In his speech On the Crown (330 B.C.E.), the orator Demosthenes twice refers to his opponent Aeschines as a *kinados* (‘fox’), both times in the context of accusing him of flattery and slandering in the service of Philip of Macedon (18.162, 242). Although a number of scholars have studied the use of invective in the speeches of Demosthenes and Aeschines, very little attention has been paid to the significance of this peculiar epithet. In this note, I investigate why Demosthenes calls Aeschines a *kinados*, suggesting that, in addition to painting Aeschines as devious, the word may also have served as a pun.

According to lexicographers and scholiasts, *kinados* was the Sicilian word for fox, as well as being a synonym for *thérion* (‘wild animal’), since wild animals move (kinein) a lot. Used metaphorically, it could connote the perceived attributes of the fox, namely shrewdness and deceitfulness. So, for example, the Hoopoe in Aristophanes’ *Birds* describes Pisthetaerus, the Athenian visiting Cloudbuckooland, as ‘the craftiest of foxes’ (πυκνότατον κίναδος; Ar. *Av.* 430). In the *Clouds*, the foolish Strepsiades rattles off a long list of things he’d like to be called after his training in sophistry, including *kinados* (Ar. *Nub.* 448). And Ajax, in Sophocles’ *play of the same name, alludes to his enemy Odysseus as a ‘damned fox’ (ἐπιτρυπτὸν κίναδος; Soph. *Aj.* 103).

Bolstering his portrayal of Aeschines as a sneaky scoundrel, Demosthenes clearly uses *kinados* in a similar way. But I think it’s worth asking why Demosthenes chooses this particular word, rather than one of many other Greek words for ‘cunning’. One


2 But see H. Yunis, *Demosthenes On the Crown* (Cambridge, 2001), on 18.162, who points out the irony in describing Aeschines as a (smart) fox, since a few words later he is described as unperceptive (οὐ καίροθεν); and Muñoz Llamosas, (n. 1), 40, who notes the use of *kinados*, here and elsewhere in Greek literature, to refer to misused cunning.

3 See e.g. Arist. *Hist. an.* 488b20: Καὶ τέ μὲν πανούργα καὶ κακούργα, οἶον ἄλωσις (‘And some [animals] are deceitful and evildoing, like the fox’). On *kinados* used of evildoers and deceitful people, see *Etym. Magn.* and *Suda* s.v. κίναδος; *Ar. Nub.* 448, Theoc. 5.25. The second hand on a codex of Dem. 18 (F⁵) glosses the κίναδος in 162 as θρίον.

4 On these attributes of foxes, see e.g. Arist. *Hist. an.* 488b20: Καὶ τέ μὲν πανούργα καὶ κακούργα, οἶον ἄλωσις (‘And some [animals] are deceitful and evildoing, like the fox’). On *kinados* used of evildoers and deceitful people, see *Etym. Magn.* and *Suda* s.v. κίναδος; *Ar. Nub.* 448, Theoc. 5.25. The more common Greek term for ‘fox’, ἄλωσις, could be used in a similar way, although it appears in our sources less commonly (see e.g. *Ar. Lys.* 1133). See further C.M. Bowra, ‘The fox and the hedgehog’, *CQ* 34 (1940), 26–9 on the fox (and hedgehog) in classical literature; cf. P. Wackers, ‘The image of the fox in Middle Dutch literature’, in B.J. Levy and P. Wackers (edd.), *The Fox and Other Animals* (Amsterdam, 1993), 181–98.

5 There are many more examples: e.g. in Menander’s *Epitrepontes*, a greedy old man named Smicrines is referred to as a *kinados* (Men. *Epit.* 165); and a shepherd in Theocritus addresses his rival shepherd, a suspected thief, as *kinados* (Theoc. *Id.* 5.25). See also Andoc. 1.99, Aeschin. 3.167, Din. 1.40.
motivating factor might be the fact that kinados calls to mind animal imagery, perhaps to particular rhetorical effect. Many years ago, Galen Rowe pointed out the pervasive animal language in On the Crown, arguing that its evocation of the comic stage was part of a broader strategy of painting Aeschines as a comic braggart figure, the alazón. If we accept this plausible (if rather fanciful) interpretation, it might shed some light on Demosthenes’ word choice.

More relevant, I think, are two other factors: 1) the fact that Aeschines had just addressed Demosthenes as kinados in Against Ctesiphon (3.167), the speech to which Demosthenes’ On the Crown responds (a point to which I will return); and especially 2) kinados’ potential for punning. In addition to meaning ‘fox’, the word kinados sounds remarkably similar to kinados, a word often translated as ‘catamite’ or ‘passive homosexual’, but which properly refers to a man characterized by a non-conformance to gender norms and an inability to control his sexual appetites – often leading to, among other things, a desire to be penetrated. The perceived similarity between these two words can be seen in the fact that later scholiasts on two codices (F2, Y) gloss Demosthenes’ second kinados (18.242) with μαλακός, ἀνδρόγυνος (‘soft’, ‘hermaphrodite’), that is, common synonyms of kinados. These scholiasts either recognized (and were explaining) a pun, or they mistook kinados for the more common word kinaidos.

The notion that kinados might have called to mind kinaidos for contemporary audiences as well is substantiated by other Attic orators’ use of the same pun. In his speech On the Mysteries (399 B.C.E.), Andocides quotes the line of Sophocles’ Ajax mentioned above, addressing Epichares, a man who has informed falsely against him, as ‘damned fox’ (ἐπιτρπτον κίναδος Andoc. 1.99). Then, in the very next paragraph (1.100), Andocides responds to Epichares’ accusation that he (Andocides) was part of an oligarchic association (ἐπιτρπος) by claiming that Epichares had sexual relations (ηταρφμας) with many men. This verbal play on ἐπιτρπος and ἐπιτρπω, as well as the implication that Epichares was a prostitute, reinforces in turn the punning nature of the earlier kinados.

It is tempting to interpret Aeschines’ use of kinados in 3.167 (mentioned above) as another pun on kinados, especially in light of the sexual invective Aeschines employs elsewhere against his opponent. In addition to frequently using kinados and kinaidia to describe Demosthenes (1.131, 181; 2.88, 99, 151), Aeschines repeatedly calls attention to his opponent’s childhood nickname Bat(t)alos (Aeschin. 1.126, 131, 164; 2.99).
This nickname, with two taus, could refer to Demosthenes’ stammering problem, or, with one tau, to his effeminacy and fondness for being anally penetrated. The latter spelling – the one Aeschines uses – derives its meaning either from a certain effeminate aulos-player named Batalos or from a slang term for anus.

In similar attacks, Aeschines describes Demosthenes as a ‘hermaphrodite’ (ἀνδρόγυνος; 2.127); as possessing ‘a lack of courage or manliness’ (ἄνδρων ἑρμάς; 1.131; 2.139, 148; 3.155, 160, 209, 247; cf. 2.179); as ‘womanly in spirit’ (γυναικεῖος τῆς ὀργῆς; 2.179); and as someone who ‘will never do a man’s work’ (πράξειν δὲ ἀνδρὸς οὐ πράξεις; 3.167). Aeschines also declares that he will not deign to describe the sexual acts that a young man named Arision of Plataea ‘endured or performed’ with Demosthenes (πάσχον ή πράττον; 3.162), nor the ways in which Demosthenes ‘has (mis-)used both his own body and his procreative ability’ (κέχρηται καὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ σώματι καὶ παθητικῶς; 3.174).

Given all of Aeschines’ jabs at Demosthenes for his alleged effeminacy, it is perhaps not surprising to discover that some scholiasts changed the kinados in Aeschin. 3.167 to kinaidos. The manuscript tradition, however, strongly suggests that Aeschines did say kinados. In using this double entendre, he presumably elicited laughter both from the jurors and from the numerous bystanders in the courtroom, who were expecting yet another attack on Demosthenes’ masculinity. The fact that Aeschines immediately follows this word with a description of Demosthenes whirling around on the speaker’s platform (how kinaidos-like!) serves to bolster the pun.

Whether or not the kinaidos of Aeschin. 3.167 was a deliberate pun – and I imagine it was – it likely inspired Demosthenes to make use of the same ambiguous word (twice!) in his defence speech, inserting it either off-the-cuff in the courtroom or in his revision of the speech. This type of ‘borrowing’ of tropes and language (intentionally or

H. Yunis, *Demosthenes, Speeches 18 and 19* (Austin, 2005), 76 n. 151; Worman (n. 1 [2004]), 8 and (n. 1 [2004]), 240; Ormand (n. 9), 50.

15 This is probably the sense Demosthenes has in mind when he alludes to his nickname in 18.180; see Yunis (n. 2), ad loc. On Demosthenes as a chatterer, see Worman (n. 1 [2004]) and (n. 1 [2008]), ch. 5.

16 That it refers to effeminacy: Harp. s.v. Βάταλος Σ Aeschin. 1.126.

17 That it refers to Batalos the auletēs: Plut. *Dem. 4.6*, *Lib. Arg. D.* 5. For an alternate theory that Batalos was a writer of wanton verses and drinking songs, see Plut. *Dem. 4.6*.

18 For batalos a synonym of πρόκτος (‘anus’): Σ Aeschin. 1.126; Eup. fr. 92 K.-A.; cf. Plut. *Dem. 4.7*, who says simply that it’s a part of the body not decent to be named.

19 Manuscripts with the *kinados* of Aeschin. 3.167 emended to *kinaidos*: m³, g². Worman (n. 1 [2004]), 16 and (n. 1 [2008]), 261 takes this passage as reading *kinados*.

20 On laughter in the courtroom, see S. Halliwell, ‘The uses of laughter in Greek culture’, *CQ* 41 (1991), 279–96, at 292–4. We might compare the laughter provoked by Timarchus’ and Autolycus’ (unintentional) double entendres in the Assembly (Aeschin. 1.80–4); on the meaning of these double entendres, see Fisher (n. 14), ad loc.


22 That such gyrations (κύκλῳ περιεστηκότες σεαυτόν, ‘whirling yourself around in a circle’) were kinaidos-like is perhaps substantiated by a folk etymology of kinaidos: ‘moving one’s genitals’ (κυκλῳ τῷ οίκοντα, *Etym. Magn.* Zonar. s.v. κινάδως). This description of Demosthenes may also have called to mind Aeschines’ earlier portrayal (in 346 b.c.e.) of the effeminate Timarchus performing gymnastics before the Assembly (Aeschin. 1.26).

otherwise) was common in Attic oratory: in fact, Dinarchus, in his own speech against Demosthenes seven years later, cribbs from Aeschines’ description of the man, alluding to Demosthenes and his ilk as kinadē (Din. 1.40).

That Demothenes too is using this pun is suggested by the words he chooses to pair with kinados. Thus in 18.242, Demothenes places the word φύσει (‘by nature’) immediately before kinados. Given contemporary debates about the ‘naturalness’ of kinaidia, many in the audience would have expected, after phusei, a word along the lines of kinaidos (cf. φύσει θηλυδρία, ’effeminate by nature’; [Arist.] Pr. 879b20–21); when Demosthenes says kinasos instead, it would have been difficult not to (also) hear kinaidos.25 In 18.162, Demosthenes addresses Aeschines directly as kinasos (ὦ κίναδος) – admittedly straining the pun a bit more than in 242, since the vocative of kinaidos is kinaide – and immediately follows this vocative with the participle kolakeuōn, ‘flattering’ (that is, Aeschines flattered statesmen like Aristophon and Eubulus when they were alive, but denounces them now that they are dead). Because flatterers (kolakes) are often portrayed as effeminate and submissive in Greek literature (see e.g. Theophr. Char. 2), the possibility is at least raised that the preceding vocative might have been a pun on the ultimate effeminate figure, the kinaidos.26

One appeal of kinasos for Demothenes, then, was that it allowed him to underscore his broader argument that Aeschines was a sneaky scoundrel, while also (surreptitiously) taunting Aeschines in the same way that Aeschines always taunted him, perhaps even implying that Aeschines was ‘prostituting’ himself to Philip. It is true that Demosthenes was capable of using more overt sexual (or least gendered) invective against Aeschines – e.g. calling attention to his participation in feminine religious rites with his mother as a boy (e.g. 18.260) – but it was also the case that he had little grounds on which to assert that Aeschines was actually a kinaidos. That is, although character denigration was acceptable in the Athenian courtroom, there were limits to what one could say in terms of credibility. By using a pun, then, Demosthenes could hint at this insult, one so often levelled against him, without saying it outright. He could always claim, after the fact, that he had called Aeschines a ‘fox’, not a ‘fag’.27

University of Washington

DEBORAH KAMEN
dkamen@uw.edu
doi:10.1017/S0009838813000827

24 See also Worman (n.1 [2004]), 16 n. 49, who points out a number of other passages (1.66, 92, 95, 110) where Dinarchus echoes Aeschines’ portrait of Demosthenes.
25 See Winkler (n. 9), 64–70 for a discussion of ancient texts explaining the phenomenon of kinaidoi by nature (φύσει or κατὰ φύσιν).
26 On the effeminacy of flatterers, see Worman (n. 1 [2008]), 304–7.
27 I use ‘fag’ here in the North American sense of ‘effeminate gay man’.