according to gender: weaving for the female, hunting for the male.

[28] See esp. the famous iambic poem of Semonides (fr. 7), that LORAUX 1993: 99 judges "nothing more than the creation of a generalized metaphor for woman" and (110) a literary glimpse of "a contradictory unity of

disparate things, where the opposition between artifice and animality breaks down." Such a misogynistic view seems to have found its way into the representation of *hetairai* in animal-like postures on classical pottery (some of which KURKE 1997 discusses on pages 137–139) and might be reflected in sexual euphemisms like the "common meaning" of ἵππος as "lecherous woman" (HENDERSON 1975: 127).

[29] The translation is my own. The Greek original runs ἰὼ ἰὼ βασιλεῦ βασιλεῦ / ... κεῖσαι δ' ἀράχνης ἐν ὑφάσματι τῶδ' (MURRAY 1960 [= 1955]).

[30] AZOULAY 2004: 404 suggests that even the name Theodote might have alarmed an ancient (male) reader, because he might be reminded of the disastrous attractiveness of Pandora. The entrapping power of ἔρωσ is not a metaphor foreign to male(-male) erotic experience; e.g. Ibycus (fr. 6) talks of ἄπειρα δίκτυα Κύπριδος.

[31] Her seductive powers and tricks have not been overlooked, though. Cf. FELSON-RUBIN 1987.

and magic are “depicted as coercive” [32], and this cultural linkage between weaving and female power over men is also significant in Xenophon III, 11, since its final sections will speak of Socrates’ magical skill and its usefulness for the pursuit of friends [33].

Yet, it is not only the dangerous attractiveness of women but also their insatiable appetites that Socrates introduces by way of the hunting spider. A woman’s gluttony is a major anxiety for men, deeply rooted in the male perception of the female, as can be seen from another instance in Xenophon. In *Oeconomicus* VII, 6 Ischomachos, a wealthy and newly-wed landowner, is happy to tell Socrates that his young wife entered into his life already well trained in the most important female behaviour for their household (οἶκος):

Don’t you think it was adequate if she came to me knowing only how to take wool and produce a cloak (ἐπισταμένη ἔρια παραλαβοῦσα ἱμάτιον ἀποδείξει), and had seen how spinning tasks are allocated to the slaves? And besides, she had been very well trained (πεπαιδευμένη) to control her appetites (τά γε ἀμφὶ γαστέρα), Socrates, he said, ‘and I think that sort of training (παίδευμα) is most important for man and woman alike (καὶ ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικί). [34]

Right after mentioning the τέχνη of wool work Ischomachos strikingly refers to the “matters of the stomach (γαστήρ)”, as one of those things that his wife has to keep under control [35]. He is not

[32] McClure 1999: 83.

[33] See further below.

[34] Text and translation follow Pomeroy 1994.

[35] See the fine commentary on this passage by Pomeroy 1994: 271.

[36] τίνοι οὖν, ἔφη, τοιοῦτω φίλους ἂν ἐγὼ θηρώην; Ἐὰν νῆ Δί, ἔφη, ἀντὶ κυνὸς κτήση, ὅστις σοι ... ἐμβάλη αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ σὰ δίκτυα. “Then can I adapt this plan to the pursuit of friends?” “Of course you can, if for the hound you substitute someone who ... will contrive to chase them into your nets.” The hunting spider and the hare hunter are thus linked by the production and the use of a hunting net: Before reassuring Theodote of her hunting skills, Socrates points out that hare hunters, too, use nets to render their hunt effective (δίκτυα ἰστᾶσιν “they set up nets” III, 11, 8).

[37] On this dialogue see Neitzel 1981, who bases his fine interpretation of Socrates’ arguments on editorial aspects. Henry 1995: 46 emphasizes the almost seamless linkage of friendship and “male courtship” in II, 6. Bandini & Dorion 2011: 419f. list all thematic parallels between *Memorabilia* II, 6 and III, 11.

only pleased to see that her parents trained her to regulate her appetites, but actually terms this carnal self-control one of the most important goods for the happiness of their common household.

In sum, Socrates’ *hetaira*-spider is a creature charged with multiple negative associations revolving around the power of erotic attraction. By mixing the dangers of male-male erotics with the stereotyped threat of female power (ranging from lack of self-control to weaving) Socrates contributes to the image of Theodote as potentially vicious *hetaira*.

THE MALE IDEAL OF HUNTING

In his next step, though, Socrates leaves behind the *hetaira*-spider. Neither the misogynistic undertones nor the sexually aggressive and objectifying power of the hunting spider are taken further into account. Instead, Socrates turns aside to his main topic, φιλία, with the help of the hunt for hares. The philosopher chooses a respectable male leisure activity that focuses on the physical fitness and intellectual flexibility of men, as prelude to his section on reciprocity – the heart of friendship.

Socrates refers to the skills of (male) hare hunters (III, 11, 7): οὐχ ὄρας ὅτι καὶ τὸ μικροῦ ἄξιον, τοὺς λαγῶς, θηρώντες πολλὰ τεχνάζουσιν; (“Don’t you notice that they use many tricks even for hunting something worth as little as a hare?”) The hunting of hares has been prepared for by the key words θηράω, θήρατρον and ἄγρευμα in the previous sentences (III, 11, 6–7), and Theodote is now compared to a male hunter, who needs a substitute for the hound in order to chase hares into his nets (III, 11, 9) [36]. The prey that is worth most of all (τὸ πλείστου ἄξιον ἄγρευμα III, 11, 7), namely friends, is no longer compared to food (τούτω τροφῇ χρῶνται III, 11, 6), an object of physical consumption. Moreover, the *hetaira*’s prey is not one that is easy to catch, like a fly (ἐὰν τίς σοι φίλος ὥσπερ μυῖα πρόσπτηται “waiting for friends to settle on you like flies” III, 11, 5). Friends are quick and clever, like hares, and they make their hunter develop skills comparable to obtaining speedy hounds (κύννας ταχείας παρασκευάζονται) or setting up nets (δίκτυα ἰστᾶσιν), before they can be caught (III, 11, 8).

Interestingly, Socrates once again uses a motif that appeared earlier in the context of male-male erotics: Hunting has already been compared to the pursuit of friends/lovers at *Memorabilia* II, 6 [37].

There, the motif occurred in a conversation between Critoboulos and Socrates about the ideals of citizenship and the welfare of the πόλις:

“When we have found a man who seems worthy of our friendship (ἄξιος φιλίας), how are we to set about making him our friend (πῶς χρῆ φίλον τοῦτον ποιῆσθαι)?” “First we should seek guidance from the gods, whether they counsel us to make a friend of him.” “And next? Supposing that we have chosen and the gods approve him, can you say how is he to be hunted (ἔχεις εἰπεῖν ὅπως οὗτος θηρατέος)?” “Surely not like a hare by swift pursuit, nor like birds by cunning, nor like enemies by force. It is no light task to capture (ἐλεῖν) a friend against his will (ἄκοντα ... φίλον)” (II, 6, 8–9).

This conversation leaves no doubt that friendship is a lesson to be taught by an experienced, older male citizen to a younger one. In this context it is important to remember that hunting is an activity of elite Greek male culture. As early as Odysseus’ boar-hunt (*Odyssey* XIX, 392–466), hunting is mentioned as a crucial part of the socio-educative curriculum of young aristocrats [38]. Odysseus not only has to demonstrate his courage among a peer group of experienced male hunters, but he is also taking part in a *rite de passage* from childhood to manhood [39]. That hunting as a vital activity of manhood was not confined to archaic times is evident e.g. from Xenophon’s repeated praise of hunting as an ideal aristocratic leisure activity [40].

Not only textual but also visual media hint at the popularity of the hunting theme in Greek (male) culture. A favourite motif on classical pottery is the so-called courtship scene between

male-male-lovers. In these the older ἐραστής is offering a hare (or similar gift) to his younger ἐρώμενος. For a long time it was argued that these items on sympotic vessels should be interpreted as presents offered in exchange for sexual favours [41]. Lately, however, counter-arguments have been growing stronger. Hares, wreaths and musical instruments may be interpreted as referring to “The Good Things in Life” for a male aristocrat [42]. Thus, these gifts symbolize precisely the aspects of life that an ἐρώμενος is introduced to by his ἐραστής [43]. Such scenes might explain why Socrates easily links hunting with pederasty while advising Critoboulos in *Memorabilia* II, 6 on how to find (and keep) good lovers/friends, since hunting is appropriate in a pedagogical context. Together with Xenophon’s general interest in hunting and its pedagogical value, the erotic context of such courtship scenes invites us to see in *Memorabilia* III, 11 an analogy between Socrates teaching Theodote, the *hetaira*-spider, and an ἐραστής teaching his ἐρώμενος [44].

TAMING THE HETAIRA

Socrates’ transition from the female vices of the *hetaira*-spider to the male ideal of hunting is quite remarkable, as a privileged male activity is adapted to the world of female sexuality. How does this contribute to his lesson on friendship, which is devoted to Theodote, a *hetaira*? It seems that hare hunting is introduced as a means to tame the *hetaira*-spider. At this point it is worth remembering Anacreon’s untamed filly (fr. 78 Gentili), in a poem displaying the dominating male gaze at a sexually uncontrolled woman. The *hetaira*-horse (Πῶλε Θρηκίη) has to be tamed and civilized by a male

[38] See DELEBECQUE 1970: 5–9 on hunting as pedagogical activity in Greek thought, and more recently LEAR 2014: 109 on hunting as an esteemed elite activity.

[39] SCHNAPP 1985: 103 emphasizes this aspect. He also takes into account the homosocial and homoerotic meanings of hunting in Greek archaic and classical male culture – an argument that he pursues more fully in his monograph (SCHNAPP 1997).

[40] Note that hare hunting is described at length in *Cynegeticus* V–VIII (cf. DELEBECQUE 1970: 22: « 71,5 % du texte est accordé au lièvre ») and even appears in *Cyropaedia* I, 6, 40. BANDINI & DORION 2011: 199, n. 8, refer to the widespread metaphor of hunting in Xenophon and Plato alike.

[41] This view is summarized by PARKER 2015: 69–79. If we keep in mind that Theodote eagerly receives presents

from her friends to make ends meet (III, 11, 4), we might see a link between these courtship scenes and the exchange system of presents vs. sex on which a *hetaira* like Theodote lives.

[42] PARKER 2015: 104f.

[43] As LEAR 2014: 109 points out, in classical pottery hunting, athletics and symposia all convey the pedagogical purpose of pederasty. PARKER 2015: 73: “What we have is not a transcription or depiction of reality but a series of overlapping associations and metaphors: hunting overlaps with war, hunting overlaps with training, training overlaps with pederasty, and a series of analogic equivalences is set up.”

[44] HENRY 1995: 49 also suggests reading Critoboulos and Theodote as parallel figures.

(aristocratic) rider (ἐπεμβάτης) [45]. While Kurke is convinced that the poem is a man's playful offer of a "more skilful 'ride'" [46], I think the *hetaira's* licentiousness not only arouses desire in the man, but also invites him to display his dominance over female sexuality [47]. While the female horse is being observed grazing (βόσκειαι), lightly leaping (κοῦφά τε σκιρτῶσα) and playing (παίζεις), the male observer proposes to put on the bridle (καλῶς μὲν ἄν τοι τὸν χαλινὸν ἐμβάλοιμι), hold the reins (ἤνϊας δ'ἔχων), and display his experience in horse-riding (δεξιὸν γὰρ ἵπποπείρην ... ἐπεμβάτην).

Quite similarly Socrates suggests taming the *hetaira*-spider in Xenophon, *Memorabilia* III, 11: He proceeds from the sexually active *hetaira*-spider, who dominates her male prey, to the reciprocal structure of real friendship, using the analogy of an activity that is vital for the male educative system of the πόλις. Socrates' method of obtaining male domination clearly differs from the exclusively physical one that the rider in Anacreon's poem suggests. Nevertheless, Socrates clings to the supremacy of an elder lover over a younger female beloved, albeit overwriting the structures of heteroerotic relationships with those of homoerotic ones: Theodote states that she makes her living (βίος) on the basis of φιλία. While she euphemistically conflates the receipt of tangible goods with so-called friendship, Socrates re-arranges the connection between βίος and φιλία and thereby stresses the emotional and philosophical profits of real friendship [48]. By using intertextual motifs and themes from male culture, Socrates constantly alludes to male-male erotics (almost promoting its priority) while educating

Theodote in how to improve her professional female-male erotic relationships.

SOCRATES THE ARCH-HETAIRA

Up to this point in the dialogue, Socrates has been trying to guide a marginalized figure of society along his philosophical path. Much fun has been made of the naïve *hetaira* Theodote, who apparently is not aware of what is going on [49]. But Socrates too is a comic figure: The philosopher turns himself into an arch-*hetaira*, while nevertheless resisting erotic structures other than male-male.

In the final section of his lesson on how to hunt friends Socrates argues that real friendship necessarily has both emotional and erotic aspects [50]. Thus, the philosopher advises the *hetaira* to show herself sympathetic to the worries and joys of her friends, in order to provide pleasure for the ψυχή as well as the body (III, 11, 10). Additionally, he advises Theodote to vacillate between arousing their erotic appetite and satisfying it ("you must repay their favours (αὐτὴν ἀμείβεσθαι χαριζομένην) ... and prompt them by holding back (διαφεύγουσα)") in order to sustain the erotic attraction between her and her friends (III, 11, 12-14) [51]. In short, Socrates introduces the *hetaira* to the system of reciprocity encompassed by the word χάρις. Χάρις is a vital ingredient for both φιλία and ἔρως, since it guarantees strong and long-lasting friendships (III, 11, 12) [52].

Overwhelmed by Socrates' knowledge, the *hetaira* asks the philosopher to become her hunting companion (III, 11, 15): καὶ ἡ Θεοδότῃ, Τί οὖν οὐ σύ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐγένου συνθηρατῆς τῶν φίλων; ("Then, Socrates," exclaimed Theodote,

[45] The Thracian filly was already interpreted as a *hetaira* by the ancient commentator Herakleitos (KURKE 1997: 113).

[46] See KURKE 1997: 114. She also believes that this *hetaira* has the choice whether to go with a rider or to stay without one ("The poem evokes no moral disapproval of the woman's 'loose' behaviour), although "it is never in question that she is the horse and the male the rider" (119).

[47] In Anacreon's poem we may also note a shift from seeing (vv. 1-2) to speaking (vv. 3-4), which can be compared to the culture of viewing that pervades the first three sections of III, 11 and the shift into a dialectical mode from section 4 onwards. Interestingly, KURKE 1997: 114, n. 20 sees a resemblance between the unbridled filly and the coy Theodote of III, 11, 14.

[48] Compare CHERNYAKHOVSKAYA 2014: 164, who reflects on the several meanings of Socratic friendship (155-166).

[49] DELATTE 1933: 159: « Sa [= Socrates'] finesse et sa science étaient mieux mises en lumière, si elles s'opposaient à l'ignorance de la courtisane: c'est pourquoi Xénophon lui a donné une partenaire naïve à l'excès et sottise par-dessus le marché. » Similarly TILG 2004: 197 points out Socrates' „ironisch-überlegene Haltung“.

[50] Compare *Memorabilia* III, 11, 11: εὐεργεσία δὲ καὶ ἡδονῇ τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο ἀλώσιμον τε καὶ παραμόνιμον ἐστίν. ("it is kindness and pleasure that catch the creature and hold him fast.")

[51] Socrates uses the words λιμός, hunger, and δέομαι, to need, as well as, πλησμόνη, surfeit, to make his point.

[52] Compare AZOULAY 2004: 374, who states that Socrates teaches Theodote « un répertoire de l'échange élargi », namely « conjuguer la *charis* de l'âme à celle du corps ».

“why don’t you become my partner in the hunt for friends?) [53]. Socrates, however, hesitates to render this service to Theodote, even though earlier he freely suggested helping Critoboulos with his hunt for his lovers/friends (II, 6, 35) (“I think you will find me a useful companion in the hunt (ἐπιτήδειον ... σύνθηρον) for good friends”). His prompt but kind hesitation to take over this same service for Theodote therefore seems strange.

In my opinion, this contrast prepares for the comic climax of III, 11. The reader has already been prepared for a climax (of whatever sort) by the repetition of several key words: πείθειν, μηχανάω and δέομαι were formerly used in describing Theodote and her way of living and loving. Now, Socrates uses these same words in order to instill a desire in Theodote to win over the philosopher as a (hunting) companion (III, 11, 15): Ἐάν γε νῆ Δί, ἔφη, πείθης με σύ. ... μηχανήσῃ, ἔάν τί μου δέῃ. (“By all means – if you persuade me. ... you will find a way, if you need me”). It is no longer Theodote who has to be persuaded to συνουσία, companionship (III, 11, 1), but Socrates himself. Socrates thus effectively leaves the role of the educational ἐραστής behind, this time overwriting homoerotics with heteroerotics: the philosopher proceeds to adopt the role of an arch-*hetaira* teaching a younger one [54].

At this point, Socrates quite unexpectedly leaves the field of homoerotics and shows off his knowledge of traditionally female τέχναι: witchcraft and alluring talk. When he imagines himself as

surrounded by φίλαι, girl-friends [55], and as attracting them with the help of magical devices such as φίλτρα (potions), ἐπωδαί (spells) [56], and the ἵυγξ (the magic wheel), which he teaches them how to use, he presents himself as an experienced and highly esteemed arch-*hetaira* (III, 11, 16–18):

“I have girlfriends (φίλαι), who won’t leave me day or night; they are learning potions (φίλτρα) from me and spells (ἐπωδάς). ... What do you think is the reason why Apollodoros here and Antisthenes never leave me? ... Believe me, that is not possible without many potions, spells, and magic wheels.”

Socrates deliberately cloaks his philosophical lessons in activities associated with female (sexual) activities [57]. He still remains the older person, teaching younger ones, but he has switched gender roles [58].

Memorabilia III, 11 has often been read as show-case performance of Socrates’ sexual self-control (ἐγκράτεια) [59]. This view is supported by the fact that he refuses to hand over his most powerful magical device, the ἵυγξ, to Theodote (III, 11, 18): “I don’t want to be drawn to you (ἐλκεσθαι πρὸς σέ): I want you to come to me (πρὸς ἐμέ πορεύεσθαι).” The ἵυγξ probably has its most famous appearance in Greek literature in Theocritus’ second idyll, where Simaetha, the witch, uses it to win back her ex-lover Daphnis. In his thorough commentary on this poem, Gow points out that, apart from its meaning as a magical device, the ἵυγξ can be read as a symbol for desire [60]. This is significant for

[53] Since Socrates previously recommended her to find some substitute for a hunting dog (III, 11, 9: Ἐάν νῆ Δί, ἔφη, ἀντὶ κυνὸς κτήση, “if you substitute someone for the hound”), Theodote’s question might be read as the first sign of success for Socrates’ lesson – and, moreover, an admission of defeat by Theodote. BANDINI & DORION 2011, however, only refer to Theodote’s words in III, 11, 18 (Ἀλλὰ πορεύσομαι “Oh, I’ll come”) as an « aveu de défaite ».

[54] Since the final sections of III, 11 develop from the question, how Socrates can be won as a hunting companion, and Socrates uses an erotic code most appropriate for *hetairai* (see below), I am not convinced by CHERNYAKHOVSKAYA 2014: 187 that he is trying hard to get rid of Theodote: „Sokrates hat den Zweck seines Besuchs schon erfüllt, deswegen hat er keine Lust mehr, das Gespräch weiter zu führen Sokrates [versucht] Theodote loszuwerden“.

[55] It is widely agreed that these “girlfriends” are Socrates’ male pupils/followers. See e.g. WEISSENBORN 1887: 132 („seine begeisterten Anhänger”), TILG 2004: 196. CHERNYAKHOVSKAYA 2014: 178–184, however, interprets them as Socrates’ „Vergnügen an der

Selbstverbesserung” (186), because she thinks it might be embarrassing if Socrates dared to call his aristocratic male pupils girlfriends.

[56] BANDINI & DORION 2011: 201, discussing *Memorabilia* II, 6, 10 explain φίλτρα as « bonnes actions dont on prend l’initiative en faveur de la personne dont on souhaite être aimé » and ἐπωδαί as « les éloges mérités que l’on adresse à la personne dont on cherche à se gagner l’amitié » (200).

[57] On *hetairai*, magic and gender role-reversal see FARAONE 1999: 146–160 (on *Memorabilia* III, 11 see p. 157f.).

[58] I am neglecting another role reversal of Socrates, namely into an (elderly!) ἐρώμενος, in order to focus on his role as arch-*hetaira*. See, however, AZOULAY 2004: 372 on the question why Xenophon’s male political or intellectual authorities deliberately choose the role of an ἐρώμενος: « c’est en suscitant le désir chez leurs subordonnés qu’ils exercent au mieux leur pouvoir. ».

[59] E.g. TILG 2004 and BANDINI & DORION 2000: CCXIII.

[60] Gow 1952: 41.

Xenophon's *Memorabilia* III, 11. If we take into account that ancient readers might have judged Simaetha a *hetaira* [61], it is even more surprising that Socrates refuses to indulge in erotic desire for the *hetaira* Theodote, but prefers using the ἵνυξ to attract her instead. Most importantly, Socrates is successful: at the end of *Memorabilia* III, 11 Theodote is willing to visit the philosopher, instead of being visited by him. The *hetaira* becomes the one who has to persuade, she becomes the lover while Socrates becomes the one to be persuaded, i.e. the *hetaira* [62].

This is not the only passage in which Socrates takes on a role based on the economics of sex. In *Memorabilia* II, 6, 36 he has already indirectly talked about his excellence in μαστροπεία (pimping) [63], when he agreed to help Critoboulos find just lovers.

"I once heard Aspasia say that good matchmakers (τὰς ἀγαθὰς προμνηστρίδας) are successful in making marriages only when the good reports they carry to and fro are true; she would not praise lying matchmakers, for the victims of deception hate one another and the matchmaker (τὴν προμνησαμένην) too. I am convinced that this is sound (ὀρθῶς ἔχειν), and so I think it is not possible for me to say anything in your praise that I can't say truthfully."

We find here another example of the comparison of Socratic teaching to erotics, albeit in the context of male-male-relationships.

The art of a procuress is important in another Socratic writing of Xenophon as well. Socrates praises himself as an adept procuress (μάστροπος) in Xenophon's *Symposium* several times (II, 10 and IV, 56–60) and finally agrees to display his erotic skills in order to make Callias look more favorably upon the young Autolycos (VIII, 42–43) [64].

[61] Most recently pointed out by FARAONE 2002: 408.

[62] Compare also AZOULAY 2004: 405f., here: 405: « Socrate inverse le cours normal de la séduction. » Interestingly, SCHNAPP 1997 states that the god Eros is himself depicted in several roles on Greek pottery, ranging from seducer to playmate and hunter: « rien là qui excède les privilèges de l'amour » (424).

[63] BANDINI & DORION 2011: 231: « Il faut observer, en tout premier lieu, que Socrate ne se présente pas expressément, dans les *Mémorables* [Bandini & Dorion], comme un entremetteur ». They treat this professional business of Socrates and its diverging *termini technici* in Xenophon in detail on pages 230–238.

"I never fail to share my city's passion (τῇ πόλει συνεργαστῆς) for naturally good men (ἀγαθῶν ... φύσει) who are also aiming ambitiously at excellence (τῆς ἀρετῆς φιλοτίμως ἐφιεμένων)." (42) Everyone else began to discuss what he had said, but Autolycos just gazed at Callias. Callias looked sideways at him and said, "Socrates, will you then be my pimp to the city (μαστροπεύσεις πρὸς τὴν πόλιν) so that I can go into politics and always have her favour? (43) "I will by Zeus," he said, "provided they see you cultivating excellence (σε ... ἀρετῆς ἐπιμελούμενον) for real and not just seeming to." [65]

Socrates' erotic lessons are devoted to the education of good citizens. Once again, he uses a motif in III, 11 that has already been well developed in a homoerotic context elsewhere in Xenophon's Socratic writings. In III, 11, however, the seductive techniques of female sexuality are used not only to humorously disguise the erotic structure of Socrates' philosophy, but most importantly as a guaranteed way to win Theodote's attention. Taming the *hetaira* obviously also means knowing what words (or rather metaphors) to choose.

Socrates thus encodes his lesson on φιλία in a language that successfully mixes alluring rhetoric and magical actions. Moreover, when he leaves it uncertain whether he will be willing to receive Theodote or not, he uses language that parodies not so much himself, but rather the *hetaira* [66]:

Ἄλλ' ὑποδέξομαί σε, ἔφη, ἂν μή τις φιλωτέρα σου ἔνδον ᾔ.

"Oh, you shall be welcome — unless there's a dearer girl with me!"

Instead of being the victim of Theodote's oscillation between coyness and sexual availability, Socrates plays the erotic tricks he proposed to her

[64] HUSS 1999: 425f. observes that Socrates applies his erotics – displayed throughout book VIII – from section 37 onwards, to the relationship between Callias and Autolycos. It is noteworthy, besides, that the comic playwright Theophilus describes erotic songs of procuresses as threads in fr. 11 (CAF): ἐμπλέκουσι τοῖς λίνοις αἱ μαστροποὶ ("The procuresses entwine with threads."). Thereby Theophilus metaphorically points to the entrapping power of procuresses and represents them as arch-hunters.

[65] Text and translation follow BOWEN 1998.

[66] III, 11, 18.

earlier on the *hetaira* herself [67]. The ending of *Memorabilia* III, 11 thus creates a Socrates, who resists both a *hetaira's* erotic attractions and her seductive euphemisms concerning φιλία [68]. Although there is no sign that Theodote has changed her mind about friendship, or that she will interpret her relationship to lovers/friends according to Socrates' teaching on χάρις from now on, Socrates has raised her interest in his ideas. Since Theodote does not seem to realize that these lessons are not really about useful methods of hunting lovers, but about philosophy, there is a comic antithesis between Socrates and the *hetaira*, which keeps the philosopher in a superior position.

COMIC RELIEF AND XENOPHON'S SOCRATES

What did Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, an apologetic Socratic writing, gain from including a conversation between a *hetaira* and Socrates? On the one hand, it was an easy way to portray Socrates as morally superior. On the other, the rhetorical superiority of a philosopher over a female character of a kind whose threat to men was well established in the comic literary tradition gave Xenophon an opportunity to emphasize Socrates' ability not to take himself too seriously.

Xenophon states elsewhere that Socratic pedagogy includes both serious and playful aspects. He opens his report on the drinking party at Callias' home with a reference to his own guiding principle of embracing both the σπουδή and the παιδιά of the philosopher (Xenophon, *Symposium* I, 1):

Ἄλλ' ἔμοι δοκεῖ τῶν καλῶν κάγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔργα οὐ μόνον τὰ μετὰ σπουδῆς πραττόμενα

ἀξιομνημόνευτα εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς παιδιαῖς.

To my mind it is worthwhile to relate not only the serious acts of great and good men but also what they do in their lighter moods.

The whole party alternates between serious and humorous moments, such as the ἐρωτικός λόγος in book VIII and the comic relief of the erotic mime in book IX [69]. Xenophon leaves no doubt that it is Socrates who promotes this elegant equilibrium at the drinking party. The combination of seriousness and playfulness is a vital feature of Socrates' philosophical teaching in Xenophon, as Huss has pointed out [70]:

"Α καλὸς κάγαθός in Xenophon most characteristically not only talks and acts seriously (μετὰ σπουδῆς), but can also 'take a joke' ... Of course, this is true for Xenophon's Socrates who not only teaches in a serious manner, but also knows how to spice his lessons with humorous comparisons."

The *Memorabilia* likewise mentions this feature early on, when Socrates is discoursing on satiety during a drinking-party. In I, 3, 7 Xenophon repeats Socrates' felicitous comparison of insatiable co-guests to the comrades of Odysseus who were turned into swine by Circe's potion. Xenophon concludes τοιαῦτα μὲν περὶ τούτων ἔπαιζεν ἅμα σπουδάζων ("This was how he would talk on the subject, playfully being serious." I, 3, 8). *Memorabilia* III, 11, then, should be read as another performance of this Socratic feature [71]. One of the dialogue's key words (ἐπισκώπτω) seems to hint at this in section 16:

"Ah!" said Socrates, making fun (ἐπισκώπτων) of his own leisurely habits (ἀπραγμοσύνην), "it's not so easy for me to find time."

[67] Commentators regularly mention Lucian, *Dialogi meretricii* 8 and 12 as notable literary parallels for Socrates' attitude towards receiving Theodote, e.g. CHERNYAKHOVSKAYA 2014: 180 with n. 62. Lucian's *Dialogues of the Courtesans* and the male gaze worked out in them will be treated in my PhD thesis. On Socrates' final enigmatic words see BANDINI & DORION 2011: 391–393, who convincingly draw parallels between Socrates' denial of Alcibiades' erotic pursuit (Plato, *Symposium* 215a–222a) and Socrates' denial of Theodote's beauty in order to stress the profits arising from Socratic ἔρως.

[68] At least before she is instructed by Socrates, Theodote disguises her professional erotic relationships, which are based on an exchange of gifts and sex, by using

the term φιλία. She clearly does not have any emotional relationship in mind.

[69] HUSS 1999 thoroughly treats the Socratic combination of σπουδή and παιδιά, e.g. p. 37, 65–67 and 438f.

[70] HUSS 1999: 65 (my own translation). As far as I can see, only CHERNYAKHOVSKAYA 2014: 191 has briefly touched on a possible connection between the opening words of Xenophon's *Symposium* and *Memorabilia* III, 11.

[71] ERBSE 1961: 280 hints at Socrates' „Leutseligkeit“ (affability) but misses the importance of this characteristic trait: "Dem Autor dürfte es lediglich darauf angekommen sein, die Leutseligkeit des Philosophen an einem eindrucksvollen Beispiel aufzuweisen."

Additionally, in *Memorabilia* II, 6, 28 Socrates praised his ability to make himself attractive and to create a reciprocal relationship between himself and his pupils on the basis of ἔρωσ [72]. *Memorabilia* III, 11 turns out to be a convincing demonstration of this erotic power [73]. The metamorphosis of the philosopher into an arch-*hetaira* not only re-enacts the dialogue's disguised main topic, reciprocity, but highlights it through comic twists. If *hetairai* were traditionally seen as symbols of transgressing gender limits and symbols of social destabilization, it was presumably enjoyable to see Socrates, the master of erotics, successfully averting a threat to men and fighting off male anxieties. Witchcraft and alluring talk, sources of female vice, are turned against the source of lurking danger itself. By superimposing male τέχνη like hunting and philosophy on those female τέχνη, the philosopher finally entraps the spider in her own web. ■

[72] δεινῶς γάρ, ὧν ἂν ἐπιθυμήσω ἀνθρώπων, ὄλος ὥρμημαι ἐπὶ τὸ φιλῶν τε αὐτοῦς ἀντιφιλεῖσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ποθῶν ἀντιποθεῖσθαι, καὶ ἐπιθυμῶν συνεῖναι καὶ ἀντεπιθυμεῖσθαι τῆς συνουσίας. ("For when I want to catch anyone it's surprising how I strain every nerve to have my love returned, my longing reciprocated by him, in my eagerness that he shall want me as much as I want him.")

[73] GOLDHILL 1998 and others like BANDINI & DORION 2011 point to the fact that the notoriously ugly Socrates is more attractive than the beautiful *hetaira*. Although in itself convincing, this argument is weakened by the fact that there is not the slightest allusion to Socrates' physiognomy in III, 11. Of course, the philosopher's ugliness, emphasized in the beauty contest of Xenophon, *Symposium*, V and e.g. Plato, *Symposium*, 215a-b, will have been a well known *topos* to Xenophon's readers. AZOULAY 2004: 407f., however, mentions the limits of Socrates' erotic power.

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