ΚΟΠΤΟΠΩΛΗΣ
Author(s): Anna Morpurgo Davies and Barbara Levick
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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.

University College, Cambridge

HUGH PLOMMER

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.1 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.2 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.3 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). Κοπτοπλακός, 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.

1 See B. M. Levick, Anat. Stud. xx (1970), 43, no. 13. Dr. G. Maresch kindly points out that Σωμίμαροδῆς in 39, no. 4, is the Latin summa rudis, a fencing-master. That makes a second profession to be mentioned in these dedications.


3 That κοπτοπλακός and κοπτή could be used indifferently seems to be shown by Athenaenus, who first mentions the κοπτοπλακός (xiv. 647 f) and then refers back to it with the words ἀλλ' ἐστι δὲ καὶ κοπτήν τινα καλείτε, κτλ. (ibid. 648 e). It is possible that at some stage, when the form κοπτή prevailed over κοπτοπλακός, κοπτή was no longer felt to be a type of πλακός; 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. κοπτάρων and κοπτός) point out that two other meanings are also attested: κοπτή = θαλάσσων πράσσων is mentioned in a fragment of Dionysius Uticensis (αφ. Athen. xiv. 648 e) 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: κοπτάρων. It seems unlikely that our dedicator made a profession of selling seaweed (if this is the meaning of θαλάσσων πράσσων), 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. αφ. 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 κοπτής τρόπον: Diosc., ἀντὶ κοπτής). 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 ‘cultural’ meaning of κοπτή and κοπτόπλακος, 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 Törtchen.1 What distinguished κοπτόπλακοῦντες from the more general πλακοῦντες? From Athenaeus and Hesychius (who define them as μελιττηκτα)2 and from the medical writers quoted above we may infer that the cakes included some pounded or ground elements (κοπτό-), presumably seeds or nuts. L.S.J. quote from Artemidorus i. 72 the phrase κοπτή σησαμίς, which they translate as ‘a cake of pounded sesamis’, and give a series of references to κοπτή alone ‘in this sense’.3 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 σησαμίς, 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,4 this is easily explained by assuming that originally two nouns were understood: μᾶςα and ἄρτος. In order to explain the gender of κοπτή we need not look further than this: the alternation between κοπτὴ and κοπτοπλακοῦς does not differ from that between, for example, η σησαμίς and δ σησαιμοῦς, two adjectival forms which are used by themselves as substantives.5 At this point, however, since σησαμίς 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

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1 Cf., e.g., G. Herzog-Hauser, R.E. xx (1950), 1894 f., s.v. placenta.
2 Athen. xiv. 648 f: τῷ δὲ ἴδιων παρακείμενον μελιττηκτα, referring to the κοπταί just mentioned. Hesychius’ text has κοπτά: μελιττηκτα, but Latte now emends to κοπταί, comparing Athen., loc. cit.
3 Both these definitions (‘gâteau de sésame pilé’ and ‘pilule’) have found their way into Chantraine’s Dict. Ét., s.v. κόπτης C (1).
4 Parasitomena Grammaticae Graecae (Leipzig, 1837), ii. 351 ff.
5 For other feminine formations connected with -σι 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 κοσπτάι ‘of innumerable poppy seeds’ (ἀναρήθουν μῆχων). Anth. Pal. xii. 212 (Strato) is more ambiguous: οὐκετὶ σοι κοσπτῆς φιλία πλάκες οὐδὲ μελιγρά σήματα κτλ. Some centuries later Alexander Trallianus (i. 15, p. 545 Puschmann) warns that in some types of disease the patients must avoid all cakes (πλακώντες), καὶ τὰς κοσπτάς ἐξούσια τῶν στρομβίλων (‘pine nuts’), τὰς δὲ ἀπ’ ἄμυγδάλων (‘almonds’) καὶ πιττακίων (‘pistachio nuts’) σηκειμένας οὐ δει φευγεῖν.1 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 κοσπτάι 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 κοσπτάι without further explanation. No further evidence about the ingredients of κοσπτάι comes from the Latin authors (Marti. xiv. 69; Petr. 40. 2; Vespa 47). So far, then, sesame seeds do not appear to be a basic component of κοσπτάι; 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 ἄδιόν καὶ ἐνεδραν σημαινοῦσι. Artemidorus continues: κοσπτάι δὲ σημαίδες καὶ πυραμοὶ ἄγαθα πάσα, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς δίκεν ἔχοναι· ἴν γάρ ὁ πυραμὸς παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἔπανικοι. ἐπί δὲ τῶν ἄλλων πεμ- μάτων τῶν ἐν θαρτοῖς καὶ θυαίας γενομένων τὰς κρίσεις ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου τῶν θαρτῶν ποιητῶν. 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: κοσπτάι δὲ ἀθανάτων σημαίδες, 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 κοσπτάι πορ σημαίδες 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 κοσπτάι with σημαίδες. 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 κοσπτάι or κοσπτόλακούντες 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: ‘peccants familue pungo 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 ‘primae magnitudinis aper’. Round it ‘minores porcelli ex coptoplacentis facit quasi uberibus imminenter scrofam esse positam significat.’ This seems to imply that coptoplacetae could be shaped in various ways. If we go

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1 Herzog-Hauser, art. cit., suggests that κοσπτή 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 ‘marchpans 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 κοσπτή 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 ἀμαζίς of Nubes 864, which Strepsiaides bought for an obol at the Diasia for his six-year-old son is interpreted in Suda as a πλακούντος εἴδος ἵνα νῦν κοστήν φαμέν;1 the same words reappear in Suda s.v. ἀμαζίς. 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: κοστή. Perhaps, then, we are to believe that any cake in the shape of a given object or animal was called κοστή.

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 πλακούντωσιοι and πλακούνταριoi 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 ἑγκριστώλης or dealer in ἑγκρίσεις (i.e. cakes made with oil and honey) mentioned in the Old Comedy (Aristoph. fr. 256 Kock; Nicoph. 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 κοστοπώλης should be almost the only worshipper of Μέν 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 Μέν? Cakes of various types are often mentioned among the offerings made to gods or in temples;2 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 Μέν differed from the other gods. Monuments representing worshippers of Μέν 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 Μέν were called κοσταί?3 And could it be that the man who provided priests and pilgrims alike with the necessary pastries was our κοστοπώλης?

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1 Cf. Thuc. i. 126: θόνοι . . . θόματα ἐπιχώρα, which the scholiast explains: τινά πέματα εἶς ξίφων μορφής τεταμομένα θόνοι. Dover, Aristophanes, Clouds (Oxford, 1968), 205, suggests that the scholiasts’ explanation of ἀμαζίς was the product of centuries of inflation. It might have been prompted too by the Thucydides passage.

2 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.).

3 It is possible that the passage from Artemidorus quoted above implies that κοστάι too, like πυραμοὶ etc., were used in feasts and sacrifices: cf. εἰπί δὲ τῶν ἄλλων περιμάτων τῶν ἐν ἔρθαις καὶ θυσίαις γυμνῶν, κτλ.
To conclude: very tentatively we should suggest that the kopostpōlēs specialized in selling pastries, perhaps in a shape suitable to the cult, for the offering table of Mén on Kara Kuyu. He may have sold other things too, but the copthoplacentae 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.

St. Hilda’s College, Oxford

ANNA MORPURGO MAVIES
BARBARA LEVICK

POSTPOSITION OF PREPOSITIONS IN TRAGIC IAMBCICS

In his edition of Euripides’ Electra, 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 ναῖς ἐπ’ Ἀργείων: A. Th. 185 βρέτη πεσούσας πρὸς πολασοῦχων θεῶν), since here the preposition is inserted in the middle of the phrase which it governs.’

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 ἐς δι’, etc.);
2. -αι forms (e.g. A. Eu. 417 γῆς ὀπαί);
3. ὑπὲρ (e.g. E. El. 1026 πολλῶν ... ὑπὲρ etc.);

It has been assumed that such usages were felt by the dramatists to be a permitted licence in Iambic Trimmers, 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 Trimmers. They can only be used prepositionally (i.e. before

1 For ‘The Table of Mén’, see a forthcoming article by B. M. Levick in J.H.S. lxxxi (1971). We hesitate to suggest that some of the kopostai 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., bovos ἔξθενε: πέμματα κέρατα ἔχοντα κατὰ μύησιν τῆς πρωτοφαύος σελήνης ... ἀμοίως δὲ καὶ αἱ σελήναι πέμματα πλατέα κυκλοτερῆ, ἀ καὶ σέληνοι ἔκλεισαν.

2 Oxford, 1939.

3 Verse 574 n.