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ATHENAEUS

I

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ATHENAEUS

THE LEARNED BANQUETERS

BOOKS I–III.106e

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY

S. DOUGLAS OLSON



HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
LONDON, ENGLAND
2006

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Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 2006041321
CIP data available from the Library of Congress

ISBN-13: 978-0-674-99620-5
ISBN-10: 0-674-99620-8

*Composed in ZephGreek and ZephText by
Technologies 'N Typography, Merrimac, Massachusetts.
Printed and bound by Edwards Brothers,
Ann Arbor, Michigan, on acid-free paper.*

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INTRODUCTION

We know little about the historical Athenaeus except that he was born in the Egyptian city of Naucratis.¹ The *Suda* reports that he lived (less likely “was born”) in the time of the emperor Marcus Aurelius (reigned 161–180 CE; cf. 1.2c), although *The Learned Banqueters* itself refers more often—and in a consistently favorable fashion—to Hadrian (reigned 117–138 CE).² The latest reference to external events in the text (12.537f) is to Commodus (reigned 180–192 CE), who appears no longer to be alive, and the general consensus today is that the work was composed (or at least completed) early in the reign of Septimius Severus (reigned 193–211 CE). At 7.211a, one of the dinner guests refers to a history of the kings of Syria written by “our companion Athenaeus” (*FGrH* 166 F 1), and the author in question may well be the historical Athenaeus, not just the fictional character who shares his name. The work is otherwise lost.³

¹ Thus *Suda* a 731 (cited again below) and the inscriptions on the manuscripts of *The Learned Banqueters*. Cf. 7.312a (perhaps to be understood as a momentary intrusion of the author’s own voice); Thompson, in Braund and Wilkins pp. 77–84, esp. 82.

² 3.115b; 8.361f; 13.574f; 15.677e.

³ It is nonetheless worth noting that that the sole fragment of the history is an anecdote about the dubious behavior of a philoso-

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Larensius, who hosts the party (or series of parties; see below) described in *The Learned Banqueters*, is said at 1.2c to have been given substantial responsibility for religious matters by Marcus Aurelius, and claims at 9.398e to have been appointed procurator (governor) of Moesia by "the lord emperor" (i.e. Commodus?). Larensius speaks on only a few occasions in *The Learned Banqueters*, but Athenaeus lavishes praise on him at the beginning of the text not just for his learning but for his hospitality and the size of his library (1.2b–3f). That Larensius represents a real person is made likely by the presence of the cognomen Larensis in *CIL* 6.212, an epitaph for L. Livius Larensis, who is said only to have been a *pontifex minor*, with no mention of the more important and prestigious procuratorship, strongly suggesting that he is a different member of the family. The most likely conclusion would seem to be that the historical Larensis was the historical Athenaeus' friend and patron; that the elaborate praise at 1.3c–d of the character Larensius' hospitality, and in particular his ability to make men from other cities feel that Rome was their home, represents a heartfelt expression of thanks for the historical Athenaeus' own experiences in Larensis' house; and that much of the research for *The Learned Banqueters* was carried out in Larensis' personal library.⁴ If Athenaeus' history of the kings of Syria was not pro-

pher at a symposium—making it easy to believe that it was produced by the same man who wrote *The Learned Banqueters*.

⁴ See in general Braund, in Braund and Wilkins pp. 3–22, esp. 3–12. For personal libraries in this period, see Jacob, in Braund and Wilkins pp. 87–9.

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duced there as well, it may have been the work that attracted Larensis' attention to him and introduced him into a sophisticated Roman cultural and literary circle dominated by Greek expatriates.

The Learned Banqueters is a sprawling and oddly structured work, whose sheer mass regularly threatens to overwhelm its modest literary pretensions. But as C. B. Gulick, the original Loeb editor, noted long ago, it is also "in some respects . . . the most important work of later antiquity."⁵ Athenaeus quotes over 1000 authors and over 10000 lines of verse, many of them known from no other source. We are particularly indebted to him for 100s of fragments of the tragic and comic poets; for numerous, frequently substantial excerpts from lost historians; for what appear to be extended citations from several Hellenistic scholarly treatises on Homer; and for everything we know of authors as diverse as Archestratus of Gela, Lynceus of Samos, and Agallis of Corcyra. Had *The Learned Banqueters* not survived, our knowledge of classical Greek literature and its reception in the Hellenistic and Roman periods would have been immensely poorer; and whatever the work's other virtues or failings, it represents an extraordinary trove of texts and authors that would otherwise have perished entirely.

Like the Platonic dialogues it imitates (1.2a with n.), *The Learned Banqueters* features action on two basic narrative levels. The first (which frames the second) is a conversation between Timocrates, who has heard rumors of a brilliant dinner party and would like to learn more, and a character named Athenaeus, who was present at the

⁵ Vol. I p. xv.

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events in question. The second level is an account of the banquet itself, and although the character Athenaeus mostly quotes the other guests directly, he also describes in his own words what was served, how the company reacted to their companions' speeches, and the like. The most outspoken guest is the grammarian Ulpian of Tyre, who is the symposiarch and plays the provocateur, posing questions for the other guests,⁶ evaluating their answers, responding to their claims and queries, and generally dominating the conversation. His constant interlocutor and intellectual rival is the sharp-tongued Cynic philosopher Theodorus, referred to throughout as Cynulcus and only identified by his proper name at 15.669e (cf. 15.692b). After they are introduced at 1.1d–e, both men are characterized primarily via the brief remarks that begin and end their speeches; otherwise, they serve as little more than vehicles for long strings of quotations, anecdotes, and catalogues.

19 other guests are referred to by name at one point or another in *The Learned Banqueters*. These men generally make fewer and shorter speeches, many appropriate to their individual interests; musicians commonly discuss music, for example, while physicians quote medical texts. Among the physicians is Galen of Pergamum, who is identified as a prolific author and must stand in somehow for the historical individual of the same name and city, who was born in 129 CE and survived into the reign of Septimius Severus. If Athenaeus and Larensius also repre-

⁶ He thus takes over the role seemingly reserved for Larensius at 1.2b.

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sent real people (above), it becomes tempting to try to discover other historical individuals mentioned or at least alluded to within the company. At 15.686c, the narrator reports that Ulpian died peacefully shortly after the party described in *The Learned Banqueters* was over. Kaibel⁷ argued that this ought to be understood as a reference to the death of the famous jurist Ulpian of Tyre in 228 CE, and went on to suggest that a number of other dinner guests stand in for famous men from a variety of periods: the grammarian Plutarch of Alexandria is really the philosopher Plutarch of Chaeroneia (c. 50–120 CE); the philosopher Philadelphus of Ptolemais is really the Egyptian king Ptolemy Philadelphus (reigned 282–246 BCE); the physicians Daphnus of Ephesus and Rufinus of Nicaea combine to suggest the physician Rufus of Ephesus (late 1st century CE); the jurist, poet, and musician Masurius is really the jurist Masurius Sabinus (early 1st century CE); the philosopher Democritus of Nicomedia represents the atomist philosopher Democritus of Abdera (5th century BCE); and so forth. These identifications are far more tenuous than the ones discussed above, and require that the dinner party be made up of guests from different historical periods, depriving it of much of its nominally realistic character. Nor is Kaibel's identification of Athenaeus' Ulpian with the historical Ulpian of Tyre—the idea that serves as the linchpin of his argument—compelling, for the Ulpian of *The Learned Banqueters* is a grammarian rather than a jurist; the historical Ulpian did not die happily, but was

⁷ On pp. v–vii of vol. I of his Teubner edition (see below).

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executed, and not at the end of the 2nd century but a generation later; and if Athenaeus' Ulpian represents a real person, it is most likely another, older member of the family. Nor does Kaibel's theory add much to our appreciation of the text; and while it is possible that the members of Larensis' intellectual and social circle would have recognized allusions to their friends, contemporaries, and predecessors in Athenaeus' patently over-the-top recollection of the many (doubtless often brilliant and fascinating) dinner parties they attended together, we can no longer do the same with any degree of assurance.

The Learned Banqueters is, among other things, the tale of an extraordinarily extravagant dinner and drinking party, and a rough framework for the second level of the narrative is provided by the normal order of events on such occasions: dishes and accessories come and go in something approximating the normal order; washing-water is poured over the guests' hands, and wine distributed at the proper times; and the cook interrupts occasionally with announcements and banter. But Athenaeus' narrative pays less attention to the dinner itself than to the discussion that springs from and accompanies it. Plato's Socrates (*Prt.* 347c-8a) insists that educated men have no need of pipe-girls or the like at their symposia, since they can entertain themselves with conversation; and the guests at Larensius' dinner party are indeed relentless talkers. Better than that, they are capable of stringing together long series of poetic fragments that touch on obscure topics, quoting extensive passages of prose, and knowing where rare words can be found—all seemingly off the top of their heads. By Athenaeus' time, the type of literary symposia in which

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the author's attention focussed more on the conversation than the food was a well-established genre.⁸ Plato and Xenophon each produced one; Athenaeus, quoting Herodicus, makes numerous reference to a *Symposium* by Epicurus, in which philosophical topics were discussed; and his rough contemporary Lucian wrote a *Symposium or Lapiths* that tells the story of a learned—if quarrelsome—wedding feast, at which the guests quote a considerable quantity of literature.⁹ But perhaps the most striking parallel to Athenaeus' description of Larensius' dinner party is the fragment of the letter of Parmeniscus (1st century BCE or later) preserved at 4.156d–7d, 157f–8a. Parmeniscus addresses a certain Molpis and describes a dinner he attended but Molpis did not. The other guests are a half-dozen Cynic philosophers, including a Cynic Master (*Kunoulkos*), who are joined by a pair of courtesans. The meal is simple, but Parmeniscus is in any case more concerned to report the conversation, which was sparked by the arrival (or failure to arrive) of various menu items. Most of the discussion consists of quotations or

⁸ Plu. *Mor.* 612d–e also mentions *Symposia* by Aristotle, Speusippus, Prytanis, Hieronymus, and Dio. All these works are lost except for a few stray bits of Aristotle's *Symposium* (fr. 47–53), which appears to have had to do with symposium procedures, and what may be a trace of Dio's *Symposium* at 1.34b (where see n.). Contrast texts such as Matro fr. 1 Olson–Sens = SH 534, quoted at 4.134d–7c; Hippolochus' *Letter to Lynceus*, quoted at 4.128c–30d; and Anaxandrides fr. 42, quoted at 4.131a–f, all of which focus on the food and utensils, and ignore the conversation.

⁹ Cf. also Plutarch's *Convivial Questions*.

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parodies thereof from tragic and lyric poetry or from various philosophers and historians. The Cynics are learned and witty, if unintentionally comic, while the courtesans are raucously abusive, but no less well-versed in literature than their hosts.¹⁰ Although Athenaeus was certainly working within the broad literary tradition defined by Plato and Xenophon, therefore, he also had more specific models, now mostly lost; and his great innovation was perhaps simply to extend the form to enormous length.

The Learned Banqueters consists of 15 Books, which cover an immense range of topics, often in a seemingly unorganized way. The narrator initially appears to be describing a single great meal (1.2a) and, as noted above, this provides a fundamental structuring device for the text as a whole; but it gradually becomes clear that conversations at a whole series of banquets are being reported.¹¹ In addition, notices at a number of points in the manuscripts tell us that "this is the end of (e.g.) number five and the beginning of (e.g.) number six of the division into 30." Kaibel¹² took all these peculiarities to mean that *The Learned Banqueters* was originally much longer than it is now, and that what has been passed down to us is a crudely trun-

¹⁰ Guests at Greek symposia seem to have mocked and abused one another routinely (cf. Ar. V. 1224–48, 1308–21 with MacDowell on 1308–13; Rosen, *Pallas* 61 [2003] 131–5), and the fact that this goes on at Larensius' party is thus not an aberration but expected.

¹¹ Contrast 3.99e (the meal is going on during the dog-days in mid-summer) with 8.361f (the Parilia festival, in April, is being celebrated) and 9.372b, c (it is January); and cf. 11.459c; 14.613d; 15.665a, 699d.

¹² Pp. xxi–xl of vol. I of his Teubner.

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cated version of the text. As Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén¹³ has shown, however, this is unlikely to be true. The text preserved for us is carefully divided into 15 units, which routinely begin and end with a framing dialogue between the narrator Athenaeus and Timocrates; the oddities and obscurities to which Kaibel pointed are better explained as a consequence of the author's haphazard narrative style; and the "division into 30" must represent an early stage in the history of the text, when it occupied 30 scrolls, each containing about half a Book.

The Learned Banqueters we have is thus most likely the text Athenaeus produced, and the fact that it consists of an extraordinary jumble of material raises the vexed problem of the author's sources. Athenaeus quotes thousands of different works, but it is unclear whether he knew them all at first hand or has simply taken over his citations from other, earlier scholarly treatises. Larensis' library was apparently substantial—although certainly not as substantial as Athenaeus claims (1.3a)—but it is difficult to believe that complete copies of e.g. the plays of the early Athenian comic poets or the mimes of Sophron were available in Rome at the end of the 2nd century CE. In addition, Athenaeus certainly quotes at length and without attribution from Hellenistic scholarship at several points (e.g. 1.8e–11b; 5.215c–18e), while at others he appears to be moving back and forth between two or more unacknowledged sources (e.g. 5.185f–6d). Most likely, therefore, *The Learned Banqueters* is heavily dependent on the work of earlier scholars, even if it has been enriched by Athenaeus'

¹³ In Braund and Wilkins pp. 244–55.

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own reading. Close attention to individual passages should allow more progress to be made on this question.

The Manuscript Tradition

The Learned Banquetiers is preserved in three manuscripts and two different forms. Venetus Marcianus 447 (traditionally referred to as "A") represents an unabridged version of the text, but has been badly damaged and now lacks everything before 3.74a, as well as a few other scattered folios. Parisinus suppl. gr. 841 (traditionally referred to as "C") and Laurentianus LX.2 (traditionally referred to as "E") are independent witnesses to the complete text of an epitomized (shortened) version of the text apparently made from the manuscript from which A is also descended. The Epitomator (who wrote 1.1 as a preface to his version of *The Learned Banquetiers*, which properly begins at 1.2a) has aggressively condensed the work, *inter alia* by omitting the names of most of the speakers at Larensius' dinner party, as well as the titles of many of the poems and plays they cite. The Epitome is nonetheless of enormous value, since it preserves a version of the portions of the text missing from A and can occasionally be used to correct A's readings elsewhere. In addition, the *Suda* offers a large number of quotations from the opening sections of *The Learned Banquetiers*, and these can be used to supplement the Epitome. Eustathius (12th century CE) appears to have had his own copy of the Epitome, which may have been superior in some respects to the version of the text represented by CE; but for the current edition, the point is of limited significance.

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This Edition

The Learned Banqueters was first printed by the Aldine editor, Marcus Musurus (relying on a copy of A, now lost), in Venice in 1514. The standard enumeration of the text is drawn from the edition of Isaac Casaubon (Heidelberg, 1597). Casaubon's pages are generally divided into six sections (a-f), which consist for the most part of ten, or sometimes 11 lines of text; the f-sections may be longer or shorter than the others, and are occasionally omitted, e.g. in the first page of a Book. Because Casaubon's indications of section-divisions are not neatly aligned with his Greek text, I have at times been forced to guess as to where they should be placed. In addition, his sections fail to take account not just of punctuation but even of word-division, and I have chosen to mark them after the words in which they fall, so as to keep my text as readable as possible.

The standard modern critical edition of *The Learned Banqueters* is the Teubner of Georg Kaibel (3 vols.; Leipzig, 1887, 1890). My text is based on Kaibel, supplemented by my own collations of the manuscripts; for the reader's convenience, I retain Kaibel's paragraph divisions, which were altered by Gulick. Where Athenaeus is our only authority for a fragmentary text, I have given it as it appears in the best modern editions and thus not infrequently in a substantially emended form. When Athenaeus quotes a variant form of a text we know from other sources, on the other hand, I have generally given it in the form he knows. As the Loeb format does not allow for a substantial *apparatus criticus*, readers concerned about exactly what the

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manuscripts of *The Learned Banqueters* read at any particular point should refer to Kaibel, to S. P. Peppink's edition of the *Epitome* (Leiden, 1937-9), or to the standard major critical edition of the author in question.

I cite comic fragments from *PCG*; tragic fragments from *TrGF*; the fragments of Alcaeus and Sappho from Voigt; the fragments of Pindar and Bacchylides from Maehler; the fragments of the presocratic philosophers from Diels-Kranz; the fragments of the historians from *FGrH* or (where *FGrH* is not available) *FHG*; the fragments of Aristotle from Gigon; the fragments of Theophrastus from Fortenbaugh et al.; and the fragments of Callimachus from Pfeiffer. I cite Pollux from Bethe; Hesychius from Latte (α - ω), Hansen (π - σ), and Schmidt (τ - ω); the paroemiographers from Leutsch-Schneidewin; and the *Suda* from Adler. For other fragmentarily preserved authors and works, I have made a systematic effort to indicate the edition or editor whose numbering I have taken over. Historical individuals are identified by Berve, Billows, *PA*, *PAA*, Poralla, or Stephanis numbers (with Appendix i or ii specified for Berve), or by Bradford page, wherever possible. Names of ancient authors and works are abbreviated as in LSJ⁹, although I have generally omitted "Hom." (for "Homer").

I would like to express my gratitude to Dean Steven Rosenstone of the College of Liberal Arts at the University of Minnesota for his continuing support of my research. Thanks are also due my research assistant Timothy Beck, and Christy Marquis, whose work on the text of Books 1-5 was generously supported by a grant from the Graduate

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Research Partnership Program. This volume is dedicated to Rachel Bruzzone, who grew up on a Christmas-tree farm on the shores of Lake Wobegon, and whose steady kindness and support over the last few years have made me happier than she can possibly imagine.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Berve H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage* ii *Prosopographie* (Munich, 1926)
- Billows R. A. Billows, *Antigonos the One-Eyed and The Creation of the Hellenistic State* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1990)
- Bradford A. S. Bradford, *A Prosopography of Lacedaimonians from the Death of Alexander the Great, 323 B.C., to the Sack of Sparta by Alaric, A.D. 396* (Vestigia 27: Munich, 1977)
- Braund and Wilkins D. Braund and J. Wilkins (eds.), *Athenaeus and His World: Reading Greek Culture in the Roman Empire* (Exeter, 2000)
- FGE D. L. Page (ed.), *Further Greek Epigrams* (Cambridge, 1981)
- FGrH F. Jacoby (ed.), *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker* (Leiden, 1923–69)
- FHG C. and T. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* (5 vols.: Paris, 1841–70)
- GGM C. Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores* (3 vols.: Paris, 1855–61)
- GPh A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page (eds.), *The Greek Anthology: The Garland of Philip* (Cambridge, 1968)

ABBREVIATIONS

- HE** A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page (eds.), *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams* (Cambridge, 1965)
- IG** *Inscriptiones Graecae*
- K-A** see *PCG*
- PA** J. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica* (Berlin, 1901-3)
- PAA** J. Traill (ed.), *Persons of Ancient Athens* (Toronto, 1994-)
- PCG** R. Kassel and C. Austin (eds.), *Poetae Comici Graeci* (Berlin and New York, 1983-)
- PMG** D. L. Page (ed.), *Poetae Melici Graeci* (Oxford, 1962)
- Poralla** P. Poralla, *A Prosopography of Lacedaimonians from the Earliest Times to the Death of Alexander the Great (X-323 B.C.)*² (revised by A. S. Bradford: Chicago, 1985)
- SH** H. Lloyd-Jones and P. Parsons (eds.), *Supplementum Hellenisticum* (Texte und Kommentar, Band 11: Berlin and New York, 1983)
- SSR** G. Giannantoni, *Socratis et Socraticorum Reliquiae* (4 vols.; n.p., 1990)
- Stephanis** I. E. Stephanis, *Διονυσιακοὶ Τεχνίται* (Herakleion, 1988)
- SVF** J. van Arnim (ed.), *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* (3 vols.; Leipzig, 1921, 1903)
- TrGF** B. Snell et al. (eds.), *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Göttingen, 1971-)
- West, AGM** M. L. West, *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford, 1992)

THE CHARACTERS

ATHENAEUS, the narrator; also a guest at the dinner party
TIMOCRATES, Athenaeus' interlocutor

AEMILIANUS MAURUS, grammarian (e.g. 3.126b)

ALCEIDES OF ALEXANDRIA, musician (1.1f; 4.174b)

AMOEBEUS, citharode (14.622d–e)

ARRIAN, grammarian (3.113a)

CYNULCUS, Cynic philosopher whose given name is
Theodorus (e.g. 1.1d; 3.97c)

DAPHNUS OF EPHEBUS, physician (e.g. 1.1e; 2.51a)

DEMOCRITUS OF NICOMEDIA, philosopher (1.1e; 3.83c)

DIONYSOCLES, physician (3.96d, 116d)

GALEN OF PERGAMUM, physician (e.g. 1.1e–f, 26c)

LARENSIUS, Roman official and also host of the party
(e.g. 1.2b–3c; 2.50f)

LEONIDAS OF ELIS, grammarian (1.1d; 3.96d)

MAGNUS (e.g. 3.74c)

MASURIUS, jurist, poet, musician (e.g. 1.1c; 14.623e)

MYRTILUS OF THESSALY, grammarian (e.g. 3.83a)

PALAMEDES THE ELEATIC, lexicographer (9.379a)

PHILADELPHUS OF PTOLEMAIS, philosopher (1.1d)*

PLUTARCH OF ALEXANDRIA, grammarian (e.g. 1.1c–d;
3.83b)

PONTIANUS OF NICOMEDIA, philosopher (1.1d; 3.109b)

CHARACTERS

RUFINUS OF NICAEA, physician (1.1f)*

ULPIAN OF TYRE, grammarian and also symposiarch
(e.g. 1.1d–e; 2.49a)

VARUS, grammarian (3.118d)

ZOILUS, grammarian (e.g. 1.1d; 7.277c)

* Neither Philadelphus nor Rufinus is said to speak anywhere in the preserved text of *The Learned Banqueters*, and most likely some of the anonymous speeches in 1.2a–3.73e (represented in the Epitome manuscripts only) belong to them.

THE LEARNED BANQUETERS

ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΤ ΝΑΤΚΡΑΤΙΤΟΤ ΔΕΙΠΝΟΣΟΦΙΣΤΩΝ

ΕΚ ΤΟΤ ΠΡΩΤΟΤ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΤ

- 1 Ἀθήναιος μὲν ὁ τῆς βίβλου πατήρ· ποιῆται δὲ τὸν λόγον πρὸς Τιμοκράτην¹. Δειπνοσοφιστῆς δὲ ταύτη τὸ ὄνομα. ὑπόκειται δὲ τῷ λόγῳ Δαρρήσιος Ῥωμαῖος, ἀνὴρ τῇ τύχῃ περιφανῆς, τοὺς κατὰ πᾶσαν παιδείαν ἐμπειροτάτους ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ δαιτυμόνας ποιούμενος· ἐν οἷς οὐκ ἔσθ' οὐτινος τῶν καλλίστων οὐκ ἐμνημόνευσεν. ἰχθύς τε γὰρ τῇ βίβλῳ ἐνέθετο καὶ τὰς τούτων χρείας καὶ τὰς τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀναπτύξεις καὶ λαχάνων

¹ ἔχεκράτην E: ἔχικράτην C. See 1.2a n.

THE LEARNED BANQUETERS OF ATHENAEUS OF NAUCRATIS

FROM BOOK I

Athenaeus is the father of the book and is offering his account to Timocrates; the book's title is *The Learned Banqueter*.¹ The central character is Larensius of Rome, a conspicuously wealthy man who is entertaining the greatest experts in every field of knowledge at a banquet in his own house. [Athenaeus] omits no one's finest sayings; for he included fish in his book, and the ways they are prepared and the derivations of their names,² as well as every sort of veg-

¹ Literally "*The Dinner-Sophist*," as again in 1.2a (where the plural is used). 1.1a-f is not by Athenaeus, but is a brief introduction to the work composed by the Epitomator. The (condensed version of the) text itself begins at 1.2a.

² Especially Book 7.

γένη παντοῖα καὶ ζώων παντοδαπῶν καὶ ἀνδρας ἱστορίας συγγεγραφότας καὶ ποιητὰς καὶ φιλοσόφους².
 b καὶ ὄργανα μουσικὰ | καὶ σκωμμάτων εἶδη μυρία καὶ ἐκπωμάτων διαφορὰς καὶ πλοῦτους βασιλέων διηγῆσατο καὶ νηῶν μεγέθη καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα οὐδ' ἂν εὐχερῶς ἀπομνημονεύσαιμι, ἣ ἐπιλίποι μ' <ἂν> ἡ ἡμέρα κατ' εἶδος διεξερχόμενον. καὶ ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ λόγου οἰκονομία μίμημα τῆς τοῦ δείπνου πολυτελείας καὶ ἡ τῆς βίβλου διασκευῆ τῆς ἐν τῷ δείπνῳ³ παρασκευῆς. τοιοῦτον ὁ θαυμαστός οὗτος τοῦ λόγου οἰκονόμος Ἀθηναῖος ἤδιστον λογοδείπνον εἰσηγείται κρείττων τε αὐτὸς ἐαυτοῦ γινόμενος, ὥσπερ οἱ Ἀθήνησι ῥήτορες, ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν
 c τῷ λέγειν θερμότητος πρὸς τὰ | ἐπόμενα τῆς βίβλου βαθμηδὸν ὑπεράλλεται.

Οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ δείπνῳ δῆθεν ἐπιδημήσαντες δειπνοσοφισταὶ ἦσαν Μασούριος, νόμων ἐξηγητῆς καὶ πάσης παιδείας οὐ παρέργως ἐπιμέλειαν ποιούμενος, δαιμόνιος⁴ ποιητῆς, ἀνὴρ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην παιδείαν οὐδενὸς δεύτερος καὶ τὴν ἐγκύκλιον οὐ παρέργως ἐζήλωκός· ἕκαστον γὰρ ὧν ἐπεδείκνυτο ὡς μόνον τοῦτο ἡσκηκῶς ἐφαίνετο, τοιαύτη πολυμαθεῖα ἐκ παίδων συνετράφη· ἰάμβων δὲ ἦν ποιητῆς οὐδενὸς δεύτερος, φησί, τῶν μετ' Ἀρχίλοχον ποιητῶν. παρῆν δὲ καὶ Πλούταρχος καὶ Λεωνίδης ὁ Ἡλείος καὶ Αἰμιλιανὸς ὁ

² φιλοσόφους Wilamowitz: ὅλους σοφοὺς C: ὅλως σοφοὺς E
³ δείπνῳ Kaibel: λόγῳ CE

⁴ δαιμόνιος Harrison: μόνιος E: μόνος C

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etable,³ animals of every kind, and authors of historical works, poets, and philosophers. He also described musical instruments,⁴ a million types of jokes, different styles of drinking cups,⁵ the wealth of kings,⁶ huge ships⁷—and so many other items that I could not easily mention them all, or else the day would end as I was still going through them category by category. The account is arranged to imitate the extravagance of the dinner party, and the book's structure reflects how the dinner was organized. This is the sort of delightful feast of words this marvellous chief literary steward Athenaeus introduces. And driven by his ardor for language, like the orators in Athens he outdoes even himself and sets off by leaps and bounds to the later portions of his book.

The learned banqueters attending the meal were supposedly:⁸ Masurius, a legal scholar who paid serious attention to learning of every sort, an extraordinary poet, and a man second to none in other sorts of culture, who had shown great eagerness for getting a comprehensive education. He made every topic he discussed seem like the one subject he had studied, so encyclopedic was his training from childhood. [Athenaeus] reports that he was an iambic poet inferior to none of Archilochus' successors. Also present were Plutarch, Leonides of Elis, and Aemilianus

³ E.g. 2.58f–60b, 62d–3a.

⁴ Especially 4.174a–85a; 14.633f–7f.

⁵ Especially Book 11.

⁶ E.g. 5.194c–203e.

⁷ See 5.203e–9e.

⁸ For possible connections between real historical individuals and the guest-list, see the Introduction.

d Μαυρούσιος καὶ Ζωΐλος, γραμματικῶν οἱ χαριέστα-
 τοι. | φιλοσόφων δὲ παρήσαν Ποντιανὸς καὶ Δημόκρι-
 τος οἱ Νικομηδεῖς, πολυμαθεία πάντας ὑπερηκοντικό-
 τες, Φιλάδελφός τε ὁ Πτολεμαεύς, ἀνὴρ οὐ μόνον ἐν
 φιλοσόφῳ θεωρία τεθραμμένος, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὸν
 ἄλλον βίον ἐξητασμένος. τῶν δὲ κυνικῶν εἰς ἣν ὄν
 Κύνουλκον καλεῖ· ϕ οὐ μόνον

< . . . > δύο κύνες ἀργοὶ ἔποντο,

e ὡς τῷ Τηλεμάχῳ ἐκκλησιάζοντι, ἀλλὰ τῶν Ἀκταίωνος
 πολὺ πλείονες. ῥητόρων τε ἦν ἄγυρις τῶν κυνικῶν κατ'
 οὐδὲν ἀπολειπομένη· ὧν κατέτρεχε μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλ-
 λων ὅσοι τι ἐφθέγγοντο Οὐλπιανὸς ὁ Τύριος, ὃς διὰ
 τὰς συνεχεῖς ζητήσεις, ἃς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ὥραν ποιεῖται
 ἐν ταῖς ἀγυιαῖς, περιπάτοις, | βιβλιοπωλείοις, βαλα-
 νείοις, ἔσχεν ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου διασημότερον Κειτού-
 κειτος. οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ νόμον εἶχεν <ἴδιον>⁵ μηδενὸς
 ἀποτρώγειν πρὶν εἰπεῖν “κείται ἢ οὐ κείται;”, οἶον εἰ
 κείται ὦρα ἐπὶ τοῦ τῆς ἡμέρας μορίου, <εἰ ὁ μέθυσος
 ἐπὶ ἀνδρός,>⁶ εἰ ἡ μήτρα κείται ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδωδίου
 βρώματος⁷, εἰ σύαγρος κείται τὸ σύνθετον ἐπὶ τοῦ

⁵ from S δ 359

⁶ from S δ 359

⁷ τοῦ ἐδωδίου

βρώματος S δ 359: τῶν ἐδωδίων βρωμάτων CE

⁹ Literally “Hound-Master,” i.e. “Cynic Master”; cf. 4.156e. Cynulcus’ real name is eventually revealed to be Theodorus (15.669e).

¹⁰ “Cynic” is literally “dog-like” (i.e. shameless; cf. *Il.* 1.225,

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Maurus and Zoilus, who were the wittiest of the grammarians. As for philosophers, Pontianus and Democritus, both of whom were from Nicomedia and excelled all men in the range of their learning, were present, as was Philadelphus of Ptolemais, who had not only been educated in philosophic inquiry but had experience in the rest of life as well. Representing the Cynics was a man [Athenaeus] calls Cynulcus⁹; because it was not just (*Od.* 2.11)

two white dogs that followed him,

as they followed Telemachus when he entered the assembly, but many more than were in Actaeon's pack.¹⁰ The crowd of orators was even larger than the crowd of Cynics; they were attacked by Ulpian of Tyre, as well as by everyone else who spoke. Because of the constant inquiries he made at every hour in the streets, covered walkways, bookshops, and bathhouses, Ulpian had a nickname that identified him more precisely than the one he had been given at birth: *Keitoukeitos*.¹¹ This man observed a custom, unique to himself, of never eating anything until he asked "Is it attested or isn't it?" (*keitai ē ou keitai?*), as, for example, if the word *hōra* ("hour, season") is attested for a portion of the day, or *methusos* ("drunken") for a man,¹² or if *mētra* ("womb") is attested for edible food,¹³ or if the compound *suagros* ("wild-pig") is attested for a pig.¹⁴ The physicians

quoted at 1.11b), hence the pun. Actaeon was torn to pieces by his own hunting-dogs after he accidentally spied Artemis bathing and she transformed him into a stag ([Apollod.] *Bib.* 3.4.4).

¹¹ "Mr. Attested-or-not-attested." ¹² Phryn. *Ecl.* 122
claims that for a man the proper form of the adjective is instead *methustikos*. ¹³ See 3.96f. ¹⁴ See 9.401c-d.

συσ. ἰατρῶν δὲ παρήσαν Δάφνος Ἐφέσιος, ἱερὸς τὴν τέχνην καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἥθη, τῶν Ἀκαδημαϊκῶν λόγων οὐ παρέργως ἀπτόμενος, Γαληνός τε ὁ Περγαμηνός, ὃς τοσαύτ' ἐκδέδωκε συγγράμματα φιλοσοφά τε καὶ ἰατρικὰ ὡς πάντας ὑπερβαλεῖν τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ, καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν οὐδενὸς ὦν τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀδυνατώτερος,
 f | Ῥουφίνος τε ὁ Νικαεύς. μουσικὸς δὲ παρῆν Ἀλκείδης ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεύς. καὶ ἦν ὁ κατάλογος οὗτος στρατιωτικὸς, φησί, μᾶλλον ἢ συμποτικὸς.

Δραματουργεῖ δὲ τὸν διάλογον ὁ Ἀθήναιος ζήλω Πλατωνικῷ· οὕτως γοῦν ἄρχεται·¹¹

2 Αὐτός, ὦ Ἀθήναιε, μετεληφὼς τῆς καλῆς ἐκείνης συνουσίας τῶν νῦν ἐπικληθέντων δειπνοσοφιστῶν, ἧτις ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν πολυθρύλητος ἐγένετο, ἢ παρ' ἄλλου μαθὼν τοῖς ἐταίροις⁸ διεξήεις;—αὐτός, ὦ Τιμόκρατες, μετασχών.—ἄρ' οὖν ἐθελήσεις καὶ ἡμῖν τῶν καλῶν ἐπικυλικίων λόγων μεταδοῦναι—

b τρὶς δ' ἀπομαξαμένοισι θεοὶ διδόασιν ἄμεινον, |
 ὡς πού φησιν ὁ Κυρηναῖος ποιητής—ἢ παρ' ἄλλου τινὸς ἡμᾶς ἀναπυθάνεσθαι δεῖ;

⁸ ἐταίροις Casaubon: ἐτέροις CE

¹⁵ As a servant of the god Asclepius.

¹⁶ Probably an allusion to Archestratus fr. 4 Olson–Sens, quoted at 1.4e and eluded to again at 15.671a.

¹⁷ Cf. Pl. *Phd.* 57d (whence the name Echecrates has made its way into the first line of Athenaeus in place of “Timocrates”); *Smp.*

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present were Daphnus of Ephesus, who was holy in his trade¹⁵ and his manners, and had a firm grasp of the doctrines of the Academy; Galen of Pergamum, who had published more medical and philosophical treatises than all his predecessors and was not inferior to any of the ancient doctors in his diagnoses; and Rufinus of Nicaea. The musician Alceides of Alexandria was also there. In fact, says [Athenaeus], the list was more like a military muster-roll than a catalogue of guests at a symposium.¹⁶

Athenaeus imitates Plato in his dramatization of the dialogue.¹⁷ It begins, at any rate, as follows:

“Did you yourself, Athenaeus, participate in that wonderful party of men now referred to as ‘learned banqueters’, which was widely discussed in the city? Or did you learn about it from someone else and pass along the description to your companions?” “I myself participated, Timocrates.” “Will you then agree to share some of the fine talk you had over your cups with us as well?”

The gods give a better portion to those who wipe
their mouths three times,

as the Cyrenaean poet (Eratosth. fr. 30, p. 65 Powell) says somewhere.¹⁸ Or do we need to ask someone else?”

172a–3b (where Apollodorus, however, readily concedes that he was *not* at the famous party and only knows about what was said there at second hand).

¹⁸ Timocrates is worried that Athenaeus may be weary of repeating the story, and the quotation is intended to suggest that repetition, even if it seems tiresome, produces better results than when something is done only once.

Εἶτα εἰσβάλλει μετ' ὀλίγον εἰς τὸν τοῦ Λαρηνησίου
 ἔπαινον καὶ λέγει· ὃς ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας πολλοὺς τῶν ἀπὸ
 παιδείας συναθροίζων οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀλλὰ καὶ
 λόγοις εἰστία, τὰ μὲν προβάλλων τῶν ἀξίων ζητή-
 σεως, τὰ δὲ ἀνευρίσκων, οὐκ ἀβασανίστως οὐδ' ἐκ τοῦ
 παρατυχόντος τὰς ζητήσεις ποιούμενος, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐνι
 μάλιστα μετὰ κριτικῆς τινος καὶ Σωκρατικῆς ἐπιστή-
 c μης, ὡς πάντας θαυμάζειν τῶν ζητήσεων | τὴν τήρη-
 σιν. λέγει δ' αὐτὸν καὶ καθεσταμένον ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν
 εἶναι καὶ θυσιῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάντα ἀρίστου βασιλέως
 Μάρκου καὶ μὴ ἔλαττον τῶν πατρίων τὰ τῶν Ἑλλή-
 νων μεταχειρίζεσθαι. καλεῖ δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Ἄστεροπαῖον
 τινα, ἐπ' ἴσης ἀμφοτέρων τῶν φωνῶν προϊστάμενον.
 λέγει δ' αὐτὸν καὶ ἔμπειρον εἶναι ἱεουργιῶν τῶν
 νομισθειῶν ὑπὸ τε τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἐπωνύμου Ῥωμύ-
 λου καὶ Πομπιλίου Νουμᾶ καὶ ἐπιστήμονα νόμων
 d ψηφισμάτων καὶ δογμάτων | τηρήσεως, ἔτι δὲ νόμων
 συναγωγῆς οὓς οὐκέτι⁹ διδάσκουσιν, ὡς τὰ Πινδάρου
 3 <ὁ> κωμωδιοποιὸς || Εὐπολὶς φησιν ἤδη κατασεσι-
 γασμένα ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν πολλῶν ἀφιλοκαλίας. ἦν δέ,
 φησί, καὶ βιβλίων κτήσις αὐτῷ ἀρχαίων Ἑλληνικῶν
 τοσαύτη ὡς ὑπερβάλλειν πάντας τοὺς ἐπὶ συναγωγῇ
 τεθαυμασμένους, Πολυκράτην τε τὸν Σάμιον καὶ Πει-

⁹ οὐκέτι Kaibel: ἔτι CE

¹⁹ Marcus Aurelius, reigned 161–180 CE.

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Shortly after this, he launches into his eulogy of Larensius and says: [He was a man] whose love of distinction caused him to assemble many educated people and feast them not just on the expected items but on words as well, proposing some topics generally thought worthy of debate, coming up with others of his own, and not raising questions for discussion without due consideration or at random, but in such a way that they contained considerable critical, even Socratic insight, so that everyone was astonished at the care he took with the topics posed. He also says that Larensius had been put in charge of offerings and sacrifices by the most excellent emperor Marcus,¹⁹ and was as involved in Greek ceremonies as in those of his fatherland. And he refers to him as a sort of Asteropaeus, because he was equally outstanding in both languages,²⁰ and notes that he was both experienced in the sacred rites established by Romulus, who gave his name to the city, and Numa Pompilius,²¹ and knowledgeable about political customs. Larensius recovered all this information personally, by examining ancient decrees and ordinances and collecting laws that are no longer taught but are, as the comic poet Eupolis (fr. 398) says of Pindar's poems, now condemned to silence by the decay of popular taste. [Athenaeus] says that Larensius owned more old Greek books than any of the people regarded as having marvellous collections: Polycrates of Samos,²² Pisistratus the ty-

²⁰ Asteropaeus was an ambidextrous ally of the Trojans (*Il.* 21.163), and the point is that Larensius' Greek was as good as his Latin.

²¹ Rome's second king.

²² Tyrant of Samos c.535–522 BCE.

σίστρατον τὸν Ἀθηναίων τυραννήσαντα Εὐκλείδην τε
 τὸν καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀθηναῖον καὶ Νικοκράτην τὸν Κύπριον
 ἔτι τε τοὺς Περγάμου βασιλέας. Εὐριπίδην τε τὸν
 ποιητὴν Ἀριστοτέλην τε τὸν φιλόσοφον καὶ τὸν τὰ
 b τούτων διατηρήσαντα βιβλία Νηλέα· | παρ' οὗ πάντα,
 φησί, πριάμενος ὁ ἡμεδαπὸς βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος,
 Φιλάδελφος δὲ ἐπίκλην, μετὰ τῶν Ἀθήνηθεν καὶ τῶν
 ἀπὸ Ῥόδου εἰς τὴν καλὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν μετήγαγε.
 διόπερ ἐκεῖνα τῶν Ἀντιφάνους ἔρει τις εἰς αὐτόν·

ἀεὶ δὲ πρὸς Μούσαισι καὶ λόγοις πάρει,
 ὅπου <τι> σοφίας ἔργον ἐξετάζεται.

ἀγλαΐζεται δὲ καὶ
 μουσικῶς ἐν ᾧ τῳ,
 οἷα παίζομεν φίλαν
 ἄνδρες ἀμφὶ θαμὰ τράπεζαν,

c κατὰ τὸν Θηβαῖον μελοποιόν. | καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἐστιάσεις
 δὲ παρακαλῶν πατρίδα, φησί, τὴν Ῥώμην πᾶσιν
 ἀποφαίνει. τίς γὰρ τὰ οἴκοι ποθεῖ τούτῳ ξυνῶν ἀναπε-
 πταμένην ἔχοντι τοῖς φίλοις τὴν οἰκίαν; κατὰ γὰρ τὸν
 κωμωδιοποιὸν Ἀπολλόδωρον·

εἰς οἰκίαν ὅταν τις εἰσὶν φίλου,
 ἔστιν θεωρεῖν, Νικοφῶν, τὴν τοῦ φίλου

²³ Pisistratus (PAA 771760) controlled Athens briefly beginning c.560, and then continuously from c.546–527 BCE. For his library, cf. Gell. NA 7.17.1. ²⁴ PAA 436020. Not otherwise identified; the name is a common one.

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rant of Athens;²³ Eucleides, who was also an Athenian;²⁴ Nicocrates of Cyprus;²⁵ and also the Pergamene kings;²⁶ the poet Euripides and the philosopher Aristotle; and Neleus, who got control of their books. It was from Neleus, Athenaeus says, that our king Ptolemy (nicknamed Philadelphus)²⁷ bought them all and transferred them to his beautiful Alexandria, along with the books he got from Athens and Rhodes. One is therefore inclined to apply to him²⁸ the well-known verses of Antiphanes (fr. 272):

You are always in the company of the Muses and
 literature
when any work of art is examined.

As the lyric poet from Thebes (Pi. O. 1.14–17) puts it:

He finds glory
in the finest songs,
such as we men often perform in play
around the friendly table.

And by inviting these men to his feasts, [Athenaeus] says, he made Rome seem like a native land for all of them. Because who longs for what he has at home, when he is with a friend whose house is open wide to his friends? As the comic poet Apollodorus (fr. 15) puts it:

Whenever someone enters a friend's house,
he can see, Nicophon, his friend's

²⁵ Otherwise unknown. ²⁶ Eumenes II (reigned 197–159 BCE), founder of the library in Pergamum, and his successors.

²⁷ Ptolemy II (reigned 285/3–246 BCE). A different tradition about the fate of Aristotle's library is preserved at 5.214d.

²⁸ Larensius.

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εὐνοϊαν εὐθὺς εἰσιόντα τὰς θύρας.
 ὁ θυρωρὸς ἰλαρὸς πρῶτόν ἐστιν, ἣ κύων
 d ἔσηνε καὶ προσῆλθ', ὑπαντήσας δέ τις |
 δίφρον εὐθέως ἔθηκε, κἂν μηδεὶς λέγῃ
 μηδέν.

Τοιούτους ἔδει καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς εἶναι πλουσίους¹⁰,
 ὡς τοῖς γε μὴ τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν ἐρεῖ τις· “τί μικρολόγος
 εἶ; πλείαι τοι οἶνου κλισίαι· δαίνυ δαῖτα γέρονσι
 θάλειαν ἔοικέ τοι.” τοιοῦτος ἦν τῇ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ ὁ
 μέγας Ἀλέξανδρος. Κόνων δὲ τῇ περὶ Κνίδον ναυμα-
 χία νικήσας Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τειχίσας τὸν Πειραιᾶ
 e Ἀθηναίους εἰστίασεν. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ Ὀλύμπια | νική-
 σας ἄρματι πρῶτος καὶ δεύτερος καὶ τέταρτος, εἰς ἅς
 νίκας καὶ Εὐριπίδης ἔγραψεν ἐπινίκιον, θύσας Ὀλυμ-
 πίῳ Διὶ τὴν πανήγυριν πᾶσαν εἰστίασε. τὸ αὐτὸ
 ἐποίησε καὶ Δεώφρων Ὀλυμπίασιν, ἐπινίκιον γρά-
 ψαντος τοῦ Κείου Σιμωνίδου. Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δ' ὁ Ἀκρα-
 γαντῖνος ἵπποις Ὀλύμπια νικήσας, Πυθαγορικὸς ὦν
 καὶ ἐμφύχων ἀπεχόμενος, ἐκ σμύρνης καὶ λιβανωτοῦ
 καὶ τῶν πολυτελεστάτων ἀρωμάτων βοῦν ἀναπλάσας

¹⁰ πλουσίους Adam: πλείους CE

²⁹ Cf. 6.270f, where Amips. fr. 18 (which expresses a sentiment very much like this) is quoted and said to apply to Larensius.

³⁰ Adapted from *Il.* 9.70–1.

³¹ In 394 BCE.

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affection the moment he enters the door.
The doorkeeper, first of all, is cheerful; the dog
wags its tail and comes up to him; and a slave
immediately
greeted him and offers him a chair—all without
anyone saying
a word.

Other rich people ought to be like this;²⁹ and to those who do not behave thus one is inclined to say: "Why are you so stingy? Your huts are full of wine; spread a handsome feast for the elders! This befits you!"³⁰ Alexander the Great showed this sort of magnanimity. Conon, after he defeated the Spartans in the naval battle off Cnidus³¹ and erected a wall around the Piraeus, sacrificed a real hecatomb,³² not something merely called by that name, and invited all the Athenians to a feast. When Alcibiades took first-, second- and fourth-place at Olympia in the chariot-race³³—Euripides (*PMG* 755) wrote the victory ode for the victories—he sacrificed to Olympian Zeus and invited everyone at the festival to the feast. Leophron did the same at Olympia when Simonides of Cos wrote the victory ode (*PMG* 515).³⁴ Empedocles of Acragas was victorious in the horse-race at Olympia; since he was a Pythagorean and did not eat meat, he made an ox out of myrrh, frankincense, and the most expensive spices and divided it up

²⁹ I.e. a sacrifice consisting of 100 oxen, as properly, although the word was often used hyperbolically of smaller sacrifices.

³³ In 420 BCE; see Th. 6.16.2.

³⁴ Simonides died in 467 BCE, but the victory is otherwise undated.

f διένειμε τοῖς εἰς τὴν πανήγυριν ἀπαντήσασιν. | ὁ δὲ Χίος Ἴων τραγωδίαν νικήσας Ἀθήνησιν ἐκάστῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἔδωκε Χίου κεράμιον.

τούδε † γάρ τις ἄλλου πρὸς θεῶν οὐνεκα
 εὔξαιτο πλουτεῖν εὐπορεῖν τε χρημάτων
 ἢ τοῦ δύνασθαι παραβοηθεῖν τοῖς φίλοις
 σπείρειν τε καρπὸν Χάριτος, ἠδίστης θεῶν;
 τοῦ μὲν πιεῖν γὰρ καὶ φαγεῖν τὰς ἡδονὰς
 ἔχομεν ὁμοίας· † οὐχὶ δὲ τοῖς λαμπροῖσι γὰρ
 δείπνοις τὸ πεινῆν πάυεται,

Ἀντιφάνης φησίν.

ἽΟτι Ξενοκράτης ὁ Χαλκηδόνιος καὶ Σπεύσιππος ὁ Ἀκαδημαϊκὸς καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης βασιλικὸς νόμος
 4 ἔγραψε. ||

Ἄλλὰ μὴν καὶ ὁ Ἀκραγαντῖνος Τελλίας, φιλόξενος ὢν καὶ πάντας πολυρῶν, πεντακοσίοις ἰππεύσιν ἐκ Γέλας ποτὲ καταλύσασιν ὡς αὐτὸν χεიმῶνος ὦρα ἔδωκεν ἐκάστῳ χιτῶνα καὶ ἱμάτιον.

Ὁ τρεχέδειπνος, φησί, σοφιστής.

Κλέαρχός φησι Χάρμον τὸν Συρακούσιον εὐτρεπίσθαι στιχίδια καὶ παροιμίας εἰς ἕκαστον τῶν ἐν τοῖς δείπνοις παρατιθεμένων· εἰς μὲν τὸν ἰχθύν·

³⁵ This is in fact a different Empedocles (Moretti #170), mistakenly identified here with the philosopher. His victory (in horse-back-riding) dates to 496 BCE.

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among the people attending the festival.³⁵ When Ion of Chios (*TrGF* 19 T 3) was victorious in a tragic competition in Athens, he gave every Athenian a jar of Chian wine.³⁶

This † for why else would one pray to the gods for
wealth and an abundance of goods,
except to be able to help one's friends
and sow a crop of Gratitude, the most delightful god?
For we all take the same pleasure in drinking
and eating; † and hunger is not eliminated
by brilliant dinner parties,

says Antiphanes (fr. 226).

Xenocrates of Chalcedon (fr. 49 *Isnardi Parente*),
Speusippus of the Academy (test. 47 *Tarán*), and Aristotle
(fr. 466) wrote treatises on how the symposiarch ought to
behave.³⁷

On one occasion when 500 Gelan horsemen stopped at
his house during the winter season, Tellias of Acragas, a
hospitable man who lavished attention on all comers, gave
each of them a tunic and a robe.

[Athenaeus] uses the phrase "the sophist who chases
dinner."³⁸

Clearchus (fr. 90 *Wehrli*) says that Charmus of Syra-
cuse³⁹ had appropriate verses and proverbs ready for each
dish served at his dinner parties. For the fish:

³⁶ A particularly fine local variety; cf. the material quoted at
1.28d-f.

³⁷ Cf. 5.186b.

³⁸ Cf. 6.242c.

³⁹ Presumably to be identified with the gluttonous pipe-player
(*Stephanis* #2621) referred to at 8.344c.

ATHENAEUS

- ἤκω λιπῶν Αἰγαίου ἀλμυρὸν βάθος,
 εἰς δὲ τοὺς κήρυκας·
 χαίρετε, κήρυκες, Διὸς ἄγγελοι,
 b εἰς δὲ τὴν ἰ χορδὴν·
 ἐλικτὰ κούδεν ὑγιές,
 εἰς δὲ τὴν ὠνθυλευμένην τευθίδα·
 σοφὴ σοφὴ σύ,
 εἰς δὲ τὸ ἐν τοῖς ἐψητοῖς ὠραίου·
 οὐκ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ σκεδάσεις ὄχλον;,
 εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀποδεδαρμένην ἔγχελυν·
 οὐ προκαλυπτομένα βoστρυχάδεα.¹¹

- τοιούτους πολλοὺς φησι τῷ Λαρηνσίου παρῆναι δεί-
 πνω, ὥσπερ συμβολὰς κομίζοντας τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν στρω-
 ματοδέσμων γράμματα. φησὶ δὲ καὶ ὅτι ὁ Χάρμος εἰς
 ἕκαστον τῶν παρατιθεμένων ἔχων τι πρόχειρον, ὡς
 c προείρηται, ἐδόκει τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις πεπαιδευμένος ἢ
 εἶναι, ὡς καὶ Καλλιφάνης ὁ τοῦ Παραβρύκοντος κλη-
 θεὶς ἀρχὰς ποιημάτων πολλῶν <καὶ λόγων>¹² ἐκγρα-

¹¹ The traditional text of Euripides has genitive βoστρυ-
 χάδεος. ¹² from S κ 243

⁴⁰ The name means literally "heralds."

BOOK I

I have come, leaving the salty depth of the Aegean.
(E. *Tr.* 1)

For the trumpet-shells⁴⁰:

Greetings, heralds, messengers of Zeus! (*Il.* 1.334)

For the sausage:

twisted and utterly unsound. (E. *Andr.* 448)⁴¹

For the stuffed squid:

You are wise, wise! (E. *Andr.* 245)

For the stewed *fruits-de-mer*:

Scatter the mob from my presence! (*Cypr.* fr. 16
Bernabé = Bion of Borysthenes fr. 25.4
Kindstrand)⁴²

For the skinned eel:

hidden by no clustering curls. (E. *Ph.* 1485)

[Athenaeus] reports that many men of this sort attended Larensius' dinner party, and that as their contribution to it they brought knapsacks full of literature.⁴³ He also says that by having something ready for each dish that was served, as was noted above, Charmus got a reputation among the Messenians for being educated. Likewise Caliphanes, nicknamed "Son of Gorger," copied out the be-

⁴¹ Sausage-casings were made of animal intestines, hence the reference to sausages as "twisted."

⁴² A more complete version of the line is quoted at D.L. 2.117.

⁴³ Cf. 2.67f; 7.277b-c; 8.331b-c; Gell. *NA* 7.13.1-2.

ψάμενος ἀνειλήφει μέχρι τριῶν καὶ τεσσάρων στίχων, πολυμαθείας δόξαν προσποιούμενος.

Πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι διὰ στόματος εἶχον τὰς ἐν τῷ Σικελικῷ μυραίνας, τὰς πλωτὰς ἐγχείεις, τῶν Παχυνικῶν θύννων τὰς ἡτριαίας, τοὺς ἐν Μήλῳ ἐρίφους, τοὺς ἐν Σκιάθῳ¹³ κεστρέας· καὶ τῶν ἀδόξων δὲ τὰς Πελωρίδας κόγχας, τὰς ἐκ Λιπάρας μαινίδας, τὴν d Μαντινικὴν γογγυλίδα, τὰς ἐκ Θηβῶν βουνιάδας | καὶ τὰ παρ' Ἀσκραίοις τεύτλα.

Κλεάνθης δὲ ὁ Ταραντῖνος, ὡς φησι Κλέαρχος, πάντα παρὰ τοὺς πότους ἔμμετρα ἔλεγε, καὶ Πάμφιλος δὲ ὁ Σικελός, ὡς ταῦτα·

ἔγχει πιεῖν μοι καὶ τὸ πέρδικος σκέλος.

ἀμίδα δότω τις ἢ πλακοῦντά τις δότω.

Τὸν βίον, φησίν, εὐσταθεῖς, οὐκ ἐγχειρογάστορες.

γυργαθοὺς ψηφισμάτων < . . . >

φέροντες,

Ἄριστοφάνης φησίν.

Ἐπιγράμματα
e Ὅτι Ἀρχέστρατος ὁ Συρακούσιος ἢ Γελῶος ἐν τῇ ὡς Χρῦσιππος ἐπιγράφει | Γαστρονομία, ὡς δὲ Ἀνγκεὺς καὶ Καλλιμάχος Ἠδονπαθεία, ὡς δὲ Κλέαρχος

¹³ Σκιάθῳ Gesner, from Clem. Al. Paid. 2.1.3: *συμαίθῳ* CE

⁴⁴ Probably a prose adaptation of a comic banquet catalogue resembling Antiph. fr. 191 (quoted at 7.295c-d).

BOOK I

ginnings of many poems and speeches, memorized three or four lines at most, and got a false reputation for wide learning.

Many others had their mouths full of Sicilian morays, "floating" eels, belly-sections of Pachynian tuna, Melian kids, and Sciathic mullets; and of foods of lesser reputation, Pelosian shellfish, sprats from the Lipari Islands, Mantinean turnip, French turnips from Thebes, and beets from Ascra.⁴⁴

According to Clearchus (fr. 89 Wehrli), Cleanthes of Tarentum spoke exclusively in meter when he was drinking, as did Pamphilus the Sicel. For example:

Pour me a drink and [give me] a partridge leg!
Someone give me a pisspot! Or give me a cake!

Those who enjoy a settled prosperity, he says, do not live from hand to mouth.⁴⁵

Aristophanes (fr. 226.1–2) says:

men carrying baskets
full of decrees.⁴⁶

Archestratus of Syracuse or Gela (test. 2 Olson–Sens), in the work entitled according to Chrysippus (xxviii fr. 6, SVF iii.199) the *Gastronomy*, but according to Lynceus (fr. 21a Dalby) and Callimachus (fr. 436) the *Life of Pleasure*, and according to Clearchus (fr. 79a Wehrli) the *Science*

⁴⁵ *Men Who Live from Hand to Mouth* (*Encheirogastores*; an extremely rare word) is the title of a comedy by Nicophon quoted by Athenaeus at 3.126e; 9.389a; 14.645b, and presumably referred to here as well.

⁴⁶ Probably cited in connection with the "knapsacks full of literature" referred to above.

Δειπνολογία, ὡς δ' ἄλλοι Ὀψοποιία—ἐπικὸν δὲ τὸ ποίημα, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή·

ἱστορίας ἐπίδειγμα ποιούμενος Ἑλλάδι πάσῃ—
φησί·

πρὸς δὲ μὴ πάντας δειπνεῖν ἀβρόδαιτι τραπέζῃ·
ἔστωσαν δ' ἢ τρεῖς ἢ τέσσαρες οἱ ξυνάπαντες
ἢ τῶν πέντε γε μὴ πλείους· ἤδη γὰρ ἂν εἴη
μισθοφόρων ἀρπαξιβίων σκηνὴ στρατιωτῶν.

f ἄγνοεῖ δ' ὅτι οἱ ἐν τῷ Πλάτωνος συσσιτίῳ¹⁴ ὀκτὼ | καὶ
εἴκοσι ἦσαν.

οὗτοι δὲ <πρὸς> τὰ δείπνα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει
ἀφορῶσι < . . . > καὶ πέτονται δεξιῶς
ἐπὶ ταύτ' ἄκλητοι,

Ἀντιφάνης φησί. καὶ ἐπάγει·

οὓς < . . . > ἐκ κοινῶ < . . . >
5 ἔδει τρέφειν τὸν δῆμον, || αἰεὶ θ' † ὥσπερ
Ὀλυμπίασί φασι ταῖς μυῖαις ποιεῖν
βοῦν τοῖς ἀκλήτοις προκατακόπτειν πανταχοῦ.

¹⁴ συμποσίῳ S a 731

⁴⁷ Cf. 1.1f with n.

BOOK I

of Dining, but according to other authorities the *Art of Cooking*—the poem is in epic verse and begins (Archestr. fr. 1 Olson–Sens = *SH* 132):

Making a display of the results of my research to all
Greece

—says (Archestr. fr. 4 Olson–Sens = *SH* 191):

Everyone should dine at a single table set for an
elegant meal.

Let the company total three or four,
or at any rate no more than five; after that you would
have
a mess-group of rapacious mercenary soldiers.⁴⁷

He is unaware that there were 28 people in Plato's mess-hall.⁴⁸

These fellows are always on the lookout for dinner
parties
held by the city's inhabitants, and they shrewdly fly
off to them uninvited,

says Antiphanes (fr. 227). He continues:

men whom the people
ought to support from the public treasury and †
routinely
do what, they say, is done for the flies at Olympia,
by butchering an ox everywhere for the uninvited
guests.

⁴⁸ Presumably a reference to the *Symposium*, although Plato never specifies the number of guests at the party described there.

< . . . > τὰ μὲν θέρεος, τὰ δὲ γίνεται ἐν χειμῶνι,

φησὶν ὁ Συρακούσιος ποιητής. οὐχ ἅμα μὲν οὖν πάντα παρασκευάζεσθαι δυνατόν, λέγεσθαι δὲ ῥάδιον.

Ὅτι δείπνων ἀναγραφὰς πεποιήνται ἄλλοι τε καὶ Τιμαχίδας ὁ Ῥόδιος δι' ἐπῶν ἐν ἔνδεκα βιβλίοις ἢ καὶ πλείοσι καὶ Νουμήνιος <ὁ> Ἡρακλεώτης, ὁ Διεύχους τοῦ ἱατροῦ μαθητής, καὶ Ματρέας¹⁵ ὁ Πιταναῖος ὁ
b παρῶδος καὶ Ἠγήμων ὁ Θάσιος ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Ἰ Φακῆ, ὄν τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ κωμῶδιᾳ τινὲς ἐντάττουσιν.

Ὅτι Ἀρτεμίδωρος ὁ Ψευδαριστοφάνειος ὀψαρτυτικὰς λέξεις συνήγαγε. τοῦ Φιλοξένου δὲ τοῦ Λευκαδίου Δείπνου Πλάτων ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς μέμνηται

(A.) ἐγὼ δ' ἐνθάδ' ἐν τῇ ἐρημίᾳ
τουτὶ διελλθεῖν βούλομαι τὸ βιβλίον

¹⁵ Μάτρων Schweighäuser

⁴⁹ The next line in Theocritus ("so that I could not bring all these things at the same time") makes the point of the quotation clear. What follows in Athenaeus is apparently intended as a further gloss or elaboration of it, and is most likely the beginning of a speech.

⁵⁰ Athenaeus cites the poem at least four times (3.82d; 7.283c; 15.682c, 684f).

⁵¹ A mistake for Matro of Pitane, whose *Dinner Party* Athenaeus quotes at length at 4.134d–7c. For Matreas of Alexandria and his parodies, see 1.19d with n.

⁵² No fragments of his plays (if he wrote any) survive.

⁵³ As at 4.182d; 9.387d; 14.485d, 662d. Artemidorus dates to the 1st century BCE and presumably identified himself (or was

Some flowers appear in summer, others in winter,
says the Syracusan poet (Theoc. 11.58).⁴⁹ Not everything
can be prepared at the same time, but it can all be dis-
cussed quite easily.

Descriptions of dinner parties have been produced by
a number of poets, including Timachidas of Rhodes (*SH*
769) in 11 books of epic verse or perhaps more;⁵⁰ Nu-
menius of Heracleia (*SH* 596), the student of the physician
Dieuches (fr. 1 Bertier); the parodist Matreas of Pitane;⁵¹
and Hegemon of Thasos (test. 1), nicknamed Lentil Soup,
whom some authorities include among the authors of Old
Comedy.⁵²

Artemidorus, who is falsely identified as a student of
Aristophanes,⁵³ collected culinary terms. The comic poet
Plato (fr. 189) mentions the *Dinner Party* of Philoxenus of
Leucas:⁵⁴

(A.) Here in this deserted spot I
want to go through this book

identified by others) as a member of Aristophanes of Byzantium's
school rather than as his actual student. The work referred to here
is cited at 9.387d; 14.662d, 663c-d; and almost certainly also at
3.111c; 4.171b; cf. 11.485e.

⁵⁴ From *Phaon* (the name of a mortal man with whom Aphro-
dite fell in love; cf. 2.69d). The recipes Speaker A consults mostly
involve aphrodisiac foods (for the hyacinth bulb and the octopus,
cf. Xenarch. fr. *1, quoted at 2.63f-4a), and this is presumably
Phaon himself, who is looking for ways to cope with the immense
sexual demands being made on him; cf. Pl. Com. fr. 188, quoted at
10.441e. Philoxenus of Leucas and Philoxenus of Cythera are
hopelessly confused in ancient sources; cf. 1.5f. For Philoxenus'
Dinner Party, see 4.146f with n.

πρὸς ἑμαυτόν. (B.) ἔστι δ', ἀντιβολῶ σε, τοῦτο
τί;

(A.) Φιλοξένου καινή τις ὀψαρτυσία.

(B.) ἐπίδειξον αὐτὴν ἥτις ἔστ'. (A.) ἄκουε δὴ.

“ἄρξομαι ἐκ βολβοῦ, τελευτήσω δ' ἐπὶ θύννον.”

c (B.) ἐπὶ θύννον; οὐκοῦν † τῆς τελευτ † πολὺ |
κράτιστον ἐνταυθὶ τετάχθαι τάξεως.

(A.) “βολβοὺς μὲν σποδιᾷ δαμάσας καταχύσματι
δεύσας

ὡς πλείστους διάτρωγε· τὸ γὰρ δέμας ἀνέρος
ὀρθοῖ.

καὶ τάδε μὲν δὴ ταῦτα· θαλάσσης δ' ἐς τέκν'
ἄνειμι.”

εἶτα μετὰ μικρόν·

“οὐδὲ λοπὰς κακόν ἐστιν· ἀτὰρ τὸ τάγγνον
ἄμεινον,
οἶμαι.”

καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα·

d “ὀρφὼν αἰολίαν συνόδοντά τε καρχαρίαν τε
μὴ τέμνειν, μὴ σοι νέμεσις θεόθεν καταπνεύση, |
ἀλλ' ὄλον ὀπτῆσας παράθες· πολλὸν γὰρ
ἄμεινον.

πουλύποδος † πλεκτῆ δ' ἂν ἐπιλήψη † κατὰ
καιρόν,

ἐφθῆ τῆς ὀπτῆς, ἣν ἦ μείζων, πολὺ κρείττων
ἣν ὀπταὶ δὲ δὺ' ὦσ', ἐφθῆ κλαίειν ἀγορεύω.

BOOK I

privately. (B.) Tell me, please, what's this?

(A.) A new cookbook by Philoxenus.

(B.) Give me a sample of it! (A.) Alright, listen.

"I shall begin with hyacinth bulb and conclude with tuna."

(B.) With tuna? Well, it's [corrupt] much better to be posted here in the rear than!

(A.) "Subdue the hyacinth bulbs with hot ash; drench them with sauce;

and eat as many as you can. For this makes a man's body stand up straight.

So much for that; I move on to the children of the sea."

Then after a bit:

"Nor is a casserole-dish bad; but a frying pan is better,

I think."

And after a few verses:

"As for the perch, the speckle-fish, the four-toothed sea-bream, and the shark, do not cut them up, lest vengeance from the gods breathe down upon you, but roast and serve them whole; for this is much better.

† If you get hold of the tentacle † of an octopus at the right season,

a stewed one is much better than a roasted one—provided it's bigger.

But if there are two roasted ones, I say to hell with the stewed one.

τρίγλη δ' οὐκ ἐθέλει νεύρων ἐπιήρανος εἶναι·
 παρθένου Ἀρτέμιδος γὰρ ἔφν καὶ στύματα μισεῖ.
 σκορπίος αὖ—” (B.) παῖσειέ γέ σου τὸν πρωκτὸν
 ὑπελθών.

ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ Φιλοξένου καὶ Φιλοξένειοί τινες πλα-
 e κοῦντες | ὠνομάσθησαν. περὶ τούτου Χρύσιππὸς φη-
 σιν· ἐγὼ κατέχω τιὰ ὀψοφάγον ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐκπε-
 πτωκότα τοῦ μὴ ἐντρέπεσθαι τοὺς πλησίον ἐπὶ τοῖς
 γινομένοις ὥστε φανερώς ἐν τοῖς βαλανείοις τὴν τε
 χεῖρα συνεθίζειν πρὸς τὰ θερμὰ καθιέντα εἰς ὕδωρ
 θερμὸν καὶ τὸ στόμα ἀναγαργαριζόμενον θερμῷ,
 ὅπως δηλονότι ἐν τοῖς θερμοῖς δυσκίνητος ἦ. ἔφασαν
 γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ὀψοποιούοντας ὑποποιεῖσθαι, ἵνα
 θερμότατα παρατιθῶσι καὶ μόνος καταναλίσκη αὐτὸς
 f τῶν λοιπῶν | συνακολουθεῖν μὴ δυναμένων. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ
 καὶ περὶ τοῦ Κυθηρίου Φιλοξένου ἱστοροῦσι καὶ Ἀρ-
 χύτου καὶ ἄλλων πλειόνων, ὧν τις παρὰ Κρωβύλω τῷ
 κωμικῷ φησιν·

(A.) ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς τὰ θερμὰ ταῦθ' ὑπερβολῇ
 τοὺς δακτύλους δῆπουθεν Ἰδαίους ἔχω
 καὶ τὸν λάρυγγ' ἥδιστα πυριῷ τεμαχίσις.
 (B.) κάμνος, οὐκ ἄνθρωπος.

⁵⁵ For *neuron* (properly “sinew, tendon”) in the sense “penis,”
 cf. the proverb quoted at 2.64b.

⁵⁶ An early 4th-century Pythagorean philosopher (D-K 6).

BOOK I

The mullet refuses to be of assistance to the male
muscle;⁵⁵
for it is devoted to virgin Artemis and hates hard-ons.
The bullhead, on the other hand—" (B.) Will, I hope,
sneak up and sting you in the ass!

Certain types of cakes came to be called "Philoxenian" from this Philoxenus. Chrysippus (xxviii fr. 10, *SVF* iii.200) says about him: I recall a certain gourmand who had so completely abandoned any concern for what others thought of his behavior that at the baths he openly tried to accustom his hand to heat by plunging it into hot water, and his mouth by gargling with it. He did this, of course, to make himself difficult to dislodge when hot dishes were served; they claimed that he tried to convince the cooks to serve the food as hot as possible, so that he could gobble it down alone while the others were unable to follow his example. The same stories are told about Philoxenus of Cythera, Archytas⁵⁶, and many others, one of whom says in a play by the comic poet Crobylus (fr. 8):

(A.) As for these extremely hot items,
of course, I've got Idaean fingers;⁵⁷
and I love giving my throat a steam-bath with fish-
steaks.

(B.) He's a kiln, not a human being!

⁵⁷ A reference to Mt. Ida in Crete, so that "Idaean" means "covered in snow" (cf. Thphr. *HP* 4.1.3), i.e. "able to endure tremendous heat"; but also a punning allusion to the Idaean Dactyls (literally "Fingers"), small magical creatures who are said to have invented iron-working at e.g. Hes. fr. 282.

Κλέαρχος δέ φησι Φιλόξενον προλουόμενον <ἐν τῇ πατρίδι κὰν ἄλλαις πόλεσι>¹⁶ περιέρχεσθαι τὰς οἰκί-
 6 ας, ἀκολουθούντων αὐτῷ παίδων φερόντων ἢ ἔλαιον, οἶνον, γάρον, ὄξος, καὶ ἄλλα ἠδύσματα· ἔπειτα εἰσι-
 όντα εἰς τὰς ἀλλοτρίας οἰκίας τὰ ἐφόμενα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀρτύειν ἐμβάλλοντα ὧν ἔστι χρεία, κἄθ' οὕτως <εἰς ἑαυτὸν> κύψαντα¹⁷ εὐωχεῖσθαι. οὗτος εἰς Ἐφεσον καταπλεύσας εὐρῶν τὴν ὀψοπώλιδα κενὴν ἐπέθηκε τὴν αἰτίαν· καὶ μαθὼν ὅτι πᾶν εἰς γάμους συνηγόρασται λουσάμενος παρῆν ἄκλητος ὡς τὸν νυμφίον. καὶ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἄσας ὑμέναιον, οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ

Γάμε θεῶν λαμπρότατε,

b πάντας ἐψυχαγόγησεν· ἦν δὲ διθυραμβοποιός. καὶ ἰ ὁ νυμφίος, “Φιλόξενε,” εἶπε, “καὶ αὔριον ὧδε δειπνήσεις;” καὶ ὁ Φιλόξενος, “ἂν ὄψον,” ἔφη, “μὴ πωλῆ τις.”

Θεόφιλος δέ φησιν· οὐχ ὥσπερ Φιλόξενον τὸν Ἐρύξιδος· ἐκεῖνος γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐπιμεμφόμενος τὴν φύσιν εἰς τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν ἠὔξατό ποτε γεράνου τὴν φάρυγγα σχεῖν· ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἵππον ὅλως ἢ βουὴν ἢ κάμηλον ἢ ἐλέφанта δεῖ σπουδάζειν γενέσθαι. οὕτω γὰρ καὶ αἱ ἐπιθυμίαι καὶ αἱ ἡδοναὶ πολλῶ μείζους καὶ σφοδρότεραι· πρὸς γὰρ τὰς δυνάμεις
 c ποιοῦνται τὰς ἀπολαύσεις. Κλέαρχος δὲ Μελάνθιον ἰ

¹⁶ from S φ 395

¹⁷ εἰς ἑαυτὸν κύψαντα S φ 395: ἀνακάμψαντα CE

BOOK I

Clearchus (fr. 57 Wehrli) reports that Philoxenus, in his native city and elsewhere, would bathe and then go around from one house to the next, with his slaves following him carrying oil, wine, fermented fish-sauce, vinegar, and other seasonings. Then he would go into other people's houses; season whatever was being cooked for everyone, adding what was needed; and lower his head, ignoring everyone else, and enjoy the feast. This fellow sailed into Ephesus once and found the fish-stall empty. He asked the reason, and when he found out that everything had been purchased for a wedding feast, he bathed and showed up at the bridegroom's house uninvited. After dinner he sang a marriage-song, the first line of which (Philox. Cyth. *PMG* 828) is:

Marriage, most radiant of gods,

and charmed them all; he was a dithyrambic poet. The bridegroom said "Philoxenus, will you dine with us here tomorrow as well?" And Philoxenus said "[I will] if there's no fish for sale."

Theophilus (fr. 6, *FHG* iv.516) says: Unlike Philoxenus son of Eryxis. For he, it seems, found fault with what nature provided for enjoying food, and prayed on one occasion to have a crane's neck.⁵⁸ But one ought to be eager to become a horse, an ox, a camel, or an elephant instead. Because that way one's desires and pleasures would be much greater and more intense; for they produce enjoyment in proportion to their strength. Clearchus (fr. 55

⁵⁸ Cf. 8.341d.

φησι τοῦτ' εὐξασθαι λέγων· Τιθωνοῦ Μελάνθιος ἔοικε
 βουλεύσασθαι βέλτιον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀθανασίας ἐπιθυ-
 μήσας ἐν θαλάμῳ¹⁸ κρέματα πάντων ὑπὸ γήρως
 ἐστερημένος τῶν ἡδέων· Μελάνθιος δὲ τῶν ἀπολαύ-
 σεων ἐρῶν ἠῤῥατο τῆς μακραύχενος ὄρνιθος τὸν τρά-
 χηλον ἔχειν, ἵν' ὅτι πλείστον τοῖς ἡδέσις ἐνδιατρίβῃ.
 ὁ αὐτὸς φησι Πίθυλλον τὸν Τένθην καλούμενον οὐ
 περιγλωττίδα μόνον ὑμενίνην φορεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσ-
 ελυτροῦν τὴν γλώσσαν πρὸς τὰς ἀπολαύσεις. | καὶ
 τέλος ἰχθύαν τρίβων ἀπεκάθαιρεν αὐτήν. μόνος δ'
 οὗτος τῶν ἀπολαυστικῶν καὶ δακτυλήθρας ἔχων ἐσθί-
 ει λέγεται τὸ ὄψον, ἵν' ὡς θερμότατον ὁ τρισάθλιος
 ἀναδιδῶ τῇ γλώττῃ. ἄλλοι δὲ φίλιχθον τὸν Φιλόξενόν
 φασιν· Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ φιλόδειπνον ἀπλῶς, ὃς καὶ
 γράφει πού ταῦτα· δημηγοροῦντες ἐν τοῖς ὄχλοις
 κατατρίβουσιν ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν τοῖς θαύμασι καὶ
 πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Φάσιδος ἢ Βορυσθένους καταπλέ-
 οντας, ἀνεγνωκότες οὐδὲν πλὴν εἰ τὸ Φιλοξένου Δεί-
 πνον οὐχ ὄλον. |

Φαινίας δὲ φησιν ὅτι Φιλόξενος ὁ Κυθήριος ποιη-
 τῆς, περιπαθῆς ὢν τοῖς ὄψοις, δειπνῶν ποτε παρὰ

¹⁸ ταλάρῳ Adam

⁵⁹ A late 5th-century Athenian tragic playwright (PAA 638275; TrGF 23), also mocked as a glutton at e.g. Ar. Pax 1009–15.

⁶⁰ Cf. 12.548f–9a. Tithonus was a mortal lover of the goddess Dawn, who asked Zeus to make him immortal but forgot to ask that he also be made ageless; cf. *h.Ven.* 218–38. According

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Wehrli) reports that this was Melanthius⁵⁹ prayer, saying: Melanthius appears to have planned more effectively than Tithonus. For Tithonus desired immortality but now hangs in his bedroom, deprived of all pleasures by old age.⁶⁰ But Melanthius in his lust to enjoy himself prayed to have the gullet of a long-necked bird, in order to spend as much time as possible enjoying himself. The same authority reports that Pithyllus⁶¹, who was called "the Glutton," not only used to wear a covering of skin over his tongue,⁶² but applied additional sheathing to it to increase his enjoyment; and afterward he would grind up some fish-skin to clean his tongue. He is the only hedonist said to have eaten fish using finger-guards, the lousy bastard, so that he could deliver it to his tongue as hot as possible. Other authorities call Philoxenus *philichthus* ("a fish-lover"); but Aristotle (fr. 793) simply refers to him as *philodeipnos* ("a dinner-lover"), writing somewhere as follows: They deliver speeches to the crowds and waste the whole day at freak-shows and among people who have sailed in from the Phasis or the Borysthènes⁶³; and they've never read anything except Philoxenus' *Dinner Party*, and not all of that.

Phaenias (fr. 13 Wehrli) reports that Philoxenus the poet from Cythera (PMG 816) had strong feelings about

to Hellanicus (FGrH 4 F 140) and Clearchus (fr. 56 Wehrli), Tithonus was eventually transformed into a cicada, which may be the point of the claim that he "hangs" in his bedroom (sc. in a wicker cage).⁶¹ Otherwise unknown.

⁶² To keep it from being burnt by the food (cf. his use of finger-guards below). But why further protection was required is unclear, and the clause that follows may be an intrusive gloss.

⁶³ Two northern rivers (referred to today as the Rioni and the Dnieper) that flow into the Black Sea.

Διονυσίῳ <τῷ τυράννῳ>¹⁹ ὡς εἶδεν ἐκείνῳ μὲν μεγάλην
 τρίγλαν παρατεθείσαν, ἑαυτῷ δὲ μικράν, ἀναλαβὼν
 αὐτὴν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας πρὸς τὸ οὖς προσήνεγκε. πυθο-
 μένου δὲ τοῦ Διονυσίου τίνας ἔνεκέν τούτο ποιεῖ, εἶπεν
 ὁ Φιλόξενος ὅτι γράφων τὴν Γαλάτειαν βούλοισι τινὰ
 παρ' ἐκείνης τῶν κατὰ Νηρέα πυθέσθαι τὴν δὲ ἥρω-
 f τημένην ἀποκεκρίσθαι²⁰ διότι νεωτέρα ἀλοίη· | διὸ μὴ
 παρακολουθεῖν· τὴν δὲ τῷ Διονυσίῳ παρατεθείσαν
 πρεσβυτέραν οὖσαν εἰδέναι πάντα σαφῶς ἂ βούλεται
 μαθεῖν. τὸν οὖν Διονύσιον γελάσαντα ἀποστεῖλαι
 αὐτῷ τὴν τρίγλαν τὴν παρακειμένην αὐτῷ. συνεμέθυε
 δὲ τῷ Φιλοξένῳ ἠδέως ὁ Διονύσιος. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν ἔρω-
 7 μένην Γαλάτειαν²¹ ἐφωράθη διαφθείρων, || εἰς τὰς
 λατομίας ἐνεβλήθη· ἐν αἷς ποιῶν τὸν Κύκλωπα συν-
 ἔθηκε τὸν μῦθον εἰς τὸ περὶ αὐτὸν γενόμενον πάθος,
 τὸν μὲν Διονύσιον Κύκλωπα ὑποστησάμενος, τὴν δ'
 αὐλητρίδα Γαλάτειαν, ἑαυτὸν δ' Ὀδυσσεά.

Ἐγένετο δὲ κατὰ τοὺς Τιβερίου χρόνους ἀνὴρ τις
 Ἀπίκιος, πλουσιώτατος τρυφητής, ἀφ' οὗ πλακούντων
 γένη πολλὰ Ἀπίκια ὀνομάζεται. οὗτος ἰκανὰς μυρι-

¹⁹ from S φ 395
 κεκρίσθαι CE

²⁰ ἀποκεκρίσθαι S φ 395: οὐκ ἀπο-
²¹ Γαλάτειαν ought perhaps to be expelled
 from the text as an intrusive superlinear gloss on τὴν ἔρωμένην,
 in which case τὴν Γαλάτειαν above is probably an alternative title
 for the poem referred to below as τὸν Κύκλωπα.

⁶⁴ Dionysius I, who controlled Syracuse from the end of the
 5th century until his death in 367 BCE. ⁶⁵ One of the sea-

seafood and was dining once with the tyrant Dionysius.⁶⁴ When he saw that Dionysius had been served a large red mullet, whereas he had been served a small one, Philoxenus took his fish in his hands and held it up to his ear. Dionysius asked him why he was doing this, and Philoxenus said that he was writing about Galateia⁶⁵ and wanted to ask the fish about some matters involving Nereus; but that when it was questioned, the fish responded that it had been too young when it was caught and therefore was not part of Nereus' circle, although the mullet Dionysius had been served was older and therefore well-informed about everything Philoxenus wanted to know. So Dionysius laughed and sent him the mullet he had been served himself. Dionysius enjoyed getting drunk with Philoxenus. But when Philoxenus was caught trying to seduce Dionysius' mistress Galateia, he was thrown into the stone-quarries. He wrote his *Cyclops* there, connecting the story with the trouble he had gotten into by portraying Dionysius as the Cyclops, the pipe-girl as Galateia, and himself as Odysseus.⁶⁶

In Tiberius⁶⁷ time, there was an extremely wealthy pleasure-seeker named Apicius,⁶⁸ from whom many types of cakes get the name "Apician." This fellow spent an in-

nymphs and thus a daughter of Nereus (*Il.* 18.45 ~ *Hes. Th.* 250), the Old Man of the Sea (cf. 3.107b with n.); but supposedly also the name of Dionysius' mistress (see below), although that may be an ancient scholarly error.

⁶⁶ Cf. 13.564e, citing a fragment of the *Cyclops* (*PMG* 821) in which the monster praises Galateia's beauty.

⁶⁷ Roman emperor, 14–37 CE.

⁶⁸ M. Gavius Apicius, who wrote on sauces and to whom a 4th-century CE cookbook (*De re coquinaria*) is falsely attributed.

ἀδας <ἀργυρίου>²² καταναλώσας εἰς τὴν γαστέρα ἐν
 Μιντούρναις (πόλις δὲ Καμπανίας) διέτριβε τὰ πλεί-
 b στα καρίδας ἐσθίων πολυτελεῖς, | αἱ γίνονται αὐτόθι
 ὑπὲρ γε τὰς ἐν Σμύρῃ μέγισται καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἀλε-
 ξανδρείᾳ ἀστακούς. ἀκούσας <οὖν>²³ καὶ κατὰ Λιβύην
 γίνεσθαι ὑπερμεγέθεις ἐξέπλευσεν οὐδ' ἀναμείνας μί-
 αν ἡμέραν. καὶ πολλὰ κακοπαθήσας κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν
 ὡς πλησίον ἦκε τῶν τόπων πρὶν ἐξορμῆσαι τῆς νεῶς
 (πολλῇ δ' ἐγεγόνει παρὰ Λίβυσι φήμη τῆς ἀφίξεως
 αὐτοῦ), προσπλεύσαντες ἀλιεῖς προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ
 τὰς καλλίστας καρίδας. ὁ δ' ἰδὼν ἐπύθετο εἰ μείζους
 ἔχουσιν· εἰπόντων δὲ μὴ γίνεσθαι ὧν ἦνεγκαν, ὑπο-
 c μνησθεῖς | τῶν ἐν Μιντούρναις ἐκέλευσε τῷ κυβερ-
 νήτῃ τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν <αὐθις>²⁴ ἐπὶ Ἰταλίαν ἀναπλεῖν
 μηδὲ προσπελάσαντι τῇ γῇ.

Ἀριστόξενος δ' ὁ Κυρηναῖος φιλόσοφος, ὁ ὄντως
 μετελθὼν τὴν πατριὸν φιλοσοφίαν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ κωλῆν
 τις καλεῖται Ἀριστόξενος ἰδίως σκευαζόμενος, ὑπὸ
 τῆς ἀνυπερβλήτου τρυφῆς καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ κήπῳ γινο-
 μένας θριδακίνας οἰνομέλιτι ἐπότιζεν ἐσπέρας καὶ ὑπὸ
 τὴν ἕω λαμβάνων χλωροὺς ἔχειν ἔλεγε πλακοῦντας
 ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀναπεμπομένους αὐτῷ.

d Τραιανῷ | δὲ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ἐν Παρθίᾳ ὄντι καὶ

²² from S a 3207

²³ from S a 3207

²⁴ from S a 3207

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finite amount of money on his belly and generally passed his time in Minturnae (a city in Campania) eating expensive shrimp, which grow very large there, larger even than the shrimp in Smyrna or the lobsters in Alexandria. So when he heard that there were extraordinarily large shrimp in Libya, he sailed off without a day's delay. After much trouble at sea, he approached those regions; but before he disembarked from his ship—there had been much discussion among the Libyans of his arrival—fishermen sailed out to meet him, bringing him their best shrimp. After he saw them, he asked if they had any that were bigger; when they said that they did not grow any larger than the ones they had brought, his thoughts returned to the shrimp in Minturnae, and he ordered the helmsman to sail back to Italy again by the same route without even putting in to shore.

Aristoxenus the Cyrenaic philosopher, who unambiguously pursued the philosophy of his fatherland,⁶⁹ and from whom a specially prepared type of ham is called "Aristoxenus ham," was so profoundly devoted to luxury that he used to water the lettuce he grew in his garden with honeyed wine in the evening. When he picked it at dawn, he would say that he had green cakes which the earth sent up to him.

When the emperor Trajan⁷⁰ was in Parthia and was

⁶⁹ The Cyrenaics were a philosophical sect who believed that pleasure was the supreme good. Aristoxenus (not to be confused with the Peripatetic author on music cited frequently by Athenaeus) is otherwise unknown.

⁷⁰ Roman emperor, 98–117 CE. The Parthian campaign took place in 115–116.

τῆς θαλάσσης ἀπέχοντι ἡμερῶν παμπόλλων ὁδὸν Ἀπίκιος <ὁ ὀψοφάγος>²⁵ ὄστρεα νεαρὰ διεπέμψατο ὑπὸ σοφίας αὐτοῦ τεθησαυρισμένα· καὶ οὐχ ὡς Νικομήδει τῷ Βιθυνῶν βασιλεῖ²⁶ ἐπιθυμήσαντι ἀφύης (μακρὰν δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἦν τῆς θαλάσσης) μάγειρός τις μιμησάμενος τὸ ἰχθύδιον παρέθηκεν²⁷. ὁ γοῦν παρ' Εὐφροῦνι τῷ κωμικῷ μάγειρός φησιν·

e (A.) ἐγὼ μαθητῆς ἐγενόμην Σωτηρίδου,
ὃς ἀπὸ θαλάττης Νικομήδει δώδεκα |
ὁδὸν ἀπέχοντι πρῶτος ἡμερῶν ποτε
ἀφύης ἐπιθυμήσαντι χειμῶνος μέσου
παρέθηκε νῆ Δί', ὥστε πάντας ἀνακραγεῖν.
(B.) πῶς δὲ δυνατὸν τοῦτ' ἐστι; (A.) θήλειαν
λαβῶν

γογγυλίδα ταύτην ἔτεμε λεπτὰ < . . . >,
τὴν ὄψιν αὐτῆς τῆς ἀφύης μιμούμενος,
ἀποζέσας, ἔλαιον ἐπιχέας, ἄλας
δοὺς μουσικῶς, μήκωνος ἐπιπάσας ἄνω
κόκκους μελαίνης τὸν ἀριθμὸν δισχιλίους,
f περὶ τὴν Σκυθίαν ἔλυσε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν. |
καὶ Νικομήδης γογγυλίδα μασώμενος
ἀφύης τότε ἔλεγε τοῖς φίλοις ἐγκώμιον.
οὐδὲν ὁ μάγειρος τοῦ ποιητοῦ διαφέρει·
ὁ νοῦς γάρ ἐστιν ἑκατέρῳ τούτων τέχνη.

²⁵ from S o 720, cf. a 4660

²⁶ τῷ Βιθυνῶν βασιλεῖ S a 4660: τῷ Βιθυνῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ CE

²⁷ παρέθηκεν ὡς ἀφύας CE

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many days away from the sea, the glutton Apicius⁷¹ had fresh oysters sent to him packed in a clever way he devised himself. Matters were different when Nicomedes king of Bithynia⁷² had a yearning for small-fry (he too was a long way from the sea), and a cook made something that resembled the fish and served it to him. The cook in the comic poet Euphro (fr. 10), at any rate, says:

(A.) I was a student of Soterides,
who, when Nicomedes was twelve days'
journey away from the sea once and had a yearning
for small-fry in mid-winter, was the first
to serve him some, by Zeus; he made them all cry out
in amazement.

(B.) How's this possible? (A.) He took a soft
turnip like this one; cut it in thin slices,
so that it looked like small-fry;
stewed it thoroughly; poured oil over it; salted
it artfully; sprinkled 2000
black-poppy seeds on top;
and satisfied the king's desire in Scythia.
And as Nicomedes chewed on turnip,
he sang the praises of small-fry to his friends.
The cook's no different from the poet;
for the genius of each consists of his technical skill.

⁷¹ Presumably a descendant of the Apicius referred to above.

⁷² Nicomedes I, king of Bithynia (a region in northwest Asia Minor) 280–255/3 BCE.

Ἵτι περὶ Περικλέους φησὶν Ἀρχίλοχος ὁ Πάριος ποιητῆς ὡς ἀκλήτου ἐπεισπαίουτος εἰς τὰ συμπόσια

< . . . > Μυκονίων δίκην.

δοκοῦσι δ' οἱ Μυκόνιοι διὰ τὸ πένεσθαι καὶ λυπρὰν νῆσον οἰκεῖν ἐπὶ γλισχρότητι καὶ πλεονεξία διαβάλλεσθαι || τὸν γοῦν γλίσχρον Ἴσχομάχον Κρατίνος Μυκόνιον καλεῖ † πῶς ἂν Ἴσχομάχου γεγονῶς Μυκονίου Φιλόδωρος εἴης; †

Ἄγαθος πρὸς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἐστιασόμενος ἦκον·

< . . . > κοινὰ γὰρ τὰ τῶν φίλων.

πολλὸν δὲ πίνων καὶ χαλίκρητον μέθῃ,

οὔτε τῆμον εἰσενείκας < . . . >

οὔδὲ μὲν κληθεὶς < . . . > ἦλθες οἶα δὴ φίλος,

b ἀλλὰ σεο γαστήρ νόον τε καὶ φρένας |

παρήγαγεν

εἰς ἀναιδείην,

Ἀρχίλοχος φησὶν. Εὐβουλος ὁ κωμικός φησὶ πού

εἰσὶν ἡμῖν τῶν κεκλημένων δύο

ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἄμαχοι, Φιλοκράτης καὶ

Φιλοκράτης²⁸.

²⁸ Φιλοκράτης² Turnebus: Φιλοκρήτης CE

⁷³ PAA 542570. ⁷⁴ A reference to the proverb quoted at 5.178b, and probably the beginning of a speech.

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The Parian poet Archilochus (fr. 124a West²; see below) claims that Pericles used to burst into drinking parties uninvited

in Myconian style.

The inhabitants of Myconos seem to have been criticized for greed and avarice because they were poor and inhabited a miserable island. Cratinus (fr. 365, unmetrical), for example, calls the greedy Ischomachus⁷⁵ a Myconian: † How could *you*, the son of Myconian Ischomachus, be named “Generous”? †

I am a good man come to dine in the company of good men;⁷⁴

for friends’ possessions are held in common. (E. Or. 735 ~ Men. fr. 13)⁷⁵

Archilochus (fr. 124b West²) says:⁷⁶

Although you drink much unmixed wine,
you neither contributed any money . . .
And you came uninvited, as a friend would do;
but your belly led your mind and heart astray
into shamelessness.

The comic poet Eubulus (fr. 117) says somewhere:

Two of our guests are
invincible at dinner: Philocrates and Philocrates.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Also proverbial. ⁷⁶ The individual attacked is the Pericles mentioned in fr. 124a above (not to be confused with the Athenian statesman). ⁷⁷ Perhaps the late 4th-century Athenian politician (PA 14599) also mentioned at 8.343e.

ἓνα γὰρ ἐκείνον ὄντα δύο λογιζομαι
 μεγάλους < . . . > μᾶλλον δὲ τρεῖς.
 ὄν φασί ποτε κληθέντ' ἐπὶ δεῖπνον † ὡς φίλου
 καὶ τῷ τινος †

- c εἰπόντος αὐτῷ τοῦ φίλου, ὀπηγίκ' ἂν |
 εἴκοσι ποδῶν μετροῦντι τὸ στοιχείον ἦ,
 ἦκειν, ἔωθεν αὐτὸν εὐθύς ἡλίου
 μετρεῖν ἀνέχοντος, μακροτέρας δ' οὔσης ἔτι
 πλείν ἢ δυοῖν ποδοῖν παρῆναι τῆς σκιᾶς,
 † ἔπειτα φᾶναι † μικρὸν ὀψιαίτερον
 δι' ἀσχολίαν ἦκειν, παρόνθ' ἅμ' ἡμέρα.

ἀσυμβόλου δεῖπνου γὰρ ὅστις ὑστερεῖ,
 τοῦτον ταχέως νόμιζε κἂν τάξιν λιπεῖν,

Ἄμφις φησὶν ὁ κωμικός. Χρύσιππος δὲ φησιν·

- d ἀσύμβολον κώθωνα μὴ παραλίμπανε. |
 κώθων δ' οὐ παραλειπτὸς ἀσύμβολος, ἀλλὰ
 διωκτός.

Ἀντιφάνης δὲ φησι·

βίος θεῶν γὰρ ἐστίν, ὅταν ἔχῃς ποθὲν
 τᾶλλότρια δειπνεῖν, μὴ προσέχων λογίσμασι.

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For although there's only one of him, I count him as
two
big ones . . . rather as three.
They say that once, when he was invited to dinner
[corrupt],
his friend told him to come when
the sundial's shadow measured 20 feet.
So he began to measure it at dawn, as soon as
the sun came up; and when the shadow was still
more than two feet too long, he appeared.
† And then he said † he'd come a bit late,
because he'd been busy—even though he was there
at daybreak!

The comic poet Amphis (fr. 39) says:

Because if someone's late to a dinner party for which
no contribution is required,
you can assume he would quickly desert his place in
the battle-line as well.

Chrysippus (xxviii fr. 15, *SVF* iii.200) says:

Do not neglect the drinking party that requires no
contribution.
A drinking party that requires no contribution is not
to be neglected but sought after.

Antiphanes (fr. 252) says:

For this is the life of the gods—when you have the
chance
to eat someone else's food and not worry about the
bills.

καὶ πάλιν·

μακάριος ὁ βίος † ᾧ δέῃ μ' αἰὲν καινὸν πόρον
εὐρίσκειν † ὡς μάσημα ταῖς γνάθοις ἔχω.

Ταῦτα οἴκοθεν ἔχων εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον ἦλθον καὶ
προμελετήσας, ἵνα καὶ γὰρ τὸ στεγανόμιον κομίζων
παραγένωμαι·

e ἄκαπνα γὰρ αἰὲν αἰοιοὶ |
θύομεν.

Ὅτι τὸ μονοφαγεῖν ἐστὶν ἐν χρήσει τοῖς παλαιοῖς.
Ἀντιφάνης·

< . . . > μονοφαγεῖς ἤδη τι καὶ βλάπτεις ἐμέ.

Ἀμειψίας·

ἔρρ' ἐς κόρακας, μονοφάγε καὶ τοιχωρύχε.²⁹

Ὅτι Ὅμηρος ὀρών τὴν σωφροσύνην οἰκειοτάτην
ἀρετὴν οὔσαν τοῖς νέοις καὶ πρώτην, ἔτι δὲ ἀρμόττου-

²⁹ CE preface what follows with the subtitle *περὶ τοῦ τῶν
ἡρώων καθ' Ὅμηρον βίου* ("On the Life of the Heroes accord-
ing to Homer").

⁷⁸ The comment is in fact cynical and disaffected.

⁷⁹ Presumably jokes or quotations, by means of which the
speaker will earn his dinner; cf. 1.4b. This remark clearly comes at
the beginning or end of a speech, which most likely begins with a
response to a philological question posed by Ulpian. The quota-

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And again (fr. 253):⁷⁸

A happy life I lead—† when I must always try to
discover
some new trick † to have a morsel for my jaws!

I came to the symposium bringing these items⁷⁹ from
my own house, and I took care to be here with my rent-
money in hand;

because we singers always make smokeless
sacrifices. (Call. fr. 494)

The word *monophagein* (“to eat alone, without shar-
ing”) is used by the ancients. Antiphanes (fr. 291):

You’re eating privately (*monophageis*) now and doing
me an injury.

Amipsias (fr. 23):

Go to hell, you solo-eating (*monophage*) burglar!

Homer saw⁸⁰ that moderation is the most appropriate
and foremost virtue of young men, and also that it inte-

tion from Callimachus suggests that a musician is speaking.

⁸⁰ The *Suda* (o 251) assigns 1.8e–9c to Dioscurides, *On Homeric Law*. Dioscurides is cited explicitly by Athenaeus at 1.11a (for a variant reading in Homer that supports the general line of interpretation adopted throughout this section), and Weber argued that all of 1.8e–11b ought to be assigned to him on that basis (= *FGrH* 594 F *8). In any case, the speaker argues that Homer was making a moralizing point by presenting the life of his heroes as extremely simple and constrained; contrast 1.11b n.; 1.24b n.

σαν καὶ πάντων τῶν καλῶν χορηγὸν οὔσαν, βουλόμε-
 νος ἐμφύσαι πάλιν αὐτὴν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐφεξῆς, ἵνα
 f τὴν σχολὴν καὶ τὸν ζῆλον ἐν | τοῖς καλοῖς ἔργοις
 ἀναλίσκωσι καὶ ὧσιν εὐεργετικοὶ καὶ κοινωνικοὶ³⁰
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους, εὐτελεῆ κατεσκεύασε πᾶσι τὸν βίον
 καὶ αὐτάρκη, λογιζόμενος τὰς ἐπιθυμίας καὶ τὰς ἡδο-
 νὰς ἰσχυροτάτας γίνεσθαι <καὶ πρώτας ἔτι τε καὶ
 ἐμφύτους τὰς>³¹ περὶ ἐδωδῆν καὶ πόσιν, τοὺς δὲ δια-
 μεμενηκότας ἐν εὐτελείᾳ εὐτάκτους καὶ περὶ τὸν ἄλλον
 βίον γίνεσθαι ἐγκρατεῖς. ἀπλῆν οὖν ἀποδέδωκε τὴν
 δίαιταν πᾶσι καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ὁμοίως βασιλευσιν ιδιώ-
 9 ταις νέοις πρεσβύταις || <λέγων·

παρὰ δὲ ξεστὴν ἐτάνουσε τράπεζαν.
 σίτον δ' αἰδοίῃ ταμίῃ παρέθηκε φέρουσα,
 δαιτρὸς δὲ κρειῶν πίνακας παρέθηκεν αείρας,

καὶ τούτων ὀπτῶν καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ βοείων· παρὰ δὲ
 ταῦτα οὔτε ἐν ἐορταῖς οὔτ' ἐν γάμοις οὔτ' ἐν ἄλλῃ
 συνόδῳ παρατίθησιν οὐδέν, καίτοι πολλάκις τὸν Ἄγα-
 μέμνονα ποιήσας δειπνίζοντα τοὺς ἀρίστους>³²· καὶ
 οὐ θρῖα καὶ κἀνδυλον καὶ ἄμητας μελίπηκτά τε τοῖς

³⁰ κοινωνικοὶ Kuster: κοινοὶ CE S o 251

³¹ from S o 251

³² from S o 251. CE have only ὀπτὰ
 παρατιθεῖς πᾶσι κρέα καὶ ταῦτα ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ βόεια ἔν τε
 ἐορταῖς καὶ γάμοις καὶ ἄλλῃ συνόδῳ.

⁸¹ The omitted verse 140 describes how the housekeeper of-
 fered "foods of many kinds," and is thus inconvenient for the argu-

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grates and coordinates all good qualities. And because he wished to implant it again forever, so that they would spend their leisure time and energy on noble deeds and be good to and sociable with one another, he made the lives of all his characters frugal and simple. For he calculated that desires and pleasures are very powerful, and that those that involve food and drink are the most basic and deeply engrained, and that people who have lived in a consistently frugal manner are orderly and self-disciplined in other aspects of their lives as well. He therefore gives them all a simple way of life, drawing no distinction between kings and commoners, young and old, saying (e.g. *Od.* 1.138–9, 141):⁸¹

and she stretched out a polished table
beside them.

And the respectful housekeeper brought bread and
set it by their side.

And the carver picked up platters of meat and set
them by their side.

This meat was roasted and was generally beef. He serves them nothing except this at festivals, wedding feasts, and other parties, even though he often represents Agamemnon as entertaining the leading warriors at dinner. Nor does Homer serve his kings stuffed fig-leaves, *kandulos*⁸², or fine wheat-cakes and honey-cakes as their special por-

ment, as is 142, which reports that the meat was “of every sort.” Cf. 5.193b, where an argument is made for expelling either 140 or 141 from the text; and contrast 1.25e.

⁸² An exotic Lydian dish; see 4.132f n.; 12.516c–d.

βασιλεύσιν ἐξαίρετα παρατίθησιν Ὅμηρος, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ὧν εὖ ἔξειν ἔμελλον τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν. Αἴαντα γοῦν μετὰ τὴν μονομαχίαν

νώτοισι < . . . > γέραιεν

b ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων· καὶ Νέστορι δ' ἤδη ὄντι γηραιῶ καὶ Φοίνικι κρέας ὀπτὸν δίδωσι³³, ἀφιστῶν | ἡμᾶς τῶν ἀτάκτων ἐπιθυμιῶν. καὶ Ἀλκίνοους δὲ ὁ τὸν τρυφερὸν ἡρημένος βίον <τοὺς τρυφερωτάτους ἐστιῶν Φαίακας καὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσεά ξενίζων, ἐπιδεικνύμενος αὐτῷ τὴν τοῦ κήπου κατασκευὴν καὶ τῆς οἰκίας καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ βίον, τοιαύτας παρατίθεται τραπέζας>³⁴. καὶ Μενέλαος δὲ τοὺς τῶν παίδων γάμους ποιούμενος <καὶ τοῦ Τηλεμάχου πρὸς αὐτὸν παραγενομένου>³⁵

νώτα βοὸς < . . . > παρέθηκεν³⁶

<ὅπτ' ἐν χερσὶν ἐλών,>³⁷ τὰ ρά οἱ γέρα
πάρθεσαν αὐτῷ.

καὶ Νέστωρ δὲ βόας θύει Ποσειδῶνι παρὰ τῇ θαλάσσει διὰ τῶν φιλτάτων καὶ οἰκειοτάτων τέκνων, βασιλεὺς ὢν καὶ πολλοὺς ἔχων ὑπηκόους, <τάδε παρακελεύόμενος·

ἀλλ' ἄγ' ὁ μὲν πεδίονδ' ἐπὶ βοῦν ἴτω

³³ The order of the words that follow in the text has been altered by Kaibel to take account of the material preserved in the *Suda* (below); CE have δίδωσι καὶ Ἀλκίνῳ δὲ τῷ τὸν τρυφερὸν ἡρημένῳ βίον, ἀφιστῶν κτλ. ³⁴ from S o 251

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tion, but foods likely to keep their bodies and souls healthy. In the case of Ajax after his one-on-one duel, for example, Agamemnon (*Il.* 7.321)

honored him with chine.

Homer also gives roast meat to Nestor (*Od.* 3.32–3), who was an old man by now, and to Phoenix (cf. *Il.* 9.206–17), as a way of restraining us from unruly desires. So too, although Alcinous has adopted a pampered way of life, when he feasts the luxury-loving Phaeacians and entertains Odysseus, he shows him the layout of his garden and his house and how he himself lives, but serves him the same type of food.⁸³ Likewise Menelaus, when he was holding a marriage feast for his children and Telemachus was with him (*Od.* 4.65–6),

took in his hand and served
him the roasted beef chine they served him as his
portion of honor.

Nestor as well sacrifices cattle to Poseidon on the seashore, relying on his children, who are nearest and dearest to him, to do this, although he is a king and has many servants. He gives them the following orders (*Od.* 3.421):

Come now! One of you go to the field for a heifer,

⁸³ In fact, Odysseus sees the palace and its grounds as he enters alone (*Od.* 7.81–132), and is never given a tour.

³⁵ from S o 251. CE have only Τηλεμάχῳ.

³⁶ The standard text of Homer has *παρὰ πίονα θῆκεν* rather than Athenaeus' *παρέθηκεν*.

καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς>³⁸. ὀσιωτέρα γὰρ αὕτη ἢ θυσία θεοῖς καὶ προσφιλεστέρα ἢ διὰ τῶν οἰκείων καὶ εὐνουστάτων ἀνδρῶν. καὶ τοὺς μνηστήρας δὲ ὑβριστὰς ὄντας καὶ
 c πρὸς ἡδονὰς ἀνειμένους | οὔτε ἰχθύς ἐσθίοντας ποιεῖ οὔτε ὄρνιθας οὔτε μελίπηκτα, περιελὼν παντὶ σθένει τὰς μαγειρικὰς μαγγανείας καὶ τά, ὡς ὁ Μένανδρός φησιν,

< . . . > ὑποβινητιῶντα βρώματα

καὶ τὸ παρὰ πολλοῖς λασταυροκάκαβον καλούμενον βρώμα, ὡς φησι Χρῦσιππος <ἐν τῷ Περὶ Καλοῦ καὶ Ἡδονῆς>³⁹, οὗ ἡ κατασκευὴ περιεργότερα.

Πρίαμος δὲ παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ καὶ ὀνειδίζει τοῖς υἱοῖς ἀναλίσκουσι τὰ μὴ νενομισμένα:

ἀρνῶν ἠδ' ἐρίφων ἐπιδήμιοι ἀρπακτῆρες.

Φιλόχορος δὲ ἱστορεῖ καὶ κεκωλῦσθαι Ἀθήνησιν
 d ἀπέκτου | ἀρνὸς μηδένα γέεσθαι, ἐπιλιπούσης ποτὲ τῆς τῶν ζώων τούτων γενέσεως.

Ἐλλήσποντον δὲ Ὅμηρος ἰχθυόεντα προσαγορεύων καὶ τοὺς Φαίακας πλωτικωτάτους ποιῶν καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰθάκῃ εἰδὼς λιμένας πλείους καὶ νήσους προσεχεῖς πολλὰς, ἐν αἷς ἰχθύων ἐγένετο πλῆθος καὶ ἀγρίων ὄρνιθων, καὶ εἰς εὐδαιμονίαν δὲ καταριθμῶν τὸ τὴν θάλασσαν ἰχθύς παρέχειν, ὅμως τούτων οὐδὲν οὐδένα ποιεῖ προσφερόμενον· καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ὀπώραν παρατίθη-

³⁷ from S o 251

³⁸ from S o 251

³⁹ from S λ 140

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and so forth. For a sacrifice made by the members of one's household and one's loyal friends is holier in the gods' eyes and more pleasing. Homer even represents the suitors, violent and devoted to pleasure though they are, as eating neither fish nor birds nor honey-cakes. And he vigorously excludes culinary trickery and what Menander calls (fr. 351.11)⁸⁴

lecherous foods,

along with what many authors refer to as "food stewed in depravity," as Chrysippus puts it in *On the Good and Pleasure* (xxviii fr. 9, *SVF* iii.199–200), that is, food that is quite elaborately prepared.

Homer's Priam faults his sons for consuming foods that fall outside the norm (*Il.* 24.262):

plunderers of the common people's lambs and kids.

Philochorus (*FGrH* 328 F 169a)⁸⁵ records that in Athens it was forbidden to taste the meat of a lamb that had never been shorn, since at one point an insufficient number of these creatures was born.

Homer refers to the Hellespont as "full of fish" (*Il.* 9.360); represents the Phaeacians as very fond of sailing (e.g. *Od.* 6.270–2); knows that there are numerous harbors on Ithaca (cf. *Od.* 1.185–6; 2.391; 13.96–101) and many islands full of fish and wild birds nearby (e.g. *Od.* 9.22–4); and counts the sea's supply of fish as an element of prosperity (*Od.* 19.113). But he nonetheless does not represent anyone consuming these foods. Indeed, he serves no one

⁸⁴ Quoted in more complete form at 4.132e–f.

⁸⁵ Cf. 9.375c.

e σί τινι καίπερ οὔσαν πολλήν καὶ ἥδιστα | ταύτης
μνημονεύων καὶ πάντα χρόνον παρασκευάζων ἀθά-
νατον·

ὄγχνη (γάρ, φησίν,) ἐπ' ὄγχνη

καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ στεφανουμένους οὐδὲ
μυρουμένους ποιεῖ ὥσπερ οὐδὲ θυμῶντας, ἀλλὰ πάν-
των τούτων ἀπολυομένους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἰς ἐλευ-
θερίαν καὶ αὐτάρκειαν ἐξαιρεῖται τοὺς πρώτους.⁴⁰ καὶ
θεοῖς δὲ ἀπλὴν ἀποδίδωσι δίαιταν νέκταρ καὶ ἀμβρο-
σίαν. καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δὲ ποιεῖ τιμῶντας αὐτοὺς
f ἀπὸ τῆς | διαίτης, ἀφελὼν λιβανωτὸν καὶ σμύρναν καὶ
στεφάνους καὶ τὴν περὶ ταῦτα τρυφήν. καὶ τῆς ἀπλῆς
δὲ ταύτης διαίτης οὐκ ἀπλήστως ἀπολαύοντας παρί-
στησι, ἀλλ' ὡς οἱ κράτιστοι τῶν ἰατρῶν ἀφαιρεῖ τὰς
πλησμονάς,

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο.

καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν πληρώσαντες οἱ μὲν ἐξώρων ἐπὶ
10 μελέτην ἀθλητικὴν δίσκοισι || τερπόμενοι καὶ αἰγανέ-
αις, τῇ παιδιᾷ τὰ πρὸς σπουδὴν ἐκμελετῶντες· οἱ δὲ
κιθαρῳδῶν ἠκροῶντο τὰς ἠρωικὰς πράξεις ἐν μέλει
καὶ ῥυθμῷ ποιούντων. διὸ οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν τοὺς οὕτω
τεθραμμένους ἀφλεγμάντους εἶναι τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰς
ψυχάς. ἐνδεικνύμενος οὖν καὶ τὴν εὐταξίαν ὡς ὑγιεινόν

⁴⁰ This sentence (ἀλλὰ μὴν . . . πρώτους) is omitted by E and preserved in C only in the margin.

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any fruit, although there is plenty of it and he mentions it in a delightful passage, where he presents it as never failing in any season. For, he says (*Od.* 7.120),

pear follows pear,

and so forth. He also does not represent them as wearing garlands or using perfume, or similarly as burning incense, but instead distinguishes the foremost individuals as free and self-sufficient, by keeping them away from such luxuries. He even ascribes a simple regimen of nectar and ambrosia to the gods; and he represents human beings as honoring the gods by the way they live, letting them have nothing to do with frankincense, myrrh, garlands, and the luxury that goes with them. Nor does he depict men enjoying this simple diet greedily, but like the best doctors he forbids satiety (e.g. *Od.* 1.150):

But when they put away their desire for food and drink.

And after they satisfied their appetite, some of them would set off for athletic exercise, enjoying themselves with discuses and hunting-spears (cf. *Od.* 4.625-7), using games to train for serious pursuits. Others listened to citharodes⁸⁶ describe heroic deeds in rhythmic melody (cf. *Od.* 1.325-7). It is accordingly no wonder that people brought up this way do not suffer from overheated bodies or souls. As a means, therefore, of showing that discipline is healthy

⁸⁶ Men who played the lyre and sang.

ἔστι καὶ εὐχρηστον καὶ κοινὸν τὸν σοφώτατον Νέστορα πεποίηκε Μαχάονι τῷ ἱατρῷ τετρωμένῳ τὸν δεξιὸν ὤμῳ προσφέροντα οἶνον, ταῖς φλεγμοναῖς ἐναντιώ-
 b τατον ὄντα, καὶ τοῦτον Πράμνειον, ὃν ἴδμεν | παχὺν καὶ πολύτροφον (οὐ διψήσεως ἄκος, ἀλλ' ἐμφορήσεως ἔνεκα· πεπωκότε γοῦν παρακελεύεται συνεχῶς τοῦτο ποιεῖν·

< . . . > σὺ μὲν, (φησί,) < . . . πῖνε > καθήμενος),

καὶ ἐπιξύνοντα τυρὸν αἴγειον, ἐπὶ δὲ κρόμμον ποτοῦ ὄψον, ἵνα πλείον πίνη, καίτοι ἀλλαχοῦ λέγων τὸν οἶνον ἐκλύειν τὴν ἰσχὺν καὶ ἀπογυιοῦν. περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἔκτορος Ἐκάβη οἰομένη μενεῖν αὐτὸν τὸ καταλει-
 πόμενον τῆς ἡμέρας παρακαλεῖ πιεῖν σπείσαντα, προ-
 τρεπομένη εἰς θυμηδίαν· ὃ δ' ὑπερτίθεται πρὸς πρᾶξιν
 c ἐξιών. καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀπερισπᾶστος | ἐπαινεῖ τὸν οἶνον, ὃ δὲ μετὰ ἄσθματος ἤκων ἀπωθεῖται· καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀξιῶ σπείσαντα πιεῖν, ὃ δὲ καθημαγμένος ἀσεβὲς ἠγεῖται. οἶδε δὲ ὁ Ὅμηρος καὶ τὸ ὠφέλιμον καὶ τὸ σύμμετρον τοῦ οἴνου <έν> οἷς τὸν χανδὸν ἔλκοντα αὐτὸν βλάπτεισθαί φησι. καὶ κράσεων δὲ γένη διάφορα ἐπίσταται· οὐκ ἂν γὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς τὸ ζωρότερον κεραίρειν

⁸⁷ The material that follows (to 1.10d) appears to come from a different source from what surrounds it.

⁸⁸ It is not actually Nestor who does any of this, but his slave-woman Hecamede.

⁸⁹ In fact, Hecabe claims in verses 261–2 that drinking wine

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and useful for everyone,⁸⁷ he represents Nestor, the wisest of men, as offering wine to the physician Machaon after Machaon had been wounded in the right shoulder (*Il.* 11.638–41), even though Nestor was utterly opposed to heated behavior; and Pramneian wine at that, which we know is substantial and filling. (This was not to cure his thirst but to fill his belly; because even after Machaon has drunk, Nestor continues to urge him on (*Il.* 14.5);

Sit down and drink!

he says.) Nestor also grates goat-cheese on top and adds an onion as a garnish (*Il.* 11.639–40, 630)⁸⁸ to make him drink more, even though Homer says elsewhere that wine dissipates a man's strength and disables him. In the case of Hector, Hecabe expects that he will remain there for the rest of the day, and urges him to pour a libation and have a drink, and encourages him to enjoy himself (*Il.* 6.258–60).⁸⁹ But he puts this off and goes out to complete his business (esp. *Il.* 6.264–5, 313). She insistently praises the wine; but although he arrived panting for breath (cf. *Il.* 6.261–2), he refuses it. She thinks it right that he pour a libation and have a drink; whereas he considers this impious, because he is stained with blood (*Il.* 6.266–8). But Homer recognizes both the usefulness of wine and the need to drink it in moderation in the passage where he says that the man who drains his cup greedily does himself an injury (*Od.* 21.293–4). He also understands that there are different ways of mixing wine; for Achilles would not have ordered that the wine be mixed “purer” (*Il.* 9.203) un-

will restore Hector's strength (sc. for battle), and she does not insist when he rejects her suggestion.

διέστειλε, μὴ οὔσης τινὸς καθημερινῆς κράσεως. ἴσως οὖν οὐκ ἐγίνωσκεν αὐτὸν εὐδιαφόρητον ἄνευ στερεμνίου σιτίου μίγματος, ὃ τοῖς ἰατροῖς διὰ τὴν τέχνην d ἐστὶ δῆλον· | τοῖς γοῦν καρδιακοῖς μετὰ οἴνου σιτωδὲς ἀναμίσγουςί τι πρὸς κατοχὴν τῆς δυνάμεως. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος τῷ μὲν Μαχάονι μετ' ἀλφίτου καὶ τυροῦ δέδωκε τὸν οἶνον, τὸν δ' Ὀδυσσέα ποιεῖ συνάπτοντα τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν σιτίων καὶ οἴνου ὠφέλειαν·

ὃς δέ κ' ἀνὴρ οἴνοιο κορεσσάμενος καὶ ἐδωδῆς.

τῷ δὲ κωθωνιζομένῳ δίδωσι τὸν ἠδύποτον, οὕτω καλέσας αὐτόν·

ἐν δὲ πίθοι οἴνοιο παλαιοῦ ἠδυνότοιο.

e Ποιεῖ δὲ Ὅμηρος καὶ τὰς κόρας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας | λουούσας τοὺς ξένους, ὡς οὔτε φλεγμονὴν οὔτε ἀκρασία τῶν εἶ βεβιωκότων καὶ σωφρόνως ἀπτομένας. ἀρχαῖον δὲ τοῦτο ἔθος· λούουσι γοῦν καὶ αἱ κωκάλου θυγατέρες, ὡς νενομισμένον, τὸν Μίνω παραγερόμενον εἰς Σικελίαν.

Τῆς μέθης δὲ κατατρέχων ὁ ποιητῆς τὸν τηλικούτον Κύκλωπα ὑπὸ μικροῦ σώματος διὰ ταύτην ἀπολλύμενον παρίστησι καὶ Εὐρυτίωνα τὸν Κένταυρον· τοὺς τε παρὰ Κίρκῃ λέοντας ποιεῖ καὶ λύκους ταῖς

⁹⁰ Minos was tracking down Daedalus, who fled Crete after he helped Theseus negotiate the Labyrinth. Athenaeus fails to note that Cocalus' daughters murdered their guest with scalding water ([Apollod.] *Epit.* 1.15 with Frazer ad loc.).

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less there were some conventional proportion. Perhaps, therefore, he was unaware that wine passes easily through the body if solid food is not mixed into it, a fact that is obvious to physicians from their work. For cardiac patients, for example, they mix something solid into the wine to contain its effect. But Homer gives wine mixed with barley-meal and cheese to Machaon (*Il.* 11.639–40), and represents Odysseus as conflating the benefits derived from solid food and from wine (*Il.* 19.167):

whenever a man gets his fill of wine and food.

And Homer provides “sweet wine” for the man who intends to do serious drinking, referring to it as follows (*Od.* 2.340):

And in there were storage-jars full of old sweet wine.

Homer also represents his girls and his women as bathing their guests, in the conviction that passion and lust have no effect on men who have led good, modest lives. This is an ancient custom; the daughters of Cocalus, for example, give Minos a bath when he visits them in Sicily, as if this were normal.⁹⁰

The poet disparages drunkenness by representing it as the means by which the Cyclops, big as he is, is defeated by a tiny person (cf. *Od.* 9.515–16), as also in the case of the centaur Eurytion (*Od.* 21.295–302). And he represents the lions and wolves at Circe’s house as pursuing pleasure,⁹¹

⁹¹ I.e. as men lured on by their appetites and transformed by the sorceress, in the same way Odysseus’ men were transformed into pigs. But Homer’s account (*Od.* 10.212–13) makes it clear that these are real wild animals Circe has captured.

- f ἡδοναῖς ἐπακολουθήσαντας. τὸν ἰ δὲ Ὀδυσσεά σῶζει
 τῷ Ἑρμοῦ λόγῳ πεισθέντα· διὸ καὶ ἀπαθῆς γίνεται.
 Ἐλπήνορα δὲ πάροιον ὄντα καὶ τρυφερὸν κατακρημ-
 νίζει. καὶ Ἀντίνοος δ' ὁ λέγων πρὸς Ὀδυσσεά·

οἶνός σε τρώει μελιηδῆς,

- αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀπέιχετο τοῦ πώματος· διὸ καὶ τρωθεὶς
 ἀπώλετο, ἔτι κρατῶν τὸ ποτήριον. ποιεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς
 Ἕλληνας ἐν τῷ ἀπόπλῳ μεθύοντας, διὸ καὶ στασιά-
 11 ζοντας· ὅθεν καὶ ἀπόλλυνται. ἢ ἱστορεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸν
 δεινότατον⁴¹ τῶν Τρώων ἐν τῷ βουλευέσθαι διὰ τὴν ἐν
 τῇ μέθῃ παρρησίαν καὶ τὰς ἀπειλὰς ἅς Τρωσὶν ὑπ-
 ἔσχετο οἰνοποτάζων ὑπομείναντα τὴν Ἀχιλλέως ὀρ-
 μὴν καὶ μικροῦ παραπολλύμενον. καὶ Ἀγαμέμνων δὲ
 λέγει πού περὶ αὐτοῦ·

ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀασάμην φρεσὶ λευγαλέησι πιθήσας
 ἢ οἴνω μεθύων ἢ μ' ἔβλαψαν θεοὶ αὐτοί,

- εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν τιθεὶς πλάστιγγα τὴν μέθην τῇ μανίᾳ.
 οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὰ ἔπη ταῦτα προηνέγκατο Διοσκουρίδης
 b ἰ ὁ Ἰσοκράτους μαθητῆς. καὶ ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς δ' ὄνειδίζων
 τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονί φησιν·

⁴¹ τὸν δεινότατον Αἰνείαν CE

⁹² Aeneas, whose name (originally added above the line as an explanatory gloss, and deleted here) has made its way into the text of the Epitome.

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but keeps Odysseus safe because he listens to what Hermes tells him (*Od.* 10.277ff); this is why nothing happens to him. He throws the drunken, dissolute Elpenor, on the other hand, off a roof (*Od.* 10.552–60). So too Antinoos, who tells Odysseus that (*Od.* 21.293)

the sweet wine is doing you harm,

did not himself avoid drinking; as a consequence, he was “done harm” and died still clutching his goblet (*Od.* 22.8–20). Homer also represents the Greeks as drunk when they sailed away from Troy and as quarreling because of that (*Od.* 3.136–50, esp. 139), as a result of which they perished. And he recounts that the cleverest Trojan when it came to making plans⁹² resisted Achilles’ onslaught because of his outspokenness when he was drunk and the threats he made against the other Trojans when he was consuming wine, and nearly died (*Il.* 20.79ff, esp. 83–5). Likewise Agamemnon says about himself somewhere (*Il.* 9.119–19a):⁹³

But since I acted recklessly by yielding to my baleful
inclinations
or by being drunk on wine; or else the gods
themselves smote me,

balancing drunkenness against madness. Isocrates’ student Dioscurides (fr. 25 Weber) also cited these verses in this form.⁹⁴ When Achilles abuses Agamemnon, he says (*Il.* 1.225):

⁹³ The second verse does not appear in the manuscripts of Homer and is not printed by modern editors.

⁹⁴ See 1.8e n.

οἰνοβαρές, κυνὸς ὄμματ' ἔχων.

Ταῦτ' εἶπε τὸ Θετταλὸν σόφισμα ἦτοι ὁ ἐκ Θετταλίας σοφιστῆς· παίζει δ' ἴσως πρὸς τὴν παροιμίαν ὁ Ἀθήναιος.

ἽΟτι τροφαῖς ἐχρῶντο <οἱ> ἦρωες παρ' Ὀμήρῳ πρῶτον μὲν τῷ καλουμένῳ ἀκρατίσματι, ὃ λέγει ἄριστον· οὐ ἅπαξ μέμνηται ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐα·

Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ δῖος ὑφορβὸς
 c ἐντύνοντ' ἄριστον < . . . > κημένῳ πῦρ, |
 καὶ ἅπαξ ἐν Ἰλιάδι·

ἐσσυμένως ἐπένοντο καὶ ἐντύνοντ' ἄριστον.

λέγει δὲ τὸ πρῶτον ἐμβρωμα, ὃ ἡμεῖς ἀκρατισμὸν καλοῦμεν διὰ τὸ ἐν ἀκράτῳ βρέχειν καὶ προσίεσθαι ψωμούς, ὡς Ἀντιφάνης·

ἄριστον ἐν ὄσῳ < . . . > ὁ μάγειρος ποεῖ.

εἶτ' ἐπάγει·

συνακρατίσασθαι πῶς ἔχεις μετ' ἐμοῦ;

⁹⁵ I.e. shameless; but perhaps also a hostile reference to the Cynics attending the party.

⁹⁶ Myrtilus; cf. 7.308b. For *Thettalon sophisma* as a proverb applied to sharp dealing, see Macar. 4.66; Suda θ 291.

⁹⁷ Unlike Myrtilus, the character who now takes over the conversation (and whose name has been removed by the Epitomator)

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Heavy with wine! Dog-eyed!⁹⁵

Thus spoke the Thessalian wit, or rather the sophist from Thessaly;⁹⁶ Athenaeus is perhaps playing on the proverb.

The meals Homer's heroes eat were, first, what is referred to as *akratisma*, which he calls *ariston*.⁹⁷ He mentions this once in the *Odyssey* (16.1–2):

Odysseus and the divine swineherd
kindled a fire . . . and prepared *ariston*;

and once in the *Iliad* (24.124):

They quickly got to work and prepared *ariston*.

He is referring to the early morning meal, which we call *akratismos*, because we dip bits of food in undiluted wine (*akratos*) and consume them, as for example Antiphanes (fr. 271, encompassing both quotations):

while the cook is making *ariston*.

He then continues:

How do you feel about having *akratismos* with me?

argues that Homer's characters ate birds and fish in addition to roast beef. But his main interest is in exactly how Homeric banquets were organized and the contrast with how "we" do things "today," and comparison with very similar material by Herodicus the Crateteian in Book 5 suggests that much of what follows ought to be attributed to him as well. Homeric terminology for meals appears to have been a traditional topic of learned discussion (cf. Plu. *Mor.* 726c–d; *AB* p. 23.16–26), and the treatment of the problem here does nothing to clarify it.

καὶ Κάνθαρος·

(A.) οὐκοῦν ἀκρατισώμεθ' αὐτοῦ. (B.) μηδαμῶς·
Ἴσθμοὶ γὰρ ἀριστήσομεν.

d Ἄριστομένης·¹

ἀκρατιοῦμαι μικρόν, εἴθ' ἤξω πάλιν,
ἄρτον δις ἢ τρὶς ἀποδακῶν.

Φιλήμων δέ φησιν ὅτι τροφαῖς τέσσαρσιν ἐχρῶντο οἱ παλαιοί, ἀκρατίσματι, ἀρίστῳ, ἐσπερίσματι, δείπνῳ. τὸν μὲν οὖν ἀκρατισμὸν διανοητισμὸν ἔλεγον, τὸ δ' ἄριστον < . . . > δορπηστόν, τὸ δὲ δείπνον ἐπιδορπίδα. ἐστὶ δ' ἡ τάξις καὶ παρ' Αἰσχύλῳ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐν οἷς ὁ Παλαμῆδης πεποιήται λέγων·

καὶ ταξιάρχας † καὶ στρατάρχας καὶ
ἐκατοντάρχας †

e ἔταξα, σῖτον δ' εἰδέναι διώρισα, |
ἄριστα, δείπνα δόρπα θ' αἰρεῖσθαι τρίτα.

τῆς δὲ τετάρτης τροφῆς οὕτως Ὅμηρος μέμνηται·

< . . . > σὺ δ' ἔρχεο δειελήσας,

ὃ καλοῦσιν τινες δειλινόν, ὃ ἐστὶ μεταξὺ τοῦ ὑφ' ἡμῶν λεγομένου ἀρίστου καὶ δείπνου. καὶ ἄριστον μὲν ἐστὶ

⁹⁸ Cf. 5.193a–b.

⁹⁹ Literally “the evening (meal).”

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Also Cantharus (fr. 10):

(A.) So then, we'll eat our *akratismos* here. (B.)
Absolutely not;
we'll have our *ariston* at the Isthmus!

Aristomenes (fr. 14):

I'll eat a little *akratismos*; then I'll return
after I've had a bite or two of bread.

But Philemon says that the ancients had four meals:⁹⁸ *akratisma*, *ariston*, *hesperisma*⁹⁹, and *deipnon*; they used the word *akratismos* to refer to breakfast, *ariston* to refer to . . . the evening meal, and *deipnon* to refer to the second course. The words appear in this order also in Aeschylus (fr. *182), in the verses where Palamedes¹⁰⁰ is represented as saying:

And I appointed company commanders † and army
commanders and
division commanders †, and I created distinctions
among their meals:
breakfasts (*arista*), dinners (*deipna*), and suppers
(*dorpa*) to be taken third.

Homer mentions the fourth meal, as follows (*Od.* 17.599):

Go after you have had your evening meal!

Some authorities call this *deilinon*, which comes between what we refer to as *ariston* and *deipnon*. *Ariston* is the meal one has at daybreak; *deipnon* (which we call *ariston*)

¹⁰⁰ A proverbially clever member of the Achaean expedition against Troy; cf. Eup. fr. 385.6, quoted at 1.17e.

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τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω λαμβανόμενον, δείπνον δὲ τὸ μεσημβρινόν, ὃ ἡμεῖς ἄριστον, δόρπον δὲ τὸ ἔσπερινόν. μήποτε δὲ καὶ συνωνυμεί τὸ ἄριστον τῷ δείπνῳ. ἐπὶ γὰρ τῆς πρωινῆς που τροφῆς ἔφη·

οἱ δ' ἄρα δείπνον ἔλοντο < . . . >,
 f < . . . > ἀπὸ δ' αὐτοῦ θωρήσσοντο. |

μετὰ γὰρ τὴν ἀνατολὴν εὐθὺς δειπνοποιησάμενοι προέρχονται εἰς τὴν μάχην.

Εὐωχοῦνται δὲ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ καθήμενοι. οἶονται δέ τινες καὶ ἐκάστῳ τῶν δαιτυμόνων κατ' ἄνδρα παρακείσθαι τράπεζαν. τῷ γοῦν Μέντῃ, φασίν, ἀφικομένῳ πρὸς Τηλέμαχον τῶν τραπεζῶν παρακειμένων ξεστὴ παρετέθη τράπεζα. οὐκ ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο ἐμφανῶς τοῦ προκειμένου κατασκευαστικόν· δύναται γὰρ ἢ Ἀθηναῖα ἀπὸ τῆς Τηλεμάχου τραπέζης δαίνυσθαι. παρ' ὅλην
 12 δὲ τὴν συνουσίαν παρέκειντο || αἱ τράπεζαι πλήρεις, ὡς παρὰ πολλοῖς τῶν βαρβάρων ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔθος ἐστί,

< . . . > κατηρεφέες παντοίων ἀγαθῶν,
 κατὰ Ἀνακρέοντα. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν αἱ δμῳαὶ
 ἀπὸ μὲν σίτον πολὺν ἤρεον καὶ τράπεζαν⁴²
 καὶ δέπα.

⁴² The traditional text of Homer has ἡδὲ τραπέζας ("and the tables") rather than Athenaeus' καὶ τράπεζαν (unmetrical).

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is the midday meal; and *dorpon* is the evening meal. But sometimes Homer uses the same term for breakfast (*ariston*) as he does for dinner (*deipnon*); for in reference to the morning meal he says somewhere (*Il.* 8.53–4):

Then they had their *deipnon* . . .
. . . and afterward they put on their armor.

Because they make their *deipnon* immediately after sunrise and then go forth to battle.

Homer's characters feast sitting down. Some authorities believe that an individual table is set for each diner. In the case of Mentos, for example, they say, when he comes to visit Telemachus, a polished table was set beside him (*Od.* 1.138), even though the tables were already in place (*Od.* 1.111–12). But this is obviously not conclusive proof of the thesis; for Athena¹⁰¹ might eat from Telemachus' table. The tables remained there beside them covered with food throughout the entire party, as is still the custom today among many uncivilized peoples,

covered with dainties of every sort,

as Anacreon (*PMG* 435) puts it. After the guests left, the slavewomen (*Od.* 19.61–2)

removed much food, along with the table
and the goblets.

¹⁰¹ In her disguise as the visitor Mentos.

ιδιάζον δὲ τὸ παρὰ Μενελάῳ εἰσάγει συμπόσιον. δειπνήσαντας γὰρ ποιεῖ ὁμιλοῦντας· εἴτ' ἀπονηψαμένους ποιεῖ πάλιν δειπνοῦντας καὶ δόρπου ἐξαυτὶς μεμνημένους μετὰ τὸν κλαυθμόν. τῷ δὲ μὴ αἵρεσθαι τὰς
 b τραπεζὰς ἐναντιοῦσθαι δοκεῖ τὸ ἐν Ἰλιάδι ὦ· |

ἔσθων καὶ πίνων ἔτι καὶ παρέκειτο τράπεζα.

ἀναγνωστέον οὖν οὕτω

ἔσθων καὶ πίνων ἔτι καὶ παρέκειτο τράπεζα,

ἢ τὸν καιρὸν αἰτιᾶσθαι τὸν παρόντα δεῖ. πῶς γὰρ ἦν πρέπον τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ πενθοῦντι παρακεῖσθαι τράπεζαν καθάπερ τοῖς εὐχουμένοις παρ' ὄλην τὴν συνουσίαν; παρετίθεντο δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄρτοι σὺν τοῖς κανοῖς, τὰ δὲ δείπνα κρέα μόνον ἦν ὀπτά. ζῶμὸν δὲ οὐκ ἐποίει Ὀμηρος θύων βοῦς,

c οὐδ' ἦψεν κρέα |

οὐδ' ἐγκέφαλον ὄπτα δὲ καὶ τὰς κοιλίας.

οὕτω σφόδρ' ἦν ἀρχαῖος,

Ἀντιφάνης φησί.

Καὶ τῶν κρεῶν δὲ μοῖραι ἐνέμοντο ὅθεν εἴσας φησὶ τὰς δαΐτας ἀπὸ τῆς ἰσότητος. τὰ γὰρ δείπνα δαΐτας ἔλεγον ἀπὸ τοῦ δατεῖσθαι, οὐ μόνον τῶν κρεῶν δια-

102 The reference to a passage of Homer by Book-number is extremely unusual in Athenaeus; contrast e.g. 1.15d, 16b, 18b, 25d, where titles of episodes are used.

103 The word in fact appears to be derived from *daiomai* (as is asserted below).

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But Homer makes the symposium in Menelaus' house unusual. For he presents them as dining (*Od.* 4.54–67) and afterward having a conversation (*Od.* 4.68–215); then after they wash their hands (*Od.* 4.216–17), he presents them as eating again and as thinking of dinner (*dorpon*) a second time after they burst into tears (*Od.* 4.213, 218). The idea that the tables were not removed seems to be contradicted by the passage in *Iliad* 24¹⁰² (476):

eating and drinking, and a table was still set beside
him.

One must therefore read as follows:

eating and drinking still, and a table was set beside
him.

Or else the situation must be responsible for it being there; for how could it have been appropriate that a table was set beside Achilles when he was in mourning, as it is for guests at a feast throughout the whole party? The loaves of bread were served in baskets, and the dinners consisted of roast meat only. Homer did not make broth when he sacrificed cattle,

and he didn't stew the meat
or the brains, but he used to roast even the entrails.
That's how extraordinarily old-fashioned he was,

says Antiphanes (fr. 248).

The meat was divided into portions, and he therefore refers to meals as "equal" because of the equality observed; for they called their dinner parties *daites* from the verb *dateisthai* ("to divide"),¹⁰³ since it was not just the

νεμομένων ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ οἴνου·

ἤδη μὲν δαιτὸς κεκορήμεθα < . . . > εἴσης.

καί·

χαῖρ', Ἀχιλεῦ· δαιτὸς μὲν εἴσης οὐκ ἐπιδευεῖς.

- d ἐκ τούτων δ' ἐπέισθη Ζηνόδοτος δαῖτα εἴσην τὴν | ἀγαθὴν λέγεσθαι. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡ τροφή τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀγαθὸν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν, ἐπεκτείνας, φησίν, εἶρηκεν εἴσην· ἐπεὶ οἱ πρῶτοι ἄνθρωποι, οἷς δὴ οὐ παρῆν ἄφθονος τροφή, ἄρτι φαινομένης ἀθρόον ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἰόντες βία ἤρπαζον καὶ ἀφηροῦντο τοὺς ἔχοντας, καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἀκοσμίας ἐγίνοντο καὶ φόνοι. ἐξ ὧν εἰκὸς λεχθῆναι καὶ τὴν ἀτασθαλίαν, ὅτι ἐν ταῖς θαλίαις τὰ πρῶτα ἐξημάρτανον οἱ ἄνθρωποι εἰς ἀλλήλους. ὡς δὲ παρεγένετο αὐτοῖς πολλὴ ἐκ τῆς Δήμητρος, διένεμον | e ἐκάστῳ ἴσην, καὶ οὕτως εἰς κόσμον ἦλθε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ δόρπα. διὸ ἄρτου τε ἐπίνοια πέμματός τε εἰς ἴσον διαμεμοιραμένου καὶ τοῖς διαπίνουσιν ἄλεια· καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα εἰς <τὸ> ἴσον χωρούντων ἐγίνετο. ὥστε ἡ τροφή δαῖς ἐπὶ τῷ δαίεσθαι λέγεται, ὃ ἐστὶ διαμοιρᾶσθαι ἐπ' ἴσης· καὶ ὁ τὰ κρέα ὀπτῶν δαιτρός, ἐπεὶ ἴσην ἐκάστῳ μοῖραν ἐδίδου. καὶ ἐπὶ μόνων ἀνθρώπων

¹⁰⁴ The quotations are intended to show not that in Homer the wine too was divided up equally, but that meals were referred to as "equal."

¹⁰⁵ *eisos* ("equal") is thus fancifully derived from *eus* ("good, noble").

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meat that was portioned out but the wine as well (*Od.* 8.98):

Now we have had enough of the equal meal,¹⁰⁴

and (*Il.* 9.225):

Cheers, Achilleus! We are not lacking an equal meal.

These passages convinced Zenodotus that a good feast is referred to as "equal"; because since food was a good human beings had to have, he says, Homer used an extended form of the word and said "equal."¹⁰⁵ For primitive human beings, who of course lacked plentiful food, used to all go after it the moment it appeared, seize it aggressively, and wrench it away from anyone who had it; this disorder was even accompanied by murder. This is most likely also the source of the term *atasthalia* ("reckless wickedness"), because people first committed crimes against one another during *thaliai* ("festivities").¹⁰⁶ But after Demeter provided them with large amounts of food, they divided it up so that everyone had an equal share, and human meals took on an orderly character. This was the source of the idea that bread and cakes should be divided into equal shares, and of sharing goblets when we drink; because these practices are all characteristic of individuals moving toward equality. Food is therefore called *dais* ("a meal") from *daiomai*, which means "divide into equal portions." And the man who roasts the meat was the *daitros*, since he gave each person an equal portion. The poet uses the word *dais* in connection with human beings only, and no

¹⁰⁶ Another fanciful etymology, the first element in *atasthalia* supposedly being supplied by *atē* ("blind folly").

δαίτα λέγει ὁ ποιητής, ἐπὶ δὲ θηρίων οὐκ ἔτι. ἀγνοῶν
δὲ ταύτης τῆς φωνῆς τὴν δύναμιν Ζηνόδοτος ἐν τῇ
f κατ' | αὐτὸν ἐκδόσει γράφει·

αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐλώρια τεύχε κύνεσσιν
οἰωνοῖσί τε δαίτα,

13 τὴν τῶν γυπῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἰωνῶν τροφήν οὕτω
καλῶν, μόνου ἀνθρώπου χωροῦντος <εἰς> τὸ ἴσον ἐκ
τῆς πρόσθεν βίας. διὸ καὶ μόνου τούτου | ἡ τροφή
δαίς· καὶ μοῖρα τὸ ἐκάστω διδόμενον. οὐκ ἔφερον δὲ
οἴκαδε παρ' Ὀμήρῳ οἱ δαιτυμόνες τὰ λειπόμενα, ἀλλὰ
κορεσθέντες κατέλιπον παρ' οἷς ἦν ἡ δαίς· καὶ ἡ
ταμία λαβοῦσα εἶχεν, ἵνα ἂν τις ἀφίκηται ξένος, ἔχοι
δοῦναι αὐτῷ.

Καὶ ἰχθύσι δὲ Ὀμηρος ποιεῖ χρωμένους τοὺς τότε
καὶ ὄρνισι. κατὰ γοῦν τὴν Θρινακίαν οἱ Ὀδυσσεῶς
ἑταῖροι θηρεύουσιν

ἰχθύς ὄρνιθός τε, φίλας θ' ὅ τι χεῖρας ἵκοιτο,
γναμποῖς ἀγκίστροισιν.

b οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Θρινακίᾳ ἐκεχάλκευτο τὰ ἀγκίστρα, |
ἀλλ' ἐπεφέροντο ἐν τῷ πλῶ δηλονότι· ὥστε ἦν αὐτοῖς
θήρας ἰχθύων ἐπιμέλεια καὶ τέχνη. εἰκάζει δὲ καὶ τοὺς
ὑπὸ Σκύλλης ἀρπαζομένους Ὀδυσσεῶς ἑταίρους
ἰχθύσι προμήκει ράβδῳ ἀλισκομένοις καὶ θύραζε

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longer uses it when referring to wild animals. But because Zenodotus is ignorant of the meaning of the word, he writes in his edition of Homer (*Il.* 1.4–5):¹⁰⁷

and he made them spoil for dogs
and a meal (*dais*) for birds,

referring thus to the food consumed by vultures and other birds, although only human beings are making progress from primitive violence toward equality. Human food alone is therefore called a *dais*; and a *moira* ("portion") is what each individual is given.¹⁰⁸ Banqueters in Homer did not take the leftovers home, but ate as much as they wanted and left the rest behind with their hosts. The housekeeper took this food and kept it, so that she would have something to offer any stranger who arrived.

Homer represents the people of those times as eating both fish and birds. On Thrinacia, for example, Odysseus' companions hunt (*Od.* 12.331–2)

fish and birds, and whatever they could get their
hands on,
with curved hooks.

The hooks had not been forged on Thrinacia, but were obviously brought along on the voyage, showing that the characters were both interested in and skilled at catching fish. Homer also compares the companions of Odysseus who were grabbed by Scylla to fish caught with a long pole and thrown out of the water (*Od.* 12.251–5). He is thus

¹⁰⁷ Zenodotus substituted *daita* ("meal") for the metrically equivalent *pasi* ("all"; to be taken with "birds").

¹⁰⁸ The same word is used of an individual's "fate."

ριπτομένοις. οὕτω καὶ ταύτην τὴν τέχνην ἀκριβοῦ
 μᾶλλον τῶν τοιαῦτα προηγουμένως ἐκδεδωκότων ποι-
 ῆματα ἢ συγγράμματα, Καίκαλον⁴³ λέγω τὸν Ἀργεῖ-
 ον καὶ Νουμήμιον τὸν Ἡρακλεώτην, Παγκράτην τὸν
 c Ἀρκάδα, Ποσειδώνιον τὸν Κορίνθιον καὶ τὸν ὀλίγω |
 πρὸ ἡμῶν γενόμενον Ὀππιανὸν τὸν Κίλικα· τοσοῦτοις
 γὰρ ἐνετύχομεν ἐποποιοῖς Ἀλιευτικὰ γεγραφόσι
 καταλογάδην δὲ τοῖς Σελεύκου τοῦ Ταρσέως καὶ Λεω-
 νίδου τοῦ Βυζαντίου <καὶ Ἀγαθοκλέους τοῦ Ἀτρα-
 κίου>⁴⁴. οὐ μνημονεύει δὲ τοιαύτης ἐδωδῆς ἐπὶ τῶν
 δείπνων, ὡς οὐκ οἰκείας νομιζομένης τῆς τροφῆς τοῖς
 ἐν ἀξιώμασιν ἤρωσι κειμένοις, ὡς οὐδὲ τῆς τῶν νεο-
 γνῶν ἱερείων. οὐ μόνον δὲ ἰχθύσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄστρείοις
 ἐχρῶντο, καίτοι τῆς τούτων ἐδωδῆς οὐ πολὺ ἐχούσης
 d τὸ ὠφέλιμον καὶ ἡδύ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ βυθῷ | κατὰ βάθος
 κειμένων. καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν εἰς ταῦτα ἄλλη τινὶ τέχνη
 χρήσασθαι ἢ δύντα κατὰ βυθοῦ.

< . . . > ἢ μάλ' ἐλαφρὸς ἀνήρ, ὅς⁴⁵ ρεία κυβιστᾶ,

ὄν καὶ λέγει πολλοὺς ἂν κορέσαι τήθεα διφῶντα.

Ἐκάστῳ δὲ τῶν δαιτυμόνων παρ' Ὀμήρῳ παρά-
 κεται ποτήριον. <Δημοδόκῳ>⁴⁶ γοῦν παρατίθεται κά-
 νεον καὶ τράπεζα καὶ δέπας

⁴³ Καίκαλον Meineke: καικλον CE: Κικίλιον S κ 1596

⁴⁴ from S κ 1596

⁴⁵ Most witnesses have ὡς.

⁴⁶ add. Schweighäuser

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more accurate about this art too than are the authors who have published poems or treatises directly concerned with such matters; I am referring to Caecalus of Argos (*SH* 237); Numenius of Heracleia (*SH* 568); Pancrates of Arcadia (*SH* 601); Posidonius of Corinth (*SH* 709); and Oppian of Cilicia,¹⁰⁹ who lived shortly before our time. These are all the epic poets we have encountered who have written on fishing, although I have also encountered prose works by Seleucus of Tarsus, Leonidas of Byzantium, and Agathocles of Atrax.¹¹⁰ But Homer does not mention such food at dinner parties, since it was considered inappropriate for heroes with great reputations. He likewise makes no mention of eating immature animals. But they did eat not only birds but shellfish as well, although doing so produces little benefit or pleasure, and although they are found deep down in the depths of the sea and it is impossible to consume them except by diving into the depths.

Quite a nimble fellow, who dives easily! (*Il.* 16.745)

Homer also says about this man that he could satisfy many people by searching for sea-squirts (*Il.* 16.747).

A drinking cup is set beside each banqueter in Homer. Demodocus, for example, has a bread-basket, a table, and a goblet set beside him (*Od.* 8.69–70)

¹⁰⁹ Oppian's *Halieutica* (unlike any of the other works referred to here) is preserved entire. Athenaeus cites Pancrates' poem (otherwise lost) at 7.283a, 305c, 321e.

¹¹⁰ Athenaeus cites Seleucus very briefly at 7.320a; his work is otherwise lost. Leonidas was used by Aelian (*NA* 2.6, 50; 3.18; 12.42) and probably by Athenaeus as well; he most likely dates to c.100 BCE. Agathocles is otherwise unknown.

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< . . . > πιεῖν ὅτε θυμὸς ἀνώγοι.

ἐπιστέφονται δὲ ποτοῖο οἱ κρητῆρες, ἤτοι ὑπερχειλείς οἱ κρατῆρες ποιοῦνται, ὥστε διὰ τοῦ ποτοῦ ἐπιστε-
 e φανούσθαι, καὶ | ταῦτα ἔπρασσον πρὸς οἰωνοῦ τι-
 θέμενοι. κούροι δὲ διανέμουσι

< . . . > πᾶσιν ἐπαρξάμενοι δεπάεσσι.

τὸ δὲ πᾶσιν οὐ τοῖς ποτηρίοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν.
 Ἄλκίνους γοῦν τῷ Ποντονόῳ φησί·

μέθην νεῖμον

πᾶσιν ἀνὰ μέγαρον.

καὶ ἐξῆς ἐπάγει·

νώμησεν δ' ἄρα πᾶσιν ἐπαρξάμενος δεπάεσσιν.

Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀρίστοις κατὰ δείπνα τιμαί. Τυδεί-
 δης γοῦν καὶ κρέασι καὶ πλείοις δεπάεσσι τιμᾶται καὶ
 f | Αἴας

νώτοισι < . . . > διηνεκέεσσι

γεραίρεται, καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς·

νώτα βοὸς < . . . >

< . . . >, τὰ ρά οἱ < . . . > πάρθεσαν αὐτῷ.⁴⁷

καὶ Ἰδομενέα δὲ Ἀγαμέμνων πλείῳ δέπα τιμᾶ. καὶ

⁴⁷ After this quotation CE preserve the intrusive gloss Με-
 νέλαος δηλονότι.

BOOK I

to drink from, when his heart urged him.

The mixing-bowls are "crowned with drink" (e.g. *Il.* 1.470), which means that they are filled to the brim, so that the liquid is like a crown around the top; they acted this way because they regarded these as good omens. The young men distribute the wine (*Il.* 1.471),

pouring a libation into all the guests' goblets;

the word "all" refers not to the drinking cups but to the men. Alcinous, for example, tells Pontonous (*Od.* 7.179–80):

Give a share of wine

to everyone in the hall!

And immediately after this the poet continues (*Od.* 7.183):

and he distributed it, pouring a libation into
everyone's goblet.

The most distinguished men were shown honors at their dinner parties. Tydeides, for example, is honored "with meat and full goblets" (cf. *Il.* 8.161–2); Ajax is given a special portion of (*Il.* 7.321)

chine cut straight across the back;

and the nobles get the same (*Od.* 4.65–6):

beef chine . . . ,
. . . which they served . . . him.

Likewise Agamemnon honors Idomeneus with a full gob-

ATHENAEUS

Σαρπηδῶν δὲ παρὰ Λυκίοις τοῖς αὐτοῖς τιμᾶται καὶ ἔδρη καὶ κρέασιν.

Ἦν δέ τις αὐτοῖς καὶ διὰ τῆς προπόσεως ἀσπασμός· οἱ γοῦν θεοὶ

χρυσέοις δεπάεσσι

δειδέχατ' ἀλλήλους,

ἦτοι ἐδεξιούντο προπίνοντες ἑαυτοῖς ταῖς δεξιαῖς. καὶ
14 || τις δὲ

< . . . > δείδεκτ' Ἀχιλλῆα

ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐδεξιούτο, ὃ ἔστι προέπινεν αὐτῷ τῇ δεξιᾷ διδοὺς τὸ ποτήριον. ἔδωρουντο δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῶν μοίρας οἷς ἐβούλοντο, ὡς Ὀδυσσεὺς

νώτου ἀποπροταμῶν

οὗ αὐτῷ παρέθεντο τῷ Δημοδόκῳ.

Ἐχρῶντο δ' ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις καὶ κιθαρῳδοῖς καὶ ὀρχησταῖς, ὡς οἱ μνηστήρες. καὶ παρὰ Μενελάῳ⁴⁸

ἐμέλπετο θεῖος ἀοιδὸς

< . . . > δύο δὲ κυβιστητῆρες < . . . >
μολπῆς ἐξάρχοντες ἐδίνευον.

μολπῆς δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ παιδιᾶς. σῶφρον δέ τι ἦν τὸ τῶν

⁴⁸ The Homeric duals in 17 and 18 have been replaced in Athenaeus' quotation by more modern forms; cf. 1.15c n.; 1.24d n. For further discussion of this passage (allegedly interpolated by Aristarchus), see 5.180c–e.

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let (*Il.* 4.262–3), and Sarpedon has the same honors among the Lycians, as well as a special seat and share of the meat (*Il.* 12.310–12).

When they toasted one another, there was friendly physical contact. The gods, for example (*Il.* 4.3–4),

hailed one another

with gold goblets,

which is to say that they clasped right hands as they drank one another's health.¹¹¹ And someone (*Il.* 9.224)¹¹²

hailed Achilles,

which means that he took his right hand, that is, drank his health and handed him the drinking cup with his right hand. They would also present anyone they wished with some of their own portion, as Odysseus does by (*Od.* 8.475)

cutting off some of the chine

they served him for Demodocus.

At their drinking parties they employed citharodes and dancers, as the suitors do, for example. And in Menelaus' house (*Od.* 4.17–19)

a divine bard was singing,

. . . and a pair of tumblers . . .

led the song, whirling about among them.

The word “song” is used here to mean “fun.” Bards were

¹¹¹ The discussion here is repeatedly self-contradictory.

¹¹² The individual in question is Odysseus.

- b αοιδῶν γένος | καὶ φιλοσόφων διάθεσιν ἐπέχον. Ἄγα-
 μένων γοῦν τὸν αοιδὸν καταλείπει τῇ Κλυταιμνή-
 στρα φύλακα καὶ παραινετῆρά τινα· ὃς πρῶτον μὲν
 ἀρετὴν γυναικῶν διερχόμενος ἐνέβαλλέ τινα φιλοτι-
 μίαν εἰς καλοκάγαθίαν, εἶτα διατριβὴν παρέχων ἠδεῖ-
 αν ἀπεπλάνα τὴν διάνοιαν φαύλων ἐπινοιῶν. διὸ Αἴ-
 γισθος οὐ πρότερον διέφθειρε τὴν γυναῖκα πρὶν τὸν
 αοιδὸν ἀποκτεῖναι ἐν νήσῳ ἐρήμῃ. τοιοῦτός ἐστι καὶ ὁ
 παρα τοῖς μνηστῆρσιν αἰείδων ἀνάγκη, ὃς τοὺς ἐφε-
 c δρεύοντας τῇ | Πηνελόπῃ ἐβδελύττετο. κοινῶς δέ που
 πάντας τοὺς αοιδοὺς αἰδοίους τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἶναι
 φησι.⁴⁹

τοῦνεκ' ἄρα σφέας

οἴμας Μοῦσ' ἐδίδαξε φίλησέ τε φύλον αοιδῶν.

- ὁ δὲ παρὰ Φαίαξι Δημόδοκος ἄδει Ἄρεος καὶ Ἄφρο-
 δίτης συνουσίαν, οὐ διὰ τὸ ἀποδέχεσθαι τὸ τοιοῦτον
 πάθος, ἀλλ' ἀποτρέπων αὐτοὺς παρανόμων ἔργων⁵⁰,
 <ἦ> εἰδὼς ἐν τρυφερῷ τιμὴ βίῳ τεθραμμένους κἀν-
 τεῦθεν ὁμοιώτατα τοῖς τρόποις αὐτῶν τὰ πρὸς ἀνάπαν-
 d σιν προφέρων. καὶ τοῖς μνηστῆρσιν ἄδει πρὸς τὴν |
 αὐτὴν βουλήν ὁ Φῆμιος νόστον Ἀχαιῶν. καὶ αἱ Σει-
 ρῆνες δὲ ἄδουσι τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ τὰ μάλιστα αὐτὸν τέρ-
 ψοντα καὶ τὰ οἰκεία τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ αὐτοῦ καὶ πολυ-

⁴⁹ The traditional version of the text has οὔνεκα rather than Athenaeus' τοῦνεκα in 480, and δέ rather than Athenaeus' τε in 481. ⁵⁰ ἔργων Kaibel: ὁρέων CE

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thoughtful people, who occupied the position of philosophers. Agamemnon, for example, leaves his bard behind to guard Clytemnestra and serve as a sort of advisor (*Od.* 3.267–8). The fellow used to offer her, first of all, a detailed account of feminine virtue, to inspire her with eagerness to become a noble person, while also providing a pleasant way of passing the time so as to divert her attention from base thoughts. Aegisthus was therefore unable to seduce the woman until he put the bard to death on a desert island (*Od.* 3.269–72). The man who was forced to sing for the suitors and was appalled at their plotting against Penelope resembled him.¹¹³ In general, Homer says, people ought to show all bards respect (*Od.* 8.480–1)

because the Muse taught them
the paths of song and showed her affection for the
tribe of bards.

The Phaeacian bard Demodocus sings about the lovemaking of Ares and Aphrodite (*Od.* 8.266–367) not because he approves of this sort of passion, but as a way of dissuading his audience from illicit longings. Or perhaps he recognizes that they have been brought up in a voluptuous environment, and therefore offers them entertainment that fits their manners. Phemius has the same motivation when he sings to the suitors about the homecoming of the Achaeans.¹¹⁴ Likewise the Sirens sing Odysseus the songs they know will please him most, by discussing matters that

¹¹³ Phemius; cf. *Od.* 1.154; 22.351–3.

¹¹⁴ Because he knew that they would be pleased by tales of the disastrous homecoming of the other heroes from Troy, as what follows makes clear.

μαθεία λέγουσαι. "ἴσμεν γάρ," φασί, "τά τ' ἄλλα καὶ ὅσσα γένηται ἐν χθονὶ πολυβοτείρῃ."

Ὅρχήσεις δ' εἰσὶ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ αἱ μὲν τινες τῶν κυβιστητήρων, αἱ δὲ διὰ τῆς σφαίρας· ἥς τὴν εὔρεσιν Ἀγαλλίς⁵¹ ἢ Κερκυραία γραμματικὴ Ναυσικάα ἀνατίθησιν ὡς πολίτιδι χαριζομένη, Δικαίαρχος δὲ Σικωνίοις, Ἴππασος δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις ταύτην | τε καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια πρώτοις. ταύτην δὲ μόνην τῶν ἡρωίδων Ὀμηρος παράγει σφαιρίζουσαν. διαβόητοι δὲ ἐπὶ σφαιρικῇ Δημοτέλης ὁ Θεοκρίτου⁵² τοῦ Χίου σοφιστοῦ ἀδελφὸς καὶ τις Χαιρεφάνης· ὃς ἀσελγεί τι νῆα παρακολουθῶν οὐ διελέγετο μὲν, ἐκώλυε δὲ πράττειν τὸν νεανίσκον. εἰπόντος δὲ ὅτι "Χαιρέφανες, εἴαν πάυσῃ ἀκολουθῶν, πάντα σοι ἔσται παρ' ἡμῶν," "ἐγὼ δ' ἄν," ἔφη, "σοὶ διαλεχθείην;" "τί οὖν," εἶπε, "παρακολουθείς;" "χαίρω σε θεωρῶν," ἔφη, "τὸ δὲ ἦθος | οὐ δοκιμάζω."

Ὅτι τὸ φούλλικλον καλούμενον (ἦν δὲ ὡς ἔοικε σφαιρίσκιον τι) εὔρεν Ἀττικὸς Νεαπολίτης παιδοτρίβης γυμνασίας ἔνεκα Πομπηίου Μάγνου.⁵³ τὸ δὲ κα-

⁵¹ Ἀναγαλλίς S a 1817

δος CE

⁵² Θεοκρίτου Jacobs: θεόγυ-

⁵³ E omits this sentence and C has it immediately after Σικωνίοις in the preceding paragraph. Schweighäuser restored it here; presumably it stood in the margin of the exemplar, and was ignored by E-copyist and added in the wrong place by the C-copyist.

¹¹⁵ Corcyra was identified with the Homeric Phaeacia (home of the princess Nausicaa) already in the 5th century BCE (Th.

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appeal to his ambition and love of learning. "For we know," they say, "whatever goes on on the fruitful earth, and other things as well" (cf. *Od.* 12.189–91).

Some Homeric dances are performed by tumblers (*Il.* 18.604/5; *Od.* 4.18), while others involve a ball (*Od.* 6.100–1; 7.370–9). The grammarian Agallis of Corcyra shows favoritism to a fellow-citizen when she attributes the invention of the ball-game to Nausicaa.¹¹⁵ Dicaearchus (fr. 62 Wehrl) attributes it to the Sicyonians, Hippasus (*FGrH* 589 F 1) to the Spartans, whom he identifies as innovators in other sports as well. Nausicaa is the only heroine Homer introduces playing ball.¹¹⁶ Demoteles, the brother of the Chian sophist Theocritus,¹¹⁷ was a famous ballplayer, as was a certain Chairephanes. Chairephanes was dogging the steps of a sluttish boy, and was not talking to him but nonetheless preventing him from doing any business. When the young man said "Chairephanes, if you'll stop following me, I'll let you have whatever you want," Chairephanes said "Do you think I'd have sex with you?" He said "Why are you following me then?"; and Chairephanes said "I like looking at you; but I don't approve of your behavior."

The so-called *phoulliklos*¹¹⁸ (this was apparently a small ball of some sort) was invented by the athletic trainer Atticus of Naples for Pompey the Great's¹¹⁹ workouts. The

1.25.4; 3.70.4). For Nausicaa playing ball, see *Od.* 6.100–1; and cf. S. test. 28 at 1.20f. Agallis is otherwise unknown.

¹¹⁶ The material that follows is evidently drawn from a different source (or set of sources). ¹¹⁷ Cf. 1.21c with n.

¹¹⁸ Latin *folliculus*, "inflated ball."

¹¹⁹ A Roman general and statesman (106–48 BCE).

λούμενον διὰ τῆς σφαίρας ἀρπαστὸν φαινίνδα ἐκα-
λείτο, ὃ ἐγὼ πάντων μάλιστα ἀσπάζομαι.

Πολὺ δὲ τὸ σύντονον καὶ καματηρὸν τῆς περὶ τὴν
σφαιριστικὴν ἀμίλλης τό τε κατὰ τοὺς τραχηλισμοὺς
ῥωμαλέον. Ἀντιφάνης·

οἴμοι κακοδαίμων, τὸν τράχηλον ὡς ἔχω.

διηγείται δὲ τὴν φαινίνδα παιδιὰν οὕτως Ἀντιφάνης· ||

15

σφαῖραν λαβὼν

τῷ μὲν διδοὺς ἔχαιρε, τὸν δ' ἔφενγ' ἄμα,
τοῦ δ' ἐξέκρουσε, τὸν δ' ἀνέστησεν πάλιν,
κλαγκταῖσι φωναῖς < . . . >
“ἔξω, μακράν, παρ' αὐτόν, ὑπὲρ αὐτόν, κάτω,
ἄνω, βραχείαν † ἀπόδοσιν ἐγκαταστρέφει”. †

ἐκαλείτο δὲ φαινίνδα ἀπὸ τῆς ἀφαιρέσεως⁵⁴ τῶν σφαι-
ρίζοντων, ἢ ὅτι εὐρετῆς αὐτοῦ, ὡς φησιν Ἰόβας ὁ
Μαυρούσιος, Φαινέστιος ὁ παιδοτρίβης. καὶ Ἀντι-
φάνης·

φαινίνδα παίζων † ἦεις ἐν Φαινεστίου.

b ἐφρόντιζον δὲ εὐρυθμίας οἱ σφαιρίζοντες. Δαμόξενος |
γούν φησι·

νεανίας τις ἐσφαίριζεν εἰς

⁵⁴ ἀφαιρέσεως Olson: ἀφέσεως CE

120 From *harpazō*, “snatch”; cf. Latin *harpastum*.

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ballgame we refer to as *harpaston*¹²⁰ used to be called *phaininda*; this is my favorite game.

Playing ball involves a great deal of exertion and fatigue, and requires considerable strength for when one is grabbed about the neck. Antiphanes (fr. 277):

Miserable me! how my neck hurts!

Antiphanes (fr. 231) describes the game of *phaininda* as follows:

He grabbed the ball
and gleefully offered it to one player, while
simultaneously escaping another;
knocked it out of someone's hands; helped a different
player up;
with shrill cries . . .
"Out of bounds! Long! Past him! Over him! Down!
Up! Not far enough!" [corrupt]

It was called *phaininda* either because the players took the ball away from one another¹²¹ or because the person who invented the game was, as Juba of Mauretania (*FGrH* 275 F 80) asserts, the athletic trainer Phaenestius. Also Antiphanes (fr. 278):

You were † playing *phaininda* at Phaenestius' place.

Ballplayers were concerned to move gracefully. Damosxenus (fr. 3), for example, says:

One particular young man was playing ball,

¹²¹ As if the word were derived from *aphaireō*, "take away" (which it almost certainly is not).

ἐτῶν ἴσως < . . . > ἑπτακαίδεκα,
 Κῶφος· θεοὺς γὰρ φαίνεθ' ἢ νῆσος φέρειν.
 ὃς ἐπεὶ ποτ' ἐμβλέψειε τοῖς καθημένοις,
 ἢ λαμβάνων τὴν σφαῖραν ἢ διδούς, ἅμα
 πάντες ἐβοῶμεν < . . . >

- ἢ δ' εὐρυθμία τό τ' ἦθος ἢ τάξις θ' ὄση
 ἐν τῷ τι πράττειν ἢ λέγειν ἐφαίνετο.
 c πέρασ ἐστὶ κάλλους, ἄνδρες. οὗτ' ἀκήκοα |
 ἔμπροσθεν οὐθ' ἑώρακα τοιαύτην χάριν.
 κακὸν ἄν τι μείζον ἔλαβον, εἰ πλείω χρόνον
 ἔμεινα· καὶ νῦν δ' οὐχ ὑγιαίνειν μοι δοκῶ.

ἐσφαίριζε δ' οὐκ ἀηδῶς καὶ Κτησίβιος <ὁ> Χαλκιδεὺς
 φιλόσοφος· καὶ πολλοὶ διὰ τὴν σφαιρικὴν αὐτῷ συν-
 ἀπεδύοντο τῶν Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ βασιλέως φίλων. συνέ-
 γραψε δὲ περὶ σφαιριστικῆς Τιμοκράτης ὁ Λάκων.

- Οἱ Φαίακες δὲ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ καὶ ἄνευ σφαίρας
 ὀρχοῦνται. καὶ ὀρχοῦνταί που ἀνὰ μέρος πυκνῶς
 d (τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ |

ταρφέ' ἀμειβόμενοι),

ἄλλων ἐφεστώτων καὶ ἐπικροτούντων τοῖς λιχανοῖς
 δακτύλοις, ὃ φησι ληκεῖν. οἶδε δὲ ὁ ποιητὴς καὶ τὴν
 πρὸς ὠδὴν ὄρχησιν· Δημοδόκου γοῦν ἄδοντος κούροι

¹²² Antigonus Gonatus, king of Macedon c.277/6–239 BCE.
 For Ctesibius, cf. 4.162e–f.

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perhaps seventeen years old
and from Cos—the island evidently produces gods!
Whenever he cast a glance at us sitting there,
as he was receiving the ball or passing it to someone
else, we all
immediately began to shout. . . .
How graceful he appeared, and how he handled and
held himself, whatever he said or did!
He's as beautiful as they come, gentlemen; I've never
heard
or seen anything so lovely before.
I would have suffered an even greater injury, if I'd
stayed
longer; as it is, I'm not entirely in my right mind.

The philosopher Ctesibius of Chalcideus (*SSR* III.H.2) enjoyed playing ball, and many of King Antigonus¹²² closest associates used to strip down and play with him.¹²³ Timocrates the Spartan wrote a treatise on ballplaying.

Homer's Phaeacians also dance without a ball. They apparently take rapid turns as they do so (because this is what switching off at brief intervals¹²⁴ (*Od.* 8.379)

means), while the others stand by and clap time with their hands, for which he uses the word *lēkein*. The poet is also familiar with dance accompanied by song. When Demodocus sang, for example, adolescent boys were

¹²³ This observation is probably taken from Antigonus of Carystus' *Life of Menedemus* (p. 102 Wilamowitz).

¹²⁴ Homer's dual has been replaced by a plural; and what is being described is in fact a ballgame, and the words mean "swiftly passing it back and forth."

πρωθήβαι ὠρχοῦντο· καὶ ἐν τῇ Ὀπλοποιίᾳ δὲ παιδὸς
 κιθαρίζοντος ἄλλοι ἐναντίοι μολπῇ τε ὄρχηθμῶ τε
 ἔσκαιρον. ὑποσημαίνεται δὲ ἐν τούτοις ὁ ὑπορχηματι-
 κὸς τρόπος, ὃς ἦνθησεν ἐπὶ Ξενοδόμου καὶ Πινδάρου.
 καὶ ἐστὶν ἡ τοιαύτη ὄρχησις μίμησις τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς
 e λέξεως ἐρμηνευομένων πραγμάτων· ἦν ἡ παρίστησι
 γινομένην Ξενοφῶν ὁ καλὸς ἐν τῇ Ἀναβάσει ἐν τῷ
 παρὰ Σεύθῃ τῷ Θρακί συμποσίῳ. φησὶ γοῦν· ἐπειδὴ
 σπονδαὶ τε ἐγένοντο καὶ ἐπαιώνισαν, ἀνέστησαν πρῶ-
 τοι Θραῖκες καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὠρχοῦντο σὺν ὄπλοις καὶ
 ἤλλοντο ὑψηλά τε καὶ κούφως καὶ ταῖς μαχαίραις
 ἐχρῶντο· τέλος δ' ὁ ἕτερος τὸν ἕτερον παίει, ὡς πᾶσι
 δοκεῖν πεπληγέναι τὸν ἄνδρα. ὁ δ' ἔπεσε τεχνικῶς
 πως, καὶ πάντες ἀνέκραγον οἱ συνδειπνοῦντες Παφλα-
 γόνες⁵⁵. καὶ ὁ μὲν σκυλεύσας τὰ ὄπλα τοῦ ἑτέρου ἐξήει-
 f ᾶδων Σιτάλκαν, ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν Θρακῶν τὸν ἕτερον ἡ
 ἐξέφερον ὡς τεθνηκότα· ἦν δὲ οὐδὲν πεπουθῶς. μετὰ
 τούτον Αἰνιᾶνες καὶ Μάγνητες ἀνέστησαν, οἳ ὠρχοῦ-
 ντο τὴν καρπαίαν καλουμένην ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις. ὁ δὲ
 τρόπος τῆς ὄρχήσεως ἦν· ὁ μὲν παραθέμενος τὰ ὄπλα
 σπείρει καὶ ζευγηλατεῖ πυκνὰ μεταστρεφόμενος ὡς
 φοβούμενος, ληστής δὲ προσέρχεται· ὁ δὲ ἐπ' ἀν-
 δηται ἀρπάσας τὰ ὄπλα μάχεται πρὸ τοῦ ζεύγους ἐν
 ῥυθμῶ πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν· καὶ τέλος ὁ ληστής δῆσας τὸν

⁵⁵ οἱ συνδειπνοῦντες Παφλαγόνες is preserved in the margin in E and has been added above the line in C.

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dancing (*Od.* 8.262–4); and in the *Forging of the Arms* a boy was playing the lyre while others frisked about opposite him, singing and dancing (*Il.* 18.569–72). There is an allusion here to the hyporchemic style, which was popular in the time of Xenodamus and Pindar;¹²⁵ this type of dance imitates what is expressed in the lyrics. The noble Xenophon in his *Anabasis* (6.1.5–8) describes a dance of this sort that took place at the symposium in the house of Seuthes the Thracian.¹²⁶ He says, at any rate: After they made libations and sang the paeon, some Thracians rose up first and began to dance in armor to the music of a pipe, leaping high and lightly and brandishing their knives. Finally one struck the other, and everyone thought the fellow had been mortally wounded. He fell artfully, and all the Paphlagonians dining with us shouted loudly. The first man stripped the other of his equipment and went out singing the Sitalcas song, while other Thracians carried off the other man, as if he were dead; but he had not been hurt at all. After this, some Aenianians and Magnesians got up and began to dance the so-called *karpaia* in armor. The dance was of the following sort: one man sets his armor aside, and sows and drives a yoke of oxen, turning around frequently, as if he were afraid. A bandit approaches; as soon as the sower sees him coming, he snatches up his arms and fights to save his oxen, moving in time with the pipe-music. Finally the bandit ties the man up and drives

¹²⁵ Xenodamus of Cythera dates to the 7th century BCE; none of his poetry survives. Pindar's *floruit* was the first half of the 5th century BCE.

¹²⁶ The party referred to in this passage was actually hosted by Corylas the Phrygian; Seuthes the Thracian hosts a different party at 7.3.21–33 (cf. 2.49b).

- 16 ἄνδρα τὸ ζεῦγος ἀπάγει, ἢ ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ ὁ ζευγηλάτης τὸν ληστήν· εἶτα παρὰ τοὺς βούς δήσας ὀπίσω τὸ χεῖρε δεδεμένον ἐλαύνει. καὶ τις, φησί, τὸ Περσικὸν ὠρχεῖτο καὶ κροτῶν τὰς πέλτας ὠκλαζε καὶ ἐξανίστατο· καὶ ταῦτα πάντα ῥυθμῶ πρὸς τὸν αὐλὸν ἐποίει. καὶ Ἀρκάδες δέ, φησὶν, ἀναστάντες ἐξοπλισάμενοι ἤεσαν ἐν ῥυθμῶ πρὸς τὸν ἐνόπλιον ῥυθμὸν αὐλούμενοι καὶ ἐνωπλίσαντο καὶ ὠρχήσαντο.

Ἐχρώντο δὲ καὶ αὐλοῖς καὶ σύριγγιν <οἱ> ἤρωες. ὁ γοῦν Ἀγαμέμνων

- b αὐλῶν συρίγγων τ' ἐνοπήν |

ἀκούει. εἰς δὲ τὰ συμπόσια οὐ παρήγαγε· πλὴν ἐν τῇ Ὀπλοποιίᾳ γάμων γινομένων αὐλῶν μνημονεύει. τοῖς δὲ βαρβάροις ἀποδίδωσι τοὺς αὐλοὺς· παρὰ Τρωσὶ γοῦν ἦν αὐλῶν συρίγγων τ' ἐνοπή.

Ἔσπενδον δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν δείπνων ἀναλύοντες καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς ἐποιοῦντο Ἑρμῆ καὶ οὐχ ὡς ὕστερον Διὶ Τελείῳ· δοκεῖ γὰρ Ἑρμῆς ὕπνου προστάτης εἶναι. σπένδουσι δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς γλώσσαις ἐκ τῶν δείπνων ἀπιόντες. προσνέμονται δ' αὐτῷ αἱ γλώσσαις διὰ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν.

Οἶδε δ' Ὀμηρος καὶ ποικίλας ἐδωδὰς· λέγει γοῦν

ἐδωδὴν

παντοίην,

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off the oxen; or sometimes the master of the team ties the bandit up, fastens him alongside the oxen with his hands bound behind his back, and drives him off. Someone else, Xenophon reports (*An.* 6.1.10–11), began doing the “Persian dance,” banging light shields together as he alternately squatted down and leapt up; and he did all this in time with the pipe-music. The Arcadians too, he reports, got up in full armor and marched in step with an enoplian meter as the pipe played, displaying their fighting ability as they danced.

The heroes used both pipes and pan-pipes. Agamemnon, for example, hears (*Il.* 10.13)

the voice of pipes and pan-pipes.

But Homer does not introduce them into his symposia, except that in the *Forging of the Arms*, when a wedding celebration is going on, he mentions pipes (*Il.* 18.495). He gives the pipes to non-Greek peoples; it was the Trojans, at any rate, who were responsible for the “voice of pipes and pan-pipes.”

They poured libations when they were leaving their dinner parties, and they made their libations to Hermes (*Od.* 7.137) rather than to Zeus the Fulfiller, as in later times; because Hermes is considered the patron of sleep. They also pour libations to him over the tongues as they leave their dinner parties (*Od.* 3.341); the tongues were his share because he is the god of interpretation.

Homer is also familiar with food of different sorts; he refers (e.g. *Od.* 6.76–7), for example, to

of every sort,

food

καί·

c ὄψα < . . . > οἶα ἔδουσι διοτρεφέες βασιλῆες. |

οἶδε δὲ καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν νῦν πολυτέλειαν. οἴκων μὲν οὖν λαμπρότατος ὁ Μενελάου. τοιοῦτον δὲ τινα ὑφίσταται τῇ κατασκευῇ καὶ λαμπρότητι <οἶανπερ> Πολύβιος Ἰβηρός τινος βασιλέως οἰκίαν· ὃν καὶ ἐξηλωκέναι λέγει τὴν τῶν Φαιάκων τρυφὴν πλὴν τοῦ τοὺς κρατῆρας ἐν μέσῳ τῆς οἰκίας ἐστάναι πλήρεις οἴνου κριθίνου, ἀργυροῦς ὄντας καὶ χρυσοῦς. Ὅμηρος δὲ | τοπογραφῶν καὶ τὴν Καλυψοῦς οἰκίαν ἐκπλήττει τὸν Ἑρμῆν.

d Ἀπολαυστικὸς δὲ ἐστὶ παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ τῶν Φαιάκων βίος·

αἰεὶ γὰρ⁵⁶ ἡμῖν δαίς τε φίλη κίθαρὶς τε

καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. < . . . >⁵⁷ ἃ ἔπη Ἐρατοσθένης οὕτω γεγράφθαι φησίν·

e οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγέ τί φημι τέλος χαριέστερον εἶναι ἢ ὅταν εὐφροσύνη μὲν ἔχη κακότητος ἀπούσης, δαιτυμόνες δ' ἀνὰ δώματ' ἀκουάζωνται αἰδοῦ, |

⁵⁶ The traditional text has δ' rather than Athenaeus' γὰρ (unmetrical).

⁵⁷ A portion of the text, in which *Od.* 9.5–7 was cited in its normal form, with κατὰ δῆμον ἅπαντα (“among all the people”) rather than Eratosthenes' κακότητος ἀπούσης (“and wickedness was absent”) at the end of 6, has been lost. Athenaeus' version

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and to (*Od.* 3.480)

dainties of the type Zeus-nourished princes eat.

He is also familiar with every sort of modern luxury. Menelaus' house is the most luxurious (cf. *Od.* 4.45–6); Homer conceives of it as being as gloriously well-furnished as the home of a certain Iberian chieftain described by Polybius (34.9.14–15), who says that he had imitated the luxury of the Phaeacians except that the mixing-bowls standing in the middle of his house, although made of gold and silver, were full of barley wine.¹²⁷ When Homer describes Calypso's home, he has Hermes be astonished at it (*Od.* 5.73–5).

The life of the Phaeacians as Homer presents it is devoted to pleasure (*Od.* 8.248):

For what we care about is always feasting and the
lyre,

and so forth . . . which verses, Eratosthenes (pp. 34–5 Bernhardt) says, were actually written thus (cf. *Od.* 9.5–7):

For I declare that there is no greater height of
happiness
than when joy prevails and wickedness is absent,
and feasters are in the house listening to a bard.

¹²⁷ Beer, which the Greeks seldom drank but other ancient peoples did; cf. 1.34b; 10.447a–d.

of the text also has ὄταν for Homer's ὄτ', as a result of treating ἐϋφρ- as a single syllable, as also at 2.40d; 5.192d.

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κακότητος ἀπούσης φάσκων τῆς ἀφροσύνης· ἀδύνατον γὰρ μὴ φρονίμους εἶναι Φαίακας, οἳ μάλα φίλοι εἰσὶ θεοῖσιν, ὡς ἡ Ναυσικαία φησί.

Καὶ οἱ μνηστῆρες δὲ παρ' αὐτῷ

πεσσοῖσι προπάρριθε θυράων

ἐτέρποντο, οὐ παρὰ τοῦ μεγάλου Διοδώρου⁵⁸ μαθόντες τὴν πεττεῖαν οὐδὲ τοῦ Μιτυληναίου Λέοντος τοῦ ἀνεκαθεν Ἀθηναίου, ὃς ἀήτητος ἦν κατὰ τὴν πεττευτικήν, ὡς φησι Φαινίας. Ἀπίων δὲ ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς | καὶ ἀκηκοέναι φησὶ παρὰ τοῦ Ἰθακησίου Κτήσωνος τὴν τῶν μνηστῆρων πεττεῖαν οἷα ἦν. ὀκτῶ γάρ, φησί, καὶ ἑκατὸν ὄντες οἱ μνηστῆρες διετίθεσαν ψήφους ἐναντίας ἀλλήλαις, ἴσας πρὸς ἴσας τὸν ἀριθμὸν, ὅσοιπερ ἦσαν καὶ αὐτοί. γίνεσθαι οὖν ἑκατέρωθεν τέσσαρα καὶ πεντήκοντα. τὸ δ' ἀνὰ μέσον τούτων διαλιπεῖν ὀλίγον· ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταίχμιῳ τούτῳ μίαν τιθέναι ψήφον, 17 ἣν καλεῖν μὲν αὐτοὺς Πηνελόπην, || σκοπὸν δὲ ποιέσθαι εἴ τις βάλλοι ψήφῳ ἑτέρα· καὶ κληρουμένων τὸν λαχόντα στοχάζεσθαι ταύτης. εἰ δέ τις τύχοι καὶ ἐκκρούσειε πρόσω τὴν Πηνελόπην, ἀποτίθεσθαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ εἰς τὴν τῆς βληθείσης καὶ ἐξωσμένης χώραν, ἐν ἣ πρότερον ἦν· καὶ πάλιν στάντα τὴν Πηνελόπην ἐν ᾧ τὸ δεύτερον ἐγένετο χωρίῳ ἐντεῦθεν βάλλειν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ. εἰ δὲ τύχοι ἄνευ τοῦ μηδεμιᾶς τῶν ἄλλων ψαῦσαι, νικᾶν καὶ ἐλπίδας ἔχειν πολλὰς γαμήσειν

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When he says “and wickedness is absent,” he is referring to thoughtless behavior; because the Phaeacians must have been thoughtful people, given that they were very close to the gods, as Nausicaa says (*Od.* 6.203).

The suitors in Homer used to enjoy themselves (*Od.* 1.107)

with game-pieces before the doors,

although they did not learn the game from the famous Diodorus or from Leon of Mitylene¹²⁸, who was of Athenian descent and never lost a game of this sort, according to Phaenias (fr. 18 Wehrli). Apion of Alexandria (*FGrH* 616 F 36) reports that he had heard from Cteson of Ithaca what sort of game the suitors played. Since there were 108 suitors, he says, they lined up pebbles opposite one another, with an equal number on each side, one pebble per suitor; there were thus 54 pebbles on each side. They left a little distance between the lines; and in this no-man’s-land they placed a single pebble they called “Penelope,” and made hitting this pebble with another one the object of the game. After they drew lots, whoever was chosen took a shot at “Penelope.” If he hit her and knocked her forward, he moved his own piece to where she was before she was hit and displaced; then, after moving his own piece, he took another shot from there at “Penelope” in her second position. If he hit his target without touching any other piece, he won and had great hopes of marrying her.

¹²⁸ Nothing else is known about either man.

⁵⁸ Διοδώρου ἢ Θεοδώρου CE; the second name is a variant reading that made its way into the text.

- b αὐτήν. τὸν δὲ Εὐρύμαχον πλείστας εἰληφέναι | ταύτη
τῇ παιδιᾷ καὶ εὖελπιν εἶναι τῷ γάμῳ. οὕτω δὲ διὰ τὴν
τρυφήν τὰς χεῖρας οἱ μνηστῆρες ἔχουσιν ἀπαλὰς ὡς
μηδὲ τὸ τόξον ἐντεῖναι δύνασθαι. πολυτελείς δ' αὐτοῖς
καὶ οἱ διακονούμενοι.

Δυνατωτάτη δὲ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ καὶ ἡ τῶν μύρων
εὐωδία·

οὐδ' < . . . > κινυμένον Διὸς ποτὶ χαλκοβατῆς
δῶμα⁵⁹

ἔμψης εἰς γαίαν τε καὶ οὐρανὸν ἵκετ' ἀντμή.

- c Καὶ στρωμνὰς δὲ οἶδε διαπρεπούσας· τοιαύτας
γούνη Ἀρήτη Ὀδυσσεῖ ὑποστρωννύειν κελεύει, | καὶ
Νέστωρ αὐχέει πρὸς Τηλέμαχον πολλῶν τοιούτων εὐ-
πορεῖν.

Τῶν δ' ἄλλων ποιητῶν ἔνιοι τὰς καθ' αὐτοὺς πολυ-
τελείας καὶ ῥαθυμίας ἀνέπεμπον ὡς οὔσας καὶ κατὰ
τὰ Τρωικά. Αἰσχύλος γούνη ἀπρεπῶς που παράγει
μεθύοντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὡς καὶ τὰς ἀμίδας ἀλλή-
λοις περικαταγύναει. λέγει γούνη·

- οὐδ' ἐστίν, ὅς ποτ' ἀμφ' ἐμοὶ βέλος
γελωτοποιόν, τὴν κάκοσμον οὐράνην,
ἔρριψεν οὐδ' ἤμαρτε· περὶ δ' ἐμῷ κάρῳ
d πληγέισ' ἐναυάγησεν ὄστρακουμένη |

⁵⁹ The text of this verse is problematic, and κατά ought proba-
bly to be printed rather than Athenaeus' ποτὶ (also found in some
other witnesses).

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Eurymachus had won this game more times than anyone else and was confident about the marriage. And so, because of the easy life they lead, the suitors' hands are too soft to allow them to bend the bow (cf. *Od.* 21.150–1). Even their servants live in lavish style (cf. *Od.* 15.330–3).

The smell of perfume is extraordinarily potent in Homer (*Il.* 14.173–4):

the smell of which, when it was shaken in the bronze-
floored
house of Zeus, went out over earth and heaven alike.

Homer is also familiar with magnificent bedding. Arete, for example, orders that this sort of bedding be spread for Odysseus (*Od.* 7.335–8), and Nestor boasts to Telemachus that he is rich in such goods (*Od.* 3.351).

Some other poets retroject the luxury and ease of their own times into the period of the Trojan Wars. Aeschylus (fr. *180), for example, rather inappropriately represents the Greeks as drunk enough to break pisspots over one another's heads. At any rate, he says:¹²⁹

This is the man who once upon a time threw
a laugh-producing missile, his stinking pisspot,
at me and didn't miss. When it hit,
it broke into shards over my head

¹²⁹ From a satyr play (perhaps *Bone-collectors*). The speaker may be Odysseus complaining about the suitor Eurymachus; cf. A. fr. 179, quoted at 15.667c.

χωρὶς μυρηρῶν τευχέων πνέουσ' ἐμοί.

καὶ Σοφοκλῆς δὲ ἐν Ἀχαιῶν Συνδείπνῳ·

ἀλλ' ἀμφὶ θυμῷ τὴν κάκοσμον οὐράνην
ἔρριψεν οὐδ' ἤμαρτε· περὶ δ' ἐμῷ κάρᾳ
κατάγινται τὸ τεύχος οὐ μύρου πνέον·
ἐδειματούμην δ' οὐ φίλης ὀσμῆς ὑπο.

Εὐπολις δὲ τὸν πρῶτον εἰσηγησάμενον τὸ τῆς ἀμίδος
ὄνομα ἐπιπλήττει λέγων·

(A.) μισῷ λακωνίζειν, ταγηνίζειν δὲ κἂν
πριαίμην.

e (B.) πολλὰς δ' † οἶμαι νῦν βεβινῆσθαι!

(A.) < . . . > ὅς δὲ πρῶτος ἐξηῆρον τὸ πρῶ
ἔπιπίνειν

(B.) πολλὴν γε λακκοπρωκτίαν ἡμῖν ἐπίστασ'
εὐρών.

(A.) εἶέν· τίς εἶπεν "ἀμίδα παῖ" πρῶτος μεταξὺ
πίνων;

(B.) Παλαμηδικόν γε τοῦτο τοῦξέυρημα καὶ
σοφόν σου.

παρ' Ὀμήρῳ δὲ οἱ ἀριστεῖς κοσμίως δειπνοῦσιν ἐν
Ἀγαμέμνονος. εἰ δ' ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐᾳ φιλονεικοῦσιν Ἀχιλ-
λεὺς καὶ Ὀδυσσεύς, καὶ Ἀγαμέμνων

χαῖρε νόφ,

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and breathed a scent unlike that of perfume-jars over me.

Also Sophocles in *The Achaeans' Dinner Party* (fr. 565):¹³⁰

But in wrath he hurled his stinking pisspot
at me and didn't miss. The vessel broke
over my head—and it didn't smell like perfume.
I was terrified by the hostile odor.

Eupolis (fr. 385) rebukes the person who first introduced the word "pisspot," saying:¹³¹

- (A.) I hate living like a Spartan; I'd like to buy a pan
to fry in.
(B.) Many women, I imagine † now have been fucked
(A.) I, who first invented drinking early in the
morning
(B.) You need to recognize that what you really
invented for us was a lot of faggotry!
(A.) Okay—who was the first person to say "Bring me
a pisspot, slave!" while he was drinking?
(B.) *This* is a brilliant discovery of yours—worthy of
Palamedes!¹³²

But in Homer the nobles dine in an orderly way in Agamemnon's residence. And although in the *Odyssey* Achilles and Odysseus quarrel, and Agamemnon (8.78)

was secretly pleased,

¹³⁰ Also from a satyr play.

¹³¹ Speaker A may be the renegade late 5th-century Athenian politician and libertine Alcibiades son of Cleinias (PAA 121625).

¹³² See 1.11d n.

f ἀλλ' ὠφέλιμοι αἱ φιλοτιμίαι ζητούντων <εἰ> λόγῳ ἢ μάχῃ αἰρεθῆναι δεῖ τὸ Ἴλιον. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὅτε ἰ μνηστῆρας εἰσάγει μεθύοντας, οὐδὲ τότε τοιαύτην ἀκοσμίαν εἰσήγαγεν ὡς Σοφοκλῆς καὶ Αἰσχύλος πεποιήκασιν, ἀλλὰ πόδα βόειον ἐπὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσεῖα ριπτούμενον.

Καθέζονται δ' ἐν τοῖς συνδείπνοις οἱ ἥρωες, οὐ κατακέκλινται. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐνίστε ἦν, ὡς φησι Δούρις· ἐστῶν γοῦν ποτε ἡγεμόνας εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ δίφρων ἀργυρῶν καὶ κλιτήρων, ἀλουργοῖς περιστρώσας ἱματίοις. || Ἡγήσανδρος δὲ φησιν οὐδὲ ἔθος εἶναι ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ κατακλίεσθαι τινα ἐν δείπνῳ, εἰ μὴ τις ἔξω λίνων ὕν κεντήσειεν· ἕως δὲ τότε καθήμενοι ἐδείπνου. Κάσανδρος οὖν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα ὧν ἐτῶν ἐδείπνει παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ καθήμενος, οὐ δυνάμενος τὸν ἄθλον ἐκτελέσαι καίπερ ἀνδρείος γεγονῶς καὶ κυνηγὸς ἀγαθός.

b Ἐς τὸ πρέπον δὲ Ὅμηρος ἀφορῶν τοὺς ἥρωας οὐ παρήγαγεν ἄλλο τι δαινυμένους ἢ κρέα καὶ ταῦτα ἑαυτοῖς σκευάζοντας· οὐ γὰρ ἔχει γέλωτα οὐδ' αἰσχύνην ὀψαρτύοντας αὐτοὺς ἰ καὶ ἔψοντας ὄραν. ἐπετήδευον γὰρ τὴν αὐτοδιακονίαν καὶ ἐκαλλωπίζοντο, φησὶ Χρῦσιππος, τῇ ἐν τούτοις εὐστροφίᾳ. Ὀδυσσεὺς γοῦν δαιτρεῦσαί τε καὶ πῦρ νηῆσαι οἷος οὐκ ἄλλος

133 Antipater (Berve i #94; d. 319 BCE), one of the generals of Philip II of Macedon and Alexander the Great. For Cassander, see 1.19c n.

their rivalry was helpful, since they were debating whether Troy would have to be taken by strategem or in battle. Not even when he presents the suitors as drunk does Homer make the situation as disorderly as it is in Sophocles' and Aeschylus' plays, but a cow's foot is merely thrown at Odysseus (*Od.* 20.299–300).

The heroes sit at their banquets rather than reclining. According to Duris (*FGrH* 76 F 49), this also happened occasionally with King Alexander. On one occasion, for example, when he was giving a feast for 6000 officers, he seated them on silver chairs and couches, which he covered with purple robes. And Hegesander (fr. 33, *FHG* iv.419) says that it was not the custom in Macedon for anyone to recline at dinner unless he had speared a wild boar without using hunting-nets; until they did that, they ate sitting up. Therefore Cassander, although he was 35 years old, used to sit next to his father¹³³ at dinner, since he was unable to accomplish this feat, despite being brave and a good hunter.

Homer's concern for propriety explains why he presents his heroes as eating nothing but meat and preparing it for themselves; because seeing them fixing their meals and stewing food inspires no laughter or shame. In fact, they deliberately did their own chores and prided themselves, according to Chrysippus (fr. 708, *SVF* iii.177–8), on their versatility in this area. Odysseus, for example, claims that no one is cleverer at cutting up meat and lighting a fire (*Od.* 15.321–4, esp. 322–3);¹³⁴ and in the *En-*

¹³⁴ The hero is, however, pretending to be an impoverished old wanderer.

δεξιὸς εἶναί φησι. καὶ ἐν Λιταῖς δὲ Πάτροκλος⁶⁰ πάντα εὐτρεπίζει. καὶ Μενελάου δὲ τελούντος γάμους ὁ νυμφίος Μεγαπένθης οἰνοχοεῖ. νῦν δὲ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐκπεπτώκαμεν ὡς κατακεῖσθαι δαινύμενοι.

- c Προσφάτως δὲ καὶ τὰ βαλανεῖα παρήκται, | τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐδὲ ἔνδον τῆς πόλεως ἑώντων εἶναι αὐτά, ὧν τὸ βλαπτικὸν Ἀντιφάνης δηλοῖ·

εἰς μακαρίαν τὸ λουτρόν, ὡς διέθηκέ με.
 ἐφθὸν κομιδῇ πεπόηκεν· ἀποκναίσειεν ἂν
 κἂν ὅστισοῦν μου λαβόμενος τοῦ δέρματος.
 οὕτω στερεόν <τι> πρᾶγμα θερμόν ἐσθ' ὕδωρ.

Ἕρμιππος·

μὰ <τὸν> Δί' οὐ μέντοι μεθύειν τὸν ἄνδρα χρῆ
 τὸν ἀγαθὸν οὐδὲ θερμολουτεῖν, ἃ σὺ ποεῖς.

ἠῤῥξεται δὲ καὶ ἡ τῶν ὀψοποιῶν περιεργία καὶ ἡ τῶν μυρεψῶν· ὥστ'

- d οὐδ' ἂν κολυμβᾶν εἰς κολυμβήθραν | μύρου

ἀρκέισθαι τις ἂν δύναιτο, φησὶν Ἄλεξις. ἀνθοῦσι δὲ καὶ αἱ τῶν περὶ τὰ πέμματα δημιουργαὶ καὶ αἱ περὶ τὰς συνουσίας περιεργαί, ὥστ' ἐπιτεχνᾶσθαι σπόγγους ὑποτίθεσθαι· ἐπακτικὸν γὰρ εἶναι τὸ τοιοῦτον

⁶⁰ Πάτροκλος καὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς CE

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treaties Patroclus gets everything ready (*Il.* 9.201–17). So too when Menelaus is celebrating a wedding feast, the bridegroom Megapenthes pours the wine.¹³⁵ But today we are so degenerate that we lie down when we dine.

Bathhouses too have been introduced only recently, and originally were not allowed within the city limits. Antiphanes (fr. 239) reveals the damage they do:

Damn this bath for what it's done to me!
It's absolutely boiled me! Anyone who
grabbed hold of me could pull my skin right off!
That's how cruel hot water is.

Hermippus (fr. 68):

By Zeus! A decent man, you know, shouldn't spend
his time
getting drunk or taking hot baths—which is what you
do!

Cooks and perfume-makers have also grown increasingly inventive, and the result is that some people would not be satisfied

even if they dived into a vat of perfume,
as Alexis (fr. 301) puts it. The craftsmanship of cake-makers is likewise in full bloom, as is inventiveness in sex, to the extent that suppository sponges have been created on the theory that this sort of device encourages frequent inter-

¹³⁵ A reference to *Od.* 15.141, by which point the wedding celebrated in Book 4 is long over. The same error appears at 4.192b, which appears to be drawn straight from Herodicus the Crateteian.

πρὸς ἀφροδισίων πλήθος. Θεόφραστος δ' οὕτω φησί
 τινὰς ὀχευτικὰς δυνάμεις εἶναι ὡς καὶ μέχρι ἑβδομή-
 κοντα συνουσιῶν ἐπιτελεῖν καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον αὐτοῖς
 αἶμα ἀποκρίνεσθαι. Φύλαρχος δὲ Σανδρόκοττόν φησι
 e τὸν Ἰνδῶν βασιλέα Σελεύκῳ μεθ' ᾧ ἐπεμψε | δῶρων
 ἀποστείλαι τινὰς δυνάμεις στυτικὰς τοιαύτας ὡς ὑπὸ
 τοὺς πόδας τιθεμένας τῶν συνουσιαζόντων οἷς μὲν
 ὄρμας ἐμποιεῖν ὀρνίθων δίκην, οὓς δὲ καταπαύειν.
 ἠϋξῆται δὲ νῦν καὶ ἡ τῆς μουσικῆς διαστροφή, καὶ ἡ
 περὶ τὰς ἐσθήσεις καὶ ὑποδέσεις ἐπήκμασε πολυτέ-
 λεια. Ὅμηρος δὲ τὴν τοῦ μύρου φύσιν εἰδὼς οὐκ
 εἰσῆγαγε μύροις ἀλειφομένους τοὺς ἥρωας πλὴν τὸν
 Πάριν ἐν οἷς φησί:

κάλλει < . . . > στίλβων,

f ὡς καὶ Ἀφροδίτη κάλλει τὰ πρόσωπα καθαίρει. | ἀλλ'
 οὐδὲ στεφανομένους εἰσάγει, καίτοι τῷ ἐκ τῆς μετα-
 φορᾶς ὁμοιώματι σημαίνεται ὅτι ἤδει τὸν στέφανον.
 φησὶ γοῦν.⁶¹

νῆσος, ἣν πέρι πόντος ἀπείριτος ἐστεφάνωτο,

καί·

⁶¹ In Athenaeus' version of the text, *νῆσος* is nominative rather than accusative, as in the traditional version; the Homeric relative pronoun *τῆν* has been replaced by the later form *ἣν* (unmetrical); and Homer's perfect *ἐστεφάνωται* has been replaced by a pluperfect.

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course. Theophrastus (*HP* 9.18.9) claims that aphrodisiac agents exist powerful enough to allow a man to have sex up to 70 times, and that in the end they ejaculate blood. And Phylarchus (*FGrH* 81 F 35b) says that the Indian king Sandrocottus¹³⁶ included among the gifts he sent Seleucus male aphrodisiacs that, when placed under the feet¹³⁷ of men having sex, made some of them as randy as birds, but caused others to lose their erections. The perversity of music has also increased in our time, and extravagance in matters of dress and footwear is at a peak. Although Homer was familiar with perfume, he did not introduce his heroes anointed with it, except for Paris in the passage where the poet says (*Il.* 3.392):

glistening with beauty,

in the same way that Aphrodite washes [Penelope's] face with beauty (*Od.* 18.192–4). Nor does he introduce them wearing garlands, although in his metaphorical comparisons he shows that he was familiar with them. He says, for example (*Od.* 10.195),

the island, which the endless sea surrounded like a
garland;

and (*Il.* 13.736):

¹³⁶ "Sandrocottus" (Berve i #696) is the Greek form of the name Chandragupta; and the gifts in question must have been sent when the families of Seleucus I (Berve i #700; one of Alexander's generals and successors) and Chandragupta (who controlled much of the subcontinent) formed a marriage alliance at the end of the 4th century. ¹³⁷ Perhaps a colloquial term for a different (more relevant) part of the male anatomy.

πάντη γάρ σε < . . . > στέφανος πολέμοιο δέδθη.

19 παρατηρητέον δὲ καὶ ὅτι ἐν μὲν Ὀδυσσεΐα ἀπονιζο-
 μένους τὰς χεῖρας ποιεῖ πρὶν μεταλαβεῖν τροφῆς, ἐν
 Ἰλιάδι δὲ τοῦτο ποιοῦντας οὐκ ἔστιν εὐρεῖν. σχολα-
 ζόντων γὰρ βίος ὁ ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐα καὶ διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην
 τρυφώντων· διὸ οἱ ἐνταῦθα ἑθεράπευον τὸ σῶμα διὰ ἡ
 λουτρῶν καὶ κατανιμμάτων. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀστραγαλί-
 ζουσιν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ ὀρχοῦνται καὶ σφαι-
 ρίζουσιν. Ἡρόδοτος δὲ οὐ καλῶς εἴρηκεν ἐπὶ Ἄττος
 διὰ λιμὸν εὐρεθῆναι τὰς παιδιάς· πρεσβεύει γὰρ τοῖς
 χρόνοις τὰ ἥρωικά. οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ἰλιακῇ πολιτείᾳ μονο-
 νὸν βοῶσι·

κλῦθ' Ἀλαλά, Πολέμου θύγατερ,
 ἐγχείων προοίμιον.

Ἵτι Ἀριστόνικον τὸν Καρύστιον, τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου
 <τοῦ βασιλέως>⁶² συσφαιριστήν, Ἀθηναῖοι πολίτην
 ἐποιήσαντο διὰ τὴν τέχνην καὶ ἀνδριάντα ἀνέστησαν.
 b Ἰ τὰς γὰρ βαναύσους τέχνας Ἕλληνες ὕστερον περὶ
 πλείστου μᾶλλον ἐποιοῦντο ἢ τὰς κατὰ παιδείαν γι-
 νομένας ἐπινοίας. Ἔστιαίεῖς γοῦν καὶ Ὀρείται Θεοδώ-
 ρου τοῦ ψήφοκλέπτου ἐν θεάτρῳ χαλκῆν εἰκόνα ἀνέ-
 θηκαν ψῆφον κρατοῦσαν ὡς δ' αὐτῶς Μιλήσιοι
 Ἀρχελάου τοῦ κιθαριστοῦ. ἐν δὲ Θήβαις Πινδάρου

⁶² from S χ 398

¹³⁸ Used like dice, although they had four sides rather than six.

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for the garland of war has leapt into flame
everywhere (around) you.

It should also be noted that in the *Odyssey* he represents his characters as washing their hands before they eat (e.g. 1.136–8), whereas in the *Iliad* no one can be found doing this. For the lifestyle depicted in the *Odyssey* is that of people at leisure, enjoying the luxury associated with peace; and its characters therefore took good care of their bodies by bathing and washing. This is also why the members of this society shoot knucklebones,¹³⁸ dance, and play ball. Herodotus (1.94.3–4) is wrong to assert that these games were invented in Atys' time as the result of a famine; for the heroic period is earlier than this. The members of Iliadic society, on the other hand, all but shout (Pi. fr. 78.1–2):

Hear us, Battle-cry, daughter of War,
prelude of spears!

The Athenians made Aristonicus of Carystus,¹³⁹ who played ball with King Alexander, a citizen because of his skill and set up a statue of him. For in later times the Greeks attached much more value to crafts involving manual skill than to intellectual pursuits that require an education. The people of Hestiaea and Oreus, for example, erected in their theater a bronze statue of Theodorus the sleight-of-hand artist holding a pebble. The Milesians did the same for Archelaus the citharode.¹⁴⁰ And in Thebes

¹³⁹ PAA 173985; Berve i #129 ; Billows #130. The grant of citizenship occurred c.307–303/2 BCE.

¹⁴⁰ Stephanis #434.

μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν εἰκὼν, Κλέωνος δὲ τοῦ ὤδοῦ, ἐφ' ἧς ἐπιγέγραπται

Πυθία υἱὸς ὄδ' ἐστὶ Κλέων Θηβαῖος αἰοιδός,
 c ὃς πλείστους θνητῶν ἀμφέθετο στεφάνους |
 κρατὸς ἐπὶ σφετέρου· καὶ οἱ κλέος οὐρανόμηκες.
 χαῖρε, Κλέων, Θήβας πατρίδ' ἐπευκλείσας.

ὑπὸ τούτου τὸν ἀνδριάντα, ὅτε Ἀλέξανδρος τὰς Θήβας κατασκάπτων < . . . > φησὶ Πολέμων φεύγοντά τινα χρυσίου εἰς τὸ ἱμάτιον κοῖλον ὃν ἐνθέσθαι, καὶ ἀνοικιζομένης τῆς πόλεως ἐπανελθόντα εὔρεῖν τὸ χρυσίον μετὰ ἔτη εἴκοσιν⁶³. Ἡρόδοτος δὲ ὁ λογόμιμος, ὡς φησιν Ἡγήσανδρος, καὶ Ἀρχέλαος ὁ ὀρχηστής παρὰ
 d Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ | μάλιστα ἐτιμῶντο τῶν φίλων. ὁ δὲ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Ἀντίοχος τοὺς Σωστράτου τοῦ ἀλλητοῦ υἱεῖς σωματοφύλακας ἐπεποίητο.

Ἐθανμάζετο δὲ παρ' Ἑλλησι καὶ Ῥωμαίοις Ματρέας ὁ πλάνος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, ὃς ἔλεγε καὶ θηρίον τρέφειν ὃ αὐτὸ ἑαυτὸ κατεσθίει· ὡς καὶ ζητεῖσθαι μέχρι νῦν τὸ Ματρέου θηρίον τί ἐστίν. ἐποίησε δ' οὗτος καὶ παρὰ τὰς Ἀριστοτέλους ἀπορίας καὶ ἀνεγί-

⁶³ εἴκοσιν (i.e. κ') Casaubon: τριάκοντα (i.e. λ') CE

¹⁴¹ Stephanis #1465.

¹⁴² In 335 BCE, after the city revolted against Macedonian authority; Cassander (who ruled Macedon from 316–297; Berve i #414) rebuilt Thebes in 315 (see below). The rest of the sentence has been lost.

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there is no statue of Pindar, but there is one of the bard Cleon¹⁴¹, which bears this inscription (anon. *FGE* 1532-5):

This is the Theban singer Cleon son of Pytheas,
the mortal man who placed the most garlands
about his own head; and his fame reaches heaven.

Hail, Cleon, who brought glory to your fatherland
Thebes!

Beneath Cleon's statue, when Alexander was leveling Thebes¹⁴² . . . Polemon (fr. 25 Preller) reports that a refugee put a gold coin inside its robe, which was hollow; when the city was being rebuilt, he returned and found it there twenty years later. According to Hegesander (fr. 13, *FHG* iv.416), King Antiochus¹⁴³ showed more honor to Herodotus the mime-actor¹⁴⁴ and Archelaus the dancer¹⁴⁵ than to any of his other close associates. His father Antiochus had made the sons of Sostratus the pipe-player¹⁴⁶ his personal bodyguards.

The itinerant showman Matreas of Alexandria¹⁴⁷ inspired admiration among the Greeks and the Romans. He used to say that he was raising a beast that devoured itself, and a debate continues until today about what Matreas' beast was. He also wrote parodies of Aristotle's *Problems*

¹⁴³ Probably Antiochus IV ("Epiphanes"; reigned 175-164 BCE), son of Antiochus III ("the Great"; reigned 222-187 BCE), to whom Athenaeus refers below.

¹⁴⁴ Stephanis #1112.

¹⁴⁵ Stephanis #433.

¹⁴⁶ Stephanis #2363. For Antiochus III's relationship with Sostratus, see also 6.244f.

¹⁴⁷ Stephanis #1619.

νωσκε δημοσία, διὰ τί ὁ ἥλιος δύνει μὲν κολυμβᾶ δ' οὔ, καὶ διὰ τί οἱ σπόγγοι συμπίνουσι μὲν συγκωθώνι-
 e ζονται | δ' οὔ, καὶ <διὰ τί>⁶⁴ τὰ τετράδραχμα κατα-
 λάττεται μὲν ὀργίζεται δ' οὔ. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ Ποθεινῶ τῷ
 νευροσπάσῃ τὴν σκηνὴν ἔδωκαν ἐφ'⁶⁵ ἧς ἐνεθουσίων
 οἱ περὶ Εὐριπίδην. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Εὐρυκλείδην ἐν τῷ
 θεάτρῳ ἀνέστησαν μετὰ τῶν περὶ Αἰσχύλον. ἐθαυμά-
 ζετο δὲ καὶ Ξενοφῶν ὁ θαυματοποιός, ὃς μαθητὴν
 κατέλιπε Κρατισθένη τὸν Φλιάσιον· ὃς πῦρ τε αὐτό-
 ματον ἐποίει ἀναφύεσθαι καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ φάσματα
 ἐτεχνᾶτο, ἀφ' ὧν ἐξίστα τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν διάνοιαν.
 f τοιοῦτος ἦν καὶ Νυμφόδωρος | ὁ θαυματοποιός, ὃς
 προσκρούσας Ῥηγίνοις, ὡς φησι Δοῦρις, εἰς δειλίαν
 αὐτοὺς ἔσκωψε πρῶτος. Εὐδικὸς δὲ ὁ γελωτοποιὸς
 ἠὲδοκίμει μιμούμενος παλαιστὰς καὶ πύκτας, ὡς φη-
 σιν Ἀριστόξενος. Στράτων δ' ὁ Ταραντῖνος ἐθαυμάζε-
 το τοὺς διθυράμβους μιμούμενος· τὰς δὲ κιθαρῳδίας
 20 οἱ περὶ τὸν ἐξ Ἰταλίας Οἰνῶναν, ὃς καὶ ἢ Κύκλωπα
 εἰσήγαγε τερετίζοντα καὶ ναναγὸν Ὀδυσσεῖα σολοικί-
 ζοντα, ὁ αὐτός φησι. Διοπίθης δὲ ὁ Λοκρός, ὡς φησι
 Φανόδημος, παραγενόμενος εἰς Θήβας καὶ ὑποζωννύ-
 μενος οἴνου κύστεις μεστὰς καὶ γάλακτος καὶ ταύτας

64 <διὰ τί> Olson

65 ἐφ' Schweighäuser: ἀφ' CE

¹⁴⁸ Literally "How can four-drachma pieces be changed?" (a verb that can also mean "be reconciled").

¹⁴⁹ PAA 776120; Stephanis #2077.

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and read them in public: "Why does the sun sink but not dive?"; "Why do sponges soak up wine but not get drunk?"; and "How can accounts be reconciled,¹⁴⁸ if they don't argue with one another?" The Athenians granted the puppeteer Potheinus¹⁴⁹ use of the stage on which Euripides staged his inspired dramas; and they erected a statue of Eurycleides¹⁵⁰ in the theater along with that of Aeschylus. The magician Xenophon¹⁵¹ was also much admired. He left behind a student, Cratisthenes of Phlius,¹⁵² who could make fire flare up spontaneously and created many other illusions that allowed him to baffle people's minds. The magician Nymphodorus¹⁵³ resembled him; according to Duris (*FGrH* 76 F 57), he got angry with the Rhegians and was the first person to mock them for cowardice. The comedian Eudicus¹⁵⁴ won his reputation by imitating wrestlers and boxers, according to Aristoxenus (fr. 135 Wehrli). Straton of Tarentum¹⁵⁵ was admired for his imitations of dithyrambs; and Oenonas of Italy,¹⁵⁶ who brought the Cyclops onstage warbling a tune and the shipwrecked Odysseus speaking bad Greek, was admired for his imitations of harp-songs, according to the same authority. Phanodemus (*FGrH* 325 F 9) reports that when Diopieithes of Locris¹⁵⁷ was in Thebes, he tied bladders full of milk and wine inside his clothes, and then squeezed them and claimed

¹⁵⁰ PAA 444767; Stephanis #984. Otherwise unknown.

¹⁵¹ Stephanis #1914.

¹⁵² Stephanis #1496.

¹⁵³ Stephanis #1894; also mentioned at 10.452f.

¹⁵⁴ Stephanis #942.

¹⁵⁵ Stephanis #2316.

¹⁵⁶ Stephanis #1933; called Oenopas at 14.638b.

¹⁵⁷ Stephanis #766.

ἀποθλίβων ἀνιμᾶν ἔλεγεν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος. τοιαῦτα ποιῶν ἠνδοκίμει καὶ Νοήμων ὁ ἠθολόγος. ἔνδοξοι δ' ἦσαν καὶ παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ θαυματοποιοὶ Σκύμνος ὁ Ταραντίνος, Φιλισιτίδης ὁ Συρακούσιος, Ἡράκλειτος ὁ Μιτυληναῖος. γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ πλάνοι ἔνδοξοι, ὧν
 b Κηφισόδωρος καὶ Πανταλέων. | Φιλίππου δὲ τοῦ γελωτοποιοῦ Ξενοφῶν μνημονεύει.

Ὅρος. οἰκουμένης δῆμον τὴν Ῥώμην φησί. λέγει δὲ καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἂν τις σκοποῦ πόρρω τοξεύων λέγοι τὴν Ῥώμην πόλιν ἐπιτομὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης· ἐν ἣ συνιδεῖν ἔστιν οὕτως πάσας τὰς πόλεις ἰδρυμένας, καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν δὲ τὰς πολλὰς, ὡς Ἀλεξανδρέων μὲν τὴν χρυσῆν, Ἀντιοχέων δὲ τὴν καλὴν, Νικομηδέων δὲ τὴν περικαλλή, προσέτι τε

τὴν λαμπροτάτην πόλεων πασῶν ὁπόσας ὁ Ζεὺς ἀναφαίνει,

c τὰς Ἀθήνας λέγω. ἐπιλείπει δ' ἂν με οὐχ ἡμέρα | μία ἐξαριθμούμενον τὰς ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων οὐρανοπόλει⁶⁶ ἀριθμουμένας πόλεις, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαι αἱ κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν⁶⁷ διὰ τὸ πλήθος. καὶ γὰρ ὅλα ἔθνη ἀθρόως αὐτόθι

⁶⁶ οὐρανοπόλει Ῥωμῆ CE

⁶⁷ ἐνιαυτὸν ἀριθμούμενοι CE

¹⁵⁸ Stephanis #1888.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. 12.538e (drawing on Chares).

¹⁶⁰ Berve i #713; Stephanis #2285. According to Chares of Mitylene (FGrH 125 F 4; quoted at 12.538e), the three men men-

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that the liquid was coming out of his mouth. The mimic Noemon¹⁵⁸ won a reputation by performing similar tricks. Alexander¹⁵⁹ thought highly of the magicians Scymnus of Tarentum,¹⁶⁰ Philistides of Syracuse,¹⁶¹ and Heracleitus of Mitylene.¹⁶² There have also been famous itinerant showmen, including Cephisodorus¹⁶³ and Pantaleon¹⁶⁴; and Xenophon (*Smp.* 1.11-16) mentions the comedian Philip.¹⁶⁵

A division.¹⁶⁶ [Athenaeus] refers to Rome as an international community. He also says that you would not be far from the mark if you call the city of Rome an epitome of the inhabited world, since you can see every single city settled in it, many of them in individual neighborhoods, for example golden Alexandria, lovely Antioch, gorgeous Nicomedia, and in addition

the most radiant of all the cities Zeus reveals (adesp. com. fr. 100),

by which I mean Athens. One day would not be enough, if I tried to offer a complete list of the cities included in the count of the Romans' heavenly city; indeed, there are so many that all the days in a year would be required. The fact is that whole populations have settled there *en masse*,

tioned here performed at the mass marriage between Persian woman and Macedonians staged by Alexander in Susa in 324.

¹⁶¹ Berve i #791; Stephanis #2508. ¹⁶² Berve i #351; Stephanis #1092. ¹⁶³ Stephanis #1395; also mentioned (along with Pantaleon) at 14.615f. ¹⁶⁴ Stephanis #1996.

¹⁶⁵ Stephanis #2498. ¹⁶⁶ This enigmatic notice falls about halfway through the epitomized version of Book One and probably referred originally to one of the divisions of the work into 30 half-Books; see the Introduction.

συνώκισται, ὡς τὸ Καππαδοκῶν καὶ Σκυθῶν καὶ Πον-
 τίων καὶ ἄλλων πλειόνων. οὗτοι οὖν πάντες, ὁ σύμπαρ
 δῆμος τῆς οἰκουμένης, τὸν ἐφ' ἡμῖν, φησί, φιλόσοφον
 ὀρχηστὴν Μέμφιν ἐκάλεσαν ἀπαρχαῖζοντες τὴν διὰ
 τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ κίνησιν τῇ τῶν πόλεων ἀρχαιο-
 d τάτῃ καὶ βασιλικωτάτῃ, περὶ ἧς Βακχυλίδης | φησί·

τὰν ἀχείμαντόν τε Μέμφιν
 καὶ δονακῶδεα Νεῖλον.

οὗτος τὴν Πυθαγόρειον φιλοσοφίαν ἐπιδείκνυσιν ἣτις
 ἐστὶ, μετὰ σιωπῆς πάνθ' ἡμῖν ἐμφανίζων σαφέστε-
 ρον⁶⁸ ἢ οἱ τὰς τῶν λόγων τέχνας ἐπαγγελλόμενοι
 διδάσκειν. τῆς δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον ὀρχήσεως τῆς τραγικῆς
 καλουμένης πρῶτος εἰσηγητὴς γέγονε Βάθυλλος ὁ
 Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, ὃν φησι παντομίμους⁶⁹ ὀρχήσασθαι
 Σέλευκος. τοῦτον τὸν Βάθυλλον φησιν Ἀριστόνικος
 e καὶ Πυλάδην, | οὗ ἐστὶ καὶ σύγγραμμα περὶ ὀρχή-
 σεως, τὴν Ἰταλικὴν ὀρχησιν συστήσασθαι ἐκ τῆς
 κωμικῆς, ἣ ἐκαλεῖτο κόρδαξ, καὶ τῆς τραγικῆς, ἣ
 ἐκαλεῖτο ἐμμέλεια, καὶ τῆς σατυρικῆς, ἣ ἐλέγετο σί-
 κιννις (διὸ καὶ οἱ σάτυροι σικιννισταί), ἧς εὐρετῆς
 Σίκιννός τις βάρβαρος· οἱ δὲ φασιν ὅτι Κρής ἦν ὁ
 Σίκιννος. ἦν δὲ ἡ Πυλάδου ὀρχησις ὀγκώδης παθητι-
 κή τε καὶ πολυπρόσωπος⁷⁰, ἣ δὲ Βαθύλλειος ἰλαρω-
 τέρα· καὶ γὰρ ὑπόρχημά τι τοῦτον διατίθεσθαι. Σοφο-

⁶⁸ σαφέστερον Musurus: σαφῶς CE

⁶⁹ παντομίμους Herwerden: νομίμως CE

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such as the Cappadocians, Scythians, Pontians, and many others. All of them, then, the whole population of the world, says [Athenaeus], called the philosopher-dancer of our time¹⁶⁷ "Memphis," comparing the way he moved his body to the oldest and most regal of cities, about which Bacchylides (fr. 30) says:

and Memphis, which knows no storms,
and the reed-filled Nile.

This fellow demonstrates what Pythagorean philosophy is, and although he remains silent, he makes it all clearer to us than professional teachers of oratory can. The first exponent of his style of dancing (referred to as "tragic") was Bathyllus of Alexandria, who, according to Seleucus (*FGrH* 341 F *5 = fr. 81 Müller), danced pantomimes. Aristonicus (fr. 43 Razzetti) says that this Bathyllus, along with Pylades, who wrote a treatise on dancing, developed the Italian style of dancing from the comic dance referred to as the *kordax*, the tragic dance referred to as the *emmeleia*, and the satyric dance called the *sikinnis*. (This is why satyrs are called *sikinnistai*.) The *sikinnis* was invented by a non-Greek named Sicinnus; but other authorities claim that Sicinnus was from Crete. Pylades' style of dancing was full of bombast, passion, and characterization, whereas Bathyllus' was more cheerful; in fact, he performed a sort

¹⁶⁷ Agrippa, a slave of Lucius Verus (co-emperor with Marcus Aurelius 161-169 CE).

⁷⁰ πολυπρόσωπος *Plu. Mor.* 711e: πολύκοπος CE

κλῆς δὲ πρὸς τῷ καλὸς γεγενῆσθαι τὴν ὥραν ἦν καὶ
 f ὀρχηστικὴν | δεδιδασκόμενος καὶ μουσικὴν ἔτι παῖς ὢν
 παρὰ Λάμπρῳ. μετὰ γοῦν τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν
 περὶ τρόπαιον γυμνὸς ἀθλημιμμένος ἐχόρευσε μετὰ
 λύρας· οἱ δὲ ἐν ἱματίῳ φασί. καὶ τὸν Θάμυριν διδά-
 σκων αὐτὸς ἐκίθάρισεν· ἄκρως δὲ ἐσφαίρισεν, ὅτε τὴν
 Ναυσικάαν καθῆκε. τῆς δὲ Μέμφιδος ὀρχήσεως ἦρα
 καὶ Σωκράτης ὁ σοφὸς καὶ πολλάκις καταλαμβανό-
 μενος ὀρχούμενος, ὡς φησι Ξενοφῶν, ἔλεγε τοῖς γνω-
 21 ρίμοις παντὸς εἶναι || μέλους τὴν ὀρχησιν γυμνάσιον.
 ἔταπτον γὰρ τὸ ὀρχεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ κινεῖσθαι καὶ ἐρε-
 θίζεσθαι. Ἀνακρέων·

καλλίκομοι κούραι Διὸς ὀρχήσαντ' ἐλαφρῶς.

Ἰων·

ἐκ τῶν ἀέλπτων μᾶλλον ὀρχησαι φρένας.

Ἐρμιππος δὲ φησι Θεόφραστον παραγίνεσθαι εἰς
 τὸν περίπατον καθ' ὥραν λαμπρὸν καὶ ἐξησκημένον,
 εἶτα καθίσαντα διατίθεσθαι τὸν λόγον οὐδεμιᾶς ἀπε-
 b χόμενον κινήσεως οὐδὲ σχήματος | ἐνός. καὶ ποτε
 ὀψοφάγον μιμούμενον ἐξείραντα τὴν γλῶσσαν περι-
 λείχειν τὰ χεῖλη.

Ἐμελε δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦ κοσμίως ἀναλαμβάνειν

168 Cf. I.15d–e.

169 A famous musician (PAA 601647).

170 In 480 BCE.

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of *hyporcheme*.¹⁶⁸ Sophocles (test. 28), in addition to being good-looking in his youth, was also taught dancing and music as a young man by Lamprus.¹⁶⁹ After the sea-battle at Salamis,¹⁷⁰ for example, he danced around the victory monument to lyre-music naked and anointed with oil; although other authorities report that he wore a robe. When he produced *Thamyris*, he played the lyre himself;¹⁷¹ and he did a neat job of ball-playing when he staged *Nausicaa*. The wise Socrates also loved the Memphian style of dancing; often when he was caught dancing, according to Xenophon (*Smp.* 2.17), he would tell his acquaintances that this was a means for every limb to get some exercise. They used the verb "dance," in fact, to describe physical movement and excitement generally. Anacreon (*PMG* 390):

The fair-tressed daughters of Zeus danced lightly.

Ion (*TrGF* 19 F 50):

to have set my heart dancing at these unexpected events.

Hermippus (Hermipp. Hist. fr. 51 Wehrli = Thphr. fr. 12) says that Theophrastus used to appear at the school at his regular time, shining with oil and neatly dressed, and would then take a seat and deal with the day's topic, using every sort of gesture and expression. Once when he was imitating a glutton, he struck out his tongue and licked his lips.

They were also concerned to drape their clothing in a

¹⁷¹ *Thamyris* was a Thracian lyre-singer who claimed to be more skilled even than the Muses, who therefore blinded him and stripped him of his abilities (*Il.* 2.594-600).

τὴν ἐσθήτα καὶ τοὺς μὴ τοῦτο ποιοῦντας ἔσκωπτον.
Πλάτων ἐν Θεαιτήτῳ πάντα δυναμένους ὀξέως τε καὶ
τορῶς διακονεῖν, ἀναβάλλεσθαι δ' οὐκ ἐπισταμένους
ἐπιδέξι' ἐλευθερίως οὐδ' ἁρμονίαν λόγων λαβόντας
ὀρθῶς ὑμνήσαι θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων εὐδαιμόνων
βίον. Σαπφῶ περὶ Ἀνδρομέδας σκώπτει·

- c τίς δ' ἀγροίωτις | θέλγει νόον < . . . >
οὐκ ἐπισταμένα τὰ βράκε' ἔλκην ἐπὶ τῶν
σφύρων;

Φιλέταιρος·

ἀμφιβάλλον † στέρνοις φᾶρος † οὐ καθήσεις,
τάλαν,
μηδ' ἀγροίκως ἄνω γόνατος ἀμφέξει;

- Ἔρμυπος δέ φησι Θεόκριτον τὸν Χίον ὡς ἀπαίδευτον
μέμφεσθαι τὴν Ἀναξιμένους περιβολήν· Καλλίστρα-
τός τε ὁ Ἀριστοφάνειος Ἀρίσταρχον ἐν συγγράμματι
κακῶς εἶρηκεν ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ εὐρύθμως ἀμπέχεσθαι, φέ-
ροντός τι καὶ τοῦ τοιούτου πρὸς παιδείας ἐξέτασιν. διὸ
d καὶ Ἄλεξις φησιν· |

ἐν γὰρ νομίζω τοῦτο τῶν ἀνελευθέρων
εἶναι, τὸ βαδίζειν ἀρρύθμως ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς,

¹⁷² Athenaeus or his source has replaced many of Sappho's rare Aeolic forms (restored here) with more common ones, as again at e.g. 2.39a. Alcaeus is treated similarly at e.g. 1.22e-f.

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dignified way, and they made fun of anyone who failed to do so. Plato in the *Theatetus* (175e–6a): men who can render all these services quickly and smartly, but don't know how to wear their robes like free men, over the left shoulder, or how to put words together to properly hymn the life of gods and blessed men. Sappho (fr. 57.1, 3) says scornfully of Andromeda:¹⁷²

What unsophisticated girl charms your mind . . . ,
one who does not know how to pull her robes over
her ankles?

Philetaerus (fr. 18):

Wrap around † your breast a robe † Pull it down, fool,
and don't wrap it above your knee like a bumpkin!

Hermippus (Hermipp. Hist. fr. 78 Wehrli) says that Theocritus of Chios criticized Anaximenes' style of dress as uncultivated;¹⁷³ and Aristophanes' pupil Callistratus (p. 313 in A. Nauck (ed.), *Aristophanes of Byzantium*) attacked Aristarchus¹⁷⁴ in a treatise for not putting his robes on gracefully, on the ground that this sort of behavior offers evidence about a man's upbringing. This is why Alexis (fr. 265) says:

For I consider this to be one mark
of servility—walking erratically in the street,

¹⁷³ Theocritus of Chios (Billows #114; cf. *FHG* ii.86–7) was active in the second half of the 4th century BCE, and the Anaximenes in question is presumably the historian and rhetorician Anaximenes of Lampsacus (*FGrH* 72 T 12).

¹⁷⁴ Aristarchus of Samothrace (c.216–144 BCE), head of the Library at Alexandria c.153–145.

ATHENAEUS

ἔξδ' οὐ καλῶς· οὐ μήτε πράττεται τέλος
 μηδεὶς < γὰρ > ἡμᾶς, μήτε τιμὴν δόντα δέ
 ἑτέρῳ λαβεῖν, φέρει δὲ τοῖς μὲν χρωμένοις
 δόξης τιν' ὄγκον, τοῖς δ' ὀρώσιον ἡδονήν,
 κόσμον δὲ τῷ βίῳ, τὸ τοιοῦτον γέρας
 τίς οὐκ ἂν αὐτῷ κτῶτο φάσκων νοῦν ἔχειν;

Καὶ Αἰσχύλος δὲ οὐ μόνον ἐξεύρε τὴν τῆς στολῆς
 e εὐπρέπειαν | καὶ σεμνότητα, ἣν ζηλώσαντες οἱ ἱερο-
 φάνται καὶ δαδούχοι ἀμφιέννυνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὰ
 σχήματα ὀρχηστικὰ αὐτὸς ἐξευρίσκων ἀνεδίδου τοῖς
 χορευταῖς. Χαμαιλέων γοῦν πρῶτον αὐτὸν φησι σχη-
 ματίσαι τοὺς χοροὺς ὀρχηστοδιδασκάλους οὐ χρη-
 σάμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν τοῖς χοροῖς τὰ σχήματα
 ποιοῦντα τῶν ὀρχήσεων, καὶ ὅλως πᾶσαν τὴν τῆς
 τραγωδίας οἰκονομίαν εἰς ἑαυτὸν περιμστᾶν. ὑπεκρίνε-
 f γοῦν (παρὰ δὲ τοῖς κωμικοῖς | ἢ περὶ τῶν τραγικῶν
 ἀπόκειται πίστις) ποιεῖ αὐτὸν Αἰσχύλον λέγοντα·

< . . . > τοῖσι χοροῖς αὐτὸς τὰ σχήματ' ἐποίουν.
 καὶ πάλιν·

(B.) τοὺς Φρύγας οἶδα θεωρῶν,

BOOK I

when one could walk like a gentleman. Because when
no one taxes
us for doing something, and you don't have to pay
another person to get it, and it produces a certain
amount
of distinction for those who act this way, pleasure for
the onlookers,
and a bit of polish in your life, who that claims to
have any sense
wouldn't try to get an honor like this for himself?

Aeschylus as well not only invented the elegance and dignity of costume that the hierophants and torch-bearers¹⁷⁵ imitate when they dress themselves, but also created many dance-steps himself and passed them on to the members of his choruses. Chamaeleon (fr. 41 Wehrli = A. test. 103), at any rate, says that he was the first to arrange the dances, and that he did not use special trainers, but worked out the dance-steps for his choruses himself and generally took on the entire management of the tragedy. Most likely, therefore, he acted in his own plays. Aristophanes (fr. 696, encompassing both quotations), at any rate—there is credible information about the tragic poets in the comedians—represents Aeschylus himself as saying:

I myself used to create the dances for my choruses.

And again:

(B.) I know from seeing his *Phrygians*,

¹⁷⁵ Two of the chief classes of officials at the Eleusinian Mysteries.

ὅτε τῷ Πριάμῳ συλλυσόμενοι τὸν παῖδ' ἦλθον
 τεθνεῶτα,
 πολλὰ τοιαντὶ καὶ τοιαντὶ καὶ δεῦρο
 σχηματίσαντας.

καὶ Τέλεισι δὲ ἡ Τελέστης ὁ ὄρχηστοδιδάσκαλος
 πολλὰ ἐξέυρηκε σχήματα, ἄκρως ταῖς χερσὶ τὰ λεγόμενα
 δεικνύς. Φίλλις ὁ Δῆλιος μουσικὸς τοὺς ἀρχαίους
 φησὶ κιθαρῳδοὺς κινήσεις ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ προσώπου
 μικρὰς φέρειν, ἀπὸ ποδῶν δὲ πλείους, ἐμβατηρίους
 22 καὶ χορευτικὰς. Ἢ Ἀριστοκλῆς γοῦν φησιν ὅτι Τε-
 λέστης ὁ Αἰσχύλου ὄρχηστῆς οὕτως ἦν τεχνίτης ὥστε
 ἐν τῷ ὀρχεῖσθαι τοὺς Ἑπτὰ Ἐπὶ Θήβας φανερὰ
 ποιῆσαι τὰ πράγματα δι' ὀρχήσεως. φασὶ δὲ καὶ ὅτι
 οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ποιηταί, Θέσπις, Πρατίνας, Κρατῖνος,
 Φρύνιχος, ὀρχησταὶ ἐκαλοῦντο διὰ τὸ μὴ μόνον τὰ
 ἑαυτῶν δράματα ἀναφέρειν εἰς ὄρχησιν τοῦ χοροῦ,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔξω τῶν ἰδίων ποιημάτων διδάσκειν τοὺς
 βουλομένους ὀρχεῖσθαι.

Μεθύων δὲ ἐποίει τὰς τραγωδίας Αἰσχύλος, ὡς
 b φησι Χαμαιλέων. Σοφοκλῆς γοῦν | ὠνείδιζεν αὐτῷ ὅτι
 εἰ καὶ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖ, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰδώς γε.

Ὀρχήσεις δὲ ἐθνικαὶ αἶδε· Λακωνικαί, Τροιζήνιαι,
 Ἐπιζεφύριοι, Κρητικαί, Ἰωνικαί, Μαντινικαί, ἃς προ-
 κρίνει Ἀριστόξενος διὰ τὴν τῶν χειρῶν κίνησιν. οὕτως

¹⁷⁶ Hector, killed by Achilles, who refused to release the body for burial until Priam came to ransom it personally.

¹⁷⁷ Stephanis #2390.

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when they came to help Priam get his dead son¹⁷⁶
released,
and they did dance-steps like this and that and in this
direction.

The dance-teacher Telesis (or Telestes)¹⁷⁷ also invented many steps, neatly illustrating what was said with hand-gestures. The musician Phillis of Delos (fr. 3, *FHG* iv.476) says that in the old days citharodes did not make many facial expressions, but they moved their feet more, producing marching-steps and dance-steps. Aristocles (fr. 11, *FHG* iv.332 = A. test. 81), for example, says that Aeschylus' dancer Telestes was so skilful that when he danced the *Seven Against Thebes* he could make the action apparent simply by his dancing. They also say that the ancient poets—Thespiis, Pratinus, Cratinus¹⁷⁸, and Phrynichus—were called “dancers” because not only did they integrate their own dramas with choral dancing, but, quite apart from their own compositions, they taught anyone who wanted to learn to dance.

Aeschylus used to write his tragedies drunk, according to Chamaeleon (fr. 40b Wehrli = A. test. 117b). Sophocles (test. 52b), at any rate, found fault with him, saying that even if used the right words, he did so unconsciously.¹⁷⁹

The following dances are associated with particular peoples: the Spartan, Troezenian, Epizephyrian, Cretan, Ionian, and Mantinean, which Aristoxenus (fr. 112 Wehrli) prefers because of the hand-gestures. Dancing was so re-

¹⁷⁸ The mid-5th-century comic poet Cratinus seems out of place in this list, which otherwise contains the names of early 5th-century tragic poets. ¹⁷⁹ A more complete version of this material appears at 10.428f-9a.

ATHENAEUS

δ' ἦν ἔνδοξον καὶ σοφὸν ἢ ὄρχησις ὥστε Πίνδαρος
τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ὄρχηστὴν καλεῖ·

ὄρχηστ' ἀγλαίας ἀνάσσω, εὐρυφάρετρο'
Ἄπολλον.

καὶ Ὅμηρος ἢ τῶν Ὀμηριδῶν τις ἐν τῷ εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα
ὕμνῳ φησίν·

Ἀπόλλων

- c φόρμιγγ' ἐν χείρεσσιν ἔχων χάριεν κιθάριζε,⁷¹ |
καλὰ καὶ ὕψι βιβάς.⁷²

Εὐμηλος δὲ ὁ Κορίνθιος ἢ Ἀρκτίνος⁷³ τὸν Δία ὀρ-
χούμενον που παράγει λέγων·

μέσσοισιν δ' ὠρχεῖτο πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε.

- Θεόφραστος δὲ πρῶτόν φησιν Ἄνδρωνα τὸν Κατα-
ναῖον αὐλητὴν κινήσεις καὶ ῥυθμοὺς ποιῆσαι τῷ σώ-
ματι αὐλοῦντα· ὅθεν σικελίζειν τὸ ὀρχεῖσθαι παρὰ
τοῖς παλαιοῖς· μεθ' ὃν Κλεόλαν τὸν Θηβαῖον. ὀρχη-
σταὶ δὲ ἔνδοξοι Βολβὸς μὲν παρὰ Κρατίνῳ καὶ Καλ-
d λία, Ζήνων δὲ ὁ Κρής ὁ πάνυ Ἀρταξέρξῃ | προσ-
φιλέστατος παρὰ Κτησίᾳ. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐν τῇ πρὸς

⁷¹ 515 is a troubled verse; but all other witnesses have *κιθα-
ρίζων* rather than Athenaeus' *κιθάριζε*.

⁷² καὶ Ὅμηρος . . . βιβάς is omitted by E and is preserved in
C only in the margin.

⁷³ ἢ Ἀρκτίνος is omitted by E and is preserved in C only in
the margin.

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spected and involved so much skill that Pindar (fr. 148) refers to Apollo as a dancer:

Dancer, lord of brilliance, Apollo of the broad quiver!
And Homer or one of the Homeridae says in the *Hymn to Apollo* (514-16):

Apollo,
lyre in hand, was playing a pleasant tune,
stepping high and gracefully.

And Eumelus of Corinth or Arctinus somewhere introduces Zeus dancing, saying (*Titan*. fr. 6 Bernabé):

And the father of men and gods was dancing in their
midst.

Theophrastus (fr. 718) says that Andron of Catana¹⁸⁰ was the first pipe-player to move his body to the rhythm as he played; this is why ancient sources use the verb *sikelizō* ("act like a Sicel") to mean "dance." Cleolas of Thebes¹⁸¹ came after him. Famous dancers include Bolbus¹⁸², who is mentioned by Cratinus (fr. 425) and Callias (fr. 30); and Zeno of Crete¹⁸³, who was a great favorite of Artaxerxes¹⁸⁴ and is mentioned by Ctesias (*FGrH* 688 F 31). Alexander

¹⁸⁰ Stephanis #187. Andron and Cleolas are otherwise unknown, but presumably date to the 5th century.

¹⁸¹ Stephanis #1443.

¹⁸² Stephanis #531.

¹⁸³ Stephanis #1027.

¹⁸⁴ Artaxerxes II (king of Persia 405/4-359/8 BCE), in whose court Ctesias served as a physician.

¹⁸⁵ Berve i #363; Stephanis #1163. Philoxenus (Berve i #793) became Alexander's chief financial officer after the flight of Harpalus. For Alexander's letter (which concerned two handsome boys Theodorus wanted to sell), see *Plu. Alex.* 22.1.

ATHENAEUS

Φιλόξενον ἐπιστολῇ μέμνηται Θεοδώρου καὶ Χρυσίππου.

Ἵτι τὸ Μουσεῖον⁷⁴ ὁ Φλιάσιος Τίμων ὁ σιλλογράφος τάλαρόν πού φησιν ἐπισκώπτων τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ τρεφομένους φιλοσόφους, ὅτι ὥσπερ ἐν πανάγρῳ τινὶ σιτοῦνται καθάπερ οἱ πολυτιμότατοι ὄρνιθες·

πολλοὶ μὲν βόσκονται ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πολυφύλῳ
βιβλιακοὶ χαρακίται ἀπέριτα δηριώωντες
Μουσέων ἐν ταλάρῳ.

- e Ἔως ἂν τῆς λογοδιαρροίας | ἀπαλλαγῶσιν οὗτοι οἱ
τραπεζορήτορες, οἱ ὑπὸ γλωσσαλγίας ἐπιλελήσθαι
μοι δοκοῦσι καὶ τοῦ Πυθικοῦ χρησμοῦ, ὃν ἀναγράφει
Χαμαιλέων·

εἴκοσι τὰς πρὸ κυνὸς καὶ εἴκοσι τὰς μετέπειτα
οἴκῳ ἐνὶ σκιερῷ Διονύσῳ χρῆσθαι ἱητρῷ.

καὶ Μνησίθεος δ' ὁ Ἀθηναῖος Διόνυσον ἰατρόν φησι
τὴν Πυθίαν χρῆσαι τιμᾶν Ἀθηναίοις. φησὶ δὲ καὶ
Ἄλκαῖος ὁ Μιτυληναῖος ποιητής·

τέγγε πνεύμονας οἴνω, τὸ γὰρ ἄστρον
περιτέλλεται,

⁷⁴ τὸ Μουσεῖον E: τὸ Ἀθήνησι τὸ ἐν πρυτανείῳ Μουσεῖον
C

¹⁸⁶ Berve i #830; Stephanis #2633.

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in his letter to Philoxenus mentions Theodorus¹⁸⁵ and Chrysippus¹⁸⁶.

The satirist Timo of Phlius (*SH* 786) refers somewhere to the Museum as a "bird-cage," as a way of making fun of the philosophers maintained there, because they were fed like expensive birds in a netted enclosure:¹⁸⁷

Numerous cloistered papyrus-warblers are fattened
in Egypt with its many peoples, quarrelling endlessly
in the Muses' bird-cage.

Until these dinner-table-orators get over their verbal diarrhea; their tongue-disease, it seems to me, has made them forget the Pythian oracle recorded by Chamaeleon (fr. 11 Wehrli = Delphic oracle L103 Fontenrose):

For 20 days before the dog-star¹⁸⁸ rises and 20 days
after,
use Dionysus as a physician in your shadowy house.

Mnesitheus of Athens (fr. 42 Bertier) also reports that the Pythia in an oracle ordered the Athenians to honor Dionysus as a physician. And Alcaeus the poet from Mitylene (fr. 347.1-2) says:¹⁸⁹

Moisten your lungs with wine. For the star is rising,

¹⁸⁷ This quotation and the one that follows are probably part of a transition between speakers; and the abusive tone, the charge of "verbal diarrhea" (cf. 4.159e), the series of positive references to the dog-star, and the retrospective description below of the discussion as "cynical" combine to suggest that Cynulcus is speaking.

¹⁸⁸ Sirius (referred to below simply as "the star"), which rises in mid-summer; see Hes. *Op.* 584-7 with West on 417.

¹⁸⁹ See 1.21c n. The verses are quoted again at 10.430b.

ATHENAEUS

f ἄ δ' ὄρα | χαλέπα, πάντα δὲ δίψαισ' ὑπὰ
καύματος.

καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ·

πάνωμεν, τὸ γὰρ ἄστρον περιτέλλεται.

Εὐπολὶς τε τὸν Καλλίαν φησὶν ἀναγκάζεσθαι ὑπὸ
Πρωταγόρου πίνειν,

ἵνα

πρὸ τοῦ κυνὸς τὸν πνεύμον⁷⁵ ἔκπλυτον φορῆ.

ἡμῖν δ' οὐ μόνον ὁ πνεύμων ἀπεξήρανται, κινδυνεύει
δὲ καὶ ἡ καρδία. καίτοι Ἀντιφάνης λέγει·

τὸ δὲ ζῆν, εἰπέ μοι,

23 τί ἐστι; < . . . > τὸ πίνειν φήμ' ἐγώ. ||
ὄρᾶς παρὰ ρείθροισι χειμάρροισ ὄσα
δένδρων αἰεὶ τὴν νύκτα καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν
βρέχεται, μέγεθος καὶ κάλλος οἶα γίνεται,
τὰ δ' ἀντιτείνοντ' αὐτόπρεμν' ἀπόλλυται.

οὕτω τούτοις, φησί, κυνολογήσασιν ἐδόθη πιεῖν. εἴρη-
ται δὲ τὸ βρέχειν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πίνειν. Ἀντιφάνης·

⁷⁵ πλεύμον' Plutarch

¹⁹⁰ From *Flatterers*, in which various hangers-on took relentless advantage of Callias son of Hipponicus (PAA 554500), who was extremely wealthy and was mocked constantly by the comic poets (cf. 4.169a; 5.218b-c).

¹⁹¹ Quoting and adapting S. *Ant.* 712-14.

BOOK I

the season is a harsh one, and the heat makes
everything thirsty.

And elsewhere (Alc. fr. 352):

Let's drink; for the star is rising.

Eupolis (fr. 158.1-2)¹⁹⁰ says that Callias is forced to drink
by Pythagoras

so that
he may have his lung washed clean before the dog-
star rises.

And it is not just our lungs that have dried out; it is possible
that our heart has as well. Indeed, Antiphanes (fr. 228)¹⁹¹
says:

Tell me—what's
the point of life? I say it's to drink.
Look at the trees along torrent streams
that stay moist (*brechetai*) all day and all night;
how large and beautiful they grow!
But those that resist are destroyed root and branch.

After they engaged in this cynical discussion, [Athenaeus]
says, they were offered a drink. The verb *brechō* ("wet,
moisten") is also used to refer to drinking.¹⁹² Antiphanes
(fr. 279):

¹⁹² As the verb is used in this sense in the quotation just above,
and as the Epitomator tells us that there was a break in the discus-
sion as drinks were served, what follows is probably a response to a
question (most likely by Ulpian) as to whether *brechō* is used else-
where in this sense. Presumably he also posed the question which
the remarks about the verb *anapiptō* etc. below address.

δεῖ γὰρ φαγόντας δαψιλῶς βρέχειν.

Εὐβουλος·

(A.) Σίκων ἐγὼ

- b βεβρεγμένος ἦκω καὶ κεκωθωνισμένος. |
 (B.) πέπωκας οὗτος; (A.) < . . . > πέπωκ' ἐγώ,
 μὰ <τὸν> Δία τὸν Μενδαῖον.

ἽΟτι τὸ ἀναπίπτειν κυρίως ἐπὶ ψυχῆς ἐστίν, οἶον ἀθυμεῖν, ὀλιγοδρανεῖν⁷⁶. Θουκυδίδης πρώτη νικώμενοι ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον ἀναπίπτουσι. Κρατῖνος δ' ἐπὶ ἐρετῶν χρᾶται τῇ λέξει·

ῥοθίαζε κἀνάπιπτε.

- c καὶ Ξενοφῶν ἐν Οἰκονομικῶ· διὰ τί ἄλυποι ἀλλήλοις εἰσὶν οἱ ἐρέται; ἢ ὅτι ἐν τάξει μὲν κάθηνται, ἐν τάξει δὲ προνεύουσιν, ἐν τάξει δὲ ἀναπίπτουσιν; ἀνακείσθαι δὲ φαμεν | ἐπὶ ἀνδριάντος· ὅθεν τοὺς ἐπὶ κατακειμένων χρωμένους τῇ λέξει διέσυρον. Δίφιλος· ἐγὼ δ' † ἕως μὲν τινος ἀνεκείμην †. πρὸς ὃν δυσχεραίνων ὁ ἐταῖρός φησιν· ἀνάκεισο. Φιλιππίδης·

(A.) καὶ δειπνῶν ἀεὶ

ἀνακείμενος παρ' αὐτόν.

⁷⁶ ὀλιγοδρανεῖν Kaibel: ὀλιγωρεῖν CE

¹⁹³ Sicon is a slave-name, and the oath by Mendaeian Zeus is an allusion to Mendaeian wine (for which, see I.29d-f).

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Because those who eat well must drink (*brechein*).

Eubulus (fr. 123):¹⁹³

(A.) My name is Sicon
and I've come drenched (*bebregmenos*) and drunk.

(B.) Hey you! Have you been drinking? (A.) I have
been drinking,
by Mendaean Zeus!

The verb *anapiptō* ("fall back") is properly used of a person's spirit, in the sense "be discouraged, faint-hearted." Thucydides Book I (70.5): they are minimally discouraged (*anapiptousi*) when defeated. But Cratinus (fr. 332) uses the word to refer to rowers:

Raise a splash and fall back (*anapipte*)!

Also Xenophon in the *Oeconomicus* (8.8): Why do the rowers not hamper one another? Isn't it because they are seated in order, swing forward in order, and fall back (*anapiptousin*) in order? But we use the verb *anakeimai* (literally "lay up") of statuary; as a result those who used the word to describe people lying down were ridiculed. Diphilus (fr. 124, unmetrical): I † lay back (*anekeimēn*) for a while. † And the man he is with is annoyed and says to him: Go ahead and lay back (*anakeiso*)!¹⁹⁴ Philippides (fr. 31):

(A.) And all the time I was eating dinner,
I was laying back (*anakeimenos*) beside him.

¹⁹⁴ As if he were a statue—and thus dead.

καὶ ἐπάγει·

(B.) < . . . > πότερον ἀνδριάντας εἰστία;

κατακεῖσθαι δὲ λέγεται καὶ κατακεκλίσθαι, ὡς ἐν Συμποσίοις Ξενοφῶν καὶ Πλάτων. Ἄλεξις·

d ὡς ἔστι κατακεῖσθαι πρὸ δείπνου συμφορά·
οὔτε γὰρ ὕπνος δῆπουθεν οὐδέν' ἂν λάβοι, |
οὔθ' ἂν λέγη τις οὐδαμῶς μάθοιμεν ἄν·
ὁ νοῦς γάρ ἐστι τῆς τραπέζης πλησίον.

ἔστι δὲ εὐρεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐννοίας ταύτης σπανίως τὸ ἀνακεῖσθαι. σάτυρος παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ τοῦτό φησιν ἐπικαιόμενος τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ·

ἀνακειμένῳ
μέσον εἰς τὸν αὐχέν' εἰσαλοίμην.

e Ἄριστοτέλης ἐν Τυρρηνῶν Νομίμοις· οἱ δὲ Τυρρηνοὶ
δειπνοῦσι μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν ἀνακείμενοι ὑπὸ τῷ
αὐτῷ ἱματίῳ. Θεόπομπος· |

ἐπίνομεν μετὰ ταῦτα < . . . >
κατακείμενοι μαλακώτατ' ἐπὶ τρικλινίῳ,
Τελαμῶνος οἰμῶζοντες ἀλλήλοις μέλη.

Φιλωνίδης·

< . . . > κατάκειμαι, ὡς ὁράτε, δεκαπάλαι.

¹⁹⁵ The hero Telamon was the father of Salaminian Ajax. For *scholia* sung in his honor, *carm. conv. PMG* 898–9; *Ar. Lys.* 1237.

BOOK I

And he continues:

(B.) Was he entertaining statues?

The verbs *katakeimai* ("lie down") and *katakeklina* ("have reclined") are also used, as in the *Symposia* of Xenophon (e.g. 1.13, 15; 2.23) and Plato (e.g. 175a; 177d). Alexis (fr. 279):

What a disaster it is to lie down (*katakeisthai*) before
dinner is served!

Because naturally you can't fall asleep then,
and neither can we understand anything someone
else might say;

because our attention's fixed on the table.

One can occasionally find the verb *anakeimai* used in this sense. One of Sophocles' (fr. 756) satyrs is angry with Heracles and says the following:

I'd like to jump
right on his neck as he lies (*anakeimenōi*) there!

Aristotle in the *Customs of the Tyrrhenians* (fr. 472):
The Tyrrhenians dine with their wives, lying down (*anakeimenoī*) under the same robe. Theopompus (fr. 65):

After that we began drinking,
lying down (*katakeimenoī*) comfortably on three
couches,
singing laments for Telamon to one another.¹⁹⁵

Philonides (fr. 8):

I've been lying down (*katakeimai*), as you can see, for
a very long time.

Εὐριπίδης Κύκλωπι·

ἀνέπεσε φάρυγος αἰθέρ' ἔξαιεῖς⁷⁷ βαρύν.

Ἄλεξις·

μετὰ ταῦτ' ἀναπεσεῖν
ἐκέλευον αὐτὴν παρ' ἐμέ.

Ἔστι τὸ πάσασθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀπογεύσασθαι τίθεται.
f φησὶ γοῦν Φοῖνιξ πρὸς Ἀχιλλέα· ἰ οὐκ ἤθελον ἄμ'
ἄλλω ἐν μεγάροισι πάσασθαι. καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ·

εὖθ' οἱ σπλάγχν' ἐπάσαντο.⁷⁸

τῶν γὰρ σπλάγχνων ἀπογεύονται μόνον ὡς ἂν ὀλίγων
24 πολὺς ὄμιλος. καὶ ὁ Πρίαμος δὲ πρὸς Ἀχιλλέα φησὶ· ἢ

νῦν δὴ καὶ σίτου πασάμην.

οἰκείον γὰρ τοῦ τηνικάδε ἀτυχήσαντος ἀπογεύσασθαι
μόνον· εἰς κόρον γὰρ ἐλθεῖν οὐκ εἶα τὸ πένθος. διὸ καὶ
ὁ τὸ σύνολον οὐ γευσάμενος τροφῆς

κεῖτ' < . . . > ἄσιτος, ἄπαστος.

ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἀποπληρουμένων οὐδέποτε λέγει τὸ πάσα-

⁷⁷ ἔξαιεῖς Porson

⁷⁸ The standard text of Homer has σπλάγχνα πάσαντο.

¹⁹⁶ This quote and the one that follows use the verb *anapriptō*, which makes it clear that they belong with the material assembled at 1.23b.

BOOK I

Euripides in *Cyclops* (410):¹⁹⁶

He fell on his back (*anepese*), belching a foul stench
from his maw.

Alexis (fr. 295):

After this, I told
her to lie down (*anapesein*) beside me.

The verb *pateomai* ("eat, consume") is used to mean "taste." Phoenix, for example, says to Achilles: I was unwilling to taste (*pasasthai*) food with anyone else in the house.¹⁹⁷ And elsewhere (*Od.* 3.9):

when they tasted (*epasanto*) the entrails;
for they only taste the entrails, since there are not many
entrails and there is a large group of people. And Priam
says to Achilles (*Il.* 24.641):

Now I tasted (*pasamēn*) food;
because it is appropriate that when someone is in trouble,
he only tastes his food, since his grief does not let him eat
to the point that he is full. This is why a man who has tasted
no food at all (*Od.* 4.788)¹⁹⁸

lay there fasting, eating nothing (*apastos*).
He never uses *pateomai* to refer to people who eat as much

¹⁹⁷ A garbled recollection of *Il.* 9.486–7.

¹⁹⁸ Referring to Penelope grieving for Telemachus, rather than to a man, as Athenaeus suggests.

σθαι, ἀλλ' ὅποσα δηλοῖ κόρον·

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ σίτου τάρφθεν,

καί·

< . . . > ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο.

οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πληρωθῆναι τιθέασιν τὸ
b πάσασθαι. Καλλίμαχος· |

μύθου δὲ πασαίμην

ἡδίων.

Ἐρατοσθένης·

ὀπταλέα κρέα

ἐκ τέφρης ἐπάσαντο τά τ' ἀγρώσσοντες ἔλοντο.

ποτίκολλον ἄτε ξύλον παρὰ ξύλω,

φησὶν ὁ Θηβαῖος μελοποιός.⁷⁹

ἽΟτι Σέλευκός φησι τὴν παρ' Ὀμήρω δαῖτα θάλει-
αν στοιχείων μεταθέσει δίαιταν εἶναι· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ
δαίσασθαι λέγειν βιαιότερόν ἐστι.

ἽΟτι Καρύστιος ὁ Περγαμηνὸς ἱστορεῖ τὰς Κερκυ-
ραίας γυναῖκας ἔτι καὶ νῦν σφαιριζούσας ἄδειν· σφαι-

⁷⁹ C prefaces what follows with the subtitle ἔτι περὶ τοῦ τῶν ἡρώων βίου ("Further on the Life of the Heroes").

¹⁹⁹ In both quotations offered in support of this assertion, however, the normal sense "taste" would do just as well.

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as they want, but prefers language that indicates satiety (*Od.* 6.99):

and when they enjoyed their food,

and (e.g. *Il.* 1.469; *Od.* 1.150):

they put away desire for food.

But more recent authors also use *pateomai* to mean "be full."¹⁹⁹ Callimachus (fr. 476):

I'd happily have my fill (*pasaimēn*)
of story-telling.

Eratosthenes (fr. 29, p. 65 Powell):

They ate their fill (*epasanto*) of the meat
they got in the hunt roasted on the coals.

Glued together like two pieces of wood,

as the Theban lyric poet puts it (Pi. fr. 241).²⁰⁰

Seleucus (fr. 26 Müller) claims that the Homeric phrase *daita thaleian* ("a substantial meal") is the word *diaita* ("way of life, diet") with some letters transposed, and argues that saying that it comes from the verb *dainumi* ("give a feast") is too forced.

Carystius of Pergamum (fr. 14, *FHG* iv.359) records that even in his day the women of Corecyra sang as they

²⁰⁰ The same quotation is used at 6.248c in a transition between speakers, as presumably here. The point of the argument that follows is that the Homeric lifestyle was quite luxurious; contrast 1.9a n.; 1.11b n.

ρίζουσι δὲ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ οὐ μόνον ἄνδρες ἀλλὰ καὶ
 γυναιῖκες. καὶ δίσκοις δὲ καὶ ἀκοντίοις μετὰ τινος
 c συμμετρίας ἐχρῶντο· |

δίσκοισιν τέρποντο καὶ αἰγανέησιν ἰέντες.

τὸ γὰρ τερπνὸν τὴν κακοπάθειαν κουφίζει. καὶ ἐπὶ
 κυνηγέσια δὲ ἐξίασιν οἱ νέοι πρὸς μελέτην τῶν πολε-
 μικῶν κινδύνων καὶ ἐπὶ θήρας παντοίας, ἀφ' ὧν ῥωμα-
 λεώτεροι καὶ ὑγιεινότεροι διατέλουν, ὡς ὅτε

πυργηδὸν σφέας αὐτοὺς ἀρτύνουσι
 καὶ ἀντίον ἰστάμενοι ἀκοντίζουσιν.

ἴσασι δὲ καὶ λουτρὰ ἄκη πόνων παντοῖα, κόπον μὲν
 θαλάττῃ λύοντες, ἢ μάλιστα τοῖς νεύροις ἐστὶ πρόσ-
 φορος, ἀναχαλῶντες δὲ ταῖς ἐμβάσεσι τὰς τῶν μυῶν
 d συντάσεις, | εἰτ' ἐπαλείφοντες λίπα πρὸς τὸ μὴ ξηραν-
 θέντος τοῦ ὕδατος ἀπεσκληρυμμένα γίνεσθαι τὰ σώ-
 ματα. οἱ γοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς σκοπιῆς ἐπανελθόντες

< . . . > ἰδρῶ πολλὸν ἀπενίζοντο θαλάσση
 < . . . > κνήμας < . . . > ἰδὲ λόφον ἀμφί τε
 μηρούς⁸⁰.

καὶ οὕτως ἀναψύξαντες

ἐς < . . . > ἀσαμίνθους βάντες ἐυξέστας
 λούσαντο·

⁸⁰ μακρούς CE

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played ball. It is not just men who play ball in Homer, but women as well (*Od.* 6.100–1). His characters also made limited use of discuses and javelins (*Od.* 4.626):

They enjoyed themselves by throwing discuses and
hunting-spears.

Because pleasure makes misery more bearable. In addition, the young men go out hunting both to train themselves for the dangers of war and in pursuit of wild animals of all kinds, as a result of which they remained quite strong and healthy, as when

they line up in close array
and stand opposite their quarry and hurl javelins.²⁰¹

They are also familiar with baths of all sorts as a way of curing aches and pains, since they eliminate fatigue with salt-water baths, which are particularly good for the nerves, and loosen the knots in their muscles in bathtubs, and then put on a rich coat of oil to keep their bodies from stiffening up when the water dries. The men who come back from the reconnaissance mission, for example (*Il.* 10.572–3),²⁰²

washed much sweat off in the sea
from their calves, necks, and thighs;

and after they cooled down in this way (*Il.* 10.576–8),

they got into polished tubs and bathed;

²⁰¹ A garbled quotation of *Il.* 12.43–4. The words “as when” (*hōs hote*) in the introduction to the quotation are perhaps drawn from *Il.* 12.41 (introducing the simile).

²⁰² Of Diomedes and Odysseus at the end of the *Doloneia*.

< . . . > καὶ ἀλευφάμενοι⁸¹ λίπ' ἐλαίῳ
 δείπνω ἐφιζανέτην.

ἔστι καὶ τρόπος ἕτερος καμάτων λύσεως ἐκ τῶν κατὰ
 κεφαλῆς καταιονήσεων·

e θυμῆρες κεράσασα κατὰ κρατός τε καὶ ὤμων. |

αἱ γὰρ ἐμβάσεις περικεχυμένου πανταχόθεν τοῖς πό-
 ροις τοῦ ὕδατος φράττουσι τὴν τῶν ιδρώτων ἔκκρισιν
 καθάπερ ἂν εἴ τις ἠθμὸς εἰς ὕδωρ βληθείς· διέξεισι
 γὰρ οὐθέν, εἰ μή τις αὐτὸν μετεωρίσας τοῖς πόροις
 ἀναψυχὴν καὶ διέξοδον εἰς τὸ ἔξω παράσχη, ὡς Ἀρι-
 στοτέλης εἴρηκεν ἐν τοῖς Φυσικοῖς Προβλήμασι, ζη-
 τῶν διὰ τί οἱ ἰδρῶντες ἐπὶ ἔλθωσιν εἰς θερμὸν ἢ
 ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ οὐκ ἔτι ἰδρῶσιν, ἕως <ἂν> πάλιν ἐπα-
 νέλθωσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμβάσεων.

f Παρετίθετο δὲ τοῖς ἠρωσι δειπνοῦσι καὶ λάχανα. |
 ὅτι δὲ οἶδασι τὰς λαχανείας δῆλον ἐκ τῶν

< . . . > παρὰ νείατον ὄρχον

κοσμητῶν πρασιῶν. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ <τοῖς> κακοχυμο-
 τάτοις κρομύοις ἐχρῶντο·

< . . . > ἐπὶ δὲ κρόμμον ποτου⁸² ὄψον.

ἐπιμελουμένους δὲ αὐτοὺς εἰσάγει καὶ τῶν ἀκροδρῶν·

⁸¹ Athenaeus has replaced Homer's dual ἀλευφάμενω with a plural. ⁸² Most witnesses have ποτῶ, but Plutarch also preserves Athenaeus' ποτου (also in the paraphrase at 1.10b).

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and after anointing themselves richly with oil,
they sat down to dinner.

There is another way to eliminate fatigue, by pouring water over the head (*Od.* 10.362):

mixing it so that it was a pleasant temperature over
my head and shoulders.

For because one's pores are completely surrounded by water, tub-baths prevent sweat from being excreted, as when a strainer is immersed in water; nothing passes through it, unless someone lifts it up and gives the pores relief and a way for the liquid to get out. This is what Aristotle says in his *Physical Problems* (fr. 762), when he asks why people who are sweating and enter hot or cold water stop sweating until they get out of the tub again.

The heroes were also served vegetables at dinner. That they are familiar with gardening is apparent from the reference to neatly planted beds (*Od.* 7.127)

beside the furthest row of vines.

Indeed, they also ate onions, even though their juice is quite unhealthy (*Il.* 11.630):

and an onion as a garnish of the drink.

Homer also presents them as taking care of fruit trees:

25 ὄγχνη γὰρ ἐπ' ὄγχνη που γηράσκει⁸³, < . . . >
 < . . . > σύκον δ' ἢ ἐπὶ σύκω.

διὸ καὶ τῶν δένδρων τὰ μὲν καρποφόρα καλὰ προσ-
 αγορεύει.⁸⁴

ἔνθα < . . . > δένδρεα καλὰ πεφύκει < . . . >,
 ὄγχναι καὶ ῥοιαὶ καὶ μηλείαι.

τὰ δ' εἰς ξυλείαν εὐθετα μακρά, τοῖς ἐπιθέτοις τὰς
 χρήσεις διαστέλλων·

ἔνθα⁸⁵ δένδρεα μακρὰ πεφύκει,
 κλήθρη τ' αἴγειρός τ', ἐλάτη τ' ἦν οὐρανομήκης.

b ἀρχαιοτέρα δ' ἦν καὶ τῶν Τρωικῶν ἢ τούτων χρήσις.
 Τάνταλος γοῦν οὐδὲ θανὼν ἀπαλλάττεται τῆς | τούτων
 ἐπιθυμίας· εἶπερ ὁ κολάζων αὐτὸν θεὸς προσείων,
 καθάπερ οἱ τὰ ἄλογα τῶν ζώων τοῖς θαλλοῖς ἄγοντες,
 τοὺς τοιούτους καρποὺς ἀποκρούεται αὐτὸν τῆς ἀπο-
 λαύσεως, ὅτε τῆς ἐλπίδος ἐγγὺς ἔλθοι. καὶ Λαέρτην δ'
 Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀναμιμνήσκει ὧν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ παιδὶ ὄντι·

ὄγχνας μοι δῶκας τρισκαίδεκα,

καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.

Ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἰχθύς ἦσθιον Σαρπηδῶν δῆλον ποιεῖ,

⁸³ γηράσκων C; γηράσκουσι E ⁸⁴ A reference to *Od.*
 7.114–15; but the traditional text of 114 reads ἔνθα δὲ δένδρεα
 μακρὰ πεφύκασι. ⁸⁵ The traditional text of Homer has
 ὄθι for Athenaeus' unmetrical ἔνθα.

BOOK I

for pear somehow follows pear into maturity,
... and fig follows fig.²⁰³

This is why he calls fruit-trees "lovely":

Lovely trees grew there,
pear, pomegranate, and apple.

He refers to trees suitable for lumber, on the other hand, as "tall," distinguishing their uses by the adjectives he applies to them (*Od.* 5.238–9):

Tall trees grew there,
alder and poplar, and pine(s) reached up to heaven.

The use of these predated the Trojan War. Tantalus (cf. *Od.* 11.582–92), for example, is not free of his desire for them even after death, since the god punishing him dangles fruit of this sort in front of him, in the same way people make irrational creatures²⁰⁴ move forward by using green branches (cf. *Pl. Phdr.* 230d); and then he keeps him from enjoying the food when he is on the verge of realizing his hopes. Likewise Odysseus reminds Laertes of what he gave him when he was a boy (*Od.* 24.340):

You gave me 13 pear trees,
and so on.

Sarpedon makes it clear that they ate fish when he com-

²⁰³ A condensed and slightly garbled quotation of *Od.* 7.120–1.

²⁰⁴ Perhaps specifically "horses."

ATHENAEUS

ὁμοιῶν τὴν ἄλωσιν πανάγρου δικτύου θήρα. καίτοι
 c Εὐβουλος κατὰ τὴν κωμικὴν χάριν φησὶ παίζων |

ἰχθὺν δ' Ὅμηρος ἐσθίοντ' εἶρηκε ποῦ
 τίνα τῶν Ἀχαιῶν; κρέα δὲ μόνον ὤπτων, ἐπεὶ
 ἔψοντά γ' οὐ πεπόηκεν αὐτῶν οὐδένα,
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μικρόν. οὐδ' ἑταίραν εἶδε τις
 αὐτῶν, ἑαυτοὺς δ' ἔδεφον ἐνιαυτοὺς δέκα·
 πικρὰν στρατείαν δ' εἶδον, οἵτινες πόλιν
 μίαν λαβόντες εὐρυπρωκτότεροι πολὺν
 τῆς πόλεος ἀπεχώρησαν ἧς εἶλον τότε.

οὐδὲ τὸν ἀέρα δ' <οἱ> ἦρωες τοῖς ὄρνισιν εἶων ἐλεύ-
 d θερον, παγίδας καὶ νεφέλας ἐπὶ ταῖς κίχλαις καὶ |
 πελειάσιν ἰστάντες. ἐγυμνάζοντο δὲ πρὸς ὄρνεοθηρευ-
 τικὴν τὴν πελειάδα τῇ μηρίνθῳ κρεμάντες ἀπὸ νηὸς
 ἰστοῦ καὶ τοξεύοντες ἐκηβόλως εἰς αὐτήν, ὡς ἐν τῷ
 Ἐπιταφίῳ δηλοῦται. παρέλιπε δὲ τὴν χρῆσιν τῶν
 λαχάνων καὶ ἰχθύων καὶ ὄρνιθων⁸⁶ διὰ τε τὴν λιχνείαν
 καὶ προσέτι τὴν ἐν ταῖς σκευασίαις ἀπρέπειαν, ἐλάτ-
 τω κεκρικῶς ἠρωικῶν καὶ θείων ἔργων. ὅτι δὲ καὶ
 ἐφθοῖς ἐχρῶντο κρέασιν ἐμφανίζει ἐν οἷς λέγει.⁸⁷

ὡς δὲ λέβης ζεῖ < . . . >

e κνίσση μελδόμενος ἀπαλοτρεφέος σιάλοιο. |

⁸⁶ καὶ τῶν ὄρνιθων CE ⁸⁷ Accusative κνίσσην should probably be printed in 363; but Athenaeus' dative is attested in other witnesses. Athenaeus has also replaced Homer's uncontracted ζέει with the contracted form ζεῖ.

BOOK I

pares being captured to being caught in a fishing net (*Il.* 5.487–8). Eubulus (fr. 118), with typical comic wit, nonetheless jokingly says:

Where does Homer refer to any Achaean as eating fish? And all they did with their meat was roast it;

he never has any of them stew something, not even a little. And none of them laid eyes on a courtesan; they had to jerk off for ten years.

That was a miserable expedition for them; they only captured one city, and they left with their assholes enlarged more than the gates of the town they captured!²⁰⁵

Nor did the heroes leave the air free for the birds, since they set out traps and nets for thrushes and doves. And they trained to hunt birds by tying a dove to a ship's mast with a string and shooting at it from a distance, as is clear from the *Funeral Games* (*Il.* 23.852–6). But Homer ignored the fact that they ate vegetables, fish, and birds, because he was concerned about gluttony, and because preparing such foods is an ugly business, which he considered beneath the level of heroic, godlike deeds. But he makes it clear that they also ate stewed meat in the passage where he says (*Il.* 21.362–3):

as a cauldron boils . . .
melting down the lard of a fatted hog.

²⁰⁵ Because (despite line 5) they had bugged one another so long and hard.

καὶ ὁ κατ' Ὀδυσσέως ἀφεθείς ποῦς βοὸς τούτου σημείον· πόδα γὰρ βόειον οὐδεὶς ὀπτᾶ. καὶ τὸ

κρειῶν δὲ⁸⁸ πίνακας παρέθηκεν αἰείρας
παντοίων

οὐ μόνον τὴν τῶν κρεῶν ἐξαλλαγὴν δηλοῖ, ὡς ὀρνίθια, χοίρεια, ἐρίφεια, βόεια λέγων, ἀλλὰ τὴν σκευασίαν ὡς ποικίλην ἔχοντα καὶ οὐ μονοειδῆ ἀλλὰ περιττήν.

Ὡς ἀνακύπτειν τὰς Σικελικὰς καὶ Συβαριτικὰς καὶ Ἰταλικὰς⁸⁹ τραπέζας, ἥδη δὲ καὶ Χίιας. μαρτυροῦνται γὰρ καὶ Χίιοι οὐκ ἔλαττον τῶν προειρημένων | ἐπὶ ὄψαρτυκτῆ. Τιμοκλῆς·

Χίιοι πολὺν

ἄριστ' ἀνευρήκασιν ὄψαρτυσίαν.

Κοιμῶνται δὲ μετὰ γυναικῶν παρ' Ὀμήρῳ οὐ μόνον οἱ νέοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ γέροντες Φοῖνιξ τε καὶ Νέστωρ. μόνῳ Μενελάῳ οὐ συνζεύκται γυνὴ διὰ γυναῖκα γαμετὴν ἠρπασμένην τὴν στρατείαν πεποιημένῳ.

παλαιὸν μὲν οἶνον, ἄνθεα δ' ὕμνων
νεωτέρων

⁸⁸ Homer has δὲ κρειῶν.

⁸⁹ καὶ Ἰταλικὰς del. Kaibel

²⁰⁶ Contrast 1.9a with n. ²⁰⁷ The subject of the discussion changes abruptly here, and this quotation is probably part of

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The cow's-foot thrown at Odysseus (*Od.* 20.299–300) is also evidence of this; because no one roasts a cow's-foot. So too the passage (e.g. *Od.* 1.141–2)

he picked up platters of meat and set them by
their side,
and the meat was of every sort

not only reveals that they ate different types of meat, as if he said "poultry, pork, goat, and beef," but also that it was prepared in various ways, which were not all alike but diverse.²⁰⁶

The Sicilian, Sybarite, and Italian culinary styles emerged in this way, as did the Chian style around the same time; for there is evidence that the Chians were as interested in fine dining as the peoples just mentioned. Timocles (fr. 39):

Chians

have made the finest innovations in cooking.

It is not just the young men who sleep with women in Homer, but also the old men like Phoenix and Nestor. Only Menelaus is not paired with a woman, since he organized the expedition when the woman to whom he was married was carried off.

Pindar (*O.* 9.48–9) praises²⁰⁷

old wine, but the flowers of hymns
that are newer.

the introductory remarks of a new speaker (perhaps Galen, although 1.26c more likely represents his entry into the conversation, as he takes up the topic of specifically Italian wines).

Πίνδαρος ἐπαινεί. Εὐβουλος δέ φησιν·

ἄτοπόν γε τὸν μὲν οἶνον εὐδοκιμῆν αἰεὶ
παρὰ ταῖς ἐταίραις τὸν παλαιόν, ἄνδρα δὲ
μὴ τὸν παλαιόν, ἀλλὰ τὸν νεώτερον.

- 26 τὸ αὐτὸ || δὲ καὶ Ἄλεξις σχεδὸν ἀπαρράλλακτως, τοῦ σφόδρα μόνου κειμένου ἀντὶ τοῦ αἰεὶ. ὄντως δὲ ὁ παλαιὸς οἶνος οὐ πρὸς ἡδονὴν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ὑγίειαν προσφορώτερος. πέσσει τε γὰρ μᾶλλον τὰ σῖτα καὶ λεπτομερῆς ὢν εὐανάδοτός ἐστι δύναμιν τε τοῖς σώμασιν ἐμποιεῖ τὸ αἷμά τε ἐνερευθὲς καὶ εὐανάδοτον κατασκευάζει καὶ τοὺς ὕπνου ἀταράχους παρέχει. ἐπαινεί δὲ Ὅμηρος τὸν ἐπιδεχόμενον ἱκανὴν κρᾶσιν, ὡς τὸν τοῦ Μάρωνος. ἐπιδέχεται δὲ πλείω
b κρᾶσιν ὁ παλαιὸς οἶνος διὰ τὸ | μᾶλλον θερμὸς γίνεσθαι παλαιούμενος. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ τὴν Διονύσου φυγὴν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν οἰνοποιίαν σημαίνειν φασὶ πάλαι γνωριζομένην· ἡδὺν γὰρ εἶναι τὸν οἶνον παρεγχεομένης θαλάσσης. ἐπαινῶν δὲ Ὅμηρος τὸν μέλανα οἶνον πολλάκις αὐτὸν καὶ αἶθοπα καλεῖ· δυναμικώτατος γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ μένων ἐν ταῖς ἕξεσι τῶν πινόντων πλείστον χρόνον. Θεόπομπος δὲ φησι παρὰ Χίους πρώτους γενέσθαι τὸν μέλανα οἶνον, καὶ τὸ φυτεύειν δὲ καὶ θεραπεύειν ἀμπέλους Χίους πρώτους μαθόντας
c παρ' | Οἰνοπίωνος τοῦ Διονύσου, ὃς καὶ συνώκισε τὴν

208 For Maron, who gave Odysseus the extraordinarily strong

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And Eubulus (fr. 122) says:

It's strange that courtesans always have
a high opinion of old wine; but when it comes to a
man,
it's not an old one they want but someone younger.

Alexis (fr. 284) has almost precisely the same words, except that he says "have a very high opinion" rather than "always have a high opinion." In fact, old wine not only tastes better but is better for one's health. Because it is more effective at promoting the digestion of one's food; since it has broken down more completely, it is more easily absorbed; it supplies the body with energy; it renders the blood redder and makes it more absorptive; and it produces undisturbed sleep. Homer (*Od.* 9.209–11) praises wine like Maron's that can stand up to a substantial admixture of water.²⁰⁸ Old wine can stand up to more water, because it grows increasingly "hot" as it ages. Some authorities assert that Dionysus' flight into the sea (*Il.* 6.135–6)²⁰⁹ is an indication that men have known how to make wine for a long time; for wine tastes good when salt-water is poured into it. When Homer praises dark wine, he often refers to it as "fiery red" (e.g. *Il.* 1.462), because it is very potent and and remains in one's system for a long time when one drinks it. Theopompus (*FCrH* 115 F 276) says that dark wine was first produced by the Chians, and that they were the first to learn to grow and care for grapes, from Dionysus' son Oenopion, who also transformed the island into a

wine he offered to the Cyclops, cf. Clearch. Com. fr. *5, quoted at 1.28e, 33d. ²⁰⁹ Dionysus was fleeing the mad King Lycurgus and found refuge with Thetis.

νήσον, τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις μεταδοῦναι. ὁ δὲ λευκὸς οἶνος ἀσθενῆς καὶ λεπτός. ὁ δὲ κίρρος πέττει ῥῆον ξηρατικὸς ὦν.

Περὶ Ἰταλικῶν οἴνων φησὶν ὁ παρὰ τούτῳ τῷ σοφιστῇ Γαληνός· ὁ Φαλερίνος οἶνος ἀπὸ ἐτῶν δέκα ἐστὶ πότιμος καὶ ἀπὸ πεντεκαίδεκα μέχρι εἴκοσιν· ὁ δ' ὑπὲρ τούτου ἐκπίπτων τὸν χρόνον κεφαλαγῆς καὶ τοῦ νευρώδους καθάπτεται. εἶδη δ' αὐτοῦ δύο, ὁ αὐστηρὸς
d καὶ ὁ γλυκάζων· οὗτος δὲ τοιοῦτος γίνεται ὅταν ἢ ὑπὸ τὸν τρυγητὸν νότοι πνεύσωσι, παρ' ὃ καὶ μελάντερος γίνεται. ὁ δὲ μὴ οὕτω τρυγηθεὶς αὐστηρὸς τε καὶ τῷ χρώματι κίρρος. καὶ τοῦ Ἄλβανου δὲ οἴνου εἶδη δύο, ὁ μὲν γλυκάζων, ὁ δ' ὀμφακίας· ἀμφότεροι δὲ ἀπὸ πεντεκαίδεκα ἐτῶν ἀκμάζουσι. Συρεντίνος δὲ ἀπὸ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν ἄρχεται γίνεσθαι πότιμος· ὦν γὰρ ἀλιπῆς καὶ λίαν ψαφαρὸς μόλις πεπαίνεται· καὶ παλαιούμενος σχεδὸν μόνοις ἐστὶν ἐπιτήδειος τοῖς
e χρωμένους διηλεκῶς. ὁ δὲ Ῥηγίνος τοῦ Συρεντίνου λιπαρώτερος ἢ ὦν χρήσιμος ἀπὸ ἐτῶν πεντεκαίδεκα. χρήσιμος καὶ ὁ Πριούερνος λεπτομερέστερος ὦν τοῦ Ῥηγίνου ἤκιστα τε καθαπτόμενος κεφαλῆς. τούτῳ ἐμφορῆς ὁ Φορμιανός, ταχὺ δὲ ἀκμάζει καὶ λιπαρώτερός ἐστιν αὐτοῦ. βράδιον δ' ἀκμάζει ὁ Τριφολίνος, ἐστὶ δὲ τοῦ Συρεντίνου γεωδέστερος. ὁ δὲ Στατανὸς τῶν πρώτων ἐστὶν οἴνων, ἐμφορῆς τῷ Φαλερίνω, κομφότερος <δέ>, οὐ πληκτικός. ὁ Τιβουρτίνος λεπτός, εὐδιάπνευστος, ἀκμάζων ἀπὸ ἐτῶν δέκα· κρείττων δὲ
f γίνεται παλαιούμενος. ἢ ὁ Λαβικανὸς ἠδὺς καὶ λιπα-

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single state; and that they passed the knowledge on to others. White wine, on the other hand, is weak and thin-bodied, whereas yellow wine is better for the digestion, since it is drying.

Regarding Italian wines, the Galen who was in this sophist's house says: Falernian wine can be drunk after ten years and especially after 15 to 20; once it is older than that, it causes headaches and attacks the nervous system. There are two varieties of it, one dry, the other sweet. It takes on the latter character whenever southerly winds blow during the grape-harvest; this also makes the wine darker. When not subjected to such harvest conditions, it is dry and yellow-colored. There are also two varieties of Alban wine, one sweet and the other acidic; both are mature after 15 years. Sorrentine begins to be drinkable after 25 years; because it is thin and quite watery, it matures slowly, and even after it ages it appeals almost exclusively to those who drink it regularly. Wine from Rhegium has more body than Sorrentine and can be drunk after 15 years. Privernian is also drinkable, and breaks down more thoroughly than Rhegian does and is quite unlikely to go to one's head. Formian resembles Privernian, but matures quickly and is richer than Privernian. Trifolian matures more slowly and has an earthier character than Sorrentine. Statan is one of the best wines; it resembles Falernian but is lighter and not particularly powerful. Tiburtine is light and quick to evaporate, and is mature after ten years; it improves as it ages. Labian is sweet and rich-tasting.

- ρὸς τῇ γεύσει, μεταξὺ Φαλερίνου καὶ Ἀλβανοῦ· ὁ δὲ ἄρχεται τῆς πόσεως ἀπὸ ἐτῶν δέκα. ὁ Γαυρανὸς δὲ καὶ ὀλίγος καὶ κάλλιστος, προσέτι τε εὔτονος καὶ παχύς, Πραϊνεστίνου δὲ <καὶ> Τιβουρτίνου λιπαρώτερος. ὁ Μαρσικὸς δὲ πᾶν αὐστηρὸς, εὐστόμαχος δέ. γίνεται δὲ περὶ τὴν Καμπανίας Κύμην ὁ καλούμενος Οὐλβανός, κούφος, πότιμος ἀπὸ ἐτῶν πέντε. ὁ Ἀγκωνιτανός⁹⁰ χρηστός, λιπαρός, πό[τιμος ἢ ἀπὸ ἐτῶν . . .]⁹¹. ὁ Βυξεντίνος ἐμφερῶς⁹² ἔχει τῷ Ἀλβανῷ τῷ ὀμφακίᾳ· ἐστὶ δὲ δυνάμει < . . . > καὶ εὐστόμαχος. ὁ Οὐελίτερνος δὲ ἠδὺς πινόμενος, εὐστόμαχος· ἴδιον δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν ἀπαρέγγυτος εἶναι· ἐμφαίνει γὰρ ὡς ἐμμεμιγμένου αὐτῷ ἐτέρου. ὁ Καληνὸς κούφος, τοῦ Φαλερίνου εὐστομαχώτερος. εὐγενῆς δὲ καὶ ὁ Καίκουβος, πληκτικός, εὔτονος· παλαιοῦται δὲ μετὰ ἱκανὰ ἔτη. ὁ Φουνδανὸς εὔτονος, πολύτροφος, κεφαλῆς καὶ στομάχου ἄπτεται· διὸ οὐ πολὺς ἐν συμποσίοις πίνεται.
- b πάντων | δὲ τούτων ὁ Σαβίνος κουφότερος, ἀπὸ ἐτῶν ἑπτὰ ἐπιτήδειος πίνεσθαι μέχρι πεντεκαίδεκα. ὁ δὲ Σιγνίνος <ἀπὸ ἐτῶν . . . > μέχρις ἐτῶν ἕξ χρήσιμος, παλαιωθεὶς δὲ πολὺ χρησιμώτερος. ὁ Νουμεντανὸς ἀκμάζει ταχὺ καὶ ἀπὸ ἐτῶν πέντε πότιμός ἐστιν· ἐστὶ δ' οὔτε λίαν ἠδὺς οὔτε λεπτός. ὁ Σπωλητίνος οἶνος < . . . > καὶ πινόμενος ἠδὺς καὶ τῷ χρώματι χρυσίζει. Αἰκουανὸς κατὰ πολλὰ τῷ Συρρεντίνῳ παρεμφερής. ὁ Βαρίνος λίαν αὐστηρὸς καὶ αἰεὶ ἑαυτοῦ κρείττων γίνεται. εὐγενῆς καὶ ὁ Καυκίνος | καὶ τῷ Φαλερίνῳ ἐμφερής. ὁ Βενεφρανὸς εὐστόμαχος καὶ κούφος. ὁ ἐν
- c

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somewhere between Falernian and Alban; it becomes drinkable after ten years. Gauran is rare and excellent, and is in addition full-bodied and substantial, and richer than Praenestian and Tiburtine. Marsic is very dry but easy on the stomach. The so-called Ulban is produced around Cumae in Campania; it is light and can be drunk after five years. Anconitan is fine, rich, and dr[inkable after . . . years]. Buxentine resembles acidic Alban, but in its strength it is . . . and easy on the stomach. Velitern has a sweet taste and is easy on the stomach, but has the peculiar quality of seeming to be diluted; for it gives the impression that some other wine has been mixed in with it. Calenian is light and easier on the stomach than Falernian. Caecuban is also an excellent wine, powerful and with a good body; but it requires quite a number of years to age. Fundan is full-bodied and nourishing, and affects the head and stomach; it is therefore not much drunk in symposia. Sabine is lighter than all of these and is good for drinking after seven to 15 years. Signine can be drunk after . . . to six years, but is much better after it ages. Nomentan matures quickly and can be drunk after five years; it is neither too sweet nor too light. Spoletine wine . . . and has a sweet taste and a golden color. Aequan is like Sorrentine in many respects. Barine is quite dry and continually improves. Caucine is also excellent; it resembles Falernian. Venefran is easy on

⁹⁰ ὁ Ἀγκωνιτανὸς Casaubon: ὁ νιτάνος C. E omits much of this section, and the text in C contains numerous minor gaps; there can thus be little doubt that a page in their common exemplar was damaged.

⁹¹ π[ό]τιμος ἀπὸ ἐτῶν . . .] Dindorf

⁹² ἐμφερῶς Schweighäuser: φερες C

Νεαπόλει Τρεβιλλικὸς εὐκράτος τῇ δυνάμει εὐστό-
μαχος, εὐστόμος. ὁ Ἑρβουλος ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν ἐστὶ
μέλας, μετ' οὐ πολλὰ δὲ ἔτη λευκὸς γίνεται· ἐστὶ δὲ
λίαν κούφος καὶ τρυφερός. ὁ Μασσαλήτης καλός·
ὀλίγος δὲ γίνεται, παχύς, σαρκώδης. Ταραντῖνος δὲ
καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ κλίματος τούτου πάντες ἀπαλοί, οὐ
πλήξιν, οὐ τόνου ἔχοντες, ἡδεῖς, εὐστόμαχοι. ὁ δὲ
d Μαμερτῖνος ἔξω μὲν τῆς Ἰταλίας | γίνεται καὶ γινώ-
μενος ἐν Σικελίᾳ καλεῖται Ἰωτάλιος. ἡδὺς δ' ἐστὶ,
κούφος, εὐτόνος.

Ἔστι παρ' Ἰνδοῖς τιμᾶται δαίμων, ὡς φησι Χάρης ὁ
Μιτυληναῖος, ὃς καλεῖται Σοροάδειος· ἐρμηνεύεται δὲ
Ἑλλάδι φωνῇ οἰνοποιός.

Ἔστι Ἀντιφάνης που ὁ χαρίεις τὰ ἐξ ἐκάστης πό-
λεως ιδιώματα οὕτω καταλέγει·

ἔξ Ἥλιδος μάγειρος, ἐξ Ἄργουος λέβης,
Φλιάσιος οἶνος, ἐκ Κορίνθου στρώματα,
e ἰχθύς Σικυῶνος, Αἰγίου δ' αὐλητρίδες, |
τυρὸς Σικελικός < . . . >,
μύρον ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, ἐγγέλεις Βοιώται.

Ἔρμιππος δ' οὕτως·

ἔσπετε νῦν μοι, Μοῦσαι Ὀλύμπια δώματ'
ἔχουσαι,
ἔξ οὗ ναυκληρεῖ Διόνυσος ἐπ' οἶνοπα πόντον,

210 *Sura* appears to be a Sanskrit term for an alcoholic drink of some sort, but the Sanskrit lexicon has no deity whose name con-

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the stomach and light. Neapolitan Trebellic is moderately powerful, easy on the stomach, and pleasant in the mouth. Erbulan is initially dark, but becomes white after a few years; it is very light and delicate. Massilian is good; not much of it is produced, and it is syrupy and full-bodied. Tarentine and all the wines from that region are soft, have little power or body, and are sweet and easy on the stomach. Mamertine is produced outside of Italy, and when produced in Sicily is referred to as Iotaline. It is sweet, light, and full-bodied.

According to Chares of Mytilene (*FGrH* 125 F 17), the Indians worship a divinity called Soroadeios, which when translated into Greek is "Winemaker."²¹⁰

The witty Antiphanes (fr. 233) somewhere offers the following list of every city's specialty:

A cook from Elis, a cauldron from Argos,
Phliasian wine, bed-clothes from Corinth,
Sicyonian fish, pipe-girls from Aegion,
Sicilian cheese,
Athenian perfume, Boeotian eels.

Hermippus (fr. 63) puts it thus:²¹¹

Tell me now, Muses whose home is on Olympus,
during the time that Dionysus is a captain on the
wine-dark sea

tains this element. Since Chares wrote in the late 4th century BCE, he may be reporting a Middle Indo-Aryan (Prakrit) name of a local deity in either the Punjab (ancient Gandhara) or Sindh (as far as Alexander ventured).

²¹¹ The passage is in epic meter and much of the language is modelled on (or borrowed directly from) Homer.

ὅσσ' ἀγάθ' ἀνθρώποις δεῦρ' ἤγαγε νηὶ μελαίνῃ.
 ἐκ μὲν Κυρήνης καυλὸν καὶ δέρμα βόειον,
 ἐκ δ' Ἑλλησπόντου σκόμβρους καὶ πάντα

ταρίχη,

ἐκ δ' αὖ Θετταλίας χόνδρον καὶ πλευρὰ βόεια
 καὶ παρὰ Σιτάλκου ψώραν Λακεδαιμονίοισι,
 καὶ παρὰ Περδίκκου ψεύδη ναυσὶν πάνν

f πολλαῖς. |

αἱ δὲ Συράκουσαι σῦς καὶ τυρὸν παρέχουσαι

* * *

καὶ Κερκυραίους ὁ Ποσειδῶν ἐξολέσειε
 ναυσὶν ἐπὶ γλαφυραῖς, ὅτι ἡ δίχα θυμὸν ἔχουσι.
 ταῦτα μὲν ἐντεῦθεν· ἐκ δ' Αἰγύπτου τὰ κρεμαστὰ
 ἰστία καὶ βίβλους, ἀπὸ δ' αὖ Συρίας λιβανωτόν.

ἡ δὲ καλὴ Κρήτη κυπάριστον τοῖσι θεοῖσιν,
 ἡ Λιβύη δ' ἐλέφαντα πολὺν παρέχει κατὰ
 πράσιν,

ἡ Ῥόδος ἀσταφίδας <τε> καὶ ἰσχάδας
 ἡδονεῖρους.

αὐτὰρ ἀπ' Εὐβοίας ἀπίους καὶ ἴφια μῆλα,
 ἀνδράποδ' ἐκ Φρυγίας, ἀπὸ δ' Ἀρκαδίας
 ἐπικούρους.

²¹² A Thracian king (died winter 424/3 BCE) and sometime ally of the Athenians. Mange is a skin disease caused by fleas, and produces intense itching.

²¹³ Perdiccas II, King of Macedon c.454–413 BCE, who made and abruptly renounced numerous alliances with Athens during the Peloponnesian War years.

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about all the good things he brings here for men with
his black ship.

From Cyrene there is silphium stalk and cowhides;
from the Hellespont mackerel and every kind of salt-
fish;

from Thessaly barley-meal and sides of beef.

And from Sitalces²¹² there is mangle for the Spartans,
and from Perdiccas²¹³ a huge number of ships full of
lies.

Syracuse supplying us with hogs and cheese . . .

* * *

And as for the Corcyreans—may Poseidon destroy
them

in their hollow ships, for their heart is divided!²¹⁴

That's where all these items are from. From Egypt
comes hanging gear,

that is sails and papyrus ropes;²¹⁵ and from Syria
comes frankincense.

Beautiful Crete furnishes cypress wood for the
gods,²¹⁶

while Libya has vast amounts of ivory for sale,
and Rhodes offers raisins and dried figs that bring
sweet dreams.

He brings pears and goodly apples²¹⁷ from Euboea,
slaves from Phrygia, and mercenaries from Arcadia.

²¹⁴ Corcyra was torn by a civil war between pro- and anti-Athenian factions that came to a climax in 427 BCE.

²¹⁵ Distinguished from "wooden gear" (oars, masts, and the like).

²¹⁶ For use in roof-beams and doors in temples; cf. *IG* I³ 461.35 (the Parthenon); Thphr. *HP* 5.4.2.

²¹⁷ A play on a Homeric phrase in which *iphia mēla* means "goodly sheep."

28 αἱ Παγασαὶ δούλους καὶ στιγματίας παρέχουσι. ἢ
τὰς δὲ Διὸς βαλάνους καὶ ἀμύγδαλα σιγαλόεντα
Παφλαγόνες παρέχουσι· τὰ γὰρ <τ'> ἀναθήματα
δαιτός.

† Φοινίκη δ' αὖ † καρπὸν φοίνικος καὶ
σεμίδαλι,

Καρχηδῶν δάπιδας καὶ ποικίλα προσκεφάλαια.

Πίνδαρος δ' ἐν τῇ εἰς Ἱέρωνα Πυθικῇ ᾠδῇ·

ἀπὸ Ταῦγέτοιο μὲν Λάκαιναν

ἐπὶ θηρσὶ κύνα τρέχειν

πυκινώτατον ἔρπετόν·

Σκύριαι δ' ἐς ἄμελξιν γάλαγος αἶγες ἐξοχώταται

ὄπλα δ' ἀπ' Ἄργεος, ἄρμα Θη-

b βαῖον < . . . > ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγλαοκάρπου |

Σικελίας ὄχημα δαιδάλεον ματεύειν.

Κριτίας δὲ οὕτως·

κότταβος ἐκ Σικελῆς <ἔστι> χθονός, ἐκπρεπὲς
ἔργον,

ὄν σκοπὸν ἐς λατάγων τόξα καθιστάμεθα.

εἶτα δ' ὄχος Σικελὸς κάλλει δαπάνη τε κράτιστος

* * *

Θεσσαλικὸς δὲ θρόνος γυίων τρυφερωτάτη ἔδρα.

εὐναίου δὲ λέχους † κάλλος ἔχει

Μίλητός τε Χίος τ' ἔναλος πόλις Οἰνοπίωνος.

218 Cf. 2.53b-d.

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Pagasae supplies us with servants and men with
tattoos,
and hazelnuts²¹⁸ and shining almonds
are provided by the Paphlagonians; for these are the
accessories of a feast.
† Phoenicia again † offers dates and wheat,
Carthage blankets and embroidered pillows.

Pindar in his Pythian ode for Hieron (fr. 106):

From Taygetos a Spartan
hound for hunting, the cleverest
four-legged creature at running.
But for giving milk, Scyrian goats are pre-eminent,
as are Argive weapons and Theban
chariots. From Sicily
of glorious crops look for the elaborately built mule-
cart.

Critias (fr. B 2 West²) puts it thus:

The cottabus-stand is from the land of Sicily, a pre-
eminent manufacture;
we set it up as a target to shoot our wine-lees at.²¹⁹
And after that a Sicilian chariot, most expensive and
beautiful.

* * *

A Thessalian chair is the most luxurious seat for one's
limbs.

The † beauty of a bed to sleep in belongs to
Miletus and Chios, Oenopion's city in the sea.²²⁰

²¹⁹ For *cottabus* (a symposium game), see 15.665d-8f.

²²⁰ See 1.26b-c.

c Τυροσηνὴ δὲ κρατεῖ χρυσότυπος φιάλη,
 καὶ πᾶς χαλκὸς ὅτις κοσμεῖ δόμον ἔν τινι χρεία. |
 Φοίνικες δ' ἠῦρον γράμματ' ἀλεξίλογα.
 Θήβη δ' ἄρματόεντα δίφρον συνεπήξατο πρώτη·
 φορτηγούς δ' ἀκάτους Κᾶρες ἀλὸς ταμίαι.
 τὸν δὲ τροχὸν γαίας τε καμίνου τ' ἔκγονον ἠῦρεν
 κλεινότατον κέραμον, χρήσιμον οἰκονόμον,
 ἢ τὸ καλὸν Μαραθῶνι καταστήσασα τρόπαιον.

καὶ ἐπαινέεται ὄντως ὁ Ἀττικὸς κέραμος. Εὐβουλος δέ
 φησι † Κνίδια κεράμια, Σικελικὰ βατάνια, Μεγαρικὰ
 d | πιθάκνια †. Ἀντιφάνης δέ·

<καὶ> νᾶπυ Κύπριον καὶ σκαμωνίας ὀπὸν
 <καὶ> κάρδαμον Μιλήσιον <καὶ> κρόμμνον
 Σαμοθράκιον <καὶ> καυλὸν ἐκ Καρχηδόνος
 καὶ σίλφιον, θύμον <τε τῶν> Ἵμμητίων
 ὀρίγανόν <τε> Τενέδιον.

Ὅτι ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς τὸν Χαλυβώνιον μόνον
 οἶνον ἔπινεν· ὃν φησι Ποσειδώνιος κὰν Δαμασκῶ τῆς
 Συρίας γίνεσθαι, Περσῶν αὐτόθι καταφυτευσάντων
 τὰς ἀμπέλους. ἐν δὲ Ἰσση τῇ κατὰ τὸν Ἀδρίαν νήσῳ
 Ἀγαθαρχίδης φησὶν οἶνον γίνεσθαι ὃν πᾶσι συγκρι-
 e νόμενον | καλλίω εὐρίσκεσθαι. Χίου δὲ οἶνου καὶ
 Θασίου μέμνηται Ἐπίλυκος·

221 Athens (hence the comment that follows).

222 Pollux 6.67 assigns these verses not to Antiphanes but to Eubulus' *Glaucus* (= Eub. fr. 18).

BOOK I

Etruscan libation-bowls of hammered gold are
pre-eminent,
as is all their bronzework that ornaments a house for
any purpose.

The Phoenicians discovered the letters that
preserve our words.

Thebes was the first to bolt together a chariot seat;
and the Carians, stewards of the sea, built the first
cargo-ships.

But the potter's wheel and the child of earth and kiln,
glorious pottery, a useful resident of one's house,
were invented by the city that erected the beautiful
victory monument at Marathon.²²¹

Attic pottery is in fact praised. Eubulus (fr. 130; unmet-
rical) says: † Cnidian jars, Sicilian cookpans, Megarian
casks †. Antiphanes:²²²

and Cyprian mustard and scamony juice
and Milesian cress and Samothracian
onion and silphium stalk and silphium root
from Carthage and Hymettan thyme
and oregano from Tenedus.

The Persian King drank only Chalybonian wine;
Posidonius (*FGrH* 87 F 68 = fr. 242 Edelstein-Kidd)
claims that it was also produced in Damascus in Syria, be-
cause the Persians planted the vines there. Agatharchides
(*FGrH* 86 F 18) says that on Issa, which is an island in the
Adriatic, wine is produced that everyone judges the best
when it is compared with any other kind. Epilycus (fr. 7)
mentions Chian and Thasian wines:

ATHENAEUS

< . . . > Χίος καὶ Θάσιος ἠθημένως.

καὶ⁹³ Ἀντίδοτος δέ·

Θάσιον ἔγχει < . . . >

† ὁ γὰρ λαβὼν μου καταφάγει τὴν καρδίαν,
ὅταν πῖω τοῦδ', εὐθὺς ὑγιῆς γίνεται.
Ἀσκληπιὸς κατέβρεξε.

οἶνος Λέσβιος

ὃν αὐτὸς † ἐποίησεν ὁ Μάρων μοι δοκῶ,

φησὶ Κλέαρχος.

Λεσβίου <δὲ> πώματος

οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος οἶνος ἠδίων πιεῖν,

φησὶν Ἀλεξίς.⁹⁴

Θασίους οἴναρίους καὶ Λεσβίους

τῆς ἡμέρας τὸ λοιπὸν ὑποβρέχει μέρος
καὶ νωγαλίζει.

ὁ αὐτός·

f ἠδύς <γ'> ὁ Βρόμιος. χρῆν ἀτέλειαν Λεσβίους
ποιεῖν τὸν οἶνον εἰσάγουσιν ἐνθάδε |
ὃς ἂν εἰς ἑτέραν ληφθῆ δ' ἀποστέλλων πόλιν

⁹³ The quotation that follows is omitted by E and preserved only in the margin in C. ⁹⁴ C adds; in the margin: ὅτι ὁ Λέσβιος ἠδίων τῶν ἄλλων πάντων φησὶν Ἀλεξίς ("Alexis says that Lesbian (wine) is more pleasant than all the others").

BOOK I

Chian and strained Thasian.

Also Antidotus (fr. 4):

Pour me some Thasian!

† After getting which he gnaws at my heart;
but whenever I drink some of this, immediately it's
healed.

Asclepius watered it.

Lesbian wine

that Maron²²³ himself † made, I suspect,

says Clearchus (fr. *5).

There's no other wine that's
more pleasant to drink than the Lesbian draught,

says Alexis (fr. 276).²²⁴

He keeps the rest of the day
moist with Thasian and Lesbian wines,
and eats snacks. (Alex. fr. 277)

The same author (Alex. fr. 278):

Bromius is kind! We ought to exempt the Lesbians
from taxes when they import their wine here.
But if anyone is caught exporting even a ladleful

²²³ See 1.26b n.

²²⁴ The fragment that follows is quoted again at 2.47d, where it is assigned to Alexis; most likely a few linking words such as *kai palin* ("and again") have dropped out of the text.

ATHENAEUS

κᾶν κύαθον, ἱερὰν ἐγγράφω τὴν οὐσίαν.

Ἐφιππος·

φιλῶ γε πράμνιον οἶνον Λέσβιον

* * *

πολλὴ δὲ Λεσβία σταγῶν ἐκπίνεται
ἄγαν.

Ἀντιφάνης·

ἔστιν ὄψον χρηστόν, ἐπαγωγὸν πάνυ,
οἶνός τε Θάσιος καὶ μύρον καὶ στέμματα.
ἐν πλησμονῇ γὰρ Κύπρις, ἐν δὲ τοῖς κακῶς
πράσσουσιν οὐκ ἔνεστιν Ἀφροδίτη βροτοῖς.

Εὐβουλος·

Θάσιον ἢ Χίον λαβὼν
ἢ Λέσβιον γέροντα νεκταροσταγῆ.

μέμνηται δὲ οὗτος καὶ ψιθίου οἴνου·

οἶνον γάρ με ψίθιον γεύσας
ἠδὺν ἄκρατον, διψῶντα λαβὼν
ὄξει παίει πρὸς τὰ στήθη.

καὶ Ἀναξανδρίδης·

225 For Pramnian wine (also mentioned in a fragment of Aristophanes quoted at 1.29a; the significance of the adjective is obscure), see 1.30b-e.

BOOK I

to another city, I put his property on the confiscation list.

Ephippus (fr. 28):

I love Pramnian wine²²⁵ from Lesbos.

* * *

Many drops of Lesbian are quickly
swallowed down.

Antiphanes (fr. 238):

Some fine food is there, very enticing,
and Thasian wine, perfume, and garlands.
Because Cypris²²⁶ is found where there's abundance,
but Aphrodite
keeps no company with mortals who are poor.

Eubulus (fr. 121):

After getting some Thasian or Chian
or old Lesbian dripping with nectar.

This author also mentions *psithios*²²⁷ wine (Eub. fr. 136):

After giving me a taste of sweet unmixed
psithios wine and catching me thirsty,
he punches me in the chest with vinegar.

Also Anaxandrides (fr. 73):

²²⁶ Another name for Aphrodite, from the island where she emerged from the sea; cf. Panyas. fr. 17.3 Bernabé (quoted at 2.36d).

²²⁷ The meaning of the adjective is obscure.

29 ψιθίον. ||

᾽Οτι Ἀριστοφάνους τὰς δευτέρας Θεσμοφοριαζούσας Δημήτριος ὁ Τροιζήνιος Θεσμοφοριασάσας ἐπιγράφει. ἐν ταύτῃ ὁ κωμικὸς μέμνηται Πεπαρηθίου οἴνου·

οἶνον δὲ πίνειν οὐκ ἔασω Πράμνιον,
οὐ Χίον, οὐχὶ Θάσιον, οὐ Πεπαρήθιον,
οὐδ' ἄλλον ὅστις ἐπεγερεῖ τὸν ἔμβολον.

Εὐβουλος·

ὁ Λευκάδιος πάρεστι καὶ † Μιλίτιος
οἰνίσκος οὕτω πότιμος.

b Ἀρχεστράτου τοῦ δειπνολόγου· |

εἶθ' ὁπότεν πλήρωμα Διὸς σωτήρος ἔλησθε,
ἤδη χρὴ γεραόν, πολὺν σφόδρα κῶρα
φοροῦντα

οἶνον, ὑγρὴν χαίτην λευκῶ πεπυκασμένου ἄνθει
πίνειν, ἐκ Λέσβου περικύμονος ἐγγεγαῶτα.

τόν τ' ἀπὸ Φοινίκης ἱερῆς τὸν Βίβλινον αἰνῶ,
οὐ μέντοι κείνῳ γε παρεξισῶ αὐτόν. ἐὰν γὰρ
ἐξαίφνης αὐτοῦ γεύση μὴ πρόσθεν ἐθισθείς,

c εὐώδης μὲν σοι δόξει τοῦ Λεσβίου εἶναι |

²²⁸ *Th. II* was apparently set on the final day of the festival, unlike the preserved *Th.*, which takes place on the "middle day."

BOOK I

a mixed pitcher

of *psithios*.

Demetrius of Troezen (*SH* 377) gives Aristophanes' second *Thesmophoriazusae* ("Women Celebrating the *Thesmophoria Festival*") (test. ii) the title *Thesmophoriasasai* ("Women Who Are Done Celebrating the *Thesmophoria Festival*").²²⁸ The comic poet (Ar. fr. 334) mentions Peparethian wine in this play:

I will not allow you to drink Pramnian wine,
or Chian, or Thasian, or Peparethian,
or any other that's going to arouse your ship's-ram.²²⁹

Eubulus (fr. 129):

The Leucadian is there, as is a little
† Militian wine, quite drinkable.

From Arcestratus (fr. 59 Olson-Sens = *SH* 190) the expert on dinners:

Then, whenever you take up a full measure of Zeus
the Savior,
it ought to be an old, quite gray-haired
wine, its moist head covered with a white flower,
that you drink, a wine from wave-girt Lesbos by
birth.

I also praise the Bibline wine from holy Phoenicia,
although I do not rank it equal to *Lesbian*. Because if
you are previously unacquainted with it and taste it
for the first time,
you will think it more fragrant than *Lesbian*,

²²⁹ I.e. that will give the man who drinks it an erection.

μάλλον, ἔχει γὰρ τοῦτο χρόνου διὰ μῆκος
ἄπλατον·

πινόμενος δ' ἦσσαν πολλῶ. κείνος δὲ δοκήσει
οὐκ οἴνω σοι ἔχειν ὅμοιον γέρας, ἀμβροσίη δέ.
εἰ δέ τινες σκώπτουσιν ἀλαζονοχαννοφλύαροι
ὡς ἄδιστος ἔφν πάντων Φοινίκιος οἶνος,
οὐ προσέχω τὸν νοῦν αὐτοῖς < . . . >.

ἔστι δὲ καὶ Θάσιος πίνειν γενναῖος, ἐὰν ἦ
πολλαῖς πρεσβέων ἐτέων περικαλλέσιν ὤραις.
οἶδα δὲ κάξ ἄλλων πόλεων βοτρυοσταγῆ ἔρινη
d εἶπειν αἰνήσαι τε καὶ οὐ με λέληθ' ὀνομήναι. |
ἀλλ' οὐθὲν τᾶλλ' ἐστὶν ἀπλῶς πρὸς Λέσβιον
οἶνον.

ἀλλὰ τινες χαίρουσιν ἐπαινοῦντες τὰ παρ'
αὐτοῖς.

Φοινικίκου δὲ οἴνου μέμνηται καὶ Ἐφιππος·

κάρνα, ῥόας, φοίνικας, ἕτερα νώγαλα,
σταμνάριά τ' οἴνου < . . . > τοῦ Φοινικικοῦ.

καὶ πάλιν·

Φοινικικοῦ βίκός τις ὑπανεώγγυτο.

²³⁰ Here, as elsewhere, the manuscripts are hopelessly confused between the adjectives *Phoinikikos* ("Phoenician") and *phoinikinos* ("palm"). The second verse is quoted in a more complete form (and accompanied by a third) at 2.57e.

BOOK I

for it retains this quality on account of its tremendous
age.

But when it is drunk, it is much inferior, whereas
Lesbian wine
will seem to you to share the rank of ambrosia rather
than of wine.

And if some empty-headed brainless bullshittartists
mockingly assert
that Phoenician wine is best of all,
I pay them no attention . . .

Thasian wine as well is good to drink, if it is
the eldest by many lovely seasons of years.

I am able to mention the vine-shoots dripping with
grape-clusters from other cities as well,
and am not unaware of how to praise and name them.
But the others are just nothing compared with
Lesbian wine,
although some people like to praise what they have in
their own land.

Ephippus (fr. 24.1–2) also mentions Phoenician
wine.²³⁰

nuts, pomegranates, dates, other dainties,
and jars of Phoenician wine.

And again (Ephipp. fr. 8.2):²³¹

Someone opened a transport-jar of Phoenician wine.

²³¹ Quoted in more complete form at 14.642e.

ATHENAEUS

μνημονεύει αὐτοῦ καὶ Ξενοφῶν Ἀναβάσει.⁹⁵ Μενδαίου
δὲ Κρατῖνος·

νῦν δ' ἦν ἴδη Μενδαῖον ἠβῶντ' ἀρτίως
οἰνίσκον, ἔπεται κάκολουθεῖ καὶ λέγει
e "οἴμ' ὡς ἀπαλὸς καὶ λευκός· ἄρ' οἶσει τρία;" |

Ἑρμῖππος δέ που ποιεῖ τὸν Διόνυσον πλειόνων μεμ-
νημένον·

† Μενδαίω μὲν ἐνουροῦσι καὶ † θεοὶ αὐτοὶ
στρώμασιν ἐν μαλακοῖς. Μάγνητα δὲ
μειλιχόδωρον
καὶ Θάσιον, τῷ δὴ μήλων ἐπιδέδρομεν ὁδμή,
τοῦτον ἐγὼ κρίνω πολὺ πάντων εἶναι ἄριστον
τῶν ἄλλων οἴνων μετ' ἀμύμονα Χίου ἄλυπον.
ἔστι δέ τις οἶνος, τὸν δὴ σαπρίαν καλέουσι,
οὗ καὶ ἀπὸ στόματος στάμνων ὑπανοιγομενάων
f ὄζει ἴων, ὄζει δὲ ῥόδων, ὄζει δ' ὑακίνθου |
ὁσμὴ θεσπεσία, κατὰ πᾶν δ' ἔχει ὑψερεφὲς δῶ,
ἀμβροσία καὶ νέκταρ ὁμοῦ. τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸ νέκταρ,
τούτου χρὴ παρέχειν πίνειν ἐν δαιτὶ θαλεῖῃ
τοῖσιν ἐμοῖσι φίλοις, τοῖς δ' ἐχθροῖς ἐκ
Πεπαρήθου.

⁹⁵ This sentence is omitted by E and preserved in C only in the margin.

²³² "palm-wine" (not "Phoenician wine").

BOOK I

Xenophon as well mentions it in the *Anabasis* (2.3.14).²³²
Cratinus (fr. *195) mentions Mendaeian:²³³

But now, if he spies a barely adolescent little
Mendaeian wine, he follows it and dogs its tracks and
says:

“Damn! how soft and white it is! Is it strong enough
for three?²³⁴”

Hermippus (fr. 77) somewhere represents Dionysus as
mentioning a number of wines:

† Mendaeian even piss † the gods themselves
in their soft bed-clothes. And as for Magnesia’s
pleasant gift
and Thasian, over which drifts a scent of apples,
I rank this far and away the best of all
wines except for faultless, painless Chian.
But there is one particular wine, which they refer to
as “mellow”;
when casks of it are tapped, out of its mouth
comes the divine scent of violets, of roses,
of hyacinth. And it fills the whole high-roofed house,
a mix of ambrosia and nectar. *This* is what nectar is;
this is what I need to give my friends to drink
at a large meal—whereas my enemies can have
Peparethan!

²³³ Probably from *Wineflask*; the personified Comedy complains about the semi-pederastic fascination of the poet to whom she is married with handsome young . . . wines.

²³⁴ I.e. to withstand being mixed with three measures of water for each measure of wine.

φησὶ δὲ Φαινίας ὁ Ἐρέσιος Μενδαίου τοὺς βότρυς ἐπὶ τῇ ἀμπέλῳ ραίνειν τῷ ἐλατηρίῳ διὸ γίνεσθαι τὸν οἶνον μαλακόν.

Ὅτι Θεμιστοκλῆς ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἔλαβε δωρεὰν τὴν Λάμψακον εἰς οἶνον, Μαγνησίαν δ' εἰς ἄρτον, Μνούντα δ' εἰς ὄψον, Περκώτην δὲ καὶ τὴν Παλαίσκηψιν εἰς στρωμνὴν καὶ ἱματισμόν. ἐκέλευσε δὲ τούτῳ στολὴν φορεῖν βαρβαρικήν, ὡς καὶ Δημαράτῳ,
 30 || δούς τὰ πρότερον ὑπάρχοντα καὶ <εἰς> στολὴν Γάμβρειον προσθεὶς ἐφ' ᾧ τε μηκέτι Ἑλληνικὸν ἱμάτιον περιβάλλεται. καὶ Κῦρος δὲ ὁ μέγας Πυθάρχῳ τῷ Κυζικηνῷ φίλῳ ὄντι ἐχαρίσατο ἑπτὰ πόλεις, ὡς φησιν ὁ Βαβυλώνιος Ἀγαθοκλῆς, Πήδασον, Ὀλύμπιον, Ἀκαμάντιον, <Τίον>⁹⁶, Σκῆπτρα, Ἀρτύψον, Τορτύρην. ὁ δ' εἰς ὕβριν, φησί, καὶ ἄνοιαν προελθὼν τυραννεῖν ἐπεχείρησε τῆς πατρίδος στρατιὰν συναγαγών. καὶ οἱ Κυζικηνοὶ ἐξορμήσαντες ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐβοηδρόμουν, πρό-
 b κροσσοὶ φερόμενοι | ἐπὶ τὸν κίνδυνον. τιμᾶται δὲ παρὰ Λαμψακηνοῖς ὁ Πρίηπος ὁ αὐτὸς ὢν τῷ Διονύσῳ, ἐξ ἐπιθέτου καλούμενος οὕτως, ὡς Θρίαμβος καὶ Διθύραμβος.

⁹⁶ add. Casaubon

²³⁵ Cf. Th. 1.138.5 (mentioning only the first three cities); Plu. *Them.* 29.7 (adding Percote and Palaescepsis to the list, and citing Phaenias fr. 28 Wehrli and Neanthes *FGrH* 84 F 17a as sources for this information). The Athenian politician Themistocles (PAA 502610) fled to Persia around 470 BCE, and the king who gave him

BOOK I

Phaenias of Eresus (fr. 40 Wehrli) reports that the inhabitants of Mende sprinkle their grapes with squirting-cucumber juice while they are still on the vine, and says that the wine is therefore mild.

The Persian King gave Themistocles Lampsacus to supply his wine; Magnesia to supply his bread; Myus to supply the rest of his food; and Percote and Palaescepsis to supply his bedding and his clothing.²³⁵ He ordered him to wear Persian clothes (he did the same with Demaratus²³⁶) and added Gambreius to what he had already given him, to supply his clothes, on the condition that he no longer wear a Greek robe. According to Agathocles of Babylon (*FGrH* 472 F 6), Cyrus the Great²³⁷ bestowed seven cities on his friend Pytharchus of Cyzicus: Pegasus, Olympium, Acamantium, Tium, Sceptra, Artypsus, and Tortyre. But, Agathocles says, Pytharchus grew overbearing and reckless, and assembled an army and tried to seize control of his native country; and the Cyzicenes rushed out to defend against his attack, drawn up in ranks against the threat. The people of Lampsacus worship Priapus, who is identical with Dionysus and gets his name from an epithet, like Thriambus and Dithyrambus.²³⁸

control over a number of cities was Artaxerxes I (reigned 465–423); cf. 2.48d; 3.122a with n. ²³⁶ A Spartan king (Poralla #210; reigned c.515–491 BCE) who went into exile in Persia after being deposed on charges of Medism. For Darius I's gift of land and cities to him, see *Hdt.* 6.70.2 (but without any mention of a request that he wear Persian clothing).

²³⁷ Cyrus gradually built his empire beginning in 550 BCE, and died in 530; Pytharchus is otherwise unknown.

²³⁸ Both epithets of Dionysus.

ATHENAEUS

Ἔστι Μιτυληναῖοι τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς γλυκὺν οἶνον πρόδρομον καλοῦσι, ἄλλοι δὲ πρότροπον⁹⁷.

Θαυμάζεται δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἰκάριος οἶνος, ὡς Ἄμφις·

ἐν Θουρίοις τοῦλαιον, ἐν Γέλα φακοί,

Ἰκάριος οἶνος, ἰσχάδες Κιμώλια.

- c γίνεται δὲ ἐν Ἰκάρῳ, φησὶν Ἐπαρχίδης, ὁ Πράμνιος. Ἰ ἐστὶ δὲ οὗτος γένος τι οἶνου. καὶ ἐστὶν οὗτος οὔτε γλυκὺς οὔτε παχύς, ἀλλ' αὐστηρὸς καὶ σκληρὸς καὶ δύναμιν ἔχων διαφέρουσαν· οἶω Ἀριστοφάνης οὐχ ἠδεσθαι Ἀθηναίους φησί, λέγων τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον οὔτε ποιηταῖς ἠδεσθαι σκληροῖς καὶ ἀστεμφέσιν οὔτε Πραμνίοις⁹⁸ οἴνοις συνάγουσι τὰς ὀφρῦς τε καὶ τὴν κοιλίαν, ἀλλ' ἀνθοσμία καὶ πέπονι νεκταροσταγεῖ. εἶναι γὰρ ἐν Ἰκάρῳ φησὶ Σῆμος Πράμνιον πέτραν καὶ παρ' αὐτῇ ὄρος μέγα, ἀφ' οὗ τὸν Πράμνιον οἶνον, ὃν
d καὶ ἰατρικὴν τινὰς καλεῖν. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ἡ Ἰκαρος πρότερον Ἰχθυόεσσα διὰ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν ἰχθύων πλῆθος, ὡς καὶ Ἐχινάδες ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχίνων καὶ Σηπιάς ἄκρα ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ αὐτὴν σηπιῶν καὶ Λαγούσσαι νῆσοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς λαγῶν καὶ ἕτεραι Φυκοῦσαι καὶ Λοπαδοῦσαι ἀπὸ τῶν παραπλησίων. προσ-

⁹⁷ πρότροπον ἢ πρόδρομον CE

⁹⁸ Πραμνίοις σκληροῖσιν CE

²³⁹ Cf. 2.45e. Pollux 6.17 and Hesychius π 4020 claim that the word refers to wine (made from juice) that flowed out before the

BOOK I

The Mityleneans refer to the sweet wine produced in their country as *prodromos* ("front-runner"), whereas others call it *protropos*.²³⁹

Icarian wine is also highly regarded, according to Amphipolis (fr. 40):

the oil in Thurii, lentils in Gela,
Icarian wine, dried Cimolian figs.

Eparchides (*FGrH* 437 F 1) claims that Pramnian wine is produced in Icarus. This is a type of wine that is neither sweet nor syrupy, but dry, harsh, and very powerful. Aristophanes (fr. 688) claims that the Athenians dislike wine like this, saying that the Athenian people like neither harsh, unflinching poets nor Pramnian wines that furrow their brows and knot their stomachs, but prefer a mature wine that smells of flowers and drips nectar. Semus (*FGrH* 396 F 6a) claims that there is a Pramnian Rock on Icarus and a high mountain beside it, and that this is where Pramnian wine, which some people also refer to as *pharmakitēs* ("adulterated"), gets its name. Icarus was previously known as Ichthyoessa ("Fishy") because of the large number of fish around it, just as the Echinades Islands got their name from their sea-urchins (*echinoi*), Cape Sepias got its name from the cuttlefish (*sepiai*) in the area, and the Lagoussae Islands got theirs from the hares (*lagōa*) that live on them, and so too with other islands such as Phycussae and Lopadoussae.²⁴⁰ Eparchides (*FGrH* 437

grapes were pressed, and thus apparently derive it from *pateō* ("trample").

²⁴⁰ Allegedly from *phukos* ("seaweed") and *lopas* ("shellfish"), respectively.

ATHENAEUS

αγορεύεται δέ, φησὶν Ἐπαρχίδης, ἡ ἄμπελος ἢ τὸν Ἰκάριον Πράμνιον φέρουσα ὑπὸ τῶν ξένων μὲν ἱερά, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν Οἰνοαίων Διονυσιάς. Οἰνόη δὲ πόλις ἐν τῇ
 e νήσῳ ἐστὶ. Δίδυμος | δὲ Πράμνιον φησὶν οἶνον ἀπὸ
 πραμνίας ἀμπέλου οὕτω καλουμένης, οἱ δὲ ἰδίως τὸν
 μέλανα, ἔνιοι δὲ ἐν τῷ καθόλου τὸν πρὸς παραμονὴν
 ἐπιτήδειον οἶνονεὶ παραμόνιον ὄντα· οἱ δὲ τὸν πραῦνον-
 τα τὸ μένος, ἐπεὶ οἱ πίνοντες προσηνεῖς.

Ἐπαινεῖ Ἄμφις καὶ τὸν ἐξ Ἀκάνθου πόλεως οἶνον
 λέγων·

(A.) ποδαπὸς σύ; φράσον. (B.) Ἀκάνθιος. (A.)

εἶτα πρὸς θεῶν

οἶνου πολίτης ὧν κρατίστου στρυφνὸς εἶ
 f καὶ τοῦνομ' αὐτὸ τῆς πατρίδος ἐν τοῖς τρόποις |
 ἔχεις, τὰ δ' ἦθη τῶν πολιτῶν οὐκ ἔχεις;

Κορινθίου οἶνου Ἄλεξις μνημονεύει ὡς σκληροῦ·

οἶνος ξενικὸς παρῆν· ὁ γὰρ Κορίνθιος
 βασιανισμός ἐστι.

καὶ Εὐβοϊκοῦ δέ·

< . . . > πολλὴν πίων Εὐβοϊκὸν οἶνον.

Ἀρχίλοχος τὸν Νάξιον τῷ νέκταρι παραβάλλει· ὃς
 καί πού φησιν·

²⁴¹ *praunonta to menos*, supposedly producing the adjective *Pramneios*.

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F 1, continued) claims that the vine that produces Icarian Pramnian is called "sacred" by people from elsewhere, but "Dionysias" by the inhabitants of Oenoe; Oenoe is a city on the island. But Didymus (p. 77 Schmidt) says that Pramnian is wine produced from a vine called *pramnia*, while other authorities claim that this is properly a term for dark wine, and some say that it refers generally to wine that can be stored, as if the word was *paramonios* ("enduring"). Others argue that this is wine that makes one's temper milder,²⁴¹ since anyone who drinks becomes gentle.

Amphis (fr. 36) also praises the wine from the city of Acanthus, saying:

(A.) Where are you from? Tell me! (B.) I'm
Acanthian. (A.) So then, by the gods—
although you're a fellow-citizen of the finest wine
there is, you're harsh?
And you act in a way that matches your country's
name,²⁴² but lack the manners of your fellow-
citizens?

Alexis (fr. 292) mentions Corinthian wine as being harsh:

A foreign wine was there; for what you get in Corinth
is torture.

He also mentions Euboean (Alex. fr. 303):

after drinking a lot of Euboean.

Archilochus (fr. 290 West²) compares Naxian wine to nectar. He also says somewhere (fr. 2 West²):

²⁴² I.e. in a prickly manner (punning on *akantha*, "thorn, prickle").

ἐν δορὶ μὲν < . . . > μᾶζα μεμαγμένη, ἐν δορὶ δ'
οἶνος

Ἰσμαρικός· πίνω δ' ἐν δορὶ κεκλιμένος.

Στράτις δὲ τὸν Σκιάθιον ἐπαινεῖ·

οἶνος κοχύζει τοῖς ὄδοιπόροις πιεῖν
μέλας Σκιάθιος, ἴσον ἴσῳ κεκραμένος.

31 Ἀχαιὸς δὲ τὸν Βίβλινον· ||

ἐδεξιούτο Βιβλίνου μέθης
ἐκπώματι.

ἐκαλείτο δ' οὕτως ἀπὸ τινος χωρίου οὕτω προσαγο-
ρευομένου. φησὶ δὲ Φιλύλλιος ὅτι

παρέξω Λέσβιον,

Χῖον σαπρόν, Θάσιον, < . . . > Βίβλινον,

Μενδαῖον, ὥστε μηδένα κραιπαλᾶν.

Ἐπίχαρμος δὲ ἀπὸ τινων ὀρών Βιβλίνων φησὶν αὐτὸν
ᾠνομάσθαι. Ἀρμενίδας δὲ τῆς Θράκης φησὶν εἶναι
χώραν τὴν Βιβλίαν, ἣν Ἀντισάρην⁹⁹ καὶ Οἰσύμην
b προσαγορευθῆναι. ἐπιεικῶς δὲ ἡ Θράκη ἐθαυμάζετο |
ὡς ἡδύοινος, καὶ συνόλως τὰ ἀπὸ πλησίον αὐτῆς
χωρία·

νῆες δ' ἐκ Λήμνοιο παρέστασαν οἶνον ἄγουσαι.

Ἴππυς δ' ὁ Ῥηγίνος τὴν εἰλεὸν καλουμένην ἄμπελον

⁹⁹ Ἀντισάρην Casaubon: αὐθις τισάρην CE

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Because of my spear, I have kneaded barley-cake;
because of my spear, I have Ismarian
wine; and because of my spear, I'm lying here
drinking.

But Strattis (fr. 64) praises Sciathian:

Dark Sciathian wine pours forth
for travelers to drink, mixed one-to-one.

Achaeus (*TrGF* 20 F 41) praises Bibline:

He made a toast with a goblet of Bibline
drunkenness.

It got its name from a place called Biblus. Philyllius (fr. 23)
says:

I'll furnish Lesbian,
mellow Chian, Thasian, Bibline,
and Mendaean, so that no one gets a hangover.

Epicharmus (fr. 170) says that it is named after certain
Bibline mountains, whereas Armenidas (*FGrH* 378 F 3)
claims that Biblia is a region in Thrace referred to as
Antisara and Oesyne. Thrace was fairly highly regarded
for the quality of its wine, as were the regions around it
generally:

Ships were there from Lemnos, carrying wine. (*Il.*
7.467)

But Hippys of Rhegium (*FGrH* 554 F *4) says that the so-

βιβλίαν φησὶ καλεῖσθαι, ἣν Πόλλιν τὸν Ἀργεῖον, ὃς ἐβασίλευσε Συρακουσίων, πρῶτον εἰς Συρακούσας κομίσαι ἐξ Ἰταλίας. εἶη ἂν οὖν ὁ παρὰ Σικελιώταις γλυκὺς καλούμενος Πόλλιος ὁ Βίβλινος οἶνος.

Χρησμός. ἐν τῷ χρησμῷ, φησὶν, ὁ θεὸς ἠῆτομάτισεν.¹⁰⁰

- c πῖν' οἶνον τρυγίαν, ἐπεὶ οὐκ Ἀνθηδόνα ναίεις |
οὐδ' ἱεράν Ὑπέραν, ὅθι γ' ἄτρυγον οἶνον ἔπινες.

ὠνομάζετο δὲ¹⁰¹ ἄμπελος Ἀνθηδονιάς καὶ Ὑπεριᾶς ἀπὸ Ἀνθου τινός καὶ Ὑπέρου, ὡς καὶ Ἀλθηφιάς ἀπὸ Ἀλθηφίου τινός, ἐνὸς τῶν Ἀλφειοῦ ἀπογόνων.

- Ἄλκμᾶν δέ που "ἄπυρον οἶνον" καὶ "ἄνθεος ὄσδοντά" φησι τὸν ἐκ "Πέντε λόφων", ὅς ἐστι τόπος Σπάρτης ἀπέχων στάδια ἑπτὰ· καὶ τὸν ἐκ Καρύστου, ὅς ἐστι πλησίον Ἀρκαδίας.¹⁰² καὶ τὸν ἐκ Δενθιάδων, ἐρύματός τινος· καὶ τὸν ἐξ Οἰνοῦντος καὶ τὸν ἐξ Ὀνόγλων καὶ
d Σταθμῶν. χωρία δὲ ταῦτα τὰ καὶ | πλησίον Πιτάνης.
φησὶν οὖν·

¹⁰⁰ ἐν . . . ἠῆτομάτισεν is omitted by E and preserved in C only in the margin.

¹⁰¹ Kaibel prints ὠνομάζετο δὲ παρὰ Τροιζηνίοις, ὡς φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ αὐτῶν Πολιτείᾳ, ἄμπελος, and says that the additional words are preserved in the margin in C. I see no sign of them.

¹⁰² The words καὶ τὸν ἐκ Καρύστου . . . Ἀρκαδίας appear in C after καὶ τὸν ἐκ Δενθιάδων . . . ἢ Σταθμίταν. The latter section is missing in E and was presumably inserted in the wrong place by the C-copyist.

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called *eileos* vine is called "Biblian," and that Pollis of Argos, the tyrant of Syracuse, first imported it into Sicily from Italy.²⁴³ The sweet Sicilian wine called *Pollios* must therefore be Bibline.

An oracle (Delphic oracle L81 Fontenrose). In the oracle, [Athenaeus] says, the god spoke of his own accord:²⁴⁴

Drink wine full of lees, since you do not inhabit
Anthedon
or holy Hypera, where you used to drink wine with
no lees.

A variety of vine was called "Anthedonias and Hypereias" after a certain Anthus and Hyperus, in the same way that there is an Althephian vine called after a certain Althephius, who was one of Alpheius' descendants.

Alcman (*PMG* 92(a-c)) somewhere uses the words "fireless wine" that "smells of flowers" to refer to the wine produced at "Five Crests"; this is a place seven stades from Sparta.²⁴⁵ He also mentions wine from Carystus, which is near Arcadia; from Denthiaades, a fortified place of some sort; from Oenous; and from Onogli and Stathmi. These are the regions around Pitane. Thus he says (*PMG* 92(d)):

²⁴³ Pollis appears to be a legendary rather than a historical character. Hesychius ι 539 refers to "a type of grape-cluster" called *ileos*.

²⁴⁴ I.e. without being asked a question, as was normal. See *Plu. Mor.* 295d-f, who offers several stories that tie together the oracle, Alpheius (mentioned below), and Anthus and Hypera (sic).

²⁴⁵ One stade = approximately 200 yards or slightly more than 1/9 of a mile.

† οἶνον δ' Οἰνουντιάδα ἢ Δένθιν ἢ Καρύστιον
ἢ Ὀνογλιῶν ἢ Σταθμίαν †.

ἄπυρον δὲ εἶπε τὸν οὐχ ἠψημένον· ἐχρῶντο γὰρ
ἐφθοῖς οἴνοις. Πολύβιος δὲ διάφορον οἶνον ἐν Καπύῃ
φησὶ γίνεσθαι τὸν ἀναδενδρίτην καλούμενον, ᾧ μη-
δένα συγκρίνεσθαι. Ἀλκίφρων δ' ὁ Μαιάνδριος περὶ
τὴν Ἐφεσίαν φησὶν εἶναι ὀρείαν κώμην τὴν πρότερον
μὲν καλουμένην Λητοῦς, νῦν δὲ Λατώρειαν ἀπὸ Λατω-
e ρείας Ἀμαζόνος· ἐν ἧ γίνεσθαι | τὸν Πράμνιον οἶνον.
Τιμαχίδας δὲ ὁ Ῥόδιος ὑπόχυτόν τινα οἶνον ἐν Ῥόδῳ
καλεῖ παραπλήσιον τῷ γλεύκει. καὶ γλύξιν δ' οἶνος
καλεῖται ὁ τὸ ἔψημα ἔχων. Πολύζηλος δὲ αὐτίτην
καλεῖ οἶνον. Πλάτων δ' ὁ κωμικὸς καπνίαν· κάλλιστος
δ' οὗτος γίνεται ἐν Βενεβέντῳ πόλει Ἰταλίας. ἀμφίας
δ' οἶνος ὁ φαῦλος καλεῖται παρὰ Σωσικράτει. ἐχρῶντο
δ' οἱ ἀρχαῖοι καὶ πόματί τινα ἐξ ἀρωμάτων κατασκευ-
αζομένῳ, ὃ ἐκάλουσαν τρίμμα. Θεόφραστος δὲ ἐν τῇ
f Περὶ Φυτῶν | Ἱστορίᾳ φησὶν ἐν Ἠραΐᾳ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας
γίνεσθαι οἶνον ὃς τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας πινόμενος ἐξίστη-
σι, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας τεκνούσσας ποιεῖ. περὶ δὲ Κερυ-
νίαν τῆς Ἀχαιῆς ἀμπέλου τι γένος εἶναι, ἀφ' ἧς τὸν
οἶνον ἐξαμβλοῦν ποιεῖν τὰς γυναῖκας τὰς ἐγκύμονας·
κὰν τῶν βοτρύων δέ, φησὶ, φάγωσιν, ἐξαμβλοῦσιν. ὁ
δὲ Τροιζήμιος οἶνος ἀγόνους, φησὶ, ποιεῖ τοὺς πίνον-
τας. ἐν Θάσῳ δὲ λέγει ὡς αὐτοὶ ποιοῦσιν οἶνόν τινα

246 "Sauce," from the verb *tribō* ("grind," referring to how the

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† wine from Oenous or Denthis or Carystus
or Onogli or Stathmi †.

By "fireless" wine he means wine that has not been boiled; for they used to drink wine prepared this way. Polybius (34.11.1) reports that outstanding wine referred to as *anadendritēs* ("tree-climber") is produced in Capua and that nothing compares to it. Alciphron of Maeander says that there is a mountain village near Ephesus that used to be called Leto-ville but is now called Latoreia after an Amazon by that name; Pramnian wine is produced there. Timachidas of Rhodes (fr. 32 Blinkenberg) refers to a must-like wine produced in Rhodes as *hypochutos* ("doctored"). Boiled wine is called *gluxis*. Polyzelus (fr. 1.1) refers to *autitēs* ("home-made," or perhaps "from this year's vintage") wine. The comic poet Plato (fr. 274) mentions *kapnias* ("smoky") wine; this is best when produced in the Italian city of Beneventum. Sosicrates (fr. 4) refers to bad wine as *amphias*. The ancients also consumed a drink made from spices, which they referred to as *trimma*.²⁴⁶ Theophrastus in his *Research on Plants* (HP 9.18.10–11) says that a wine is produced in Heraea in Arcadia that makes men who drink it go crazy and women who drink it fertile.²⁴⁷ Around Cerynia in Achaea there is a variety of vine whose wine causes pregnant women to miscarry; even if they only eat the grapes, he claims, they miscarry. Troezenian wine, he claims, makes anyone who drinks it sterile. And he says that on Thasos they make one type of

spices were prepared). But Athenaeus may be in error; see Arnott on Alex. fr. 193.3.

²⁴⁷ Material very similar to this is preserved at Plin. *Nat.* 14.116–17; Ael. *VH* 13.6.

ὑπνωτικὸν καὶ ἕτερον ἀγρυπνεῖν ποιοῦντα τοὺς πίνον-
τας.

Περὶ δὲ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθοσμίου οἴνου σκευασίας Φαι-
νίας ὁ Ἑρέσιός φησι τάδε· γλεύκει παραχεῖται παρὰ
32 χούς πεντήκοντα εἰς θαλάσσης ἢ καὶ γίνεται ἀνθο-
σμίας. καὶ πάλιν ἀνθοσμίας γίνεται ἐκ νέων ἀμπέλων
ἰσχυρότερος ἢ ἐκ παλαιῶν. ἐξῆς τέ φησι τὰς ὀμφακώ-
δεις συμπατήσαντες ἀπέθεντο καὶ ἀνθοσμίας ἐγένετο.
Θεόφραστος δ' ἐν Θάσῳ φησὶ τὸν ἐν τῷ πρυτανεῖῳ
διδόμενον θαυμαστὸν εἶναι τὴν ἡδονήν· ἡρτυμένος
γάρ ἐστιν. ἐμβάλλουσι γὰρ εἰς τὸ κεράμιον σταῖς
μέλιτι φυράσαντες, ὥστε τὴν ὀσμὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, τὴν δὲ
b ἐξῆς δὲ φησιν· εἴαν ἢ τις κεράση σκληρὸν καὶ εὖοσμον
μαλακῶ καὶ ἀόσμφ, καθάπερ τὸν Ἡρακλεώτην καὶ
τὸν Ἐρυθραῖον, τοῦ μὲν τὴν μαλακότητα, τοῦ δὲ τὴν
εὖοσμίαν¹⁰³ παρεχομένου.

Μυρίνης δὲ¹⁰⁴ οἶνος κεῖται παρὰ Ποσειδίππῳ·

διψηρὸς ἄτοπος ὁ μυρίνης ὁ τίμιος.

καὶ Ἑρμῆς δ' εἶδος πόσεως παρὰ Στράτιδι.

¹⁰³ εὖοσμίαν Thphr.: εὖστομαχίαν CE

¹⁰⁴ Μυρίνης δὲ Dindorf: μυρτίτης δὲ ἢ μυρρίνης CE

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wine that causes sleep and another that keeps anyone who drinks it awake.

Phaenias of Eresus (fr. 41 Wehrli) says the following about how *anthosmias*²⁴⁸ wine is produced: One *chous*²⁴⁹ of sea-water is added to every 50 of grape-must, producing *anthosmias*. And again: Stronger *anthosmias* is produced from young vines than from older ones. And immediately after this he says: They trampled out sour grapes and put (the juice) into storage, and it turned into *anthosmias*. Theophrastus (*Od.* 51) says that the wine distributed in the *prytaneion*²⁵⁰ on Thasos is remarkably delicious, because it has seasonings added. Because they knead wheat and honey together to produce dough, and put it into the jar, to make the wine retain its own fragrance but take on the sweetness of the dough. And immediately after this he says (*Od.* 52): If you mix a harsh but fragrant wine with a soft but odorless wine, for example Heracleote and Erythraean, the one furnishes its softness, the other its fragrance.

Perfumed wine is attested in Posidippus (fr. 36):

The expensive perfumed wine is strange and thirsty.

“Hermes” is also a type of beverage mentioned by Strattis (fr. 23.1).²⁵¹

²⁴⁸ Literally “flower-scented.”

²⁴⁹ A *chous* (literally “pitcher”) contained about 3.2 litres and was equal to 12 *kotulai* or one-twelfth of an amphora.

²⁵⁰ The building that housed the city’s central hearth, where meals were provided *inter alia* for individuals who had been awarded permanent maintenance as a civic honor. Cf. 4.137e.

²⁵¹ Quoted at 11.473c.

ATHENAEUS

Χαιρέας δὲ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι οἶνόν φησι γίνεσθαι τὸν
καλούμενον νέκταρ.

- c ἦν ἄρ' ἔπος τόδ' ἀληθές, ὃ τ' οὐ μόνον ὕδατος |
αἷσαν,
ἀλλά τι καὶ χλεύης οἶνος ἔχειν ἐθέλει.

οὐ γὰρ ἀπόβλητον Διούσιον, οὐδὲ γίγαρτον,

ὁ Κεῖός φησι ποιητής.

- Τῶν οἴνων ὁ μὲν λευκός, ὁ δὲ κίρρος, ὁ δὲ μέλας.
καὶ ὁ μὲν λευκὸς λεπτότατος τῇ φύσει, οὐρητικός,
θερμὸς πεπτικός τε ὢν τὴν κεφαλὴν ποιεῖ διάπυρον
ἀνωφερῆς γὰρ ὁ οἶνος. ὁ δὲ μέλας ὁ μὴ γλυκάζων
τροφιμώτατος, στυπτικός· ὁ δὲ γλυκάζων καὶ τῶν
λευκῶν καὶ τῶν κίρρῶν τροφιμώτατος· λεαίνει γὰρ
d κατὰ τὴν πάροδον | καὶ παχύνων τὰ ὑγρά μᾶλλον
κεφαλὴν ἦττον παρενοχλεῖ. ὄντως γὰρ ἡ τοῦ γλυκέος
οἴνου φύσις ἐγχρονίζει περὶ τὰ ὑποχόνδρια καὶ πτυ-
έλου ἐστὶν ἀναγωγός, ὡς Διοκλῆς καὶ Πραξαγόρας
ἱστοροῦσι. Μνησίθεος δ' ὁ Ἀθηναῖός φησιν· ὁ μέλας
οἶνός ἐστι θρεπτικώτατος, ὁ δὲ λευκὸς οὐρητικώτατος
καὶ λεπτότατος, ὁ δὲ κίρρος ξηρὸς καὶ τῶν σιτίων
πεπτικώτερος. οἱ δ' ἐπιμελέστερον τεθλασμένοι οἴ-
νοι ἀκράιπαλοί τε εἰσι καὶ κοιλίας λύουσι ἐπίδακνου-
e σί τε τὸν στόμαχον | ἐμφυσήσεις τε ἐνεργάζονται καὶ
συγκατεργάζονται τὴν τροφήν. τοιοῦτος δ' ἐστὶν ὃ τε

252 Chaereas of Athens (2nd century BCE or earlier) wrote on

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Chaereas²⁵² says that a wine produced in Babylon is referred to as "nectar."

This saying is true, then, that wine wants to have not just
its share of water, but a bit of joking as well.²⁵³

Because nothing associated with Dionysus ought to be discarded, not even a grapeseed,

says the Cean poet (Simon. fr. 24 West²).

One type of wine is white, one is yellow, and one is dark. The white is naturally the lightest, is diuretic and warm, and because it promotes digestion, inflames the head; for wine travels upward through the body. Dark wine that is not sweet is highly nutritious and astringent. Sweet white and yellow wines are also extremely nutritious, for sweet wine lubricates the tracts it moves through and, because it makes the moist elements in the body thicker, does less damage to the head. For in fact the essence of sweet wine lingers in the soft portions of the abdomen and produces saliva, according to Diocles (fr. 237 van der Eijk) and Praxagoras (fr. 39 Steckerl). But Mnesitheus of Athens (fr. 46 Bertier) says: Dark wine is best at promoting growth; white wine is best at promoting urination, and the lightest; and yellow wine is dry and best at promoting digestion. Wines that have been aggressively treated with sea-water do not cause hangovers; loosen the bowels; eat away at the stomach; produce gas; and aid in the digestion of food.

agricultural topics; this is the only fragment of his work that survives.

²⁵³ An elegiac couplet by an unknown author; probably a transitional remark, introducing a new speech (by a physician?).

Μύνδιος καὶ ὁ ἀπὸ Ἰλικαρνασσῶ. ὁ γοῦν κυνικὸς Μένιππος ἀλμοπότιν τὴν Μύνδον φησίν. ἰκανῶς δὲ καὶ ὁ Κῶος τεθαλάττωται. καὶ ὁ Ῥόδιος δὲ ἐλάττονος μὲν κεκοινῶνηκε¹⁰⁵ θαλάσσης, ὁ δὲ πολὺς αὐτοῦ ἀχρεῖός ἐστιν. ὁ δὲ νησιώτης εἷς τε τοὺς πότους ἐστὶν εἰς πεφυκῶς καὶ πρὸς τὴν καθημερινὴν χρῆσιν οὐκ ἀνοίκειος. ὁ δὲ Κνίδιος αἵματος γεννητικός, τρόφιμος, f κοιλίαν εὐλυτον κατασκευάζων. | πλείων δὲ πινόμενος ἐκλύει τὸν στόμαχον. ὁ δὲ Λέσβιος στῦψιν μικροτέραν ἔχει καὶ μᾶλλον οὐρέϊται. χαριέστατος δ' ἐστὶν ὁ Χίος καὶ τοῦ Χίου ὁ καλούμενος Ἀριούσιος. διαφοραὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ εἰσι τρεῖς· ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐστηρὸς ἐστὶν, ὁ δὲ γλυκάζων, ὁ δὲ μέσος τούτων τῇ γεύσει αὐτόκρατος καλεῖται. ὁ μὲν οὖν αὐστηρὸς εὐστόμαχος¹⁰⁶ ἐστὶ καὶ τρόφιμος καὶ μᾶλλον οὐρέϊται, ὁ δὲ γλυκάζων τρόφι- 33 μος, πλήσμιος, κοιλίας μαλακτικός, || ὁ δ' αὐτόκρατος τῇ χρεῖα μέσος ἐστὶ. κοινῶς δ' ὁ Χίος πεπτικός, τρόφιμος, αἵματος χρηστοῦ γεννητικός, προσηνέστατος, πλήσμιος διὰ τὸ παχὺς¹⁰⁷ εἶναι τῇ δυνάμει.

Τῶν δ' οἴνων χαριέστατος ὁ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν Ἄλβανὸς καὶ ὁ Φαλερνίτης. ὁ δὲ τούτων πεπαλαιωμένος καὶ κεχρονικῶς φαρμακώδης ὢν καροὶ λίαν ταχέως. ὁ δὲ Ἀδριανὸς καλούμενος εὐπνοῦς, εὐανάδοτος, ἄλυπος τὸ σύνολον. οἰνοποιητέον δὲ αὐτοὺς πρό τιος b χρόνου καὶ εἰς ἀναπεπταμένον τόπον | θετέον εἰς τὸ

¹⁰⁵ κεκοινῶνηκε C^s: τετύχηκε CE

¹⁰⁶ εὐστόμαχος Kaibel: εὔστομός CE

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Myndian wine and the wine produced in Halicarnassus fall into this category; the Cynic Menippus (fr. V Riese), at any rate, calls Myndus "brine-drinking." Coan wine also has a substantial amount of sea-water added. Rhodian contains a smaller amount of sea-water, but much of it is no good. Island wine is naturally good for drinking and is well-adapted for everyday use. Cnidian encourages the production of blood, is nutritious, and relaxes the bowels; when too much is drunk, it upsets the stomach. Lesbian is less astringent and more diuretic. Chian is the best wine there is, especially the variety of Chian known as Arousian. There are three varieties of it: one is dry, one sweet, and the one whose taste falls in between these is referred to as *autokratos*.²⁵⁴ The dry variety is easy on the stomach, nutritious, and more diuretic; the sweet variety is nutritious and filling, and has a laxative effect; and the *autokratos* falls mid-way between the others in its effect. In general, Chian wine is good for the digestion and nutritious; promotes the production of good blood; is quite mild; and is filling because of its syrupy quality.

The best wines are Italian Alban and Falernian. Either of these, when aged and kept in storage for a long time, takes on a drug-like character and rapidly knocks one unconscious. The so-called Adriatic has a nice bouquet, is easily absorbed by the body, and generally does no harm. These wines must be produced early in the season and

²⁵⁴ Apparently "mixed with itself" (< *kerannumi*), i.e. "that does not need to be mixed with anything else."

¹⁰⁷ παχὺς Schweighäuser: πολὺς C: πολὺ E

διαπνεύσαι τὸ παχὺ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτῶν. χαριέστατος δ' οἶνος εἰς παλαιώσιν ὁ Κερκυραῖος. ὁ δὲ Ζακύνθιος καὶ ὁ Λευκάδιος διὰ τὸ γύψον λαβεῖν καὶ κεφαλὴν ἀδικοῦσιν. ὁ δ' ἀπὸ Κιλικίας Ἀβάτης καλούμενος κοιλίας μόνον ἐστὶ μαλακτικός. Κῶψ δὲ καὶ Μυνδίω καὶ Ἀλικαρνασσίω καὶ παντὶ τῷ ἱκανῶς τεθαλαττωμένῳ συνάδει τὰ σκληρὰ τῶν ὑδάτων οἶον κρηναῖα καὶ ὄμβρια, ἐὰν ἦ διυλισμένα καὶ πλείονα χρόνον
 c καθεσταμένα. | χρήσιμοι δ' εἰσὶν οὗτοι Ἀθήνησι καὶ Σικυῶνι. ἐν ταύταις γὰρ σκληρὰ τὰ ὕδατα. τοῖς δ' ἀθαλάσσοις τῶν οἴνων καὶ τοῖς παρέχουσιν ἱκανωτέραν στύψιν, ἔτι δὲ τῷ Χίῳ καὶ Λεσβίῳ τὰ ἀποιότατα τῶν ὑδάτων εὐθετεῖ.

ὦ γλῶσσα, σιγήσασα τὸν πολὺν χρόνον,
 πῶς δῆτα τλήσῃ πρᾶγμ' ὑπεξελθεῖν τόδε;
 ἦ τῆς ἀνάγκης οὐδὲν ἐμβριθέστερον,
 ὑφ' ἧς τὸ κρυφθὲν ἐκφανεῖς ἀνακτόρων,

φησὶ Σοφοκλῆς.

Αὐτὸς ἔμαντοῦ Ἰόλεως τε καὶ Ἀλκείδης γενήσομαι.¹⁰⁸

d Ὅτι ὁ Μαρεώτης οἶνος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεωτικός | τὴν μὲν προσηγορίαν ἔχει ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ λίμ-

¹⁰⁸ This sentence is omitted by E and preserved in C only in the margin.

²⁵⁵ This quotation and the remark that follows must have

BOOK I

stored in an open place to allow their syrupy quality to evaporate. The best wine for aging is Corcyran. Zacynthian and Leucadian cause headaches, because chalk is added to them. The Cilician wine referred to as *Abatēs* is merely laxative. Hard waters such as spring-water and rainwater go well with Coan, Myndian, Halicarnassian, and any wine to which a substantial quantity of sea-water has been added, provided that the water has been carefully strained and allowed to stand for a long time. These wines are good to drink in Athens and Sicyon, because the water is hard in these places. But for wines that have not had sea-water added or that are quite astringent, as well as for Chian and Lesbian, waters with no distinguishing characteristics are appropriate.

O tongue, after you have been silent for so long,
how will you dare evade this matter?

Certainly there is nothing more burdensome than
necessity,

which will force you to reveal the secret of the royal
house,

says Sophocles (fr. 757).²⁵⁵

I will become my own Iolaus, and Alceides as well.²⁵⁶

Mareotic wine from Alexandria gets its name from Lake Mareia in Alexandria and from the city called Mareia

stood at the beginning of a new speech, presumably by a guest from Egypt.

²⁵⁶ Alceides is the name Heracles was given at birth, and Iolaus was his nephew and assistant in his labors. But one of the dinner guests is also named Alceides (1.1f; 4.174b; a musician), and most likely there is a reference to him as well.

νης¹⁰⁹ Μαρείας καὶ τῆς παρ' αὐτὴν πόλεως ὁμωνύμου, ἢ πρότερον μὲν ἦν μεγίστη, νῦν δὲ κώμης περιείληφε μέγεθος, τὴν προσηγορίαν λαβοῦσα ἀπὸ Μάρωνος ἐνὸς τῶν μετὰ Διονύσου τὰς στρατείας πεπονημένων. πολλὴ δὲ ἢ περὶ τὴν γῆν ταύτην ἄμπελος, ἣς καὶ ἡ σταφυλὴ πάνυ βρωθῆναι εὔστομος καὶ ὁ γινόμενος οἶνος κάλλιστος· λευκός τε γὰρ καὶ ἠδύς, εὔπνους, e εὐανάδοτος, λεπτός, κεφαλῆς | οὐ καθικνούμενος, διουρητικός. τούτου δὲ καλλίων ὁ Ταινιωτικὸς καλούμενος. ταινία δ' ἐστὶν ἐπιμήκης περὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τόπους, ἀφ' ἣς οἱ γινόμενοι οἶνοί εἰσι μὲν ἡρέμα ὑπόχλωροι, ἐμφαίνοντές τι ἐν αὐτοῖς λιπαρόν, ὃ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος κρᾶσιν ἀναλύεται κατὰ βραχύ, ὡς καὶ τὸ μέλι τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἀνακιρνάμενον. οὗτος ὁ Ταινιωτικὸς πρὸς τῷ ἠδύς εἶναι ἔχει τι καὶ ἀρωματῶδες ἡρέμα ἐπιστύφον. ἢ δὲ περὶ τὸν Νεῖλον ἄμπελος πλείστη μὲν f αὐτῇ, ὅσος καὶ ὁ ποταμός. | καὶ πολλὰ τῶν οἴνων αἰ ἰδιότητες κατὰ τε τὰ χρώματα καὶ τὴν προσφοράν. τούτους δ' ὑπερβάλλει ὁ κατὰ Ἄντυλλαν πόλιν οὐ μακρὰν οὔσαν Ἀλεξανδρείας, ἣς τοὺς φόρους οἱ τότε βασιλεῖς Αἰγύπτιοί τε καὶ Πέρσαι ταῖς γαμεταῖς ἐδίδουσαν εἰς ζώνας. ὁ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Θηβαΐδα καὶ μάλιστα ὁ κατὰ τὴν Κόπτον πόλιν οὕτως ἐστὶ λεπτὸς καὶ εὐανάδοτος καὶ ταχέως πεπτικὸς ὡς καὶ τοῖς πυρεταίνουσι διδόμενος μὴ βλάπτειν.

¹⁰⁹ λίμνης Meineke: κρήνης CE

BOOK I

beside it. The city was formerly quite large, but is now only as big as a village; it took its name from Maron, who was one of Dionysus' companions during his campaigns.²⁵⁷ Many vines grow in this country, and their grapes taste delicious and the wine produced from them is excellent; for it is white and sweet, has a fine bouquet, is easily absorbed by the body and light, does not go to the head, and is diuretic. Even better than this is the so-called Taeniotic ("Strip") wine. There is a long strip (*tainia*) of land in this region, and the wines produced there have a slight yellowish-green cast, which shows that they contain an oily element; this is removed by mixing water into them gradually, as when water is mixed into Attic honey. In addition to its pleasant taste, this Taeniotic wine has a slightly aromatic, astringent quality. The quantity of vines planted along the sides of the Nile matches the river's size, and many of the wines have unique colors and flavors. The best of them is the one produced in the city of Antylla not far from Alexandria; the ancient Egyptian and Persian kings used to give the revenues from this place to their wives to buy belts. The wine produced around Thebes, and especially around the city of Coptos, is so thin and easily absorbed by the body, and promotes digestion so rapidly, that even individuals with fevers can be given it without suffering any harm.

²⁵⁷ When the god travelled the world, spreading knowledge of wine-making and his own cult; cf. 3.111b. This is the same Maron as the man who gave Odysseus the wine with which he overcame the Cyclops; cf. 1.26b n.

34 σαυτήν ἐπαινεῖς, ὥσπερ Ἀστυδάμας, γύναι. ||

ἦν δὲ τραγικὸς ποιητῆς ὁ Ἀστυδάμας.

ἽΟτι Θεόπομπος ὁ Χίος τὴν ἄμπελον ἱστορεῖ εὐρεθῆναι ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ παρὰ τὸν Ἀλφειὸν καὶ ὅτι τῆς Ἡλείας τόπος ἐστὶν ἀπέχων ὀκτῶ στάδια, ἐν ᾧ οἱ ἐγχώριοι κατακλείοντες τοῖς Διονυσίοις χαλκοῦς λέβητας τρεῖς κενοὺς παρόντων τῶν ἐπιδημούντων ἀποσφραγίζονται καὶ ὕστερον ἀνοίγοντες εὐρίσκουσι οἶνον πεπληρωμένους. Ἑλλάνικος δὲ φησιν ἐν τῇ Πλυθίνῃ πόλει Αἰγύπτου πρώτη εὐρεθῆναι τὴν ἄμπελον. διὸ καὶ Δίων ὁ ἐξ Ἀκαδημίας | φιλοῖνους καὶ φιλοπότας τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους γενέσθαι εὐρεθῆναί τε βοήθημα παρ' αὐτοῖς ὥστε τοὺς διὰ πενίαν ἀποροῦντας οἶνου τὸν ἐκ τῶν κριθῶν γενόμενον πίνειν καὶ οὕτως ἡδεσθαι τοὺς τοῦτον προσφερομένους ὡς καὶ ἄδειν καὶ ὀρχεῖσθαι καὶ πάντα ποιεῖν ὅσα τοὺς ἐξοίνοους γινομένους. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ φησιν ὅτι οἱ μὲν ὑπ' οἶνου μεθυσθέντες ἐπὶ πρόσωπον φέρονται, οἱ δὲ τὸν κρίθινον πεπωκότες ἐξυπτιάζονται τὴν κεφαλὴν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ οἶνος καρηβαρικός, ὁ δὲ κρίθινος καρωτικός.

²⁵⁸ A disparaging response to the preceding speaker, who must then be from Egypt? The Astydamos in question is Astydamos II (*TrGF* 60; second half of the 4th century BCE). According to Pausanias Grammaticus σ 6 = Suda σ 161, when Astydamos' *Parthenopaeus* took the prize at one of their dramatic festivals, the Athenians ordered a statue of the poet erected in the Theater of Dionysus and allowed him to write the epigram for it

BOOK I

You praise yourself, woman, as Astydamos did.
(Philem. fr. 160)²⁵⁸

Astydamas was a tragic poet.

Theopompus of Chios (*FGrH* 115 F 277) records that the vine was discovered in Olympia along the Alpheius river. He also reports that there is a spot in Elis eight stades from there, where the inhabitants at their Dionysia place lids on three empty bronze cauldrons in the presence of the visitors to the festival; seal them shut; and when they open them later, find them full of wine. But Hellanicus (*FGrH* 4 F 175) claims that the vine was discovered first in Plinthia, an Egyptian city. This is why, according to Dio from the Academy²⁵⁹, the Egyptians became fond of wine and drinking. They also discovered a way to help those who were too poor to have any wine, by letting them drink barley-wine;²⁶⁰ those who consume it enjoy it so much that they sing and dance and do everything people drunk on wine do. Aristotle (fr. 666)²⁶¹ says that individuals who get drunk on wine fall forward onto their face, whereas the heads of those who have drunk barley-wine fall backward, because wine makes the head heavy, whereas barley-wine is merely stupefying.

(*FGE* 115–18) himself; the tone is in fact immensely self-important.

²⁵⁹ Plato's school. Dio belongs to the middle of the 1st century BCE, and the passage cited here probably comes ultimately from the records of dinner-table conversations referred to in passing at *Plu. Mor.* 612d–e.

²⁶⁰ See 1.16c n.

²⁶¹ Cf. 10.447a–b, where the philosopher's remarks are reported more fully.

c Ὅτι δὲ | φίλοινοι Αἰγύπτιοι, σημεῖον καὶ τὸ παρὰ
μόνοις αὐτοῖς ὡς νόμιμον ἐν τοῖς δείπνοις πρὸ πάντων
ἐδεσμάτων κράμβας ἔσθην ἐφθὰς † μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο
παρασκευάζεσθαι †. καὶ πολλοὶ εἰς τὰς κατασκευα-
ζομένας ἀμεθύστους προσλαμβάνουσι τὸ τῆς κράμ-
βης σπέρμα. καὶ ἐν ᾧ δ' ἂν ἀμπελῶνι κράμβαι φύων-
ται, ἀμαυρότερος ὁ οἶνος γίνεται. διὸ καὶ Συβαρίται,
φησὶ Τίμαιος, πρὸ τοῦ πίνειν κράμβας ἤσθιον. Ἄλε-
ξις·

d ἐχθὲς ὑπέπινες, εἶτα νυνὶ κραιπαλᾶς. |
κατανύστασον· παύσῃ γάρ. εἶτά σοι δότω
ράφανόν τις ἐφθήν.

Εὐβουλος δὲ πού φησι·

γύναι,

ράφανόν με νομίσασ' εἰς ἐμέ σου τὴν κραιπάλην
μέλλεις ἀφεῖναι πᾶσαν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖς.

ὅτι δὲ τὴν κράμβην ράφανον ἐκάλουν οἱ παλαιοὶ
Ἀπολλόδωρος δηλοῖ ὁ Καρύστιος·

† εἰ δ' ὅτι † καλοῦμεν ράφανον, ὑμεῖς δ' οἱ ξένοι
κράμβην, γυναιξὶ διαφέρειν † οἴονται †.

Ἄναξανδρίδης·

²⁶² Referred to here as *krambē*, as also by Timaeus (below); the Attic word for the vegetable was *rhaphanos*. See the passages collected at 1.34d–e.

BOOK I

Further evidence that the Egyptians like wine is that they alone customarily eat boiled cabbage²⁶² before any other food at their dinner parties † to be prepared until today †.²⁶³ Many people add cabbage seed to their concoctions designed to prevent getting drunk. And in any vineyard where cabbages grow, the wine is darker. According to Timaeus (*FCrH* 566 F 47), this is why the Sybarites used to eat cabbage before drinking. Alexis (fr. 287):

Yesterday you drank a bit, so now you've got a
hangover.

Take a nap; that will put a stop to it. And then have
someone
give you boiled cabbage (*rhapphanos*).

And Eubulus (fr. 124) says somewhere:

Woman,

you've apparently decided I'm a cabbage
(*rhapphanos*), since
you're trying to shift your entire headache onto me.

That the ancients referred to cabbage (*krambē*) as *rhapphanos* is made clear by Apollodorus of Carystus (fr. 32):

† If because † we call it *rhapphanos*, but
you foreigners call it *krambē*, † they think it † makes
a difference to women.

Anaxandrides (fr. 59):

²⁶³ The final clause sits oddly with the rest of the sentence, and there has apparently been some disturbance in the text.

e

ἐὰν λούσησθε νῦν |
 ῥάφανόν τε πολλήν ἐντράγητε, παύσεται
 τὸ βάρος, διασκεδᾷ τε τὸ προσὸν νῦν νέφος
 ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου.

Νικοχάρης·

εἰς αὔριον <δ' > ἀντὶ ῥαφάνων ἐψήσομεν
 βαλάνιον, ἵνα νῶν ἐξάγη τὴν κραιπάλην.

Ἄμφις·

οὐκ ἔστιν, ὡς ἔοικε, φάρμακον μέθης
 οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον ὡς τὸ προσπεσεῖν ἄφνω
 λύπην τιν'. οὕτως ἐξελαύνει γὰρ σφόδρα
 † λῆρον ὥστε τὰς ῥαφάνους οὕτω δοκεῖν.

περὶ δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως ταύτης ἦν ἡ κράμβη ποιεῖ
 ἱστορεῖ καὶ Θεόφραστος φεύγειν φάσκων καὶ ζῶσαν
 τὴν ἄμπελον τῆς ῥαφάνου τὴν ὁδμήν.

BOOK I

If you take a bath now
and eat a lot of cabbage (*rhaphanos*), the sluggishness
will leave you, and the cloud that's currently
on your brow will scatter.

Nicochares (fr. 18):

Tomorrow, instead of cabbage (*rhaphanos*), we'll
make
a little acorn stew²⁶⁴ to take away our hangover.

Amphis (fr. 37):

It appears that there's no cure for drunkenness
as effective as having some unhappiness abruptly
fall upon you. Because this banishes it so forcibly
that it makes cabbage (*rhaphanos*) seem like †
nonsense.

Regarding this power that cabbage (*krambē*) has, Theophrastus (*HP* 4.16.6) reports that as the vine grows, it tries to avoid the smell of cabbage (*rhaphanos*).

²⁶⁴ *balanion*, diminutive of *balanos* ("acorn, acorn-shaped object"). But the word is not attested elsewhere in this sense, and in medical contexts it refers to suppositories of various sorts.

ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΥ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΥ

- 35 Τὸ πολὺ τῆς ἡμέρας προσεπιμετρῆι τῷ ὕπνῳ.
 Οὐκ εἶων με οἱ λόγοι, οὓς ἀπεμνημόνευσας, ὄντες
 ποικίλοι ὕπνῳ διδόναι σχολήν.
 Οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ τοξεύειν.¹
 Ὅτι τὸν οἶνον ὁ Κολοφώνιος Νίκανδρος ὠνομά-
 σθαι φησὶν ἀπὸ Οἰνέως·

Οἰνεὺς δ' ἐν κοίλοισιν ἀποθλίψας δεπάεσσιν
 οἶνον ἔκκλησε.

φησὶ δὲ καὶ Μελαυππίδης ὁ Μήλιος²·

ἐπώνυμον, δέσποτ', οἶνον Οἰνέως.

- b Ἐκαταῖος δ' ὁ Μιλήσιος τὴν ἄμπελον ἐν Αἰτωλία |
 λέγων εὐρεθῆναί φησι καὶ τάδε· Ὅρεσθεὺς ὁ Δευκα-
 λίωνος ἦλθεν εἰς Αἰτωλίαν ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ, καὶ κύων

¹ This phrase is omitted by E and is preserved in C only in the margin. ² Μήλιος 14.651f: μιλήσιος CE

¹ Perhaps a description of one of the dinner-guests, whose situation is distinguished from Timocrates' (below). But the verb might also be taken as a 2nd-person singular middle ("You allow

FROM BOOK II

He devotes much of the day to sleep.¹

These conversations you reported are so complex that they allowed me no leisure for sleep.²

Not to be shooting wide of the mark.³

Nicanter of Colophon (fr. 86 Schneider) asserts that wine (*oinos*) gets its name from Oeneus:⁴

And Oeneus squeezed it into hollow goblets
and called it wine (*oinos*).

Melanippides of Melos (*PMG* 761) as well says:

Wine (*oinos*), master, named after Oeneus.

Hecataeus of Miletus (*FGrH* 1 F 15) claims that the grapevine was discovered in Aetolia, and adds the following: Orestheus the son of Deucalion came to Aetolia to claim

yourself to spend most of the day asleep"), in which case the character Athenaeus may be addressing Timocrates, who was up all night pondering what he had heard (see below) and has risen late.

² Spoken by Timocrates, apparently on the day after the conversation reported in Book I.

³ For the expression, cf. 1.20b.

⁴ Oeneus (whose name is derived from *oinos* rather than the other way around) was the first mortal entrusted by Dionysus with the grapevine; see [Apollod.] *Bib.* 1.8.1; Hyg. *Fab.* 129.

αὐτοῦ στέλεχος ἔτεκε· καὶ ὃς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸ κατο-
 ρυθῆναι, καὶ ἔξ αὐτοῦ ἔφυ ἄμπελος πολυστάφυλος,
 διὸ καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα Φύτιον ἐκάλεσε. τούτου δ'
 Οἰνεὺς ἐγένετο κληθεὶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀμπέλων· οἱ γὰρ
 παλαιοί, φησὶν, Ἑλληνας οἴνας ἐκάλουσαν τὰς ἀμπέ-
 λους. Οἰνέως δ' ἐγένετο Αἰτωλός. Πλάτων δ' ἐν Κρατύ-
 λῳ ἐτυμολογῶν τὸν οἶνον οἰόνουσαν αὐτὸν φησὶν εἶναι |
 διὰ τὸ οἰήσεως ἡμῶν τὸν νοῦν ἐμπιπλᾶν. ἢ τάχα ἀπὸ
 τῆς ὀνήσεως κέκληται· παρετυμολογῶν γὰρ Ὅμηρος
 τὴν φωνὴν ὠδέ πῶς φησιν·

< . . . > ἔπειτα δὲ καὐτὸς ὀνήσεται, αἶ κε πίησθα.

καὶ γὰρ τὰ βρώματα ὀνείατα καλεῖν εἴωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ
 ὀνίσκειν ἡμᾶς.

οἶνόν τοι, Μενέλαε, θεοὶ ποίησαν ἄριστον
 θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισιν ἀποσκεδάσαι μελεδῶνας.

ὁ τῶν Κυπρίων τοῦτό φησι ποιητής, ὅστις ἂν εἴη.³
 Δίφιλος δ' ὁ κωμικός φησιν·

d ὦ πᾶσι τοῖς φρονούσι προσφιλέστατε |
 Διόνυσε καὶ σοφώταθ', ὡς ἡδύς τις εἶ·
 ὃς τὸν ταπεινὸν μέγα φρονεῖν ποιεῖς μόνος,

³ This sentence is omitted by E and is preserved in C only in the margin.

⁵ Hence the name of the region, Aetolia.

BOOK II

the kingship, and his dog gave birth to a root-clump. He ordered that it be buried, and a vine covered with grape-clusters grew (*ephu*) from it; this is why he called his son Phytius. Oeneus was Phytius' son and got his name from his grapevines; for the ancient Greeks, he says, referred to grapevines as *oinai* (e.g. Hes. *Op.* 572). Oeneus' son was Aetolus.⁵ Plato in the *Cratylus* (406c) explains the origin of the word *oinos* by saying that it was originally *oionous*, because it fills our minds with false notions.⁶ Or perhaps the word comes from *onēsis* ("benefit"); for Homer (*Il.* 6.260) alludes to its etymology when he says something like the following:

Then you yourself too will get some benefit (*onēseai*),
if you drink.

He also tended to refer to food as *oneiata* (literally "benefits"; e.g. *Od.* 10.9), because it does us good (*oniskein*).

The gods made wine, Menelaus, as the best means
for mortal men to scatter their cares;

the author of the *Cypria* (fr. 17 Bernabé), whoever he might be, says this. And the comic poet Diphilus (fr. 86) says:

O Dionysus, dearest and wisest in the eyes
of all those who have any sense, how kind you are!
You alone make the humble man proud

⁶ As if *oionous* (whence allegedly *oinos*) were derived from *oiēsis* + *nous*. What Plato's Socrates actually asserts is that people who are drunk think (*oiomai*) that they have sense (*nous*), although they do not.

ATHENAEUS

τὸν τὰς ὀφρῦς αἶροντα συμπίθεις γελᾶν,
τόν τ' ἀσθενῆ τολμᾶν τι, τὸν δειλὸν θρασύν.

ὁ δὲ Κυθήριος Φιλόξενος λέγει·

< . . . > εὐρείτας οἶνος πάμφωνος.

Χαιρήμων δὲ ὁ τραγωδὸς παρασκευάζειν φησὶ τὸν
οἶνον τοῖς χρωμένοις

γέλωτα, σοφίαν, εὐμαθίαν⁴, εὐβουλίαν.

e Ἴων δ' ὁ Χίος φησιν· |

ἄδαμνον

παῖδα ταυρωπόν, νέον οὐ νέον,

ἤδιστον πρόπολον βαρυ-

γδούπων ἐρώτων,

οἶνον ἀερσίνοον

ἀνθρώπων πρύτανιν.

36 <ὁ> Μνησίθεος δ' ἔφη || τὸν οἶνον τοὺς θεοὺς
θνητοῖς καταδείξαι τοῖς μὲν ὀρθῶς χρωμένοις
ἀγαθὸν μέγιστον, τοῖς δ' ἀτάκτως τοῦμπαλιν.
τροφὴν τε γὰρ δίδωσι τοῖς <εῦ> χρωμένοις
ἰσχύν τε ταῖς ψυχαῖσι καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν.

⁴ εὐμαθίαν Wagner: ἀμαθίαν CE

⁷ Literally "with raised eyebrows," a sign of arrogance; cf. Bato fr. 5.13, quoted at 3.103d; anon. FGE 1752, quoted at 4.162a; Olson on Ar. Ach. 1069–70.

BOOK II

and persuade the fellow with a haughty expression⁷ to
 laugh,
the weak man to take a risk, and the coward to be
 bold.

Philoxenus of Cythera (*PMG* 831) says:

 fair-flowing wine full of voices.

The tragic poet Chaeremon (*TrGF* 71 F 15) claims that
wine provides those who consume it with

 laughter, wisdom, a quick wit, sound judgment.

And Ion of Chios (*PMG* 744) says:

 Untamed
bull-faced child,⁸ young but not young,
most pleasant servant of the
 loud-thundering love-gods,
 wine that cheers the mind and is
mankind's lord.

(*Adesp. com. fr.* 101):

Mnesitheus⁹ said that the gods introduced
wine to mortals as the greatest good for those
who use it properly, but as the opposite for anyone
 who lacks discipline;
for it nourishes those who use it well
and strengthens their souls and their bodies.

⁸ Cf. 2.38e with n., below. ⁹ Mnesitheus of Athens
(*PAA* 656085; this passage = fr. 41 Bertier) was a mid-4th-century
"Dogmatic" physician who wrote on diaetetic subjects; Athenaeus
cites him at e.g. 1.22e, 32d; 2.54b, 57b.

εἰς τὴν ἰατρικὴν τε χρησιμώτατον
καὶ τοῖς ποτοῖς γὰρ φαρμάκοις κεράννυται,
καὶ τοῖσιν ἐλκωθεῖσιν ὠφελίαν ἔχει.

- ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις τε ταῖς καθ' ἡμέραν
b τοῖς μὲν μέτριον πίνουσι καὶ κεκραμένον |
εὐθυμίαν, εἰ δ' ὑπερβάλης, ὕβριν,
εἰ δ' ἴσον ἴσῳ προσφέρῃ, μανίαν ποεῖ·
εἰ δ' ἄκρατον, παράλυσιν τῶν σωμάτων.

διὸ καὶ καλεῖσθαι τὸν Διόνυσον πανταχοῦ ἰατρόν. ἢ
δὲ Πυθία εἴρηκέ τισι Διόνυσον ὑγιάτην καλεῖν. Εὐ-
βουλος δὲ ποιεῖ τὸν Διόνυσον λέγοντα·

- τρεῖς γὰρ μόνους κρατῆρας ἐγκεραυνῶ
τοῖς εὖ φρονούσι· τὸν μὲν ὑγείας ἕνα,
c ὃν πρῶτον ἐκπίνουσι, τὸν δὲ δεῦτερον |
ἔρωτος ἡδονῆς τε, τὸν τρίτον δ' ὕπνου,
ὃν ἐκπιόντες οἱ σοφοὶ κεκλημένοι
οἴκαδε βαδίζουσ'. ὁ δὲ τέταρτος οὐκέτι
ἡμέτερός ἐστ', ἀλλ' ὕβρεος· ὁ δὲ πέμπτος βοῆς·
ἕκτος δὲ κώμων· ἑβδομος δ' ὑπωπίων·
<ὁ δ' > ὄγδοος κλητῆρος· ὁ δ' ἕνατος χολῆς·
δέκατος δὲ μανίας, ὥστε καὶ βάλλειν ποεῖ

* * *

¹⁰ Cf. the reference to Mnesitheus at 1.22e, to which, given the reference to Mnesitheus in the comic fragment cited above, this passage most likely also referred originally.

BOOK II

They also made it very useful for medicine,
because it can be mixed together with liquid drugs
and helps the wounded.

And in everyday get-togethers
it makes those who drink it mixed and in moderate
amounts

happy; but if you drink too much, it produces ugly
behavior.

If you consume it mixed one-to-one, it drives you
crazy;

and if you drink it with no water at all, it paralyzes
your body.

This is why Dionysus is universally referred to as a physician. The Pythia told certain people to address Dionysus as *Hygiatēs* ("Giver of Health").¹⁰ Eubulus (fr. *93) represents Dionysus as saying:

Because I mix up only three bowls of wine for
sensible people. One is dedicated to good health,
and they drink it first. The second is dedicated
to love and pleasure, and the third to sleep;
wise guests finish it up
and go home. The fourth bowl no longer
belongs to me but to outrage. The fifth belongs to
arguments;
the sixth to wandering drunk through the streets; the
seventh to black eyes;
the eighth to the bailiff; the ninth to an ugly black
humor;
and the tenth to madness extreme enough to make
people throw stones.

* * *

ATHENAEUS

πολὺς γὰρ εἰς ἓν μικρὸν ἀγγεῖον χυθεὶς
ὑποσκελίζει ῥᾶστα τοὺς πεπωκότας.

Ἐπίχαρμος δέ φησιν·

- (A.) † ἐκ μὲν θυσίας θοίνα < . . . > ,
- d ἐκ δὲ ἰ θοίνας πόσις ἐγένετο. (B.) χαρίεν, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ <δοκεῖ>.
- (A.) ἐκ δὲ πόσιος κῶμος, ἐκ κώμου δ' ἐγένεθ' ὑανία,
- ἐκ δ' ὑανίας δίκαι, <'κ δίκας δ' ἐγένετο καταδίκαι>⁵,
- ἐκ δὲ καταδίκαις πέδαι τε καὶ σφαλὸς καὶ ζαμία.

Πανύασις δ' ὁ ἐποποιὸς τὴν μὲν πρώτην πόσιν ἀπονέμει Χάρισιν, Ὠραῖς καὶ Διονύσῳ, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν Ἀφροδίτῃ καὶ πάλιν Διονύσῳ, Ἐβρεῖ δὲ καὶ Ἄτῃ τὴν τρίτην.⁶ Πανύασις φησι·

πρῶται μὲν Χάριτές τ' ἔλαχον καὶ εὐφρονες
ἰΩραι
μοῖραν καὶ Διόνυσος ἐρίβρομος, οὐπερ ἔτευξαν.
τοῖς δ' ἐπι Κυπρογένεια θεὰ λάχε καὶ Διόνυσος.
ἐνθα τε κάλλιστος πότος ἀνδράσι γίνεται οἴνου
εἴ τις <δῖς> γε πίοι καὶ ὑπότροπος οἴκαδ'
ἀπέλθοι

⁵ suppl. Meineke ⁶ The two quotations that follow and the introductory material that accompanies them (Πανύασις . . . ὀπηδεῖ) is preserved after the end of Book 13 in C and after the

BOOK II

For a great deal of wine poured into one little jar
easily knocks drunks' legs out from under them.

Epicharmus (fr. 146) says:

(A.) † A sacrifice leads to a feast,
and a feast leads to drinking. (B.) Sounds good to me,
at least!

(A.) But drinking leads to wandering the streets
drunk, and wandering the streets drunk leads to
acting like a pig,
and acting like a pig leads to a lawsuit, <and a lawsuit
leads to being found guilty,>
and being found guilty leads to shackles, stocks, and a
fine.

The epic poet Panyasis assigns the first round of drinks to the Graces, the Seasons, and Dionysus; the second to Aphrodite and Dionysus again; but the third to Outrage and Folly. Panyasis (fr. 17 Bernabé) says:

The first lot fell to the Graces, the cheerful Seasons,
and
loud-roaring Dionysus, out of whom they made it.¹¹
After them the lot fell to the Cyprus-born goddess
and Dionysus.

Up to this point, drinking wine is excellent for men;
if someone drank twice and turned around and went
home

¹¹ I.e. the contents of the mixing-bowl that was their share.

end of Book 15 in E, and has been added here on the theory that it must originally have stood somewhere in this section of Book 2.

ATHENAEUS

δαιτὸς ἀπὸ γλυκερῆς, οὐκ ἄν ποτε πῆματι
κύρσαι·

ἀλλ' ὅτε τις μοίρης τριτάτης πρὸς μέτρον
ἐλαύνει

πίνων ἀβλεμέως, τότε δ' Ὑβριος αἴσα καὶ Ἄτης
γίνεται ἀργαλή, κακὰ δ' ἀνθρώποισιν ὀπάζει.

ἀλλὰ πέπον—μέτρον γὰρ ἔχεις γλυκεροῖο
ποτοῖο—

στείχε παρα μνηστὴν ἄλοχον, κοίμιζε δ'
ἐταίρους·

δεΐδια γὰρ τριτάτης μοίρης μελιηδέος οἴνου
πινομένης, μή σ' Ὑβρις ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θυμὸν ἀέροη,
ἔσθλοῖς δὲ ξενίοισι κακὴν ἐπιθῆσι τελευτήν.
ἀλλὰ πιθοῦ καὶ παῦε πολὺν πότον.

καὶ ἐξῆς περὶ ἀμέτρου οἴνου·

ἐκ γάρ οἱ Ἄτης τε καὶ Ὑβριος αἴσ' <ἄμ' >
ὀπηδεῖ.

κατὰ γὰρ τὸν Εὐριπίδην·

πληγὰς ὁ κῶμος λοῖδορόν θ' ὕβριν⁷ φέρει.

ὅθεν τινὲς τὴν Διονύσου γένεσιν καὶ τὴν τῆς Ὑβρεως
κατὰ ταῦτὰ γενέσθαι φασίν.

e Ἄλεξις δὲ πού φησιν ὡς |

⁷ The traditional text of Euripides has πνγμαὺς . . . λοιδορόν
τ' ἔρω.

BOOK II

from the pleasant feast, he would never meet with
any harm.

But when a man proceeds to measure out a third
portion,
drinking aggressively, then comes the painful turn of
Outrage and

Folly, and it brings human beings trouble.

So then, my friend, since you've had a share of sweet
drink,

go home to the woman you married, and let your
companions go to sleep!

I'm afraid that, while the third share of wine sweet as
honey

is being drunk, Outrage may excite your heart in your
chest

and put an ugly end to our fine festivities.

But take my advice and stop drinking so much!

And immediately after this, on the topic of immense
amounts of wine (Panyas. fr. 18 Bernabé):

For the turn of Folly and Outrage follows next for
him.

As Euripides (*Cyc.* 534) says:

Wandering the streets drunk produces blows, verbal
abuse, and outrage.

This is why some authorities claim that Dionysus and Out-
rage were born at the same time.

Alexis (fr. 46)¹² says somewhere that

¹² Identified by Stobaeus (who cites precisely the same verses)
as a fragment of *Demetrius* or *Philetaerus*.

ATHENAEUS

ὁμοιότατος ἄνθρωπος οἴνω τὴν φύσιν
 τρόπον τιν' ἔστί. τὸν γὰρ οἶνον τὸν νέον
 πολλή 'στ' ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸν ἄνδρ' ἀποζέσαι
 πρῶτιστον ἀφυβρίσαι τ', ἀπανθήσαντα δὲ
 σκληρὸν γενέσθαι, παρακμάσαντα δ' ὦν λέγω
 τούτων ἀπάντων, ἀπαρυθέντα τὴν ἄνω
 ταύτην ἄνοιαν ἐπιπολάζουσιν, τότε
 πότιμον γενέσθαι καὶ καταστήναι πάλιν
 ἡδύν θ' ἅπασιν τοῦπίλοιπον διατελεῖν.

f κατὰ δὲ τὸν Κυρηναῖον ποιητὴν |

οἶνός τοι πυρὶ ἴσον ἔχει μένος, εὐτ' ἂν ἐς ἄνδρας
 ἔλθῃ· κυμαίνει δ', οἷα Λίβυσσαν ἄλα
 βορρῆς ἢ νότος, τὰ δὲ <καὶ> κεκρυμμένα φαίνει
 βυσσόθεν, ἐκ δ' ἀνδρῶν πάντ' ἐτίναξε νόον.

ἀλλαχοῦ δὲ τοῦναντίον φησὶν Ἄλεξις·

οὐδὲν < . . . > ἔοικ' ἄνθρωπος οἴνω τὴν φύσιν·
 ὁ μὲν ἀπογηράσκων ἀηδῆς γίγνεται,
 οἶνον δὲ τὸν παλαιότατον σπουδάζομεν·
 ὁ μὲν δάκνει γάρ, ὁ δ' ἰλαροὺς ἡμᾶς ποεῖ.

37 Πανύασις δὲ λέγει· ||

οἶνος <γὰρ> πυρὶ ἴσον ἐπιχθονίοισιν ὄνειρα

BOOK II

Human nature is, in a way,
a lot like wine. Because new wine
and a young man—there's no escaping it—boil
intensely
at first and run wild. Then, when their bloom is off,
they turn sour. But when the peak years for all the
tendencies
I'm talking about are over, and this foolishness has
been
skimmed off the top of him, then
he becomes drinkable, settles down again,
and remains pleasant to everyone thereafter.

As the Cyrenean poet (Eratosth. fr. 36, p. 67 Powell)
puts it:

Wine is in fact as strong as fire, when men go head-
to-head
with it. It whirls them around, as the north or
south wind
does the Libyan sea; and it reveals what is hidden
in their depths and shakes all the sense out of
men.

But elsewhere Alexis (fr. 280) says the opposite:

Human nature's not at all like wine.
When a man gets old, he becomes unpleasant,
whereas we're eager to have the oldest wine;
because an old man causes grief, but old wine makes
us cheerful.

Panyasis (fr. 16.12–15, 17–19 Bernabé) says:

For wine benefits men on earth as much as fire does:

ATHENAEUS

ἐσθλόν, ἀλεξίκακον, πάσῃ συνοπηδὸν ἀνίη.
 ἐν μὲν γὰρ θαλίης ἐρατὸν μέρος ἀγλαΐης τε,
 ἐν δὲ χοροϊτυπίης, ἐν δ' ἰμερτῆς φιλότητος.

* * *

τῷ σε χρὴ παρὰ δαιτὶ δεδεγμένον εὐφροῖσι θυμῷ
 πίνειν, μηδὲ βορῆς κεκορημένον ἥτε παῖδα⁸
 ἦσθαι πλημύροντα, ληλησμένον εὐφροσυνάων.

καὶ πάλιν·

- b <ὡς> οἶνος θνητοῖσι θεῶν πάρα δῶρον ἄριστον |
 ἀγλαός· ᾧ πᾶσαι μὲν ἐφαρμόζουσιν αἰοδαί,
 πάντες δ' ὄρχηθμοί, πᾶσαι δ' ἐραταὶ φιλότητες.
 πάσας δ' ἐκ κραδίης ἀνίας ἀνδρῶν ἀλαπάξει
 πινόμενος κατὰ μέτρον· ὑπὲρ μέτρον δὲ χερεΐων.

- Τίμαιος δὲ ὁ Ταυρομενίτης ἐν Ἀκράγαντι οἰκίαν
 τινά φησι καλεῖσθαι Τριήρη ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης. νεα-
 νίσκους τινὰς ἐν αὐτῇ μεθυσκομένους εἰς τοσοῦτον
 c ἐλθεῖν μανίας ἐκθερμανθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς | μέθης ὡς
 νομίζειν μὲν ἐπὶ τριήρους πλεῖν, χειμάζεσθαι δὲ χα-
 λεπῶς κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν· καὶ τοσοῦτον ἔκφρονας
 γενέσθαι ὡς τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας πάντα σκεύη καὶ
 στρώματα ρίπτειν ὡς εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, τὴν ναῦν διὰ
 τὸν χειμῶνα ἀποφορτίζεσθαι δόξαν αὐτοῖς λέγειν τὸν
 κυβερνήτην. συναθροισμένων οὖν πολλῶν καὶ τὰ

⁸ Stobaeus (who preserves the entire fragment) has γύπα
 ("vulture") for Athenaeus' παῖδα.

BOOK II

it's good, keeps trouble away, and is by one's side in
any sort of grief.

Lovely feasting and splendor belong partially to its
sphere,
as does choral dancing and the love-making we long
for.

* * *

Therefore you should make a toast at the feast with a
happy heart
and drink, and not sit there like a child, sated and
stuffed full of food, oblivious to the good time
going on.

And again (Panyas. fr. 19 Bernabé):

that wine is the gods' best gift to mortals,
shining wine. All songs go well with it,
and all dances, and all sensuous love-making.
It drains all the troubles from men's hearts
when drunk in moderation; but in excess it is not so
good.

Timaeus of Tauromenium (*FGrH* 566 F 149) reports that there is a house in Acragas referred to as the *Trireme* for the following reason. Some young men were getting drunk inside; and their drunkenness made them so feverishly crazy that they thought they were sailing on a trireme and had run into a terrible storm at sea. They were so out of their minds that they started throwing all the furniture and bedding out of the house, thinking that they were throwing it into the sea because the pilot was telling them that the ship's cargo needed to be jettisoned on account of the storm. And even though a crowd began to gather and

ρίπτόμενα διαρπαζόντων οὐδ' ὡς παύεσθαι τῆς μανίας τοὺς νεανίσκους. καὶ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν παραγενομένων τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐγκληθέντες
 d οἱ | νεανίσκοι ἔτι ναυτιῶντες ἀπεκρίναντο πυνθανομένων τῶν ἀρχόντων ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἐνοχλούμενοι ἠναγκάσθαι ἀποφορτίσασθαι τῇ θαλάσῃ τὰ περιττὰ τῶν φορτίων. θαυμαζόντων δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν τὴν ἐκπληξιν τῶν ἀνδρῶν εἰς τῶν νεανίσκων, καίτοι δοκῶν τῶν ἄλλων πρεσβεύειν κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, “ἐγὼ δ’,” ἔφη, “ἄνδρες Τρίτωνες, ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους καταβαλὼν ἑμαυτὸν ὑπὸ τοὺς θαλάμους ὡς ἐνὶ μάλιστα κατωτάτῳ ἐκέειμην.” συγγνόντες οὖν τῇ αὐτῶν ἐκστάσει ἐπιτιμή-
 e σαντες μὴ πλείονος οἴνου | ἐμφορεῖσθαι ἀφῆκαν. καὶ οἱ χάριν ἔχειν ὁμολογήσαντες < . . . > “ἂν λιμένος,” ἔφη, “τύχωμεν ἀπαλλαγέντες τοσοῦτου κλύδωνος, Σωτήρας ὑμᾶς ἐπιφανείς μετὰ τῶν θαλασσιῶν δαιμόνων ἐν τῇ πατρίδι ἰδρυσόμεθα ὡς αἰσίως ἡμῖν ἐπιφανεύτας.” ἐντεῦθεν ἡ οἰκία Τριήρης ἐκλήθη.

Φιλόχορος δὲ φησιν ὅτι οἱ πίνοντες οὐ μόνον ἑαυτοὺς ἐμφανίζουσιν οἵτινές εἰσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον ἀνακαλύπτουσι παρρησίαν ἄγοντες.
 ὄθεν

οἶνος < . . . > καὶ ἀλαθία

f λέγεται καὶ |

< . . . > ἀνδρὸς δ' <οἶνος> ἔδειξε νόον,

καὶ τὸ νικητήριον ἐν Διονύσου τρίπους· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ

BOOK II

steal the items being thrown out, the young men continued to act crazily. The next day the city's chief officials¹³ came to the house, and a charge was issued against the young men, who were still seasick; when the magistrates questioned them, they responded that a storm had caused them trouble and forced them to jettison their excess cargo into the sea. When the officials expressed astonishment at their lunacy, one of the young men, who seemed in fact to be older than the others, said: "Triton sirs,¹⁴ I was so afraid, that I had thrown myself under the third course of rowing benches, since that seemed like the lowest part of the ship, and was lying there." They therefore forgave them for their craziness, ordered them not to consume any more wine, and let them go; and the young men expressing their gratitude . . . "If," he said, "we escape this rough sea and reach a harbor, we will set up altars in our fatherland to you, along with the other sea-divinities, as manifest Savior gods, since you revealed yourselves to us at a crucial moment." The house therefore came to be referred to as the *Trireme*.

Philochorus (*FGrH* 328 F 170) says that drinkers not only show who they really are themselves, but also reveal other people's secrets by speaking freely. Hence the sayings (*Alc.* fr. 366.1)

wine and truth

and (*Thgn.* 500)

Wine reveals a man's mind,

and the fact that the victory monument set up in Dionysus'

¹³ Literally "generals."
gods who had suddenly appeared.

¹⁴ As if he were addressing sea-

τρίποδος λέγειν φαμέν τοὺς ἀληθεύοντας. δεῖ δὲ νοεῖν τρίποδα τοῦ Διονύσου τὸν κρατήρα· ἦν γὰρ τὸ ἀρχαῖον δύο γένη τριπόδων, οὓς καλεῖσθαι λέβητας συνέβαινε ἀμφοτέρους· ἔμπυριβήτης ὁ καὶ λοετροχόος. Αἰσχύλος·

38 τὸν μὲν τρίπους ἐδέξατ' οἰκείος λέβης
αἰεὶ φυλάσσω τὴν ὑπὲρ πυρὸς στάσιν. ||

ὁ δ' ἕτερος κρατὴρ καλούμενος. Ὅμηρος·

ἔπτ' ἀπύρους τρίποδας.

ἐν τούτοις δὲ τὸν οἶνον ἐκίρων· καὶ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας οἰκείος τρίπους. διὸ Ἀπόλλωνος μὲν οἰκείος διὰ τὴν ἐκ μαντικῆς ἀλήθειαν, Διονύσου δὲ διὰ τὴν ἐν μέθῃ. Σῆμος δ' ὁ Δήλιός φησι τρίπους χαλκοῦς, οὐχ ὁ Πυθικός, ἀλλ' ὃν νῦν λέβητα καλοῦσιν. οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν οἱ μὲν ἄπυροι, εἰς οὓς τὸν οἶνον εἰσεκεράννον, οἱ δὲ λοετροχόοι, ἐν οἷς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐθέρμαινον, καὶ
b ἔμπυριβῆται. καὶ τούτων | ἔνιοι ὠτώεντες, τρίποδα δὲ τὴν ὑπόβασιν ἔχοντες τρίποδες ὠνομάζοντο. φησὶ πού Ἐφίππος·

(A.) οἶνου σε πλήθος πόλλ' ἀναγκάζει λαλεῖν.

¹⁵ But the point is clearly that tripods of this sort were normally placed on the fire and were thus of the same sort as those mentioned by Aeschylus (above).

¹⁶ The Pythia, Apollo's priestess at his oracular shrine in Delphi, is sometimes represented sitting in a tripod.

BOOK II

temple is a tripod. For we say that those who speak the truth are "speaking from a tripod"; and it must be recognized that the mixing-bowl is Dionysus' tripod. Because in the old days there were two types of tripods, both of which happened to be referred to as cauldrons (*lebētes*). The type used for heating bathwater went on the fire. Aeschylus (fr. *1):

The three-legged household cauldron (*lebēs*), which
always
stays in its spot over the fire, received him.

The other type was the so-called *kratēr* ("mixing-bowl").
Homer (*Il.* 9.122):

seven tripods never placed over a fire.¹⁵

They mixed wine in this type, which is also the tripod associated with truth. This is why it is associated both with Apollo, because of the truth that comes from prophecy,¹⁶ and with Dionysus, because of the truth discovered in drunkenness. Semus of Delos (*FGrH* 396 F 16) says: a bronze tripod, not the Delphic tripod, but what they refer to nowadays as a cauldron (*lebēs*). Some of these did not go over a fire, but were used for mixing wine; others were for bathwater, which was warmed up in them, and went over the fire. Some also had handles;¹⁷ and because they had a three-legged base, they were called tripods. Ehippus (fr. 25) says somewhere:

(A.) All the wine you've drunk is making you

¹⁷ Literally "ears."

(B.) οὐκοῦν μεθύοντάς φασι τάληθῆ λέγειν.

Ἀντιφάνης·

κρύφαι, Φειδία,
 ἅπαντα τᾶλλά τις δύναιτ' ἂν πλὴν δυοῖν,
 οἶνόν τε πίνων εἰς ἔρωτά τ' ἐμπεσῶν.
 c ἀμφοτέρα μηνύει γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν βλεμμάτων |
 καὶ τῶν λόγων ταῦθ'· ὥστε τοὺς ἀρνούμενους
 μάλιστα τούτους καταφανεῖς ποεῖ.

Φιλόχορος δέ φησιν· Ἀμφικτύονα τὸν Ἀθηναίων
 βασιλέα μαθόντα παρὰ Διονύσου τὴν τοῦ οἴνου
 κρᾶσιν πρῶτον κεράσαι· διὸ καὶ ὀρθοὺς γενέσθαι τοὺς
 ἀνθρώπους οὕτω πίνοντας, πρότερον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀκράτου
 καμπτομένους. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἰδρύσασθαι βωμὸν Ὀρ-
 θοῦ Διονύσου ἐν τῷ τῶν Ὀρῶν ἱερῷ· αὐταὶ γὰρ καὶ
 τὸν τῆς ἀμπέλου καρπὸν ἐκτρέφουσι. πλησίον δ' αὐ-
 d τοῦ καὶ ταῖς νύμφαις | βωμὸν ἔδειμεν, ὑπόμνημα τοῖς
 χρωμένοις τῆς κράσεως ποιούμενος· καὶ γὰρ Διονύ-
 σου τροφοὶ αἱ νύμφαι λέγονται. καὶ θέσμιον ἔθετο
 προσφέρεσθαι μετὰ τὰ σιτία ἄκρατον μόνον ὅσον
 γεύσασθαι, δείγμα τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ Ἀγαθοῦ Θεοῦ,
 τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἤδη κεκραμένον, ὅπόσον ἕκαστος βούλε-

¹⁸ Quoted again, in slightly different form, at 15.693d-e.

¹⁹ Cf. the more complete account at 5.179e.

²⁰ Because nymphs are frequently associated with springs and rivers.

BOOK II

talkative.

(B.) Well, they say that drunks speak the truth.

Antiphanes (fr. 232):

A man can conceal
anything else, Pheidias, but there are two things he
can't:
that he's drinking wine and that he's fallen in love.
Because both conditions betray themselves from the
expression on his face
and the words he speaks; in the end those who
deny it
are the ones they most obviously convict.

Philochorus (*FGrH* 328 F 5b¹⁸) says that Amphictyon the king of Athens learned how to mix wine from Dionysus and was the first person to do this. As a result, when people drank wine this way, they stood up straight, whereas before they were doubled over from drinking it undiluted. This is also why he established an altar of Upright Dionysus in the sacred precinct of the Seasons,¹⁹ because they cause the grapes to mature. Close to this he built an altar to the nymphs, to remind those who consume wine to mix it;²⁰ and in fact the nymphs are said to be Dionysus' nurses (e.g. *h.Hom.* 26.3–5). He also made it a custom that, after the food, we drink just enough unmixed wine to get a taste, as a demonstration of the Good Divinity's²¹ power; and that, after that, the wine is drunk mixed and everyone has as much

²¹ For the Good Divinity (here presumably to be identified with Dionysus), e.g. *Ar. Eq.* 85; *Nicostr. Com.* fr. 19 (quoted at 15.693b); *Antiph.* fr. 135.

ται προσεπιλέγειν δὲ τούτῳ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς Σωτήρος ὄνομα διδαχῆς καὶ μνήμης ἕνεκα τῶν πινόντων, ὅτι οὕτω πίνοντες ἀσφαλῶς σωθήσονται. Πλάτων δ' ἐν
 e δευτέρῳ Νόμων τὴν τοῦ οἴνου χρήσιν φησιν ὑγιείας ἢ ἕνεκα ὑπάρχειν.

Ἄπὸ τοῦ κατὰ μέθην δὲ καταστήματος καὶ ταύρω παρεικάζουσι τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ παρδάλει διὰ τὸ πρὸς βίαν τρέπεσθαι τοὺς ἐξοινωθέντας. Ἀλκαῖος·

ἄλλοτα μὲν μελιάδεος, ἄλλοτα
 δ' ὀξύτέρῳ τριβόλων ἀρυτήμενοι.

εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ θυμικοὶ γίνονται τοιοῦτος δ' ὁ ταῦρος.
 Εὐριπίδης·

f ταῦροι δ' ὑβρισταὶ κὰς κέρας θυμούμενοι. ἢ

διὰ δὲ τὸ μάχιμον καὶ θηριώδεις ἔνιοι γίνονται ὅθεν καὶ τὸ παρδαλώδες.

Καλῶς οὖν Ἀρίστων ὁ Κεῖός φησιν ἡδιστον ποτὸν εἶναι τὸν ἅμα μὲν γλυκύτητος, ἅμα δ' εὐωδίας κοινω-
 νοῦντα. διὸ καὶ τὸ καλούμενον νέκταρ κατασκευάζειν
 39 τινὰς περὶ τὸν Λυδίας Ὀλυμπον οἶνον καὶ κηρία
 συγκιρνάντας εἰς ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀνθῶν εὐώδη. ἢ
 οἶδα δ' ὅτι Ἀναξανδρίδης τὸ νέκταρ οὐ ποτόν, ἀλλὰ
 τροφήν εἶναι λέγει θεῶν·

τὸ νέκταρ ἐσθίω πάνν

BOOK II

as he wants. And also that we pronounce the name of Zeus the Savior over the mixed wine, so that those who are drinking can learn the name and remember that, if they drink this way, their safety is assured. Plato in Book II of the *Laws* (674b) says that we drink wine for our health.

They compare Dionysus to a bull²² because of the condition drunks are in, and to a leopard because those who consume too much wine are prone to violence. Alcaeus (fr. 369):

sometimes drawing themselves wine sweet as honey,
at other times some with a bite harsher than
brambles.

Some people become quarrelsome; this is what a bull is like. Euripides (*Ba.* 743):

bulls that were violent, with anger in their horns.

And because they like to fight, some become like wild animals; hence the comparison to a leopard.

Ariston of Chios (fr. 23 Wehrli) was therefore right to say that the most pleasant drink combines sweetness and a fine bouquet, and that this is why the people who live around Mount Olympus in Lydia prepare what they refer to as nectar by mixing wine and honeycomb together with sweet-smelling flowers. I am aware that Anaxandrides (fr. 58) refers to nectar not as what the gods drink, but as what they eat:²³

I wolf down the nectar

²² E.g. S. fr. 959.2; E. *Ba.* 100; and cf. Ion *PMG* 744.2 (quoted at 2.35e).

²³ Ganymede is speaking.

μάττων διαπίνω τ' ἀμβροσίαν καὶ τῷ Διὶ
 διακονῶ καὶ σεμνός εἰμ' ἐκάστοτε
 Ἦρα λαλῶν καὶ Κύπριδι παρακαθήμενος.

καὶ Ἀλκμὰν δέ φησι τὸ

< . . . > νέκταρ ἔδμεναι

αὐτούς. καὶ Σαπφῶ δέ φησιν·

ἀμβροσίας μὲν
 κράτηρ ἐκέκρατ',

b Ἔρμαις δ' ἔλων ὄλπιον θεοῖσ' εἰνοχόησε. |

ὁ δ' Ὅμηρος θεῶν πόμα τὸ νέκταρ οἶδεν. Ἴβυκος δέ
 φησι τὴν ἀμβροσίαν τοῦ μέλιτος κατ' ἐπίτασιν ἐννεα-
 πλασίαν ἔχειν γλυκύτητα, τὸ μέλι λέγων ἕνατον εἶναι
 μέρος τῆς ἀμβροσίας κατὰ τὴν ἡδονήν.

οὐδεὶς φιλοπότης ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος κακός.
 ὁ γὰρ διμάτωρ Βρόμιος οὐ χαίρει συνῶν
 ἀνδράσι πονηροῖς οὐδ' ἀπαιδεύτῳ βίῳ,

c φησὶν Ἀλέξιος, καὶ ὅτι οἶνος φιλολόγους πάντας ποιεῖ
 τοὺς πλείονα πίνοντας αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ ποιήσας τὸ | εἰς
 Κρατῖνον ἐπίγραμμα φησιν·

οἶνός τοι χαρίεντι πέλει μέγας ἵππος αἰιδῶ,

²⁴ See 1.21b n.

BOOK II

as I knead it, and drink up the ambrosia, and provide personal services to Zeus; and I routinely act haughtily as I chat with Hera and sit beside Cypris.

Alcman (*PMG* 42) too says that they
eat nectar.

And Sappho (fr. 141.1-3)²⁴ says:

 a bowl of ambrosia
had been mixed up,
 and Hermes picked up a vessel and poured wine
 for the gods.

But Homer knows nectar as what the gods drink (e.g. *Il.* 1.598). Ibycus (*PMG* 325) asserts that ambrosia is in its intensity nine times as sweet as honey, when he says that in the pleasure it provides, honey is a ninth-share of ambrosia.

No one who likes to drink is a bad person;
because the two-mothered Bromius²⁵ does not enjoy
 spending time
with nasty people or unrefined ways,

says Alexis (fr. 285), adding that wine makes anyone who drinks a lot of it talkative. The author of the epigram on Cratinus (Nicaen. *AP* 13.29 = *HE* 2711-16 = Cratin. test. 45) says:

Wine is a mighty steed for a witty bard;

²⁵ Referring to the fact that, when Dionysus' mother Semele was killed while he was still in her womb, he was sewn up temporarily for safekeeping in Zeus' thigh (e.g. *E. Ba.* 88-98).

ὔδωρ δὲ πίνων χρηστὸν οὐδὲν ἂν τέκοις.
 ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν, Διόνυσσε, καὶ ἔπνεεν οὐχ ἑνὸς ἀσκού
 Κρατῖνος, ἀλλὰ παντὸς ὠδώδει πίθου.
 τοιγαροῦν στεφάνων δόμος ἔβρυνεν, εἶχε δὲ
 κισσῶ
 μέτωπον οἷα καὶ σὺ κεκροκωμένον.

Πολέμων φησὶν ἐν Μουνυχία ἦρωα Ἀκρατοπότην τι-
 μᾶσθαι, παρὰ δὲ Σπαρτιάταις Μάτωνα καὶ Κεράωνα
 d ἦρωας ὑπὸ τινων μαγείρων ἰδρῦσθαι ἐν τοῖς | φειδιτί-
 οῖς. τιμᾶται δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἀχαΐα Δειπνεὺς ἀπὸ τῶν δει-
 πνων σχῶν τὴν προσηγορίαν.

Ἐκ τροφῆς ξηρᾶς
 οὔτ' ἂν σκώματα
 γένοιτ' <ἂν> οὔτ' αὐτοσχέδια ποιήματα,

ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ κόμπος οὐδὲ ψυχῆς ἀλαζονεία. καλῶς
 οὖν ἐν τῷ πῆ ἔβαν εὐχῶλαι ἄς ἐν Δήμῳ ἠγοράασθε,
 ἔσθοντες κρέα πολλὰ καὶ πίνοντες οἴνου κρατῆρας
 ἐπιστεφείας ἐπεσημῆνατο ὁ γραμματικὸς Ἀρίσταρχος
 e περιγράφων | τὸν στίχον, ὃς περὶ κρεωφαγίας αὐχεῖν
 ποιεῖ τοὺς Ἑλληνας· οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ πάσης εὐθυμίας καὶ
 πληρώσεως τὸ καυχᾶσθαι καὶ σκώπτειν καὶ γελοι-
 ἀζειν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἀλλοιούσης τὴν γνώμην καὶ πρὸς τὸ
 ψευδὲς τρεπούσης, ἣ γίνεται κατὰ τὴν μέθην. διὸ

²⁶ This verse = Cratin. fr. *203 (dubiously assigned to Wine-
 flask).

²⁷ Cf. Demetrius of Scepsis fr. 10 Gaede, quoted at 4.173f.

BOOK II

but if you drink water, you could never produce
anything good.²⁶

This is what Cratinus used to say, Dionysus; and his
breath didn't smell
of just one sack of wine, but reeked of the whole
cask.

That's why his house was full of victory garlands, and
his head
was wrapped with yellowish ivy, like yours.

Polemon (fr. 40 Preller) claims that a hero named Akra-
topotēs (“Drinker of Unmixed Wine”) is worshipped in
Munychia, and that in Sparta some cooks erected altars
in the public messes to the heroes Mattōn (“Kneader”) and
Keraōn (“Mixer”).²⁷ And in Achaea they worship Dei-
pneus, whose name is derived from *deipna* (“dinner par-
ties”).

From dry food (adesp. com. fr. *102)
could arise neither
jokes nor improvised verses,

and certainly no bragging or bombastic spirits. In the pas-
sage (*Il.* 8.229–32, condensed) “Where did those boasts go
that you made on Lemnos, as you ate much meat and drank
mixing-bowls filled to the brim with wine?”, the grammar-
ian Aristarchus is right to add a marginal note marking the
line (*Il.* 8.231) that represents the Greeks as boasting be-
cause they eat meat as spurious. For boastfulness, mock-
ery, and laughter are not the product of every sort of good
cheer and satiety, but of the kind that alters the way one
looks at the world and inclines one to lie, which is what
happens when one gets drunk. This is why Bacchylides (fr.

Βακχυλίδης φησί·

γλυκεῖ ἀνάγκα
 σεομενᾶν κυλίκων θάλπησι θυμόν,
 Κύπριδος τ' ἐλπίς διαιθύσση φρένας
 f ἀμμειγνυμένα Διονυσίοισι δώροις· |
 ἀνδράσι δ' ὑποτάτω πέμπει μερίμνας·
 αὐτίκα μὲν πολίων κράδεμνα λύει,
 πάσι δ' ἀνθρώποις μοναρχήσειν δοκεῖ·
 χρυσῶ δ' ἐλέφαντί τε μαρμαίρουσιν οἴκοι,
 πυροφόροι δὲ κατ' αἰγλάεντα <πόντον>
 νᾶες ἄγουσιν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου μέγιστον
 πλοῦτον· ὥς πίνοντος ὀρμαίνει κέαρ.

40 Σοφοκλῆς δέ φησι· ||

< . . . > τὸ μεθύειν πημονῆς λυτήριον.

οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ποιηταί φασι τὸν

< . . . > οἶνον εὐφρονα, καρπὸν ἀρούρης.

καὶ ὁ τῶν ποιητῶν δὲ βασιλεὺς τὸν Ὀδυσσεά παράγει
λέγοντα·

ὅς δέ κ' ἀνὴρ οἴνοιο κορεσσάμενος καὶ ἔδωδῆς
 < . . . > πανημέριος πολεμίζῃ,
 θαρσαλέον νύ οἱ ἦτορ,

καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.

Ὅτι Σιμωνίδης τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρχὴν τίθησιν οἴνου καὶ
μουσικῆς.⁹ ἀπὸ μέθης καὶ ἡ τῆς κωμωδίας καὶ ἡ τῆς

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*20b.6–16) says:

A sweet compulsion
warms the heart when the cups move quickly,
and hope of Cypris, mixed up with
Dionysus' gifts, rushes through the mind
and sends men's thoughts sky-high.
It immediately strips cities of their battlements,
and everyone thinks that he is going to be king.
Houses glitter with gold and ivory,
and ships laden with wheat bring
immense wealth over the shining sea
from Egypt. This is how a man thinks when he's
drinking.

Sophocles (fr. 758) says:

Being drunk is a release from pain.

Other poets refer to the

cheerful wine, crop of the field. (*Il.* 3.246)

And the king of poets introduces Odysseus saying (*Il.* 19.167–9):

Whenever a man is full of wine and food
... and wages war all day long,
his heart is still confident,

and so forth.

Simonides (*PMG* 647) claims that wine and music originated together. Drunkenness also resulted in the inven-

⁹ This sentence is omitted by E and is preserved in C only in the margin.

- b τραγωδίας εὔρεσις ἐν Ἰκαρίῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς | εὐρέθη,
καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν τῆς τρύγης καιρὸν ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ
τραγωδία τὸ πρῶτον ἐκλήθη ἢ κωμωδία.

τὴν παυσίλυπον ἄμπελον δοῦναι βροτοῖς.
οἴνου δὲ μηκέτ' ὄντος οὐκ ἔστιν Κύπρις
οὐδ' ἄλλο τερπνὸν οὐδὲν ἀνθρώποις ἔτι,

Εὐριπίδης ἐν Βάκχαις φησί. καὶ Ἀστυδάμας δέ φησι

θηητοῖσι τὴν ἀκεσφόρου
λύπης ἔφηνεν οἰνομήτορ' ἄμπελον.

- c συνεχῶς μὲν ἐμπιμπλάμενος | ἀμελής γίνεται
ἄνθρωπος, ὑποπίνων δὲ πάνυ φροντιστικός,

Ἄντιφάνης φησίν.

οὐχὶ μεθύω τὴν φρόνησιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον
μόνον,
τὸ διορίζεσθ' <οὐ> βεβαίως τῷ στόματι τὰ
γράμματα,

φησὶν Ἀλεξίς.

Σέλευκος δὲ φησι τὸ παλαιὸν οὐκ εἶναι ἔθος οὐτ'
οἶνον ἐπὶ πλείον οὐτ' ἄλλην ἡδονάθειαν προσφέρε-
σθαι, μὴ θεῶν ἕνεκα τοῦτο δρῶντας. διὸ καὶ θοίνας

²⁸ Both Susarion (who is supposed to have produced the first comedies) and Thespis (who is supposed to have produced the first tragedies) are associated with the deme Icarion, which was lo-

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tion of comedy and tragedy in Icarion in Attica²⁸ around the time of the grape-harvest (*trugē*). As a consequence, comedy was originally referred to as “tragedy.”²⁹

He gave mortals the vine that puts an end to pain.
If there is no wine, there is no longer Cyprus³⁰
nor any other pleasure for human beings,

says Euripides in *Bacchae* (772–4). Astydamos (*TrGF* 60 F 6) too says:

He revealed to mortals the grapevine,
mother of wine and a cure for their grief.

If someone constantly fills himself with wine, he
grows
careless; but if he drinks only a little, he grows quite
thoughtful,

says Antiphanes (fr. 268).

I'm not so drunk that I can't think; I'm just drunk
enough
that my mouth doesn't pronounce the letters clearly,

says Alexis (fr. 304).

Seleucus (fr. 78 Müller) claims that in the old days it was not the custom to indulge excessively in wine or any other luxury, except in honor of the gods. This is why they

cated on the north slope of Mount Pentelicon not far from Marathon.

²⁹ The word (which puns on “tragedy”) and its cognates are used occasionally by the late 5th-century comic poets (*Ar. Ach.* 499 with Olson ad loc.), but are not attested earlier.

³⁰ Cf. 2.39e n.

καὶ θαλείας¹⁰ ὠνόμαζον· τὰς μὲν ὅτι διὰ θεοῦς οἰνοῦ-
σθαι δεῖν ὑπελάμβανον, τὰς δ' ὅτι θεῶν χάριν ἡλί-
d ζοντο καὶ συνήεσαν. | τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ "δαίτα θά-
λειαν". τὸ δὲ μεθύειν φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης τὸ μετὰ τὸ
θύειν αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι.

θεοῖσι μικρὰ θύοντας τέλη
τῶν βουθυτούντων ὄντας εὐσεβεστέρους,

Εὐριπίδης φησί. καὶ σημαίνει ὧδε τὸ τέλος τὴν θυ-
σίαν. καὶ Ὁμηρος·

οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγέ τί φημι τέλος χαριέστερον εἶναι
ἢ ὅταν εὐφροσύνη μὲν ἔχῃ κατὰ δῆμον ἅπαντα.¹¹

e τελετάς τε καλοῦμεν τὰς ἔτι μείζους καὶ μετὰ | τινος
μυστικῆς παραδόσεως ἑορτὰς τῶν εἰς αὐτὰς δαπανη-
μάτων ἔνεκα· τελεῖν γὰρ τὸ δαπανᾶν καὶ πολυτελεῖς οἱ
πολλὰ ἀναλίσκοντες καὶ εὐτελεῖς οἱ ὀλίγα. φησὶν
Ἄλεξις·

τοὺς εὐτυχοῦντας ἐπιφανῶς
δεῖ ζῆν φανεράν τε τὴν δόσιν τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ
ποιεῖν· ὁ γὰρ <θεὸς> δεδωκὼς τὰγαθὰ

¹⁰ θαλείας καὶ μέθας CE

¹¹ See 1.16d n.

³¹ As if *thoinai* were derived from *theous oinoumai*.

³² As if *thaliai* were derived from *theōn . . . hēlizō*.

³³ Cf. 1.24b.

³⁴ Identified by Stobaeus as coming from *Danae*.

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called them *thoinai* ("feasts") and *thaleiai* ("festivities")—the former because they thought they should drink on the gods' account,³¹ the latter because they gathered together and formed groups for the gods' sake.³² This is what is meant by "a substantial meal."³³ Aristotle (fr. 667) says that the verb *methuō* ("be drunk") refers to the fact that one consumes wine *meta to thuein* ("after making sacrifice").

Who make small sacrifices (*telē*) to the gods,
but are more pious than those who sacrifice bulls,

says Euripides (fr. 327.6–7).³⁴ He thus shows that a *telos* ("rite") is a sacrifice. Also Homer (*Od.* 9.5–6):³⁵

For I declare that there is no greater height (*telos*) of
happiness
than when joy prevails among all the people.

We use the term *teletai* to describe festivals that are larger than this and involve some mystic tradition, because of the money expended on them; for *telein* means "to spend," and people who consume a lot of money are referred to as *poluteleis* ("spendthrifts"), while those who spend only a little are referred to as *euteleis* ("cheap"). Alexis (fr. 267) says:

Anyone who's doing well ought to live
ostentatiously and put what the god has given him
on display. Because the god who has conferred these
benefits

³⁵ The speaker (Odysseus) is referring to the pleasure of a banquet, which implies a sacrifice; but *telos* is not used in the sense Athenaeus suggests.

ὧν μὲν πεπόθηκεν οἶεται χάριν τινὰ
 ἔχειν ἑαυτῷ, τοὺς ἀποκρυπτομένους δὲ καὶ
 f πράττειν μετρίως φάσκοντας ἀχαρίστους ὀρών |
 ἀνελευθέρως τε ζῶντας ἐπὶ καιροῦ τινος
 λαβῶν ἀφείλεθ' ὅσα δεδωκῶς ἦν πάλαι.

Τοσαῦτα οἰνολογήσαντος ἦτοι περὶ οἴνων εἰπόν-
 τος· λαφύσσοντος οἴνων ὀνόματα.¹²

Οὐ χαίρει τῷ πόματι ἐκ πρώτης ἐθισθεὶς ἀνατρο-
 φῆς ὑδροποτεῖν. ἡδύ ἐστιν

ἐν δαιτὶ καὶ εἰλαπίνῃ τεθαλυίῃ
 τέρπεσθαι μύθοισιν, ἐπὴν δαιτὸς κορέσωνται,

Ἡσίοδος ἐν τῇ Μελαμποδία φησίν. οὗ τινι ὑμῶν
 ἐπήλθε περὶ ὕδατος εἰπεῖν τι ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ὁ οἶνος
 φύεται¹³, καίτοι Πινδάρου τοῦ μεγαλοφωνοτάτου ἄρι-
 41 στον πάντων εἶναι τὸ ὕδωρ φήσαντος. || Ὅμηρος μὲν
 οὖν ὁ θεϊότατος καὶ τροφιμώτατος αὐτὸ οἶδεν ἐν οἷς

< . . . > αἰγείρων ὕδατοτρεφέων

ἄλσος λέγει. ἐπαινεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸ διαυγὲς αὐτοῦ·

κρῆναι < . . . > πίσυρες ῥέον ὕδατι λευκῷ.

τὸ δὲ δὴ κούφον καὶ πλείονος τιμῆς ἄξιον ἱμερτὸν
 καλεῖ· ἱμερτὸν οὖν φησι τὸν Τιταρήσιον, ὃς τῷ

¹² This sentence is omitted by E and is preserved in C only in the margin.

¹³ ἀφ' ὧν καὶ ὁ οἶνος ἀφύεται CE

BOOK II

expects that he'll get some thanks
for what he's done. He regards those who conceal
their wealth and claim that they're no richer than
anyone else as ingrates
who live meanly; and when the right time comes,
he grabs everything he gave them previously and
takes it away.

Oenologizing to this extent, or speaking about wine;
gulping down the names of wines.³⁶

Someone accustomed from earliest childhood to drink
water does not enjoy drinking wine. It is nice for people
at a meal and a substantial banquet
to enjoy conversation, after they have had enough to
eat,

says Hesiod in the *Melampodia* (fr. 274). It did not occur to
any of you to say something about water, from which wine
comes, even though the grandiloquent Pindar (*O.* 1.1)
claimed that water is the best thing there is. The divine
Homer (*Od.* 17.208) shows an awareness that it is nourish-
ing in the passage where he refers to a grove

of poplars fed by water.

He also praises its clarity (*Od.* 5.70):

Four springs flowed with clear water.

And he refers to water that is light and valuable as "desir-
able"; thus he says (*Il.* 2.751) that the Titaesius, which (*Il.*
2.753)

³⁶ A summary description of the behavior of one of the guests;
what follows represents the beginning of a new speech.

< . . . > Πηνειῶ συμμίσγεται.

καὶ τοῦ ῥυπτικοῦ δὲ ὕδατος μέμνηται· ὁ ἀποδεχόμενος
καὶ Πραξαγόρας ὁ Κῶος < . . . > καλὸν εἶναι λέγει·

- b καλὸν ὑπεκπρορᾷ μάλα περ ῥυπόωντα καθήραι. |
διαστέλλει δὲ καὶ γλυκὺ ὕδωρ ἀπὸ πλατέος, τὸν μὲν
Ἑλλήσποντον εἶναι λέγων “πλατύν”, ὑπὲρ δὲ θατέρου
φράζων·

στήσαμεν < . . . > νῆας¹⁴
ἀγχ’ ὕδατος γλυκεροῖο.

- οἶδε δὲ καὶ τὴν < τοῦ > χλιαροῦ φύσιν πρὸς τὰ τραύ-
ματα. τὸν γοῦν Εὐρύπυλον τρωθέντα ἐκ τούτου κατα-
ονᾷ· καίτοι εἰ ἐπισχεῖν ἔδει τὴν αἰμορραγίαν, τὸ
ψυχρὸν ἐπιτήδειον ἦν συστρέφον καὶ συσφίγγον. εἰς
δὲ τὸ παρηγορήσαι τὰς ὀδύνας τῷ θερμῷ ἐπαιονᾷ
c θέλγειν δυναμένῳ. ἐστὶ δὲ | παρ’ αὐτῷ τὸ “λιαρόν”
θερμόν. ἐναργῶς δὲ τοῦτο δείκνυσιν ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν
Σκαμάνδρου πηγῶν·

ἡ μὲν γὰρ (φησὶν) ὕδατι λιαρῷ ῥέει, ἀμφὶ δὲ
καπνὸς
γίνεται ἐξ αὐτῆς ὡς εἰ πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο.

ἄρα γε τοῦτο λιαρόν ἐστὶν ἀφ’ οὗ πυρὸς ἀτμὶς καὶ
καπνὸς ἔμπυρος ἀναφέρεται; περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐτέρας πη-
γῆς λέγει ὡς θέρους

¹⁴ The traditional text of Homer has the singular νῆα (“ship”).

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is mixed together with the Peneius,
is "desirable." He also mentions water used for washing
clothes. Praxagoras of Cos (fr. 40 Steckerl) approves of this
passage . . . says that it is good (*Od.* 6.87):

It pours out forward, good for washing even very
dirty clothing.

He also distinguishes fresh water from broad water by de-
scribing the Hellespont as "broad" (*Il.* 7.86), but saying
about the other type (*Od.* 12.305-6):

We moored . . . our ships
near fresh water.

In addition, he is familiar with how warm water af-
fects wounds. When Eurypylos is wounded, for example,
Homer has this poured over it (*Il.* 11.829-30); although if
it had been necessary to stop the flow of blood, cold water
would have been useful, since it tightens and compresses
the flesh. But for soothing pains he has hot water poured
over the wound, since it can control them. Homer uses the
word *liaros* (properly "warm") to mean "hot"; he shows this
clearly in the passage that describes Scamander's springs
(*Il.* 22.149-50):

For one of them (he says) flows with *liaros* water, and
smoke
comes off of it all around, as if from a blazing fire.

Is this merely warm (*liaros*) water, from which a fiery va-
por and burning hot smoke rise? But regarding the other
spring, he says that in summer (*Il.* 22.151-2)

- d ἢ χιόνι ψυχρῇ ἢ ἐξ ὕδατος κρυστάλλῳ. |
 εἰωθὸς δὲ λέγειν καὶ τοὺς νεοτρότους θερμῷ περι-
 ρεῖσθαι αἵματι ἐπὶ μὲν Ἀγαμέμνονός φησιν·
 ὄφρα οἱ αἶμ' < . . . > θερμὸν ἀνήνοθεν ἐξ
 ὤτειλῆς.

ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ φεύγοντος μετὰ τὸ βληθῆναι ἐλάφου μετα-
 φράζων φησίν·

< . . . > ὄφρ' αἶμα λιαρὸν καὶ γούνατ' ὀρώρη.

Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ μετάκερας καλοῦσι τὸ χλιαρόν, ὡς Ἐρα-
 τοσθένης φησίν. ὕδαρῇ φησὶ καὶ μετάκερας.

- e Τῶν δ' ἄλλων ὑδάτων τὰ μὲν ἐκ πετρῶν φερόμενα
 δινοφερὰ καλεῖ ὡς ἀχρεῖα δηλονότι. | τὰ δὲ κρηναῖα
 καὶ διὰ πλείονος γῆς καὶ εὐκάρπου φερόμενα τῶν
 ἄλλων προκρίνει, ὡς καὶ Ἡσίοδος·

κρήνης < . . . > αἰενάου¹⁵ καὶ ἀπορρύτου, ἣ τ'
 ἀθόλωτος.

καὶ Πίνδαρος·

μελιγαθὲς ἀμβρόσιον ὕδωρ
 Τιλφώσσας ἀπὸ καλλικράνου.

κρήνη δ' ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ ἢ Τιλφῶσσα· ἀφ' ἧς Ἀριστο-

¹⁵ ἀενάου CE

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its flow resembles hail,
cold snow, or ice.

Since he customarily says that fresh wounds flow with hot blood, he says of Agamemnon (*Il.* 11.266):

while the blood was rising hot (*thermon*) from his wound.

And changing the word he uses, he says about the deer that tries to escape after it has been shot (*Il.* 11.477):

so long as the blood is hot (*liaron*) and its limbs are moving.

According to Eratosthenes (pp. 236–7 Bernhardt), the Athenians refer to warm water as *metakeras*.³⁷ Watery, he says³⁸, and warm (*metakeras*).

Of other types of water, Homer refers to those that emerge from rock-faces as “dark” (*Il.* 9.15; 16.4), since they are, of course, useless. He prefers spring-water that runs through deep, fertile soil over all other kinds, as Hesiod (*Op.* 595) does as well:

of an everflowing, running spring which is untroubled.

Likewise Pindar (fr. 198b):

honey-sweet ambrosial water
from Tilphossa with its lovely spring.

Tilphossa is a spring in Boeotia. Aristophanes (*FGrH* 379 F

³⁷ Literally “intermixed”; see 3.123d–e for a number of comic fragments offered in support of this assertion. ³⁸ It is unclear whether this refers to Eratosthenes or Athenaeus.

- φάνης φησὶ Τειρεσίαν πιόντα διὰ γῆρας οὐχ ὑπο-
 μείναντα τὴν ψυχρότητα ἀποθανεῖν. Θεόφραστος | δέ
 φησιν ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ὑδάτων τὸ Νεῖλου ὕδωρ πολυ-
 γονώτατον καὶ γλυκύτατον· διὸ καὶ λύειν τὰς κοιλίας
 τῶν πιόντων μίξιν ἔχον λιπρώδη. ἐν δὲ τῷ Περὶ
 Φυτῶν ἐνιαχοῦ φησιν ὕδωρ γίνεσθαι παιδογόνον ὡς
 ἐν Θεσπιαῖς, ἐν Πύρρα δὲ ἄγονον. καὶ τῶν γλυκέων δέ
 φησιν ὑδάτων ἔνια ἄγονα ἢ οὐ πολύγονα, ὡς τὸ ἐν
 42 Φέτα καὶ τὸ ἐν Πύρρα. || αὐχμῶν δὲ ποτε γενομένων
 περὶ τὸν Νεῖλον ἐρρήνῃ τὸ ὕδωρ ἰώδες καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν
 Αἰγυπτίων ἀπώλοντο. μεταβάλλειν τέ φησιν οὐ μόνον
 τὰ πικρὰ τῶν ὑδάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἀλυκὸν καὶ ὄλους
 ποταμούς, καθὰ τὸν ἐν Καρία, παρ' ᾧ Ζηνοποσει-
 δῶνος ἱερόν ἐστιν αἴτιον δὲ τὸ πολλοὺς κεραυνοὺς
 πίπτειν περὶ τὸν τόπον. ἄλλα δὲ τῶν ὑδάτων καὶ
 σωματώδη ἐστὶ καὶ ἔχει ὥσπερ τι βᾶρος ἐν ἑαυτοῖς,
 ὡς τὸ ἐν Τροιζῆνι· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τῶν γενομένων εὐθὺς
 b ποιεῖ πλήρες τὸ στόμα. τὰ δὲ πρὸς τοῖς περὶ | Πάγ-
 γαιον μετάλλοις τοῦ μὲν χειμῶνος τὴν κοτύλην ἄγου-
 σαν ἔχει ἐνενήκοντα ἔξ, θέρους δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ἔξ·
 συστέλλει δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ πυκνοῖ μάλλον τὸ ψῦχος. διὸ
 καὶ <τὸ> ἐν τοῖς γνώμοσι ρέον οὐκ ἀναδίδωσι τὰς
 ὄρας ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι, ἀλλὰ περιττεύει βραδυτέρας
 οὔσης τῆς ἐκροῆς διὰ τὸ πάχος. καὶ ταῦτά περὶ
 Αἰγύπτου φησίν, ὅπου μαλακώτερος ὁ ἀήρ. τὸ δὲ

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4) says that when Teiresias drank from it, he was too old to stand its cold and died. Theophrastus says in his *On Waters* (fr. 214a, including the material assigned to *On Plants* below) that the Nile's water promotes fertility and is very sweet; this is why it relaxes the bowels of those who drink it, since soda ash is mixed in with it. In his *On Plants* he claims that in some places the water promotes the conception of children, as for example in Thespieae, whereas in Pyrrha it produces sterility. And he says that some fresh water promotes sterility or hinders fertility, as for example the water in Pheta and Pyrrha. Once when there were droughts in the Nile Valley, the river's flow turned poisonous and many Egyptians died. He also says that it is not just saltwater that varies in character, but also brackish water and entire rivers, for example the river in Caria beside which there is a temple of Zeus-Poseidon; the reason for this is that many lightning-bolts fall in the region. Other types of water are substantial and have, as it were, a certain density to them, as for example the water in Troezen, which immediately fills your mouth when you taste it. The water near the mines around Mt. Pangaeum weighs 96 units per cup in the winter, but 46 in the summer; the cold compresses it and increases its density. This is why the water that flows in water-clocks³⁹ does not measure the hours correctly in the winter, but runs too long; for the outflow is slower because of the water's thickness. He says the same about Egypt, where the air is softer. Brackish water con-

³⁹ *gnōmōn* has this sense nowhere else, but it is difficult to see what else the text could be referring to.

ἀλυκὸν ὕδωρ γεωδέστερόν ἐστι καὶ πλείονος δέϊται
 κατεργασίας, ὡς τὸ θαλάσσιον, θερμότεραν ἔχον τὴν
 φύσιν καὶ μὴ ὁμοίως πάσχον. μόνον δ' ἀτέραμνον |
 τῶν ἀλυκῶν τὸ τῆς Ἀρεθούσης. χεῖρω δ' ἐστὶ τὰ
 βαρυσταθμότερα καὶ τὰ σκληρότερα καὶ τὰ ψυχρό-
 τερα διὰ τὰς αὐτὰς αἰτίας· δυσκατεργαστότερα γάρ
 ἐστὶ τὰ μὲν τῷ πολὺ τὸ γεῶδες ἔχειν, τὰ δὲ ψυχρό-
 τητος ὑπερβολῇ. τὰ δὲ ταχὺ θερμαινόμενα κούφα καὶ
 ὑγιεινά. ἐν Κρανῶνι δ' ἐστὶν ὕδωρ ἡσυχῇ θερμόν, ὃ
 διατηρεῖ κραθέντα τὸν οἶνον ἐπὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας.
 τὰ δ' ἐπίρρυτα καὶ ἐξ ὄχετοῦ ὡς ἐπίπαν βελτίω τῶν
 στασίμων, κοπτόμενά τε μαλακώτερα γίνεται. διὰ
 τοῦτο καὶ <τὰ> ἀπὸ τῆς χιόνος | δοκεῖ χρηστὰ εἶναι·
 καὶ γὰρ ἀνάγεται τὸ ποτιμώτερον καὶ τοῦτο κεκομ-
 μένον ἐστὶ τῷ ἀέρι. διὸ καὶ τῶν ὀμβρίων βελτίω· καὶ
 τὰ ἐκ κρυστάλλου δὲ διὰ τὸ κουφότερα εἶναι. σημεῖον
 δ' ὅτι καὶ ὁ κρύσταλλος αὐτὸς κουφότερος τοῦ ἄλλου
 ὕδατος. τὰ δὲ ψυχρὰ σκληρά, διότι γεωδέστερα. τὸ δὲ
 σωματῶδες καὶ θερμανθὲν θερμότερον καὶ ψυχθὲν
 ψυχρότερόν ἐστι. κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν δ' αἰτίαν καὶ τὰ ἐν
 τοῖς ὄρεσι ποτιμώτερα τῶν ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις· ἦττον γὰρ
 μέμικται τῷ γεῶδει. ποιεῖ δὲ τὸ γεῶδες καὶ τὰς ἐπι-
 χροῶς τῶν | ὑδάτων. τὸ γοῦν τῆς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι λίμνης
 ἐρυθρὸν γίνεται ἐπὶ τινὰς ἡμέρας· τὸ δὲ τοῦ Βορυσθέ-
 νους κατὰ τινὰς χρόνους ἰοβαφὲς καίπερ ὄντος καθ'
 ὑπερβολὴν λεπτοῦ. σημεῖον δέ· τοῦ Ἰπάνιος ἐπάνω

⁴⁰ I.e. the application of more heat to make it boil, as what fol-

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tains more sediment and requires more treatment⁴⁰ in comparison to sea-water, which is naturally warmer and less inert. The only brackish water that does not respond at all⁴¹ comes from the Arethousa spring. Heavier, harsher, and colder waters are inferior for the same reasons, since they are quite difficult to bring to a boil, some of them because of the larger amount of sediment they contain, others because they are extremely cold. But water that can be warmed up quickly is light and healthy. In Crannon the water is slightly warm and keeps wine that is mixed into it this way for two or three days. Running water, including that from streams, is generally superior to standing water and becomes softer when agitated. This is why water from melting snow is thought to be good; because the more drinkable portion rises to the top and is broken up by contact with the air. For this reason it is superior to rainwater, as is water from ice, since it is quite light; evidence of this is the fact that ice itself is lighter than any other form of water. Cold water is harsh because it contains more sediment. Water that has substance is warmer when heated, and colder when cooled. For the same reason, mountain water is more drinkable than water from the plains, because it contains less sediment. The sediment also affects the color of the water. The water in the lake in Babylon, for example, is red for days on end, while the water of the Borysthenes is sometimes purple, even though it is very insubstantial; evidence of this is the fact that the north winds lift it higher than they do the Hypanus, because it is so light. There

lows makes clear. There were springs called Arethousa in Syracuse and near Chalcis on Euboea (cf. 8.331e-f).

⁴¹ I.e. that will not boil, no matter what is done to it.

γίνεται διὰ κουφότητα τοῖς βορείοις. πολλαχοῦ δ' εἰσὶ κρήναι αἱ μὲν ποτιμώτεραι καὶ οἰνωδέστεραι, ὡς ἡ περὶ Παφλαγονίαν, πρὸς ἣν φασι τοὺς ἐγχωρίους ὑποπίνειν προσιόντας, ἀλμώδεις δ' ἅμα τῷ ὄξει ἐν

f Σικανοῖς τῆς Σικελίας. ἐν τῇ Καρχηδονίῳ δὲ ἡ ἐπι-
 κρατεία κρήνη ἐστὶν ἣ τὸ ἐφιστάμενον ἐλαίῳ ἐστὶν
 ὁμοιον, μελάντερον <δὲ> τὴν χροάν· ὁ ἀποσφαιροῦν-
 τες χρῶνται πρὸς τὰ πρόβατα καὶ τὰ κτήνη. καὶ παρ'
 ἄλλοις δ' εἰσὶ λίπος ἔχουσαι τοιοῦτον, ὡς ἡ ἐν Ἀσίᾳ,
 ὑπὲρ ἧς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπέστειλεν ὡς ἐλαίου κρήνην
 εὐρηκώς. καὶ τῶν θερμῶν δ' ἐκ φύσεως ὑδάτων ἔνια

43 γλυκέα ἐστίν, ὡς τὰ ἐν Αἰγαῖς ἢ <τῆς> Κιλικίας καὶ
 περὶ Παγασὰς τὰ τ' ἐν τῇ Τρωικῇ Λαρίσση καὶ περὶ
 Μαγνησίαν καὶ ἐν Μήλῳ καὶ Λιπάρᾳ· ἐν δὲ Προύση
 τῇ πρὸς τὸν Μύσιον Ὀλυμπον τὰ βασιλικὰ καλούμε-
 να. τὰ δ' ἐν Ἀσίᾳ περὶ Τράλλεις καὶ τὸν Χαρακωμή-
 την ποταμόν, ἔτι δὲ Νῦσαν πόλιν οὕτως ἐστὶ λιπαρὰ
 ὡς μὴ δεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐναπολουμένους ἐλαίου. τοιαῦτα
 καὶ τὰ ἐν Δασκύλου κώμῃ. τὰ δ' ἐν Καρούροις κατά-
 ξηρα καὶ σφόδρα θερμά· τὰ δὲ περὶ Μηνὸς κώμην, ἣ
 ἐστὶ Φρυγίας, τραχύτερά ἐστι καὶ λιτρωδέστερα, ὡς

b καὶ <τὰ> ἐν τῇ καλουμένῃ ἢ Λέοντος κώμῃ τῆς Φρυ-
 γίας. τὰ δὲ περὶ Δορύλαιον καὶ πινόμενά ἐστὶν ἡδι-
 στα· τὰ γὰρ περὶ Βαίας ἢ Βαίου λιμένα τῆς Ἰταλίας
 παντελῶς ἄποτα.

Σπαθμήσας τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Κορίνθῳ Πειρήνης κα-
 λουμένης ὕδωρ κουφότερον πάντων εὔρον τῶν κατὰ
 τὴν Ἑλλάδα· οὐ γὰρ Ἀντιφάνει τῷ κωμικῷ πεπίστει-

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are springs in many places, some of which are good to drink from or taste like wine, as for example the spring in Paphlagonia that the locals are said to visit to do a bit of drinking, whereas among the Sicilians in Sicily the springs are simultaneously salty and acidic. In Carthaginian territory there is a spring in which the water on top resembles oil but is darker-colored; they skim it off in globules and use it for their flocks and cattle. Among other peoples as well there are springs that are similarly oily, as for example the one in Asia about which Alexander wrote a letter claiming to have discovered a well of oil.⁴² Some naturally warm water is fresh, such as that in Aegae in Cilicia and around Pagasae, as well as in Trojan Larissa and Magnesia, Melos, and Lipara; also the so-called "royal water" in Prusa near Mysian Olympus. But the water in Asia around Tralles and the Characometes river, and also around the city of Nysa, is so slick that anyone who bathes in it needs no oil;⁴³ the water in the village of Dascylum is like this too. The water in Carura is drying and very warm, whereas around the village of Men in Phrygia it is quite harsh and full of soda ash, as also in the so-called village of Leon in Phrygia. The water around Dorylaeum is also very pleasant to drink; but that around Baeae or its harbor in Italy is completely undrinkable.⁴⁴

When I weighed the water from what is referred to as the Peirene spring in Corinth, I discovered that it was the lightest water in Greece; for I put no credence in the comic

⁴² Cf. Str. 11.518; Plu. *Alex.* 57.5-7.

⁴³ Sc. to anoint himself with afterward.

⁴⁴ The point of the contrast must be that both places had well-known hot springs.

κα λέγοντι κατὰ πολλὰ τὴν Ἀττικὴν διαφέρουσαν τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ὕδωρ κάλλιστον ἔχειν. φησὶ γάρ·

(A.) οἶα δ' ἡ χώρα φέρει
 διαφέροντα † πάσης, Ἰππόνικε, τῆς οἰκουμένης,
 c τὸ μέλι, τοὺς ἄρτους, τὰ σῦκα. (B.) σῦκα | μὲν,
 νῆ τὸν Δία,
 πάνυ φέρει. (A.) βοσκήματ', ἔρια, μύρτα, θύμα,
 πυρούς, ὕδωρ,
 ὥστε καὶ γνοίην ἂν εὐθὺς Ἀττικὸν πίνων ὕδωρ.

Τὸ ὕδωρ ποταμοῦ σῶμά φησὶ που Εὐβουλος ὁ
 κωμωδιοποιὸς εἰρηκέναι Χαιρήμονα τὸν τραγικόν·

ἐπεὶ δὲ σηκῶν περιβολὰς ἡμέψαμεν
 ὕδωρ τε ποταμοῦ σῶμα διεπεράσαμεν.

καὶ ἡμῶν δὲ πᾶσα δύναμις ἐξ ὑδάτων ἄρδεται.

Ἐν Τήνῳ κρήνη ἐστὶν ἧς τῷ ὕδατι οἶνος οὐ μίγνυ-
 ται. Ἡρόδοτος δὲ ἐν τετάρτῃ τὸν Ἰπανὶν φησιν ἀπὸ
 d μὲν | τῶν πηγῶν φερόμενον ἐπὶ πέντε ἡμέρας βραχὺν
 εἶναι καὶ γλυκύν, μετὰ δὲ ἄλλων τεσσάρων ἡμερῶν
 πλόον πικρὸν γίνεσθαι ἐκδιδούσης εἰς αὐτὸν κρήνης
 τινὸς πικρᾶς. Θεόπομπος δὲ φησι περὶ τὸν Ἐριγῶνα
 ποταμὸν ὅξυ εἶναι ὕδωρ καὶ τοὺς πίνοντας αὐτὸ μεθύ-
 σκεσθαι καθὰ καὶ τοὺς τὸν οἶνον. Ἀριστόβουλος δ' ὁ

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poet Antiphanes when he claims that Attica is superior to other places in many ways, including in having the best water. He says (fr. 177):⁴⁵

(A.) The products of this country,
Hipponicus, better than those in the † whole
inhabited world!

Honey! bread! figs! (B.) By Zeus, it certainly
produces

figs. (A.) Flocks! wool! myrtle-berries! thyme! wheat!
water

such that I'd immediately recognize it as Attic when I
drank it!

The comic poet Eubulus (fr. 128) says that the tragedian Chaeremon (*TrGF* 71 F 17) refers to water as the body of a river:

But when we went by the sheep-pen fences
and crossed the water, which is the body of the river.

And all our strength is irrigated by water.

There is a spring in Tenos with whose water wine does not mix. Herodotus in Book IV (52.2-3) says that the Hypanis, as it moves away from its sources, is small and fresh for five days, but after another four days' sail becomes salty, because a saltwater spring empties into it. Theopompus (*FGrH* 115 F 278a) asserts that the water near the Erigonus river is acidic, and that anyone who drinks it gets as drunk as people do who drink wine. Aristobulus of Casandreia (*FGrH* 139 F 6) says that there

⁴⁵ Much of this fragment is quoted again at 3.74d-e, where see n.

Κασανδρεύς φησιν ἐν Μιλήτῳ κρήνην εἶναι Ἀχίλλειον καλουμένην, ἧς τὸ μὲν ρεῦμα εἶναι γλυκύτατον, τὸ δ' ἐφεστηκὸς ἀλμυρόν· ἀφ' ἧς οἱ Μιλήσιοι περιεράνασθαί φασι τὸν ἥρωα, ὅτε | ἀπέκτεινε Τράμβηλον τὸν τῶν Δελέγων βασιλέα. φασι δὲ καὶ ὅτι τὸ περὶ Καππαδοκίαν ὕδωρ πολὺ τε ὄν καὶ κάλλιστον οὐ σήπεται ἀπόρρυσιν οὐκ ἔχον, πλὴν εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ γῆν ῥέοι. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν ἐβδόμῳ Ἰππομνημάτων, ἐπὶ Κορίνθου προάγουσι, φησίν, ἡμῖν διὰ τῆς Κουτοπορείας καλουμένης κατὰ τὴν ἀκρώρειαν προσβαίνουσιν εἶναι κρήνην νᾶμα ἀνιείσαν χιόνος ψυχρότερον· ἐξ ἧς πολλοὺς μὴ πίνειν ἀποπαγήσεσθαι προσδοκῶντας, αὐτὸς δὲ λέγει πεπωκένας. Φύλαρχος δὲ φησιν ἐν | Κλείτορι εἶναι κρήνην ἀφ' ἧς τοὺς πίνοντας οὐκ ἀνέχεσθαι τὴν τοῦ οἴνου ὀσμὴν. Κλέαρχος φησι τὸ μὲν ὕδωρ ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ γάλα λευκὸν λέγεσθαι, οἶνον δὲ καθάπερ καὶ τὸ νέκταρ ἐρυθρόν, μέλι δὲ καὶ ἔλαιον χλωρόν, τὸ δ' ἐκ τῶν μόρων θλιβόμενον μέλαν.

Εὐβουλος εὐρετικούς φησι τὸ ὕδωρ ποιεῖν τοὺς πίνοντας αὐτὸ μόνον, τὸν δ' οἶνον ἡμῶν τῷ φρονεῖν ἐπισκοτεῖν. τὰ αὐτὰ δ' Ἰαμβεῖα καὶ Ὀφελίων φησί.

44 Τοιαῦτα ὥσπερ οἱ ῥήτορες πρὸς ὕδωρ εἰπὼν || καὶ βραχὺ ἀναπαυσάμενος αὐθις ἔφη Ἄμφις ὁ κωμικός πού φησιν·

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is a spring in Miletus referred to as the Achilleion and that the water that comes out of it is entirely fresh, but a layer of saltwater is on top of it. The Milesians claim that the hero⁴⁶ purified himself with its water when he killed Trambelus, the king of the Leleges. People also say that the water in Cappadocia is abundant and very good, and does not grow stale even though it lacks an out-channel, unless perhaps it flows underground. King Ptolemy in Book VII of his *Commentaries* (*FGrH* 234 F 6) says: As we were advancing on Corinth and approaching it via what is called the Short Route along the ridge, there was a spring that produced a stream of water colder than snow. Many people refused to drink from it, because they expected to freeze solid; but he says that he drank from it himself. Phylarchus (*FGrH* 81 F 63) claims that there is a spring in Cleiton whose water makes those who drink it unable to stand the smell of wine. Clearchus (fr. 96 Wehrli) says that water is described as "white," as milk is too; that wine, like nectar, is "red"; that honey and olive oil are "greenish yellow"; and that mulberry juice is "black."

Eubulus (fr. 133) claims that water makes people who drink nothing else inventive, but that wine casts shade over our thinking. Ophelio (fr. 4) has the same lines.

After he made remarks of this sort, as the orators do, "with an eye on the water,"⁴⁷ and took a brief rest, he resumed: The comic poet Amphis (fr. 41) says somewhere:

⁴⁶ Achilles, for whom the spring was named. For Trambelus' death at Achilles' hands in Miletus, see Σ Lyc. 467; Wüst, *RE*² VI.2130-1.

⁴⁷ A reference to the practice of allotting speaking-time in Athens' courts (and perhaps other public fora as well) by means of water-clocks; cf. 2.42b.

ἐνήν ἄρ', ὡς ἔοικε, κὰν οἶνω λόγος·
 ἔνιοι δ' ὕδωρ πίνοντές εἰς' ἀβέλτεροι.

Ἀντιφάνης δέ·

οἶνω < . . . > τὸν οἶνον ἐξελαύνειν,
 σάλπιγγι τὴν σάλπιγγα, τῷ κήρυκι τὸν βοῶντα,
 κόπῳ κόπον, ψόφῳ ψόφον, τριωβόλῳ δὲ πόρνην,
 αὐθαδιαν αὐθαδία, Καλλίστρατον μαγείρῳ,
 στάσιν στάσει, μάχῃ μάχην, ὑπωπίοις δὲ

b

πύκτην, |
 πόνῳ πόνον, δίκῃν δίκη, γυναικὶ τὴν γυναῖκα.

Ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕδατος ἔταπτον οἱ παλαιοὶ τὸ
 ἄκρατον. Σώφρων ὕδωρ ἄκρατον εἰς τὰν κύλικα.

Ὅτι Φύλαρχός φησι Θεόδωρον τὸν Λαρισσαῖον
 ὑδροπότην γενέσθαι, τὸν ἀλλοτρίως ἀεὶ ποτε πρὸς
 Ἀντίγονον ἐσχηκότα τὸν βασιλέα. φησὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς
 Ἰβηρας πάντα ὑδροποτεῖν καίτοι πλουσιωτάτους ἀν-
 θρώπων ὄντας, μονοσιτεῖν τε αὐτοὺς ἀεὶ λέγει διὰ
 μικρολογίαν, ἐσθῆτας δὲ φορεῖν πολυτελεστάτας.

c

Ἀριστοτέλης | δ' ἢ Θεόφραστος Φιλῖνόν τινα ἱστορεῖ
 μήτε ποτῷ χρήσασθαι ποτε μήτε ἐδέσματι ἄλλῳ ἢ
 μόνῳ γάλακτι πάντα τὸν βίον. Πύθερμος δὲ ἐν τοῖς

⁴⁸ A small coin, perhaps the standard prostitute's fee.

⁴⁹ An early 4th-century Athenian politician (PAA 561575), here implicitly accused of gluttony.

⁵⁰ Otherwise unknown, like most of the individuals men-

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It appears that there's some reason in wine as well;
and some water-drinkers are asses.

Antiphanes (fr. 293):

to try to drive out the wine with wine,
the trumpet with a trumpet, the fellow who shouts
with the herald,
blow with blow, noise with noise, a whore with a
triobol,⁴⁸
stubbornness with stubbornness, Callistratus⁴⁹ with a
cook,
dissension with dissension, a fight with a fight, a
boxer with black eyes,
trouble with trouble, a lawsuit with a lawsuit, your
wife with another woman.

The ancients also used the word *akratos* ("unmixed") to describe water. Sophron (fr. 94): unmixed (*akraton*) water into the cup.

Phylarchus (*FGrH* 81 F 64) asserts that Theodorus of Larissa,⁵⁰ who was always at odds with King Antigonus, drank nothing but water. He also claims (*FGrH* 81 F 13) that the Iberians all drink only water, despite being the richest people on earth; and he says that they always eat alone, because of their stinginess, but wear extremely expensive clothing. Aristotle (fr. 668) or Theophrastus (fr. 340) records that a certain Philinus never drank or ate anything in his entire life except milk. Pythermus (*FGrH* 80 F

tioned below. But the Antigonus in question must be Antigonus Gonatas (reigned c.277/6–239 BCE). Cf. 3.73c–d, where another of Phylarchus' anecdotes about Antigonus is preserved.

Πειραιῶς τυραννεύουσι καταγράφει καὶ Γλαύκωνα ὑδροπότην. Ἡγήσανδρος δ' ὁ Δελφὸς Ἀγχίμολον καὶ Μόσχον φησὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἡλιδι σοφιστεύσαντας ὑδροποτήσαι πάντα τὸν βίον καὶ μόνα σῦκα προσφερομένους οὐδενὸς ἦττον διακείσθαι σώμασιν ἐρρωμενέστερους· τὸν δ' ἰδρῶτα αὐτῶν δυσώδη οὕτως ἔχειν ὡς
 d πάντας αὐτοὺς ἐκκλίνειν ἐν τοῖς βαλανείοις. Μᾶτρὶς ἰ δ' ὁ Θηβαῖος¹⁶ ὃν ἐβίω χρόνον οὐδὲν ἐσιτείτο ἢ μυρρίνης ὀλίγον, οἴνου δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων ἀπείχετο πλὴν ὕδατος. ὑδροπότης δ' ἦν καὶ Λάμπρος ὁ μουσικός, περὶ οὗ Φρύνιχός φησι·

λάρους θρηνεῖν, ἐν οἷσι Λάμπρος
 ἐναπέθνησκεν

ἄνθρωπος <ὦν> ὑδατοπότης, μυρρὸς
 ὑπερσοφιστής,

Μουσῶν σκελετός, ἀηδόνων ἠπίαλος, ὕμνος
 Ἄιδου.

Μάχων δ' ὁ κωμικὸς ὑδροπότου Μοσχίωνος μέμνηται. Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Μέθης φησὶν ὅτι ἀλμυράς τινες προσφερόμενοι τροφὰς ἄδιφοι διέμεναν· ὧν ἦν
 e Ἀρχωνίδης ἰ ὁ Ἀργεῖος. Μάγων δὲ ὁ Καρχηδόνιος τρὶς τὴν ἄνυδρον διήλθεν ἄλφιτα ξηρὰ σιτούμενος καὶ μὴ πίνων. Πολέμων δ' ὁ Ἀκαδημαϊκὸς ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ

¹⁶ Θηβαῖος Τουρ: Ἀθηναῖος CE

⁵¹ PAA 276740. Nothing is known about the "tyrants of the Piraeus"; but Pythermus probably dates to the late 3rd or early

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2) includes Glaucou,⁵¹ who drank only water, among the tyrants of the Piraeus. Hegesander of Delphi (fr. 24, *FHG* iv.418) says that Anchimolus and Moschus, who were sophistic teachers in Elis, drank nothing but water all their lives and ate nothing but figs, but were no less physically vigorous than anyone else. Their sweat, however, smelled so bad that everyone tried to avoid them in the baths. Matris of Thebes ate nothing except a few myrtle-berries as long as he lived, and also kept away from wine and everything else except water. Another water-drinker was the musician Lamprus,⁵² about whom Phrynichus (fr. 74) says:

the gulls to wail; and Lamprus lay among
them dying,
a person who drinks only water, a warbling super-
sophist,
who starves the Muses, gives nightingales a fever, and
commits murder with his songs.

The comic poet Macho mentions a water-drinker named Moschion.⁵³ Aristotle in his *On Drunkenness* (fr. 668, continued) claims that some people can consume salty foods without becoming thirsty; Archonidas of Argos was one of them. Mago of Carthage⁵⁴ crossed the desert three times, eating only dry barley-meal and drinking nothing. Polemon of the Academy⁵⁵ drank only water from the

2nd century BCE.

⁵² See 1.20e n.

⁵³ A reference to

Macho 46–50 Gow, quoted at 6.246b, where see n.

⁵⁴ Otherwise unknown.

⁵⁵ PAA 776720; head of the Academy 314/13–270/69 BCE, after Xenocrates. To be distinguished from Polemon of Ilium (early 2nd century BCE), whom Athenaeus cites repeatedly (e.g. 1.19c; 2.39c, 55e).

τριάκοντα ἐτῶν ὑδροπότησε μέχρι θανάτου, ὡς ἔφη Ἀντίγονος ὁ Καρύστιος. Διοκλῆ τε τὸν Πεπαρήθιον φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Σκήψιος μέχρι τέλους ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ πεπωκέσαι. αὐτὸς δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ μάρτυς ἀξιόχρεως Δημοσθένης ὁ ῥήτωρ φάσκων χρόνον τινὰ ὕδωρ μόνον πεπωκέσαι. καὶ Πυθέας γοῦν φησιν· ἀλλὰ τοὺς νῦν

f

δημαγωγοὺς ὁρᾶτε¹⁷ | ὡς ἐναντίως τοῖς βίοις διάκεινται· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ὑδροποτῶν καὶ μεριμνῶν τὰς νύκτας, ὡς φασιν, ὁ δὲ πορνοβοσκῶν καὶ μεθυσκόμενος κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκάστην προγάστωρ ἡμῖν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἀνακαλεῖ. Εὐφορίων δὲ ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς οὕτω πού γράφει· Λασύρτας <ὁ> Λασιώνιος οὐδὲν προσεδεῖτο ποτοῦ καθάπερ οἱ ἄλλοι, οὔρον δὲ προῖετο καθάπερ πάντες ἄνθρωποι. καὶ πολλοὶ διὰ φιλοτιμίαν ἐπεχείρησαν παρατηρῆσαι καὶ ἀπέστησαν πρὸ τοῦ εὐρεῖν

45

τὸ πραττόμενον || θέρους γὰρ ὄρα καὶ τριακονθήμερον προσεδρεύοντες καὶ οὐδενὸς μὲν ὀρώντες ἀπεχόμενον ἀλμυροῦ, τὴν κύστιν δ' αὐτοῦ † ἔχοντα † συνεπέισθησαν ἀληθεύειν. ἐχρήτο δὲ καὶ τῷ ποτῷ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἦττον οὐ προσεδεῖτο τούτου.

μεταλλάξαι διάφορα βρώματα
 ἔσθ' ἡδύ,

17 ὁρᾶτε Δημοσθένη καὶ Δημάδην CE

56 Identified by the anonymous commentator whose note has intruded into the text as Demosthenes (PAA 318625), while the

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time he was 30 until his death, according to Antigonus of Carystus (p. 66 Wilamowitz). And Demetrius of Scepsis (fr. 72 Gaede) claims that Diocles of Peparethus (*FGrH* 820 T 1) drank cold water until the end of his life. The orator Demosthenes (6.30) is himself a credible witness regarding his own habits, when he says that for a while he drank only water. Pytheas (fr. III.2 Baiter-Sauppe), at any rate, says: Look how different the lifestyles of our leading politicians are. One of them⁵⁶ drinks only water and spends his nights studying, so they say; but the other is a pimp and a drunk, who makes appeals to us every day at meetings of the Assembly with his belly hanging out. Euphorion of Chalcis (fr. 7, *FHG* iii.73 = fr. 184 van Groningen) writes somewhere as follows: Lasyrtas of Lasion⁵⁷ used to feel no need to drink, as other people do, but urinated just like everyone else. Many people tried to win some glory by keeping a watch on him; but they gave up before figuring out how he did it. They used to sit beside him for 30 days at a time in the summer and watch him eating salty foods of all sorts, but as for his bladder † having † . . . they were convinced that he was speaking the truth. He did consume liquid; but he nonetheless felt no need for it.⁵⁸

It's nice to vary the food
you eat,

man referred to next is supposed to be Demades son of Demeas (*PAA* 306085).

⁵⁷ Otherwise unknown. Euphorion was active in the second half of the 2nd century BCE.

⁵⁸ The quotation that follows probably marks the transition to a new speaker, most likely (given the nature of the material cited) one of the physicians.

φησὶν Ἀντιφάνης,

καὶ τῶν πολλάκις θρυλουμένων
διάμεστον ὄντα τὸ παραγεύσασθαί τινος
καινοῦ παρέσχε διπλασίαν τὴν ἡδονήν.

- Ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς, ὡς φησιν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ¹⁸
- b Ἡρόδοτος, | ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Χοάσπεω πιεῖν ἄγεται τοῦ
παρὰ Σοῦσα ῥέοντος· τοῦ μόνου πίνει ὁ βασιλεὺς. τοῦ
δὲ τοιοῦτου ὕδατος ἀπεψημένου πολλαὶ κάρτα ἄμαξαι
τετράκυκλοι ἡμιόνειαι κομίζουσαι ἐν ἀγγείοις ἀργυ-
ρέοισιν ἔπονται οἱ. Κτησίας δὲ ὁ Κνίδιος καὶ ἱστορεῖ
ὅπως ἔψεται τὸ βασιλικὸν τοῦτο ὕδωρ καὶ ὅπως ἐν-
αποτιθέμενον τοῖς ἀγγείοις φέρεται τῷ βασιλεῖ, λέ-
γων αὐτὸ καὶ ἐλαφρότατον καὶ ἡδιστον εἶναι. καὶ ὁ
τῆς Αἰγύπτου δὲ βασιλεὺς δεύτερος ὁ Φιλάδελφος
- c ἐπίκλην ἐκδούς τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα | Βερενίκην Ἀντι-
όχῳ τῷ Συρίας βασιλεῖ ἐν ἐπιμελείᾳ εἶχε πέμπειν
αὐτῇ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ Νείλου ὕδωρ, ἵνα μόνου τούτου¹⁹ ἡ
παῖς πίνη, ἱστορεῖ Πολύβιος. Ἡλιοδωρος δὲ φησι τὸν
Ἐπιφανῆ Ἀντίοχον, ὃν διὰ τὰς πράξεις Πολύβιος
Ἐπιμανῆ καλεῖ, τὴν κρήνην τὴν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ κεράσαι
οἴνω· καθάπερ καὶ τὸν Φρύγα Μίδα φησὶ Θεόπομ-
πος, ὅτε ἐλείν τὸν Σιληνὸν ὑπὸ μέθης ἠθέλησεν. ἐστὶ
δὲ ἡ κρήνη, ὡς φησι Βίων, μέση Μαιδῶν καὶ Παιόνων
Ἴννα καλουμένη. Στάφυλος δὲ φησι τὴν τοῦ οἴνου

¹⁸ πρώτη (i.e. Α') ed. Basel: τετάρτη (i.e. Δ') CE

¹⁹ τούτου τοῦ ποταμοῦ CE

BOOK II

says Antiphanes (fr. 240, including the material that follows),

and when you're full of the items
that are repeated constantly, it's twice as nice
to have a taste of something new.

According to Herodotus in Book I (188), the Persian King has drinking-water brought for him from the Choaspes river, which flows past Susa; this is the only water the King drinks. Large numbers of four-wheeled mule-carts carrying boiled water of this sort in silver vessels follow him. Ctesias of Cnidus (*FGrH* 688 F 37) tells how this royal water is boiled, put into the vessels, and transported for the King; he says that it is very light and pleasant. Likewise when the second king of Egypt, nicknamed Philadelphus,⁵⁹ married his daughter Berenice to Antiochus king of Syria,⁶⁰ Polybius records (fr. 73 Buettner-Wobst), he was careful to send her Nile water, so that his child could drink nothing except this. Heliodorus (*FGrH* 373 F 8) says that Antiochus Epiphanes,⁶¹ whom Polybius refers to as *Epimanēs* ("the Madman") because of how he acted,⁶² mixed wine into the spring in Antioch. Theopompus (*FGrH* 115 F *75a) claims that the Phrygian Midas did the same when he wanted to capture Silenus by getting him drunk.⁶³ But according to Bion (*FGrH* 14 F 3), the spring is located between the Maedi and the Paeonians, and is called Inna. Staphylus (fr. 9, *FHG* iv.506) says that

⁵⁹ Ptolemy II; see 1.3b n.
married Antiochus II in 252 BCE.

⁶⁰ Berenice II ("the Syrian")

⁶¹ Antiochus IV (reigned

175–164 BCE). ⁶² Cf. 5.193c–4c.

⁶³ For the story, cf. Hdt. 8.138.3; X. *An.* 1.2.13; Paus. 1.4.5.

d πρὸς τὸ ὕδωρ κρᾶσιν | Μελάμποδα πρῶτον εὐρεῖν. φησὶ δὲ καὶ πεπτικώτερον τοῦ οἴνου τὸ ὕδωρ Πλειστόνικος.

Ἔστι τοῖς προπίνουσιν ἐπιτεταμένως οὐκ οἰκείως διατίθεται ὁ στόμαχος, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον κακοῦται καὶ πολλάκις φθορὰν τῶν ληφθέντων παρασκευάζει. δεῖ οὖν τὸν ὑγείας ἀντιποιοῦμενον καὶ συμμέτροις γυμνασίοις χρᾶσθαι διὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἰδρώτας καὶ λουτροῖς, ὡς διὰναί τε τὸ σῶμα καὶ μαλαχθῆναι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα προπίνειν ὕδωρ ὡς χρηστότατον, ἐν μὲν χειμῶνι καὶ ἔαρι θερμὸν ὡς μάλιστα, ἐν δὲ τῷ θέρει ψυχρόν, ὡς μὴ | προεκκλύει τὸν στόμαχον. προπίνειν δὲ σύμμετρον τῷ πλήθει χάριν τοῦ προαναληφθῆναι τοῦτο εἰς τὴν ἕξιν καὶ μὴ ἀκέραιον ἀναδίδοσθαι τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου δύναμιν μηδὲ τοῖς πέρασι τῶν ἀγγείων προσπίπτουσιν ἐπιδάκνειν. εἰ δὲ τις ἡμῶν τοῦτο δυσκόλως ποιῇ, γλυκὺν ὕδαρῆ θερμὸν προλαμβάνετω, μάλιστα δὲ τὸν καλούμενον πρότροπον²⁰ ὄντα εὐστόμαχον. καὶ ὁ γλυκᾶζων δ' οἶνος οὐ βαρύνει τὴν κεφαλὴν, ὡς Ἰπποκράτης ἐν τῷ Περὶ Διαίτης φησίν, ὃ
 f τινες μὲν ἐπιγράφουσι Περὶ Ὁξέων Νόσων, | οἱ δὲ Περὶ Πτισάνης, ἄλλοι δὲ Πρὸς τὰς Κνιδίας Γνώμας. λέγει δὲ ὁ γλυκὺς ἥσσον ἐστὶ καρηβαρικός τοῦ οἰνώδεος καὶ ἥσσον φρενῶν ἀπτόμενος καὶ διαχωρητικώτερος τοῦ ἐτέρου κατ' ἔντερον. οὐ δεῖ δὲ προπίνειν καθὰ τοὺς Καρμανοὺς φησι Ποσειδώνιος· τούτους

²⁰ πρότροπον τὸν γλυκὺν Λέσβιον CE

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Melampus⁶⁴ was the first person to discover mixing wine with water. Pleistonius (fr. 2 Steckerl) claims that water is also better for the digestion than wine.

If someone drinks constantly without eating, his stomach becomes unsettled, has more problems, and frequently corrupts the food he consumes. Whoever wants to be healthy must therefore get an appropriate amount of exercise, so that he sweats a lot, and bathe, in order that his body can be cleansed and softened. After that, he should drink the best water he can get; it should be as warm as possible in the winter and spring, but cold in the summer, to keep his stomach from relaxing too soon. He should keep his drinking in proportion, so that the food can be absorbed into his system first and the effect of the wine does not make its way through his body in full force and attack the walls of its cavities and eat them away. If any of us regards this as difficult advice, he should drink warm diluted sweet wine first, preferably what is referred to as *protropion*,⁶⁵ which is easy on the stomach. Sweet wine does not produce wooziness, according to Hippocrates in his *On Diet* (2.332.5–8 Littré), to which some people give the title *On Acute Diseases*, others *On Barley-Gruel*, and others *A Response to the Cnidian Maxims*.⁶⁶ He says: Sweet wine goes to the head less than wine with a more vinous character; and it makes less of an assault on the rational faculties and passes more rapidly through the digestive tract than the other kind does. Posidonius (*FGrH* 87 F 72 = fr. 283 Edelstein–Kidd) says that one should not drink toasts as the Carmani do. Because when they are feeling friendly at

⁶⁴ A legendary seer. ⁶⁵ Cf. 1.30b.

⁶⁶ Further comments on this work at 2.57c.

γὰρ φιλοφρονουμένους ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις λύειν τὰς ἐπὶ τῷ προσώπῳ φλέβας καὶ τὸ καταρρέον αἷμα μιγνύντας τῷ πόματι προσφέρεσθαι, τέλος φιλίας νομίζοντας τὸ γεύεσθαι τοῦ ἀλλήλων αἵματος. ἢ μετα-
 46 δὲ τὴν προσφορὰν ταύτην συγχρίεσθαι τὴν κεφαλὴν μύρῳ, μάλιστα μὲν ροδίνῳ, εἰ δὲ μὴ, μηλίνῳ, εἰς τὸ ἀποκρούεσθαι τι ἀπὸ τοῦ πότου καὶ μὴ βλάπτεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν οἴνων ἀναθυμιάσεως· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἱρίνῳ ἢ ναρδίνῳ. οὐ κακῶς οὖν Ἀλεξίς φησιν·

ἐναλείφεται²¹ τὰς ῥίνας· ὑγιείας μέρος
 μέγιστον ὄσμὰς ἐγκεφάλῳ χρηστὰς ποεῖν.

ἐκκλίνειν δὲ δεῖ τὰ πάχη τῶν μύρων ὕδωρ τε πίνειν τὸ
 b κατὰ πρόσοψιν λεπτὸν καὶ διαυγές, ὃ δὴ καὶ ἰ κατὰ
 τὸν σταθμὸν ἔστι κούφον καὶ οὐδὲν ἐν αὐτῷ γεῶδες ἔχει. τὸ δὲ συμμέτρως θερμαινόμενον καὶ ψυχόμενον ὕδωρ χρηστὸν ἔστι καὶ εἰς χάλκεον ἢ ἀργύρεον ἄγγος ἐγγεόμενον οὐ ποιεῖ τὸ ἰώδες. φησὶ δὲ καὶ Ἰπποκράτης· ὕδωρ τὸ ταχέως θερμαινόμενον καὶ ψυχόμενον αἰεὶ κουφότερον. μοχθηρὰ δ' ἔστι τὰ βραδέως τὰ ὄσπρια τήκοντα. τοιαῦτα δὲ τὰ νιτρώδη καὶ ἀλμυρά. ἐν δὲ τῷ Περὶ Ὑδάτων Ἰπποκράτης καλεῖ τὸ χρηστὸν ὕδωρ πότιμον. τὰ δὲ τῶν ὑδάτων στάσιμα χαλεπά, ὡς
 c τὰ λιμναῖα καὶ τὰ ἰ ἐλώδη. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τῶν κρηναίων τὰ πλείστα σκληρότερα. Ἐρασίστρατος δὲ φησιν ὡς δοκιμάζουσιν τινες τὰ ὕδατα σταθμῷ ἀνεξετάστως.

²¹ ὑπαλείφεται Clem. Al.

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their symposia, they cut the veins on their foreheads open, mix the blood that runs down their faces into what they are drinking, and consume it; they feel that the perfect expression of friendship is tasting one another's blood. After drinking this way, they rub their heads with perfume, preferably rose perfume, otherwise quince perfume, to dispel some of the effect of their drinking and keep them from being harmed by the wine's vapors. If these perfumes are unavailable, they use iris or spikenard instead. Alexis (fr. 195.2-3) is therefore not wrong to say:

He rubs perfume on his nostrils; producing smells
the brain likes is the most significant contribution to
good health.

One should avoid thick perfumes and drink water that appears thin and transparent, and that is in fact light in weight and contains no sediment. Water that heats up and cools down at the same rate, and that does not tarnish bronze or silver vessels when poured into them, is good. Hippocrates (*Epid.* II 5.88.15-16 Littré; cf. *Aph.* 4.542.1-2 Littré) as well says: Water that heats up and cools down quickly is always lighter. Water that softens peas and beans slowly is of low quality; water that contains soda ash or salt is of this sort. In his *On Waters*, Hippocrates refers to good water as *potimon* ("potable").⁶⁷ Standing water, such as lake-water or marsh-water, is problematic; and most spring-water is quite harsh. Erasistratus (fr. 159 Garofalo) says that some people evaluate water by its weight with-

⁶⁷ Probably a garbled reference to *Reg.* 6.570.7 Littré.

ἰδοῦ γὰρ τοῦ ἐξ Ἀμφιαράου ὕδατος καὶ <τοῦ> ἐξ Ἐρετρίας συμβαλλομένων, τοῦ μὲν φαύλου τοῦ δὲ χρηστοῦ ὄντος, οὐδ' ἦτις ἐστὶ διαφορὰ κατὰ τὸν σταθμόν. Ἱπποκράτης δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Τόπων ἀριστα φησιν εἶναι τῶν ὑδάτων ὅσα ἐκ μετεώρων χωρίων ρεῖ καὶ ἐκ λόφων ξηρῶν. ταῦτα γὰρ λευκὰ καὶ γλυκέα καὶ τὸν οἶνον ὀλίγον φέρειν οἶά τέ ἐστι, τὸν τε χειμῶνα d θερμαίνεται καὶ τὸ θέρος ψυχρά | ἐστίν. ἐπαινεῖ δὲ μάλιστα ὧν τὰ ρεύματα πρὸς ἀνατολήν ἡλίου ἔρρωγε καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς τὰς θερινάς· ἀνάγκη γὰρ λαμπρὰ εἶναι καὶ εὐώδη καὶ κοῦφα. Διοκλῆς δὲ φησι τὸ ὕδωρ πεπτικὸν εἶναι καὶ ἄφυσον ψυκτικὸν τε μετρίως ὀξυ-δερκές τε καὶ ἥκιστα καρηβαρικὸν κινητικὸν τε ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος. Πραξαγόρας τε ταῦτά φησι· ἐπαινεῖ δὲ τὸ ὄμβριον, Εὐήνωρ δὲ τὰ λακκαῖα· χρηστότερόν τε εἶναι φάσκει τὸ ἐξ Ἀμφιαράου συμβαλλόμενον τῷ ἐν Ἐρετρία. ὅτι δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ ὁμολογουμένως ἐστὶ τρῶφι- e μον | δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ τρέφεσθαι τινα ἐξ αὐτοῦ μόνου τῶν ζώων, ὥσπερ τοὺς τέττιγας. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑγρῶν ἐστὶ τρῶφιμα, οἶον γάλα, πτισάνη, οἶνος. τὰ γοῦν ὑποτίθια γάλακτι διαρκεῖται· καὶ πολλὰ δὲ ἔθνη γαλακτοποιοῦντα ζῆ. Δημόκριτον δὲ τὸν Ἀβδηρίτην λόγος ἔχει διὰ γῆρας ἐξάξει αὐτὸν διεγνωκότα τοῦ

⁶⁸ Literally “toward the rising of the sun, and especially its summer risings.”

⁶⁹ A well-known late 4th-century BCE physician (PAA 431340); this is the only fragment of his work that survives.

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out really inspecting it. Witness that, when water from the Amphiaraus spring and from Eretria is compared, although one of them is bad and the other good, there is no difference in their weights. Hippocrates in his *On Places* (2.30.5–11 Littré) says that the best water flows from elevated spots and dry hill-crests. For water of this sort is clear and fresh, and can stand up to only a little wine; and it is warm in the winter, but cold in the summer. He recommends in particular springs whose streams emerge to the east and especially the northeast,⁶⁸ because they are necessarily bright, sweet-smelling, and light. Diocles (fr. 235 van der Eijk) says that water is good for the digestion, does not produce gas, is moderately cooling and good for one's eyesight, does not produce wooziness at all, and makes one's soul and body energetic. Praxagoras (fr. 41 Steckerl) says the same, but recommends rainwater; whereas Evenor⁶⁹ recommends cistern-water. He adds that when water from the Amphiaraus spring is compared with water from Eretria, it is better.⁷⁰ That water is, as is generally agreed, nutritious is clear from the fact that some creatures get their nourishment from this alone, as for example cicadas.⁷¹ Many other liquids are also nutritious, such as milk, barley-gruel, and wine; nursing infants, for example, survive on milk, and many ethnic groups stay alive by drinking it. There is a story that Democritus of Abdera (68 A 29 D–K) had decided to commit suicide because he was old,

⁷⁰ Probably the opposite of what Erasistratus (fr. 159 Garofalo, above) claimed, although Athenaeus' (or the Epitomator's) summary of Erasistratus' views is too laconic to make this certain.

⁷¹ Cicadas were thought to live on dew; cf. [Hes.] *Sc.* 393–5; Call. fr. 1.32–4; Gow on Theoc. 4.16.

ζῆν καὶ ὑφαιροῦντα τῆς τροφῆς καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν, ἐπεὶ αἱ τῶν Θεσμοφορίων ἡμέραι ἐνέστησαν, δεηθει-
 f σῶν τῶν οἰκείων γυναικῶν μὴ ἀποθανεῖν κατὰ ἰτὴν πανήγυριν, ὅπως ἐορτάσωσι, πείσθηται κελεύσαντα μέλιτος ἀγγεῖον αὐτῷ πλησίον παρατεθῆναι, καὶ δια-
 ζῆσαι ἡμέρας ἰκανὰς τὸν ἄνδρα, τῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ μέλιτος ἀναφορᾷ μόνῃ χρώμενον, καὶ μετὰ τὰς ἡμέρας βα-
 σταχθέντος τοῦ μέλιτος ἀποθανεῖν. ἔχαιρε δὲ ὁ Δημόκριτος αἰεὶ τῷ μέλιτι καὶ πρὸς τὸν πνθόμενον πῶς ἂν
 ὑγιῶς τις διάγοι ἔφη, "εἰ τὰ μὲν ἐντὸς μέλιτι βρέχοι, τὰ δ' ἐκτὸς ἐλαίῳ." καὶ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν δὲ τροφή ἦν
 47 ἄρτος μετὰ μέλιτος, ὡς φησιν Ἀριστοξένος, ἢ τοὺς προσφερομένους αὐτὰ αἰεὶ ἐπ' ἀρίστῳ λέγων ἀνόσους διατελεῖν. Λύκος δὲ πολυχρονίους φησὶν εἶναι τοὺς Κυρνίους²² (οἰκοῦσι δ' οὗτοι περὶ Σαρδόνα) διὰ τὸ μέλιτι αἰεὶ χρῆσθαι· πλείστον δὲ τοῦτο γίνεται παρ' αὐτοῖς.

"Ὅρα τὸ ἀνατιθεμένων πάντων τὴν ζήτησιν" ἦτοι ἀναβαλλομένων.

"Ὅτι τὸ ἀνηστis ἢ νῆστis πλεονασμῷ τοῦ αἰ, ὡς στάχυς ἄσταχυς, παρὰ Κρατίνῳ κείται·"

²² St. Byz. p. 397 Meineke offers πολυχρονιωτάτους and Κυρναίους.

⁷² The Thesmophoria was a secret women's festival celebrated throughout the Greek world in early winter in honor of Demeter and Persephone.

⁷³ Similar stories are told by other authors (esp. Hermipp. Hist. fr. 31 Wehrli ap. D.L. 9.43 = 68 A 1

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and was reducing the amount he ate every day. When Thesmophoria-time arrived, the women in his house asked him not to die during the festival, so that they could celebrate it.⁷² He agreed and told them to put a jar of honey beside him; and he lived the necessary number of days, getting all his energy from the honey. After the days were up and the honey was gone, he died.⁷³ Democritus always liked honey, and when someone asked him how a person could live a healthy life, he said: "If he moistens his interior with honey, and his exterior with oil." According to Aristoxenus (fr. 27 Wehrli), the Pythagorean diet consisted of bread and honey; he claims that anyone who regularly eats this for lunch never gets sick. Lycus (*FGrH* 570 F 5) says that the Corsicans, who dwell around Sardinia, live a very long time because they regularly eat honey, a great deal of which is produced in their country.

Note the expression "when they all put up the question" in the sense "put off."⁷⁴

The word *anēstis* ("fasting"), which is equivalent to *nēstis* (also "fasting") with a superfluous *alpha*, like *stachus* and *astachus* (both "ear of grain"), is attested in Cratinus (fr. 47):⁷⁵

D-K), although they report that Democritus survived on loaves of bread rather than honey.

⁷⁴ The question referred to was probably posed by Ulpian, who may well have gone on to answer it himself in the section that follows, as at 2.58b; 3.100b-c (cf. 3.96f).

⁷⁵ The other witnesses to the fragment (clearly drawing on the same source as Athenaeus) include the word *aklētōs* ("uninvited") in the middle of the line, and identify the verse as coming from *Dionysalexandros*.

b οὐ γάρ τοι σύ γε πρῶτος < . . . > φοιτᾶς ἐπὶ
 δείπνον ἄνηστις. |

τὸ δὲ ὀξύπεινος παρὰ Διφίλῳ·

τέρπομαι γυμνοὺς ὄρων
 τοὺς ὀξύπείνους καὶ πρὸ τῶν καιρῶν αἰεὶ
 πάντ' εἰδέναι σπεύδοντας.

καὶ Ἀντιφάνης·

(A.) ἐν νόσημα τοῦτ' ἔχει·
 αἰεὶ γὰρ ὀξύπεινός ἐστι. (B.) Θετταλὸν
 λέγει κομιδῆ τὸν ἄνδρα.

καὶ Εὐβουλος·

c Ζῆθον μὲν ἐλθόνθ' ἄγνον ἐς Θήβης πέδον
 οἰκεῖν κελεύει, καὶ γὰρ ἀξιοτέρους |
 πωλοῦσιν, ὡς ἔοικε, τοὺς ἄρτους ἐκεῖ·
 ὁ δ' ὀξύπεινος. τὸν δὲ μουσικώτατον
 κλεινὰς Ἀθήνας ἐκπερᾶν Ἀμφίονα
 οὗ ῥᾶστ' αἰεὶ πεινώσι Κεκροπιδῶν κόροι
 κάπτοντες αὔρας, ἐλπίδας σιτούμενοι.

ὁ δὲ μονοσιτῶν κέϊται παρ' Ἀλέξειδι·

⁷⁶ Thessalians are routinely referred to in Attic comedy as gluttons; cf. 10.418c-d.

⁷⁷ Probably from *Antiope*.

⁷⁸ For Boeotians as gluttons, see 10.417b-18b.

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For you're certainly not the first to go to dinner
hungry (*anēstis*).

The word *oxupeinos* ("ravenous") is attested in Diphilus
(fr. 95):

I enjoy seeing ravenous (*oxupeinous*) men
stripped for action and always eager to know
everything ahead of time.

Also Antiphanes (fr. 249):

(A.) He's got this one disease:
he's constantly ravenous (*oxupeinos*). (B.) He's calling
the fellow
an outright Thessalian!⁷⁶

And Eubulus (fr. *9):⁷⁷

He orders Zethus to go to the sacred plain
of Thebes to make his home; because it seems that
they sell their bread cheaper there,⁷⁸
and he's ravenous (*oxupeinos*). But he orders the
musical
Amphion to make his way to famous Athens;
Cecrops' sons⁷⁹ always starve easily there,
gulping down the breezes and eating hopes.

The participle *monositōn* ("eating alone")⁸⁰ is attested in
Alexis (fr. 271):

⁷⁹ Cecrops was a mythical king of Athens, and his "sons" are
the Athenians generally.

⁸⁰ Cf. 1.8e (on the verb *monophageō*). Alternatively, *mono-*
siteō might mean "eating only one meal (per day)."

ATHENAEUS

d ἐπὸν ἰδιώτην ἄνδρα μονοσιτοῦντ' ἴδης
 ἢ μὴ ποθοῦντ' ὤδα's ποητὴν καὶ μέλη,
 τὸν μὲν ἰδιώτην τοῦ βίου τὸν ἡμῶν
 ἀπολωλεκέναι νόμιζε, τὸν δὲ τῆς τέχνης |
 τὴν ἡμίσειαν ζῶσι δ' ἀμφοτέροι μόλις.

Πλάτων † οὐ μονοσιτῶν ἐκάστοτε, ἀλλὰ κἀνίστε
 δειπνῶν δις τῆς ἡμέρας †.²³

Ἔστι νωγαλεύματα ἐκάλον τὰ ἡδέα βρώματα.
 Ἄραρός·

τὰ κομφὰ μὲν <δὴ>²⁴ ταῦτα νωγαλεύματα.

Ἄλεξις·

Θασίοις οἰναρίοις καὶ Λεσβίοις
 τῆς ἡμέρας τὸ λοιπὸν ὑποβρέχει μέρος
 καὶ νωγαλίζει.

Ἄντιφάνης·

βότρυς, ῥόας, φοίνικας, ἕτερα νώγαλα.

e ἀπόσιτον δ' εἴρηκε Φιλωνίδης, αὐτόσιτον δὲ Κρώβυ-
 λος· |

παράσιτον αὐτόσιτον.

²³ This sentence is omitted by E and is preserved in C only in the margin.

²⁴ cf. 3.86d

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When you see an ordinary person eating alone
(*monositount'*),
or a poet with no desire for songs and music,
you may conclude that the ordinary man has lost
half his life and the poet half
his craft. They're both barely alive.

Plato (fr. 296; unmetrical): † not eating alone (*monositōn*)
all the time, but sometimes attending dinner parties twice
a day †.

They called delicious foods *nōgaleumata* ("dainties").
Ararus (fr. 8.1):⁸¹

these sophisticated dainties (*nōgaleumata*), on the
one hand.

Alexis (fr. 277):

He keeps the rest of the day
moist with Thasian and Lesbian wines,
and eats dainties (*nōgalizei*).

Antiphanes (fr. 66):

grapes, pomegranates, figs, other dainties (*nōgala*).

Philonides (fr. 1.1)⁸² uses the word *apositos* ("abstaining
from food"), and Crobylus (fr. 1.1)⁸³ uses *autositos* ("pro-
viding his own food"):

a parasite who provides his own food.

⁸¹ Quoted at greater length at 3.86d, 105e.

⁸² Quoted in full at 6.247e.

⁸³ Quoted in full at 4.248b.

ἀναρίστητον δ' εἶρηκεν Εὐπόλις, ἀναγκόσιτον δὲ
Κράτης. καὶ Νικόστρατος δέ·

μειράκιον < . . . > κατὰ τύχην
ὑποσκαφιόκαρτόν τι κεχλαμυδωμένον
κατάγεις ἀναγκόσιτον.

ἀριστόδειπνον δ' εἶπεν Ἀλεξίς·

ἀφ' ὧν γένοιτ' ἂν ἡμῖν σύντομον
ἀριστόδειπνον.

Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστάντες κατεκλίνθημεν ὡς ἕκαστος
ἤθελε, οὐ περιμείναντες ὀνομακλήτορα τὸν τῶν δεί-
πνων ταξίαρχον.

Ἔστι καὶ τρίκλινοι οἴκοι καὶ τετράκλινοι καὶ ἐπτά-
f κλινοὶ καὶ ἑννεάκλινοὶ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἐξῆς ἀριθμοὺς
ἦσαν παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς. Ἀντιφάνης·

συναγαγὼν
τρεις ὄντας εἰς τρίκλινον ὑμᾶς.

Φρύνιχος·

ἐπτάκλινος οἶκος ἦν καλός,
εἶτ' ἑννεάκλινος ἕτερος οἶκος.

Εὐβουλος·

⁸⁴ Literally "lunch-dinner."

⁸⁵ Ulpian; cf. 2.58b. What follows apparently marks the begin-

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Eupolis (fr. 77.1) uses *anaristos* ("lunch-less"). Crates (fr. 50) uses *anangkositos* ("force-fed"), as Nicostratus (fr. 31) does as well:

Perhaps you bring home
a force-fed (*anangkositon*) young boy who has a bowl-
cut and
is dressed in an ephebe's cloak.

Alexis (fr. 296) uses the word *aristodeipnon* ("brunch"):⁸⁴

from which we could get a quick
brunch.

After this we got up and lay down wherever we wanted, without waiting for our dinner-marshal⁸⁵ to summon us by name.

The ancients had rooms with space for three couches, four couches, seven couches, nine couches, and even more than that. Antiphanes (fr. 292):

since there were three of you,
putting you all together in a room with space for
three couches.

Phrynichus (fr. 69):

There was a lovely room with space for seven
couches,
and then another with space for nine.

Eubulus (fr. 119.1-3):⁸⁶

ning of a new speech, which explores the history of the dinner-furniture with which the guests are now surrounded.

⁸⁶ The rest of the fragment is quoted at 2.49c.

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- (A.) θὲς ἐπτάκλινον. (B.) ἐπτάκλινος οὔτοςί.
 (A.) καὶ πέντε κλίνας Σικελικάς. (B.) λέγ' ἄλλο
 τι.
 (A.) Σικελικὰ προσκεφάλαια πέντε.

48 Ἄμφις· ||

οὐχ ὑποστρώσεις ποτὲ

τρίκλινον;

Ἀναξανδρίδης·

τρίκλινον δ' εὐθέως συνήγετο

καὶ συναυλῖαι γερόντων.

ἀλλὰ ξενώνας οἶγε καὶ ῥᾶνον δόμους
 στρώσόν τε κοίτας καὶ πυρὸς φλέξον μένος,
 κρατηῖρά τ' αἵρου καὶ τὸν ἥδιστον κέρα.

Νῦν δὲ τὴν τῶν στρωμάτων σύνθεσιν περιβολῆ
 χωρίζουσι καὶ ὑποβολῆ, φησὶ Πλάτων ὁ φιλόσοφος.
 ὁ δ' ὁμώνυμος αὐτῷ ποιητῆς φησι·

- b κᾶτ' ἄν | κλίταις ἐλεφαντόποσιν καὶ στρώμασι
 πορφυροβάπτοις
 κὰν φοινικίσι Σαρδιακαῖσιν κοσμησάμενοι
 κατάκεινται.

ἤκμασε δ' ἡ τῶν ποικίλων ὑφῆ μάλιστα ἐντέχνων περὶ

⁸⁷ Sc. because the one just given has already been accomplished. ⁸⁸ To keep down the dust, the floor being dirt.

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(A.) Get a room with space for seven couches ready!

(B.) Here it is!

(A.) And five Sicilian couches! (B.) Give me another order!⁸⁷

(A.) Five Sicilian pillows!

Amphis (fr. 45):

Aren't you ever going to lay out the bed-clothes
in the three-couch room?

Anaxandrides (fr. 72):

A room with three couches was quickly assembled,
and a collection of old men.

But open up the guest-rooms, sprinkle water around
the house,⁸⁸

cover the beds, light a mighty fire,

and get a mixing-bowl and mix up the best wine!

(adesp. tr. fr. 90)

Nowadays, says the philosopher Plato (*Plt.* 280b, cf. 279d),⁸⁹ they distinguish the production of rugs by whether they are wrapped around or go under us. The poet who shares his name says (*Pl. Com.* fr. 230):

And then they lie down on couches with ivory feet
and bed-clothes

dyed purple, dressed up in robes of Sardian red.⁹⁰

The weaving of elaborately patterned fabrics reached its

⁸⁹ A garbled reference to a largely irrelevant passage.

⁹⁰ See the end of this Book for material that ought probably to be inserted here.

αὐτὰ γενομένων Ἀκεσᾶ καὶ Ἐλικῶνος τῶν Κυπρίων.
 ὑφάνται δ' ἦσαν ἔνδοξοι· καὶ ἦν Ἐλικῶν υἱὸς Ἀκεσᾶ,
 ὡς φησιν Ἱερώνυμος. ἐν Πυθοῖ γοῦν ἐπὶ τινος ἔργου
 ἐπιγέγραπται·

τεῦξ' Ἐλικῶν Ἀκεσᾶ Σαλαμίνιος, ᾧ ἐνὶ χερσὶ
 πότνια θεσπεσίην Παλλὰς ἔχευε χάριν.

τοιούτος ἦν καὶ Παθυμίας ὁ Αἰγύπτιος.

c ὡς ἐγὼ | σκιρτῶ πάλαι
 ὅπου ροδόπνοα στρώματ' ἐστί, καὶ μύροις
 λούμαι ψακαστοῖς,

φησὶν Ἐφιππος. Ἀριστοφάνης·

ὅστις ἐν ἡδυόσμοις
 στρώμασι παννυχίζων
 τὴν δέσποιναν ἐρείδεις.

Σώφρων δὲ στρουθωτὰ ἐλίγματα φησιν ἐντετιμημένα.
 Ὅμηρος δὲ ὁ θαυμασιώτατος τῶν στρωμάτων τὰ μὲν
 κατώτερα λίτα εἶναι φάσκει ἥτοι λευκὰ καὶ μὴ βεβαμ-
 μένα ἢ πεποικιλμένα, τὰ δὲ περιστρώματα

ρήγεα καλὰ

πορφύρεα.

d Πρῶτοι δὲ Πέρσαι, ὡς φησιν Ἡρακλείδης, καὶ
 τοὺς λεγομένους στρώτας | ἐφεύρον, ἵνα κόσμον ἔχη ἢ
 στρώσις καὶ εὐάφειαν. τὸν οὖν Τιμαγόραν ἢ τὸν ἐκ

BOOK II

zenith when Acesas and Helicon of Cypris were the chief craftsmen producing such goods. They were famous weavers; according to Hieronymus (fr. 48 Wehrli), Helicon was Acesas' son. At Delphi, at any rate, there is a piece of work that bears the inscription (anon. *FGE* 1544-5):

Helicon of Salamis, son of Acesas, made this. Lady
Athena
inspired his hands with divine grace.

Pathymias of Egypt was another man of this type.

Since I've been skipping about for a long time
where the rose-scented bed-clothes are, and bathing
in drops of perfume,

says Ehippus (fr. 26). Aristophanes (fr. 715):

you who spend the night
in sweet-smelling sheets,
banging your mistress.

Sophon (fr. 95) says: expensive wraps embroidered with birds. The marvellous Homer (*Od.* 10.352-3) says that the bed-clothes that go under a person are white and neither dyed nor embroidered, whereas the covers are

fine purple

blankets.

According to Heracleides (*FGrH* 689 F 5), the Persians invented what are referred to as "bed-makers" so that their bedding could be neat and soft. According to Phaenias the Peripatetic (fr. 27 Wehrli), Artaxerxes hon-

Γόρτυνος²⁵, ὡς φησι Φαινίας ὁ περιπατητικός, Ἐν-
 τιμον, ὃς ζήλω Θεμιστοκλέους ἀνέβη ὡς βασιλέα,
 τιμῶν Ἀρταξέρξης σκηνὴν τε ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ διαφέρου-
 σαν τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ κλίνην ἀργυρό-
 ποδα, ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ στρώματα πολυτελῆ καὶ τὸν
 ὑποστρώσοντα, φάσκων οὐκ ἐπίστασθαι τοὺς Ἑλλη-
 νας ὑποστρωννύειν. καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ συγγενικὸν ἄριστον
 ἐκαλεῖτο ὁ Κρῆς οὗτος, τὸν βασιλέα ψυχαγωγήσας:
 e ὅπερ οὐδενὶ | πρότερον τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐγένετο, ἀλλ'
 οὐδ' ὕστερον· αὕτη γὰρ ἡ τιμὴ τοῖς συγγενέσι διεφυ-
 λάττετο. Τιμαγόρα μὲν γὰρ τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ τῷ προσκυ-
 νήσαντι βασιλέα καὶ μάλιστα τιμηθέντι τοῦτο οὐχ
 ὑπήρξε· τῶν δὲ παρατιθεμένων βασιλεῖ τούτῳ τινὰ
 ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης ἀπέστειλε. Ἀνταλκίδα δὲ τῷ Λά-
 κωνι τὸν αὐτοῦ στέφανον εἰς μύρον βάψας ἔπεμψε. τῷ
 δ' Ἐντίμῳ τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ἐποίει καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ συγγενικὸν
 ἄριστον ἐκάλει· ἐφ' ᾧ οἱ Πέρσαι χαλεπῶς ἔφερον ὡς
 f τῆς τε τιμῆς δημευομένης | καὶ στρατείας ἐπὶ τὴν
 Ἑλλάδα πάλιν ἐσομένης. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ κλίνην αὐτῷ
 ἀργυρόποδα καὶ στρωμνὴν καὶ σκηνὴν οὐρανορόφον
 ἀνθινὴν καὶ θρόνον ἀργυροῦν καὶ ἐπίχρυσον σκιά-
 δειον καὶ φιάλας λιθοκολλήτους χρυσᾶς εἴκοσι²⁶, ἀρ-
 γυρίδας²⁷ δὲ μεγάλας ἑκατὸν καὶ κρατήρας ἀργυροῦς
 <εἴκοσι>²⁸ καὶ παιδίσκας ἑκατὸν καὶ παῖδας ἑκατὸν

²⁵ τὸν οὖν Κρήτα CE: τὸν οὖν Τιμαγόραν ἢ τὸν ἐκ Γόρ-
 τυνος Κρήτα Voisin

²⁶ εἴκοσι (i.e. Κ') Kaibel: καὶ CE

²⁷ ἀργυρίδας Olson: ἀργυρᾶς CE: ἀργυροῦς Kaibel

BOOK II

ored Timagoras⁹¹ or Entimus of Gortyn,⁹² who imitated Themistocles by traveling inland to the Persian King,⁹³ by giving him an extraordinarily large and beautiful tent and a silver-footed chair; he also sent him expensive bed-clothes and a man to arrange them, since he claimed that the Greeks did not know how to make beds. This Cretan⁹⁴ was even invited to the family lunch, since the King enjoyed his company. This never happened to any other Greek, before or after, because the honor was reserved for members of the royal family. Even Timagoras of Athens did not have this done for him, although he bowed down before the King and received great honors from him; but the King sent him some of the food that was served to him on his table. The King sent Antalcidas the Spartan⁹⁵ his own garland, which he had dipped in perfume. The King did many such kindnesses for Entimus, including inviting him to the family lunch; but the Persians were unhappy about this, since they thought it cheapened the honor and because another expedition against Greece was about to take place. The King also sent him a silver-footed couch and a bed, a tent with a brightly colored canopy, a silver throne, a gilded parasol, 20 gold libation-bowls set with jewels, 100 large silver bowls, 20 silver mixing-bowls, 100 female slaves and

⁹¹ An Athenian (PA 13595; see below) sent as an ambassador to Artaxerxes II (for whom, see 1.22c n.) in 367 BCE.

⁹² Otherwise unknown. ⁹³ Cf. 1.29f with n.

⁹⁴ Entimus of Gortyn, mentioned above.

⁹⁵ Antalcidas (Poralla #97) was repeatedly involved in negotiations with the Persians in the first half of the 4th century.

49 χρυσοῦς τε ἑξακισχιλίους ἢ χωρὶς τῶν εἰς τὰ ἐπιτή-
 δεια καθ' ἡμέραν διδομένων.

Τράπεζαι ἐλεφαντόποδες τῶν ἐπιθημάτων ἐκ τῆς
 καλουμένης σφενδάμνου πεπονημένων. Κρατίνος·

γαυριῶσαι δ' ἀναμένουσιν ὧδ' ἐπηγλαῖσμένοι
 μείρακες²⁹ φαιδραὶ τράπεζαι τρισκελεῖς
 σφενδάμνιναι.

Εἰπόντος τινὸς κυνικοῦ τρίποδα τὴν τράπεζαν δυ-
 σχεραίνει ὁ παρὰ τῷ σοφιστῇ Οὐλπιανὸς καὶ λέγει· †
 τήμερον ἐγὼ πράγματα ἔξω ἔξ ἀπραξίας. † πόθεν γὰρ
 τούτῳ ὁ τρίπους; εἰ μὴ τὴν Διογένους βακτηρίαν σὺν
 b καὶ τῷ πόδε ἀριθμῶν οὗτος τρίποδα ἢ προσηγόρευσε,
 πάντων τραπέζας καλούντων τὰς παραθέσεις ταύτας.

Ἵτι Ἡσίοδος ἐν Κήνκος Γάμῳ—κἂν γὰρ γραμ-
 ματικῶν παῖδες ἀποξενῶσι τοῦ ποιητοῦ τὰ ἔπη ταῦτα,
 ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ ἀρχαῖα εἶναι—τρίποδας τὰς τραπέζας
 φησί. καὶ Ξενοφῶν δ' ὁ μουσικώτατος ἐν ἑβδόμῳ
 Ἀναβάσεως γράφει· τρίποδες εἰσηνέχθησαν πᾶσιν
 οὔτοι δὲ ὅσον εἴκοσι κρεῶν μεστοὶ νενεμημένων. καὶ

²⁹ γαυριῶσαι . . . μείρακες is omitted by both C and E here, but C offers the full quotation, along with the lemma, at the end of Book 13.

⁹⁶ The final item makes it clear that the other items mentioned were not gifts Entimus could take home with him, but only things he was free to enjoy as long as he remained with the King.

⁹⁷ This fragment is given in badly damaged form in the manu-

BOOK II

100 male slaves, and 6,000 gold coins in addition to the money he was given to cover his daily expenses.⁹⁶

Ivory-footed tables with their tops made of what is referred to as "Olympian maple." Cratinus (fr. 334):⁹⁷

Awaiting us here are splendid, ornamented,
radiant young women, three-legged maple tables.

When one of the Cynics⁹⁸ refers to his table as a "tripod,"⁹⁹ the sophist's guest Ulpian becomes annoyed and says (adesp. com. fr. *103, unmetrical): † Today I'm going to have trouble rather than leisure! † Because where does this fellow get the word "tripod" from? Unless he adds Diogenes'¹⁰⁰ stick to his two feet and calls *him* a tripod; because everyone calls these objects set beside us "tables" (*trapezai*).¹⁰¹

Hesiod in *The Marriage of Ceyx* (fr. 266b)—even if the grammarians deny these verses to the poet, they seem to me to be ancient—refers to tables as "tripods." Likewise the scholarly Xenophon in Book VII (3.21–2) of the *Anabasis* writes:¹⁰² Tripods were brought in for everyone; there were about 20 of them, piled high with meat. He

scripts here, but is found complete in the supplement to this Book at 2.71e (where see n.).⁹⁸ Most likely Cynulcus.

⁹⁹ *Tripous* is properly an adjective ("three-footed"), but was commonly used substantivally to refer to tables of all sorts, as the quotations that follow make clear.

¹⁰⁰ A reference to Diogenes of Sinope (early 4th century BCE), the original Cynic; cf. 3.113f. Cynics commonly carried a stick and a beggar's bag.

¹⁰¹ A contracted form of *tetrapezai* ("four-footed"), facilitating the pun in Ar. fr. 545 (quoted at 2.49c–d). What follows must be Cynulcus' response to Ulpian's challenge.

ATHENAEUS

ἐπάγει· μάλιστα δ' αἱ τράπεζαι κατὰ τοὺς ξένους αἰεὶ
c ἐτίθεντο. Ἀντιφάνης· |

ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ τρίπους ἤρθη κατὰ χειρῶν τ' εἶχομεν.

Εὐβουλος·

(B.) τρίποδες οὗτοι πέντε σοι.

(A.) καὶ πέντε— (B.) πεντηκοστολόγος
γενήσομαι.

Ἐπίχαρμος·

(A.) τί δὲ τόδ' ἐστί; (B.) δηλαδὴ τρίπους. (A.) τί
μὰν ἔχει πόδας
τέτορας; οὐκ ἐστὶν τρίπους, ἀλλ' <ἐστὶν> οἶμαι
τετράπους.

(B.) ἐστὶ δ' ὄνυμ' αὐτῷ τρίπους, τέτοράς γα μὰν
ἔχει πόδας.

(A.) εἰ δίπους τοίνυν ποκ' ἦς, αἰνίγματ'
Οὐκ δίπου > νοεῖς.

Ἀριστοφάνης·

d (A.) τράπεζαν ἡμῖν ἔκφερε |
τρεῖς πόδας ἔχουσαν, τέσσαρας δὲ μὴ χέτω.
(B.) καὶ πόθεν ἐγὼ τρίπου τράπεζαν λήψομαι;

102 From the description of the dinner party given by Seuthes
mistakenly referred to at 1.15e.

103 Cf. 2.47f.

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continues: The tables were consistently placed opposite the visitors. Antiphanes (fr. 280):

when the tripod was removed and water was poured
over our hands.

Eubulus (fr. 119.4–5):¹⁰³

(B.) Here are five tripods for you.
(A.) And five—(B.) These fives are going to turn me
into a tax-collector!¹⁰⁴

Epicharmus (fr. 147):

(A.) What's this? (B.) A tripod, obviously. (A.) Then
why does it have
four feet? It's not a tripod; I'd say it's a tetrapod!
(B.) It's called a tripod; but it's got four feet.
(A.) If it ever had two feet, you're thinking of
Oedipus' riddle!¹⁰⁵

Aristophanes (fr. 545):

(A.) Bring us out a table (*trapeza*)
with three feet; I don't want it to have four!
(B.) And where am I going to get a three-footed table
(*tripous trapeza*)?¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Literally "I'm going to become a collector of the 5% levy!" (Athens' import-export tax).

¹⁰⁵ Actually the riddle of the Sphinx: "What goes on four legs in the morning, two at noon, and three in the evening?" (e.g. E. Oed. fr. 540a.20–3; Anaxil. fr. 22.25–7; Asclep. Trag. FGrH 12 F 7a (quoted at 10.456b); [Apollod.] Bib. 3.5.8).

¹⁰⁶ See the end of this Book for material that ought probably to be inserted somewhere in this area.

Ὅτι ἔθος ἦν ἐν τοῖς δείπνοις τῷ ἐστιάτορι κατακλιθέντι προδίδοσθαι γραμματείδιον τι περιέχον ἀναγραφὴν τῶν παρεσκευασμένων, ἐφ' ᾧ εἰδέναι ὅ τι μέλλει ὄψιον φέρειν ὁ μάγειρος.

Δαμασκηνά. Δαμασκοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἐνδόξου οὔσης καὶ μεγάλης πολλοὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων μέμνηται. ἐπεὶ δὲ πλείστον ἐν τῇ τῶν Δαμασκηνῶν ἐστὶ χώρα τὸ κοκκύμηλον καλούμενον καὶ κάλλιστα | γεωργεῖται, ἰδίως
 e καλεῖται τὸ ἀκρόδρον Δαμασκηνὸν ὡς διάφορον τῶν κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας χώρας γινομένων. κοκκύμηλα οὖν ἐστὶ ταῦτα· ὧν ἄλλος τε μέμνηται καὶ Ἰππῶναξ·

στέφανον εἶχον κοκκυμήλων καὶ μίνθης.

Ἄλεξις·

(A.) καὶ μὴν ἐνύπνιον οἶομαί <γ'> ἑορακεῖναι
 νικητικόν. (B.) λέγ' αὐτό. (A.) τὸν νοῦν πρόσσεχε
 δῆ·

ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν μέ τις
 ἐδόκει στεφανοῦν γυμνὸς προσελθὼν < . . . >
 f στεφάνῳ κυλιστῷ κοκκυμήλων— (B.) Ἡράκλεις. |
 (A.) πεπόνων.

πάλιν·

ἑώρακας <ἤδη> πώποτ' ἐσκευασμένον
 ἦνυστρον ἢ σπλήν' ὀπτὸν ὠνθυλευμένον
 ἢ κοκκυμήλων σπυρίδα πεπόνων; < . . . >
 τοιοῦτ' ἔχει τὸ μέτωπον.

BOOK II

It was the custom at dinner parties for the host to be offered a writing tablet with a list of the dishes when he lay down, so that he would know what food the cook was going to serve.¹⁰⁷

Damson plums. Many ancient authors mention the city of Damascus, which was large and famous. Because what is referred to as the *kokkumēlon* ("plum tree") is widely and successfully cultivated in the territory of the people of Damascus, its fruit is referred to specifically as the damson, to distinguish it from what is grown in other areas. These are therefore simply *kokkumēla* ("plums"). Someone else mentions them, as does Hipponax (fr. 62 Degani):

I was wearing a garland of plums and mint.

Alexis (fr. 274):

(A.) In fact, I believe I had a dream that predicts victory. (B.) Tell it to me. (A.) Pay attention! One of the competitors in the stade-race, I thought, came up to me naked, and crowned me with a twined garland of plums—(B.) Heracles!¹⁰⁸
(A.) Ripe ones!

Again (Alex. fr. 275):

Have you ever seen a cooked
cow's stomach, or a roasted stuffed spleen,
or a basket of ripe plums?
That's what his face looks like.

¹⁰⁷ The items discussed in the material that follows are presumably now served to Larensius' guests as appetizers, and a new speaker takes the floor.

¹⁰⁸ The oath generally expresses shock or dismay.

Νίκανδρος·

< . . . > μῆλον ὃ κόκκυγος καλέουσι.

Κλέαρχος δ' ὁ περιπατητικός φησι Ῥοδίουσιν καὶ Σικελιώταισιν βράβυλα καλεῖν τὰ κοκκύμηλα, ὡς καὶ Θεόκριτος ὁ Συρακούσιος· ||

ὄρπακες βραβίλοισι καταβρίθοντες ἔραζε.

καὶ πάλιν·

ὅσον μῆλον βραβίλοιο

ἤδιον.

ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἀκρόδρον μικρότερον μὲν τῆ περιφορᾷ τῶν κοκκυμήλων, τῆ δ' ἐδωδῆ τὸ αὐτό, πλὴν ὀλίγον δριμύτερον. Σέλευκος δ' ἐν Γλώσσαις βράβιλιά φησιν, ἦλα, κοκκύμηλα, μάδρυα, τὰ αὐτὰ εἶναι· τὰ μὲν μάδρυα οἶον μαλόδρυα, τὰ δὲ βράβυλα ὅτι εὐκοίλια καὶ τὴν βορὰν ἐκβάλλοντα, ἦλα δὲ οἶον μῆλα, ὡς Δημήτριος ὁ Ἰξίωιν λέγει ἐν Ἐτυμολογίᾳ. Θεόφραστος δὲ λέγει κοκκυμηλέα | καὶ σποδιάς· τοῦτο δ' ἔστιν ὥσπερ ἀγρία κοκκυμηλέα. Ἀραρῶς δὲ κοκκύμηλον καλεῖ τὸ δένδρον, κοκκύμηλον δὲ τὸ ἀκρόδρον. Δίφιλος δὲ ὁ Σίφνιος μέσως φησὶν εἶναι ταῦτα εὐχυλα, εὐφθαρτα, εὐέκκριτα, ὀλιγότροφα.

¹⁰⁹ As if the word were derived from *boran ekballonta*.

¹¹⁰ The original point of the observation (which has presum-

BOOK II

Nicander (fr. 87 Schneider):

the fruit (*mēlon*) they refer to as “the cuckoo’s”
(*kokkugos*).

Clearchus the Peripatetic (fr. 100 Wehrli) says that the Rhodians and Sicilians refer to plums as *brabula*, as Theocritus of Syracuse (7.146) does:

young trees weighed down to the ground with plums
(*brabila*).

And again (12.3–4):

as much as an apple is sweeter
than a plum (*brabilon*).

The *brabulon* is smaller in circumference than plums (*kokkumēla*) but tastes the same, except that it is slightly more bitter. Seleucus in the *Glossary* (fr. 42 Müller) says that *brabila*, *ēla*, *kokkumēla*, and *madrua* are identical. *Madrua* are, as it were, *malo-drua* (“tree-fruit”); *brabula* are called this because they make one’s bowels move and expel the food;¹⁰⁹ and *ēla* are, as it were, *mēla* (“fruit”), as Demetrius Ixion says in the *Etymology* (fr. 42 Staesche). Theophrastus (*HP* 3.6.4) says: plum trees and *spodiai*, which are something like a wild plum tree. Araros (fr. 20) refers to the tree as a *kokkumēlon*, but to the fruit as a *kokkumēlon*.¹¹⁰ Diphilus of Siphnos says that they produce moderately good *chulē* (“digestive juice”) and are easily broken down in the stomach, easily excreted, and not very nutritious.

ably been garbled by the Epitomator) was most likely that Araros treated the tree as masculine, the fruit as neuter; cf. Pollux 1.232.

Κεράσια. Θεόφραστος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Φυτῶν ἴδιον δὲ τῇ φύσει δένδρον ὁ κέρασός ἐστι καὶ μεγέθει μέγα· καὶ γὰρ εἰς εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρας πήχεις αὔξεται. φύλλον δὲ ὅμοιον ἔχει τῷ τῆς μεσπίλης, σκληρὸν δὲ καὶ παχύτερον, φλοιὸν δ' ὅμοιον φιλύρα, ἄνθος δὲ λευκόν, ἀπίω καὶ μεσπίλη ὅμοιον, ἐκ μικρῶν ἀνθῶν c συγκεείμενον, κηριῶδες. ἢ ὁ δὲ καρπὸς ἐρυθρός, ὅμοιος διοσπύρω τὸ σχῆμα, τὸ δὲ μέγεθος ἡλίκον κύαμος, πλὴν τοῦ διοσπύρου μὲν ὁ πυρῆν σκληρός, τοῦ δὲ κεράσου μαλακός. καὶ πάλιν· κράταιγος· οἱ δὲ κραταίγονον καλοῦσιν. ἔχει δὲ τὸ μὲν φύλλον τεταμένον ὅμοιον μεσπίλη· πλὴν μείζον ἐκείνου καὶ πλατύτερον ἢ προμηκέστερον· τὸν δὲ χαραγμὸν οὐκ ἔχει ὥσπερ ἐκείνο. γίνεται δὲ τὸ δένδρον οὔτε μέγα λίαν οὔτε παχύ. τὸ δὲ ξύλον ποικίλον, ξανθόν, ἰσχυρόν. φλοιὸν d δ' ἔχει λείον ὅμοιον μεσπίλη· μονόριζον εἰς βάθος ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ. καρπὸν δ' ἔχει στρογγύλον ἡλίκον ὁ κότινος· πεπαινώμενος δὲ ξανθός τέ ἐστι καὶ ἐπιμελαίνεται. ἔχει δὲ τὴν γεῦσιν καὶ τὸν χυλὸν μεσπίλου, διόπερ ἀγρία μεσπίλη δόξειε <ἂν> μᾶλλον εἶναι. ἐκ τούτων μοι δοκεῖ, φησὶν, ὁ φιλόσοφος τὸ νῦν κεράσιον καλούμενον ἐμφανίζειν.

Ἀσκληπιάδης δὲ ὁ Μυρλεανὸς χαμαικέρασόν τινα καλῶν δένδρον ἔφη οὕτως· ἐν τῇ Βιθυνῶν γῆ γίνεται ἢ χαμαικέρασος, ἧς ἢ μὲν ρίζα ἐστὶν οὐ μεγάλη, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ δένδρον, ἀλλὰ τῇ ρόδῃ ἴσον, ὁ δὲ καρπὸς τὰ e μὲν ἄλλα πάντα <κεράσω> ἢ ὅμοιος, τοὺς δὲ πλείονι χρησαμένους καθότι οἶνος βαρύνει τε καὶ ἀλγεῖν τὴν

BOOK II

Cherries. Theophrastus in his *On Plants* (HP 3.13.1-3, radically condensed): The wild cherry is a peculiar tree and very large, growing as much as 24 cubits high.¹¹¹ Its leaf is like the medlar's, but tough and thicker; its bark is like the lime tree's; and its flower is white, like the pear's and the medlar's, composed of a number of small blossoms, and arranged like a honeycomb. The fruit is red and resembles that of the *diospuros* in shape, but is the size of a fava bean, while the stone of the *diospuros* is hard, whereas the cherry's stone is soft. And again (HP 3.15.6): *krataigos*; some call it *krataigonos*. Its leaf is organized like the medlar's, but is longer, and is broader than it is wide; and the edge is not jagged like the medlar's. The tree does not grow very tall or thick; its wood is mottled, brown, and strong; and it has smooth bark, like the medlar's, and a single root that goes quite deep. It bears fruit that is round and as large as the wild olive's; when the fruit is ripe, it is brown and then turns black, and it has the taste and flavor of the medlar, as a consequence of which it would seem to be a wild form of that tree. From this description, [Athenaeus] says, the philosopher would appear to be referring to what is today called the wild cherry.

Asclepiades of Myrlea (FGrH 697 F *4) mentioned a bush-cherry tree and said the following: The bush-cherry grows in Bithynia. Its root is not large, and neither is the tree, which is the same size as the rose. The fruit is in all other ways like the wild cherry, but it overpowers those who consume a large quantity of it, in the same way wine

¹¹¹ A cubit = approximately 1.5 feet.

κεφαλὴν τίθησι. ταῦτα ὁ Ἀσκληπιάδης, φησί, μοι
δοκεῖ λέγειν περὶ τῶν μιμαϊκῶν. τό τε γὰρ φέρον
αὐτὰ δένδρον τοιοῦτον καὶ ὁ πλεόν τῶν ἑπτὰ τοῦ
καρποῦ φαγὼν κεφαλαλγῆς γίνεται. Ἀριστοφάνης·

ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν <δ> αὐτομάτ' αὐτοῖς τὰ μιμαϊκῶν
ἐφύετο πολλά.

Θεόπομπος·

τρώγουσι μύρτα καὶ πέπονα μιμαϊκῶν.

Κράτης·

f πάνν γάρ ἐστιν ὠρικὰ |
τὰ τιθί' ὥσπερ μῆλα καὶ μιμαϊκῶν.

Ἄμφις·

ὁ συκάμιος συκάμιν', ὄρῳ, φέρει,
ὁ πρίνος ἀκύλους, ὁ κόμαρος μιμαϊκῶν.

Θεόφραστος· ἡ κόμαρος ἢ τὸ μιμαϊκῶν φέρουσα τὸ
ἐδώδιμον.

Ὅτι Ἀγῆνα σατυρικόν τι δράμα ἀμφιβάλλεται
εἴτε Πύθων ἐποίησεν ὁ Καταναῖος ἢ Βυζάντιος ἢ καὶ
αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος.

Φησὶν ὁ παρὰ τῷ ῥήτορι Λαρήνσιος· πολλὰ ὑμεῖς
οἱ Γραικοὶ ἐξειδιοποιεῖσθε ὡς αὐτοὶ ἢ ὀνομάσαντες
ἢ πρῶτοι εὐρόντες. ἀγνοεῖτε δὲ ὅτι Λεύκολλος ὁ Ῥω-

BOOK II

does, and gives them a headache. Asclepiades seems to me, he says, to be referring to arbutus-fruit; because the tree that produces it matches his description, and anyone who eats more than seven arbutus-fruit gets a headache. Aristophanes (fr. 698):

In the mountains many volunteer arbutus trees grew
for them.

Theopompus (fr. 68):

They eat myrtle-berries and ripe arbutus-fruit.

Crates (fr. 43):

because her titties are perfectly
ripe, like apples or arbutus-fruit.

Amphis (fr. 38):

The mulberry tree, you see, bears mulberries,
the holm-oak acorns, the arbutus tree arbutus-fruit.

Theophrastus (*HP* 3.16.4): the arbutus tree, which bears the edible arbutus-fruit.

It is a matter of dispute whether Python of Catana or Byzantium (*TrGF* 91) wrote the satyr play *Agēn*, or whether the author was King Alexander himself.¹¹²

Larensius, the rhetorician's character, says: You Greeks lay claim to many things, alleging that you either gave them their names or discovered them. But you are unaware that the Roman general Lucullus, who defeated

¹¹² See 13.595e–6b (quoting a substantial fragment of the play, which attacked Harpalus). But the point of the remark here is unclear.

- 51 *μαίων στρατηγός, ἢ ὁ τὸν Μιθριδάτην καὶ Τιγράνην καταγωνισάμενος, πρῶτος διεκόμισεν εἰς Ἰταλίαν τὸ φυτόν τοῦτο ἀπὸ Κερασούντος Ποντικῆς πόλεως. καὶ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ καὶ τὸν καρπὸν καλέσας κέρασον ὁμωνύμως τῇ πόλει, ὡς ἱστοροῦσιν οἱ ἡμέτεροι συγγραφεῖς. πρὸς ὃν Δάφνος τίς φησιν· ἀλλὰ μὴν παμπόλλοις <χρόνοις>³⁰ πρεσβύτερος Λευκόλλου ἀνὴρ ἐλλόγιμος Δίφιλος ὁ Σίφνιος, γεγονὼς κατὰ Λυσίμαχον τὸν βασιλέα—εἰς δὲ οὗτος τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου διαδόχων—μνημονεῦει τῶν κερασίων λέγων· τὰ ἰκεράσια εὔστομα³¹, εὔχυλα, ὀλιγότροφα, ἐκ ψυχροῦ δὲ λαμβανόμενα εὔστόμαχα. καλλίω δὲ τὰ ἐρυθρότερα καὶ τὰ Μιλήσια· εἰσὶ γὰρ διουρητικά.*
- b

Συκάμινα. ὅτι πάντων ἀπλῶς οὕτω καλούντων αὐτὰ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς μόνοι μόρα ὀνομάζουσι. συκάμινα δὲ οὐ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγυπτίας συκῆς, ἃ τινες συκόμορα λέγουσιν. ἅπερ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἐπὶ βραχὺ κνίσαντες σιδηρίῳ ἐῶσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ φυτοῦ· καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνέμου κινούμενα ἐντὸς ἡμερῶν τριῶν οὕτω πέποννα καὶ εὐώδη

c *γίνονται, ἢ μάλιστα δὲ ζεφύρων πνευσάντων, καὶ ἐδώδιμα ὡς <διὰ> τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡρέμα ψυχρὸν καὶ τοῖς πυρεταίνουσι μετὰ ῥοδίνου ἐλαίου καταπλαττόμενα ἐπὶ τοῦ στομάχου ἐπιτίθεσθαι καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγα παρηγορεῖσθαι τοὺς νοσοῦντας. φέρει δὲ τὸν καρπὸν τοῦτον ἢ Αἰγυπτία συκάμιμος ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν*

³⁰ παμπόλλοις χρόνοις Schweighäuser: παμπολ . . . C: παμπολλῆς . . . ν E ³¹ εὔστομα Kaibel: εὔστόμαχα CE

BOOK II

Mithridates and Tigranes,¹¹³ first brought this plant to Italy from the Pontic city of Cerasus. He is also the one who named the fruit the "cherry," after the city, as our historians record. A certain Daphnis answered him: And yet the esteemed Diphilus of Siphnos, who was far earlier than Lucullus, since he lived in the time of King Lysimachus¹¹⁴—he was one of Alexander's successors—mentions cherries and says: Cherries are delicious, produce good *chulē*, and are not very nutritious; they are easy on the stomach when eaten cold. Redder ones and the Milesian variety are the best, since they are diuretic.

Mulberries. Although everyone else without exception refers to them this way, the Alexandrians alone call them *mora*. Mulberries (*sukamina*) are not the fruit of the Egyptian fig, which some authorities call *sukomora* ("fig-mora").¹¹⁵ The locals nick the fruit with a knife and leave it on the plant. The breeze moves it about, and within three days it becomes so ripe, fragrant, and edible, especially if the wind is blowing from the west, that, because of its mild coolness, it is made into plasters with rose oil and placed on the stomachs of people suffering from fever, and it offers considerable comfort to the sick. The Egyptian mulberry tree bears this fruit on the wood rather than on fruit-stalks.

¹¹³ L. Licinius Lucullus won a series of victories over Mithridates VI of Pontus and Tigranes II of Armenia in 69–67 BCE.

¹¹⁴ Lysimachus of Thrace (Berve i #480), reigned 323–281 BCE.

¹¹⁵ For the information that follows, cf. Thphr. *HP* 4.2.1, on which Athenaeus is perhaps drawing.

ἐπικαρπίων. μόρα δὲ τὰ συκάμινα καὶ παρ' Αἰσχύλῳ
ἐν Φρυξῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἑκτορος·

ἀνὴρ δ' ἐκείνος ἦν πεπαίτερος μόρων.

d ἐν δὲ Κρήσσαις καὶ κατὰ τῆς βάτου· |

λευκοῖς τε γὰρ μόροισι καὶ μελαγχίμοις
καὶ μιλοπρέπτοις βρίθεται ταύτου χρόνου.

Σοφοκλῆς·

πρῶτον μὲν ὄψη λευκὸν ἀνθοῦντα στάχυν,
ἔπειτα φοινίξαντα γογγύλον μόρον.

καὶ Νίκανδρος δὲ ἐν Γεωργικοῖς ἐμφανίζει καὶ ὅτι
πρότερον τῶν ἄλλων ἀκροδρύων φαίνεται μορέην τε
καλεῖ τὸ δένδρον αἰεί, ὡς καὶ οἱ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς·

e καὶ μορέης, ἣ παισὶ πέλει μείλιγμα νέοισι |
πρῶτον ἀπαγγέλλουσα βροτοῖς ἠδείαν ὀπώρην.

Φαινίας δ' <ὁ> Ἑρέσιος ὁ Ἀριστοτέλους μαθητῆς τὸν
τῆς ἀγρίας συκαμίνου καρπὸν μόρον καλεῖ, ὄντα καὶ
αὐτὸν γλυκύτατον καὶ ἡδιστον ὅτε πεπανθείη. γράφει
δὲ οὕτως· τὸ μόρον τὸ βατώδες ξηρανθείσης τῆς
σφαίρας τῆς συκαμινώδους σπερματικὰς ἔχει τὰς
συκαμινώδεις διαγονάς, καθάπερ † ὑφάλους³² † καὶ

³² ὑφάλους C: ὑφάνους E: ὑποφαινούσας Schneider

BOOK II

Aeschylus (fr. 264) also refers to mulberries as *mora* in *Phrygians*, describing Hector:

That fellow was softer than *mora*.¹¹⁶

And in *Cretan Women* (A. fr. 116), referring to the blackberry:

For it is loaded down simultaneously
with white, black, and red berries (*mora*).

Sophocles (fr. 395.1-2):¹¹⁷

First you will see a white, flowering stalk,
and then a round *moron* that has turned red.

Nicander too in his *Georgics* (fr. 75 Schneider) implies that it appears before other tree-fruit, and consistently refers to the tree as the *moreē*, as the Alexandrians do as well:

and of the mulberry tree (*moreē*), which brings little
boys joy
and makes the first announcement of pleasant
harvest-time to mortals.

Phaenias of Eresus (fr. 42 Wehrli), the student of Aristotle, refers to the fruit of the wild mulberry as a *moron*; ¹¹⁸ it is quite sweet and enjoyable when ripe. He writes as follows: The blackberry-*moron*, when its mulberry-like sphere has dried, has mulberry-like divisions full of seeds, just like †

¹¹⁶ Despite Athenaeus, the word may just as well refer here to a blackberry. ¹¹⁷ Probably from *Seers*.

¹¹⁸ In fact, Phaenias is clearly describing blackberries, which he compares repeatedly to mulberries. The passage is corrupt and probably contains a lacuna.

- διαφυὰς³³ ἔχει ψαθυρὰς καὶ εὐχύμους. Παρθένιος δὲ
 f ἄβρυνά φησι | συκάμινα, ἃ καλοῦσιν ἔνιοι μόρα·
 Σαλαμίνιοι δὲ τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα βάτια. Δημήτριος δὲ ὁ
 Ἰξίων τὰ αὐτὰ συκάμινα καὶ μόρα οἶον αἰμόροα καὶ
 σύκων ἀμείνω. Δίφιλος δὲ ὁ Σίφνιος ἰατρὸς γράφει
 οὕτως· τὰ δὲ συκάμινα, ἃ καὶ μόρα λέγεται, εὐχυλα
 μὲν ἔστιν, ὀλιγότροφα δὲ καὶ εὐστόμαχα καὶ εὐέκ-
 κριτα. ἰδίως δὲ τούτων τὰ ἔνωμα ἔλμινθας ἐκτινάσσει.
 52 Πύθερμος δὲ ἱστορεῖ, ὡς φησιν Ἡγήσανδρος, || καθ'
 αὐτὸν τὰς συκαμίνας οὐκ ἐνεγκεῖν καρπὸν ἐτῶν εἴ-
 κοσι καὶ γενέσθαι ἐπιδημίαν ποδαγρικὴν τοσαύτην
 ὥστε μὴ μόνον ἄνδρας τῷ πάθει ἐνσχεθῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 παῖδας καὶ κόρας καὶ εὐνούχους, ἔτι δὲ γυναῖκας.
 περιπεσεῖν δὲ οὕτω τὸ δεινὸν καὶ αἰπολίῳ ὡς τὰ δύο
 μέρη τῶν προβάτων ἐνσχεθῆναι τῷ αὐτῷ πάθει.

Κάρνα. οἱ Ἀττικοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι συγγραφεῖς κοινῶς
 πάντα τὰ ἀκρόδρνα κάρνα λέγουσιν. Ἐπίχαρμος δὲ
 b κατ' ἐξοχὴν ὡς ἡμεῖς· |

< . . . > καπυρὰ τρώγων κάρν', ἀμυγδάλας.

Φιλύλλιος·

< . . . > ῥά, κάρν', ἀμυγδάλαι.

Ἡρακλέων δὲ φησιν ὁ Ἐφέσιος· κάρνα ἐκάλου καὶ

³³ διαφυὰς C, ορὰς: διαφορὰς E

BOOK II

salty †; and it has segments that are crumbly and flavorful. Parthenius uses the term *habruna* for mulberries, which some authorities call *mora*; the Salaminians refer to this same fruit as *batia*.¹¹⁹ Demetrius Ixion says that mulberries (*sukamina*) and *mora* are identical, as if the words were *haimoroa* ("flowing with blood")¹²⁰ and *sukōn ameinō* ("better than figs"). The physician Diphilus of Siphnos writes as follows: Mulberries, also referred to as *mora*, produce good *chulē*, are not very nutritious, and are easy on the stomach and easily excreted. The raw ones have the peculiar quality of driving out worms. According to Hegesander (fr. 41, *FHG* iv.421), Pythermus (*FGrH* 80 F 3) records that in his time the mulberry trees produced no fruit for twenty years, and gout became so widespread among the population that it was not just men who were afflicted by it, but boys, girls, eunuchs, and even women. The plague even struck a herd of goats so badly that two-thirds of the animals got the same disease.

Nuts (*karua*). Attic authors and others refer generically to all tree-fruit as *karua*. But Epicharmus (fr. 148) uses the word in a specific sense, as we do:

eating dried *karua* and almonds.

Philyllius (fr. 24):

eggs, *karua*, almonds.

Heracleon of Ephesus says: They referred to almonds and

¹¹⁹ Simply a diminutive of *batos*, "blackberry."

¹²⁰ In reference to the blackberry's dark red juice. Demetrius' claim is that *mora* is a contracted form of *haimoroa*, just as *sukamina* is supposedly contracted from *sukōn ameinō*.

τὰς ἀμυγδάλας καὶ τὰ νῦν καστάνεια. τὸ δὲ δένδρον
καρῦα παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ·

< . . . > καρῦαι μελίαι τε.

Εὐβουλος·

φηγούς, κάρνα Καρύστια.

καλεῖται δέ τινα καὶ μόστηνα κάρνα.

Ἄμυγδάλαι. ὅτι αἱ Νάξιαι ἀμυγδάλαι διὰ μνήμης
ἦσαν τοῖς παλαιοῖς· καὶ γίνονται ὄντως ἐν Νάξῳ τῇ
c νήσῳ διάφοροι, ὡς ἐμαντόν, φησί, πείθω. | Φρύνιχος·

τοὺς δὲ γομφίους
ἅπαντας ἐξέκοψεν, ὥστ'
οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην Ναξίαν
ἀμυγδάλην καταῶσαι.

διάφοροι δ' ἀμυγδάλαι γίνονται καὶν Κύπρῳ τῇ νήσῳ·
παρὰ γὰρ τὰς ἀλλαχόθεν καὶ ἐπιμήκεις εἰσὶ καὶ κατὰ
τὸ ἄκρον ἐπικαμπεῖς. Λάκωνας δὲ Σέλευκος ἐν Γλώσ-
σαις φησὶ καλεῖν τὰ μαλακὰ κάρνα μυκῆρους, Τηνί-
ους δὲ τὰ γλυκέα κάρνα. Ἀμερίας δὲ φησι μύκηρον
d τὴν | ἀμυγδάλην καλεῖσθαι. ἐπακτικώτατα δὲ πρὸς
πότον τὰ ἀμύγδαλα προεσθιόμενα. Εὐπολις·

δίδου μασᾶσθαι Ναξίας ἀμυγδάλας,
οἶνόν τε πίνειν Ναξίων ἀπ' ἀμπέλων.

BOOK II

what are now called chestnuts as *karua*. But the tree is called *karúa* in Sophocles (fr. 759):

nut trees (*karúai*) and ash trees.

Eubulus (fr. 135):

acorns and Carystian *karua*.¹²¹

Some *karua* are also called *mostēna*.

Almonds. Naxian almonds were mentioned by the ancients. And I am convinced, he says, that particularly good ones are produced on the island of Naxos. Phrynichus (fr. 73):

He knocked out
all my molars, so that
I wouldn't be able to crack
a Naxian almond.

Outstanding almonds are also produced on the island of Cyprus; compared to those from elsewhere, they are long and crooked at the tip. Seleucus in the *Glossary* (fr. 61 Müller) says that the Spartans refer to nuts that are still soft as *mukēroi*, and that the inhabitants of Tenos use the word for sweet nuts. But Amerias (p. 7 Hoffmann) says that the almond is referred to as a *mukēros*. Almonds powerfully encourage drinking when eaten ahead of time. Eupolis (fr. 271):

Give me some Naxian almonds to chew on,
and some wine from Naxian vines to drink!

¹²¹ Chestnuts?

ἦν δέ τις ἄμπελος Ναξία καλουμένη. Πλούταρχος δὲ ὁ
 Χαιρωνεύς φησι παρὰ Δρούσῳ τῷ Τιβερίου Καίσα-
 ρος υἱῷ ἰατρόν τινα ὑπερβάντα πάντας ἐν τῷ πίνειν
 e φωραθῆναι πρὸ τοῦ πότου προεσθίοντα πικρὰς ἀμν-
 γδάλας πέντε ἢ ἕξ· ἄσπερ | κωλυθεὶς προσενέγκασθαι
 οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸ μικρότατον ἀντέσχε τοῦ πότου. αἴτιος
 οὖν ἦν ἡ τῆς πικρότητος δύναμις, ξηραντικὴ καὶ
 δάπανος ὑγρῶν οὔσα. κληθῆναι δὲ ἀμυγδάλην φησὶν
 Ἡρωδιανὸς ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς παρὰ τὸ ἐν τῷ μετὰ τὸ
 χλωρὸν ὡσπερὶ ἀμυχὰς ἔχειν πολλὰς.

ὄνος βαδίζεις εἰς ἄχυρα τραγημάτων,

φησί πον Φιλήμων.

< . . . > φηγοὶ Πανὸς ἄγαλμα,

φησὶ Νικάνδρος ἐν δευτέρῳ Γεωργικῶν.

f "Ὅτι καὶ οὐδετέρως ἀμύγδαλα λέγεται. Δίφιλος· |
 τρωγάλια, μυρτίδες, πλακοῦς, ἀμύγδαλα.

"Ὅτι περὶ τῆς προφορᾶς τοῦ τόνου τῆς ἀμυγδάλης
 Πάμφιλος μὲν ἀξιοῖ ἐπὶ τοῦ καρποῦ βαρύνειν ὁμοίως

¹²² Athenaeus does not cite Plutarch or Herodian elsewhere, and Wilamowitz argued that this material must have been added by the Epitomator (who does not elsewhere, however, appear to be so ambitious).

¹²³ Iulius Caesar Drusus (c.13 BCE–23 CE).

¹²⁴ Literally "in the (stage) after the green."

¹²⁵ Probably an introductory remark by a new speaker.

¹²⁶ Quoted in full at 14.640c–d, where the manuscripts, how-

BOOK II

There was a variety of grapevine called Naxian. Plutarch of Chaeronea (*Mor.* 624c)¹²² reports that the circle of Drusus son of Tiberius Caesar¹²³ included a physician who could drink more than anyone else. Before the party began, he was caught eating five or six bitter almonds; when he was prevented from consuming them, he had no resistance at all to the wine. The reason for this was their bitter character, which is drying and eliminates liquids. Herodian of Alexandria (*Grammatici Graeci* III.1 p. 321.21–2) claims that the almond (*amugdalē*) got its name from the fact that, after the hull is shed,¹²⁴ it has what look like numerous scratches (*amuchas*).

You're like a donkey heading off to a bran-pile of
dainties,

says Philemon (fr. 158) somewhere.¹²⁵

Valonia oaks, the delight of Pan,

says Nicander in Book II of the *Georgics* (fr. 69 Schneider).

The neuter plural *amugdala* is used. Diphilus (fr. 80.1):¹²⁶

snacks, myrtle-berries, a cake, almonds (*amugdala*).

As for the placement of the accent on the word *amugdalē*, Pamphilus (fr. I Schmidt) believes that an acute should be used for the fruit, as also for the neuter form.¹²⁷

ever, have the normal feminine *amugdalai*. The rest of this paragraph appears in virtually identical form at Herodian, *Grammatici Graeci* III.1 pp. 321.22–322.3.

¹²⁷ ἀμυγδάλη and ἀμύγδαλον, respectively.

τῷ ἀμυγδάλῳ· τὸ μέντοι δένδρον θέλει περισπᾶν,
ἀμυγδαλή καὶ ῥοδῆ· καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος·

53 ῥοδῆς τε καλὸν ἄνθος. ||

Ἀρίσταρχος δὲ καὶ τὸν καρπὸν καὶ τὸ δένδρον ὁμοίως
προφέρεται κατ' ὀξείαν τάσιν· Φιλόξενος δ' ἀμφότε-
ρον περισπᾶ. Εὐπόλις·

< . . . > ἀπολείς με, ναὶ μὰ τὴν ἀμυγδαλήν.

Ἀριστοφάνης·

ἄγε νυν τὰς ἀμυγδαλᾶς λαβὼν
τασδὶ κάταξον τῇ κεφαλῇ σαντοῦ λίθῳ.

Φρύνιχος·

ἀμυγδαλή τῆς βηχὸς ἀγαθὸν φάρμακον.

ἄλλοι δὲ ἀμυγδαλᾶς ὡς καλᾶς. Τρύφων δὲ ἐν Ἀττικῇ
b Προσφδιά ἀμυγδαλήν μὲν τὸν καρπὸν | βαρέως, ὃν
ἡμεῖς οὐδετέρως ἀμύγδαλον λέγομεν, ἀμυγδαλᾶς δὲ
τὰ δένδρα, κτητικῷ παρὰ τὸν καρπὸν ὄντος τοῦ χαρα-
κτῆρος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο περισπωμένον.

Ἔστι Πάμφιλος ἐν Γλώσσαις μουκηροβαγόν φησι
καλεῖσθαι τὸν καρνοκατάκτην ὑπὸ τῶν Λακώνων ἀντὶ
τοῦ ἀμυγδαλοκατάκτην· μουκῆρους γὰρ Λάκωνες κα-

¹²⁸ ἀμυγδαλή, ῥοδῆ (contrast ῥόδον ("rose")).

¹²⁹ ἀμυγδάλη. ¹³⁰ ἀμυγδαλή.

¹³¹ As if the contracted accusative plural ending *-as* were ac-
tually the genitive singular *-ēs/ās*.

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For the tree, on the other hand, he prefers the circumflex, *amugdalē*, like *rhodē* ("rosebush").¹²⁸ Also Archilochus (fr. 30.2 West²):

and a lovely flower of a rosebush (*rhodē*).

But Aristarchus pronounces both the fruit and the tree in the same way, with an oxytone accent;¹²⁹ whereas Philoxenus (fr. 437 Theodoridis) has them both with a circumflex.¹³⁰ Eupolis (fr. 79):

You'll be the death of me, by the almond (*amugdalē*)!

Aristophanes (fr. 605):

Come now! Take these almonds (*amugdālās*)
and use your head as a stone to crack them!

Phrynichus (fr. 64):

An almond (*amugdalē*) is good medicine for your
cough.

Others accent the accusative plural *amugdālās*, like *kalās* ("fine, beautiful"). And Tryphon in his *Attic Pronunciation* (fr. 13 Velsen) says that the fruit, for which we use the neuter *amugdalon*, is *amugdāle* with an acute accent, whereas the trees are *amugdālās*, which is a possessive form derived from the name of the fruit and therefore takes the circumflex.¹³¹

Pamphilus in the *Glossary* (fr. XXIII Schmidt) asserts that the Spartans refer to a nutcracker as a *moukērobagos*¹³² rather than an *amugdalkatakētēs* (literally "almond-

¹³² From *moukēros* ("nut"; cf. 2.52c) + a verb cognate with *agnumi* ("break"; cf. *bagos* ~ *agos*, "fragment").

λοῦσι τὰ ἀμύγδαλα.

ἽΟτι Ποντικῶν καλουμένων καρῦων, ἃ λόπιμά τινες
 ὀνομάζουσι, μνημονεύει Νίκανδρος. Ἐρμῶναξ δὲ καὶ
 c Τιμαχίδας ἐν Γλώσσαις Διὸς βάλανόν | φησι καλεῖ-
 σθαι τὸ Ποντικὸν κάρυον.

ἽΗρακλείδης δὲ ὁ Ταραντῖνος ζητεῖ πότερον προ-
 παρατίθεσθαι δεῖ τὰ τραγήματα, καθάπερ ἐν τισι
 τόποις τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα γίνεται,
 ἢ οὐ, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον. ἐὰν μὲν οὖν μετὰ τὸ
 δεῖπνον, συμβαίνει πλείονος τροφῆς κειμένης ἐν τῇ
 κοιλίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἐντέροις τὰ ἐπεισφερόμενα κάρνα,
 χάριν τῆς πρὸς τὸ πίνειν ὀρμῆς ἐμπλεκόμενα τοῖς
 σιτίοις, ἐμπνευματώσεις καὶ φθορὰς τῆς τροφῆς
 d παρασκευάζειν | διὰ τὸ παρακολουθοῦν αὐτοῖς ἐπιπο-
 λαστικὸν φύσει καὶ δυσκατέργαστον· ἐξ ὧν ἀπεψία
 γίνονται καὶ κοιλίας καταφοραί.

Τὰ δὲ ἀμύγδαλα, φησὶ Διοκλῆς, τροφίμα μὲν ἐστὶ
 καὶ εὐκοιλία, θερμαντικὰ δὲ διὰ τὸ ἔχειν κεγχρῶδες τι.
 λυπεῖ δ' ἦττον τὰ χλωρὰ τῶν ξηρῶν καὶ τὰ βεβρεγμέ-
 να τῶν ἀβρόχων καὶ τὰ πεφρυγμένα τῶν ὠμῶν. τὰ δὲ
 ἽΗρακλεωτικά, καλούμενα δὲ Διὸς βάλανοι, τρέφει μὲν
 e οὐχ ὁμοίως τοῖς ἀμυγδαλοῖς, ἔχει δέ τι κεγχρῶδες |
 καὶ ἐπιπολαστικόν· πλείω δὲ βρωθέντα βαρύνει τὴν
 κεφαλὴν. ἦττον δ' ἐνοχλεῖ καὶ τούτων τὰ χλωρὰ τῶν

133 I.e. nuts with a hard shell.

134 The remarks that follow would seem to belong to a physi-

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cracker"), because they refer to almonds as *moukēroi*.

Nicander (fr. 77 Schneider) mentions what are referred to as Pontic nuts, to which some authorities give the name "husk-nuts."¹³³ But Hermonax and Timachidas in the *Glossary* (fr. 18 Blinkenberg) say that the Pontic nut is referred to as a Zeus-acorn.

Heracleides of Tarentum (fr. 71 Guardasole) raises the question of whether snacks ought to be served first, as is done in some regions of Asia and Greece, or not and served after dinner instead.¹³⁴ If they are served after dinner, a large amount of food is already in the gut and the intestines; and the nuts, which are introduced in addition to what is already there and are included in the food because they stimulate drinking, tend to produce gas and corrupt what has been eaten, because what is eaten after them naturally rises to the top of the stomach and is difficult to digest. The result is indigestion and diarrhea.

According to Diocles (fr. 202 van der Eijk), almonds are nutritious and easy on the bowels, but are warming because they have some properties of millet. Green almonds are less dangerous than dried almonds, soaked almonds¹³⁵ less dangerous than unsoaked almonds, and roasted almonds less dangerous than raw almonds. Heracleot nuts, also referred to as Zeus-acorns, are not as nutritious as almonds, and have some properties of millet and rise to the top of the stomach; when eaten in large quantities, they produce wooziness. Green ones cause fewer prob-

blems, whereas those that preceded are most naturally taken to be by a grammarian.

¹³⁵ Probably a reference to the soaking of whole immature almonds in brine.

ξηρῶν. τὰ δὲ Περσικὰ κεφαλαγικὰ μὲν ἔστιν οὐχ ἦττον τῶν Διὸς βαλάνων, τρέφει δὲ μᾶλλον. φάρυγγα τραχύνει καὶ στόμα· ὀπτηθέντα δὲ ἀλυπότερα γίνεται· διαχωρεῖ δὲ μάλιστα τῶν καρύων ἐσθιόμενα μετὰ μέλιτος. τὰ δὲ πλατέα φυσωδέστερα ἔστιν, ἀλυπότερα δὲ τὰ ἐφθὰ τῶν ὠμῶν καὶ πεφρυγμένων, τὰ δὲ πεφρυ-

f γμένα τῶν ἠὲ ὠμῶν. Φυλότιμος δὲ ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Τροφῆς φησι· τὸ πλατὺ καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Σαρδιανὸν δυσκατέργαστά ἐστιν ὡμὰ πάντα καὶ δυσδιάλυτα, κατεχόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ φλέγματος ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ, καὶ στρυφνότητα ἔχοντα. τὸ δὲ Ποντικὸν λιπαρὸν καὶ δυσκατέργαστον. τὸ δὲ ἀμύγδαλον ἦττον δυσκατέργαστον· φαγόντες οὖν πλείονα οὐκ ἐνοχλούμεθα. λιπαρώτερα τε φαίνε-

54 ται καὶ ἀναδίδωσι χυμὸν γλυκὺν καὶ λιπαρὸν. ἢ Δίφιλος δ' ὁ Σίφνιος, τὰ κάρνα, φησί, τὰ βασιλικὰ κεφαλαγῆ ἔστι καὶ ἐπιπολαστικά. τούτων δὲ τὰ ἀπαλὰ ἔτι καὶ λελευκασμένα εὐχυλότερα καὶ κρείττονα ὑπάρχει, τὰ δ' ἐν τοῖς ἵπνοις φρυγόμενα ὀλιγότροφα. τὰ δὲ ἀμύγδαλά ἐστιν οὖρητικὰ καὶ λεπτυντικὰ καὶ καθαρτικὰ καὶ ὀλιγότροφα. τῶν μέντοι χλωρῶν κακοχύλων ὄντων καὶ ἀτροφωτέρων πολὺ μᾶλλον φυσωδέστερα καὶ ἐπιπολαστικώτερα ἔστι τὰ ξηρά. τὰ δὲ ἀπαλὰ καὶ

b πλήρη καὶ λελευκασμένα γαλακτώδη ὄντα εὐχυλότερά ἐστι. ἢ τῶν δὲ ξηρῶν τὰ Θάσια καὶ Κύπρια ἀπαλὰ ὄντα εὐεκκριτώτερα ἔστι. τὰ δὲ Ποντικὰ κάρνα κεφαλαγῆ, ἦττον δ' ἐπιπολαστικὰ τῶν βασιλικῶν. Μνησίθεος δ' ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἐδεστών, τῶν Εὐβοικῶν, φησί, καρύων ἢ καστάνων, ἀμφοτέρως γὰρ

BOOK II

lems than dried ones. Persian nuts cause as many headaches as Zeus-acorns, but are more nourishing. They make the throat and mouth rough, but cause less damage when roasted, and pass more easily through the system than any other nut, if eaten with honey. Broad nuts produce more gas; but they cause less trouble when boiled than when raw or roasted, and the roasted ones cause less trouble than the raw ones. Phylotimus (fr. 8 Steckerl) in his *On Food* says: The broad nut and the so-called Sardis nut are all difficult to digest and to break down when raw, since the phlegm in the gut keeps them intact and they have an astringent character. The Pontic nut is oily and difficult to digest. The almond is easier to digest; when we eat a large quantity of them, therefore, we feel no discomfort. They appear to be oilier and produce a sweet, oily juice. Diphilus of Siphnos says: Royal nuts cause headaches and rise to the top of the stomach. Those that are still soft and have turned white produce better *chulē* and are of better quality, whereas those that have been roasted in ovens are not very nutritious. Almonds are diuretic, promote weight-loss, clean out one's system, and are not very nutritious. Although green almonds produce bad *chulē* and are lacking in nutritional value, dried almonds produce much more gas and rise more to the top of the stomach. Those that are soft and fully developed and have turned white have a milky character and produce better *chulē*. Soft Thasian and Cyprian almonds are more easily excreted than dried ones. Pontic nuts cause headaches, but do not rise to the top of the stomach as much as royal nuts do. Mnesitheus of Athens in his *On Edible Substances* (fr. 30 Bertier) says: Euboean nuts or chestnuts—they are referred to in both ways—are

καλείται, δύσπεπτος μὲν ἢ κατεργασία τῇ κοιλίᾳ καὶ
 φυσώδης ἢ πέψις γίνεται, παχύνει δὲ τὰς ἕξεις, εἴαν τις
 αὐτῶν κρατήσῃ. τὰ δὲ ἀμύγδαλα καὶ τὰ Ἡρακλεωτικὰ
 καὶ τὰ Περσικὰ κάρνα καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα χεῖρω
 c ἐστὶ τούτων. χρῆ δὲ | μηδὲν ὅλως τῆς τοιαύτης ιδέας
 ἄπυρον ἐσθίειν ἕξω τῶν χλωρῶν ἀμυγδάλων, ἀλλὰ τὰ
 μὲν ἔψειν, τὰ δὲ φρύγειν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐστὶ
 λιπαρὰ τῇ φύσει, καθάπερ ἀμυγδάλοι τε αἱ ξηραὶ καὶ
 Διὸς βάλανοι, τὰ δὲ σκληρὰ³⁴ καὶ στρυφνὰ, καθάπερ
 αἱ τε φηγοὶ καὶ πᾶν τὸ τοιοῦτον γένος. τῶν οὖν
 λιπαρῶν ἀφαιρεῖται τὸ λίπος ἢ πύρωσις· ἐστὶ γὰρ
 τοῦτο <τὸ> χεῖριστον. τὰ δὲ σκληρὰ καὶ στρυφνὰ
 πεπαίνεται, εἴαν τις ὀλίγῳ καὶ μαλακῶ πυρὶ χρῆται. ὁ
 δὲ Δίφιλος τὰ κάστανα καὶ Σαρδιανὰς βαλάνους κα-
 d λεί, | εἶναι λέγων αὐτὰς καὶ πολυτρόφους καὶ εὐχύ-
 λους, δυσοικονομήτους δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐπιμένειν τῷ στομά-
 χῳ· τὰς δὲ φρυγείσας ἀτροφωτέρας μὲν γίνεσθαι,
 εὐοικονομήτους δὲ· τὰς δὲ ἐφομένας ἐμπνευματοῦν μὲν
 ἦττον, τρέφειν δὲ τούτων μᾶλλον.

λόπιμον κάρυόν τε

Εὐβοέες, βάλανον δὲ μετεξέτεροι καλέσαντο,

Νίκανδρός φησιν ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἐν Γεωργικοῖς. Ἄγέ-
 λοχος δὲ ἄμωτα καλεῖ τὰ καστάνεια· ὅπου δὲ γίνεται
 e τὰ κάρνα τὰ Σινοπικά, ταῦτα δένδρα ἐκάλουν | ἄμωτα.
 Ἐρέβινθοι. Κρώβυλος·

χλωρὸν ἐρέβινθόν τινα

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difficult for the stomach to break down, and the process of digestion produces gas. But they promote weight-gain, if a person can tolerate them. Almonds, Heracleot nuts, Persian nuts, and other nuts of this sort are inferior to them. No nuts of this type should be eaten raw, except green almonds. As for the rest, some should be boiled, others roasted; because some of them are naturally oily, such as dried almonds and Zeus-acorns, while others are harsh and astringent, such as Valonia acorns and all those of this type. Exposure to heat removes the oiliness from the oily ones; for this is their worst characteristic. Harsh, astringent nuts become soft when exposed to a low, slow fire. Diphilus also refers to chestnuts as "Sardian nuts," and says that they are very nutritious and produce good *chulē*, but are hard to digest, because they linger in the stomach. They are less nutritious when roasted, but more easily digested. When boiled, they produce less gas and are more nutritious than the roasted ones.

The Euboeans referred to it as a husk-nut and a *karuon*, but others called it an acorn,

says Nicander of Colophon in the *Georgics* (fr. 76 Schneider). Agelochus refers to chestnuts as *amōta*: Where Sino-pic nuts are produced, they called these trees *amōta*.

Chickpeas. Crobylus (fr. 9):

They were actually playing cottabus

³⁴ σκληρὰ Schweighäuser: ξηρὰ CE

ἐκοττάβιζον κενὸν ὄλωσ. τράγημα δέ
 ἔστιν πιθήκου τοῦτο δήπου δυστυχούς.

Ὅμηρος·

θρώσκωσιν κύαμοι μελανόχροες ἢ ἐρέβινθοι.

Ξενοφάνης ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἐν Παρωδίαῖς·

πὰρ πυρὶ χρῆ τοιαῦτα λέγειν χειμῶνος ἐν ὄρῃ
 ἐν κλίνῃ μαλακῇ κατακείμενον, ἔμπλεον ὄντα,
 πίνοντα γλυκὺν οἶνον, ὑποτρώγοντ' ἐρεβίνθους·
 "τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν, πόσα τοι ἔτη ἔστί,
 φέριστε;

f πηλίκος ἦσθ', ὅθ' ὁ Μῆδος ἀφίκετο;" |

Σαπφώ·

· χρύσειοι <δ' > ἐρέβινθοι ἐπ' αἰόνων ἐφύοντο.

Θεόφραστος δ' ἐν Φυτικαῖς τῶν ἐρεβίνθων τινὰς καλεῖ
 κριούς. καὶ Σώφιλος·

ὁ πατήρ ὁ ταύτης πολὺ μέγιστός ἐστι < . . . >
 κριὸς ἐρέβινθος.

Φαινίας δ' ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Φυτῶν φησι τραγήματος ἔχει
 χώραν ἀπαλὰ μὲν ὦχρος, κύαμος, ἐρέβινθος, ξηρὰ δὲ
 55 ἐφθὰ καὶ φρυκτὰ σχεδὸν τὰ πλείστα. Ἄλεξις· ||

ἔστιν ἀνὴρ μοι πτωχὸς κἀγὼ

BOOK II

for a hollow green chickpea. This is
a snack for a monkey down on its luck!

Homer (*Il.* 13.589):

Black-skinned fava beans or chickpeas leap about.

Xenophanes of Colophon in the parodies (21 B 22 D–K):

You should say something like this in the winter
season, when you're lying
beside a fire on a soft couch, with your belly full of
food,

drinking sweet wine and nibbling on chickpeas:

"Who are you, friend, and where are you from? How
old are you?"

What age were you when the Mede came?"¹³⁶

Sappho (fr. 143):

Golden chickpeas were growing on the shores.

Theophrastus in *On Plants* (*HP* 8.5.1) refers to certain
chickpeas as "rams." Also Sophilus (fr. 9):

This girl's father's the very biggest
ram chickpea there is!

Phaenias in his *On Plants* (fr. 43 Wehrli) says: Birds' pease,
fava beans, and chickpeas are categorized as snacks, when
green; when dried and boiled or roasted, nearly all of them
are. Alexis (fr. 167):

There's my husband, a pauper; and me,

¹³⁶ Referring to the Persian invasion of Greece in 480–479
BCE.

γραῦς καὶ θυγάτηρ καὶ παῖς υἱὸς
 χῆδ' ἢ χρηστή, πένθ' οἱ πάντες.
 τούτων οἱ <μέν> τρεῖς δειπνοῦμεν,
 δύο δ' αὐτοῖς συγκοινωνοῦμεν
 μάξης μικρᾶς. φθόγγους δ' ἀλύρους
 θρηνοῦμεν, ἐπὶ μὴδὲν ἔχωμεν
 χρῶμα δ' ἀσίτων ἡμῶν ὄντων
 γίγνεται ὠχρόν. τὰ μέρη δ' ἡμῶν
 χῆ σύνταξις τοῦ βίου ἐστὶν
 κύαμος, θέρμος, λάχανον, < . . . >
 γογγυλῖς, ὠχρος, λάθυρος, φηγός,
 βολβός, τέτιξ, ἐρέβινθος, ἀχράς,
 τό τε θειοπαγὲς μητρῶον ἐμοὶ
 μελέδημ' ἰσχάς,

b Φρυγίας εὐρήματα συκῆς. |

Φερεκράτης·

τακεροὺς ποιῆσαι τοὺς ἐρεβίνθους αὐτόθι.³⁵

πάλιν·

τρώγων ἐρεβίνθους ἀπεπνίγη πεφρυγμένους.

Δίφιλος δέ φησιν· οἱ ἐρέβινθοι δύσπεπτοι, σμηκτικοί, οὐρητικοί, πνευματικοί. κατὰ δὲ Διοκλέα ζυματικοὶ τῆς σαρκός· κρείττους δ' οἱ λευκοὶ τῶν μελάνων καὶ

³⁵ ποιῆσαι . . . αὐτόθι 9.366d: ποιήσεις . . . εὐθέως CE

BOOK II

an old woman; and my daughter and my young son;
and this fine girl. Five in all.

Three of us are having dinner,
and the other two of us are sharing a little barley-
cake

with them. We raise our voices
in lyreless lament whenever we have nothing;
and because of our lack of food,
our complexions are pale. Our portion
and our mode of life is:
fava beans, lupine, vegetables,
turnips, birds' pease, grass-peas, Valonia acorns,
hyacinth bulbs, cicadas, chickpeas, wild pears,
and the divinely-planted, maternal
object of my care, a dried fig,
invention of a Phrygian¹³⁷ fig tree.

Pherecrates (fr. 89):¹³⁸

to make the chickpeas soft at once.

Again (Pherecr. fr. 170):

He choked while eating roasted chickpeas.

Diphilus says: Chickpeas are difficult to digest, purgative, and diuretic, and produce gas. According to Diocles (fr. 194 van der Eijk), they cause the flesh to swell. The white variety are better than the black variety and resemble box-

¹³⁷ Most likely a reference not to the region in Asia Minor but to the Attic village mentioned at Th. 2.22.2. The final three verses are quoted again at 3.75b.

¹³⁸ Also quoted at 9.366d, where the text is slightly different and the line is identified as coming from *Small Change*.

πυξοειδείς καὶ οἱ Μιλήσιοι τῶν λεγομένων κριῶν οἳ τε
χλωροὶ τῶν ξηρῶν καὶ οἱ βεβρεγμένοι τῶν ἀβρόχων.

ἽΟτι Ποσειδῶνος εὕρημα οἱ ἐρέβινθοι.

c Θέρμοι. |

(A.) μὴ ὥρασι < . . . >

μετὰ τῶν κακῶν ἴκοιθ' ὁ τοὺς θέρμοις φαγῶν,
ἐν τῷ προθύρῳ τὰ λέμμαθ' ὅτι κατέλιπε,
ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπεπνίγη καταφαγῶν. μάλιστα δέ

* * *

(B.) Κλεαίνετος μὲν οὐκ ἐδήδοκ' οἶδ' ὅτι
ὁ τραγικὸς αὐτοῦς· οὐδενὸς γὰρ πώποτε
ἀπέβαλεν < . . . > ὀσπρίου λέπος·
οὕτως ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν εὐχερῆς ἀνήρ.

d Λυκόφρων δ' ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς ἐν σατυρικῷ δράματι, | ὁ
ἐπὶ καταμωκῆσει ἔγραψεν εἰς Μενέδημον τὸν φιλόσο-
φον, ἀφ' οὗ ἢ τῶν Ἑρετρικῶν ὠνομάσθη αἴρεσις,
διασκώπτων τῶν φιλοσόφων τὰ δειπνά φησι·

καὶ δημόκοινος ἐπεχόρευε δαψιλῆς
θέρμος, πενήτων καὶ τρικλίνου συμπότης.

Δίφιλος·

οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν τεχνίον ἐξωλέστερον
τοῦ πορνοβοσκοῦ·

κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν πωλεῖν περιπατῶν βούλομαι

e ῥόδα, ῥαφανίδας, θερμοκνάμους, στέμφυλα, |

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wood; the Milesian variety are better than what are called "rams"; and they are better green than dried, and soaked than unsoaked.

Chickpeas were discovered by Poseidon.

Lupines.

(A.) May the fellow who ate
the lupines come to a bad, untimely end,
since he left the husks in front of our door
and didn't choke while eating them. And in particular

* * *

(B.) I know that the tragic poet Cleaenetus¹³⁹
didn't eat them. Because he never
threw out a single bean-pod;
that's how omnivorous he is! (Alex. fr. 268)¹⁴⁰

Lycophron of Chalcis, in the satyr play he wrote to make fun of the philosopher Menedemus (*TrGF* 100 F 2.9–10),¹⁴¹ from whom the Eretrian sect got its name, says in the course of mocking the philosophers' dinners:

and the plentiful common lupine, which drinks
with poor men at their parties, came dancing in.

Diphilus (fr. 87):

There's no occupation more awful
than being a pimp.
I'm willing to walk the streets selling
roses, radishes, lupine-beans, olive pomace,

¹³⁹ PAA 574340; *TrGF* 84. He took third place at the Lenaea in 363 BCE. ¹⁴⁰ Pollux 6.45 (quoting only verses 2–3) identifies the fragment as coming from Alexis.

ἀπλῶς ἅπαντα μᾶλλον ἢ ταύτας τρέφειν.

καὶ σημειωτέον, φησί, τὸ θερμοκνάμους, ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν οὕτω λέγεται. Πολέμων δὲ φησι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους τοὺς θέρμους λυσιλαΐδας καλεῖν. Θεόφραστος δὲ ἱστορεῖ ἐν Αἰτίοις Φυτικαῖς ὅτι θέρμος καὶ ὄροβος καὶ ἐρέβινθος μόνα οὐ ζωοῦνται τῶν χεδροπῶν διὰ τὴν δριμύτητα καὶ πικρότητα· ὁ δ' ἐρέβινθος, φησί, μέλας γίνεται διαφθειρόμενος. γίνεσθαι δὲ λέγει κάμπας ἐν f τοῖς ἐρεβίνθοις | ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ³⁶ τῆς αὐτῆς πραγματείας. Δίφιλος δ' ὁ Σίφνιος τοὺς θέρμους φησὶν εἶναι σμηκτικούς καὶ πολυτρόφους, μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ πλείον ἀπεγλυκασμένους. διὸ καὶ Ζήνων ὁ Κιτιεύς, σκληρὸς ὢν καὶ πάνν θυμικὸς πρὸς τοὺς γνωρίμους, ἐπὶ πλείον τοῦ οἴνου σπάσας ἡδὺς ἐγένετο καὶ μέλιχος. πρὸς τοὺς πυνθανομένους οὖν τοῦ τρόπου τὴν διαφορὰν ἔλεγε τὸ αὐτὸ τοῖς θέρμοις πάσχειν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνους πρὶν διαβραχῆναι πικροτάτους εἶναι, ποτισθέντας δὲ γλυκεῖς || καὶ προσηνεστάτους.

Φάσηλοι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐν τοῖς δείπνοις τοῖς καλουμένοις κοπίσι διδόασι τραγήματα σὺκά τε ξηρὰ καὶ κνάμους καὶ φασήλους χλωρούς· ἱστορεῖ Πολέμων. Ἐπίχαρμος·

³⁶ τρίτῳ Kaibel: τετάρτῳ CE

¹⁴¹ Menedemus of Eretria (c.339–c.265 BCE). The fragment is quoted in a more complete form at 10.420b and is probably

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absolutely anything rather than keep whores.

The word "lupine-beans" should be noted, [Athenaeus] says, since it is still used this way today. Polemon (fr. 91 Preller) says that the Spartans refer to lupines as *lusilaidēs*. Theophrastus records in his *Aetiology of Plants* (CP 4.2.2) that lupine, bitter vetch, and chickpea are the only leguminous plants that do not produce worms, because they are bitter and sour. The chickpea, he reports, turns black as it goes bad. But the same author says in Book III of the same treatise (CP 3.22.3) that caterpillars are found among chickpeas. Diphilus of Siphnos says that lupines are purgative and nutritious, especially those that have been treated for a while to make them sweet. This is why Zeno of Citium (fr. 285, SVF i.65),¹⁴² although he was harsh and unpleasant with his acquaintances, became affable and gentle after he drank wine for a while. When people asked him to explain the alteration in his behavior, he said that the same change happened to him as to lupines; because they too were very nasty before they were soaked, but after they had a drink, they were sweet and mild.

Phasēloi.¹⁴³ Polemon (cf. fr. 86 Preller) reports that at the dinner parties they refer to as *kopides*, the Spartans serve dried figs, fava beans, and green *phasēloi* as dainties.¹⁴⁴ Epicharmus (fr. 149):

drawn from Antigonus of Carystus' *Life of Menedemus* (cited at 10.419e).

¹⁴² The founder of the Stoic movement (335–263 BCE). This anecdote is probably drawn from Antigonus of Carystus' *Life of Zenon* (p. 122 Wilamowitz).

¹⁴³ Unidentified, but apparently some sort of nut, pea, or bean.

¹⁴⁴ For the Spartan *kopides*, see 4.138e–9b, 140a–b (drawing once again on Polemon).

< . . . > φασήλους φῶγε θᾶσσον, αἶ χ' ὁ
Διώνυσος φιλή.

Δημήτριος·

ἢ σῦκον ἢ φάσηλον ἢ τοιοῦτό τι.

Ἐλάαι. Εὔπολις·

σηπίαι

δρυπεπεῖς τ' ἐλάαι.

- b ταύτας Ῥωμαῖοι δρύππας λέγουσι. Δίφιλος | δέ φησιν ὁ Σίφνιος τὰς ἐλάας ὀλιγοτρόφους εἶναι καὶ κεφαλαλγεῖς, τὰς δὲ μελαίνας καὶ κακοστομαχωτέρας καὶ βαρύνειν τὴν κεφαλὴν, τὰς δὲ κολυμβάδας καλουμένας εὐστομαχωτέρας εἶναι καὶ κοιλίας στατικές, τὰς δὲ θλαστὰς μελαίνας εὐστομαχώτερας εἶναι. μνημονεύει τῶν θλαστῶν ἐλαιῶν Ἀριστοφάνης·

< . . . > θλαστὰς ποεῖν ἐλάας.

πάλιν·

οὐ ταῦτόν ἐστιν ἀλμάδες καὶ στέμφυλα.

- c καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα· |

θλαστὰς γὰρ εἶναι κρεῖσσόν ἐστιν ἀλμάδος.

Ἀρχέστρατος ἐν τῇ Γαστρονομίᾳ·

BOOK II

Hurry up and parch some *phasēloi*, if Dionysus loves you!

Demetrius (fr. 5):

or a fig or a *phasēlon* or something like that.

Olives. Eupolis (fr. 338.1–2):¹⁴⁵

squid

and tree-ripened (*drupepeis*) olives.

The Romans call these *drupae*. Diphilus of Siphnos says that olives are not very nutritious and cause headaches; that black olives are harder on the stomach and cause wooziness; that what are referred to as diving olives¹⁴⁶ are easier on the stomach, and slow down the movement of the bowels; and that bruised black olives are easier on the stomach. Aristophanes (fr. 408, encompassing all three quotations) mentions bruised olives:

to make bruised olives.

Again:

Salted olives and olive pomace aren't the same.

And a little further on:

Because it's better that they be bruised than salted.

Archestratus in his *Gastronomy* (fr. 8 Olson–Sens = *SH* 138):

¹⁴⁵ Cf. 2.56e, apparently citing another part of the same fragment.

¹⁴⁶ Olives immersed in a brine-and-oil bath; also called salted olives (Ar. fr. 408, below).

ρύσαι <καὶ> δρυπεπεῖς παρακείσθωσάν σοι
ἐλαῖαι.

ὥστε Μαραθῶνος τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ
μεμνημένοι
πάντες ἐμβάλλουσιν αἰὲν μάραθον ἐς τὰς
ἀλμάδας,

φησὶν Ἑρμιππος. Φιλήμων φησὶν· πιτυρίδες καλοῦν-
ται αἱ φαυλῖαι ἐλαῖαι, στεμφυλίδες δὲ αἱ μέλαιναι.

- d Καλλίμαχος δ' ἐν τῇ Ἑκάλῃ γένῃ ἐλαῶν καταλέγει· |
γεργέριμον πίτυρίν τε.

ἔλεγον δὲ τὰς δρυπεπεῖς ἐλάας καὶ ἰσχάδας καὶ γερ-
γερίμους, ὡς φησι Δίδυμος. καὶ χωρὶς δὲ τοῦ φάσκειν
ἐλάας αὐτὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸ ἔλεγον μόνον δρυπεπεῖς. Τηλε-
κλείδης·

ξυγγενέσθαι διὰ χρόνου † λιπαρείτω με
δρυπεπέσι μάζαις καὶ διασκανδικίσαι †.

Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τὰς τετριμμένας ἐλαίας στέμφυλα ἐκά-
λουν, βρύτεια δὲ τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν στέμφυλα, τὰ ἐκπι-
έσματα τῆς σταφυλῆς· παρὰ δὲ τοὺς βότρυς γέγονεν
ἡ φωνή.

- e Ῥαφανίδες. αὗται κέκληνται διὰ τὸ | ῥαδίως φαίνε-
σθαι. καὶ ἐκτεταμένως δὲ καὶ κατὰ συστολήν λέγεται

¹⁴⁷ Cognate words always refer to olive pomace (the flesh left behind when olives are pressed for oil; see 2.56d).

BOOK II

Let wrinkled, tree-ripened olives be served to you.

And so thereafter remembering Marathon to good
end

they all always add fennel (*marathon*) to their salted
olives,

says Hermippus (fr. 75). Philemon says: Coarse olives are referred to as *piturides* ("bran-olives"), and black olives are referred to as *stemphulides*.¹⁴⁷ Callimachus in his *Hecale* (fr. 248.1) lists the types of olives:

a tree-ripened (*gergerimon*) olive and a bran-olive.

According to Didymus (p. 75 Schmidt), they called tree-ripened olives *ischades*¹⁴⁸ and *gergerimoi*, and they said simply "tree-ripened" by itself, without adding "olives." Teleclides (fr. 40):

† Let him beg me †, after a while, to spend time
† with tree-ripened barley-cakes and chervilize¹⁴⁹ †.

The Athenians referred to pressed olives as *stemphula* ("olive cakes, olive pomace") and to what we call *stemphula*, that is grape pomace, as *brutea*; the word comes from *botrus* ("grape-cluster").

Radishes (*rhaphanides*). They are called this because the seedlings spring up readily (*rhadiōs*). In Attic the word is pronounced with both a long and a short vowel.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁸ The word is normally used of dried figs.

¹⁴⁹ Obscure, but perhaps a reference to Euripides, whose mother is attacked in comedy for being a vegetable-vendor (esp. *Ar. Ach.* 478 with Olson ad loc.).

¹⁵⁰ Referring to the *iota*, which is long in Cratin. fr. 350 but short in Eup. fr. 338.1.

παρὰ Ἀττικοῖς. Κρατῖνος·

ταῖς ραφανῖσι δοκεῖ, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις οὐ
λαχάνοισιν.

Εὐπολις·

< . . . > ραφανίδες ἄπλυτοι, σηπιαί.

ὅτι δὲ τὸ ἄπλυτοι ἐπὶ τῶν ραφανίδων ἀκούειν δεῖ, οὐκ
ἐπὶ τῶν σηπιῶν, δηλοῖ Ἀντιφάνης γράφων·

νήττας, σχαδόνας, κάρυ' ἐντραγεῖν, ῥ', ἐγκρίδας,
ραφανίδας ἀπλύτους, γογγυλίδας, χόνδρον, μέλι.

f ἰδίως δ' οὕτως ἐκαλοῦντο ἄπλυτοι ραφανίδες, ἢ ἄς καὶ
Θασίας ὠνόμαζον. Φερεκράτης·

ραφανίς τ' ἄπλυτος ὑπάρχει
καὶ θερμὰ λουτρὰ καὶ ταρίχη πνικτὰ καὶ †
κάρνα.

ὑποκοριστικῶς δ' εἶρηκε Πλάτων ἐν Ὑπερβόλῳ·

< . . . > φύλλιον ἢ ραφανίδιον.

Θεόφραστος δ' ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Φυτῶν γένη ραφανίδων
φησὶν εἶναι πέντε, Κορινθίαν, Λειοθασίαν, Κλεωναί-
αν, Ἀμωρέαν, Βοιωτίαν. καλεῖσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ τινων τὴν
Λειοθασίαν Θρακίαν· γλυκυτάτην δ' εἶναι τὴν Βοιω-
τίαν καὶ τῷ σχήματι στρογγύλην. ἀπλῶς δέ, φησὶν,
57 ὧν ἔστι λεία τὰ φύλλα, γλυκύτεραί εἰσι. ἢ Καλλίας δ'
ἐπὶ τῆς ραφανίδος εἶρηκε τὴν ράφανον. περὶ γοῦν τῆς

BOOK II

Cratinus (fr. 350):

The radishes approve, but the other vegetables don't.

Eupolis (fr. 338.1):

unwashed radishes, squid.

That the word "unwashed" is to be taken with "radishes" rather than with "squid" is made clear by Antiphanes (fr. 273), who writes:

to eat ducks, honeycomb, nuts, eggs, honey-cakes,
unwashed radishes, turnips, wheat porridge, honey.

The term "unwashed" was properly applied to the type of radish also called Thasian. Pherecrates (fr. 190):

There's an unwashed radish,
hot baths, smothered saltfish and † nuts.

Plato (fr. 186) uses the diminutive in *Hyperbolus*:

a little leaf or a little radish.

Theophrastus in his *On Plants* (HP 7.4.2) says that there are five varieties of radish: Corinthian, Leiiothasian, Cleonaeon, Amorean, and Boeotian, but that some people refer to the Leiiothasian variety as Thracian. The Boeotian variety is the sweetest and is round in shape; and as a general rule, he says, smooth-leaved radishes are sweeter. Callias (fr. 26) uses the word *rhapphanos*¹⁵¹ to refer to the radish.

¹⁵¹ Elsewhere generally "cabbage" (cf. 1.34d-e), and the argument Athenaeus offers to support the thesis that it means "radish" here is not convincing. But see 4.133d with n.

ἀρχαιότητος τῆς κωμωδίας διεξιῶν φησιν·

< . . . > ἔτνος, πῦρ, γογγυλίδες, ῥάφανοι,
δρυπεπεῖς, ἐλατήρες.

ὅτι δ' οὕτω τὰς ῥαφανίδας εἴρηκε δῆλον Ἀριστοφάνης
ποιεῖ περὶ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρχαιότητος ἐν Δαναίοσι γρά-
φων καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ λέγων·

ὁ χορὸς δ' ὠρχεῖτ' ἂν ἐναψάμενος δάπιδας καὶ
στρωματόδεσμα
διαμασχαλίσας αὐτὸν σχελίσιν καὶ φύσκαις καὶ
ῥαφανῖσιν.

b εὐτελὲς δὲ σφόδρα ἔδεσμα ἢ ῥαφανίς. | Ἄμφις·

ὅστις ἀγοράζων ὄψιον < . . . >
ἐξὸν ἀπολαύειν ἰχθύων ἀληθινῶν,
ῥαφανίδας ἐπιθυμῆί πρίασθαι, μαίνεται.

Κῶνοι. Μνησίθεος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἰατρὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ
Ἐδεστώων ὀστρακίδας καλεῖ τῶν κώνων τοὺς πυρήνας,
ἔτι δὲ κώνους. Διοκλῆς δ' ὁ Καρύστιος πιτύινα κάρνα.
ὁ δὲ Μύνδιος Ἀλέξανδρος πιτύινοὺς κώνους. Θεό-
φραστος δὲ τὸ μὲν δένδρον πεύκην ὀνομάζει, τὸν δὲ
c καρπὸν κώνου. | Ἴπποκράτης δὲ ἐν τῷ Περὶ Πτισάνης,
ὃ ἐκ τοῦ ἡμίσουσ μὲν νοθεύεται, ὑπ' ἐνίων δὲ καὶ ὄλον,
κοκκάλους· οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ πυρήνας, ὡς καὶ Ἡρόδοτος

¹⁵² Quoted again at 7.277c, where the play is identified as *The Girl from Leucas*.

BOOK II

When he describes the antiquity of comedy, at any rate, he says:

pea-soup, a fire, turnips, *rhapanoi*, tree-ripened
olives, flat-cakes.

That the reference is to radishes is made clear by Aristophanes in *Danaids* (fr. 264), where he too writes about the antiquity of comedy and says:

The chorus used to dress up in rugs and bedding-
sacks and dance,
sticking beef-ribs, sausages, and radishes under their
arms.

The radish is very inexpensive food. Amphis (fr. 26)¹⁵²:

If anyone who's buying food
has the opportunity to enjoy real fish
but wants to purchase radishes, he's crazy.

Pine seeds. The physician Mnesitheus of Athens in his *On Edible Substances* (fr. 31 Bertier) refers to pinecone stones as *ostrakides*¹⁵³, and also as cones. Diocles of Carystus (fr. 203 van der Eijk) refers to them as pine nuts, Alexander of Myndus as pine cones; and Theophrastus (e.g. *HP* 2.2.6) calls the tree a pine and its fruit a cone. Hippocrates in his *On Barley Gruel* (*Acut. (Sp.)* 2.456.4, 466.1 Littré), half of which is spurious, although some authorities claim that all of it is, refers to them as kernels. Many authors call them stones, as Herodotus (4.23.3) does when

¹⁵³ Cognate with *ostrakon*, "pot-sherd." Cf. 3.126a.

ὅταν περὶ τοῦ Ποντικοῦ καρύου λέγη. φησὶ γάρ·
 πυρῆνα δ' ἔχει τοῦτο ἐπὰν γένηται πέπον. Δίφιλος δ' ὁ
 Σίφνιός φησιν· οἱ στρόβιλοι πολύτροφοι μὲν εἰσι,
 λεαντικοὶ δὲ ἀρτηρίας καὶ θώρακος καθαρτικοὶ διὰ τὸ
 ἔχειν παρεμπεπλεγμένον τὸ ῥητινῶδες. Μνησίθεος δὲ
 φησι πιαίνειν αὐτοὺς τὸ σῶμα καὶ πρὸς εὐπεσίαν
 d ἀλύπους | εἶναι, ὑπάρχειν δὲ καὶ οὐρητικούς καὶ οὐκ
 ἐφεκτικούς κοιλίας.

Ῥωιά. Ἀναξαγόρας ἐν τοῖς Φυσικοῖς τὸ καλούμενόν
 φησιν ὄρνιθος γάλα τὸ ἐν τοῖς ῥοῖς εἶναι λευκόν.
 Ἀριστοφάνης·

† τίκει πρῶτον ὑπηνέμιον ῥὸν Νύξ. †

Σαπφῶ δ' αὐτὸ τρισυλλάβως καλεῖ·

φαῖσι δὴ ποτα Λήδαν < . . . >

< . . . > ῥιον εὔρην.

καὶ πάλιν·

< . . . > ῥίω πόλυ λευκότερον.

ῥεα δ' ἔφη Ἐπίχαρμος·

< . . . > ῥεα χανὸς κάλεκτορίδων πετεηνῶν.

Σιμωνίδης ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἰάμβων·

< . . . > οἶόν τε χηνὸς ῥεον Μαιανδρίου.

¹⁵⁴ Athenaeus or his source has misdivided the clause and thus garbled the sense.

he discusses the Pontic nut. For he says: When this is ripe, it has a stone.¹⁵⁴ Diphilus of Siphnos says: Pine nuts are very nutritious, and they lubricate the windpipe and cleanse the abdominal cavity because of the resinous element they contain. Mnesitheus claims that they are fattening and do not damage the digestion, and that they are also diuretic and do not inhibit the action of the bowels.

Eggs. Anaxagoras in his *Physics* (59 B 22) says that what is referred to as bird's milk¹⁵⁵ is actually egg-white. Aristophanes (*Av.* 695, condensed):

First did Night bring forth a wind-egg (*hupēnemion*
ōion).

Sappho (fr. 166) uses a trisyllabic form of the word:

They say that Leda once
found an egg (*ōion*).¹⁵⁶

And again (fr. 167):

much whiter than an egg (*ōion*).

Epicharmus (fr. 150) uses *ōea*:

eggs (*ōea*) of a goose and of winged hens.

Simonides in Book II of the *Iambs* (Semon. iamb. fr. 11 West²):

like an egg (*ōeon*) of a Maeandrian goose.

¹⁵⁵ An expression used of anything rare and delicious (e.g. *Ar.* V. 508; *Mnesim.* fr. 9.1-2).

¹⁵⁶ I.e. the egg from which Helen hatched. Sappho apparently followed the version of the story according to which the goddess Nemesis, rather than Leda herself, produced the egg.

e διὰ τεσσάρων δ' αὐτὰ | προενήνεκται Ἀναξανδρίδης
 ὠάρια εἰπών. καὶ Ἔφιππος·

σταμνάρια τ' οἴνου μικρὰ τοῦ Φοινικικοῦ,
 ὠάρια, τοιαῦθ' ἕτερα πολλὰ παίγνια.

Ἄλεξις δὲ ἡμίτομά που ὦν λέγει. ὦν δὲ οὐ μόνον
 ἀνεμαῖα ἐκάλουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπηνέμια. ἐκάλουν δὲ καὶ
 τὰ νῦν τῶν οἰκιῶν παρ' ἡμῖν καλούμενα ὑπερῶα ὠά,
 φησὶ Κλέαρχος ἐν Ἐρωτικοῖς, τὴν Ἑλένην φάσκων ἐν
 τοιούτοις οἰκήμασι τρεφομένην δόξαν ἀπενέγκασθαι
 f παρὰ | πολλοῖς ὡς ἐξ ὦου εἶη γεγεννημένη. οὐκ εὔ δὲ
 Νεοκλῆς ὁ Κροτωνιάτης ἔφη ἀπὸ τῆς σελήνης πεσεῖν
 τὸ ὦν ἐξ οὗ τὴν Ἑλένην γεννηθῆναι. τὰς γὰρ σελη-
 νίτιδας γυναικας ὠτοκεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ γεννωμένους
 πεντεκαϊδεκαπλασίονας ἡμῶν εἶναι, ὡς Ἡρόδωρος ὁ
 Ἡρακλεώτης ἱστορεῖ. Ἰβυκος δὲ ἐν πέμπτῳ Μελῶν
 58 περὶ Μολιονιδῶν φησι ||

τούς τε λευκίππους κόρους
 τέκνα Μολιόνας κτάνον,
 ἄλικας ἰσοκεφάλους ἐνιγυίους
 ἀμφοτέρους γεγαῶτας ἐν ὠέφ
 ἀργυρέφ.

Ἔφιππος·

157 Cf. 1.29d.

158 Quoted in full at 2.60a.

159 Cognate with *anemos*, "wind."
 (quoted above). "Wind-eggs" are normally infertile eggs, which

160 Cf. Ar. Av. 695

BOOK II

Anaxandrides (fr. 80) lengthened the word to four syllables, saying *ōaria* ("little eggs"). Also Ephippus (fr. 24.2-3):¹⁵⁷

and little jars of Phoenician wine,
little eggs, many other such baubles.

Alexis (fr. 263.10)¹⁵⁸ somewhere mentions eggs sliced in half. They referred to wind-eggs not just as *anemiaia*¹⁵⁹ but as *hupēnemia*¹⁶⁰. They also referred to the parts of houses we call *huperōa* ("upper floors") as *ōa* ("eggs"), according to Clearchus in his *Erotica* (fr. 35 Wehrli), where he claims that Helen was brought up in rooms of this sort and thus got a widespread reputation for having been born from an egg. Neocles of Croton was mistaken to say that the egg from which Helen was born fell from the moon; for moon-women produce eggs, but the people born there are 15 times larger than us, according to Herodorus of Heracleia (*FGrH* 31 F 21). Ibycus in Book V of the *Lyrics* (*PMG* 285) says about the Molionidae:¹⁶¹

I killed the young men
who rode white horses, the children of Molion,
who were the same age and equally tall, and had a
single body,
and were both born in a silver
egg.

Ephippus (fr. 8.3-4):¹⁶²

have seemingly been fathered by the wind rather than a rooster.

¹⁶¹ Twin brothers (here Siamese twins) killed by Heracles, who must be the speaker; cf. *Pi. O.* 10.26-34; [*Apollod.*] *Bib.* 2.7.2. ¹⁶² Quoted in full at 14.642e.

ATHENAEUS

ἴτρια, τραγήμαθ' ἦκε, πυραμοῦς, ἄμης,
 ῥῶν ἑκατόμβη. πάντα ταῦτ' ἔχναύομεν.

ῥῶν δὲ ῥοφητῶν μνημονεύει Νικόμαχος·

οὐσίδιον γὰρ καταλιπόντος τοῦ πατρός,
 οὕτω συνεστρόγγυλα κάξεκόκκισα
 ἐν μῆσιν ὀλίγοις ὥσπερ ῥόν τις ῥοφῶν.

b χηνείων δ' ῥῶν Ἐριφος· |

(A.) ῥά. (B.) λευκά γε
 καὶ μεγάλα. χήνει' ἐστίν, ὡς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ.
 (A.) οὗτος δέ φησι ταῦτα τὴν Λήδαν τεκεῖν.

Ἐπαίνετος δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Συρακούσιος ἐν
 Ὀψαρτυτικῷ τῶν ῥῶν φασὶ πρωτεύειν τὰ τῶν ταῶν,
 μεθ' ἃ εἶναι τὰ χηναλωπέκεια, τρίτα καταλέγοντες τὰ
 ὀρνίθεια.

Πρόπομα. τούτου, φησί, περιενεχθέντος ὁ τῶν δει-
 πνων ταμίας Οὐλπιανὸς ἔφη, εἰ κείται παρά τινι τὸ
 πρόπομα οὕτω καλούμενον ὡς νῦν ἡμεῖς φάμεν. καὶ
 c ζητούντων πάντων, αὐτός, ἔφη, ἐγὼ ἐρῶ. | Φύλαρχος ὁ
 Ἀθηναῖος ἢ Ναυκρατίτης ἐν οἷς ὁ λόγος ἐστὶν αὐτῷ
 περὶ Ζηλᾶ τοῦ Βιθυνῶν βασιλέως, ὃς ἐπὶ ξένια καλέ-
 σασ τοὺς τῶν Γαλατῶν ἡγεμόνας ἐπιβουλεύσας αὐ-
 τοῖς καὶ αὐτὸς διεφθάρη, φησὶν οὕτως, εἰ μνήμης

BOOK II

Wafer-bread came, dainties, honey-cake, milk-cake, a hecatomb of eggs. We were nibbling on all these items.

Nicomachus (fr. 3) mentions eggs gulped down raw:

Because my father left me a small estate,
and I rolled it up and squeezed it dry
within a few months, like someone gulping down a
raw egg.

Eriphus (fr. 7) mentions goose eggs:

(A.) Eggs. (B.) Big
white ones; I think they're goose eggs.
(A.) But this fellow says Leda laid them!

Epaenetus and Heracleides of Syracuse in the *Art of Cooking* say that the best eggs are produced by peacocks; after these come fox-goose eggs; and they list hens' eggs third.

An appetizer plate. After this made its way around the company, says [Athenaeus], Ulpian, who was in charge of the dinner-party, asked if any ancient author referred to the appetizer plate using the same word we do currently. While everyone was considering the question, he said: I will tell you myself. Phylarchus of Athens or Naucratis (*FGrH* 81 F 50), in the passage that contains his story about Zelas the king of the Bithynians, who invited the Galatian chieftains to a party, intending to do them harm, but was killed himself,¹⁶³ says the following, if I remember

¹⁶³ Jacoby dates the incident (also mentioned by Trogus) to around 235 BCE.

εὐτυχῶ· πρόπομά τι πρὸ τοῦ δείπνου περιεφέρετο, καθὼς εἰώθει τὸ πρῶτον. καὶ ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς ἤτει πιεῖν³⁷ ψυκτῆρι, ἀρέσκειν ἑαυτὸν φάσκων διὰ τὸ ἐτοίμως ἀπεμνημονευκένας. ἦν δὲ τῶν ἐν τοῖς προπόμασι, φησί, παρασκευαζομένων ἄλλα τε καὶ δὴ καὶ
d ταῦτα. |

Μαλάχαι. Ἡσίοδος·

οὐδ' ὅσον ἐν μαλάχῃ τε καὶ ἀσφοδέλω μέγ'
ὄνειαρ.

τοῦτο Ἀττικόν. ἐγὼ δέ, φησίν, ἐν πολλοῖς ἀντιγράφοις εὔρον τοῦ Ἀντιφάνους Μίνως διὰ τοῦ ὁ γεγραμμένον·

< . . . > τρώγοντες μολόχης ρίζαν.

καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος·

πραῦτερος ἐγὼν γὰ μολόχας.

Φαινίας δ' ἐν τοῖς Φυτικοῖς φησι τῆς ἡμέρου μαλά-
e χης ὁ σπερματικὸς τύπος καλεῖται πλακοῦς, | ἐμφορῆς
ὦν αὐτῷ· τὸ μὲν γὰρ κτενώδες ἀνάλογον καθάπερ ἡ
τοῦ πλακοῦντος κρηπίς, κατὰ μέσον δὲ τοῦ πλακου-
ντικοῦ ὄγκου τὸ κέντρον ὀμφαλικόν. καὶ περιληφθεί-
σης τῆς κρηπίδος ὁμοιον γίνεται τοῖς θαλαττίοις
περιγεγραμμένοις ἐχίνοις. ὁ δὲ Σίφιλιος Δίφιλος ἱστο-
ρεῖ ὡς ἡ μαλάχη ἐστὶν εὐχυλος, λεαντικὴ ἀρτηρίας,
τὰς ἐπιπολαίους ἀποκρίνουσα³⁸ δριμύτητας. ἐπιτή-

³⁷ πιεῖν ἐν ψυκτῆρι CE

³⁸ κατὰs CE

BOOK II

rightly: Before dinner an appetizer plate went around, as was the custom at first. After he said this, Ulpian asked to drink from a wine-cooler, saying that he was pleased at how ready his memory was. The items prepared for the appetizer plates, [Athenaeus] says, included the following in particular:

Mallows. Hesiod (*Op.* 41):

nor how great a benefit there is in mallow (*malachē*)
and asphodel.

Malachē is the Attic form. But, says [Athenaeus], I found the word written with an *omicron* in many copies of Antiphanes' *Minos* (fr. 156):

eating mallow (*molochē*) root.

And Epicharmus (fr. 151):

I am milder than a mallow (*molocha*).

Phaenias says in his *On Plants* (fr. 44 Wehrli): The seed-pod of the domesticated mallow is referred to as a "flat-cake," since it looks like one; because the scalloped part resembles the bottom of the cake, and in the middle of the cake-like mass is a nub like a belly-button. When the bottom is removed, it is like sea urchins drawn in outline.¹⁶⁴ Diphilus of Siphnos records that the mallow produces good *chulē*, lubricates the windpipe, and separates out the bitterness that rises to the top of the stomach. He

¹⁶⁴ Referring to the way the individual seeds within the pod sit tight-packed against one another around the core.

δειόν τε εἶναι φησιν αὐτὴν τοῖς τῶν νεφρῶν καὶ τῆς
 κύστεως ἐρεθισμοῖς εὐέκκριτόν τε εἶναι μετρίως καὶ
 f τρόφιμον, κρείττω δὲ τὴν ἀγρίαν τῆς κηπευομένης. |
 Ἐρμιππος δ' ὁ Καλλιμάχειος καὶ εἰς τὴν καλουμένην
 φησὶν ἄλιμον προσέτι τε ἄδιψον ἐμβάλλεσθαι τὴν
 μαλάχην οὖσαν χρησιμωτάτην.

Κολοκύνται. Εὐθύδημος <ὁ> Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῷ Περὶ
 Λαχάνων σικύαν Ἰνδικὴν καλεῖ τὴν κολοκύντην διὰ
 τὸ κεκομίσθαι τὸ σπέρμα ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς. Μεγαλο-
 πολῖται δ' αὐτὴν σικωνίαν ὀνομάζουσι. Θεόφραστος
 δὲ τῶν κολοκυντῶν φησιν οὐκ εἶναι ἐν μέρει ιδέας,
 ἀλλ' εἶναι τὰς μὲν βελτίους, τὰς δὲ χείρους. Μηνόδω-
 ρος δ' ὁ Ἐρασιστράτειος, Ἰκεσίου φίλος, τῶν κολο-
 59 κυντῶν, φησὶν, ἥ μὲν Ἰνδική, ἢ ἡ δ'³⁹ αὐτὴ καὶ σικύα,
 ἥ δὲ κολοκύντη· καὶ ἡ μὲν Ἰνδικὴ κατὰ τὸ πλείστον
 ἔψεται, ἡ δὲ κολοκύντη καὶ ὀπτᾶται. ἄχρι δὲ τοῦ νῦν
 λέγεσθαι παρὰ Κνιδίοις τὰς κολοκύντας Ἰνδικάς.
 Ἑλλησπόντιοι δὲ σικύας μὲν τὰς μακρὰς καλοῦσι,
 κολοκύντας δὲ τὰς περιφερεῖς. Διοκλῆς δὲ κολοκύντας
 μὲν καλλίστας γίνεσθαι περὶ Μαγνησίαν, προσέτι τε
 γογγύλην ὑπερμεγέθη γλυκεῖαν καὶ εὐστόμαχον, ἐν
 Ἀντιοχείᾳ δὲ σικυόν, ἐν δὲ Σμύρῃ καὶ Γαλατία θρί-
 b δακα, πῆγανον δ' ἐν Μύροις. Δίφιλος δὲ φησιν ἡ δὲ |
 κολοκύντη ὀλιγότροφός ἐστι καὶ εὐφθαρτος καὶ
 ὑγραντικὴ τῆς ἕξεως καὶ εὐέκκριτος, εὐχυλος. εὐστο-
 μαχωτέρα δ' ἐστὶν ἡ δι' ὕδατος καὶ ὄξους λαμβανο-

³⁹ δ' Coraes: καὶ CE

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says that it is useful for irritations of the kidneys and the bladder, and is fairly easily digested and nutritious, and that the wild variety is superior to the cultivated variety. Callimachus' student Hermippus (fr. 15b Wehrl) says that mallow is very useful to add to what is referred to as *alimos*, and to *adipsos*¹⁶⁵ as well.

Gourds.¹⁶⁶ Euthydemus of Athens in his *On Vegetables* refers to the gourd as an "Indian cucumber," since the seed was brought from India. The Megapolitans call it a *sikuonios*.¹⁶⁷ Theophrastus (*HP* 7.4.6) says that there are no specific varieties of gourd, although some are better and others worse. Menodorus the student of Erasistratus and friend of Hicesius says: There is the Indian gourd, which is also called the *sikua*, and the gourd (*kolokuntē*). The Indian variety is generally stewed, whereas the gourd (*kolokuntē*) is baked. Up to the present day the Cnidians still refer to gourds as "Indian." The inhabitants of the Hellespont refer to long gourds as *sikuai*, and round gourds as *kolokuntai*. Diocles (fr. 201 van der Eijk) maintains that the best gourds grow in Magnesia and that this variety is moreover round, very large, sweet, and easy on the stomach; and that the best cucumbers grow in Antiocheia, the best lettuce in Smyrna and Galatia, and the best rue in Myra. Diphilus says: The gourd is not very nutritious, but is easily broken down in the stomach, adds moisture to the system, is easily excreted, and produces good *chulē*. It is easier on the stomach when eaten with water and vin-

¹⁶⁵ *Alimos* is "hunger-quenching (food)," and *adipsos* is "thirst-quenching (food)"; cf. Herodor. *FGrH* 31 F 1; Plu. *Mor.* 157d-f. ¹⁶⁶ To be distinguished from pumpkins and squash, which are New World vegetables.

μένη, εὐχυλοτέρα δὲ ἢ ἄρτυτή. λεπτυντικωτέρα δ' ἐστὶν ἢ μετὰ νάπυος, εὐπεπτοτέρα δὲ καὶ εὐεκκριωτέρα ἢ κάθεφθος. Μνησίθεος δὲ φησιν· ὅσα εὐφνωσ διακέεται πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς κατέργασίαν, οἷον ὃ τε σικυὸς καὶ ἡ κολοκύντη καὶ μῆλα Κυδώνια καὶ στρουθία καὶ εἴ τι τοιοῦτο, ταῦθ' ὅταν προσενεχθῇ πυρωθέντα, δίδωσι τῷ σώματι τροφήν | οὐ πολλὴν μὲν, ἄλυπον δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον ὑγρὰν. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τῆς κοιλίας ἐφεκτικὰ πάντα. δεῖ δὲ αὐτὰ λαμβάνειν ἐφθὰ μᾶλλον. Ἀττικοὶ δὲ μόνως καλοῦσιν αὐτὴν κολοκύντην. Ἑρμιππος·

τὴν κεφαλὴν ὄσῃν ἔχει
ὄσῃν κολοκύντην.

Φρύνιχος ὑποκοριστικῶς·

ἢ μαζίου τι μικρὸν ἢ κολοκυντίου.

Ἐπίχαρμος·

< . . . > ὑγιέστερόν θην ἐστὶ κολοκύντας πολύ.

d Ἐπικράτης ὁ κωμωδιοποιός· |

(A.) τί Πλάτων

καὶ Σπεύσιππος καὶ Μενέδημος;

¹⁶⁷ Cognate with *sikua*, "cucumber."
stewed in a vinegar sauce.

¹⁶⁸ I.e. when
¹⁶⁹ See 3.81a-d.

¹⁷⁰ Speusippus son of Eurymedon of the deme Myrrhinous (PA 12847) was Plato's nephew and student, and his successor in 347 BCE as head of his school; his works survive only in fragments.

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egar,¹⁶⁸ and produces better *chulē* when seasoned. It is better for taking off weight when eaten with mustard, and is more easily digested and excreted when stewed. Mnesitheus (fr. 34 Bertier) says: Foods that respond well to the application of fire, such as cucumber, gourd, quinces, *strouthia*¹⁶⁹, and whatever else falls into this category, do not furnish the body with much nourishment when served cooked, but do no harm and supply a considerable amount of moisture. All these foods also inhibit the action of the bowels and are best eaten stewed. Attic authors refer to the vegetable exclusively as a *kolokuntē*. Hermippus (fr. 69):

What a big head he has!
As big as a gourd (*kolokuntē*)!

Phrynichus (fr. 65) uses the diminutive:

or a little bit of a barley-cake or a small gourd
(*kolokuntion*).

Epicharmus (fr. 152):

It's much healthier, I think, than a gourd (*kolokunta*).

The comic poet Epicrates (fr. 10):

(A.) What about Plato
and Speusippus and Menedemus?¹⁷⁰

Menedemus of Pyrrha was also one of Plato's students, and when Speusippus died in 339, some of the younger members of the Academy supported him for head. But Xenocrates was elected instead, and Menedemus withdrew to found his own school. Nothing survives of Menedemus' work, although he appears to have written Socratic dialogues.

πρὸς τίσι νυνὶ διατρίβουσιν;
 ποία φροντίς, ποῖος δὲ λόγος
 διερευνᾶται παρὰ τοῖσιν;
 τάδε μοι πιτυῶς, εἴ τι κατειδῶς
 ἤκεις, λέξον, πρὸς Γᾶς < . . . >.
 (B.) ἀλλ' οἶδα λέγειν περὶ τῶνδε σαφῶς.

Παναθηναίοις γὰρ ἰδὼν ἀγέλην
 < . . . > μειρακίων

ἐν γυμνασίοις Ἀκαδημείας
 ἤκουσα λόγων ἀφάτων, ἀτόπων.

περὶ γὰρ φύσεως ἀφοριζόμενοι
 διεχώριζον ζῶων τε | βίον
 δένδρων τε φύσιν λαχάνων τε γένη.

καὶ ἐν τούτοις τὴν κολοκύντην
 ἐξήταζον τίνοσ ἐστὶ γένους.

(A.) καὶ τί ποτ' ἄρ' ὠρίσαντο καὶ τίνοσ γένους
 εἶναι τὸ φυτόν; δήλωσον, εἰ κάτοισθά τι.

(B.) πρῶτιστα μὲν <οὔν> πάντες ἀναυδεῖσ
 τότε ἐπέστησαν καὶ κύψαντες

χρόνον οὐκ ὀλίγον διεφρόντιζον.
 καὶ ἐξαίφνης, ἔτι κυπτόντων

καὶ ζητούντων τῶν μειρακίων,
 λάχανόν τις ἔφη στρογγύλον εἶναι,
 ποίαν δ' ἄλλοσ, δένδρον δ' ἕτεροσ.

ταῦτα δ' ἀκούων | ἱατρός τις
 Σικελᾶσ ἀπὸ γᾶσ

171 Where Plato's school was located.

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What's occupying their time nowadays?
What deep thoughts, what sort of speculation
is under investigation at their establishment?
Give me an insightful account of these matters,
if you've come with any knowledge of them, by
Earth!

(B.) I know enough to give you a clear report about
this;
because during the Panathenaic festival, I saw a herd
of young men
in the exercise grounds of the Academy,¹⁷¹
and I listened to unspeakably strange discussions.
They were producing definitions having to do with
natural history
and trying to distinguish between animals,
trees, and vegetables;
and in the course of these discussions they attempted
to determine
which category the gourd (*kolokuntē*) belongs to.

(A.) What definition did they settle on? And what
category did they
put the plant into? Reveal this, if you have any
information!

(B.) At first they all stood
silent and gazed at the ground
for a long time, thinking the matter through.
Then suddenly, while the other boys were still
staring at the ground and considering the question,
one of them said it was a round vegetable,
another a type of grass, and a third a tree.
And a Sicilian doctor,
when he heard this,

κατέπαρδ' αὐτῶν ὡς ληρούντων.

(A.) ἡ που δεινῶς ὠργίσθησαν χλευάζεσθαί τ'
ἐβόησαν;

τὸ γὰρ ἐν λέσχαις τοιαῖσδε † τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν
εὐπρεπές.

(B.) οὐδ' ἐμέλησεν τοῖς μεираκίοις.

ὁ Πλάτων δὲ παρὼν καὶ μάλα πρῶτος,

οὐδὲν ὀρινθείς, ἐπέταξ' αὐτοῖς

πάλιν < . . . >

ἀφορίζεσθαι τίνος ἐστὶ γένους.

οἱ δὲ διήρουν.

Ἄλεξις ὁ χαρίεις πρόπομα ὄλον παρατίθησι τοῖς
60 διακρίνειν δυναμένοις. ||

ἔλαθον γενόμενος οὐ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἠβούλετο.
κατὰ χειρὸς ἐδόθη τὴν τράπεζαν ἡκ' ἔχων,
ἐφ' ἧς ἐπέκειτ' οὐ τυρὸς οὐδ' ἐλαῶν γένη
οὐδὲ παρέχουσαι κνῖσαν ἡμῖν πλείονα
παροψίδες καὶ λῆρος, ἀλλὰ παρετέθη
ὑπερηφάνως ὄζουσα τῶν Ὠρῶν λοπάς,
τὸ τοῦ πόλου τοῦ παντὸς ἡμισφαίριον.
ἅπαντ' ἐνήν τακεῖ γὰρ ἐν ταύτῃ καλά,
ἰχθῦς, ἔριφοι, διέτρεχε τούτων σκορπίος,
b ὑπέβαινε φῶν ἡμίτομα τοὺς ἀστέρας. |

¹⁷² An allusion to the constellations Pisces, Capricorn, and Scorpio.

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farted on them for talking nonsense.

(A.) I imagine they got terribly angry and shouted
that they were being mocked?

Because during conversations of this sort † it's
appropriate to do something like that.

(B.) The young men paid no attention.

But Plato was there, and very gently
and with no sign of excitement he ordered them
once again

to try to determine what category it belonged to.
And they began drawing distinctions.

The witty Alexis (fr. 263) serves a full plate of appetizers
for the discriminating:

No one noticed that I was where he wanted the
business to take place.

Water was poured over my hands. A slave came
carrying the table,
on which lay not just cheese or different types of
olives

or side-dishes supplying us with more steam and
bullshit

than anything else. Instead, a casserole-dish
was set beside us that exuded the sumptuous smell of
the Seasons

and represented the circle of the whole sky.

Because every good thing that's up there was in it:
fish and kids, and a scorpion-fish ran between
them;¹⁷²

and hard-boiled eggs cut in half suggested the stars.

ἐπεβάλομεν τὰς χεῖρας. ὁ μὲν ἐμοὶ λαλῶν
 ἄμα καὶ διανεύων ἡσχολεῖθ'. ὁ πᾶς δ' ἀγῶν
 ἐπ' ἐμὲ κατήντα. τὸ πέρασ οὐκ ἀνήχ' ἕως
 τὴν λοπάδ' ὀρύττων ἀποδέδειχα κόσκινον.

Μύκαι. Ἀριστίας·

μύκαισι⁴⁰ δ' ὠρέχθει τὸ λάινον πέδον.

Πολίοχος·

μεμαγμένην

c μικρὰν μελαγχρῆ μᾶζαν ἡχυρωμένην
 ἑκάτερος ἡμῶν εἶχε δις τῆς ἡμέρας |
 καὶ σῦκα βαιά, καὶ μύκης τις ἐνίστ' ἄν
 ὠπτᾶτο, καὶ κοχλίας γενομένου ψακαδίου
 ἡγρευέτ' ἄν. καὶ λάχανα τῶν αὐτοχθόνων
 θλαστή τ' ἐλαία, καὶ πιεῖν οἰνᾶριον ἦν
 ἀμφίβολον.

Ἀντιφάνης·

d τὸ δείπνον ἐστὶ μᾶζα κεχαρακωμένη
 ἀχύροις, πρὸς εὐτέλειαν ἐξωπλισμένη,
 καὶ βολβὸς εἰς <τις> καὶ παροιψίδες τινές,
 σόγχος τις ἢ μύκης τις ἢ τοιαῦθ' ἃ δὴ |
 δίδωσιν ἡμῖν ὁ τόπος ἄθλι' ἀθλίους.
 τοιοῦτος ὁ βίος, ἀπύρετος, φλέγμ' οὐκ ἔχων.

* * *

⁴⁰ μυκαῖσι ("the sound of bellowing"; more appropriate for tragedy) Schneidewin

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We set our hands to work. The other fellow¹⁷³ was
busy
talking to me and nodding his head; so the whole
enterprise
devolved to me. To sum up, I didn't stop
digging at the dish until I'd made it look like a sieve.

Mushrooms. Aristias (*TrGF* 9 F 6):

The stony ground was swelling with mushrooms.

Poliochus (fr. 2):

A small,
swarthy barley-cake kneaded full of bran
was what each of us had twice a day,
and a few figs. Sometimes we roasted
a mushroom; and if there was a bit of rain,
we caught a snail. And there were wild vegetables
and a bruised olive, and a little dubious wine
to drink.

Antiphanes (fr. 225, encompassing both quotations):

Our dinner is a barley-cake bristling
with bran and cheaply made,
and a single hyacinth bulb, and some side-dishes—
a thistle or a mushroom or whatever
miserable items this spot provides for miserable us.
Such is our way of life, free of fever and heat.

* * *

¹⁷³ The man with whom the speaker was sharing a couch and a table—and who was trying to behave in a decent, friendly fashion.

οὐδείς κρέως παρόντος ἐσθίει θύμον,
οὐδ' οἱ δοκοῦντες πυθαγορίζειν.

καὶ προελθών·

τίς γὰρ † οἶδ' ἡμῶν τὸ μέλλον ὃ τι παθεῖν
πέπρωθ' ἐκάστω τῶν φίλων; ταχὺ δὴ λαβὼν
ὄπτα μύκητας πρινίνους τουσδι δύο.

Ἔστι Κηφισόδωρος⁴¹ ὁ Ἰσοκράτους μαθητῆς ἐν
τοῖς Κατὰ Ἀριστοτέλους (τέσσαρα δ' ἐστὶ ταῦτα
e βιβλία) | ἐπιτιμᾷ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ ὡς οὐ ποιήσαντι
λόγου ἄξιον τὸ παροιμίας ἀθροῖσαι, Ἀντιφάνους ὄλον
ποιήσαντος δράμα τὸ ἐπιγραφόμενον Παροιμίας· ἐξ
οὗ καὶ παρατίθεται τάδε·

ἐγὼ γὰρ ἂν τῶν ὑμετέρων φάγοιμί <τι>,
μύκητας ὠμούς ἂν φαγεῖν <ἐμοῖ> δοκῶ
καὶ στρυφνὰ μῆλα κεί τι πνίγει βρῶμά τι.

φύονται δὲ οἱ μύκητες γηγενεῖς καὶ εἰσιν αὐτῶν ἐδώ-
διμοὶ ὀλίγοι· οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶ ἀποπνίγουσιν. διὸ καὶ
f Ἐπίχαρμος παίζων ἔφη· |

οἶοναὶ μύκαι † ἄρ' ἐπεσκληρότερες πνιξείσθῃ <με>.

Νίκανδρος δ' ἐν Γεωργικοῖς καταλέγει καὶ τίνες αὐτῶν
εἰσιν οἱ θανάσιμοι, λέγων·

⁴¹ Κηφισόδωρος Ionsius: κηφισόδοτος CE

BOOK II

No one eats garlic¹⁷⁴ when meat's available,
including those who pretend to be Pythagoreans.¹⁷⁵

And further on:

For who † among us knows what any of our friends
is fated to suffer in the future? Hurry up and take
these two holm-oak mushrooms and roast them!

Isocrates' student Cephisodorus¹⁷⁶ in his *Against Aristotle* (fr. 3 Radermacher = Arist. fr. 464)—there are four books—faults the philosopher for not treating collecting proverbs as a worthwhile activity, even though Antiphanes wrote an entire play entitled *Proverbs*. The following lines (fr. 186) are cited from it:

Because if I were to eat anything that belongs to you,
I'd feel like I was eating raw mushrooms,
sour apples, and whatever food makes a person
choke.

Mushrooms grow out of the earth; few of them are edible,
because the majority cause death by choking. This is why
Epicharmus (fr. 153) jokingly says:

You're going to dry me up and choke me, just as
mushrooms † do.

Nicander in the *Georgics* (fr. 78 Schneider, encompassing
both quotations) lists the poisonous ones, saying:

¹⁷⁴ For *thumon* as a generic term for edible bulbs, see Arnott on Alex. fr. 122.2. ¹⁷⁵ For Pythagorean vegetarianism, see the texts collected at 4.160f–1f.

¹⁷⁶ PAA 568030; cf. 3.122b.

ἐχθρὰ δ' ἐλαίης
 ῥοιῆς τε πρίνου τε δρυσός τ' ἄπο πήματα κείται,
 * * *
 οἰδαλέων σύγκολλα βάρη πνιγόμενα μυκήτων.

61 φησὶ δὲ καὶ ὅτι ||

συκῆς ὁπότε στέλεχος βαθὺ κόπρω
 κακκρύψας ὑδάτεσσιν ἀειναέεσσι νοτίζοις,
 φύσσονται πυθμέσσι ἀκήριοι ὧν σὺ μύκητα
 θρεπτὸν μὴ τι χαμηλὸν ἀπὸ ρίζης προτάμοιο.⁴²

καὶ τε μύκητας ἀμανίτας τὸτ' ἐφεύσεις,

φησὶν ὁ αὐτὸς Νίκανδρος ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ. *Εφιππος·

ἴν' ὥσπερ οἱ μύκητες ἀποπνίξαιμί σε.

b Ἐπαρχίδης Εὐριπίδην φησὶ τὸν ποιητὴν ἐπιδημήσαι |
 τῇ Ἰκάρῳ καὶ γυναικὸς τινος μετὰ τέκνων κατὰ τοὺς
 ἀγρούς, δύο μὲν ἀρρένων τελείων, μιᾶς δὲ παρθένου,
 φαγούσης θανασίμους μύκητας καὶ ἀποπνιγείσης με-
 τὰ τῶν τέκνων ποιῆσαι τοῦτ' ἐπίγραμμα·

ὦ τὸν ἀγήρατον πόλον αἰθέρος, *Ἥλιε, τέμνων,
 ἄρ' εἶδες τοιόνδ' ὄμματι πρόσθε πάθος,
 μητέρα παρθενικὴν τε κόρην δισσοῦς τε
 συναίμους

c ἐν ταυτῷ φέγγει μοιραδίῳ φθιμένους; |

⁴² Followed by an intrusive copyist's note: τὰ δ' ἄλλα οὐκ ἦν ἀναγνώναι ("The rest was illegible").

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Horrible pains are in store
from the olive, the pomegranate, the holm-oak, and
the oak.

* * *

the choking, clinging weight of puffy mushrooms.

He also says:

Whenever you bury the trunk of a fig tree deep in
dung
and keep it moist with constant streams of water,
harmless mushrooms will grow on its lower parts. You
may cut
any of these that grow from the root and not from the
ground.

Then you will cook some *amanita* mushrooms as well,
says the same Nicander in the same poem (fr. 79 Schnei-
der). Ephippus (fr. 27):

So that I can choke you to death, like mushrooms do.

Eparchides (*FGrH* 437 F 2 = E. test. 93) says that the poet Euripides was on Icaros; and when a woman who was out in the fields with her children, two adult boys and an unmarried girl, ate poisonous mushrooms and choked to death along with her children, he wrote the following epigram (*FGE* 560-3):

O Sun, as you cut your path through the ageless vault
of the upper air,
did your eye ever before behold such woe,
a mother, a virgin girl, and two brothers
dead on a single fateful day?

Διοκλῆς ὁ Καρύστιος ἐν πρώτῳ Ἑγχεινῶν φησιν ἄγρια ἐφήματα τεύτλον, μαλάχη, λάπαθον, ἀκαλήφη, ἀνδράφαξ, βολβοί, ὕδνα, μύκαι.

Σία. Σπεύσιππος ἐν δευτέρῳ Ὁμοίων φησὶ ἐν ὕδατι γίνεσθαι, σελίνῳ ἐλείψῃ τὸ φύλλον ἑοικός. διὸ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ δεύτερος Εὐεργέτης Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύσας παρ' Ὁμήρῳ ἀξιοῖ γράφειν

ἀμφὶ δὲ λειμώνες μαλακοὶ σίου ἠδὲ σελίνου.⁴³

σία γὰρ μετὰ σελίνου φύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἴα.

Δίφιλος φησὶ τοὺς μύκητας εἶναι εὐστομάχους⁴⁴,
 d κοιλίας | διαχωρητικούς, θρεπτικούς, δυσπέπτους δὲ
 καὶ φυσώδεις. τοιούτους δὲ εἶναι τοὺς ἐκ Κέω τῆς
 νήσου. πολλοὶ μέντοι καὶ κτείνουσι. δοκοῦσι δὲ οἰκίοι
 εἶναι οἱ λεπτότατοι καὶ ἀπαλοὶ καὶ εὐθρυπτοὶ οἱ ἐπὶ
 πτελέαις καὶ πεύκαις γινόμενοι· ἀνοίκειοι δὲ οἱ μέλα-
 νες καὶ πελιοὶ καὶ σκληροὶ καὶ οἱ μετὰ τὸ ἐψηθῆναι
 καὶ τεθῆναι πησσομένοι, οἵτινες λαμβανόμενοι κτεί-
 νουσι. βοηθοῦνται δ' ἀπὸ ὑδρομέλιτος πόσεως καὶ
 ὄξυμέλιτος, νίτρου καὶ ὄξους· μετὰ τὴν πόσιν δὲ ἐμείν
 e δεῖ. διόπερ καὶ | δεῖ μάλιστα σκευάζειν αὐτοὺς μετὰ
 ὄξους καὶ ὄξυμέλιτος ἢ μέλιτος ἢ ἀλῶν· οὕτω γὰρ
 αὐτῶν τὸ πνιγῶδες ἀφαιρεῖται. Θεόφραστος δὲ ἐν τῷ

⁴³ The traditional reading is ἴου ἠδὲ σελίνου, "of violet and celery". ⁴⁴ εὐστομάχους E: εὐστόμους C

¹⁷⁷ This entry interrupts the discussion of mushrooms (which

BOOK II

Diocles of Carystus in Book I of *On Matters of Health* (fr. 195 van der Eijk) says: Wild plants that should be stewed are beet, mallow, monk's rhubarb, nettle, orach, hyacinth bulbs, truffles, and mushrooms.

Marshwort.¹⁷⁷ Speusippus in Book II of *Similar Things* (fr. 6 Tarán) says that the plant grows in water and its leaf resembles marsh-celery. This is why Ptolemy Euergetes the Second, who was king of Egypt, proposes writing in Homer (*Od.* 5.72):

and round about were soft meadows of marshwort
and celery;

because marshwort grows in the same place as celery, but violets do not.

Diphilus says that mushrooms are easy on the stomach, laxative, and nourishing, but are difficult to digest and produce gas; and that the mushrooms from the island of Ceos are like this. Many mushrooms, however, are deadly. Those that are very delicate, soft, and friable, which grow on elms and pines, appear to be fit to eat. Not fit to eat are those that are black, bruised-looking, and hard, and that become tough after being cooked and served; these kill anyone who consumes them. Drinking a mixture of honey and water, honey and vinegar, or soda ash and vinegar counteracts the poison; after drinking this, the patient should be made to vomit. This is why mushrooms are best prepared with vinegar, vinegar and honey, honey, or salt; because this removes the element that causes asphyxia-

resumes a few lines below, with the quotation from Diphilus of Siphnos); most likely it fell out of the text and was reinserted in the wrong place.

Περὶ Φυτῶν Ἱστορίας γράφει· ὑπόγεια δὲ τὰ τοιαυτὰ ἐστὶ καὶ ἐπίγεια, καθάπερ οὓς καλοῦσιν τινες πέζιας, ἅμα τοῖς μύκησι γινομένους· ἄριζοι γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ τυγχάνουσιν. ὁ δὲ μύκης ἔχει προσφύσεως δίκην⁴⁵ τὸν καυλὸν εἰς μῆκος, καὶ ἀποτείνουσιν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ρίζαι. φησὶ δὲ καὶ ὅτι ἐν τῇ περὶ Ἡρακλέους στήλας
 f θαλάσση ὅταν ἴσδατα πλείω γένηται, μύκητες φύονται πρὸς τῇ θαλάσση, οὓς καὶ ἀπολιθοῦσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φησὶ. καὶ Φαινίας δὲ ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ Φυτῶν τὰ δὲ οὐδὲ φύει τὴν ἀνθήλην οὐδὲ τῆς σπερματικῆς ἴχνος κορνήσεως οὐδὲ σπερματώσεως, οἶον μύκης, ὕδνον, πτέρις, ἔλιξ. ὁ αὐτὸς φησὶ πτέρις, ἣν ἔνιοι βλάχρον καλοῦσι. Θεόφραστος ἐν Φυτικοῖς· λειόφλοια, καθάπερ ὕδνον, μύκης, πέζις, γεράνειον.

62 Ὑδνα. ἢ γίνεται καὶ ταῦτα αὐτόματα ἀπὸ γῆς μάλιστα περὶ τοὺς ἀμμώδεις τόπους. λέγει δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν Θεόφραστος· τὸ ὕδνον, ὃ καλοῦσιν τινες γεράνειον, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ὑπόγειον. καὶ πάλιν· καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐγγεοτόκων τούτων γένεσις ἅμα καὶ φύσις, οἶον τοῦ τε ὕδνον καὶ τοῦ φυομένου περὶ Κυρήνην ὃ καλοῦσιν μίσον· δοκεῖ δ' ἡδὺ σφόδρα τοῦτ' εἶναι καὶ τὴν ὁσμὴν ἔχειν κρεώδη· καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ Θράκη δὲ γενόμενον οἶτόν.

⁴⁵ δίκην Kaibel: ἀρχὴν CE

¹⁷⁸ Theophrastus mentions the area around the Pillars of Heracles at *HP* 4.7.1; but at 4.7.2 the reference is actually to mushrooms around the Red Sea.

tion. Theophrastus writes in his *Research on Plants* (fr. 399): Plants of this sort grow underground as well as above ground, as for example those some people refer to as *pezizai* ("puffballs"), which belong among the mushrooms; because they too lack roots. The mushroom has a long stem that resembles a secondary growth, and the roots extend from it. He also says (*HP* 4.7.2)¹⁷⁸ that whenever there is more rain than usual in the sea around the Pillars of Heracles, mushrooms grow along the shore; and he claims that the sun turns them into stone. Also Phaenias in Book I of *On Plants* (fr. 37 Wehrli): Some produce no flower-tuft or trace of a seed-pod or seed-production, for example the mushroom, truffle, fern, and ivy. The same author says: the fern, which some authorities refer to as a *blachnon*. Theophrastus in *On Plants*:¹⁷⁹ smooth-skinned plants, such as the truffle, mushroom, puffball, and *geranion*.¹⁸⁰

Truffles. These too are produced spontaneously from the earth, especially in sandy regions. Theophrastus (*HP* 1.6.9) says about them: the truffle, which some people refer to as a *geranion*, and anything else that grows underground. And again (fr. 400a):¹⁸¹ The generation and growth of these plants produced within the earth are simultaneous, for example that of the truffle and the plant that grows around Cyrene, which they refer to as *misu*—it is apparently very sweet and smells like meat—and also the *oiton*¹⁸² that grows in Thrace. Something peculiar is

¹⁷⁹ Cf. *HP* 1.6.5, although the discussion there has to do with root-systems.

¹⁸⁰ A type of truffle; see below.

¹⁸¹ The text is difficult, and something may have been lost.

¹⁸² Obscure, like *misu* (above).

περὶ δὲ τούτων ἰδίον τι λέγεται· φασὶ γάρ, ὅταν ὕδατα
 b μετοπωρινὰ καὶ βρονταὶ ἢ γίνωνται σκληραί, τότε
 γίνεσθαι, καὶ μᾶλλον ὅταν αἱ βρονταὶ, ὡς ταύτης
 αἰτιωτέρας οὕσης. οὐ διετίζευ δέ, ἀλλ' ἐπέτειον εἶναι·
 τὴν δὲ χρεῖαν καὶ τὴν ἀκμὴν ἔχειν τοῦ ἥρος. οὐ μὴν
 ἀλλ' ἐνιοί γε ὡς σπερματικῆς οὕσης τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπο-
 λαμβάνουσιν. ἐν γοῦν τῷ αἰγιαλῷ τῶν Μιτυληναίων
 οὐ φασὶ πρότερον εἶναι πρὶν ἢ γενομένης ἐπομβρίας
 τὸ σπέρμα κατενεχθῆ ἀπὸ Τιαρῶν· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ
 χωρίον ἐν ᾧ πολλὰ γίνεται. γίνεται δὲ ἐν τε τοῖς
 c αἰγιαλοῖς μάλιστα καὶ ὅπου χώρα ὑπαμμος· ἢ καὶ γὰρ
 αἱ Τιάραι⁴⁶ τοιαῦται. φύεται δὲ καὶ περὶ Λάμβακον ἐν
 τῇ Ἀβαρινίδι καὶ ἐν Ἀλωπεκουνήσῳ κὰν τῇ Ἡλείῳ.
 Αὐγκεὺς ὁ Σάμιός φησιν· ἀκαλήφην ἢ θάλασσα ἀνίη-
 σιν, ἢ δὲ γῆ ὕδνα. καὶ Μάτρων ὁ παρωδὸς ἐν τῷ
 Δείπνῳ·

ὄστρεά τ' ἠνικεν, Θέτιδος Νηρηίδος ὕδνα.

Δίφιλος δὲ δύσπεπτά φησιν εἶναι τὰ ὕδνα, εὔχυλα δὲ
 καὶ παραλεαντικά, προσέτι δὲ διαχωρητικά, καὶ ἔνια
 αὐτῶν ὁμοίως τοῖς μύκαις πνιγώδη εἶναι. Ἡγήσαν-
 d δρος δ' ὁ Δελφὸς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἢ φησὶν οὔτε ὕδνον
 γίνεσθαι οὔτε γλαυκίσκον οὔτε θύμον⁴⁷. διὸ Ναυσι-
 κλείδην εἰρηκέσαι μῆτε ἕαρ μῆτε φίλους. ὕδνόφυλλον
 δὲ φησὶ Πάμφιλος ἐν Γλώσσαις τὴν φυομένην τῶν

⁴⁶ Τιάραι Schweighäuser: τι ὡς CE

⁴⁷ θύννον (*thygnum*) Natalis Comes

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said about these plants: they claim that they are produced whenever there are autumn rains and loud thunder, and especially when there is thunder, since this is the most significant cause. The plant is not perennial but annual; the proper time to eat it and its prime is in the spring. Some authorities nonetheless suppose that their origin involves seeds. On the coast of Mitylene, at any rate, they say, there are no truffles until a heavy rain falls and the seed is washed down from Tiara, a spot where the plant grows plentifully. It is found in particular along seashores and wherever the ground is sandy, as it is in fact in Tiara. It also grows in Abarnis near Lampsacus, in Alopeconnesus, and in Elis. Lynceus of Samos (fr. 22 Dalby) says: The sea sends up a nettle,¹⁸³ while the land sends up truffles. Also the parodist Matro in his *Dinner Party* (fr. 2 Olson—Sens = SH 535):

He also brought oysters, the truffles of the Nereid
Thetis.

Diphilus claims that truffles are hard to digest but produce good *chulē* and are soothing, as well as laxative, and that some of them cause death by choking in the same way mushrooms do. Hegesander of Delphi (fr. 35, *FHG* iv.420) says that no truffles, *glaukiskoi*¹⁸⁴, or thyme are found in the Hellespont, and that Nausicleides¹⁸⁵ therefore claimed that there was no spring and he had no friends there. Pamphilus in the *Glossary* (fr. XXXVI Schmidt) reports

¹⁸³ Probably a riddling reference to the sea-urchin.

¹⁸⁴ An unidentified fish, also referred to at 3.102b, 103d.

¹⁸⁵ Otherwise unknown.

ὑδνων ὑπερθε πόναν, ἀφ' ἧς τὸ ὑδνον γινώσκεισθαι.

Ἀκαλήφη. λέγεται παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς οὕτως καὶ τὸ βοτανῶδες καὶ <τὸ> κνησμοῦ αἴτιον. Ἀριστοφάνης Φοινίσσαις·

πρῶτον ἀπάντων ἴφνα φύναι.

εἶθ' ἐξῆς·

τὰς κραναὰς ἀκαλήφας.

- e Ἀσφάραγοι. οὗτοι καὶ ἔλειοι καὶ ὄρειοι | καλοῦνται. ὧν οἱ κάλλιστοι οὐ σπείρονται, πάντων ὄντες τῶν ἐντὸς θεραπευτικοί. οἱ δὲ σπαρτοὶ καὶ σφόδρα ὑπερμεγέθεις γίνονται. ἐν Λιβύῃ δέ φασι ἐν Γαιτουλία γίνεσθαι πάχος μὲν Κυπρίου καλάμον, μῆκος δὲ ποδῶν δώδεκα· ἐν δὲ τῇ ὀρεινῇ καὶ παρωκεανίτιδι πάχος μὲν μεγάλων ναρθήκων, μῆκος δὲ περὶ τοὺς εἴκοσι πήχεις. Κρατῖνος δὲ διὰ τοῦ φ̄ ἀσφάραγον ὀνομάζει. καὶ Θεόπομπος·

- f κάπειτ' ἰδὼν ἀσφάραγον ἐν θάμνω τινί. |

Ἀμειψίας·

οὐ σχῖνος οὐδ' ἀσφάραγος, οὐ δάφνης κλάδοι.

Δίφιλος δὲ φησιν ὡς ὁ τῆς κράμβης ἀσφάραγος λεγόμενος ἰδίως ὄρμενος εὐστομαχώτερός ἐστι καὶ εὐεκκριτώτερος, ὄψεων δὲ βλαπτικός. ἐστὶ δὲ δριμύς

BOOK II

that the grass that grows above truffles and allows them to be detected is called *hydno-phullon* ("truffle-foliage").

Nettle. Attic authors use this word to refer to both the herb-like plant and the one that produces stings. Aristophanes in *Phoenician Women* (fr. 572.2-3, encompassing both verses)¹⁸⁶:

first of all grows spike-lavender;

then right after that:

the rugged nettles.

Asparagus. Both marsh-asparagus and mountain-asparagus are referred to. The best asparagus is not grown from seed; and it helps cure all internal disorders. The sown varieties grow very large. They say that in Gaetulia in Libya the asparagus grows as thick as Cyprus reed and 12 feet tall; and in the mountainous country and along the sea-coast it grows as thick as giant fennel and about 20 cubits¹⁸⁷ high. Cratinus (fr. 363.2) refers to it as *aspharagos* with a *phi*. Also Theopompus (fr. 69):

and then, when he saw *aspharagos* in a thicket.

Amipsias (fr. 24):

no squill or *aspharagos*, no laurel branches.

Diphilus says that what is called "cabbage-asparagus," properly *ormenos*, is easier on the stomach and more easily digested, but bad for one's vision. It is bitter and diu-

¹⁸⁶ Quoted in a slightly more complete form at 3.90a, where the fragment is assigned to *Phoenician Women*.

¹⁸⁷ About 30 feet; see 2.50b n.

καὶ οὐρητικὸς καὶ ἀδικεῖ νεφροὺς καὶ κύστιν. Ἀττικοὶ δ' εἰσὶν οἱ λέγοντες ὄρμενον τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς κράμβης ἐξηνηθηκότα. Σοφοκλῆς Ἰχνευταῖς·

63 κάξορμενίζει κούκέτι σχολάζεται ||
βλάστη.

παρὰ τὸ ἐξορούειν καὶ βλαστάνειν. Ἀντιφάνης δὲ διὰ τοῦ π̄ φησὶν ἀσπάραγον·

ἀσπάραγος † ἠγλαίζεν, ὦχρος ἐξήνθηκέ τις.

Ἄριστοφῶν·

κάππαριν, βληχώ, θύμον,
ἀσπάραγον, † πίτταν, ῥάμνον, σφάκελον,
τύμπανον †.

Κοχλίας. Φιλύλλιος·

οὐκ εἰμι τέττιξ οὐδὲ κοχλίας, ὦ γυναί.

καὶ πάλιν·

μαινίδες, < . . . > σκόμβροι, κοχλῖαι, κορακῖνοι.

Ἡσίοδος δὲ τὸν κοχλίαν φερέοικον καλεῖ. καὶ Ἄνα-
b ξίλας δέ· |

ἀπιστότερος εἶ τῶν κοχλιῶν πολλῶ πάνν,
οἱ περιφέρουσ' ὑπ' ἀπιστίας τὰς οἰκίας.

Ἄχαιός·

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retic, and damages the kidneys and the bladder. It is Attic authors who refer to the flower-stalk of the cabbage as *ormenos*. Sophocles in *Trackers* (fr. 314.281-2):

and the shoot (*blastē*) sprouts up (*exormenizei*) and
no longer
loiters,

in reference to the notion that it leaps forth (*exorouein*) and sprouts (*blastanein*). But Antiphanes (fr. 294) says *asparagos* with a *pi*:

Asparagos † was glorious, and some bird's pease was
in bloom.

Aristophon (fr. 15):

a caper, pennyroyal, thyme,
asparagos, † pitch, thorn, sage, a drum †.

Snail. Philyllius (fr. 20):

I'm not a cicada or a snail, woman!

And again (fr. 26):

small-fry, mackerel, snails, raven-fish.

Hesiod (*Op.* 571) refers to the snail as a "house-carrier."
Likewise Anaxilas (fr. 33):

You're much more suspicious than snails,
which are so mistrustful that they carry their houses
around with them.

Achaeus (*TrGF* 20 F 42):

ἢ τοσοῦσδ' Αἴτην τρέφει
κοχλίας κεράστας;

προβάλλεται δὲ καὶ τοῖς συμποσίοις γρίφου τάξιν
ἔχον περὶ τῶν κοχλιῶν οὕτως·

ύλογενής, ἀνάκανθος, ἀναίματος, ὑγροκέλευθος.

Ἄριστοτέλης δὲ ἐν πέμπτῳ Περὶ Ζῴων Μορίων φησὶν·
οἱ κοχλῖαι φαίνονται κύοντες ἐν τῷ μετοπάρῳ καὶ τοῦ
ἔαρος· μόνοι τε οὗτοι τῶν ὀστρακοδέρμων συνδυα-
c ζόμενοι ὠφθῆσαν. Θεόφραστος ἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ Περὶ Φω-
λευόντων, οἱ κοχλῖαι, φησί, φωλεύουσι μὲν καὶ τοῦ
χειμῶνος, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ θέρους. διὸ καὶ πλείστοι
φαίνονται τοῖς μετοπωρινοῖς ὕδασι. ἢ δὲ φωλεία τοῦ
θέρους καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δένδρων. λέγονται
δέ τινες τῶν κοχλιῶν καὶ σέσιλοι. Ἐπίχαρμος·

(A.) τούτων ἀπάντων ἀκρίδας ἀνταλλάσσομαι,
κόγχων δὲ τὸν σέσιλον. (B.) ἅπαρ' ἐς τὸν
φθόρον.

Ἀπολλᾶς⁴⁸ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους φησὶ σέμελον τὸν κο-
χλίαν λέγειν. Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἐτυμο-

⁴⁸ ἀπελλᾶς CE; cf. 9.369a

BOOK II

Does Aetna nourish horned
snails as big as this?¹⁸⁸

Something along the lines of a riddle about snails is posed at symposia and runs thus:¹⁸⁹

Born in the woods, spineless and bloodless, leaving a
moist trail.¹⁹⁰

Aristotle in Book V of *Parts of Animals* says:¹⁹¹ Snails apparently conceive in the fall and during the spring; they are the only testaceans that have been seen copulating. Theophrastus in his *On Animals that Live in Holes* (fr. 366) says: Snails remain in their holes during the winter and even more so during the summer. This is why large numbers of them appear during the autumn rains. During the summer their holes are both in the ground and in trees. Some snails are called *sesiloi*. Epicharmus (fr. 154):

(A.) I'll trade you all this for some locusts,
and the *sesilos* for some mussels. (B.) Go to hell!

Apollas (fr. 5, *FHG* iv.307) says that the Spartans call the snail a *semelos*. And Apollodorus in Book II of the *Etymol-*

¹⁸⁸ Mount Aetna in Sicily was believed to be home to an extraordinarily large species of beetle (Ar. *Pax* 73 with Olson ad loc.), an idea extended here to snails.

¹⁸⁹ For the use of riddles at symposia, cf. 10.457c-9b.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. 10.455e. Cicero cites a Latin version of Athenaeus' riddle at *de Div.* 2.133: *terrigenam, herbigradam, domiportam, sanguine cassam*.

¹⁹¹ The first clause is a crude summary of the sense of *HA* 544a16-24, while the second is drawn from *GA* 762a32-3.

d λογιῶν | τῶν κοχλιῶν φησί τινὰς καλεῖσθαι κωλυσι-
δείπνους.

Βολβοί. τούτων Ἡρακλῆς ἐσθίειν παραιτεῖται ἐν
Ἀμαλθείᾳ Εὐβούλου λέγων·

θερμότερον ἢ κραυρότερον ἢ μέσως ἔχον,
τούτ' ἐσθ' ἐκάστῳ μείζον ἢ Τροίαν ἐλείν.
κἀγὼ γὰρ οὐ καυλοῖσιν οὐδὲ σιλφίῳ
οὐδ' ἱεροσύλοις καὶ πικραῖς παροψίσι
βολβοῖς τ' ἑμαυτὸν χορτάσων ἐλήλυθα.

e ἂ δ' εἷς τ' ἐδώδην πρῶτα καὶ ῥώμης ἀκμὴν |
καὶ πρὸς ὑγίειαν, πάντα ταῦτ' ἐδαινύμην,
κρέας βόειον ἐφθὸν ἀσόλοικον μέγα,
ἀκροκώλιόν τε γεννικόν, † ὄπτὰ δελφάκι'
ἀλίπαστα τρία.

Ἄλεξις ἐμφανίζων τὴν τῶν βολβῶν πρὸς τὰ ἀφροδί-
σια δύναμιν φησι·

πίννας, κάραβον,
βολβούς, κοχλίας, κήρυκας, ὦ', ἀκροκώλια,
f τοσαῦτα· τούτων ἂν τις εὖρη φάρμακα |
ἐρῶν ἑταίρας ἕτερα χρησιμώτερα.

¹⁹² The original point (confused either by Apollodorus, Athenaeus, or the Epitomator) was presumably that snails move very slowly and that individuals who come late to dinner, keeping the rest of the company from beginning the meal, are thus both "snails" and "dinner-hinderers"; cf. *Plu. Mor.* 725f-6a.

Ξέναρχος <ἐν Βουταλίῳ>⁴⁹.

φθίνει δόμος

ἀσυντάτοισι δεσποτῶν κεχρημένους
 τύχαις, ἀλάστωρ τ' εἰσπέπαικε Πελοπιδῶν.
 ἄστυτος οἶκος κοῦδὲ βυσαύχην θεᾶς
 Δηοῦς σύνοικος, γηγενῆς βολβός, φίλοις
 ἐφθός βοηθῶν δυνατός ἐστ' ἐπαρκέσαι·
 64 μάτην δὲ πόντου κυανέαις δίναις τραφεῖς ἢ
 φλεβὸς τροπωτῆρ πουλύπους, ἀλοὺς βρόχων
 πλεκταῖς ἀνάγκαις, τῆς τροχηλάτου κόρης
 πῖμπλησι λοπάδος στερροσώματον κύτος.

Ἄρχέστρατος·

βολβῶν καὶ καυλῶν χαίρειν λέγω ὄξυβάφοισι
 ταῖς τ' ἄλλαις πάσῃσι παροψίσι.

Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ταραντῖνος ἐν Συμποσίῳ· βολβὸς καὶ
 κοχλίας καὶ ῥὸν καὶ τὰ ὅμοια δοκεῖ σπέρματος εἶναι
 ποιητικά, οὐ διὰ τὸ πολύτροφα εἶναι, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ
 ὁμοειδεῖς ἔχειν τὰς πρώτας φύσεις αὐτὰς τὰς δυνά-
 6 μεις τῷ σπέρματι. Δίφιλος· ἢ οἱ βολβοὶ δύσπεπτοι μὲν

⁴⁹ from Suda ξ 22

¹⁹⁵ Suda ξ 22 reports that Athenaeus in Book II referred to *Boutalion* as one of Xenarchus' plays, and since this is the only reference to the poet in Book II, the title can be restored.

¹⁹⁶ Referring to Orestes, who killed Aegisthus, the murderer

BOOK II

Xenarchus <in *Boutalion*> (fr. *1):¹⁹⁵

A house wanes
when the fortunes of the masters upon which it
depends
are not taut and hard, and the Pelopid avenger¹⁹⁶ has
fallen upon it.
Impotent is the household; and the short-necked
associate
of the goddess Deo, the earth-born hyacinth bulb,
who aids
his friends when stewed, is unable to lend assistance.
In vain does an octopus, rouser of a man's vein, after
growing up
in the dark eddies of the sea and being caught in the
woven
compulsions of the net's mesh, fill the solid-bodied
hollow of the wheel-formed maiden, the casserole-
dish.

Archestratus (fr. 9 Olson-Sens = SH 137):

I say to hell with sauce-plates full of hyacinth bulbs,
silphium stalks,
and all other side-dishes.

Heracleides of Tarentum in the *Symposium* (fr. 65 Guardasole): Hyacinth bulbs, snails, eggs, and the like have a reputation for producing sperm not because they are nutritious, but because their primary natures, in and of themselves, have capacities similar to sperm. Diphilus:

of his father Agamemnon, although the exact point of the allusion is unclear.

εἰσι, πολύτροφοι δὲ καὶ εὐστόμαχοι, ἔτι δὲ σμηκτικοὶ
καὶ ἀμβλυτικοὶ ὄψεως, διεγερτικοὶ δ' ἀφροδισίων. ἡ
δὲ παροιμία φησὶν·

οὐδέν σ' ὀνήσει βολβός, ἂν μὴ νεῦρ' ἔχῃς.

διεγείρουσι δ' ὄντως αὐτῶν πρὸς ἀφροδίσια οἱ βασι-
λικοὶ λεγόμενοι, οἳ καὶ κρείσσονες τῶν ἄλλων εἰσὶ·
μεθ' οὓς οἱ πυρροί. οἳ δὲ λευκοὶ καὶ Λιβυκοὶ σκι-
λώδεις· χείρονες δὲ πάντων οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι. αἱ δὲ βολβί-
ναι καλούμεναι εὐχυλότεραι μὲν εἰσι τῶν βολβῶν, οὐ
μὴν οὕτως εὐστόμαχοι διὰ τὸ γλυκάζον ἔχειν <τι>
c παχυντικά τε⁵⁰ ἱκανῶς εἰσι διὰ τὴν πολλὴν σκληρό-
τητα καὶ εὐέκκριτοι. μνημονεύει δὲ βολβίνης Μάτρων
ἐν παρωδίαις·

σόγκους δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ μυθήσομαι οὐδ' ὀνομήνω,
μυελόεν βλάστημα, κερηκομόωντας ἀκάνθαις,
βολβίνας θ', αἱ Ζήνος Ὀλυμπίου εἰσὶν αἰοῖδοί,
ἃς ἐν χέρσῳ θρέψε Διὸς παῖς ἄσπετος Ὀμβρος,
λευκοτέρας χιόνος, ἰδέειν ἀμύλοισιν ὁμοίας·
d τάων φνομένων ἠράσσατο πότνια Γαστήρ. |

Ἔστι Νίκανδρος Μεγαρήης βολβοὺς ἐπαινεῖ. Θεό-

⁵⁰ ἔχειν τι παχυντικά τε Madvig, Kaibel: ἔχειν παχύ τι
καί γε CE

BOOK II

Hyacinth bulbs are difficult to digest, but are nutritious and easy on the stomach. They are also purgative and dull the eyesight, and stimulate sexual desire. The proverb says:

A hyacinth bulb won't do you any good if you don't
have a male muscle.¹⁹⁷

What are called "royal" hyacinth bulbs do indeed arouse sexual desire and are superior to the other varieties; after them come the red ones. The white and Libyan varieties resemble squill; and the Egyptian variety are the worst of all. The so-called *bolbinai* produce better *chulē* than hyacinth bulbs do, but are not as easy on the stomach, since they have a somewhat sweet character. They are also quite fattening because they are so hard, and are easily excreted. Matro mentions *bolbinai* in his parodies (fr. 3 Olson-Sens = SH 536):

I could not mention or name the sow-thistles,
a marrowy growth, with their long, spiny hair,
and the *bolbinai*, which are the singers of Olympian
Zeus,
and which the child of Zeus, the endless Rain, raised
on the mainland,
whiter than snow, like wheat-paste cakes in
appearance.
My lady Belly fell in love with them as they were
growing.

Nicander (fr. 88 Schneider) recommends Megarian hy-

¹⁹⁷ For *neuron* in this sense, cf. Pl. Com. fr. 189.20, quoted at 1.5d.

φραστος δ' ἐν ἐβδόμῳ Φυτικῶν, ἐνιαχοῦ, φησί, οὕτω γλυκείς εἰσιν οἱ βολβοὶ ὥστε καὶ ὤμους ἐσθίεσθαι, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ Ταυρικῇ Χερρονήσῳ. τὰ αὐτὰ ἱστορεῖ καὶ Φαινίας. ἔστι δὲ καὶ γένος, φησί, βολβῶν⁵¹ ἐριόφορων, ὃ φύεται ἐν αἰγιαλοῖς, ἔχει δὲ τὸ ἔριον ὑπὸ τοὺς πρώτους χιτῶνας, ὥστε ἀνὰ μέσον εἶναι τοῦ ἐδωδίμου τοῦ ἐντὸς καὶ τοῦ ἔξω. ὑφαίνεται δ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ πόδεια καὶ ἄλλα ἱμάτια, ὡς καὶ Φαινίας φησί, τὸ δὲ ἐν Ἰνδοῖς τριχῶδές ἐστι. περὶ δὲ | τῆς τῶν βολβῶν σκευασίας Φιλήμων φησί·

τὸν βολβόν, εἰ βούλει, σκόπει
 ὅσα δαπανήσας εὐδοκιμεῖ, τυρόν, μέλι,
 σήσαμον, ἔλαιον, κρόμμον, ὄξος, σίλφιον.
 αὐτὸς δ' ἐφ' αὐτοῦ ἴστιν πονηρὸς καὶ πικρὸς.

Ἡρακλείδης δ' ὁ Ταραντῖνος τοῦ συμποσίου περιγράφων τοὺς βολβούς φησι· περιγράφειν δεῖ τὴν πολλὴν βρώσιν καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἐχόντων ὄλκιμόν τι καὶ γλίσχρον, οἶον ὤων, βολβῶν, ἀκροκωλίων, κοχλιῶν καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων. ἐπιμένει γὰρ τῇ κοιλίᾳ f πλείονας χρόνους | καὶ ἐμπλεκόμενα παρακατέχει τὰ ὑγρά.

Κίχλαι. καὶ τούτων ἦσαν καὶ ἄλλων ὀρνίθων ἀγέλαι ἐν τοῖς προπόμασι. Τηλεκλείδης·

⁵¹ βολβῶν, Θεόφραστος, CE

BOOK II

acinth bulbs. Theophrastus in Book VII (13.8) of *On Plants* says: In some places the hyacinth bulbs are so sweet that they can be eaten raw, as for example in the Tauric Chersonese. Phaenias (fr. 45 Wehrli) records the same fact. Theophrastus says that there is also a wool-bearing variety of hyacinth bulb, which grows on sea-shores. Its wool is under its outer layers and is thus between the edible interior and the skin. Socks and other items of clothing are woven from it, as Phaenias reports; and the Indian variety is hairy. As for how hyacinth bulbs are prepared, Philemon (fr. 113) says:

Consider, if you please, how much expense
the hyacinth bulb goes to in order to win a good
reputation: cheese, honey,
sesame seed, oil, onion, vinegar, silphium juice.
But on its own it's nasty and bitter.

Heracleides of Tarentum (fr. 66 Guardasole) restricts the consumption of hyacinth bulbs at symposia, saying: There ought to be a restriction on eating large amounts of food, especially those with a sticky, glutinous character, such as eggs, hyacinth bulbs, pigs' trotters, snails, and the like. For such foods remain in the belly for a long time, and become entangled with the moist elements there and prevent them from moving.

Thrushes. There were flocks of these and of other birds on the appetizer plates. Teleclides (fr. 1.12).¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁸ Quoted in full at 6.268a.

ὅπται δὲ κίχλαι μετ' ἀμητίσκων ἐς τὸν φάρυγ'
εἰσεπέτοντο.

Συρακούσιοι δὲ τὰς κίχλας κικήλας λέγουσιν. Ἐπι-
χαρμος·

< . . . > τὰς τ' ἐλαιοφιλοφάγους κικήλας.

65 μέμνηται τούτων καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Νεφέλαις. τρία
δὲ γένη κικλῶν Ἀριστοτέλης εἶναι ἱστορεῖ, ἢ ὧν τὴν
πρώτην καὶ μεγίστην κίσση πάρισον εἶναι, ἣν καὶ
καλείσθαι ἰξοφάγον, ἐπειδὴ ἰξὸν ἐσθίει τὴν δὲ τῷ
κοσσύφῳ ἴσην, ἣν ὀνομάζεσθαι τριχάδα· τὴν δὲ τρί-
την ἐλαχίστην τῶν προειρημένων οὔσαν ἰλλάδα ὀνο-
μάζεσθαι. οἱ δὲ τυλάδα λέγουσιν, ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος
ἱστορεῖ ὁ Μύνδιος· ἣν καὶ συναγελαστικὴν εἶναι καὶ
νεοπτεύειν ὡς καὶ τὰς χελιδόνας.

b Ὅτι ἢ τὸ εἰς Ὅμηρον ἀναφερόμενον ἐπύλλιον, ἐπι-
γραφόμενον δὲ Ἐπικικλίδες, ἔτυχε ταύτης τῆς προσ-
ηγορίας διὰ τὸ τὸν Ὅμηρον ἄδοντα αὐτὸ τοῖς παισὶ
κίχλας δῶρον λαμβάνειν, ἱστορεῖ Μέναιχμος ἐν τῷ
Περὶ Τεχνιτῶν.

Συκαλίδες. Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μύνδιος ἱστορεῖ· ἄτερος
τῶν αἰγιθαλῶν ὑφ' ὧν μὲν ἔλαιον καλεῖται, ὑπὸ δὲ
τινων πυρρίας· συκαλὶς δ', ὅταν ἀκμάζῃ τὰ σύκα. δύο

¹⁹⁹ See 14.639a.

²⁰⁰ "A Beccafico, Lat. *ficedula*, that is to say a small bird of the gardens and orchards. . . . The Beccafico *par excellence* is *Sylvia*

BOOK II

Roast thrushes accompanied by milk-cakes flew into their gullets.

The Syracusans call thrushes (*kichlai*) *kichēlai*. Epicharmus (fr. 155):

and thrushes (*kichēlas*) that love to eat olives.

Aristophanes also mentions them in *Clouds* (339). Aristotle (fr. 181) records that there are three varieties of thrush. The first and largest is the size of a jay and is referred to as an *ixophagos* ("mistletoe-eater"), because it eats mistletoe-berries (*ixos*). The second is the size of a blackbird and is called a *trichas* ("hairy [thrush]"). The third is the smallest of the birds mentioned above and is called an *illas*, although according to Alexander of Myndus (fr. I.4 Wellmann) some people refer to it as a *tulas*. It forms flocks and builds its nest in the same way swallows do.

The short epic poem attributed to Homer and entitled *Epikichlides* ("For Thrushes")¹⁹⁹ got this name, according to Menaechmus in his *On Artists* (FGrH 131 F 3), because when Homer sang it to the children, they would give him thrushes.

Warblers.²⁰⁰ Alexander of Myndus (fr. I.5 Wellmann) reports: The other titmouse is called the *elaios* by some authorities, and the *purrhias* ("redhead") by others. It is called *sukalis* whenever the figs (*suka*) are ripe. There are

atricapilla, the Blackcap Warbler, which, both in Greece and Italy, comes down into the plains in autumn and is caught in multitudes among the fig-trees" (D. W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds* [Oxford, 1936] 274).

δ' εἶναι γένη αὐτοῦ συκαλίδα καὶ μελαγκόρυφον.
Ἐπίχαρμος·

< . . . > ἀγλαὰς συκαλλίδας.

καὶ πάλιν·

ἦν δ' ἔρωδιοὶ < . . . > μακροκαμπυλαύχενες
c τέτραγές τε σπερματολόγοι κάγλααὶ συκαλλίδες. |

ἀλίσκονται δ' αὐταὶ τῷ τῶν σύκων καιρῷ. διὸ βέλτιον
ὀνομάζοιτ' ἂν δι' ἐνὸς λ̄· διὰ δὲ τὸ μέτρον Ἐπίχαρμος
διὰ δυεῖν εἴρηκεν.

Σπίνοι. Εὐβουλος·

Ἄμφιδρομίῳ ὄντων, ἐν οἷς νομίζεται
ὀπτᾶν τε τυροῦ Χερρονησίτου τόμον
ἔψειν τ' ἐλαίῳ ράφανον ἠγλαῖσμένην
πνίγειν τε παχέων ἀρνίων στηθύνια
d τίλλειν τε φάττας καὶ κίχλας ὁμοῦ σπίνοισι |
ὁμοῦ τε χναύειν μαινίσιν σηπίδια
πιλοῦν τε πολλὰς πλεκτάνας ἐπιστρεφῶς
πίνειν τε πολλὰς κύλικας εὐζωρεστέρας.

201 Quoted in full at 9.398d.

202 Quoted in a more complete form at 9.398d.

203 For the disputed identification of this bird, see 9.398b–f.

204 At 9.370c–d these lines are assigned to Ephippus, and most likely a quotation and a lemma have dropped out of the text at one place or the other.

BOOK II

two varieties of the bird: the *sukalis* and the *melankoruphos* ("blackcap"). Epicharmus (fr. 42.3).²⁰¹

colorful warblers.

And again (fr. 85):²⁰²

There were herons with long curved necks
and seed-gathering grouse²⁰³ and colorful warblers
(*sukallides*).

These birds are caught (*haliskontai*) during fig season. The name is therefore better spelled with one *lambda*; but Epicharmus pronounces it with two for the sake of the meter.

Chaffinches. Eubulus (fr. dub. 148).²⁰⁴

When the Amphidromia²⁰⁵ is going on, where it's
customary
to roast a slice of Chersonesian cheese
and stew cabbage shimmering with oil
and bake fat lambs' breasts
and pluck ringdoves and thrushes, as well as finches,
and nibble on cuttlefish and small-fry together
and vigorously pound numerous octopus tentacles²⁰⁶
and drink many cups of strong wine.

²⁰⁵ A ritual celebrated a few days after the birth of a child, at which it was formally introduced to the household and the family's friends.

²⁰⁶ To make them soft enough to eat.

Κόψιχοι. Νικόστρατος ἢ Φιλέταιρος <ἐν Ἀντύλλω>⁵².

(A.) τί οὖν ἀγοράζω; φράζε γάρ.

(B.) μὴ πολυτελῶς, ἀλλὰ καθαρείως δασύποδα,
ἐὰν περιτύχης, ἀγόρασον καὶ νηττία,
ὅποσα σὺ βούλει, καὶ κίχλας καὶ κοψίχους,
ὄρνιθάρια τε τῶν ἀγρίων τούτων συχνά.

e (A.) χάριεν. |

Ἄντιφάνης δὲ καὶ ψᾶρας ἐν τοῖς βρώμασι καταλέγει

μέλι, πέρδικες,
φάτται, νῆπται, χῆνες, ψᾶρες,
κίττα, κολοῖός, κόψιχος, ὄρτυξ,
ὄρνις θήλεια.

Πάντων ἡμᾶς λόγον ἀπαιτεῖς καὶ οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν ἕξει-
στιν εἰπεῖν ἀνπεύθυνον.

ἽΟτι τὸ στρουθάριον παρ' ἄλλοις τε καὶ δὴ καὶ
παρ' Εὐβούλλω.

περδίκια
λαβὲ τέτταρ' ἢ καὶ πέντε, δασύποδας <δὲ> τρεῖς,
στρουθάρια θ' οἶον ἐντραγεῖν † ἀκανθυλλίδας,
βιπτάκους, σπινία, κερχνηῆδας,
f τὰ τ' | ἄλλ' ἄτ' ἂν ἐπιτύχης †.

⁵² <ἐν Ἀντύλλω> Schweighäuser

BOOK II

Blackbirds. Nicostratus (fr. *4) or Philetaerus <in *Antylla*>:²⁰⁷

(A.) What should I buy, then? Tell me!

(B.) Don't be extravagant; keep it simple. Buy some hares, if you happen on any, and as many ducks as you like, and thrushes and blackbirds, and a lot of these little wild birds.

(A.) Nice!

Antiphanes (fr. 295) also includes starlings in a list of food:

honey, partridges,
ringdoves, ducks, geese, starlings,
a jay, a jackdaw, a blackbird, a quail,
a hen.

You ask us to give an account of everything, and it is impossible to say a word without being cross-examined.²⁰⁸

The sparrow is mentioned by a number of authors, including Eubulus (fr. 120):

Get
four or even five partridges, three hares,
and sparrows such as to nibble on † siskins,
parrots, chaffinches, kestrel-hawks,
and whatever else you happen on †.

²⁰⁷ At 3.108c, 118e, Athenaeus expresses doubt as to whether *Antylla* ought to be assigned to Nicostratus or Philetaerus; as this is the only play he refers to in this way, it must be the one quoted here.

²⁰⁸ A complaint by a member of the company, doubtless addressed to Ulpian.

Ἐγκέφαλοι χοίρειοι. τούτων ἡμᾶς ἐσθίειν οὐκ εἶων οἱ φιλόσοφοι φάσκοντες τοὺς αὐτῶν μεταλαμβάνοντας ἴσον καὶ κυάμων τρώγειν κεφαλῶν τε οὐ τοκήων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βεβήλων. οὐδένα γοῦν τῶν ἀρχαίων βεβρωκέαι διὰ τὸ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἀπάσας σχεδὸν ἐν αὐτῷ εἶναι. Ἀπολλόδωρος δ' ὁ Ἀθηναῖος οὐδ' ὀνομάζειν τινὰ τῶν παλαιῶν φησιν ἐγκέφαλον· ἢ καὶ Σοφοκλέα γοῦν ἐν Τραχινίαις ποιήσαντα τὸν Ἡρακλέα ρίπτοῦντα τὸν Λίχαν ἐς θάλασσαν οὐκ ὀνομάσαι ἐγκέφαλον, ἀλλὰ λευκὸν μυελόν, ἐκκλίνοντα τὸ μὴ ὀνομαζόμενον·

κόμης δὲ λευκὸν μυελὸν ἐκραίνει, μέσου
κρατὸς διασπαρέντος αἵματός θ' ὁμοῦ,

καίτοι τᾶλλα διαρρήδην ὀνομάσαντα. καὶ Εὐριπίδης δὲ τὴν Ἐκάβην θρηνοῦσαν εἰσαγαγὼν τὸν Ἀστυνάκτα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ριφέντα φησί·

b δύστηνε, κρατὸς ὡς σ' ἔκειρεν ἀθλίως |
τείχη πατρῶα, Λοξίου πυργώματα,
ὄν πόλλ' ἐκήπευσ' ἢ τεκοῦσα βόστρυχον
φιλήμασιν τ' ἔδωκεν, ἔνθεν ἐγελά
ὄστέων ραγέντων φόνος, ἴν' αἰσχυρὰ μὴ λέγω⁵³.

⁵³ στέγω Diggle

BOOK II

Pigs' brains. The philosophers did not permit us to eat these, saying about those who partake of them that eating fava beans is equivalent to eating not just the heads of one's parents, but the heads of anything polluted.²⁰⁹ None of the ancients, at any rate, ate pigs' brains, because they contain almost all the senses. Apollodorus of Athens (*FGrH* 244 F 246) denies that any ancient author even uses the word "brain." Sophocles, for example, when he describes Heracles throwing Lichas into the sea in *Trachiniae* (781–2), does not use the word "brain," but says "white marrow," avoiding a term that is not used:

He made the white marrow ooze out of his hair, as
his head was split in two, and the blood along with it.

But he describes everything else explicitly. So too Euripides (*Tr.* 1173–7) brings Hecabe onstage mourning for Astyanax, who was thrown from the walls by the Greeks, and says:

Poor thing, how cruelly your paternal walls,
the battlements erected by Loxias, sheared from your
head
the locks of hair your mother often tended
and kissed, whence from your shattered bones
shines forth the gore—my purpose being to avoid
shameful words.

²⁰⁹ A reference to the Pythagorean prohibition against eating beans: "Eating beans is no different from eating your parents' heads." Athenaeus' (illogical) argument is apparently that, if one cannot eat one's parents' heads, one certainly cannot eat the heads of other obviously unclean creatures; and that the fact that the ancients did not eat pigs' heads proves that they understood this.

ἔχει δὲ ἐπίστασιν ἢ τῶν ποιημάτων τούτων ἐκδοχή.
καὶ γὰρ Φιλοκλῆς τε ἐγκέφαλόν φησιν·

< . . . > οὐδ' ἂν ἐγκέφαλον ἔσθων λίποι.

καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης·

< . . . > ἀπολέσαιμ' ἂν ἐγκεφάλου θρίω δύο,

- c καὶ ἄλλοι. λευκὸν οὖν ἂν εἴη μυελὸν εἰρηκῶς | Σοφο-
κλῆς ποιητικῶς, Εὐριπίδης δὲ τὸ τῆς προσόψεως εἰ-
δεχθὲς καὶ αἰσχροὺς οὐχ αἰρούμενος ἐναργῶς ἐφανί-
σαι ἐδήλωσεν ὡς ἐβούλετο. ὅτι δ' ἱερὸν ἐνόμιζον τὴν
κεφαλὴν δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ καὶ κατ' αὐτῆς ὀμνύειν καὶ τοὺς
γινομένους ἀπ' αὐτῆς πταρμούς προσκυνεῖν ὡς ἱε-
ρούς. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰς συγκαταθέσεις βεβαιούμεν τῇ
ταύτης ἐπινεύσει, ὡς καὶ ὁ Ὀμηρικὸς Ζεὺς φησιν·

εἰ δ' ἄγε τοι κεφαλῇ ἐπινεύσομαι.⁵⁴

- d Ὅτι εἰς τὸ πρόπομα καὶ ταῦτα ἐνεβάλλοντο, πέ-
περι, | φυλλίς, σμύρνα, κύπειρον, μύρον Αἰγύπτιον.
Ἀντιφάνης·

ἂν μὲν ἄρα πέπερι πριάμενός τις εἰσφέρει,
στρεβλοῦν γράφουσι τοῦτον ὡς κατάσκοπον.

πάλιν·

⁵⁴ Most witnesses have *κατανεύσομαι*, but Athenaeus' *ἐπι-* is attested elsewhere.

BOOK II

The interpretation of these verses involves some difficulty; because Philocles (*TrGF* 24 F 5) does use the word "brain":

He wouldn't stop eating brain.

Also Aristophanes (*Ra.* 134):

I'd be wasting two brain croquettes.

And other authors as well. Sophocles must therefore have said "white marrow" for poetic effect, while Euripides chose not to put an ugly, shameful sight on open display, but made the matter clear in a way that suited him. That they regarded the head as sacred is clear from the fact that they swore by it and treated the sneezes it produced as holy.²¹⁰ Indeed, we confirm agreements by nodding our head, as the Homeric Zeus says (*Il.* 1.524):

Come now, I will nod my head in assent.

The following items were also placed on the appetizer plate: pepper, greens, myrrh, galingale, and Egyptian perfume. Antiphanes (*fr.* 274):

If someone buys some pepper and takes it home,
they put him on the list for torture, on the ground
that he's a spy.

Again (*fr.* 275):

²¹⁰ Sneezes are treated as omens at e.g. *Od.* 17.541-7; *Men.* *fr.* 844.9. See Pease, *CP* 6 (1911) 429-43.

νῦν δεῖ περιόντα πέπερι καὶ καρπὸν βλίτου
ζητεῖν.

Εὐβουλος·

κόκκον λαβοῦσα Κνίδιον ἢ τοῦ πεπέριδος
τρίψασ' ὁμοῦ σμύρνη διάπαττε τὴν ὁδόν.

᾽Ωφελίων·

- e † Λιβυκὸν πέπερι θυμίαμα καὶ βιβλίον |
Πλάτωνος ἐμβρόντητον.

Νίκανδρος Θηριακοῖς·

ἢ καὶ λεπτοθρίοιο πολύχνοα φύλλα κονύζης.
πολλάκι δ' ἢ πέπεριν κόψας νέον ἢ ἀπὸ Μήδων
κάρδαμον.

- Θεόφραστος ἐν Φυτῶν Ἱστορίᾳ· τὸ πέπερι καρπὸς μὲν
ἐστὶ, διττὸν δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ γένος· τὸ μὲν στρογγύλον
ὡσπερ ὄροβος, κέλυφος <ἔχον> ὑπέρυθρον, τὸ δὲ
πρόμηκες, μέλαν, σπερμάτια μηκωνικὰ ἔχον. ἰσχυρό-
τερον δὲ πολὺ τοῦτο θατέρον, θερμαντικὰ δὲ ἄμφω
διὸ καὶ πρὸς τὸ κώνειον βοηθεῖ ταῦτα. ἐν δὲ τῷ Περὶ
f Πνιγμοῦ γράφει· ἢ δὲ τούτων | ἀνάκτησις ὄξους ἐγγύ-
σει καὶ πεπέριδος ἢ κνίδης καρπῷ τριφθείσης. τοῦτο
δ' ἡμᾶς τηρῆσαι δεῖ ὅτι οὐδέτερον ὄνομα οὐδέν ἐστι
παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν εἰς ἰ λήγον, εἰ μὴ μόνον τὸ μέλι·

²¹¹ At 3.126b these verses are said to have been quoted by
Ulpiian.

BOOK II

Now I have to go around and look for pepper
and blite-berry.

Eubulus (fr. 125):

Get some Cnidian bay-seed or some pepper,
grind it up with myrrh, and sprinkle the path with it!

Ophelio (fr. 3):

† Libyan pepper, incense, and a crazy
book by Plato.

Nicander in the *Theriaca* (875-7):²¹¹

or even the downy foliage of the fine-leaved fleabane.
And often too, after cutting some fresh pepper or
Persian
garden-cress . . .

Theophrastus in *Research on Plants* (HP 9.20.2): Pepper is a fruit, of which there are two varieties. One is round like bitter vetch and has a reddish case. The other is elongated and black and has poppy-like seeds; it is much stronger than the other kind, although both are heating. This is why they can be used as antidotes for hemlock.²¹² In his *On Suffocation* (fr. 347a) he writes: They can be resuscitated by pouring a mixture of vinegar and pepper or ground nettle-seed into them. We should note that the Greeks have no neuter noun that ends in *iota* except *meli* ("honey"); because *peperi* ("pepper"), *kommi* ("gum"), and *koiphi* (a

²¹² For the cooling effect of hemlock, cf. Ar. *Ra.* 124-5; Pl. *Phd.* 117e-18a.

τὸ γὰρ πέπερι καὶ κόμμι καὶ κοῖφι ξενικά.

Ἐλαιον. Σαμιακοῦ ἐλαίου μνημονεύει Ἀντιφάνης ἢ Ἄλεξις·

οὔτοσὶ δέ σοι
τοῦ λευκοτάτου πάντων ἐλαίου Σαμιακοῦ
ἔστιν μετρητής.

67 Καρικοῦ δὲ Ὠφελίων· ||

ἐλαίῳ Καρικῶ

ἀλείφεται.

Ἀμύντας ἐν Σταθμοῖς Περσικοῖς φησι φέρει τὰ ὄρη τέρμινθον καὶ σχῖνον καὶ κάρνα τὰ Περσικά, ἀφ' ὧν ποιοῦσι τῷ βασιλεῖ ἔλαιον πολὺ. Κτησίας δ' ἐν Καρμανία φησὶ γίνεσθαι ἔλαιον ἀκάνθινον, ᾧ χρῆσθαι βασιλέα· ὃς καὶ καταλέγων ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν Κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Φόρων⁵⁵ πάντα τὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ παρασκευαζόμενα ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον οὔτε πεπέρεως μέμνηται οὔτε ὄξους,

ὃ μόνον ἄριστόν ἐστι τῶν ἠδυσμάτων.

b ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ Δείνων ἐν τῇ | Περσικῇ Πραγματείᾳ, ὃς γέ φησι καὶ ἄλας Ἀμμωνιακὸν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀνα-

⁵⁵ φόρων τούτῳ βιβλίῳ CE: φόρων τρίτῳ βιβλίῳ Musurus

²¹³ *Sinapi* ("mustard") is omitted because Athenaeus habitually spells it *sinarpi*. But he or his source also ignores e.g. *alphī*

BOOK II

type of Egyptian incense) are foreign loan-words.²¹³

Oil. Antiphanes (fr. *212)²¹⁴ or Alexis mentions Samian oil:

Here you have
an amphora-ful of Samian oil,
which is the clearest of all.

Ophelio (fr. 5) mentions Carian oil:

He anoints himself
with Carian oil.

Amyntas in *Stations on the Persian Royal Road* (FGrH 122 F 4) says: The mountains produce turpentine, squill, and Persian nuts, from which they make a large amount of oil for the King. Ctesias (FGrH 688 F 38) says that thorn-tree oil is produced in Carmania and used by the King. When he offers a list in his book *On the Tributes Paid throughout Asia* (FGrH 688 F 53) of everything prepared for the King's dinner, he does not mention pepper or vinegar,

which is the single best seasoning. (adesp. com. fr.
*104)

Nor indeed does Deinon in his *Study of Persia* (FGrH 690 F 23a), although he does note that Ammoniac salt and wa-

("barley-groats"), *kiki* ("castor oil"; an Egyptian loan-word) and *sesili* ("hartwort"; also Egyptian?). *Peperi* is in fact originally a Sanskrit word, while *kommi* is Egyptian.

²¹⁴ Probably from *Aleiptria*, *Anteia*, or *Sleep*, the authorship of all of which, Athenaeus reports at various points, was disputed between Antiphanes and Alexis.

πέμπεσθαι βασιλεῖ καὶ ὕδωρ ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου. ἐλαίου δὲ τοῦ ἰμοτριβοῦς καλουμένου μέμνηται Θεόφραστος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ὀσμῶν φάσκων αὐτὸ γίνεσθαι ἐκ τῶν φανλιῶν ἐλαιῶν καὶ ἐξ ἀμυγδάλων. τοῦ δὲ ἐν Θουρίοις γινομένου ἐλαίου ὡς διαφόρον μνημονεύει Ἄμφις·

ἐν Θουρίοις τοῦλαιον, ἐν Γέλα φακῆ.

c Γάρος. Κρατῖνος· |

ὁ τάλαρος ὑμῖν διάπλεως ἔσται γάρου.

Φερεκράτης·

< . . . > ἀνεμολύνθη τὴν ὑπήνην τῷ γάρῳ.

Σοφοκλῆς Τριπτολέμῳ·

< . . . > τοῦ ταριχηροῦ γάρου.

Πλάτων·

ἐν σαπρῷ γάρῳ

βάπτοντες ἀποπνίξουσί με.

ὅτι δ' ἀρσενικόν ἐστι τοῦνομα Αἰσχύλος δηλοῖ εἰπών·

< . . . > καὶ τὸν ἰχθύων γάρου.

Ἄξος. τοῦτο μόνον Ἀττικοὶ τῶν ἡδυσμάτων ἦδος καλοῦσι. κάλλιστον δ' ἄξος εἶναί φησι Χρῦσιππος ὁ

²¹⁵ Cited in a slightly different form (and with the verse that follows) at 1.30b.

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ter from the Nile are imported from Egypt for the King. Theophrastus mentions what is called "raw-pressed" oil in his *On Odors* (15–16), and says that it is made from low-quality olives and from almonds. Amphis (fr. 40.1)²¹⁵ notes that the oil produced in Thurii is particularly good:

the oil in Thurii, lentil soup in Gela.

Fermented fish-sauce. Cratinus (fr. 312):

Your basket will be full of fish-sauce.

Pherecrates (fr. 188):

He got his beard dirty with the fish-sauce.

Sophocles in *Triptolemus* (fr. 606):

of sauce made of preserved fish.

Plato (fr. 215):

They're going to choke me to death
by dipping me in rotten fish-sauce.

Aeschylus (fr. 211) shows that the word is masculine, when he says:²¹⁶

and the fish-sauce.

Vinegar. Attic authors refer to this seasoning alone as "a delight."²¹⁷ The philosopher Chrysippus (xxviii fr. 14, *SVF*

²¹⁶ Identified by Herodian as coming from the satyr play *Proteus*. In all the passages quoted above, the masculine forms could be emended to feminine. But here the masculine definite article is metrically guaranteed.

²¹⁷ Cf. Antiph. fr. 132.4–6 (quoted at 9.366c) with K–A ad loc.

φιλόσοφος τό τε Αἰγύπτιον καὶ τὸ Κνίδιον. Ἄριστο-
d φάνης | δὲ ἐν Πλούτῳ φησίν·

< . . . > ὄξει διέμενος Σφήττιῳ.

Δίδυμος δ' ἐξηγούμενος τὸ ἰαμβεῖόν φησιν· ἴσως
διότι οἱ Σφήττιοι ὄξεις. μνημονεύει δέ που καὶ τοῦ ἐκ
Κλεωνῶν ὄξους ὡς διαφόρου·

< . . . > ἐν δὲ Κλεωναῖς ὀξίδες εἰσί.

καὶ Δίφίλος·

(A.) δειπνεῖ τε καταδύς, πῶς δοκεῖς, Λακωνικῶς,
ὄξους δὲ κοτύλην. (B.) πάξ. (A.) τί πάξ; ὄξις
μέτρον
χωρεῖ τοσοῦτο τῶν Κλεωναίων.

Φιλωνίδης·

τὰ καταχύσματα

e αὐτοῖσιν ὄξος οὐκ ἔχει. |

ὁ δὲ Ταραντῖνος Ἡρακλείδης ἐν τῷ Συμποσίῳ φησί·
τὸ ὄξος τινὰ τῶν ἐκτὸς συνιστάνει, παραπλησίως δὲ
καὶ τὰ ἐν κοιλίᾳ, τὰ <δ'> ἐν τῷ ὄγκῳ διαλύει, διὰ τὸ
δηλονότι διαφόρους ἐν ἡμῖν μίγνυσθαι χυμούς. ἐθαυ-
μάζετο δὲ καὶ τὸ Δεκελεικὸν ὄξος. Ἄλεξις·

²¹⁸ *oxos* can refer to both vinegar and cheap, vinegarish wine; here (as in Alex. fr. 286, below) it clearly means the latter.

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iii.200) maintains that the best vinegar comes from Egypt and Cnidus. Aristophanes says in *Wealth* (720):

drenched in Sphettian vinegar (*oxos*).

Didymus (p. 76 Schmidt) explains the verse by saying: Perhaps because the Sphettians are sharp-tempered (*oxeis*). Aristophanes (fr. 709) also notes somewhere that the vinegar from Cleonae is particularly good:

There are vinegar cruets in Cleonae.

Also Diphilus (fr. 96):

(A.) He went down and is dining—can you
imagine?—in Spartan style
on a cup of cheap wine²¹⁸. (B.) That's enough!
(A.) What do you mean, "That's enough"?
A Cleonaeon vinegar cruet holds exactly this
much!

Philonides (fr. 9):

Their sauces

lack vinegar.

Heracleides of Tarentum in his *Symposium* (fr. 67 Guardasole) says: Vinegar curdles some substances outside the body, just as it does the contents of the belly; but it breaks up solid tissue, because of the fact that various humours are obviously mixed together inside us. Deceleian vinegar was also highly regarded. Alexis (fr. 286):²¹⁹

²¹⁹ Athenaeus (or his source) has missed the point: the speaker is unhappy about having been forced to drink Deceleian wine.

κοτύλας τέτταρας

ἀναγκάσας με † μεστὰς αὐτοῦ † σπάσαι
ὄξους Δεκελεικοῦ δι' ἀγορᾶς μέσης ἄγεις.

f λεκτέον δὲ ὄξύγαρον⁵⁶ διὰ τοῦ ὕ καὶ τὸ δεχόμενον ἰ
αὐτὸ ἀγγεῖον ὄξύβαφον· ἐπεὶ καὶ Λυσίας ἐν τῷ Κατὰ
Θεοπόμπου Αἰκίας εἴρηκεν· ἐγὼ δ' ὄξύμελι πίνω. οὐ-
τως οὖν ἐρούμεν καὶ ὄξυρόδινον.

ᾠΟτι ἀρτύματα εὔρηται παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ⁵⁷.

< . . . > καὶ βορᾶς ἀρτύματα.

καὶ παρ' Αἰσχύλῳ·

< . . . > διαβρέχεις τάρτύματα.

καὶ Θεόπομπος δὲ φησι πολλοὶ μὲν ἀρτυμάτων μέ-
διμνοι, πολλοὶ δὲ σάκκοι καὶ θύλακοι βιβλίων καὶ τῶν
ἄλλων ἀπάντων τῶν χρησίμων πρὸς τὸν βίον. τὸ δὲ
68 ῥήμα κεῖται παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ· Ἠ

< . . . > ἐγὼ μάγειρος ἀρτύσω σοφῶς.

Κρατῖνος·

⁵⁶ ὄξύγαρον Levinius: ὄξύ γὰρ E: ὅτι γὰρ C

⁵⁷ Σωφίλῳ ἐν Ἀνδροκλεῖ Valckenaer

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After forcing me
to drain four cups † full of it † of cheap Deceleian
wine,
you're dragging me through the middle of the
marketplace.

Oxugaron ("vinegar-fish-sauce") ought to be pronounced with an *upsilon*,²²⁰ the vessel that holds it should be pronounced *oxubaphon*. For Lysias in his *Against Theopompus for Assault* (fr. 154 Carey) says: I drink *oxumeli* ("cheap wine or vinegar sweetened with honey"). In the same way, therefore, we will also say *oxurhodinon* ("cheap wine or vinegar flavored with roses").

The word "seasonings" is found in Sophocles (fr. *675):
and seasonings for food.

Also in Aeschylus (fr. 306):

You're soaking the seasonings.

Theopompus (*FGrH* 115 F 263b) too says: Many *medimnoi*²²¹ of seasonings, and many sacks and bags full of books and all the other necessities of life. The verb is attested in Sophocles (fr. dub. 1122):

I the cook will season it skilfully.

Cratinus (fr. 336):

²²⁰ Rather than with an *iota*, *oxigaron*. So too in the next clause, the pronunciation *oxubaphon* is implicitly contrasted with *oxibaphon*.

²²¹ A *medimnos* is a dry measure equivalent to about eight American bushels.

ATHENAEUS

γλαῦκον οὐ πρὸς παντὸς <ἀνδρός> ἔστιν ἀρτύσαι
καλῶς.

Εὐπολις·

ὄψω ποιηρῶ πολυτελῶς ἤρτυμένῳ.

Ὅτι ἀρτύματα ταῦτα καταλέγει που Ἀντιφάνης·

ἀσταφίδος, ἀλῶν, σιραίου, σιλφίου, τυροῦ,
θύμου,

σησάμου, λίτρον, κυμίνου, < . . . >⁵⁸ ὀρίγανου,
βοτανίων, ὄξους, ἐλαῶν, εἰς ἀβυρτάκην χλόης,
καππάριδος, ὤων, ταρίχους, καρδάμων, θρίων,
b ὀποῦ. |

Ὅτι οἶδαςιν οἱ παλαοὶ τὸ Αἰθιοπικὸν καλούμενον
κύμινον.

Ὅτι εἴρηται ἀρσενικῶς ὁ θύμος καὶ ὁ ὀρίγανος.
Ἀναξανδρίδης·

ἀσφάραγον σχῖνόν τε τεμῶν καὶ ὀρίγανον, ὃς δὴ
σεμνύνει τὸ τάριχος ὁμοῦ μιχθεῖς κοριάννῳ.

Ἴων·

αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' ἐμμαπέως τὸν ὀρίγανον ἐν χειρὶ
κεύθει.

⁵⁸ ῥοῦ, μέλιτος Poll. 6.66

BOOK II

Not every man can do a good job seasoning
glaukos.²²²

Eupolis (fr. 365):

nasty food expensively seasoned.

Antiphanes (fr. 140) somewhere²²³ lists the following seasonings:

a raisin, salt, grape-syrup, silphium, cheese, thyme,
sesame, soda ash, cumin, oregano,
chopped herbs, vinegar, olives, greens for a sour
sauce,
a caper, eggs, preserved fish, cress, fig leaves, rennet.

The ancients were familiar with what is referred to as Ethiopian cumin.

"Thyme" and "oregano" are found as masculine nouns.²²⁴ Anaxandrides (fr. 51):

cutting up asparagus, squill, and oregano, which
makes the preserved fish magnificent when mixed
with coriander.

Ion (eleg. fr. 28 West²):

But he quickly conceals the oregano in his hand.

²²² Unidentified, but apparently a large, sharklike fish; see Olson-Sens on Archestr. fr. 21.1.

²²³ Pollux 6.66 quotes the second and third verses in a more complete form and identifies the play as *The Girl from Leucas*.

²²⁴ In Anaxandr. fr. 51, the gender of the noun is metrically guaranteed. In Ion eleg. fr. 28 West², on the other hand, Athenaeus' masculine could easily be emended to neuter.

θηλυκῶς δὲ Πλάτων ἢ Κάνθαρος <ἐν Συμμαχίᾳ>⁵⁹.

ἢ ἕξ Ἀρκαδίας † οὕτω † δριμυτάτην ὀρίγανον.

οὐδετέρως δ' Ἐπίχαρμος καὶ Ἀμειψίας. τὸν δὲ θύμον
c ἀρσενικῶς | Νίκανδρος ἐν Μελισσοουργικοῖς.

Ἔστι τοὺς πέπονας Κρατῖνος μὲν σικυνοὺς σπερμα-
τίας κέκληκεν ἐν Ὀδυσσεύσι·

(A.) ποῦ ποτ' εἶδές μοι τὸν ἄνδρα, παῖδα Λαέρτα
φίλον;

(B.) ἐν Πάρῳ, σικυὸν μέγιστον σπερματίαν
ᾠνούμενον.

Πλάτων Λαίῳ·

οὐχ ὀρᾶς ὅτι

d ὁ μὲν Λέαγρος, Γλαύκωνος ᾧν μεγάλου γένους,
<ἀβελτερο>κόκκυξ ἠλίθιος περιέρχεται |
σικυοῦ πέπονος εὐνουχίου κνήμας ἔχων;

Ἄναξίλας·

τὰ δὲ σφύρ' ᾧδει μᾶλλον ἢ σικυὸς πέπων.

Θεόπομπος·

⁵⁹ ἐν Συμμαχίᾳ add. Olson

225 At 7.312c, 314a, Athenaeus expresses uncertainty as to whether *The Alliance* was written by Plato or Cantharus, and this must be the play referred to here.

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But Plato (fr. *169) or Cantharus <in *The Alliance*>²²⁵ makes it feminine:

or very pungent † as this † oregano from Arcadia.

Whereas Epicharmus (fr. 15) and Amipsias (fr. 36) make it neuter. Nicander in *Beekeeping* (fr. 92 Schneider) makes the word "thyme" masculine.²²⁶

Cratinus in *Odysseuses* (fr. 147) refers to melons as seed-filled cucumbers:

(A.) Where did you, please, see my husband, the beloved son of Laertes?

(B.) On Paros, where he was buying a huge seed-filled cucumber.

Plato in *Laius* (fr. 65.1-4):

Don't you see
that Leagrus,²²⁷ although he's from the distinguished
family of Glaucon,
wanders around like a senseless simpleton,
with shins the size of a sterile melon?

Anaxilas (fr. 35):

His ankles were swollen up larger than a melon.

Theopompus (fr. 76):

²²⁶ It is more often neuter (e.g. Eup. fr. 13.5; Thphr. *HP* 3.1.3).

²²⁷ Nothing else is known of this Leagrus (*PAA* 602660), but the family was old and important; see J.K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families 600-300 B.C.* (Oxford, 1971) 90-2.

μαλθακώτερα

πέπονος σικνουῦ μοι γέγονε.

Φαινίας· βρωτὰ μὲν ἀπαλὰ τῷ περικαρπίῳ σικνὸς καὶ πέπων ἄνευ τοῦ σπέρματος, πεττόμενον δὲ τὸ περικάρπιον μόνον. κολοκύνθη δὲ ὠμὴ μὲν ἄβρωτος, ἐφθῆ δὲ καὶ ὀπτῆ βρωτῆ. Διοκλῆς δ' ὁ Καρύστιος ἐν πρώτῳ Ἑγχειριδίων φησιν ἐφανὰ ἄγρια εἶναι θρίδακα (ταύτης e κρατίστην | τὴν μέλαιναν), κάρδαμον, κορίαννον⁶⁰, σίναπυ, κρόμμυον (τούτου εἶδος ἀσκαλώνιον καὶ γήτειον), σκόροδον, φύσιγγες, σικνός, πέπων, μήκων. καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα· ὁ πέπων δ' ἐστὶν εὐκαρδιώτερος καὶ εὐπεπτότερος. ἐφθός δ' ὁ σικνός ἀπαλὸς ἄλγος, οὐρητικός. ὁ δὲ πέπων ἐψηθεὶς ἐν μελικράτῳ διαχωρητικώτερος. Σπεύσιππος δ' ἐν τοῖς Ὁμοίοις τὸν πέπον καλεῖ σικύαν, Διοκλῆς δὲ πέπον ἀνομάσας οὐκ ἔτι f καλεῖ σικύαν, καὶ ὁ Σπεύσιππος δὲ σικύαν εἰπὼν πέπον οὐκ ἀνομάζει. | Δίφιλος δὲ φησιν· ὁ πέπων εὐχυλότερός ἐστι καὶ ἐπικρατητικός . . . κακοχυλότερος δέ, ὀλιγότροφος δὲ καὶ εὐφθαρτος καὶ εὐεκκριτώτερος.

Θρίδαξ. ταύτην Ἀττικοὶ θριδακίην καλοῦσιν. Ἐπίχαρμος·

< . . . > θρίδακος ἀπολελεμμένας τὸν καυλόν.

⁶⁰ κορίαννον Casaubon: ἀδριανόν CE

BOOK II

She's become

softer than a melon to me.

Phaenias (fr. 46 Wehrli): Cucumbers and melons are edible, except for the seeds, once the flesh is soft; the flesh is the only part that is cooked. Gourds are inedible when raw, but are edible if stewed or baked. Diocles of Carystus in Book I of *On Matters of Health* (fr. 196 van der Eijk) says that the wild plants fit for stewing are lettuce (the dark variety is best), cress, coriander, mustard, onions (the scallion and the leek are onion-varieties), garlic, *phusinkes*²²⁸, cucumber, melon, and poppy. And shortly after this: The melon is better for the heart and more easily digested.²²⁹ When stewed, the cucumber is soft, innocuous, and diuretic; but the melon is more laxative when stewed in a honey sauce. Speusippus in his *On Similar Things* (fr. 7 Tarán) refers to the melon as a *sikua*. Diocles uses the word "melon" but then never refers to a *sikua*; whereas Speusippus uses the word *sikua* but never mentions a "melon." Diphilus says: The melon produces better *chulē* and is more astringent²³⁰ . . . but produces inferior *chulē*, provides little nourishment, and is easily broken down in the stomach and more easily excreted.

Lettuce (*thridax*). Attic authors refer to this as *thridakinē*. Epicharmus (fr. 156):

lettuce (*thridax*) stripped of its stem.

²²⁸ Apparently a garlic-variety.

²²⁹ Sc. than the cucumber, as what follows makes clear.

²³⁰ The Supplement to LSJ wrongly calls for the deletion of this adjective from the lexicon.

69 θριδακινίδας δ' εἶρηκε Στράτις· ||

πρασοκουρίδες, αἱ καταφύλλους
 ἀνὰ κήπους πεντήκοντα ποδῶν
 ἵχνεσι βαίνειτ', ἐφαπτόμεναι
 ποδοῖν σατυριδίων μακροκέρκων,
 χοροὺς ἐλίσσουσαι παρ' ὠκίμων
 πέταλα καὶ θριδακινίδων
 εὐόσμων τε σελίνων.

Θεόφραστος δέ φησι τῆς θριδακίνης ἢ λευκὴ γλυκυτέρα καὶ ἀπαλωτέρα. γένη δ' αὐτῆς τρία, τὸ πλατύκαυλον καὶ στρογγυλόκαυλον καὶ τρίτον τὸ Λακωνικόν. αὕτη δ' ἔχει τὸ μὲν φύλλον σκολυμῶδες, ὀρθὴ δὲ καὶ εὐανξῆς <καὶ> ἀπαράβλαστός ἐστιν ἐκ τοῦ καυλοῦ. | τῶν δὲ πλατειῶν οὕτω τινὲς γίνονται πλατύκαυλοι ὥστ' ἐνίοις καὶ θύραις χρῆσθαι κηπουρικαῖς. τῶν δὲ καυλῶν φησι κολουσθέντων ἡδίοις τοὺς παλιμβλαστεῖς εἶναι.

Νίκανδρος δ' ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἐν δευτέρῳ Γλωσσῶν βρένθιν λέγεσθαί φησι παρὰ Κυπρίοις θρίδακα, οὗ ὁ Ἄδωνις καταφυγὼν ὑπὸ τοῦ κάπρου διεφθάρη. Ἄμφις τε ἐν Ἰαλέμῳ φησί·

ἐν ταῖς θριδακίαις ταῖς κάκιστ' ἀπολουμέναις,
 ἄς εἰ φάγοι τις ἐντὸς ἐξήκοντ' ἐτῶν, |
 ὁπότε γυναικὸς λαμβάνοι κοινωμίαν,

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Whereas Strattis (fr. 71) uses *thridakinidē*:

leek-caterpillars, you who travel
 through leafy gardens on tracks
 made by your 50 feet, laying hold
 of the long-tailed little orchids (?) with your feet,
 setting your dances twisting through the leaves
 of basil and lettuce (*thridakinidē*)
 and fragrant celery.

Theophrastus (*HP* 7.4.5) says: Pale lettuce (*thridakinē*) is sweeter and softer. There are three varieties: the flat-stemmed, the round-stemmed, and, third, the Spartan. The Spartan variety has a leaf that resembles the golden thistle's; it grows erect and vigorously, and has no side-shoots from the stem. Some types of the flat variety have such flat stems that people use them to make garden gates. He also says (*HP* 7.2.4) that if the stems are docked, the new shoots are sweeter.

Nicanor of Colophon in Book II of the *Glossary* (fr. 120 Schneider) says that the Cyprians use the word *brenthis* for lettuce; it was lettuce that Adonis took refuge in when the boar killed him.²³¹ And Amphis says in *Lamentation* (fr. 20):

in the damned lettuce!
 If anyone under 60 years old eats it,
 if he ever gets some time with a woman,

²³¹ Adonis was Aphrodite's mortal lover (Bion *Adonis*; [Apolod.] *Bib.* 3.14.4; Ov. *Met.* 10.519–52, 708–39 with Bömer ad loc.), and Athenian women commemorated his death by growing short-lived "gardens of Adonis"; cf. Olson on Ar. *Pax* 420.

στρέφοιθ' ὄλην τὴν νύκτ' ἂν οὐδὲ ἐν πλέον
 ὦν βούλεται δρῶν, ἀντὶ τῆς ὑπουργίας
 τῇ χειρὶ τρίβων τὴν ἀναγκαίαν τύχην.

καὶ Καλλιμάχος δέ φησιν ὅτι ἡ Ἄφροδίτη τὸν Ἄδωνιν ἐν θριδακίῃ κρύψειεν, ἀλληγορούντων τῶν ποιητῶν ὅτι ἀσθενεῖς εἰσι πρὸς ἀφροδίσια οἱ συνεχῶς χρώμενοι θρίδαξι. καὶ Εὐβουλος δ' ἐν Ἀστύτοις φησί·

d † μὴ παρατίθει μοι † θριδακίνας, ὦ γύναι, |
 ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν, ἣ σεαυτὴν αἰτιῶ.
 ἐν τῷ λαχάνῳ τούτῳ γάρ, ὡς λόγος, ποτὲ
 τὸν Ἄδωνιν ἀποθανόντα προὔθηκεν Κύπρις·
 ὥστ' ἐστὶ νεκύων βρῶμα.

Κρατῖνος δέ φησι Φάωνος ἐρασθεῖσαν τὴν Ἄφροδίτην ἐν καλαῖς θριδακίαις αὐτὸν ἀποκρύψαι, Μαρσύας δ' ὁ νεώτερος ἐν χλόῃ κριθῶν. Ἰππώνακτα δὲ τετρακίνην τὴν θρίδακα καλεῖν Πάμφιλος ἐν Γλώσσαις φησί, Κλείταρχος δὲ Φρύγας οὕτω καλεῖν. Λύκος⁶¹ δ' ὁ Πυθαγόρειος | τὴν ἐκ γενεσεῶς φησι θρίδακα πλατύφυλλον τετανὴν ἄκαυλον ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν Πυθαγορείων λέγεσθαι εὐνοῦχον, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν ἀστύτιδα· διουρητικούς γὰρ παρασκευάζει καὶ ἐκλύτους πρὸς τὰ ἀφροδίσια· ἐστὶ δὲ κρατίστη ἐσθίεσθαι. Δίφιλος δέ φησιν ὡς ὁ τῆς θρίδακος καυλὸς πολῦτροφός ἐστι καὶ δυσέκκριτος μᾶλλον τῶν φύλ-

⁶¹ Λύκος Valckenaer (cf. 10.418e): ἴβυκος CE

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he can twist and turn all night long without making
any progress
on what he wants to do. Instead of getting help,
he uses his hand to massage his inescapable fate.

Callimachus (fr. 478) as well claims that Aphrodite hid Adonis in a bed of lettuce, which is the poets' way of saying allegorically that men who eat too much of it lose their sexual powers. Eubulus too says in *Impotents* (fr. 13):

† Don't serve me † lettuce on the dinner table,
woman, or you'll have only yourself to blame.
Because the story goes that it was in this vegetable,
once upon a time,
that Cypris laid Adonis after he died;
so this is dead men's food.

Cratinus (fr. 370) says that after Aphrodite fell in love with Phaon,²³² she hid him in a beautiful bed of lettuce; whereas Marsyas the Younger (*FGrH* 135–6 F 9) claims that it was in a field of unripe barley. According to Pamphilus in the *Glossary* (fr. XXXIV Schmidt), Hipponax (fr. 178 Degani) refers to lettuce as *tetrakinē*; and Cleitarchus says that this is a Phrygian word. Lycus the Pythagorean (57.2 D–K) reports that lettuce that is naturally flat-leafed, smooth, and stemless is called “eunuch-lettuce” by the Pythagoreans, but “impotent lettuce” by the women; for it makes people need to urinate and diminishes sexual desire. But it is the best kind to eat. Diphilus says that lettuce stem is full of nutrition and more difficult to excrete than the leaves;

²³² See 1.5b n.

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λων ταῦτα δὲ πνευματικώτερα ἔστι καὶ τροφιμώτερα
 καὶ εὐεκκριτώτερα. κοινῶς μέντοι ἡ θρίδαξ εὐστόμα-
 f χος, ψυκτική, εὐκοίλιος, ὑπνωτική, εὐχυλος, ἐφεκτική |
 τῆς πρὸς τὰ ἀφροδίσια ὀρμῆς. ἡ δὲ τρυφερωτέρα
 θρίδαξ εὐστομαχωτέρα καὶ μᾶλλον ὕπνον ποιοῦσα. ἡ
 δὲ σκληροτέρα καὶ ψαθυρὰ ἡττόν ἐστι καὶ εὐστόμα-
 χος καὶ εὐκοίλιος, ὕπνον τε ποιεῖ. ἡ δὲ μέλαινα θρίδαξ
 ψύχει μᾶλλον εὐκοιλίος τέ ἐστι. καὶ αἱ μὲν θεριναὶ
 εὐχυλότεραι καὶ τροφιμώτεραι, αἱ δὲ φθινοπωριναὶ
 ἄτροφοι καὶ ἀχυλότεραι. ὁ δὲ καυλὸς τῆς θρίδακος
 ἄδιψος εἶναι δοκεῖ. θρίδαξ δ' ἐφομένη ὁμοίως τῷ ἀπὸ
 κράμβης ἀσπαράγῳ ἐν λοπάδι, ὡς Γλανκίδης ἱστο-
 ρεῖ, κρείττων τῶν ἄλλων ἐψητῶν λαχάνων. ἐν ἄλλοις
 70 δὲ Θεόφραστος || ἐπίσπορά φησι καλεῖσθαι τευτλίον,
 θριδακίνην, εὐζωμον, νᾶπυ, λάπαθον, κορίαννον, ἄνη-
 θον, κάρδαμον. Δίφιλος δὲ κοινῶς φησιν εἶναι πάντα
 τὰ λάχανα ἄτροφα καὶ λεπτυντικὰ καὶ κακόχυλα ἔτι
 τε ἐπιπολαστικὰ καὶ δυσοικονόμητα. θερινῶν δὲ λα-
 χάνων Ἐπίχαρμος μέμνηται.

Κινάρα. ταύτην Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Κολχίσι κυνάραν
 καλεῖ, ἐν δὲ Φοίνικι

κύνaros ἄκανθα πάντα πληθύει γύην.

b Ἐκαταῖος δ' ὁ Μιλήσιος ἐν Ἀσίας Περιηγήσει, εἰ |

233 Cf. 2.62f.

234 Cardoon (or artichoke thistle) is the wild progenitor of the

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they, on the other hand, produce more gas and are more nourishing and easier to excrete. In general, however, lettuce is easy on the stomach, cooling, and easy on the bowels; produces drowsiness and good *chulē*; and checks sexual desire. The tenderer lettuce is, the easier it is on the stomach and the more pronounced its tendency to produce drowsiness. Tougher and crunchier lettuce is harder on the stomach and the bowels, but does nonetheless put one to sleep. Dark lettuce has more of a cooling effect and is easy on the bowels. Lettuce grown in the summer produces better *chulē* and is more nourishing, whereas fall lettuce is not nourishing and produces less *chulē*. Lettuce stem has a reputation for satisfying thirst. According to Glaucias (fr. 162 Deichgräber), when lettuce is stewed like cabbage-asparagus²³³ in a casserole-dish, it is better than any other stewed vegetable. Theophrastus (*HP* 7.1.2) says elsewhere that the term *episporos* ("secondary crop") is used of: beet, lettuce, arugula, mustard, sorrel, coriander, anise, and cress. Diphilus says that in general all vegetables have little nutritional value, do not help one put on weight, produce bad *chulē*, and also rise to the top of the stomach and are difficult to digest. Epicharmus (fr. 157) mentions summer vegetables.

Cardoon (*kinara*).²³⁴ Sophocles in *Colchian Women* (fr. 348) refers to this plant as a *kunara*. But in *Phoenix* (fr. 718) he says:

Cardoon-thorn (*kinara akantha*) fills the whole area.

Hecataeus of Miletus in the *Tour of Asia* (*FGrH* 1 F 291)—

artichoke; the tender leaves and undeveloped flower stalks are edible.

γνήσιον τοῦ συγγραφέως τὸ βιβλίον· Καλλίμαχος
 γὰρ Νησιώτου αὐτὸ ἀναγράφει. ὅστις οὖν ἐστὶν ὁ
 ποιήσας, λέγει οὕτως· περὶ τὴν Ἑρκαίνην θάλασσαν
 καλεομένην οὔρεα ὑψηλὰ καὶ δασέα ὕλησιν, ἐπὶ δὲ
 τοῖσιν οὔρεσιν ἄκανθα κυνάρα. καὶ ἐξῆς· Πάρθων
 πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα Χοράσμιοι οἰκοῦσι γῆν, ἔχον-
 τες καὶ πεδία καὶ οὔρεα· ἐν δὲ τοῖσιν οὔρεσι δένδρεα
 ἐνὶ ἄγρια, ἄκανθα κυνάρα, ἰτέα, μυρική. καὶ περὶ τὸν
 Ἰνδὸν δὲ φησι ποταμὸν γίνεσθαι τὴν Κυνάραν. καὶ
 Σκύλαξ δὲ ἢ Πολέμων γράφει· εἶναι δὲ τὴν γῆν
 c ὑδρῆλην | κρήνησι καὶ ὀχετοῖσιν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς οὔρεσι
 πέφυκε κυνάρα καὶ βοτάνη ἄλλη. καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς·
 ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ὄρος παρέτεινε τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ καὶ
 ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν ὑψηλὸν τε καὶ δασὺ ἀγρίῃ ὕλῃ καὶ
 ἀκάνθη κυνάρα. Δίδυμος δ' ὁ γραμματικὸς ἐξηγού-
 μενος παρὰ τῷ Σοφοκλεῖ τὸ κύναρος ἄκανθα, μήποτε,
 φησί, τὴν κυνόσβατον λέγει διὰ τὸ ἀκανθῶδες καὶ
 τραχὺ εἶναι τὸ φυτόν. καὶ γὰρ ἡ Πυθία ξυλίην κύνα
 αὐτὸ εἶπεν, καὶ ὁ Λοκρὸς χρησμὸν λαβὼν ἐκεῖ πόλιν
 d οἰκίζγειν ὅπου ἂν ὑπὸ ξυλίνης | κυνὸς δηχθῆ, κατα-
 μυχθεῖς τὴν κνήμην ὑπὸ κυνοσβάτου ἔκτισε τὴν πό-
 λιν. ἐστὶ δὲ ὁ κυνόσβατος μεταξὺ θάμνου καὶ δένδρου,
 ὡς φησι Θεόφραστος, καὶ τὸν καρπὸν ἔχει ἐρυθρόν,
 παραπλήσιον τῇ ροιᾷ. ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὸ φύλλον ἀγνώδες.
 Φαινίας δ' ἐν πέμπτῳ Περὶ Φυτῶν κάκτον Σικελι-

²³⁵ Unidentified. Cf. 9.410e for similar doubts about the authorship of the work.

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if the book is actually his; because Callimachus (fr. 437) ascribes it to Nesiotes.²³⁵ Whoever the author is, therefore, he says the following: Around the so-called Hyrcanean Sea²³⁶ are high mountains covered with thick woods, and cardoon-thorn grows on the mountains. And immediately after this: The territory east of the Parthians belongs to the Chorasmioi, who inhabit both the plains and the mountains. In the mountains are wild trees, cardoon-thorn, willow, and tamarisk. He says that cardoons also grow around the Indus River. Scylax or Polemon (fr. 92 Preller) as well writes: The land is watered by springs and irrigation channels, and cardoons and other foliage grow in the mountains. And in the section immediately after this: The mountain range extends from here along both sides of the Indus River, and is high and thickly covered by wild trees and bushes and cardoon-thorn. The grammarian Didymus (p. 242 Schmidt) explains the words "cardoon-thorn" in Sophocles (fr. 718, above) by saying: Perhaps he is referring to the wild rose, since the plant is thorny and rough. The Pythia, in fact, referred to it as a "wooden dog" (Delphi oracle L83 Fontenrose); and after Locrus received an oracle telling him to plant a city in a place where he was bitten by a wooden dog, he founded it when his shin was scratched by a wild rose.²³⁷ According to Theophrastus (*HP* 3.18.4), the wild rose is something between a bush and a tree, and has red fruit that resembles a pomegranate. It also has a spiny leaf.

Phaenias in Book V of *On Plants* (fr. 38 Wehrli) men-

²³⁶ The Caspian.

²³⁷ The city in question is Ozolian Locris; cf. *Plu. Mor.* 294d-f.

κῆν τινα καλεῖ, ἀκανθῶδες φυτόν, ὡς καὶ Θεόφραστος ἐν ἔκτῳ Περὶ Φυτῶν· ἡ δὲ κάκτος καλουμένη περὶ Σικελίαν μόνον, ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι δ' οὐκ ἔστι. ἀφήσι δ' εὐθύς ἀπὸ⁶² τῆς ρίζης καυλοὺς ἐπιγείους· τὸ δὲ φύλλον ἔχει πλατὺ | καὶ ἀκανθῶδες· καυλοὺς δὲ τοὺς καλουμένους κάκτους. ἐδώδιμοι δ' εἰσὶ περιλεπόμενοι καὶ μικρὸν ὑπόπικροι, καὶ ἀποθησαυρίζουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐν ἄλμῃ. ἕτερον δὲ καυλὸν ὀρθὸν ἀφήσιν, ὃν καλοῦσι πτέρνικα, καὶ τοῦτον ἐδώδιμον. τὸ δὲ περικάρπιον ἀφαιρεθέντων τῶν παππωδῶν ἐμφερὲς τῷ τοῦ φοίνικος ἐγκεφάλῳ, ἐδώδιμον καὶ τοῦτο· καλοῦσι δ' αὐτὸ ἀσκάληρον. τίς δὲ τούτοις οὐχὶ πειθόμενος θαρρῶν ἂν εἶποι τὴν κάκτον εἶναι ταύτην τὴν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων μὲν καλουμένην κάρδον, οὐ μακρὰν ὄντων | τῆς Σικελίας, περιφανῶς δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κινάραν ὀνομαζομένην; ἀλλαγῇ γὰρ δύο γραμμάτων κάρδος καὶ κάκτος ταῦτόν ἂν εἴη. σαφῶς δ' ἡμᾶς διδάσκει καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος μετὰ τῶν ἐδωδίμων λαχάνων καὶ τὴν κάκτον καταλέγων οὕτως·

μακωνίδες,

μάραθα, τραχέες τε κάκτοι, τοὶ σὺν ἄλλοις μὲν
φαγεῖν

ἐντὶ λαχάνοις † εἰς τοπιον †.

εἶτα προϊών·

⁶² ἀπὸ Thrh.: πρὸ CE

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tions a Sicilian cactus (*kaktos*), which is a spiny plant. Likewise Theophrastus in Book VI of *On Plants* (HP 6.4.10–11): The so-called *kaktos* is found only around Sicily, and not in Greece. It sends out stalks that spread out on the ground straight up from the root. It has a flat, spiny leaf; the term *kaktos* is properly applied to the stalks. They are edible when peeled, and are slightly bitter; and they preserve them in brine. Another type sends up an erect stalk, which they refer to as a *pternix*; this too is edible. After the downy parts²³⁸ have been removed, the flesh resembles palm heart. This too is edible, and their name for it is *askalēron*.²³⁹ Can anyone accept this evidence but lack the courage to say that this *kaktos* is what the Romans, who are not located far from Sicily, call *kardos*²⁴⁰ and what the Greeks patently refer to as *kinara* (“cardoon”)? Because if two letters were changed, *kardos* and *kaktos* would be the same word. Epicharmus (fr. 158, encompassing all four quotations) as well manifestly teaches us this when he includes the cactus in a list of edible vegetables, as follows:

poppy,
 fennel, and rough cacti, which are there to eat
 among the other vegetables † to a little spot †.

Then he continues:

²³⁸ The spines or bristles.

²³⁹ Our manuscripts of Theophrastus (seemingly inferior to those Athenaeus knew) offer *skalian* here; but Plin. *Nat.* 21.97 (drawing on Theophrastus) has *ascalian*.

²⁴⁰ Latin *carduus*/*cardus* (“thistle”), whence ultimately English “cardoon.”

αἶ κα τις ἐκτρίψας καλῶς
 παρατιθῆνιν, ἀδύς ἐστ'· αὐτὸς δ' ἐπ' αὐτοῦ
 χαιρέτω.

71 καὶ πάλιν ἢ

θρίδακας, ἐλάταν, σχῖνον, < . . . > ραφανίδας,
 κάκτους < . . . >.

καὶ πάλιν·

ὁ δέ τις ἄγροθεν ἔοικε μάραθα καὶ κάκτους
 φέρειν,
 ἴφνον, λάπαθον, † ὀτόστυλλον, σκόλιον, † σερίδ',
 ἀτράκτυλον.
 πτέριν, † κάκτον ὀνόπορδον.

καὶ Φιλητᾶς ὁ Κῶος·

γηρύσαιτο δὲ νεβρὸς ἀπὸ ψυχῆν ὀλέσασα,
 ὀξείης κάκτου τύμμα φυλαξαμένη.

Ἄλλὰ μὴν καὶ κινάραν ὠνόμασε παραπλησίως
 b ἡμῖν Σώπατρος ὁ Πάφιος γεγονὼς τοῖς χρόνοις ἢ κατ'
 Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φιλίππου, ἐπιβιοῦς δὲ καὶ ἕως τοῦ
 δευτέρου τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλείως, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐμφανίζει
 ἔν τινι τῶν συγγραμμάτων αὐτοῦ. Πτολεμαῖος δ' ὁ
 Εὐεργέτης βασιλεὺς Αἰγύπτου, εἰς ὧν τῶν Ἀριστάρ-
 χου τοῦ γραμματικοῦ μαθητῶν, ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἰπομνη-
 μάτων γράφει οὕτως· περὶ Βερενίκην τῆς Λιβύης
 Λήθων ποτάμιον, ἐν ᾧ γίνεται ἰχθὺς λάβραξ καὶ

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If someone scrubs it nice and smooth
and serves it, it's quite pleasant. But all by itself—to
hell with it.

And again:

lettuce, *elata*, squill, radishes, cacti.

And again:

One fellow is likely to bring from his field fennel and
cacti,
spike-lavender, sorrel † *otostullon skolion* † chicory,
spindle-thistle,
fern, † cactus, bindweed.

Also Philetas of Cos (fr. 16, p. 93 Powell = fr. 18 Sbardella):

a fawn cries out as it expires,
hiding within sharp cactus spines.

And yet Sopater of Paphos (fr. 21) referred to it as *kinara*, just as we do; he (test. 1) was born in the time of Alexander son of Philip²⁴¹ and survived into the reign of the second king of Egypt,²⁴² as he himself indicates in one of his treatises. Ptolemy Euergetes (*FGrH* 234 T 1), who was king of Egypt and one of the students of the grammarian Aristarchus, writes as follows in Book II of the *Memoirs* (*FGrH* 234 F 1): Around Berenice in Libya is a small river called the Lethon. In the river are bass, giltheads, and

²⁴¹ Alexander the Great (356–323 BCE).

²⁴² Ptolemy II, whose reign began in 285 BCE.

χρύσοφρυς καὶ ἐγγέλεων πλήθος τῶν καλουμένων βασιλικῶν, αἱ τῶν τε ἐκ Μακεδονίας καὶ τῆς Κω-
 c παΐδος λίμνης τὸ ἰ μέγεθός εἰσιν ἡμιόλιαι, πᾶν τε τὸ
 ρεῖθρον αὐτοῦ ἰχθύων ποικίλων ἐστὶ πλήρες. πολλῆς
 δ' ἐν τοῖς τόποις κινάρας φυομένης οἱ τε συνακολου-
 θούντες ἡμῖν στρατιῶται πάντες δρεπόμενοι συν-
 εχρῶντο καὶ ἡμῖν προσέφερον ψιλοῦντες τῶν ἀκαν-
 θῶν. οἶδα δὲ καὶ Κίναρον καλουμένην νῆσον, ἧς
 μνημονεύει Σῆμος.

Ἐγκέφαλος φοῖνικος. Θεόφραστος περὶ φοῖνικος
 τοῦ φυτοῦ εἰπὼν ἐπιφέρει· ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν
 d φυτεία τοιαύτη τις· ἡ δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, ὅταν ἀφέλωσι τὸ ἰ
 ἄνω ἐν ᾧπερ ὁ ἐγκέφαλος. καὶ Ξενοφῶν ἐν δευτέρῳ
 Ἀναβάσεως γράφει τάδε· ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον
 τοῦ φοῖνικος πρῶτον ἔφαγον οἱ στρατιῶται· καὶ οἱ
 πολλοὶ ἐθαύμαζον τό τε εἶδος καὶ τὴν ιδιότητα τῆς
 ἡδονῆς· ἦν δὲ σφόδρα καὶ τοῦτο κεφαλαλγές. ὁ δὲ
 φοῖνιξ, ὅταν ἐξαιρεθῆ ὁ ἐγκέφαλος, ὅλος ἐξαναίνεται.
 Νίκανδρος Γεωργικοῖς·

σὺν καὶ φοῖνικος παραφυάδας ἐκκόπτοντες
 e ἐγκέφαλον φορέουσι νέοις ἀσπαστὸν ἔδεσμα. ἰ

Δίφιλος δ' ὁ Σίφνιος ἱστορεῖ· οἱ τῶν φοινίκων ἐγκέφα-
 λοι πλήσμιοι καὶ πολύτροφοι, ἔτι δὲ βαρεῖς καὶ δυ-
 σοικονόμητοι διψῶδεις τε καὶ στατικοὶ κοιλίας.

²⁴³ Lake Copais in Boeotia was a famous source of eels; cf. the material collected at 7.297c-d, 298f-9b, 300c.

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large numbers of what are referred to as royal eels, which are half again as big as the eels in Macedon and Lake Copais;²⁴³ and its entire stream is full of fish of various types. Cardoons grow widely throughout the region, and all the soldiers accompanying us picked and ate them, and stripped off the thorns and brought them to us. I also know of an island called Cinarus, which is mentioned by Semus (*FGrH* 396 F 17).

Palm brain.²⁴⁴ After describing the palm tree, Theophrastus (*HP* 2.6.2) continues: Such, then, is the method of growing the plant from seed. The other method is by propagation, when they remove the upper portion of the tree, which contains the brain. And Xenophon in Book II (3.16) of the *Anabasis* writes as follows: Here the soldiers ate palm brain for the first time, and many of them were surprised at its appearance and the peculiar flavor. But it was very apt to cause headaches. When the brain is removed, the whole palm tree withers up. Nicander in the *Georgics* (fr. 80 Schneider):

At the same time they cut off the palm tree's side-
growths²⁴⁵
and take away the brain, a food children relish.

Diphilus of Siphnos records: Palm brains are filling and full of nourishment, but are also heavy and difficult to digest, produce thirst, and arrest the movement of the bowels.

²⁴⁴ The terminal bud of the palm tree, commonly referred to as palm heart.

²⁴⁵ The fronds.

Ἡμεῖς δέ, φησὶν οὗτος, ἑταῖρε Τιμόκρατες, δόξομεν ἐγκέφαλον ἔχειν μέχρι τοῦ τέλους, εἰ καταπαύσομεν ἐνταῦθα καὶ τήνδε τὴν συναγωγὴν.

ἔργον εἰς τρίκλινον συγγενείας εἰσπεσεῖν.
 οὗ λαβὼν τὴν κύλικα πρῶτος ἄρχεται λόγου
 πατήρ
 καὶ παραινέσας πέπωκεν, εἶτα μήτηρ δευτέρα,
 εἶτα τηθὶς παραλαλεῖ τις, εἶτα βαρύφωνος
 γέρων,
 τηθίδος πατήρ, ἔπειτα γραῦς καλοῦσα φίλτατον.
 ὁ δ' ἐπινεύει πᾶσι τούτοις,

φησὶ Μένανδρος. πάλιν·

τῆς σκιᾶς τὴν πορφύραν
 πρῶτον ἐνυφαίνουσ', εἶτα μετὰ τὴν πορφύραν
 τοῦτ' ἔστιν οὔτε λευκὸν οὔτε πορφύρα,
 ἀλλ' ὥσπερ αὐγὴ τῆς κρόκης κεκραμένη.

Ἀντιφάνης·

τί φῆς; † ἐνθάδ' οἴσεις τι † καταφαγεῖν
 ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν, εἶθ' ὥσπερ οἱ πτωχοὶ χαμαὶ

²⁴⁶ The narrator, the character Athenaeus.

²⁴⁷ The material that follows is preserved in C at the end of Book XIII, and in E at the end of Book XV. It apparently represents quotations that fell out of the text and were inserted in the margin, and that were then swept up together into a single omni-

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But as for us, my friend Timocrates, this fellow²⁴⁶ says, we will seem to have the maximum amount of brains if we put an end to our collection of material at this point.²⁴⁷

It's hard work to be thrown into a family dinner party.

The father picks up the cup and makes the first speech,

and after giving some advice, has a drink; the mother's second;

then an aunt rambles on, followed by a deep-voiced old man,

who's the aunt's father; then comes an old woman who calls him "dearest."

And he nods his head, agreeing with them all,

says Menander (fr. *186). Again (fr. 435):

First they weave in the purple, for the shadow; then after the purple comes this part, which is neither white nor purple, but is like a beam of light mixed into the woof.

Antiphanes (fr. 242):

What are you saying? † Will you bring me something here † to eat

at the door? In that case, I'll sit on the ground here

bus supplementary section. Cratinus fr. 334 appears complete between Men. fr. 435 and Antiph. fr. 242, but has been printed at 2.49a, where it is preserved in battered form in the manuscripts; it thus seems likely that the Menander fragments come from earlier in the Book than this (fr. 435 probably at 2.48c), and the Antiphanes fragments from later (fr. 243 most likely at 2.49c).

ATHENAEUS

ἐνθάδ' ἔδομαι < . . . > καί τις ὄψεται.

ὁ αὐτός·

εὐτρέπιζε < . . . >

ψυκτῆρα, λεκάνην, τριπόδιον, ποτήριον,
χύτραν, θυείαν, κάκκαβον, ζωμήρυσιν.

BOOK II

to eat, as beggars do, and someone will see.

The same author (fr. 243):

Prepare

a cooler, a basin, a little table, a cup,

a cookpot, a mortar, a three-footed pot, a soup-ladle.

ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΤΡΙΤΟΥ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΥ

72 Ὅτι Καλλίμαχος ὁ γραμματικὸς τὸ μέγα βιβλίον ἴσον ἔλεγεν εἶναι τῷ μεγάλῳ κακῷ.

Κιβώρια. Νίκανδρος ἐν Γεωργικοῖς·

σπείρειας κυάμων Αἰγύπτιον, ὄφρα θερείης
ἀνθέων μὲν στεφάνους ἀνύσης, τὰ δὲ πεπτηῶτα

b ἀκμαῖον καρποῖο κιβώρια δαινυμένοισιν |
ἐς χέρας ἠιθέοισι πάλαι ποθέουσιν ὀρέξης.
ρίζας δ' ἐν θοίνησιν ἀφεψήσας προτίθημι.

ρίζας δὲ λέγει Νίκανδρος τὰ ὑπ' Ἀλεξανδρέων κολοκάσια καλούμενα· ὡς ὁ αὐτός·

κυάμον λέψας κολοκάσιον ἐντμήξας τε.

ἐστὶ δ' ἐν Σικυῶνι Κολοκασίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν.

Ἔστὶ δὲ καὶ κιβώριον εἶδος ποτηρίου.

c Θεόφραστος δ' ἐν τῷ | Περὶ Φυτῶν οὕτω γράφει· ὁ
κύαμος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ φύεται μὲν ἐν ἔλεσι καὶ λίμναις.
καυλὸς δ' αὐτοῦ μῆκος μὲν ὁ μακρότατος εἰς τέτταρας

¹ Probably a self-effacing comment by the narrator Athenaeus before he launches into the next section of his report to Timocrates. ² Cf. II.477e-f.

FROM BOOK III

The grammarian Callimachus (fr. 465) used to say that a big book is equivalent to a big evil.¹

Lotus pods (*kibōria*). Nicander in the *Georgics* (fr. 81 Schneider):

Sow the Egyptian variety of bean, so that in the
summer
you can produce garlands from its flowers and, when
the pods
full of ripe fruit have fallen, put them into the hands
of young men who are dining and have long been
desiring them.
As for the roots, I boil them and serve them at
banquets.

Nicander uses the term "roots" for what the Alexandrians refer to as *kolokasia*. As he himself says (fr. 82 Schneider):

after stripping the *kolokasion* from the bean and
cutting it up.

In Sicyon there is a temple of Athena Kolokasia.

There is also a type of drinking vessel known as a *kibōrion*.²

Theophrastus in his *On Plants* (HP 4.8.7–8) writes as follows: The bean grows in Egypt in swamps and marshes. Its stalk is a maximum of four cubits long and one finger

- πήχεις, πάχος δὲ δακτυλιαῖος, ὅμοιος καλάμῳ μακρῷ ἀγονάτῳ· διαφύσεις δ' ἔνδοθεν ἔχει δι' ὅλου διειλημμένας ὁμοίας τοῖς κηρίοις. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δ' ἡ κωδύα καὶ τὸ ἄνθος διπλάσιον ἢ μήκωνος· χρῶμα δ' ὅμοιον ρόδῳ
- d κατακορές. παραφύεται δὲ φύλλα μεγάλα. ἡ δὲ ρίζα παχύτερα καλάμου τοῦ παχυτάτου καὶ διαφύσεις ὁμοίας ἔχουσα τῷ καυλῷ. ἐσθίουσι δ' αὐτὴν καὶ ἐφθὴν καὶ ὠμὴν καὶ ὀπτὴν, καὶ οἱ περὶ τὰ ἔλη τοῦτω σίτῳ χρῶνται. γίνεται δὲ καὶ ἐν Συρίᾳ καὶ <κατὰ> Κιλικίαν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκπέττουσιν αἱ χῶραι· καὶ περὶ Ἐρυθρῆν τῆς Χαλκιδικῆς ἐν λίμνῃ τινὶ μετρία τῷ μεγέθει, καὶ αὕτη πέττεται καὶ τελεοκαρπεῖ. Δίφιλος δὲ ὁ Σίφνιός φησιν ἡ τοῦ κυάμου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου ρίζα,
- 73 || ἥτις λέγεται κολοκάσιον, εὐστομός τέ ἐστὶ καὶ τρόφιμος, δυσέκκριτος <δὲ> διὰ τὸ παραστύφειν κρεῖττον δ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἥκιστα ἐριώδες. οἱ δὲ γινόμενοι, φησί, κύαμοι ἐκ τῶν κιβωρίων χλωροὶ μὲν εἰσι δύσπεπτοι, ὀλιγότροφοι, διαχωρητικοί, πνευματικώτατοι, ξηραυθέντες δὲ ἥττον πνευματοῦσι. γίνεται δὲ ὄντως ἐκ τῶν κιβωρίων καὶ ἄνθος στεφανωτικόν. καλοῦσι δ' Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν αὐτὸ λωτόν, Ναυκρατῖται δὲ οἱ ἐμοί, λέγει οὗτος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, μελίλωτον· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ
- b μελιλώτινοι στέφανοι | πάνν εὐώδεις καὶ καύσωνος ὦρα ψυκτικώτατοι.

Φύλαρχος δὲ φησιν· οὐδέποτε πρότερον ἐν οὐδενὶ τόπῳ κυάμων Αἰγυπτίων οὔτε σπαρέντων οὔτ' εἰ σπειρείε τις τικτομένων εἰ μὴ κατὰ Αἴγυπτον, ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Πύρρου παρὰ τὸν Θύαμιν

BOOK III

wide, and resembles a large jointless reed; inside are separate tubes that run the length of the plant and resemble honeycombs.³ On the stalk are set the head and the flower, which is twice as large as a poppy and a deep, rose-like color. Large leaves grow along the sides. The root is thicker than the thickest reed and contains tubes that resemble the stalk. They eat it stewed, raw, and baked; and the people who live around the marshes use it for food. It grows in Syria and throughout Cilicia as well, but does not reach maturity there. It is also found in a fairly large marsh near Torone, in the Chalcidic peninsula, where it ripens completely and bears fruit. Diphilus of Siphnos says: The Egyptian bean's root, called a *kolokasion*, is tasty and nourishing, but is difficult to digest because it is rather astringent. The least wooly variety is the best. He says that the beans produced within the pods, when green, are difficult to digest, contain little nutrition, are laxative, and produce a great deal of gas; but after they dry, they produce less gas. A flower used to make garlands is also produced by the pods. The Egyptians refer to it as a *lōtos*;⁴ but my people, in the city of Naucratis, says our Athenaeus, call it *melilōtos* ("honey-*lōtos*"). This is the source of honey-*lōtos* garlands, which are quite fragrant and very cooling in the hot season.⁵

Phylarchus (*FGrH* 81 F 65) says: Although Egyptian beans had never been planted anywhere other than Egypt, or if they were planted, did not sprout, in the time of King Alexander son of Pyrrhus⁶ some happened to grow in a

³ *Viz.* in cross-section.

⁴ Cf. 15.677d-e. ⁵ Cf. 15.678c.

⁶ King of Molossia 272-c.240 BCE.

ποταμὸν τῆς ἐν Ἠπείρῳ Θεσπρωτίας ἐν ἔλει τινὶ
 συνέβη φυῆναι. δύο μὲν οὖν ἠνεγκέ πως ἔτη καρπὸν
 ἐκτενωῶς καὶ ἠΰξησε· τοῦ δ' Ἀλεξάνδρου φυλακὴν
 c ἐπιστήσαντος καὶ κωλύοντος οὐχ ὅτι λαμβάνειν τὸν ἰ-
 βουλόμενον, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ προσέρχεσθαι πρὸς τὸν τό-
 πον, ἀπεξηράνθη τὸ ἔλος καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὐχ ὅτι τὸν
 προειρημένον ἠνεγκε καρπὸν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὕδωρ εἴ ποτε
 ἔσχε φαίνεται. τὸ παραπλήσιον ἐγένετο καὶ ἐν Αἰδη-
 ψῷ. χωρὶς γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων ὑδάτων ναμάτιόν τι ἐφάνη
 ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ προϊέμενον οὐ πόρρω τῆς θαλάσσης.
 τούτου πίνοντες οἱ ἀρρωστοῦντες τὰ μέγιστα ὠφε-
 λοῦντο· διὸ πολλοὶ παρεγίνοντο καὶ μακρόθεν τῷ
 ὕδατι χρῆσιμοι. οἱ οὖν τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντιγόνου
 d στρατηγοὶ ἰβουλόμενοι οἰκονομικώτεροι εἶναι διάφο-
 ρόν τι ἔταξαν διδόναι τοῖς πίνουσι, καὶ ἐκ τούτου
 ἀπεξηράνθη τὸ νᾶμα. καὶ ἐν Τρωάδι δὲ ἐξουσίαν εἶχον
 οἱ βουλόμενοι τὸν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον τὸν Τραγασαῖον
 ἄλλα λαμβάνειν· Λυσιμάχου δὲ τέλος ἐπιβαλόντος
 ἠφανίσθη. θαυμάσαντος δὲ καὶ ἀφέντος τὸν τόπον
 ἀτελῆ πάλιν ἠΰξήθη.

Σικυός. παροιμία·

σικυὸν τρώγουσα, γύναι, τὴν χλαῖναν ὕφαινε.

e Μάτρων ἐν παρωδίαῖς· ἰ

καὶ σικυὸν εἶδον, γαίης ἐρικυδέος υἱόν,
 κείμενον ἐν λαχάνοις· ὁ δ' ἐπ' ἐννέα κέῖτο
 τραπέζας.

swamp near the Thyamis river in Thesprotia, which is a region in Epirus. For two years, in fact, the plant somehow produced fruit vigorously and flourished. But when Alexander set a guard over it and prevented anyone who wanted from taking some or even approaching the place, the swamp dried up; after that, not only did it not produce the crop mentioned above, but it was not even apparent that there had ever been any water there. Something similar happened in Aedepsus. A small spring, unconnected with the other water-sources there, appeared not far from the sea and emitted cold water. When sick people drank from it, it helped them immensely; as a result large numbers of them came, even from far away, to drink the water. King Antigonus⁷ generals wanted to get as much profit as they could from the situation and therefore ordered that those who drank the water would have to pay a fee; after this, the spring dried up. Likewise in the Troad, before this time anyone who wanted to gather salt at Tragasae was free to do so. But when Lysimachus⁸ imposed a tax on it, the salt disappeared; when he was surprised and made the place free of taxation, the salt accumulated again.

Cucumber. A proverb:

Eat a cucumber, woman, and weave your cloak!⁹

Matro in his parodies (fr. 4 Olson-Sens = *SH* 537):

And I saw a cucumber, the son of famous earth,
lying among the vegetables; he lay over nine tables.

⁷ Antigonus Gonatas; see 2.44b n.

⁸ See 2.51a n.

⁹ I.e. "Do your work and keep quiet!"

καὶ Διεύχης¹.

ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἀέξεται σικυὸς δροσερῶ ἐνὶ χώρῳ.

Ἄττικοὶ μὲν οὖν αἰεὶ τρισυλλάβως, Ἄλκαϊος δὲ

< . . . > δάκη (φησί) τῷ σίκυος,

ἀπὸ εὐθείας τῆς σίκυς, ὡς στάχυς στάχυος.

Γ

74 † Στελεω ραφανίδας, σικυνοὺς τέτταρας. † σικύδιον
δ' ὑποκοριστικῶς εἶρηκε Φρύνιχος ἐν Μονοτρόπῳ·

< . . . > κᾶντραγεῖν σικύδιον.

Θεόφραστος δὲ φησι σικυῶν τρία εἶναι γένη, Λακωνικόν, σκυταλίαν, Βοιώτιον· καὶ τούτων τὸν μὲν Λακωνικὸν ὑδρευόμενον βελτίω γίνεσθαι, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἀνύδρους. γίνονται δέ, φησί, καὶ εὐχυλότεροι² οἱ σικυνοί, ἐὰν τὸ σπέρμα ἐν γάλακτι βραχὲν σπαρῇ ἢ ἐν μελικράτῳ· ἱστορεῖ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν Φυτικοῖς Αἰτίοις. θᾶτον αὔξεσθαι, κᾶν ἐν ὕδατι κᾶν ἐν γάλακτι πρότερον | ἢ εἰς τὴν γῆν κατατεθῆναι βραχῆ. Εὐθύδημος δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Λαχάνων εἶδος σικυῶν εἶναι τοὺς προσαγορευομένους δρακοντίας. ὠνομάσθαι δὲ σικυνοὺς φησι

¹ Διεύχης Kaibel: λεύχης C: λάχης E

² The traditional text of Theophrastus reads γλυκύτεροι ("sweeter").

BOOK III

Also Dieuches (*SH* 379):¹⁰

as when a cucumber grows large in a moist place.

Attic authors always use the trisyllabic form.¹¹ But Alcaeus (fr. 401A) says:

may bite the cucumber (*sikuos*),

deriving the word from the nominative form *sikus*, like *stachus* (nominative), *stachuos* (genitive).

BOOK III¹²

† a rolling pin, radishes, four cucumbers † (adesp. com. fr. *105, unmetrical). Phrynichus uses the diminutive form *sikudion* in *The Recluse* (fr. 26):

and to eat a gherkin (*sikudion*).

Theophrastus (*HP* 7.4.6) says that there are three varieties of cucumber: the Spartan, the club-shaped, and the Boeotian. Of these, the Spartan variety is better if it is watered, whereas the other varieties are better if not watered. Cucumbers produce better *chulē*, he claims, if the seed is soaked in milk or honey-water before sowing; he records this in his *Causes of Plants* (2.14.3). (*HP* 7.1.6) It grows more rapidly if it is soaked in either water or milk before being put in the ground. Euthydemus in his *On Vegetables* claims that what are called *drakontiai* are a type of cu-

¹⁰ For Dieuches, see 1.5b; but perhaps a different name should be restored. ¹¹ *sikuos*.

¹² Manuscript A (which preserves the unepitomized version of the text) begins at this point.

Δημήτριος ὁ Ἰξίων ἐν πρώτῳ Ἐτυμολογουμένων ἀπὸ τοῦ σεύεσθαι καὶ κίειν ὀρμητικὸν γὰρ ὑπάρχειν. Ἡρακλείδης δ' ὁ Ταραντῖνος ἐν τῷ Συμποσίῳ ἡδύγαιον καλεῖ τὸν σικυόν. Διοκλῆς δ' ὁ Καρύστιος τὸν σικυόν φησι μετὰ σίων ἐν πρώτοις λαμβανόμενον ἐνοχλεῖν· φέρεσθαι γὰρ ἄνω καθάπερ τὴν ῥάφανον.

c τελευταῖον | δὲ λαμβανόμενον ἀλυπότερον εἶναι καὶ εὐπεπτότερον· ἐφθὸν δὲ καὶ διουρητικὸν μετρίως ὑπάρχειν. Δίφιλος δὲ φησιν· ὁ σικυὸς ψυκτικὸς ὑπάρχων δυσσοικονόμητός ἐστι καὶ δυσυποβίβαστος, ἔτι δὲ φρικοποιὸς καὶ γεννητικὸς χολῆς ἀφροδισίων τε ἐφεκτικός. αὐξοῦνται δ' ἐν τοῖς κήποις οἱ σικυοὶ κατὰ τὰς πανσελήνους καὶ φανεράν ἴσχουσι τὴν ἐπίδοσιν, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ θαλάττιοι ἐχίνοι.

Σῦκα. ἡ συκῆ, φησὶν ὁ Μάγνος· οὐδενὶ γὰρ τῶν περὶ σύκων λογίων³ παραχωρήσαιμι <ἄν>, κἂν ἀπὸ

d κράδης ἀποκρέμασθαι | δέη· φιλόσυκος γὰρ εἰμι δαιμονίως· λέξω τά μοι προσπίπτοντα—ἡ συκῆ, ἄνδρες φίλοι, ἡγεμῶν τοῦ καθαρείου βίου τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐγένετο. δῆλον δὲ τοῦτο ἐκ τοῦ καλεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἱεράν μὲν συκῆν τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ πρῶτον εὐρέθη, τὸν δ' ἀπ' αὐτῆς καρπὸν ἡγητηρίαν διὰ τὸ πρῶτον εὐρεθῆναι τῆς ἡμέρου τροφῆς. τῶν δὲ σύκων ἐστὶ γένη πλείονα·

³ λογίων Olson: λόγων ACE

¹³ Cf. 3.88c.

¹⁴ This is most likely the beginning of Magnus' speech.

BOOK III

cucumber. Demetrius Ixion in Book I of the *Etymologies* (fr. 41 Staesche) says that cucumbers (*sikuoi*) get their name from the verbs *seuomai* ("rush") and *kiō* ("go"), because they are a stimulant. Heracleides of Tarentum in his *Symposium* (fr. 70 Guardasole) refers to the cucumber as *hēdugaios* ("from sweet soil"). Diocles of Carystus (fr. 197 van der Eijk) says that when the cucumber is eaten along with marshwort at the beginning of a meal, it causes trouble, because it moves upward in the stomach, just as cabbage does. But if it is eaten last, it does less damage and is more easily digested; when stewed, it is moderately diuretic. Diphilus says: Because the cucumber is cooling, it is hard to digest and to purge from one's system. It also causes chills, produces bile, and checks sexual desire. Cucumbers increase in size in gardens during full moons, and the growth is noticeable, as is also the case with sea-urchins.¹³

Figs. The fig-tree, says Magnus¹⁴—for I would yield to none of those who claim expertise in regard to figs, even if I must be hung from a fig-branch, since I am extraordinarily fond of figs; I will tell you what occurs to me—the fig-tree, my friends, was mankind's guide to the refined way of life. This is clear from the fact that the Athenians refer to the place where it was first discovered as "Sacred Fig-Tree"¹⁵ and to the fruit that comes from it as "Leader"¹⁶, because it was the first domesticated food to be discovered. There are many varieties of figs, such as the Attic, which Antiphanes

¹⁵ Near Eleusis; see *IG* I³ 386.163; Paus. 1.37.2.

¹⁶ The name of a fig-cake carried in the procession at the Plynteria festival (Hsch. η 68; Phot. η 37).

Ἄττικὸν μὲν, οὗ μνημονεύει Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Ὀμωνύμοις· ἐπαινῶν δὲ τὴν χώραν τὴν Ἀττικὴν τάδε λέγει·

e (A.) οἶα δ' ἡ χώρα | φέρει
 διαφέροντα † πάσης, Ἴππόρικε, τῆς οἰκουμένης,
 τὸ μέλι, τοὺς ἄρτους, τὰ σύκα. (B.) σύκα μὲν, νῆ
 τὸν Δία,
 πάνυ φέρει.

Ἰστρος δ' ἐν τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς οὐδ' ἐξάγεσθαι φησι τῆς Ἀττικῆς τὰς ἀπ' αὐτῶν γινομένας ἰσχάδας, ἵνα μόνοι ἀπολαύοιεν οἱ κατοικοῦντες· καὶ ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ ἐνεφανίζοντο διακλέπτοντες, οἱ τούτους μνηύοντες τοῖς δικασταῖς ἐκλήθησαν τότε πρῶτον συκοφάνται. Ἀλεξίς δ' ἐν Ποιητῇ φησιν·

f ὁ συκοφάντης οὐ δικαίως τοῦνομα |
 ἐν τοῖσι μοχθηροῖσιν ἐστι κείμενον.
 ἔδει γάρ, ὅστις χρηστὸς ἦν ἡδύς τ' ἀνὴρ,
 τὰ σύκα προστεθέντα δηλοῦν τὸν τρόπον·
 νυνὶ δὲ πρὸς μοχθηρὸν ἡδὺ προστεθὲν
 ἀπορεῖν πεπόηκε διὰ τί τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει.

Φιλόμνηστος δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ῥόδῳ Σμινθείων φησίν· ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ συκοφάντης ἐντεῦθεν προσηγο-

¹⁷ Quoted in more complete form at 2.43b.

¹⁸ A cynical allusion to the country's abundance of sycophants (allegedly cognate with *sukon*, "fig"; see below).

¹⁹ Here understood "fig-revealers," as if from *sukon* + *phainizō*; cf. Philomnestus, below.

BOOK III

(fr. 177.1-4) mentions in *Men Who Shared a Name*. In praise of the land of Attica he says the following:¹⁷

(A.) The products of this country,
Hipponicus, better than those in the † whole
inhabited world!
Honey! bread! figs! (B.) By Zeus, it certainly
produces
figs.¹⁸

Istrus in his *Attic History* (FGrH 334 F 12) says that the dried figs produced by these trees were not exported from Attica, in order that only the inhabitants of the country could enjoy them. When many people were found (*enephanizonto*) to be evading the law, those who informed the jurors about them were then for the first time referred to as sycophants.¹⁹ Alexis says in *The Poet* (fr. 187):²⁰

It's not right that the name "sycophant"
is bestowed on scoundrels.
For it should have been the case that, if someone was
a decent, pleasant man,
figs were attached to him and revealed his character.
But as it is, attaching something pleasant to a
scoundrel
makes one wonder why this is so.

Philomnestus says in his *On the Smintheian Festival in Rhodes* (FGrH 527 F 1)²¹: Since the sycophant got his

²⁰ Called *The Poets* at 6.241d.

²¹ *Smintheus* was a epithet of Apollo (e.g. *Il.* 1.39), and *Sminthios* was the name of one of the months in Rhodes.

75 ρεύθη, διὰ τὸ εἶναι τότε τὰ ἐπιζήμια καὶ τὰς εἰσφορὰς
 σῦκα καὶ οἶνον καὶ ἔλαιον, ἢ ἀφ' ὧν τὰ κοινὰ διώκουν,
 καὶ τοὺς ταῦτα εἰσπράττοντας καὶ φαίνοντας⁴ ἐκά-
 λουν, ὡς ἔοικε, συκοφάντας, αἰρούμενοι τοὺς ἀξιπι-
 στοτάτους τῶν πολιτῶν.

Λακωνικοῦ δὲ σύκου μνημονεύει ἐν Γεωργοῖς Ἀρι-
 στοφάνης ταδὶ λέγων·

σुकᾶς φυτεύω πάντα πλὴν Λακωνικῆς·
 τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ σύκον ἐχθρόν ἐστι καὶ τυραννικόν.
 οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἂν μικρόν, εἰ μὴ μισόδημον ἦν
 σφόδρα.

76 μικρόν δὲ αὐτὸ εἶπε διὰ τὸ μὴ μέγα εἶναι φυτόν.
 b Ἄλεξις δ' ἐν Ὀλυνθίῳ Φρυγίων σύκων ἢ μνημονεύων
 φησί·

τό τε θειοπαγὲς μητρῶον ἔμοι
 μελέδημ' ἰσχάς,
 Φρυγίας εὐρήματα συκῆς.

τῶν δὲ καλουμένων φιβάλεων σύκων πολλοὶ μὲν μέμ-
 νηται τῶν κωμωδιοποιῶν, ἀτὰρ καὶ Φερεκράτης ἐν
 Κραπατάλλοις·

ὦ δαιμόνιε, πύρεττε μηδὲν φροντίσας
 καὶ τῶν φιβάλεων τρῶγε σύκων τοῦ θέρους
 κάμπιμπλάμενος κάθειυδε τῆς μεσημβρίας,

⁴ εἰσπράττοντας καὶ φαίνοντας Kaibel: πρᾶττοντας καὶ
 εἰσφαίνοντας ACE

BOOK III

name from this source; because in those days the fines and levies were figs, wine, and oil,²² and they administered the state with these. They referred to the people who made these assessments or publicized (*phainontas*) them, so it seems, as sycophants, and they selected the most trustworthy citizens.

Aristophanes (fr. 110) mentions a Laconian fig in *Farmers*, saying the following:

I grow every sort of fig tree except the Laconian
variety,
because this fig is hostile and tyrannical;
for it wouldn't be small, if it weren't a great enemy of
the common people.

He calls it "small" because it is not a large plant. Alexis in *The Man from Olynthus* (fr. 167.14-16)²³ mentions Phrygian figs and says:

and the divinely-planted, maternal
object of my care, a dried fig,
invention of a Phrygian fig tree.

Many comic poets mention the so-called phibalian figs, in particular Pherecrates in *Small Change* (fr. 85):

My good sir—don't worry about it. Have a fever;
eat some phibalian figs in the summer;
after you're full of them, take a nap at noon;

²² The point is that money was not yet in use.

²³ Quoted in more complete form at 2.54f-5a, where see n.

c κατὰ σφακέλιζε καὶ πέπρησο καὶ βόα. |

Τηλεκλείδης δ' ἐν Ἀμφικτύοσι·

< . . . > ὡς καλοὶ καὶ φιβάλεω.

καὶ τὰς μυρρίνας δὲ φιβάλεας λέγουσιν, ὡς Ἀπολλοφάνης⁵ ἐν Κρησί·

πρώτιστα δὲ

τῶν μυρρινῶν ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν βούλομαι,

ἄς διαμασῶμ' ὅταν τι βουλεύειν δέη,

† τὰς δὲ φιβάλεως † πάνυ καλὰς στεφανωτρίδας.

d χελιδονείων δὲ σύκων μνημονεύει Ἐπιγένης ἐν Βακχίδι⁶. |

εἰτ' ἔρχεται

χελιδονείων μετ' ὀλίγον σκληρῶν ἀδρὸς

πινακίσκος.

Ἄνδροτίων δὲ ἢ Φίλιππος ἢ Ἡγήμων ἐν τῷ Γεωργικῷ γένῃ συκῶν τάδε ἀναγράφει οὕτως· ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ πεδίῳ φυτεύειν χρὴ χελιδόνεων, ἐρινεῶν, λευκερινεῶν, φιβάλεων· ὀπωροβασιλίδας δὲ πανταχοῦ. ἔχει γάρ τι χρήσιμον ἕκαστον τὸ γένος· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ πλείστον αἱ κόλουροι καὶ φορμύνιοι καὶ δίφοροι καὶ Μεγαρικαὶ καὶ Λακωνικαὶ συμφέρουσιν, ἐὰν ἔχωσιν ὕδωρ.

e Τῶν δὲ ἐν Ῥόδῳ γινομένων σύκων | μνημονεύει

⁵ Ἀπολλοφάνης Porson: Ἀντιφάνης ACE

BOOK III

and then have spasms and feel like you're on fire and
scream!

And Teleclides in *Amphictyons* (fr. 6):

How fine and phibalian!

They also call myrtle-berries "phibalian," as Apollophanes
does in *Cretans* (fr. 5):

first and foremost,
I want some myrtle-berries on my dinner table,
so that I can chew them whenever I need to make a
decision—

† the phibalian variety †, very fine and fit for
garlands.

Epigenes in *Bacchis* (fr. 1) mentions swallow-figs:

then after a little while
comes a small platter full of hard
swallow-figs.

Androtion (*FGrH* 324 F 75) or Philip or Hegemon in his
On Agriculture lists the following types of fig trees: On
level ground one should plant swallow-figs, wild figs,
white-figs, and phibalian figs, whereas autumn-queens can
be planted anywhere. For each type is useful for some-
thing; but the most profitable are the dwarves, *phor-*
munioi, double-bearing, Megarian, and Laconian variet-
ies, provided they have water.

Lynceus in his *Letters* (fr. 12 Dalby) mentions the figs

⁶ Βακχίδι Kock: Βραχχία A: Βακχίω Kaibel: cf. 9.384a
Βάχκαις; 11.498e Βακκία

Λυγκεὺς ἐν Ἐπιστολαῖς σύγκρισιν ποιούμενος τῶν Ἀθήνησι γινομένων καλλίστων πρὸς τὰ Ῥοδιακά. γράφει δὲ οὕτως· τὰ δὲ ἐρινεὰ τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς ὥστε συκάμινα σύκοις δοκεῖν ἐρίζειν. καὶ ταῦτ' οὐκ ἀπὸ δείπνου καθάπερ ἐκεῖ διεστραμμένης ἤδη διὰ τὴν πλησμονὴν τῆς γεύσεως, ἀλλ' ἀθίκτου τῆς ἐπιθυμίας οὔσης πρὸ δείπνου παρατέθεικα. τῶν δ' ἐν τῇ καλῇ Ῥώμῃ καλλιστρουθίων καλουμένων σύκων εἰ ὁ Λυγκεὺς ἐγεύσατο ὥσπερ ἐγώ, ὄξυωπέστερος ἂν ἐγεγόνει
 f παρὰ πολὺ τοῦ ὁμωνύμου· ἰ τοσαύτην ὑπεροχὴν ἔχει ταῦτα τὰ σύκα πρὸς τὰ ἐν τῇ πάσῃ οἰκουμένη γινόμενα. ἐπαινεῖται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα σύκων γένη κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην γινόμενα, τὰ τε καλούμενα Χῖα καὶ τὰ Λιβιανά, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ Χαλκιδικὰ ὀνομαζόμενα καὶ τὰ Ἀφρικανὰ, ὡς καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ὁ Λύκιος μαρτυρεῖ ἐν τῷ Περὶ Σύκων συγγράμματι.

Παρμένων δ' ὁ Βυζάντιος ἐν τοῖς Ἰάμβοις τὰ ἀπὸ Κανῶν τῆς Αἰολικῆς πόλεως ὡς διάφορα ἐπαινῶν
 76 φησιν· ἢ

ἦλθον μακρὴν θάλασσαν, οὐκ ἄγων σύκα
 Καναῖα φόρτον.

ὅτι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ Κάννου τῆς Καρίας ἐπαινεῖται κοινόν. ὄξαλείων δὲ σύκων οὕτως καλουμένων μνημονεύει Ἡρακλέων ὁ Ἐφέσιος καὶ Νίκανδρος ὁ Θυατειρηνὸς παρατιθέμενοι Ἀπολλοδώρου τοῦ Καρυστίου ἐκ δράματος Προικιζομένης <ἦ> Ἰματιοπώλιδος τάδε·

BOOK III

produced on Rhodes, comparing the Rhodian figs to the best that grow in Athens. He writes as follows: But the wild figs appear to compare with Laconian figs as mulberries compare to figs generally. I have served them not after dinner, as they do there, when the sense of taste has already been distorted by satiety, but when the appetite is unspoiled, before dinner. But if Lynceus had tasted the so-called fair-swallow-figs in our lovely Rome, as I have, he would have become far more keen-sighted than his namesake,²⁴ so superior are these figs to those that grow in all the rest of the inhabited world. Other types of figs produced around Rome are also praised: the so-called Chian and Livian varieties, as well as those called Chalcidian and African, as Herodotus of Lycia attests in his treatise on figs.

Parmenon of Byzantium in his *Iambs* (fr. 2, p. 237 Powell), praising the products of the Aeolian city of Canae as excellent, says:

I journeyed far over the sea, with no freight
of Canaeon figs.

That those from Carian Caunus are acclaimed is a commonplace. Heracleon of Ephesus and Nicander of Thyateira (*FGrH* 343 F 8) mention the so-called sour figs, citing the following lines from Apollodorus of Carystus' play *The Girl with a Dowry* or *The Clothing Vendor* (fr. 30):

²⁴ The "lynx-eyed" Lynceus of the Argonauts (e.g. Pi. N. 10.61-3; Ar. *Pl.* 210; Pl. *Epist.* 7 344a).

- πλήν τό <γ'> οἰνάριον πάνν
 ἦν ὀξύ καὶ πονηρόν, ὥστ' ἤσχυνόμην.
 b τὰ λοιπὰ μὲν γὰρ ὀξαλείους χωρία |
 συκᾶς φέρει, τοῦμόν δὲ καὶ τὰς ἀμπέλους.

τῶν δ' ἐν Πάρῳ τῇ νήσῳ—διάφορα γὰρ κἀνταῦθα
 γίνεται σῦκα τὰ καλούμενα παρὰ τοῖς Παρίοις αἰμώ-
 νια, ταῦτ' ὄντα τοῖς Λυδίοις καλουμένοις, ἅπερ διὰ τὸ
 ἐρυθρῶδες καὶ τῆς προσηγορίας ταύτης ἔτυχεν—Ἄρ-
 χίλοχος μνημονεύει λέγων οὕτως·

ἔα Πάρον καὶ σῦκα κείνα καὶ θαλάσσιον βίον.

- τὰ δὲ σῦκα ταῦτα τοσαύτην ἔχει παραλλαγὴν πρὸς τὰ
 c ἀλλαχού⁷ γινόμενα ὡς τὸ τοῦ | ἀγρίου συὸς κρέας
 πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα⁸.

Λευκερινεὺς δέ τι εἶδός ἐστι συκῆς, καὶ ἴσως αὕτη
 ἐστὶν ἢ τὰ λευκὰ σῦκα φέρουσα. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτῆς
 Ἑρμῖππος ἐν Ἰάμβοις οὕτως·

< . . . > τὰς λευκερινεὺς δὲ χωρὶς ἰσχάδας.

τῶν δ' ἐρινῶν σύκων Εὐριπίδης ἐν Σκίρωνι·

ἢ προσπηγύναι
 κράδαις ἐριναῖς.

καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Σφιγγί·

(A.) ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁμοῖα <τάδε> γ' ἐρινοῖς. (B.)
 οὐδαμῶς.

BOOK III

except that the wine was
quite acidic and bad, so that I was ashamed.
Because the other farms produce
sour-fig trees; but mine produces sour vines as well.

As for those on the island of Paros—excellent figs grow there too, which the Parians refer to as blood-figs and which are the same as the so-called Lydian figs; they got this name because of their reddish color—Archilochus (fr. 116 West²) mentions them, saying the following:

Farewell to Paros and its famous figs and its seafaring
way of life—

these figs are as different from those grown elsewhere as
the meat of a wild boar is from other meats.

There is a white-fig variety of fig tree, which is perhaps
the one that bears white figs. Hermippus mentions it in his
Iambos (iamb. fr. 2 West²), as follows:

apart from the dried white-figs.

Euripides mentions wild figs in *Sciron* (fr. 679):

or to impale him
on wild-fig branches.

Also Epicharmus in *Sphinx* (fr. 126):

(A.) But these aren't like wild figs. (B.) Not at all!

⁷ ἀλλαχοῦ Coraes: πολλαχοῦ ACE

⁸ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ μὴ τῶν ἀγρίων χοίρων κρέα A: τὰ τῶν μὴ ἀγρίων CE

Σοφοκλῆς δ' ἐν Ἑλένης Γάμῳ τροπικῶς τῷ τοῦ δέν-
d δρου ὀνόματι τὸν καρπὸν ἐκάλεσεν | εἰπὼν·

πέπων ἐρινὸς < . . . > ἀχρεῖος ὢν
ἐς βρώσιν ἄλλους ἐξερινάζεις λόγῳ.

πέπων δ' ἐρινὸς εἶρηκεν ἀντὶ τοῦ πέπον ἐρινόν. καὶ
Ἄλεξις ἐν Δέβητι·

καὶ τί δεῖ

λέγειν ἔθ' ἡμᾶς τοὺς τὰ σῦχ' ἐκάστοτε
ἐν τοῖς συρίχοις πωλοῦντας; οἱ κάτωθε μὲν
τὰ σκληρὰ καὶ μοχθηρὰ τῶν σύκων αἰεὶ
e τιθέασιν, ἐπιπολῆς δὲ πέπονα καὶ καλά. |
εἶθ' ὁ μὲν ἔδωκεν ὡς τοιαῦτ' ὠνούμενος
τιμῆν, ὁ δ' ἐγκάψας τὸ κέρμ' εἰς τὴν γνάθου
ἐρίν' ἀπέδοτο σύκα πωλεῖν ὀμνύων.

τὸ δὲ δένδρον ἢ ἀγρία συκῆ, ἐξ ἧς τὰ ἐρινά, ἐρινὸς
κατὰ τὸ ἄρρεν λέγεται. Σπράττις Τρωίλῳ·

ἐρινὸν οὖν τιν' αὐτῆς πλησίον
νενόηκας ὄντα;

καὶ Ὅμηρος·

τῷ δ' ἐν ἐρινεὸς ἐστὶ μέγας, φύλλοισι τεθηλῶς.

Ἀμερίας δ' ἐρινάδας καλεῖσθαι τοὺς ὀλόνηθους.

BOOK III

Sophocles in *The Marriage of Helen* (fr. 181) referred to the fruit figuratively by the name of the tree, saying:

a ripe wild-fig tree, . . . although worthless
for food, you fertilize others with your talk.

He said "ripe wild-fig tree" in place of "ripe wild fig." Also Alexis in *The Cauldron* (fr. 133):

And why
should we, moreover, mention those who always sell
figs in baskets? They routinely
put the hard, bad figs on the bottom
and the nice, ripe ones on top.
Then a fellow pays what's asked, thinking he's being
sold good ones;
and the vendor pops the coin into his mouth²⁵
and sells wild figs, while swearing he's selling the
domesticated variety.

The wild-fig tree, from which wild figs come, is called an *erinos* in the masculine. Thus Strattis in *Troilus* (fr. 43):

Have you noticed a wild-fig tree (*erinion*),
then, close to it?

And Homer (*Od.* 12.103):

and on it is a large wild-fig tree (*erineos*), full of
leaves.

Amerias (p. 13 Hoffmann) says that wild figs are referred to as *erinades*.

²⁵ The normal place to store money temporarily, since Greek clothing lacked pockets.

- f Ἑρμῶναξ δ' ἐν Γλώτταις Κρητικαῖς σῦκων γένη |
 ἀναγράφει ἀμάδεα καὶ νικύλεα. Φιλήμων δ' ἐν Ἀττι-
 καῖς Λέξεσι καλεῖσθαι φησί τινα σῦκα βασιλεία, ἀφ'
 ὧν καλεῖσθαι καὶ τὰς βασιλίδας ἰσχάδας, προσιστο-
 ρῶν ὅτι κόλυθρα καλεῖται τὰ πέπονα σῦκα. Σέλευκος
 δ' ἐν ταῖς Γλώσσαις καὶ γλυκυσίδην τινὰ καλεῖσθαι
 φησι σῦκῳ τὴν μορφὴν μάλιστα ἐοικυῖαν, φυλάσ-
 σεσθαι δὲ τὰς γυναικας ἐσθίειν διὰ τὸ ποιεῖν μαται-
 σμούς, ὡς καὶ Πλάτων ὁ κωμωδιοποιός φησιν ἐν
 77 Κλεοφῶντι. || τὰ δὲ χειμερινὰ σῦκα Πάμφιλος καλεῖ-
 σθαι φησιν κωδωναῖα ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν,⁹ τοῦτο λέγων
 Ἀριστοφάνην εἰρηκέαι ἐν Λακωνικαῖς Γλώσσαις. κο-
 ράκεων δὲ σῦκων εἶδος Ἑρμιππος ἐν Στρατιώταις
 παραδίδωσι διὰ τούτων

τῶν φιβάλεων μάλιστ' ἂν ἦ τῶν κοράκεων.

- Θεόφραστος δ' ἐν δευτέρῳ Φυτῶν Ἱστορίας συκῶν
 φησι γένος τοιοῦτόν τι εἶναι οἶον ἢ Ἀράτειος¹⁰ καλου-
 μένη. ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ περὶ τὴν Τρωικὴν φησιν Ἴδην
 b γίνεσθαι συκῆν θαμνώδη, φύλλον ὅμοιον | ἔχουσιν
 τῷ τῆς φιλύρας· φέρειν δὲ σῦκα ἐρυθρὰ ἠλίκα ἐλαία
 τὸ μέγεθος, στρογγυλώτερα <δέ>, εἶναι δὲ τὴν γεῦσιν
 μεσπιλώδη. περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐν Κρήτῃ καλουμένης Κυ-
 πρίας συκῆς ὁ αὐτὸς Θεόφραστος ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ τῆς
 Φυτικῆς Ἱστορίας τάδε γράφει· ἢ ἐν Κρήτῃ καλου-

⁹ Cf. Hsch. κ 3211 κωδώνεα· σῦκα χειμερινά. But it is impos-
 sible to know which text is corrupt.

BOOK III

Hermonax in *Cretan Vocabulary* lists as varieties of figs the *hamadea* and the *nikulea*. Philemon in the *Attic Lexicon* says that certain figs are referred to as "royal," and that the dried queen-figs get their name from them; he adds that ripe figs are referred to as *koluthra*. Seleucus in his *Glossary* (fr. 45 Müller) claims that something referred to as a *glukusidē* is much like the fig in shape, but that women are careful not to eat it, because it produces an unfortunate noise, as the comic poet Plato says in *Cleophon* (fr. 62).²⁶ Pamphilus (fr. XVIII Schmidt) says that the Achaeans refer to winter figs as *kōdōnaia*; he reports that Aristophanes asserts this in *Spartan Vocabulary* (Ar. Byz. fr. 352 Slater). Hermippus in *Soldiers* (fr. 53) informs us about a type of figs known as ravens in the following words:

preferably some phibalian or raven-figs.

Theophrastus in Book II of *Inquiry into Plants* (fr. 392) says that there is a type of fig tree that resembles the so-called Aratean variety. And in Book III (*HP* 3.17.4–5) he asserts that a shrub-like fig tree grows around the Trojan Mount Ida and that its leaf is similar to the lime tree's. It produces red figs that are as big as an olive but rounder and taste like a medlar. Concerning the so-called Cyprian fig tree on Crete, the same Theophrastus writes the following in Book IV (2.3) of *Inquiry into Plants*: The so-called

²⁶ The word *mataismos* is attested nowhere else and must be a colloquial term for a fart, a queef, or the like.

¹⁰ ἡ χαρίτιος Ἀράτειος Α

μένη Κυπρία συκῆ φέρει τὸν καρπὸν ἐκ τοῦ στελέχους
καὶ τῶν παχυτάτων ἀκρεμόνων, βλαστὸν δέ τινα ἀφί-
ησι μικρὸν ἄφυλλον ὡσπερ ρίζιον, πρὸς ᾧ ὁ καρπός.
τὸ δὲ στέλεχος μέγα καὶ παρόμοιον τῇ λεύκη, φύλλον
c δὲ τῇ πετελέᾳ. πεπαίνει | δὲ τέτταρας καρπούς, ὅσαιπερ
αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ βλαστήσεις. ἡ δὲ γλυκύτης προσεμ-
φερῆς τῷ σύκῳ καὶ <τὰ> ἔσωθεν τοῖς ἐρινοῖς· μέγεθος
δὲ ἡλίκον κοκκύμηλον.

Τῶν δὲ προδρόμων καλουμένων σύκων ὁ αὐτὸς
Θεόφραστος μνημονεύει ἐν πέμπτῳ Φυτικῶν Αἰτίων
οὕτως· τῇ συκῇ ὅταν ἀῆρ ἐπιγένηται μαλακὸς καὶ
ὑγρὸς καὶ θερμὸς, ἐξεκαλέσατο τὴν βλάστησιν· ὅθεν
καὶ οἱ πρόδρομοι. καὶ προελθὼν τάδε λέγει· πάλιν δὲ
d τοὺς προδρόμους αἱ μὲν φέρουσιν, ἡ τε Λακωνικὴ καὶ
ἡ λευκομφάλιος καὶ ἕτεραι | πλείους, αἱ δ' οὐ φέρουσι.
Σέλευκος δ' ἐν Γλώσσαις πρωτερικὴν φησι καλεῖσθαι
γένος τι συκῆς, ἣτις φέρει πρῶιον τὸν καρπὸν. διφό-
ρον δὲ συκῆς μνημονεύει καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Ἐκ-
κλησιαζούσαις·

ὕμᾱς δὲ τέως θρῖα λαβόντας
διφόρου συκῆς.

καὶ Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Σκληρίαις·

ἔστιν παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν δίφορον συκὴν κάτω.

BOOK III

Cyprian fig tree on Crete produces its fruit on the stem and the thickest branches, and sends out a small, leafless shoot that resembles a tiny root, to which the fruit is attached. The stem is large and resembles the white poplar's, whereas the leaf resembles the elm's. It produces four crops a year, which is also the number of periods of growth it has. The sweetness of the fruit resembles the fig; its interior resembles the wild fig; and it is the size of a plum.

The same Theophrastus mentions the so-called fore-runner figs²⁷ in Book V (1.4–5) of *Causes of Plants*, in the following words: As for the fig tree, whenever mild, moist, warm weather follows, it encourages sprouting; this is the source of forerunners. And further on he says the following (*CP* 5.1.8): Some trees bear forerunners, such as the Spartan and the white-navel varieties, and many others; but some do not. Seleucus in the *Glossary* (fr. 63 Müller) claims that there is a type of fig tree referred to as a *prōterikē* ("early"), which bears its fruit early. Aristophanes in *Ecclesiazusae* (707–8) mentions a double-bearing fig tree:²⁸

and you in the meantime, taking hold of the leaves
of a double-bearing fig tree.

Also Antiphanes in *Hard Times* (fr. 196):

It's down below, right beside the double-bearing fig
tree.

²⁷ The breba crop, produced in the spring on the previous year's growth.

²⁸ An obscene double-entendre: the two "figs" are the testicles, and the addressees are being told to masturbate. Antiphanes fr. 196 (below) may have a similar point.

ὁ Θεόπομπος δὲ ἐν τῇ πεντηκοστῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν Ἱστο-
 ριῶν κατὰ τὴν Φιλίππου φησὶν ἀρχὴν περὶ τὴν Βι-
 σαλτίαν καὶ Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ Γραστωνίαν τῆς Μακεδο-
 e νίας | ἔαρος μεσοῦντος τὰς μὲν συκᾶς σύκα, τὰς δ'
 ἀμπέλους βότρυς, τὰς δ' ἐλαίας ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ βρύνειν
 εἰκὸς ἦν αὐτὰς ἐλαίας ἐνεγκεῖν, καὶ εὐτυχῆσαι πάντα
 Φίλιππον. ἐν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ Περὶ Φυτῶν ὁ Θεό-
 φραστος καὶ τὸν ἐρινεὸν εἶναί φησι δίφορον· οἱ δὲ καὶ
 τρίφορον, ὥσπερ ἐν Κέῳ. λέγει δὲ καὶ τὴν συκῆν ἐὰν
 ἐν σκίλλῃ φυτευθῆ θάπτον παραγίνεσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ
 σκωλήκων μὴ διαφθείρεσθαι· καὶ πάντα δὲ τὰ ἐν
 f σκίλλῃ φυτευθέντα καὶ θάπτον αὐξάνεσθαι καὶ εὐ-
 βλαστῆ γίγνεσθαι. πάλιν δὲ ὁ Θεόφραστος | ἐν τῷ
 δευτέρῳ τῶν Αἰτίων, ἢ Ἰνδικῇ, φησί, συκῆ καλουμένη
 θαυμαστὴ οὕσα τῷ μεγέθει μικρὸν ἔχει τὸν καρπὸν
 καὶ ὀλίγον, ὡς ἂν εἰς τὴν βλάστησιν ἐξαναλίσκουσα
 ἅπασαν τὴν τροφήν. ἐν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ τῆς Φυτικῆς
 Ἱστορίας ὁ φιλόσοφος φησιν· ἔστι καὶ ἄλλο γένος
 συκῆς ἐν τε τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ περὶ Κιλικίαν καὶ Κύπρον
 ὀλουθοφόρον, ὃ τὸ μὲν σύκον ἔμπροσθε φέρει τοῦ
 θρίου¹¹, τὸν δὲ ὀλουθον ἐξόπισθεν. αἱ δὲ ὅλως ἐκ τοῦ
 ἔνου βλαστοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ νέου. πρῶτον δὲ τοῦτο
 τῶν σύκων πέπονά τε καὶ γλυκὺν ἔχει καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ
 78 τὸν παρ' ἡμῖν. || γίνεται δὲ καὶ μείζων οὔτος πολὺ τῶν
 σύκων· ἢ δ' ὥρα μετὰ τὴν βλάστησιν οὐ πολὺ.

Οἶδα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα σύκων ὀνόματα λεγόμενα· βασι-
 λεια, συκοβασίλεια, κερροκοιλᾶδια¹², σαρκελάφεια,

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Theopompus in Book LIV of his *Histories* (FCrH 115 F 237a) says that in Philip's domain around Bisaltia, Amphipolis, and Macedonian Grastonia, the fig trees produced figs in mid-spring and the vines produced grape clusters, and the olive trees produced olives at a time of year when they should have been budding; he claims that Philip was lucky in everything. In Book II of *On Plants* (fr. 393) Theophrastus says that the wild-fig tree bears fruit twice a year; some authorities report that it bears three times a year, as it does on Ceos. He also asserts (HP 2.5.5) that if the fig tree is planted in a squill bulb, it matures more rapidly and is not damaged by worms. In fact, anything planted in a squill bulb grows more rapidly and becomes sturdy. Again, Theophrastus says in Book II of his *Causes* (CP 2.10.2): The so-called Indian fig tree, although amazingly large, bears small fruit in limited quantities, as if it used up all its nourishment on its growth. In Book II of his *Inquiry into Plants* (fr. 394) the philosopher says: There is another type of fig tree in Greece and around Cilicia and Cyprus that bears *olonthoi*; it bears its fig in front of the leaf, but the *olonthos* behind it. These trees generally bear their crop from the previous year's growth and not from the new growth. They bear the *olonthos* first, before the figs; it is ripe and sweet, unlike the *olonthos* we know. This fig also grows much larger than others do, and is ripe not long after it sprouts.

I also know other names given to figs: royal figs, fig-royal figs, yellow-bellied figs, venison-figs, crackle-figs, bit-

¹¹ θρίον Meineke (cf. Thphr. CP 5.1.8; Plin. Nat. 16.113):
φυτοῦ Α: καρποῦ CE

¹² κερροκοιλάδια καὶ ὑλάδια Α: κερροκοιλάδια ὑλάδια CE

καπύρια, πικρίδια, δρακόντια, λευκόφαια, μελανόφαια, κρήνεια, μυλαικά, ασκαλώνια.

Περὶ δὲ τῆς προσηγορίας τῶν σύκων λέγων Τρύφων ἐν δευτέρῳ Φυτῶν Ἱστορίας Ἀνδροτιώνα¹³ φησιν ἐν Γεωργικῷ ἱστορεῖν Συκέα ἕνα τινὰ τῶν Τιτάνων διωκόμενον ὑπὸ Διὸς τὴν μητέρα Γῆν ὑποδέξασθαι
 b καὶ ἀνεῖναι τὸ φυτόν | εἰς διατριβὴν τῷ παιδί, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Συκέαν πόλιν εἶναι ἐν Κιλικίᾳ. Φερένικος δ' ὁ ἐποποιός, Ἡρακλεώτης δὲ γένος, ἀπὸ Συκῆς τῆς Ὀξύλου θυγατρὸς προσαγορευθῆναι. Ὀξύλον γὰρ τὸν Ὀρείου Ἀμαδρναδί τῇ ἀδελφῇ μιγέντα μετ' ἄλλων γεννηῆσαι Καρύαν, Βάλανον, Κράνειαν, Μορέαν, Αἰγειρον, Πτελέαν, Ἀμπελον, Συκῆν καὶ ταύτας Ἀμαδρναδας νύμφας καλεῖσθαι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν πολλὰ τῶν δένδρων προσαγορευέσθαι. ὅθεν καὶ τὸν Ἰππώνακτα
 c φάναϊ |

συκὴν μέλαιναν, ἀμπέλου κασιγνήτην.

Σωσίβιος δ' ὁ Λάκων ἀποδεικνύς εὔρημα Διονύσου τὴν συκὴν διὰ τοῦτό φησι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους Συκίτην Διόνυσον τιμᾶν. Νάξιοι δέ, ὡς Ἀνδρίσκος, ἔτι δ' Ἀγλαοσθένης¹⁴ ἱστοροῦσι, Μειλίχιον καλεῖσθαι τὸν Διόνυσον διὰ τὴν τοῦ συκίνου καρποῦ παράδοσιν. διὸ

¹³ Ἀνδροτιώνα Kaibel: δωρίωνα A: δωρίων (nom.) CE

¹⁴ Ἀγλαοσθένης Schweighäuser: ἀγασθένης A

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ter figs, dragon-figs, whitish-gray and dark-gray figs, fountain-figs, mill-figs, and scallion-figs.

In his discussion of the names of figs (*sukai*) in Book II of *Inquiry into Plants*, Tryphon (fr. 119 Velsen) says that Androtion in his *On Agriculture* (*FGrH* 324 F *76) records that when Syceas, who was one of the Titans, was being pursued by Zeus,²⁹ his mother Earth protected him and made the plant grow up to entertain her child, who also gave his name to the city of Sycea in Cilicia. But the epic poet Pherecrates (*SH* 672), who was a Heracleot by birth, claims that the name came from Sycē ("Fig Tree") the daughter of Oxylyus. For Oxylyus son of Oreius had sex with his sister Hamadryas and begot, among others, daughters named Nut-tree, Oak, Cornel-cherry, Mulberry, Poplar, Elm, Grapevine, and Fig-tree. They were referred to as the Hamadryad³⁰ nymphs, and many trees got their names from them. Hipponax (fr. 52 Degani) as well, therefore, says:

a dark fig tree, sister of a grapevine.

Sosibius of Sparta (*FGrH* 595 F 10), in the course of demonstrating that Dionysus discovered the fig tree, says that this is why the Spartans worship Dionysus Sukitēs ("of the fig"). According to Andriscus (*FGrH* 500 F 3), as well as Aglaosthenes (*FGrH* 499 F *4), the Naxians refer to Dionysus as Meilichios ("Gentle") because he gave us the fruit

²⁹ *Viz.* during the Titanomachy; but the incident seems more appropriate for the Gigantomachy, with which the Titanomachy was sometimes confounded.

³⁰ Literally "Simultaneous with a Tree," the point of the name being that the nymph lived as long as the tree with which she was associated.

καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ θεοῦ παρὰ τοῖς Ναξίοις τὸ μὲν τοῦ Βακχέως Διούσου καλουμένου εἶναι ἀμπέλινον, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Μειλιχίου σύκινον· τὰ γὰρ σῦκα μείλιχα καλεῖσθαι.

- d Ὅτι δὲ πάντων τῶν καλουμένων | ξυλίνων καρπῶν ὠφελιμώτερα ἔστι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ σῦκα ἰκανῶς Ἡρόδοτος ὁ Λύκιος διὰ πολλῶν ἀποδείκνυσιν ἐν τῷ περὶ σύκων συγγράμματι, εὐτραφῆ λέγων γίνεσθαι τὰ νεογνὰ τῶν παιδίων, ἐν τῷ χυλῷ τῶν σύκων εἰ διατρέφονται. Φερεκράτης δὲ ἢ ὁ πεποιηκὼς τοὺς Πέρσας φησίν·

ἦν δ' ἡμῶν σῦκόν τις ἴδη διὰ χρόνου νέον ποτέ,
τῷ φθαλμῷ τούτῳ περιμάττομεν <τῷ> τῶν
παιδίων,

- e ὡς καὶ ἰάματος οὐ τοῦ τυχόντος τῶν σύκων ὑπαρχόντων. ὁ δὲ θαυμασιώτατος καὶ μελίγηρυς | Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν καὶ μέγα ἀγαθὸν φησιν εἶναι τὰ σῦκα οὕτως ἰλέγων βασιλεῦ, σὺ δ' ἐπ' ἀνδρας τοιοῦτους παρασκευάζει στρατεύεσθαι, οἳ σκυτίνας μὲν ἀναξυρίδας, σκυτίνην δὲ τὴν ἄλλην ἐσθῆτα φορέουσι, σιτέονται τ' οὐχ ὅσα ἐθέλουσιν, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἔχουσι, χῶρην ἔχοντες τρηχέην· πρὸς δὲ οὐκ οἴνω διαχρέονται, ἀλλ' ὕδροποτέουσιν· οὐ σῦκα ἔχουσι τρώγειν, οὐκ ἄλλο οὐθὲν ἀγαθόν. Πολύβιος δ'
- f ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης ἐν τῇ ἐξκαιδεκάτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν, | Φίλιππος, φησίν, ὁ Περσέως πατὴρ ὅτε τὴν Ἀσίαν κατέτρεχεν ἀπορῶν τροφῶν τοῖς στρατιώταις παρὰ

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of the fig tree. This is why on Naxos the face of the god referred to as Dionysus Baccheus is made of vine-wood, while the face of Dionysus Meilichios is made of fig-wood; because figs are called *meilicha*.

Herodotus of Lycia in his treatise on figs uses many arguments to prove that figs benefit mankind more than all the other so-called "tree fruits," saying that newborn infants thrive if fed fig juice. Pherecrates (fr. 139) or whoever wrote *Persians*³¹ says:

If one of us ever spies a fresh fig,
we smear our children's eyes with it,

as if figs were unusually fine medicine. The admirable, sweet-voiced Herodotus in Book I (71.2-3) of his *Histories* claims that figs are a very good food in the following words: O King, you are preparing to mount an expedition against men who wear leather pants, and whose other clothing is leather as well; who do not eat as much as they want but as much as they have; and who inhabit a rough country. Furthermore, they drink not wine but water, and have no figs to eat or anything else that is good. Polybius of Megalopolis in Book XVI (24.9) of his *Histories* says: When Philip the father of Perseus³² overran Asia and was short of food for his soldiers, he accepted figs from the Magnesians, since

³¹ For Athenaeus' doubts about the authorship of *Persians*, cf. 11.502a; 15.685a. Pherecrates is supposed to have written 17 or 18 comedies (test. 1, 3), but 19 titles are preserved, and ancient scholars were concerned to identify the spurious play or plays.

³² Philip V, King of Macedon (reigned 222-179 BCE). The events referred to here took place in 201.

Μαγνήτων, ἐπεὶ σῖτον οὐκ εἶχον, σῦκα ἔλαβε. διὸ καὶ Μνουῦντος κυριεύσας τοῖς Μάγνησι ἐχαρίσατο τὸ χωρίον ἀντὶ τῶν σῦκων. καὶ Ἀνάμιος δ' ὁ ἰαμβοποιὸς ἔφη·

79 εἴ τις καθείρξει χρυσὸν ἐν δόμοις πολὺν
καὶ σῦκα βαιὰ καὶ δὺ' ἢ τρεῖς ἀνθρώπους,
γνοίη χ' ὄσῳ τὰ σῦκα τοῦ χρυσοῦ κρέσσω. ||

Τοσαῦτα τοῦ Μάγνου συκολογήσαντος Δάφνος ὁ ἰατρὸς ἔφη· Φυλότιμος ἐν τρίτῳ Περὶ Τροφῆς, τὰ ἀπαλά, φησί, σῦκα διαφορὰς μὲν ἔχει πλείους πρὸς ἄλληλα καὶ τοῖς γένεσι καὶ τοῖς χρόνοις ἐν οἷς ἕκαστα γίγνεται καὶ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καθόλου εἰπεῖν τά τε ὑγρὰ τὰ πεπεμμένα καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν διαλύεται ταχέως καὶ κατεργάζεται μᾶλλον τῆς ἄλλης ὀπώρας καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν τροφήν οὐ κωλύει κατεργάζεσθαι. δυνάμεις δ' ἔχει τῶν ὑγρῶν κολλώδεις
b | τε καὶ γλυκείας ὑπονιτρώδεις τε, καὶ τὴν διαχώρησιν ἀθρουστέραν καὶ διακεχυμένην καὶ θάπτω καὶ λίαν ἄλυπον παρασκευάζει. χυλὸν δ' ἄλυκόν δριμύτητα ἔχοντα ἀναδίδωσι μεθ' ἄλῶν καταπινόμενα. διαλύεται μὲν οὖν ταχέως, διότι πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ὄγκων εἰσενεχθέντων μετὰ μικρὸν χρόνον λαγαροὶ γινόμεθα καθ' ὑπερβολήν· ἀδύνατον δ' ἦν <ἀν>¹⁵ τοῦτο συμβαίνειν διαμενόντων καὶ μὴ ταχὺ διαλυομένων τῶν
c σωμάτων¹⁶. κατεργάζεται δὲ μᾶλλον | τῆς ἄλλης οὐ μόνον ὅτι πολλαπλασίουνα λαμβάνοντες αὐτὴν τῆς λοιπῆς ὀπώρας ἀλύπως διάγομεν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν εἰ-

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they had no grain. After he got control of Myus, therefore, he gave the place to the Magnesians in return for the figs. And the iambic poet Ananius (fr. 3 West²) says:

If someone were to shut up a lot of gold, a few figs,
and three or four people in a house,
he would find out how much better figs are than gold.

This was the extent of Magnus' fig-harvest, and after it the physician Daphnus said: Phylotimus in Book III of *On Food* (fr. 9 Steckerl) says that ripe figs differ greatly from one another in their varieties, the time when each of them is produced, and their qualities. But in any case, speaking generally, juicy, ripe figs dissolve the most rapidly, are more easily digested than other fruit, and do not prevent the rest of one's food from being digested. They have the sticky, sweet, and somewhat alkaline qualities of moist foods; and they produce larger, looser, faster, and quite painless bowel movements. When consumed with salty foods, they yield a salty, bitter *chulē*. They are broken down quickly, the evidence being that when we consume them in large quantities, after a little while our bowels become extraordinarily loose; this would be impossible if they maintained their form and were not quickly broken down. They are more easily digested than other food; the evidence is not only that when we eat many times more of this type of food than of any other, we suffer no discomfort, but also that we have no trouble if we eat our normal food

¹⁵ ἀν add. Olson

¹⁶ τῶν σωμάτων A: τῶν σύκων CE

ωθυίαν τροφήν ἴσην λαμβάνοντες τούτων προχειρισθέντων οὐθὲν ἐνοχλούμεθα. δῆλον οὖν ὡς εἰ κρατούμεν ἀμφοτέρων, ταῦτά τε πέττεται μᾶλλον καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν οὐ κωλύει κατεργάζεσθαι τροφήν. τὰς δὲ δυνάμεις ἔχει τὰς λεγομένας· τὴν μὲν κολλώδη τε καὶ τὴν ἀλυκὴν ἐκ τοῦ κολλᾶν τε καὶ ῥύπτειν τὰς χεῖρας, d τὴν δὲ γλυκεῖαν ἐν | τῷ στόματι γινομένην ὁρῶμεν. τὴν δὲ διαχώρησιν ἄνευ στρόφων τε καὶ ταραχῆς καὶ πλείω καὶ θάττω καὶ μαλακωτέραν ὅτι παρασκευάζει, λόγου προσδεῖν οὐθὲν νομίζομεν. ἀλλοιοῦνται δ' οὐλίαν, οὐ διὰ τὸ δύσπεπτον αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καταπίνομέν τε ταχέως οὐ λεάναντες καὶ τὴν διέξοδον διότι ταχεῖαν ποιεῖται. χυμὸν δ' ἀλυκὸν ἀναδίδωσι, διότι τὸ μὲν νιτρῶδες ἀπεδείχθη τὰ σύκα ἔχοντα, ἀλυκώτερον δὲ ποιήσει ἢ δριμύν, ἐκ τῶν ἐπιπινομένων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ e ἄλες | τὸν ἀλυκόν, τὸ δ' ὄξος καὶ τὸ θύμον τὸν δριμὺν αὔξει χυμόν.

Ἡρακλείδης δ' ὁ Ταραντῖνος ἐν τῷ Συμποσίῳ ζητεῖ πότερον ἐπιλαμβάνειν δεῖ μετὰ τὴν τῶν σύκων προσφορὰν θερμὸν ὕδωρ ἢ ψυχρόν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν λέγοντας θερμὸν δεῖν ἐπιλαμβάνειν προορῶντας τὸ τοιοῦτο παρακελεύεσθαι, διότι καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ταχέως τὸ θερμὸν ῥύπτει· διὸ πιθανὸν εἶναι καὶ ἐν κοιλίᾳ συντόμως αὐτὰ τῷ θερμῷ διαλύεσθαι. καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν f ἐκτὸς δὲ <τῶν> σύκων τὸ θερμὸν διαλύει | τὴν συνέχειαν αὐτῶν καὶ εἰς λεπτομερεῖς τόμους ἄγει, τὸ δὲ ψυχρὸν συνίστησιν. οἱ δὲ ψυχρὸν λέγοντες προσφέρεσθαι, ἢ τοῦ ψυχροῦ, φασί, πόματος λήψις τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ

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in the ordinary quantity, even though we have eaten figs earlier. It is thus clear that, if we can manage both of these, figs are very easily digested and do not hinder the digestion of the rest of our food. They have the qualities mentioned: the stickiness and the saltiness are apparent from the way they stick to our hands and remove dirt from them, and the sweetness reveals itself in our mouths. As for their producing larger, softer bowel movements more rapidly and without cramps or indigestion, we believe this requires no argument. Figs do not change much,³³ not because they are difficult to digest, but because we swallow them quickly without much chewing and they pass rapidly out of the body. They yield a salty humour on account of the fact that, as shown, figs have an alkaline character. They will produce a saltier or more bitter humour depending on what is eaten after them; for salty food will increase the salty humour, whereas vinegar and thyme will increase the bitter humour.

Heracleides of Tarentum in his *Symposium* (fr. 68 Guardasole) raises the question of whether one ought to consume warm water or cold water after eating figs. Those who say one ought to consume warm water base their advice on the observation that warm water rapidly removes dirt from our hands; it is therefore a reasonable expectation that figs are rapidly broken down inside the belly by warm water. And when warm water is applied to figs outside the body, it breaks down their structure and reduces them to small pieces, whereas cold water firms them up.

³³ Viz. as they pass through the body.

στομάχου καθήμενα τῷ βάρει καταφέρει· τὰ γὰρ
 σῦκα οὐκ ἀστείως διατίθησι τὸν στόμαχον, καυσώδη
 καὶ ἀτονώτερον αὐτὸν ποιῶντα· διόπερ τινὲς καὶ τὸν
 ἄκρατον συνεχῶς προσφέρονται. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐτοι-
 80 μως καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ προωθεῖ. ἢ δεῖ δὲ πλέονι καὶ
 ἀθρουστέρῳ χρῆσθαι τῷ πόματι μετὰ τὴν τῶν σῦκων
 προσφορὰν ἕνεκα τοῦ μὴ ὑπομένειν αὐτὰ ἐν κοιλίᾳ,
 φέρεσθαι δὲ εἰς τὰ κάτω μέρη τῶν ἐντέρων.

Ἄλλοι δὲ φασιν ὅτι μὴ δεῖ σῦκα προσφέρεσθαι
 μεσημβρίας· νοσώδη γὰρ εἶναι τότε, ὡς καὶ Φερεκρά-
 τῆς ἐν Κραπατάλλοις εἴρηκεν. Ἄριστοφάνης δ' ἐν
 Προαγῶνι·

κάμνοντα δ' αὐτὸν τοῦ θέρους ἰδὼν ποτε
 ἔτρωγ', ἵνα κάμνοι, σῦκα τῆς μεσημβρίας.

b καὶ Εὐβουλος ἐν Σφιγγοκαρίωνι· |

νῆ τὸν Δί', ἡσθένουν γάρ, ὦ βέλτιστε σύ,
 φαγοῦσα πρῶην σῦκα τῆς μεσημβρίας.

Νικοφῶν δ' ἐν Σειρήσιν·

ἐὰν δέ γ' ἡμῶν σῦκά τις μεσημβρίας
 τραγῶν καθεύδη χλωρά, πυρετὸς εὐθέως
 ἦκει τρέχων οὐκ ἄξιος τριωβόλου·
 κᾶθ' οὗτος ἐπιπεσὼν ἐμεῖν ποιεῖ χολήν.

Δίφιλος δ' ὁ Σίφνιός φησι τῶν σῦκων εἶναι τὰ μὲν

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But those who argue for drinking cold water say: When cold water is consumed, its weight³⁴ forces whatever is sitting in the stomach downward. For figs do not have a gentle effect on the stomach, but make it dry and less elastic; this is why some people constantly consume unmixed wine. But after this, the belly's contents move readily forward. One should drink a lot at one time after one eats figs, to prevent them from lingering in the belly and to keep them moving toward the lower portions of one's guts.

Other authorities say that one should not eat figs at midday, because they cause sickness then, as Pherecrates says in *Small Change* (fr. 85).³⁵ Aristophanes in *The Proagon* (fr. 479):

Once in the summer, when he saw this fellow was
sick,
he ate some figs at midday so that *he* would get sick.

Also Eubulus in *Sphinx-Carion* (fr. 105):

Yes, by Zeus, my dear friend—because I was sick,
since I'd eaten some figs the day before yesterday at
midday.

Nicophon in *Sirens* (fr. 20):

If one of us eats some unripe figs
at midday and falls asleep, a lousy
fever immediately comes on the run;
and then it attacks him and makes him vomit bile.

Diphilus of Siphnos says that ripe figs provide little

³⁴ For cold water as heavier than warm water, see 2.42a-b.

³⁵ Quoted at 3.75b.

ἀπαλὰ ὀλιγότροφα καὶ κακόχυλα, εὐέκκριτα δὲ καὶ
 c ἐπιπολαστικὰ εὐοικονομητότερα | τε τῶν ξηρῶν. τὰ δὲ
 πρὸς τῷ χειμῶνι γινόμενα βία πεπαινόμενα χείρονα
 τυγχάνει· τὰ δ' ἐν τῇ ἀκμῇ τῶν ὥρων κρείττονα ὡς ἂν
 κατὰ φύσιν πεπαινόμενα. τὰ δὲ πολὺν ὄπὸν ἔχοντα,
 καὶ τὰ σπάνυδρα δ' εὐστομαχώτερα¹⁷ μὲν, βαρύτερα
 δέ. τὰ δὲ Τραλλιανὰ ἀναλογεῖ τοῖς Ῥοδίοις, τὰ δὲ Χῖα
 καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα τούτων εἶναι κακοχυλότερα. Μνησί-
 θεος δ' ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἐδεστών φησιν ὅσα
 δὲ ὡμὰ προσφέρεται τῶν τοιούτων, οἷον ἄπιοι καὶ
 d σύκα καὶ μῆλα Δελφικὰ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, | δεῖ παρα-
 φυλάττειν τὸν καιρὸν ἐν ᾧ τοὺς χυλοὺς τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς
 μήτε ἀπέπτους μήτε σαπρούς μήτε κατεξηραμμένους
 λίαν ὑπὸ τῆς ὥρας ἔξει. Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Σκήψιος ἐν τῷ
 πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ τοῦ Τρωικοῦ Διακόσμου εὐφώνους
 φησὶ γίνεσθαι τοὺς μὴ σύκων ἐσθίοντας. Ἠγησιά-
 νακτα γοῦν τὸν Ἀλεξανδρέα τὸν τὰς ἱστορίας γρά-
 ψαντα κατ' ἀρχὰς ὄντα πένητα καὶ τραγῶδόν φησι
 γενέσθαι καὶ ὑποκριτικὸν καὶ εὐῆχον, ὀκτωκαίδεκα
 ε ἔτη σύκων μὴ γευσάμενον. καὶ παροιμίας δὲ οἶδα περὶ
 | σύκων λεγομένας τοιάσδε·

σῦκον μετ' ἰχθύν, ὅσπρεον μετὰ κρέα.

σῦκα φίλ' ὀρνίθεσσι, φυτεύειν δ' οὐκ ἐθέλουσι.

Μῆλα. ταῦτα Μνησίθεος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῷ Περὶ
 Ἐδεστών μῆλα Δελφικὰ καλεῖ. Δίφιλος δὲ φησὶ τῶν

¹⁷ εὐστομώτερα Kaibel

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nourishment and produce bad *chulē*, but are easily excreted, rise to the top of the stomach, and are more easily absorbed than the dried ones. Those produced when it is almost winter and force-ripened are inferior, while those produced at peak season are better, since they have ripened naturally. Those that have a large amount of juice and those that contain little water are harder on the stomach, although heavier. Figs from Tralles are comparable to Rhodian figs; but Chian figs and all other varieties produce worse *chulē* than these do. Mnesitheus of Athens in his *On Edible Substances* (fr. 32 Bertier) says: As for the foods of this type that are eaten raw, such as pears, figs, Delphic apples³⁶, and the like, one should watch for the time when they are likely to contain juices that are neither uncooked nor putrid nor excessively dried up because they are so ripe. Demetrius of Scepsis in Book XV of his *Trojan Battle-Order* (fr. 9 Gaede) claims that people who avoid eating figs have good voices. The historian Hegesianax of Alexandria (*FGrH* 45 T 2), for example, although originally a pauper, says that he became a tragic poet and an actor with a beautiful voice after not tasting figs for 18 years. I also know proverbs such as the following (Apostol. 15.70a-b) that are recited about figs:

A fig after fish, a pea after meat.

Birds love figs, but are unwilling to plant them.³⁷

Apples. Mnesitheus of Athens in his *On Edible Substances* (fr. 33 Bertier) refers to these as Delphic apples.³⁸

³⁶ See 3.80e. ³⁷ I.e. "Everything in its time" and "He who pays the piper calls the tune."

³⁸ The passage is quoted at 3.80c-d, above.

- μήλων τὰ χλωρὰ καὶ μηδέπω πέπονα κακόχυλα εἶναι καὶ κακοστόμαχα ἐπιπολαστικά τε καὶ χολῆς γεννητικά νοσοποιά τε καὶ φρίκης παραίτια. τῶν δὲ
- f πεπόνων εὐχυλότερα μὲν | εἶναι τὰ γλυκέα καὶ εὐεκκριτώτερα διὰ τὸ στῦψιν μὴ ἔχειν, κακοχυλότερα δὲ εἶναι τὰ ὀξέα καὶ στατικώτερα. τὰ δὲ τῆς γλυκύτητος ὑφειμένα, προσλαμβάνοντα δ' εὐστομεῖν διὰ τὴν ποσὴν στῦψιν εὐστομαχώτερα. εἶναι δὲ αὐτῶν τὰ μὲν
- 81 θερινὰ κακοχυλότερα, τὰ δὲ φθινοπωρινὰ εὐχυλότερα. τὰ δὲ καλούμενα ὀρβικλάτα μετὰ στύψεως ἡδέϊας ἔχοντα καὶ γλυκύτητα εὐστόμαχα εἶναι. || τὰ δὲ σητάνια λεγόμενα, προσέτι δὲ <τὰ> πλατάνια εὐχυλα μὲν καὶ εὐέκκριτα, οὐκ εὐστόμαχα δέ. τὰ δὲ Μορδιανὰ καλούμενα γίνεται μὲν κάλλιστα ἐν Ἀπολλωνίᾳ τῇ Μορδίῳ λεγομένῃ, ἀναλογεῖ δὲ τοῖς ὀρβικλάτοις. τὰ δὲ κυδώνια, ὧν ἓνια καὶ στρουθία λέγεται, κοινῶς ἀπάντων ἐστὶ τῶν μήλων εὐστομαχώτατα καὶ μάλιστα τὰ πέπονα. Γλαυκίδης δὲ φησιν ἄριστα τῶν ἀκροδρύων εἶναι μῆλα κυδώνια, φαύλια, στρουθία.
- b Φυλότιμος δ' ἐν τρίτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ Περὶ | Τροφῆς, τὰ μῆλα, φησί, τὰ μὲν ἔαρινὰ δυσπεπτότερα πολὺ τῶν ἀπίων καὶ τὰ ὦμα τῶν ὦμων καὶ τὰ πέπονα τῶν πεπόνων. τὰς δὲ δυνάμεις ἔχει τῶν ὑγρῶν τὰ μὲν ὀξέα καὶ μῆπω πέπονα στρυφνοτέρας καὶ ποσῶς ὀξείας χυμὸν τε ἀναδίδωσιν εἰς τὸ σῶμα τὸν καλούμενον

39 ~ Latin *orbiculata* ("round"); Diphilus is unlikely to have used the term.

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Diphilus says that green apples that are not yet ripe produce bad *chulē*, are hard on the stomach and rise to the top of it, generate bile, and are a cause of sickness and chills. As for ripe apples, the sweet ones produce better *chulē* and are more easily excreted, because they are not astringent; whereas the acidic ones produce worse *chulē* and have more of a tendency to slow down the bowels. Those that are not very sweet but nonetheless taste good are easier on the stomach, because they are somewhat astringent. Summer apples produce worse *chulē*, whereas fall apples produce better *chulē*. The so-called *orbiklata*³⁹ combine a pleasant astringency with sweetness and are easy on the stomach. Those called *sētania*⁴⁰, as well as *platania* apples, produce good *chulē* and are easily excreted, but are not easy on the stomach. The so-called Mordian apples grow best in Apollonia (also referred to as Mordia) and are comparable to *orbiklata*. Quinces⁴¹, some of which are also referred to as *strouthia*, are in general the easiest of all apples on the stomach, especially when ripe. Glaucides (Glaucias fr. dub. 163 Deichgräber) says that the best tree-fruits are quinces, *phaulia*, and *strouthia*.⁴² Phylotimus in Books III and X of *On Food* (fr. 11 Steckerl) says: Spring apples are far more difficult to digest than pears, regardless of whether unripe apples and unripe pears or ripe apples and ripe pears are compared. Those that are sour and not yet ripe have the qualities of moist foods, but with more astringency and some sourness, and in the body they

⁴⁰ Literally "this year's crop"; the adjective is most often used of winter wheat. ⁴¹ Literally "Cydonian apples."

⁴² For *phaulia* and *strouthia*, see 3.82b-c. The adjective *phaulios* is applied to olives at 2.56c.

ξυστικόν. καθόλου τε τὰ μήλα τῶν ἀπίων δυσπεπτό-
 τερα εἶναι, διότι τὰ μὲν ἐλάττω φαγόντες ἦττον, τὰς δὲ
 πλείους προσαράμενοι μᾶλλον πέττομεν. ξυστικὸς δὲ
 c γίνεται χυμὸς ἐξ αὐτῶν ὁ ἢ λεγόμενος ὑπὸ Πραξαγό-
 ρου <υαλώδης>¹⁸, διότι τὰ μὴ κατεργαζόμενα παχυτέ-
 ρους ἔξει τοὺς χυμούς· ἀπεδείχθη δὲ καθόλου τὰ μήλα
 δυσκατεργαστότερα τῶν ἀπίων, καὶ ὅτι τὰ στρυφνὰ
 μᾶλλον ἔτι παχυτέρους παρασκευάζειν εἴωθεν αὐτούς.
 τὰ δὲ χειμερινὰ τῶν μήλων τὰ μὲν κυδώνια στρυφνο-
 τέρους, τὰ δὲ στρουθία τοὺς χυμοὺς ἐλάττους ἀναδί-
 δωσι καὶ στρυφνοτέρους ἦττον πέττεσθαί τε μᾶλλον
 δύναται.

Νίκανδρος δ' ὁ Θυατειρηνὸς τὰ κυδώνια μήλα
 d στρουθία φησὶ καλεῖσθαι ἢ ἀγνοῶν· Γλαυκίδης γὰρ
 ἱστορεῖ ἄριστα λέγων τῶν ἀκροδρύων εἶναι μήλα
 κυδώνια, φαύλια, στρουθία. κυδωνίων δὲ μήλων μνη-
 μονεύει Στησίχορος ἐν Ἑλένη οὕτως·

πολλὰ μὲν κυδώνια μᾶλα ποτερρίπτουν ποτὶ
 δίφρον ἄνακτι,
 πολλὰ δὲ μύρσινα φύλλα
 καὶ ῥοδίνους στεφάνους ἕων τε κορωνίδας οὔλας.

καὶ Ἄλκμάν. ἔτι δὲ Κάνθαρος ἐν Τηρεῖ·

κυδωνίοις μήλοισιν εἰς τὰ τιθθία.

καὶ Φιλῆμων δ' ἐν Ἀγροίκῳ τὰ κυδώνια μήλα στρου-

¹⁸ add. Coraes

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produce the so-called corrosive humour. In general apples are more difficult to digest than pears, the proof being that even if we eat less of the former, we digest them less effectively, whereas if we eat more of the latter, we digest them more effectively. The corrosive humour they produce is what Praxagoras calls the glassy humour,⁴³ the proof being that whatever foods are not digested will have thicker humours; and it was demonstrated that apples are in general more difficult to digest than pears, and that astringent foods tend to produce humours that are even thicker. As for winter apples, quinces produce more astringent humours, whereas *strouthia* produce less astringent humours in smaller quantities, and are more capable of being digested.

Nicander of Thyateira (*FGrH* 343 F 9) asserts that quinces are called *strouthia*, but he is in error; for Glaucides (above) records that the best tree-fruits are quinces, *phaulia*, and *strouthia*. Stesichorus mentions quinces in *Helen* (*PMG* 187), in the following words:

They threw many quinces toward the king's chariot,
and many myrtle leaves
and garlands of roses and twisted wreaths made of
violets.

Also Alcman (*PMG* 99). And Cantharus as well, in *Tereus* (fr. 6):

with quinces to her titties.

Philemon in *The Rustic* (fr. 1) also refers to quinces as

⁴³ Praxagoras was Phylotimus' teacher.

- e θία καλεί. Φύλαρχος δ' ἐν | τῇ ἕκτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν τὰ κυδώνια φησι μῆλα τῇ εὐωδία καὶ τὰς τῶν θανασίμων φαρμάκων δυνάμεις ἀπαμβλύνειν. τὸ γοῦν Φαριακὸν φάρμακον ἐμβληθέν φησιν εἰς ρίσκον ἔτι ὀδωδότα ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν μῆλων τούτων συνθέσεως ἐξίτηλον γενέσθαι μὴ τηρήσαν τὴν ἰδίαν δύναμιν κερασθὲν οὖν¹⁹ καὶ δοθὲν πιεῖν τοῖς εἰς τοῦτο ἐνεδρευθείσιν ἀπαθείς αὐτοὺς διατηρηῆσαι. ἐπιγνωσθῆναι δὲ τοῦτο ὕστερον
- f ἐξ ἀνακρίσεως τοῦ τὸ φάρμακον πωλήσαντος καὶ | ἐπιγνότος τὸ γενόμενον ἐκ τῆς τῶν μῆλων συνθέσεως. Ἑρμων δ' ἐν Κρητικαῖς Γλώσσαις κοδύμαλα καλεῖσθαι φησι τὰ κυδώνια μῆλα. Πολέμων δ' ἐν πέμπτῳ τῶν Πρὸς Τίμαιον ἄνθους γένος τὸ κοδύμαλον εἶναί τινας ἱστορεῖν. Ἀλκμὰν δὲ τὸ στρουθίου μῆλον, ὅταν λέγῃ·

< . . . > μείον ἢ κοδύμαλον.

Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ καὶ Σωσίβιος τὸ κυδώνιον μῆλον ἀκούουσιν. ὅτι δὲ διαφέρει τὸ κυδώνιον μῆλον τοῦ
82 στρουθίου || σαφῶς εἶρηκε Θεόφραστος ἐν δευτέρῳ τῆς Ἱστορίας.

Διάφορα δὲ μῆλα γίνεται ἐν Σιδουῦντι. κώμη δ' ἐστὶν αὕτη Κορίνθου, ὡς Εὐφορίων ἢ Ἀρχύτας ἐν Γεράνῳ φησίν·

ὄριον οἶά τε μῆλον, ὃ τ' ἀργιλώδεσιν ὄχθαις
πορφύρεον ἐλαχείῃ ἐνιτρέφεται Σιδόεντι.

μνημονεύει δ' αὐτῶν καὶ Νίκανδρος ἐν Ἑτεροιοιυμέ-

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strouthia. Phylarchus in Book VI of his *Histories* (FGrH 81 F 10) says that the pleasant smell of quinces blunts the effect of deadly poisons. For example, he says, when Phariac poison was put in a chest that still had the smell of quinces, which had been stored there, it failed to retain its proper character and lost its effect; so that when it was mixed with wine and given to the victims of the plot to drink, it left them unscathed. That this was the case was recognized afterwards, when the man who had sold the poison was interrogated and recognized what had happened as a result of storing the quinces in the chest. Hermon in *Cretan Vocabulary* says that quinces are referred to as *kodumala*. But Polemon in Book V of his *Response to Timaeus* (fr. 43 Preller) says that other authorities record that the *kodumalon* is a type of flower. Alcman (PMG 100) is referring to the *strouthian* apple when he says:

smaller than a *kodumalon*.

But Apollodorus (FGrH 244 F 252) and Sosibius (FGrH 595 F 11) take this to refer to the quince. Theophrastus in Book II of his *Inquiry* (HP 2.2.5) says explicitly that the quince is different from the *strouthion*.

Exceptional apples grow in Sidous, which is a village that belongs to Corinth, according to Euphorion (fr. 11, p. 32 Powell = fr. 188 van Groningen) or Archytas in *The Crane*:

Like a ripe apple, which grows dark red
on the hills of clay in little Sidous.

Nicander also mentions them in his *Metamorphoses* (fr. 50

¹⁹ οὖν Olson: γούν ACE

νοις οὕτως·

- b αὐτίχ' ὄγ' ἢ Σιδόεντος ἢ Πλείστου ἀπὸ κήπων
μῆλα ταμῶν χνοάοντα τύπους ἐνεμάσσετο |
Κάδμον.

ὅτι δ' ἢ Σιδούς τῆς Κορίνθου ἐστὶ κώμη Ῥιανὸς
εἴρηκεν ἐν πρώτῳ Ἑρακλείας καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ
Ἀθηναῖος ἐν πέμπτῳ Περὶ Νεῶν Καταλόγου. Ἀντίγο-
νος δ' ὁ Καρύστιος ἐν Ἀντιπάτρῳ φησίν·

ἦχι μοι ὠραίων πολὺ φίλτερον εἶαρι μῆλον
πορφυρέων, Ἐφύρη τά τ' ἀέξεται ἡνεμοέσση.

Φαυλίων δὲ μῆλων μνημονεύει Τηλεκλείδης ἐν Ἀμ-
φικτύοσιν οὕτως·

- c ὦ τὰ μὲν κομφοί, τὰ δὲ φαυλότεροι
φαυλίων | μῆλων.

καὶ Θεόπομπος ἐν Θησεί. Ἀνδροτίων δ' ἐν τῷ Γεωρ-
γικῷ, τὰς δὲ μηλέας, φησί, φαυλίας καὶ στρουθίας· οὐ
γὰρ ἀπορρεῖ τὸ μῆλον ἀπὸ τοῦ μίσχου τῶν στρου-
θιῶν· τὰς δὲ ἡρινὰς ἢ Λακωνικὰς ἢ Σιδουντίας ἢ
χνοωδίας. ἐγὼ δ', ἄνδρες φίλοι, πάντων μάλιστα τε-
θαύμακα τὰ <κατὰ> τὴν Ῥώμην πιπρασκόμενα μῆλα
τὰ Ματιανὰ καλούμενα, ἅπερ κομίζεσθαι λέγεται ἀπό
τινος κώμης ἰδρυμένης ἐπὶ τῶν πρὸς Ἀκυληῖα Ἄλ-
πειων. τούτων δ' οὐ πολὺ ἀπολείπεται τὰ ἐν Γάγγροις

⁴⁴ Letters (the alphabet having supposedly been invented by

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Schneider), as follows:

At once he cut downy apples from the orchards
of Sidous or Pleistus, pressing Cadmaean characters⁴⁴
into them.

That Sidous is a village that belongs to Corinth is asserted by Rhianus in Book I of the *Heracleia* (FGrH 265 F 47) and by Apollodorus of Athens in Book V of *On the Catalogue of Ships* (FGrH 244 F 159). Antigonus of Carystus says in *Antipater* (p. 170 Wilamowitz = SH 47):

where is an apple far dearer to me in springtime than
the ripe,
dark red fruit that grows in windy Ephyra.

Teleclides mentions *phaulian* apples in *Amphictyonies* (fr. 4), as follows:

O you who are sometimes smart, but at other times
worse (*phauloterai*)
than *phaulian* apples.

Also Theopompus in *Theseus* (fr. 20). Androtion in his *On Agriculture* (FGrH 324 F 77) says: As for apple trees, *phaulians* and *strouthians*; because the apple does not fall off the stem of the *strouthians*. As for spring apples, either Spartans or Sidountians or the downy variety. But I, my friends, am most impressed by the so-called Matian apples that are sold in Rome and said to be imported from a village situated in the Alps near Aquileia; although the apples in the Paphlagonian city of Gangra are not much inferior to

Cadmus), which formed a love-vow Ctesilla was bound by after she read it aloud.

- d πόλει Παφλαγονικῇ. | ὅτι δὲ καὶ τῶν μῆλων εὐρετής ἐστι Διόνυσος μαρτυρεῖ Θεόκριτος ὁ Συρακόσιος οὕτωςί πως λέγων·

μάλα μὲν ἐν κόλποισι Διωνύσοιο φυλάσσω,
κρατὶ δ' ἔχων λεύκαν, Ἡρακλέος ἱερὸν ἔρνος.

- Νεοπτόλεμος δ' ὁ Παριανὸς ἐν τῇ Διονυσιάδι καὶ αὐτὸς ἱστορεῖ ὡς ὑπὸ Διόνυσου εὐρεθέντων τῶν μῆλων, καθάπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀκροδρῦν. ἐπιμηλὶς δὲ καλεῖται, φησὶ Πάμφιλος, τῶν ἀπίων τι γένος. Ἐσπερίδων δὲ μῆλα οὕτως καλεῖσθαι τινά φησι Τιμαχίδας
e | ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ Δείπνων. καὶ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι δὲ παρατίθεσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς φησι Πάμφιλος ταῦτα· εὖοςμα δὲ εἶναι καὶ ἄβρωτα, καλεῖσθαι δ' Ἐσπερίδων μῆλα. Ἀριστοκράτης γοῦν ἐν τετάρτῃ Λακωνικῶν ἔτι δὲ μῆλα καὶ <μηλέας> τὰς λεγομένας Ἐσπερίδας.

- Περσικά. Θεόφραστος ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ Φυτῶν Ἱστορίας λέγων περὶ ὧν ὁ καρπὸς οὐ φανερός, γράφει καὶ τάδε· ἐπεὶ τῶν γε μειζόνων φανερά πάντων ἢ ἀρχή, καθάπερ ἀμυγδάλης, καρῦνον, βαλάνου, τῶν
f ἄλλων ὅσα τοιαῦτα πλὴν τοῦ Περσικοῦ, | τούτου δ' ἤκιστα· καὶ πάλιν ρόας, ἀπίου, μηλέας. Δίφιλος δ' ὁ Σίφνιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν Προσφερομένων τοῖς Νοσοῦσι καὶ τοῖς Ἵγυαίνουσιν φησι τὰ δὲ Περσικά λεγόμενα μῆλα, ὑπὸ τινων δὲ Περσικὰ κοκκύμηλα, μέσως ἐστὶν εὐχyla, θρεπτικώτερα δὲ τῶν μῆλων. Φυλότιμος

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them. Theocritus of Syracuse (2.120–1) bears witness to the fact that Dionysus discovered apples, saying something more or less like this:

keeping apples of Dionysus in my bosom,
and wearing white poplar, the holy shoot of Heracles,
on my head.

Neoptolemus of Paros in his *Dionysiad* (FGrH 702 F 3 = fr. 1 Mette) also records that apples, like the other tree-fruit, were discovered by Dionysus. According to Pamphilus (fr. V Schmidt), the word *epimēlis* is used for a variety of pear. Timachidas says in Book IV of the *Dinner Parties* (SH 771) that certain apples are referred to as apples of the Hesperides. Pamphilus says that in Sparta these are served to the gods; they are sweet-smelling but inedible, and are referred to as apples of the Hesperides. Aristocrates, at any rate, says in Book IV of the *History of Sparta* (FGrH 591 F 1): also apples and what are called the apple trees of the Hesperides.

Peaches.⁴⁵ Theophrastus in Book II of *Research on Plants* (fr. 397), in his discussion of plants whose fruit is not apparent, writes as follows: Since for all the larger ones the growth is apparent from the very first, as for example the almond, the nut (*karuon*), the acorn, and the rest of this type except the Persian nut (of which this is emphatically not true). And again the pomegranate, the pear, and the apple tree. Diphilus of Siphnos says in his *On Food for the Sick and the Healthy*: The so-called Persian apples, referred to by some authorities as Persian plums, produce moderately good *chulē* and are more nourishing than ap-

⁴⁵ Literally "Persian (apples)."

83 δ' ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ Περὶ Τροφῆς τὸ Περσικόν φησι λιπαρὸτερον καὶ κεγχρῶδες εἶναι, χαυνότερον δ' ὑπάρχειν καὶ πιεζόμενον πλείστον ἔλαιον ἀνίεναι. || Ἀριστοφάνης δ' ὁ γραμματικὸς ἐν Λακωνικαῖς Γλώσσαις τὰ κοκκύμηλά φησι τοὺς Λάκωνας καλεῖν ὀξύμαλα Περσικά, ἃ τινες ἄδρνα.

Κιτριόν. περὶ τούτου πολλή ζήτησις ἐνέπεσε τοῖς δειπνοσοφισταῖς, εἴ τίς ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ μνήμη παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς. Μυρτίλος μὲν γὰρ ἔφασκεν, ὥσπερ εἰς αἶγας ἡμᾶς ἀγρίας ἀποπέμπων τοὺς ζητοῦντας, Ἐγήσανδρον τὸν Δελφὸν ἐν τοῖς Ὑπομνήμασιν αὐτοῦ μνημονεύειν, τῆς <δὲ> λέξεως τὰ νῦν οὐ μεμνήσθαι. πρὸς δὲ ἀντιλέγων ὁ Πλούταρχος· ἀλλὰ μὴν ἔγωγε, b φησί, ! διορίζομαι μὴδ' ὅλως τὸν Ἐγήσανδρον τοῦτο εἰρηκέναι, δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἐξαναγνοὺς αὐτοῦ πάντα τὰ Ὑπομνήματα, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄλλος τις τῶν ἐταίρων τοῦτ' ἔχειν οὕτω διεβεβαιούτο, ὀρμώμενος ἔκ τινων σχολικῶν ὑπομνημάτων ἀνδρὸς οὐκ ἀδόξου· ὥστε ὦρα σοι, φίλε Μυρτίλε, ἄλλον ζητεῖν μάρτυρα. Αἰμιλιανὸς δὲ ἔλεγεν Ἰόβαν τὸν Μαυρουσίω βασιλέα, ἄνδρα πολυμαθέστατον, ἐν τοῖς περὶ Λιβύης συγγράμμασι μνημονεύοντα τοῦ κιτριίου καλεῖσθαι φάσκειν αὐτὸ παρὰ c τοῖς Λίβυσι μῆλον Ἐσπερικόν, | ἀφ' ᾧν καὶ Ἡρακλέα κομίσαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὰ χρύσεια διὰ τὴν ἰδέαν λεγόμενα μῆλα. τὰ δὲ τῶν Ἐσπερίδων λεγόμενα μῆλα

⁴⁶ Sc. than the apple. The oil referred to below presumably comes from pressing the pits.

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ples. Phylotimus in Book III of *On Food* (fr. 10 Steckerl) says that the peach is oilier⁴⁶, mealy, and spongier, and releases a large amount of oil when pressed. The grammarian Aristophanes in *Spartan Vocabulary* (fr. 350 Slater) says that the Spartans refer to plums as Persian sour apples, which some authorities call *adrua*.⁴⁷

Citron. Considerable discussion arose among the learned banqueters as to whether the ancients mentioned this anywhere. For Myrtilus asserted, as it were sending us off to the wild goats⁴⁸ in our inquiries, that Hegesander of Delphi refers to the fruit in his *Commentaries*, although he was momentarily unable to remember the exact words. Plutarch contradicts him and says: No, I myself am certain that Hegesander never uses this word at all, since I read all his *Commentaries* for precisely this reason. For another friend of mine was sure that this was so, having been encouraged by certain scholarly essays produced by a not undistinguished gentleman. And so, my dear Myrtilus, it is time for you to look for another witness to the word. Aemilianus claimed that Juba the king of the Mauretanians, a very learned man, mentioned the citron in his treatise on Libya (*FGrH* 275 F 6) and asserted that the Libyans referred to it as an apple of Hesperia and that Heracles brought some of these, which were called golden apples because of their appearance, to Greece.⁴⁹ As for what are called apples of the Hesperides, Asclepiades in Book LX of

⁴⁷ Hsch. α 1210 identifies this as a Sicel (i.e. Sicilian) term.

⁴⁸ I.e. to the furthest and most inaccessible places.

⁴⁹ As one of his final labors.

ὅτι ἐς τοὺς Διὸς καὶ Ἑρας λεγομένους γάμους ἀνήκεν ἡ γῆ Ἀσκληπιάδης εἴρηκεν ἐν ἐξηκοστῇ Αἰγυπτιακῶν. πρὸς τούτους ἀποβλέψας ὁ Δημόκριτος ἔφη· εἰ μὲν τι τούτων Ἰόβας ἱστορεῖ, χαιρέτω Διβυκαῖσι βίβλοις ἔτι τε ταῖς Ἄννωνος πλάνας. ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ μὲν ὄνομα οὐ φημι κείσθαι²⁰ παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς τοῦτο, τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἑρεσίου Θεοφράστου οὕτως λεγόμενον ἐν τῇ *Περὶ Φυτῶν Ἱστορίᾳ* ἀναγκάζει | με ἐπὶ τῶν κιτρίων ἀκούειν τὰ σημαινόμενα. φησὶ γὰρ ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ τῆς *Περὶ Φυτῶν Ἱστορίας* οὕτως· ἡ δὲ Μηδία χώρα καὶ ἡ Περσις ἄλλα τε ἔχει πλείω καὶ τὸ μῆλον τὸ Περσικὸν ἢ Μηδικὸν καλούμενον. ἔχει δὲ τὸ δένδρον τοῦτο φύλλον μὲν ὁμοιον καὶ σχεδὸν ἴσον τῷ τῆς ἀνδράχλης²¹ καὶ καρύας, ἀκάνθας δ' οἷας ἄπιος ἢ ὀξυάκανθος, λείας δὲ καὶ ὀξείας σφόδρα καὶ ἰσχυράς. τὸ δὲ μῆλον οὐκ ἐσθίεται μὲν, εὖσοσμον δὲ πάνυ καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ τὰ φύλλα τοῦ δένδρου· | καὶ εἰς ἱμάτια | τεθῆ τὸ μῆλον, ἄκοπα διατηρεῖ. |
 e
 χρησίμων δὲ ἐπειδὴν καὶ τύχη τις πεπωκῶς θανάσιμον φάρμακον· δοθὲν γὰρ ἐν οἴνῳ διακόπτει τὴν κοιλίαν καὶ ἐξάγει τὸ φάρμακον, καὶ πρὸς στόματος εὐωδίαν· ἐὰν γὰρ τις ἐψησῆ ἐν ζωμῷ ἢ ἐν ἄλλῳ τινὶ τὸ εἶσω τοῦ μῆλου ἐκπίεση τε εἰς τὸ στόμα καὶ καταρροφήσῃ, ποιεῖ τὴν ὄσμην ἠδεῖαν. σπείρεται δὲ τοῦ

²⁰ κείσθαι τοῦ κιτρίου ACE

²¹ τῆς δαφνῆς ἀνδράχλης ACE

BOOK III

the *History of Egypt* (fr. 1, *FHG* iii.306) says that the earth sent them up in response to what is referred to as the "wedding of Zeus and Hera."⁵⁰ Democritus gave them a look and said: If Juba records any of this, to hell with Libyan books and Hanno's wanderings as well.⁵¹ I deny that this word is attested in the ancients; but the thing itself, which is discussed by Theophrastus of Eresus in his *Research on Plants*, as follows, compels me to take the description to refer to citrons. For in Book IV of his *Research on Plants* (*HP* 4.4.2-3) the philosopher says the following: Media and Persia contain, among many other things, what is referred to as the Persian or Median apple. This tree has a leaf that resembles and is nearly the same size as that of the arbutus and the nut-tree,⁵² and has spines like the pear tree's or the white-thorn's, which are smooth and extremely sharp and strong. Its apple is not eaten, but it and the tree's leaves are both very fragrant; if the apple is placed among clothes, it keeps them free of moths. It is also useful when someone has drunk a deadly poison, since when administered mixed in wine, it upsets the stomach and brings up the poison, as well as for sweetening your breath. For if you stew the interior of the apple in meat-broth or something else, squeeze it into your mouth, and swallow it down, it makes your breath smell sweet. The seed is extracted and sown in

⁵⁰ Cf. *Il.* 14.346-9, where flowers spring up from the earth as Zeus and Hera make love.

⁵¹ The Phoenician Hanno supposedly wrote an account of his journey along the Atlantic coast of Morocco early in the 5th century, and this account was believed to have been translated into Greek. For the fragments, see *GGM* i.1-14.

⁵² *karua*; cf. 2.52a-b. Only the arbutus is mentioned in the traditional text of Theophrastus.

ἦρος εἰς πρασιὰς ἐξαιρεθὲν τὸ σπέρμα διειργασμένας
 ἐπιμελῶς· εἴτ' ἄρδεται διὰ τετάρτης ἢ πέμπτης ἡμέ-
 f ρας. ὅταν δὲ ἄδρὸν ἦ, διαφυτεύεται πάλιν | τοῦ ἔαρος
 εἰς χωρίον μαλακὸν καὶ ἔφυδρον καὶ οὐ λίαν λεπτόν.
 φέρει δὲ τὰ μῆλα πάσαν ὥραν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀφήρηται,
 τὰ δ' ἀνθεῖ, τὰ δ' ἐκπέττει. τῶν δ' ἀνθῶν ὅσα ἔχει
 καθάπερ ἡλακάτην ἐκ μέσου τινὰ ἐξέχουσιν, ταῦτά
 ἐστὶ γόνιμα· ὅσα δὲ μῆ, ἄγονα. κὰν τῷ πρώτῳ δὲ τῆς
 αὐτῆς πραγματείας τὰ περὶ τῆς ἡλακάτης καὶ τῶν
 γονίμων εἴρηκεν. ἐκ τούτων ἐγὼ κινούμενος, ὧ ἐταῖροι,
 ὧν φησὶν ὁ Θεόφραστος περὶ χροῆας, περὶ ὀσμῆς, περὶ
 φύλλων τὸ κιτρίον λέγεσθαι πεπίστευκα, καὶ μηδεὶς
 84 ὑμῶν θαυμαζέτω εἴ φησὶν μὴ ἐσθίεσθαι αὐτό, || ὁπότε
 γε καὶ μέχρι τῶν κατὰ τοὺς πάππους ἡμῶν χρόνων
 οὐδεὶς ἦσθιεν, ἀλλ' ὥς τι μέγα κειμήλιον ἀπετίθεντο
 ἐν ταῖς κιβωτοῖς μετὰ τῶν ἱματίων. ὅτι δ' ὄντως ἐκ τῆς
 ἄνω χώρας ἐκείνης κατέβη εἰς τοὺς Ἑλληνας τὸ
 φυτὸν τοῦτο, ἔστιν εὐρεῖν λεγόμενον καὶ παρὰ τοῖς
 τῆς κωμωδίας ποιηταῖς, οἳ καὶ περὶ μεγέθους αὐτῶν τι
 λέγοντες τῶν κιτριῶν μνημονεύειν φαίνονται. Ἀντιφά-
 νης μὲν ἐν Βοιωτίῳ·

(A.) καὶ περὶ μὲν ὄψου γ' ἠλίθιον τὸ καὶ λέγειν
 b ὡσπερ πρὸς ἀπλήστους. ἀλλὰ ταυτὶ λάμβανε, |
 παρθένε, τὰ μῆλα. (B.) καλά γε. (A.) καλά δῆτ',
 ὦ θεοί·

νεωστὶ γὰρ τὸ σπέρμα τοῦτ' ἀφιγμένον
 εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐστὶ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως.

BOOK III

the spring in carefully prepared garden beds, and is then watered every fourth or fifth day. Once it is well-established, it is transplanted again in the spring to a soft, well-watered spot where the soil is not too thin. It bears fruit in every season; for when some have already been picked, others are in bloom or are growing ripe. The flowers that have what looks like a distaff sticking out of the middle are fertile, while those that do not are sterile. He also discusses the distaff and the fertile flowers in Book I of the same work (*HP* 1.13.4). I, my friends, am influenced by what Theophrastus says about the color, smell, and leaves, and am convinced that the citron is being referred to. Nor should any of you be surprised if he denies that it is eaten, given that as recently as our grandfathers' times no one ate it, but they stored it away like a great treasure in their chests along with their clothes.⁵³ That this plant in fact made its way to the Greeks from the upper country⁵⁴ can also be found asserted by the comic poets who, when they refer to their size, are patently thinking of citrons. Antiphanes in *The Boeotian*⁵⁵ (fr. 59):

(A.) It's foolish to talk about fine food
with people who are almost insatiable. But take these
apples, my girl. (B.) They're lovely! (A.) They ought
to be, by the gods!
For this seed has come only recently
to Athens from the King.⁵⁶

⁵³ Cf. Ar. V. 1056 with MacDowell ad loc.

⁵⁴ The interior of Asia. ⁵⁵ Athenaeus also refers to the play as *The Boeotian* at 9.367f, but calls it *The Boeotian Woman* at 11.474e; 14.650e.

⁵⁶ Sc. of Persia.

(B.) παρ' Ἑσπερίδων ᾠμην γε. (A.) νῆ τὴν
Φωσφόρον,
φησὶν τὰ χρυσᾶ μῆλα ταῦτ' εἶναι. (B.) τρία
μόνον ἐστίν. (A.) ὀλίγον τὸ καλόν ἐστι πανταχοῦ
καὶ τίμιον.

Ἐριφος δ' ἐν Μελιβοία αὐτὰ ταῦτα τὰ ἰαμβεῖα προ-
θεῖς ὡς ἴδια²² ἐπιφέρει.

c (B.) παρ' Ἑσπερίδων ᾠμην γε. (A.) νῆ τὴν
Ἄρτεμιν, |
φησὶν τὰ χρυσᾶ μῆλα ταῦτ' εἶναι. (B.) τρία
μόνον ἐστίν. (A.) ὀλίγον τὸ καλόν ἐστι πανταχοῦ
καὶ τίμιον. (B.) τούτων μὲν ὀβολόν, εἰ πολὺ,
τίθημι λογιούμαι γάρ. (A.) αὐται δὲ ῥοαί.
(B.) ὡς εὐγενεῖς. (A.) τὴν γὰρ Ἀφροδίτην ἐν
Κύπρῳ
δένδρον φυτεῦσαι τοῦτό φασιν ἐν μόνον.
(B.) † βέρβειαι † πολυτίμητε· κᾶτα τρεῖς μόνας
καὶ τάσδ' ἐκόμισας; (A.) οὐ γὰρ εἶχον πλείονας.

d τούτοις εἴ τις ἀντιλέγειν ἔχει ὅτι μὴ τὸ νῦν κιθρίον
λεγόμενον σημαίνεται, σαφέστερα μαρτύρια | παρα-
τιθέσθω· καίτοι καὶ Φαινίου τοῦ Ἑρεσίου ἔννοϊαν
ἡμῖν διδόντος μήποτε ἀπὸ τῆς κέδρου τὸ κεδρίον

²² ἴδια τὰ τοῦ Ἀντιφάνους A

⁵⁷ I.e. Hecate, an underworld goddess often identified with Artemis; cf. Eriph. fr. 2.1, below.

BOOK III

(B.) I was thinking they came from the Hesperides!
(A.) By the light-bearer,⁵⁷
he claims that these are the golden apples. (B.) There
are
only three of them. (A.) Anything good is rare and
expensive
everywhere.

Eriphus in *Meliboea* (fr. 2) begins with these same iambic lines, as if they were his own, but continues:

(B.) I was thinking they came from the Hesperides!
(A.) By Artemis,
he claims that these are the golden apples. (B.) There
are
only three of them. (A.) Anything good is rare and
expensive
everywhere. (B.) I'm setting their price at an obol,
even though that's
a lot; because I'm going to calculate the cost. (A.)
Here are pomegranates.
(B.) How nice they are! (A.) Of course—for they say
that
Aphrodite planted only this one tree on Cyprus.
(B.) By much-honored † Berbeia †! So you only
brought
these three? (A.) Because they didn't have any more!

If anyone wishes to object to these arguments that what is today called the citron is not being referred to, he should provide evidence clearer than this, although Phaenias of Eresus offers us the hypothesis that perhaps the juniper berry (*kedrion*) produced by the juniper tree is what is be-

ὠνόμασται. καὶ γὰρ τὴν κέδρον φησὶν ἐν πέμπτῳ
Περὶ Φυτῶν ἀκάνθας ἔχειν περὶ τὰ φύλλα. ὅτι δὲ τὸ
αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ τὸ κιτρίον ἐστὶ παντὶ δῆλον.

Ὅτι δὲ καὶ προλαμβανόμενον τὸ κιτρίον πάσης
τροφῆς ξηρᾶς τε καὶ ὑγρᾶς ἀντιφάρμακόν ἐστι παν-
τὸς δηλητηρίου εὐ οἶδα, μαθὼν παρὰ πολίτου ἐμοῦ
πιστευθέντος τὴν τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀρχήν. οὗτος κατεδί-
e κασέ τινας | γενέσθαι θηρίων βορὰν κακούργους
εὐρεθέντας²³ εἰσιούσι δὲ αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸ²⁴ εἰς τιμωρίαν
ἀποδεδειγμένον θέατρον κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν κάπηλῆς τις
γυνὴ κατ' ἔλεον ἔδωκεν οὗ μετὰ χεῖρας εἶχεν ἐσθί-
ουσα κιτρίον. καὶ λαβόντες ἔφαγον καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ
παραβληθέντες ταῖς ἀσπίσι²⁵ δηχθέντες οὐδὲν ἔπα-
θον. ἀπορία δὲ κατέσχε τὸν ἄρχοντα. καὶ τὸ τελευ-
f ταῖον ἀνακρίνων τὸν αὐτοὺς φυλάττοντα | στρατιώτην
εἴ τι ἔφαγον ἢ ἔπιον, ὡς ἔμαθε²⁶ τὸ κιτρίον δεδομένον,
τῇ ἐπιούσῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν τῷ μὲν πάλιν ἐκέλευσε δοθῆ-
ναι κιτρίον, τῷ δ' οὐ καὶ ὁ μὲν φαγὼν δηχθεὶς οὐδὲν
ἔπαθεν, ὁ δὲ παραντίκα πληγεὶς ἀπέθανε. δοκιμα-
σθέντος οὖν διὰ πολλῶν τοῦ τοιοῦτου εὐρέθη τὸ κι-
85 τρίον ἀντιφάρμακον <ὄν> παντὸς δηλητηρίου φαρμά-
κου. ἢ εἰάν τις ἐν μέλιτι Ἀττικῷ ὅλον κιτρίον ὡς ἔχει
φύσεως συνεψηγήη μετὰ τοῦ σπέρματος, διαλύεται μὲν
ἐν τῷ μέλιτι, καὶ ὁ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ λαμβάνων ἔωθεν δύο ἢ

²³ εὐρεθέντας, καὶ ἔδει αὐτοὺς ἀποσίτοις (ἅπασι CE)
ζώοις παραβληθῆναι ACE

²⁴ τὸ τοῖς λησταῖς ACE

BOOK III

ing discussed. For he says in Book V of *On Plants* (fr. 47a Wehrli) that the leaves of the juniper tree are surrounded by spines; that the same is true of the citron is absolutely clear.

I am also well aware that if a citron is eaten before any other dry or liquid food, it serves as an antidote against all dangerous substances. I learned this from a fellow-citizen of mine who was entrusted with the governorship of Egypt.⁵⁸ He condemned some convicted criminals to be fed to wild beasts; but as they were entering the theater assigned for their punishment, a peddler-woman in the street felt pity for them and gave them part of a citron she had in her hands and was eating. They took and ate it; and a little later, when they were thrown to the asps and bitten, nothing happened to them. The governor was perplexed. Finally he questioned the soldier who was guarding them as to whether they had eaten or drunk anything; when he learned that they had been given a citron, he ordered that the next day a piece of citron should be given to one man, but not the other. The man who ate the citron was bitten, but nothing happened to him, whereas the other man died immediately when he was struck. When similar results were obtained repeatedly, therefore, the citron was discovered to be an antidote for poisonous drugs of all sorts. If one stews a whole citron just as it is, seeds and all, in Attic honey, it dissolves in the honey; anyone who drinks two or

⁵⁸ The text of the story that follows appears to be disturbed.

²⁵ πελωρίους καὶ ἀγριωτάτοις ζώοις ταῖς ἀσπίσι ACE

²⁶ ὡς ἔμαθε κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀκεραίου ACE

τρεις δακτύλους οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν ὑπὸ φαρμάκου πείσεται. τούτοις εἴ τις ἀπιστεῖ, μαθέτω καὶ παρὰ Θεοπόμπου τοῦ Χίου, ἀνδρὸς φιλαλήθους καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα καταναλώσαντος εἰς τὴν περὶ τῆς ἱστορίας ἐξέτασιν ἀκριβῆ. φησὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἐν τῇ ὀγδόῃ καὶ τριακοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν περὶ Κλεάρχου διηγούμενος τοῦ Ἡρα-
 b κλεωτῶν | τῶν ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ τυράννου, ὡς βιαίως ἀνήρει πολλοὺς καὶ ὡς τοῖς πλείστοις ἐδίδου ἀκόνι-
 του²⁷ πιεῖν· ἐπειδὴ οὖν, φησί, πάντες ἔγνωσαν τὴν τοῦ φαρμάκου ταύτην φιλοτησίαν, οὐ προήεσαν τῶν οἰ-
 κίων πρὶν φαγεῖν πῆγανον· τούτο γὰρ τοὺς προφαγόν-
 τας μηδὲν πάσχειν πίνοντας τὸ ἀκόνιτον· ὃ καὶ κληθῆ-
 ναί φησι διὰ τὸ φύεσθαι ἐν τόπῳ Ἀκόναις καλουμένῳ
 ὄντι περὶ τὴν Ἡράκλειαν.

Ταῦτ' εἰπόντος τοῦ Δημοκρίτου θαυμάσαντες οἱ
 c πολλοὶ τὴν τοῦ κιτριῶν δύναμιν ἀπήσθιον | ὡς μὴ
 πρότερον φαγόντες ἢ πιόντες τι. Πάμφιλος δ' ἐν ταῖς
 Γλώσσαις Ῥωμαίους φησὶν αὐτὸ κίτρον²⁸ καλεῖν.

Ἐξῆς δὲ τοῖς προειρημένοις κατ' ἰδίαν ἐπεισεν-
 εχθέντων ἡμῖν πολλῶν ὀστρέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
 ὀστρακοδέρμων σχεδὸν τὰ πλείστα αὐτῶν μνήμης
 ἠξιωμένα παρ' Ἐπιχάρμῳ ἐν Ἡβας Γάμῳ εὕρισκω
 διὰ τούτων·

ἄγει δὲ παντοδαπὰ κογχύλια,

²⁷ κώνιον ΑΕ: κώνειον C

²⁸ κίτρον Musurus: κρίτον ACE

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three fingers of the compound first thing in the morning will not suffer any harm from poison. If anyone does not believe this, he can learn it from Theopompus of Chios (FGrH 115 T 28a), a man who was devoted to the truth and spent a great deal of money on the accurate investigation of history. In his description of Clearchus the tyrant of Heraclea Pontica⁵⁹ in Book XXXVIII of his *Histories* (FGrH 115 F 181a), he says that Clearchus murdered many people violently and gave most of them aconite to drink. So after everyone became aware of his fondness for the poison, he claims, they did not leave their houses until they ate some rue; because this plant keeps those who eat it ahead of time from being injured if they drink aconite. He says that it gets its name from the fact that it grows in a place called Aconae, which is near Heraclea.

After Democritus made these remarks, most of the group was astonished at the citron's power, and they ate it up as if they had eaten and drunk nothing before this. Pamphilus in his *Glossary* (fr. XIV Schmidt) says that the Romans refer to it as a *kitros*.⁶⁰

Immediately after the items described above, large quantities of oysters and other shellfish were brought in on separate platters. Nearly all of these, I find, were deemed worthy of mention in Epicharmus' *The Wedding of Hebe*, in the following passage (fr. 40):

And he brings shellfish of every sort:

⁵⁹ Clearchus reigned c.364/3–353/2 BCE.

⁶⁰ Latin *citrus*.

λεπάδας, ἀσπέδους, κραβύζους, κικιβάλους,
 τηθύνια,
 κτένια, βαλάνους, πορφύρας, ὄστρεια
 d συμμεμυκότα, |
 τὰ διελεῖν μὲν ἐντι χαλεπά, καταφαγῆμεν δ'
 εὐμαρέα·
 μύας ἀναρίτας τε κάρυκάς τε καὶ σκιφύδρια,
 τὰ γλυκέα μὲν ἐντ' ἐπέσθειν, ἐμπαγῆμεν δ' ὀξέα,
 τοὺς τε μακρογογγύλους σωλήνας· ἅ μέλαινά τε
 κόγχος, ἄπερ κογχοθηρᾶν παισὶν † εστρισώνια †·
 θάτεραι δὲ γάιαι κόγχοι τε κάμαθίτιδες,
 e ταὶ κακοδόκιμοι τε κηῦωνοι, | τὰς ἀνδροφυκτίδας
 πάντες ἄνθρωποι καλέονθ', ἀμὲς δὲ λεύκας τοὶ
 θεοί.

ἐν δὲ Μούσαις γράφεται ἀντὶ τοῦ

<κόγχος, ἄπερ κογχοθηρᾶν παισὶν † εστρισώνια †>,
 κόγχος, ἂν τέλλιν καλέομες· ἐστὶ δ' ἄδιστον
 κρέας.

τὴν τελλίαν δὲ λεγομένην ἴσως δηλοῖ, ἣν Ῥωμαῖοι
 μίτλον ὀνομάζουσι. μνημονεύων δ' αὐτῆς Ἀριστο-
 φάνης ὁ γραμματικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῆς Ἀχιυμένης
 Σκυτάλης συγγράμματι ὁμοίως φησὶν εἶναι τὰς λε-
 πάδας ταῖς καλουμέναις τελλίαις. Καλλίας δ' ὁ Μι-

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limpets, *aspendoi*, *krabuzoi*, *kikibaloï*⁶¹, sea-squirts,
scallops, barnacles, purple shellfish, tightly closed
oysters,
which are difficult to pry open but easily gobbled
down;
mussels, *anaritai*, whelks, and sword-shells,
which are sweet to feast upon but sharp to be
impaled on;
and the cylindrical razor-shells. Also the black
conch, which is [corrupt] for children of fishermen;
and others that live on land, both conchs and sand-
dwellers,
which have a bad reputation and are inexpensive, and
which all human beings
refer to as *androphuktides*, although we gods call
them white conchs.

In *Muses* he replaces the line

<conch, which is [corrupt] for children of fishermen>

with (fr. 84):

conch, which we refer to as a *tellis*; the meat is the
sweetest there is.

Perhaps he is talking about what is called a *tellina*, for
which the Romans use the name *mitlos*.⁶² The grammarian
Aristophanes mentions it in his treatise *On the Mournful
Message-Staff* (fr. 367 Slater) and says that limpets resem-
ble the so-called *tellinai*. Callias of Mitylene in his *On the*

⁶¹ All probably local Sicilian names.

⁶² Latin *mitulus* ("mussel").

f τυληναῖος ἰ ἐν τῷ Περι τῆς Παρ' Ἀλκαίῳ Λεπάδος
παρὰ τῷ Ἀλκαίῳ φησὶν εἶναι ὦδὴν ἧς ἡ ἀρχή·

πέτρας καὶ πολιᾶς θαλάσ-
σας τέκνον,

ἧς ἐπὶ τέλει γεγράφθαι·

ἐκ δὲ παίδων
χαίνως φρένας, ἃ θαλασσία λεπάς.

ὁ δ' Ἀριστοφάνης γράφει ἀντὶ τοῦ λεπάδος “χέλυσ” καὶ
φησιν οὐκ εὖ Δικαίαρχον ἐκδεξάμενον λέγειν τὰς
λεπάδας· τὰ παιδάρια δὲ ἠνίκ' ἂν εἰς τὸ στόμα λάβω-
σιν, αὐλεῖν ἐν ταύταις καὶ παίζειν, καθάπερ καὶ παρ'
ἡμῖν τὰ σπερμολόγα τῶν παιδαρίων ταῖς καλουμέναις
86 τελλίνας, ἢ ὡς καὶ Σώπατρός φησιν ὁ φλυακογράφος
ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ δράματι Εὐβουλοθεομβρότῳ·

ἀλλ' ἴσχε· τελλίνης γὰρ ἐξαίφνης μέ τις
ἀκοὰς μελωδὸς ἦχος εἰς ἐμὰς ἔβη.

πάλιν δ' ὁ Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Πύρρα καὶ Προμαθεῖ φησι·

τὰν τελλίναν, τὸν ἀναρίταν, θᾶσαι δῆ, καὶ λεπάς
ὅσσα.

παρὰ Σώφρονι δὲ κόγχοι μελαινίδες λέγονται· μελαι-
νίδες γὰρ τοι νισοῦντι ἐμὴν ἐκ τοῦ μικροῦ λιμένος. ἐν
b δὲ τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Ὀλλιεὺς τὸν ἰ Ἀγροιώταν χη-
ράμβας ὀνομάζει. καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος δὲ τῆς χηράμβης
μέμνηται, τοῦ δ' ἀναρίτου Ἴβυκος. καλεῖται δ' ὁ

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Limpet in Alcaeus says that one of Alcaeus' songs begins (fr. 359, encompassing both quotations):

child of the rock
and the gray sea,

and the end of the text runs:

may you puff up
the minds of children, sea-limpet.

But Aristophanes writes "tortoise" in place of "limpet," and says that Dicaearchus (fr. 99 Wehrli) was wrong to accept the reading and discuss limpets here: When children put limpets into their mouths, they blow into them and make music, just as street-children do among us with the so-called *tellinai*, as the *phlyax*-author Sopater says in his play entitled *Eubulus the Demigod* (fr. 7):

But wait! For a melodious sound
of a *tellinē* came suddenly to my ears.

Again, Epicharmus says in *Pyrrha and Promatheus* (fr. 114):

Look how big the *tellinē*, the *anarita*, and the limpet
are!

Melainides conchs⁶³ are mentioned in Sophron (fr. 96): Because *melainides* are coming to us from the little harbor. And in the mime entitled *The Fisherman and the Farmer* (fr. 43) he refers to *chērambai*. Archilochus (fr. 285 West²) as well mentions the *chērambē*, and Ibycus (PMG 321.3)

⁶³ Mussels?

ἀναρίτης καὶ ἀνάρτας. κοχλιῶδες δὲ ὄν τὸ ὄστρεον
προσέχεται ταῖς πέτραις ὡσπερ αἱ λεπάδες. Ἡρών-
δας δ' ἐν Συνεργαζομέναις·

προσφύς ὅκως τις χοιράδων ἀναρίτης.

Αἰσχύλος δ' ἐν † Πέρσαις τις ἀνηρεῖ † τοὺς νήσους
νηριτοτρόφους

εἴρηκεν. Ὅμηρος δὲ τῶν τηθέων μέμνηται.

Διοκλῆς δ' ὁ Καρύστιος ἐν τοῖς Ὑγεινοῖς κρά-
c τιστά φησιν εἶναι τῶν κογχυλίων πρὸς διαχώρησιν |
καὶ οὔρησιν μύας, ὄστρεα, κτένας, χήμας. Ἄρχιππος
δ' ἐν Ἰχθύσι·

λεπάσιν, ἐχίνοις, ἐσχάrais, βαλάνοις τε τοῖς
κτεσίν τε·

ῥωμαλεώτατα²⁹ δὲ τῶν κογχυλίων φησὶν εἶναι ὁ Διο-
κλῆς κόγχας, πορφύρας, κήρυκας. περὶ δὲ τῶν κηρύ-
κων ὁ Ἄρχιππος τάδε λέγει·

< . . . > κήρυξ θαλάσσης τρόφιμος, υἱὸς
πορφύρας.

Σπεύσιππος δ' ἐν δευτέρῳ Ὁμοίων παραπλήσια εἶναι
κήρυκας, πορφύρας, στραβήλους, κόγχους. τῶν στρα-
d βήλων μνημονεύει καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Καμικοῖς οὕτως· |

²⁹ ῥωμαλεώτατα Meineke: ῥωμαλεώτερα A: ῥωμαλέα CE

⁶⁴ The corruption probably conceals the word *nēritēs*, which

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mentions the *anaritēs*. The *anaritēs* is also referred to as an *anartas*. The oyster is a snail-like creature that clings to the rocks just like limpets do. Herondas in *Women Working Together* (fr. 11 Cunningham):

clinging just like an *anaritēs* to the reefs.

Aeschylus says in † *Persians* (fr. 285) [corrupt]⁶⁴ † the islands

that nourish *nēritai*.

Homer mentions sea-squirts (*Il.* 16.747).

Diocles of Carystus in his *On Matters of Health* (fr. 223 van der Eijk) says that the best shellfish for encouraging bowel movements and urination are mussels, oysters, scallops, and clams. Archippus in *Fish* (fr. 24):⁶⁵

limpets, sea-urchins, *escharai*, and barnacles and the scallops.

Diocles says that the shellfish that increase one's strength the most are conchs, purple shellfish, and trumpet-shells. Archippus (fr. 25) says the following about trumpet-shells:

a trumpet-shell, nursling of the sea, son of a purple shellfish.

Speusippus in Book II of *Similar Things* (fr. 8 Tarán) says that trumpet-shells, purple shellfish, whelks, and conchs are very much alike. Sophocles mentions whelks in *Camicians* (fr. 324), as follows:

was most likely identified as a variant form of *anaritēs*. These words are not found in our text of *Persians*.

⁶⁵ Quoted again at 3.90f.

ATHENAEUS

άλιας στραβήλου τήσδε, τέκνον, εἴ τινα
 δυναίμεθ' εὐρεῖν.

ἔτι ὁ Σπεύσιππος ἐξῆς πάλιν ἴδια καταριθμεῖται
 κόγχους, κτένας, μῦς, πίννας, σωλήνας, καὶ ἐν ἄλλω
 μέρει ὄστρεα, λεπάδας. Ἀραρῶς δὲ Καμπυλίωνί φησι·

τὰ κομφὰ <μὲν>³⁰ δὴ ταῦτα νωγαλεύματα,
 κόγχαι τε καὶ σωλήνες αἶ τε καμπύλαι
 κариδες ἐξήλλοντο δελφίνων δίκην.

e Σώφρων δ' ἐν Μίμοις· | (A.) τίνες δέ ἐντί ποκα, φίλα,
 τοῖδε τοὶ μακροὶ κόγχοι; (B.) σωλήνές θην τοῦτοί γα,
 γλυκύκρεον κογχύλιον, χηρᾶν γυναικῶν λίχνευμα.
 τῶν δὲ πιννῶν μνημονεύει Κρατῖνος ἐν Ἀρχιλόχοις·

ἦ μὲν δὴ πίννησι καὶ ὄστρείοισιν ὁμοίη.

Φιλύλλιος δ' ἢ Εὐνικός³¹ ἢ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Πόλεσι·

πουλυπόδειον, σηπιδάριον, κάραβον, ἀστακόν,
 ὄστρειον,

f χήμας, λεπάδας, σωλήνας, μῦς, πίννας, κτένας
 ἐκ Μιτυλήνης· |

† αἶρετ' ἀνθρακίδας † τρίγλη, σαργός, κεστρεύς,
 πέρκη, κορακῖνοι.

Ἄγιας δὲ καὶ Δερκύλος ἐν Ἀργολικοῖς τοὺς στρα-
 βήλους ἀστραβήλους ὀνομάζουσι, μνημονεύοντες αὐ-
 τῶν ὡς ἐπιτηδείων ὄντων εἰς τὸ σαλπίζειν. τὰς δὲ

³⁰ cf. 2.47d

³¹ Εὐνικός Schweighäuser: δύνικος A

BOOK III

of this sea-whelk, my child, if we
could find any . . .

Furthermore, Speusippus (fr. 8 Tarán, continued) again lists individually in order conchs, scallops, mussels, pinnas, and razor-shells; and in another class oysters and limpets. Araros says in *Campulion* (fr. 8.1–3):⁶⁶

these elegant dainties,
and snails and razor-shells and curved
shrimp, leapt out like dolphins.

Sophron in the *Mimes* (fr. 23): (A.) What in the world, my dear, are these big conchs? (B.) These are razor-shells, a sweet-fleshed little shellfish and a delicacy for widows. Cratinus mentions pinnas in *Archilochuses* (fr. 8):

certainly [a woman] resembling pinnas and oysters.

Philyllius (fr. 12) or Eunicus or Aristophanes in *Cities*:

a little octopus, a little squid, a crayfish, a lobster, an
oyster,
clams, limpets, razor-shells, mussels, pinnas,
Mytilenean scallops.
† Hand me small-fry † a red mullet, a sargue, a grey
mullet, a perch, a crow-fish.

Agias and Dercylus in the *History of Argos* (FGrH 305 F 3) call whelks (*strabēloi*) *astrabēloi* and mention that they are useful for trumpeting. The word “conch” can be found in

⁶⁶ Other portions of the fragment are quoted at 2.47d; 3.105e.

κόγχας ἔστιν εὐρεῖν λεγομένας καὶ θηλυκῶς καὶ ἀρσενικῶς. Ἀριστοφάνης Βαβυλωνίους·

- 87 ἀνέχασκον εἷς ἕκαστος ἐμφερέστατα ἢ
ὀπτωμέναις κόγχαισιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθράκων.

Τηλεκλείδης δ' ἐν Ἡσιόδοις, κόγχη, φησί, διελεῖν. καὶ Σώφρων Γυναικείους· ταί γα μὰν κόγχαι, ὥσπερ αἶ κ' ἐξ ἑνὸς κελεύματος κεχάναντι ἀμὴν πᾶσαι, τὸ δὲ κρήης ἐκάστας ἐξέχει. ἀρσενικῶς δ' Αἰσχύλος ἐν Ποντίῳ Γλαύκῳ·

κόγχαι, μύες κῶστρεια.

- Ἀριστῶνυμος Θησεῖ· † κόγχος ἦν βάπτων ἄλλων
b ὁμοίως †. | παραπλησίως δ' εἶρηκε καὶ Φρύνιχος Σατύροις.

Ἰκέσιος δὲ ὁ Ἐρασιστράτειος τῶν χημῶν φησι τὰς μὲν τραχείας λέγεσθαι, τὰς δὲ <λείας> βασιλικάς. καὶ τὰς μὲν τραχείας³² κακοχύλους εἶναι, ὀλιγοτρόφους, εὐεκκρίτους, χρῆσθαι δὲ αὐταῖς καὶ δελέασι τοὺς πορφυρευομένους· τῶν δὲ λείων κατὰ τὰ μεγέθη καὶ τὰς διαφορὰς εἶναι κρατίστας. Ἡγήσανδρος δ' ἐν Ἵπομνήμασι τὰς τραχείας φησὶ κόγχας ὑπὸ μὲν Μακεδόνων κωρύκους καλεῖσθαι, ὑπὸ δὲ Ἀθηναίων
c κριούς. τὰς δὲ λεπάδας | ὁ Ἰκέσιος τῶν προειρημένων

³² τραχείας καὶ ACE

BOOK III

both the masculine and the feminine.⁶⁷ Aristophanes in *Babylonians* (fr. 67):

They all had their mouths wide open, as if they were
conchs (fem.) roasting on the coals.

Teleclides says in *Hesiods* (fr. 20, unmetrical): a conch to pry open. Also Sophron in the *Women's Mimes* (fr. 24): Indeed, the conchs (fem.), as if at one command, have all opened wide for us, and the flesh of every one is sticking out. But Aeschylus has the word in the masculine in *Glaucus of the Sea* (fr. 34):

conchs, mussels, and oysters.

Aristonymus in *Theseus* (fr. 1, unmetrical): † a conch (masc.) was dipping of others simultaneously †. Phrynichus says something similar in *Satyrs* (fr. 51).

Erasistratus' student Hicesius says that some clams are called "rough," while the smooth ones are called "royal." The rough ones produce bad *chulē*, are not very nourishing, are easily excreted, and are used as bait by fishermen trying to catch purple shellfish; as for the smooth variety, the larger they are, the more pronounced their outstanding characteristics. Hegesander in his *Commentaries* (fr. 36, *FHG* iv.420) says that the Macedonians refer to rough conchs as *kōrukoi* (literally "bags, pouchs"), whereas the Athenians refer to them as *krioi* (literally "rams"). Hicesius

⁶⁷ In the quotations from Teleclides and Aeschylus, the gender of the word is in fact impossible to determine, although in the first case it is certainly 1st-declension (and thus most likely feminine), while in the second it is 2nd-declension (and thus most likely masculine).

εὐεκκρίτους μᾶλλον εἶναι, τὰ δ' ὄστρεα ἀτροφώτερα τε
 τούτων καὶ πλήσσμα εὐεκκριτώτερα τε³³. οἱ δὲ κτένες
 τροφιμώτεροι μὲν εἰσι, κακοχυλότεροι δὲ καὶ δυσεκ-
 κριτώτεροι. τῶν δὲ μυῶν οἱ μὲν Ἐφέσιοι καὶ οἱ τούτοις
 ὅμοιοι τῇ εὐχυλία τῶν μὲν κτενῶν βελτίονες, τῶν δὲ
 χημῶν λειπόμενοι οὐρητικώτεροι δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν
 κοιλίαν φερόμενοι. εἰσὶ δ' αὐτῶν ἔνιοι καὶ σκιλλώδεις
 d κακόχυλοί τε καὶ πρὸς τὴν γέυσειν ἀπειθεῖς. | οἱ δ'
 ἐλάσσονες τούτων καὶ δασεῖς ἔξωθεν οὐρητικώτεροι
 μὲν εἰσι καὶ εὐχυλότεροι τῶν σκιλλωδῶν, ἀτροφώτε-
 ροὶ δέ, διὰ τε τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τῷ γένει ὄντες τοιοῦτοι.
 οἱ δὲ τῶν κηρύκων τράχηλοι εὐστόμαχοί τε εἰσι καὶ
 ἀτροφώτεροι μυῶν τε καὶ χημῶν καὶ κτενῶν· τοῖς δ'
 ἀσθενῆ τὸν στόμαχον ἔχουσι καὶ μὴ ῥαδίως ἀποδιω-
 θοῦσι τὴν τροφήν εἰς τὸ κύτος τῆς κοιλίας χρήσιμοι,
 δύσφθαργοί τε ὄντες. τὰ γὰρ ὁμολογουμένως εὐπεπτα
 e κατὰ τὸναντίον ἀλλότρια | τῆς διαθέσεως ταύτης
 ἐστίν, εὐχερῶς διαφθειρόμενα διὰ τὸ ἀπαλὰ καὶ εὐ-
 διάλυτα εἶναι. ὅθεν αἱ μήκωνες αὐτῶν πρὸς μὲν τὰς
 τῶν στομάχων εὐτονίας οὐκ εὐθετοῦσι, πρὸς δὲ τὴν
 τῆς κοιλίας ἀσθένειαν χρήσιμοι. τροφιμώτεραι δὲ
 τούτων εἰσὶ καὶ ἀπολαυστικώτεραι αἱ τῆς πορφύρας
 μήκωνες, πλὴν σκιλλωδέστεραι ὑπάρχουσι· καὶ γὰρ
 ὄλον τὸ κογχύλιον τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν. ἴδιον δὲ καὶ ταύταις
 καὶ τοῖς σωλήσι παρέπεται τὸ ἐψομέναις παχὺν ποιεῖν
 f τὸν ζωμόν. ἐψόμενοι δὲ | τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς καὶ οἱ
 τράχηλοι τῶν πορφυρῶν εὐθετοῦσι πρὸς τὰς τῶν στο-
 μάχων διαθέσεις. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτῶν Ποσειδίππος

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says that limpets are more easily excreted than the creatures discussed above, and that oysters are less nourishing than limpets, filling, and more easily excreted. Scallops are more nourishing, but produce inferior *chulē* and are not as easily excreted. Ephesian mussels and the other varieties that resemble them produce better *chulē* than scallops do, but are inferior to clams; they promote urination rather than bowel movements. Some are squill-like, produce bad *chulē*, and have an uninviting taste. The smaller ones that are rough on the outside are more diuretic and produce better *chulē* than the squill-like variety, but are less nourishing, both because of their size and because this is their nature. Trumpet-shell "necks" are easy on the stomach and less nourishing than mussels, clams, and scallops. They are useful for individuals with weak stomachs who have difficulty moving their food into their digestive tract, although they are also prone to corruption; for foods that are generally acknowledged to be easily digested are, on the principle of opposition, inimical to this condition, since they are easily corrupted due to being soft and easily broken down. This is why their "livers" are inappropriate for stomachs that are in good condition, but useful for weak bowels. The "livers" of purple shellfish are more nourishing and more enjoyable than those of trumpet-shells, except that they are more squill-like; in fact the entire creature is like this. A unique characteristic of purple shellfish and razor-shells is that they thicken the broth they are stewed in. The "necks" of purple shellfish stewed by themselves are appropriate for stomach conditions. Posidippus

³³ τε τούτων ACE ("alterum utrum τούτων delendum" Kaibel)

ἐν Λοκρίσιν οὕτως·

ᾧρα περαίνειν ἐγχέλεια, καράβους,
κόγχας, ἐχίνους προσφάτους, μηκῶνια,
πίνας, τραχήλους, μύας.

- αἱ βάλανοι δ' εἰ μείζονες, εὐέκκριτοι καὶ εὐστόμαχοι³⁴.
τὰ δ' ὠτάρια—γίνεται δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὴν
88 Ἀλεξάνδρειαν λεγομένη Φάρω νήσῳ— || τροφιμώτερα
τῶν προειρημένων ἀπάντων, οὐκ εὐέκκριτα δέ. Ἀντί-
γονος δ' ὁ Καρύστιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Λέξεως τὸ ὄστρεον
τοῦτο ὑπὸ Αἰολέων καλεῖσθαι οὓς Ἀφροδίτης. αἱ δὲ
φωλάδες πολυτροφώτεραι, βρομώδεις δέ· τὰ δὲ τήθη
παραπλήσια τοῖς προειρημένοις καὶ πολυτροφώτερα.
γίνεται δὲ τινα καὶ ἄγρια λεγόμενα ὄστρεα· πολύ-
τροφα δ' ἐστὶ καὶ βρομώδη προσέτι τε εὐτελῆ κατὰ
τὴν γεῦσιν. Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ζῴων, ὄστρεα,
b φησὶν, πίνη, ὄστρεον, μῦς, | κτεῖς, σωλήν, κόγχη,
λεπάς, τήθος, βάλανος. πορευτικὰ δὲ κήρυξ, πορφύρα,
ἡδυπορφύρα, ἐχίνος, στράβηλος. ἐστὶ δ' ὁ μὲν κτεῖς
τραχυόστρακος, ράβδωτός, τὸ δὲ τήθος ἀράβδωτον,
λειόστρακον, ἢ δὲ πίνη λεπτόστομον, τὸ δὲ ὄστρεον
παχύστομον, δίθυρον³⁵ δὲ καὶ λειόστρακον, λεπάς δὲ
μονόθυρον³⁶ καὶ λειόστρακον, συμφυῆς δὲ μῦς, μονο-
φυῆς δὲ καὶ λειόστρακον σωλήν καὶ βάλανος, κοινὸν
c δ' ἐξ ἀμφοῖν κόγχη. τὸ δ' ἐντὸς τῆς πίνης Ἐπαίνετος |
ἐν Ὀψαρτυτικῷ καλεῖσθαι φησι μήκωνα. ἐν δὲ πέμ-

³⁴ εὐστόμαχοι CE: εὔστομοι A

BOOK III

mentions them in *Locrian Women* (fr. 15), as follows:

It's time to conclude: eels, crayfish,
conchs, fresh-caught sea-urchins, "livers,"
pinnas, "necks," mussels.

Large barnacles are easily excreted and easy on the stomach. Ormers—they are also produced on the island called Pharos in Alexandria—are more nourishing than any of the creatures discussed above, but are not easily excreted. Antigonus of Carystus in his *On Diction* (p. 174 Wilamowitz) says that the Aeolians call this shellfish an "Ear of Aphrodite." *Phōlades* (literally "hole-dwellers") are more nourishing, but have a nasty smell. Sea-squirts resemble the creatures discussed above and are more nourishing. There are also certain so-called "wild" shellfish; they are very nourishing and have a nasty smell, as well as a poor flavor. Aristotle says in his *Zoology* (fr. 182): Shellfish: pinna, oyster, mussel, scallop, razor-shell, conch, limpet, sea-squirt, barnacle. Those that move: trumpet-shells, purple shellfish, sweet purple shellfish, sea-urchin, whelk. The scallop has a rough, ribbed shell; the sea-squirt has a smooth, ribless shell; the pinna has a small mouth; the oyster has a wide mouth and a smooth, bivalve shell; the limpet has a single smooth shell; the mussel has an attached shell; the razor-shell and the barnacle have a single smooth shell; and the conch shares properties of both. Epaenetus in the *Art of Cooking* says that the interior of the pinna

³⁵ δίδυρον Gesner: μονόθυρον A

³⁶ μονόθυρον Gesner: δίδυρον A

πτῶ Ζώων Μορίων ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης, γίνονται, φησίν, αἱ μὲν πορφύραι περὶ τὸ ἔαρ, οἱ δὲ κήρυκες λήγοντος τοῦ χειμῶνος. ὅλως δέ, φησί, τὰ ὄστρακόδερμα ἐν τῷ ἔαρι φαίνεται ἔχοντα τὰ καλούμενα ῥά, κὰν τῷ μετοπώρῳ δὲ πλὴν τῶν ἐχίνων τῶν ἐδωδίμων. οὔτοι δὲ μάλιστα μὲν ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ὥραις αἰεὶ τε ἰσχύουσι καὶ τὸ πλέον ἐν ταῖς πανσελήνοις καὶ ταῖς ἀλεειναῖς ἡμέραις
d πλὴν τῶν ἐν τῷ Εὐρίπῳ τῶν Πυρραίων· | ἐκεῖνοι δ' ἀμείνονες τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ εἰσι μικροί, πλήρεις δὲ ῥῶν. κύοντες δὲ φαίνονται καὶ οἱ κοχλῖαι πάντες ὁμοίως τὴν αὐτὴν ὥραν³⁷. προελθὼν δὲ πάλιν φησὶν ὁ φιλόσοφος· αἱ μὲν οὖν πορφύραι τοῦ ἔαρος συναθροίζομεναι εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσι τὴν καλουμένην μελίκτηραν, ἀλλ' οὐχ οὕτως γλαφυρόν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ ἐκ λεπύρων ἐρεβίνθων λευκῶν πολλὰ συμπαγείη. ἔχει δὲ
e ἀνεωγμένον οὐδὲν τούτων, οὐδὲ γίνονται ἐκ | τούτων αἱ πορφύραι, ἀλλὰ φύονται αὐταὶ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὄστρακόδερμα ἐξ ἰλύος καὶ σήψεως. τοῦτο δὲ συμβαίνει ὥσπερ ἀποκάθαρμα καὶ ταύταις καὶ τοῖς κήρυξι· κηριαίζουσι γὰρ καὶ οὔτοι. ἀφιάσι δ' ἀρχόμεναι κηριαίζειν γλισχρότητα μυξώδη, ἐξ ὧν τὰ λεπυρώδη συνίσταται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἅπαντα διαχεῖται, ἀφιάσι δ' ἰχώρα εἰς τὴν γῆν· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ γίνεται ἐν τῇ γῆ συστάνα πορφύρια μικρά, ἃ ἔχουσαι ἀλίσκονται αἱ
f πορφύραι. ἐὰν δὲ πρὶν ἐκτεκεῖν ἀλώσιν, ἐνίοτε | ἐν ταῖς φορμίσι, εἰς δὲ ταὐτὸ συνιοῦσαι ἐκτίκτουσι, καὶ γίνε-

³⁷ ὥραν Aristotle: ὦ A

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is referred to as the "liver." In Book V of *Parts of Animals* Aristotle (*HA* 544^a15-24) says: Purple shellfish come into being around springtime, while trumpet-shells do so at the end of winter. In general, he says, the testacea are observed carrying their so-called eggs in the spring, as well as in the fall. The exception is the edible sea-urchin, which carries the most eggs at these seasons, but always has some, especially during full moons and on sunny days; those in the Strait of Pyrrha are an exception. Sea-urchins are better in the winter, when they are small but full of eggs. Snails too are all observed to be pregnant at the same time. And further on the philosopher says again (*HA* 546^b18-547^a13): The purple shellfish, then, gather together in one spot in the spring and produce the so-called honeycomb, which is not, however, as smooth as honeycomb, but more like a large number of white chickpea-husks compacted together. None of the cells has an opening, and the purple shellfish do not come into being out of them; instead, they and the other testacea are produced from slime and putrefying matter. The honeycomb is like something excreted by purple shellfish and trumpet-shells; for trumpet-shells produce it too. They begin the process of honeycombing by emitting a sticky mucous substance, from which the husk-like material congeals. This substance, then, all pours out, and they emit a fluid into the earth; in this spot tiny purple shellfish form in the earth. These are what the adults are carrying when they are caught. If they are caught before spawning occurs, they sometimes gather together and spawn in the fish-baskets, and something resembling a grape-cluster is produced.

ται οἶονεὶ βότρυς. ἐστὶ δὲ τῶν πορφυρῶν γένη πλείονα· καὶ ἔναι μὲν μεγάλαι, οἶον αἱ περὶ τὸ Σίγειον καὶ τὸ Δεκτόν, αἱ δὲ μικραί, οἶον ἐν τῷ Εὐρύπῳ καὶ περὶ Καρίαν. καὶ αἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς κόλποις μεγάλαι καὶ
 89 τραχεῖαι, ἢ καὶ τὸ ἄνθος αἱ μὲν πλείσται μέλαν ἔχουσιν, ἔναι δ' ἐρυθρὸν μικρόν. γίνονται δ' ἔναι τῶν μεγάλων καὶ μυαῖαι. αἱ δ' ἐν τοῖς αἰγιαλοῖς καὶ περὶ τὰς ἀκτὰς τὸ μὲν μέγεθός εἰσι μικραί, τὸ δὲ ἄνθος ἐρυθρὸν ἔχουσιν. ἔτι δ' ἐν μὲν τοῖς προσβόρροις μέλαιναι, ἐν δὲ τοῖς νοτίοις ἐρυθραὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλείστον. Ἀπολλόδωρος δ' ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Σώφρονος προθεῖς τὸ³⁸ “λιχνοτέρα τῶν ποφυρῶν” φησὶν ὅτι παροιμία ἐστὶν καὶ λέγει, ὡς μὲν τινες, ἀπὸ τοῦ
 b βάμματος· οὗ γὰρ ἂν ἢ προσψαύσῃ ἔλκει ἐφ' ἑαυτὸ καὶ τοῖς προσπαταθειμένοις ἐμποιεῖ χρώματος αὐγῆν· ἄλλοι δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ζώου. ἀλίσκονται δέ, φησὶν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης, τοῦ ἔαρος, ὑπὸ κύνα δ' οὐχ ἀλίσκονται· οὐ γὰρ νέμονται, ἀλλὰ κρύπτουσιν ἑαυτὰς καὶ φωλεύουσι. τὸ δὲ ἄνθος ἔχουσιν ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς μήκωνος καὶ τοῦ τραχήλου. ἔχει δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ ὁ κῆρυξ τὰ ἐπικαλύμματα κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ στρομβώδη, ἐκ γενετῆς πάντα. νέμονται δ' ἐξείροντα τὴν
 c καλουμένην ἢ γλωτταν ὑπὸ τὸ κάλυμμα. τὸ δὲ μέγεθος τῆς γλώσσης ἔχει ἢ πορφύρα μείζον δακτύλου, ᾧ νέμεται καὶ διατρυνῶ καὶ τὰ κογχύλια καὶ τὸ ἑαυτῆς ὄστρακον. μακρόβια δ' ἐστὶν καὶ ἢ πορφύρα καὶ ὁ

³⁸ τὸ Musurus: τὰ Α

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There are many varieties of purple shellfish. Some are large, such as those around Sigeum and Lectum; others are small, such as those found in the Euripus and on the Carian coast. Those found in bays are large and rough, and most have a dark "flower,"⁶⁸ although in some it is small and red. Some of the large ones weigh a mina.⁶⁹ Those found on beaches and along headlands are small in size and have a red "flower." Furthermore, those found in areas that face north are dark-colored, whereas in places that face south they are generally red. Apollodorus of Athens in his *On Sophron* (FGrH 244 F 216) gives the lemma "greedier than purple shellfish" (Sophr. fr. 62) and says that this is a proverb according to some authorities drawn from dyeing; because dye attracts whatever it touches and infects anything set next to it with a sheen of color. But other authorities say that the allusion is to the animal. Aristotle (*HA* 547^a13-16, ^b3-18) says: They are caught in the spring, but not when the dog-star has risen,⁷⁰ because they do not feed then and instead hide themselves away in holes. Their "flower" is located between the "liver" and the "neck." Both the purple shellfish and the trumpet-shell have the same sort of opercula as other spiral-shelled creatures, and have them all from the time they are generated. They feed by extending their so-called tongue under the operculum. As for the size of the tongue, the purple shellfish has one that is larger than a man's finger; it uses it to feed and to bore into other shellfish, including its own kind. The purple shellfish and the trumpet-shell are both long-lived and

⁶⁸ The part of the creature that contains the dye.

⁶⁹ About one pound.

⁷⁰ I.e. at mid-summer.

κήρυξ καὶ ζῆ περι ἔτη ἕξ. φανερά δὲ ἡ αὔξησις ἐκ τῆς
 ἐν τῷ ὄστράκῳ ἔλικος. αἱ δὲ κόγχαι καὶ χῆμαι καὶ
 σωλήνες καὶ κτένες ἐν τοῖς ἀμμώδεσι λαμβάνουσι τὴν
 σύστασιν. αἱ δὲ πῖναι ὀρθαὶ φύνονται ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ
 d ἔχουσί τε ἐν αὐταῖς τὸν πινοφύλακα | αἱ μὲν καρίδιον,
 αἱ δὲ καρκίνιον· οὗ στερόμεναι θάπτον διαφθείρονται.
 τοῦτο δὲ Πάμφιλος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἐν τοῖς Περι Ὀνο-
 μάτων συμπεφυκέναι φησὶν αὐταῖς. Χρύσιππος δ' ὁ
 Σολεὺς ἐκ τοῦ πέμπτου Περι τοῦ Καλοῦ καὶ τῆς
 Ἡδονῆς· ἡ πίννη, φησί, καὶ ὁ πινοτήρης συνεργὰ
 ἀλλήλοις, κατ' ἰδίαν οὐ δυνάμενα συμμένειν. ἡ μὲν
 e οὖν πίννη ὄστρεόν ἐστιν, ὁ | δὲ πινοτήρης καρκίνος
 μικρός. καὶ ἡ πίννη διαστήσασα τὸ ὄστρακον ἡσυ-
 χάζει τηροῦσα τὰ ἐπεισιόντα ἰχθύδια, ὁ δὲ πινοτή-
 ρης παρεστῶς ὅταν εἰσέλθῃ τι δάκνει αὐτὴν ὥσπερ
 σημαίνων, ἡ δὲ δηχθεῖσα συμμύει. καὶ οὕτως τὸ
 ἀποληφθὲν ἔνδον κατεσθίουσι κοινῇ. φασὶ δὲ τινες
 καὶ συγγενῆσθαι αὐτὰ αὐτοῖς καὶ ὡς ἂν ἐξ ἑνὸς
 σπέρματος γίνεσθαι. πάλιν δὲ ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης φησί·
 πάντα δὲ τὰ ὄστρακώδη γίνεται καὶ ἐν τῇ ἰλύι, ἐν μὲν
 τῇ βορβορώδει τὰ ὄστρεα, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀμμώδει κόγχαι
 καὶ τὰ ῥηθέντα, περὶ δὲ τὰς σήραγγας τῶν πετρῶν
 τήθεα καὶ βάλανοι καὶ τὰ ἐπιπολάζοντα, οἷον λεπάδες
 f | καὶ νηρίται. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον γίνεται τοῖς ὄστρα-
 κοδέρμοις καὶ τὰ μὴ ἔχοντα ὄστρακα, καθάπερ αἱ τε
 κνίδαι καὶ οἱ σπόγγοι ἐν ταῖς σήραγγι τῶν πετρῶν.
 ἐστὶ δὲ τῶν κνιδῶν δύο γένη· αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς
 κοίλοις οὐκ ἀπολύονται τῶν πετρῶν, αἱ δ' ἐν τοῖς

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live for about six years. Their growth is discernible from the spiral of their shells. Conchs, clams, razor-shells, and scallops form in sandy places. Pinnas grow upright from the sea-floor and have inside them the pinna-guard, which may be a small shrimp or a small crab; if they are deprived of it, they quickly die. Pamphilus of Alexandria in his *On Names* (fr. XXVII Schmidt) says that the pinna-guard is generated along with the pinna. Chrysippus of Soli, from Book V of *On the Good and Pleasure* (fr. 728 Casevitz): The pinna, he says, and the pinna-guard cooperate with one another and cannot survive separately. The pinna is a testacean, whereas the pinna-guard is a small crab. The pinna opens its shell and remains still, waiting for small fish to approach; the pinna-guard stands by and nips it, as if giving it a signal, when something goes in; and after the pinna is nipped, it closes. In this way they consume whatever is caught inside together. Some authorities say that they are born together, as if from a single seed. Aristotle (*HA* 547^b18-23, 548^a24-7) again says: All testacea are generated in slime; oysters in muddy slime, conchs and the other creatures mentioned in sandy slime, and sea-squirts, barnacles, and the more common types, such as limpets and *nēritai*, in hollows in the rocks. The creatures that lack shells are generated in the same way as testacea, as for example sea-anemones and sponges in hollows in the rocks. There are two varieties of sea-anemone. Some are found in hollow places and cling to the rocks, whereas others are

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λείοις καὶ πλαταμώδεσιν ἀπολυόμεναι μεταχωροῦσι.
 τὰς δὲ κνίδας ὁ Εὐπόλις ἐν Αὐτολύκῳ ἀκαλήφας
 90 ὀνομάζει ἢ ἔτι τε Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Φοινίσσαις οὕτως·

ἔχε τὸν³⁹
 πρῶτον ἀπάντων ἴφνα φῦναι.

εἶθ' ἐξῆς·

< . . . > τὰς κранаὰς ἀκαλήφας.

καὶ ἐν Σφηξί. Φερεκράτης δ' ἐν Αὐτομόλοις·

< . . . > κἂν ἀκαλήφαις τὸν ἴσον χρόνον
 ἐστεφανῶσθαι.

Δίφιλος δ' ὁ Σίφνιος ἰατρός, ἡ δὲ ἀκαλήφη, φησὶν,
 ἐστὶν εὐκοίλιος, οὐρητική, εὐστόμαχος· κνησμὸν δὲ
 ποιεῖ τοῖς συνάγουσιν, ἐπειδὴ μὴ προαλείψωνται.
 ὄντως γὰρ ἀνιᾶ τοὺς θηρεύοντας αὐτήν· ὑφ' ὧν κατὰ
 παραφθορὰν νῦν ἀκαλήφη ὀνομάζεται· τάχα δὲ ἴσως
 b διὰ ἰ ταύτην καὶ ἡ βοτάνη· κατ' εὐφημισμὸν γὰρ τῆς
 ἀντιφράσεως ὠνόμασται· οὐ γὰρ πραεῖά ἐστὶν καὶ
 ἀκαλή⁴⁰ τῇ ἀφῆ, τραχεῖα δὲ καὶ ἀηδής. τῆς μέντοι
 θαλασσίας ἀκαλήφης μνημονεύει καὶ Φιλιππίδης ἐν
 Ἀμφιάρῳ οὕτως·

³⁹ All other witnesses have εἰκὸς δῆπου.

⁴⁰ ἀκαλή Kaibel: ἀπαλή A

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found in smooth, level spots, and let go and move around. Eupolis refers to sea-anemones as nettles (*akalēphai*) in *Autolycus* (fr. 68), as does Aristophanes in *Phoenician Women* (fr. 572.1-2), as follows:

Understand that
the first plant to grow was spike-lavender.

Then immediately after that (fr. 572.3):

the rough *akalēphai*.⁷¹

Likewise in *Wasps* (884). Pherecrates in *Deserters* (fr. 29.2):

even to be garlanded with *akalēphai* for an equal
amount of time.

The physician Diphilus of Siphnos says: The sea-anemone (*akalēphē*) is easy on the bowels, diuretic, and easy on the stomach. It irritates the skin of those who gather it, unless they oil themselves beforehand. The sea-anemone does in fact injure those who hunt it, and they refer to it today as an *akalēphē* through a process of corruption; it may be that the plant too gets its name this way. It got its name via a euphemism, in which a term is replaced by its opposite; because it is not soft and peaceful to the touch⁷², but rough and unpleasant. Philippides, moreover, mentions the sea-*akalēphē* in *Amphiaraus* (fr. 4), as follows:

⁷¹ Despite Athenaeus, the word most likely means "nettles" rather than "sea-anemones" here, as also in the fragment of Pherecrates quoted below.

⁷² *akalē tēi haphēi*, whence supposedly the name *akalēphē*.

ὄστρε', ἀκαλήφας <καὶ> λεπάδας παρέθηκε μοι.

τὸ δ' ἐν Λυσιστράτῃ Ἀριστοφάνους πέπαικται·

ἀλλ' ὦ τηθῶν ἀνδρειοτάτῃ καὶ μητριδίῳ
ἀκαληφῶν.

- c ἐπεὶ τήθεα τὰ ὄστρεα· μέμικται γὰρ κωμωδικῶς | πρὸς
τὴν τήθην καὶ μητέρα. καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὄστρέων ὁ
Δίφιλος τάδε φησί· χημῶν δὲ τῶν τραχειῶν αἱ μικραὶ
καὶ λεπτήν ἔχουσαι τὴν σάρκα ὄστρεα λέγονται καὶ
εὐστόμαχοί εἰσι καὶ εὐέκκριτοι· αἱ δὲ λείαι⁴¹, βασιλι-
καὶ δὲ πρὸς τινων καλούμεναι πελώριαί τε λεγόμεναι,
τρόφιμοι, δυσέκκριτοι, εὔχυλοι, εὐστόμαχοι, καὶ μά-
λιστα αἱ μείζους. τελλῖναι γίνονται μὲν ἐν Κανώβῳ
πολλαὶ καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν τοῦ Νείλου ἀνάβασιν πληθύ-
ουσιν. ὧν λεπτότεραι μὲν εἰσιν αἱ βασιλικαὶ διαχω-
d ρητικαὶ | τε καὶ κοῦφαι, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τρόφιμοι, αἱ δὲ
ποτάμαι γλυκύτεραι. οἱ δὲ μύες μέσως εἰσὶ τρόφιμοι,
διαχωρητικοί, οὐρητικοί· κράτιστοι δὲ οἱ Ἐφέσιοι καὶ
τούτων οἱ φθινοπωρινοί. αἱ δὲ μυῖσκαὶ τῶν μυῶν
οὔσαι μικρότεραι γλυκεῖαί τε καὶ εὔχυλοί εἰσι προσ-
ἔτι τε καὶ τρόφιμοι. οἱ δὲ σωλήνες μὲν πρὸς τινων
καλούμενοι, πρὸς τινων δὲ αὐλοὶ καὶ δόνακες καὶ
ὄνυχες, πολύχυλοι καὶ κακόχυλοι, κολλώδεις. καὶ οἱ

⁴¹ λείαι Schneider: παχείαι ACE

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He served me oysters, sea-anemones (*akalēphas*), and limpets.

The passage in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (549) represents a play on words:

O most manly of sea-squirts (*tēthea*) and nettle-mommies (*mētridia*);

since sea-squirts are a type of shellfish, and he has created a comic jumble involving the words *tēthē* ("grandmother") and *mētēr* ("mother"). Concerning the other types of shellfish, Diphilus says the following: Small, rough clams with delicate flesh are called oysters and are easy on the stomach and easily excreted. Smooth clams, which are referred to as royal clams by some authorities and are also called giant (*pelōriai*)⁷³ clams, are nourishing, difficult to excrete, productive of good *chulē*, and easy on the stomach; this is particularly true of the larger ones. *Tellinai* are found in large numbers in Canobus and are abundant when the Nile is rising. Royal clams are more delicate than these, encourage bowel movements, and are light but also nourishing, whereas river-clams are sweeter. Mussels are moderately nourishing, encourage bowel movements, and are diuretic. The ones from Ephesus are best, particularly those gathered in the fall. *Muiskai*⁷⁴ are smaller than mussels and are sweet and productive of good *chulē*, as well as nourishing. What are referred to as *sōlēnes* ("razor-clams") by some authorities, but as *auloi* ("pipes"), *donakes* ("reeds"), or *onuches* ("fingernails") by others, produce a great deal of bad *chulē* and are glutinous. Male

⁷³ Cf. 3.92f *pelōrides*.

⁷⁴ Diminutive of *mus* ("mussel").

e μὲν ἄρρενες αὐτῶν ῥαβδωτοὶ εἰσι καὶ οὐ μονοχρώ-
 ματοι· εἰσὶ δὲ τοῖς λιθιώσι | καὶ ἄλλοις δυσουρούσιν
 εὐθετοί. οἱ δὲ θήλεις μονοχρώματοί τε εἰσι καὶ γλυ-
 κύτεροι. λαμβάνονται δὲ ἐφθοὶ καὶ τηγανιστοὶ· κρείτ-
 τονες δ' εἰσὶν οἱ μέχρι τοῦ χανεῖν ἐπ' ἀνθράκων
 ὀπτώμενοι. σωληνισταὶ δ' ἐκαλοῦντο οἱ συνάγοντες
 τὰ ὄστρεα ταῦτα, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Φαινίας ὁ Ἐρέσιος ἐν
 τῷ ἄπιγραφομανῶ Τυράννων Ἀναίρεσις Ἐκ Τιμωρίας
 γράφων οὕτως· Φιλόξενος ὁ καλούμενος σωληνιστῆς
 f ἐκ δημαγωγοῦ τύραννος ἀνεφάνη, ζῶν τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρ-
 χῆς ἀλιευόμενος καὶ σωληνοθήρας | ὧν ἀφορμῆς δὲ
 λαβόμενος καὶ ἐμπορευσάμενος βίον ἐκτήσατο. τῶν
 δὲ κτενῶν ἀπαλώτεροι μὲν εἰσιν οἱ λευκοί· ἄβρομοι
 γὰρ καὶ εὐκοίλιοι. τῶν δὲ μελάνων καὶ πυρρῶν οἱ
 μείζονες καὶ εὐσαρκοί, εὐστομοί. κοινῶς δὲ πάντες
 εὐστόμαχοι, εὐπεπτοί, εὐκοίλιοι λαμβανόμενοι μετὰ
 κυμίνου καὶ πεπέρεως. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτῶν καὶ Ἄρ-
 χιππος ἐν Ἰχθύσι·

91 λεπάσιν, ἐχίνοις, ἐσχάrais, βαλάνοις τε τοῖς
 κτεσίν τε. ||

αἱ δὲ βάλανοι καλούμεναι ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς τὰς δρυΐνας
 ὁμοιότητος διαφέρουσι παρὰ τοὺς τόπους. αἱ μὲν γὰρ
 Αἰγύπτιαι γλυκέαι, ἀπαλαί, εὐστομοί, θρεπτικάί, πο-
 λύχυλοι, οὐρητικάί, εὐκοίλιοι, αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι ἀλυκώτεραι.

⁷⁵ Otherwise unknown.

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razor-shells are striped and of several colors, and are appropriate for individuals with stones and other urinary problems. Female razor-shells, on the other hand, are of only one color and sweeter. They are eaten stewed and fried, but are best when roasted on coals until their shells open. According to Phaenias of Eresus in his work entitled *Revenge-Killings of Tyrants* (fr. 15 Wehrli), the men who collect shellfish of this sort were referred to as *sōlēnistai*. He writes as follows: Philoxenus, nicknamed *Sōlēnistēs*,⁷⁵ emerged as tyrant after having been a demagogue. He originally made his living by fishing and hunting for razor-shells; but after he accumulated capital and made a business of it, he became wealthy. White scallops are the tenderest; they have no smell and are easily digested.⁷⁶ Of the dark, reddish type, those that are large and full of flesh have a good flavor. They are all in general easy on the stomach, easily digested and easy on the bowels when eaten with cumin and pepper. Archippus mentions them in *Fish* (fr. 24):⁷⁷

limpets, sea-urchins, *escharai*, and barnacles and the scallops.

Barnacles,⁷⁸ which get their name from their resemblance to acorns, vary from place to place. The Egyptian variety are sweet and tender, have a pleasant flavor, are nourishing, full of *chulō*, diuretic, and easy on the bowels, whereas the other varieties are saltier. Ormers are difficult to di-

⁷⁶ This material (except for the quotation from Archippus) must come once again from Diphilus.

⁷⁷ Also quoted at 3.86c. ⁷⁸ Literally "acorns"; exactly what creature is being referred to is uncertain.

- τὰ δὲ ὠτία δύσπεπτα, τρόφιμα δὲ μᾶλλον τηγανιζόμενα. αἱ δὲ φωλάδες εὖστομοι, βρομώδεις δὲ καὶ κακόχυλοι. ἐχῖνοι δὲ ἀπαλοὶ μὲν, εὐχυλοι, βρομώδεις, πλήσμιοι, εὐφθαρτοι, μετὰ δὲ ὀξυμέλιτος λαμβανόμενοι καὶ σελίνου καὶ ἠδυσόμου εὐστόμαχοι, γλυκεῖς
- b τε καὶ εὐκοίλιοι⁴². προσηνέστεροι | δ' αὐτῶν οἱ ἐρυθροὶ καὶ οἱ μήλινοι καὶ οἱ παχύτεροι καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ ξύεσθαι τὴν σάρκα γαλακτώδες ἀνιέντες. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν Κεφαλληνίαν γινόμενοι καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἰκαρίαν καὶ τὸν Ἄδριαν < . . . > τινὲς αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπόπικροί εἰσιν· οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ † σκοπέλου † τῆς Σικελίας κοιλίας λυτικοί. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ φησι τῶν ἐχίνων πλείω γένη εἶναι· ἐν μὲν τὸ ἐσθιόμενον, ἐν ᾧ τὰ καλούμενά ἐστιν ψά, ἄλλα δὲ δύο τό τε τῶν σπατάγγων καὶ τὸ τῶν καλουμένων βρυσῶν. μνημονεύει τῶν σπατάγγων καὶ Σώφρων καὶ
- c Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Ὀλκάσιν | οὕτως·

δαρδάπτοντα, μιστύλλοντα, διαλείχοντά μου
τὸν κάτω σπατάγγην.

καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος δὲ ἐν Ἡβας Γάμῳ περὶ τῶν ἐχίνων
φησί·

καρκίνοι θ' ἴκοντ' ἐχίνοί θ', οἱ καθ' ἀλμυρὰν ἄλα
νεῖν μὲν οὐκ ἴσαντι, πεζᾷ δ' ἐμπορεύονται μόνοι.

Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Σκήψιος ἐν ἕκτῳ καὶ εἰκοστῷ τοῦ
Τρωικοῦ Διακόσμου Λάκωνά φησί τινα κληθέντα ἐπὶ

⁴² εὐκοίλιοι Meineke: εὐχυλοι ACE

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gest, but are more nourishing when fried. *Phōlades* taste good, but have a nasty smell and produce bad *chulē*. Sea-urchins are tender, produce good *chulē*, have a nasty smell, are filling, spoil easily, are easy on the stomach when eaten with honey-vinegar sauce, celery and mint, and are sweet and easy on the bowels. Those that are red, quince-colored, or fatter, or that emit a milky fluid when their flesh is scraped, are more pleasant. Those found around Cephallenia and around Icaria and the Adriatic . . . some of them are also slightly bitter; but those found on the Sicilian † promontory † tend to relax the bowels. Aristotle (*HA* 530^a34–b⁵) claims that there are many types of sea-urchins. One is the edible variety, which contains the so-called eggs; the other two are the *spatangē* variety and the so-called *brusai*. Sophron (fr. 97) mentions the *spatangai*, as does Aristophanes in *Merchantships* (fr. 425), as follows:

devouring me, mincing me up, and giving a
thorough licking
to my sea-urchin (*spatangē*) down below.⁷⁹

And Epicharmus in *The Wedding of Hebe* (fr. 47) says concerning sea-urchins:

Crabs have come and sea-urchins, which do not know
how to swim
through the salty sea, but are the only creatures to
travel through it by foot.

Demetrius of Scepsis in Book XXVI of his *Trojan Battle-Order* (fr. 15 Gaede) says that a Spartan was once invited to

⁷⁹ "Sea-urchin" is used here to refer to the female genitalia.

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θοῖναν παρατεθέντων ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν θαλαπτίων ἐχίνων ἐπιλαβέσθαι ἐνός, οὐκ εἰδότα τὴν χρῆσιν τοῦ ἐδέσματος, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ προσέχοντα τοῖς συνδειπνοῦσι
d πῶς | ἀναλίσκουσιν· ἐνθέντα δὲ εἰς τὸ στόμα σὺν τῷ κελύφει βρύκειν τοῖς ὁδοῦσι τὸν ἐχίνον. δυσχρηστούμενον οὖν τῇ βρώσει καὶ οὐ συνιέντα τὴν ἀντιτυπίαν τῆς τραχύτητος εἰπεῖν· “ὦ φάγημα μιαρὸν, οὔτε μὴ νῦν σε ἀφέω μαλθακισθεῖς οὔτ' αὐτίς ἔτι <κα> λάβοιμι.” ὅτι δὲ οἱ ἐχίνοι, λέγω δὲ καὶ τοὺς χερσαίους καὶ τοὺς θαλαπτίους, καὶ ἑαυτῶν εἰσι φυλακτικοὶ πρὸς τοὺς θηρῶντας, προβαλλόμενοι τὰς ἀκάνθας ὥσπερ τι χαράκωμα, Ἴων ὁ Χίος μαρτυρεῖ ἐν Φοίνικι ἢ Κα-
νεῖ⁴³ λέγων οὕτως·

e ἀλλ' ἐν τε χέρσῳ τὰς λέοντος ἦνεσα |
ἢ τὰς ἐχίνου μᾶλλον οἰζυρὰς τέχνας·
ὃς εὖτ' ἂν ἄλλων κρεισσόνων ὄρμην μάθη,
στρόβιλος ἀμφ' ἄκανθον εἰλίξας δέμας
κεῖται δακεῖν τε καὶ θιγεῖν ἀμήχανος.

Τῶν δὲ λεπάδων, φησὶν ὁ Δίφιλος, τινὲς μὲν εἰσι μικραί, τινὲς δὲ καὶ ὀστρέοις ἐοικυῖαι. εἰσὶ δὲ σκληραὶ καὶ ὀλιγόχυλοι καὶ οὐκ ἄγαν δριμύειαι, εὔστομοὶ τε⁴⁴ καὶ εὐκατέργαστοι, ἐφθαῖ δὲ ποσῶς εὐστόμαχοι⁴⁵. αἱ δὲ πίνναι οὐρητικάι, τρόφιμοι, δύσπεπτοι, δυσανάδο-
f τοι. ἐοίκασι δ' αὐταῖς καὶ οἱ κήρυκες· ὧν | οἱ μὲν

⁴³ ἢ Καίνει Dalechamp: καινη A

ACE

⁴⁴ τε Coraes: δὲ

⁴⁵ εὐστόμαχοι Coraes: εὔστομοι ACE

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a feast, and when sea-urchins were set on the table, he took one. He did not know how to eat it and was not paying attention to how the other guests were disposing of the creature; so he put it into his mouth, shell and all, and tried to bite it with his teeth. He had a bad time with the food and could not understand why it was so rough and resistant, and said: "Dirty food! I'm not going to give up now and let you go; but I'll never eat one of these again, either!" That urchins (I am referring to both the terrestrial⁸⁰ and the marine varieties) protect themselves against hunters by sticking their spines out like a palisade is attested by Ion of Chios in *The Phoenician or Caineus* (TrGF 19 F 38), in the following words:

But on the mainland I have more praise for lions'
ways
than for the dreary tricks of the hedgehog.
When it realizes it is being attacked by other,
stronger creatures,
it twists its prickly body around in a ball
and lies there, immune to being bitten or touched.

Some limpets, says Diphilus, are small, whereas others resemble oysters. They are tough, produce little *chulē*, and do not have much of a tang. But they taste good and are easily digested; when stewed, they are fairly easy on the stomach. Pinnas are diuretic, nourishing, and difficult to digest and assimilate. Trumpet-shells resemble them;

⁸⁰ Hedgehogs, which are also referred to as *echinoi*.

τράχηλοι ευστόμαχοι, δυσκατέργαστοι δέ· διὸ τοῖς
 ἀσθενούσι τὸν στόμαχον οἰκείου· δυσέκκριτοί τε καὶ
 μέσως τρόφιμοι. τούτων δὲ αἱ μήκωνες λεγόμεναι
 πρὸς τοῖς πυθμέσιν ἀπαλαί, εὐφθαρτοὶ διὸ τοῖς τὴν
 γαστέρα ἀσθενούσιν οἰκείαι. αἱ δὲ πορφύραι μεταξὺ
 πίννης εἰσὶ καὶ κήρυκος· ὧν οἱ μὲν τράχηλοι πολύ-
 χυλοι, εὐστομοὶ, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν αὐτῶν ἀλυκὸν καὶ γλυκὺ
 92 καὶ εὐανάδοτον εἰς ἐπίκρασίν τ' ἐπιτήδειον. ἢ τὰ δὲ
 ὄστρεα γεννᾶται μὲν καὶ ἐν ποταμοῖς καὶ ἐν λίμναις
 καὶ ἐν θαλάσση. κράτιστα δὲ τὰ θαλάττια, ὅταν λίμνη
 ἢ ποταμὸς παρακේται· γίνεται γὰρ εὐχυλα καὶ μεί-
 ζονα καὶ γλυκύτερα. τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἡόσι καὶ πέτραις
 ἰλύος καὶ <γλυκέος> ὕδατος ἀμιγῆ μικρά, σκληρά,
 δηκτικά. τὰ δὲ ἔαρινά ὄστρεα καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ
 θέρους ἀρχὴν κρείσσονα, πλήρη, θαλασσίζοντα μετὰ
 γλυκύτητος, ευστόμαχα, εὐέκκριτα. τὰ δὲ συνεψόμενα
 μαλάχῃ ἢ λαπάθῃ ἢ ἰχθύσιν <μᾶλλον>⁴⁶ ἢ καθ' αὐτὰ
 τρόφιμα καὶ εὐκοίλια. Μνησίθεος δ' ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῷ
 b | Περὶ Ἐδεστών φησιν· ὄστρεα καὶ κόγχαι καὶ μύες
 καὶ τὰ ὅμοια τὴν μὲν σάρκα δυσκατέργαστά ἐστι διὰ
 τὴν ὑγρότητα τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀλυκὴν· διόπερ ὠμὰ μὲν
 ἐσθιόμενα κοιλίας ἐστὶν ὑπακτικὰ διὰ τὴν ἀλυκότητα,
 τὰ δὲ ἐψόμενα ἀφήσιν ἤτοι πᾶσαν ἢ τὴν πλείστην
 ἄλμην εἰς τὴν συνέψουσιν αὐτοῖς ὑγρότητα. διόπερ αἱ
 μὲν ὑγρότητες, ἐν αἷς ἂν ἐψηθῆ τι τῶν ὀστρέων,
 ταρακτικαὶ καὶ ὑπακτικαὶ κοιλίας εἰσίν, αἱ δὲ σάρκες
 τῶν ἐψομένων ὀστρέων ψόφους ποιοῦσιν ἐστερημένα

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their "necks" are easy on the stomach but difficult to digest, and they are therefore appropriate for individuals with stomach problems. They are also difficult to excrete and moderately nourishing. What are referred to as their "livers" are tender at the fundus and easily broken down; they are therefore appropriate for individuals with stomach problems. Purple shellfish fall between a pinna and a trumpet-shell; their "necks" produce a great deal of *chulē* and taste good, whereas the rest of them is salty, sweet, easily assimilated, and useful for tempering humours. Oysters are produced in rivers, marshes, and the sea. The best ones come from the sea, provided a marsh or river is nearby; for they produce good *chulē* and are larger and sweeter. Those found along beaches and on rocks, and that have no contact with muck and fresh water, are small and tough and have a sharp taste. Oysters gathered in the spring and early summer are larger, full of meat, have the taste of the sea but are simultaneously sweet, and are easy on the stomach and easily digested. When stewed with mallow, sorrel, or fish, they are more nourishing and easier on the bowels than when stewed alone. Mnesitheus of Athens says in his *On Edible Substances* (fr. 36 Bertier): The flesh of oysters, conchs, mussels, and the like is difficult to digest because of the salty fluid they contain. When eaten raw, therefore, they evacuate the bowels because of their saltiness, whereas if stewed, they release all or most of the brine into the stewing liquid. The liquid in which shellfish of any kind are stewed therefore disturbs and evacuates the bowels; and the flesh of the shellfish being stewed pro-

⁴⁶ add. Kaibel

- c τῶν ὑγρῶν. τὰ δὲ ὀπτὰ τῶν ὀστρέων, εἴαν τις | αὐτὰ
καλῶς ὀπτήσῃ, ἀλυποτάτην ἔχει διάθεσιν· πεπύρωται
γάρ· διὸ οὐχ ὁμοίως τοῖς ὤμοις ἐστὶ δύσπεπτα καὶ τὰς
ὑγρότητας ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔχει κατεξηραμμένας, δι' ὧν
ἔκλυτος ἡ κοιλία γίνεται. τροφήν τε δίδωσιν ὑγρὰν τε
καὶ δύσπεπτον ἅπαν ὄστρεον καὶ πρὸς τὰς οὐρήσεις
ἐστὶν οὐκ εὖοδα. ἀκαλήφη δὲ καὶ ἐχίνων φὰ καὶ τὰ
τοιαῦτα τροφήν μὲν δίδωσιν ὑγρὰν καὶ μικράν, τῆς δὲ
κοιλίας ἐστὶν λυτικά καὶ οὐρήσεως κινητικά.

Νίκανδρος δ' ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἐν Γεωργικοῖς τάδε

- d τῶν ὀστρέων καταλέγει· |

ἦε καὶ ὄστρεα τόσσα βυθούς ἅ τε βόσκειται
ἄλμης,
νηρῖται στρόμβοι τε πελωριάδες τε μύες τε,
γλίσχρ' ἄλοσύδνης τέκνα, καὶ αὐτῆς φωλεὰ
πίνης.

καὶ Ἀρχέστρατος δ' ἐν Γαστρονομίᾳ φησί·

τοὺς μῦς Αἶνος ἔχει μεγάλους, ὄστρεα δ'
Ἄβυδος,
τὰς ἄρκτους Πάριον, τοὺς δὲ κτένας ἡ Μιτυλήνη·
πλείστους δ' Ἀμβρακία παρέχει καὶ ἄπλατα μετ'
αὐτῶν

* * *

- e Μεσσήνη δὲ πελωριάδας στενοπορθμίδι κόγχας |
κὰν Ἐφέσω λήψει τὰς λείας οὔ τι πονηράς.

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duces noises⁸¹ after losing its fluid. Roasted shellfish cause the least trouble, provided one roasts them properly, because of the action of the fire. They are therefore not as difficult to digest as the raw ones; and the moisture they contain, which loosens the bowels, is dried up. Shellfish of all sorts provide nourishment that is moist and difficult to digest and does not encourage urination. Sea-urchins (*akalēphē*), sea-urchin (*echinos*) eggs, and the like provide moist nourishment in small quantities and tend to relax the bowels and encourage urination.

Nicander of Colophon in the *Georgics* (fr. 83 Schneider) lists the following shellfish:

or however many shellfish feed in the briny depths,
nēritai, whelks, giant clams, and mussels,
clinging children of the sea-goddess; and the den of
the pinna itself.

Archestratus as well says in the *Gastronomy* (fr. 7 Olson-Sens = *SH* 187):

Aenus has large mussels, Abydus oysters,
Parion bear-crabs, and Mitylene scallops.
But Ambracia supplies the largest number of these
and, along with them, boundless . . .

* * *

You shall buy giant clams in Messene, where the sea's
strait is narrow,
and excellent smooth-shelled ones in Ephesus.

⁸¹ *Viz.* in the bowels after it has been consumed.

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τήθεα Καλχηδών, τοὺς κήρυκας δ' ἐπιτρέψαι
ὁ Ζεὺς, τοὺς τε θαλασσογενεῖς καὶ τοὺς
ἀγοραίους,
πλὴν ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου· κείνος δέ μοί ἐστιν ἑταῖρος
Λέσβον ἐριστάφυλον ναίων, Ἀγάθων δὲ
καλεῖται.

καὶ Φιλύλλιος δὲ ἢ ὅστις ἐστὶν ὁ ποιήσας τὰς Πόλεις
φησί·

χήμας, λεπάδας, σωλήνας, μῦς, πίννας, κτένας
ἐκ Μυτιλήνης.⁴⁷

f ὄστρεια δὲ μόνως οὕτως | ἔλεγον οἱ ἀρχαῖοι. Κρατῖνος
Ἄρχιλόχοις·

< . . . > πίννησι καὶ ὄστρείοισιν ὁμοίη.

καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Ἡβας Γάμῳ·

< . . . > ὄστρεια συμμαμκότα.⁴⁸

ὄστρεον δὲ ὡς ὄρνεον Πλάτων ἐν Φαίδρῳ· ὄστρέου
τρόπον, φησί, δεδεσμευμένοι, καὶ ἐν Τιμαίῳ· τὸ τῶν
ὄστρέων γένος συμπάντων.⁴⁹ ἐν δὲ τῷ τῆς Πολιτείας
δεκάτῳ ὄστρεια εἶπε· συμπεφυκέναι ὄστρειά τε καὶ
φυκία. αἱ δὲ πελωρίδες ὠνομάσθησαν παρὰ τὸ πελώ-

⁴⁷ Μυτιλήνης 3.86e: Μηθύμνης ACE ⁴⁸ συμμαμκότα
3.85c: συμπεφυκότα A ⁴⁹ A garbled excerpt from the text:
συμπάντων does not go with ὄστρέων but with the words that
follow (omitted by Athenaeus).

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Calchedon has sea-squirts, and as for trumpet-shells⁸²—may Zeus destroy both those born in the sea and those who frequent marketplaces, except for one man; he is a comrade of mine who inhabits Lesbos rich in grapevines and is named Agathon.

Likewise Phyllyllius (fr. 12.2)⁸³ or whoever the author of *Cities* is says:

clams, limpets, razor-shells, mussels, pinnas,
Mitylenean scallops.

The ancients used the form *ostreia* (“oyster, shellfish”) exclusively. Cratinus in *Archilochuses* (fr. 8.1):⁸⁴

[a woman] resembling pinnas and oysters (*ostreia*).

Also Epicharmus in *The Wedding of Hebe* (fr. 40.3):⁸⁵

tightly closed oysters (*ostreia*).

But Plato in the *Phaedrus* (250c) uses *ostreon*, like *orneon* (“bird”). He says: imprisoned like an *ostreon*. Also in the *Timaeus* (92b): the entire family of *ostrea*. But in Book X of his *Republic* (611d): *ostreia* and seaweed have joined to-

⁸² Literally “heralds,” hence the joke in the next line.

⁸³ Quoted in a more complete form at 3.86e (with the names of several other playwrights to whom the comedy might be attributed; cf. 4.140a). ⁸⁴ Quoted in a more complete form at 3.86e. ⁸⁵ Quoted in a more complete form at 3.85c.

⁸⁶ The traditional text of Plato has *ostrea*, as well as *prospephukenai*, “have attached themselves to him,” rather than Athenaeus’ *sumpephukenai*, “have joined together.”

93 ριον· μείζον γάρ ἐστι χήμης καὶ παρηλλαγμένον. ἢ Ἄριστοτέλης δέ φησι καὶ ἐν ἄμμω αὐτὰς γίνεσθαι. τῶν δὲ χημῶν μνημονεύει Ἴων ὁ Χίος ἐν Ἐπιδημίαις. καὶ ἴσως οὕτως ὠνόμασται τὰ κογχύλια παρὰ τὸ κεχηνέναι.⁵⁰

Περὶ δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν γινομένων ὄστρέων—οὐ γὰρ ἄκαιρον καὶ τούτων μνησθῆναι διὰ τὴν τῶν μαργαριτῶν χρῆσιν—Θεόφραστος μὲν ἐν τῷ Περὶ Λίθων γράφει οὕτως· τῶν θαυμαζομένων δὲ λίθων ἐστὶν καὶ ὁ μαργαρίτης καλούμενος, διαφανὴς μὲν τῇ φύσει· ποιούσι δ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοὺς πολυτελεῖς ὄρμους.

b γίνεται δὲ ἐν ὄστρέω τιμὴ παραπλησίῳ ταῖς πίνναις, | πλὴν ἐλάττωι. μέγεθος δὲ ἡλικὸν ἰχθύος ὀφθαλμὸς εὐμεγέθης. Ἄνδροσθένης δ' ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς Παράπλω γράφει οὕτως· τῶν δὲ στρόμβων καὶ χοιρίνων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν κογχυλίῳν ποικίλαι αἱ ἰδέαι⁵¹ καὶ πολὺ διάφοροι τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν. γίνονται δὲ πορφύραι τε καὶ ὄστρέων πολὺ πλῆθος τῶν λοιπῶν· ἐν δὲ ἴδιον ὁ καλοῦσιν ἐκεῖνοι βέρβερι, ἐξ οὗ ἡ μαργαρίτις λίθος γίνεται. αὕτη δ' ἐστὶ πολυτελής κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ πωλεῖται περὶ Πέρσας τε καὶ τοὺς ἄνω τόπους πρὸς

c χρυσίον. ἐστὶ δ' ἡ μὲν τοῦ ὄστρέου ὄψις παραπλησία | τῷ κτενί, οὐ διέγλυπται δὲ ἀλλὰ λείον τὸ ὄστρακον ἔχει καὶ δασύ, οὐδὲ ὠτα ἔχει δύο ὥσπερ ὁ κτεῖς ἀλλὰ ἓν. ἡ δὲ λίθος γίνεται ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ τοῦ ὄστρέου, ὥσπερ

⁵⁰ καὶ ἴσως κτλ.] χήμαι δέ φησι παρὰ τὸ κεχηνέναι ἴσως
CE ⁵¹ ποικίλαι αἱ ἰδέαι Coraes: αἱ ποικίλαι ἠδέϊαι ACE

gether.⁸⁶ Giant clams (*pelōrides*) got their name from the word *pelōrion* ("huge"); for they are larger than ordinary clams, immensely so. Aristotle (fr. 186) says that they are generated in sand. Ion of Chios mentions clams in the *Travels* (FGrH 392 F 4). *Konchulia* ("shellfish") perhaps got their name from the verb *kechēna* ("gape, yawn").⁸⁷

As regards the shellfish found in India—for some mention of them as well is not untimely, given the fashion for pearls—Theophrastus in his *On Stones* (36)⁸⁸ writes as follows: Among the most admired stones is the so-called *margaritēs* ("pearl"), which is naturally translucent; they use it to make expensive necklaces. The pearl is found in a shellfish that resembles the pinna but is smaller; it is the size of a large fish-eye. Androsthenes in his *Voyage along the Indian Coast* (FGrH 711 F 1) writes as follows: There are many types of whelks, cowries, and other shellfish, which are very different from those we know; purple shellfish and large quantities of the other types of shellfish are also found. One unusual type, which they refer to as the *berberi*, is the source of the *margaritis*-stone, which is very expensive throughout Asia and is sold in Persia and other inland regions for its weight in gold. The shellfish looks like a scallop, but is not striated and instead has a smooth, thick shell; and it does not have two "ears," like the scallop, but

⁸⁷ The paraphrase of this sentence in CE uses *kechēna* to explain the origin of the word *chēmai* ("clam") rather than *konchulia*, and Athenaeus may well have cited both words.

⁸⁸ Athenaeus' quotation includes material not found in the traditional version of the text.

ἐν τοῖς σνείοις ἢ χάλαζα, καὶ ἐστὶν ἢ μὲν χρυσοειδῆς
 σφόδρα, ὥστε μὴ ῥαδίως διαγνῶναι ὅταν παρατεθῆ
 παρὰ τὸ χρυσίου, ἢ δὲ ἀργυροειδῆς, ἢ δὲ τελέως
 λευκῆ, ὁμοία τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τῶν ἰχθύων. Χάρης δ' ὁ
 Μιτυληναῖος ἐν ἐβδόμῃ τῶν Περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον Ἱστο-
 ριῶν φησι· θηρεύεται δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν θάλασσαν,
 d ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἰ Ἀρμενίαν καὶ Περσικὴν
 καὶ Σουσιανὴν καὶ Βαβυλωνίαν, παρόμοιον ὀστρέω·
 τὸ δ' ἐστὶν ἄδρον καὶ πρόμηκες, ἔχον ἐν αὐτῷ σάρκα
 καὶ μεγάλην καὶ λευκὴν, εὐώδη σφόδρα. ἐξ ὧν ἐξαι-
 ροῦντες ὀστᾶ λευκὰ προσαγορεύουσι μὲν μαργαρί-
 τας, κατασκευάζουσι δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν ὀρμίσκους τε καὶ
 ψέλια περὶ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας· περὶ ἃ σπου-
 δάζουσιν Πέρσαι καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ πάντες Ἀσιανοὶ πολὺ
 μᾶλλον τῶν ἐκ χρυσίου γεγενημένων. Ἰσίδωρος δ' ὁ
 Χαρακηνὸς ἐν τῷ τῆς Παρθίας Περιηγητικῷ κατὰ τὸ
 e Περσικὸν ἰ πέλαγος νήσόν φησιν εἶναί τινα, ἔνθα
 πλείστην μαργαρίτιν εὐρίσκεισθαι. διόπερ σχεδίας
 καλαμίνας πέριξ εἶναι τῆς νήσου, ἐξ ὧν καθαλλομέ-
 νους εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπ' ὀργυιᾶς εἴκοσιν ἀναφέρειν
 διπλοῦς κόγχους. φασὶ δ' ὅταν βρονταὶ συνεχεῖς ὦσι
 καὶ ὄμβρων ἐκχύσεις, τότε μᾶλλον τὴν πίνναν κύειν,
 καὶ πλείστην γίνεσθαι μαργαρίτιν καὶ εὐμεγέθη. τοῦ
 δὲ χειμῶνος εἰς τὰς ἐμβυθίους θαλάμας δύνειν εἰώθα-
 σιν αἱ πίνναι· θέρους δὲ τὰς μὲν νύκτας κεχίνασι
 f διανηχόμεναι, ἡμέρας ἰ δὲ μύουσι. ὅσαι δ' ἂν πέτραις
 ἢ σπιλάσι προσφύωσι, ῥιζοβολοῦσι κἀνταῦθα μένου-
 σαι τὴν μαργαρίτιν γεννώσι. ζωογονοῦνται δὲ καὶ

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one. The stone is found in the creature's flesh, like a tubercle in a pig's flesh. Sometimes it looks very much like gold, to the extent that it can be difficult to tell them apart when they are set side by side, while at other times it looks like silver or is perfectly white and resembles fish-eyes. Chares of Mitylene says in Book VII of his *Tales about Alexander* (FGrH 125 F 3): In the Indian sea, as also along the coast of Armenia, Persia, Susa, and Babylon, a creature that resembles an oyster is caught. It is large and oblong, and contains a substantial amount of white flesh that is very fragrant. They extract white bones, which they call *margaritai*, from it, and use them to produce necklaces, bracelets, and ankle bracelets. The Persians, the Medes, and all the inhabitants of Asia are more interested in these than in jewelry made of gold. Isidorus of Charax claims in his *Journey through Parthia* (FGrH 781 F 1) that there is an island in the Persian Sea where large numbers of pearls are found. The island is therefore surrounded by rafts made of reeds; they dive 20 fathoms down into the sea from them and bring up bivalve shellfish. They say that when there is constant thunder and downpours of rain, the pinnas⁸⁹ reproduce most and the pearls are the most numerous and largest. During the winter the pinnas tend to go down into their hiding-places deep in the sea; whereas in the summer they swim around with their shells open at night, but close up during the day. Those that cling to rocks or reefs put

⁸⁹ The word is seemingly used here to refer to pearl-oysters, although the reference to the *pinophulax* (cf. 3.89c-e) below suggests that Isidorus is thinking of the pinna itself.

τρέφονται διὰ τοῦ προσπεφυκότος τῇ σαρκὶ μέρους. τοῦτο δὲ συμπέφυκε τῷ τοῦ κόγχου στόματι χηλὰς ἔχον καὶ νομῆν εἰσφέρων. ὃ δὴ ἐστὶν ἔοικὸς καρκίνῳ μικρῷ καλούμενον πινοφύλαξ. διήκει δ' ἐκ τούτου ἢ σὰρξ μέχρι μέσου τοῦ κόγχου οἷονεὶ ρίζα, παρ' ἣν ἢ μαργαρίτις γεννωμένη αὖξεται διὰ τοῦ στερεοῦ τῆς κόγχης καὶ τρέφεται ὅσον ἂν ἦ προσπεφυκυῖα χρόνον. || ἐπειδὴν δὲ παρὰ τὴν ἔκφυσιν ὑποδνομένη ἢ σὰρξ καὶ μαλακῶς ἐντέμνουσα χωρίση τὴν μαργαρίτιν ἀπὸ τοῦ κόγχου, ἀμπέχουσα μὲν οὐκέτι τρέφει, λειοτέραν δ' αὐτὴν καὶ διαυγεστέραν ποιεῖ καὶ καθαρωτέραν. ἢ μὲν οὖν ἐμβύθιος πίννα διαυγεστάτην καὶ καθαρωτάτην καὶ μεγάλην γεννᾷ μαργαρίτιν, ἢ δὲ ἐπιπολάζουσα καὶ ἀνωφερῆς διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ἀκτινοβολεῖσθαι δύσχρους καὶ ἥσσων. κινδυνεύουσι δ' οἱ θηρῶντες τοὺς μαργαρίτας, ὅταν εἰς κεχηνότα |
 b κόγχον κατ' εὐθὺ ἐκτείνωσι τὴν χεῖρα· μῦει γὰρ τότε, καὶ πολλάκις οἱ δάκτυλοι αὐτῶν ἀποπρίονται· ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ παραχρῆμα ἀποθνήσκουσιν. ὅσοι δ' ἂν ἐκ πλάγιου ὑποθέντες τὴν χεῖρα τύχωσι, ῥαδίως τοὺς κόγχους ἀπὸ τοῦ λίθου ἀποσπῶσιν. μαράγδων δὲ μνημονεύει Μένανδρος ἐν Παιδίῳ·

μάραγδον εἶναι ταῦτ' ἔδει καὶ σάρδια.

ἄνευ δὲ τοῦ ῥ λεκτέον· παρὰ γὰρ τὸ μαρμαίρειν ὠνό-

⁹⁰ Sc. to pluck out a pearl.

BOOK III

down roots and stay there and produce pearls. They bear their young and feed through the part that is attached to their flesh. This part grows by the shell's mouth and has claws and introduces food into it; in fact, it resembles a small crab and is referred to as the *pinophulax*. The flesh extends from here to the middle of the shell, like a root; after the pearl has been generated next to this, it gets bigger with the help of the hard part of the shell, and receives nourishment as long as it is in contact with it. But when the flesh makes its way under this growth and gently cuts the pearl away and separates it from the shell, it enfolds it and no longer gives it any nourishment, but makes it smoother, more translucent, and purer. Pinnas found deep in the sea produce pearls that are more translucent, purer, and larger, whereas those that move upward toward the surface, because they are affected by the sun's rays, are of an inferior color and smaller. Pearl-fishers run a risk when they stick their hand straight into an open shell.⁹⁰ For then it closes, and their fingers are often sheared off; some of them even die then and there. But if they manage to get their hand sideways underneath the shells, they can easily pull them away from the rock. Menander mentions emeralds (*maragdoi*)⁹¹ in *The Child* (fr. 276):

These ought to be an emerald and a carnelian.

⁹¹ The word in fact appears to be used of various stones with a pronounced green color; see Caley-Richards on Thphr. *Lap.* 23-4.

⁹² I.e. *maragdos* rather than *smaragdos*. The form without the *sigma* may in fact be original; but the etymology offered is incorrect, and this is very clearly an Eastern loan-word.

c μασται τῷ διαυγῆς ὑπάρχειν. |

Μετὰ ταῦτα περιηρέχθησαν πίνακες ἔχοντες τῶν ἐκ ὕδατος κρεῶν πολλά, πόδας καὶ κεφαλὰς καὶ ὠτία καὶ σιαγόνας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ χορδὰς καὶ κοιλίας καὶ γλώσσας, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν λεγομένοις ἐφθοπωλίοις. εἴρηται γάρ, Οὐλπιανέ, καὶ τὸ ἐφθοπώλιον παρὰ Ποσειδίππῳ ἐν Παιδίῳ. καὶ πάλιν ζητούντων τοὺς ὀνομάσαντάς τι τούτων ὁ μὲν τις ἔλεγε· τῶν ἐδωδίμων κοιλίων μνημονεύει Ἄρι-

d στοφάνης ἐν Ἰππεύσει. | † φήσω σε ἀδεκατεύτους κοιλίας πωλεῖν †. καὶ ἐξῆς·

τί μ', ὦγάθ', οὐ πλύνειν ἕως τὰς κοιλίας
πωλεῖν τε τοὺς ἀλλᾶντας, ἀλλὰ καταγελάς;

καὶ πάλιν·

ἐγὼ δέ γ' ἦνυστρον βοὸς καὶ κοιλίαν υἰείαν
καταβροχθίσας κᾶτ' ἄπιπιν τᾶν ζωμᾶν
ναπῶνιπτος
λαρυγγίῳ τοὺς ῥήτορας καὶ Νικίαν ταραξῶ.

e καὶ πάλιν |

ἢ δ' Ὀβριμοπάτρα γ' ἐφθὸν ἐκ ζωμοῦ κρέας
καὶ χόλικος ἦνυστρον τε καὶ γαστρὸς τόμον.

σιαγόνοσ δὲ Κρατῖνοσ Πλούτοισ·

⁹³ A garbled, unmetrical recollection of the passage; and the

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The word should be pronounced without a *sigma*⁹², since the name came from the verb *marmairein* ("to flash, sparkle"), because the stone is translucent.

After this, platters were carried around loaded with many types of boiled meat: feet, heads, ears, jawbones, and also tripe, intestines, and tongues, as is customary in what are called the boil-shops in Alexandria. For the word "boil-shop," Ulpian, is used by Posidippus in *The Child* (fr. 22). While they were again trying to discover who had mentioned any of these items, one of them said: Aristophanes mentions edible tripe in *Knights* (300-2)⁹³: I'm going to denounce you for selling tripe on which no tithe has been paid! And immediately after this (*Eq.* 160-1):

Look, mister; why don't you let me soak my tripe
and sell my sausages, instead of making fun of me?

And again (*Eq.* 356-8):

But I'll gobble down cow-belly and hog-tripe,
and drink up the broth; and then, without washing
my hands,
I'll throttle the politicians and harass Nicias.

And again (*Eq.* 1178-9):

Athena Strong-like-her-Father gave you meat stewed
in broth
and a cut of fourth-stomach tripe and paunch.

quote that follows does not come "immediately after" it, although a reader without access to the complete text of the play could easily mistake the second excerpt for a response to the threat made in the first.

< . . . > περὶ σιαγόνος βοείας μαχόμενος.

καὶ Σοφοκλῆς Ἀμύκω·

σιαγόνας τε δὴ
μαλθακὰς τίθησι.

Πλάτων δ' ἐν Τιμαίῳ γράφει καὶ τὰς σιαγόνας ἄκρας αὐτοῖς συνέδησεν ὑπὸ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ προσώπου. καὶ Ξενοφῶν ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἴππικῆς· σιαγόνα μικρὰν συν-
f εσταλμένην. οἱ δὲ διὰ | τοῦ ὕ στοιχείου ἐκφέροντες κατ' ἀναλογίαν λέγουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ συός⁵². χορδῶν τε μέμνηται Ἐπίχαρμος, ἃς ὀρύας ὀνομάζει, ἐπιγράψας τι καὶ τῶν δραμάτων Ὀρύαν. Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Νεφέλαις·

ἔκ μου χορδὴν
τοῖς φροντισταῖς παραθέντων.

Κρατῖνος ἐν Πυτίνῃ·

ὡς λεπτός, ἦ δ' ὅς, ἔσθ' ὁ τῆς χορδῆς τόμος.

καὶ Εὐπόλις ἐν Αἰξίν. Ἄλεξις δ' ἐν Λευκαδία ἢ Δρα-
95 πέταις· ||

χορδαρίου τόμος ἦκεν καὶ περικομμάτιον.

Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Γάμοις·

< . . . > ἔκτεμὼν χορδῆς μεσαίου.

⁵² συός Kaibel: ὕός A

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Cratinus mentions a jawbone in *Gods of Wealth* (fr. 174):

fighting over a jawbone of an ox.

Also Sophocles in *Amycus* (fr. 112):

He makes
jawbones soft.

Plato writes in the *Timaeus* (75d): With those he attached the ends of the jawbones under the substance of the face. Also Xenophon in his *On Horsemanship* (cf. 1.8): a small, compact jawbone. Others pronounce the word with the letter *upsilon*⁹⁴ and claim that it is formed on analogy with *sus* ("pig"). Epicharmus mentions guts, which he calls *oruai*, and entitles one of his plays *Orua*.⁹⁵ Aristophanes in *Clouds* (455–6):

Let them make me into sausage
and serve it to the thinkers!

Cratinus in *Wineflask* (fr. 205):

How thin, he said, this slice of sausage is!

Also Eupolis in *Nanny-Goats* (fr. 34). Alexis in *The Girl from Leucas or Runaways* (fr. 137):

A slice of sausage has arrived, and some mincemeat.

Antiphanes in *The Wedding Feast*⁹⁶ (fr. 73):

⁹⁴ I.e. *suagōn* rather *siagōn*.

⁹⁵ Otherwise unattested.

⁹⁶ Called *The Wedding* at 4.160d, 169d.

Ποδῶν δὲ καὶ ὠτίων, ἔτι δὲ ῥύγχους Ἄλεξις ἐν Κρατεία ἢ Φαρμακοπόλῃ· τὸ δὲ μαρτύριον ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐκθήσομαι, πολλὰ ἔχον τῶν ζητουμένων ὀνομάτων. Θεόφιλος Παγκρατιαστῆ·

- (A.) ἐφθῶν μὲν σχεδὸν
 τρεῖς μνᾶς— (B.) λέγ' ἄλλο. (A.) ῥυγχίου,
 b κωλῆν, πόδας |
 τέτταρας ὑείους— (B.) Ἡράκλεις. (A.) βοὸς δὲ
 τρεῖς.

Ἄναξιλας Μαγείροις·

(A.) τῶν Αἰσχύλου πολὺ μᾶλλον εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ
 ἰχθύδι' ὀπτᾶν. (B.) τί σὺ λέγεις; ἰχθύδια;
 συσσίτιον μέλλεις νοσηλεύειν. ὅσον
 ἀκροκώλι' ἔψειν < . . . > ῥύγχη, πόδας.

Ἄναξιλας δ' ἐν Κίρκῃ·

δεινὸν μὲν γὰρ ἔχονθ' υἱὸς
 ῥύγχος, ὧ φίλε, κνισιᾶν.

c καὶ ἐν Καλυψοῖ· |

ῥύγχος φορῶν ὕειον ἡσθόμην τότε.

ᾠτάρια δ' ὠνόμασε καὶ Ἄναξανδρίδης ἐν Σατυρία.
 Ἀξιόνικος δὲ ἐν Χαλκιδικῷ φησιν·

ζωμὸν ποῶ
 θερμὸν ἰχθὺν ἐπαναπλάττων, ἡμίβρωτα λείψανα

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after cutting a slice out of the middle of the sausage.

Alexis mentions feet and ears, as well as snouts, in *Crateia* or *The Pharmacist*; I will quote his testimony, which includes many of the words under discussion, a little later.⁹⁷ Theophilus in *The Pancratiast* (fr. 8.1–3):⁹⁸

(A.) Almost three minas⁹⁹
of stewed meat— (B.) Keep going. (A.) a little snout,
a ham, four
pigs' feet— (B.) Heracles! (A.) and three cows' feet.

Anaxilas in *Cooks* (fr. 19):

(A.) I much prefer roasting little fish
to Aeschylus' plays. (B.) What are you talking about?
Little fish?
You'll soon be taking care of a sick mess-company.
But as for
stewing trotters, snouts, feet . . .

Anaxilas in *Circe* (fr. 13):

It's terrible, my friend,
to have a pig's snout and need to scratch!

Also in *Calypso* (fr. 11):

Then I realized I had a pig's snout.

Anaxandrides mentions ears in *Satyrius* (fr. 44). And Axionicus says in *The Chalcidian* (fr. 8):

⁹⁷ See 3.107a. ⁹⁸ Quoted in a more complete form at 10.417b. ⁹⁹ About three pounds.

συντιθείς οἴνω τε ραίνων, ἔντερ' ἀλλὶ καὶ σιλφίω
 σφενδονῶν, ἀλλὰντα τέμνων, παραφέρων χορδῆς
 τόμον,
 ῥύγχος εἰς ὄξος πιέζων, ὥστε πάντας ὁμολογεῖν
 τῶν γάμων κρείττω γεγονέναι τὴν ἔωλον
 ἡμέραν. |

d

Ἄριστοφάνης Προαγῶνι·

ἐγευσάμην χορδῆς ὁ δύστηνος τέκνων·
 πῶς ἐσίδω ῥύγχος περικεκαυμένον;

Φερεκράτης Δήροισ·

ὡς οὐχὶ τουτὶ ῥύγχος ἀτεχνῶς ἐσθ' ὑός.

καὶ τόπος δέ τις οὕτω καλεῖται Ῥύγχος περὶ Στράτον
 τῆς Αἰτωλίας, ὡς φησι Πολύβιος ἐν ἔκτῃ Ἱστοριῶν.
 Στησίχορός τέ φησιν ἐν Συοθήραις·

κρύψαι δὲ ῥύγχος

ἄκρον γὰς ὑπένευθεν. |

e

ὅτι δὲ κυρίως λέγεται ῥύγχος ἐπὶ τῶν συῶν προ-
 εἴρηται. ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων ζώων Ἄρχιππος Ἀμφι-
 τρύωνι δευτέρῳ κατὰ παιδιὰν εἴρηκε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ προσ-
 ῶπου οὕτως·

καὶ ταῦτ' ἔχων τὸ ῥύγχος οὕτωςι μακρόν.

¹⁰⁰ The point has not in fact been made explicitly.

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I'm making broth
by warming up some fish, adding half-eaten
left-overs, sprinkling it all with wine, tossing in some
entrails
seasoned with salt and silphium juice, cutting up a
sausage, adding a slice of tripe,
and soaking a snout in vinegar, my goal being to make
them all admit
that the day after is better than the wedding feast
itself.

Aristophanes in *The Proagon* (fr. 478):

Wretched me! I tasted my children's guts;
how shall I look upon a scorched snout?

Pherecrates in *Jewelry* (fr. 107):

that this is not, simply put, a pig's snout.

There is also a place called "Snout" near Stratus in Aetolia, according to Polybius in Book VI (59 Buettner-Wobst) of the *Histories*. Stesichorus says in *Boar-Hunters* (PMG 221):

to conceal the tip
of its snout beneath the earth.

That the word *rhunchos* ("snout") is properly used of pigs was noted above.¹⁰⁰ But that it can also be used in reference to other animals, and even of the human face, is said humorously by Archippus in his second *Amphitryon* (fr. 1), as follows:

and with a snout as big as this at that!

καὶ Ἀραρῶς Ἀδώνιδι·

ὁ γὰρ θεὸς τὸ ρύγχος εἰς ἡμᾶς στρέφει.

Ἀκροκωλίων δὲ μέμνηται Ἀριστοφάνης Αἰολοσί-
κωνι·

f καὶ μῆν, τὸ δεῖν', ἀκροκώλιά γε σοι τέτταρα
ἤψησα | τακερά.

καὶ ἐν Γηρυτάδῃ·

ἀκροκώλι', ἄρτοι, κάραβοι.

Ἀντιφάνης Κοριθία·

(A.) ἔπειτα κάκροκώλιον

ὑειον Ἀφροδίτῃ; γελοῖον. (B.) ἀγνοεῖς·

ἐν τῇ Κύπρῳ δ' οὕτω φιληδεῖ ταῖς ὑσίν,

<ᾧ> δέσποθ', ὥστε σκατοφαγεῖν ἀπεῖρξε < . . . >

τὸ ζῶον < . . . >, τοὺς δὲ βοῦς ἠνάγκασεν.

96 ὅτι δ' ὄντως Ἀφροδίτῃ ὕς θύεται μαρτυρεῖ Καλλίμα-
χος ἢ Ζηνόδοτος ἐν Ἱστορικοῖς Ὑπομνήμασι γράφων
ᾧδε· || Ἀργεῖοι Ἀφροδίτῃ ὕν θύουσι, καὶ ἡ ἑορτὴ
καλεῖται Ὑστήρια. Φερεκράτης δ' ἐν Μεταλλεῦσι

σχελίδες δ' ὀλόκνημοι πλησίον τακερώταται
ἐπὶ πινακίσκοις, καὶ δῖεφθ' ἀκροκώλια.

Ἄλεξις Κυβευταῖς·

ἠριστηκότων

BOOK III

Also Araros in *Adonis* (fr. 1):

Because the god is turning his snout toward us.

Aristophanes mentions trotters in *Aeolosicon* (fr. 4):

In fact, I boiled four whatchamacallits—trotters—
for you until they were soft.

And in *Gerytades* (fr. 164):

trotters, loaves of bread, crayfish.

Antiphanes in *The Girl from Corinth* (fr. 124):

(A.) Then a pig's
trotter for Aphrodite? Ridiculous. (B.) You're
misinformed.

On Cyprus she's so fond of pigs,
master, that she keeps the animal
from eating shit, and makes the cows do it instead.

That pigs are actually sacrificed to Aphrodite is attested by Callimachus (cf. fr. 200a) or Zenodotus in the *Historical Commentary*, writing as follows: The Argives sacrifice a pig (*hus*) to Aphrodite, and the festival is referred to as the *Hustēria*. Pherecrates in *Miners* (fr. 113.13–14):¹⁰¹

Very tender whole-leg hams were nearby
on platters, and also boiled trotters.

¹⁰¹ Quoted in more complete form at 6.268d.

σχεδόν τι δ' ἡμῶν ἐξ ἀκροκωλίου τινός.

κάν Παννυχίδι <ἦ> Ἐρίθοισιν·

ἡμίopta μὲν

- b τὰ κρεάδι' ἐστὶ, τὸ περίκομμ' ἀπόλλυται, |
ὁ γόγγρος ἐφθός, τὰ δ' ἀκροκώλι' οὐδέπω.

τῶν δ' ἐφθῶν ποδῶν μνημονεύει Φερεκράτης ἐν Δου-
λοδιδασκάλῳ·

(A.) † ὡς παρασκευάζεται δείπνον πῶς ἂν εἴπαθ'
ἡμῖν. †

(B.) καὶ δῆθ' ὑπάρχει τέμαχος ἐγ-
χέλειον ὑμῖν, τευθίς, ἄρ-
νειον κρέας, φύσκης τόμος,
ποὺς ἐφθός, ἦπαρ, πλευρόν, ὀρ-
νίθεια πλήθει πολλά, τυ-
ρὸς ἐν μέλιτι, μερὶς κρεῶν.

Ἀντιφάνης Παρασίτῳ·

(A.) χοιρίων

- c σκέλη καπύρ'. (B.) ἀστεῖόν γε, νῆ τὴν Ἐστίαν, |
ἄριστον. (A.) ἐφθὸς τυρὸς ἐπεδόνει πολὺς.

Ἐκφαντίδης δ' ἐν Σατύροις·

πόδας ἐπεὶ δέοι πριάμενον καταφαγεῖν ἐφθόους
ύός.

Γλώσσης δὲ μέμνηται Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Ταγηνι-
σταῖς διὰ τούτων·

BOOK III

Alexis in *Dice-players* (fr. 123):

after we had just
lunched on a pig's trotter.

Also in *The All-Night Festival or Hired Workers* (fr. 180):

The chunks of meat
are half-roasted; the mincemeat's ruined;
the conger eel's stewed, but the trotters aren't done
yet.

Pherecrates mentions boiled feet in *The Slave-Teacher*
(fr. 50):

(A.) † How tell us how the preparations for dinner
are coming. †

(B.) Well, there's an eel-steak
for you, a squid, some
lamb, a slice of sausage,
a boiled foot, a liver, a rib, a
large number of birds, some
cheese in honey, and a serving of chunks of meat.

Antiphanes in *The Parasite* (fr. 183):

(A.) Dry-roasted
pork hams. (B.) A sophisticated lunch,
by Hestia! (A.) A lot of cheese is sizzling on top.

Ecphantides in *Satyrs* (fr. 1):

when he had to buy boiled pigs' feet and gobble them
down.

ἄλις ἀφύης μοι·

παρατέταμαι γὰρ

τὰ λιπαρὰ κάπτων.

ἀλλὰ † φέρεται ἀπόβασιν † ἠπάτιον ἢ

καπριδίου νέου

κόλλοπά τιν'· εἰ δὲ μή, πλευρὸν ἢ γλώτταν ἢ

σπληνὰ γ' ἢ νῆστιν ἢ δέλφακος ὀπωρινῆς

d ἡτριαίαν φέρετε δεῦρο μετὰ | κολλάβων

χλιαρῶν.⁵³

Τοσούτων λεχθέντων καὶ περὶ τούτων οὐδὲ τῶν
 ἰατρῶν οἱ παρόντες ἀσύμβολοι μετειλήφασιν. ἔφη
 γὰρ ὁ Διονυσοκλῆς· Μνησίθεος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῷ
 Περί Ἐδεστώων ἔφη· κεφαλὴ καὶ πόδες ὑὸς οὐ πολὺ τὸ
 τρόφιμον καὶ λιπαρὸν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἔχουσι. καὶ ὁ Λεω-
 νίδης· Δήμων ἐν τετάρτῃ Ἀτθίδος, Ἀφείδαντα, φησί,
 βασιλεύοντα Ἀθηνῶν Θυμοίτης ὁ νεώτερος ἀδελφὸς
 νόθος ὦν ἀποκτείνας αὐτὸς ἐβασίλευσεν. ἐφ' οὗ Μέ-
 e λανθος Μεσσήνιος ἐκπεσὼν τῆς πατρίδος | ἐπήρετο
 τὴν Πυθίαν ὅπου κατοικήσει. ἢ δὲ ἔφη, ἔνθα ἂν
 ξενίοις πρῶτον τιμηθῇ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν κε-
 φαλὴν ἐπὶ τῷ δείπνῳ παραθέντων. καὶ τοῦτ' ἐγένετο
 αὐτῷ ἐν Ἐλευσίνι· τῶν ἱερείων γὰρ τότε πάτριόν τινα
 ἑορτὴν ἐπιτελοῦσῶν καὶ πάντα τὰ κρέα κατανηλω-
 κυῶν, τῶν δὲ ποδῶν καὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ὑπολοίπων

⁵³ At this point A includes a marginal note: τῶν εἰς λ' τέλος τοῦ ε' ἀρχὴ τοῦ ζ' ("Of the division into 30, the end of number 5 and the beginning of number 6"). See Introduction.

BOOK III

Aristophanes mentions tongue in *Frying-Pan Men* (fr. 520), in the following verses:

I've had enough small-fry;
because I'm worn out with
gulping down greasy food.
But [corrupt] a little liver or some flesh from a young
boar's
neck. Otherwise, bring me here a rib or a tongue
or
a spleen or a jejunum or a paunch of a pig
butchered in the fall, along with some hot
rolls.

Although a large number of remarks had already been made on these topics, the physicians present did not fail to contribute. For Dionysocles said: Mnesitheus of Athens said in his *On Edible Substances* (fr. 40 Bertier): Pigs' heads and feet do not contain much nutrition or fat. And Leonidas said: Demon reports in Book IV of his *History of Attica* (FGrH 327 F 1) that Apheidas, the king of Athens, was killed by his illegitimate younger brother Thymoetes, who then became king himself. In his time Melanthus of Messene was banished from his fatherland and asked the Pythia where he should settle. She told him to do so in the first place where they showed him hospitality by serving him the feet and head for dinner (Delphic oracle L79

ὄντων ταῦτα τῷ Μελάνθῳ ἀπέστειλαν.

Μήτηρα ἐξῆς ἐπεισηνέχθη, μητρόπολις τις ὡς ἀλη-
θῶς οὔσα καὶ μήτηρ τῶν Ἴπποκράτους υἱῶν, οὓς εἰς
f ὕωδιαν | κωμωδουμένους οἶδα. εἰς ἣν ἀποβλέψας ὁ
Οὐλλπιανός, ἄγε δῆ, ἔφη, ἄνδρες φίλοι, παρὰ τίνι
κείται ἡ μήτρα; ἱκανῶς γὰρ γεγαστρίσμεθα καὶ και-
ρὸς ἤδη ὅστι καὶ λέγειν ἡμᾶς. τοῖς δὲ κυνικοῖς τοῦτο
παρακελεύομαι σιωπᾶν κεχορτασμένοις ἀφειδῶς,
πλὴν εἰ μὴ καὶ τῶν σιαγόνων καὶ τῶν κεφαλῶν κατα-
τρῶξαι βούλονται καὶ τὰ ὀστᾶ, ὧν οὐδεὶς φθόνος
αὐτοῖς ἀπολαύειν ὡς κυσί· τοῦτο γὰρ εἰσι καὶ εὔ-
97 χονται καλεῖσθαι. ||

νόμος δὲ <δείπνου> λείψαν' ἐκβάλλειν κυσίν,

ἐν Κρήσσαις ὁ Εὐριπίδης ἔφη. πάντα γὰρ ἐσθίειν καὶ
πίνειν θέλουσιν, ἐπὶ νοῦν οὐ λαμβάνοντες ὅπερ ὁ
θεῖος Πλάτων ἔφη ἐν Πρωταγόρα· τὸ περὶ ποιήσεως
διαλέγεσθαι ὁμοιότατον εἶναι τοῖς συμποσίοις τοῖς
τῶν φαύλων καὶ ἀγοραίων ἀνθρώπων. καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι
διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ἀλλήλοις δι' αὐτῶν συνεῖναι ἐν τῷ
πότῳ μηδὲ διὰ τῆς ἑαυτῶν φωνῆς καὶ λόγων τῶν
ἑαυτῶν ὑπὸ ἀπαιδευσίας τιμίας ποιοῦσι τὰς αὐλητρί-
b δας, πολλοῦ μισθούμενοι ἀλλοτρίαν φωνὴν | τὴν τῶν
αὐλῶν, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐκείνων φωνῆς ἀλλήλοις ξύνεισιν.

¹⁰² Melanthus then drove Thymoetes (the last Athenian king descended from Theseus) from the throne and became king in his place (Paus. 2.18.9).

BOOK III

Fontenrose). This happened to him in Eleusis. For at that time the priests were celebrating a traditional festival and had eaten all the meat; but since the feet and head were left over, they sent them to Melanthus.¹⁰²

A sow's womb (*mētra*) was brought in next, a veritable metropolis and a mother (*mētēr*) of the sons of Hippocrates, who I know are ridiculed in comedy for their swinishness.¹⁰³ Ulpian looked at it and said: Come now, my friends; in what author is the word *mētra* attested?¹⁰⁴ For we've stuffed our bellies enough, and now it is time for us to have some conversation. But I encourage the Cynics, since they have been lavishly foddered, to keep quiet, unless they want to gnaw on the jawbones and skulls, which they are welcome to enjoy in their guise of dogs. Because that is what they are, and they take pride in the name.

It's customary to throw the dinner left-overs to the dogs,

said Euripides in *Cretan Women* (fr. 469). For they are willing to eat and drink anything, and do not keep in mind what the divine Plato said in the *Protagoras* (347c-d): Arguing about poetry is like the symposia of low, working-class people. For their lack of education makes them unable to enjoy one another's company over their wine by relying on their own voices and conversation; they there-

¹⁰³ *Huōdia* ("swinishness") puns on *huioi* ("sons") above. The Hippocrates in question is not the famous physician, but Hippocrates son of Ariphton of the deme Cholargeus (PAA 538615), a nephew of the Athenian politician Pericles; his three sons are ridiculed as fools at *Ar. Nu.* 1001 (where see Dover's n.; and cf. *Ar. fr.* 116 with K-A ad loc.).

¹⁰⁴ Cf. 1.1e.

ὅπου δὲ καλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ ξυμπόται καὶ πεπαιδευμένοι
 εἰσίν, οὐκ ἂν ἴδοις οὔτε αὐλητρίδας οὔτε ὄρχηστρίδας
 οὔτε ψαλτρίδας, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ἑαυτοῖς ἱκανοὺς ὄντας
 συνεῖναι ἄνευ τῶν λήρων τε καὶ παιδιῶν τούτων διὰ
 τῆς ἑαυτῶν φωνῆς, λέγοντάς τε καὶ ἀκούοντας ἐν μέρει
 ἑαυτῶν κοσμίως, κἂν πάνυ πολὺν οἶνον πίωσι. τοῦτο
 δ' ὑμεῖς ποιεῖτε, ὦ Κύνουлке· πίνοντες, μᾶλλον δ'
 ἐκπίνοντες αὐλητρίδων καὶ ὄρχηστρίδων δίκην ἐμπο-
 c δίξετε | τὴν διὰ τῶν λόγων ἡδονήν, ζῶντες κατὰ τὸν
 αὐτὸν Πλάτωνα, ὃς ἐν τῷ Φιλήβῳ φησίν, οὐκ ἀνθρώ-
 που βίον, ἀλλὰ τινος πλεύμονος ἢ τῶν ὄσα θαλάττια
 μετ' ὀστρείων ἐμφυχά ἐστι σωμαίων. καὶ ὁ Κύνουλ-
 κος ὀργισθεὶς, γάστρων, ἔφη, καὶ κοιλιόδαιμον ἄν-
 θρωπε, οὐδὲν ἄλλο σὺ οἶσθα, οὐ λόγους διεξοδικοὺς
 εἰπεῖν, οὐχ ἱστορίας μνησθῆναι, οὐ τῆς ἐν λόγοις
 χάριτος ἀπάρξασθαί ποτε, ἀλλὰ τὸν χρόνον ἅπαντα
 d περὶ ταῦτα κατετρίβης ζητῶν "κεῖται, οὐ κεῖται; εἴρη-
 ται, οὐκ εἴρηται;" ἐξουυχίζεις τε πάντα τὰ προσπί-
 πτοντα | τοῖς συνδιαλεγόμενοις τὰς ἀκάνθας συν-
 ἄγων,

ὡς ἂν' ἐχινόποδας καὶ ἀνὰ τρηχεῖαν ὄνωνιν

ἀεὶ διατρίβων, ἀνθέων τῶν ἡδίστων μηδὲν συναθροί-
 ζων. ἢ οὐ σὺ εἶ ὁ καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καλουμένην
 στρήναν κατὰ τινα πατρίαν παράδοσιν λεγομένην καὶ

105 Cf. 1.1d-e.

BOOK III

fore put a premium on pipe-girls, and hire someone else's voice, that of the pipes, at great expense, and use that voice when they are in one another's company. But wherever educated men from good backgrounds drink together, pipe-girls, dancing-girls, and harp-girls are nowhere to be seen; they have sufficient resources of their own to spend time with one another without such nonsense and foolishness, relying on their own voices, and speaking and listening to one another in turn in an orderly way, even if they drink a great deal of wine. This is what you Cynics do, Cynulcus. When you drink—or, rather, when you drink too much—you prevent pleasant conversation in the same way pipe-girls and dancing-girls do, and you live in the style this same Plato refers to, when he says in his *Philebus* (21c): not the life of a human being, but that of a jellyfish or one of the shellfish that live in the sea. Cynulcus got angry and said: Glutton! Worshipper of your own belly! That's all you know how to do—not how to have a careful discussion, or recall historical events, or offer graceful words on occasion. Instead, you spend all your time asking "Is it attested or is it not? Is the word used or is it not?"¹⁰⁵ And you scratch away at whatever occurs to the rest of the group to discuss, collecting all the thorns,

just as amid urchin's-foot and rough rest-harrow,¹⁰⁶

always wasting time and collecting none of the sweetest

¹⁰⁶ The first half of an anonymous elegiac couplet quoted in full at Plu. *Mor.* 44e–f; 485a; 621e.

¹⁰⁷ Latin *strena*, a New Year's gift; Ulpian's name for it is perhaps intended to mark it as something given over and above any normal obligation.

διδομένην τοῖς φίλοις ἐπινομίδα καλῶν; καὶ εἰ μὲν τὴν Πλάτωνος ζηλώσας, μαθεῖν βουλόμεθα < . . . > εἰ δὲ παρά τινι οὕτως εὐρῶν λεγομένην, ἐμφάνισον τὸν εἰπόντα. ἐγὼ γὰρ οἶδα ἐπινομίδα καλουμένην καὶ μέρος τι τῆς τριήρους⁵⁴, ὡς Ἀπολλώνιος ἐν Τριηρικῶ e παρατέθειται. | οὐ σὺν εἰ ὁ καὶ τὸν καινὸν καὶ οὐδέπω ἐν χρεῖα γενόμενον φαινόλην—εἴρηται γάρ, ὦ βέλτιστε, καὶ ὁ φαινόλης—εἰπὼν “παῖ Λεῦκε, δός μοι τὸν ἄχρηστον φαινόλην”; εἰς βαλανεῖον δέ ποτε πορευόμενος οὐκ ἔφης πρὸς τὸν πυνθανόμενον “ποῖ δῆ;”, “ἀπολούμενος, ἦν δ’ ἐγὼ, ἐπέιγομαι”; κακείνης σοι τῆς ἡμέρας ὁ καλὸς καινσίνοσ ὑπὸ λωποδυτῶν ἀνηρπάσθη, ὡς γέλωτα πάμπολυ ἐν τῷ βαλανεῖῳ γενέσθαι ἀχρήστου ζητουμένου φαινόλου. ἄλλοτε δέ, ὦ ἐταῖροι φίλτατοι—πρὸς γὰρ ὑμᾶς εἰρήσεται τάλθητή—προσ- f ἐπταισε | λίθω καὶ τὴν κνήμην ἔλυσε· θεραπευθεὶς οὖν προῆει καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πυνθανομένους “τί τοῦτο, Οὐλπιανέ;”, “ὑπώπιον” ἔλεγε. καὶ γὰρ—ξυνήν γὰρ αὐτῷ—τότε τὸν γέλωτα φέρειν οὐ δυνάμενος παρά τινι τῶν φίλων ἰατρῷ ὑπαλειψάμενος τὰ ὑπὸ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς παχεῖ φαρμάκῳ πρὸς τοὺς πυνθανομένους “τί δὲ σὺ;”, “πρόσκομμα” ἔφασκον. τῆς δ’ αὐτῆς ταύτης σοφίας

⁵⁴ τῆς τριήρους ACE

¹⁰⁸ A lost work attributed to Plato was entitled *Epinomis*; and the lost portion of the text of Athenaeus probably said something like “what connection there is between the two.”

BOOK III

flowers. Is it not you who uses the term *epinomis* for what the Romans refer to as a *strēna*¹⁰⁷, the name of which is a matter of ancestral tradition, and which we present to our friends? And if you are imitating the work of Plato,¹⁰⁸ we would like to learn . . . But if you found it referred to in this way in an author, tell us who uses the word! Because I am aware that *epinomis* is also used of a part of a trireme and is cited in that sense by Apollonius in *On Triremes*. Are you not also the man who, referring to his new cloak—for the word is used in the masculine, my friend, as well as the feminine¹⁰⁹—that had not been used yet, said “Slave! Leucus! Give me my useless¹¹⁰ cloak!” And once when you were on your way to the baths and someone asked you “Where are you off to?”, did you not say “I’m hurrying, quoth I, unto destruction”?¹¹¹ That same day your beautiful robe of Canusian wool was taken by clothes-thieves; the result was tremendous laughter in the bathhouse, as the search went on for your “useless cloak.” On another occasion, my dear friends—because what you are going to hear is the truth—he bumped into a stone and hurt his shin. After getting it cared for, he went on his way; and when people asked “What’s this, Ulpian?”, he said “I’ve got a black eye.” I was with him and could not keep from laughing at the time; and when I was visiting one of my friends, who is

¹⁰⁹ *Paenula* is feminine in Latin, but Greek *phainolē* can be either masculine or feminine.

¹¹⁰ *achrēstos*, which Ulpian—an allegedly unsuccessful devotee of a “pure Attic style”—intended in the sense “unused”; cf. 3.98b (confusion of a different sort); *Luc. Lex.* 9.

¹¹¹ Ulpian meant “to wash myself off” (< *apolouō*; cf. 3.98a; *Luc. Lex.* 2), and was perhaps quoting the beginning of an iambic trimeter line.

- καὶ ἕτερός ἐστι ζηλωτής, Πομπηϊανὸς ὁ Φιλαδελφεύς,
 98 ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἀπάνουργος, ὀνοματοθήρας δὲ ἢ καὶ
 αὐτός. ὅστις πρὸς τὸν οἰκέτην διαλεγόμενος μεγάλη
 τῇ φωνῇ καλέσας τοῦνομα, “Στρομβιχίδη”, ἔφη, “κό-
 μιζέ μοι ἐπὶ τὸ γυμνάσιον τὰς βλαύτας τὰς ἀφορή-
 τους καὶ τὴν ἐφεστρίδα τὴν ἄχρηστον. ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑπο-
 δησάμενος τὸν πώγωνα προσαγορεύσω τοὺς ἐταίρους·
 ὀπτὸς γάρ ἐστὶ μοι Λάριχος. κόμιζε δὲ τοῦ ἐλαίου τὴν
 λήκυθον· πρότερον γὰρ συντριβησόμεθον, ἔπειθ’ οὐ-
 τως ἀπολούμεθον.” ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς οὗτος σοφιστῆς Φε-
 b βρουαρίῳ μηνί, ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι λέγουσι—τὸν δὲ μῆνα ἢ
 τοῦτον κληθῆναί φησιν ὁ Μαυρούσιος Ἰόβας ἀπὸ τῶν
 κατουδαίων φόβων κατ’ ἀναίρεσιν τῶν δειμάτων—ἐν
 ᾧ τοῦ χειμῶνός ἐστι τὸ ἀκμαιότατον, καὶ ἔθος τότε
 τοῖς κατοιχομένοις τὰς χοὰς ἐπιφέρειν πολλαῖς ἡμέ-
 ραις, πρὸς τινα τῶν φίλων “οὐκ εἶδές με”, ἔφη, “πολλῶν
 ἡμερῶν διὰ τὰ καύματα.” τῆς δὲ τῶν Παναθηναίων
 ἑορτῆς ἐπιτελουμένης, δι’ ἧς καὶ τὰ δικαστήρια οὐ
 συνάγεται, ἔφη “γενέθλιός ἐστι τῆς ἀλέκτορος⁵⁵ καὶ

⁵⁵ ἀλέκτορος Ἀθηνᾶς ACE

¹¹² Perhaps the model for Lucian’s Lexiphanes, who speaks in the same way and makes many of the same errors.

¹¹³ Pompeianus meant “unworn”; cf. Luc. *Lex.* 9.

¹¹⁴ Pompeianus apparently intended to tie his beard up out of the way somehow, but used a verb properly applied only to shoes and sandals; cf. Luc. *Lex.* 5.

BOOK III

a physician, I had some heavy salve applied beneath my eye, and when people asked "What happened to you?", I said "I bruised my leg." Another man devoted to learning of this sort is Pompeianus of Philadelphia,¹¹² an individual full of guile and himself a hunter of words. When he was speaking to his slave, he called his name in a loud voice and said "Strombichides! Take my unbearable¹¹³ slippers and my useless mantle to the wrestling school for me! I'm going to tie my beard under my feet¹¹⁴ and speak to my friends. For I have to cook up¹¹⁵ Larichus. And bring my oilflask; because first the two of us are going to get beaten up,¹¹⁶ and then in this way we'll be destroyed."¹¹⁷ In the month of February, as the Romans call it—Juba of Mauretania (FGrH 275 F 96) says that the month gets its name from the terrors lurking beneath the earth, as a way of removing fear of them¹¹⁸—which is the coldest part of the winter and a time when it was customary to make libations to the dead for a number of days, this same learned gentleman said to one of his friends: "You haven't seen me for many days because of the heat."¹¹⁹ When the Panathenaic festival, during which the lawcourts do not meet, was being celebrated, he said "It's the birthday of the Rooster,¹²⁰ and on

¹¹⁵ Pompeianus meant "look up," as if *optos* ("roasted") were from *horaō*, *opsomai* ("see"); cf. *Luc. Lex.* 9.

¹¹⁶ Pompeianus meant "get a massage"; cf. *Luc. Lex.* 5.

¹¹⁷ Cf. 3.97e n.

¹¹⁸ As if the Latin *Februarius* were derived from the Greek *phobous audaious airein*, a preposterous etymology.

¹¹⁹ Pompeianus meant "the burnt offerings I had to make"; cf. *Luc. Lex.* 2.

¹²⁰ Pompeianus meant "the Unwedded One" (*alektros*), i.e. Athena, whose name was added above the line by a scribe as an explanatory note that eventually made its way into the text.

- c ἄδικος ἢ τῆτες ἡμέρα.” ἐκάλεσε δέ ποτε καὶ τὸν | ἐκ
 Δελφῶν ἐπανελθόντα ἡμῶν ἐταῖρον οὐδὲν αὐτῷ χρή-
 σατος τοῦ θεοῦ ἄχρηστον. δείξιν δέ ποτε λόγων
 δημοσία ποιούμενος καὶ ἐγκώμιον διεξερχόμενος τῆς
 βασιλευούσης πόλεως ἔφη “θαυμαστὴ δ’ ἢ Ῥωμαίων
 ἀρχὴ ἢ ἀνυπόστατος.” τοιοῦτοί τινές εἰσιν, ὧ ἐταῖροι,
 οἱ Οὐλπιάνειοι σοφισταί, οἱ καὶ τὸ μιλιάριον καλού-
 μενον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, τὸ εἰς θερμοῦ ὕδατος κατερ-
 γασίαν κατασκευαζόμενον, ἵπνολέβητα ὀνομάζοντες,
 d πολλῶν⁵⁶ ὀνομάτων | ποιηταὶ καὶ πολλοῖς παρασάγ-
 γαις ὑπερδραμόντες τὸν Σικελιώτην Διούσιον, ὃς τὴν
 μὲν παρθένον ἐκάλει μένανδρον, ὅτι μένει τὸν ἄνδρα,
 καὶ τὸν στῦλον μενεκράτην, ὅτι μένει καὶ κρατεῖ,
 βαλλάντιον δὲ τὸ ἀκόντιον, ὅτι ἐναντίον βάλλεται, καὶ
 τὰς τῶν μῦθων διεκδύσεις μυστήρια ἐκάλει, ὅτι τοὺς
 μῦς τηρεῖ. Ἄθανις δ’ ἐν πρώτῃ Σικελικῶν τὸν αὐτὸν
 φησι Διούσιον καὶ τὸν βούν γαρόταν καλεῖν καὶ τὸν
 χοῖρον ἰακχον. τοιοῦτος ἦν καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Κασ-
 σάνδρον τοῦ Μακεδονίας βασιλεύσαντος ἀδελφός, ὁ
 e τὴν Οὐρανόπολιν | καλουμένην κτίσας. ἱστορεῖ δὲ

⁵⁶ πολλῶν A: καλῶν C: πολλῶν γρ(άφεται) καινῶν E: “per-
 haps πολλῶν καινῶν” Kaibel

¹²¹ Cf. Luc. Lex. 9.

¹²² Pompeianus used *achrēstos* as if it were derived from *chraō* (“pronounce an oracle”). ¹²³ Pompeianus intended the word in the sense “unshakeable.”

¹²⁴ Latin *militarium*; used in bathhouses.

BOOK III

this day of the year there's no justice."¹²¹ He once referred to a friend of ours who came back from Delphi without getting a response from the god as "useless."¹²² On another occasion, when he was making a display-speech in public and was offering extended praise of the imperial city, he said "One has to marvel at the insecure¹²³ dominion of the Romans." This, my friends, is what Ulpianic intellectuals are like—men who call what the Romans refer to as a *miliarion*,¹²⁴ which serves to produce hot water, an "oven-cauldron,"¹²⁵ and who in their creation of new vocabulary go many miles¹²⁶ beyond Dionysius of Sicily. He referred (TrGF 76 F 12f–g, a, h) to an unmarried girl as *menandros*, because she is waiting (*menei*) for her husband (*andra*); to a column as *menekratēs*, because it remains in one place (*menei*) and supports (*kratei*) something; to a javelin as a *ballantion*,¹²⁷ because it is thrown against (*balletai enantion*) someone; and to mouse-holes as *mustēria*,¹²⁸ because they protect mice (*mus tērei*). Athanis in Book I of the *History of Sicily* (FGrH 562 F 1) says that this same Dionysius (TrGF 76 F 12i–k) referred to an ox as a *garotas*,¹²⁹ and to a pig as an *iakchos*.¹³⁰ Alexarchus the brother of Cassander king of Macedon¹³¹ and the founder of the city of Oura-

¹²⁵ Lucian's Lexiphanes (8) also uses the word, which is otherwise attested only in the diminutive in Pollux.

¹²⁶ Literally "parasangs," a Persian measure of distance (cf. 3.121f–2a with n.) = 30 stades or about 3.5 miles.

¹²⁷ The word normally means "purse."

¹²⁸ The word normally means "mystic rites."

¹²⁹ < *ga* ("earth") and *aroō* ("plow").

¹³⁰ < *iakcheō* ("cry aloud," and thus "squeel").

¹³¹ See 1.19c n.

περὶ αὐτοῦ Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Λέμβος ἐν τῇ τριακοστῇ ἐβδόμῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν λέγων οὕτως· Ἀλέξαρχος ὁ τὴν Οὐρανόπολιν κτίσας διαλέκτους ἰδίας εἰσήνεγκεν, ὀρθροβόαν μὲν τὸν ἀλεκτρυόνα καλέων καὶ βροτοκέρτην τὸν κουρέα καὶ τὴν δραχμὴν ἀργυρίδα, τὴν δὲ χοίνικα ἡμεροτροφίδα καὶ τὸν κήρυκα ἀπύτην. καὶ τοῖς Κασσανδρέων δὲ ἄρχουσι τοιαῦτά ποτ' ἐπέστειλε· Ἀλέξαρχος † ὁ μάρμων⁵⁷ † πρόμοις γαθεῖν. τοὺς ἡλιοκρεῖς οἰῶν οἶδα † λιπουσαθεωτων | † ἔργων † κρατιτορας † μορσίμῳ τύχῃ κεκυρωμένας † θεουπογαις † χυτλώσαντες αὐτοὺς καὶ φύλακας ὀριγενεῖς. τί δὲ ἢ ἐπιστολὴ αὕτη δηλοῖ νομίζω ἄγ⁵⁸ μηδὲ τὸν Πύθιον διαγνώσκειν. κατὰ γὰρ τὸν Ἀντιφάνους Κλεοφάνη·

τὸ δὲ τυραννεῖν ἐστὶν < . . . >

99 ἢ τί ποτε; τὸν σπουδαῖον ἀκολουθεῖν ἐρεῖς ἐν τῷ Λυκείῳ μετὰ σοφιστῶν νῆ Δία λεπτῶν, ἀσίτων, συκίνων, λέγουθ' ὅτι || τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτ' οὐκ ἔστιν, εἴπερ γίγνεται, οὐδ' ἔστι γὰρ πω γινόμενον ὃ γίγνεται, οὐτ' εἰ πρότερον ἦν, ἔστιν ὃ γε νῦν γίγνεται, ἔστιν γὰρ οὐκ ὄν οὐδέν· ὃ δὲ μὴ γέγονέ πω,

⁵⁷ Ὀμαιμέων Wilamowitz

⁵⁸ νομίζω ἄγ⁵⁸ A: δοκῶ CE

¹³² A dry measure equivalent to slightly more than a liter, and conventionally the amount of barley a man needed for a day.

¹³³ Cf. Homeric *ēputa* ("loud-voiced"; of a herald at *Il.* 7.384).

BOOK III

nopolis was also like this. Heracleides of Lembos in Book XXXVII of his *Histories* (fr. 5, *FHG* iii.169) offers the following information about him: Alexarchus the founder of Ouranopolis introduced peculiar vocabulary, referring to a rooster as a "dawn-crier," a barber as a "mortal-shearer," a drachma as "worked silver," a *choinix*¹³² as a "daily-feeder," and a herald as an *aputēs*.¹³³ He once wrote something of the following sort to the public authorities in Casandrea: ¹³⁴ Alexarchus [obscure] to the foremost men: Joy to you! I am aware that our sun-fleshed sheep [obscure], masters of the worked lands, have met their fated doom [obscure], washing them and their mountain-bred guardians." As for what this letter says, in my opinion not even the Pythian god¹³⁵ could make sense of it. To quote Antiphanes' *Cleophanes* (fr. 120):

to be a tyrant is . . .

Or else what is it? You'll say that the serious man
trails along
at the Lyceum with a crowd of sophists, by Zeus—
thin, hungry good-for-nothings—and says that
this thing doesn't exist, if it's coming into existence,
since what's coming into existence hasn't already
done so;
nor, if it existed previously, can it be what is now
coming into existence,
since nothing exists that isn't in existence. And
whatever hasn't come into existence

¹³⁴ The letter is as incomprehensible to us as it apparently was to Heracleides. ¹³⁵ Apollo in his guise as god of oracles (and thus master of riddles).

οὐκ ἔστ' ἕωσπερ γέγονε † ὁ δὲ μὴ γέγονέ πω †.
 ἐκ τοῦ γὰρ εἶναι γέγονεν· εἰ δ' οὐκ ἦν ὄθεν,
 πῶς ἐγένετ' ἐξ οὐκ ὄντος; οὐχ οἷόν τε γάρ.

† εἰ δ' αὐτόθεν ποι γέγονεν, οὐκ ἔσται
 κηποι δεποτις εἶη, πόθεν γενήσεται
 τοῦκ ὄν εἰς οὐκ ὄν· εἰς οὐκ ὄν γὰρ οὐ

b δυνήσεται †. |

ταυτὶ δ' ὅ τι ἐστὶν οὐδ' ἂν Ἀπόλλων μάθοι.

οἶδα δ' ὅτι καὶ Σιμωνίδης πον ὁ ποιητῆς ἀρίσταρχον
 εἶπε τὸν Δία καὶ Αἰσχύλος τὸν Ἄϊδην ἀγησίλαον,
 Νίκανδρος δὲ ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἰοχέαιραν τὴν ἀσπίδα τὸ
 ζῶον. διὰ ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὁ θαυμασιώτατος
 Πλάτων ἐν τῷ Πολιτικῷ εἰπὼν ξηροβατικά τινα ζῶα
 καὶ ἀεροβατικά < . . . > ἄλλα, ξηροτροφικὸν τε καὶ
 ὑγροτροφικὸν καὶ ἀερονομικὸν⁵⁹ ἐπὶ ζῶων χερσαίων
 καὶ ἐνύγρων καὶ ἐναερίων ἐπιλέγει, ὥσπερ παρακελευ-
 c όμενος τούτοις τοῖς ὀνοματοποιοῖς | φυλάττεσθαι τὴν
 καινότητα γράφων καὶ κατὰ λέξιν τάδε· κἂν διαφυ-
 λάξης τὸ μὴ σπουδάζειν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασι, πλουσιώ-
 τερος καὶ εἰς γῆρας ἀναφανήσῃ φρονήσεως. οἶδα δὲ
 καὶ Ἡρώδη τὸν Ἀττικὸν ῥήτορα ὀνομάζοντα τροχο-
 πέδην τὸ διαβαλλόμενον ξύλον διὰ τῶν τροχῶν, ὅτε

⁵⁹ ἀερονομικὸν Schweighäuser: ξηρονομικὸν ACE

136 More often a divine epithet, "arrow-shooter."

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doesn't exist until it has done so. † And whatever
 hasn't come into existence. †
 Because it has come into existence from existence;
 but if there was no source for it,
 how did it come into existence from what doesn't
 exist? This is impossible.
 † But if it came into existence from the same source
 somewhere, it will not be
 [corrupt], whence will what doesn't exist
 turn into what isn't? Because it won't be able to into
 what isn't †.
 And what all this means not even Apollo could
 understand.

I am aware that the poet Simonides (*PMG* 614) refers
 somewhere to Zeus as *aristarchos* ("best-ruler"); that Aes-
 chylus (fr. 406) calls Hades *agēsilaos* ("leader of the peo-
 ple"); and that Nicander of Colophon (fr. 33 Schneider)
 calls an asp *iocheaira* ("venom-shooter").¹³⁶ Because of
 these and similar coinages, the marvellous Plato in his
Politicus (264d), referring to certain creatures that "tra-
 verse the dry land" and "traverse the air" . . . others, and
 uses the terms "dry-raised," "moist-raised," and "air-
 dwelling" for land-animals, marine animals, and birds,
 respectively, as if he were encouraging those who enjoy
 coining words to beware of novelty, writing specifically as
 follows (261e): And if you maintain your indifference to
 names, you will appear richer in wisdom in your old age. I
 am also aware that the orator Herodes Atticus¹³⁷ used the
 word *trochopedēs* ("wheel-shackle") for the piece of wood

¹³⁷ PAA 573240 (fl. mid-2nd century CE).

κατάντεις τόπους ὀχούμενος πορεύοιτο⁶⁰, καίτοι Σιμα-
 ρίστου ἐν τοῖς Συνωνύμοις ἐποχέα τὸ ξύλον τοῦτο
 ἐπονομάσαντος. καὶ Σοφοκλῆς δέ που ὁ ποιητῆς τὸν
 d φύλακα μοχλὸν φόβου⁶¹ ὠνόμασεν | ἐν τούτοις·

θάρσει μέγας σοι τοῦδ' ἐγὼ φόβου μοχλός.

κὰν ἄλλοις δὲ τὴν ἄγκυραν ἰσχάδα κέκληκεν διὰ τὸ
 κατέχειν τὴν ναῦν·

ναῦται δ' ἐμηρύσαντο νηὸς ἰσχάδα.

καὶ Δημάδης δὲ ὁ ῥήτωρ ἔλεγε τὴν μὲν Αἴγιναν εἶναι
 λήμην τοῦ Πειραιῶς, τὴν δὲ Σάμον ἀπορρῶγα τῆς
 πόλεως, ἕαρ δὲ τοῦ δήμου τοὺς ἐφήβους, τὸ δὲ τεῖχος
 ἐσθῆτα τῆς πόλεως, τὸν δὲ σαλπικτὴν κοινὸν Ἀθη-
 e ναίων ἀλέκτορα. ὁ | δ' ὀνοματοθήρας οὗτος σοφιστῆς
 καὶ ἀκάθαρτον ἔφη γυναῖκα ἧς ἐπεσχημένα ἦν τὰ
 γυναικεία. πόθεν δέ σοι, ὦ Οὐλπιανέ, καὶ “κεχορ-
 τασμένοι” εἰπεῖν ἐπήλθε, δέον τῷ κορεσθῆναι χρήσα-
 σθαι;

Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Οὐλπιανός πως ἠδέως γελάσας,
 ἀλλὰ μὴ βάνζε, εἶπεν, ὦ ἑταῖρε, μηδὲ ἀγριαίνου τὴν

⁶⁰ πορεύοιτο CE: ἐπορεύετο A

⁶¹ φόβου Kaibel: που ACE

¹³⁸ The word normally means “dried fig,” but is here derived from *ischō* (“hold, stay”), as also at *Luc. Lex.* 15.

¹³⁹ The remark is elsewhere attributed to Pericles (e.g. *Arist. Rh.* 1411a14–15; *Plu. Per.* 8.5).

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put through his wheels when he was travelling through steep territory in his carriage, although Simaristes in his *Synonyms* calls this piece of wood an *epocheus* ("brake"). Likewise the poet Sophocles (fr. 760) somewhere called a guard a bar against fear, in the following words:

Take courage; I am your great bar against this fear.

And elsewhere (fr. 761) he refers to an anchor as an *ischas* ("stay"),¹³⁸ because it holds the ship in place:

The sailors drew up the ship's anchor (*ischas*).

So too the orator Demades said that (fr. LXVII de Falco) Aegina was put in the eye of the Peiraeus,¹³⁹ that (fr. XXVIII de Falco) Samos was a piece broken off of Athens,¹⁴⁰ that (fr. LXVIII de Falco) the young men just coming of age were the spring of the people,¹⁴¹ that (fr. XXX de Falco) the wall was the city's clothing; and that (fr. XXXI de Falco) the public trumpeter was the common rooster of the Athenians. This word-hunting sophist also described a woman whose menstrual periods had ceased as uncleaned.¹⁴² But where did you get the idea, Ulpian, of saying "foddered,"¹⁴³ when you should have used the word "sated"?

In response, Ulpian smiled rather sweetly and said: Don't bark, my friend, or go wild and unleash your canine

¹⁴⁰ An allusion to the settlement of Athenian cleruchs on the island in 365 BCE.

¹⁴¹ This remark as well is elsewhere attributed to Pericles (Arist. *Rh.* 1365^a31-3, 1411^a1-4).

¹⁴² Cf. Luc. *Lex.* 19. The "word-hunting sophist" in question is presumably Pompeianus (cf. 3.98a), last referred to in 3.98c.

¹⁴³ 3.96f.

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κυνικήν προβαλλόμενος λύσσαν τῶν ὑπὸ κύνα οὐσῶν
 ἡμερῶν, δέον αἰκάλλειν μᾶλλον καὶ προσσαίνειν τοὺς
 συνδείπνους, μὴ καὶ τινα Κυννοφόντιν ἐορτὴν ποιησώ-
 f μεθα ἀντὶ τῆς παρ' Ἀργείοις | ἐπιτελουμένης. χορτα-
 σθῆναι εἴρηται, ᾧ δαιμόνιε ἀνδρῶν, παρὰ μὲν Κρατί-
 νῳ ἐν Ὀδυσσεύσιν οὕτως·

ἦσθε πανημέριοι χορταζόμενοι γάλα λευκόν.

καὶ Μένανδρος δὲ ἐν Τροφωνίῳ ἔφη χορτασθεῖς. Ἀρι-
 στοφάνης δ' ἐν Γηρντάδῃ·

θεράπευε καὶ χόρταζε τῶν μονοφιδιῶν.

Σοφοκλῆς τε ἐν Τυροῖ·

100 σίτοισι παγχόρτοισιν ἐξενίζομεν. ||

Εὐβουλος δ' ἐν Δόλωνι·

ἐγὼ κεχόρτασμαι μὲν, ἄνδρες, οὐ κακῶς,
 ἀλλ' εἰμὶ πλήρης, ὥστε καὶ μόλις πάννυ
 ὑπεδησάμην ἅπαντα δρῶν τὰς ἐμβάδας.

Σώφιλος δ' ἐν Φυλάρχῳ·

γαστρισμὸς ἔσται δαψιλῆς· τὰ προοίμια
 ὀρῶ < . . . > χορτασθήσομαι.
 νῆ τὸν Διόνυσον, ἄνδρες, ἤδη στρηνιῶ.

καὶ Ἄμφις ἐν Οὐρανῷ·

εἰς τὴν ἐσπέραν

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distemper during the Dog-days!¹⁴⁴ You should instead be fawning on your fellow-guests and wagging your tail at them to keep us from having a Dog-slaughter festival like the one celebrated in Argos. The word “foddered” is used, my good sir, by Cratinus in *Odyseuses* (fr. 149.1), as follows:

You sat there all day long, foddered on white milk.

Menander also said “foddered” in *Trophonius* (fr. 353). Aristophanes in *Gerytades* (fr. 162):

Take care of him and fodder him on some of the monodies.

Also Sophocles in *Tyro* (fr. 666):

We entertained them with grain, which fodders all.

Eubulus in *Dolon* (fr. 29):

I've not been foddered badly, gentlemen.
I'm full; and as a result, despite my efforts,
I was barely able to tie my shoes.

Sophilus in *Phylarchus* (fr. 7):

There's going to be a lot of gorging. I see
what comes first . . . I'm going to be foddered,
by Dionysus, gentlemen; I'm already running wild.

Also Amphis in *Heaven* (fr. 28):

Foddered

¹⁴⁴ Referring to the fact that Cynulcus is a Cynic; cf. 1.1d; 1.22e n.

χορταζόμενα πᾶσιν ἀγαθοῖς.

- b ταῦτα μὲν οὖν, ᾧ Κύνουлке, | εἰπεῖν προχείρως ἔχω σοι τὰ νῦν, αὔριον δὲ ἢ ἔνηφι—τὴν γὰρ εἰς τρίτην Ἡσίοδος εἴρηκεν οὕτως—πληγαῖς σε χορτάσω, ἔανπερ μὴ εἴπῃς ὁ κοιλιοδαίμων παρὰ τίνι κείται. σιωπήσαντος δ' ἐκείνου, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοῦτο αὐτός σοι, ᾧ κύον, ἐρῶ ὅτι Εὐπολις τοὺς κόλακας ἐν τῷ ὁμωνύμῳ δράματι οὕτω κέκληκε· τὸ δὲ μαρτύριον ἀναβαλοῦμαι, ἔστ' ἂν ἀποδῶ σοι τὰς πληγὰς.

- Ἡσθέντων οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπαιγμένοις ἀπάντων,
c ἀλλὰ μὴν, ἔφη ὁ Οὐλπιανός, καὶ τὸν περὶ τῆς | μήτρας λόγον ἀποδώσω. Ἄλεξις γὰρ ἐν τῷ Ποντικῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ δράματι Καλλιμέδοντα τὸν ῥήτορα, Κάραβον δὲ ἐπικαλούμενον κωμωδῶν—ἦν δ' οὗτος εἰς τῶν κατὰ Δημοσθένη τὸν ῥήτορα πολιτενομένων—φησὶν

ὑπὲρ πάτρας μὲν πᾶς τις ἀποθνήσκειν θέλει,
ὑπὲρ δὲ μήτρας Καλλιμέδων ὁ Κάραβος
ἐφθῆς ἴσως προσεῖτ' ἂν ἀποθανεῖν.

- d ἦν δὲ ὁ Καλλιμέδων καὶ ἐπὶ ὀψοφαγία διαβόητος. | μνημονεύει τῆς μήτρας καὶ Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Φιλομήτορι οὕτως·

145 Used by Cynulcus at 3.97c.

146 Ulpian never returns to the point; but cf. Eup. fr. *190.

147 Answering the question he himself posed at 3.96f.

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until evening on good food of every sort.

These, then, are the citations I have ready at hand for you at the moment, Cynulcus. But tomorrow or *enēphi*—because Hesiod (*Op.* 410) refers this way to the day after tomorrow—I will fodder you with blows, unless you tell me in what author the word “Worshipper of your own belly”¹⁴⁵ is attested. Cynulcus was silent, and Ulpian said: Well, my dog, I myself will tell you this too; Eupolis (fr. 187) refers this way to flatterers, in the play by the same name. But I will put off providing proof of this until I give you the beating you are owed.¹⁴⁶

Everyone was pleased with these jokes, and Ulpian said: Well, I will also offer an account of the sow’s womb.¹⁴⁷ Alexis in the play entitled *The Man from Pontus* (fr. 198) ridicules the orator Callimedon, nicknamed Crayfish—he was one of those active in politics in Demosthenes’ time¹⁴⁸—and says:

Everyone is willing to die for his fatherland.
But Callimedon the Crayfish would perhaps
submit to death for the sake of a stewed sow’s womb
(*mētra*).¹⁴⁹

Callimedon was notorious for his gluttony. Antiphanes too mentions sow’s womb in *The Man Who Loved His Mother* (fr. 219), as follows:

¹⁴⁸ Callimedon son of Callicrates (*PAA* 558185) was a pro-Macedonian opponent of Demosthenes. Athenaeus preserves a number of comic fragments that refer to him at 3.104c-d; 8.339e-40e.

¹⁴⁹ With a pun on *mētēr* (“mother”).

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ἔμμητρον ἂν ᾗ τὸ ξύλον, βλάστην ἔχει
μητρόπολις ἔστιν, οὐχὶ πατρόπολις <πόλις>
μήτραν τινὲς πωλοῦσιν ἤδιστον κρέας·
Μητρᾶς ὁ Χίος ἔστι τῷ δήμῳ φίλος.

Εὐφρων δ' ἐν Παραδειδομένη·

οὐμὸς διδάσκαλος δὲ μήτραν σκευάσας
παρέθηκε Καλλιμέδοντι, κάσθιονθ' ἅμα
e ἐπόησε πηδᾶν, ὅθεν ἐκλήθη Κάραβος. |

Διώξιππος δ' ἐν Ἀντιπορνοβοσκῷ·

οἶων δ' ἐπιθυμῆ βρωμάτων, ὡς μουσικῶν
ἤγνυστρα, μήτρας, χόλικας.

ἐν δὲ Ἱστοριογράφῳ·

τὴν στοὰν διεξέπαιον. Ἀμφικλῆς μήτρας δύο
κρεμαμένας δείξας “ἐκείνον πέμπε,” φησὶν, “ἂν
ἴδης”.

Εὐβουλος δ' ἐν Δευκαλίῳ·

ἡπάτια, νῆστις, πλεύμονες, μήτρα.

Λυγκεὺς δ' ὁ Σάμιος, ὁ Θεοφράστου γνώριμος, καὶ
f τὴν σὺν ὁπῷ χρήσιν αὐτῆς | οἶδεν. ἀναγράφων γοῦν
τὸ Πτολεμαίου συμπόσιόν φησιν οὕτως· μήτρας τινὸς

¹⁵⁰ Otherwise unknown.
fied with the food he loves.

¹⁵¹ Callimedon, who is identi-
¹⁵² According to 4.128a, he
was one of the students of Theophrastus (c.371–c.287 BCE).

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If wood contains the heart of the tree (*emmētron*), it's
capable of growth;
a city is a metropolis, not a patropolis;
the sweetest meat they sell is sow's womb (*mētra*);
and Metras of Chios¹⁵⁰ is a friend to the Athenian
people.

Euphron in *The Girl Who Was Handed Over* (fr. 8):

My teacher prepared a sow's womb
and served it to Callimedon. It made him
leap about as he ate it, and he's therefore called
Crayfish.

Dioxippus in *The Anti-Pimp* (fr. 1):

The sort of food he's eager for! How refined!
Fourth stomachs, sows' wombs, sausages.

And in *The Historian* (fr. 3):

They were bursting through the colonnade.
Amphicles pointed to two
sows' wombs hanging there, and said "Send him,¹⁵¹ if
you see him!"

Eubulus in *Deucalion* (fr. 23):

livers, jejunum, lungs, sow's womb.

Lynceus of Samos, who knew Theophrastus,¹⁵² is aware
that sow's womb is eaten with silphium juice. In his de-
scription of Ptolemy's¹⁵³ symposium, at any rate, he says

¹⁵³ Presumably Ptolemy II Philadelphus (reigned 285–246
BCE).

περιφερομένης ἐν ὄξει καὶ ὀπῶ. τοῦ δὲ ὀποῦ μέμνηται Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Δυσέρωσι περὶ Κυρήνης τὸν λόγον ποιούμενος·

ἐκέισε διαπλέω

101 ὄθεν διεσπάσθημεν, ἐρρῶσθαι λέγων
ἅπασιν, ἵπποις, σιλφίῳ, συνωρίσιν,
καυλῶ, κέλησι, μασπέτοις, πυρετοῖς, ὀπῶ. ||

τῆς δὲ διαφορᾶς τῆς περὶ τὴν ἐκτομίδα μνημονεῖται Ἰππαρχος ὁ τὴν Αἰγυπτιακὴν Ἰλιάδα συνθεὶς ἐν τούτοις·

ἀλλὰ λοπᾶς μ' εὐφραίν' ἢ μήτρης καλὰ
πρόσωπα
ἐκβολάδος, δέλφαξ <δ' > ἐν κλιβάνῳ ἠδέα ὄζων.

Σώπατρος δ' ἐν μὲν Ἰππολύτῳ φησίν·

ἀλλ' οἷα μήτρα καλλίκαρπος ἐκβολὰς
δίεφθα λευκαυθεῖσα τυροῦται δέμας.

ἐν δὲ Φυσιολόγῳ·

b μήτρας υἱίας εὐ καθειρηθεὶς τόμος, |
τὴν δηξίθυμον ἐντὸς ὀξάλμην ἔχων.

ἐν δὲ Σίλφαις·

μήτρας υἱίας ἐφθὸν ὡς φάγης τόμον,
δριμεῖαν ὠθῶν πηγαυίτιν εἰς χολήν.

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the following (fr. 5 Dalby): A sow's womb in vinegar and silphium juice made its way around. Antiphanes mentions silphium juice in *Men Who Were Unlucky in Love* (fr. 88), in a speech about Cyrene:

I'm sailing to the place
we were torn away from; I'm saying goodbye
to everything—horses, silphium, teams of horses,
silphium stalk, race horses, silphium leaf, fevers,
silphium juice.

Hipparchus, the author of the *Egyptian Iliad* (SH 496), mentions the excellence of the womb of a sow that has miscarried¹⁵⁴ in the following verses:

But let a casserole-dish or the lovely face of a
miscarried sow's womb
cheer me up, and a pig smelling delicious in a baking-
shell!

Sopater says in *Hippolytus* (fr. 8):

But how the fruitful miscarried sow's womb,
stewed until it turned white, is curdling!

And in *The Scientist* (fr. 20):

a slice of sow's womb, well stewed,
with heart-biting vinegar sauce inside it.

And in *Cockroaches* (fr. 17):

that you may eat a stewed slice of sow's womb,
pushing it into pungent rue gall.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Plin. *Nat.* 11.210–11; Plu. *Mor.* 997a.

Οἱ μέντοι ἀρχαῖοι πάντες πρὸ τοῦ δειπνεῖν οὐ παρέφερον οὔτε μήτρας οὔτε θρίδακας οὔτ' ἄλλο τι τῶν τοιούτων, ὥσπερ νῦν γίνεται. Ἀρχέστρατος γοῦν ὁ ὀψοδαίδαλος μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον καὶ τὰς προπόσεις καὶ τὸ μύροις χρήσασθαί φησιν·

- c αἰεὶ δὲ στεφάνοισι κἀρα παρὰ δαῖτα πυκάζου |
παντοδαποῖς, οἷς ἂν γαίας πέδον ὄλβιον ἀνθή,
καὶ στακτοῖσι μύροις ἀγαθοῖς χαίτην θεράπευε,
καὶ σμύρναν λίβανόν τε πυρὸς μαλακὴν ἐπὶ
τέφραν
βάλλε πανημέριος, Συρίας εὐώδεα καρπὸν,
ἐμπίνοντι δέ σοι φερέτω τοιόνδε τράγημα,
γαστέρα καὶ μήτραν ἐφθὴν ὑὸς ἔν τε κυμίνῳ
ἔν τ' ὄξει δριμεῖ καὶ σιλφίῳ ἐμβεβαῶσαν
- d ὀρνίθων τ' ὀπτῶν ἀπαλὸν γένος, ὧν ἂν | ὑπάρχη
ᾧρη. τῶν δὲ Συρακοσίων τούτων ἀμέλησον,
οἳ πίνουσι μόνον βατράχων τρόπον, οὐδὲν
ἔδοντες.
ἀλλὰ σὺ μὴ πείθου κείνοις, ἃ δ' ἐγὼ λέγω ἔσθε
βρωτά· τὰ δ' ἄλλα γ' ἐκείνα τραγήματα πάντα
πέφυκε
πτωχείης παράδειγμα κακῆς, ἐφθοί τ' ἐρέβινθοι
καὶ κύαμοι καὶ μῆλα καὶ ἰσχάδες. ἀλλὰ
πλακοῦντα |
- e αἰνῶ Ἀθήνησιν γεγενημένον· εἰ δὲ μὴ αὐτοῦ
αὐτὸν ἔχης, ἐτέρωθι μέλι ζήτησον ἀπελθὼν
Ἀττικόν, ὡς τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ὃ ποιεῖ κείνον ὑβριστήν.

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None of the ancients, however, served sows' wombs, lettuce, or anything else of this sort before they had dinner, as happens now. The culinary genius Archestratus (fr. 60 Olson-Sens = *SH* 192), for example, mentions it after the dinner, the toasts, and the use of perfume:

Always cover your head at a feast with garlands
of every variety, with which the earth's rich plain
blooms;
treat your hair with fine perfumes dispensed in drops;
and all day long cast myrrh and frankincense,
the fragrant fruit of Syria, upon the fire's soft ash.
And to you, as you are drinking your fill, let someone
bring a dainty such as
a stomach-sausage, or a stewed sow's womb that has
embarked
in cumin and in pungent vinegar and silphium,
or the tender race of whatever roasted birds are in
season. Pay no attention to these Syracusans,
who act like frogs and merely drink without eating
anything.
Pay them no heed, but eat the foods
I mention. All those other dainties are
evidence of wretched beggary—boiled chickpeas,
fava beans, apples, and dried figs. But I praise
the flat-cake born in Athens; if you do not have it
there,
go off elsewhere and look for Attic honey,
since that is what makes it saucy.

οὕτω τοι δεῖ ζῆν τὸν ἐλεύθερον ἢ κατὰ τῆς γῆς
καὶ κατὰ τοῦ βαράθρου καὶ Ταρτάρου ἐς τὸν
ὄλεθρον

ἦκειν καὶ κατορωρῦχθαι σταδίους ἀναρίθμους.

Λυγκεὺς δὲ διαγράφων τὸ Λαμίας τῆς αὐλητρίδος
δείπνον, ὅτε ὑπεδέχετο Δημήτριον τὸν Πολιορκητὴν,
εὐθέως τοὺς εἰσελθόντας ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐσθίουσας
ποιεῖ ἰχθύς παντοίους καὶ κρέα. ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ Ἄντι-
f γόνου | τοῦ βασιλέως δείπνον διατιθεῖς ἐπιτελοῦντος
Ἄφροδίσια καὶ τὸ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλέως ἰχθύς
πρῶτον παρατίθησι καὶ κρέα. θαυμάζειν δ' ἐστὶν
ἄξιον τοῦ τὰς καλὰς ὑποθήκας παραδιδόντος ἡμῖν
Ἄρχεστράτου, ὡς Ἐπικούρω τῷ σοφῷ τῆς ἡδονῆς
καθηγεμῶν γενόμενος κατὰ τὸν Ἄσκραιον ποιητὴν
γνωμικῶς καὶ ἡμῖν συμβουλεύει τισὶ μὲν μὴ πείθε-
σθαι, αὐτῷ δὲ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, καὶ ἐσθίειν παρα-
κελεύεται τὰ καὶ τά, οὐδὲν ἀποδέων τοῦ παρὰ Δαμο-
ξένω τῷ κωμωδιοποιῷ μαγείρου, ὃς ἐν Συντρόφοις
102 φησὶν· ||

(A.) Ἐπικούρου δέ με

ὄρας μαθητὴν ὄντα τοῦ σοφοῦ, παρ' ᾧ
ἐν δὺ ἔτεσιν καὶ μηνσὶν οὐχ ὅλοις δέκα
τάλαντ' ἐγὼ σοι κατεπύκνωσα τέτταρα.

(B.) τοῦτο δὲ τί ἐστίν; εἶπέ μοι. (A.) καθήγισα.
μάγειρος ἦν κάκεινος † οὐκ ἤδει θεοί †.

(B.) ποῖος μάγειρος; (A.) ἡ φύσις πάσης τέχνης

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That is how a free man ought to live, or else go down
unto destruction beneath the earth and beneath the
Pit and Tartarus,
and be buried countless stades deep.

Lynceus (fr. 4 Dalby), in his description of the dinner given by the pipe-girl Lamia¹⁵⁵ when she entertained Demetrius Poliorcetes, represents them as eating all kinds of fish and meat as soon as they came in to dinner. Likewise in his account of the dinners given by King Antigonus when he was celebrating the Aphrodisia and by King Ptolemy, he serves them fish and meat at the very start.¹⁵⁶ There is good reason to admire Arcestratus (cf. fr. 60.10–13 Olson–Sens = *SH* 192.10–13, above), who passes on to us his excellent instructions and, as a forerunner of the wise Epicurus on the subject of pleasure, advises us in a didactic fashion reminiscent of Hesiod not to put any confidence in certain people, but to pay attention to him, and urges us to eat this and that, exactly like the cook in the comic poet Damoxenus, who says in *Foster-brothers* (fr. 2):

(A.) You see that I'm
a student of the wise Epicurus, in whose house
in less than two years and ten months,
I'd have you know, I "condensed" four talents.

(B.) What does this mean? Tell me! (A.) I "sanctified"
them.

He was a cook, too [corrupt].

(B.) What do you mean, "a cook"? (A.) Nature is the
fundamental source

¹⁵⁵ PAA 601325; cf. 4.128b.

¹⁵⁶ For the letters containing these descriptions, see 4.128a–b; and cf. 3.100e–f.

- ἀρχέγονόν ἐστ'. (B.) ἀρχέγονον, ὠλιθήριε;
 (A.) οὐκ ἔστιν οὐθὲν τοῦ πονεῖν σοφώτερον,
 b ἦν τ' εὐχερὲς τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦ λόγου τριβῆν |
 ἔχοντι τούτου· πολλὰ γὰρ συμβάλλεται.
 διόπερ μάγειρον ὅταν ἴδῃς ἀγράμματον
 μὴ Δημόκριτόν τε πάντα διανεγνωκότα,
 καὶ τὸν Ἐπικούρου Κανόνα, μινθώσας ἄφες
 ὡς ἐκ διατριβῆς. τοῦτο δεῖ γὰρ εἰδέναί,
 τίν' ἔχει διαφορὰν πρῶτον, ᾧ βέλτιστε σύ,
 c γλαυκίσκος ἐν χειμῶνι καὶ θέρει, πάλιν |
 ποῖος περὶ δύσιν Πλειάδος συνειδέναί
 ἰχθὺς ὑπὸ τροπᾶς τ' ἐστὶ χρησιμώτατος.
 αἱ μεταβολαὶ γὰρ αἷ τε κινήσεις κακὸν
 ἠλίβατον ἀνθρώποισιν ἀλλοιώματα
 ἐν ταῖς τροφαῖς ποιούσι, μανθάνεις; τὸ δὲ
 ληφθὲν καθ' ὥραν ἀποδίδωσι τὴν χάριν.
 τίς παρακολουθεῖ ταῦτα; τοιγαροῦν στρόφοι
 d καὶ πνευμάτια γινόμενα τὸν κεκλημένον |
 ἀσχημονεῖν ποιούσι. παρὰ δ' ἐμοὶ τρέφει
 τὸ προσφερόμενον βρῶμα καὶ λεπτύνεται,
 ὀρθῶς τε διαπνεῖ. τοιγαροῦν εἰς τοὺς πόρους
 ὁ χυμὸς ὁμαλῶς πανταχοῦ συνίσταται—
 (B.) χυμός; (A.) λέγει Δημόκριτος—οὐδ'
 ἐμφράγματα
 γινόμενα ποιεῖ τὸν φαγόντ' ἀρθριτικόν.

157 See 2.62d n.

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of every technical skill. (B.) The "fundamental source," you sinner?

(A.) There's nothing wiser than hard work, and anyone who devotes himself to this saying finds his business easy; for he gets help from many quarters.

So if you ever see a cook who's uneducated and hasn't read Democritus from beginning to end, along with Epicurus' *Canon*—smear his nose with shit and kick him out,

like they kick people out of philosophical schools!

Because this is what he needs to know: first of all, my good sir, how the *glaukiskos*¹⁵⁷ is different in the winter and the summer; he also has to understand what kind of fish is best when the Pleiades set and at the solstice.

For changes and movements produce alterations in the food people eat, which is an abysmal evil for them, don't you know? But whatever's

eaten at the proper time brings a benefit.

Who understands this? The result is upset stomachs and gas, which make the guest disgrace himself. But when I'm there, the food they eat is nourishing and digestible, and everyone can breath normally. And the result is that its humour

is distributed evenly into the pores everywhere—

(B.) Its "humour"? (A.) Thus Democritus—and there are

no obstructions that give the man who eats it gout.

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- (B.) καὶ τῆς ἰατρικῆς τι μετέχει μοι δοκεῖς.
 e (A.) καὶ πᾶς ὁ φύσεως ἐντός. ἡ δ' ἀπειρία |
 τῶν νῦν μαγείρων κατανόει, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν,
 οἷα ἴσθιν. ἄλμην ὅταν ἴδῃς ἐξ ἰχθύων
 ὑπεναντίων αὐτοῖσι ποιούντας μίαν
 καὶ σήσαμ' ὑποτρίβοντας εἰς ταύτην, λαβῶν
 ἕκαστον αὐτῶν κατὰ μέρος προσπαρδέτ'. (B.)
 ἐγώ;
 ὧς μοι κέχρησαι. (A.) τί γὰρ ἂν εἶ γενοίτ' ἔτι,
 τῆς ιδιότητος πρὸς ἑτέραν μεμιγμένης
 f καὶ συμπλεκομένης οὐχὶ συμφώνους ἀφάς; |
 τὸ ταῦτα διορᾶν ἐστὶν ἐμφύχον τέχνης,
 οὐ τὸ διανίζειν λοπάδας οὐδ' ὄζειν καπνοῦ.
 ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰς τοῦπτάσιον οὐκ εἰσέρχομαι.
 (B.) ἀλλὰ τί; (A.) θεωρῶ πλησίον καθήμενος,
 πονοῦσι δ' ἕτεροι. (B.) σύ δέ; (A.) λέγω τὰς
 αἰτίας
 καὶ τὰποβαῖνον. "ὄξυν τὸ περίκομμ', ἄνες."
 (B.) ἄρμονικός, οὐ μάγειρος. (A.) "ἐπίτεινον. τὸ
 πῦρ
 103 ὀμαλιζέτω τοῖς τάχεσιν. ἡ πρώτη λοπάς ||
 ζεῖ ταῖς ἐφεξῆς οὐχὶ συμφώνως." νοεῖς
 τὸν τύπον; (B.) Ἄπολλον. (A.) καὶ τι φαίνεται
 τέχνης;
 εἶτ' οὐθὲν εἰκῆ παρατίθημι (μανθάνεις;)
 βρῶμ', ἀλλὰ μείζας πάντα κατὰ συμφωνίαν.

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(B.) Apparently you also know something about medicine.

(A.) As does anyone with insight into Nature. But consider

the ignorance of today's cooks, by the gods!

If you ever see them making a single broth

out of fish with opposed characters

and grinding sesame seed into it—grab them

and fart on each of them, one after another! (B.) Me?

I can't believe how you're treating me. (A.) What good could result,

when one characteristic is mingled with another

and entangled in an unharmonious mix?

Distinguishing these things is a mark of inspired craftsmanship,

not washing casserole-dishes or smelling like smoke.

Because I don't go into the kitchen.

(B.) What *do* you do? (A.) I sit nearby and watch;

the other people do the work. (B.) What about you?

(A.) I identify causes

and results. "The mincemeat's too tart; lower it a note!"

(B.) You're a composer, not a cook! (A.) "Raise the pitch! Get the fire

in time with the beat! The first casserole-dish

is boiling out of time with the ones next to it!" Do you see

what I'm driving at? (B.) Apollo! (A.) Does this look anything like a technical skill?

And I don't serve the food at random, do you understand?

Instead, I arrange everything harmoniously.

(B.) πῶς; (A.) ἔστιν αὐτοῖς ἅ διὰ τεττάρων ἔχει
κοινωνίαν, διὰ πέντε, διὰ πασῶν πάλιν.

ταῦτα προσάγω πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ διαστήματα
καὶ ταῖς ἐπιφοραῖς εὐθὺς οἰκείως πλέκω.
ἐνίστε δ' ἐφεστῶς παρακελεύομαι: "πόθεν
b ἄπται; τί τούτῳ μειγνύειν μέλλεις; ὄρα, |
διάφωνον ἔλκεις· οὐχ ὑπερβήση;" † σοφὸν †
Ἐπίκουρος οὕτω κατεπύκνου τὴν ἡδονήν·
ἐμασάτ' ἐπιμελῶς. εἶδε τὰγαθὸν μόνος
ἐκείνος οἶόν ἐστιν· οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ στοᾷ
ζητοῦσι συνεχῶς, οἶόν ἐστ' οὐκ εἰδότες.
οὐκοῦν ὁ γ' οὐκ ἔχουσι, ἀγνοοῦσι δέ,
οὐδ' ἂν ἐτέρῳ δοίησαν. (B.) οὕτω συνδοκεῖ·
ἀφῶμεν οὖν τὰ λοιπά· δῆλα δὴ πάλαι.

καὶ Βάτων⁶² δ' ἐν Συνεξαπατῶντι δυσχεραίνοντα ποι-
c ἦσας μεираκίον πατέρα ὡς διαφθαρέντος | κατὰ τὴν
δίαιταν ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ φησίν·

(A.) ἀπολώλεκας τὸ μεираκίόν μου παραλαβών,
ἀκάθαρτε, καὶ πέπεικας ἐλθεῖν εἰς βίον
ἀλλότριον αὐτοῦ· καὶ πότους ἐωθινοὺς

⁶² Βάτων Casaubon: Πλάτων ACE

¹⁵⁸ Quoted again at 7.279a-c.

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(B.) How? (A.) Some items have a four-part structure, others a five-part, others a structure that combines everything.

I bring them together in ways that suit these precise dimensions,
and weave them in appropriately with what comes next.

Sometimes when I'm supervising I give orders like:

“What does this connect to? What are you going to mix with this?”

Watch out!—

you're hitting a false note! Leave that out!” [corrupt]

This is how Epicurus “condensed” pleasure:

he chewed carefully. He's the only person who knew what the Good is. The Stoics are always looking for it, although they don't know what it's like.

And since they don't have it and aren't able to recognize it,

they can't give it to anyone else. (B.) We agree about that.

But let's let the rest go; it's been clear for a long time.

Bato too says in *The Partner in Deception* (fr. 5)¹⁵⁸, in which he presents a father upset about his son, who has descended into a life of debauchery under the influence of his slave guardian:

(A.) You've taken my boy and ruined him,
you bastard; and you've convinced him to adopt a lifestyle

that's foreign to him. He's drinking in the morning

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πίνει διὰ σὲ νῦν, πρότερον οὐκ εἰθισμένος.

(B.) εἶτ' εἰ μεμάθηκε, δέσποτα, ζῆν, ἐγκαλεῖς;

(A.) ζῆν δ' ἐστὶ τὸ τοιοῦθ'; (B.) ὡς λέγουσιν οἱ σοφοί.

d ὁ γοῦν Ἐπίκουρός φησιν εἶναι τὰγαθὸν
τὴν ἡδονὴν δῆπουθεν· οὐκ ἔστιν δ' ἔχειν |

ταύτην ἐτέρωθεν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ζῆν παγκάλως

† ευσωσιαπαντη † τυχὸν δώσεις ἐμοί.

(A.) ἐόρακας οὖν φιλόσοφον, εἰπέ μοι, τινὰ
μεθύοντ' ἐπὶ τούτοις θ' οἷς λέγεις κηλούμενον;

(B.) ἅπαντας· οἱ γὰρ τὰς ὀφρῦς ἐπηρκότες
καὶ τὸν φρόνιμον ζητοῦντες ἐν τοῖς περιπάτοις
καὶ ταῖς διατριβαῖς ὥσπερ ἀποδεδρακότα,
οὕτως, ἐπὰν γλαυκίσκος αὐτοῖς παρατεθῆ,

e ἴσασιν οὐ δεῖ πρῶτον ἄψασθαι τόπον |

καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ζητοῦσιν ὥσπερ πράγματος,
ὥστ' ἐκπεπλήχθαι πάντας.

καὶ παρ' Ἀντιφάνει δ' ἐν Στρατιώτῃ <ἦ> Τύχωνι
παραινέσεις εἰσφέρων ἄνθρωπος τοιοῦτός ἐστιν, ὅς
φησιν·

ὅστις ἄνθρωπος δὲ φῦς
ἀσφαλές τι κτήμ' ὑπάρχειν τῷ βίῳ λογίζεται,
πλεῖστον ἡμάρτηκεν· ἦ γὰρ εἰσφορά τις ἤρπακεν

159 Literally "who have raised eyebrows"; cf. 2.35d n.

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now, because of you, which isn't something he used to do.

(B.) Are you complaining, master, because he's learned how to live?

(A.) Is this kind of behavior "living"? (B.) That's what the wise say.

Epicurus, for example, identified the Good with pleasure, I believe. And you can't get pleasure from anywhere else; but by living very well [corrupt] you'll grant me is to the point.

(A.) Tell me, then—have you ever seen a philosopher drunk or enchanted by the sort of actions you're describing?

(B.) All of them! Because the ones with a haughty expression,¹⁵⁹

who are on the look-out for the "prudent man" in their discussions

and their debates, as if he were a runaway slave— if they're served a *glaukiskos*,

they're so knowledgeable about where to take hold of it first,

and they get to the "head of the matter," as it were, so fast,

that everyone's stunned.

Also in Antiphanes' *The Soldier or Tychon* (fr. 202) there is a person of this type, who offers advice and says:

Any human being
who thinks that anything he owns is his for life
is very much in error. For either a special levy
snatches away

f τᾶνδοθεν πάντ', ἢ δίκη τις περιπεσὼν ἀπώλετο, |
ἢ στρατηγήσας προσώφλεν, <ἢ> χορηγὸς
αἰρεθεῖς

ἱμάτια χρυσᾶ παρασχὼν τῷ χορῷ ῥάκος φορεῖ,
ἢ τριηραρχῶν ἀπήγξατ', ἢ πλέων ἤλωκέ ποι,
ἢ βαδίζων ἢ καθεύδων κατακέκοφθ' ὑπ' οἰκετῶν.
οὐ βέβαιον οὐθέν ἐστι, πλὴν ὅσ' ἂν καθ'

104 ἡμέραν ||

εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἠδέως τις εἰσαναλίσκων τύχη.
οὐδὲ ταῦτα σφόδρα τι καὶ γὰρ τὴν τράπεζαν
ἀρπάσαι

κειμένην ἂν τις προσελθὼν· ἀλλ' ὅταν τὴν
ἔνθεσιν

ἐντὸς ἤδη τῶν ὀδόντων τυγχάνῃς κατεσπακῶς,
τοῦτ' ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ νόμιζε τῶν ὑπαρχόντων μόνον.

b τὰ αὐτὰ εἶρηκε καὶ ἐν Ἰδρία. εἰς ταῦτ' οὖν τις ἀπο-
βλέπων, ἄνδρες φίλοι, εἰκότως ἂν ἐπαινέσειεν | τὸν
καλὸν Χρῦσιππον κατιδόντα ἀκριβῶς τὴν Ἐπικούρου
φύσιν καὶ εἰπόντα μητρόπολιν εἶναι τῆς φιλοσοφίας
αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἀρχεστράτου Γαστρολογία, ἣν πάντες οἱ
τῶν φιλοσόφων γαστρίμαργοι Θεόγνιν⁶³ τινα αὐτῶν

⁶³ Θεόγνιν Welcker: θεογονίαν A

¹⁶⁰ *Chorēgoi* (literally "chorus-leaders") were wealthy individuals required to provide financial support for a set of tragedies, a comedy, or a dithyramb at one of Athens' state festivals.

¹⁶¹ Trierarchs ("trireme commanders") were required to outfit

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everything he's accumulated; or he gets involved in a
 lawsuit and is ruined;
 or he serves as a general and is fined; or he's selected
 as a *chorēgos*,¹⁶⁰
 and provides golden clothing for his chorus but is
 reduced to rags himself;
 or he hangs himself while serving as a trierarch;¹⁶¹ or
 he's captured as he's sailing somewhere;
 or his slaves cut him to pieces when he's walking
 along the street or fast asleep.
 Nothing is certain, except what a man spends
 on enjoying himself on a day-by-day basis.
 And even that's not completely secure, because
 someone could come up
 and steal the table while it's sitting in front of him. So
 when you've got
 a mouthful past your teeth and swallowed down,
 you can consider that the one possession you've got
 firm control of.

He says the same in *The Pitcher* (Antiph. fr. 211). Someone
 who pays attention to these matters, my friends, would
 with good reason praise the noble Chrysippus (fr. 709,
SVF iii.178), who understands Epicurus' "Nature" pre-
 cisely and says that the original source of his philosophy
 is the *Gastrology* of Arcestratus (test. 6 Olson-Sens), a
 lovely bit of epic poetry which all gluttonous philosophers
 claim as their particular Theognis.¹⁶² Theognetus too is re-

and man one of the city's fighting ships for a year, potentially at ru-
 inous expense. ¹⁶² I.e. as a fundamental source of moral
 and social instruction.

εἶναι λέγουσι τὴν καλὴν ταύτην ἐποποιίαν. πρὸς οὗς
καὶ Θεόγγητος ἐν Φάσματι ἢ Φιλαργύρῳ φησίν·

ἐκ τούτων < . . . >

ἄνθρωπ', ἀπολείς με· τῶν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ποικίλης
στοᾶς λογαρίων ἀναπεπλησμένος νοσεῖς.

- c "ἀλλότριόν ἐσθ' ὁ πλοῦτος ἀνθρώπων, | πάχνη·
σοφία δ' ἴδιον, κρύσταλλος. οὐθεὶς πώποτε
ταύτην λαβὼν ἀπώλεσ'." ὦ τάλας ἐγώ,
οἴω μ' ὁ δαίμων φιλοσόφῳ συνώκισεν.
ἐπαρίστερ' ἔμαθες, ὦ πόνηρε, γράμματα·
ἀντέστροφέν σου τὸν βίον τὰ βιβλία·
πεφιλοσόφηκας γῆ τε κούρανῶ λαλῶν,
οἷς οὐθέν ἐστιν ἐπιμελὲς τῶν σῶν λόγων.

- d "Ἐτι τοῦ Οὐλπιανοῦ διαλεγομένου παῖδες ἐπεισηλ-
θον φέροντες ἐπὶ δίσκων καράβους μείζονας | Καλλι-
μέδοντος τοῦ ῥήτορος, ὃς διὰ τὸ φιληδεῖν τῷ βρώματι
Κάραβος ἐπεκλήθη. Ἄλεξις μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν ἐν Δορκίδι
ἢ Ποππυζούση φίλιχθον εἶναι κοινῶς παραδίδωσι,
καθάπερ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν κωμωδιοποιῶν, λέγων οὕτως·

τοῖς ἰχθυοπώλαις ἐστὶν ἐψηφισμένον,
ὥς φασι, χαλκῆν Καλλιμέδοντος εἰκόνα

163 Frequented by the philosopher Zeno, whose sect accordingly came to be called the "Stoics."

164 For Callimedon and his fondness for seafood, cf. 3.100c n.

165 Athenaeus refers to this play in the same way at 10.431a, but at 9.395b gives the first of the two alternative titles as either

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ferring to these people when he says in *The Phantom or The Man Who Loved Money* (fr. 1):

You'll be the death of me,
sir, with these arguments! You're stuffed full of little
speeches
from the Stoa Poicile,¹⁶³ and they've made you sick.
"Wealth doesn't really belong to a person, whereas
wisdom
is our own; it's frost versus ice. No one ever
lost his wisdom after he got it." Miserable me—
what a philosopher the gods forced me to share a
house with!
You learned your letters backwards, fool!
Your books turned your life upside-down!
You've offered your philosophical babbling to earth
and heaven,
and they're completely uninterested in what you have
to say.

As Ulpian was still speaking, slaves came in carrying platters full of crayfish larger than the orator Callimedon, who got the nickname Crayfish because of his fondness for this food.¹⁶⁴ Alexis in fact reports in *Dorcis or The Girl Who Popped Her Lips* (fr. 57)¹⁶⁵ that he was fond of fish in general, as other comic poets also record. He says the following:

The fish-sellers have voted,
so people say, to erect a bronze statue

Rhodion ("Little Rose"; presumably a courtesan's name) or *The Man from Rhodes*.

e στήσαι Παναθηναίοισιν ἐν τοῖς ἰχθύσιν,
 ἔχουσαν ὀπτὸν κάραβον ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ,
 ὡς αὐτὸν ὄντ' αὐτοῖσι τῆς τέχνης μόνον |
 σωτήρα, τοὺς ἄλλους δὲ πάντας ζημίαν.

περισπούδαστος δὲ ἦν πολλοῖς ἢ τοῦ καράβου βρώ-
 σις, ὡς ἔστι δείξει δια πολλῶν τῆς κωμωδίας μερῶν
 ἀρκέσει δὲ τὰ νῦν Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν ταῖς Θεσμοφο-
 ριαζούσαις οὕτως λέγων·

(A.) ἰχθὺς ἐώνηταί τις ἢ σηπίδιον
 ἢ τῶν πλατειῶν καρίδων ἢ πουλύπους;
 ἢ νῆστις ὀπτᾶτ' ἢ γαλεὸς ἢ τευθίδες;
 f (B.) μὰ τὸν Δί', οὐ δῆτ'. (A.) οὐδὲ βατίς; (B.) οὐ
 φημ' ἐγώ. |

(A.) οὐδὲ χόρι' οὐδὲ πνὸς οὐδ' ἦπαρ κάπρον
 οὐδὲ σχαδόνες οὐδ' ἠτριαῖον δέλφακος
 οὐδ' ἐγχέλειον οὐδὲ κάραβος; μέγα
 γυναιξὶ κοπιώσαισιν ἐπεκουρήσατε.

πλατείας δὲ καρίδας ἂν εἶη λέγων τοὺς ἀστακοὺς
 καλουμένους, ὧν μνημονεύει Φιλύλλιος ἐν Πόλεσι.
 καὶ Ἀρχέστρατος γὰρ ἐν τῷ διαβοήτῳ ποιήματι οὐδ'
 ὄλως που κάραβον ὀνομάζων ἀστακὸν προσαγορεύει,
 105 ὥσπερ κὰν τούτοις· ||

ἀλλὰ παρεῖς λῆρον πολὺν ἀστακὸν ὠνοῦ

166 I.e. the lost *Women Celebrating the Thesmophoria II*, rather than the preserved play.

BOOK III

of Callimedon in the fish-market during the
Panathenaic festival,
holding a roasted crayfish in its right hand,
since he is the sole savior
of their trade, and everyone else is a loss.

Many people were very eager to eat crayfish, as can be demonstrated from numerous passages from comedy; but for the moment Aristophanes will suffice to make the point. He says the following in *Women Celebrating the Thesmophoria*¹⁶⁶ (fr. 333):

(A.) Has any fish been bought? Or a little cuttlefish
or some broad shrimp or an octopus?
Or has a dogfish been roasted? Or a mullet or some
squid?

(B.) Certainly not, by Zeus. (A.) No skate? (B.)
Absolutely not.

(A.) No haggis, beestings, boar's liver,
honeycomb, pork belly,
eel, or crayfish? This is great aid
you've lent to wearied women!

By "broad shrimp" he must be referring to what are called *astakoi* ("lobsters"), which Philyllius mentions in *Cities* (fr. 12.1).¹⁶⁷ Because Archestratus (fr. 25 Olson-Sens = *SH* 155) as well refers to the crayfish by name nowhere in his much-celebrated poem, but calls it an *astakos*, as in the following lines:

But pass over much rubbish and buy yourself an

¹⁶⁷ Quoted at 3.86e.

τὸν τὰς χεῖρας ἔχοντα μακρὰς ἄλλως τε
 βαρείας,
 τοὺς δὲ πόδας μικροὺς, βραδέως δ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν
 ὀρούει.
 εἰσὶ δὲ πλείστοι μὲν πάντων ἀρετῇ τε κράτιστοι
 ἐν Διπάραις· πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ Ἑλλήσποντος
 ἀθροίζει.

καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος δ' ἐν Ἡβας Γάμφ τὸν προειρημένον
 ἀστακὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀρχεστράτου δηλοῖ ὅτι κάραβος
 ἐστὶ λέγων οὕτως·

- b ἐντὶ δ' ἀστακοὶ κολύβδαιναί τε | χῶς τὰ πόδι'
 ἔχει
 μικρά, τὰς χεῖρας δὲ μακρὰς, κάραβος δὲ
 τῶννυμα.

ἴδιον δ' ἐστὶ γένος καράβων καὶ ἀστακῶν ἄλλο, ἔτι δὲ
 καρίδων. τὸν δ' ἀστακὸν οἱ Ἀττικοὶ διὰ τοῦ ὀ ἀστακὸν
 λέγουσι, καθάπερ καὶ ὀσταφίδας. Ἐπίχαρμος δὲ ἐν
 Γᾶ καὶ Θαλάσσει φησὶν·

< . . . > κάστακοὶ γαμφώνυχοι.

- Σπεύσιππος δὲ ἐν δευτέρῳ Ὁμοίων παραπλήσιά φη-
 σιν εἶναι τῶν μαλακοστράκων κάραβον, ἀστακόν,
 νύμφην, ἄρκτον, καρκίνου, πάγουρον. Διοκλῆς δ' ὁ
 Καρύστιός φησι καρίδες, καρκίνοι, κάραβοι, ἀστακοὶ
 c εὐστόμαχα καὶ διουρητικά. | κολύβδαιναν δ' εἴρηκεν
 Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν τοῖς προεκκειμένοις, ὡς μὲν Νίκανδρός

BOOK III

astakos,

the one that has large and, in addition, heavy hands,
although its feet are small and it rushes along slowly
on land.

They are most numerous and of the highest quality
in the Lipari Islands; but the Hellespont as well
assembles many of them.

Epicharmus in *The Wedding of Hebe* (fr. 50) makes it clear
that the *astakos* referred to by Archestratus above is a
crayfish, when he says the following:

There are *astakoi* and *kolubdainai*¹⁶⁸ and the one that
has little
feet but large hands, whose name is crayfish.

Crayfish are a distinct family, lobsters (*astakoi*) another,
and shrimp a third. Attic authors refer to the *astakos* as an
ostakos, with an *omicron*, like *ostaphides*.¹⁶⁹ Epicharmus
says in *Earth and Sea* (fr. 27):

and crook-clawed lobsters (*astakoi*).

Speusippus in Book II of *Similar Things* (fr. 9 Tarán) says
that the crustaceans that resemble one another are the
crayfish, lobster, *numphē*, bear-crab, crab (*karkinos*), and
common crab (*pagouros*). Diocles of Carystus (fr. 224 van
der Eijk) says: Shrimp, crabs, crayfish, and lobsters are
easy on the stomach and diuretic. Epicharmus in the pas-
sage quoted above (fr. 50.1, quoted at 3.105b–c) uses the
word *kolubdaina* to refer to the sea-phallus, according to

¹⁶⁸ For this word, see 3.105c.

¹⁶⁹ "Raisins," normally *astaphides*.

φησι, τὸ θαλάσσιον αἰδοῖον, ὡς δ' ὁ Ἡρακλείδης ἐν Ὀψαρτυτικῷ, τὴν καρίδα. Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἐν <πέμπτῳ Ζῶων Μορίων, τῶν μαλακοστράκων ὀχεύονται, φησί, κάραβοι, ἀστακοί, καρίδες καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὡσπερ καὶ τὰ ὀπισθουρητικὰ τῶν τετραπόδων. ὀχεύονται δὲ τοῦ ἕαρος ἀρχομένου πρὸς τῇ γῆ (ἤδη γὰρ ὤπται ἢ ὀχεία πάντων τῶν τοιούτων), ἐνιαχοῦ δὲ ὅταν τὰ σῦκα ἄρχηται πεπαίνεισθαι. γίνονται δ' οἱ μὲν d κάραβοι ἐν τοῖς τραχέσι | καὶ πετρώδεσιν, οἱ δ' ἀστακοὶ ἐν τοῖς λείοις, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πηλώδεσιν οὐδέτεροι. διὸ καὶ ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ μὲν καὶ περὶ Θάσον ἀστακοὶ γίνονται, περὶ δὲ τὸ Σίγειον καὶ τὸν Ἄθω κάραβοι. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ κάραβοι μακρόβιοι πάντες. Θεόφραστος δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν Φωλευόντων τοὺς ἀστακοὺς καὶ καράβους καὶ καρίδας ἐκδύεσθαι φησι τὸ γῆρας.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν καρίδων, ὅτι καὶ πόλις ἦν Καρίδες περὶ Χίου τὴν νῆσον Ἐφορος ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ⁶⁴ ἱστορεῖ, κτίσαι φάσκων αὐτὴν τοὺς διασωθέντας ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ e Δευκαλίωνος | γενομένου κατακλυσμοῦ μετὰ Μάκαρος, καὶ μέχρι νῦν τὸν τόπον καλεῖσθαι Καρίδας. ὁ δὲ ὀψοδαίδαλος Ἀρχέστρατος παραινεῖ τάδε:

ἦν δέ ποτ' εἰς Ἴασον Καρῶν πόλιν εἰσαφίκηαι,
καρῖδ' εὐμεγέθη λήψει· σπανίην δὲ πριάσθαι.

⁶⁴ τρίτη Ματχ: πρώτη Α

BOOK III

Nicander (fr. 139 Schneider); but Heracleides in the *Art of Cooking* says that he means the shrimp. Aristotle in Book V of *Parts of Animals* (HA 541^b19–24) says: Of the crustaceans, crayfish, lobsters, shrimp, and the like copulate in the same way that those quadrupeds that urinate backwards do. They copulate in early spring near the land (because the copulation of all such creatures has been observed); but in some places this takes place when the figs begin to ripen. (HA 549^b13–17) Crayfish are found in rough, rocky areas, whereas lobsters are found in areas free of rocks; neither is found in muddy areas. As a result, lobsters are found in the Hellespont and around Thasos, whereas crayfish are found around Sigeum and Athos. (HA 549^b28) All crayfish are long-lived. Theophrastus in his *On Animals That Live in Holes* (fr. 367) says that lobsters, crabs, and shrimp shed their outgrown shells.

As for shrimp, Ephorus in Book III (FGrH 70 F 11) reports the existence of a city by that name near the island of Chios; he claims that survivors of the flood that occurred in Deucalion's time, joined by Macar,¹⁷⁰ founded it, and that it was still called Shrimp in his time. The culinary genius Archestratus (fr. 26 Olson–Sens = SH 156) offers the following advice:

But if you ever come to the Carian city of Iasus,
you will buy a nice big shrimp, although it is rarely
for sale there.

¹⁷⁰ Also called Macareus, and better known for settling Lesbos (and from there Chios, Samos, and Cos) after the great flood (D.S. 5.81.3–8).

ἐν δὲ Μακεδονίῃ τε καὶ Ἀμβρακίῃ μάλα πολλάι.
ἐκτεταμένως δ' εἴρηκε καρίδα Ἀραρῶς μὲν ἐν Καμπυ-
λίῳ·

αἷ τε καμπύλαι
f καρίδες ἐξήλλοντο δελφίνων δίκην |
εἰς σχοινόπλεκτον ἄγγος.

καὶ Εὐβουλος ἐν Ὁρθάνῃ·

καρίδα καθήκα κάτω κἀνέσπασ' αὔθις.

Ἀναξανδρίδης Λυκούργῳ·

καὶ συμπαίζει καριδαρίοις
μετὰ περκιδίων καὶ θραπτιδίων,
† καὶ ψιτταδίοις μετὰ κωβιδαρίων
καὶ σκινδαρίοις μετὰ κωβιδίων †.

106 ὁ δ' αὐτὸς κἀν Πανδάρῳ φησίν· ||

οὐκ ἐπικεκυφῶς ὀρθός, ὦ βέλτιστ', ἔση·
αὕτη δὲ καριδοῖ τὸ σῶμα καμπύλη,
ἄγκυρά τ' ἐστὶν ἀντικρυς τοῦ σώματος.

ἐν δὲ Κερκίῳ·

ἐρυθρότερον καρίδος ὀπτῆς σ' ἀποφανῶ.

Εὐβουλος Τιτθαῖς·

καριδάς τε τῶν
κυφῶν.

BOOK III

But in Macedon and Ambracia they are quite
numerous.

Araros used the word *karis* ("shrimp") with a long *iota* in
Campulion (fr. 8.2–4):¹⁷¹

and the bent
shrimp leapt out like dolphins
into a container woven out of rushes.

Also Eubulus in *Orthannes* (fr. 78):

I lowered a shrimp down and pulled it up again.

Anaxandrides in *Lycurgus* (fr. 28):

And he plays with little shrimp
accompanied by tiny perch and *thrattai*,
† and with little flatfish accompanied by tiny gobies,
and with little maigres accompanied by little gobies. †

The same author says in *Pandarus* (fr. 38):

You'll be straight, not bent over, my good sir.
But she curls her body so she's bent like a shrimp
and is an outright anchor for your body.

In *Cercion* (fr. 23):

I'll make you look redder than a roasted shrimp!

Eubulus in *Wet-Nurses* (fr. 110):

some of the curved
shrimp.

¹⁷¹ Additional portions of the fragment are preserved at 3.86d.

καὶ Ὀφελίων Καλλαίσχρω·

κυρταὶ δ' ὁμοῦ καρίδες ἐν ξηρῷ πέδῳ.

καὶ ἐν Ἰαλέμῳ·

- b ὠρχοῦντο † ὡσπερ † καρίδες ἀνθράκων ἐπι |
πηδῶσι κυρταί.

συνεσταλμένως δ' εἶρηκεν Εὐπόλις ἐν Αἰξίν οὕτως·

πλήν

ἄπαξ ποτ' ἐν Φαίακος ἔφαγον καρίδας.

καὶ ἐν Δήμοις·

ἔχων τὸ πρόσωπον καρίδος μασθλητίνης.

- ὠνομάσθησαν δὲ καρίδες ἀπὸ τοῦ κάρα· τὸ πλείστον
γὰρ μέρος τοῦ σώματος ἢ κεφαλὴ ἀπηνέγκατο. καρί-
c δες δὲ βραχέως οἱ Ἀττικοὶ | ἀναλόγως· παρὰ γὰρ τὸ
κάρη γέγονε διὰ τὸ μείζονι κεχρησθαι κεφαλῇ. ὡς οὖν
παρὰ τὸ γραφῆ γραφῖς καὶ βολῆ βολῖς, οὕτως καὶ
παρὰ τὸ κάρη καρῖς. ταθείσης δὲ τῆς παρατελευταίας
ἐτάθη καὶ τὸ τέλος, καὶ ὁμοίως λέγεται τῷ ψηφῖς καὶ
κρηπίς⁶⁵.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν ὀστρακοδέρμων τούτων Δίφιλος μὲν ὁ
Σίφνιος οὕτω γράφει· τῶν δ' ὀστρακοδέρμων καρῖς,

⁶⁵ κρηπίς καὶ τευθῖς A

BOOK III

Also Ophelio in *Callaeschrus* (fr. 2):¹⁷²

curved shrimp along with them on the dry ground.

And in *The Dolt* (fr. 1):

They were dancing † just like † curved shrimp
jumping around on the coals.

But Eupolis uses the word with a short *iota* in *Nanny-Goats* (fr. 2), as follows:

except that
I once ate shrimp in Phaeax' house.

And in *Demes* (fr. 120):

with the face of a shrimp that's red as leather.

Shrimp (*karîdes*) got their name from the word *kara* ("head"), because their head occupies the largest portion of their body¹⁷³. Attic authors use the form *karides* with a short *iota* for a similar reason: the word is derived from *karē* ("head"), because the shrimp has a very large head. So just as *graphis* ("stylus") is derived from *graphē* ("writing"), and *bolis* ("missile") from *bolē* ("throw"), so too *karis* is derived from *karē*. For when the penultimate syllable was lengthened, the end of the word was as well, and it is pronounced like *psēphîs* ("pebble") and *krēpîs* ("high boot").

Regarding these crustaceans, Diphilus of Siphnos writes as follows: Of the crustaceans, the shrimp, lobster, cray-

¹⁷² Probably a personal name, but perhaps *Handsome Yet Ugly*. ¹⁷³ Far more likely the word was originally a diminutive of *karabos* ("crayfish").

ATHENAEUS

d ἄστακός, κάραβος, καρκίνος, λέων τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους
 ὄντα διαφέρουσι. μείζων δ' ἐστὶν ἢ ὁ λέων τοῦ ἀστα-
 κοῦ. οἱ δὲ κάραβοι καὶ γραψαῖοι λέγονται τῶν καρκί-
 νων δ' εἰσὶν σαρκωδέστεροι. ὁ δὲ καρκίνος βαρὺς καὶ
 δύσπεπτος. Μνησίθεος δ' ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῷ Περὶ
 Ἐδεστών, κάραβοι, φησί, καὶ καρκίνοι καὶ καρίδες
 καὶ τὰ ὅμοια δύσπεπτα μὲν πάντα, τῶν δ' ἄλλων
 ἰχθύων εὐπεπτότερα πολλῶ. πρέπει δ' αὐτοῖς ὀπτᾶ-
 σθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἔψεσθαι.

e Κουρίδας δὲ τὰς καρίδας εἴρηκε Σώφρων ἐν Γυναι-
 κείοις οὕτως· ἴδε καλὰν κουρίδων, ἴδε καμμάρων, ἴδε ἢ
 φίλα· θᾶσαι μὰν ὡς ἐρυθραὶ τ' ἐντὶ καὶ λειοτριχιῶσαι.
 Ἐπίχαρμος δ' ἐν Γᾶ καὶ Θαλάσσει·

< . . . > κουρίδες τε φοινίκιαι.

ἐν δὲ Λόγω καὶ Λογίῃ διὰ τοῦ ὦ εἴρηκεν·

< . . . > ἀφύας τε κωρίδας τε καμπύλας.

Σιμωνίδης δέ·

θύννοισι τευθίς, κωβιοῖσι κωρίδες.

BOOK III

fish, crab, and “lion” are different from one another, although they belong to the same family. The “lion” is larger than the lobster. Crayfish are also called *grapsaioi*; they are meatier than crabs. Crabs are heavy and difficult to digest. Mnesitheus of Athens says in his *On Edible Substances* (fr. 37 Bertier): Crayfish, crabs, shrimp, and the like are all difficult to digest, but are much easier to digest than other types of fish. They are more suited to roasting than to stewing.

Sophron refers to shrimp as *kourides* in the *Women's Mimes* (fr. 25),¹⁷⁴ as follows: Look at the lovely shrimp (*kourides*)! Look at the lobsters! Look, my dear! See how red and smooth they are! Epicharmus in *Earth and Sea* (fr. 28):

and red shrimp (*kourides*).

But in *Male and Female Logos* (fr. 78) he has the word with an *omega*:

both small-fry and curved shrimp (*kōrides*).

Simonides (Semon. fr. 15 West²):

a cuttlefish for tuna, shrimp (*kōrides*) for gobies.

¹⁷⁴ Cited again at 7.306c.

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