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ΚΟΠΤΟΠΩΛΗΣ

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and *plateae* are not mentioned, though the figure was intended at the outset to direct them away from the winds—unless, indeed, ‘the divisions of the alley ways’ is a synonym for *plateae*. But it is obviously unnatural to describe the large main streets of a city as ‘the divisions of its alley ways’.

§§ 12 and 13 seem, then, to solve none of the problems raised by 6 and 7, only to add to them. Finally, the famous figure in the Harleian of the circle and the inscribed octagon, reproduced by Granger (*Vitruvius*, vol. i, plate A) and generally considered the only figure to survive from Vitruvius’ own text, is likely to stand or fall with these two unhappy sections. For it uses all their letters to mark its different points. Its rejection, in my view, would do very little harm to the reputation of Vitruvius.

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### ΚΟΠΤΟΠΩΛΗΣ

A NEWLY published dedication from the sanctuary of Mên on Kara Kuyu near Antioch-towards-Pisidia (second or third century A.D.) includes a Greek compound not mentioned in the lexica: *κοπτοπώλης*.<sup>1</sup> The word requires some discussion, not only because of its rarity and because it offers an occasion to clarify a small question of Greek lexicography, but also because this is, to our knowledge, almost the only time a trade or profession is mentioned in the Greek dedications to Mên that come from that Hieron.

The second element of the compound is clear: *-πώλης* compounds are frequently used in Greece at all times from Aristophanes onwards to indicate a seller of something, normally a small retailer, whose trade is often highly specialized.<sup>2</sup> The first element of the word requires more attention. The Greek lexica register a compound *κοπτοπλακοῦς* and a substantive *κοπτή* with apparently the same meaning, though the latter form is more frequently attested.<sup>3</sup> In its turn Latin knows two borrowings from Greek: *coptoplacenta* and *copta* (here as elsewhere *placenta* is the normal Latin rendering of the Greek *πλακοῦς*). *Κοπτοπλακοῦς*, *coptoplacenta*, and *copta* indicate some sort of cake: the particular variety remains unknown, although, as we shall see, something may

must place a gnomon (or groma) on all the corners in turn. This seems a great strain on the word *inter*; and it is inconsistent with his contention that the city was laid out on a grid, which used the lines of division between only two pairs out of the eight principal winds (p. 160 n. 4 above). For one would put an upright gnomon, or groma, on each corner in turn, only if one wished to align a street upon this groma and the gnomon at the centre of the circle, thus obtaining the radial plan for the main streets to which Fensterbusch objects.

<sup>1</sup> See B. M. Levick, *Anat. Stud.* xx (1970), 43, no. 13. Dr. G. Maresch kindly points out that *Σομ|μαρουῶδης* in 39, no. 4, is the Latin *summa rudis*, a fencing-master. That makes a second profession to be mentioned

in these dedications.

<sup>2</sup> For the *-πώλης* compounds see now E. H. Ruedi, ‘Von *Ἑλληνοδόκας* zum *ἀλλαντοπώλης*, eine Studie zu den verbalen Rektionskomposita auf *-ας/-ης*’, Diss. Zürich, 1969, especially pp. 160 ff.

<sup>3</sup> That *κοπτοπλακοῦς* and *κοπτή* could be used indifferently seems to be shown by Athenaeus, who first mentions the *κοπτοπλακοῦς* (xiv. 647 f) and then refers back to it with the words *ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ κοπτήν τινα καλεῖτε, κτλ.* (ibid. 648 e). It is possible that at some stage, when the form *κοπτή* prevailed over *κοπτοπλακοῦς*, *κοπτή* was no longer felt to be a type of *πλακοῦς*; this could perhaps be inferred from the passage of Alexander Trallianus quoted below.

be puzzled out from the contexts in which the words occur. *Κοπτή* may have the same meaning, but L.S.J. (s.vv. *κοπτάριον* and *κοπτός*) point out that two other meanings are also attested: *κοπτή* = *θαλάσσιον πράσον* is mentioned in a fragment of Dionysius Uticensis (*ap. Athen.* xiv. 648 ε) and *κοπτή* in the sense of 'lozenge, pastille' apparently occurs in the writings of two scientific authors: Dioscurides and Archigenes Medicus. This latter meaning is also expressed by a derivative of *κοπτή*: *κοπτάριον*. It seems unlikely that our dedicator made a profession of selling seaweed (if this is the meaning of *θαλάσσιον πράσον*), but we may wonder whether he kept a confectioner's or a chemist's shop. The problem is soon solved: the evidence quoted to support 'lozenge', 'pastille' as a meaning of *κοπτή* does not survive a closer examination. In both the passages to which we are referred by L.S.J. (*Diosc.* ii. 103 and *Archig. ap. Orib. Coll. Med.* viii. 46. 8) we are told that for medical purposes some ingredients must be pounded together and mixed with honey like a *κοπτή* (*Archig., εἰς κοπτῆς τρόπον; Diosc., ἀντὶ κοπτῆς*). Obviously the context requires the usual meaning of *κοπτή* (= a sort of cake) and the specialized meaning 'lozenge' etc. should be deleted from the dictionaries.

We are thus left with the 'culinary' meaning of *κοπτή* and *κοπτοπλακοῦς*, but this should be defined more closely. *Πλακοῦς* (originally an adjective, probably agreeing with an understood ἄρτος) should indicate a sort of 'flat' cake, but it has often been pointed out that in this context the word 'flat' should be taken rather loosely and that some types of *πλακοῦντες* or *placentae* were in fact the equivalent of the German *Torten*.<sup>1</sup> What distinguished *κοπτοπλακοῦντες* from the more general *πλακοῦντες*? From Athenaeus and Hesychius (who define them as *μελίπηκτα*)<sup>2</sup> and from the medical writers quoted above we may infer that the cakes included some pounded or ground elements (*κοπτο-*), presumably seeds or nuts. L.S.J. quote from Artemidorus i. 72 the phrase *κοπτή σησαμῖς*, which they translate as 'a cake of pounded sesamis', and give a series of references to *κοπτή* alone 'in this sense'.<sup>3</sup> No doubt *κοπτή* is originally a verbal adjective; if it is used by itself in the feminine there must at least initially have been a noun understood. Could this be *σησαμῖς*, a word which is known elsewhere and indicates a special type of sesame cake? In fact, this suggestion is unnecessary. A number of adjectives are used substantively either in the feminine or in the masculine to indicate particular types of cake. As Lobeck suggested long ago,<sup>4</sup> this is easily explained by assuming that originally two nouns were understood: *μάζα* and ἄρτος. In order to explain the gender of *κοπτή* we need not look further than this: the alternation between *κοπτή* and *κοπτοπλακοῦς* does not differ from that between, for example, ἡ *σησαμῆ* and ὁ *σησαμοῦς*, two adjectival forms which are used by themselves as substantives.<sup>5</sup> At this point, however, since *σησαμῖς* is not necessary to explain the grammar of *κοπτή*, we may ask whether all passages in which *κοπτή* appears on its own do in fact refer to sesame cakes. The answer is negative. The earliest passage

<sup>1</sup> Cf., e.g., G. Herzog-Hauser, *R.E.* xx (1950), 1894 f., s.v. *placenta*.

<sup>2</sup> *Athen.* xiv, 648 f: τοῦ δὲ ἡμῖν παρακειμένον μελίπηκτου, referring to the *κοπταί* just mentioned. Hesychius' text has *κοπτά μελίπηκτα*, but Latte now emends to *κοπταί*, comparing *Athen.*, loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup> Both these definitions ('gâteau de sésame pilé' and 'pilule') have found their

way into Chantraine's *Dict. Ét.*, s.v. *κόπτα* C (1).

<sup>4</sup> *Paralipomena Grammaticae Graecae* (Leipzig, 1837), ii. 351 ff.

<sup>5</sup> For other feminine formations connected with -ος nouns and adjectives in the post-Ptolemaic period, see L. R. Palmer, *A Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri* i (London, 1946), 64.

in which the word is attested (Sopater 17 Kaibel) speaks of κοπταί 'of innumerable poppy seeds' (ἀναρίθμου μήκωνος). *Anth. Pal.* xii. 212 (Strato) is more ambiguous: οὐκέτι σοι κοππῆς φιλίας πλάκες οὐδὲ μελιχρὰ σήσαμα κτλ. Some centuries later Alexander Trallianus (i. 15, p. 545 Puschmann) warns that in some types of disease the patients must avoid all cakes (πλακοῦντες), καὶ τὰς κοππὰς ἐχούσας τὸν στρόβιλον ('pine nuts'), τὰς δ' ἀπ' ἀμυγδάλων ('almonds') καὶ πιττακίων ('pistachio nuts') συγκειμένας οὐ δεῖ φεύγειν.<sup>1</sup> Other references are not very enlightening: *P. Oxy.* i. 113. 31 (second century A.D.) is a letter in which the writer asks amongst other things for an obol's worth of κοπταί for a child; two other papyrus passages which are not listed in L.S.J. (*P. Ross. Georg.* ii. 41. 43 and *S.B.* v. 7660. 30) simply mention κοπταί without further explanation. No further evidence about the ingredients of κοπταί comes from the Latin authors (Mart. xiv. 69; Petr. 40. 2; *Vespa* 47). So far, then, sesame seeds do not appear to be a basic component of κοπταί; Artemidorus' phrase remains isolated and requires closer attention. In the passage of the *Oneirocriticon* quoted above we are told that in dreams all cakes without cheese are a good sign, but all those with cheese δόλον καὶ ἐνέδραν σημαίνουσι. Artemidorus continues: κοπταί δὲ σησαμίδες καὶ πυραμοὶ ἀγαθὰ πᾶσι, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς δίκην ἔχουσιν ἦν γὰρ ὁ πυραμὸς παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἐπινίκιος. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων πεμμάτων τῶν ἐν ἑορταῖς καὶ θυσίαις γενομένων τὰς κρίσεις ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου τῶν ἑορτῶν ποιητέον. This is the text of the manuscripts and it is reproduced by the most recent editor, Pack. An earlier editor, Hercher, had preferred to follow a conjecture of Lobeck's, which Pack mentions in his apparatus: κοπταί δὲ <καὶ> σησαμίδες, κτλ. In *Aglaophamus* ii. 128 Lobeck does not explain his reason for emending the text, but the point is probably that, if we are to judge from their other occurrences, neither κοπταί nor σησαμίδες is likely to be used adjectivally. If that is so, either we insert καὶ with Lobeck or we give up the text as corrupt; in either case it follows that we have no definite evidence to identify κοπταί with σησαμίδες. The fact that the two types of cake are often mentioned together (e.g. by Soleus *ap.* Athen. xiv. 649 a) may imply affinity but not identity.

So far, then, we have simply ascertained that κοπταί or κοπτοπλακοῦντες are cakes, probably flat, made of honey and pounded seeds or nuts of various kinds (e.g. poppy seeds, pistachio nuts, pine nuts, almonds, etc.). It is likely that there were other ingredients, such as flour, about which we are not informed. From the Latin authors we learn something more. The pastry must have been very hard, at least in some cases, if we are to believe Martial: 'peccantis famuli pugno ne percute dentes; clara Rhodos coptam quam tibi misit edat' (xiv. 69). Petronius (40. 2) describes as one of the highlights of his banquet a 'prima magnitudinis aper'. Round it 'minores porcelli ex coptoplacentis facti quasi uberibus imminerent scrofam esse positam significarent.' This seems to imply that *coptoplacentae* could be shaped in various ways. If we go

<sup>1</sup> Herzog-Hauser, art. cit., suggests that κοππῆ was a form of marzipan. The *O.E.D.* defines marchpane or marzipan (the German form seems to have ousted the English at the beginning of this century) as 'a paste of pounded almonds, sugar, etc., made up into small cakes or moulded into ornamental forms', and some cookery books use 'almond paste' as a synonym for 'marzipan'. The present passage of Alex. Trall. and other

references show that the ancient product admitted a much wider range of seeds or nuts, but the *O.E.D.* cites a work of 1616 which says that 'marchpanes are made of verie little flower, but with addition of greater quantitie of Filberds, Pine Nuts, Pistaces, Almonds, and rosed Sugar'. We could perhaps say that κοππῆ was a kind of marchpane.

back to Greek literature a curious gloss of the scholia to Aristophanes may even suggest that this was one of their main features. The *ἀμαξίς* of *Nubes* 864, which Strepsiades bought for an obol at the Diasia for his six-year-old son is interpreted in  $\Sigma^{RVE}$  as a *πλακούντος εἶδος ἢν νῦν κοπτήν φαμεν*;<sup>1</sup> the same words reappear in *Suda* s.v. *ἀμαξίς*. Right or wrong, this explanation probably implies that the scholiasts took the word to indicate a cake in the shape of a toy cart and mentally translated it with a slightly more general word which was familiar to them: *κοπτή*. Perhaps, then, we are to believe that any cake in the shape of a given object or animal was called *κοπτή*.

Taken together these tiny pieces of evidence conjure up the image of a cake of hard, brittle pastry mixed with crushed seeds and sweetened with honey, often shaped to form flat figurines, possibly in the manner of those pastry figurines in the shape of animals or men or even fertility symbols which are still sold in bakeries of the villages round Rome. We are left with a very specialized sort of retailer. The nearest equivalents are the *πλακουντοποιοί* and *πλακουντάριοι* attested in the papyri of Roman Egypt and elsewhere; but these words denote pastry-cooks or owners of pastry-shops, whose range of activity was wider. We could cite, perhaps, the *ἐγκριδοπώλης* or dealer in *ἐγκρίδες* (i.e. cakes made with oil and honey) mentioned in the Old Comedy (Aristoph. fr. 256 Kock; Nicopho fr. 19 Kock) and point out that a glance at any list of *-πώλης* compounds is sufficient to show the extreme specialization involved in the retailing trade. But even so, this would hardly explain why our *κοπτοπώλης* should be almost the only worshipper of *Mên* to mention his profession in his dedication. Moreover, we may wonder how such a specialized dealer could support himself and the wife mentioned in his inscription—and afford to pay for the dedication itself. Could it be that the dedicator had a special reason for mentioning his trade, namely that it was connected with the cult of *Mên*? Cakes of various types are often mentioned among the offerings made to gods or in temples;<sup>2</sup> for the Greek world in the time of the Empire it is sufficient to think of the eleven *πλακούντες* which, according to *P. Oxy.* ix. 1221 (second century A.D.) were given with other things to the strategos for the sacrifice 'to the most sacred Nile'. In this respect it is unlikely that *Mên* differed from the other gods. Monuments representing worshippers of *Mên* and their offerings often include objects that may be interpreted as pastries: see E. N. Lane, *Berytus* xv (1964), 6, no. 1, with plate i ('bread or cake'), 7, no. 5, with plate ii. 2; *B.C.H.* xx (1896), 80 f., no. 4, with plate xiv ('gâteaux, . . . pains', but these are hard to make out), 82, no. 5, with plate xv ('pains, fruits, . . . gâteaux en forme de pyramide'); *Festschrift O. Benndorf* (Vienna, 1898), 127, with a poor engraving. We know that the cakes offered to gods were variously shaped to suit the peculiarities of each cult. Could it be that those offered to *Mên* were called *κοπταί*?<sup>3</sup> And could it be that the man who provided priests and pilgrims alike with the necessary pastries was our *κοπτοπώλης*?

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Thuc. i. 126: *θύουσι . . . θύματα ἐπιχώρια*, which the scholiast explains: *τινὰ πέμματα εἰς ζώων μορφᾶς τετυπωμένα ἔθουον*. Dover, *Aristophanes, Clouds* (Oxford, 1968), 205, suggests that the scholiasts' explanation of *ἀμαξίς* was the product of centuries of inflation. It might have been prompted too by the Thucydides passage.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., e.g., Orth, *R.E.* xi (1922), 2088 ff.,

s.v. *Kuchen* (with a section on *Opferkuchen*). Still useful is the long appendix on *Pemmatologia Sacra* added by Lobeck to his *Aglaophamus* (ii. 1050 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> It is possible that the passage from Artemidorus quoted above implies that *κοπταί* too, like *πυραμοί* etc., were used in feasts and sacrifices: cf. *ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων πεμμάτων τῶν ἐν ἑορταῖς καὶ θυσίαις γινομένων*, κτλ.

To conclude: very tentatively we should suggest that the *κοπτοπώλης* specialized in selling pastries, perhaps in a shape suitable to the cult, for the offering table of Mén on Kara Kuyu.<sup>1</sup> He may have sold other things too, but the *coptoplacentae* will have been his distinguishing wares. Perhaps he had a shop or stall or barrow near the Hieron. If so he will have done a roaring trade; the Hieron was one of the principal centres of the cult and, to judge by the number of inscriptions found on the site, attracted large numbers of worshippers who were prepared to spend money on their beliefs.

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## POSTPOSITION OF PREPOSITIONS IN TRAGIC IAMBICS

IN his edition of Euripides' *Electra*,<sup>2</sup> J. D. Denniston drew attention to the fact that '... postposition of prepositions is rare in the senarii of tragedy, except at the end of a line. I exclude . . . cases where the substantive preceding, and governed by, the preposition has an adjective in agreement with it, or a genitive dependent on it (e.g. *Tr.* 954 *ναὺς ἐπ' Ἀργείων*: *A. Th.* 185 *βρέτη πεσοῦσας πρὸς πολισσοῦχων θεῶν*), since here the preposition is inserted in the middle of the phrase which it governs.'<sup>3</sup>

Denniston went on to specify four exceptional categories in which genuine postposition appears to be admitted by the tragedians:

- (1) Elided disyllabic prepositions (e.g. *A. Supp.* 254 *ἦς δι'*, etc.);
- (2) -αι forms (e.g. *A. Eu.* 417 *γῆς ὑπαί*);
- (3) *ὑπέρ* (e.g. *E. El.* 1026 *πολλῶν . . . ὑπέρ* etc.);
- (4) An isolated case: *E. Rh.* 790 *δεσπότην πάρα σφαγαῖς*.

It has been assumed that such usages were felt by the dramatists to be a permitted licence in Iambic Trimeters, but one which should be employed with discretion: on the other hand it was quite acceptable to use postposition at the end of the line. We may ask why there should be such a difference in frequency between the instances of postposition in the middle of and at the end of the line. Since this appears to be, in essence, a metrical phenomenon, I propose to discuss it with reference to the metrical form of the individual prepositions.

### (a) *Pyrrhic Prepositions with a final vowel*

This is the most numerous group of prepositions (*ἀνά, ἀπό, διά, ἐπί, κατά, μετά, παρά, περί, ὑπό*), and because of their scansion they pose a problem for the writer of Iambic Trimeters. They can only be used *prepositionally* (i.e. before

<sup>1</sup> For 'The Table of Mén', see a forthcoming article by B. M. Levick in *J.H.S.* lxxxii (1971). We hesitate to suggest that some of the *κοπταί* offered to Mén could have been crescent-shaped or moon-shaped, but there is some evidence that horned and circular cakes were offered to moon gods and

goddesses: cf. *Poll.* vi. 76 and *Suda* s.v. *βοῦς ἐβδομος: πέμματα κέρατα ἔχοντα κατὰ μίμησιν τῆς πρωτοφαοῦς σελήνης . . . ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ αἱ σελήναι πέμματα πλατέα κυκλοτερῆ, ἃ καὶ οὕτως ἐκάλουν.*

<sup>2</sup> Oxford, 1939.

<sup>3</sup> Verse 574 n.