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ATHENAEUS
III

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ATHENAEUS

THE LEARNED BANQUETERS

BOOKS VI-VII

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY
S. DOUGLAS OLSON



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PREFACE

For a general introduction to Athenaeus and *The Learned Banqueters*, and to my citation conventions, see the beginning of Volume I. I have altered Casaubon's numbering of the text slightly at the beginning of Books 6 and 7, where he chose to repeat certain section-divisions, calling both the very end of Book 5 and the very beginning of Book 6, for example, 222a–b (my 6.222a–b and 222c–d). For rulers' dates, I follow W. Eder and J. Renger (eds.), *Herrscherchronologien der antiken Welt* (Der Neue Pauly Supplemente 1: Stuttgart and Weimar, 2004).

I would like to express again my gratitude to Dean Steven Rosenstone of the College of Liberal Arts at the University of Minnesota for his continuing support of my research, including by means of the award of a Single Semester leave for Spring 2007, during which I completed final work on this volume. Funds provided by the University of Minnesota Graduate School in connection with my McKnight Professorship have also been of enormous assistance in this project, and indeed in all my research over the last three years. Thanks are also due my research assistant Timothy Beck, and Christie Marquis, whose work on Book 7 was generously supported by a grant from the Graduate Research Partnership Program. This volume is dedicated to my beloved friends Emily West and Robert Miner, whose kindness and companionship have brought tremendous joy to my life.

ABBREVIATIONS

Berve	H. Berve, <i>Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage</i> ii <i>Prosopographie</i> (Munich, 1926)
Billows	R. A. Billows, <i>Antigonos the One-Eyed and the Creation of the Hellenistic State</i> (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1990)
Bradford	A. S. Bradford, <i>A Prosopography of Lacedaimonians from the Death of Alexander the Great, 323 B.C., to the Sack of Sparta by Alaric, A.D. 396</i> (Vestigia 27; Munich, 1977)
FGE	D. L. Page (ed.), <i>Further Greek Epigrams</i> (Cambridge, 1981)
FGrH	F. Jacoby (ed.), <i>Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker</i> (Leiden, 1923–69)
FHG	C. and T. Müller, <i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> (4 vols.: Paris, 1841–70)
GGM	C. Müller, <i>Geographi Graeci Minores</i> (3 vols.: Paris, 1855–61)
GPh	A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page (eds.), <i>The Greek Anthology: The Garland of Philip</i> (Cambridge, 1968)
HE	A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page (eds.), <i>The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams</i> (Cambridge, 1965)
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>

ABBREVIATIONS

- 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)
- Thompson, Fish D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Fishes* (London, 1947)
- TrGF B. Snell et al. (eds.), *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Göttingen, 1971–2004)
- 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)

RUFINUS OF NICAEA, physician (1.1f)*

CHARACTERS

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

F

222c Ἐπειδὴ ἀπαιτεῖς συνεχῶς ἀπαντῶν, ἑταῖρε Τιμό-
 κρατες, τὰ παρὰ τοῖς δειπνοσοφισταῖς λεγόμενα, και-
 νά τινα νομίζων ἡμᾶς εὐρίσκειν, ὑπομνήσομέν σε τὰ
 παρὰ Ἀντιφάνει λεγόμενα ἐν Ποιήσει τόνδε τὸν τρό-
 πον·

μακάριόν ἐστιν ἡ τραγωδία

ποίημα κατὰ πάντ', εἴ γε πρῶτον οἱ λόγοι
 ὑπὸ τῶν θεατῶν εἰσι ἐγνωρισμένοι,
 πρὶν καί τιν' εἰπεῖν ὥσθ' ὑπομνήσαι μόνον |
 d δέι τὸν ποιητὴν. Οἰδίπου γὰρ † φῶ †
 τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντ' ἴσασιν· ὁ πατὴρ Λάιος,
 μήτηρ Ἰοκάστη, θυγατέρες, παῖδες τίνες,
 τί πείσεθ' οὗτος, τί πεπόηκεν. ἂν πάλιν
 εἶπη τις Ἀλκμέωνα, καὶ τὰ παιδία

¹ The speaker's point in citing this passage is apparently that having a novel tale to tell actually makes his task harder than the one confronted by individuals with more conventional stories to offer.

² Alcmaeon was the son of the seer Amphiaraus, who ordered him to kill his mother Eriphyle because she forced Amphiaraus to

BOOK VI

Since when we meet, my friend Timocrates, you constantly demand (*apaitois*) an account of the learned banqueters' conversation, as if you believe that I am inventing odd fictions, I will remind you of what Antiphanes says in *Poetry* (fr. 189), which is along the following lines:¹

Tragedy's a thoroughly enviable
type of poetry! The plots, first of all,
are familiar to the audience
before anyone speaks a word; so all the poet has to do
is offer a reminder. Because † says † "Oedipus",
they know everything else: his father's Laius;
his mother's Jocasta; who his daughters and his sons
are;
what's going to happen to him; what he's done. Again,
if someone
mentions Alcmaeon², he's as good as named

accompany Adrastus on the expedition of the Seven Against Thebes, despite knowing that he would die there; cf. 6.231c n., 233a, 238c with n. Alcmaeon later accompanied Adrastus and the sons of the other original Seven (also known as the Epigoni) on a second expedition against Thebes; after he took revenge for his father by sacking the place, he killed Eriphyle, and her Furies drove him mad.

πάντ' εὐθὺς εἶρηχ', ὅτι μανεῖς ἀπέκτονε
τὴν μητέρ', ἀγανακτῶν δ' Ἄδραστος εὐθέως
ἤξει πάλιν τ' ἄπεισι < . . . >

e <ἔπει>θ' ὅταν μῆθ' ἐν δύνωντ' εἰπεῖν ἔτι, |
κομιδῇ δ' ἀπειρήκωσιν ἐν τοῖς δράμασιν,
αἴρουσιν ὥσπερ δάκτυλον τὴν μηχανήν,
καὶ τοῖς θεωμένοισιν ἀποχρώντως ἔχει. ||
223 ἡμῖν δὲ ταῦτ' οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ πάντα δεῖ
εὐρεῖν, ὀνόματα καινά, < . . . >

κᾶπειτα τὰ † διωκημένα
πρότερον, τὰ νῦν παρόντα, τὴν καταστροφὴν,
τὴν εἰσβολήν. ἂν ἐν τι τούτων παραλίπη
Χρέμης τις ἢ Φεΐδων τις, ἐκσυρίττεται
Πηλεῖ δὲ ταῦτ' ἔξεστι καὶ Τεύκρῳ ποιεῖν.

Δίφιλος δ' ἐν Ἐλαιωνηφρουροῦσι

b ὦ τόνδ' ἐποπτεύουσα καὶ κεκτημένη
Βραυρῶνος ἱεροῦ θεοφιλέστατον τόπον, |
Λητοῦς Διός τε τοξόδαμνε παρθένε,
ὡς οἱ τραγωδοὶ φασιν, οἷς ἔξουσία
ἔστιν λέγειν ἅπαντα καὶ ποιεῖν μόνοις.

Τιμοκλῆς ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς κατὰ πολλὰ χρησίμην εἰ-

³ Commonly used to carry a deity onstage near the end of a tragedy, as a means of bringing the action to a close.

⁴ Literally "a finger", since boxers and pancratiasts used a raised finger to signal their desire to end a bout.

BOOK VI

all his children, plus the fact that he went crazy and
killed
his mother, and that Adrastus is going to get annoyed
and come straight home and go off again . . .
Then, when they've run out of anything to say
and have totally collapsed from exhaustion in their
plays,
they raise the theatrical crane³ like a white flag⁴—
and the audience is satisfied!
We don't have these advantages, so we have to invent
everything: new names, . . . ;
and then what † happened
previously, the current situation, the conclusion,
and the introduction. If some Chremes or Pheidon⁵
omits
even one of these points, he's hissed off the stage;
but they let Peleus and Teucer⁶ get away with this.

Diphilus in *Olive-Grove Guards* (fr. 29):

O thou who oversees and possesses the
site of sacred Brauron here that the gods hold dear,
bow-wielding virgin daughter of Leto and Zeus—
as the tragic poets, the only people
allowed to say and do anything, put it.

The comic poet Timocles claims that tragedy can be put

⁵ Generic comic names.

⁶ Typical tragic heroes: Peleus was Achilles' father, while Teucer was the brother of Telamonian Ajax and one of the heroes of the Trojan War (cf. 6.256b with n.).

ναι λέγων τῷ βίῳ τὴν τραγωδίαν φησὶν ἐν Διονυσια-
ζούσαις·

- ὦ τάν, ἄκουσον, ἦν τί σοι δοκῶ λέγειν.
 ἄνθρωπός ἐστι ζῶον ἐπίπονον φύσει,
 καὶ πολλὰ λυπὴρ' ὁ βίος ἐν ἑαυτῷ φέρει.
 παραψυχὰς οὖν φροντίδων ἀνεύρετο |
 c ταύτας· ὁ γὰρ νοῦς τῶν ἰδίων λήθην λαβῶν
 πρὸς ἄλλοτρίῳ τε ψυχαγωγηθεὶς πάθει,
 μεθ' ἡδονῆς ἀπῆλθε παιδευθεὶς ἅμα.
 τοὺς γὰρ τραγωδοὺς πρῶτον, εἰ βούλει, σκόπει
 ὡς ὠφελούσι πάντας. ὁ μὲν ὦν γὰρ πένης
 πτωχότερον αὐτοῦ καταμαθὼν τὸν Τηλέφον
 γενόμενον ἤδη τὴν πενίαν ῥᾶον φέρει.
 ὁ νοσῶν τι μανικὸν Ἀλκμέων' ἐσκέψατο.
 ὀφθαλμιᾶ τις· εἰσὶ Φινεΐδαι τυφλοί. |
 d τέθνηκέ τῳ παῖς· ἢ Νιόβη κεκούφικε.

7 Telephus, king of the Mysians, was wounded by Achilles when the Achaeans mistakenly attacked his country rather than Troy in a preliminary raid on the region. When Telephus' wound failed to heal, he was advised by an oracle to seek the assistance of "the one that had done the wounding" or the like, and therefore disguised himself as a beggar and infiltrated the Achaean camp; cf. Hes. fr. 165; [Apollod.] *Eptt.* 3.17-19.

⁸ See 6.222d n.

BOOK VI

to many uses in our life, when he says in *Women Celebrating the Dionysia* (fr. 6):

Listen, mister, and see if what I say makes sense to
you.

Man's a creature doomed to trouble by his very
nature,

and his life brings many griefs with it.

He therefore invented these ways of distracting
himself from

anxious thoughts; because after your mind forgets its
own problems

and gets entranced by someone else's suffering,
it leaves happy—plus educated.

Consider first, if you will, the benefits the tragedians
bestow on everyone. One guy, who's a pauper,
finds out that Telephus⁷ was poorer than he is,
and immediately he has an easier time putting up
with his own poverty.

The man who's a bit unstable thinks of Alcmaeon⁸.
Someone has an infected eye; Phineus' sons are
blind.⁹

Someone's child has died; Niobe cheers him up.¹⁰

⁹ The sons of Phineus, king of Salmydessus, were blinded as a result of the machinations of their stepmother Idaeia; cf. *S. Ant.* 970–6; [Apollod.] *Bib.* 3.15.3.

¹⁰ Niobe, the wife of King Amphion of Thebes, had many children. But when she boasted that she was more fortunate than the goddess Leto (who had only two), Leto's children Apollo and Artemis killed them all. Cf. *Il.* 24.602–17; [Apollod.] *Bib.* 3.5.6.

χωλός τις ἐστίν· τὸν Φιλοκτήτην ὄρα.
 γέρων τις ἀτυχεῖ· κατέμαθεν τὸν Οἶνέα.
 ἅπαντα γὰρ τὰ μείζον' ἢ πέπονθέ τις
 ἀτυχήματ' ἄλλοις γεγονότ' ἐννοούμενος
 τὰς αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ συμφορὰς ἦττον στένει.

Καὶ ἡμεῖς οὖν, ὦ Τιμόκρατες, ἀποδίδομέν σοι τὰ
 τῶν δειπνοσοφιστῶν λείψανα καὶ οὐ δίδομεν, ὡς ὁ
 Κοθωκίδης φησὶ ρήτωρ Δημοσθένην χλευάζων, ὃς
 e Φιλίππου Ἀθηναίους Ἀλόνησον διδόντος | συνεβού-
 λευε μὴ λαμβάνειν, εἰ δίδωσιν ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀποδίδωσιν.
 ὅπερ Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Νεοττίδι παιδιὰν θέμενος ἐρεσχη-
 λέϊ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον·

(A.) ὁ δεσπότης δὲ πάντα τὰ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς
 ἀπέλαβεν ὥσπερ ἔλαβεν. (B.) ἠγάπησεν ἂν
 τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο παραλαβὼν Δημοσθένης.

Ἄλεξις δὲ ἐν Στρατιώτῃ·

(A.) ἀπόλαβε
 τουτί. (B.) τί τοῦτο δ' ἐστίν; (A.) ὁ παρ' ὑμῶν
 ἐγὼ

11 Philoctetes was one of the original Achaean commanders in the expedition against Troy, but was abandoned on the desert island of Lemnos after a poisonous snake bit his foot and the wound began to stink. Odysseus and a companion (Neoptolemus in some versions of the story, Diomedes in others) fetched him again in the ninth year of the war; after one of Asclepius' sons healed him, he killed Paris with his bow. Cf. *Il.* 2.718-24.

BOOK VI

Someone's crippled; he sees Philoctetes.¹¹

An old man's down on his luck; he finds out about

Oineus.¹²

Because when a person considers all the bad luck
even worse than his own that's hit other people,
he complains less about his own troubles.

I am accordingly giving the learned banqueters' left-overs back (*apodidomen*) to you, Timocrates, rather than giving (*didomen*) them to you, as the orator from Cothocē (Aeschin. 3.83) says, as a way of making fun of Demosthenes, who advised the Athenians not to accept Philip's offer of Halonnesus, if he was giving it to them rather than giving it *back*.¹³ Antiphanes turns this into a joke in *The Nestling* (fr. 167), offering banter of the following sort:

(A.) My master got all his father's property back
in the same condition he got it. (B.) Demosthenes
would

have been happy to take over this turn of phrase!

Alexis in *The Soldier* (fr. 212):

(A.) Take this
back! (B.) What's this? (A.) I've taken

¹² Oineus, king of Calydon, was driven into exile by the sons of his brother Agrius, and suffered endless humiliations until his grandson Tydeus returned from sacking Thebes (see 7.222d n.) and either restored him to power or took him off into exile. Cf. Pherecyd. *FGrH* 3 F 122; [Apollod.] *Bib.* 1.7.10–8.6.

¹³ Halonnesus is a small island off the Thessalian coast. The events in question occurred in 343 BCE; see Demosthenes 7.

- f παιδάριον ἔλαβον ἀποφέρων ἤκω πάλιν. |
 (B.) πῶς; οὐκ ἀρέσκει σοι τρέφειν; (A.) οὐκ ἔστι
 γὰρ
 ἡμέτερον. (B.) οὐδ' ἡμέτερον. (A.) ἀλλ' ἐδώκατε
 ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ τοῦτ'. (B.) οὐδ' ἐδώκαμεν. (A.) τί δαί;
 (B.) ἀπέδώκαμεν. (A.) τὸ μὴ προσῆκόν μοι
 λαβεῖν.

καὶ ἐν Ἀδελφοῖς·

- (A.) ἐγὼ δέδωκα γάρ τι ταύταις; εἰπέ μοι.
 (B.) οὐκ, ἀλλ' ἀπέδωκας; ἐνέχυρον δήπου λαβών. ||

224 Ἀναξίλας δὲ ἐν Εὐανδρίᾳ·

- (A.) καὶ τὰς † παλαιστρας † δάσω. (B.) μὰ τὴν
 γῆν, μὴ σύ γε
 δῶς, ἀλλ' ἀπόδος. (A.) καὶ δὴ φέρουσ'
 ἐξέρχομαι.

Τιμοκλῆς δ' ἐν Ἡρωσιν·

- (A.) οὐκοῦν κελεύεις νῦν με πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ
 τὰ προσόντα φράζειν. (B.) πάνυ γε. (A.) δρᾶσω
 τοῦτό σοι
 καὶ πρῶτα μὲν σοι παύσεται Δημοσθένης
 ὀργιζόμενος. (B.) ὁ ποῖος; (A.) † ὁ Βριάρεως, †
 ὁ τοὺς καταπάλτας τὰς τε λόγχας ἐσθίων, |
 b μισῶν λόγους ἄνθρωπος οὐδὲ πώποτε
 ἀντίθετον εἰπὼν οὐδέν, ἀλλ' Ἄρη βλέπων.

BOOK VI

the child I got from you and returned.

(B.) Why? Don't you want to raise it? (A.) No—it's not ours. (B.) It's not *ours*. (A.) But you gave it to me. (B.) We didn't give it to you. (A.) What do you mean?

(B.) We gave it *back*. (A.) Something that wasn't mine to take!

Also in *Brothers* (fr. 7):

(A.) Have I given these girls anything? Speak up!

(B.) No; but you gave something *back*, after you took it as a deposit!

Anaxilas in *Manliness* (fr. 8):

(A.) I'll also give you the † wrestling schools. † (B.)

No, by Earth, don't

give them; give them *back*! (A.) Alright, I'm coming out with them.

Timocles in *Heroes* (fr. 12):

(A.) So now you're encouraging me to say anything—except what's appropriate. (B.) Absolutely. (A.) I'll do it for you.

And first of all, Demosthenes will stop being mad at you. (B.) Who? (A.) † The son of Briareus,¹⁴ † the one who eats catapults and spears, a guy who despises words and never uttered a single antithesis, whose eyes flash War.

¹⁴ One of the Hesiodic Hundred-Handers (*Th.* 147–52, 617–719), invoked here as an example of monstrous military might.

κατὰ τοὺς οὖν προειρημένους ποιητὰς καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ ἐπόμενα τοῖς προειρημένοις ἀποδιδόντες καὶ οὐ διδόντες τὰ ἀκόλουθα λέξομεν.

Ἐπεισῆλθον οὖν ἡμῖν παῖδες πλῆθος ὅσον ἰχθύων φέροντες θαλασσίων λιμναίων τε ἐπὶ πινάκων ἀργυρῶν, ὡς θανμάσαι μετὰ τοῦ πλούτου καὶ τὴν πολυτέλειαν μονονουχὶ γὰρ καὶ τὰς Νηρηίδας ὠψωνήκει. καὶ τις τῶν παρασίτων καὶ κολάκων ἔφη τὸν Ποσειδῶ |
 c πέμπειν τῷ Νιττουνίῳ ἡμῶν τοὺς ἰχθύς οὐ διὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἴσον ἴσῳ τῶν τὸν ἰχθὺν πωλοῦντων, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἐξ Ἀντίου κεκομίσθαι, ἐτέρουσ δ' ἐκ Ταρακινῶν καὶ τῶν καταντικρῦ νήσων Ποντίων, ἄλλουσ δ' ἐκ Πύργων πόλις δ' αὕτη Τυρρηνική. οἱ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἰχθυοπῶλαι οὐδ' ὀλίγον ἀποδέουσι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ποτε κωμωδηθέντων· περὶ ὧν Ἀντιφάνης μὲν ἐν Νεανίσκοις φησίν·

ἐγὼ τέως μὲν ὥομην τὰς Γοργόνας
 εἶναί τι λογοποίημα, πρὸς ἀγορὰν δ' ὅταν |
 d ἔλθω, πεπίστευκ'· ἐμβλέπων γὰρ αὐτόθι
 τοῖς ἰχθυοπώλαις, λίθινος εὐθὺς γίγνομαι,
 ὥστ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἔστ' ἀποστραφέντι μοι
 λαλεῖν πρὸς αὐτούς. ἂν ἴδω γὰρ ἡλίκον
 ἰχθὺν ὅσον τιμῶσι, πήγνυμαι σαφῶς.

Ἄμφις δ' ἐν Πλάνῳ·

¹⁵ Minor sea-deities.

¹⁶ "Son of Neptune" (here referring humorously to the host of the party, Larensius).

BOOK VI

Adopting the example of the poets cited above, therefore, I will give back the conversations that followed the ones I described previously, rather than giving them to you, and will tell you what came next.

Slaves entered the room, bringing us such a quantity of saltwater and freshwater fish on silver platters that we were astonished both at our host's wealth and at how much had been spent; he had purchased every delicacy but the Nereids.¹⁵ One of the parasites and flatterers remarked that Poseidon was not sending his fish to our Nittunius¹⁶ via the people in Rome who sell them for their weight in silver, but had instead brought some from Antium, others from Tarracina and the Pontian Islands opposite it, and others from Pyrgi. (This is an Etruscan city.)¹⁷ The fish-sellers in Rome are not much different from those in Attica who were attacked once upon a time in comedy. Antiphanes discusses them in *Young Men* (fr. 164):

Before this, I thought the Gorgons
were a fairytale; but whenever I enter
the marketplace, I believe in them. When I look
at the fish-sellers there, I immediately turn to stone,¹⁸
and I have to turn my head away
when I talk to them. Because if I see how much
they're charging for a miniscule fish, I'm outright
paralyzed.

Amphis in *The Vagabond Acrobat* (fr. 30):

¹⁷ Pyrgi was in fact the main port of the important Etruscan city of Caere.

¹⁸ As was supposed to happen to anyone who looked a Gorgon in the eyes.

ATHENAEUS

πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ῥᾶόν ἐστιν μυρίαῖς
μοίραις προσελθόντ' ἀξιωθῆναι λόγου
λαβεῖν τ' ἀπόκρισιν <ὦν> ἂν ἐπερωτᾶ τις ἢ
πρὸς τοὺς καταράτους ἰχθυοπώλας ἐν ἀγορᾷ. |
e οὓς ἂν ἐπερωτήσῃ τις † λαβών τι τῶν
παρακειμένων, ἔκνυεν ὥσπερ Τήλεφος
πρῶτον σιωπῆ (καὶ δικαίως τοῦτό γε
ἅπαντες ἀνδροφόνοι γάρ εἰσιν ἐνὶ λόγῳ),
ὡσεὶ † προσέχων δ' † οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἀκηκοὺς
ἔκρουσε πουλύπουν τιν': ὁ δ' ἐπρήσθη < . . . >
καὶ τότε οὐ λαλῶν ὄλα
τὰ ῥήματ', ἀλλὰ συλλαβὴν ἀφελὼν "τάρων
βολῶν γένοιτ' ἄν". "ἢ δὲ κέστρα;" "κτῶ βολῶν."
τοιαῦτ' ἀκοῦσαι δεῖ τὸν ὀψωνοῦντά τι. |

f Ἄλεξις Ἀπεγλαυκωμένῳ

τοὺς μὲν στρατηγοὺς τὰς ὀφρῦς ἐπὰν ἴδω
ἀνεσπακότας, δεινὸν μὲν ἠγοῦμαι ποεῖν,
οὐ πάνυ τι θαυμάζω δὲ προτετιμημένους
ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως μεῖζόν τι τῶν ἄλλων φρονεῖν.
τοὺς δ' ἰχθυοπώλας τοὺς κάκιστ' ἀπολουμένους
ἐπὰν ἴδω κάτω βλέποντας, τὰς δ' ὀφρῦς
ἔχοντας ἐπάνω τῆς κορυφῆς, ἀποπνίγομαι.

19 When Telephus (see 6.223c n.) murdered his maternal uncles, he fled to Mysia, and upon his arrival there, as a polluted murderer, "ate without speaking, only nodding his head in response to those who asked him questions" (Alex. fr. 183.3-4, quoted at 10.421d; cf. Arist. *Po.* 1460^a32; Hyg. *fab.* 244.2).

It's a million times easier to go to the generals
and be regarded as deserving an audience
and get an answer to your questions, than
when you visit the damned fish-sellers in the
marketplace.

If someone † picks up one of the fish lying there
and asks them about it, the guy first stares silently
at the ground, like Telephus¹⁹—and rightly so;
because they're all murderers, to put it simply—
and beats an octopus,²⁰ as if he wasn't † paying
attention † and hadn't heard. The other person gets
angry . . .

and then he doesn't pronounce his words
completely, but takes off a syllable: "(Th)at'd be
(f)our (ob)ols." "The spet?" "(Ei)ght (ob)ols."
This is what anyone who buys fish has to listen to.

Alexis in *The Man Who Had a Cataract* (fr. 16):

Whenever I see the generals giving people rude
looks,²¹ I think they're behaving terribly,
although I'm not too surprised that men who've been
awarded high honors
by the city are a little prouder than others.
But when I see the damned fish-sellers
staring at the ground, as stuck up
as they can be,²² it makes me choke.

²⁰ Sc. to make it tender enough to eat.

²¹ Literally "with their eyebrows raised" (routinely presented as a mark of arrogance, as again in lines 5–7, below).

²² Literally "with their eyebrows raised over their heads"; cf. above with n.

ἐὰν δ' ἐρωτήσης "πόσου τοὺς κεστρέας
πωλεῖς δὴ ὄντας", "δέκ' ὀβολῶν", φησίν.

"βαρύ. ||

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ὀκτῶ λάβοις ἄν;" "εἴπερ ὠνεῖ τὸν ἕτερον."
"ὦ τᾶν, λαβὲ καὶ μὴ παίζε." "τοσουδί
παράτρεχε."

ταὐτ' οὐχὶ πικρότερ' ἐστὶν αὐτῆς τῆς χολῆς;

Δίφιλος Πολυπράγμωνι·

ᾧμην ἐγὼ τοὺς ἰχθυοπώλας τὸ πρότερον
εἶναι ποιηροὺς τοὺς Ἀθήνησιν μόνους.
τόδε δ', ὡς ἔοικε, τὸ γένος ὥσπερ θηρίων
ἐπίβουλόν ἐστι τῇ φύσει καὶ πανταχοῦ.
ἐνταῦθα γοῦν ἔστιν τις ὑπερηκοντικῶς,
κόμην τρέφων μὲν πρῶτον ἱερὰν τοῦ θεοῦ, |
ὡς φησιν· οὐ διὰ τοῦτό γ', ἀλλ' ἐστιγμένος
πρὸ τοῦ μετώπου παραπέτασμά αὐτὴν ἔχει.
οὗτος ἀποκρίνεται, ἂν ἐρωτήσης "πόσου
ὁ λάβραξ;" "δέκ' ὀβολῶν", οὐχὶ προσθεὶς
ὀποδαπῶν.

b

ἔπειτ' ἐὰν τὰργύριον αὐτῷ καταβάλης,
ἐπράξαιτ' Αἰγυναῖον· ἂν δ' αὐτὸν δέη
κέρματ' ἀποδοῦναι, προσαπέδωκεν Ἀττικά.
κατ' ἀμφότερα δὲ τὴν καταλλαγὴν ἔχει. |

c Ξέναρχος Πορφύρα·

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If you ask "How much are you selling
the two gray mullets for?", he says "Ten obols."

"Ouch!

Would you take eight?" "If you buy the other one
too."

"Take the money, buddy, and don't fool around."

"That's the price; run along!"

Isn't this bitterer than gall itself?

Diphilus in *The Busybody* (fr. 67):

I used to think it was only
the fish-sellers in Athens who were no good.
But apparently this breed is like wild animals:
their very nature makes them treacherous
everywhere.

Here, at any rate, there's one who's outdone them all;
he's growing his hair long, first of all, as an act of
piety—

so he says. That's not the reason; he's been tattooed,²³
and he uses his hair as a screen to cover his forehead.

If you ask him "How much for the sea-bass?", he
answers "Ten obols," without specifying the currency.

Then if you pay him the money,
he charges you on the Aeginetan standard; and if he
has

to give change, he offers Attic coins!

Either way, he makes money on the deal.

Xenarchus says in *Porphyra* (fr. 7):

²³ I.e. with the word "runaway" or the like, proving that he was
once a slave—and an untrustworthy one at that.

οἱ μὲν ποιηταὶ (φησὶ) ληρός εἰσιν· οὐδὲ ἐν
 καινὸν γὰρ εὐρίσκουσιν, ἀλλὰ μεταφέρει
 ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ταῦτ' ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω.
 τῶν δ' ἰχθυοπωλῶν φιλοσοφώτερον γένος
 οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ μᾶλλον ἀνόσιον.
 ἐπεὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς οὐκέτ' ἔστ' ἐξουσία
 ραίνειν, ἀπείρηται δὲ τοῦτο τῷ νόμῳ,
 εἷς τις θεοῖσιν ἐχθρὸς ἄνθρωπος πάνυ
 ξηρανομένους ὡς εἶδε τοὺς ἰχθύς, μάχην |
 d ἐπόησ' ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐξεπίτηδες εὖ πάνυ.
 ἦσαν δὲ πληγαί, καιρίαν δ' εἰληφέναι
 δόξας καταπίπτει καὶ λιποψυχεῖν δοκῶν
 ἔκειτο μετὰ τῶν ἰχθύων. βοᾷ δέ τις
 “ὔδωρ <ὔδωρ>”. ὁ δ' εὐθύς ἐξάρας πρόχουν
 τῶν ὁμοτέχων τις τοῦ μὲν ἀκαρῆ παντελῶς
 κατέχεε, κατὰ τῶν ἰχθύων δ' ἀπαξάπαν.
 εἵποις γ' ἂν αὐτοὺς ἀρτίως ἠλωκέναι.

ἽΟτι δὲ καὶ νεκροὺς πωλοῦσι τοὺς ἰχθύς καὶ σεση-
 πότας ἐπισημαίνεται ὁ Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Μοιχοῖς διὰ
 τούτων· |

e οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν θηρίον τῶν ἰχθύων
 ἀτυχεστέρον· τῷ μὴ γὰρ ἀποχρῆν ἀποθανεῖν
 αὐτοῖς ἀλοῦσιν, εἶτα κατεδηδεσμένοις
 εὐθύς ταφῆναι, παραδοθέντες ἄθλιοι
 τοῖς ἰχθυοπώλαις τοῖς κακῶς ἀπολουμένοις
 σήπονθ', ἔωλοι κείμενοι δὺ ἡμέρας
 ἢ τρεῖς. μόλις δ' ἐάν ποτ' ὠνητῆν τυφλὸν

BOOK VI

The poets are a joke. They don't come up with anything new; instead, each of them mixes up the same ideas in a different way. On the other hand, there's no breed more profound than the fish-sellers—or more depraved! Since they're no longer allowed to sprinkle water on their fish, and the law prohibits this, when one total bastard saw his fish drying out, he quite deliberately started a fight among them. Punches were thrown; and he pretended to have taken a good shot, and fell down and was lying among his fish, apparently unconscious. Someone shouted "Water! water!"; and another man in the business picked up a pitcher and poured just a little on him—and all the rest over the fish! You would've said they'd just been caught.

Antiphanes in the following passage from *Seducers* (fr. 159) establishes that they sell rotten, dead fish:

There's no animal more unfortunate than fish. It's not enough for them to be caught and die, and then be eaten and given a funeral immediately. Instead, the poor creatures are turned over to the damned fish-sellers and rot, lying there going bad for two or three days. If they finally find a customer

λάβωσ', ἔδωκαν τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναίρεσιν
 τούτῳ· κομίσας δ' ἐξέβαλεν < . . . > οἴκαδε,
 τὴν πείραν ἐν τῇ ῥίνι τῆς ὀσμῆς λαβών. |

f ἐν δὲ Φιλοθηβαίῳ φησίν·

οὐ δεινόν ἐστι, προσφάτους μὲν ἂν τύχη
 πωλῶν τις ἰχθύς, συναγαγόντα τὰς ὀφρῦς
 τούτου σκυθρωπάζοντά θ' ἡμῖν προσλαλεῖν,
 εἰσαπαιρὸν κομιδῆ δέ, παίζειν καὶ γελᾶν;
 τούναντίον γὰρ πᾶν ἔδει τούτους ποεῖν·
 τὸν μὲν γελᾶν, τὸν δ' ἕτερον οἰμώζειν μακρά.

ὅτι δὲ καὶ παμπόλλου πιπράσκουσιν Ἄλεξις ἐν Πυ-
 λαίᾳ¹ φησίν· ||

226 (A.) νῆ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τεθαύμακα
 τοὺς ἰχθυοπώλας, πῶς ποτ' οὐχὶ πλούσιοι
 ἅπαντές εἰσι λαμβάνοντες βασιλικοὺς
 φόρους. (B.) <φόρους> μόνον; οὐχὶ δεκατεύουσι
 γὰρ
 τὰς οὐσίας ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καθήμενοι,
 ὅλας δ' ἀφαιροῦνται καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν;

Κὰν τῷ Δέβητι δέ φησιν ὁ αὐτὸς ποιητής·

οὐ γέγονε κρείττων νομοθέτης τοῦ πλουσίου
 Ἀριστονίκου. † τίθησι γὰρ νυνὶ νόμον,

¹ Πυλαίᾳ Meineke: Πυλαίαις A

who's blind, they entrust him with disposing
of the corpses. But after he gets them home, he
throws them out
when he catches a whiff of them with his nose.

In *The Man Who Loved Thebes* (fr. 217) he says:

Isn't it outrageous that, if someone happens to be
selling fresh-caught fish, he knits his brow
and addresses us with a scowl on his face;
whereas if he has fish that are completely rotten, he
tells jokes and laughs?
They ought to do exactly the opposite:
the first guy should be laughing, the other one
groaning out loud.

Alexis in *The Girl from Thermopylae*²⁴ (fr. 204) says that
they sell their fish at a very high price:

(A.) By Athena, I'm amazed that
the fish-sellers aren't all rich,
given that they receive tribute-payments large
enough
for kings. (B.) Just tribute-payments? Don't they sit
in our cities and tax our property at 10%,
and take it all away on a daily basis?

The same poet says in *The Cauldron* (fr. 130):

There's never been a better legislator than the
wealthy
Aristonicus.²⁵ † He's currently proposing a law

²⁴ Or perhaps (maintaining the manuscript's plural) *The Festival at Thermopylae*.

²⁵ PAA 173950.

- b τῶν ἰχθυοπωλῶν ὅστις ἂν πωλῶν τινη |
 ἰχθὺν ὑποτιμήσας ἀποδῶτ' ἐλάττονος
 ἧς εἶπε τιμῆς, εἰς τὸ δεσμοπήριον
 εὐθύς ἀπάγεσθαι τοῦτον, ἵνα δεδουκότες
 τῆς ἀξίας ἀγαπῶσιν, ἢ τῆς ἐσπέρας
 σαπρούς ἅπαντας ἀποφέρωσιν οἴκαδε.
 κἀνταῦθα καὶ γραῦς καὶ γέρων καὶ παιδίον
 πεμφθεῖς ἅπαντες ἀγοράσουσι κατὰ τρόπον.
 καὶ προελθὼν δέ φησιν·

- c οὐ γέγονε μετὰ Σόλωνα κρείττων οὐδὲ εἰς
 Ἀριστοῦκου νομοθέτης· τά τ' ἄλλα γὰρ |
 νενομοθέτηκε πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα δῆ,
 ἢννί τε καινὸν εἰσφέρει νόμον τινὰ
 χρυσοῦν, τὸ μὴ πωλεῖν καθημένους ἔτι
 τοὺς ἰχθυοπώλας, διὰ τέλους δ' ἐστηκότας·
 εἰτ' εἰς νέωτά φησι γράψειν κρεμαμένους,
 καὶ θάττον ἀποπέμψουσι τοὺς ὄνουμένους
 ἀπὸ μηχανῆς πωλοῦντες ὥσπερ οἱ θεοί.

- Ἐμφανίζει δ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ σκαιόν, ἔτι δὲ <τὸ>
 μισάνθρωπον Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Μισοπονήρῳ πρὸς τοὺς
 ἐν τῷ βίῳ κακίστους τὴν σύγκρισιν αὐτῶν ποιούμενος |
 d διὰ τούτων·

εἰτ' οὐ σοφοὶ δῆτ' εἰσὶν οἱ Σκύθαι σφόδρα,

26 Athens' great early 6th-century lawgiver.

27 See 6.222e n.

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that any fish-seller who offers to sell someone
a fish and then lowers the amount, and gives it to him
for less
than the price he specified initially, is to be hauled off
to jail immediately. The hope is that they'll get scared
and be satisfied with an appropriate price, or else
haul
all their fish home in the evening rotten.
Then every old woman, old man, or slave
who's sent for fish will buy what he's supposed to.

And further on he says (fr. 131):

After Solon²⁶, there's never been a better legislator
than Aristonicus. He's passed
all kinds of other laws;
and now he's proposing a wonderful new
one, that fish-sellers are no longer allowed to sit
down
when they conduct their business, but have to remain
constantly on their feet.
Then next year, he says, he'll draft one requiring
them to hang in midair;
they'll send their customers away faster,
if they're selling from a crane, like the gods!²⁷

Antiphanes in *The Enemy of Rascals* (fr. 157) reveals
their stupidity, as well as their hostility to mankind, when
he compares them to the worst people alive, in the follow-
ing passage:

So aren't the Scythians remarkably clever,

οὐ γενομένοισιν εὐθέως τοῖς παιδίοις
 διδόασιν ἵππων καὶ βοῶν πίνειν γάλα;
 μὰ Δί' οὐχὶ τίθθας εἰσάγουσι βασκάνους
 καὶ παιδαγωγοὺς αἰθίς, ὧν μείζον < . . . >
 < μετά > γε μαίας νῆ Δία.

e αὐται δ' ὑπερβάλλουσι, μετά γε νῆ Δία
 τοὺς μητραγυρτοῦντάς γε· πολλὴ γὰρ ἰ αἰ γένος
 μαρώτατον τοῦτ' ἔστιν, εἰ μὴ νῆ Δία
 τοὺς ἰχθυοπώλας τις † βούλεται λέγειν
 < . . . > μετά γε τοὺς τραπεζίτας· ἔθνος
 τούτου γὰρ οὐδέν ἐστιν ἐξωλέστερον.

Οὐκ ἀπιθάνως δὲ καὶ Δίφιλος ἐν Ἐμπορῶ περὶ τοῦ
 παμπόλλου πιπράσκεσθαι τοὺς ἰχθῦς λέγει ὧδε·

οὐ πάποτ' ἰχθῦς οἶδα τιμωτέρους
 ἰδῶν. Πόσειδον, εἰ δεκάτην ἐλάμβανες
 αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τιμῆς ἐκάστης ἡμέρας,
 πολλὴ τῶν θεῶν ἂν ἦσθα πλουσιώτατος. |
 f ὅμως δὲ τούτων εἴ με προσγελάσειέ τις,
 ἐδίδου στενάξας ὅπόσον αἰτήσειέ με.
 γόγγρον μὲν, ὥσπερ ὁ Πρίαμος τὸν Ἔκτορα,
 ὅσον εἴλκυσε τοσοῦτο καταθεὶς ἐπριάμην.

Ἄλεξις δ' ἐν Ἑλληνίδι·

αἰεὶ δὲ καὶ ζῶντ' ἐστὶ καὶ τεθνηκότα
 τὰν τῇ θαλάττῃ πολέμι' ἡμῖν θηρία.
 ἂν ἀνατραπῆ γὰρ πλοῖον, εἴθ', ὡς γίγνεται,

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for giving their children horse-milk and cow-milk
to drink the moment they're born?

By Zeus, they don't bring in malicious wet-nurses
and slave-tutors after that, than whom greater . . .

—after midwives, by Zeus!

They're the worst—after Cybele's mendicant priests,
by Zeus! They're far and away
the vilest group there is—unless, by Zeus,
someone † chooses to mention the fish-sellers
. . . after the money-lenders; because there's no group
more abominable than them.

Diphilus in *The Merchant* (fr. 32) is quite convincing
when he says the following about the fact that fish are sold
at an extremely high price:

I don't think I've ever seen fish
more expensive. Poseidon, if you got 10%
of what's spent on them every day,
you'd be far and away the richest god there is!
But all the same, if one of them smiled at me,
I groaned and paid whatever he asked me for.
I offered a conger eel's weight in silver,
like Priam ransoming Hector,²⁸ and bought it.

Alexis in *The Greek Girl* (fr. 76):

Alive or dead, sea-creatures
are always our enemies.
If a ship overturns, and then—as happens—

²⁸ For the detail (not in Homer), cf. Σ^A *Il.* 22.351, citing Aeschylus (*TrGF* III p. 365), according to whom Priam offered Achilles his son's weight in gold.

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ληφθῆ νέων τις, καταπεπόκασ' εὐθέως· ἢ
 αὐτοὶ τ' ἐπ' ἂν ληφθῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλιέων,
 τεθνεῶτες ἐπιτίβουσι τοὺς ὠνούμενους.
 τῆς οὐσίας γάρ εἰσιν ἡμῖν ὄνιοι,
 ὁ πριάμενός τε πτωχὸς εὐθὺς ἀποτρέχει.

ἐξ ὀνόματος δ' ἰχθυοπόλου μνημονεῖ Ἑρμαίου Αἰ-
 γυπτίου Ἄρχιππος ἐν Ἰχθύσιν οὕτως·

Αἰγύπτιος μιαρῶτατος τῶν ἰχθύων κάπηλος
 Ἑρμαιος, ὃς βία δέρων ρίνας γαλεοῦς τε πωλεῖ
 καὶ τοὺς λάβρακας ἐντερεύων, ὡς λέγουσιν ἡμῖν. |

b καὶ Ἄλεξις δ' ἐν Ἐπικλήρῳ Μικίωνος ἰχθυοπόλου
 τινὸς μνημονεῖ.

Εἰκότως οὖν καὶ οἱ ἀλιεῖς ἐπὶ τῇ τέχνῃ μέγα φρο-
 νοῦσι μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν στρατηγῶν. παράγει
 γοῦν τινα τούτων Ἀναξανδρίδης ἐν Ὀδυσσεῖ περὶ τῆς
 ἀλιευτικῆς τέχνης τάδε λέγοντα·

τῶν ζωγράφων μὲν ἢ καλὴ χειρουργία
 ἐν τοῖς πίναξιν κρεμαμένη θαυμάζεται·
 αὕτη δὲ σεμνῶς ἐκ λοπάδος ἀρπάζεται
 ἀπὸ τοῦ ταγήνου τ' εὐθέως ἀφανίζεται. |

c ἐπὶ τίνα † δ' ἄλλην τέχνην †; ὦ χρηστὲ σύ,
 τὰ στόματα τῶν νεωτέρων κατακάετ' ἢ
 ὄθισμός ἐστι δακτύλων τοιουτοσὶ

29 PAA 402105.

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a man's caught while he's swimming, they
immediately gulp him down.
And when the fishermen catch *them*,
even after they're dead they ruin the people who
purchase them.
Because we have to mortgage all our property to buy
them,
and the guy who buys them races off, abruptly
reduced to a pauper.

Archippus in *Fish* (fr. 23) mentions the fish-seller Hermaeus the Egyptian²⁹ by name, as follows:

Hermaeus the Egyptian, the vilest fish-seller,
who violently fillets monkfish and dogfish,
and guts sea-bass, and sells them, so they tell us.

Alexis in *The Heiress* (fr. 78.7) also mentions a fish-seller named Micion.³⁰

Fishermen are therefore deservedly prouder of their business than the best generals are. Anaxandrides in *Odysseus* (fr. 34), for example, brings one of them onstage saying the following about fishing:

The painters' lovely handiwork
is admired when it's hung up in the art-market;
but mine's snatched haughtily from the casserole-dish
and disappears immediately from the frying pan.
In response to what † other craft †, my good sir,
are young men's mouths scorched, or
is there this sort of jostling of fingers or

³⁰ PAA 652905. The fragment in question is quoted below, at 6.227d–e.

ἢ πνιγμός, ἂν μὴ ταχὺ δύνηται καταπιεῖν;
 ἀλλ' οὐ μόνη γὰρ τὰς συνουσίας ποεῖ
 εὖοψος ἀγορά; τίς δὲ συνδειπνέει βροτῶν
 φρυκτοὺς καταλαβὼν ἢ κορακίνοὺς ὠνίους
 ἢ μαινίδ'; ὠραῖον δὲ μειρακύλλιον |
 d ποίαις ἐπωδαῖς ἢ λόγοις ἀλίσκεται
 τίσι, φράσον γάρ, ἂν τις ἀφέλη τὴν τέχνην
 <τὴν> τῶν ἀλιέων; ἦδε γὰρ δαμάζεται
 ἐφθοῖς προσώποις ἰχθύων χειρουμένη,
 † ἄγουσ' ὑπ' αὐτὰ σώματ' ἀρίστου πύλας,
 ἀσύμβολον κλίνειν τ' ἀναγκάζει φύσιν. †

Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς περιέργως ὀψωνοῦντας τάδε φησὶν
 Ἄλεξις ἐν Ἐπικλήρῳ

ὅστις ἀγοράζει πτωχὸς ὢν ὄψον πολὺ
 ἀπορούμενός τε τᾶλλα πρὸς τοῦτ' εὐπορεῖ, |
 e τῆς νυκτὸς οὗτος τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας ποεῖ
 γυμνοὺς ἅπαντας. εἶτ' ἐπὶ τινεὶ ἐκδυθῆ,
 τηρεῖν ἔωθεν εὐθὺς ἐν τοῖς ἰχθύσι·
 ὃν ἂν δ' ἴδῃ πρῶτον πένητα καὶ νέον
 παρὰ Μικίωνος ἐγχείλει ὠνούμενον,
 ἀπάγειν λαβόμενον εἰς τὸ δεσμοτήριον.

Δίφιλος δ' ἐν Ἐμπόρῳ καὶ νόμον εἶναί φησι παρὰ
 Κορινθίους τινὰ τοιοῦτον

(A.) νόμιμον τοῦτ' ἐστὶ, βέλτιστ', ἐνθάδε

31 See 6.227b n.

BOOK VI

choking, if it can't be gulped down fast enough?
Isn't a marketplace full of fish the only thing
that produces social occasions? What mortal invites
 guests for dinner
after he gets hold of small-fry, or *korakinoi* that were
 on sale,
or a sprat? And what magic charms or speeches
capture a pretty young boy, tell me, if fishing's
taken out of the picture? It gets control of him
by subduing him with stewed fish-heads,
† bringing under the very bodies of the best one
 gates,
and forces a nature that contributed no money to lie
 down. †

Alexis in *The Heiress* (fr. 78) says the following about
people who make odd purchases of fish:

If a beggar buys lots of fish
and has enough money for this, but not for anything
 else,
this guy's stripping the robe off whoever
crosses his path at night. So when someone has his
 clothes stolen,
let him keep watch in the fish-market as soon as the
 sun's up;
and let him arrest the first poor young man he sees
buying eels from Micion³¹,
and drag him off to the jail!

Diphilus in *The Merchant* (fr. 31) says that the Corinthians
have a law of the following sort:

(A.) This is the custom here in Corinth,

- Κορινθίοισιν, ἄν τιν' ὀψωνοῦντ' αἰεὶ |
 f λαμπρῶς ὀρώμεν, τοῦτον ἀνακρίνειν πόθεν
 ζῆ καὶ τί ποιῶν· κἂν μὲν οὐσίαν ἔχῃ,
 ἧς αἰ πρόσοδοι λύουσι τὰναλώματα,
 ἔαν ἀπολαύειν τοῦτον ἤδη τὸν βίον·
 ἔαν δ' ὑπὲρ τὴν οὐσίαν δαπανῶν τύχῃ,
 ἀπέειπον αὐτῷ τοῦτο μὴ ποιεῖν ἔτι.
 ὃς ἂν δὲ μὴ πίθητ', ἐπέβαλον ζημίαν.
 ἔαν δὲ μηδ' ὀτιοῦν ἔχων ζῆ πολυτελῶς,
 τῷ δημίῳ παρέδωκαν αὐτόν. (B.) Ἡράκλεις. ||
 228 (A.) οὐκ ἐνδέχεται γὰρ ζῆν ἄνευ κακοῦ τινος
 τοῦτον συνιεῖς; ἀλλ' ἀναγκαίως ἔχει
 ἢ λωποδυτεῖν τὰς νύκτας ἢ τοιχωρυχεῖν,
 ἢ τῶν ποοῦντων ταῦτα κοινωνεῖν τισιν,
 ἢ συκοφαντεῖν κατ' ἀγορὰν, ἢ μαρτυρεῖν
 ψευδῆ. τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐκκαθαίρομεν γένος.
 (B.) ὀρθῶς γε νῆ Δί. ἀλλὰ δὴ τί τοῦτ' ἐμοί;
 (A.) ὀρώμεν ὀψωνοῦνθ' ἐκάστης ἡμέρας
 οὐχὶ μετρίως, βέλτιστέ, σ', ἀλλ' ὑπερηφάνως. |
 b οὐκ ἔστιν ἰχθυηρὸν ὑπὸ σοῦ μεταλαβεῖν.
 συνῆκας ἡμῶν εἰς τὰ λάχανα τὴν πόλιν·

BOOK VI

my good man: if we see someone always
ostentatiously buying fish, we question him about
what
he lives off and what his occupation is. If he's got
property
whose revenues cover his expenses,
we let him enjoy this life-style after that.
And if he turns out to be spending more than he can
afford,
they forbid him to do this any longer;
and they impose a fine on anyone who disobeys.
But if someone with no property at all lives
expensively,
they turn him over to the public executioner. (B.)
Heracles!
(A.) Because it's impossible that this fellow's surviving
without
doing something wrong. Do you get it? It's inevitable
that
he's either mugging people for their clothes at night,
or committing burglaries;
or else he's an accomplice of this type of criminal;
or he's making false accusations in the marketplace,
or perjuring
himself. We're eliminating this sort of person.
(B.) And rightly so, by Zeus. But what does this have
to do with me?
(A.) We see you buying fish every day,
my good sir, and not just a few, but prodigally.
Because of you, it's impossible to get any seafood.
You've confined our city to the vegetable-market;

περὶ τῶν σελίνων μαχόμεθ' ὥσπερ Ἴσθμίοις.
 λαγῶς τις εἰσελήλυθ'· εὐθύς ἦρπακας.
 πέρδικα δ' ἢ κίχλην γε νῆ Δί' οὐκ<έτι>
 ἔστιν δι' ὑμᾶς οὐδὲ πετομένην ἰδεῖν.
 τὸν ξενικὸν οἶνον ἐπιτετίμηκας πολὺ.

τὸ δὲ ἔθος τοῦτο καὶ Ἀθήνησιν εἶναι ἀξιοῖ Σώφιλος
 ἐν Ἀνδροκλεί ὀψονόμους ἀξίων αἰρεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς
 c βουλῆς δὺ ἢ καὶ τρεῖς. Λυγκεὺς δ' ὁ ἰ Σάμιος καὶ
 Τέχνην Ὀψωνητικὴν συνέγραψε πρὸς τινα δυσώγην,
 διδάσκων αὐτὸν τίνα δεῖ λέγοντα πρὸς τοὺς ἀνδρο-
 φόρους ἰχθυοπώλας λυσιτελῶς, ἔτι δὲ ἀλύπως ὠνεῖ-
 σθαι ἃ βούλεται.

Ἐκ τούτων πάλιν τῶν λεχθέντων τὰς ἀκάνθας
 ἀναλεξάμενος Οὐλπιανός, εἰ ἔχομεν, ἔφη, δεῖξαι ἀρ-
 γυροῖς σκεύεσιν ἐν τοῖς δείπνοις χρωμένους τοὺς
 ἀρχαίους καὶ εἰ ὁ πίναξ Ἑλληνικὸν ὄνομα. Ὀμήρου
 γὰρ εἰπόντος ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐα·

d τοῖσιν δ' αὖ κρειῶν πίνακας παρέθηκε συβώτης,

Ἄριστοφάνης ὁ Βυζάντιος νεώτερόν φησιν εἶναι τὸ
 ἐπὶ πινάκων παρατιθέναι τὰ ὄψα, ἀγνοῶν ὅτι κὰν

³² The crowns awarded to victors at the Isthmian Games (celebrated near Corinth, where the play is set) were made of wild celery.

³³ See the excerpt from the work preserved at 7.313e-f.

³⁴ A reference to an anonymous elegiac couplet quoted at 3.97d, where see n.

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we're battling over celery, like at the Isthmian Games!³²

A hare comes in; you immediately snatch it.
It's your fault that it's now impossible, by Zeus, to
catch a glimpse of
a partridge or a thrush even flying around.
You've driven the price of imported wine up
considerably.

Sophilus in *Androcles* (fr. 2) proposes that this should also be the practice in Athens, suggesting that the Council choose two or three fish-inspectors. Lynceus of Samos (fr. 20 Dalby) composed the prose-treatise *On the Art of Purchasing Seafood* for someone who had trouble doing his shopping, and offered him instructions about what one has to say to the bloodthirsty fish-sellers to come out ahead and buy what one wants with no trouble.³³

Ulpian again selected the thorny parts of these remarks³⁴ and said: I wonder if we can show that the ancients used silver vessels at their dinner parties, and also whether *pinax* ("platter") is a Greek word.³⁵ For although Homer said in the *Odyssey* (16.49):

The swineherd also set platters (*pinakes*) of meat
beside them,

Aristophanes of Byzantium (p. 202 Slater) claims that serving delicacies on platters is quite a recent practice, being

³⁵ Cf. 6.224b, where the fish that make up the next course of the meal are said to be served on silver *pinakes*. The troupe of slaves who bring in the fish presumably spark the question that follows as well.

ἄλλοις εἶρηκεν ὁ ποιητής· |

δαιτρὸς δὲ κρειῶν πίνακας παρέθηκεν ἀείρας.

ζητῶ δὲ καὶ εἰ δούλων πλήθος τινες ἐκέκτηντο ὥσπερ
καὶ οἱ νῦν καὶ εἰ τὸ τήγανον εἶρηται καὶ μὴ μόνως
τάγηνον, ἵνα μὴ πάντα πίνωμεν ἢ καὶ ἐσθίωμεν
ὥσπερ οἱ διὰ τὴν γαστέρα παράσιτοι ὀνομαζόμενοι |
e ἢ κόλακες.

Πρὸς ὃν Αἰμιλιανὸς ἀπεκρίνατο· πίνακα μὲν ἔχεις
τὸ σκεῦος ὀνομασμένον καὶ παρὰ Μεταγένει τῷ κωμι-
κῷ ἐν Θουριοπέρσαις· τήγανον δέ, ὧ βέλτιστε, εἶρη-
κεν ἐν μὲν Λήροις Φερεκράτης οὕτως·

ἀπὸ τηγάνου τ' ἔφασκεν
ἀφύας φαγεῖν.

καὶ ἐν Πέρσαις ὁ αὐτός· |

f ἐπὶ τηγάνοις καθίσανθ' ὑφάπτειν τοῦ φλέω.

Φιλωνίδης δ' ἐν Κοθόροις·

ὑποδέχου καὶ βατίσι καὶ τηγάνοις.

καὶ πάλιν·

ὀσφρομένην τῶν τηγάνων.

Εὐβουλος δ' ἐν Ὀρθάνηι·

³⁶ The latter form is used in Anaxandr. fr. 34.4 (above), prompting the question.

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unaware that the poet also says elsewhere (e.g. *Od.* 1.141):

And the carver picked up platters (*pinakes*) of meat
and set them by their side.

In addition, I am wondering whether anyone owned as many slaves as people do today, and whether the form *tēganon* ("frying pan") is used, and not *tagēnon* exclusively.³⁶ My goal is to keep us from simply drinking or eating everything, like the individuals called parasites or flatterers because of their appetites.³⁷

Aemilianus answered him: You have the vessel referred to as a *pinax* mentioned by the comic author Metagenes in *Thuriopians* (fr. 8). As for *tēganon*, my good sir, Pherecrates uses the word in *Jewelry* (fr. 109), as follows:

and he claimed that he ate
small-fry from a *tēganon*.

The same author also in *Persians* (fr. 133):

sitting beside *tēgana* and setting fire to the reed.³⁸

Philonides in *High Boots* (fr. 2, encompassing both quotations):

to entertain with skates and *tēgana*.

Again:

smelling the *tēgana*.

Eubulus in *Orthannes* (fr. 75.7–8):³⁹

³⁷ The reference to parasites sets up the long discussion of the term that begins at 7.234c. ³⁸ Sc. as tinder.

³⁹ Quoted at greater length at 3.108a–b, where see n.

ρίπις δ' ἐγείρει φύλακας Ἡφαίστου κύνας
θερμὴν παροξύνουσα τηγάνου πνοήν.

καὶ πάλιν·

πᾶσα δ' εὐμορφος γυνή
ἐρώσα φοιτᾷ τηγάνων τε σύντροφα. ||

229 καὶ ἐν Τιτᾶσι·

προσγελῶσά τε
λοπὰς παφλάζει βαρβάρῳ λαλήματι,
πηδῶσι δ' ἰχθύς ἐν μέσοισι τηγάνοις.

τοῦ δὲ ῥήματος μέμνηται Φρύνιχος ἐν Τραγωδοῖς·

ἥδὺ δ' ἀποτηγανίζειν ἄνευ συμβολῶν.

καὶ Φερεκράτης ἐν Μυρμηκανθρώποις φησί·

σὺ δ' ἀποτηγανίζεις.

Ἡγήσανδρος δ' ὁ Δελφὸς Συρακοσίους φησὶ τὴν μὲν
b λοπάδα τήγανον καλεῖν, | τὸ δὲ τήγανον ξηροτήγανον·
διὸ καὶ Θεοδωρίδαν φάναι ἐν τινι ποιηματίῳ·

τηγάνῳ εὖ ἤψησεν ἐν ὀψητήρι κολύμβῳ,

τὴν λοπάδα τήγανον προσαγορεύων. χωρὶς δὲ τοῦ τ
στοιχείου Ἴωνες ἤγανον λέγουσιν, ὡς Ἀνακρέων·

χείρά τ' ἐν ἡγάνῳ βαλεῖν.

BOOK VI

A fan rouses Hephaestus' watchdogs,
stimulating the warm breath of a *tēganon*.

Again (fr. 75.1–2):

Every well-built woman
who's in love comes, as do the nurslings of *tēgana*.

Also in *Titans* (fr. 108):

A casserole-dish
smiles at him and splutters with barbaric chatter,
and fish leap about among the *tēgana*.

Phrynichus uses the word in *Tragic Actors* (fr. 60):

It's nice to eat from a *tēganon* without contributing
any money.

And Pherecrates says in *Ant-People* (fr. 128):

But you eat from a *tēganon*.

Hegesander of Delphi (fr. 38, *FHG* iv.420=Gloss. Ital. 38 Kassel-Austin) claims that the Syracusans refer to a casserole-dish (*lopas*) as a *tēganon*, and to a *tēganon* as a *xērotēganon* ("dry frying pan"), which is why Theodoridas says in a short poem (*SH* 742):

He stewed it carefully in a swimming *tēganon*
intended for seafood,

referring to the casserole-dish as a *tēganon*. Ionians say *ēganon*, without the letter *tau*, for example Anacreon (*PMG* 436):

and to put one's hand in an *ēganon*.

εἰς ἐπίστασιν δέ με ἄγει, καλὸν Οὐλπιανέ, περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀργυρωμάτων χρήσεως τὸ ὑπὸ Ἀλέξιδος ἐν Φυγαδί εἰρημένον·

c ὅπου γάρ ἐστιν ὁ κέραμος μισθώσιμος |
ὁ τοῖς μαγείροις.

μέχρι γὰρ τῶν Μακεδονικῶν χρόνων κεραμέοις σκεύε-
σιν οἱ δειπνοῦντες διηκονοῦντο, ὡς φησιν ὁ ἐμὸς
Ἰόβας. μεταβαλόντων δ' ἐπὶ τὸ πολυτελέστερον Ἑρω-
μαίων τὴν δίαιταν κατὰ μίμησιν ἐκδιαιτηθεῖσα Κλεο-
πάτρα ἢ τὴν Αἰγύπτου καταλύσασα βασιλείαν τοῦ-
νομα οὐ δυναμένη ἀλλάξαι ἀργυροῦν καὶ χρυσοῦν
ἀπεκάλει κέραμον αὐτὸ κέραμά τ' ἀπεδίδοτο τὰ ἀπο-
φόρητα τοῖς δειπνοῦσι καὶ τοῦτ' ἦν τὸ πολυτελέστα-
d τόν· εἷς τε τὸν Ἑρωσικὸν εὐανθέστατον | ὄντα κέραμον
πέντε μνᾶς ἡμερησίας ἀνήλισκεν ἢ Κλεοπάτρα. Πτο-
λεμαῖος δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν ὀγδῶ Ἑπομνημάτων περὶ
Μασσανάσσου τὸν λόγον ποιούμενος τοῦ Λιβύων
βασιλέως φησὶ τάδε· δεῖπνα Ἑρωμαικῶς ἦν κατεσκευ-
ασμένα, κέραμω παντὶ χορηγούμενα ἀργυρῶ· τὰς δὲ
τῶν δευτέρων τραπέζας ἐκόσμηε τοῖς Ἰταλικοῖς ἐθι-
σμοῖς· τὰ δὲ κανίσκια ἦν ἅπαντα χρυσᾶ, γεγονότα
πρὸς τὰ πλεκόμενα ταῖς σχοίνοις· μουσικοῖς δὲ

⁴⁰ Quoted at greater length at 4.164f–5a.

⁴¹ Sc. for the next two topics, the ancients' use of silver vessels and the term *pinax*.

⁴² I.e. the Hellenistic period.

⁴³ Cleopatra VII (reigned 51–30 BCE).

⁴⁴ For a more complete version of the story, see 4.147f–8a.

BOOK VI

What Alexis says in *The Exile* (fr. 259.3–4)⁴⁰ about the use of silver vessels, my good Ulpian, brings me to my starting point⁴¹:

for where the cooks rent their earthenware.

Because up until the Macedonian period,⁴² diners used ceramic vessels, according to my countryman Juba (*FGrH* 275 F 87). But when the Romans moved toward a more luxurious lifestyle, Cleopatra (the one who brought about the end of the Egyptian kingship)⁴³ altered her way of living to imitate theirs. Since she was unable to change the name, she used to refer to silver and gold vessels as “earthenware” (*keramon*), and gave the “earthenware”—it was the most expensive sort—to her dinner guests as presents to take home.⁴⁴ Cleopatra also used to spend five minas a day on elaborately decorated Rhosian pottery.⁴⁵ King Ptolemy in Book VIII of the *Commentaries* (*FGrH* 234 F 7) says the following in his discussion of the Libyan king Massanassus:⁴⁶ Dinners were prepared in the Roman style and featured silver vessels (*keramon*) of every sort; he decorated the tables for the dessert courses in the Italian manner; the bread-baskets were all made of gold and resembled those that are woven out of reeds; and he had Greek

⁴⁵ Rhosus was a city on the Gulf of Issus in Cilicia (Str. 14.676). Rhosian pottery (unidentified, but often taken to be either lead-glazed wares or Eastern Sigillata A) is also mentioned at Cicero, *Att.* 6.1.13. Five minas is 500 drachmas, a considerable sum of money.

⁴⁶ I.e. Masinissa (reigned 204–148 BCE), a firm and constant supporter of the Romans in their struggles with other Mediterranean powers.

- e ἐχρήτο Ἑλληνικοῖς. Ἀριστοφάνης | δὲ ὁ κωμωδιοποιός,
ὃν φησιν Ἡλιόδωρος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ
Ἀκροπόλεως — πεντεκαίδεκα δ' ἐστὶ ταῦτα βιβλία —
Ναυκρατίτην εἶναι γένος, ἐν τῷ Πλούτῳ δράματι κατὰ
τὴν τοῦ ὁμωνύμου θεοῦ ἐπιφάνειαν τοὺς ἰχθυηροὺς
φησι πίνακας ἀργυροῦς ἀναφανῆναι καθάπερ καὶ τὰ
ἄλλα ἅπαντα, λέγων ὡδί·

ὄξις δὲ πᾶσα καὶ λοπάδιον καὶ χύτρα
χαλκῆ γέγονε· τοὺς δὲ πινακίσκους τοὺς
σαπροὺς |

- f τοὺς ἰχθυηροὺς ἀργυροῦς πάρεσθ' ὄραν·
ὁ δ' ἵπνός γεγον' ἡμῖν ἕξαπίνης ἐλεφάντινος.

Πλάτων δ' ἐν Πρέσβεσι·

κᾶτ' ἔλαβον Ἐπικράτης τε καὶ Φορμίσιος
παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως πλείστα δωροδοκήματα,
ὀξύβαφα χρυσᾶ καὶ πινακίσκους ἀργυροῦς.

- 230 Σώφρων δ' ἐν Γυναικείοις Μίμοις φησί· || τῶν δὲ
χαλκωμάτων καὶ τῶν ἀργυρωμάτων ἐγάργαιρεν ἅ
οἰκία. Φιλιππίδης δ' ἐν Ἀργυρίου Ἀφανισμῷ ὡς φορ-
τικῷ μέμνηται τοῦ τοιούτου καὶ σπανίου, ζηλουμένου
δὲ ὑπὸ τινων νεοπλούτων μετοίκων·

(Α.) ἀλλ' ἔλεος ἐμπέπτωκέ τις μοι τῶν ὄλων,
ὅταν ἀπορουμένους μὲν ἀνθρώπους ἴδω

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musicians. The comic poet Aristophanes—Heliodoros of Athens in his *On the Acropolis* (FGRH 373 F 4 = Ar. test. 12) (the work consists of 15 Books) claims that his family was from Naucratis⁴⁷—says in his play *Wealth* (812–15) that when the god by the same name appeared, the fish-platters (*pinakes*) were discovered to be silver, like everything else. He puts it thus:

Every vinegar-cruet, casserole-dish, and cookpot
has turned to bronze; you can see that
the miserable little fish-platters (*pinakiskoi*) are
silver;
and our oven is suddenly made of ivory.

Plato in *Ambassadors* (fr. 127):

And then Epicrates and Phormisius got
loads of bribes from the King:
gold sauce-dishes and little silver platters
(*pinakiskoi*).⁴⁸

Sophron says in the *Women's Mimes* (fr. 29): The house was piled high with the bronze and silver vessels. Philip-pides in *Vanished Money* (fr. 9) refers to acting this way as crude and unusual behavior, but as something aspired to by certain metic *nouveaux riches*:

(A.) But a sort of universal pity overwhelms me
whenever I see free people with

⁴⁷ An equally unlikely claim in favor of Athenaeus' hometown is put forward in connection with Apollonius of Rhodes at 7.283d.

⁴⁸ For the embassy of Epicrates (PAA 393945) and Phormisius (PA 14945) to Persia in 394/3 BCE, cf. 6.251a–b.

ἐλευθέρους, μαστιγίας δ' ἀπ' ἀργυροῦ
πίνακος ἄγοντος μνᾶν τάριχος ἐνίοτε
δυεῖν ὀβολῶν ἔσθοντας ἢ τριωβόλου |
b καὶ κάππαριν χαλκῶν τριῶν ἐν τρυβλίῳ
ἄγοντι πεντήκοντα δραχμὰς ἀργυρῶ.
πρότερον δὲ φιάλην ἦν ἀνακειμένην ἰδεῖν
ἐργῶδες. (B.) ἀμέλει, τοῦτο μὲν καὶ νῦν ἔτι
ἂν γὰρ ἀναθῆ τις, εὐθὺς ἕτερος ἤρπασεν.

Ἄλεξις δ' ἐν Ἰππίσκῳ νεανίσκον παράγων ἐρώντα καὶ
ἐπιδεικνύμενον τὸν πλοῦτον τῇ ἐρωμένη ταῦτα ποιεῖ
λέγοντα·

(A.) τοῖς παισὶ τ' εἶπα (δύο γὰρ ἦγον οἴκοθεν)
τάκπώματ' εἰς τὸ φανερόν ἐκλελιτρωμένα |
c θεῖναι κύαθος δ' ἦν ἀργυροῦς, † τάκπώματα †
ἦγεν δύο δραχμὰς, κυμβίον δὲ τέτταρας
ἴσως ἑτέρας, ψυκτηρίδιον δὲ δέκ' ὀβολούς,
Φιλιππίδου λεπτότερον. (B.) ἀλλὰ ταῦθ' ὅλως
πρὸς ἀλαζονείαν οὐ κακῶς νενοημέν' ἦν.

⁴⁹ Literally "bronze coins", representing fractions of an obol, as again at 6.241a. ⁵⁰ There were 100 drachmas in a mina, and 60 minas in a talent.

⁵¹ The two verses that precede these (partially corrupt) are quoted, along with most of the rest of the fragment, at 11.502f. Athenaeus refers to the play as *Agonis* or *The Brooch* at 8.339c; 15.678e (called simply *The Brooch* also at 11.471e, 502f).

⁵² 1 2/3 drachmas.

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nothing, while ex-slaves are eating saltfish
that sometimes costs two or three obols
from a silver platter (*pinax*) that weighs a mina,
or three cents⁴⁹ worth of capers served
in a silver bowl that weighs 50 drachmas.⁵⁰
In the old days it took some effort to see a silver
libation-bowl

even as a dedication in a temple. (B.) Don't worry—
it's still that way today;
because if somebody dedicates one, another person
steals it immediately!

Alexis in *The Brooch* (fr. 2.3–9)⁵¹ brings onstage a young
man who is in love and is showing off his money to his girl-
friend, and represents him as saying the following:

(A.) And I told my slaves—I brought two of them
from home—
to clean the goblets and set them out where everyone
could see them. There was a silver ladle, † the gob-
lets †
weighed two drachmas; a small bowl weighing maybe
another four; and a wine-cooling vessel that weighed
ten obols⁵²
and was thinner than Philippides⁵³. (B.) Well, even
though this is just
empty talk, it was quite well-conceived.

⁵³ For the notorious thinness of the late 4th-century Athenian politician Philippides (*PA* 14351), cf. Aristopho fr. 10.1–2 (quoted at 6.238c); *Hyp.* p. 57 Jensen; Alex. fr. 93; Aristopho fr. 8; and Men. fr. 266 (all quoted at 12.552d).

οἶδα δὲ καὶ γὰρ τινὰ πολίτην ἡμέτερον πτωχαλαζόνα, ὃς
 δραχμῆς ἔχων τὰ πάντα ἀργυρώματα ἐβόα καλῶν τὸν
 οἰκέτην ἕνα ὄντα καὶ μόνον, ὄνόμασι δὲ χρώμενον |
 d ψαμμακοσίους, “παῖ Στρομβιχίδη, μὴ τῶν χειμερινῶν
 ἀργυρωμάτων ἡμῖν παραθῆς, ἀλλὰ τῶν θερινῶν.” τοι-
 οὔτος ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ παρὰ Νικοστράτῳ ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφο-
 μένῳ δράματι Βασιλείς. ἀλαζῶν δ’ ἐστὶ στρατιώτης,
 περὶ οὗ λέγει·

λοιπή τις ὀξίς ἐστὶ καὶ ψυκτῆριον
 τῆς εὐπαρύφου λεπτότερον.

ἐξήλαννον γὰρ τινες τὸν ἄργυρον καὶ τότε εἰς ὑμένους
 ἰδέαν. καὶ Ἀντιφάνης δὲ ἐν Δημνίαις φησί· |

e παρετέθη τρίπους
 πλακοῦντα χρηστόν, ὃ πολυτίμητοι θεοί,
 ἔχων ἐν ἀργυρῷ τε τρυβλίῳ μέλι.

καὶ Σώπατρος δ’ ὁ παρωδὸς ἐν Ὀρέστη·

σαπρὸν σίλουρον ἀργυροῦς πίναξ ἔχων.

ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ δράματι Φακῆ φησιν·

ἀλλ’ ἀμφὶ δείπνοις ὀξίδ’ ἀργυρᾶν ἔχει
 δρακοντομίμοις ὀργάνων τορεύμασι,
 οἶαν ποτ’ ἔσχε καὶ Θίβρων ὁ Ταυτάλου
 μαλακὸν ταλάντοις ἐκταλαντωθεὶς ἀνήρ. |

⁵⁴ The Spartan mercenary commander Thibron (Poralla #376; Berve i #372) murdered his friend Harpalus (Alexander’s

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I am personally acquainted with an impoverished braggart—one of my fellow-citizens—whose silver vessels were worth a total of a single drachma, but who used countless names when he gave orders to his one and only servant, and would shout: “Slave! Strombichides! Don’t set the table for us with the silver vessels we use in the winter! Use the summertime vessels instead!” Nicostratus’ character in his play entitled *Kings* (fr. 8) is like this too. He is a big-talking soldier, about whom the poet says:

There’s a vinegar-cruet left, and a wine-cooling vessel
thinner than his beautiful robe;

because even in those days some people hammered silver out into very thin plate. Antiphanes too says in *Lemnian Women* (fr. 143):

A table was set beside me
that held a fine cake, O much-honored gods,
and honey in a silver bowl.

Also the parodist Sopater in *Orestes* (fr. 14):

a silver platter holding a rotten sheatfish.

And in the play entitled *Lentil Soup* (fr. 18) he says:

But at his dinner parties he has a silver vinegar-cruet
with figures that resemble snakes worked in relief,
like the fancy one Thibron son of Tantalus once
owned, a guy whose money cost him his money.⁵⁴

fugitive treasurer; cf. 6.245f–6a n.) and stole what remained of his money in 324 BCE. He was captured and executed by Ptolemy’s general Ophellas in 322.

- f Θεόπομπος δ' ὁ Χίος ἐν ταῖς Πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον Συμβουλαῖς περὶ Θεοκρίτου τοῦ πολίτου τὸν λόγον ποιούμενός φησιν· ἐξ ἀργυρωμάτων δὲ καὶ χρυσῶν πίνει καὶ τοῖς σκεύεσιν χρῆται τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης ἐτέροις τοιούτοις, ὁ πρότερον οὐχ ὅπως ἐξ ἀργυρωμάτων ἔχων² πίνειν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ χαλκῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκ κεραμῶν καὶ τούτων ἐνίοτε κολοβῶν. Δίφιλος δ' ἐν Ζωγράφῳ·

231 ἄριστον ἐπεχόρευσεν ἐκλελεγμένον, ||
εἴ τι νέον ἢ ποθεινόν· ὀστρέων γένη
παντοδαπά, λοπάδων παρατεταγμένη φάλαγξ,
ὀπτῶν ἐπήγε σωρὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ τηγάνου,
τριμμάτια τούτοις ἐν θυείαις ἀργυραῖς.

Φιλήμων Ἰατρῷ·

καὶ γυλίον τι³ ἀργυρωμάτων.

Μέναιδρος Ἐαυτὸν Τιμωρομένῳ·

λουτρόν, θεραπαίνας, ἀργυρώματα.

καὶ ἐν Ἐμνίδι·

ἀλλὰ τὰργυρώματα
ἤκω λαβεῖν βουλόμενος. |

- b Λυσίας δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ Χρυσοῦ Τρίποδος, εἰ γνήσιος ὁ λόγος· ἀργυρώματά τε ἢ χρυσώματα ἔτι ἦν διδόναι. οἱ δ' Ἑλληνίζοντες λέγειν δεῖν φασιν ἀργυ-

² οὐκ ἔχων ACE: οὐκ del. Cobet

BOOK VI

When Theopompus of Chios in his *Advice For Alexander* (FGrH 115 F 252) discusses his fellow-citizen Theocritus,⁵⁵ he says: He drinks from silver and gold cups, and uses other vessels of a similar sort on his table—a man who was previously unable to drink from silver cups or even bronze, but used earthenware, and sometimes chipped earthenware at that. Diphilus in *The Painter* (fr. 43):

A choice lunch danced in, including
everything that's unusual or desirable: every variety
of shellfish; casserole-dishes drawn up in battle-
order;
a heap of roasted goodies rushed at us from the
frying pan;
sauces for them in silver mortars.

Philemon in *The Physician* (fr. 35):

and a knapsack full of silver vessels.

Menander in *The Masochist* (fr. 78):

a bath, servant-girls, silver vessels.

Also in *Hymnis*⁵⁶ (fr. 366):

But I've come because
I want to get the silver vessels.

Lysias in his *On the Gold Tripod* (if the speech is authentic) (fr. 201 Carey): There were still gold or silver parts to surrender. Those who insist on proper Greek⁵⁷ claim that he

⁵⁵ For the sophist Theocritus of Chios, cf. I.14e, 21c with n.

⁵⁶ Apparently a personal name. ⁵⁷ I.e. critics who questioned the authenticity of the speech on the grounds that follow.

ροῦν κόσμον καὶ χρυσοῦν κόσμον.

Τοσαῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ Αἰμιλιανοῦ ὁ Ποντιανὸς ἔφη· σπάνιος γὰρ οὕτως ἦν τὸ παλαιὸν παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ὁ μὲν χρυσοῦς καὶ πάνυ, ὁ δὲ ἄργυρος ὀλίγος ἦν ὁ ἐν τοῖς μετάλλοις. διὸ καὶ Φίλιππον τὸν τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρου πατέρα φησὶν Δοῦρις ὁ Σάμιος φιάλιον χρυσοῦν κεκτημένον ἀεὶ τοῦτ' ἔχειν
 c κείμενον ὑπὸ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον. καὶ τὴν Ἀτρέως δὲ χρυσοῦν ἄρνα, περὶ ἣν γεγόνασιν ἡλίου τε ἐκλείψεις καὶ βασιλειῶν μεταβολαὶ ἔτι τε τῆς τραγωδίας ἢ πολλή, φιάλην ἀργυρᾶν φησι γεγενῆσθαι Ἡρόδωρος ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης ἔχουσαν ἐν μέσῳ ἄρνα χρυσοῦν. Ἀναξιμένης δ' ὁ Ασαμψακηνὸς ἐν ταῖς Πρώταις ἐπιγραφομέναις Ἱστορίαις τὸν Ἐριφύλης ὄρμον διαβόητον γενέσθαι διὰ τὸ σπάνιον εἶναι τότε <τὸ> χρυσίον παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν· καὶ γὰρ ἀργυροῦν ποτήριον ἦν ἰδεῖν τότε παράδοξον. μετὰ δὲ τὴν Δελφῶν ὑπὸ Φωκέων
 d κατάληψιν | πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα δαιψίλειαν εἴληφεν. ἐκ ποτηρίων δὲ χαλκῶν ἔπινον οἱ σφόδρα δοκοῦντες πλουτεῖν καὶ τὰς θήκας τούτων ὠνόμαζον χαλκοθήκας. Ἡρόδοτός τε φησι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίωιν ἱερεῖς χαλ-

⁵⁸ Philip II of Macedon (reigned 360/59–336 BCE), the father of Alexander the Great.

⁵⁹ Atreus (the father of Agamemnon and Menelaus) owned a golden lamb, control of which brought with it the kingship. Atreus' wife Aerope stole the lamb and gave it to Atreus' brother Thyestes, who was her lover. Cf. 6.242f. Zeus then registered his displeasure by reversing the sun's course ([Apollod.] *Epit.* 2.10–12).

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should have said “silver ornamentation” and “gold ornamentation”.

After Aemilianus completed these extended remarks, Pontianus said: The fact is that in ancient times the Greeks had very little gold, and not much silver was found in their mines. According to Duris of Samos (*FGrH* 76 F 37a), this is why Philip,⁵⁸ the father of the great king Alexander, always kept a small gold libation-bowl he owned hidden under his pillow. Likewise Atreus’ golden lamb, which was the cause of eclipses of the sun and changes of kingship, as well as of many tragic plots,⁵⁹ was, according to Herodorus of Heracleia (*FGrH* 31 F 57), a silver libation-bowl with a gold lamb in the center. Anaximenes of Lampsacus in his work entitled *Early History* (*FGrH* 72 F 3) claims that Eriphyle’s necklace⁶⁰ was notorious because in that period the Greeks had very little gold; in fact, it was unusual then to see even a silver cup. But after the Phocians captured Delphi,⁶¹ everything of this sort became plentiful. Seemingly very wealthy people used to drink out of bronze cups and referred to the chests used to store them as *chalkothēkai* (“bronze-storage chests”). Herodotus (2.151) too says that Egyptian priests drink from bronze cups, and that

⁶⁰ Given to Eriphyle by Polynices as a bribe to convince her to require her husband to join the expedition of the Seven Against Thebes, and taken by her son Alcmaeon when he killed her; cf. 6.222d n., 233a.

⁶¹ In 356 BCE, as part of the Third Sacred War, with Philomelus as general; cf. 6.264c–d with nn. The Phocians looted the treasuries at Delphi (also referred to as Pytho), putting thousands of talents of silver and gold into sudden circulation; cf. 6.232e (continuing from the same source, after a short section of intrusive material).

κοῖς ποτηρίοις πίνειν, τοῖς τε βασιλεύσιν αὐτῶν θύ-
 ουσί ποτε κοινῇ οὐχ εὐρεθῆναι πᾶσι δοθῆναι φιάλας
 ἀργυρᾶς· Ψαμμήτιχον οὖν νεώτερον ὄντα τῶν ἄλλων
 βασιλέων χαλκῇ φιάλῃ σπείσαι τῶν ἄλλων ἀργυραῖς
 σπενδόντων. συληθέντος δ' οὖν τοῦ Πυθικοῦ ἱεροῦ ὑπὸ
 e τῶν Φωκικῶν τυράννων | ἐπέλαμψε παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλη-
 σιν ὁ χρυσός, εἰσεκώμασε δὲ καὶ ὁ ἄργυρος. ὕστερον
 δὲ τοῦ μεγίστου Ἀλεξάνδρου τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας θη-
 σαυροὺς ἀνελομένου ὄντως ἀνέτειλεν

ὁ (κατὰ Πίνδαρον) πλοῦτος εὐρυσθενής.

καὶ τὰ ἐν Δελφοῖς δὲ ἀναθήματα τὰ ἀργυρᾶ καὶ τὰ
 χρυσᾶ ὑπὸ πρώτου Γύγου τοῦ Λυδῶν βασιλέως ἀν-
 ετέθη· καὶ πρὸ τῆς τούτου βασιλείας ἀνάργυρος, ἔτι
 δὲ ἄχρυσος ἦν ὁ Πύθιος, ὡς Φαινίας τέ φησιν ὁ
 Ἑρέσιος καὶ Θεόπομπος ἐν τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ τῶν
 f Φιλιππικῶν. ἱστοροῦσι γὰρ | οὗτοι κοσμηθῆναι τὸ
 Πυθικὸν ἱερὸν ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Γύγου καὶ τοῦ μετὰ τοῦτον
 Κροίσου, μεθ' οὓς ὑπὸ τε Γέλωνος καὶ Ἰέρωνος τῶν
 Σικελιωτῶν, τοῦ μὲν τρίποδα καὶ Νίκην χρυσοῦ πε-
 ποιημένα ἀναθέντος καθ' οὓς χρόνους Ξέρξης ἐπ-
 εστράτεψε τῇ Ἑλλάδι, τοῦ δ' Ἰέρωνος τὰ ὅμοια. λέγει

⁶² According to Herodotus, the other bowls were in fact gold; the priest responsible for the ceremony merely made a mistake about the number needed; and Psammetichus was last in line, and therefore used his bronze helmet as a libation bowl instead (accidentally establishing his claim to sole control of the kingship).

⁶³ The reference is to the generals listed at 6.232e.

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once when their kings were offering a sacrifice together, not enough silver libation-bowls could be found for each of them to be given one. Psammetichus, therefore, who was younger than the other kings, made his libation with a bronze bowl, whereas the others used silver.⁶² After the Pythian temple was plundered by the Phocian tyrants⁶³, therefore, gold's light shone among the Greeks, and silver burst onto the scene. Later, after Alexander the Great got control of the treasuries in Asia, came the real ascendancy of what Pindar (*P.* 5.1) calls

widely-powerful wealth.

The first silver and gold dedications in Delphi were made by Gyges, king of Lydia,⁶⁴ prior to his reign, the Pythian god had no silver, and also no gold, according to Phaenias of Eresus (fr. 11 Wehrli) and Theopompus in Book XL of his *History of Philip* (*FGrH* 115 F 193). For these authors report that the Pythian temple was transformed into a beautiful place by Gyges and his successor Croesus,⁶⁵ and after them by Gelon and Hieron of Sicily.⁶⁶ Gelon dedicated a tripod and a Victory, both made of gold, at the time when Xerxes was invading Greece,⁶⁷ and Hieron made

⁶⁴ Reigned *c.* 680–644 BCE. For his dedications at Delphi, see *Hdt.* 1.14.1–3.

⁶⁵ Croesus reigned *c.* 560–547/6 BCE.

⁶⁶ Gelon was tyrant of Gela *c.* 491–486 BCE, and then of Syracuse 485–478/7. Gelon's brother Hieron first served as his regent in Gela (485–478/7), and then succeeded to the tyranny of Syracuse (478/7–466) after Gelon's death.

⁶⁷ In 480 BCE. Delphi sided with the Persians, and Gelon's motivations in making rich dedications at precisely this point are profoundly suspect.

- δ' οὕτως ὁ Θεόπομπος ἦν γὰρ τὸ παλαιὸν τὸ ἱερὸν κεκοσμημένον χαλκοῖς ἀναθήμασιν, οὐκ ἀνδριάσιν ἀλλὰ λέβησι καὶ τρίποσι χαλκοῦ πεποιημένοις. ||
- 232 Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὖν χρυσῶσαι βουλόμενοι τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ ἐν Ἀμύκλαις Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ οὐχ εὐρίσκοντες ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι χρυσίον πέμψαντες ἐπηρώτων³ τὸν θεὸν παρ' οὗ χρυσίον πρίαυτο. ὁ δ' αὐτοῖς ἀνείλεν παρὰ Κροίσου τοῦ Λυδοῦ πορευθέντας ὠνεῖσθαι⁴ καὶ οἱ πορευθέντες παρὰ Κροίσου ὠνήσαντο. Ἰέρων δ' ὁ Συρακόσιος βουλόμενος ἀναθεῖναι τῷ θεῷ τὸν τρίποδα καὶ τὴν Νίκην ἐξ ἀπέφθου χρυσοῦ ἐπὶ πολὺν
- b χρόνον ἀπορῶν χρυσίου | ὕστερον ἔπεμψε τοὺς ἀναζητήσοντας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα· οἵτινες μόλις ποτ' εἰς Κόρινθον ἀφικόμενοι καὶ ἐξιχνεύσαντες εὗρον παρ' Ἀρχιτέλει τῷ Κορινθίῳ, ὃς πολλῷ χρόνῳ συνωνόμενος κατὰ μικρὸν θησαυροὺς εἶχεν οὐκ ὀλίγους. ἀπέδοτο οὖν τοῖς παρὰ τοῦ Ἰέρωνος ὅσον ἠβούλοντο καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πληρώσας καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χεῖρα ὅσον ἠδύνατο χωρῆσαι ἐπέδωκεν αὐτοῖς. ἀνθ' ὧν Ἰέρων πλοῖον σίτου καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ δῶρα ἔπεμψεν ἐκ Σικελίας. ιστορεῖ | τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ Φαινίας ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν Ἐν
- c Σικελίᾳ Τυράννων, ὡς χαλκῶν ὄντων τῶν παλαιῶν ἀναθημάτων καὶ τριπόδων καὶ λεβήτων καὶ ἐγγχειριδίων, ὧν ἐφ' ἐνὸς καὶ ἐπιγεγράφθαι φησίν·

³ εἰς θεοῦ ἐπηρώτων ACE: εἰς θεοῦ del. Meineke

⁴ ὠνεῖσθαι παρ' ἐκείνου A: ὠνήσαντο tantum CE: παρ' ἐκείνου del. Kaibel

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similar offerings.⁶⁸ Theopompus puts it as follows: In ancient times the temple was decorated with bronze dedications—not statues, but cauldrons and tripods made of bronze. When the Spartans wanted to gild the face of Apollo in Amyclae, therefore, and were unable to locate any gold in Greece, they sent messengers⁶⁹ and asked the god who would sell it to them. He answered that they should go and buy gold from Croesus the Lydian (Delphic Oracle Q106 Fontenrose), and they went and purchased it from him. Hieron of Syracuse wanted to dedicate a tripod and a Victory made of pure gold to the god, but had no access to the metal for a long time; later he sent men to Greece to look for it. They eventually made their way to Corinth, where they tracked it down and found a source in Architeles the Corinthian, who by buying it up little by little over a long period of time had accumulated substantial supplies. He accordingly sold Hieron's envoys as much as they wanted, and afterward filled his hand with as much as it could hold and gave them this too. Hieron responded by sending him a ship full of grain, along with many other gifts from Sicily. Phaenias tells the same story in his *On the Tyrants in Sicily* (fr. 11 Wehrli), reporting that the ancient dedications, which consisted of tripods, cauldrons, and daggers, were made of bronze. He adds that one of the daggers was inscribed (anon. *FGE* 1546–9):

⁶⁸ See below.

⁶⁹ Sc. to Apollo's oracle at Delphi.

θάησαί μ'· ἔτεόν γάρ ἐν Ἴλιου εὐρέι πύργῳ
 ἦν, ὅτε καλλικόμῳ μαρνάμεθ' ἀμφ' Ἑλένης,
 καί μ' Ἀντηνορίδης ἐφόρει κρείων Ἑλικάων·
 νῦν δέ με Λητοῦίδου θεῖον ἔχει δάπεδον. |

d ἐπὶ δὲ τρίποδος, ὃς ἦν εἰς τῶν ἐπὶ Πατρόκλῳ ἄθλων
 τεθέντων·

χάλκεός εἰμι τρίπους, Πυθοῖ δ' ἀνάκειμαι
 ἄγαλμα·
 καί μ' ἐπὶ Πατρόκλῳ θῆκεν πόδας ὠκὺς
 Ἀχιλλεύς·
 Τυδείδης δ' ἀνέθηκε βοῆν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης
 νικήσας ἵπποισι παρὰ πλατὺν Ἑλλήσποντον.

e Ἐφορος δὲ ἢ Δημόφιλος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ τρι-
 ακοστῇ | τῶν Ἱστοριῶν περὶ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱεροῦ
 λέγων φησὶν· Ὀνόμαρχος δὲ καὶ Φάυλλος καὶ Φάλαι-
 κος οὐ μόνον ἅπαντα τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξεκόμισαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ
 τελευταῖον αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν τὸν τε τῆς Ἐριφύλης
 κόσμον ἔλαβον, ὃν Ἀλκμαίων εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀνέθηκε
 κελεύσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ τὸν τῆς Ἑλένης ὄρμον
 Μενελάου ἀναθέντος. ἑκατέρῳ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησεν,

⁷⁰ A prominent Trojan; cf. *Il.* 3.123; *Il. Parv.* fr. 12 Bernabé. For other forged temple dedications supposedly from the heroic period, cf. the early portions of the *Chronicum Lindium*. Leto's son (below) is Apollo.

BOOK VI

Behold me; for I was in fact in the wide citadel
of Troy, when we fought for the sake of fair-haired
Helen,

and King Helicaon, son of Antenor,⁷⁰ wore me.

But now I belong to the sacred plain of Leto's son.

And on a tripod, which was one of those offered as a prize
at the games in honor of Patroclus (cf. *Il.* 23.264, 510–13):

I am a bronze tripod, dedicated as an offering at
Pytho.

Swift-footed Achilles offered me in honor of
Patroclus,

and Diomedes good-at-the-warcry, son of Tydeus,
dedicated me

after he took the prize in horse-racing beside the
broad Hellespont.

Ephorus or his son Demophilus says in the course of his
discussion of the temple in Delphi in Book XXX of his *His-*
tory (*FGrH* 70 F 96): Not only did Onomarchus, Phayllus,
and Phalaecus⁷¹ carry away all the god's property, but in
the end their wives got Eriphyle's jewelry, which Alcmaeon
dedicated in Delphi at the god's order,⁷² along with Helen's
necklace, which Menelaus dedicated.⁷³ Because the god

⁷¹ Three Phocian generals (all from a single family) during the
Third Sacred War (see 6.231c–d n.), listed in the order in which
they commanded the Phocian forces beginning in 355 BCE.

⁷² For Alcmaeon and Eriphyle, and Eriphyle's necklace, see
6.222d n., 231c with n.

⁷³ On the eve of the Trojan War, when he and Odysseus asked
the oracle to predict the outcome of the expedition (Demetr.
Phal. fr. 191 Wehrli = fr. 146 Fortenbaugh–Schütrumpf).

Ἄλκμαίῳ μὲν πυνθανομένῳ πῶς ἂν τῆς μανίας ἀπ-
αλλαγείη·

f τιμῆν μ' αἰτεῖς δῶρον μανίαν ἀποπαῦσαι· |
καὶ σὺ φέρειν τιμῆν ἐμοὶ γέρας, ᾧ ποτε μήτηρ
Ἀμφιάραον ἔκρυσ' ὑπὸ γῆν αὐτοῖσι σὺν ἵπποις·

Μενελάῳ δὲ πῶς ἂν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τιμωρήσαιο·

πάγχρυσον φέρε κόσμον ἔλων ἀπὸ σῆς ἀλόχοιο
δειρῆς, ὃν ποτε Κύπρις ἔδωχ' Ἑλένη μέγα
χάρμα·

ὥς σοι Ἀλέξανδρος τίσιν ἐχθίστην ἀποδώσει. ||

233 συνέβη δὲ ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἔριν ἐμπεσεῖν περὶ τοῦ κό-
σμου τούτου ποτέρα πότερον λήψεται. καὶ διακληρου-
μένων ἢ μὲν σκυθρωπῇ οὔσα κατὰ τὸν βίον καὶ
σεμνότητος πλήρης τὸν Ἐριφύλης ὄρμον, ἢ δὲ ὄρα
διαφέρουσα καὶ μάχλος οὔσα τὸν τῆς Ἑλένης ἔλαχε.
καὶ αὕτη μὲν ἐρασθεῖσα νεανίσκου τινὸς Ἠπειρώτου
συνεξεδήμησεν, ἢ δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ θάνατον ἐβούλευσεν.

b Πλάτων δὲ ὁ θεῖος καὶ Λυκούργος ὁ Λάκων οὐδ'
εἶων ἐνεπιδημεῖν ταῖς ἰδίαις πολιτείαις οὔτε τῶν ἄλ-
λων πολυτελῶν οὐδέν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸν ἄργυρον | οὐδὲ

⁷⁴ After the attack of the Seven Against Thebes failed, Amphiaraus and his chariot were swallowed up by the earth (e.g. Pi. O. 6.13-14; N. 9.24-7).

⁷⁵ I.e. Paris, with whom Menelaus' wife Helen had run off.

⁷⁶ Aphrodite.

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offered both men oracles. To Alcmaeon, who asked how he could escape his madness, he said (Delphic Oracle L55 Fontenrose):

You ask me for a valuable gift, that I put an end to
your madness.
You must bring *me* a valuable prize, that with which
your mother once
hid Amphiaras beneath the earth, horses and all.⁷⁴

But to Menelaus, who asked how he could take revenge on Alexandros⁷⁵ (Delphic Oracle L56 Fontenrose):

Remove from your wife's neck the solid gold jewelry
that Cypris⁷⁶
once gave Helen as a great source of joy, and bring it
to me.
Then Alexandros will pay you back the vengeance
due a bitter enemy.

It happened that their wives quarrelled about which would get the various pieces of this jewelry. When they drew lots, the woman who spent her entire life scowling and was extremely self-centered got Eriphyle's necklace, while the one who was exceptionally beautiful and sexually voracious got Helen's. The latter fell in love with a young man from Epirus and ran off with him, while the former plotted her husband's death.

The divine Plato (*Lg.* 742a) and Lycurgus the Spartan⁷⁷ (cf. *X. Lac.* 7.6) did not allow anything valuable in their states, including silver and gold, since they believed that

⁷⁷ The legendary founder of the Spartan constitution (Poralla #499).

τὸν χρυσόν, τῶν μεταλλουμένων τὸν σίδηρον καὶ τὸν χαλκὸν ἀρκεῖν νομίζοντες, ἐκεῖνα δ' ἐκβάλλοντες ὡς λυμαινόμενα τὰς ὑγαινούσας τῶν πόλεων. Ζήνων δὲ ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς πάντα τὰ ἄλλα πλὴν τοῦ νομίμως αὐτοῖς καὶ καλῶς χρῆσθαι νομίσας ἀδιάφορα τὴν μὲν αἴρεσιν αὐτῶν καὶ φυγὴν ἀπειπών, τὴν χρῆσιν δὲ τῶν λιτῶν καὶ περιττῶν προηγουμένως ποιεῖσθαι προστάσων, ὅπως ἀδεῆ καὶ ἀθαύμαστον πρὸς τὰλλα τὴν διάθεσιν τῆς ψυχῆς ἔχοντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὅσα μῆτε
 c καλὰ ἐστὶ | μῆτε αἰσχρὰ τοῖς μὲν κατὰ φύσιν ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ χρῶνται, τῶν δ' ἐναντίων μηδὲν ὅλως δεδοικότες λόγῳ καὶ μὴ φόβῳ τούτων ἀπέχωνται. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἡ φύσις ἐκβέβληκεν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τῶν εἰρημένων, ἀλλ' ἐποίησεν ὑπογείους αὐτῶν φλέβας πολύπονον καὶ χαλεπὴν ἐχούσας ἐργασίαν, ὅπως οἱ περὶ ταῦτα σπουδάζοντες ὀδυνώμενοι μετίωσι τὴν κτῆσιν, καὶ οὐχ οἱ μεταλλεύοντες μόνοι ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ τὰ μεταλλουθέντα συναγείροντες μυρίοις μόχθοις θηρεύωσι τὴν
 d περίβλεπτον ταύτην πολυκτησίαν. | δείγματος μὲν οὖν χάριν < . . . > ἐπέειπερ ἐπιπόλαιον αὐτῶν ἐστὶ τὸ γένος, εἴ γ' ἐν ταῖς ἐσχατιαῖς τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ ποτάμια τὰ τυχόντα ψήγματα χρυσοῦ καταφέρει καὶ ταῦτα γυναῖκες καὶ ἄνδρες ἀσθενεῖς τὰ σώματα σὺν ταῖς ἄμμοις ὑποψήχοντες διωστᾶσι καὶ πλύναντες ἄγουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν χῶνην, ὡς παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλουητῖοις φησὶν ὁ ἐμὸς Ποσειδῶνιος καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶ τῶν Κελ-

78 Posidonius was from Apamea, while Pontianus (who is

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iron and bronze were the only metals needed, and expelled silver and gold on the ground that they ruin healthy cities. Because Zeno the Stoic (fr. 239, *SVF* i.57) considered everything about silver and gold except using them in a good, lawful way to be matters of indifference, he forbids both trying to get and trying to avoid them. But he urges above all else that people use plain and simple objects, so that they have a fearless, unawed attitude toward others that are neither good nor shameful, and can make use in general of those that are in accord with nature, and not be the least bit terrified of those that are not, but avoid them out of calculation rather than fear. For nature has excluded none of the metals discussed above from the world, but created underground veins of them that must be worked with great labor and difficulty, so that the individuals who are interested in them can acquire them only by means of suffering—and not just the miners, but also the people who collect what is mined and take infinite pains to pursue this coveted state of wealth. For example . . . since this type is near the earth's surface, given that the rivers located at the edges of the inhabited world carry gold-dust down with them, and women and sickly men separate it out by panning it along with the sand; and after they wash it, they pour it into a melting-pot, as my countryman Posidonius (*FGrH* 87 F 48 = fr. 240a Edelstein-Kidd)⁷⁸ says is the practice among the Helvetii and certain other Celts. So too

speaking at this point; cf. 6.231b) is from Nicomedia in Bithynia. There was an Apamea in Bithynia, but the ancient sources agree that Posidonius' Apamea was in Syria, and either Athenaeus is confused or Pontianus is claiming a personal connection to his source that does not exist.

τῶν. καὶ τὰ τε πάλαι μὲν Ῥιπαῖα καλούμενα ὄρη, εἶθ' ὕστερον Ὀλβια προσαγορευθέντα, νῦν δὲ Ἄλπια
 e (ἔστι δὲ τῆς | Γαλατίας) αὐτομάτως ὕλης ἐμπρησθείσης ἀργύρῳ διερρήη. τὸ μέντοι γε πολὺ τούτου βαθείαις καὶ κακοπαθέσι μεταλλείαις εὐρίσκεται κατὰ τὸν Φαληρέα Δημήτριον ἐλπίζούσης τῆς πλεονεξίας ἀνάξειν ἐκ τῶν μυχῶν τῆς γῆς αὐτὸν τὸν Πλούτωνα. χαριεντιζόμενος γοῦν φησιν ὅτι πολλάκις καταναλώσαντες τὰ φανερά τῶν ἀδήλων ἔνεκα ἃ μὲν ἔμελλον οὐκ ἔλαβον, ἃ δ' εἶχον ἀπέβαλον ὥσπερ αἰνίγματος τρόπον ἀτυχοῦντες. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἔθῶν
 f κωλυόμενοι εἰσφέρειν εἰς | τὴν Σπάρτην, ὡς ὁ αὐτὸς ἱστορεῖ Ποσειδώνιος, καὶ κτᾶσθαι ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσὸν ἐκτῶντο μὲν οὐδὲν ἦττον, παρακατετίθεντο δὲ τοῖς ὁμόροις Ἀρκάσιν· εἶτα πολεμίους αὐτοὺς ἔσχον ἀντὶ φίλων, ὅπως ἀνυπεύθυνον τὸ ἄπιστον διὰ τὴν ἐχθραν γένηται. τῷ μὲν οὖν ἐν Δελφοῖς Ἀπόλλωνι τὸν πρότερον ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον ἱστοροῦσιν ἀνατεθῆναι, δημοσίᾳ δὲ εἰς τὴν πόλιν Λύσανδρον
 234 εἰσαγαγόντα πολλῶν κακῶν αἴτιον γενέσθαι. || Γύλιππον γοῦν τὸν Συρακοσίους ἐλευθερώσαντα ἀποθανεῖν ἀποκαρτερήσαντα λόγος, καταγνωσθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν

⁷⁹ Here, as often, Ploutos ("Wealth") is confounded with Pluto, god of the Underworld. Demetrius was referring specifically to the important Athenian silver mines at Laurium.

⁸⁰ A reference to the riddle posed to Homer by unsuccessful fishermen at *Vita Herodot.* 499 (OCT Homer vol. V p. 215 Allen):

the mountains referred to in ancient times as Rhipaeon, then later called Olbian, and known today as the Alps (they are located in Celtic territory) flowed spontaneously with silver when the forest caught fire. Most such material, however, is found in deep, dangerous mines, according to Demetrius of Phalerum (fr. 138b Wehrli = fr. 116b Fortenbaugh-Schütrumpf) because greed hopes to excavate Ploutos⁷⁹ himself from the earth's interior. Demetrius cleverly remarks, at any rate, that people often spend what they have in hand to get what they cannot see, and fail to get what they intended, but throw away what they had, so that their bad luck resembles a riddle.⁸⁰ Although the Spartans' customs prevented them from bringing silver or gold into their country or owning it, according to the same Posidonius, they owned it none the less, but deposited it with their neighbors the Arcadians. Then they treated the Arcadians as enemies rather than friends, so that their own bad faith would go undetected as a consequence of this hostility. Some authorities report that the gold and silver previously found in Sparta had been dedicated to Delphian Apollo, but that Lysander⁸¹ introduced it into the city for public use, causing many problems. The story goes that Gylippus, for example, the liberator of Syracuse,⁸² starved himself to death when the ephors condemned him

"We got rid of everything we caught, and we've brought with us everything we didn't catch." The solution is "Lice".

⁸¹ Lysander (Poralla #504; d. 395 BCE) was one of Sparta's most important military commanders in the final years of the 5th century and the beginning of the 4th; cf. 6.271f n.

⁸² In 413 BCE, when the city was under siege by the Athenians. Gylippus is Poralla #196.

ἐφόρων ὡς νοσφισάμενον ἐκ τοῦ Λυσανδρείου χρήματος· τοῦ δὲ ἀνατιθεμένου θεῶ καὶ συγχωρουμένου δήμου καθάπερ κοσμήματος καὶ κτήματος οὐ ῥάδιον ἦν τὸν θνητὸν ὀλίγων γενέσθαι. τῶν δὲ Γαλατῶν οἱ Σκορδίσται καλούμενοι χρυσὸν μὲν οὐκ εἰσάγουσιν εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν χώραν, ληζόμενοι δὲ τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν καὶ ἀδικοῦντες <τὸν ἄργυρον> οὐ παραλείπουσι. τὸ δ' b ἔθνος αὐτῶν | ἐστὶ μὲν λείψανον τῶν μετὰ Βρέννου στρατευσασμένων ἐπὶ τὸ Δελφικὸν μαντεῖον Γαλατῶν, Βαθάναττος δὲ τις ἡγεμὼν αὐτοὺς διώκισεν ἐπὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰστρον τόπους < . . . > ἀφ' ἧς καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν δι' ἧς ἐνόστησαν Βαθαναττίαν καλοῦσι καὶ τοὺς ἀπογόνους τοὺς ἐκείνου Βαθανάττους ἔτι καὶ νῦν προσ-αγορεύουσιν. ἀφωσιώκασι δὲ οἷτοι τὸν χρυσὸν καὶ οὐκ εἰσφέρουσιν εἰς τὰς πατρίδας, δι' ὃν πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἔπαθον· ἀργύρῳ δὲ χρῶνται καὶ τούτου χάριν c πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ποιοῦσιν. καίτοι γε ἐχρῆν | οὐχὶ τὸ γένος τοῦ συληθέντος, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἱεροσυλήσασαν ἀσέβειαν ἐξορίσαι· εἰ δὲ μηδὲ τὸν ἄργυρον εἰσέφερον εἰς τὴν χώραν, ἣ περὶ τὸν χαλκὸν ἂν καὶ σίδηρον ἐπλημέλουν ἢ εἰ μηδὲ ταῦτ' ἦν παρ' αὐτοῖς, περὶ τῶν βρωτῶν καὶ ποτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀναγκαίων ὀπλομα-νοῦντες ἂν διετέλουν.

Τοσαῦτα καὶ τοῦ Ποντιανοῦ εἰπόντος, ἐφιλοτιμήσαντο γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ τὰς τοῦ Οὐλπιανοῦ ἀπολύσα-

83 In 404 BCE; cf. Plu. *Lys.* 15–17 (although in Plutarch's ac-

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for misappropriating some of Lysander's money;⁸³ it was not easy for a mortal to despise what had been dedicated to a god and was agreed to be, as it were, an ornament and proper possession of the people.⁸⁴ The Celtic tribe known as the Scordistae do not bring gold into their country, although when they raid and loot the territory of others, they do not leave the silver behind. Their tribe is a remnant of the Celts led by Brennus, who attacked the oracle at Delphi;⁸⁵ Bathanattus, one of their chieftains, settled them in the region around the Istrus River . . . from which they refer to the road along which they returned home as the Bathanattian road, and even today they call his descendants the Bathanatti. These people regard gold as polluted and do not bring it into their country, because it caused them tremendous trouble; but they use silver and often commit terrible crimes to get it. The ban should not, however, have been on the item plundered, but on the impiety that led to plundering sacred objects. If they had refused to bring silver into their country, they would have behaved badly in order to obtain bronze and iron; or else, if they lacked these too, they would have ended up fighting like madmen over food and drink and the other necessities of life.

After Pontianus completed this long speech, many of the guests aspired to resolve the questions Ulpian had

count the decision to use silver and gold only for public purposes followed Gylippus' disgrace, and Gylippus went into voluntary exile rather than committing suicide).

⁸⁴ Cf. Plu. *Lys.* 17.4-5.

⁸⁵ In 279 BCE; a disastrous retreat northward (alluded to below) followed.

σθαι προτάσεις· ὧν τὰς ὑπολειπομένας διελόμενοι ὁ
d μὲν Πλούταρχος ἔφη· τὸ δὲ τοῦ | παρασίτου ὄνομα
πάλαι μὲν ἦν σεμνὸν καὶ ἱερόν. Πολέμων γοῦν (ὁ εἶτε
Σάμιος ἢ Σικυώνιος εἶτ' Ἀθηναῖος ὀνομαζόμενος χαί-
ρει, ὡς ὁ Μοψεάτης Ἡρακλείδης λέγει καταριθμούμε-
νος αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπ' ἄλλων πόλεων ἐπεκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ
στηλοκόπας, ὡς Ἡρόδικος ὁ Κρατήτειος εἶρηκε) γρά-
ψας περὶ παρασίτων φησὶν οὕτως· τὸ τοῦ παρασίτου
ὄνομα νῦν μὲν ἄδοξόν ἐστι, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις
e συνθούῳ παρόμοιον. ἐν | Κυνοσάργει μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ
Ἡρακλείῳ στήλῃ τίς ἐστίν, ἐν ἧ ψήφισμα μὲν Ἀλκι-
βιάδου, γραμματεὺς δὲ Στέφανος Θουκυδίδου, λέγεται
δ' ἐν αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς προσηγορίας οὕτως· τὰ δὲ ἐπι-
μήνια θυέτω ὁ ἱερεὺς μετὰ τῶν παρασίτων. οἱ δὲ
παράσιτοι ἔστων ἐκ τῶν νόθων καὶ τῶν τούτων παίδων
κατὰ <τὰ> πάτρια. ὅς δ' ἂν μὴ θέλῃ παρασιτεῖν,
εἰσαγέτω καὶ περὶ τούτων εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον. ἐν δὲ
f τοῖς κύρβεσι τοῖς περὶ τῶν Δηλιαστῶν οὕτως γέ-
γραπται | καὶ τὸ κήρυκε ἐκ τοῦ γένους τῶν Κηρύκων
τοῦ τῆς μυστηριώτιδος. τούτους δὲ παρασιτεῖν ἐν τῷ

⁸⁶ A heavily condensed version of some of the material preserved here appears at Pollux 10.35.

⁸⁷ I.e. someone with a bottomless appetite for recording inscriptions.

⁸⁸ The notorious late 5th-century Athenian politician (PAA 121630). The inscriptions quoted below are all from Attica. For the temple of Heracles in Cynosarges, cf. 6.260a–b with n.

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posed, and among those who took on a portion of what remained was Plutarch, who said: Long ago "parasite" was a sacred, holy term.⁸⁶ Polemon (fr. 78 Preller), for example—whether he prefers to be referred to as a Samian, a Sicyonian, or an Athenian, as Heracleides of Mopsuestia says, listing other cities he might be from as well; according to Crates' student Herodicus (p. 126 Düring), he was also referred to as "the stele-glutton"⁸⁷—says the following when he writes about parasites: "Parasite" is today a disreputable term, but among the ancients I find that the parasite was sacred and resembled an invited guest at a meal. In the precinct of Heracles in Cynosarges is a stele inscribed with a decree moved by Alcibiades⁸⁸ when Stephanus son of Thucydides⁸⁹ was scribe, in which the following is said concerning the title: Let the priest, accompanied by the parasites, make the monthly offerings. Let the parasites be drawn from the bastards and their children, in accord with ancestral practice. If anyone is unwilling to serve as a parasite, let him be indicted in the lawcourt in connection with these matters. The following is inscribed on the law-code tablets concerned with the sacred ambassadors to Delos:⁹⁰ and the two heralds from the Cerycid clan associated with the Eleusinian Mysteries.⁹¹ These men are to serve as parasites in the precinct of

⁸⁹ PAA 834135 (a member of a distinguished Athenian family; also mentioned at 11.506b, and repeatedly in Plato). There was a new scribe ten times every year, and the inscription cannot be dated on this basis.

⁹⁰ For these embassies, see Philoch. *FGrH* 328 F 75.

⁹¹ For the Cerycids (an old Athenian aristocratic family), cf. Th. 8.53.2; And. 1.116; Paus. 1.38.3.

Δηλίῳ ἐνιαυτόν. ἐν δὲ Παλληνίδι τοῖς ἀναθήμασιν
 ἐπιγέγραπται τάδε ἄρχοντες καὶ παράσιτοι ἀνέθεσαν
 οἱ ἐπὶ Πυθοδώρου ἄρχοντος στεφανωθέντες χρυσῶ
 στεφάνῳ. ἐπὶ Διφίλης ἱερείας παράσιτοι Ἐπίλυκος
 < . . . >στράτου Γαργήτιος, Περικλῆς Περικλείτου
 Πιπθεύς, Χαρίνος Δημοχάρους Γαργήτιος. κὰν τοῖς
 τοῦ βασιλέως δὲ νόμοις γέγραπται θύειν τῷ Ἀπόλ-
 λωνι τοὺς Ἀχαρνέων παρασίτους. Κλέαρχος δ' ὁ
 Σολεύς, εἷς δ' οὗτος τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους ἐστὶ μαθητῶν,
 235 ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Βίων τάδε γράφει || ἔτι δὲ παρά-
 σιτου νῦν μὲν τὸν ἔτοιμον, τότε δὲ τὸν εἰς τὸ συμβιοῦν
 κατειλεγμένον. ἐν γοῦν τοῖς παλαιοῖς νόμοις < . . . > αἱ
 πλείσται τῶν πόλεων ἔτι καὶ τήμερον ταῖς ἐντιμο-
 τάταις ἀρχαῖς συγκαταλέγουσι παρασίτους. Κλείδη-
 μος δ' ἐν τῇ Ἀθίδι φησί· καὶ παράσιτοι δ' ἠρέθησαν
 τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ. καὶ Θεμίσων δ' ἐν Παλληνίδι ἐπιμελεῖ-
 σθαι δὲ τὸν βασιλέα τὸν αἰὲν βασιλεύοντα < καὶ τοὺς
 ἄρχοντας >⁵ καὶ τοὺς παρασίτους οὓς ἂν ἐκ τῶν δήμων
 προσαιρῶνται καὶ τοὺς γέροντας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας
 b τὰς πρωτοπόσεις. ἔχεις δὲ κὰκ τούτων, καλέ | μου

⁵ add. Schoell

⁹² I.e. at Athena's temple there (e.g. E. *Heracl.* 1031), north of Athens. Cf. 6.235a.

⁹³ 432/1 BCE. Pythodorus is PAA 794230.

⁹⁴ The sentence that follows is from a different inscription, which dates to the second half of the 4th century.

⁹⁵ PAA 368340; otherwise unknown.

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Delian Apollo for a year. The following is inscribed on the dedications at Pallene:⁹² The archons and parasites in the year when Pythodorus was eponymous archon⁹³ made this dedication after being crowned with a gold garland.⁹⁴ In the year of the priestess Diphile⁹⁵ the parasites were Epilycus son of . . . -stratus of the deme Gargettus, Pericles son of Pericleitus of the deme Pithus, and Charinus son of Demochares of the deme Gargettus.⁹⁶ And among the laws relating to the archon basileus⁹⁷ is written: The Acharnians' parasites⁹⁸ are to sacrifice to Apollo. Clearchus of Soli, one of Aristotle's students, writes the following in Book I of his *Lives* (fr. 21 Wehrl): Furthermore, a parasite is today someone prepared to share another's livelihood, but at that time it was an individual specifically selected to do so. In the ancient laws, at any rate . . . Even now most cities list parasites among their most prestigious magistracies. Cleidemus says in his *History of Attica* (FGrH 323 F 11): Parasites were also selected for Heracles. Likewise Themison in his *The Goddess at Pallene* (FGrH 374 F 1): Whoever is archon basileus at the time is to take care of this, along with the other archons and the old men and *prōtoposeis* women they select from the demes to be parasites. You may use this a starting-point, my good Ulpian, to

⁹⁶ PAA 395890, PAA 772600 (his father's name is in fact Pericleides), and PA 15448, respectively. Gargettus and Pithus are both very near to Pallene.

⁹⁷ The "king archon", one of Athens' most important annual officials, who was charged with numerous religious responsibilities in particular.

⁹⁸ Acharnae was a large deme located north of the city of Athens. The fragment quoted belongs to the decree cited at greater length from Crates below.

Οὐλπιανέ, ζητεῖν τίνες αἱ πρωτοπόσεις γυναῖκες. ἀλλὰ μὴν (περὶ γὰρ τῶν παρασίτων ὁ λόγος) κὰν τῷ Ἀνακείῳ ἐπὶ τινος στήλης γέγραπται τοῖν δὲ βοοῖν τοῖν ἡγεμόνοιν τοῖν ἐξαιρουμένοιν τὸ μὲν τρίτον μέρος εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα, τὰ δὲ δύο μέρη τὸ μὲν ἕτερον τῷ ἱερεί, τὸ δὲ τοῖς παρασίτοις. Κράτης δ' ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἀττικῆς Διαλέκτου φησί· καὶ ὁ παράσιτος νῦν ἐπ' ἄδοξον μετὰκειται πρᾶγμα, πρότερον δ' ἐκαλοῦντο παράσιτοι οἱ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ σίτου ἐκλογὴν αἰρούμενοι καὶ ἦν ἀρχεῖόν τι | παρασίτων. διὸ καὶ ἐν τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως νόμῳ γέγραπται ταυτί· ἐπιμελείσθαι δὲ τὸν βασιλεύοντα τῶν τε ἀρχόντων ὅπως ἂν καθιστῶνται καὶ τοὺς παρασίτους ἐκ τῶν δήμων αἰρῶνται κατὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα. τοὺς δὲ παρασίτους ἐκ τῆς βουκολίας ἐκλέγειν ἐκ τοῦ μέρους τοῦ ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστον ἐκτέα κριθῶν δαίνυσθαί τε τοὺς ὄντας Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. τὸν δ' ἐκτέα παρέχειν εἰς τὰ ἀρχεῖα τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τοὺς Ἀχαρνέων παρασίτους ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκλογῆς τῶν κριθῶν. ὅτι δὲ καὶ | ἀρχεῖον ἦν αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ νόμῳ τάδε γέγραπται· εἰς τὴν ἐπισκευὴν τοῦ νεῶ⁶ καὶ τοῦ παρασιτίου καὶ τῆς οἰκίας τῆς ἱερᾶς διδόναι τὸ ἀργύριον ὀπόσου ἂν οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπισκευασταὶ μισθώσωσιν. ἐκ τούτου δῆλόν ἐστιν ὅτι ἐν ᾧ

⁶ τοῦ νεῶ τοῦ ἀρχεῖου ACE: τοῦ ἀρχεῖου del. Kaibel

⁹⁹ Presumably women who have been married only once and are thus living with their first husband (*prōtos posis*). Ulpian never responds to the challenge.

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inquire into who these *prōtoposeis* women are.⁹⁹ But since my topic is parasites, there is also an inscription on a stele in the Anaceion¹⁰⁰: Of the two bulls selected to lead the procession, one-third of the meat shall be used for the festival, and as for the other two-thirds, one belongs to the priest, the other to the parasites. Crates says in Book II of the *Attic Dialect* (*FGrH* 362 F 7 = fr. 107 Broggiato): The term "parasite" has changed its sense and now refers to something disreputable, whereas previously the men chosen to collect the sacred grain were referred to as parasites and there was a parasites' office. This is why the following is written in the law concerning the archon basileus:¹⁰¹ The archon basileus is to ensure that the other archons assume their offices and select the parasites from the demes in accord with the statutes. The parasites are to choose one *hekteus*¹⁰² of barley apiece from the office of the archon basileus, from the portion that belongs to them, and are to provide a meal for the Athenians who are in the temple in accord with ancestral practice. From the barley they collect, the Acharnians' parasites are to furnish their *hekteus* to the offices in honor of Apollo. That they had an office is apparent from the following, which is found in the same law: For the repair of the temple, the parasites' area (*parasition*), and the sacred house, let enough money be provided to cover the wages of the men repairing the sacred buildings. It is clear from this that the place where the

¹⁰⁰ The temple of the Dioscuri (also known as the Anakes).

¹⁰¹ Cf. 6.234f with nn.

¹⁰² A *hekteus* was a dry measure (= 8 *choinikes*, or one-sixth of a *medimnos*) equivalent in size in Athens to about two American gallons.

τὰς ἀπαρχὰς ἐτίθεισαν τοῦ ἱεροῦ σίτου οἱ παράσιτοι τοῦτο παρασίτιον προσηγορεύετο. ταῦτα ἱστορεῖ καὶ Φιλόχορος ἐν τῇ ἐπιγραφομένῃ Τετραπόλει μνημονεύων τῶν καταλεγομένων τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ παρασίτων καὶ
 e Διόδωρος | ὁ Σινωπεὺς κωμωδιοποιὸς ἐν Ἐπικλήρῳ, οὗ τὸ μαρτύριον ὀλίγον ὕστερον παραθήσομαι. Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἐν τῇ Μεθωναίων Πολιτείᾳ, παράσιτοι, φησί, τοῖς μὲν ἄρχουσι δύο καθ' ἕκαστον ἦσαν, τοῖς δὲ πολεμάρχοις εἷς· τεταγμένα δὲ ἐλάμβανον παρ' ἄλλων τέ τινων καὶ τῶν ἀλιέων ὄψον. τὸν δὲ νῦν λεγόμενον παράσιτον Καρύστιος ὁ Περγαμηνὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ Διδασκαλιῶν εὐρεθῆναί φησιν ὑπὸ πρώτου Ἀλέξιδος, ἐκλαθόμενος ὅτι Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Ἐλπίδι ἢ Πλούτῳ
 f τῷ παρὰ πότον αὐτὸν | εἰσήγαγεν οὕτωςι λέγων·

ἄλλ' ἄλλος ᾧδ' ἔστειχ' τοῦδε κατὰ πόδας,
 τὸν ραδίνως λαψῆ τὸ κατὰ τὸ νῦν γὰ θην
 εὔνον ἀείσιτον· ἄλλ' ἔμπας ὄδε
 ἄμυστιν ὥσπερ κύλικα πίνει τὸν βίον.

καὶ αὐτὸν ποιεῖ τὸν παράσιτον λέγοντα τοιαύδε πρὸς τὸν πνυθανόμενον·

συνδειπνέων τῷ λῶντι, καλέσαι δεῖ μόνον,

103 The Tetrapolis was the region in northern Attica that included the demes Oenoe, Marathon, Probalinthus, and Tricorynthus, and the temple of Heracles in question is most likely the one in whose precinct the Athenians camped before the Battle of Marathon (Hdt. 6.108.1).

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parasites deposited the first-fruits of the sacred grain was referred to as the *parasition*. Philochorus records the same information in the work entitled *The Tetrapolis* (*FGrH* 328 F 73), where he mentions the parasites selected for Heracles,¹⁰³ as does the comic poet Diodorus of Sinope in *The Heiress* (fr. 2); I will cite his evidence a little later.¹⁰⁴ Aristotle says in his *Constitution of the Methonians* (fr. 562): There were two parasites per archon and one per polemarch, and they got what various people were assigned to furnish, including seafood from the fishermen. Carystius of Pergamum in his *On Dramatic Records* (fr. 17, *FHG* iv.359) claims that the character referred to today as a parasite was invented by Alexis,¹⁰⁵ forgetting that Epicharmus in *Hope or Wealth* (fr. 31) introduced one at a drinking party and said the following:

But another fellow came here, hot on his heels,
 someone you'll easily get, I think, as matters stand
 now,
 as a low-priced perpetual guest. At any rate, this guy
 gulps down his livelihood without pausing for a
 breath, as if he were emptying a cup.

He also represents the parasite himself as saying something along the following lines to a man who questions him (fr. 32):

Dining with whoever's willing—all he needs to do is
 issue an invitation!—

¹⁰⁴ See 6.239a-f.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Alex. fr. 183 (cited at 10.421d-e) with Arnott, *Alexis*, pp. 542-5.

- καὶ τῷ γὰ μῆδὲ λῶντι, κωῦδὲν δεῖ καλεῖν.
 τῆνεὶ δὲ χαρίεις τ' εἰμὶ καὶ ποέω πολὺν ἢ
 236 γέλωτα καὶ τὸν ἰστιῶντ' ἐπαινέω·
 καὶ κα τις ἀντίον <τι> λῆ τήνῳ λέγειν,
 τήνῳ κυδάζομαί τε κάπ' ὧν ἠχθόμαν.
 κῆπειτα πολλὰ καταφαγών, πόλλ' ἐμπιῶν
 ἄπειμι. λύχνον δ' οὐχ ὁ παῖς μοι συμφέρει,
 ἔρπω δ' ὀλισθράζων τε καὶ κατὰ σκότος
 ἔρημος· αἶ κα δ' ἐντύχω τοῖς περιπόλοις,
 τοῦθ' οἶον ἀγαθὸν ἐπιλέγω τοῖς θεοῖς, ὅτι
 οὐ λῶντι πλείον ἀλλὰ μαστιγῶντί με. |
 b ἐπεὶ δέ χ' ἴκω οἴκαδὶς καταφθαρεῖς,
 ἄστρωτος εὔδω καὶ τὰ μὲν πρᾶτ' οὐ κοῶ,
 ἄς κά μ' ἄκρατος οἶνος ἀμφέπη φρένας.

Καὶ ἄλλα δὲ τοιαῦτα ἐπιλέγει ὁ τοῦ Ἐπιχάρμου
 παράσιτος. ὁ δὲ παρὰ τῷ Διφίλῳ τάδε φησὶν·

- ὅταν με καλέσῃ πλούσιος δεῖπνον ποῶν,
 οὐ κατανοῶ τὰ τρίγλυφ' οὐδὲ τὰς στέγας,
 οὐδὲ δοκιμάζω τοὺς Κορινθίους κάδους,
 ἀτενὲς δὲ τηρῶ τοῦ μαγείρου τὸν καπνόν. |
 c κὰν μὲν σφοδρὸς φερόμενος εἰς ὀρθὸν τρέχῃ,
 γέγηθα καὶ χαίρω τε καὶ πτερύττομαι·
 ἂν δὲ πλάγιος καὶ λεπτός, εὐθέως νοῶ
 ὅτι τοῦτό μοι τὸ δεῖπνον ἀλλ' οὐδ' αἰμ' ἔχει.

πρῶτος δ' Ὁμηρος, ὡς τινὲς φασιν, εἰσῆγαγε παρά-

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as well as with whoever's unwilling—and then there's
no need for an invitation.

When I'm there, I'm on my best behavior, and I
generate a lot
of laughs and flatter the man who's hosting the party;
if someone wants to quarrel with him,
I attack the guy and get similar grief back.
Then, after I've eaten and drunk a lot,
I leave. No slave goes with me carrying a lamp;
I make my way alone, slipping and sliding
in the darkness. And if I meet the night-patrol,
I credit the gods with having done me a favor
if all they want to do is give me a whipping.
When I get home, in terrible shape,
I sleep with no blankets. At first I don't notice,
so long as the unmixed wine envelops my mind.

Epicharmus' parasite adds other such remarks. But
Diphilus' (fr. *61) parasite says the following:

Whenever a rich man who's giving a dinner invites
me,

I ignore the triglyphs and the ceiling,
and pay no attention to the Corinthian wine-jars;
instead, I keep a close eye on the smoke the cook
produces.

If there's a lot and it rises straight up,
I'm delighted, overjoyed, and all a-flutter.
But if there's just a bit and it drifts sideways, I
immediately think
that this is my dinner—and it's anemic.

According to some authorities, Homer was the first to in-

σιτον, τὸν Ποδῆν εἶναι λέγων φίλον εἰλαπιναστὴν τοῦ Ἑκτορος· |

- d ἔσκε δ' ἐνὶ Τρώεσσι Ποδῆς, υἱὸς Ἡετίωνος,
ἀφνειὸς τ' ἀγαθὸς τε, μάλιστα δέ μιν τίεν

Ἑκτωρ

δήμον, ἐπεὶ οἱ ἐταῖρος ἔην φίλος εἰλαπιναστής.

τὸν γὰρ ἐν εἰλαπίνῃ φίλον εἶρηκεν τὸν ἐν τῷ δειπνεῖν.
διὸ καὶ ποιεῖ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Μενελάου τιτρωσκόμενον
κατὰ τὴν γαστέρα· φησὶν δ' ὁ Σκῆψιος Δημήτριος, ὡς
καὶ Πάνδαρον διὰ τὸ ἐπιωρκεκέναι κατὰ τῆς γλώττης.

- e τιτρώσκει δ' | αὐτὸν Σπαρτιάτης ἄνθρωπος τὴν αὐτάρ-
κειαν ἐζήλωκώς.

Οἱ δ' ἀρχαῖοι ποιηταὶ τοὺς παρασίτους κόλακας
ἐκάλουν, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ Εὐπόλις τῷ δράματι τὴν ἐπι-
γραφὴν ἐποίησατο, τὸν χορὸν τῶν κολάκων ποιήσας
τάδε λέγοντα·

ἀλλὰ δίαίταν ἦν ἔχουσ' οἱ κόλακες πρὸς ὑμᾶς
λέξομεν· ἀλλ' ἀκούσαθ' ὡς ἐσμὲν ἅπαντα κομφοὶ
ἄνδρες· ὅτοισι πρῶτα μὲν παῖς ἀκόλουθός ἐστιν
ἀλλότριος τὰ πολλά, μικρὸν δέ τι † κάμον †
αὐτοῦ.

- f ἱματίῳ δέ μοι δὴ ἐστὸν χαρίεντε τούτοις |
< . . . > μεταλαμβάνων αἰεὶ θάτερον ἐξελαύνω
εἰς ἀγοράν. ἐκεῖ δ' ἐπειδὰν κατίδω τιν' ἄνδρα
ἠλίθιον, πλουτοῦντα δ', εὐθὺς περὶ τοῦτον εἰμί.

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roduce a parasite, since he says that Podes was Hector's "beloved feast-guest" (*Il.* 17.575-7):

Among the Trojans was Podes, son of Eetion,
 who was rich and well-born; Hector honored him
 most
 of all the people, since he was his companion,
 a beloved feast-guest (*philos eilapinastēs*).

Because by "a friend at a feast" (*en eilapinēi philos*) he means a friend with whom one has dinner. This is why (*Il.* 15.578-9) he represents Podes as wounded by Menelaus in the stomach; thus Demetrius of Scepsis (fr. 74 Gaede), who compares how Pandarus is wounded in the tongue (*Il.* 5.292) because he violated his oath (*Il.* 4.86-140). And a Spartiate devoted to self-sufficiency¹⁰⁶ wounds him.

The ancient poets referred to parasites as flatterers (*kolakes*); Eupolis took the title of his play from them, and represented his chorus of flatterers as saying the following (fr. 172):

We'll tell you about the life-style flatterers
 enjoy; so listen to how we're elegant men in
 all respects. First, we have a slave attendant—
 generally belonging to someone else—and a little
 [corrupt] of him.

I also have these two lovely outer robes,
 . . . I routinely change one for the other and go off
 to the marketplace. When I spy someone there
 who's a fool but rich, I'm all over him immediately.

¹⁰⁶ I.e. Menelaus, who killed Podes. Pandarus, on the other hand, was killed by Diomedes, who hailed from the Argolid.

κἄν τι τύχη λέγων ὁ πλούταξ, πάνυ τοῦτ'
ἐπαινώ,

καὶ καταπλήττομαι δοκῶν τοῖσι λόγοισι χαίρειν.
εἶτ' ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐρχόμεσθ' ἄλλυδις ἄλλος ἡμῶν
μᾶζαν ἐπ' ἀλλόφυλον, οὗ δεῖ χαρίεντα πολλὰ
τὸν κόλακ' εὐθέως λέγειν, ἢ κφέρεται θύραζε. ||
οἶδα δ' Ἀκέστορ' αὐτὸ τὸν στιγματίαν παθόντα·
σκῶμμα γὰρ εἶπ' ἀσελγές, εἶτ' αὐτὸν ὁ παῖς
θύραζε
ἐξαγαγὼν ἔχοντα κλωιδὸν παρέδωκεν Οἰνεῖ.

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Τοῦ δὲ ὀνόματος τοῦ παρασίτου μνημονεύει Ἄρα-
ρῶς ἐν Ὑμεναίῳ διὰ τούτων·

οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως οὐκ εἶ παράσιτος, φίλτατε·
ὁ δ' Ἰσχυόμαχος ὁδὶ τρέφων σε τυγχάνει.

πολὺ δ' ἐστὶ τὸ ὄνομα παρὰ τοῖς νεωτέροις. τὸ δὲ |
b ῥήμα παρὰ Πλάτωνι τῷ φιλοσόφῳ ἐν Λάχῃτι φησὶ
γάρ· καὶ ἡμῖν τὰ μεράκια παρασιτεῖ. παρασίτων δ'
εἰναί φησι γένη δύο Ἄλεξις ἐν Κυβερνήτῃ διὰ
τούτων·

(A.) δὺ ἐστὶ, Ναυσίνικε, παρασίτων γένη·

¹⁰⁷ A tragic poet (PAA 116685; *TrGF* 25); his supposed tattoo marks him as a barbarian, and thus as someone who speaks (and writes) substandard Greek.

¹⁰⁸ "The Pit", a deep gully into which individuals found guilty of crimes against the state were cast, sometimes alive (e.g. *Ar. Eq.* 1362; *Alex. fr.* 159.1 [quoted at 7.303a] with *Arnott ad loc.*; *X. HG*

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Whatever the rich guy says, I heap praise on it
and pretend I'm stunned with delight at his remarks.
Then we go off in various directions to dinner
to consume someone else's barley-cake. A flatterer

has to make

lots of clever remarks immediately there, or he's
kicked out.

I know this happened to the tattooed Acestor¹⁰⁷:
he made an insolent joke, and the slave took him
outside,

wearing a criminal's collar, and turned him over to
Oineus.¹⁰⁸

Araros uses the word "parasite" in *The Wedding Hymn*
(fr. 16), in the following passage:

There's no way you're not a parasite, my dear sir;
Ischomachus¹⁰⁹ here is keeping you fed.

The word is common in the more recent poets, and a form of it appears in the *Laches* (179c) of the philosopher Plato, who says: and the young men eat beside us (*parasitei*). Alexis in *The Steersman* (fr. 121) claims that there are two kinds of parasites, in the following passage:

(A.) There are two kinds of parasite, Nausinicus.

1.7.20; Olson-Sens on Arcestr. fr. 60.20-1), was located in the Attic deme of Oineus.

¹⁰⁹ Ischomachus (PAA 542590; seemingly referred to also at 12.537c) was a member of the wealthy family of Callias son of Hipponicus; see J.K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families 600-300 B.C.* (Oxford, 1971) 265-8.

ἐν μὲν τὸ κοινὸν καὶ κεκωμωδημένον,
οἱ μέλανες ἡμεῖς. θάτερον ζητῶ γένος,
σατράπας παρασιτοῦν καὶ στρατηγούς
ἐπιφανεῖς, |

- c σεμνοπαράσιτον ἐκ μέσου καλούμενον,
ὑποκρινόμενον εὖ τοῖς βίοις, ὄφρῦς ἔχον
χιλιοταλάντους ἀνακυλίον τ' οὐσίας·
νοεῖς <σὺ> τὸ γένος καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα; (Ναυ.) καὶ
μάλα.

(Α.) τούτων δ' ἑκατέρου τῶν γενῶν ὁ μὲν τύπος
τῆς ἐργασίας εἰς ἔστι, κολακείας ἀγών·
ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν βίων δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἢ Τύχη
ἡμῶν μεγάλοις προσένειμε, τοὺς δ' ἐλάττωσι. |

- d εἶθ' οἱ μὲν εὐποροῦμεν, οἱ δ' ἀλύομεν.
Ἄρα γε διδάσκω, Ναυσίνικ'; (Ναυ.) οὐκ ἀστόχως.
ἀλλ' ἂν σ' ἐπαινῶ μᾶλλον, αἰτήσεις μέ τι.

Χαρακτηρίζει δ' οὐκ ἀρρυθμῶς τὸν παράσιτον
ὁποῖός τις ἔστι Τιμοκλῆς ἐν Δρακοντίῳ οὕτως·

ἔπειτ' ἐγὼ παράσιτον ἐπιτρέψω τινὶ
κακῶς λέγειν; ἤκιστα γ'. οὐδὲν ἔστι γὰρ
ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις χρησιμώτερον γένος.
εἰ δ' ἔστι <τὸ> φιλέταιρον ἔν τι τῶν καλῶν, |
e ἀνὴρ παράσιτος τοῦτο ποιεῖ διὰ τέλους.
ἐρᾶς, συνεραστῆς ἀπροφάσιστος γίγνεται.

110 Sc. from hanging about the Agora, hoping to latch onto someone who will issue a dinner invitation.

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One's the common type seen in comedies;
that's us with the suntans.¹¹⁰ I'm interested in the
other type,
which lives off satraps and prominent generals,
is referred to as exceptionally "high-parasitic",
plays a fine role in life, wears a haughty expression,
and runs through property worth 1000s of talents.
Do you recognize the type and the behavior?

(Nausinicus) I certainly do!

(A.) Both types are engaged in a single
enterprise: a contest in flattery.

Just so, in our lives generally, Fortune assigned
some of us to powerful masters, other to less
important ones;

so some of us are rich, others at our wit's end.

Are you catching my drift, Nausinicus? (Nausinicus)

You're right on target;

but if I offer you more praise than that, you'll ask me
for something.

Timocles in *Dracontion*¹¹¹ (fr. 8) offers quite an apt im-
age of what a parasite is like, as follows:

So am I going to let anyone slander
a parasite? Absolutely not; because there's no
group more useful in this type of business!

If being good company is one of the virtues,
a parasite does it to perfection.

If you're in love, he's the most unrestrained fellow-
lover possible;

¹¹¹ Literally "*The Little Dragon*"; probably a courtesan's name.

πράττεις τι, πράξει συμπαρὼν ὃ τι ἂν δέη,
 δίκαια ταῦτὰ τῷ τρέφοντι νενομικῶς,
 ἐπαινέτης θαυμαστὸς οἶος τῶν φίλων.
 “χαίρουσι δείπνων ἠδοναῖς ἀσυμβόλοις”
 τίς δ’ οὐχὶ θνητῶν; ἢ τίς ἤρωσ ἢ θεὸς
 ἀποδοκιμάζει τὴν τοιαύτην διατριβήν; |
 f ἵνα μὴ δὲ πολλὰ μακρολογῶ δι’ ἡμέρας,
 τεκμήριόν τι παμμέγεθες οἰμαί γ’ ἐρεῖν,
 ὃ τῶν παρασίτων ὡς τετίμηται βίος.
 γέρα γὰρ αὐτοῖς ταῦτὰ τοῖς τῶλύμπια
 νικῶσι δίδονται χρηστότητος εἵνεκα,
 σίτησις. οὗ γὰρ μὴ τίθενται συμβολαί,
 πρυτανεῖα ταῦτα πάντα προσαγορεύεται.

καὶ Ἀντιφάνης δὲ ἐν Διδύμοις φησίν· ||

238 ὃ γὰρ παράσιτός ἐστιν, ἂν ὀρθῶς σκοπῆς,
 κοινωνὸς ἀμφοῖν, τῆς τύχης καὶ τοῦ βίου.
 οὐδεὶς παράσιτος εὖχετ’ ἀτυχεῖν τοὺς φίλους,
 τοῦναντίον δὲ πάντας εὐτυχεῖν αἰεί.
 ἔστιν πολυτελής τῷ βίῳ τις· οὐ φθονεῖ,
 μετέχειν δὲ τούτων εὖχετ’ αὐτῷ συμπαρῶν.
 κᾶστιν φίλος γενναῖος ἀσφαλῆς θ’ ἅμα,
 οὐ μάχιμος, οὐ πάροξυς, οὐχὶ βάσκανος, |
 b ὀργῆν ἐνεγκεῖν ἀγαθός· ἂν σκώπτῃς, γελᾷ·

112 Because of the honor they brought their city, victors at major athletic festivals were routinely awarded the right to dine in perpetuity in the prytaneion (“town-hall”).

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if you've got business, he'll be by your side and do
whatever's necessary;
he shares a sense of right and wrong with the man
who's feeding him;
and what a marvellous flatterer of his friends!
"They like to enjoy meals they haven't paid for."
Well, who doesn't? Or what hero or god
declines to spend his time this way?
But to keep it short, rather than talking all day,
I think I'll offer an overwhelming bit of evidence
for how much honor the parasitic life-style receives.
As a reward for their excellence, they're given
the same prize as Olympic victors:
free food.¹¹² Because anywhere that no contribution
to the dinner expenses
is required deserves to be called a *prytaneion*.

Antiphanes as well says in *Twins* (fr. 80):

Because, if you look at it right, the parasite
shares both our luck and our livelihood.
No parasite prays for his friends to be unlucky,
but quite the opposite, that they're all eternally
prosperous.
If someone lives extravagantly, a parasite's not
envious;
he just prays to be with him and share what he's got.
He's also a fine, reliable friend:
he's not quarrelsome, or irritable, or malicious;
he's good at controlling his temper; if you make fun
of him, he laughs;

ἔρωτικός, γελοῖος, ἰλαρὸς τῷ τρόπῳ
 πάλιν στρατιώτης ἀγαθὸς εἰς ὑπερβολήν,
 ἂν ἦ τὸ σιτάρκημα δειπνον εὐτρεπές.

καὶ Ἀριστοφῶν δὲ ἐν Ἰατρῷ φησι·

βούλομαι δ' αὐτῷ προειπεῖν οἶός εἰμι τοὺς
 τρόπους·

ἂν τις ἐστίῃ, πάρειμι πρῶτος, ὥστ' ἤδη πάλαι
 < . . . > ζωμὸς καλοῦμαι. δεῖ τιν' ἄρασθαι
 μέσον |

c τῶν παροινούντων, παλαιστὴν νόμισον Ἀργεῖόν
 μ' ὄραν.

προσβαλεῖν πρὸς οἰκίαν δεῖ, κριὸς ἀναβῆναί τι
 πρὸς

κλιμάκιον < . . . > Καπανεύς· ὑπομένειν πληγὰς
 ἄκμων

κονδύλους πλάττειν δὲ Τελαμών· τοὺς καλοὺς
 πειρᾶν καπνός.

κὰν Πυθαγοριστῇ δέ φησι·

πρὸς μὲν τὸ πεινῆν ἐσθίειν τε μηδὲ ἐν
 νόμιζ' ὄραν Τιθύμαλλον ἢ Φιλιππίδην. |

¹¹³ A standard wrestling move, which counted as a fall.

¹¹⁴ One of the Seven Against Thebes, who attempted to scale the city's walls on a ladder, but was blasted by Zeus (A. Th. 422–56 with Hutchinson ad loc.; S. Ant. 131–7; E. Ph. 1172–86).

¹¹⁵ One of the Argonauts, who accompanied Heracles when he sacked Troy and fought against the Amazons; the lexicographer

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he's inclined to love, good humor, and hilarity;
and he's also an extremely fine soldier—
if his rations consist of a meal ready to eat!

Aristophon too says in *The Physician* (fr. 5):

I want to tell him the sort of person I am.
If someone's giving a feast, I'm the first one there,
and as a result my nickname's
been Meat-Broth for a long time now. If a drunk has
to be grabbed
about the waist and hoisted off the ground,¹¹³ you can
figure I look like an Argive wrestler.
If we need to attack a house, I'm a ram; if we need to
go up a ways on
a ladder; I'm Capaneus¹¹⁴; for standing up to
punches, I'm an anvil;
for forming fists, I'm Telamon¹¹⁵; for making passes at
handsome boys, I'm smoke.¹¹⁶

And in *The Pythagorean* (fr. 10) he says:

As for going hungry and eating nothing,
consider yourself to be looking at Tithymallus or
Philippides.¹¹⁷

Hesychius (τ 394) defines "Telamonian knuckles" as "large (and hard)".¹¹⁶ Sc. because smoke can get in anywhere? Or because the speaker is capable of spouting convincing nonsense (cf. *Ar. Nu.* 320 with Dover ad loc.)? Or perhaps this is the nickname of a notorious contemporary ("Smoke").

¹¹⁷ Tithymallus is referred to repeatedly in comedy as a starving parasite; cf. 6.240c-f; Arnott, *Alexis*, pp. 449-50. For the emaciated politician Philippides, see 6.230c n.

ATHENAEUS

- d ὕδωρ δὲ πίνειν βάτραχος, ἀπολαῦσαι θύμων
 λαχάνων τε κάμψη, πρὸς τὸ μὴ λούσθαι ρύπος,
 ὑπαίθριος χειμῶνα διάγειν κόψιχος,
 πνίγος ὑπομείναι καὶ μεσημβρίας λαλεῖν
 τέττιξ, ἐλαίῳ μῆτε χρῆσθαι μῆτε ὄραν
 κονιορτός, ἀνυπόδητος ὄρθρου περιπατεῖν
 γέρανος, καθεύδειν μηδὲ μικρὸν νυκτερίς.

Ἀντιφάνης δ' ἐν Προγόνους·

τὸν τρόπον μὲν οἶσθά μου |

- e ὅτι τύφος οὐκ ἔνεστιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς φίλοις
 τοιοῦτός εἰμι δῆτα· τύπτεσθαι μύδρος,
 τύπτειν κεραυνός, ἐκτυφλοῦν τιν' ἀστραπή,
 φέρειν τιν' ἄρας ἄνεμος, ἀποπνίξαι βρόχος,
 θύρας μοχλεύειν σεισμός, εἰσπηδᾶν ἀκρίς,
 δειπνεῖν ἄκλητος μυῖα, μὴ ἔξελθεῖν φρέαρ,
 ἄγχειν, φονεύειν, μαρτυρεῖν, ὅσ' ἂν μόνον
 τύχη τις εἰπών, ταῦτ' ἀπροσκέπτως ποεῖν
 ἅπαντα. καὶ καλοῦσί μ' οἱ νεώτεροι |
- f διὰ ταῦτα πάντα Σκηπτόν· ἀλλ' οὐθὲν μέλει

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When it comes to drinking water, I'm a frog; for
 enjoying bulbs
 and vegetables, I'm a caterpillar; as regards not
 bathing, dirt;
 as for spending the winter in the open air, a
 blackbird;
 for putting up with stifling heat and talking at midday,
 a cicada; for not using olive oil or even giving it a
 glance,
 a dust-cloud; for walking around without shoes just
 before dawn,
 a crane; for not sleeping even a little, a bat.

Antiphanes in *Step-Children* (fr. 193):

You know what I'm like—

there's no nonsense in me, but this is what I am,
 in fact, where my friends are concerned: for taking
 blows, I'm red-hot iron;
 for dealing them out, a thunderbolt; for blinding
 someone's eyes, a lightning flash;
 for picking him up and hauling him out, a gust of
 wind; for throttling him, a noose;
 for prying doors open, an earthquake; for leaping
 inside, a grasshopper;
 for eating dinner without being invited, a fly; for
 leaving no escape, a well;
 for strangling, murdering, bearing false witness, or
 anything else you can name, I'm ready to do any of
 this
 on a moment's notice. Because of all these qualities,
 the young men
 call me Lighting Bolt. But their poking fun

τῶν σκωμμάτων μοι τῶν φίλων γὰρ ὦν φίλος
ἔργοισι χρηστός, οὐ λόγοις ἔφυν μόνον.

Δίφιλος δ' ἐν Παρασίτῳ μελλόντων γίνεσθαι γάμων
τὸν παράσιτον ποιεῖ λέγοντα τάδε·

ἀγνοεῖς ἐν ταῖς ἀραῖς

239 ὅ τι ἐστίν, εἴ τις μὴ φράσει' ὀρθῶς ὁδὸν ἢ
ἢ πῦρ ἐναύσει' ἢ διαφθείρει' ὕδωρ,
ἢ δειπνιεῖν μέλλοντα κωλύσαι τινά;

Εὐβουλος δὲ ἐν Οἰδίποδι·

ὁ πρῶτος εὐρῶν τὰλλότρια δειπνεῖν ἀνὴρ
δημοτικὸς ἦν τις, ὡς ἔοικε, τοὺς τρόπους.
ὅστις δ' ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἢ φίλον τιν' ἢ ξένον
καλέσας ἔπειτα συμβολὰς ἐπράξατο,
φυγὰς γένοιτο μηδὲν οἴκοθεν λαβῶν.

Διόδωρος δὲ ὁ Σινωπεὺς ἐν Ἐπικλήρῳ περὶ τοῦ παρα-
σιτεῖν καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀγλαφύρως τάδε φησίν· |

b

βούλομαι δείξαι σαφῶς

ὡς σεμνόν ἐστι τοῦτο καὶ νενομισμένον
καὶ τῶν θεῶν εὐρημα· τὰς δ' ἄλλας τέχνας
οὐδεὶς θεῶν κατέδειξεν, ἀλλ' ἄνδρες σοφοί·
τὸ γὰρ παρασιτεῖν εὗρεν ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Φίλιος,

¹¹⁸ An allusion to the curses pronounced on enemies of the state at the beginning of meetings of the Athenian Assembly (cf.

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doesn't bother me; I'm a good
friend to my friends—in deeds and not just words!

Diphilus in *The Parasite* (fr. 62) represents the title-character as saying the following as a wedding-feast is about to take place:

Aren't you aware of what's
in the curses,¹¹⁸ if someone gives bad directions,¹¹⁹
or commits arson, or poisons drinking-water,
or gets in the way of a man who's planning to have a
dinner party?

Eubulus in *Oedipus* (fr. 72):

The man who invented dining on someone else's food
was well-disposed to average people, it appears.
But if anyone invites a friend or a foreigner to dinner
and then assesses him part of the cost,
let him go into exile and remove nothing from his
house.

Diodorus of Sinope as well in *The Heiress* (fr. 2) offers the following elegant remarks about being a parasite:

I'd like to offer a clear demonstration
of how this is a respectable, conventional practice
invented by the gods. No god disseminated
the other arts; that was clever men.
But being a parasite was invented by Zeus the god of
friendship,

Ar. *Th.* 331–51 with Austin–Olson ad loc.), but with misbehaviors
connected with a parasite's life inserted into the list.

¹¹⁹ Sc. to a house where a dinner party is being held.

- ὁ τῶν θεῶν μέγιστος ὁμολογουμένως.
οὗτος γὰρ εἰς τὰς οἰκίας εἰσέρχεται
οὐχὶ διακρίνας τὴν πενιχρὰν ἢ πλουσίαν,
οὐ δ' ἂν καλῶς ἐστρωμένην κλίνην ἴδῃ
παρακειμένην τε <τὴν> τράπεζαν πάνθ' ἃ δεῖ |
c ἔχουσαν, ἥδη συγκατακλιθεὶς κοσμίως
ἀριστίσας ἑαυτὸν, ἐντραγῶν, πιῶν,
ἀπέρχετ' οἴκαδ' οὐ καταβαλὼν συμβολάς.
καὶ γὰρ ποῶ νῦν τοῦτ'· ἐπὶ κλίνας ἴδω
ἐστρωμένας καὶ τὰς τραπέζας εὐτρεπεῖς
καὶ τὴν θύραν ἀνεφγμένην, εἰσέρχομαι
ἐνθάδε σιωπῆ, καὶ ποήσας εὐσταλῆ
ἑμαυτὸν, ὥστε μὴ ἐνοχλεῖν τὸν συμπότην,
πάντων ἀπολαύσας τῶν παρατεθέντων, πιῶν, |
d ἀπέρχομ' οἴκαδ' ὥσπερ ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Φίλιος.
ὅτι δ' ἦν τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἐνδοξον αἰεὶ <καὶ> καλόν,
ἐκεῖθεν ἂν γνοίη τις ἔτι σαφέστερον.
τὸν Ἡρακλέα τιμῶσα λαμπρῶς ἡ πόλις
ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς δήμοις θυσίας ποιουμένη,
εἰς τὰς θυσίας ταύτας παρασίτους τῷ θεῷ
οὐπώποτ' ἀπεκλήρωσεν, οὐδὲ παρέλαβεν
εἰς ταῦτα τοὺς τυχόντας, ἀλλὰ κατέλεγεν
ἐκ τῶν πολιτῶν δώδεκ' ἄνδρας ἐπιμελῶς
ἐκλεξαμένη τοὺς ἐκ δὺ ἄστων γεγονότας, |
e ἔχοντας οὐσίας, καλῶς βεβιωκότας.

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who is generally agreed to be the most important god there is.

Because he enters our houses
without discriminating between rich and poor;
wherever he sees a couch nicely spread
and the table set beside it holding everything that's
needed, he immediately lies down with the other
guests in his proper place
and has lunch. And after he's eaten and had a drink,
he goes home—without contributing to the expenses.
This is what I'm doing now: whenever I see couches
spread, tables ready to go,
and the door open, I quietly
go in there; I mind my manners,
to keep from annoying the person I'm drinking with;
and after I've enjoyed everything that's been served,
and had a drink,

I go home, just like Zeus the god of friendship.
That this has always been an honorable and
respectable practice
can be established with even greater certainty from
the following:

When the city offered magnificent honors to
Heracles
by carrying out sacrifices in all the demes,
it never used lots to choose the god's
parasites for these sacrifices, or selected
people for the business at random. Instead, it drew
up a list
of 12 male citizens, carefully
selecting those who had two Athenian parents,
owned property, and had led respectable lives.

εἶθ' ὕστερον τὸν Ἡρακλέα μιμούμενοι
 τῶν εὐπόρων τινὲς παρασίτους ἐλόμενοι
 τρέφειν παρεκάλουν οὐχὶ τοὺς χαριστάτους
 ἐκλεγόμενοι, τοὺς δὲ κολακεύειν δυναμένους
 καὶ πάντ' ἐπαινεῖν· οἷς ἐπειδὰν προσερεύγη
 ῥαφανίδας ἢ σαπρὸν σίλουρον καταφαγῶν,
 ἴα καὶ ῥόδα φασὶν αὐτὸν ἠριστηκέσαι.

ἐπὶ δ' ἀποπάρδη μετὰ τινος κατακείμενος |
 f τούτων, προσάγων τὴν ῥίνα δεῖθ' αὐτῷ φράσαι·
 “πόθεν τὸ θυμίαμα τοῦτο λαμβάνεις;”
 διὰ τοὺς τοιούτους τοὺς ἀσελγῶς χρωμένους
 τὸ τίμιον καὶ τὸ καλὸν αἰσχρὸν ἔστι νῦν.

καὶ Ἀξιόνικος δ' ἐν Χαλκιδικῷ φησιν·

ὅτε τοῦ παρασιτεῖν πρῶτον ἠράσθη μετὰ
 Φιλοξένου τῆς Πτερυνοκοπίδος νέος ἔτ' ὢν,
 πληγὰς ὑπέμενον κονδύλων καὶ τρυβλίων
 ὀστέων τε τὸ μέγεθος τοσαύτας ὥστε με ||
 240 ἐνίοτε τοῦλάχιστον ὀκτὼ τραύματα
 ἔχειν. † ἐλυσιτέλει γάρ· † ἦππων εἰμὶ γὰρ
 τῆς ἡδονῆς. ἔπειτα καὶ τρόπον τινὰ
 τὸ πρᾶγμά μοι λυσιτελὲς εἶναι νενόμικα.
 οἷον φίλερίς τις ἔστι καὶ μάχεται τι μοι

120 Also mentioned at 6.241e (citing Macho and Menander), 242b–c (citing Lynceus of Samos), 246a–b (probably drawing on Macho). The significance of the epithet is unclear.

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Then later on some wealthy people imitated
Heracles by selecting their own parasites
to feed and inviting them to dinner. But they didn't
pick
the most accomplished individuals; instead, they
chose those who could flatter them
and praise everything they did. When someone burps
in their direction
after he eats radishes or rotten sheatfish,
they insist he's had violets and roses for lunch.
And if the host is lying on a couch with one of them
and lets a fart, the other guy leans over to sniff it and
begs to be told:
"Where do you get that incense from?"
It's because of the outrageous behavior of people like
this
that a fine, honorable institution is nowadays a cause
for shame.

Axionicus too says in *The Man Who Wished He Was from Chalcis* (fr. 6):

When I first fell in love with being a parasite, I was
still young and was spending time with Philoxenus
the Heel-tapper;¹²⁰

I put up with so many blows from knuckles, bowls,
and bones that I sometimes
had a minimum of eight wounds.

† for it was a good thing; † because I can't resist
pleasure. Then I decided this was,
in a way, to my advantage.

Say someone's looking for trouble, for example, and
attacks me;

μετεβαλόμην πρὸς τούτον ὅσα τ' εἶρηκέ με
κακῶς ὁμολογῶν εὐθέως οὐ βλάπτομαι.

πονηρὸς ὣν τε χρηστὸς εἶναι φησί τις·

ἐγκωμιάζων τούτον ἀπέλαβον χάριν. |

b γλαύκου βεβρωκῶς τέμαχος ἐφθὸν τήμερον

αὔριον ἔωλον τοῦτ' ἔχων οὐκ ἄχθομαι.

τοιοῦτος ὁ τρόπος ἐστὶν ἢ φύσις τέ μου.

Ἄντιδοτος δ' ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Πρωτοχόρῳ παρ-
άγει τινὰ παραπλήσιον τοῖς ἐν τῷ Κλαυδίῳ νῦν σο-
φιστεύουσιν, ὧν οὐδὲ μεμνήσθαι καλόν, τοιαῦτα περὶ
παρασιτικῆς τέχνης λέγοντα·

κατὰ τὴν στάσιν δὴ στάντες ἀκροάσασθέ μου. |

c πρὶν ἐγγραφῆναι καὶ λαβεῖν τὸ χλαμύδιον,

περὶ τοῦ παρασιτεῖν εἴ τις ἐμπέσοι λόγος,

τὸ τεχνίον ἀεὶ τοῦτό μοι κατεπίνετο,

καὶ παιδομαθῆς πρὸς αὐτὸ τὴν διάνοιαν ἦν.

Παράσιτοι δ' ἐπ' ὀνόματος ἐγένοντο Τιθύμαλλος
μέν, οὗ μνημονεῖ Ἄλεξις ἐν Μιλησίᾳ καὶ ἐν Ὀδυσ-
σεῖ Ἰφθαίνοντι· ἐν δὲ Ὀλυνθίοις φησὶν·

ὁ δὲ σὸς πένης ἔστ', ὧ γλυκεῖα· τοῦτο δὲ

121 For the *glaukos* (an unidentified fish), see 7.295b-7c.

122 Sc. to the Library in Alexandria; cf. Suet. *Claud.* 5.42. The point of the comparison is that the parasite talks as if he were giving an introductory class on his profession.

123 At age 18; cf. [Arist.] *Ath.* 42, esp. 42.5; Poll. 10.164.

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I treat him the opposite of what he's expecting, and
immediately admit
all his slanders are true—and I don't get hurt!
Suppose some miserable creature insists he's a
refined person;
I sing his praises—and he thanks me!
If I've eaten a stewed *glaukos*-steak¹²¹ today,
I don't mind having the rest as leftovers tomorrow.
That's my style and my character.

Antidotus in his play entitled *The Lead-Dancer* (fr. 2) brings a character onstage who resembles the modern lecturers in the Claudian Annex¹²² (whom it would be better not to mention) and who says something along the following lines about the parasite's trade:

Take your places and listen to what I'm saying!
Before I was enrolled in my deme and received my
ephebe's cloak,¹²³
if the conversation ever turned to how to be a
parasite,
I was always ravenously eager to learn about the
trade,
and I had a precocious understanding of it.

Parasites referred to by name include Tithymallus¹²⁴, who is mentioned by Alexis in *The Girl from Miletus*¹²⁵ (fr. 155) and *Odysseus Weaving* (fr. 161). And in *Olynthians* (fr. 164) he says:

Your husband's a pauper, my sweet; people say

¹²⁴ See 6.238c n.

¹²⁵ Referred to as *Milesians* at 9.379a and by Stobaeus.

- d δέδοιχ' ὁ Θάνατος τὸ γένος, ὡς φασιν, μόνον· |
 ὁ γοῦν Τιθύμαλλος ἀθάνατος περιέρχεται.

Δρόμων δ' ἐν Ψαλτρία·

(A.) ὑπερησχυνόμην
 μέλλων ἀσύμβολος πάλιν δειπνεῖν· πάνν
 αἰσχρὸν <γάρ>. (B.) ἀμέλει τὸν Τιθύμαλλον
 γοῦν αἰὲ
 ἐρυθρότερον κόκκου περιπατοῦντ' ἔσθ' ὄραν·
 οὔτως ἐρυθριᾶ συμβολὰς οὐ κατατιθείς.

Τιμοκλῆς Κενταύρω ἢ Δεξαμενῶ·

Τιθύμαλλον αὐτὸν καὶ παράσιτον ἀποκαλῶν.

ἐν δὲ Καυνίοις· |

- e ἤδη προσενήνεκται. τί μέλλει; σπεύδετε,
 ὦ τᾶν. ὁ γὰρ Τιθύμαλλος οὔτως ἀνεβίω
 κομιδῇ τεθνηκώς, τῶν ἀν' ὀκτῶ τοῦβολοῦ
 θέρμους μαλάξας. οὐκ ἀπεκαρτέρησε γὰρ
 ἐκείνος, ἀλλ' ἐκαρτέρησ', ὦ φίλτατε,
 πεινῶν.

ἐν δ' Ἐπιστολαῖς·

οἴμοι κακοδαίμων, ὡς ἐρῶ. μὰ τοὺς θεούς,

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this is the only group Death's afraid of.
Tithymallus, for example, goes eternally from one
house to the next.

Dromon in *The Harp-Girl* (fr. 1):

(A.) I was deeply embarrassed
that I was going to be eating dinner without
contributing any money again;
this is extremely shameful behavior. (B.) Don't worry
about it; you can see
Tithymallus, for example, going from house to house
all the time redder than a pomegranate seed.
He blushes like this because he doesn't contribute to
the dinner-expenses.

Timocles in *The Centaur or Dexamenus*¹²⁶ (fr. 21):

calling him Tithymallus and a parasite.

And in *Men From Caunus* (fr. 20):

(The food's) been served now. What are you waiting
for? Hurry up,
gentlemen! This is how Tithymallus came back to life,
despite being stone-dead: he softened up some
of the eight-obol lupine-seeds. He didn't
starve to death, my friend; instead, starvation became
his life!

And in *The Letter* (fr. 10):

Miserable me, I'm so in love! By the gods,

¹²⁶ Dexamenus was a mythical king whose daughter was saved
by Heracles from having to marry the centaur Eurytion.

f Τιθύμαλλος οὐδεπώποτ' ἠράσθη φαγεῖν |
 οὕτω σφόδρ', οὐδὲ Κόρμος ἰμάτιον λαβεῖν,
 οὐ Νείλος ἄλφιτ', οὐ Κόρυδος ἀσύμβολος
 κινεῖν ὀδόντας.

Ἀντιφάνης Τυρρηνῶ·

(A.) ἀρετὴ τὸ προῖκα τοῖς φίλοις ὑπηρετεῖν.

(B.) λέγεις ἔσσεσθαι <τὸν> Τιθύμαλλον πλούσιον·
 εἰ πράζεται γὰρ μισθὸν ἐκ τοῦ σοῦ λόγου
 παρ' οἷσι δειπνεῖ προῖκα, συλλέξει συχνήν. ||

241 Ἦν δὲ καὶ ὁ Κόρυδος τῶν δι' ὀνόματος παρασίτων.
 μνημονεύει δ' αὐτοῦ Τιμοκλῆς ἐν Ἐπιχαιρεκάκῳ οὐ-
 τως·

ἀγορὰν ἰδεῖν εὖοψον εὔποροῦντι μὲν
 ἡδιστον, ἂν δ' ἀπορῆ τις, ἀθλιώτατον.
 ὁ γοῦν Κόρυδος ἄκλητος, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ,
 γενόμενος ὠψώνει παρ' αὐτὸν οἴκαδε.
 ἦν δὲ τὸ πάθος γέλοιον, οἴμοι, τέτταρας
 χαλκοῦς ἔχων ἄνθρωπος, ἐγχείεις ὀρῶν,
 θύννεια, νάρκας, καράβους ἡμωδία. |

b καὶ ταῦτα πάντα μὲν περιελθὼν ἤρετο

127 PAA 582197; otherwise unknown.

128 PAA 705855; also mentioned at 8.343b (citing Euphanes).

129 PAA 437510; cf. below; 8.343b (citing Euphanes).

130 Cf. 6.230b n.

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Tithymallus never felt such overwhelming passion
for eating, or Cormus¹²⁷ for getting a cloak,
or Neilus¹²⁸ for barley groats, or Lark¹²⁹ for setting
his teeth in motion
without contributing any money to the dinner
expenses!

Antiphanes in *The Etruscan* (fr. 208):

- (A.) Helping your friends free of charge is a virtue.
(B.) What you're saying is that Tithymallus is going to
be rich;
because if he's going to be paid, as you propose,
by the people he eats dinner with for free, he'll
accumulate a lot of property.

Lark was another parasite referred to by name.
Timocles mentions him in *The Spiteful Man* (fr. 11), as follows:

Seeing a marketplace full of fish is delightful
for a person who's well-to-do; but if he's poor, it's
awful.

Lark, for example, apparently hadn't been invited
anywhere
for dinner, so he was buying fish to take home to his
own house.

What happened to him made me laugh—wow! He
had four tiny bronze coins;¹³⁰ and when he saw eels,
tuna, electric rays, and crayfish, he made an unhappy
face.

He went around everywhere and asked how much
these fish

ὀπόσον, πυθόμενος δ' ἀπέτρεχ' εἰς τὰς
μεμβράδας.

Ἄλεξις Δημητρίῳ ἢ Φιλεταίρῳ·

ἀλλ' αἰσχύνομαι
τὸν Κόρυδον, εἰ δόξω συναριστᾶν τισιν
οὕτω προχείρως· οὐκ ἀπαρνούμαι δ' ὅμως.
οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος, ἂν καλῇ τις.

ἐν δὲ Τίτθῃ·

- (A.) ὁ Κόρυδος οὗτος, ὁ τὰ γέλοι' εἰθισμένος |
c λέγειν, Βλεπαῖος βούλετ' εἶναι. (B.) νοῦν γ'
ἔχων·
πλουτεῖ γὰρ ὁ Βλεπαῖος.

Κρατῖνος δ' ὁ νεώτερος ἐν Τιτᾶσι·

Κόρυδον τὸν χαλκότυπον πεφύλαξο,
† ἣν μη † σοὶ νομιεῖς αὐτὸν μηθὲν καταλείψειν
μηδ' ὄψον κοινῇ μετὰ τούτου πώποτε δαίση
τοῦ Κορύδου, προλέγω σοι· ἔχει γὰρ χεῖρα
κραταιάν,
χαλκῆν, ἀκάματον, πολὺ κρείττω τοῦ πυρὸς
αὐτοῦ. |

- d ὅτι δὲ γέλοια ἔλεγεν ὁ Κόρυδος καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις γε-
λαᾶσθαι ἤθελεν ὁ αὐτὸς Ἄλεξις ἐν Ποιηταῖς φησι·

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cost; and after he found out, he ran off to the sprats.

Alexis in *Demetrius* or *The Man Who Loved His Comrades* (fr. 48):

I'm ashamed to face
Lark, if it's going to look like I'm eating lunch with
certain people
so readily. But all the same, I'm not going to refuse—
because he wouldn't, if someone invited him.

And in *The Wet-Nurse* (fr. 229):

(A.) Lark here, who's used to telling
jokes, wants to be known as Blepaeus. (B.) That
makes sense;
because Blepaeus¹³¹ is rich.

Cratinus Junior in *Titans* (fr. 8):¹³²

Beware of Lark the bronze-wrought;
[corrupt] you should expect he will leave you nothing,
nor ought you ever to share seafood with this
Lark, I warn you. For he has a mighty hand
that is brazen, tireless, and far more powerful than
fire itself.¹³³

The same Alexis in *Poets* (fr. 188) says that Lark used to tell
jokes and liked to have people laugh in response:

¹³¹ Blepaeus (PAA 266895) was a banker also mentioned by
Demosthenes (21.215; 40.52).

¹³² A mock-oracle.

¹³³ Meaning that his fingers feel no pain when he snatches hot
food from the pan.

πάνυ τοι βούλομαι

οὗτος γελάσθαι καὶ γέλοι' αἰεὶ λέγειν
μετὰ τὸν Κόρυδον μάλιστ' Ἀθηναίων πολὺ.

ἀναγράφει δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα Λυγκεὺς ὁ Σάμιος Εὐκράτην αὐτὸν καλεῖσθαι κυρίως φάσκων. γράφει δ' οὕτως· Εὐκράτης ὁ Κόρυδος πίνων παρά τιμ σαθρᾶς οὔσης τῆς οἰκίας, “ἐνταῦθα,” φησίν, “δει-
e πνεῖν δεῖ ὑποστήσαντα τὴν ἄριστεράν χεῖρα ὡσπερ αἱ Καρνάτιδες.”

Φιλόξενος δ' ἡ Πτερνοκοπίς ἐμπεσόντος λόγου ὅτι αἱ κίχλαι τίμαι εἰσι καὶ τοῦ Κορύδου παρόντος, ὃς ἐδόκει πεπορνεῦσθαι, “ἀλλ' ἐγώ,” “ἔφη,” “μνημονεύω ὅτε ὁ Κόρυδος ὀβολοῦ ἦν.” ἦν δὲ καὶ ὁ Φιλόξενος τῶν παρασίτων, ὡς Ἀξιόνικος εἶρηκεν ἐν τῷ Χαλκιδικῷ· πρόκειται δὲ τὸ μαρτύριον. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Μένανδρος ἐν Κεκρυφάλῳ αὐτὸ μόνον Πτερνοκοπίδα αὐτὸν καλῶν. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Μάχων ὁ κωμω-
f διοπιὸς ὁ Κορίνθιος ἢ μὲν ἡ Σικυώνιος γενόμενος, ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ δὲ τῇ ἐμῇ καταβιοῦς καὶ διδάσκαλος γενόμενος τῶν κατὰ κωμωδίαν μερῶν Ἀριστοφάνους τοῦ γραμματικοῦ· ὃς καὶ ἀπέθανεν ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, καὶ ἐπιγέγραπται αὐτοῦ τῷ μνήματι

134 A guest at a drinking party reclined on his left side, using his right hand to hold his cup, and his left to support his head or body. Caryatids are column-shafts carved to resemble women, and were used most famously in the Erechtheum on the Athenian acropolis.

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Here I am; and I really
want to be the Athenian who, after Lark, gets
the most laughs and is always telling the most jokes.

Lynceus of Samos (fr. 28 Dalby) published his recollections of Lark and reports that his given name was Eucrates. He writes as follows: Eucrates (or Lark) was drinking with someone whose house was collapsing, and he said: "When you eat dinner here, you have to hold the roof up with your left hand, like the Caryatids."¹³⁴

Lark was known to have worked as a male prostitute; once when he was present and the conversation turned to how expensive thrushes were, Philoxenus the Heel-tapper¹³⁵ said: "But I recall when Lark cost an obol." Philoxenus was also a parasite, according to Axionicus in *The Man Who Wished He Was from Chalcis*; the evidence was cited earlier.¹³⁶ Menander as well mentions him in *The Headdress* (fr. 216), referring to him simply as Heel-tapper. The comic poet Macho (64–90 Gow, quoted at 8.341b–d) also mentions him; Macho (test. 2) was from either Corinth or Sicyon, but spent his life in my native city, Alexandria, and taught the grammarian Aristophanes (Ar. Byz. test. 13A Slater) about the divisions within comedy.¹³⁷ He also died in Alexandria, and the inscription on his grave reads (Diosc. AP 7.708 = HE 1617–22 = Macho test. 3):

¹³⁵ See 6.239f n.

¹³⁶ Axionic. fr. 6, quoted at 6.239f–40b.

¹³⁷ Cf. 14.664a = Macho test. 1. Aristophanes may have been the first scholar to distinguish between Old, Middle, and New Comedy; but whether this is what Athenaeus is referring to is unclear.

242 τῷ κωμωδογράφῳ, κούφη κόνη, τὸν φιλάγωνα
 κισσὸν ὑπὲρ τύμβου ζῶντα Μάχωνι φέροισ· ||
 οὐ γὰρ ἔχεις κύφωνα παλίμπλυτον, ἀλλὰ τι
 τέχνης
 ἄξιον ἀρχαίης λείψανον ἠμφίεσας.
 τοῦτο δ' ὁ πρέσβυς ἐρεῖ· “Κέκροπος πόλι, καὶ
 παρὰ Νείλω
 ἔστιν ὅτ' ἐν Μούσαις δριμὺ πέφυκε θύμον.”

ἐν τούτοις δηλοῖ σαφῶς ὅτι Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἦν γένος. ὁ
 δ' οὖν Μάχων τοῦ Κορυίδου μνημονεύει ἐν τούτοις·

b τὸν Κόρυδον ἠρώτησεν Εὐκράτη ποτέ |
 τῶν συμπαρόντων πῶς κέχρητ' αὐτῷ ποτε
 Πτολεμαῖος. “οὐκ οἶδ'”, εἶπεν, “οὐδέπω σαφῶς
 πεπότικε μὲν γὰρ ὡσπερ ἰατρός μ'”, ἔφη,
 “ἂ δεῖ, φαγεῖν δὲ σιτί' οὐ δέδωκέ πω.”

Λυγκεὺς δὲ ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ Μενάνδρου, ἐπὶ γελοίοις,
 φησί, δόξαν εἰληφότες <Εὐκλείδης> ὁ Σμικρίνου καὶ
 Φιλόξενος ἢ Πτερνοκοπίς· ὧν ὁ μὲν Εὐκλείδης ἀπο-
 φθεγγόμενος οὐκ ἀνάξια βιβλίον καὶ μνήμη ἐν τοῖς
 ἄλλοις ἦν ἀηδῆς καὶ ψυχρὸς, ὁ δὲ Φιλόξενος οὐδὲν ἐπὶ
 c κεφαλαίου περιττὸν λέγων ὅτε λαλήσειεν, | εἰ πικραν-
 θείη πρὸς τινα τῶν συζώντων καὶ διηγῆσαιτο, πᾶν
 ἐπαφροδισίας καὶ χάριτος ἦν μεστόν. καίτοι γε συν-

¹³⁸ Athens, one of whose mythical kings was Cecrops. The
 “old man” is Macho himself; cf. 14.664a for his comedies (per-
 formed in Alexandria rather than Athens).

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Light dust, may you wrap living ivy, fond of contests,
over his tomb for the comic author Macho.

For it is no plagiarizing hack you hold; instead, you
enfold

a worthy remnant of the ancient craft.

This is what the old man will say: "City of Cecrops,¹³⁸
sometimes pungent
poetic thyme grows beside the Nile as well."

He makes it absolutely clear here that he was Alexandrian by birth.¹³⁹ Macho, then, mentions Lark in the following passage (1-5 Gow):

Another guest once asked Eucrates (known as
Lark) how Ptolemy had treated

him. "I'm not at all sure," he said.

"Because he's prescribed what I have to drink," he
said, "like

a doctor would; but he hasn't given me any food to
eat."

Lynceus says in Book II of *On Menander* (fr. 35 Dalby): Eucleides son of Smicrinus¹⁴⁰ and Philoxenus the Heel-tapper both had a reputation for being funny. Although Eucleides made pithy comments that would have been worth writing down and remembering, he was otherwise sour and awkward. Philoxenus, on the other hand, said nothing very extraordinary, to put it bluntly, in casual conversation; but if he became annoyed at someone in his circle or told a story, every word he uttered was full of

¹³⁹ This is of course untrue, and merely reflects the speakers' local chauvinism; cf. 6.229e n.

¹⁴⁰ PAA 435980; cf. 6.250e.

έβη τὸν μὲν Εὐκλείδην κατὰ τὸν βίον < . . . >, τὸν δὲ Φιλόξενον ὑπὸ πάντων φιλεῖσθαι καὶ τιμᾶσθαι.

Μοσχίωνος δέ τινος παρασίτου μνημονεύων Ἄλεξις ἐν Τροφωνίῳ παραμασήτην αὐτὸν ἐν τούτοις καλεῖ·

εἶθ' ὁ Μοσχίων

ὁ Παραμασήτης ἐν βροτοῖς αὐδῶμενος.

ἐν δὲ τῷ Παγκρατιαστῇ Ἄλεξις τρεχεδείπνους κατα-
d λέγων | φησίν·

(Α.) πρῶτον μὲν ἦν σοι Καλλιμέδων ὁ Κάραβος,
ἔπειτα Κόρυδος, Κωβιός, Κυρηβίων,
ὁ Σκόμβρος, ἡ Σεμίδαλις. (Β.) Ἡράκλεις φίλε,
ἀγοράσματ', οὐ συμπόσιον εἴρηκας, γύναι.

Κυρηβίων δ' ἐπεκαλεῖτο Ἐπικράτης ὁ Αἰσχίνου τοῦ
ρήτορος κηδεστής, ὡς φησι Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ Περὶ
τῆς Παραπρεσβείας. τῶν δὲ τοιούτων ἐπιθέτων ἃ ἐπὶ
χλεύῃ Ἀθηναῖοι παίζοντες ἔλεγον μνημονεύει Ἀνα-
ξανδρίδης ἐν Ὀδυσσεῖ οὕτως· |

e ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἀλλήλους ἀεὶ χλευάζετ', οἷδ' ἀκριβῶς.
ἂν μὲν γὰρ ἦ τις εὐπρεπής, Ἴερὸν Γάμον
καλεῖτε·

141 PAA 659185; cf. 6.246b (quoting Macho); 8.342b. Perhaps to be identified with the man mentioned at 9.382d.

142 *paramasētēs*, playing on "parasite"; cf. Timocl. fr. 9.6, quoted at 6.243c.

143 *trexedeipnoi*; cf. 1.4a.

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elegance and wit. Indeed, it turned out that for his entire life Euclides . . . , whereas everyone liked and favored Philoxenus.

Alexis in *Trophonius* (fr. 238) mentions a parasite named Moschion¹⁴¹ and refers to him as a "chewing-companion"¹⁴² in the following passage:

then Moschion,
whom mortals address as Chewing-Companion.

In his *Pancratiast* (fr. 173) Alexis offers a list of men who chase dinners,¹⁴³ saying:

(A.) First, you had Callimedes the Crayfish;¹⁴⁴
then Lark, Goby, Bran,
Mackerel, and Wheat-Flour. (B.) Dear Heracles!
You've described a shopping-list, not a symposium,
woman!

Bran was the nickname of Epicrates¹⁴⁵, who was related by marriage to the orator Aeschines, according to Demosthenes in his *On the False Embassy* (19.187). Anaxandrides in *Odysseus* (fr. 35) mentions nicknames of this type, which the Athenians used to make mocking fun of people, as follows:

Because I'm well aware you always kid each other.
If a guy's handsome, you call him Sacred Marriage,¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴ See 3.104d–e n. The real names of the men referred to below as Goby (PAA 588990; also mentioned at 3.134d), Mackerel, and Wheat-Flour (also mentioned at 3.134d) are unknown.

¹⁴⁵ PAA 394100; cf. 6.244a.

¹⁴⁶ An obscure ritual, apparently intended to recall and celebrate the marriage of Zeus and Hera; cf. 6.243a–b.

ἐὰν δὲ μικρὸν παντελῶς ἀνθρώπιον, Σταλαγμόν.
λαμπρός τις ἐξελλήλυθ' < . . . > Ὀλολυσ οὗτός
ἐστι·

λιπαρὸς περιπατεῖ Δημοκλῆς, Ζωμὸς
κατωνόμασται·

f χαίρει τις αὐχμῶν ἢ ῥυπῶν, | Κονιορτὸς
ἀναπέφηνεν·

ὀπισθεν ἀκολουθεῖ κόλαξ τῷ, Λέμβος
ἐπικέκληται·

τὰ πόλλ' ἄδειπνος περιπατεῖ, Κεστρινός ἐστι
Νῆστις.

εἰς τοὺς καλοὺς δ' ἂν τις βλέπη, Καινὸς
Θεατροποιός·

ὑφείλετ' ἄρνα ποιμένος παίζων, Ἄτρεὺς ἐκλήθη·
ἐὰν δὲ κριόν, Φρίξος· ἂν δὲ κωδάριον, Ἰάσων.

243 Χαιρεφῶντος δὲ τοῦ παρασίτου μέμνηται μὲν καὶ τοῖς
πρὸ τούτων, || ἀτὰρ δὴ καὶ Μένανδρος αὐτοῦ μνημο-
νεύει ἐν Κεκρυφάλῳ. καὶ τῇ Ὀργῇ δέ φησι·

διαφέρει Χαιρεφῶντος οὐδὲ γρῷ
ἄνθρωπος ὅστις ἐστίν, ὃς κληθεῖς ποτε
εἰς ἐστίασιν δωδεκάποδος ὄρθριος
πρὸς τὴν σελήνην ἔτρεχε τὴν σκιὰν ἰδὼν
ὡς ὑστερίζων καὶ παρῆν ἅμ' ἡμέρα.

147 PAA 315565; perhaps to be identified with the man mentioned at 13.584f.

148 Cf. 7.307c-8b (quoting this verse

again at 7.307e-f).

149 For Atreus and his lamb, see 6.231c n. Phrixus and his sister Helle fled to Colchis on the back of a

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whereas if he's a midget, you call him Drop.
Someone emerges from his house glistening; he's
Pussy.

Democles¹⁴⁷ walks around covered with oil; he's
dubbed Meat-broth.

Somebody likes being dry or dirty; he's proclaimed
Dust-cloud.

A flatterer follows behind another person; he's
nicknamed Dinghy.

A guy generally goes around without having had
dinner; he's Fasting Mullet.¹⁴⁸

If someone stares at handsome boys, he's The New
Theater-maker;

if he steals a shepherd's lamb as a joke, he's called
Atreus;

if it's a ram, he's Phrixus; if it's a sheepskin, he's
Jason.¹⁴⁹

Mention was made earlier of the parasite Chaerephon;¹⁵⁰
Menander as well refers to him in *The Headdress* (fr. 215).
So too in his *Anger* (fr. 265) he says:

Whoever this guy is, he's not the least bit
different from Chaerephon, who was once invited
to come to a feast when the sundial was at 12 feet;
just before dawn
he saw its shadow in the moonlight and raced off,
as if he was late, and was there when the sun rose.¹⁵¹

golden ram; its skin became the golden fleece sought by Jason and
the Argonauts. ¹⁵⁰ See 4.134e-f (from Matro's *Attic Din-*
ner Party).

¹⁵¹ Cf. Eub. fr. 117 (preserved at 1.8b-
c), where a very similar story is told about Philocrates.

ἐν δὲ Μέθῃ·

ἐμὲ γὰρ διέτρυφεν ὁ
κομψότατος ἀνδρῶν Χαιρεφῶν ἱερὸν γάμον |
b φάσκων ποήσειν δευτέρα μετ' εἰκάδας
καθ' αὐτόν, ἵνα τῇ τετράδι δειπνῇ παρ' ἑτέροις·
τὰ τῆς θεοῦ γὰρ πανταχῶς ἔχειν καλῶς.

μνημονεύει αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν Ἀνδρογύνῳ ἢ Κρητί. Τιμοκλῆς δ' ἐν Ἐπιστολαῖς καὶ ὡς Δημοτίωνι τῷ ἀσώτῳ παρασιτοῦντος αὐτοῦ μνημονεύει·

ὁ Δημοτίων δὲ παραμενεῖν αὐτῷ δοκῶν
τὰργύριον οὐκ ἐφείδεται, ἀλλὰ παρέτρεφε
τὸν βουλόμενον. ὁ Χαιρεφῶν μὲν παντελῶς |
c οἴκαδε βαδίζειν † ᾧτο ᾧ † ταλάντατος.
καὶ μὴν ἔτι † τοῦτ' ἔστιν † ἄξιον μόνον,
τὸν παραμασήτην λαμβάνειν δίκρον ξύλον·
οὔτ' εὐρυθμος γὰρ ἔστιν οὔτ' ἀχρήματος.

Ἀντιφάνης δ' ἐν Σκύθῃ·

A.) ἐπὶ κῶμον δοκεῖ
ἴωμεν ὥσπερ ἔχομεν. (B.) οὐκοῦν δᾶδα καὶ
στεφάνους λαβόντες. Χαιρεφῶν οὕτως < . . . >
μεμάθηκε κωμάζειν ἄδειπνος.

152 The 4th of the month was Heracles' birthday and was sacred to him (and therefore, given his reputation for gluttony, an appropriate day for feasting). For the Sacred Marriage, see 6.242e n.

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And in *Drunkenness* (fr. 225):

Because Chaerephon, the
most ingenious man alive, ruined me by claiming
he was going to celebrate a Sacred Marriage on the
22nd
in his own house, so he could dine with other people
on the 4th¹⁵²—
since the omens the goddess sent were 100%
favorable.

He also mentions him in *The Hermaphrodite* or *The Cretan* (fr. 55). Timocles in *The Letter* (fr. 9) refers to him as sponging off the spendthrift Demotion¹⁵³:

Since he expects he'll always have money,
Demotion doesn't live thriftily, but feeds anyone
who's interested. Chaerephon entirely
to go home † was expecting O † the bastard!
Indeed still † this is † the only thing he deserves,
to get a common criminal as his chewing-
companion.¹⁵⁴

Because he's neither suave nor poor.

Antiphanes in *The Scythian* (fr. 197):

(A.) It's fine for us to go
wander the streets just as we are. (B.) Alright—after
we get
a torch and some garlands. Chaerephon's learned
to celebrate this way when he hasn't had dinner.

¹⁵³ PAA 320135; otherwise unknown.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. 6.242c n.

Τιμόθεος Κυναρίω· |

- d πειρώμεθ' ὑποδύντ' ἐς τὸ δείπνον ἀπιέναι.
εἰς ἐπτάκλινον δ' ἐστίν, ὡς ἔφραζέ μοι,
ἂν μὴ παράβυστός που γένηται Χαιρεφῶν.

Ἀπολλόδωρος δ' ὁ Καρύστιος ἐν Ἱερείᾳ·

καινόν γε φασι Χαιρεφῶντ' ἐν τοῖς γάμοις
ὡς τὸν Ὀφέλαν ἄκλητον εἰσδεδυκέναι.
σπυρίδα λαβὼν γὰρ καὶ στέφανον, ὡς ἦν
σκότος,

- e φάσκων παρὰ τῆς νύμφης ὁ τὰς ὄρνεις φέρων |
ἄκειν, δεδείπνηχ', ὡς ἔοικεν, εἰσπεσῶν.

ἐν δὲ Σφαττομένη·

καλῶ δ' Ἄρη Νίκην τ' ἐπ' ἐξόδοις ἐμαῖς,
καλῶ δὲ Χαιρεφῶντα· κἂν γὰρ μὴ καλῶ,
ἄκλητος ἦξει.

Μάχων δ' ὁ κωμικός φησιν·

- ὁδὸν μακρὰν ἐλθόντος ἐπὶ δείπνόν ποτε
τοῦ Χαιρεφῶντος εἰς γάμους ἐξ ἄστεος
εἰπεῖν λέγουσι τὸν ποητὴν Δίφιλον,
“εἰς τὰς ἑαυτοῦ, Χαιρεφῶν, σιαγόνας |
f ἔγκοψον ἦλους ἑκατέρᾳ γε τέτταρας
ἵνα μὴ παρασείων καὶ μακρὰν ἐκάστοτε
ὁδὸν βαδίζων τὰς γνάθους διαστρέφης.”

καὶ πάλιν·

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Timotheus in *The Puppy-Dog* (fr. 1):

Let's try to sneak out and go to the dinner party.
He told me there are seven couches—
unless Chaerephon squeezed in somehow.

Apollodorus of Carystus in *The Priestess* (fr. 29):

People say that Chaerephon—who wasn't invited—
has snuck into
the wedding feast at Ophelas' house in an unusual
way.

He got a basket and a garland, and since it was dark,
he claimed he was the man who'd come from the
bride, bringing
the birds; and now that he's got in, apparently, he's
had dinner.

And in *The Girl Who Was Murdered* (fr. 31):

I call on Ares and Victory to watch over my
expedition,
and I call on Chaerephon—because even if I don't,
he'll come uninvited!

The comic author Macho (10–16 Gow) says:

Once when Chaerephon travelled a long way
out of the city to have dinner at a wedding feast,
people claim, the poet Diphilus said:
"Pound four nails into your jaws
on either side, Chaerephon,
so you don't swing them, whenever you
make a long journey, and dislocate your cheeks."

Again (Macho 17–24 Gow):

- ὁ Χαιρεφῶν κρεάδι' ᾠψώνει ποτέ,
καὶ τοῦ μαγείρου, φασίν, ὅστῳδες σφόδρα
αὐτῷ τι προσκόπτοντος ἀπὸ τύχης κρέας
εἶπεν, "μάγειρε, μὴ προσίστα τοῦτό μοι
τοῦστοῦν". ὁ δ' εἶπεν "ἀλλὰ μὴν ἔστιν γλυκύ."⁷ ||
244 Χαιρεφῶν δέ, "καὶ μάλ', ᾧ βέλτιστ'," ἔφη,
"γλυκὸν μὲν, προσιστάμενον δὲ λυπεῖ πανταχῆ."

τοῦ Χαιρεφῶντος καὶ σύγγραμμα ἀναγράφει Καλλί-
μαχος ἐν τῷ τῶν Παντοδαπῶν Πίνακι γράφων οὕτως·
δεῖπνα ὅσοι ἔγραψαν Χαιρεφῶν Κυρηβίωνι. εἶθ' ἐξῆς
τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπέθηκεν "ἐπειδὴ μοι πολλάκις ἐπέστει-
λας." στίχων τριακοσίων ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε. καὶ ὁ
Κυρηβίων δ' ὅτι παράσιτος προείρηται.

- b Καὶ Ἀρχεφῶντος | δὲ τοῦ παρασίτου μνημονεύων ὁ
Μάχων φησί·

κληθεὶς ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ὁ παράσιτος Ἀρχεφῶν
ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλέως ἠνίκα
κατέπλευσεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς
ὄψου πετραίου παρατεθέντος ποικίλου
ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης καράβων τ' ἀληθινῶν,
ἐπὶ πᾶσι λοπάδος τ' εἰσενεχθείσης ἀδρᾶς |
c ἐν ἧ̄ τεμαχιστοὶ τρεῖς ἐνήσαν κωβιοί,

⁷ After this verse ACE include the intrusive explanatory gloss
καὶ μὴν τὸ πρὸς ὄστοῦν φασι κρέας εἶναι γλυκύ (del.
Meineke).

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Once Chaerephon was buying some meat,
and when the butcher, people claim, happened to cut
him
a piece that was particularly full of bone,
he said: "Butcher, please don't include this bone in
what
you're weighing out for me." The butcher said: "But
it's quite tasty."
And Chaerephon said: "Yes, my good sir,
it's tasty; but when it's included in my purchase, it
makes me hurt all over."

Callimachus includes a prose treatise by Chaerephon in his *Catalogue of Miscellaneous Works* (fr. 434), writing as follows: Authors of descriptions of dinner parties: Chaerephon to Bran. Then immediately afterward he appends its opening words: "Since you often wrote to me." 375 lines of text. That Bran was a parasite was noted earlier.¹⁵⁵

Macho (25–45 Gow) also mentions the parasite Archephon¹⁵⁶, saying:

When the parasite Archephon sailed
to Egypt from Attica, he was invited
to dinner by King Ptolemy.¹⁵⁷
A variegated rock-fish was set
on the table, along with genuine crayfish;
and after all this a massive casserole-dish was brought
in
that contained three gobies cut into steaks,

¹⁵⁶ PAA 211865; cf. 11.469c (citing Cratinus Junior).

¹⁵⁷ Ptolemy I Soter (reigned 323–283 BCE).

οὓς κατεπλάγησαν πάντες οἱ κεκλημένοι,
 τῶν μὲν σκάρων ἀπέλανε τῶν τριγλῶν θ' ἄμα
 καὶ φυκίδων ἐπὶ πλείον Ἀρχεφῶν πάνυ,
 ἄνθρωπος ὑπὸ τῶν μαινίδων καὶ μεμβράδων
 Φαληρικῆς ἀφύης τε διασεσαγμένος,
 τῶν κωβιῶν δ' ἀπέσχετ' ἐγκρατέστατα.
 πάνυ δὴ παραδόξου γενομένου τοῦ πράγματος
 καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως πυθομένου τᾶλκῆνορος, |
 d "μὴ παρεόρακεν Ἀρχεφῶν τοὺς κωβιούς;"
 ὁ κυρτὸς εἶπε, "πάνυ μὲν οὖν τοῦναντίον,
 Πτολεμαῖ· ἑώρακε πρῶτος, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἄπτεται,
 τοῦψον δὲ σέβεται τοῦτο καὶ δέδοικέ πως,
 οὐδ' ἐστὶν αὐτῷ πάτριον ὄντ' ἀσύμβολον
 ἰχθὺν ἔχοντα ψῆφον ἀδικεῖν οὐδένα."

Ἄλεξις δ' ἐν Πυραύνῳ Στράτιον τὸν παράσιτον
 εἰσάγει δυσχεραίνοντα τῷ τρέφοντι καὶ λέγοντα τάδε |

e ἔμοι παρασιτεῖν κρεῖττον ἦν τῷ Πηγάσῳ
 ἢ τοῖς Βορεάδαις ἢ τι θάπτον ἔτι τρέχει,

¹⁵⁸ Small, inexpensive fish, in contrast to the delicacies being served in Ptolemy's court. For Phaleric small-fry (an Athenian specialty), see 7.285b n.

¹⁵⁹ Perhaps the comic poet victorious once at the Lenaea (PAA 121378; otherwise unknown).

¹⁶⁰ Participants in jointly-funded dinner parties—unlike this one—surrendered pledge-tokens (most often referred to as *sumbolai*) in advance, as evidence of their willingness to pay a share of the expenses, and this must be one sense of *psēphos* (literally

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which stunned all the guests.

Archephon was helping himself to more and more parrot-wrasse, red mullet, and *phukis*-wrasse—this was a person who had previously stuffed his belly full

of sprats, smelt, and Phaleric small-fry¹⁵⁸—but displayed enormous self-control by staying away from the gobies.

This was extremely odd, and the king asked Alcenor¹⁵⁹:

“Archephon hasn’t overlooked the gobies, has he?”

The hunchback said: “No; quite the opposite, Ptolemy. He was the first person to spot them, but he’s keeping his hands off them.

This fish inspires religious awe and something approaching fear in him; and since he’s not helping pay for the dinner, it’s contrary to his ancestral practice to wrong any fish that has a pledge-token.”¹⁶⁰

Alexis in *The Pan of Coals* (fr. 205, encompassing both quotations) brings the parasite Stratius onstage grumbling about his patron and saying the following:

I’d do better to sponge off Pegasus,
or Boreas’ sons,¹⁶¹ or something that runs even faster,

“pebble”) here. The wit of Alcenor’s remark, however, depends on the goby having a stone (presumably an otolith) inside it.

¹⁶¹ Calais and Zetes, who flew as fast as their father Boreas the North Wind (e.g. Thgn. 715–16).

ἢ Δημέα Λάχητος Ἐτεοβουτάδῃ·
πέτεται γάρ, οὐχ οἶον βαδίζει τὰς ὁδοῦς.

καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα·

(Δη.) Στράτιε, φιλεῖς δήπου με; (Στρ.) μᾶλλον
τοῦ πατρός·

ὁ μὲν γὰρ οὐ τρέφει με, σὺ δὲ λαμπρῶς τρέφεις.

(Δη.) εὐχῆ τ' αἰεὶ με ζῆν; (Στρ.) ἅπασιν τοῖς θεοῖς·
ἂν γὰρ πάθῃς τι, πῶς ἐγὼ βιώσομαι; †

f Ἀξιόνικος δ' ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν τῷ Τυρρηνῷ Γρυλλίωνος
τοῦ παρασίτου ἐν τούτοις μνημονεύει

οἶνος οὐκ ἔνεστιν

† αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἐταίρους πρόφασιν ἐπὶ κῶμον
τινάς, †

ὅπερ ποεῖν εἴωθε Γρυλλίων αἰεὶ.

Ἀριστόδημος δ' ἐν δευτέρῳ Γελοίων Ἀπομνημονευ-
μάτων παρασίτους ἀναγράφει Ἀντιόχου μὲν τοῦ βα-
σιλέως Σώστρατον, Δημητρίου δὲ τοῦ πολιορκητοῦ
Εὐαγόραν τὸν κυρτόν, Σελεύκου δὲ Φορμίωνα. †

245 Λυγκεὺς δ' ὁ Σάμιος ἐν τοῖς Ἀποφθέγμασι, Σιλανός,

¹⁶² PAA 306675; otherwise unknown. The Eteoboutadai were an old Athenian aristocratic family who controlled several important priesthoods.

¹⁶³ PAA 281930; cf. 13.591d.

¹⁶⁴ A related fragment of the work is preserved at 6.246d–e.

¹⁶⁵ Stephanis #2362; also mentioned at 1.19d, where he is

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than off Demeas son of Laches the Eteaboutad.¹⁶²
Because he flies—you can't call it walking—along the
roads.

And a little further on:

(Demeas) Stratius, you're devoted to me, aren't you?
(Stratius) More than I am to my own father;
he doesn't take care of me, whereas you do a brilliant
job of it.

(Demeas) And you pray that I'll live forever?

(Stratius) To all the gods!

Because if something happens to you, how am I going
to survive?

The comic author Axionicus in his *The Etruscan* (fr. 2) mentions the parasite Gryllion¹⁶³ in the following passage:

There's no wine in
† them for some friends on the excuse it's for a party, †
which is what Gryllion always liked to do.

Aristodemus in Book II of the *Humorous Memoirs*¹⁶⁴ (fr. 7, *FHG* iii.310) lists as parasites Sostratus¹⁶⁵, who was dependent on King Antiochus; Euagoras the hunchback, dependent on Demetrius Poliorcetes;¹⁶⁶ and Phormio, dependent on Seleucus.¹⁶⁷ Lynceus of Samos says in his

identified as a piper. The Antiochus in question is Antiochus III "the Great" (reigned 222–187 BCE).

¹⁶⁶ King of Macedon 294–288 BCE (Berve i #257) and the son of Antigonus I.

¹⁶⁷ Presumably Seleucus I Nicator (d. 281 BCE; Berve i #700), who was one of Alexander's successors and the father of Antiochus I Soter.

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φησίν, ὁ Ἀθηναῖος Γρυλλίωνος παρασιτοῦντος Μενάνδρῳ τῷ σατράπῃ, εὐπαρύφου⁸ δὲ καὶ μετὰ θεραπείας περιπατοῦντος ἐρωτηθεὶς, “τίς ἐστὶν οὗτος;”, “Μενάνδρου”, ἔφησεν, “ἀξία γνώθος.” Χαιρεφῶν δέ, φησίν, ὁ παράσιτος εἰς γάμον ἄκλητος εἰσελθὼν καὶ κατακλιθεὶς ἔσχατος καὶ τῶν γυναικονόμων ἀριθμούντων τοὺς κεκλημένους καὶ κελευόντων αὐτὸν ἀποτρέχειν ὡς παρὰ τὸν νόμον ἐπὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα ἐπόντος, “ἀριθμεῖτε δὴ,” ἔφη, “πάλιν ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ ἀρξάμενοι.” ὅτι δ’ ἦν ἔθος τοὺς γυναικονόμους | ἐφορᾶν τὰ συμπόσια καὶ ἐξετάζειν τῶν κεκλημένων τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἰ ὁ κατὰ νόμον ἐστί, Τιμοκλῆς ἐν Φιλοδικαστῇ φησὶν οὕτως·

ἀνοίγεται ἤδη τὰς θύρας, ἵνα πρὸς τὸ φῶς
 ὦμεν καταφανεῖς μᾶλλον, ἐφοδεύων ἐὰν
 βούληθ’ ὁ γυναικονόμος † λαβεῖν ἀριθμὸν †,
 κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν καινὸν ὅπερ εἶωθε δρᾶν,
 τῶν ἐστιωμένων. ἔδει δὲ τοῦμπαλι
 τὰς τῶν ἀδείπνων ἐξετάζειν οἰκίας.

Μένανδρος δ’ ἐν Κεκρυφάλῳ |

⁸ παρ’ εὐπαρύφου A: παρὰ εὐπαρύφου CE: παρ’ del. Schweighäuser

¹⁶⁸ Menander (Berve i #501; Billows #71) was one of Alexander’s *hetairoi* (“inner circle”); he became satrap of Lydia in 331 BCE.

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Memorable Sayings (fr. 26–7 Dalby): When Gryllion was sponging off the satrap Menander¹⁶⁸ and was going around dressed in a splendid robe with a purple border, and accompanied by a retinue, someone asked Silanus the Athenian:¹⁶⁹ “Who’s this?”; and he said: “Menander’s distinguished jaw.” Lynceus also claims that the parasite Chaerephon got into a wedding celebration without having been invited and lay down on the very last couch. The Supervisors of Women were counting the guests, and when they ordered him to leave, since he was violating the law by exceeding the limit of 30 people, he said: “Count again—but start with me!” That it was standard practice for the Supervisors of Women to oversee drinking parties and check the number of guests to be sure it was within the legal limit, is asserted by Timocles in *The Man Who Loved Jury-Duty* (fr. 34), as follows:

Now open up the doors, so we can be in the light
and more visible, in case the Supervisor of Women
is making his rounds and wants † to take a count †
of the people attending the feast, as he’s in the habit
of doing,
following the new law. It should have been the other
way around,
with him inspecting the houses of people who *aren’t*
having dinner.

Menander in *The Headdress* (fr. 208):¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁹ Otherwise unknown.

¹⁷⁰ Presumably from the same passage as fr. 215 (quoted at 6.243a) and 216 (quoted at 5.214e).

- c παρὰ τοῖς γυναικονόμοις δὲ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς γάμοις
 διακονοῦντας ἀπογεγράφθαι πυθόμενος
 πάντα μαγείρους κατὰ νόμον καινόν τινα,
 ἵνα πυθάνωνται τοὺς κεκλημένους ἐὰν
 πλείους τις ὦν ἕξεστιν ἐστιῶν τύχη,
 ἔλθῶν.

καὶ Φιλόχορος δ' ἐν ἐβδόμῃ Ἀτθίδος, οἱ γυναικονόμοι,
 φησί, μετὰ τῶν Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν ἐσκόπουν τὰς ἐν ταῖς
 οἰκίαις συνόδους ἐν τε τοῖς γάμοις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις
 θυσίαις.

- d Τοῦ δὲ Κορύδου | ἀποφθέγματα τάδε ἀναγράφει ὁ
 Λυγκεύς· Κορύδῳ συμπινούσης τινὸς ἐταίρας, ἧ ὄνο-
 μα ἦν Γνώμη, καὶ τοῦ οἴναριον ἐπιλιπόντος εἰσφέρειν
 ἐκέλευσεν ἕκαστον δύο ὀβολούς, Γνώμην δὲ συμβάλ-
 λεσθαι ὅ τι δοκεῖ τῷ δήμῳ. Πολύκτορος δὲ τοῦ κιθα-
 ρωδοῦ φακῆν ῥοφούντος καὶ λίθον μασησαμένου, “ὦ
 ταλαίπωρε,” ἔφη, “καὶ ἡ φακῆ σε βάλλει.” μήποτε
 τούτου καὶ Μάχων μνημονεύει, φησὶ γάρ·

κακός τις, ὡς ἔοικε, κιθαρωδὸς σφόδρα,

† μέλλων οἰκοδομεῖν τὴν οἰκίαν †, φίλον |

- e αὐτοῦ λίθους ἤτησεν. † “ἀποίσω † δ' ἐγὼ
 αὐτῶν πολὺ πλείους”, φησὶν, “ἐκ τῆς δείξεως.”

171 Gnōmē is literally “Judgment, Opinion”, and Lark’s re-
 mark plays on an Athenian legislative formula that mandated that
 “the judgment (gnōmē) of the Council be communicated to the
 People” (e.g. IG II² 103.17–18).

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When he heard that the Supervisors of Women,
following some new law, had drawn up a list
of all the cooks who work at wedding feasts,
so they could find out if anyone was
entertaining more guests than's allowed,
he went and . . .

Philochorus as well says in Book VII of the *History of Attica* (FGrH 328 F 65): The Supervisors of Women, accompanied by the members of the Areopagus Council, used to inspect gatherings in private houses, as well as at wedding feasts and other sacrificial rites.

Lynceus (fr. 29–30 Dalby) records the following witty remarks by Lark: A courtesan named Gnōmē was drinking with Lark. When the wine ran out, he suggested that each man put in two obols and that Gnōmē contribute “whatever seems good to the people”.¹⁷¹ When the citharode Polyctor¹⁷² was gobbling up some lentil soup and bit down on a stone, Lark said: “Poor guy—even the lentil soup’s stoning you!”¹⁷³ Macho may also mention this fellow, because he says (6–9 Gow):

A seemingly very untalented citharode,
† who was going to build his house, † asked
his friend for some stones. “I’ll † carry away †
many more than this”, he said, “from my next
performance.”

¹⁷² Stephanis #2105.

¹⁷³ Bad performers were sometimes pelted with objects, allegedly including stones; cf. Macho, below; 9.406f–7a.

λέγοντος δέ τινος τῷ Κορύδῳ ὡς τῆς αὐτοῦ γυναικὸς ἐνίοτε καὶ <τὸν> τράχηλον καὶ τοὺς τιτθοὺς καὶ τὸν ὀμφαλὸν φιλεῖ, “πονηρόν”, ἔφη, “τοῦτ’ ἤδη· καὶ γὰρ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἀπὸ τῆς Ὀμφάλης ἐπὶ τὴν Ἡβὴν μεταβέβηκε.” Φυρομάχου δ’ ἐμβαψαμένου εἰς φακῆν καὶ τὸ τρύβλιον ἀνατρέψαντος, “ζημιωθῆναι αὐτόν”, ἔφη, “δίκαιον, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιστάμενος δειπνεῖν ἀπεγράψατο.”

f παρὰ Πτολεμαίῳ δὲ ματτύης περιφερομένης | καὶ κατ’ ἐκείνον ἀεὶ λειπούσης, “Πτολεμαίε,” ἔφη, “πότερον ἐγὼ μεθύω ἢ δοκεῖ μοι ταῦτα περιφέρεσθαι;” Χαιρεφῶντος δὲ τοῦ παρασίτου φήσαντος οὐ δύνασθαι τὸν οἶνον φέρειν, “οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ εἰς τὸν οἶνον,” ἔφη. τοῦ δὲ Χαιρεφῶντος γυμνοῦ ἔν τιμι δείπνῳ διαναστάντος, “Χαιρεφῶν,” εἶπεν, “ὥσπερ τὰς ληκύθους ὀρώ σε μέχρι πόσου μεστὸς εἶ.” καθ’ ὃν δὲ καιρὸν Δημοσθένους παρ’ Ἀρπάλου τὴν κύλικα || εἰλήφει, “οὔτος”, ἔφη, “τοὺς ἄλλους ἀκρατοκώθωνας καλῶν αὐτὸς τὴν μεγάλην ἔσπακεν.” εἰωθότος δ’ αὐτοῦ ῥυπαροὺς ἄρτους ἐπὶ τὰ δείπνα φέρεσθαι, ἐνεγκαμένου τινὸς ἔτι μελαν-

¹⁷⁴ Omphale was a Lydian queen whom Heracles served as a slave for three years, while Hēbē was a daughter of Zeus he married when he became a god. Lark’s *bon mot* plays on the similarity between Omphale’s name and *omphalos* (“belly-button”), on the one hand, and the occasional use of *hēbē* (literally “youthful beauty, vigor”) to refer to the genitalia, on the other.

¹⁷⁵ Included in a catalogue of gluttons along with Lark and Nilus (below) at 8.343b (quoting Euphro). See also 10.414d–e (citing Posidippus).

¹⁷⁶ Sc. as a professional glutton—or perhaps simply a citizen.

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When someone bragged to Lark that his wife occasionally kissed his neck, breasts, and belly-button, Lark said: "That's nothing; Heracles moved from Omphale to Hēbē."¹⁷⁴ When Phyromachus¹⁷⁵ dipped a piece of bread into some lentil soup and knocked over the bowl, Lark said: "He ought to be fined for getting himself registered¹⁷⁶ without knowing how to eat dinner." When a *mattuē*¹⁷⁷ was being passed around at Ptolemy's house, but there was never any left when it got to Lark, he said: "Ptolemy, am I drunk—or am I right that everything's going in circles around me?" When the parasite Chaerephon said that he could not stand the wine, Lark said: "What you can't stand is what's added to the wine."¹⁷⁸ When Chaerephon stood up half-naked at a dinner party, Lark said: "Chaerephon, you're like an oil-flask: I can see how full you are." Around the time when Demosthenes had accepted his goblet from Harpalus,¹⁷⁹ Lark said: "This fellow describes other people as drinking unmixed wine from soldiers' vessels¹⁸⁰—even though he's the one who's swallowed the biggest cup!" He used to bring bread made from dirty wheat¹⁸¹ to dinner parties; when someone brought bread that was even

¹⁷⁷ A rich and expensive dish of some sort; cf. 14.662f–4f, esp. 664e–f.

¹⁷⁸ I.e. water, with which wine was mixed.

¹⁷⁹ In 324 BCE, Alexander the Great's treasurer Harpalus (Berve i #143; PAA 204010) fled to Athens with 5000 talents of Alexander's money, some of which he used to bribe leading politicians, including Demosthenes (cf. 6.230e n.; 8.341f [citing Timocles] with n.; Din. 1.6, 53, etc.).

¹⁸⁰ Cf. 11.483e (citing Hyperides). For the *kōthōn* (a type of drinking cup associated with Spartan hoplites), see 11.483b–4c.

¹⁸¹ I.e. wheat containing substantial quantities of bran.

τέρους, οὐκ ἄρτους ἔφη αὐτὸν ἐνηνοχέναι, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἄρτων σκιάς.

Φιλόξενος δὲ ὁ παράσιτος, Πτερνοκοπίς δ' ἐπίκλην, παρὰ Πύθωνι ἀριστῶν παρακειμένων ἐλαῶν καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν προσενεχθείσης λοπάδος ἰχθύων πατάξας τὸ τρύβλιον ἔφη

μάστιξεν δ' ἐλάαν.

- b ἐν δείπνῳ δὲ τοῦ καλέσαντος αὐτὸν | μέλανας ἄρτους παρατιθέντος, “μὴ πολλούς”, εἶπε, “παρατίθει, μὴ σκότος ποιήσης.” τὸν ὑπὸ τῆς γραδὸς τρεφόμενον παράσιτον Πανσίμαχος ἔλεγεν τούναντίον πάσχειν τῇ γραίᾳ συνόντα· αὐτὸν γὰρ ἐν γαστρὶ λαμβάνειν αἰεί. περὶ τούτου καὶ Μάχων γράφει οὕτως·

τὸν ὑδροπώτην Μοσχίωνα λεγόμενον
ιδόντα φασὶν ἐν Λυκείῳ μετὰ τινῶν
παράσιτον ὑπὸ γραδὸς τρεφόμενον πλουσίας,
“ὁ δεῖνα, παράδοξόν γε ποιεῖς πρᾶγμ' ὅτι
ἡ γραῦς ποεῖ σ' ἐν γαστρὶ λαμβάνειν αἰεί.” |

- c ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς παράσιτον ἀκούσας ὑπὸ γραίας τρεφό-

182 Presumably the Philoxenus son of Eryxis referred to at 1.6b–d. The Python at whose house he was eating is unidentified.

183 A witty adaptation of a standard Homeric phrase (e.g. *Il.* 5.366) that means “He whipped them up to run”, but with the infinitive *elaan* (“to run”) understood as a form of the noun *elaai* (“olive”). The idea is apparently that the olives should move on, now that a more desirable dish has appeared.

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darker, Lark said that it was not bread the man had brought, but shadows of bread.

The parasite Philoxenus, nicknamed Heel-tapper,¹⁸² was eating lunch at Python's house. Olives were on the table, and shortly thereafter a casserole-dish of fish was served as well. Philoxenus rapped the bowl and said:

He whipped them and made them look o-live.¹⁸³

When his host served black bread at a dinner party, he said: "Don't put out too many loaves, or you're going to bring on darkness." Pausimachus¹⁸⁴ used to say about the parasite who was kept by the old woman that what happened to him when he slept with her was the opposite of what was normal, since *he* was always getting something in *his* belly.¹⁸⁵ Macho (46-50 Gow) also writes about this fellow, as follows:

People claim that when Moschion¹⁸⁶, known as "the water-drinker," saw a parasite who was kept by a rich old woman in the Lyceum¹⁸⁷ with some other people,
(he said): "Whatever your name is—you're doing something peculiar, since the old woman's always putting something in *your* belly."

When the same man heard that a parasite was being kept

¹⁸⁴ Otherwise unknown. ¹⁸⁵ Whereas this should have been true of the woman, sc. when she got pregnant; cf. 10.453a.

¹⁸⁶ See 6.242c n. ¹⁸⁷ One of Athens' gymnasia. Despite Athenaeus, there is no reason to think that Macho is referring to the same man as Pausimachus was.

μενον συγγινόμενόν τε αὐτῇ ἐκάστης ἡμέρας·

νῦν πάντα, φασί, γίνεθ'· ἡ μὲν οὐ κύει,
ἐν γαστρὶ δ' οὔτος λαμβάνει καθ' ἡμέραν.

Πτολεμαῖος δ' ὁ τοῦ Ἀγησάρχου Μεγαλοπολίτης
γένος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Περὶ τὸν Φιλοπάτορα Ἱστο-
ριῶν συμπότας φησὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ συνάγεσθαι ἐξ ἀπά-
σης τῆς πόλεως, οὓς προσαγορεύεσθαι γελοιαστάς.
Ποσειδώνιος δ' ὁ Ἀπαμεὺς ἐν τῇ εἰκοστῇ καὶ τρίτῃ
d τῶν Ἱστοριῶν, Κελτοί, φησί, περιάγονται μεθ' ἑαυτῶν
καὶ πολεμοῦντες συμβιωτάς, οὓς καλοῦσι παρασί-
τους. οὔτοι δὲ ἐγκώμια αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀθροῦς
λέγουσιν ἀνθρώπους συνεστῶτας καὶ πρὸς ἕκαστον
τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἐκείνων ἀκροωμένων. τὰ δὲ ἀκού-
σματα αὐτῶν εἰσιν οἱ καλούμενοι βάρδοι ποιηταὶ δὲ
οὔτοι τυγχάνουσι μετ' ὠδῆς ἐπαίνους λέγοντες. ἐν δὲ
τῇ τετάρτῃ καὶ τριακοστῇ ὁ αὐτὸς συγγραφεὺς Ἀπολ-
λώνιον τινα ἀναγράφει παράσιτον γεγονότα Ἀντιό-
χου τοῦ Γρυποῦ ἐπικαλουμένου τοῦ τῆς Συρίας βασι-
e λέως. Ἀριστόδημος δ' ἱστορεῖ ἢ Βίθην τὸν Λυσιμάχου
τοῦ βασιλέως παράσιτον, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ἱμάτιον ὁ
Λυσιμάχος ἐνέβαλε ξύλινον σκορπίον, ἐκταραχθέντα
ἀναπηδήσαι, εἶτα γνόντα τὸ γεγενημένον, “κἀγὼ σέ,”

188 I.e. Ptolemy IV of Egypt (reigned 221–204 BCE).

189 “Bards”; a well-attested Celtic word.

190 Antiochus VIII (reigned 125/1–96 BCE). Apollonius is otherwise unknown.

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by an old woman and was having sex with her on a daily basis, (he said) (Macho 51–2 Gow):

Nowadays, as they say, anything can happen: she's not pregnant,
whereas *he's* getting something put in his belly every day!

Ptolemy son of Agesarchus, who was a Megapolitan by birth, reports in Book II of his *History Involving Philopator*¹⁸⁸ (*FGrH* 161 F 2) that the king collected drinking companions from every city; they were referred to as Jesters. Posidonius of Apamea says in Book XXIII of his *History* (*FGrH* 87 F 17 = fr. 69 Edelstein–Kidd): Even when they are at war, the Celts take companions they refer to as parasites around with them. These men eulogize them both to mass assemblies of people and to anyone who will listen to them in a private setting. Their musical entertainment is provided by the so-called *bardoι*¹⁸⁹; these are poets who literally sing their praises. In Book XXXIV (*FGrH* 87 F 23 = fr. 74 Edelstein–Kidd) the same author lists a certain Apollonius as a parasite of Antiochus (nicknamed Hook-Nose) the king of Syria.¹⁹⁰ Aristodemus (fr. 11, *FHG* iii.310–11) records that when King Lysimachus¹⁹¹ threw a wooden scorpion into the cloak of his parasite Bithys¹⁹², Bithys was terrified and leapt to his feet. Then, when he realized what had happened, he said: “I’ll

¹⁹¹ Lysimachus (c.355–281 BCE; Berve i #480) was a member of Alexander the Great’s bodyguard and eventually one of his successors.

¹⁹² For Bithys as one of Lysimachus’ parasites, cf. 14.614f.

φησίν, “ἐκφοβήσω, βασιλεῦ· δός μοι τάλαντον.” ἦν δ’ ὁ Λυσίμαχος μικρολογώτατος. Ἀγαθαρχίδης δ’ ὁ Κνίδιος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῶν Εὐρωπιακῶν Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ Ἀργείων τυράννου παράσιτον γενέ-
f σθαι φησίν Ἀνθεμόκριτον | τὸν παγκρατιαστήν.

Κοινῇ δὲ περὶ παρασίτων εἰρήκασι Τιμοκλῆς μὲν ἐν Πύκτῃ, ἐπισιτίους καλῶν αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖσδε:

εὐρήσεις τε τῶν ἐπισιτίων
τούτων τιν’, οἳ δειπνοῦσιν ἐσφυδωμένοι
τάλλοτρι’, ἑαυτοὺς ἀντὶ κωρύκων λέπειν
παρέχοντες ἀθληταῖσι.

Φερεκράτης Γραυσί:

(A.) σὺ δ’ οὐδὲ θάσσον, Σμικυθίων, ἐπισιτιεῖ;

(B.) τίς δ’ οὗτος ὑμῖν ἐστι; (A.) τοῦτον πανταχοῦ
ἄγω λαρυγγικόν τιν’ ἐπὶ μισθῶ ξένον.

ἐπισιτίοι γὰρ καλοῦνται οἱ ἐπὶ τροφαῖς ὑπουργοῦντες.
247 || Πλάτων ἐν τετάρτῳ Πολιτείας· καὶ ταῦτα ἐπισιτίοι
καὶ οὐδὲ μισθὸν πρὸς τοῖς σιτίοις ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι
λαβόντες. Ἀριστοφάνης Πελαργοῖς·

ἦν γὰρ ἔν’ ἀνδρ’ ἄδικον σὺ διώκης,
ἀντιμαρτυροῦσι
δώδεκα τοῖς ἑτέροις ἐπισιτίοι.

193 Presumably a reference to the man who controlled Argos in the mid-3rd century BCE. Anthemocritus is otherwise unknown.

frighten *you*, your majesty: Give me a talent of silver!" (Lysimachus was extremely cheap.) Agatharchides of Cnidus in Book XXII of his *History of Europe* (FGrH 86 F 19) reports that the pancratiast Anthemocritus was a parasite of the Argive tyrant Aristomachus.¹⁹³

Authors who discuss parasites as a group include Timocles in *The Boxer* (fr. 31), who refers to them as *episitioi*¹⁹⁴ in the following passage:

You'll also find one of these
episitioi, who stuff themselves full eating
other people's food, and offer their bodies to athletes
to pummel
as substitutes for punching-bags.

Pherecrates in *Hags* (fr. 37):

(A.) Hurry up and be an *episitios*, Smicythion!
(B.) Who's this you've got? (A.) I take this fellow
everywhere as a mercenary esophageal guest.

Because individuals who work for others for food are referred to as *episitioi*. Plato in Book IV of the *Republic* (420a): And on top of that, they're *episitioi* and don't receive a wage in addition to their food, as other people do. Aristophanes in *Storks* (fr. 452):

Because if you prosecute one criminal, a dozen
episitioi
who belong to the others offer testimony contrary to
yours.

¹⁹⁴ Defined below as individuals who work for others for food alone.

Εὐβουλος δ' ἐν Δαιδάλω·

ἐθέλει δ' ἄνευ μισθοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς καταμένειν
ἐπισίτιος.

b Δίφιλος δ' ἐν Συνωρίδι (ἑταίρας δ' ὄνομα ἢ Συν-
ωρίς) Εὐριπίδου μνησθείς (κύβος δέ τις | οὕτως καλεῖ-
ται Εὐριπίδης) παίζων καὶ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ ὄνομα
ἅμα καὶ περὶ παρασίτων, τάδε λέγει·

(A.) ἄριστ' ἀπαλλάττεις ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ κύβου.

(B.) ἀστείος εἶ. δραχμὴν ὑπόθεσ. (A.) κεῖται
πάλαι.

(B.) πῶς ἂν βάλοιμ' Εὐριπίδην; (A.) οὐκ ἂν ποτε
Εὐριπίδης γυναῖκα σώσει'. οὐχ ὄρᾳς

ἐν ταῖς τραγωδίαισιν αὐτὰς ὡς στυγεῖ;

τοὺς δὲ παρασίτους ἠγάπα. λέγει γέ τοι |

c ἀνὴρ γὰρ ὅστις εὖ βίον κεκτημένος

μὴ τοῦλάχιστον τρεῖς ἀσυμβόλους τρέφει,

ὄλοιτο, νόστου μὴ ποτ' εἰς πάτραν τυχῶν.

(B.) πόθεν ἐστὶ ταῦτα, πρὸς θεῶν; (A.) τί δέ σοι
μέλει;

οὐ γὰρ τὸ δρᾶμα, τὸν δὲ νοῦν σκοπούμεθα.

ἐν δὲ τῇ διασκευῇ τοῦ αὐτοῦ δράματος περὶ ὀργιζο-
μένου παρασίτου λέγων φησὶν·

¹⁹⁵ Presumably a good throw, with the name punning on *eu* ("well") + *rhiptō* ("throw").

¹⁹⁶ The first verse is borrowed from Euripides' *Antiope* (= fr.

Eubulus in *Daedalus* (fr. 20):

He wants to stay with them for no pay
as an *episitios*.

Diphilus in *Synoris* (fr. 74)—Synoris is a courtesan's name—mentions a Euripides—a particular throw of the dice is referred to as a Euripides¹⁹⁵—thus making a joke on the poet's name, but also at the same time about parasites. He says the following:

(A.) You've come out very well as far as this throw goes.

(B.) You're funny. Ante up a drachma! (A.) It's been lying there for a long time.

(B.) I wish I could throw a Euripides! (A.) Euripides would never save a woman; don't you see how hostile he is to them in his tragedies?

But he liked parasites. As he says:

"For if any rich man
fails to support at least three people who don't
contribute to the dinner expenses,
might he perish and never return to his
fatherland!"¹⁹⁶

(B.) Where's that from, by the gods? (A.) What do you care?

It's not the play we're considering; it's the attitude.

In the revised version of the same play he discusses an angry parasite and says (fr. 75):

187.1), the third from *IT* 535. But the second verse—which is crucial to Speaker A's argument—appears to be made up of whole cloth.

(A.) ὀργίζεται; παράσιτος ὦν ὀργίζεται;

(B.) οὐκ ἀλλ' ἀλείψας τὴν τράπεζαν τῇ χολῇ
ὥσπερ τὰ παιδί' αὐτὸν ἀπογαλακτιεῖ. |

d καὶ ἐξῆς·

(A.) τότε φάγοις, παράσιθ'. (B.) ὄρα
ὡς διασέσυρκε τὴν τέχνην. οὐκ οἶσθ' ὅτι
μετὰ τὸν κιθαρῳδὸν ὁ παράσιτος κρίνεται;

κὰν τῷ δὲ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Παρασίτῳ δράματί φησιν
οὐ δεῖ παρασιτεῖν ὄντα δυσάρεστον σφόδρα.

Μένανδρος δ' ἐν τῇ Ὀργῇ περὶ φίλου λέγων οὐχ
ὑπακούοντος γάμων δείπνω φησίν·

e τοῦθ' ἐταῖρός | ἐστὶν ὄντως· οὐκ ἐρωτᾷ πηνίκα
δείπνόν ἐστιν, ὥσπερ ἕτεροι, καὶ τί δειπνεῖν
κωλύει
τοὺς παρόντας, εἶτα δείπνον ἕτερον εἰς τρίτην
βλέπει,
< . . . > εἶτα περίδειπνον πάλιν.

καὶ Ἄλεξις ἐν Ὀρέστη Νικόστρατός τε ἐν Πλούτῳ
Μένανδρός τε ἐν Μέθῃ καὶ Νομοθέτῃ Φιλωνίδης τε ἐν
Κοθόρνοις οὕτως·

ἐγὼ δ' ἀπόσιτος ὦν τοιαῦτ' οὐκ ἀνέχομαι.

(A.) He's angry? He's a parasite—and he's angry?

(B.) No; but he's smeared gall on the table
to wean himself from it, like they do with babies.¹⁹⁷

And shortly thereafter (fr. 76):

(A.) May you eat *then*, parasite! (B.) Look
how he's disparaged my trade! Don't you realize
that the parasite takes second place after the
citharode?

He also says in his play entitled *The Parasite* (fr. 63):

Someone who's really difficult to please shouldn't be
a parasite.

Menander in his *Anger* (fr. 270) discusses a friend who
declines an invitation to a wedding feast and says:

This is a real friend. He doesn't ask when
dinner is, like other people do, or what's keeping
those who are there
from starting to eat, and then look for another dinner
two days later
. . . and then for a funeral feast as well.

Also Alexis in *Orestes* (fr. 171), Nicostratus in *Wealth* (fr.
23), Menander in *Drunkenness* (fr. 228) and *The Law-
maker* (fr. 254), and Philonides in *High Boots* (fr. 1), as fol-
lows:

Although I haven't eaten (*apositos*), I'm not putting
up with this sort of thing!

¹⁹⁷ I.e. by putting the gall on the mother's (or the wet-nurse's)
nipples to discourage the child from nursing.

τῷ δὲ παράσιτος ὁμοιά ἐστίν ὀνόματα ἐπίσιτος, περὶ
 οὗ προείρηται, καὶ οἰκόσιτος σιτόκουρός τε καὶ αὐτό-
 σιτος, ἔτι δὲ κακόσιτος καὶ ὀλιγόσιτος. μνημονεύει δὲ
 f τοῦ μὲν οἰκοσίτου Ἀναξανδρίδης ἐν | Κυνηγέταις·

υἱὸς γὰρ οἰκόσιτος ἤδὺ γίγνεται.

καλεῖται δ' οἰκόσιτος ὁ μὴ μισθοῦ, ἀλλὰ προῖκα τῇ
 πόλει ὑπηρετῶν. Ἀντιφάνης Σκύθη·

ταχὺ γὰρ γίγνεται

ἐκκλησιαστῆς οἰκόσιτος.

Μένανδρος Δακτυλίω·

οἰκόσιτον νυμφίον

οὐδὲν δεόμενον προικὸς ἐξευρήκαμεν.

καὶ ἐν Κιθαριστῇ·

οὐκ οἰκοσίτους τοὺς ἀκροατὰς λαμβάνεις.

ἐπισιτίον δὲ Κράτης Τόλμαις· ||

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ποιμαίνει δ' ἐπισίτιον·

ῥιγῶν δ' ἐν Μεγαβύζου

† δέξεται ἐπὶ μισθῷ σῖτος †.

ιδίως δ' ἐν Συναριστώσαις ἔφη·

¹⁹⁸ At 6.246f-7a (in the form *episitios*). For the list of words, cf. Pollux 10.34, 36.

BOOK VI

Words similar to *parasitos* ("parasite") include *episitos*, discussed earlier;¹⁹⁸ *oikositos*, *sitokouros*, and *autositos*; also *kakositos* and *oligositos*. Anaxandrides uses *oikositos* in *Hunters* (fr. 25):

Because a son who's *oikositos* is a nice thing.

A person who serves his city for free, without drawing a wage, is referred to as *oikositos*. Antiphanes in *The Scythian* (fr. 198):

Because a member of the Assembly
rapidly becomes *oikositos*.

Menander in *The Ring* (fr. 98):

We've found an *oikositos*
bridegroom who doesn't require any dowry.

And in *The Cithara-Player* (*Cith.* fr. 6 Körte-Thierfelder):

You're not getting an *oikositos* audience.

Crates uses *episitos* in *Daring Deeds* (fr. 37):¹⁹⁹

He's tending to an *episitos*.
Shivering in Megabyzus²⁰⁰ house
‡ food will receive in addition to a wage †.

He used the word in an unusual way in *Women Sharing Lunch* (*Men.* fr. 340):

¹⁹⁹ This citation is out of place in the discussion.

²⁰⁰ Megabyzus is a Persian personal name (e.g. Hdt. 3.70.2; 7.82), although whether any particular historical individual is being referred to is unclear.

ἀστέιον τὸ μὴ
 συνάγειν γυναῖκας μηδὲ δειπνίζειν ὄχλον,
 ἀλλ' οἰκοσίτους τοὺς γάμους πεποιηκένας.

σιτοκούρου δ' Ἄλεξις μνημονεύει ἐν Παννυχίδι ἢ
 Ἐρίθους·

ἔση περιπατῶν σιτόκουρος.

Μένανδρος δὲ τὸν ἄχρηστον καὶ μάτην τρεφόμενον
 σιτόκουρον εἶρηκεν ἐν Θρασυλέοντι οὕτως·

- b ὀκηρός, | πάντα μέλλων, σιτόκουρος, ὁμολογῶν
 παρατρέφεσθαι.

καὶ ἐν Πωλουμένοις·

τάλας, ἔστηκας ἔτι πρὸς ταῖς θύραις
 τὸ φορτίον θείς; σιτόκουρον ἄθλιον
 <ἄχρηστον> εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν εἰλήφαμεν.

αὐτόσιτον δ' εἶρηκε Κρῶβυλος ἐν Ἀπαγχομένῳ·

παράσιτον αὐτόσιτον· αὐτόν γοῦν τρέφω
 τὰ πλείιστα συνεραμιστὸς εἶ τῷ δεσπότη.

κακοσίτου δὲ μέμνηται Εὐβουλος ἐν Γανυμήδει· |

- c ὕπνος αὐτὸν ὄντα κακόσιτον τρέφει.

²⁰¹ Literally “grain-ravager” (cognate with *keirō*, “shear”).

²⁰² “self-feeding”, i.e. “self-sufficient”. Cf. 2.47e, where the first two words of the fragment are cited.

BOOK VI

It's clever not to
assemble women or serve dinner to a crowd,
but to have given a wedding feast that's *oikositos*.

Alexis uses *sitokouros*²⁰¹ in *The All-Night Festival or Hired Workers* (fr. 182):

You'll be a perambulatory *sitokouros*.

Menander in *Thrasyleon* (fr. 185) refers to a worthless person who fails to earn his keep as a *sitokouros*, as follows:

hesitant, putting everything off, a *sitokouros*,
admitting
that he's being kept.

And in *Men Who Were Being Sold* (fr. 315):

Sorry creature, you set your load down—
and you're still standing by the door? We've taken a
miserable,
worthless *sitokouros* into our house!

Crobylus uses the word *autositos*²⁰² in *The Man Who Tried to Hang Himself* (fr. 1):

an *autositos* parasite. By mostly taking care of
yourself,
at any rate, you're part of your master's contribution
to the expenses.

Eubulus uses *kakositos*²⁰³ in *Ganymede* (fr. 16):

Sleep nourishes him, even though he's *kakositos*.

²⁰³ "ill-feeding", i.e. "picky, fastidious".

ὀλιγοσίτου δὲ μέμνηται Φρύνιχος ἐν Μονοτρόπῳ·

ὁ δ' ὀλιγόσιτος Ἡρακλῆς ἐκεῖ τί δρᾷ;

καὶ Φερεκράτης ἢ Στράττις ἐν Ἀγαθοῖς·

ὡς ὀλιγόσιτος ἦσθ' ἄρ', ὅς κατεσθίεις
τῆς ἡμέρας μακρᾶς τριήρους σιτία.

Τοσαῦτα τοῦ Πλουτάρχου εἰπόντος περὶ παρασί-
των διαδεξάμενος τὸν λόγον ὁ Δημόκριτος, ἀλλὰ μὴν
καὶ αὐτός, ἔφη, τὸ

ποτίκολλον ἄτε ξύλον παρὰ ξύλω,

ὡς ὁ Θηβαῖος εἶρηκεν ποιητής, περὶ κολάκων ἐρῶ τι.
d πρᾶττει γὰρ πάντων ὁ κόλαξ | ἄριστα, ὁ καλὸς εἶπεν
Μένανδρος, οὐ μακρὰν δ' ἐστὶν ὁ κόλαξ τοῦ τῶν
παρασίτων ὀνόματος. Κλείσοφον γοῦν τὸν ὑπὸ πάν-
των κόλακα Φιλίππου τοῦ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλέως
ἀναγραφόμενον (Ἀθηναῖος δ' ἦν γένος, ὡς φησι Σά-
τυρος ὁ περιπατητικὸς ἐν τῷ Φιλίππου Βίῳ) Λυγκεὺς ὁ
Σάμιος ἐν τοῖς Ἀπομνημονεύμασι παράσιτον ὀνο-
μάζει λέγων οὕτως· Κλείσοφος ὁ Φιλίππου παράσιτος
ἐπιτιμῶντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Φιλίππου διότι ἀεὶ αἰτεῖ, “ἴν”,
ἔφη, “μὴ ἐπιλανθάνωμαι.” τοῦ δὲ Φιλίππου δόντος

204 “having a small appetite”.

205 The fragment is quoted at greater length at 10.415c. Athenaeus regularly expresses doubts about the authorship of *Good Men*, but Pollux twice assigns it simply to Pherecrates.

BOOK VI

Phrynichus uses *oligositos*²⁰⁴ in *The Recluse* (fr. 24):

What's the *oligositos* Heracles doing there?

Also Pherecrates (fr. 1.3–4) or Strattis in *Good Men*²⁰⁵:

How *oligositos* you are, then—a man who every day consumes enough rations for a large trireme!

After Plutarch completed these lengthy remarks about parasites, Democritus took over the conversation and said: Well, I too,

glued to him like two pieces of wood,

as the Theban poet (Pi. fr. 241)²⁰⁶ puts it, am going to say something on the topic of flatterers (*kolakes*). For the flatterer does better than anyone else, according to the noble Menander (*Theophr.* fr. 1.16 Körte-Thierfelder), and there is not much difference between the words “flatterer” and “parasite”. Cleisophus²⁰⁷, for example, whom everyone lists as a flatterer of Philip, king of Macedon²⁰⁸—he was an Athenian by birth, according to Satyrus the Peripatetic in his *Life of Philip* (fr. 4, *FHG* iii.161 = F 23 Schorn)—is called a parasite by Lynceus of Samos in his *Memoirs* (fr. 31 Dalby), where he says the following: When Philip complained to his parasite Cleisophus that he was always asking for something, Cleisophus responded: “Yes—so that you don't forget I exist!” When Philip gave

²⁰⁶ Quoted apparently in a similar context also at 1.24b.

²⁰⁷ PAA 575605.

²⁰⁸ I.e. Philip II, the father of Alexander the Great.

- e αὐτῷ ἵππον τραυματίαν | ἀπέδοτο· καὶ μετὰ χρόνον ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ποῦ ἐστίν, “ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος”, ἔφη, “κείνου πέπραται.” σκώπτοντος δ’ αὐτὸν τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ εὐημεροῦντος, “εἶτ’ οὐκ ἐγὼ σέ”, ἔφη, “θρέψω;” καὶ ὁ Δελφὸς δὲ Ἡγήσανδρος ἐν τοῖς Ἵπομνήμασι περὶ τοῦ Κλεισόφου τάδε ἱστορεῖ Φιλίππου τοῦ βασιλέως εἰπόντος διότι γράμματα αὐτῷ ἐκομίσθη παρὰ Κότυος τοῦ Θρακῶν βασιλέως Κλείσοφος παρὼν ἔφη, “εὖ γε νῆ τοὺς θεούς.” τοῦ δὲ Φιλίππου εἰπόντος, “τί δὲ σὺ οἶδας ὑπὲρ ὧν γέγραπται;”, “νῆ τὸν Δία τὸν μέγιστον,” εἶπεν, “ἄκρως |
- f γέ μοι ἐπετίμησας.” Σάτυρος δ’ ἐν τῷ Φιλίππου Βίῳ, ὅτε, φησί, Φίλιππος τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐξεκόπη συμπροῆλθεν αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Κλείσοφος τελαμωνισθεὶς τὸν αὐτὸν ὀφθαλμόν. καὶ πάλιν ὅτε τὸ σκέλος ἐπηρώθη, σκάζων συνεχῶδενε τῷ βασιλεῖ. καὶ εἴ ποτε δριμύ προσφέροίτο τῶν ἐδεσμάτων ὁ Φίλιππος, αὐτὸς συν-
 249 ἐστρεφε τὴν ὄψιν ὡς συνδαινύμενος. || ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀράβων χώρα οὐχ ὡς ἐν κολακείᾳ τοῦτ’ ἐποιοῦν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τι νόμιμον, βασιλέως πηρωθέντος τι τῶν μελῶν συνυποκρίνεσθαι τὸ ὅμοιον πάθος, ἐπεὶ καὶ γέλοιον νομίζουσιν ἀποθανόντι μὲν αὐτῷ σπουδάζειν συγκατορύττεσθαι, πηρωθέντι δὲ μὴ χαρίζεσθαι τὴν ἴσην δόξαν τοῦ πάθους. Νικόλαος δ’ ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς (εἰς δ’ ἦν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ περιπάτου) ἐν τῇ πολυβύβλῳ Ἱστορία

209 Since one of a parasite's basic obligations was to be amusing.

BOOK VI

him a horse that had been injured, Cleisophus disposed of it; later, when the king asked where it was, he said: "It's been sold for damages." When Philip made fun of him and got applause for it, Cleisophus said: "So shouldn't I be supporting *you*?"²⁰⁹ Hegesander of Delphi in his *Commentaries* (fr. 4, *FHG* iv.413–14) also records the following about Cleisophus:²¹⁰ When King Philip reported that a letter had been brought to him from Cotys, king of Thrace,²¹¹ Cleisophus was there and said: "That's good news, by the gods!" Philip said: "What do you know about what's in it?", and he responded: "By Zeus the greatest, you've absolutely caught me in the wrong!" Satyrus says in his *Life of Philip* (fr. 3, *FHG* iii.161 = F 24 Schorn): When Philip lost his eye,²¹² Cleisophus accompanied him when he went out, wearing a bandage on the same eye. So too, when Philip was wounded in the leg, Cleisophus limped when he accompanied the king. And whenever Philip ate bitter food, Cleisophus made a face, as if he was eating it too. In Arabia they used to do this not as flattery, but as a form of politeness; if one of the king's limbs was damaged, they pretended that they suffered from the same disability, since they consider it absurd to aspire to be buried with him, but not to show equivalent respect for his suffering when he is injured. Nicolaus of Damascus (he was one of the Peripatetics) asserts in Book CXVI of his enormous *History*

²¹⁰ For another version of this anecdote, see 6.250c–d.

²¹¹ For Cotys, king of the Odrysians, who controlled Thrace from 383–360 BCE, see 4.131a n. The letter to Philip referred to here probably dates to the very end of his reign.

²¹² At Methone in 354 BCE.

- (ἑκατὸν γὰρ καὶ τεσσαράκοντά εἰσι πρὸς ταῖς τέσσαρσι) τῇ ἑκκαδεκάτῃ καὶ ἑκατοστῇ φησιν Ἀδιάτομον τὸν τῶν Σωτιανῶν βασιλέα (ἔθνος δὲ τοῦτο Κελτικόν) ἐξακοσίους ἔχειν | λογάδας περὶ αὐτόν, οὓς καλείσθαι ὑπὸ Γαλατῶν τῇ πατρίῳ γλώττῃ σιλοδούρους· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν Ἑλληνιστὶ εὐχωλιμαῖοι. τούτους δ' οἱ βασιλεῖς ἔχουσι συζῶντας καὶ συναποθνήσκοντας ταύτην ἐκείνων εὐχὴν ποιουμένων· ἀνθ' ἧς συνδυναστεύουσί τε αὐτῷ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ δίαιταν ἔχοντες καὶ συναποθνήσκουσι κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀνάγκην εἴτε νόσῳ τελευτήσῃε βασιλεὺς εἴτε πολέμῳ εἴτ' ἄλλως πως. καὶ οὐδεὶς εἰπεῖν ἔχει τινὰ ἀποδειλιάσαντα
- c τούτων τὸν θάνατον ὅταν ἦκη βασιλεῖ ἢ | διεκδύντα. Φίλιππον δὲ φησι Θεόπομπος ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν Θρασυδαίου τὸν Θεσσαλὸν καταστήσαι τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν τύραννον, μικρὸν μὲν ὄντα τὴν γνώμην, κόλακα δὲ μέγιστον. ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἀρκαδίων ὁ Ἀχαιὸς κόλαξ ἦν· περὶ οὗ ὁ αὐτὸς ἱστορεῖ Θεόπομπος καὶ Δοῦρις ἐν πέμπτῃ Μακεδονικῶν· οὗτος δὲ ὁ Ἀρκαδίων μισῶν τὸν Φίλιππον ἐκούσιον ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος φυγὴν ἔφυγεν. ἦν δ' εὐφύεστατος καὶ πλείους ἀποφάσεις αὐτοῦ μνημονεύονται. ἔτυχεν δ' οὐν ποτε ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐπιδημοῦντος Φιλίππου παρεῖναι καὶ
- d τὸν Ἀρκαδίωνα· | ὃν θεασάμενος ὁ Μακεδὼν καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος, “μέχρι τίνος φεύξῃ,” φησὶν, “Ἀρ-

²¹³ Cf. Caesar BG 3.20–2, who calls the people the Sotiati and the king's 600 followers (whom he describes in language very

BOOK VI

(*FGrH* 90 F 80)—there are 144 Books—that Adiatomus, the king of the Sotiani (this is a Celtic tribe), had a body-guard of 600 men, whom the Celts refer to in their native language as *silodouroi*;²¹³ in Greek, this is “those bound by an oath”. These men live and die along with their king, since this is the oath they take. In return, they share his power, wear the same clothing, and enjoy the same lifestyle; and they are absolutely required to die along with the king, whether he perishes from sickness, or in war, or in some other way. No one can name a single one of them who was afraid of death or tried to evade it when a king passed away. Theopompus in Book XLIV of his *History* (*FGrH* 115 F 209) says that Philip made Thrasydaeus of Thessaly²¹⁴ tyrant over his fellow-tribesmen; he was stupid, but was Philip’s greatest flatterer. Arcadion of Achaea, on the other hand, was no flatterer. The same Theopompus offers an account of him (*FGrH* 115 F 280), as does Duris in Book V of the *History of Macedon* (*FGrH* 76 F 3): This Arcadion hated Philip and went into voluntary exile from his native land. He was extremely clever and many of his remarks are remembered. It happened once, then, that Philip was visiting Delphi, and Arcadion was there as well. The Macedonian saw him and called him over, and said:

close to Nicolaus’, but without Nicolaus’—most likely accurate—gloss of the Celtic term) *soldurii*.

²¹⁴ The location of this notice in Theopompus Book XLIV suggests a date of 344 BCE. Thrasydaeus served as one of Philip’s ambassadors to Thebes in spring 339 (D. 18.295; Plu. *Dem.* 18, citing Theopomp. *FGrH* 115 F 328 and Marsyas *FGrH* 135/36 F 20; cf. 6.252f n.).

καδίων;” καὶ ὅς·

“ἐς τ’ ἂν τοὺς ἀφίκωμαι οἱ οὐκ ἴσασι Φίλιππον.”

Φύλαρχος δ’ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν
 γελάσαντα τὸν Φίλιππον ἐπὶ τούτῳ καλέσαι τε ἐπὶ
 δειπνον τὸν Ἀρκαδίωνα καὶ οὕτω τὴν ἔχθραν διαλύ-
 σασθαι. περὶ δὲ Νικησίου τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου κόλακος
 Ἡγήσανδρος τὰδ’ ἱστορεῖ· Ἀλεξάνδρου δάκνεσθαι
 e φήσαντος ὑπὸ μυιῶν καὶ προθύμως | αὐτὰς ἀπο-
 σοβοῦντος τῶν κολάκων τις Νικησίας παρών, “ἦ που
 τῶν ἄλλων μυιῶν”, εἶπεν, “αὐται πολὺ κρατήσουσι τοῦ
 σοῦ γευσάμεναι αἵματος.” ὁ δ’ αὐτός φησι καὶ Χει-
 ρίσοφον τὸν Διονύσιον κόλακα ἰδόντα Διονύσιον γε-
 λῶντα μετὰ τινων γνωρίμων (ἀπέειχεν δ’ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν
 πλείω τόπον, ὡς μὴ συνακούειν) συγγελᾶν. ἐπεὶ δ’ ὁ
 Διονύσιος ἠρώτησεν αὐτὸν διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν οὐ συν-
 ακούων τῶν λεγομένων γελαῖ, “ὕμῖν”, φησί, “πιστεύω
 διότι τὸ ῥηθὲν γέλοιόν ἐστιν.” πλείστους δ’ εἶχεν καὶ ὁ
 f υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Διονύσιος | τοὺς κολακεύοντας, οὓς καὶ
 προσηγόρευον οἱ πολλοὶ Διονυσιοκόλακας⁹. οὗτοι δὲ

⁹ Διονυσιοκόλακας CE: Διονυσοκόλακας A

²¹⁵ An adaptation of *Od.* 11.122, with “Philip” in place of Homer’s “the sea”.

²¹⁶ For Arcadion, see perhaps also 10.436d (not necessarily the same man). The events in question probably took place in the early 330s BCE.

²¹⁷ Cf. 6.251c, which draws on Book VI of Phylarchus’ *History* and thus puts Nicesius (Berve i #564) c.260 BCE, making it clear

BOOK VI

“How long are you going to remain in exile, Arcadion?”
And he replied:

“Until I come to people who know nothing of
Philip.”²¹⁵

Phylarchus in Book XXI of his *History* (*FGrH* 81 F 37) reports that Philip laughed at this and invited Arcadion to dinner, and that this is how they ceased being enemies.²¹⁶ Hegesander (fr. 6, *FHG* iv.414) records the following about Alexander’s flatterer Nicesius:²¹⁷ When Alexander complained that he was being bitten by flies, and was vigorously trying to shoo them away, one of his flatterers, Nicesius, who was there said: “Then these flies are going to have tremendous authority over the other flies, now that they’ve tasted your blood!” The same author reports that when Dionysius²¹⁸ flatterer Cheirisophus saw Dionysius laughing with some acquaintances—Cheirisophus was too far enough away to overhear the conversation—he laughed too. When Dionysius asked him why he was laughing, if he could not hear what was being said, he responded: “I’m trusting you that what was said was funny.” Dionysius’ son Dionysius²¹⁹ also had numerous flatterers, whom most people referred to as *Dionusiokolakes*²²⁰. At

that the Alexander in question is Alexander II, king of Molossia 271–c.240.

²¹⁸ Dionysius I, tyrant of Syracuse (reigned 405–367 BCE).

²¹⁹ Dionysius II, tyrant of Syracuse (reigned 367–357 BCE).

²²⁰ “Dionysius-flatterers”; cf. 10.435e (citing Theophrastus and offering an anecdote very similar to the one that follows). The term “Dionysus-flatterers” (here converted into a pun on “Dionysius”) was normally used of actors, musicians, and the like; cf. 6.254b; 12.538f; Arist. *Rh.* 1405^a23–4.

προσεποιούντο μήτε ὀξύ ὄραν παρὰ τὸ δείπνον, ἐπεὶ ὁ Διονύσιος οὐκ ἦν ὀξύωπης, ἔψανόν τε τῶν παρακειμένων ὡς οὐχ ὀρώντες, ἕως ὃ Διονύσιος αὐτῶν τὰς χεῖρας πρὸς τὰ λεκάνια προσῆγεν. ἀποπτύοντος δὲ τοῦ Διονυσίου πολλάκις παρείχον τὰ πρόσωπα καταπτύεσθαι || καὶ ἀπολείχοντες τὸν σίαλον, ἔτι δὲ τὸν ἔμετον αὐτοῦ μέλιτος ἔλεγον εἶναι γλυκύτερον. Τίμαιος δ' ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν Δημοκλέα φησὶ τὸν Διονυσίου τοῦ νεωτέρου κόλακα, ἔθους ὄντος κατὰ Σικελίαν θυσίας ποιείσθαι κατὰ τὰς οἰκίας ταῖς νύμφαις καὶ περὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα παννυχίζειν μεθυσκομένους ὀρχεῖσθαι τε περὶ τὰς θεάς, ὃ Δημοκλῆς ἑάσας τὰς νύμφας καὶ εἰπὼν οὐ δεῖν προσέχειν ἀψύχοις θεοῖς ἐλθὼν ὠρχεῖτο περὶ τὸν Διόνυσιον. ἔπειτα πρεσβεύσας ποτὲ μεθ' ἐτέρων¹⁰ | καὶ πάντων κομιζομένων ἐπὶ τριήρους κατηγορούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ὅτι στασιάζοι κατὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν καὶ βλάπτει τοῦ Διονυσίου τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις καὶ σφόδρα τοῦ Διονυσίου ὀργισθέντος ἔφησεν τὴν διαφορὰν γενέσθαι αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς συμπρέσβεις, ὅτι μετὰ τὸ δείπνον ἐκείνοι μὲν τῶν Φρυνίχου καὶ Στησιχόρου, ἔτι δὲ Πινδάρου παιάνων τῶν ναυτῶν τινὰς ἀνειληφότες ἦδον, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν βουλομένων τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ Διονυσίου πεποιημένους διεπεραίνετο. | καὶ τούτου σαφῆ τὸν ἔλεγχον παρέξεν ἐπηγγείλατο· τοὺς μὲν

¹⁰ ἐτέρων ὡς τὸν Διόνυσιον A: ὡς τὸν Διόνυσιον del. Schweighäuser

BOOK VI

dinner, these people pretended to have difficulty seeing the food, since Dionysius had bad eyesight; and they fumbled about for it, as if unable to spot it, until Dionysius guided their hands to the dishes.²²¹ When Dionysius was spitting, they routinely offered him their faces to spit on, and licked off the saliva; they also claimed that his vomit was sweeter than honey. In his discussion of Democles the flatterer of the younger Dionysius in Book XXII of his *History*, Timaeus (*FGrH* 566 F 32) says that it was the custom throughout Sicily to sacrifice to the nymphs in one's house, and to get drunk and hold an all-night festival around their statues, dancing about the goddesses. But Democles ignored the nymphs, saying that one should pay no attention to gods who are not alive, and went and danced around Dionysius. Then once when he was sent on an embassy with some other men and they were all passengers on a trireme, the others accused him of fomenting dissent while they were abroad and of obstructing Dionysius' public policies. Dionysius became extremely angry; but Democles insisted that his dispute with his fellow-ambassadors arose from the fact that after dinner the others were singing paeans by Phrynichus and Stesichorus, as well as by Pindar, with a number of the sailors accompanying them, whereas he, along with anyone he could get to join him, was working his way through those Dionysius had written.²²² And he offered to furnish clear proof of this, which was that his ac-

²²¹ Cf. 10.435d-e. A very similar anecdote (about Hieron of Syracuse) is preserved at 6.250d-e.

²²² Dionysius was an amateur poet, but near the end of his life was victorious with a tragedy at the Lenaia (*TrGF* 76 T 1).

γὰρ αὐτοῦ κατηγοροῦς οὐδὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἄσμάτων κατέχειν, αὐτὸς δ' ἔτοιμος εἶναι πάντας ἐφεξῆς ἄδειν. λήξαντος δὲ τῆς ὀργῆς τοῦ Διονυσίου πάλιν ὁ Δημοκλῆς ἔφη “χαρίσαιο δ' ἄν μοί τι, Διονύσιε, κελεύσας τιμὴ τῶν ἐπισταμένων διδάξαι με τὸν πεποιημένον εἰς τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν παιᾶνα· ἀκούω γὰρ σε πεπραγματεῦσθαι περὶ τούτου.” παρακεκλημένων δέ ποτε τῶν φίλων ὑπὸ τοῦ Διονυσίου ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον d εἰσιῶν | ὁ Διονύσιος εἰς τὸν οἶκον, “γράμματα ἡμῖν,” ἔφη, “ἄνδρες φίλοι, ἐπέμφθη παρὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τῶν εἰς Νέαυ πόλιν ἀποσταλέντων.” καὶ ὁ Δημοκλῆς ὑπολαβὼν ἔφη, “εὖ γε νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς¹¹, Διονύσιε.” κάκεῖνος προσβλέψας αὐτῷ, “τί δ' οἶδας”, ἔφη, “σύ, πότερα κατὰ γνώμην ἐστὶν ἢ τούναντίον ἃ γεγράφασι;” καὶ ὁ Δημοκλῆς, “εὖ γε νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπιτετίμηκας,” ἔφη, “Διονύσιε.” καὶ Σάτυρον δὲ τινα ἀναγράφει ὁ Τίμαιος e ἱστορεῖ καὶ Ἰέρωνα τὸν | τύραννον ἀμβλύτερον κατὰ τὰς ὄψεις γενέσθαι καὶ τοὺς συνδειπνοῦντας τῶν φίλων ἔχειν ἐπίτηδες διαμαρτάνοντας τῶν ἐδεσμάτων, ἴν' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ χειραγωγῶνται καὶ δοκῆ τῶν ἄλλων ὀξυδερκέστερος εἶναι. Εὐκλείδην δὲ φησὶν Ἠγήσανδρος τὸν Σεῦτλον ἐπικαλούμενον (παράσιτος δ' ἦν καὶ οὗτος) παραθέντος τινὸς αὐτῷ πλείους σόγκους ἐν δείπνῳ, “ὁ Καπανεύς”, ἔφη, “ὁ ὑπὸ τοῦ Εὐριπίδου

¹¹ θεοὺς ἐποίησαν ἔφη A: ἐποίησαν ἔφη del. Olson

users did not even know how many such songs there were, whereas he was prepared to sing them all one after another. Again, after Dionysius stopped being angry, Democles said: "You would do me a favor, Dionysius, if you ordered someone who knows the paeon you wrote in honor of Asclepius to teach it to me; because I hear you've worked hard on it." Once when Dionysius invited his friends to dinner, he entered the house and said:²²³ "I received a letter, my friends, from the commanders who were sent to Neapolis." Democles responded: "That's excellent news, by the gods, Dionysius!" Dionysius looked at him and said: "What do you know about whether their message is to my liking or not?"; and Democles said: "By the gods, Dionysius—you've done an excellent job of catching me in the wrong!" Timaeus also lists a certain Satyrus as a flatterer of both Dionysiuses. Hegesander (fr. 9, *FHG* iv.415) reports²²⁴ that the tyrant Hieron²²⁵ had very bad vision and that when his friends ate with him, they deliberately failed to find the food, so that he could guide their hands and appear to see better than the others. And Hegesander claims that when someone served Eucleides (nicknamed Beet; he was another parasite)²²⁶ a large quantity of sow-thistles²²⁷ (*songkoi*) at dinner, he said: "The Capaneus²²⁸ brought onstage by Euripides in his *Suppli-*

²²³ A somewhat more pointed version of the anecdote is preserved at 6.248e-f (of Philip II of Macedon and his parasite Cleisophus).

²²⁴ Cf. the very similar anecdote (about Dionysius II, and most likely also drawn from Hegesander) preserved at 6.249f.

²²⁵ For Hieron (tyrant of Gela and Syracuse), see 6.231f n.

²²⁶ Cf. 6.242b-c.

²²⁷ Eaten

green; see Olson-Sens on *Matro* fr. 3.1.

²²⁸ See 6.238c n.

εἰσαγόμενος ἐν ταῖς Ἰκέτισιν ὑπεραστείος ἦν

φεύγων τραπέζας ὅστις ἐξογκοῖτ' ἄγαν." 1

- f οἱ δὲ δημαγωγοῦντες, φησὶν, Ἀθήνησι κατὰ τὸν Χρεμωνίδειον πόλεμον κολακεύοντες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τᾶλλα μὲν ἔφασκον πάντα εἶναι κοινὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τὴν δ' ἐπὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνθρώπους φέρουσαν ὁδὸν Ἀθηναίους εἰδέναι μόνους. Σάτυρος δ' ἐν τοῖς Βίοις Ἀνάξαρχόν φησι τὸν εὐδαιμονικὸν φιλόσοφον ἓνα τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου γενέσθαι κολάκων καὶ συνοδεύοντα τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἐπεὶ ἐγένετό ποτε βροντὴ ἰσχυρὰ καὶ ἐξαισιος ὡς πάντας πτῆξαι, εἰπεῖν, "μή τι σὺ τοιοῦτον
251 ἐποίησας, Ἀλέξανδρε ὁ τοῦ Διός;" τὸν δὲ ἢ γελάσαντα εἰπεῖν, "οὐ γὰρ φοβερὸς βούλομαι εἶναι, καθάπερ σὺ με διδάσκεις ὁ τὰς τῶν σατραπῶν καὶ βασιλέων κελεύων με δειπνοῦντα προσφέρεισθαι κεφαλάς." Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ φησιν ὁ Κασσανδρεὺς Διώξιππον τὸν Ἀθηναῖον παγκρατιαστὴν τρωθέντος ποτὲ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ αἵματος ῥέοντος εἰπεῖν·

ἰχώρ, οἷόσπερ τε ῥέει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν.

- Ἐπικράτης δ' ὁ Ἀθηναῖος πρὸς βασιλέα πρεσβεύσας,
b ὡς φησιν Ἠγήσανδρος, καὶ πολλὰ δῶρα | παρ' ἐκεί-

²²⁹ *exongkoit'*, with a pun ("over-thistles") on *songkoi*.

²³⁰ The Chremonidean War (268/7–262/1 BCE; named after the Athenian politician whose policies brought it about) was a long and unsuccessful struggle by Athens and her allies against Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedon.

ants was a very clever fellow for (*Supp.* 864)

avoiding anyone who overloads²²⁹ his table.”

The demagogues in Athens during the Chremonidean War,²³⁰ says Hegesander, flattered the people by telling them that, although the Greeks shared everything else, the Athenians were the only ones who knew the road that leads people to heaven. Satyrus in his *Lives* (fr. 18, *FHG* iii.164 = F 26 Schorn) reports that Anaxarchus the “happiness philosopher”²³¹ was one of Alexander’s flatterers and travelled with the king. Once when there was a thunder-clap loud and powerful enough to make everyone cringe, he said: “You didn’t produce this, did you, Alexander son of Zeus?” And Alexander laughed and said: “No, because I don’t want to be terrifying, as you’re teaching me to be when you encourage me to have the heads of satraps and kings brought in while I’m having dinner.” Aristoboulus of Cassandreia (*FGrH* 139 F 47) claims that once when Alexander was wounded and his blood was pouring out, the pancratiast Dioxippus of Athens²³² said (*Il.* 5.340):

ichor, such as flows in the blessed gods.

Epicrates of Athens²³³ was sent on an embassy to the King, according to Hegesander (fr. 7, *FHG* iv.414), and got many

²³¹ Berve i #70. Cf. 12.548b.

²³² Berve i #284; Moretti #458; PAA 371360.

²³³ For Epicrates, see 6.229f with n. He was in fact condemned to death in 392/1 BCE in connection with an embassy to Sparta, but fled into exile (D. 19.277; Philoch. *FGrH* 328 F 149a).

νου λαβῶν οὐκ ἤσχύνετο κολακεύων οὕτως φανερώς καὶ τολμηρῶς τὸν βασιλέα ὡς καὶ εἰπεῖν, δεῖν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν οὐκ ἑνέα ἄρχοντας, ἀλλ' ἑνέα πρέσβεις αἰρεῖσθαι πρὸς βασιλέα. θαυμάζω δὲ ἔγωγε τῶν Ἀθηναίων πῶς τοῦτον μὲν ἄκριτον εἶασαν, Δημάδην δὲ δέκα ταλάντοις ἐζημίωσαν, ὅτι θεὸν εἰσηγήσατο Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ Τιμαγόραν δ' ἀπέκτειναν, ὅτι πρεσβεύων ὡς βασιλέα προσεκύνησεν αὐτόν. Τίμων ὁ Φλιάσιος ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν Σίλλων Ἀρίστωνά φησι |
 c τὸν Χίον, Ζήνωνος δὲ τοῦ Κιτιέως γνώριμον, κόλακα γενέσθαι Περσαίου τοῦ φιλοσόφου, ὅτι ἦν ἑταῖρος Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ βασιλέως. Φύλαρχος δὲ ἐν ἕκτῃ Ἱστοριῶν Νικησίαν φησὶ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου κόλακα θεασάμενον τὸν βασιλέα σπαρασσόμενον ὑφ' οὗ εἰλήφει φαρμάκου εἰπεῖν, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, τί δεῖ ποιεῖν ἡμᾶς, ὅτε καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ θεοὶ τοιαῦτα πάσχετε;” καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον μόλις ἀναβλέψαντα, “ποῖοι θεοί;”, φῆσαι “φοβοῦμαι μὴ τι θεοῖσιν ἐχθροί.” ἐν δὲ τῇ ὀγδόῃ καὶ
 d εἰκοστῇ ὁ αὐτὸς Φύλαρχος Ἀντιγόνου | τοῦ κληθέντος Ἐπιτρόπου τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐλόντος κόλακα γενέσθαι Ἀπολλοφάνη τὸν εἰπόντα τὴν Ἀντιγόνου τύχην Ἀλεξανδρίζειν. Εὐφαντος δ' ἐν τετάρτῃ Ἱστοριῶν Πτολεμαίου φησὶ τοῦ τρίτου βασιλεύσαντος

²³⁴ A prominent late 4th-century BCE Athenian politician (Berve i #252; PAA 306085). ²³⁵ PA 13595. Timagoras was executed in 368/7 BCE; cf. X. HG 7.1.38; D. 19.31, 137.

²³⁶ Founder of the Stoa. Persaeus (below) was another student of Zeno; cf. 4.162d–e.

BOOK VI

gifts from him; he was not ashamed to flatter him openly and boldly enough to say that they ought to elect not nine archons every year, but nine ambassadors to the King. I myself am astonished that the Athenians failed to condemn him to death for this, given that they fined Demades²³⁴ ten talents because he proposed treating Alexander as a god, and executed Timagoras²³⁵ because, when he travelled as an ambassador to the King, he bowed down before him. Timo of Phlius in Book III of his *Silloi* (*SH* 780) says that Ariston of Chios (Ariston 342, *SVF* i.77), who was a student of Zeno of Citium,²³⁶ was a flatterer of the philosopher Persaeus, because the latter was a member of King Antigonus²³⁷ inner circle. Phylarchus in Book VI of the *History* (*FGrH* 81 F 11) claims that when Alexander's flatterer Nicesius²³⁸ saw the king retching in reaction to a drug he had taken, he said: "Your majesty, what are *we* supposed to do, when you gods suffer like this?" Alexander barely looked up and said: "What do you mean 'gods'? I'm afraid we may be god-forsaken." The same Phylarchus in Book XXVIII (*FGrH* 81 F 46) reports that after Antigonus (known as the Guardian)²³⁹ defeated the Spartans, he acquired a flatterer named Apollophanes, who said that Antigonus' luck was Alexandrizing.²⁴⁰ Euphantus in Book IV of the *History* (*FGrH* 74 F 1) claims that the third Ptol-

²³⁷ Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedon c.277–239 BCE.

²³⁸ Cf. 6.249d–e with n. ²³⁹ Antigonus Doson of Macedon (reigned 229–222 BCE), who served for a period as regent for Philip V. His victory over Sparta came at Sellasia in 222, but he died shortly thereafter.

²⁴⁰ I.e., presumably, making him as important and successful as Alexander the Great (who, however, also died young!) had been.

Αἰγύπτου κόλακα γενέσθαι Καλλικράτην, ὃς οὕτω
 δεινὸς ἦν, ὡς μὴ μόνον Ὀδυσσεὺς εἰκόνα ἐν τῇ
 σφραγίδι περιφέρειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ὀνόματα
 θέσθαι Τηλέγονον καὶ Ἀντίκλειαν. Πολύβιος δ' ἐν τῇ
 e τρισκαιδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν Φιλίππου τοῦ κατα-
 λυθέντος | ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων κόλακα γενέσθαι Ἡρακλεί-
 δην τὸν Ταραντῖνον τὸν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ
 πᾶσαν ἀνατρέψαντα· ἐν δὲ τῇ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ
 Ἀγαθοκλέους τοῦ Οἰνάνθης υἱοῦ, ἐταίρου δὲ τοῦ Φιλο-
 πάτορος βασιλέως Φίλωνα. Ἱερωνύμου δὲ τοῦ Συρα-
 κοσίων τυράννου Θράσωνα τὸν Κάρχαρον ἐπικαλού-
 μενον Βάτων ὁ Σινωπεὺς ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῆς τοῦ
 f Ἱερωνύμου Τυραννίδος, προσφέρεσθαι φάσκων αὐτὸν
 ἐκάστοτε πολὺν ἄκρατον. τοῦτον δ' ἐποίησεν | ἀναι-
 ρεθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἱερωνύμου ἕτερος κόλαξ Σῶσις ὄνο-
 μα· καὶ αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Ἱερωνύμου ἀνέπεισεν διάδημά τε
 ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ τὴν πορφύραν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην πᾶσαν
 διασκευὴν ἣν ἐφόρει Διονύσιος ὁ τύραννος. Ἀγαθαρ-
 χίδης δ' ἐν τῇ τριακοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν, Αἰρήσιππος,
 φησὶν, ὁ Σπαρτιάτης, ἄνθρωπος οὐ μετρίως φαῦλος
 οὐδὲ δοκῶν χρηστὸς εἶναι, πιθανὸν δ' ἔχων ἐν κολα-
 κείᾳ λόγον καὶ θεραπεῦσαι τοὺς εὐπόρους μέχρι τῆς
 252 τύχης δεινός. || τοιοῦτος ἦν καὶ Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Μαρω-

²⁴¹ Ptolemy III Euergetes (reigned 246–221 BCE).

²⁴² Anticleia was the mother of the famously subtle Odysseus, while Telegonus was a child born to him and the sorceress Circe.

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emy to rule Egypt²⁴¹ had a flatterer named Callicrates, who was so clever that not only did he carry a portrait of Odysseus around on his seal-ring, but he named his children Telegonus and Anticleia.²⁴² Polybius in Book XIII (4.7–8) of his *History* records that the Philip defeated by the Romans²⁴³ had a flatterer named Heracleides of Tarentum, who brought about the ruin of Philip's entire kingdom. And in Book XIV (11.1) he mentions Philo, (who was a flatterer) of Agathocles son of Oenanthe, and a member of King Philopator's²⁴⁴ inner circle. Bato of Sinope discusses Thrason (nicknamed Jag-Tooth) the flatterer of Hieronymus, tyrant of Syracuse,²⁴⁵ in his *On the Tyranny of Hieronymus* (*FGrH* 268 F 4), and claims that he routinely consumed large quantities of unmixed wine. Another flatterer, named Sosis, brought about Thrason's death at Hieronymus' hands; Sosis also convinced Hieronymus himself to assume a diadem, as well as the purple robe and all the rest of the costume the tyrant Dionysius²⁴⁶ wore. Agatharchides says in Book XXX of his *History* (*FGrH* 86 F 13): Haeresippus the Spartiate²⁴⁷ was extraordinarily base and made no pretense of being a decent person; but his flattery was quite convincing and he had a talent for cultivating wealthy people for as long as their luck held. Heracleides of Maroneia, the flatterer of

²⁴³ Philip V of Macedon (reigned 222–179 BCE). The defeat in question occurred at Cynoscephalae in Thessaly in 197.

²⁴⁴ Ptolemy IV Philopator of Egypt (reigned 221–204 BCE).

²⁴⁵ Reigned 265–216 BCE.

²⁴⁶ See 6.249e n.

²⁴⁷ Poralla #45. The location of the reference in Agatharchides Book XXX suggests a date in the final decade of the 3rd century BCE.

νείτης ὁ Σεύθου τοῦ Θρακῶν βασιλέως κόλαξ, οὗ
 μνημονεύει Ξενοφῶν ἐν ἐβδόμῃ Ἀναβάσεως. Θεόπομ-
 πος δ' ἐν ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῃ Ἱστοριῶν περὶ Νικοστράτου
 Ἀργείου λέγων ὡς ἐκολάκευε τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα
 γράφει καὶ ταῦτα· Νικόστρατον δὲ τὸν Ἀργεῖον πῶς
 οὐ χρὴ φαῦλον νομίζειν, ὃς προστάτης γενόμενος τῆς
 Ἀργείων πόλεως καὶ παραλαβὼν καὶ γένος καὶ χρή-
 ματα καὶ πολλὴν οὐσίαν παρὰ τῶν προγόνων ἅπαν-
 τας ὑπερέβαλετο τῇ κολακείᾳ καὶ ταῖς θεραπείαις οὐ
 b μόνον τοὺς τότε ἰσχυρῶν στρατείας μετασχόντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν γενομένους. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οὕτως
 ἠγάπησε τὴν παρὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου τιμὴν ὥστε βουλό-
 μενος ἀρέσκειν καὶ πιστεύεσθαι μᾶλλον ἀνεκόμισε
 πρὸς βασιλέα τὸν υἱόν, ὃ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδεὶς πώποτε
 φανήσεται ποιήσας. ἔπειτα καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν,
 ὁπότε μέλλοι δειπνεῖν, τράπεζαν παρετίθει χωρὶς ὀνο-
 μάζων τῷ δαίμονι τῷ βασιλέως, ἐμπλήσας σίτου καὶ
 τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδεύων, ἀκούων μὲν τοῦτο ποιεῖν καὶ
 τῶν Περσῶν τοὺς περὶ τὰς θύρας διατρίβοντας, ἰ
 c οἰόμενος δὲ διὰ τῆς θεραπείας ταύτης χρηματιεῖσθαι
 μᾶλλον παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως· ἦν γὰρ αἰσχροκερδῆς
 καὶ χρημάτων ὡς οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τις ἕτερος ἦττων. Ἀτ-
 τάλου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐγένετο κόλαξ καὶ διδάσκαλος
 Λυσίμαχος, ὃν Καλλίμαχος μὲν Θεοδώρειον ἀνα-
 γράφει, Ἑρμιππος δ' ἐν τοῖς Θεοφράστου μαθηταῖς

²⁴⁸ I.e his courtiers and dependants.

²⁴⁹ Attalus I, king of Pergamum (reigned 241–197 BCE);

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Seuthes, king of Thrace, whom Xenophon mentions in Book VII (3.16) of the *Anabasis*, was the same sort of person. Theopompus in Book XVIII of the *History* (FGrH 115 F 124), describing how Nicostratus of Argos used to flatter the Persian king, writes the following: What choice does one have but to regard Nicostratus of Argos as base—a man who was a leader of the city of Argos and inherited a good name, money, and a large amount of property from his ancestors, but who outdid everyone in his flattery and his fawning not only on men who held military command at the moment, but on those who had done so in the past? He was, first of all, so enamoured of being honored by the barbarian that, in his eagerness to please the King and gain more of his confidence, he took his son to him, something no one else will ever be found to have done. And then every day, when he was about to have dinner, he would set a separate table, which he loaded with grain and the other necessities of life, and invoke the King's genius, both because he heard that the Persians who hung about the King's doors²⁴⁸ did this and because he thought he would get more money out of the King if he toadied to him this way; for he was unabashedly greedy and more influenced by money than anyone else I have heard of. Lysimachus was a flatterer and teacher of King Attalus²⁴⁹; Callimachus (fr. 438) describes him as a student of Theodorus, whereas Hermippus (fr. 56 Wehrli) lists him among Theophrastus'

Lysimachus is otherwise unknown. The Theodorus referred to below is Theodorus Atheos (D.L. 2.97); Callimachus is slightly too early to have recorded this information in his *Pinakes* (a catalogue of the material in the Library in Alexandria), and this must be a late addition to his work.

καταλέγει. οὗτος δ' ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ περὶ τῆς Ἀττάλου
 παιδείας συγγέγραφε βίβλους πᾶσαν κολακείαν
 ἐμφαινούσας. Πολύβιος δ' ἐν ὀγδόῃ Ἱστοριῶν, Καύα-
 ρος, φησὶν, ὁ Γαλάτης ὢν τᾶλλα ἀγαθὸς ὑπὸ Σω-
 d στράτου τοῦ κόλακος | διεστρέφετο, ὃς ἦν Χαλκηδό-
 νιος γένος. Λικινίου δὲ Κράσσου τοῦ ἐπὶ Πάρθους
 στρατεύσαντος κόλακά φησι γενέσθαι Νικόλαος ἐν
 τῇ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατὸν Ἀνδρόμαχον
 τὸν Καρρηνόν, ᾧ τὸν Κράσσον πάντα ἀνακοινοῦμενον
 προδοθῆναι Πάρθοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπολέσθαι. οὐκ
 ἀτιμώρητος δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου παρέϊθη ὁ Ἀνδρόμα-
 χος· μισθὸν γὰρ λαβὼν τῆς πράξεως τὸ τυραννεῖν
 Καρρῶν τῆς πατρίδος διὰ τὴν ὀμότητα καὶ βίαν ὑπὸ
 τῶν Καρρηνῶν πανοικία ἐνεπρήσθη. Ποσειδώνιος δ' ὁ
 e Ἀπαμεύς, ὕστερον δὲ | Ῥόδιος χρηματίσας, ἐν τῇ
 τετάρτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν Ἱέρακά φησι τὸν Ἀντιοχέα
 πρότερον λυσιπδοῖς ὑπαυλοῦντα ὕστερον γενέσθαι
 κόλακα δεινὸν Πτολεμαίου τοῦ ἑβδόμου βασιλέως τοῦ
 καὶ Εὐεργέτου ἐπικληθέντος καὶ τὰ μέγιστα δυνηθέν-
 τα παρ' αὐτῷ, καθάπερ καὶ παρὰ τῷ Φιλομήτορι,
 ὕστερον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διαφθαρῆναι. Μιθριδάτου δ' ἀνα-
 γράφει κόλακα Σωσίπατρον ἄνθρωπον γόητα Νικό-

²⁵⁰ Cavarus was king of the Celts in Thrace, and according to Plb. 4.46.4 his people were wiped out during his reign, probably in 212 BCE. Sostratus must have played a leading role in the disaster, but is otherwise unknown.

²⁵¹ M. Licinius Crassus (*RE* 68), also referred to at 6.273a (where see n.), died near Carrhae in 53 BCE in the course of his

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students. Lysimachus produced a treatise on the subject of Attalus' education that displayed every variety of flattery. Polybius says in Book VIII (22.3) of the *History*: Cavarus the Celt²⁵⁰ was otherwise a decent person, but was led astray by his flatterer Sostratus, who was a native of Chalcidon. Nicolaus in Book CXIV (*FGrH* 90 F 79) says that Andromachus of Carrhae was a flatterer of Licinius Crassus, who led an expedition against the Parthians; Crassus shared everything with him, and was betrayed by him to the Parthians and killed.²⁵¹ But the divine power did not allow Andromachus to go unpunished; although he got the tyranny of his native city of Carrhae as a reward for what he had done, his savagery and violence led to the Carrhaeans burning him to death along with his entire household. Posidonius of Apamea, later known as a Rhodian (test. 2b Edelstein–Kidd), says in Book IV of his *History* (*FGrH* 87 F 4 = fr. 56 Edelstein–Kidd) that Hierax of Antioch,²⁵² who earlier in life played the pipe to accompany transvestite dancers, subsequently became an accomplished flatterer of King Ptolemy VII (nicknamed Euergetes).²⁵³ He had tremendous influence with Euergetes, as well as with Philomator²⁵⁴, but was later put to death by him. Nicolaus the Peripatetic (*FGrH* 90 F 94) lists Sosipatrus, a religious

disastrous expedition against the Parthians; cf. Plu. *Crass.* 29–31 (esp. 29, on Andromachus' treachery).

²⁵² Stephanis #1251. For the cross-dressing performances discussed below, cf. 5.211b–c; 14.620e.

²⁵³ Known today as Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (reigned 170–163, 145–116 BCE).

²⁵⁴ Ptolemy VI (reigned 180–145 BCE), with whom Ptolemy VIII was constantly at loggerheads.

f λαος ὁ περιπατητικός. Θεόπομπος δ' ἐν τῇ | ἐνάτῃ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν Σισύφου φησὶ τοῦ Φαρσαλίου κόλακα καὶ ὑπηρετήν γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίων τὸν Ἐρετριέα.

Διαβόητος δὲ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ κολακεία καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμος. Δημοχάρης γοῦν ὁ Δημοσθένους τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀνεπιὸς ἐν τῇ εἰκοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν διηγούμενος περὶ ἧς ἐποιοῦντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι κολακείας πρὸς
 253 τὸν Πολιορκητὴν Δημήτριον || καὶ ὅτι τοῦτ' οὐκ ἦν ἐκείνῳ βουλομένῳ, γράφει οὕτως· ἐλύπει μὲν καὶ τούτων ἕνια αὐτόν, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ ἄλλα γε παντελῶς αἰσχρὰ καὶ ταπεινά, Λεαίνης μὲν καὶ Λαμίας Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὰ καὶ Βουρίχου καὶ Ἀδειμάντου καὶ Ὀξυθέμιδος τῶν κολάκων αὐτοῦ καὶ βωμοὶ καὶ ἡρώα καὶ σπονδαί. τούτων ἐκάστῳ καὶ παιᾶνες ἤδοντο, ὥστε καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Δημήτριον θαυμάζειν ἐπὶ τοῖς γινομένοις καὶ λέγειν ὅτι ἐπ' αὐτοῦ οὐδεὶς Ἀθηναίων
 b γέγονε μέγας | καὶ ἀδρὸς τὴν ψυχὴν. καὶ Θεβαῖοι δὲ κολακεύοντες τὸν Δημήτριον, ὡς φησι Πολέμων ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῆς Ποικίλης Στοᾶς τῆς Ἐν Σικυῶνι, ιδρύσαντο ναὸν Ἀφροδίτης Λαμίας. (ἐρωμένη δ' ἦν αὕτη τοῦ

²⁵⁵ Mithradates VI Eupator Dionysus, king of Pontus (d. 63 BCE).

²⁵⁶ Sisyphus was the father of the Thessalian commander Daochos, who served as another of Philip II's ambassadors to Thebes in 339 BCE (D. 18.295; cf. 6.249c n.); the fact that his flatterer Athenaeus (otherwise unknown) was mentioned in Theopompus Book IX suggests a date in the mid-390s.

²⁵⁷ Demochares (PAA 321970) was the son of Demosthenes'

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quack, as a flatterer of Mithridates.²⁵⁵ Theopompus in Book IX of his *History of Greece* (FGrH 115 F 18) says that Athenaeus of Eretria was a flatterer and servant of Sisyphus of Pharsalus.²⁵⁶

The Athenian people were notorious for their use of flattery. Demochares, the cousin of the orator Demosthenes,²⁵⁷ for example, writes as follows in Book XX of his *History* (FGrH 75 F 1), describing how the Athenians played up to Demetrius Poliorcetes and how this was not to Demetrius' liking: Some of these actions apparently made him unhappy, while others were in fact completely embarrassing and debased, such as the temples dedicated to Leana and Lamia Aphrodite,²⁵⁸ and the altars, hero-shrines, and libations poured in honor of his flatterers Bourichus,²⁵⁹ Adeimantus,²⁶⁰ and Oxythemis.²⁶¹ Paeans were sung to all these people, the result being that Demetrius himself was astonished at what was going on and commented that no Athenian of his own time had a great or noble soul. The Thebans also flattered Demetrius, according to Polemon in his *On the Painted Stoa in Sicyon* (fr. 15 Preller), by establishing a temple of Aphrodite Lamia. (Lamia was one of Demetrius' lovers, as was

sister and thus his nephew rather than his cousin. It is unclear whether the events described here took place in 294 BCE or (more likely) winter 304/3.

²⁵⁸ Lamia (PAA 601325; cf. 3.101e; 4.128b; etc.) and Leana (PAA 602685) were courtesans who accompanied Demetrius; cf. below. ²⁵⁹ Billows #26. ²⁶⁰ Billows #1. Cf. 6.255c, where Adeimantus is again identified as one of Demetrius' flatterers and said to be from Lampsacus.

²⁶¹ Billows #86.

Δημητρίον καθάπερ καὶ ἡ Λέαινα.) τί οὖν παράδοξον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι <οἱ> τῶν κολάκων κόλακες ἐποίησαν εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν Δημήτριον παιᾶνας καὶ προσόδια ἄδοντες; φησὶ γοῦν ὁ Δημοχάρης ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ γράφων· ἐπανελθόντα δὲ τὸν Δημήτριον ἀπὸ τῆς Λευκάδος καὶ Κερκύρας | εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐδέχοντο οὐ μόνον θυμῶντες καὶ στεφανοῦντες καὶ οἰνοχοοῦντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσοδιακοὶ χοροὶ καὶ ἰθύφαλλοι μετ' ὀρχήσεως καὶ ᾠδῆς ἀπῆντων αὐτῷ καὶ ἐφιστάμενοι κατὰ τοὺς ὄχλους ἦδον ὀρχούμενοι καὶ ἐπάδοντες ὡς εἶη μόνος θεὸς ἀληθινός, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι καθεύδουσιν ἢ ἀποδημοῦσιν ἢ οὐκ εἰσίν, γεγωνῶς δ' εἶη ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Ἀφροδίτης, τῷ δὲ κάλλει διάφορος καὶ τῇ πρὸς πάντας φιλανθρωπία κοινός. d δεόμενοι δ' αὐτοῦ ἰκέτευον, | φησὶ, καὶ προσηύχοντο. ὁ μὲν οὖν Δημοχάρης τοσαῦτα εἶρηκε περὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίων κολακείας· Δούρις δ' ὁ Σάμιος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ἰθύφαλλον < . . . >

ὡς οἱ μέγιστοι τῶν θεῶν καὶ φίλτατοι
τῇ πόλει πάρεισιν·
ἐνταῦθα γὰρ Δήμητρα καὶ Δημήτριον
ἅμα παρήχ' ὁ καιρός.

262 The preceding is a prose summary of some of the more crudely panegyric elements of the hymn quoted below, which Demochares—whose distaste for all this is palpable—chose not

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Leaena.) So why is it odd that the Athenians, who flattered flatterers, wrote paeans in honor of Demetrius himself and sang processional hymns for him? Demochares, at any rate, writes in Book XXI (*FGrH* 75 F 2): When Demetrius left Leucas and Corcyra and returned to Athens, not only did the Athenians welcome him with incense, garlands, and libations, but processional and ithyphallic choruses met him, dancing and singing. They stood before the crowds and danced and sang, claiming that he was the only true god, and the others were either asleep, or out of the country, or did not exist; that he must be the son of Poseidon and Aphrodite; and that he was exceptionally handsome and the common benefactor of all mankind. And they approached him like suppliants, he says, and made requests and addressed prayers to him.²⁶² This is what Demochares has to say about the Athenians' flattery. But Duris of Samos in Book XXII of his *History* (*FGrH* 76 F 13) (preserves) the ithyphallic hymn itself:²⁶³

The greatest and most beloved gods
are here in our city;
for a timely opportunity brought Demeter
and Demetrius here simultaneously!

to reproduce. Duris clearly felt no such reluctance to preserve the details of what is indeed a singularly embarrassing incident in Athenian history.

²⁶³ Cf. 14.697a (citing Philochorus), which implies that this song and others like it were composed in honor of Demetrius and his father Antigonus I Monophthalmus by Hermocles of Cyzicus (pp. 173–4 Powell).

ATHENAEUS

χῆ μὲν τὰ σεμνὰ τῆς Κόρης μυστήρια
 ἔρχεθ' ἵνα ποήσῃ,
 ὁ δ' ἰλαρός, ὥσπερ τὸν θεὸν δεῖ, καὶ καλὸς
 καὶ γελῶν πάρεστι.
 e σεμνὸν τι φαίνεθ', οἱ φίλοι | πάντες κύκλω,
 ἐν μέσοισι δ' αὐτός,
 ὁμοιον ὥσπερ οἱ φίλοι μὲν ἀστέρες,
 ἥλιος δ' ἐκείνος.
 ᾧ τοῦ κρατίστου παῖ Ποσειδῶνος θεοῦ,
 χαῖρε, κάφροδίτης.
 ἄλλοι μὲν ἢ μακρὰν γὰρ ἀπέχουσιν θεοί,
 ἢ οὐκ ἔχουσιν ὧτα,
 ἢ οὐκ εἴσιν, ἢ οὐ προσέχουσιν ἡμῖν οὐδὲ ἔν,
 σὲ δὲ παρόνθ' ὀρώμεν,
 οὐ ξύλινον οὐδὲ λίθινον, ἀλλ' ἀληθινόν.
 εὐχόμεσθα δὴ σοι
 πρῶτον μὲν εἰρήνην πόησον, φίλτατε,
 κύριος γὰρ εἶ σύ.
 τὴν δ' οὐχὶ Θηβῶν, ἀλλ' ὅλης τῆς Ἑλλάδος
 Σφίγγα περικρατοῦσαν,
 (Αἰτωλὸς ὅστις ἐπὶ πέτρας καθήμενος,
 ὥσπερ ἡ παλαιά,
 f τὰ σώμαθ' ἡμῶν πάντ' ἀναρπάσας | φέρει,
 κοῦκ ἔχω μάχεσθαι.
 Αἰτωλικὸν γὰρ ἀρπάσαι τὰ τῶν πέλας,
 νῦν δὲ καὶ τὰ πόρρω.)
 μάλιστα μὲν δὴ κόλασον αὐτός· εἰ δὲ μή,
 Οἰδίπουν τιν' εὐρέ,

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She comes to celebrate the sacred
mysteries of Corē,²⁶⁴
while he is here beautiful, laughing, and full of mirth,
as befits a god.

This is an awesome sight: all his friends surround
him,

and he himself is in their midst;
it is as if his friends were stars,
while he was the sun.

Hail, child of Poseidon, most powerful
of gods, and of Aphrodite!

The other gods are either far away,
or deaf,
or do not exist, or they pay us no attention.

But you we see here,
not made of wood or stone, but real.

To you, then, we pray:
first, that you create peace, beloved one;
for this is within your power.

And as for the Sphinx who controls not just Thebes,
but all of Greece—

it is an Aetolian who sits on the cliff,
like the Sphinx of old,
and snatches up all our forces and carries them off,
and I cannot resist her;

for plundering one's neighbors is Aetolian behavior,
and now the plundering goes even further—
punish her, please, yourself! Otherwise,
find some Oedipus,

²⁶⁴ I.e. the Eleusinian Mysteries, celebrated in honor of Demeter's daughter Persephone/Pherephatta/Corē.

τὴν Σφίγγα ταύτην ὅστις ἢ κατακρημιεῖ
ἢ σπίνον πῶσει.

254 ταῦτ' ἦδον οἱ Μαραθωνομάχαι οὐ δημοσίᾳ μόνον,
ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' οἰκίαν, οἱ τὸν προσκυνήσαντα τὸν
Περσῶν βασιλέα ἀποκτείναντες, οἱ τὰς ἀναρίθμους
μυριάδας τῶν βαρβάρων φονεύσαντες. || Ἄλεξις γοῦν
ἐν Φαρμακοπόλῃ ἢ Κρατεία προπίνοντά τινα εἰσαγα-
γῶν ἐνὶ τῶν συμποτῶν καὶ λέγοντα ποιεῖ τάδε:

παῖ, τὴν μεγάλην δός, ὑποχέας
φιλίας κνάθους † τῶν † παρόντων τέτταρας,
τοὺς τρεῖς δ' Ἔρωτος προσαποδώσεις ὕστερον
<έν' > Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ βασιλέως νίκης καλῶς,
καὶ τοῦ νεαίσκου κύαθον Δημητρίου.

φέρε τὸν τρίτον < . . . >

b Φίλας Ἀφροδίτης. χαίρει', ἄνδρες συμπόται, |
ὄσων ἀγαθῶν τὴν κύλικα μεστὴν πίομαι.

τοιούτοι τότε ἐγένοντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι κολακείας θηρίου
χαλεπωτάτου λύσσαν ἐμβαλούσης αὐτῶν τῇ πόλει
ἦν ὁ μὲν Πύθιος ἐστίαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνεκήρυξε,
πρυτανεῖον δὲ Ἑλλάδος ὁ δυσμενέστατος Θεόπομπος
ὁ φήσας ἐν ἄλλοις πλήρεις εἶναι τὰς Ἀθήνας Διону-

265 A sarcastic reference to the famous Athenian victory over a Persian expeditionary force in 490 BCE.

266 See 6.251b with n.

267 Sc. to the mixing-bowl.

BOOK VI

who will hurl this Sphinx from a crag
or transform her into a chaffinch.

This is what the victors at Marathon²⁶⁵ sang, and not just in public, but in their own homes—the people who put to death the man who knelt before the Persian king,²⁶⁶ and who slaughtered countless swarms of barbarians! Alexis in *The Pharmacist or Crateia* (fr. 116), at any rate, brings a man onstage who is offering a toast to another member of the party, and represents him as saying the following:

Slave! Give me the big cup, after you pour in²⁶⁷
four ladles of friendship in honor of † those †
present!

You can add the three in honor of Love later:
one, appropriately, in honor of King Antigonus'
victory,

and a ladle in honor of the young Demetrius.

Well, as for the third . . .

of Phila Aphrodite.²⁶⁸ Here's to you, my fellow
guests!

What a cup full of blessings I'm drinking!

This, then, is what the Athenians became when the brutal beast flattery injected madness into their city—a city the Pythia (Delphic Oracle Q198 Fontenrose) proclaimed the "hearth of Greece",²⁶⁹ while Theopompus (*FGrH* 115 F 281) called it the "prytaneion²⁷⁰ of Greece", even though he was extremely hostile to Athens and said elsewhere that

²⁶⁸ Phila was Demetrius' wife (here identified with the goddess of beauty); see 6.255c. ²⁶⁹ Cf. 5.187d.

²⁷⁰ "town-hall"; cf. 6.237f.

σοκολάκων καὶ ναντῶν καὶ λωποδυτῶν, ἔτι δὲ ψευδο-
 μαρτύρων καὶ συκοφαντῶν καὶ ψευδοκλητήρων. οὓς |
 c ἐγὼ πείθομαι ὡς ἐπομβρίαν ἢ τι δεινὸν ἐκ θεοῦ τὴν
 προειρημένην πᾶσαν εἰσηγήσασθαι κολακείαν. περὶ
 ἧς καλῶς ὁ Διογένης ἔλεγε πολὺν κρεῖττον εἶναι ἐς
 κόρακας ἀπελθεῖν ἢ ἐς κόλακας, οἱ ζῶντας ἔτι τοὺς
 ἀγαθοὺς τῶν ἀνδρῶν κατεσθίουσι. φησὶ γοῦν καὶ
 Ἄναξίλας ἐν < . . . >

οἱ κόλακές εἰσι τῶν ἐχόντων οὐσίας
 σκώληκες. εἰς οὖν ἄκακον ἀνθρώπου τρόπον
 εἰσδύς ἕκαστος ἐσθίει καθήμενος,
 ἕως ἂν ὥσπερ πυρὸν ἀποδείξῃ κενόν. |
 d ἔπειθ' ὁ μὲν λέμμ' ἐστίν, ὁ δ' ἕτερον δάκνει.

Πλάτων τ' ἐν Φαίδρῳ φησὶ κόλακι, δεινῶ θηρίῳ καὶ
 βλάβῃ μεγάλῃ, ὅμως ἐπέμιξεν ἡ φύσις ἡδονὴν τινα
 οὐκ ἄμουσον. Θεόφραστος δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Κολακείας
 φησὶν ὡς Μύρτις ὁ Ἀργεῖος Κλεώνυμον τὸν χορευτὴν
 ἅμα καὶ κόλακα προσκαθίζοντα πολλάκις αὐτῷ καὶ
 τοῖς συνδικάζουσι, βουλόμενον δὲ καὶ μετὰ τῶν κατὰ
 τὴν πόλιν ἐνδόξων ὀρᾶσθαι, λαβόμενος τοῦ ὠτὸς καὶ
 ἔλκων αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου πολλῶν παρόντων εἶ-
 e πεν. | “οὐ χορεύσεις ἐνθάδε οὐδ' ἀμῶν ἀκούσει.” Δίφι-

271 See 6.249f with n.

272 A colloquial expression equivalent to our “go to Hell”; the point of what follows is that ravens were notorious for feeding on dead bodies. The pun is attested already at Ar. V. 42–51.

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it was full of Dionysus-flatterers²⁷¹, sailors, and muggers, as well as lying witnesses, malicious manipulators of the legal system, and people who sue you on false charges. I am convinced that they introduced all the fawning behavior discussed earlier like a deluge of rain or a terrible visitation of a god. Diogenes (Diogenes of Sinope SSR V B 425) had a fine saying about flattery, that it was much better to go to the ravens (*korakes*)²⁷² than to the flatterers (*kolakes*), who eat decent men while they are still alive. Anaxilas (fr. 32) in . . . , at any rate, says:

Flatterers are worms that infest wealthy
people. Each one invades a harmless
person and sits there eating,
until he hollows him out like a grain of wheat.
Then the rich guy's an empty husk, and the flatterer
gnaws on someone else.

Plato says in the *Phaedrus* (240b): Although the flatterer is a horrid beast and a source of great damage, nature nonetheless mixed a bit of charming fun into him. Theophrastus in his *On Flattery* (fr. 547) says that the dancer and flatterer Cleonymus²⁷³ often tried to sit beside Myrtis of Argos²⁷⁴ and the people who were involved in legal business along with him, since he wanted to be seen with the most distinguished men in the city. Myrtis took him by the ear, dragged him out of the meeting-hall, and said in front of a large number of witnesses: "You're not going to dance

²⁷³ Stephanis #1467; otherwise unknown.

²⁷⁴ Probably to be identified with the pro-Macedonian leader mentioned at D. 18.295.

λος δ' ἐν Γάμῳ φησίν·

ὁ γὰρ κόλαξ
καὶ στρατηγὸν καὶ δυνάστην καὶ φίλους καὶ τὰς
πόλεις
ἀνατρέπει λόγῳ κακούργῳ μικρὸν ἡδύνας
χρόνον.

νῦν δὲ καὶ καχεξία τις ὑποδέδυκε τοὺς ὄχλους,
αἱ κρίσεις θ' ἡμῶν νοσοῦσι, καὶ τὸ πρὸς χάριν
πολύ.

διὸ καὶ Θετταλοὶ καλῶς ποιήσαντες κατέσκαψαν τὴν
καλουμένην πόλιν Κολακείαν, ἣν Μηλιεῖς ἐνέμοντο,
f ὡς φησι | Θεόπομπος ἐν τῇ τριακοστῇ. κόλακας δ'
εἶναί φησι Φύλαρχος καὶ τοὺς ἐν Δήμῳ κατοικοῦν-
τας Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ τρισκαιδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν.
χάριν γὰρ ἀποδιδόντας τοῖς Σελεύκου καὶ Ἀντιόχου
ἀπογόνους, ἐπεὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Σέλευκος πικρῶς ἐπιστατου-
255 μένους ὑπὸ Λυσιμάχου || οὐ μόνον ἐξείλετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ
τὰς πόλεις αὐτοῖς ἀπέδωκεν ἀμφοτέρας, οἱ Δημόθην
Ἀθηναῖοι οὐ μόνον ναοὺς κατεσκεύασαν τοῦ Σελεύ-
κου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἀντιόχου· καὶ τὸν ἐπιχεόμενον
κύαθον ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις Σελεύκου Σωτήρος καλοῦ-
σι. ταύτην δὲ τὴν κολακείαν τινὲς ἐκτρεπόμενοι τοῦ-

²⁷⁵ Literally "Flattery".

²⁷⁶ Malis was a small region in northern Greece near Thermopylae. The fact that this fragment is drawn from Theopompus Book XXX puts the otherwise obscure events referred to in 347/6 BCE.

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here—or listen to us!” Diphilus says in *The Marriage* (fr. 23):

Because flatterers
ruin generals, princes, their friends, and their cities,
by making them momentarily happy with their
destructive talk.

And now a bad condition of some kind has infected
the masses;
our decisions are sick, and there's lots of trying to
please people.

This is why the Thessalians were right to destroy the city known as Colacea²⁷⁵, which belonged to the Malians, according to Theopompus in Book XXX (*FGrH* 115 F 170).²⁷⁶ Phylarchus in Book XIII of his *History* (*FGrH* 81 F 29) claims that the Athenians who settled on Lemnos were flatterers. Because as a way of expressing their gratitude to the descendants of Seleucus and Antiochus, since when they were suffering at Lysimachus' hands, Seleucus not only eliminated him, but restored both cities to them,²⁷⁷ the Athenians on Lemnos built not only a temple dedicated to Seleucus, but one in honor of his son Antiochus as well. They also refer to the ladleful of wine poured out at their parties as belonging to Seleucus the Savior.²⁷⁸ Some people refer misleadingly to this type of flattery as “acting

²⁷⁷ The reference is to events in 281 BCE, when Seleucus I Nicator defeated and killed Lysimachus at the Battle of Corupedium. The two cities are Myrina and Hephaestia, located on the west side of Lemnos. Seleucus' son was Antiochus I Soter.

²⁷⁸ Sc. rather than to the conventional “Zeus the Savior”.

νομα ἀρέσκειαν προσαγορεύουσιν, ὡς καὶ Ἀναξανδρίδης ἐν Σαμία·

τὸ γὰρ κολακεύειν νῦν ἀρέσκειν ὄνομα ἔχει. |

- b οὐκ ἐπίστανται δὲ οἱ τὴν κολακείαν μεταχειριζόμενοι ὡς ἐστὶν αὕτη ἡ τέχνη ὀλιγοχρόνιος. Ἄλεξις γοῦν φησιν ἐν Ψευδομένῳ·

κόλακος δὲ βίος μικρὸν χρόνον ἀνθεῖ·
οὐδεὶς γὰρ χαίρει πολιοκροτάφῳ παρασίτῳ.

- Κλέαρχος δ' ὁ Σολεὺς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Ἑρωτικῶν, κόλαξ μὲν οὐδεὶς, φησί, διαρκεῖ πρὸς φιλίαν καταναλίσκει γὰρ ὁ χρόνος τὸ τοῦ προσποιήματος αὐτῶν ψεῦδος. ὁ δ' ἔραστῆς κόλαξ ἐστὶ φιλίας δι' ὥραν ἢ
c κάλλος. τῶν δὲ Δημητρίου τοῦ | βασιλέως κολάκων οἱ περὶ Ἀδείμαντον τὸν Λαμψακηρὸν νεῶν κατασκευασάμενοι καὶ ἀγάλματα ἰδρυσάμενοι Θριῆσιν ὠνόμασαν Φίλας Ἀφροδίτης καὶ τὸν τόπον Φιλαίου ἐκάλεσαν ἀπὸ τῆς Δημητρίου Φίλας¹², ὡς φησι Διονύσιος ὁ τοῦ Τρύφωνος ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ Περὶ Ὀνομάτων.

Κλέαρχος δ' ὁ Σολεὺς ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Γεργιθίῳ καὶ πόθην ἢ ἀρχὴν τοῦ ὀνόματος τῶν κολάκων παρήλθε διηγεῖται καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Γεργιθίον ὑποτιθέ-

¹² μητρὸς Φίλας A: μητρὸς del. Herwerden

²⁷⁹ For the title (also used by Athenaeus at 15.692f), see 6.258e n.

nice", according to Anaxandrides in *The Girl from Samos* (fr. 43):

Flattery nowadays goes by the name of "acting nice".

People who practice flattery are unaware that this technique is effective for only a limited time. Alexis, for example, says in *The Liar* (fr. 262):²⁷⁹

The bloom is quickly off a flatterer's life;
no one likes a parasite with gray temples.

Clearchus of Soli says in Book I of his *Erotica* (fr. 21 Wehrli): No flatterer lasts long as a friend; for time erodes their false pretences. The lover is a flatterer who aims at friendship and is motivated by youth or beauty. When the flatterers of King Demetrius who were associated with Adeimantus of Lampsacus²⁸⁰ built a temple and dedicated statues in Thria, they named them for Phila Aphrodite and referred to the place as Philaeon, after Demetrius' wife Phila,²⁸¹ according to Dionysius the student²⁸² of Tryphon in Book X of *On Names*.

Clearchus of Soli in his work entitled *Gergithius* (fr. 19 Wehrli) explains the origin of the word "flatterer", although he takes as his main topic *Gergithius*²⁸³ himself,

²⁸⁰ See 6.253a with n. The plurals may be a purely stylistic feature, in which case the reference is to Adeimantus himself.

²⁸¹ Cf. 6.254a.

²⁸² Or "son".

²⁸³ Berve i #224. The combination of Clearchus' crabbed and obscure style and Athenaeus' aggressive interpolation of other material makes it difficult to follow many of the specific points of the argument.

- d μενος, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ βιβλίον ἔχει τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν, | ἕνα
 γεγονότα τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου κολάκων. διηγείται δὲ
 οὕτως, τὴν κολακείαν ταπεινὰ ποιεῖν τὰ ἥθη τῶν
 κολάκων καταφρονητικῶν ὄντων τῶν περὶ αὐτούς. ση-
 μεῖον δὲ τὸ πᾶν ὑπομένειν εἰδότας οἷα τολμῶσι. τὰ δὲ
 τῶν κολακευομένων ἐμφυσωμένων τῇ κολακείᾳ, χαύ-
 νους καὶ κενούς ποιῶντα, † πάντων ἐν ὑπεροχῇ παρ'
 αὐτοῖς ὑπολαμβάνεσθαι κατασκευάζεσθαι. † ἐξῆς τε
 διηγούμενος περὶ τινος μειρακίου Παφίου μὲν τὸ
 γένος, βασιλέως δὲ τὴν τύχην, τοῦτο, φησί, τὸ μει-
 e ράκιον | (οὐ λέγων αὐτοῦ τοῦνομα) κατέκειτο δι'
 ὑπερβάλλουσαν τρυφὴν ἐπὶ ἀργυρόποδος κλίνης ὑπ-
 εστρωμένης Σαρδιανῇ ψιλοτάπιδι τῶν πάνυ πολυτε-
 λῶν. ἐπεβέβλητο δ' αὐτῷ πορφυροῦν ἀμφίταπον
 ἀμοργίνῳ καλύμματι περιειλημμένον. προσκεφάλαια
 δ' εἶχε τρία μὲν ὑπὸ τῇ κεφαλῇ βύσσινα παραλουργῆ,
 δι' ὧν ἡμύνητο τὸ καῦμα, δύο δ' ὑπὸ τοῖς ποσὶ ὑσγι-
 νοβαφῆ τῶν Δωρικῶν καλουμένων· ἐφ' ὧν κατέκειτο
 f <ἐν> λευκῇ χλανίδι. παραδεδεγμένοι δ' εἰσὶ πάντες | οἱ
 κατὰ τὴν Κύπρον μόναρχοι τὸ τῶν εὐγενῶν κολάκων
 γένος ὡς χρήσιμον· πάνυ γὰρ τὸ κτήμα τυραννικόν
 ἐστί. καὶ τούτων οἷον Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν τινων οὔτε τὸ
 πλήθος οὔτε τὰς ὄψεις ἔξω τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων οἶδεν
 οὐδεὶς. διηρημένων δὲ διχῇ κατὰ συγγένειαν τῶν ἐν
 τῇ Σαλαμῖνι κολάκων, ἀφ' ὧν εἰσιν οἱ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην

284 The material that follows appears unrelated to Clearchus'

who was one of Alexander's flatterers and from whom the book gets its title. He explains the word's origin as follows: Flattery debases the behavior of the flatterers, who feel contempt for the people around them; the proof of this is that they put up with anything, although they recognize what sort of outrages are being committed. As for the behavior of those who are flattered and thus get an inflated opinion of themselves, it makes them thoughtless and foolish † of everything in excess for them to be assumed to be prepared. † Immediately after this he describes a young man who was a Paphian by birth and as rich as a king, and says: This young man—he omits his name—used to lie in extraordinary luxury on a silver-footed couch that was covered with an extremely expensive pileless Sardian carpet; on top of him was a purple double-pile carpet enclosed in a shell woven of mallow-fiber. He had three purple linen pillows, which helped him avoid the heat, under his head, and two scarlet pillows of the so-called Doric type beneath his feet. He lay on these wearing a fine white garment made of wool.²⁸⁴ All the Cyprian monarchs have adopted the "noble flatterers" as a group useful to them; for having flatterers is quite typical of tyrants. As in the case of certain members of the Areopagus,²⁸⁵ no one knows how many of these people there are or what they look like, with the exception of the most prominent individuals. The flatterers in Salamis, from whom the flatterers throughout the rest of Cyprus are descended, are divided into two kinship-

discussion of the young Paphian hedonist, which resumes at 6.256f-7c and concludes (after another interruption) at 6.258a.

²⁸⁵ Perhaps "with certain Areopagus councils" (sc. elsewhere than in Athens).

256 Κύπρον κόλακες, τοὺς μὲν Γεργίνους, τοὺς δὲ Προ-
 μάλαγγας ἢ προσαγορεύουσιν· ὧν οἱ μὲν Γεργίνοι
 συναναμιγνύμενοι τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἔν τε τοῖς
 ἐργαστηρίοις καὶ ταῖς ἀγοραῖς ὠτακουστοῦσι κατα-
 σκόπων ἔχοντες τάξιν, ὃ τι δ' ἂν ἀκούσωσιν ἀνα-
 φέρουσιν ἐκάστης ἡμέρας πρὸς τοὺς καλουμένους
 ἄνακτας. οἱ δὲ Προμάλαγγες ζητοῦσιν ἂν τι τῶν ὑπὸ
 τῶν Γεργίνων προσαγγελθέντων οὐκ ἀνάξιον εἶναι
 ζητήσεως δόξῃ, ὄντες τινὲς ἐρευνηταί. καὶ τούτων
 οὕτως ἔντεχνος καὶ πιθανὴ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἢ ἔντευξις
 b ὥστ' ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ, καθάπερ καὶ αὐτοὶ φασι, ἢ παρ'
 ἐκείνων εἰς τοὺς ἔξω τόπους διαδεδοῦσθαι τὸ σπέρμα
 τῶν ἐλλογίμων κολάκων· καὶ γὰρ οὐχ οἶον μετρίως
 ἐπὶ τῷ πράγματι σεμνύνονται διὰ τὸ τετιμῆσθαι παρὰ
 τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν. ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι τῶν Γεργίνων
 τις ἀπόγονος ὧν τῶν Τρώων ἐκείνων, οὗς Τεῦκρος ἀπὸ
 τῶν αἰχμαλώτων κατακτησάμενος εἰς Κύπρον ἔχων
 ἀπέφκησεν, οὗτος διὰ τῆς παραλίας μετ' ὀλίγων στεί-
 λας ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰολίδος κατὰ πίστιν ἅμα καὶ οἰκισμὸν
 τῆς τῶν προγόνων χώρας πόλιν οἰκίσειε περὶ τὴν ἢ
 c Τρωϊκὴν Ἰδην συμπαραλαβὼν τινὰς τῶν Μυσῶν, ἢ
 πάλαι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους Γέργινα, νῦν δὲ Γέργιθα
 κέκληται. τούτου γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, τοῦ στόλου τινὲς
 ἀποσπασθέντες ἐν τῇ Κυμαίᾳ κατέσχον ἐκ Κύπρου τὸ
 γένος ὄντες, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Θετταλικῆς Τρίκκης,
 καθάπερ τινὲς εἰρήκασιν, ὧν ἰατρεῦσαι τὴν ἄγνοιαν
 οὐδ' Ἀσκληπιάδαις τοῦτό γε νομίζω δεδοῦσθαι. γεγό-
 νασι δὲ παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ ἐπὶ Γλοῦ τοῦ Καρὸς καὶ

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groups; they call one group the Gerginoi, the other the Promalanges. The Gerginoi behave like spies, mingling with the people throughout the city and keeping their ears open in the workshops and the marketplaces; every day they report what they hear to the so-called kings. The Promalanges, on the other hand, make inquiries if anything the Gerginoi report seems worth looking into, and are investigators of a sort. Their interaction with everyone is so subtle and convincing that I believe (as they themselves assert) that "reputable flatterers" originated with them and were disseminated abroad; they are in fact extremely proud of what they do, on account of the honor the kings pay them. They also claim that one of the Gerginoi—a descendant of the Trojans Teucer²⁸⁶ got as his share of the prisoners-of-war and settled on Cyprus—set off along the coast for Aeolis with a few companions, both to explore and to settle the land of his ancestors. He recruited some Mysians and founded a city near the Trojan Mt. Ida; long ago it was called Gergina, after the family, but is now called Gergitha. It appears that a number of people became separated from this expedition and landed at Cumae; they were Cyprians by birth, and were not from Triccē in Thessaly, as is asserted by some authorities (whose ignorance, I think, not even the sons of Asclepius²⁸⁷ have been granted the power to cure). In the time of Glous of Caria,²⁸⁸ we had

²⁸⁶ Teucer (see 6.223a n.) was from Cyprus and was the mythical founder of the city of Salamis there.

²⁸⁷ I.e. physicians.

²⁸⁸ Otherwise unknown. The "we" in the clause that follows refers to the inhabitants of Cyprus.

γυναῖκες ὑπὸ τὰς ἀνάσσας αἱ προσαγορευθεῖσαι
 d κολακίδες. ἀφ' ὧν ὑπολιπεῖς | τινες εἰς τὸ πέραν ἀφι-
 κόμεναι μετάπεμπτοι πρὸς τε τὰς Ἀρταβάζου καὶ τὰς
 Μέντορος γυναῖκας κλιμακίδες μετωνομάσθησαν ἀπὸ
 τοιαύτης πράξεως· ταῖς μεταπεμφμέναις ἀρεσκευ-
 ὄμεναι κλίμακα κατεσκευάζον ἐξ ἑαυτῶν οὕτως ὥστ'
 ἐπὶ τοῖς νότοις αὐτῶν τὴν ἀνάβασιν γίνεσθαι καὶ
 τὴν κατάβασιν ταῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμαξῶν ὄχουμέναις. εἰς
 τοῦτο τρυφῆς, ἵνα μὴ ἀθλιότητος εἶπω, προηγάζοντο
 e ἐκ τῶν λίαν | μαλακῶν ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης μεταβιβασθεῖ-
 σαι σκληρῶς ἐβίωσαν ἐπὶ γήρως, αἱ δέ, τῶν παρ'
 ἡμῖν ταῦτα διαδεξαμένων, ἐκπεσοῦσαι τῆς ἐξουσίας
 κατήραυ εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐκεῖ κυρίας τε
 καὶ βασιλίδας ὃν τρόπον ταῖς ὁμιλίαις διέθεσαν οὐδὲ
 λέγειν καλόν, πλὴν ὅτι μαγεύομεναι καὶ μαγεύουσαι
 ταυροπόλοι καὶ τριοδίτιδες αὐται πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἐγέ-
 νοντο, πλήρεις πάντων ἀποκαθαρμάτων. τοσοῦτων
 f ἔοικε καὶ τοιούτων ἢ κολακεία κακῶν αἰτία γενέσθαι
 τοῖς διὰ | τὸ κολακεύεσθαι προσδεξαμένοις αὐτήν.
 προελθὼν δὲ πάλιν ὁ Κλέαρχος καὶ τάδε φησὶν· ἀλλ'
 ἤδη τῇ τούτων χρεῖα μέμψαιτ' ἄν τις τὸ μειράκιον,

289 The Persian nobleman Artabazus III (c.387–320s BCE; Berve i #152) was satrap of Phrygia during the Great Revolt of the late 360s and 350s, after which he fled to the court of Philip II of Macedon. The Greek mercenary commander Mentor of Rhodes was Artabazus' brother-in-law and political and military ally (esp. D. 23.157).

women referred to by their mistresses as *kolakides* ("female flatterers"). Some remnants of them were summoned to visit the wives of Artabazus and Mentor,²⁸⁹ and crossed over to the mainland, where they changed their name to *klimakides* as a result of the following practice: As a means of ingratiating themselves with the women who summoned them, they made their bodies into steps²⁹⁰, so that their mistresses could walk up or down on their backs when they were travelling by wagon.²⁹¹ This is the degree of luxury—I should really call it degradation—into which they treacherously lured these foolish women. As a consequence, when their luck changed and they were deprived of their excessive ease, these women lived difficult lives in their old age, while the others, who belong to the group that picked up their manners in our country, lost their influence and migrated to Macedon. How interaction with them affected the mistresses and queens of the people there is an ugly story; suffice it to say that by bewitching and being bewitched they became genuine devotees of Artemis and Hecate, overflowing with foulness of every kind.²⁹² This is the number and sort of troubles flattery tends to cause for those who allow it because they want to be played up to. Further on again, Clearchus says the following: But, as I observed, one might indeed fault this

²⁹⁰ Literally "a ladder" (*klimax*).

²⁹¹ Plu. *Mor.* 50d–e preserves a very similar anecdote.

²⁹² Hecate (often identified with Artemis) was a fearful goddess of the night and crossroads (cf. 7.325a), and the point must be that the women in question behaved like either witches or common street-prostitutes.

- ὥσπερ εἶπον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ παῖδες μικρὸν ἄπωθεν τῆς κλίνης ἐν χιτωνίσκοις ἕστασαν· τριῶν δ' ὄντων ἀνδρῶν, δι' οὓς δὴ νῦν ὁ πᾶς λόγος ἐνέστηκε, καὶ τούτων ὄντων ἐπωνύμων παρ' ἡμῖν ὁ μὲν εἷς ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης πρὸς ποδῶν καθήστο τούς τοῦ μειρακίου πόδας ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ γόνασι λεπτῶ ληδίῳ συνημφιακῶς· ἢ ὁ δὲ ἐποίει δῆπου καὶ μὴ λέγοντος οὐκ ἄδηλον· καλεῖται δ' οὗτος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων Παράβυστος διὰ τὸ καὶ τῶν μὴ παραδεχομένων ὅμως τεχνικώτατα κολακεύων παρεμπίπτειν ἐς τὰς ὀμιλίας. ἄτερος δ' ἦν ἐπὶ τινος δίφρου κειμένου παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν κλίνην καὶ τοῦ νεανίσκου τὴν χεῖρα παρεϊκότος ἐκκρεμάμενος ταύτης καὶ προσπεπτωκῶς κατέψηχέ τε καὶ τῶν δακτύλων ἕκαστον ἐν μέρει διαλαμβάνων εἰλκέ τε καὶ ἐξέτεινεν·
- b ὥστε τὸν πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἐπονομάσαντα | Σικύαν εὐστόχως εἰρηκέναι δοκεῖν. ὁ δὲ τρίτος ὁ Θῆρ ὁ γενναιοτάτος, ὅσπερ ἦν τῆς ὑπηρεσίας πρωταγωνιστής, προσεστηκῶς αὐτῶ κατὰ κεφαλὴν μετείχε τῶν βυσσίνων προσκεφαλαίων ἀποκεκλιμένος εἰς αὐτὰ πάνυ φιλικῶς· καὶ τῇ μὲν ἀριστερᾷ τὸ τοῦ μειρακίου τριχωμάτιον ἐπικοσμῶν, τῇ δεξιᾷ δὲ Φωκαϊκὸν ψῦγμά τι διακινῶν καὶ αἰωρῶν ἠδὺς ἦν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀποσοβῶν. διὸ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν αὐτῶ δαίμων τις ἐλευθέριος νεμεσήσας
- c ἐφίησι μυῖαν¹³, οὐκ ἄλλην ἢ 'κείνην | ἧς καὶ τὴν

¹³ τῶ μειρακίῳ μυῖαν ACE: τῶ μειρακίῳ del. Wilamowitz

²⁹³ Presumably he provided a foot massage (e.g. Cephisod. fr.

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young man for enjoying these luxuries. The slaves stood close to his couch dressed in short tunics; there were three of them—our entire discussion began, in fact, with them—and we have taken over their names for other purposes. One sat on the couch by the boy's feet, which he had wrapped in a piece of fine cloth, and held them on his knees; I imagine that what he was doing is obvious even if I fail to describe it.²⁹³ This man is referred to by the natives as *Parabystus*²⁹⁴, because even when they try to keep him out, he uses skilful flattery to worm his way into their gatherings. The second slave sat on a stool set close to the couch; when the boy gave him his hand, he clung to it, and as he held it he stroked it and took each finger in turn and pulled on it and stretched it out. Whoever first referred to him as *Sikya* thus appears to have got the matter exactly right.²⁹⁵ The third and most distinguished was *Thēr*²⁹⁶, who was the leading actor in the services rendered, and who stood by the boy's head and shared the linen pillows, leaning on them very affectionately. He added decorations to the young man's hair with his left hand, while with his right he gently waved a Phocaeen fan back and forth, and up and down, without actively shooing anything away. This is why, I imagine, some free-spirited deity grew resentful and sent a fly—and none other than the one whose cour-

3.3, quoted at 15.689e-f; Anaxandr. fr. 41.3, quoted at 12.553d), although Clearchus' slanderously knowing tone implies something more overtly sexual. ²⁹⁴ Literally "Stuffed-In".

²⁹⁵ *Sikya* is literally "Gourd"; but the word is also used for a cupping vessel, which clings to the skin and draws out blood from a bruise or the like (cf. 10.452b). Cf. the etymology for *kolax* proposed by Androcydes at 6.258b. ²⁹⁶ Literally "Beast".

Ἀθηναῖον φησὶν Ὅμηρος ἐνεῖναι τῷ Μενελάῳ τὸ θάρσος· οὕτως ἦν ἐρρωμένη καὶ ἄφοβος τὴν ψυχὴν. δηχθέντος δὲ τοῦ μεираκίου τηλικούτου ἀνέκραγεν ἄνθρωπος ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου καὶ οὕτως ἠγανάκτησεν ὥστε διὰ τὴν πρὸς μίαν ἔχθραν ἀπάσας ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἤλαυνεν· ὅθεν καὶ φανερὸς ἐγένετο πρὸς τούτῳ τεταχῶς αὐτόν.

Ἄλλ' οὐ Λεύκων τοιοῦτος ἦν ὁ Ποντικὸς τύραννος, ὃς ἐπεὶ συχνοὺς τῶν φίλων ἤσθετο σεσυλημένους ὑπὸ <τινος> τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν κολάκων, συνιδὼν τὸν ἄνθρωπον | διαβάλλοντά τινα τῶν λοιπῶν φίλων, “ἀπέκτεινα
d ἄν”, εἶπέν, “σε, νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς, εἰ μὴ πονηρῶν ἀνδρῶν ἢ τυραννὶς ἐδεῖτο.” Ἀντιφάνης δ' ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς ἐν Στρατιώτῃ τὰ ὅμοια λέγει περὶ τῆς τῶν ἐν Κύπρῳ βασιλέων τρυφῆς. ποιεῖ δέ τινα ἀναπνυθανόμενον στρατιώτου τάδε·

(A.) ἐν Κύπρῳ φῆς, εἰπέ μοι, διήγεται πολὺν χρόνον; (B.) τὸν πάνθ' ἕως ἦν ὁ πόλεμος.

(A.) ἐν τίνι τόπῳ μάλιστα; λέγε γάρ. (B.) ἐν Πάφῳ |

e οὐ πρᾶγμα τρυφερὸν διαφερόντως ἦν ἰδεῖν, ἄλλως τ' ἄπιστον. (A.) ποῖον; (B.) ἐρριπίζετο ὑπὸ τῶν περιστερῶν, ὑπ' ἄλλου δ' οὐδενός, δειπνῶν ὁ βασιλεύς. (A.) πῶς; εἰσας τᾶλλα γὰρ ἐρήσομαί σε τοῦθ'. (B.) ὅπως; ἠλείφετο

297 Leucon I of Pontus reigned 389/8–349/8 BCE, while Leucon II reigned c.240–c.220. This anecdote appears to intrude

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age, according to Homer (*Il.* 17.570–3), Athena injected into Menelaus; this is how eager and fearless it was! When the young man was stung, the third slave screamed so loud on his behalf and was so upset that he drove all the flies out of the house because of his hatred for one of them, thus making it clear that this was the reason he had posted himself there.

Leucon, the tyrant of Pontus,²⁹⁷ was a rather different sort. When he became aware that many of his friends had been cheated out of money by one of the flatterers who surrounded him, and recognized that the man was slandering one of the friends he had left, he said: "I would have put you to death, by the gods, if tyranny didn't require some bad men." The comic poet Antiphanes in *The Soldier* (fr. 200) makes similar remarks about the luxury enjoyed by the Cyprian kings. He represents someone as asking a soldier the following questions:

(A.) Tell me—you say you spent a lot of time on Cyprus? (B.) Yes, the whole war.

(A.) Where in particular? Give me the story! (B.) In

Paphos,

where you could see something extraordinarily
luxurious,

and incredible as well. (A.) What? (B.) When the king was having dinner, he was fanned by pigeons—and pigeons only! (A.) How? I'm going to ignore everything else

and just ask you this. (B.) How? He anointed himself

into the discussion of Cyprian luxury, which continues with the quotation from Antiphanes below.

f ἐκ τῆς Συρίας ἤκοντι τοιούτου μύρω
 καρπού σύχν' οἶόν φασι τὰς περιστερὰς |
 τρώγειν. διὰ τὴν ὄσμην δὲ τούτου πετόμεναι
 παρήσαν οἰαί τ' ἦσαν ἐπικαθιζάνειν
 ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν· παῖδες δὲ παρακαθήμενοι
 ἐσόβουν. ἀπαίρουσαι δὲ μικρόν, οὐ πολὺ,
 τοῦ μήτ' ἐκείσε μήτε δεῦρο παντελῶς,
 οὕτως ἀνερρίπιζον, ὥστε σύμμετρον
 αὐτῷ τὸ πνεῦμα, μὴ περίσκληρον, ποεῖν. ||

εἶη οὖν ἂν ὁ τοῦ προειρημένου μεираκίου κόλαξ μαλα-
 κοκόλαξ, ὡς φησιν ὁ Κλέαρχος· πρὸς γὰρ τῷ τοιούτῳ
 κολακεύειν καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τῶν κολακευομένων ἐπακο-
 λουθῶν ἀποπλάττεται παραγκωνίζων καὶ σπαργανῶν
 ἑαυτὸν τοῖς τριβωναρίοις. ὅθεν αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν παραγκω-
 νιστήν, οἱ δὲ σχηματοθήκην καλοῦσι· κατ' ἀλήθειαν
 γὰρ ὁ κόλαξ ἕοικεν εἶναι τῷ Πρωτεῖ ὁ αὐτός. γίγνεται
 γοῦν παντοδαπὸς οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὴν μορφήν, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ κατὰ τοὺς λόγους· οὕτω ποικιλόφωνός | τις ἐστίν.
 Ἄνδροκύδης δ' ὁ ἰατρὸς ἔλεγε τὴν κολακείαν ἔχειν τὴν
 ἐπωνυμίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ προσκολλᾶσθαι ταῖς ὁμιλίαις·
 ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ διὰ τὴν εὐχέρειαν ὅτι πάντα ὑποδύεται,

²⁹⁸ The Old Man of the Sea, who could change form at will (Od. 4.417–18, 455–8).

²⁹⁹ Berve i #74. Androcydes is cited at Thphr. HP 4.16.4 for his theories on the use of cabbage to prevent drunkenness (cf. I.34c–e), and Plin. Nat. 14.58 (cf. 17.240) claims that he offered medical advice (on drinking; it must have been either bad or ignored) to Alexander the Great.

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with imported Syrian perfume scented
 with the kind of fruit, people say, that pigeons
 often eat. The pigeons were there, flying around,
 because of
 the smell of it; they could have roosted
 on his head, except that slaves sitting beside him
 kept shooing them off. But they stayed just a bit away
 from him,
 not too far in either direction;
 and they fanned up the air enough to make the cloud
 of perfume the same size as he was and not too
 strong.

The flatterer of the young man discussed earlier might be called a *malakokolax* ("soft-flatterer"), according to Clearchus; for in addition to fawning this way, he pays attention to the posture of the individuals being flattered and moulds his own appearance to theirs by extending his elbows or wrapping himself up in his robes. This is why some authorities refer to him as a *parankōnistēs* ("elbower"), others as a *schēmatothēkē* ("chest of gestures"); because flatterers should really be identified with Proteus²⁹⁸. At any rate, it is not just the flatterer's appearance that varies, but the way he talks; this is how many voices he has. Androcydes the physician²⁹⁹ used to say that the term "flattery" (*kolakeia*) is derived from the idea of attaching oneself (*proskollasthai*) to company. But in my opinion it reflects the indifference³⁰⁰ with which flattery adopts any

³⁰⁰ *eucheria*, with *kolakeia* supposedly derived from *eukolia* ("contentedness").

ὡς δὴ τις ὑποστατικὸς νωταγωγῶν τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς ἤθει
καὶ οὐ βαρυνόμενος οὐδενὶ τῶν αἰσχυρῶν. οὐκ ἂν
διαμάρτοι δέ τις τὸν τοῦ μειρακίου τούτου τοῦ Κυπρί-
ου βίον ὑγρὸν ὀνομάζων· οὗ πολλοὺς καὶ διδασκάλους
φησὶν εἶναι Ἀθήνησιν Ἀλεξίς ἐν Πυραύνῳ λέγων
οὕτως· |

- c πείραν ἐπεθύμουν θατέρου βίου λαβεῖν,
ὃν πάντες εἰώθασιν ὀνομάζειν ὑγρόν.
τρεῖς ἐν Κεραμεικῷ περιπατήσας ἡμέρας
διδασκάλους ἐξεῦρον οὗ λέγω βίον
ἴσως τριάκοντ' ἀφ' ἑνὸς ἐργαστηρίου.

καὶ Κρώβυλος ἐν Ἀπολιπούσῃ·

πάλιν ἢ τοῦ βίου
ὑγρότης μέ τοῦ σοῦ τέθλιφε· τὴν ἀσωτίαν
ὑγρότητα γὰρ νῦν προσαγορεύουσιν τινες.

- Ἀντιφάνης δ' ἐν Δημνίαις τέχνην τινὰ εἶναι ὑπο-
d τίθεται | τὴν κολακείαν ἐν οἷς λέγει¹⁴.

εἶτ' ἐστὶν ἢ γένοιτ' ἂν ἡδίων τέχνη
ἢ πρόσσδος ἄλλη τοῦ κολακεύειν εὐφυνῶς;

¹⁴ κολακείαν εἶναι ἐν οἷς λέγει ἐν ταῖς Δημνίαις A: κολα-
κείαν εἶναι λέγων tantum CE

301 Cf. Catullus 22.21 with Quinn *ad loc.*

302 Literally "moist".

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characteristic, like a patient person who is accustomed to carrying a pack on his back and does not regard anything shameful as a burden.³⁰¹ It would not be wrong to refer to the lifestyle adopted by this young man from Cyprus as *hugros*³⁰². Alexis in *The Pan of Coals* (fr. 206) claims that many people in Athens teach this style of living, putting it thus:

I wanted to get a taste of the other sort of life,
the one everybody's in the habit of referring to as
hugros.

I wandered around the Ceramicus³⁰³ for three days
and found perhaps 30 instructors in the
life-style I'm referring to—in a single whorehouse!

Also Crobylus in *The Woman Who Left Her Husband*³⁰⁴
(fr. 4):

Again, the *hugrotēs*³⁰⁵
you live in pains me; because nowadays
some people refer to irresponsible behavior as
hugrotēs.

Antiphanes in *Lemnian Women* (fr. 142) suggests that flattery is a business (*technē*), in the passage where he says:

So is there or could there be any other business or
source of income
more enjoyable than flattering someone cleverly?

³⁰³ "The Potters' Quarter", a large, ill-defined commercial area in the northwest part of Athens.

³⁰⁴ Referred to as *The Woman Who Was Trying to Leave Her Husband* at 10.429e.

³⁰⁵ Literally "moistness".

ὁ ζωγράφος ποιεῖ τι καὶ πικραίνεται,

ὁ γεωργὸς < . . . >

< . . . > ἐν ὅσοις ἐστὶ κινδύνοις πάλιν

πρόσεστι πᾶσιν ἐπιμέλεια καὶ πόνος.

ἡμῖν δὲ μετὰ γέλωτος ὁ βίος καὶ τρυφῆς·

οὐ γὰρ τὸ μέγιστον ἔργον ἐστὶ παιδιά, |

e ἀδρὸν γελάσαι, σκῶφαί τιν', ἐμπιεῖν πολύν,

οὐχ ἡδύ; ἐμοὶ μὲν μετὰ τὸ πλουτεῖν δεύτερον.

κεχαρακτήρικε δὲ ὡς ἐνὶ μάλιστα ἐπιμελῶς τὸν
κόλακα Μένανδρος ἐν τῷ ὁμωνύμῳ δράματι, ὡς καὶ
τὸν παράσιτον Δίφιλος ἐν Τελεσίᾳ. Ἄλεξις δ' ἐν
Καταψευδομένῳ λέγοντά τινα κόλακα τοιαῦτα παρ-
εισάγων φησίν·

εὐδαίμων ἐγώ, μὰ τὸν Δία |

f τὸν Ὀλύμπιον καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναῖαν οὐχ ὅτι

ἐν τοῖς γάμοισιν, ἄνδρες, εὐωχῆσομαι,

ἀλλ' ὅτι διαρραγήσομ', ἂν θεὸς θέλη.

τούτου δέ μοι γένοιτο τοῦ θανάτου τυχεῖν.

δοκεῖ δέ μοι οὗτος, ἄνδρες φίλοι, ὁ καλὸς γάστρις οὐκ
ἂν ὠκνηκέσαι εἰπεῖν καὶ τὰ ἐξ Ὀμφάλῃς Ἴωνος τοῦ
τραγωδιοποιού·

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The painter works hard on a project and grows
exasperated;
the farmer . . .
. . . how much danger, again, he's in.
Everybody's got trouble and hard work.
But *our* life-style involves laughter and luxury;
because when the most important job is to have fun,
laugh out loud, make jokes about someone, and drink
a lot,
isn't that nice? As far as I'm concerned, this is the
next best thing after being rich.

Menander has drawn the most careful portrait possible of the flatterer in his play by the same name, as Diphilus has done with the parasite in *Telesias* (test. ii). Alexis in *The False Accuser*³⁰⁶ (fr. 233) brings a flatterer making remarks of the following sort onstage, and says:

I'm a lucky man—not, by
Olympian Zeus and Athena, because
I'm going to stuff myself at the wedding feast,
gentlemen,
but because, god willing, I'm going to explode!
I hope this is how I die!

It seems to me, my friends, that this fine glutton would not have hesitated to recite these words from the tragic poet Ion's *Omphale* (TrGF 19 F 21):

³⁰⁶ Athenaeus refers elsewhere to the play as *The Loan-Shark* or *The False Accuser* (10.431a; 15.692f); it is unclear whether it should also be identified with *The Liar* (quoted at 6.255b; 10.419b).

ἐνιαυσίαν γὰρ δεῖ με τὴν ἑορτὴν ἄγειν¹⁵.

- Ἰππίας δ' ὁ Ἐρυθραῖος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Περὶ τῆς Πατρίδος Ἱστοριῶν διηγούμενος ὡς ἡ Κνωποῦ βασιλεία ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκείνου κολάκων κατελύθη φησὶν καὶ ταῦτα· Κνωπῶ || μαντευομένῳ περὶ σωτηρίας ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησε θύειν Ἐρμῇ Δολίῳ. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὀρμήσαντος αὐτοῦ εἰς Δελφοὺς οἱ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ καταλύσαι βουλόμενοι, ἴν' ὀλιγαρχίαν καταστήσωνται (ἦσαν δ' οὗτοι Ὀρτύγης καὶ Ἴρος καὶ Ἐχαρος, οἱ ἐκαλοῦντο διὰ τὸ περὶ τὰς θεραπείας εἶναι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν πρόκυνες καὶ κόλακες) συμπλέοντες οὖν τῷ Κνωπῷ, ὡς ἤδη πόρρω τῆς γῆς ἦσαν, δῆσαντες τὸν Κνωπὸν ἔρριψαν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος καὶ καταχθέντες εἰς Χίον καὶ δύναμιν παρὰ τῶν ἐκεῖ τυράννων λαβόντες
- b Ἀμφίκλου καὶ Πολυτέκνου νυκτὸς κατέπλευσαν | εἰς τὰς Ἐρυθράς. κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Κνωποῦ σῶμα ἐξεβράσθη τῆς Ἐρυθραίας κατὰ τὴν ἀκτὴν ἢ νῦν Λεόποδον καλεῖται. τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς τοῦ Κνωποῦ Κλεονίκης περὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος κηδείαν γινομένης (ἦν δὲ ἑορτὴ καὶ πανηγυρὶς ἀγομένη Ἀρτέμιδι Στροφαία) ἐξαίφνης ἀκούεται σάλπιγγος βοή· καὶ καταληφθέντος τοῦ ἄστεος ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ὀρτύγην πολλοὶ μὲν ἀναιροῦνται τῶν τοῦ Κνωποῦ φίλων καὶ ἡ Κλεονίκη μαθοῦσα φεύγει εἰς Κολοφῶνα. οἱ δὲ περὶ |
- c τὸν Ὀρτύγην τύραννοι ἔχοντες τὴν ἐκ Χίου δύναμιν

¹⁵ ἄγειν οἶον καθημερινήν ACE: οἶον καθημερινήν del. Dindorf

BOOK VI

Because I have to celebrate the festival all year long.

Hippias of Erythrae in Book II of his *History of My Homeland* (FGrH 421 F 1) describes how Cnopus' flatterers cost him his kingship,³⁰⁷ saying the following: When Cnopus consulted an oracle about how to save himself, the god prophesied that he should sacrifice to Hermes Dolios ("god of treachery"). Afterward he set off for Delphi, and the people who wanted to put an end to his kingship in order to establish an oligarchy—the individuals in question were Ortyges, Irus, and Echarus, who were referred to as lap-dogs and flatterers, because they fawned on prominent men—and who were on the same ship as Cnopus, tied him up once they were far from land, and threw him into the sea. They put in at Chios and got troops from Amphicles and Polytecenus, who were the tyrants there, and then sailed by night for Erythrae. Simultaneously, Cnopus' body washed ashore on the Erythraean headland known today as Leopodus. As his wife Cleonice was preparing the body for burial—it was a holiday and a festival was being celebrated in honor of Artemis Strophaia—suddenly the sound of a trumpet was heard. Ortyges' men captured the city, and many of Cnopus' friends were killed, although Cleonice fled to Colophon once she learned what was happening. Ortyges and his fellow-tyrants used their Chian troops to eliminate anyone

³⁰⁷ Cnopus, an illegitimate son of the mythical Athenian king Codrus, was the legendary founder of the city of Erythrae (Str. 14.633).

τοὺς ἐνισταμένους αὐτῶν τοῖς πράγμασι διέφθειρον
 καὶ τοὺς νόμους καταλύσαντες αὐτοὶ διείπον τὰ κατὰ
 τὴν πόλιν ἐντὸς τείχους οὐδένα δεχόμενοι τῶν
 δημοτῶν· ἔξω δὲ πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν δικαστήριον κατα-
 σκευάσαντες τὰς κρίσεις ἐποιούντο, ἀλουργὰ μὲν
 ἀμπεχόμενοι περιβόλαια καὶ χιτῶνας ἐνδεδυκότες
 περιπορφύρους. ὑπεδέδεντο δὲ καὶ πολυσχιδῆ σαν-
 δάλια τοῦ θέρους, τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος ἐν γυναικείois
 ὑποδήμασι διετέλουν περιπατοῦντες κόμας τε ἔτρεφον
 d | καὶ πλοκαμίδας ἔχειν ἤσκουν, διειλημμένοι τὰς
 κεφαλὰς διαδήμασι μηλίνοις καὶ πορφυροῖς· εἶχον δὲ
 καὶ κόσμον ὀλόχρυσον ὁμοίως ταῖς γυναιξίν. ἠνάγκα-
 ζόν τε τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς μὲν διφροφορεῖν, τοὺς δὲ
 ῥαβδουχεῖν, τοὺς δὲ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἀνακαθαίρειν, καὶ τῶν
 μὲν τοὺς υἱεῖς εἰς τὰς κοινὰς συνουσίας μετεπέμποντο,
 τοῖς δὲ τὰς ἰδίας γυναικας καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας ἄγειν
 παρήγγελλον· τοὺς δ' ἀπειθοῦντας ταῖς ἐσχάταις τι-
 μωρίαις περιέβαλλον. εἰ δέ τις τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἑταιρίας |
 e αὐτῶν ἀποθάνοι, συνάγοντες τοὺς πολίτας μετὰ γυ-
 ναικῶν καὶ τέκνων ἠνάγκαζον θρηνεῖν τοὺς ἀποθανόν-
 τας καὶ στερνοτυπέισθαι μετὰ βίας καὶ βοᾶν ὀξύ καὶ
 μέγα ταῖς φωναῖς ἐφεστηκότος μαστιγοφόρου τοῦ
 ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἀναγκάζοντος, ἕως Ἰππότης ὁ Κνωποῦ
 ἀδελφὸς μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐπελθὼν ταῖς Ἐρυθραῖς ἐορ-
 τῆς οὔσης τῶν Ἐρυθραίων προσβοηθούτων ἐπῆλθε
 τοῖς τυράννοις, καὶ πολλοὺς αἰκισάμενος τῶν περὶ
 f αὐτοὺς Ὀρτύγην μὲν φεύγοντα | συνεκέντησε καὶ τοὺς
 μετὰ τούτου, τὰς δὲ γυναικας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ τέκνα

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who opposed their policies; and after abolishing the laws they ran the city's affairs themselves, and refused to allow any of the common people inside the walls. They set up a lawcourt outside, in front of the gates, and held trials there, wrapped in purple robes and dressed in tunics with purple fringe. In the summer they wore elaborate sandals, while in the winter they routinely went around in women's shoes; they grew their hair long and made it a practice to keep it in braids; they differentiated their heads from other people's by adopting yellow and purple diadems; and they and their wives wore solid gold jewelry. They forced some of the citizens to carry them in litters, others to serve as lictors,³⁰⁸ and still others to clear the streets;³⁰⁹ summoned some people's sons to appear at the parties they held, and ordered others to bring their wives and daughters; and severely punished anyone who disobeyed. If a member of their group died, they herded the citizens together along with their wives and children, and forced them to lament the dead and to beat their breasts violently and cry out shrill and loud, while a man armed with a whip stood over them and forced them to behave this way. This state of affairs continued until Cnopus' brother Hippotes attacked Erythrae with troops while a festival was going on; when the people of the city sided with him, he directed his attack against the tyrants. He tortured many of their supporters; stabbed Ortyges to death as he was trying to escape, along with the men accompanying him; tortured

³⁰⁸ Literally "to carry staffs". Lictors carried fasces on their shoulders and walked in front of Roman magistrates who had *imperium*.

³⁰⁹ Sc. when they were passing through.

δεινῶς αἰκισάμενος τὴν πατρίδα ἤλευθέρωσεν.

Ἐκ τούτων οὖν ἀπάντων ἔστι συνιδεῖν, ἄνδρες φίλοι, ὅσων κακῶν αἰτία γίνεται κολακεία τῷ βίῳ· καὶ Θεόπομπος γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἐνάτῃ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν φησιν Ἀγαθοκλέα δούλον γενόμενον καὶ τῶν ἐκ Θετταλίας
 260 πενεστῶν Φίλιππος μέγα ἢ παρ' αὐτῷ δυνάμενον διὰ τὴν κολακείαν καὶ ὅτι ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις συνὼν αὐτῷ ὠρχεῖτο καὶ γέλωτα παρεσκευάζεν ἀπέστειλε διαφθερούντα Περραιβούς καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ πραγμάτων ἐπιμελησόμενον. τοιούτους δ' εἶχεν αἰεὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπους ὁ Μακεδῶν, οἷς διὰ φιλοποσίαν καὶ βωμολοχίαν πλείω χρόνον ὡς τὰ πολλὰ συνδιέτριβε καὶ συνῆδρευε περὶ τῶν μεγίστων βουλευόμενος. ἱστορεῖ δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τάδε Ἡγήσανδρος ὁ Δελφός, ὡς τοῖς Ἀθή-
 b νησιν εἰς τὸ Διομέων Ἡράκλειον ἠθροίζομενοι τοῖς τὰ γέλοια λέγουσιν ἀπέστειλεν ἱκανὸν κερμάτιον καὶ προσέτασσε τισιν ἀναγράφοντας τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀποστέλλειν πρὸς αὐτόν. Θεόπομπος δ' ἐν ἕκτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ Ἱστοριῶν, τοὺς Θεσσαλούς, φησίν, εἰδὼς ὁ Φίλιππος ἀκολάστους ὄντας καὶ περὶ τὸν βίον ἀσελγείς συνουσίας αὐτῶν κατεσκευάζε καὶ πάντα τρόπον ἀρέσκειν αὐτοῖς ἐπειρᾶτο καὶ ὀρχούμενος καὶ κωμάζων καὶ πᾶσαν ἀκολασίαν ὑπομένων (ἦν δὲ καὶ

310 Cf. 6.264a–b.

311 The Perrhaebi were a tribe who lived north of Thessaly and controlled a number of mountain passes; the fact that this fragment comes from Theopompus Book IX places the events in question in 353 or 352 BCE. Agathocles of Samos (Berve i #7) served both Philip and his son Alexander.

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their wives and children in horrible ways; and liberated his native land.

From all these examples, my friends, one can see how much trouble flattery causes in our lives. Theopompus as well says in Book IX of his *History of Philip* (*FGrH* 115 F 81): Although Agathocles was a slave and in fact one of the Thessalian *penestai* ("serfs"),³¹⁰ he had considerable influence with Philip because of his flattery and because, when they were drinking together, he danced and told jokes. Philip therefore sent him to reduce the Perrhaebi and deal with the situation there.³¹¹ The Macedonian always surrounded himself with people of this sort; because he liked to drink and behave like a fool, he generally spent a large amount of time with them and held meetings during which he made plans about extremely important matters. Hegesander of Delphi (fr. 3, *FHG* iv.413) records the following about him: Philip used to send a substantial amount of money to the people who gathered in the precinct of Diomean Heracles in Athens and told jokes there, and he assigned some of them to write up what they said and send him their accounts.³¹² Theopompus says in Book XXVI of the *History* (*FGrH* 115 F 162): Because Philip knew that the Thessalians were undisciplined and lived dissolutely, he used to throw parties for them, and did his best to entertain them any way he could by dancing, celebrating, and putting up with all kinds of bad behavior. (He was a natural

³¹² See 14.614d-e for a more complete version of this anecdote. The deme of Diomea included Cynosarges, and the precinct of Heracles referred to must be the one whose cult-regulations are quoted at 6.234d-e.

c φύσει βωμολόχος καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν μεθυσκό-
 μενος καὶ χαίρων τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων τοῖς | πρὸς
 ταῦτα συντείνουσι καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῖς εὐφύεσι
 καλουμένοις καὶ τὰ γέλοια λέγουσι καὶ ποιοῦσι),
 πλείους τε τῶν Θετταλῶν τῶν αὐτῷ πλησιασάντων
 ἤρει μᾶλλον ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις ἢ ταῖς δωρεαῖς. τὰ
 παραπλήσια ἐποίει καὶ ὁ Σικελιώτης Διονύσιος, ὡς
 Εὐβουλος ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς παρίστησιν ἐν τῷ τοῦ τυ-
 ράννου ὁμωνύμῳ δράματι

d ἄλλ' ἔστι τοῖς σεμνοῖς μὲν αὐθαδέστερος |
 καὶ τοῖς κόλαξι πᾶσι, τοῖς σκώπτουσι δὲ
 ἑαυτὸν εὐόργητος· ἠγείται <δὲ> δὴ
 τούτους μόνους ἐλευθέρους, κἂν δούλος ἦ.

ἄλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοὺς ἀποβάλλοντας τὰς οὐσίας εἰς
 μέθας καὶ κύβους καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην ἀκολασίαν οὐ
 μόνον ὁ Διονύσιος ἀνελάμβανεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Φίλιπ-
 πος. ἱστορεῖ δὲ περὶ ἐκατέρου Θεόπομπος ἐν μὲν τῇ
 ἐνάτῃ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῇ γράφων οὕτως· Φίλιππος
 τοὺς μὲν κοσμίους τὰ ἤθη καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἰδίων ἐπι-
 e μελουμένους ἀπεδοκίμαζε, τοὺς δὲ πολυτελεῖς | καὶ
 ζῶντας ἐν κύβοις καὶ πότοις ἐπαινῶν ἐτίμα. τοιγαροῦν
 οὐ μόνον αὐτοὺς τοιαῦτ' ἔχειν παρεσκεύαζεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 τῆς ἄλλης ἀδικίας καὶ βδελυρίας ἀθλητὰς ἐποίησεν.
 τί γὰρ τῶν αἰσχυρῶν ἢ δεινῶν αὐτοῖς οὐ προσῆν ἢ τί
 τῶν καλῶν καὶ σπουδαίων οὐκ ἀπῆν; οὐχ οἱ μὲν

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buffoon, who got drunk every day and took pleasure in habits that tended in that direction and in the so-called "jolly" people who tell jokes and act amusing.) He won over more of the Thessalians who spent time with him by holding these parties than by giving them presents. Dionysius of Sicily³¹³ behaved similarly, as the comic poet Eubulus (fr. 25) establishes in the play that shares the tyrant's name:

He's quite surly with haughty people
and all flatterers; but he's pleasant to anyone
who makes fun of him. In fact, he thinks
these are the only free men, even if someone's a
slave.

It was not just Dionysius, however, who took up with people who threw their money away on getting drunk, shooting dice, and similar wild behavior, but Philip³¹⁴ as well. Theopompus offers accounts of both men, writing as follows in Book XLIX (*FGrH* 115 F 225b): Philip wanted nothing to do with people who behaved well and showed concern for their possessions, and instead honored and praised those who were extravagant and spent all their time shooting dice and drinking. As a consequence, he not only tried to ensure that they had opportunities for such activities, but made them compete in every other illegitimate and disgusting behavior. For what shameful or horrible practice did they fail to engage in? or what that was good and virtuous did they not avoid? Were not some of them always shaved and daintified, despite being adult

³¹³ I.e. Dionysius I, tyrant of Syracuse (d. 367 BCE).

³¹⁴ I.e. Philip II of Macedon.

ξυρούμενοι καὶ λειανόμενοι διετέλουν ἄνδρες ὄντες, οἱ
 δ' ἀλλήλοις ἐτόλμων ἐπαλίστασθαι πώγωνας ἔχουσι;
 καὶ περιήγοντο μὲν δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἔταιρουμένους, αὐτοὶ
 δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς ἐκείνοις χρήσεις ἐτέροις παρέιχον. ὅθεν
 f δικαίως | ἂν τις αὐτοὺς οὐχ ἔταιρους ἀλλ' ἔταιρας
 ὑπέλαβεν οὐδὲ στρατιώτας ἀλλὰ χαμαιτύπας προσ-
 ηγόρευσεν· ἀνδροφόνοι γὰρ τὴν φύσιν ὄντες ἀνδρό-
 πορνοι τὸν τρόπον ἦσαν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ
 νήφειν τὸ μεθύειν ἠγάπων, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ κοσμίως ζῆν
 ἀρπάζειν καὶ φονεύειν ἐζήτουν. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀληθεύειν
 καὶ ταῖς ὁμολογίαις ἐμμένειν οὐκ οἰκείον αὐτῶν ἐνό-
 μιζον, τὸ δ' ἐπιорκῆν καὶ φενακίζειν ἐν τοῖς σεμνο-
 261 τάτοις ὑπελάμβανον. || καὶ τῶν μὲν ὑπαρχόντων ἡμέ-
 λουν, τῶν δὲ ἀπόντων ἐπεθύμουν, καὶ ταῦτα μέρος τι
 τῆς Εὐρώπης ἔχοντες. οἶομαι γὰρ τοὺς ἔταιρους οὐ
 πλείονας ὄντας κατ' ἐκείνου τὸν χρόνον ὀκτακοσίων
 οὐκ ἐλάττω καρπίζεσθαι γῆν ἢ μυρίους τῶν Ἑλλήνων
 τοὺς τὴν ἀρίστην καὶ πλείστην χώραν κεκτημένους.
 καὶ περὶ Διονυσίου δὲ τὰ παραπλήσια ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῇ
 πρώτῃ πρὸς ταῖς εἴκοσι Διονύσιος ὁ Σικελίας τύραν-
 νος τοὺς ἀποβάλλοντας τὰς οὐσίας εἰς μέθας καὶ
 b κύβους καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην ἀκολασίαν· | ἠβούλετο γὰρ
 ἅπαντας εἶναι διεφθαρμένους καὶ φαύλους· οὓς καὶ εὖ
 περιείπε.

Καὶ Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Πολιορκητῆς φιλόγελως ἦν, ὡς

³¹⁵ Theopompus Book XXI treated events in 351/0 BCE, but

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men, while others were reckless enough to try to mount one another even when they had beards? And they used to take two or three male prostitutes around with them, while themselves offering their own bodies to other people to use in the same way. It would therefore be right to think of them not as members of the royal court (*hetairoi*), but as courtesans (*hetairai*), and to refer to them as streetwalkers rather than soldiers; for although they were murderers (*androphonoi*) at heart, they behaved like male prostitutes (*andropornoi*). In addition, they preferred being drunk to being sober, and tried to rob and murder people rather than living decently; and they considered telling the truth and abiding by their agreements to be behavior foreign to them, but regarded violating oaths and cheating as among the most sacred deeds conceivable. They also paid no attention to what they had, and longed instead for what they did not have—this despite the fact that they controlled a considerable portion of Europe! For I am convinced that although there were no more than 800 royal companions at that time, they controlled the revenues from more land than any 10,000 Greeks whose holdings included the best and largest regions of their countries. He makes similar remarks about Dionysius³¹⁵ in Book XXI (*FGrH* 115 F 134): The Sicilian tyrant Dionysius (honored) people who wasted their money on getting drunk, shooting dice, and similar wild behavior; because he wanted everyone to be corrupt and base, and these were the people he treated well.

Demetrius Poliorcetes too loved to laugh, according to

Athenaeus' phrasing leaves little doubt that the retrospective reference was to Dionysius I.

ιστορεῖ Φύλαρχος ἐν τῇ δεκάτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν. ἐν δὲ
 τῇ τεσσαρεσκαδεκάτῃ γράφει οὕτως· περιεώρα Δη-
 μήτριος τοὺς κολακεύοντας αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις
 καὶ ἐπιχεομένους Δημητρίου μὲν μόνου βασιλέως,
 Πτολεμαίου δὲ ναύαρχου¹⁶, Λυσιμάχου δὲ γαζοφύλα-
 κος, Σελεύκου δ' ἐλεφαντάρχου· καὶ ταῦτα αὐτῷ οὐ τὸ
 c τυχὸν συνῆγε μῖσος. Ἡρόδοτος δέ | φησιν Ἄμασιν
 Αἰγυπτίῳ βασιλεῖα παιγνιήμονα ἔοντα σκώπτειν
 τοὺς συμπότας· καὶ ὅτε ιδιώτης, φησίν, ἦν, φιλοπότης
 ὑπῆρχε καὶ φιλοσκώμμων καὶ οὐ κατεσπουδασμένος
 ἀνὴρ. Νικόλαος δ' ἐν τῇ ἐβδόμῃ καὶ ἑκατοστῇ τῶν
 Ἱστοριῶν Σύλλαν φησὶ τὸν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸν
 οὕτω χαίρειν μίμοις καὶ γελωτοποιοῖς φιλόγελων
 γενόμενον, ὡς καὶ πολλὰ γῆς μέτρα αὐτοῖς χαρί-
 ζεσθαι τῆς δημοσίας· ἐμφανίζουσι δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ περὶ
 ταῦτα ἰλαρὸν αἰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γραφεῖσαι σατυρικαὶ κω-
 d μωδίαί τῇ πατρίῳ φωνῇ. | Τιρυνθίους δέ φησι Θεό-
 φραστος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Κωμωδίας φιλόγελως ὄντας,
 ἀχρείους δὲ πρὸς τὰ σπουδαιότερα τῶν πραγμάτων
 καταφυγεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς μαντεῖον ἀπαλλαγῆναι
 βουλομένους τοῦ πάθους, καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀνελεῖν αὐτοῖς,
 ἦν θύοντες τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ταῦρον ἀγελαστὶ τοῦτου
 ἐμβάλωσιν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, παύσεσθαι. οἱ δὲ δεδιό-

¹⁶ μόνου ναύαρχου ACE: μόνου del. Dindorf

³¹⁶ Plutarch offers a very similar anecdote at *Demetr.* 25.4, and explains that the reference to Lysimachus as royal treasurer

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Phylarchus in Book X of his *History* (*FGrH* 81 F 19). And in Book XIV (*FGrH* 81 F 31) he writes as follows:³¹⁶ Demetrius used to ignore the people who tried to flatter him at drinking parties and who had drinks poured in honor of Demetrius alone as king, and in honor of Ptolemy as commander of the fleet, of Lysimachus as royal treasurer, and of Seleucus as commander of the elephant corps; this behavior created considerable resentment against him. Herodotus (2.173.1) reports that Amasis, king of Egypt,³¹⁷ was a joker who made fun of the men he drank with; even when he was a private citizen, he says (2.174.1), he liked to drink and mock people, and was not a serious person. Nicolaus in Book CVII of his *History* (*FGrH* 90 F 75) claims that the Roman general Sulla³¹⁸ loved to laugh and enjoyed mimes and comedians so much that he used to give them large tracts of public land. The satiric comedies Sulla wrote in his native language attest to the joy he took in matters of this sort.³¹⁹ Theophrastus in his *On Comedy* (fr. 709) claims that because the Tiryntians loved to laugh, but were useless for more serious matters, they resorted to the Delphic oracle out of a desire to escape their condition. The god told them (Delphic Oracle L86 Fontenrose) that they would stop behaving this way, if they could sacrifice a bull to Poseidon and throw it into the sea without laughing. They were afraid of failing to satisfy the

was particularly insulting, because the office was traditionally reserved for eunuchs.

³¹⁷ Reigned 570–526 BCE.

³¹⁸ L. Cornelius Sulla Felix (138–79 BCE), one of the great military and political leaders of the late Republic.

³¹⁹ No other trace of these works survives.

τες μὴ διαμάρτωσι τοῦ λογίου τοὺς παῖδας ἐκώλυσαν
 παρῆναι τῇ θυσίᾳ. μαθὼν οὖν εἷς καὶ συγκατα-
 e μιχθεὶς, ἐπέειπερ ἑβόων ἀπελαύνοντες | αὐτόν, “τί
 δῆτ’;” ἔφη· “δεδοίκατε μὴ τὸ σφαγεῖον¹⁷ ὑμῶν ἀνα-
 τρέψω;” γελασάντων δὲ ἔμαθον ἔργῳ τὸν θεὸν δείξαν-
 τα ὡς ἄρα τὸ πολυχρόνιον ἦθος ἀμήχανόν ἐστι θερα-
 πευθῆναι. Σωσικράτης δ’ ἐν πρώτῃ Κρητικῶν ἰδιόν τι
 φησι περὶ τοὺς Φαιστίους ὑπάρχειν· δοκοῦσι γὰρ
 ἀσκεῖν ἐκ παιδαρίων εὐθύς τὸ γέλοια λέγειν· διὸ καὶ
 συμβέβηκεν αὐτοὺς ἀποφθέγγεσθαι πολλάκις εὐκαί-
 ρως διὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς συνήθειαν, ὥστε πάντας τοὺς
 κατὰ Κρήτην τούτοις ἀνατιθέναι τὸ γέλοιοι.

f Τῇ δ’ ἀλαζονείᾳ | μετὰ τὴν κολακείαν χώραν
 δίδωσιν Ἀναξανδρίδης ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς ἐν Φαρμακο-
 μάντει λέγων οὕτως·

ὅτι εἴμ’ ἀλαζών, τοῦτ’ ἐπιτιμᾶς; ἀλλὰ τί;
 νικᾷ γὰρ αὕτη τὰς τέχνας πάσας πολὺ
 μετὰ τὴν κολακείαν· ἦδε μὲν γὰρ διαφέρει.

ψωμοκόλακος δὲ μνημονεύει Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Γηρυ-
 τάδῃ οὕτως·

ψίθυρός τ’ ἐκαλοῦ καὶ ψωμοκόλαξ.

καὶ Σαννυρίων Ἰοῖ·

φθείρεσθ’ ἐπίτριπτοι ψωμοκόλακες. ||

¹⁷ σφαγεῖον Olson: σφάγιον ACE

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prophecy and therefore kept their children from attending the sacrifice. But one of the children learned about it and infiltrated the crowd; and when they started shouting at him, to make him leave, he said: "Why? Are you afraid I'm going to spill the bowl you're using to catch the blood?" They laughed—and realized when they did so that the god had shown them that a deeply-engrained habit is impossible to fix. Sosicrates in Book I of the *History of Crete* (FGrH 461 F 1) claims that an unusual characteristic of the inhabitants of Phaestus is that they seemingly practice telling jokes from the time they are little. It therefore frequently happens that they say something witty, since they have made this a habit all along; as a consequence, everyone on Crete considers them funny.

The comic poet Anaxandrides in *The Drug-Prophet* (fr. 50) ranks bullshitting (*alazoneia*) after flattery, putting it thus:

Are you criticizing me for being a bullshitter? Why?
This trade is much better than all the others
except flattery; flattery's number one.

Aristophanes uses the word *psōmokolax* ("one who flatters for morsels") in *Gerytades* (fr. 172), as follows:

You were referred to as a whisperer and a
psōmokolax.

Also Sannyrio in *Io* (fr. 11):

Go to hell, you damned *psōmokolakes*!

262 Φιλήμων Ἀνανεομένη.

< . . . > ψωμοκόλαξ δ' ἔσθ' οὔτος.

Φιλιππίδης δ' ἐν Ἀνανεώσει.

ψωμοκολακεύων καὶ παρεισιῶν ἀεὶ.

κυρίως δ' ὁ κόλαξ ἐπὶ τούτου κείται· κόλον γὰρ ἡ τροφή, ὅθεν καὶ ὁ βουκόλος καὶ ὁ δύσκολος, ὅς ἐστι δυσάρεστος καὶ σικχός, κοιλία τε ἢ τὴν τροφήν δεχομένη. ψωμοκόλαφον δ' εἶρηκε Δίφιλος ἐν Θησεῖ οὕτως·

σὲ μὲν καλοῦσι ψωμοκόλαφον δραπέτην.

Τοσαῦτα τοῦ Δημοκρίτου εἰπόντος καὶ πιεῖν αἰτή-
 b σαντος | ἐν τῷ Σαυρία βομβυλιῶ ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς ἔφη·
 καὶ τίς ὁ Σαυρίας οὔτος; καὶ μέλλοντος ἀπεραντολο-
 γίας πολλὰς διεξιέναι παρεφάνη πλήθος οἰκετῶν τὰ
 πρὸς τὴν ἐδωδὴν εἰσκομίζοντες. περὶ ᾧ πάλιν ὁ
 Δημόκριτος κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον ἔφη· ἀεὶ ποτε ἐγώ,
 ἄνδρες φίλοι, τεθαύμακα τὸ τῶν δούλων γένος ὡς
 ἐστὶν ἐγκρατὲς τοσαύταις ἐγκαλινοδούμενον λιχνεύαις.
 ταύτας γὰρ ὑπερορῶσιν οὐ μόνον διὰ φόβον ἀλλὰ καὶ
 c κατὰ διδασκαλίαν, οὐ τὴν ἐν Δουλοδιδασκάλῳ Φερε-
 κράτους, ἀλλὰ ἐθισθέντες· | οὐχ ὡς ἀπειρημένου τοῦ

³²⁰ Thus the manuscripts, as also at 9.384d; but Stobaeus twice refers to the play as *The Woman Who Tried to Recover Her Youth*. ³²¹ These are all false etymologies.

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Philemon in *The Woman Who Tried to Recover Her Youth* (fr. 7):

This guy's a *psōmokolax*.

Philippides in *Rejuvenation*³²⁰ (fr. 8):

always being a *psōmokolax* and sneaking in.

The word *kolax* ("flatterer") is properly used to refer to this behavior; because food is *kolon*, whence *boukolos* ("cow-herd") and *duskolos*, which means "difficult to please and fastidious", while the part of the body that receives food is the *koilia* ("stomach, gut").³²¹ Diphilus uses *psōmokolaphos* ("cuffed for the sake of morsels") in *Theseus* (fr. 48), as follows:

They refer to you as a *psōmokolaphos* runaway.

After Democritus completed these lengthy remarks and requested a drink from Saurias' *bombulios*³²², Ulpian said: Who is this Saurias?³²³ As he was about to launch into a series of extended disquisitions, a crowd of slaves appeared bringing in dishes of food; Democritus seized the opportunity they represented and took them as his topic: I have always been astonished, my friends, at the self-control slaves exercise when surrounded by so many delicacies. For they ignore them not just out of fear, but because they have been taught to do so; I am not referring to the sort of learning that goes on in Pherocrates' *Slave Teacher* (test. i), but to force of habit. It is not as if

³²² Literally a "gurgler"; defined at 11.784a as a cup that allowed only a small quantity of liquid to drip out at a time.

³²³ The question is never answered.

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τοιούτου, καθάπερ ἐν Κῶ τῇ νήσῳ, ὅταν τῇ Ἑρα
 θύωσι φησὶ γὰρ Μακαρεὺς ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ Κφακῶν, ὅτι
 ὀπόταν τῇ Ἑρα θύωσιν οἱ Κῶοι, οὔτε εἴσεισιν εἰς τὸ
 ἱερὸν δούλος οὔτε γεύεταιί τινος τῶν παρεσκευασμέ-
 νων· καὶ Ἀντιφάνης δ' ἐν Δυσπράτῳ φησὶν·

ὄραν τε κείμενα

ἄμητας ἡμιβρώτας ὀρνίθειά τε,
 ὦν οὐδὲ λειφθέντων θέμις δούλῳ φαγεῖν,
 ὡς φασιν αἱ γυναῖκες. |

- d Ἐπικράτης δ' ἐν Δυσπράτῳ ἀγανακτοῦντα ποιεῖ τινα
 τῶν οἰκετῶν καὶ λέγοντα·

τί γὰρ

ἔχθιον ἢ “παῖ παῖ” καλεῖσθαι παρὰ πότον,
 καὶ ταῦτ' ἀγενεῖῳ μεираκυλλίῳ τινί,
 <καὶ> τὴν ἀμίδα φέρειν, ὄραν τε κείμενα
 ἄμητας ἡμιβρώτας ὀρνίθειά τε,
 ὦν οὐδὲ λειφθέντων θέμις δούλῳ φαγεῖν,
 ὡς φασιν αἱ γυναῖκες. ὃ δὲ χολᾶν ποεῖ,
 γάστριν καλοῦσι καὶ λαμυρὸν ὃς ἂν φάγη
 ἡμῶν τι τούτων.

- ἐκ τῆς παραθέσεως τῶν ἱαμβείων δῆλός ἐστιν ὁ |
 e Ἐπικράτης τὰ τοῦ Ἀντιφάνους μετενεγκῶν. Διευχίδας

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this type of behavior were prohibited, as it is on the island of Cos when they sacrifice to Hera. For Macareus in Book III of the *History of Cos* (FGrH 456 F 1a) says that when the Coans sacrifice to Hera, no slave enters the temple or tastes any of the food that has been prepared.³²⁴ Antiphanes as well says in *Difficult to Sell* (fr. 89):

and to see food lying there,
half-eaten milk-cakes and bird-meat,
none of which a slave's allowed to eat, even if it's left
over—
according to the women!

Epicrates in *Hard to Sell* (fr. 5) represents one of the slaves as being annoyed and saying:

Because what's
nastier than being summoned "Slave! slave!" to where
they're drinking,
and to serve some beardless little boy at that?
And to bring the pisspot, and see half-eaten
milk-cakes and bird-meat lying there,
none of which a slave's allowed to eat, even if it's left
over—
according to the women! But what makes me crazy is
that
if one of us eats some of this food, they call him
an impudent glutton.

A comparison of the lines makes it clear that Epicrates borrowed Antiphanes' material.³²⁵ Dieuchidas in his *History*

³²⁴ Cf. 13.649d.

³²⁵ Who is dependent on whom is in fact impossible to say.

δ' ἐν τοῖς Μεγαρικοῖς τὰς καλουμένας φησὶν Ἀραιάς (μεταξὺ δὲ τῆς Κνιδίας καὶ τῆς Σύμης εἰσί) γενομένης διαφορᾶς τοῖς συνεξορμήσασι τῷ Τριοπά μετὰ τὸν ἐκείνου θάνατον καὶ τῶν μὲν εἰς τὸ Δώτιον ἀναχωρησάντων, < . . . > οἱ μὲν μετὰ Φόρβαντος μέιναντες εἰς Ἴηλυσὸν ἦλθον, οἱ δὲ μετὰ Περιέργου τὴν Καμιρίδα κατέσχον. τότε λέγεται καταράσασθαι τὸν Περιέργον τῷ Φόρβαντι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰς νήσους Ἀραιὰς κληθῆναι. ναυαγήσας | δ' ὁ Φόρβας καὶ Παρθενία ἢ τοῦ Φόρβαντος καὶ τοῦ Περιέργου ἀδελφῆ διενήξαντο εἰς Ἴηλυσὸν περὶ τὸν καλούμενον τόπον Σχεδιαν. καὶ αὐτοῖς περιτυχῶν Θαμνεύς, ὃς ἐτύγχανε κατὰ τὴν Σχεδιαν κυνηγετῶν, ἦγεν ὡς ξενίσων εἰς οἶκον καὶ τὸν οἰκέτην ἀπέστειλεν ἀπαγγελοῦντα τῇ γυναικὶ τὰπιτήδεια παρασκευάζειν ὡς ἄγοντος αὐτοῦ ξένους. ||
 263 ἐλθὼν δ' εἰς οἶκον ὡς οὐδὲν εὔρε παρσκευασμένον αὐτὸς ἐπιβαλὼν τὸν σῖτον ἐπὶ τὸν ἀλετῶνα καὶ τᾶλλα τὰκόλουθα ἐπιτελέσας ἐξένισεν αὐτούς. καὶ ὁ Φόρβας οὕτως ἐπὶ τῷ ξενισμῷ ἤσθη ὡς καὶ τὸν βίον τελευτῶν ἐπέσκηψε τοῖς φίλοις δι' ἐλευθέρων τοὺς ἐναγισμοὺς ἐπιτελεῖν αὐτῷ. καὶ τὸ ἔθος διαμένειν ἐν τῇ θυσίᾳ τοῦ Φόρβαντος· ἐλεύθεροι γάρ εἰσιν οἱ διακονοῦντες, δούλω δὲ προσελθεῖν οὐκ ἔστιν ὄσιον. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τοῦτ'

³²⁶ Triopas was the legendary founder of the Carian city of Cnidus; his journey from Thessaly (where Dotion [below] was located) is described at D.S. 5.61.1-2.

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of *Megara* (FGrH 485 F 7) says that, as for the so-called *Araeae* Islands, which lie between Cnidian and Symian territory, after Triopas' death,³²⁶ when the people who set out with him had an argument and some of them returned to Dotion . . . One group stayed with Phorbas and went to Ialysus, while Periergus' faction occupied Camirus.³²⁷ At this point, the story goes, Periergus cursed³²⁸ Phorbas, which is why the islands are called the *Araeae*. Phorbas was shipwrecked along with Parthenia (the sister of Phorbas and Periergus), and they swam across to Ialysus and landed near the area known as *Schedia*. By chance, *Thamneus* was hunting in *Schedia*, and he happened upon them. He began to lead them to his house to entertain them, and sent off his slave to tell his wife to get everything ready, since he was bringing guests. When he got home and found that no food had been prepared, he put the grain into the mill himself, did all the other associated tasks, and served them. Phorbas was so delighted at this display of hospitality that when he was dying, he ordered his relatives to use free men when they made funerary sacrifices in his honor. This custom persists in the sacrificial rites of Phorbas;³²⁹ all the work is done by free people, and slaves are prohibited from coming anywhere near. But since this is also one of the

³²⁷ Phorbas, Periergus, and Parthenia (below) were Triopas' children. Ialysus and Camirus were cities on the island of Rhodes.

³²⁸ *katarasthai*, < *ara* ("curse"), whence supposedly the name of the islands.

³²⁹ A reference to hero cult, presumably in Ialysus, where Phorbas must have been worshipped as the city's founder; cf. 7.298a; D.S. 5.58.5.

- b ἐστὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Οὐλλπιανοῦ προβεβλημένων, τὸ |
περὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας, φέρε εἴπωμέν τι καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀναπεμ-
πασάμενοι περὶ αὐτῶν ἐξ ὧν πάσαι τυγχάνομεν ἀν-
γνωκότες. Φερεκράτης μὲν γὰρ ἐν Ἀγρίοις φησίν·

οὐ γὰρ ἦν τότε οὔτε Μάνης οὔτε Σηκίς οὐδενὶ
δούλος, ἀλλ' αὐτὰς ἔδει μοχθεῖν ἅπαντ' ἐν τῇ
οἰκίᾳ.

εἶτα πρὸς τούτοισιν ἤλουν ὄρθρῳαι τὰ σιτία,
ὥστε τὴν κώμην ὑπηχεῖν θιγγανουσῶν τὰς
μύλας.

καὶ Ἀναξανδρίδης δὲ ἐν Ἀγχίση φησίν· |

- c οὐκ ἔστι δούλων, ὦγάθ', οὐδαμοῦ πόλις,
Τύχη δὲ πάντα μεταφέρει τὰ σώματα.
πολλοὶ δὲ νῦν μὲν εἰσιν οὐκ ἐλεύθεροι,
εἰς αὔριον δὲ Σουνιεῖς, εἶτ' εἰς τρίτην
ἀγορᾶ κέχρηται· τὸν γὰρ οἶακα στρέφει
δαίμων ἐκάστῳ.

- Ποσειδώνιος δὲ φησιν ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς ἐν τῇ τῶν
Ἱστοριῶν ἐνδεκάτῃ πολλοὺς τινὰς ἑαυτῶν οὐ δυναμέ-
νους προϊστασθαι διὰ τὸ τῆς διανοίας ἀσθενὲς ἐπι-
δοῦναι ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὴν τῶν συνετωτέρων ὑπηρεσίαν, |
d ὅπως παρ' ἐκείνων τυγχάνοντες τῆς εἰς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα

330 At 6.228d.

331 Manēs was a common personal name in Asia Minor and is frequently used for slaves in the Athenian comic poets (e.g.

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questions Ulpian posed,³³⁰ that is, the matter of slaves; well, I would like to think back and make some remarks on the subject based on reading I happen to have done in the past. Pherecrates says in *Savages* (fr. 10):

Because in those days no one had a Manēs or a
Sēkis³³¹

as a slave; the women had to do all the housework
themselves.

They accordingly started crushing their grain when
the sun was barely up,
so that the village echoed as they put their hands to
the mills.

Anaxandrides as well says in *Anchises* (fr. 4):

There's no city of slaves anywhere, my good sir;
instead, Fortune alters the status of all bodies.

Many people who aren't free now
will be Sounians tomorrow;³³² then the day after that
they're being sold in the marketplace. Because a god
has his hand on
every man's tiller.

Posidonius the Stoic in Book XI of his *History* (*FGrH* 87 F 8 = fr. 60 Edelstein-Kidd) claims that many people who are unable to care for themselves because of their intellectual deficiencies surrender themselves into the service of more intelligent individuals, so that they can get the

Mnesim. fr. 4.2, quoted at 9.402f; Antiph. fr. 57.13, quoted at 11.487e). For Sēkis, cf. Ar. V. 768.

³³² I.e. free Athenian citizens enrolled in the deme Sounion.

ἐπιμελείας αὐτοὶ πάλιν ἀποδιδῶσιν ἐκείνοις δι' αὐτῶν ἅπερ ἂν ὦσιν ὑπηρετεῖν δυνατοί· καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ Μαρριανδύνοὶ μὲν Ἡρακλεώταις ὑπετάγησαν, διὰ τέλους ὑποσχόμενοι θητεύσειν παρέχουσι αὐτοῖς τὰ δέοντα, προσδιαστειλόμενοι μηδενὸς αὐτῶν ἔσεσθαι πρᾶσιν ἔξω τῆς Ἡρακλεωτῶν χώρας, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῇ μόνον τῇ ἰδίᾳ χώρᾳ. τάχ' οὖν διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Εὐφορίων e ὁ ἔποποιὸς | τοὺς Μαρριανδύνοὺς δωροφόρους κέκληκε·

δωροφόροι καλεοίαθ' ὑποφρίσσοντες ἄνακτας.

λέγει δὲ καὶ Καλλίστρατος ὁ Ἀριστοφάνειος, ὅτι τοὺς Μαρριανδύνοὺς ὠνόμαζον μὲν δωροφόρους ἀφαιρουντες τὸ πικρὸν τῆς τῶν¹⁸ οἰκετῶν προσηγορίας, καθάπερ Σπαρτιᾶται μὲν ἐποίησαν ἐπὶ τῶν εἰλώτων, Θεταλοὶ δ' ἐπὶ τῶν πενεστῶν, Κρήτες δ' ἐπὶ τῶν κλαρωτῶν. καλοῦσι δὲ οἱ Κρήτες τοὺς μὲν κατὰ πόλιν οἰκέτας χρυσωνήτους, ἀμφαμιώτας δὲ τοὺς κατ' ἀγρὸν ἐγχωρίους μὲν ὄντας, | δουλωθέντας δὲ κατὰ πόλεμον· διὰ τὸ κληρωθῆναι δὲ κλαρώτας. ὁ Ἐφορος δ' ἐν τρίτῃ Ἱστοριῶν, κλαρώτας, φησί, Κρήτες καλοῦσι τοὺς δούλους ἀπὸ τοῦ γενομένου περὶ αὐτῶν κλήρου. τούτοις δ' εἰσὶ νενομισμένοι τινὲς ἑορταὶ ἐν Κυδωνίᾳ, ἐν αἷς οὐκ εἰσίασιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐλεύθεροι, ἀλλ' οἱ δούλοι πάντων κρατοῦσι καὶ κύριοι μαστιγοῦν εἰσι τοὺς ἐλευθέρους. Σωσικράτης δ' ἐν δευτέρῳ Κρη-

¹⁸ τῶν tantum CE: ἀπὸ τῶν A

³³³ The Aristophanes in question is the Hellenistic scholar

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necessities of life from their masters and can in turn repay them with whatever services they are capable of rendering. This is how the Mariandynoi became subject to the Heracleots, by promising to be their slaves forever, provided the Heracleots supplied them with what they needed, adding as a further condition that none of them were to be sold outside of Heracleot territory, but only in their own country. This may be why the epic poet Euphorion (fr. 78, p. 44 Powell) refers to the Mariandynoi as "gift-bearers":

Let them be referred to as gift-bearers, shuddering
before their masters.

Aristophanes' student Callistratus (*FGrH* 348 F 4)³³³ claims that people called the Mariandynoi "gift-bearers" as a way of removing the sting of the term "slaves", as the Spartiates did in the case of the helots, the Thessalians in the case of the *penestai*, and the Cretans in the case of the *klarōtai*. The Cretans refer to urban slaves as *chrusō-nētoi*³³⁴, and to those in the countryside who are native-born, but have been enslaved in war as *amphamiōtai*³³⁵; they call them *klarōtai* because they are distributed by lot (*klēros*). Ephorus says in Book III of the *History* (*FGrH* 70 F 29): Cretans refer to their slaves as *klarōtai* because of the lot cast for them. Certain festivals in Cydonia are considered theirs; free people do not enter the city during them, and the slaves control everything and have the authority to whip free individuals. Sosicrates says in Book II

Aristophanes of Byzantium.

³³⁴ Literally "bought with gold".

³³⁵ The word appears below in the variant form *amphamiōtai*.

τικῶν, τὴν μὲν κοινήν, φησί, δουλείαν οἱ Κρήτες
καλοῦσι μνοίαν, τὴν δὲ ἰδίαν ἀφαμιώτας, τοὺς δὲ
264 ὑπηκόους περιόικους. Ἠ τὰ παραπλήσια ἱστορεῖ καὶ
Δωσιάδας ἐν τετάρτῃ Κρητικῶν. Θετταλῶν δὲ λεγόν-
των πενέστας τοὺς μὴ γόνῳ δούλους, διὰ πολέμου δ'
ἠλωκότας, Θεόπομπος ὁ κωμικὸς ἀποχρησάμενος τῇ
φωνῇ φησι·

< . . . > δεσπότην πενέστου ῥυσὰ βουλευτήρια.

Φιλοκράτης δ' ἐν δευτέρῃ Θετταλικῶν (εἰ γνήσια τὰ
συγγράμματα) καλεῖσθαί φησι τοὺς πενέστας καὶ
Θετταλικέτας. Ἀρχέμαχος δ' ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ Εὐβοϊκῶν,
b Βοιωτῶν, φησίν, τῶν τὴν Ἀρναίαν κατοικησάντων | οἱ
μὴ ἀπάραντες εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ἀλλ' ἐμφιλοχωρήσαν-
τες παρέδωκαν ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς Θεσσαλοῖς δουλεύειν
καθ' ὁμολογίας, ἐφ' ᾧ οὔτε ἐξάξουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς
χώρας οὔτε ἀποκτενοῦσιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὴν χώραν αὐτοῖς
ἐργαζόμενοι τὰς συντάξεις ἀποδώσουσιν. οὗτοι οὖν οἱ
κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογίας καταμείναντες καὶ παραδόντες
ἑαυτοὺς ἐκλήθησαν τότε μὲν μενέσται, νῦν δὲ πενέ-
σται· καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν κυρίων ἑαυτῶν εἰσιν εὐπορώτε-
ροι. καὶ Εὐριπίδης δὲ ἐν Φρίξῳ λάτριδας¹⁹ αὐτοὺς
c ὀνομάζει | διὰ τούτων·

¹⁹ λάτριαις A: λάτρις CE

³³⁶ Literally "those who dwell around us".

³³⁷ In fact, he merely uses it as any Attic author would, as an adjective; cf. E. fr. 822a, below.

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of the *History of Crete* (FGrH 461 F 4): The Cretans refer to public slaves as *mnoi*; to slaves who belong to private individuals as *aphamiōtai*; and to the subject population as *perioikoi*³³⁶. Dosiadas offers similar information in Book IV of the *History of Crete* (FGrH 458 F 3). The Thessalians refer to individuals who were not born slaves, but were captured in war as *penestai*, and the comic author Theopompus (fr. 78) thus misuses the word³³⁷ when he says:

wrinkled counsellors of an impoverished (*penestēs*)
master.

Philocrates in Book II of the *History of Thessaly* (FGrH 601 F 2)—assuming the treatise is genuine—reports that the *penestai* are also referred to as *Thettaliketai*. Archemachus says in Book III of the *History of Euboea* (FGrH 424 F 1): Those Boeotians who settled in Arnae and did not return to Boeotia,³³⁸ but liked the area, surrendered themselves to the Thessalians as slaves under an agreement, the terms being that the Thessalians were neither to remove them from the country nor kill them, and that they for their part would work the land for them and pay whatever taxes were assessed. So those who stayed (*katameinantes*) on these terms and surrendered themselves were originally referred to as *menestai*, but are now called *penestai*; many are wealthier than their own masters. Euripides in *Phrixus* (fr. 822a) calls them *latrides* in the following passage:

³³⁸ Sc. when the Thessalians took over, according to Thucydides (1.12.3) 60 years after the Trojan War.

λάτρης πενέστης ἀμὸς ἀρχαίων δόμων.

Τίμαιος δ' ὁ Ταυρομενίτης ἐν τῇ ἐνάτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν, οὐκ ἦν, φησί, πάτριον τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ὑπὸ ἀργυρωνήτων τὸ παλαιὸν διακονεῖσθαι, γράφων οὕτως· καθόλου δὲ ἠτιῶντο τὸν Ἀριστοτέλη διημαρτηκέναι τῶν Λοκρικῶν ἔθων· οὐδὲ γὰρ κεκτήσθαι νόμον εἶναι τοῖς Λοκροῖς, ὁμοίως δὲ οὐδὲ Φωκεῦσιν, οὔτε θεραπαίνας οὔτε οἰκέτας πλὴν ἐγγὺς τῶν χρόνων· ἀλλὰ πρώτη d τῇ Φιλομήλου γυναικὶ τοῦ καταλαβόντος | Δελφούς δύο θεραπαίνας ἀκολουθήσαι. παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ Μνάσωνα τὸν Ἀριστοτέλους ἐταῖρον χιλίουσ οἰκέτας κτησάμενον διαβληθῆναι παρὰ τοῖς Φωκεῦσιν ὡς τοσοῦτους τῶν πολιτῶν τὴν ἀναγκαίαν τροφὴν ἀφηρημένον· εἰθίσθαι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς οἰκειακαῖς διακονεῖν τοὺς νεωτέρους τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις. Πλάτων δ' ἐν ἔκτῳ Νόμων φησί· τὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν χαλεπὰ πάντη. σχεδὸν γὰρ πάντων Ἑλλήνων ἢ Λακεδαιμονίων εἰλωτεία e πλείστην ἀπορίαν παράσχοιτ' ἂν καὶ ἔριν τοῖς | μὲν ὡς εὔ, τοῖς δ' <ὡς> οὐκ εὔ γεγονυῖα ἔστιν· ἐλάττω δὲ ἢ Ἑρακλεωτῶν δουλεία τῆς τῶν Μαριανδυνῶν καταδουλώσεως ἔριν ἂν ἔχοι τὸ Θετταλῶν τ' αὖ πενεστικὸν ἔθνος. εἰς ἃ καὶ πάντα ἀποβλέψαντας ἡμᾶς τί χρῆ ποιεῖν περὶ κτήσεως οἰκετῶν; οὐ γὰρ ὑγιᾶς οὐδὲν ψυχῆς δούλης· οὐ δεῖ γὰρ οὐδὲν πιστεύειν²⁰ αὐτοῖς τὸν

²⁰ ὑγιᾶς πιστεύειν ACE (ὑγιᾶς om. Plato)

339 A reference to the lost *Constitution of the Locrians*.

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my impoverished (*penestēs*) hired hand (*latris*),
attached to my ancient home.

Timaeus of Tauromenium in Book IX of the *History* (FGrH 566 F 11) says that it was not the Greeks' traditional practice in ancient times to have their work done by slaves purchased with money. He writes as follows: Aristotle (fr. 554.1)³³⁹ was generally accused of having got the Locrians' customs wrong; because it was not the Locrians' practice (nor, similarly, the Phocians') to own serving-women or slaves until recently, and the first instance was when two serving-women attended Philomelus' wife after he captured Delphi.³⁴⁰ So too Aristotle's friend Mnason³⁴¹, who owned 1000 slaves, was maligned by the Phocians for depriving an equal number of their fellow-citizens of the support they needed; because it was the custom in their families for the younger people to take care of the older ones. Plato says in Book VI of the *Laws* (776b-c, e-g, 777b-8a):³⁴² Slaves present all sorts of difficulties. The most vexed and contentious issue in all of Greece would probably be the Spartans' system of helotage, which strikes some people, but not others, as a good idea. The Heracleot system of slavery, which involves the subjection of the Mariandynoi, might perhaps provoke less dispute, as would the Thessalian class of *penestai*. When we consider all these cases, what should we conclude about owning slaves? Because a slave's soul is entirely unsound, and no

³⁴⁰ In 356 BCE; see 6.231c-d n. ³⁴¹ Mnason of Phocis is also referred to as one of Aristotle's friends at Ael. *VH* 3.19.

³⁴² The text has been condensed and modified, in particular via excision of a number of comments sympathetic to slaves.

νοῦν κεκτημένον. ὁ δὲ σοφώτατος τῶν ποιητῶν φησιν·

f ἡμισυ γάρ τε νόου ἀποαίνυται εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς |
ἀνδρῶν, οὓς ἂν δὴ κατὰ δούλιον ἡμαρ ἔλθῃσιν.

χαλεπὸν οὖν τὸ κτῆμα. ἔργῳ πολλάκις ἐπιδέδεικται
περὶ τε τὰς Μεσσηνίων συχνὰς ἀποστάσεις καὶ περὶ
τὰς τῶν ἐκ μιᾶς φωνῆς πολλοὺς οἰκέτας κτωμένων
πόλεις ὅσα κακὰ συμβαίνει, καὶ ἔτι τὰ τῶν λεγομένων
περιδίνων περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν παντοδαπὰ κλοπῶν²¹
ἔργα καὶ παθήματα· πρὸς ἃ τις ἂν πάντα²² βλέψας
διαπορήσειε τί χρὴ δρᾶν περὶ ἀπάντων τῶν τοιούτων.
265 || δύο δὴ λείπεσθον μηχαναί, μὴ πατριώτας ἀλλήλων
εἶναι τοὺς μέλλοντας δουλεύσειν ἀσυμφώνους τε ὅτι
μάλιστα εἰς δύναμιν, τρέφειν δ' αὐτοὺς ὀρθῶς μὴ
μόνον ἐκείνων ἔνεκα, πλέον δ' ἑαυτῶν προτιμῶντας,
ὑβρίζειν τε ἡκιστα εἰς αὐτούς. κολάζειν δὲ ἐν δίκῃ
δούλους δεῖ καὶ μὴ νουθετοῦντας ὡς ἐλευθέρους
θρύπτεσθαι ποιεῖν· τὴν δὲ οἰκέτου πρόσρησιν χρὴ
σχεδὸν ἐπίταξιν πᾶσαν γίνεσθαι, μὴ προσπαίζοντας
μηδαμῆ μηδαμῶς οἰκέταις, μήτ' οὖν θηλείαις μήτε

²¹ This word (which makes the sense more difficult) is most likely intrusive in Plato, but clearly stood in Athenaeus' version of the text.

²² ἂν πάντα Stobaeus: ἅπαντα ACE and the manuscripts of Plato

³⁴³ The traditional text of Homer has "half the excellence (*aretē*) of a man, when the day of enslavement lays hold of him".

³⁴⁴ Reduced by 700 BCE or so to the status of helots and

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one with any sense should trust them at all. Our wisest poet says (*Od.* 17.322–3):

For wide-voiced Zeus takes away half the intelligence
of men whom the day of enslavement lays hold of.³⁴³

A slave is thus a difficult thing to own. How many troubles result has often been apparent in practice from the frequent revolts of the Messenians³⁴⁴ and the situation of cities that own large numbers of slaves who share a language, as well as from the thefts of all sorts committed by the so-called *peridinoi*³⁴⁵ along the Italian coast and the reprisals taken against them. Anyone who considers all these cases would be at a loss as to what we ought to do about all such matters. Two courses of action remain: not to allow those who are going to be slaves³⁴⁶ to come from the same country or share a language, to the extent this is possible, and to take proper care of them, not just for their sake, but more out of concern for ourselves, and beat them as little as possible. We ought to punish our slaves as they deserve, and not ruin them by merely admonishing them, as if they were free people. Almost everything said to a slave should be a command, and there should be no joking whatsoever with slaves, whether female or male. Many people thought-

perioikoi; they revolted repeatedly (and unsuccessfully), most famously in the Third Messenian War in the late 460s and early 450s.

³⁴⁵ Literally “hoverers,” i.e. “pirates, raiders”; presumably runaway slaves who had taken to raiding coastal settlements to support themselves, like the Chian runaways discussed at 6.265c–6e.

³⁴⁶ The traditional text of Plato includes the adverb *rhaon* (“whom we hope to have tolerate slavery quietly”).

b ἄρρεσιν ἃ δὴ πρὸς δούλους φιλοῦσι | πολλοὶ σφόδρα ἀνοήτως θρύνπτοντες χαλεπώτερον ἀπεργάζεσθαι τὸν βίον ἐκείνοις τε ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἑαυτοῖς ἄρχειν.

Πρώτους δ' ἐγὼ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἶδα ἀργυρωνήτοις δούλοις χρησαμένους Χίους, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Θεόπομπος ἐν τῇ ἐβδόμῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν· Χίοι πρῶτοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων μετὰ Θετταλοῦς καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐχρήσαντο δούλοις, τὴν μέντοι κτῆσιν αὐτῶν οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐκείνοις < . . . > Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν γὰρ καὶ Θετταλοὶ φανήσονται κατασκευασάμενοι τὴν δου-

c λείαν ἐκ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν οἰκούντων πρότερον | τὴν χώραν ἣν ἐκείνοι νῦν ἔχουσιν, οἱ μὲν Ἀχαιῶν, Θετταλοὶ δὲ Περραιβῶν καὶ Μαγνήτων, καὶ προσηγόρευσαν τοὺς καταδουλωθέντας οἱ μὲν εἰλωτας, οἱ δὲ πενέστας. Χίοι δὲ βαρβάρους κέκτηνται τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ τιμὴν αὐτῶν καταβάλλοντες. ὁ μὲν οὖν Θεόπομπος ταύτ' ἱστόρησεν· ἐγὼ δὲ τοῖς Χίοις ἡγοῦμαι διὰ τοῦτο νεμεσῆσαι τὸ δαιμόνιον· χρόνοις γὰρ ὕστερον ἐξεπολεμήθησαν διὰ δούλους. Νυμφόδωρος γοῦν ὁ Συρακόσιος ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀσίας Παράπλῳ τὰδ' ἱστορεῖ

d περὶ αὐτῶν· τῶν Χίων οἱ δούλοι | ἀποδιδράσκουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ εἰς τὰ ὄρη ὀρμώμενοι τὰς ἀγροικίας αὐτῶν κακοποιοῦσι πολλοὶ συναθροισθέντες· ἡ γὰρ νῆσός ἐστι τραχεῖα καὶ κατάδενδρος. μικρὸν δὲ πρὸ ἡμῶν οἰκέτην τινὰ μυθολογοῦσιν αὐτοὶ οἱ Χίοι ἀποδράντα ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τὰς διατριβὰς ποιεῖσθαι, ἀνδρείον δὲ τινα ὄντα καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἐπιτυχῆ τῶν δραπετῶν ἀφηγεῖσθαι ὡς ἂν βασιλέα στρατεύματος. καὶ πολ-

lessly corrupt their slaves by behaving this way, and tend to make life more difficult both for their slaves as subjects and for themselves as masters.

It is my understanding that the first Greeks to rely on slaves purchased for money were the Chians, as Theopompus records in Book XVII of his *History* (FGrH 115 F 122): The Chians were the first Greeks after the Thesalians and Spartans to rely on slaves, but did not acquire them in the same way as the latter . . . For the Spartans and the Thessalians can be seen to have developed their slave-corps out of the Greeks who previously inhabited the territory they now control: the Spartans drew their slaves from the Achaeans, while the Thessalians drew theirs from the Perrhaebi³⁴⁷ and Magnesians; and the former call the people they enslaved helots, while the latter call them *penestai*. The Chians, on the other hand, have barbarians as their slaves and purchase them. This is what Theopompus reported. But I for my part believe that this was why the divine power felt resentment against the Chians; for later on they were drawn into a war on account of their slaves. Nymphodorus of Syracuse in his *Voyage along the Coast of Asia* (FGrH 572 F 4), at any rate, records the following about them: The Chians' slaves ran away from them and set off for the mountains, where they formed large gangs and damaged the Chian countryside; because the island is rough and heavily wooded. Shortly before our time, according to a story the Chians themselves tell, an escaped slave settled in the mountains. He was a brave man and directed the runaways' military operations successfully, as if he were the commander of an army. The Chians often

³⁴⁷ See 6.260a n.

λάκις τῶν Χίων ἐπιστρατευσάντων ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ
 οὐδὲν ἀνύσαι δυναμένων ἐπεὶ αὐτοὺς ἑώρα μάτην
 e ἀπολλυμένους ὁ Δρίμακος | (τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα τῷ
 δραπέτῃ) λέγει πρὸς αὐτοὺς τάδε· ὑμῖν, ὦ Χίοι τε καὶ
 κύριοι, τὸ μὲν γινόμενον πρᾶγμα παρὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν
 οὐδέποτε μὴ παύσῃται· πῶς γὰρ ὅποτε κατὰ χρῆσμον
 γίνεται θεοῦ δόντος; ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἐμοὶ σπείσησθε καὶ ἔατε
 ἡμᾶς ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, ἐγὼ ὑμῖν ἔσομαι πολλῶν ἀγα-
 θῶν ἀρχηγός." σπεισαμένων οὖν τῶν Χίων πρὸς
 αὐτὸν καὶ ἀνοχὰς ποιησαμένων χρόνον τινὰ κατα-
 σκευάζεται μέτρα καὶ σταθμὰ καὶ σφραγίδα ἰδίαν.
 καὶ δείξας τοῖς Χίοις εἶπε διότι, "λήψομαι ὃ τι ἂν
 f παρὰ τινος | ὑμῶν λαμβάνω τούτοις τοῖς μέτροις καὶ
 σταθμοῖς, καὶ λαβὼν τὰ ἱκανὰ ταύτῃ τῇ σφραγίδι τὰ
 ταμιεῖα σφραγισάμενος καταλείψω. τοὺς δ' ἀποδι-
 δράσκοντας ὑμῶν δούλους ἀνακρίνας τὴν αἰτίαν, ἐὰν
 μὲν μοι δοκῶσιν ἀνήκεστόν τι παθόντες ἀποδεδρα-
 266 κέναι, ἔξω μετ' ἑμαυτοῦ, ἐὰν δὲ μηδὲν λέγωσι || δίκαι-
 ον, ἀποπέμψω πρὸς τοὺς δεσπότας." ὀρώντες οὖν οἱ
 λοιποὶ οἰκέται τοὺς Χίους ἠδέως τὸ πρᾶγμα προσδε-
 ξαμένους πολλῶ ἔλαττον ἀπεδίδρασκον φοβούμενοι
 τὴν ἐκείνου κρίσιν· καὶ οἱ ὄντες δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦ δραπέται
 πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐφοβοῦντο ἐκείνον ἢ τοὺς ἰδίους αὐτῶν
 δεσπότας καὶ πάντ' αὐτῷ τὰ δέοντ' ἐποίουν, πειθαρχοῦντες
 ὡς ἂν στρατηγῷ· ἐτιμωρεῖτό τε γὰρ τοὺς
 ἀτακτοῦντας καὶ οὐθενὶ ἐπέτρεπε συλᾶν ἀγρὸν οὐδ'
 ἄλλο ἀδικεῖν οὐδὲ ἐν ἄνευ τῆς αὐτοῦ γνώμης. ἐλάμ-
 b βανε δὲ ταῖς ἐορταῖς | ἐπιπορευόμενος ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν

mounted expeditions against him, but failed to accomplish anything; and when he saw them dying for nothing, Drimacus—this was the runaway's name³⁴⁸—said the following to them: "Chian masters, (you ought to worry that) the trouble your slaves are giving you is never going to end. How can it, when it's in accord with an oracle, and a god is responsible? But if you conclude a truce with me and leave us alone, I'll bring you many advantages." The Chians accordingly concluded a truce with him and ceased hostilities for a while; afterward, he made himself measures, weights, and a personal seal, showed these to the Chians, and said: "Whatever I take from any of you, I'll take it using these measures and weights; after I take what I need, I'll seal up the storerooms with this seal and otherwise leave them as they are. When your slaves run away, I'll ask them why. If I think they ran away because they received unforgivable treatment, I'll keep them with me; but if they don't convince me they're in the right, I'll send them back to their masters." So when the other slaves saw the Chians placidly accept this arrangement, they began to run away much less frequently, since they were afraid of what he might decide. And the runaways who were with him were far more frightened of him than they were of their proper masters, and did everything he demanded, obeying him as if he were a general; because he used to punish those who failed to follow his orders, and did not allow anyone to plunder a field or commit any other crime without his approval. At festival times he would emerge from the fields

³⁴⁸ Cf. 6.266e (marking this comment as an editorial intrusion on Athenaeus' part).

οἶνον καὶ ἱερέια τὰ καλῶς ἔχοντα ὅσα μὴ αὐτοὶ
δοίησαν οἱ κύριοι· καὶ εἴ τινα αἰσθοῖτο ἐπιβουλεύοντα
αὐτῷ ἢ ἐνέδρας κατασκευάζοντα ἐτιμωρεῖτο. εἶτ' (ἐκή-
ρυξε γὰρ ἡ πόλις χρήματα δώσειν πολλὰ τῷ αὐτὸν
λαβόντι ἢ τὴν κεφαλὴν κομίσαντι) οὗτος ὁ Δρίμακος
πρεσβύτερος γενόμενος καλέσας τὸν ἐρώμενον τὸν
ἑαυτοῦ εἰς τινα τόπον λέγει αὐτῷ ὅτι, “ἐγὼ σε πάντων
ἀνθρώπων ἠγάπησα μάλιστα καὶ σύ μοι εἶ καὶ παῖς
c καὶ υἱὸς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα· ἐμοὶ | μὲν οὖν χρόνος
ικανὸς βεβίωται, σὺ δὲ νέος εἶ καὶ ἀκμὴν ἔχεις τοῦ
ζῆν. τί οὖν ἐστίν; ἄνδρα σε δεῖ γενέσθαι καλὸν καὶ
ἀγαθόν· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡ πόλις τῶν Χίων δίδωσι τῷ ἐμὲ
ἀποκτείναντι χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ ἐλευθερίαν ὑπ-
ισχνεῖται, δεῖ σε ἀφελόντα μου τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰς Χίον
ἀπενεγκεῖν καὶ λαβόντα παρὰ τῆς πόλεως τὰ χρή-
ματα εὐδαιμονεῖν.” ἀντιλέγοντος δὲ τοῦ νεανίσκου
πέθει αὐτὸν τοῦτο ποιῆσαι· καὶ ὃς ἀφελόμενος αὐτοῦ
τὴν κεφαλὴν λαμβάνει παρὰ τῶν Χίων τὰ ἐπικη-
d ρυχθέντα χρήματα | καὶ θάψας τὸ σῶμα τοῦ δραπέτου
εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν ἐχώρησε. καὶ οἱ Χίοι πάλιν ὑπὸ τῶν
οἰκετῶν ἀδικούμενοι καὶ διαρπαζόμενοι μνησθέντες
τῆς τοῦ τετελευτηκότος ἐπιεικείας ἠρώων ἰδρύσαντο
κατὰ τὴν χώραν καὶ ἐπωνόμασαν Ἡρώος Εὐμενοῦς·
καὶ αὐτῷ ἔτι καὶ νῦν οἱ δραπέται ἀποφέρουσιν ἀπαρ-
χὰς πάντων ὧν ἂν ἔλωνται. φασὶ δὲ καὶ καθ' ὕπνου
ἐπιφαινόμενον πολλοῖς τῶν Χίων προσημαίνειν οἰκε-
τῶν ἐπιβουλὰς· καὶ οἷς ἂν ἐπιφανῆ οὗτοι θύουσιν
e αὐτῷ | ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον οὗ τὸ ἠρώον ἐστίν

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and seize wine and the prize sacrificial animals, unless the owners simply gave them to him. And if he became aware that someone was plotting against him or preparing an ambush, he punished him. Eventually—for the city announced that it would reward anyone who captured him or brought in his head with a large sum of money—this Drimacus, who was now quite old, invited his boyfriend somewhere and said to him: "I care more for you than for anyone else; you're a child, a son, and everything else to me. I've lived long enough, whereas you're young and in the prime of your life. What's my point? You need to become a gentleman! So since the city of Chios is offering a large amount of money to the person who kills me, and is promising him his freedom, you need to cut off my head and take it to town, and then get the money from the city and enjoy yourself." Although the boy argued with him, he convinced him to do what he said. So the boy cut off his head and got the money the Chians had offered; and after burying the runaway's body, he returned to his native country. The Chians began to be abused and robbed by their slaves once again; and when they remembered how reasonable the dead man had been, they founded a hero-shrine in the countryside and named it after the Friendly Hero. Even today runaway slaves bring him the first fruits of everything they steal. They say that he often appears to Chians in their sleep and warns them in advance about their slaves' conspiracies; if he appears to anyone, they go to the site of his hero-shrine and sacrifice to him. This is

αὐτοῦ. ὁ μὲν οὖν Νυμφόδωρος ταῦτα ἰστόρησεν ἐν πολλοῖς δὲ ἀντιγράφοις ἐξ ὀνόματος αὐτὸν καλούμενον οὐχ εὔρον. οὐδένα δὲ ὑμῶν ἀγνοεῖν οἶμαι οὐδὲ ἂ ὁ καλὸς Ἡρόδοτος ἰστόρησε περὶ Πανιωνίου τοῦ Χίου καὶ ὧν ἐκεῖνος ἔπαθεν δικαίως ἐλευθέρων παίδων ἕκτομας ποιησάμενος καὶ τούτους ἀποδόμενος. Νικόλαος δ' ὁ περιπατητικὸς καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ὁ στωικὸς ἐν ταῖς Ἱστορίαις ἐκάτερος τοὺς Χίους φασὶν ἐξανδραπο-
 f δισθέντας ὑπὸ Μιθριδάτου | τοῦ Καππάδοκος παραδοθῆναι τοῖς ἰδίους δούλοις δεδεμένους, ἵν' εἰς τὴν Κόλχων γῆν κατοικισθῶσιν· οὕτως αὐτοῖς ἀληθῶς τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐμήνισε πρῶτοις χρησαμένοις ὠνητοῖς ἀνδραπόδοις τῶν πολλῶν αὐτουργῶν ὄντων κατὰ τὰς διακονίας. μήποτ' οὖν διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἡ παροιμία "Χίος δεσπότην ὠνήσατο", ἣ κέχρηται Εὐπολις ἐν Φίλοις.

Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ τῆς τῶν δούλων προνοοῦντες τύ-
 χης ἐνομοθέτησαν καὶ ὑπὲρ δούλων γραφὰς ὑβρεῶς εἶναι. Ὑπερείδης γοῦν ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐν τῷ Κατὰ Μαντιθέου
 267 || Αἰκίας φησὶν· ἔθεσαν οὐ μόνον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐλευθέρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐάν τις εἰς δούλου σῶμα ὑβρίση γραφὰς εἶναι κατὰ τοῦ ὑβρίσαντος. τὰ ὅμοια εἶρηκε καὶ Λυκούργος ἐν τῷ Κατὰ Λυκόφρονος πρῶτῳ καὶ Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ Κατὰ Μειδίου. Μάλακος δ' ἐν τοῖς Σιφνίων Ὠροῖς ἱστορεῖ ὡς τὴν Ἔφεσον δούλοι τῶν Σαμίων ᾤκισαν χίλιοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες, οἳ καὶ τὸ

349 Panionius eventually fell into the hands of one of his victims, who forced him to castrate his own sons and *vice versa*.

BOOK VI

what Nymphodorus reported, although I found that in many copies of the text the man was not referred to by name. I imagine that you are all aware of what the excellent Herodotus (8.105–6) reported about Panionius of Chios and how he got what he deserved for castrating free boys and selling them.³⁴⁹ Nicolaus the Peripatetic (*FGrH* 90 F 95) and Posidonius the Stoic (*FGrH* 87 F 38 = fr. 51 Edelstein–Kidd) both claim in their *Histories* that the Chians were deprived of their freedom by Mithridates of Cappadocia and were turned over in chains to their own slaves to be resettled in Colchian territory.³⁵⁰ There can thus be little doubt that the divine power was angry at them for being the first people to rely on slaves who were bought, although many of them did their own work unassisted. This is perhaps the origin of the proverb “A Chian purchased his master”, which Eupolis uses in *Friends* (fr. 296).

The Athenians were concerned about what might happen to their slaves and therefore passed a law allowing indictments for abusive treatment to be brought on their behalf. The orator Hyperides, for example, says in his *Against Mantiheus for Assault* (fr. 120 Jensen): They allowed indictments to be brought against the offender not only on behalf of free people, but even if someone were to physically abuse a slave. Lycurgus makes similar remarks in his first speech *Against Lycophron* (fr. XII.12 Baiter–Sauppe), as does Demosthenes in his *Against Meidias* (21.46). Malacus in his *Annals of Siphnos* (*FGrH* 552 F 1) reports that 1000 Samian slaves settled Ephesus, after hav-

³⁵⁰ In 86 BCE.

b πρῶτον ἀποστάντες εἰς τὸ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ὄρος κακὰ
 ἐκ μαντείας οἱ Σάμιοι ἐσπείσαντο τοῖς οἰκέταις ἐπὶ
 συνθήκαις, καὶ ἀθῶοι ἐξελθόντες τῆς νήσου ἐκπλεύ-
 σαντες κατέσχον τὴν Ἔφεσον· καὶ οἱ Ἐφέσιοι ἐκ
 τούτων ἐγένοντο.

Διαφέρειν δέ φησι Χρῦσιππος δούλον οἰκέτου
 γράφων ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ Ὁμοιοῖας διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἀπ-
 ελευθέρους μὲν δούλους ἔτι εἶναι, οἰκέτας δὲ τοὺς μὴ
 τῆς κτήσεως ἀφειμένους· ὁ γὰρ οἰκέτης, φησί, δούλος
 ἐστὶ κτήσει κατατεταγμένος. καλοῦνται δ' οἱ δούλοι,
 c ὡς μὲν Κλείταρχος | φησιν ἐν ταῖς Γλώσσαις, ἄζιοι
 καὶ θεράποντες καὶ ἀκόλουθοι καὶ διάκονοι καὶ
 ὑπηρέται, ἔτι δ' ἐπάμονες καὶ λάτρεις. Ἀμερίας δὲ
 ἐρκίτας φησὶ καλεῖσθαι τοὺς κατὰ τοὺς ἀγροὺς
 οἰκέτας, Ἑρμων δὲ ἐν Κρητικαῖς Γλώτταις μνάτας
 τοὺς ἐγγενεῖς²³ οἰκέτας, Σέλευκος δ' ἄζους τὰς θερά-
 παίνας καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας, ἀποφράσην δὲ τὴν
 δούλην καὶ βολίζην, σίνδρωνα δὲ τὸν δουλέκδουλον,
 ἀμφίπολον δὲ τὴν περὶ τὴν δέσποιαν θεραπείαν,
 d πρόπολον δὲ τὴν προπορευομένην. | Πρόξενος δ' ἐν
 δευτέρῳ Λακωνικῆς Πολιτείας ἐπικαλεῖσθαι φησιν
 χαλκίδας παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις τὰς θεραπαίνας. Ἴων
 δ' ὁ Χίος ἐν Λαέρτῃ τὸν οἰκέτην ἐπὶ δούλου τέθεικεν
 εἰπών·

²³ ἐγγενεῖς Eustathius: εὐγενεῖς ACE

BOOK VI

ing initially run away to the mountainous part of the island and done the Samians considerable damage. Five years later the Samians responded to an oracle by concluding a truce with their slaves on fixed conditions, and the slaves left the island under a grant of immunity and sailed off and occupied Ephesus. The Ephesians are descended from them.

Chrysippus, writing in Book II of *On Concord* (fr. 353, SVF iii.86 = 67Q Long-Sedley), says that a *doulos* is different from an *oiketēs*,³⁵¹ because freedmen are still *douloi*, whereas *oiketai* are individuals who have not been emancipated; an *oiketēs*, he claims, is a *doulos* who belongs to someone. According to Cleitarchus in his *Glossary*, terms for slaves (*douloi*) include *azoi*, *therapontes*, *akolouthoi*, *diakonoi*, and *hypēretai*, as well as *hepamones* and *latreis*. Amerias (p. 13 Hoffmann) says that slaves (*oiketai*) who work in the fields are referred to as *herkitai*; Hermon in the *Cretan Vocabulary* says that indigenous slaves (*oiketai*) are referred to as *mnōtai*; and Seleucus (fr. 36 Müller) reports that serving-women (*therapainai*) and serving-men (*therapontes*) are referred to as *azoi*, while a female slave (*doulē*) is an *apophrasē* or *bolizē*, a second-generation slave is a *sindrōn*, and a serving-woman who cares for her mistress is an *amphipolos*, while one who walks in front of her is a *propolos*. Proxenus in Book II of the *Spartan Constitution* (FGrH 703 F 5) reports that the Spartans refer to their serving-women (*therapainai*) as *chalkidai*. Ion of Chios in *Laertes* (TrGF 19 F 14) uses the word *oiketēs* for a slave (*doulos*), saying:

³⁵¹ Both common terms for slaves.

ἴθι μοι, δόμον, οἰκέτα,
κλείσον ὑπόπτερος,
μή τις ἔλθῃ βροτῶν.

Ἀχαιὸς δ' ἐν Ὀμφάλῃ περὶ τοῦ σατύρου λέγων φησίν·

< . . . > ὡς εὐδουλος, ὡς εὐοικος ἦν,

ἰδίως λέγων “ὡς χρηστὸς ἐς τοὺς δούλους ἐστὶ καὶ
τοὺς οἰκέτας.” ὅτι δὲ οἰκέτης ἐστὶν ὁ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν
e διατρίβων κἂν ἢ ἐλεύθερος ἢ κοινόν.

Οἱ δὲ τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας ποιηταὶ περὶ τοῦ
ἀρχαίου βίου διαλεγόμενοι ὅτι οὐκ ἦν τότε δούλων
χρεία τοιάδε ἐκτίθενται· Κρατῖνος μὲν ἐν Πλούτοις·

οἷς δὴ βασιλεὺς Κρόνος ἦν τὸ παλαιόν,
ὅτε τοῖς ἄρτοις ἡστραγάλιζον, μᾶζαι δ' ἐν ταῖσι
παλαιίστραις
Aἰγίναῖαι κατεβέβληντο δρυπεπεῖς βώλοισ τε
κομῶσαι.

Κράτης δ' ἐν Θηρίοις·

(A.) ἔπειτα δούλον οὐδὲ εἷς κεκτήσεται' οὐδὲ
δούλην,
ἀλλ' αὐτὸς αὐτῷ δῆτ' ἀνὴρ γέρων διακονήσῃ; |
f (B.) οὐ δῆθ', ὀδοιποροῦντα γὰρ τὰ πάντ' ἐγὼ
ποήσω.

BOOK VI

Go as if on wings, please, slave (*oiketa*),
and lock the house,
lest any mortal enter.

Achaeus in *Omphalē* (TrGF 20 F 32) describes the satyr and says:

How good he was to the slaves (*eudoulos*), how good
to the house (*euoikos*)!

which is an unusual way of saying "How good he is to the *douloi* and the *oiketai*!" That someone who lives in your house (*oikia*) is an *oiketēs* even if he is free is a commonplace.

The Old Comic poets offer passages like the following, in which they discuss life in ancient times and claim that no one relied on slaves. Cratinus in *Gods of Wealth* (fr. 176):

for whom Cronus was king long ago,
when they played knucklebones³⁵² with loaves of
bread, and Aeginetan barley-cakes,
ripe and full of lumps, were used to pay fees in the
wrestling schools.

Crates in *Wild Beasts* (fr. 16):

- (A.) So no one's going to own a male or female slave,
and an old man's going to do all his work alone?
(B.) Certainly not; I'll make everything capable of
moving itself.

³⁵² Similar to dice, except that they had only four sides; cf. Telecl. fr. 1.14 (quoted at 6.268d); Olson-Sens on Arcestr. fr. 16.6-9.

(A.) τί δῆτα τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς πλέον; (B.) πρόσσειν
αὐθ' ἕκαστον

τῶν σκευαρίων, ὅταν καλῇ τις "παρατίθου
τράπεζα·

αὐτὴ παρασκευάζε σαντήν. μάττε θυλακίσκε.
ἔγχει κύαθε. ποῦ 'σθ' ἡ κύλιξ; διάνιζ' ἰοῦσα
σαντήν.

ἀνάβαινε μᾶζα. τὴν χύτραν χρῆν ἐξερᾶν τὰ
τεῦτλα.

ἰχθὺν βάδιζ'." "ἀλλ' οὐδέπω 'πὶ θάτερ' ὀπτός εἰμι."
"οὐκουν μεταστρέψας σεαυτὸν ἀλὶ πάσεις
ἀλείφων;" ||

268 ἐξῆς δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ τὸν ἐναντίον τούτῳ παραλαμ-
βάνων λόγον φησὶν·

ἀλλ' ἀντίθες τοι· γὰρ γὰρ αὖ τραπέμπαλιν
τὰ θερμὰ λουτρά πρῶτον ἄξω τοῖς ἐμοῖς
ἐπὶ κίωνων, ὥσπερ διὰ τοῦ Παιωνίου,
ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης ὥσθ' ἕκαστῳ ῥεύσεται
εἰς τὴν πύελον· ἐρεῖ δὲ θῦδωρ "ἀνέχετε."
εἶθ' ἀλάβαστος εὐθέως ἤξει μύρου
αὐτόματος ὁ σπόγγος τε καὶ τὰ σάνδαλα.

βέλτιον δὲ τούτων Τηλεκλείδης Ἀμφικτύοσι· |

BOOK VI

(A.) How's this going to help them? (B.) All the household equipment will come of its own accord, whenever someone shouts "Table! Set yourself beside me! Get yourself ready without any help! Knead, my little grain-sack! Pour some wine, ladle! Where's the cup? Go wash yourself! Get up on the table, barley-cake! The cookpot should already have been pouring out the beets. Fish! Get over here!" "But I'm not roasted on the other side yet."
"Then turn yourself over, baste yourself, and sprinkle on some salt!"

Immediately after this the man opposing him takes over the conversation and says (fr. 17):

But balance this against that; I'm going to do it the other way around!
First of all, I'll bring my people warm bathwater riding on columns, like those that run through the Paeonion³⁵³, straight from the sea. It'll flow into everyone's tub, and the water will say: "That's enough!"
Then his jar of perfume will come right away, all by itself, along with his sponge and his sandals.

Teleclides improves on this in *Amphictyonies* (fr. 1):

³⁵³ A healing-shrine of some sort; unidentified, but perhaps another name for the sanctuary of Asclepius in Munychion.

- b λέξω τοίνυν βίον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὃν ἐγὼ θνητοῖσι
 παρείχον.
 εἰρήνη μὲν πρῶτον ἀπάντων ἦν ὥσπερ ὕδωρ
 κατὰ χειρός.
 ἢ γῆ δ' ἔφερ' οὐ δέος οὐδὲ νόσους, ἀλλ' αὐτόματ'
 ἦν τὰ δέοντα.
 οἴνω γὰρ ἅπασ' ἔρρει χαράδρα, μᾶζαι δ' ἄρτοις
 ἐμάχοντο
 περὶ τοῖς στόμασιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἱκετεύουσαι
 καταπίνειν,
 εἴ τι φιλοῖεν, τὰς λευκοτάτας. οἱ δ' ἰχθύες οἴκαδ'
 ἰόντες |
- c ἐξοπτῶντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀν παρέκειντ' ἐπὶ ταῖσι
 τραπέζαις.
 ζωμοῦ δ' ἔρρει παρὰ τὰς κλίνας ποταμὸς κρέα
 θερμὰ κυλίνδων,
 ὑποτριμματίων δ' ὀχετοὶ τούτων τοῖς
 βουλομένοισι παρήσαν,
 ὥστ' ἀφθονία τὴν ἔνθεσιν ἦν ἄρδονθ' ἀπαλὴν
 καταπίνειν.
 λεκαίσκαισιν δ' † ἀνάπαιστα † παρῆν
 ἡδυσματίοις κατάπαστα.
 ὀπταὶ δὲ κίχλαι μετ' ἀμητίσκων ἐς τὸν φάρυγ'
 εἰσεπέτοντο. |
- d τῶν δὲ πλακούντων ὥστιζομένων περὶ τὴν
 γνάθον ἦν ἀλαλητός.
 μῆτρας δὲ τόμοις καὶ χναυματίοις οἱ παῖδες ἀν
 ἤστραγάλιζον.

BOOK VI

Well, I'll describe the sort of life I provided mortals
with in the old days.

Peace, first of all, was as readily available as washing-
water.

The earth didn't produce fear or diseases. Instead,
what they needed appeared spontaneously,
because every torrent-gully flowed with wine, and
barley-cakes fought with loaves of bread
around people's mouths, begging them to gulp down
the whitest ones, if they would be so kind. The fish
would come home,
roast themselves, and serve themselves up on the
tables.

A river of broth flowed next to their couches, rolling
along warm chunks of meat;
and streams of sauce were there for anyone who
wanted some,
so there wasn't any reason to resent a man for soaking
his mouthful until it was soft and gulping it down.
There were [corrupt] sprinkled with seasonings in
little dishes.

Roast thrushes accompanied by milk-cakes flew down
their throats;
the unbaked cakes jostled against one another around
their jaws, producing an uproar;
and the children played knucklebones³⁵⁴ with slices
of sow's womb and meat-trimmings.

³⁵⁴ See 6.267e n.

οἱ δ' ἄνθρωποι πίονες ἦσαν τότε καὶ μέγα χρῆμα
Γιγάντων.

πρὸς τῆς Δήμητρος ὑμῖν, ὦ ἑταῖροι, εἰ ταῦτα οὕτως
ἐγίνετο, χρεῖα τίς ὑμῖν ἦν οἰκετῶν; ἀλλὰ γὰρ αὐτουρ-
γοὺς εἶναι ἐθίζοντες ἡμᾶς οἱ ἀρχαῖοι διὰ τῶν ποιη-
μάτων ἐπαίδευον εὐωχοῦντες λόγοις. ἐγὼ δ' ἐπειδὴ
ὥσπερ λαμπάδιον κατασείσαντος τοῦ θαυμασιωτάτου
e Κρατίνου τὰ ἰ προκείμενα ἔπη καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν
γενόμενοι μιμησάμενοι ἐπέξεργάσαντο, ἐχρησάμην
τῇ τάξει τῶν δραμάτων ὡς ἐδιδάχθη· καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐνοχλῶ
τι ὑμῖν (τῶν γὰρ κυνικῶν φροντίς οὐδὲ ἡ σμικροτάτη),
ἀπομνημονεύσω κατὰ τὴν τάξιν καὶ τὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις
εἰρημένα ποιηταῖς· ὧν εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ Ἀττικώτατος Φε-
ρεκράτης, ὃς ἐν μὲν τοῖς Μεταλλεύσι φησιν·

(A.) πλοῦτῳ δ' ἐκεῖν' ἦν πάντα συμπεφυρμένα,
ἐν πᾶσιν ἀγαθοῖς πάντα τρόπον εἰργασμένα·
ποταμοὶ μὲν ἀθάρης καὶ μέλανος ζωμοῦ πλέω ἰ
f διὰ τῶν στενωπῶν τονθολυγοῦντες ἔρρεον
αὐταῖσι μυστίλαισι, καὶ ναστῶν τρύφη,
ὥστ' εὐμαρῇ γε καὐτομάτην τὴν ἔνθεσιν
χωρεῖν λιπαρὰν κατὰ τοῦ λάρυγγος τοῖς νεκροῖς.
φύσκαι δὲ καὶ ζέοντες ἀλλάντων τόμοι
παρὰ τοῖς ποταμοῖς σίζοντ' ἐκέχυτ' ἀντ'
ὄστράκων.
καὶ μὴν παρῆν τεμάχη μὲν ἐξωπτημένα

BOOK VI

People were fat back then—as big as the Giants!

By Demeter³⁵⁵, my friends—if this was your situation, why would you need slaves? But as a way of accustoming us to doing our own work, the ancients tried to use their poetry to educate us, by feasting us on words. Since the marvellous Cratinus waved around the words quoted earlier like a torch, and his successors imitated him when they then took up the project, I maintained the order in which the plays were staged. And unless you find my proposal annoying—although I could not care less what the Cynics think³⁵⁶—I will mention what the remaining poets have to say in their proper order. One is the profoundly Attic Pherecrates, who says in his *Miners* (fr. 113):

(A.) Everything there was blended with wealth,
 made out of whatever was good in any way.
 Rivers full of porridge and black broth
 flowed gurgling down the alleys,
 chunks of scooping-bread³⁵⁷ and all, along with bits of
 kneaded cakes,
 allowing the mouthfuls to go down the throats
 of the dead easily, slickly, and under their own power.
 Stuffed large intestines and steaming hot slices of
 sausage
 were scattered sizzling along the riverbanks like
 oyster-shells.
 There were also roasted fish-steaks,

³⁵⁵ Appropriately invoked here as goddess of grain and thus of cakes and the like (cf. above). ³⁵⁶ A gratuitous comment that prepares the reader for Cynulcus' complaints in 6.270a–e.

³⁵⁷ Used like spoons.

- 269 καταχυσματίοισι παντοδαποῖσιν εὐτρεπῆ, ||
 σελίδες δ' ὀλόκημοι πλησίον τακερώταται
 ἐπὶ πινακίσκοις καὶ δῖεφθ' ἀκροκώλια
 ἤδιστον ἀτμίζοντα, καὶ χόλικες βοός,
 καὶ πλευρὰ δελφάκει' ἐπεξανθισμένα
 χναυρότατα παρέκειτ' ἐπ' ἀμύλοις καθήμενα.
 παρῆν δὲ χόνδρος γάλακτι κατανευμιμένος
 ἐν καταχύτλοις λεκάναισι καὶ πνουῦ τόμοι.
 (B.) οἷμ' ὡς ἀπολείς μ' ἐνταῦθα διατρίβουσ' ἔτι,
 παρὸν κολυμβᾶν ὡς ἔχετ' ἐς τὸν Τάρταρον. |
 b (A.) τί δῆτα λέξεις, τὰπίλοιπ' ἤνυπερ πύθη;
 ὄπται κίχλαι γὰρ εἰς ἀνάβραστ' ἠρτυμένα
 περὶ τὸ στόμ' ἐπέτοντ' ἀντιβολοῦσαι καταπιεῖν,
 ὑπὸ μυρρίναισι κἀνεμώναις κεχυμένα.
 τὰ δὲ μῆλ' ἐκρέματο, τὰ καλὰ τῶν καλῶν ἰδεῖν,
 ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς, ἐξ οὐδενὸς πεφυκότα.
 κόραι δ' ἐν ἀμπεχόλαις τριχάπτοις, ἀρτίως
 ἠβυλλιώσαι καὶ τὰ ῥόδα κεκαρμένα,
 πλήρεις κύλικας οἴνου μέλανος ἀνθοσμίου |
 c ἤνυτλον διαὶ χώνης τοῖσι βουλομένοις πιεῖν.
 καὶ τῶνδ' ἐκάστοτ' εἰ φάγοι τις ἢ πίοι,
 διπλάσι' ἐγίγνετ' εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς πάλιν.

κἀν τοῖς Πέρσαις δέ φησιν·

τίς δ' ἔσθ' ἡμῖν τῶν σῶν ἀροτῶν ἢ ζυγοποιῶν
 ἔτι χρεία,

BOOK VI

beautifully prepared with sauces of every sort;
immensely tender sides of beef, legs and all, on
platters
nearby; stewed pigs' trotters
with delicious steam rising off them; and stuffed
bull's intestines.

And nicely browned, eminently succulent
pork-ribs were served perched on wheat-cakes.
There was also wheat-pudding drowned in milk
and served in pans as big as bathtubs, and slices of
beestings.

(B.) Damn! You're going to be the death of me, if you
keep wasting time here,
when you could all dive straight down to Tartarus!

(A.) What'll you say if you hear the rest?
Roasted thrushes seasoned for stewing
flitted around their mouths, begging to be gulped
down,
spread out beneath myrtle boughs and poppy
anemones.

The most beautiful apples ever seen hung
over their heads, growing out of nowhere.
Girls in shawls of woven hair, barely
into their teens and with shaved pussies,
were using funnels to fill cups of sweet-smelling
dark wine for anyone who wanted a drink.
And whenever someone ate or drank any of this food,
twice as much of it was immediately there again.

And in his *Persians* (fr. 137) he says:

What need will we have any longer for your plows,
yokemakers,

ἢ δρεπανουργῶν ἢ χαλκοτύπων ἢ σπέρματος ἢ
 χαρακισμοῦ;

αὐτόματοι γὰρ διὰ τῶν τριόδων ποταμοὶ

λιπαροῖς ἐπιπάστοις |

d ζωμοῦ μέλανος καὶ Ἀχιλλεῖοις μάζαις

κοχυδοῦντες ἐπιβλύξ

ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν τῶν τοῦ Πλούτου ρέουσονται,

σφῶν ἀρύτεσθαι.

ὁ Ζεὺς δ' ὕων οἴνω καπνία κατὰ τοῦ κεράμου

βαλανεύσει,

ἀπὸ τῶν δὲ τεγῶν ὀχετοὶ βοτρυῶν μετὰ

ναστίσκων πολυτύρων

ὀχετεύσονται θερμῶ σὺν ἔτνει καὶ

λειριοπολφανεμώναις. |

e τὰ δὲ δὴ δένδρη τὰν τοῖς ὄρεσιν χορδαῖς ὀπταῖς

ἐριφείοις

φυλλοροήσει, καὶ τευθιδίοις ἀπαλοῖσι κίχλαις τ'

ἀναβράστοις.

τί δεῖ πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι παρατίθεσθαι τὰ ἐκ Ταγη-
 υιστῶν τοῦ χαρίεντος Ἀριστοφάνους; πάντες γὰρ τῆς
 καταχήνης αὐτοῦ πλήρεις ἐστέ. τῶν δὲ Μεταγένους ἐκ
 Θουριοπερσῶν μνημονεύσας καταπαύσω τὸν λόγον,
 μακρὰ χαίρειν εἰπὼν ταῖς Νικοφῶντος Σειρήσι, ἐν
 αἷς τάδε γέγραπται

νειφέτω μὲν ἀλφίτοις,

ψακαζέτω δ' ἄρτοισιν, ὑέτω δ' ἔτνει,

ζωμὸς διὰ τῶν ὀδῶν κυλινδείτω κρέα,

BOOK VI

sicklemakers, or smiths, or for sowing or staking?
Rivers of black broth, gushing abundantly with rich
sprinkle-bread
and cakes of Achilleian³⁵⁸ barley, will flow of their own
accord through
the crossroads from Wealth's springs, ready for us to
scoop some up.
Zeus will rain *kapnias* wine, dumping it over the roof-
tiles like a bathman;
streams of grape-clusters will pour down from the
roofs, accompanied by
cakes stuffed with cheese, as well as hot pea-soup and
lily-porridge-cakes;
and the trees in the mountains will shed not leaves,
but roasted
kid-meat sausages, soft baby squid, and stewed
thrushes.

Why should I serve you, on top of all this material, the passage from the *Frying-Pan Men* (test. iii) of the charming Aristophanes? Since you are all full of his mockery. But I will quote the verses from Metagenes' *Thuriopians* before concluding my speech, keeping my distance from Nicopho's *Sirens*, which includes the following passage (fr. 21):

Let it snow barley-groats,
drizzle bread, and rain pea-soup!
Let broth tumble chunks of meat through the streets,

³⁵⁸ I.e. top-quality.

f πλακοῦς ἑαυτὸν ἐσθίειν | κελευέτω.

ἀλλ' ὃ γε Μεταγένης τάδε φησίν·

ὁ μὲν ποταμὸς ὁ Κρᾶθις ἡμῖν καταφέρει
μάζας μεγίστας αὐτομάτας μεμαγμένας,
ὁ δ' ἕτερος ὡθεὶ κύμα ναστῶν καὶ κρεῶν
ἐφθῶν τε βατίδων εἰλνομένων αὐτόσε.

τὰ δὲ μικρὰ ταυτὶ ποτάμι' ἐνμεντευθενὶ
ρεῖ τευθίσιν ὀπταῖς καὶ φάγροις καὶ καράβοις,
ἐντευθενὶ δ' ἀλλᾶσι καὶ περικόμμασι, ||

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τηδὶ δ' ἀφύαισι, τῆδε δ' αὖ ταγηνίαις·
τεμάχη δ' ἄνωθεν αὐτόματα πεπνυγμένα
εἰς τὸ στόμ' ἄττει, τὰ δὲ παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ πόδε,
ἄμυλοι δὲ περινάουσιν ἡμῖν ἐν κύκλῳ.

οἶδα δὲ ὅτι καὶ οἱ Θουριοπέρσαι καὶ τὸ τοῦ Νικο-
φῶντος δράμα ἀδίδακτά ἐστι, διόπερ καὶ τελευταίων
αὐτῶν ἐμνήσθη.

Ταῦτα τοῦ Δημοκρίτου σαφῶς καὶ τορῶς διεξελ-
θόντος ἐπήνουν μὲν οἱ δαιταλεῖς, ὁ δὲ Κύνουλκος ἔφη-
b ἄνδρες | σύσσιτοι, σφόδρα με λιμώττοντα οὐκ ἀηδῶς
ὁ Δημόκριτος εἰστίασεν ποταμοὺς διαπερανάμενος
ἀμβροσίας καὶ νέκταρος, ὑφ' ὧν ἀρδευθεὶς τὴν ψυχὴν

< . . . > πάνυ πειναλέος γεγένημαι,

λόγους αὐτὸ μόνον καταβροχθίσας· ὥστε ἤδη παυ-
σάμενοί ποτε τῆς τοσαύτης ἀπεραντολογίας κατὰ τὸν
Παιανιέα ῥήτορα τοιούτων τινῶν μεταλάβωμεν ἃ μῆτ'

BOOK VI

and a cake encourage people to eat it!

But Metagenes (fr. 6) says the following:

The River Crathis carries gigantic barley-cakes
that knead themselves downstream to us,
while the other river pushes forward a wave of cakes,
meat,
and stewed skates that wriggle along in the same
direction.

These little streamlets here flow on one side with
roasted squid, sea-bream, and crayfish;
on the other side with sausages and hash;
and with small-fry here, and pancakes there.
Fish-steaks stew themselves and dash
from overhead into our mouths; others appear right
beside our feet;
and wheat-cakes float in a circle around us.

I am aware that *Thuriopians* (test. ii) and Nicopho's play (*Sirens* test. ii) were never staged, which is why I mentioned them last.

After Democritus completed this clear and penetrating presentation, the rest of the party applauded him, and Cynulcus said: Messmates, although I am ravenously hungry, this was not an unpleasant feast Democritus provided, with his account of rivers of ambrosia and nectar. Despite the fact that my soul has been watered by them, however,

I am absolutely famished (adesp. com. fr. *110),

since all I have eaten is words. So let us finally put a stop to all this endless talk and, to quote the orator from Paeania (D. 3.33), have some food of the sort that neither gives one

ἰσχὺν ἐντίθησι μήτ' ἀποθνήσκειν ἔα·

ἐν κενῇ γὰρ γαστρὶ τῶν καλῶν ἔρωσ
 οὐκ ἔστι· πεινώσιν | γὰρ ἡ Κύπρις πικρά,

Ἀχαιοὶ φησιν ἐν Αἴθωνι σατυρικῶ. παρ' οὗ ὁ σοφὸς
 Εὐριπίδης λαβῶν ἔφη·

ἐν πλησμονῇ τοι Κύπρις, ἐν πεινώντι δ' οὔ.

πρὸς δὲν ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς αἰεί ποτε διαπολεμῶν ἔφη·

πλήρης μὲν λαχάνων ἀγορή, πλήρης δὲ καὶ
 ἄρτων,

σὺ δέ, ὦ κύον, αἰεὶ λιμώττεις καὶ οὐκ ἔας ἡμᾶς λόγων
 καλῶν καὶ ἀφθόνων μεταλαμβάνειν, μᾶλλον δὲ σι-
 τεῖσθαι· τροφή γὰρ ψυχῆς λόγοι καλοί. καὶ ἅμα
 d στραφεῖς πρὸς τὸν οἰκέτην, | Δεῦκε, ἔφη, κἂν ἐκφατι-
 σματά τινα ἄρτων ἔχῃς, δὸς τοῖς κυσίν. καὶ ὁ
 Κύνουλκος, εἰ μὲν εἰς ἀκροάσεις λόγων, ἔφη, παρ-
 εκεκλήμην, ἠπιστάμην <ἂν> ἤκειν ἀγορᾶς πληθού-
 σης (οὕτως γὰρ τις τῶν σοφῶν τὴν τῶν δείξεων ὄραν
 ἐκάλει, καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ πολλοὶ διὰ τοῦτο Πληθαγόραν
 ὠνόμαζον)· εἰ δὲ λουσάμενοι λογάρια δειπνοῦμεν,

μικρὰς τίθημι συμβολὰς ἀκροώμενος,

359 Aphrodite. 360 I.e. to Cynulcus and the other
 Cynics (literally "Dog-like Ones"); cf. 7.308d with n.

361 A pun on "Pythagoras".

strength nor lets one die.

Because there's no love of beauty in an empty stomach; Cypris³⁵⁹ is bitter for hungry people, as Achaeus puts it in his satyr play *Aethon* (*TrGF* 20 F 6). The wise Euripides (fr. 895) borrowed the idea from him and said:

Cypris is found where bellies are full, not where someone's hungry.

Ulpian, who was constantly at odds with Cynulcus, responded (adesp. parod. fr. 4 Olson–Sens = incert. fr. II Brandt):

The marketplace is full of vegetables, and also full of bread.

But you, dog, are always starving and do not allow us to share a nice extended discussion—or rather, you do not let us consume one; for good conversation nourishes the soul. As he made these remarks, he turned to the slave and said: Leucus, if you have any scraps of bread, give them to the dogs!³⁶⁰ Cynulcus replied: If I had been invited to go hear speeches delivered, I would have known to arrive when the marketplace was filling up (*agoras plēthuousēs*)—because this is how one of the sophists used to refer to the time when display-speeches were delivered, which is why many people called him Plēthagoras.³⁶¹ But if we have had a bath³⁶² and are nonetheless dining on mere words,

I'm making a small contribution by listening,

³⁶² An extraordinary concession for a Cynic, but the price of being admitted to dinner.

κατὰ τὸν Μένανδρον. διὸ παραχωρῶ σοι, ὦ γάστρων,
τῆς τοιαύτης ἐμφορεῖσθαι σιτήσεως. |

- e πεινῶντι δ' ἀνδρὶ μᾶζα τιμιωτέρα
χρυσοῦ τε κἀλέφαντος,

κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Ἐρετριέως Ἀχαιοῦ Κύκνον.

Καὶ ἄμα ταῦτα λέγων οἶος ἦν ἀπανίστασθαι ἐπι-
στραφεῖς δὲ καὶ θεασάμενος πλήθος ἰχθύων καὶ ἄλ-
λων παντοδαπῶν ὄψων παρασκευὴν εἰσκυκλουμένην
τύψας τῇ χειρὶ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον ἀνέκραγεν·

- f τέτλαθι δῆ, Πενίη, καὶ ἀνάσχεο μωρολογούντων· |
ὄψων γὰρ πλήθός σε δαμᾶ καὶ λιμὸς ἀτερπῆς.

ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤδη ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνδείας οὐ διθυράμβους φθέγ-
γομαι κατὰ τὸν Σωκράτην, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ ἔπη· λιμῶδες
γὰρ ὄντως ἢ ραιψωδία. κατὰ γὰρ Ἀμειψίαν, ὃς ἐν
Σφενδόνη ἔφη περὶ σοῦ μαντευσάμενος, ὦ Λαρήνσιε·

- κοῦδεις σοῦστὶν τῶν πλουτούντων, μὰ τὸν
Ἥφαιστον, προσόμοιος, ||
271 καλλιτράπεζος καὶ βουλόμενος λιπαρὸν ψωμὸν
καταπίνειν.

ὄρω (γὰρ) δὲ θαῦμ' ἄπιστον, ἰχθύων γένη

363 = adesp. com. fr. *111. An allusion to the opening of the *Iliad*, where the Achaean camp is hit not by a famine (*limos*), but by a plague (*loimos*).

BOOK VI

to quote Menander (fr. 437). You therefore have my permission, potbelly, to fill yourself with this kind of food.

But a barley-cake's more valuable to a hungry man
than gold or ivory,

to quote the *Cycnus* of Achaëus of Eretria (*TrGF* 20 F 25).

As he made these remarks, he acted as if he was getting up to leave. But when he turned around and noticed that a large number of fish and dainties of every other kind had been prepared and were being rolled in, he slapped his pillow with his hand and cried out (adesp. parod. fr. 5 Olson-Sens = incert. fr. III Brandt):

Be of good courage, Poverty, and endure it when
people talk nonsense;
for a crowd of dainties and unpleasant hunger
overwhelm you.

I am now in such a desperate situation that I am not quoting dithyrambs, like Socrates (cf. Pl. *Phdr.* 238d, 241e), but epic verse; for my recitation is in fact concerned with a plague—famine!³⁶³ To quote Amipsias, who offered a prophecy about you in *The Sling* (fr. 18), Larensius:

And none of the rich is like you, by Hephaestus,
a man who sets a fine table and wants to gobble down
a savory morsel.

For

I see something amazing and incredible! Various
species of fish

περὶ τὴν ἄκραν παίζοντα, κωβιούς, σπάρους,
ψήττας, ἐρυθρίνους, κεστρέας, πέρκας, ὄνους,
θύννους, μελανούρους, σηπίας, αὐλωπίας,
τρίγλας, ἐλεδώνας, σκορπίους,

φησὶν Ἡνίοχος ἐν Πολυπράγμουι· δεῖ οὖν καμὲ κατὰ
τὸν κωμικὸν Μεταγένην ἐπειπόντα·

εἰς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ δείπνου, |

b τετλάναι.

Σιωπήσαντος δ' αὐτοῦ ὁ Μασσούριος ἔφη· ἀλλ'
ἐπειδὴ ὑπολείπεται τινα περὶ τοῦ ἀμφὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας
λόγου, συμβαλοῦμαί τι καὶ αὐτὸς μέλος εἰς ἔρωτα τῷ
σοφῷ καὶ φιλτάτῳ Δημοκρίτῳ. Φίλιππος ὁ Θεαγγε-
λεὺς ἐν τῷ Περὶ Καρῶν καὶ Δελέγων συγγράμματι
καταλέξας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων εἰλωτας καὶ τοὺς Θετ-
ταλικοὺς πενέστας καὶ Κᾶράς φησι τοῖς Δελέξι· ὡς
οἰκέταις χρῆσασθαι πάλαι τε καὶ νῦν. Φύλαρχος δ' ἐν
c ἔκτῃ Ἱστοριῶν καὶ Βυζαντίους φησὶν οὕτω | Βιθυνῶν
δεσπόσαι ὡς Λακεδαιμονίους τῶν εἰλωτῶν. περὶ δὲ
τῶν παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπεννάκτων καλουμένων
(δοῦλοι δ' εἰσὶ καὶ οὗτοι) σαφῶς ἐκτίθεται Θεόπομπος
διὰ τῆς δευτέρας καὶ τριακοστῆς τῶν Ἱστοριῶν λέγων
οὕτως· ἀποθανόντων πολλῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐν τῷ
πρὸς Μεσσηνίους πολέμῳ οἱ περιλειφθέντες εὐλαβη-

³⁶⁴ A parody of *Il.* 12.243, where what one fights for is one's fatherland.

³⁶⁵ An allusion to Philox. *Cyth.* *PMG* 833, quoted more pre-

BOOK VI

are playing around the cape: gobies, sea-bream, flounders, *eruthrinoi*, gray mullets, perch, cod, tuna, *melanouroi*, cuttlefish, *aulōpiai*, red mullets, *heledonai*-octopi, and bullheads,

as Heniochus puts it in *The Busybody* (fr. 3). I must therefore add, to quote the comic author Metagenes (fr. 19), that:

The single best omen is to fight for one's dinner,³⁶⁴

and put up with the situation.

After Cynulcus stopped speaking, Masurius said: Since some points remain to be made in our discussion of slaves, I too will join my good, clever friend Democritus in a little song about love.³⁶⁵ Philip of Theangela in his treatise *On the Carians and the Leleges* (FGrH 741 F 2) lists the Spartans' helots and the Thessalian *penestai*, and then says that the Carians used the Leleges as slaves long ago and still do so today. Phylarchus in Book VI of the *History* (FGrH 81 F 8) claims that the Byzantines exercise the same sort of control over the Bithynians as the Spartans do over the helots. As for the Spartans' so-called *epeunaktai*—they too are slaves—Theopompus offers a clear account in Book XXXII of his *History* (FGrH 115 F 171), where he says the following: After many Spartans died in the war against the Messenians,³⁶⁶ the survivors were concerned that it would

cisely at 15.692d. What follows resumes the discussion of slaves broken off temporarily at 6.270e.

³⁶⁶ Theopompus Book XXXII was concerned with events in the mid-340s BCE, and this fragment is apparently part of a digression. The reference is most likely to the Second Messenian War (c.650).

- θέντες μὴ καταφανείς γένωνται τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐρημω-
 θέντες ἀνεβίβασαν τῶν εἰλώτων ἐφ' ἐκάστην στιβάδα
 d τῶν τετελευτηκότων τινάς· οὓς καὶ πολίτας | ὕστερον
 ποιήσαντες προσηγόρευσαν ἐπεννάκτους, ὅτι κατ-
 ἐτάχθησαν ἀντὶ τῶν τετελευτηκότων ἐπὶ τὰς στι-
 βάδας. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ἱστορεῖ κὰν τῇ τριακοστῇ καὶ τρίτῃ
 τῶν Ἱστοριῶν παρὰ Σικυωνίοις κατανακοφόρους κα-
 λείσθαι δούλους τινὰς παραπλησίους ὄντας τοῖς ἐπεν-
 νάκτοις. τὰ παραπλήσια ἱστορεῖ καὶ Μέναιχμος ἐν
 τοῖς Σικυωνιακοῖς²⁴. ἔτι Θεόπομπος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν
 e Φιλιππικῶν Ἀρδιαίου | φησὶ κεκτῆσθαι προσ-
 πελατῶν ὥσπερ εἰλώτων τριάκοντα μυριάδας. οἱ δὲ
 μόθακες καλούμενοι παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐλεύθεροι
 μὲν εἰσιν, οὐ μὴν Λακεδαιμόνιοι. λέγει δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν
 Φύλαρχος ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν
 οὕτως· εἰσὶ δ' οἱ μόθακες σύντροφοι τῶν Λακεδαιμο-
 νίων· ἕκαστος γὰρ τῶν πολιτικῶν παίδων ὡς ἂν καὶ τὰ
 ἴδια ἐκποιῶσιν οἱ μὲν ἕνα, οἱ δὲ δύο, τινὲς δὲ πλείους
 ποιοῦνται συντρόφους αὐτῶν. εἰσὶν οὖν οἱ μόθακες
 f ἐλεύθεροι μὲν, οὐ μὴν Λακεδαιμόνιοί | γε, μετέχουσιν
 δὲ τῆς παιδείας πάσης. τούτων ἕνα φασὶ γενέσθαι καὶ
 Λύσανδρον τὸν καταναυμαχήσαντα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους
 πολίτην γενόμενον δι' ἀνδραγαθίαν. Μύρων δὲ ὁ

²⁴ After this word A includes the intrusive explanatory note *κατανακοφόρους καλείσθαι δούλους τινὰς παραπλησίους ὄντας τοῖς ἐπεννάκτοις* (del. Meineke).

³⁶⁷ Literally "those put in another man's bed (*eunē*)".

BOOK VI

become obvious to their enemies that their numbers had been reduced. They accordingly put individual helots in the camp-beds of all the dead men; later they made them citizens and referred to them as *epeunaktoi*³⁶⁷, because they were assigned the dead men's position in their camp-beds. The same author reports in Book XXXIII of his *History* (FGrH 115 F 176) that the Sicyonians have slaves referred to as *katōnakophoroi*³⁶⁸, who are like the *epeunaktoi*. Menaechmus in his *History of Sicyon* (FGrH 131 F 1) records something similar. In addition, Theopompus in Book II of his *History of Philip* (FGrH 115 F 40)³⁶⁹ claims that the Ardiaeans own 300,000 *prospelatai*³⁷⁰, who resemble helots. The Spartans' so-called *mothakes* are free, but are not Spartans. Phylarchus in Book XXV of his *History* (FGrH 81 F 43) says the following about them: The *mothakes* are the Spartans' foster-brothers. Because all the citizen-boys choose foster-brothers for themselves; depending on what they can afford, some choose one, others two, some even more. The *mothakes* are thus free, but are not Spartans, although they participate fully in the Spartan system of education. People say that Lysander, who defeated the Athenians in a naval battle,³⁷¹ was a *mothax*, but became a citizen because of how he distinguished himself.

³⁶⁸ Literally "those who wear a rough sheepskin tunic (*katōnakē*)". ³⁶⁹ Cited more fully at 10.443b-c.

³⁷⁰ Literally "neighbors". Like the other slave-population numbers cited at 6.272b-d, the figure of 300,000 Ardiaean *prospelatai* must be wildly inflated.

³⁷¹ In 405 BCE at Aegospotamoi, where he destroyed the Athenian fleet and effectively put an end to the Peloponnesian War. For Lysander, see 6.233f n.

Πριηνεὺς ἐν δευτέρῳ Μεσσηνιακῶν, πολλάκις, φησίν, ἤλευθέρωσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι δούλους καὶ οὓς μὲν ἀφέτας ἐκάλεσαν, οὓς δὲ ἀδεσπότες, οὓς δὲ ἐρυκτῆρας, δεσποσιοναύτας δ' ἄλλους, οὓς εἰς τοὺς στόλους κατέτασσον, ἄλλους δὲ νεοδαμῶδεις ἐτέρους ὄντας τῶν εἰλώτων. Θεόπομπος δ' ἐν ἐβδόμῃ Ἑλληνικῶν ||
 272 περὶ τῶν εἰλώτων λέγων ὅτι καὶ ἐλεάται καλοῦνται γράφει οὕτως· τὸ δὲ τῶν εἰλώτων ἔθνος παντάπασι ὠμῶς διάκειται καὶ πικρῶς· εἰσὶ γὰρ οὗτοι καταδεδουλωμένοι πολλὸν ἤδη χρόνον ὑπὸ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐκ Μεσσήνης ὄντες, οἱ δ' ἐλεάται κατοικοῦντες πρότερον τὸ καλούμενον Ἔλος τῆς Λακωνικῆς. Τίμαιος δ' ὁ Ταυρομενίτης ἐκλαθόμενος αὐτοῦ — ἐλέγχει δ' αὐτὸν εἰς τοῦτο Πολύβιος ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης
 b διὰ τῆς δωδεκάτης τῶν Ἱστοριῶν — οὐκ ἴσθαι ἔφη σύννηθες τοῖς Ἑλλησι δούλους κτᾶσθαι, αὐτὸς εἰπὼν ὁ Ἐπιτίμαιος (οὕτως δ' αὐτὸν καλεῖ Ἰστρὸς ὁ Καλλιμάχειος ἐν ταῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀντιγραφαῖς) ὅτι²⁵ Μνάσων ὁ Φωκεὺς πλείους ἐκέκτητο δούλους τῶν χιλίων· κὰν τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν ὁ Ἐπιτίμαιος ἔφη οὕτως εὐδαιμονῆσαι τὴν Κορινθίων πόλιν ὡς κτήσασθαι δούλων μυριάδας ἕξ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα· δι' ἃς ἡγοῦμαι καὶ τὴν Πυθίαν αὐτοὺς κεκληκέναι

²⁵ εἰπὼν γὰρ ὅτι A: εἰπὼν ὅτι tantum CE

³⁷² Cited at 6.264c–d, where see n.
 "Criticizer, Fault-finder".

³⁷³ Literally
³⁷⁴ The numbers of slaves given throughout this section appear to be wildly inflated.

BOOK VI

Myron of Priene says in Book II of the *History of Messenia* (FGrH 106 F 1): The Spartans often freed their slaves; they called some of them *aphetai* ("released ones"), others *adespotoi* ("masterless ones") or *eruktērai*, others—those they assigned to go on naval expeditions—*desposionautai* ("master-sailors") or *neodamōdeis* ("newly enfranchised ones"), who are different from helots. Theopompus in Book VII of the *History of Greece* (FGrH 115 F 13) writes as follows in his discussion of the fact that the helots are also referred to as *heleatai*: The helots are in an utterly brutal, bitter position; for they have been kept in slavery for a long time now by the Spartiates. Some of them are from Messenia, while the *heleatai* previously inhabited the part of Laconia known as Helos. Timaeus of Tauromenium (FGrH 566 F 11)³⁷² became confused—Polybius of Megalopolis criticizes him for this in Book XII (6.7) of his *History*—and denied that the Greeks routinely owned slaves, even though this Epitimaeus³⁷³ (this is how Callimachus' student Istrus refers to Timaeus in his *Response* to him (FGrH 334 F 59 = 566 T 16)) himself said that Mnason of Phocis owned more than 1000 slaves! And in Book III of his *History* (FGrH 566 F 5) Epitimaeus claimed that the city of Corinth was so wealthy that its inhabitants owned 460,000 slaves³⁷⁴—who are, I suppose, the reason the Pythia referred to the Corinthians as *choinikometrai*³⁷⁵.

³⁷⁵ Literally "choinix-measurers", i.e. "slave-feeders", a *choinix* being a dry measure of volume equivalent to about a quart, and the standard daily ration of grain for a man (cf. 6.235c). The word would fit in a dactylic hexameter oracle, but nothing else is known of the story to which Athenaeus alludes.

χοινικομέτρας. Κτησικλῆς δ' ἐν τρίτῃ Χρονικῶν |
 c <κατὰ τὴν ἑπτα>καιδεκάτην πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατόν φησιν
 Ὀλυμπιάδα Ἀθήνησιν ἐξετασμὸν γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Δη-
 μητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως τῶν κατοικούντων τὴν Ἀττικὴν
 καὶ εὔρεθῆναι Ἀθηναίους μὲν δισμυρίους πρὸς τοῖς
 χιλίοις, μετοίκους δὲ μυρίους, οἰκετῶν δὲ μυριάδας
 τεσσαράκοντα. Νικίας δ' ὁ Νικηράτου, ὡς ὁ καλὸς
 ἔφη Ξενοφῶν ἐν τῷ Περὶ Πόρων, χιλίους ἔχων οἰκέτας
 ἐμίσθωσεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ ἀργυρεῖα Σωσία τῷ Θρακί
 ἐφ' ᾧ ὀβολὸν ἐκάστου τελεῖν τῆς ἡμέρας. Ἀριστο-
 τέλης δ' ἐν Αἰγυνητῶν Πολιτεία καὶ παρὰ τούτοις
 d φησὶ | γενέσθαι ἑπτὰ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα μυριάδας
 δούλων. Ἀγαθαρχίδης δ' ὁ Κνίδιος ἐν τῇ ὀγδόῃ καὶ
 τριακοστῇ τῶν Εὐρωπιακῶν Δαρδανεῖς φησι δούλους
 κεκτῆσθαι τὸν μὲν χιλίους, τὸν δὲ καὶ πλείους· τούτων
 δ' ἕκαστον ἐν μὲν εἰρήνῃ γεωργεῖν, ἐν πολέμῳ δὲ
 λοχίζεσθαι ἡγεμόνα νέμοντας τὸν ἴδιον δεσπότην.

Πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπαντήσας ὁ Λαρήνσιος ἔφη· ἀλλὰ
 Ῥωμαίων ἕκαστος (οἶδας δ' ἀκριβῶς ταῦτα, ᾧ καλὲ
 Μασσοῦριε) πλείστους ὅσους κεκτημένος οἰκέτας· καὶ
 e γὰρ μυρίους | καὶ δισμυρίους καὶ ἔτι πλείους δὲ πάμ-
 πολλοὶ κέκτηνται, οὐκ ἐπὶ προσόδοις δέ, ὥσπερ ὁ τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων ζάπλουτος Νικίας, ἀλλ' οἱ πλείους τῶν
 Ῥωμαίων συμπροϊόντας ἔχουσι τοὺς πλείστους. καὶ
 αἱ πολλαὶ δὲ αὐταὶ Ἀττικαὶ μυριάδες τῶν οἰκετῶν

³⁷⁶ Demetrius of Phalerum (PAA 312150) controlled Athens from 317–307 BCE. Nothing else is known of this census, the date

BOOK VI

Ctesicles in Book III of the *Chronicles* (*FGrH* 245 F 1) says that a census of the inhabitants of Attica was taken in Athens by Demetrius of Phalerum during the 117th Olympiad³⁷⁶, and that 21,000 Athenians, 10,000 metics, and 400,000 slaves were identified. According to the noble Xenophon in his *Ways and Means* (4.14), Nicias son of Niceratus³⁷⁷ owned 1000 slaves and hired them out to Sosias of Thrace to work in the silver mines, on the understanding that Sosias would pay an obol per man per day. Aristotle in the *Constitution of the Aeginetans* (fr. 475.1) claims that they owned 470,000 slaves. Agatharchides of Cnidus in Book XXXVIII of his *History of Europe* (*FGrH* 86 F 17) says that one of the Dardani owned 1000 slaves, while another owned even more. During peacetime, all these men worked in the fields; but when there was a war, they formed companies commanded by their individual masters.

Larensius responded to these remarks by saying: But every Roman—you are well aware of this, my good Masurius—owns as many slaves as he can. In fact, many own 10,000, 20,000, or even more—and not to generate income, like the fabulously wealthy Greek Nicias. Instead, most Romans use the largest number of slaves to accompany them when they go out. These many tens of 1000s of Attic slaves, on the other hand, worked in chains in the

for which (between 311 and 307) depends on a conjectural supplement to the text.

³⁷⁷ A prominent late 5th-century Athenian politician (*PAA* 712520). Sosias (*FRA* 2586) is otherwise unknown; but cf. *X. Mem.* 2.5.2, which suggests that he may have been a slave (if a very valuable one) himself.

δεδεμέναι εἰργάζοντο τὰ μέταλλα· Ποσειδώνιος γοῦν, οὗ συνεχῶς μέμνησαι, ὁ φιλόσοφος καὶ ἀποστάντας φησὶν αὐτοὺς καταφονεῦσαι μὲν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν μετάλ-
 f λων φύλακας, καταλαβέσθαι | δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ Σουνίᾳ ἀκρόπολιν καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον πορθῆσαι τὴν Ἄττικὴν. οὗτος δ' ἦν ὁ καιρὸς ὅτε καὶ ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἡ δευτέρα τῶν δούλων ἐπανάστασις ἐγένετο· πολλαὶ δὲ αὐταὶ ἐγένοντο, καὶ ἀπώλοντο οἰκετῶν ὑπὲρ τὰς ἑκατὸν μυριάδας (σύγγραμμα δὲ ἐκδέδωκε περὶ τῶν δουλικῶν πολέμων Καικίλιος ὁ ῥήτωρ ὁ ἀπὸ Καλῆς Ἀκτῆς)· καὶ Σπάρτακος δὲ ὁ μονομάχος ἐκ Καπύης πόλεως Ἰταλικῆς ἀποδρὰς κατὰ τὰ Μιθριδατικὰ πολὺ πλῆθος ἀποστήσας οἰκετῶν (ἦν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς οἰκέτης, Θραξ
 273 γένος) κατέδραμε πᾶσαν Ἰταλίαν || χρόνον οὐκ ὀλίγον πολλῶν δούλων καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν συρρεόντων ὡς αὐτόν· καὶ εἰ μὴ ἀπέθανεν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Δικίννιον Κράσσον παρατάξει, οὐ τὸν τυχόντα ἂν ἰδρῶτα τοῖς ἡμεδαποῖς παρεσχέκει, ὡς ὁ κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν Εὐνους. σώφρονες δ' ἦσαν καὶ πάντα ἄριστοι οἱ ἀρχαῖοι Ῥωμαῖοι· Σκιπίων γοῦν ὁ Ἀφρικανὸς ἐπὶ κλῆν ἐκπεμπόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου ἐπὶ τὸ καταστήσασθαι τὰς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην βασιλείας, ἵνα τοῖς προσήκουσιν ἐγχειρισθῶσιν, πέντε μόνους <συν>επήγετο
 b οἰκέτας, ὡς ἱστορεῖ | Πολύβιος καὶ Ποσειδώνιος, καὶ

378 Around 100 BCE; cf. D.S. 36.1. The first Sicilian slave revolt took place in 137–133 and was led by Eunous; cf. 6.273a; 12.542b; D.S. 34.2.

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mines. The philosopher Posidonius (*FGrH* 87 F 35 = fr. 262 Edelstein-Kidd), at any rate, to whom you constantly refer, reports that they revolted and murdered the guards posted at the mines, and then captured the citadel in Sunium and ravaged Attica for an extended period. This was also the time when the second slave uprising took place in Sicily;³⁷⁸ there were many of these, and over a million slaves died. (Caecilius, the orator from Calactē, published a treatise on the slave wars (*FGrH* 183 F 1).) So too the gladiator Spartacus ran off from the Italian city of Capua and led an enormous number of slaves into revolt during the Mithridatic War period³⁷⁹—he was a slave himself and a native of Thrace—and overran all of Italy for a considerable period of time, since large numbers of slaves flocked to him every day.³⁸⁰ Had he not died in the battle against Licinius Crassus, he would have forced my people to extraordinary efforts, as Eunous did in Sicily.³⁸¹ The ancient Romans practiced self-discipline and were generally excellent men. When Scipio (nicknamed Africanus), for example, was sent out by the Senate³⁸² to pacify the kingdoms throughout the inhabited world, so as to allow them to be handed over to their rightful masters, he took only five slaves with him, according to Polybius (fr. 76 Buettner-Wobst) and Posidonius (*FGrH* 87 F 59 = fr. 265

³⁷⁹ A reference to the Third Mithridatic War, which began in 73 BCE and ended with the death of Mithridates VI in 63.

³⁸⁰ Spartacus' revolt (which—despite the disparaging comments below—in fact represented a major political and military challenge for the Roman state) lasted from 73–71 BCE, and was finally put down by M. Licinius Crassus (for whom, see 6.252d with n.).

³⁸¹ See 6.272f n.

³⁸² In 140/139 BCE.

ένος ἀποθανόντος κατὰ τὴν ὄδοιπορίαν ἐπέστειλε τοῖς οἰκείοις ἄλλον ἀντ' ἐκείνου πριαμένους πέμψαι αὐτῶ. Ἰούλιος δὲ Καῖσαρ ὁ πρῶτος πάντων ἀνθρώπων περαιωθεὶς ἐπὶ τὰς Βρεττανίδας ἰήσους μετὰ χιλίων σκαφῶν τρεῖς οἰκέτας τοὺς πάντας συνεπήγετο, ὡς Κόττας ἱστορεῖ ὁ τότε ὑποστρατηγῶν αὐτῶ ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων Πολιτείας συγγράμματι, ὃ τῇ πατρίῳ ἡμῶν γέγραπται φωνῇ. ἀλλ' οὐ Σμινδυρίδης ὁ Συβαρίτης τοιοῦτος, ὡς Ἕλληνας, ὅς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀγαρίστης τῆς

c | Κλεισθένους θυγατρὸς ἐξορμῶν γάμον ὑπὸ χλιδῆς καὶ τρυφῆς χιλίους συνεπήγετο οἰκέτας, ἀλιεῖς καὶ ὀρνιθευτὰς καὶ μαγείρους· οὗτος δ' ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ ἐνδείξασθαι βουλόμενος ὡς εὐδαιμόνως ἔζη, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Χαμαιλέων ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἡδονῆς (τὸ δ' αὐτὸ βιβλίον καὶ ὡς Θεοφράστου φέρεται), οὐκ ἔφη τὸν ἥλιον ἐτῶν εἴκοσιν οὐτ' ἀνατέλλοντα οὔτε δυνόμενον ἑωρακέσθαι, καὶ τοῦτ' ἦν αὐτῶ μέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸν πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν. οὗτος, ὡς ἔοικεν, πρῶτὸν μὲν ἐκάθεν-

d | δειν, ὁψὲ δ' ἠγείρετο, κατ' ἀμφότερα | δυστυχῶν. ὁ δὲ Ποντικὸς Ἐστιαῖος καλῶς ἔκαυχᾶτο μῆτε ἀνατέλλοντα μῆτε καταδνόμενον ποτε τὸν ἥλιον ἑωρακέσθαι διὰ τὸ παιδεία παντὶ καιρῷ προσέχειν, ὡς ὁ Νικαεὺς Νικίας ἱστορεῖ ἐν ταῖς Διαδοχαῖς. τί οὖν, οὐκ εἶχεν

383 In 55 BCE.

384 Latin. Cotta was one of the Aurelii, a large and distinguished plebeian family.

385 For the story (set in the first half of the 6th century BCE), see Hdt. 6.126–30, who merely notes (6.127.1) that Smindyrides was the most dedicated to luxury of all the suitors. See also

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Edelstein-Kidd); when one died in the course of the journey, he wrote his family, asking them to buy another slave to replace the dead man and send him to him. Julius Caesar, the first person to make a crossing to the British Isles³⁸³ with 1000 ships, took a total of three slaves with him, according to Cotta, who was serving as his second-in-command at the time, in his treatise *On the Roman Constitution* (p. 247 Peter), which is written in my native language.³⁸⁴ But Smindyrides of Sybaris was not like this, Greek sirs; when he set off in the hope of marrying Cleisthenes' daughter Agariste,³⁸⁵ he was so devoted to luxury and fine living that he took along 1000 slaves, including fishermen, fowlers, and cooks. When this fellow wanted to indicate what a wonderful life he led, according to Chamaeleon of Pontus in his *On Pleasure* (fr. 8 Wehrli)—the same book is also attributed to Theophrastus—he claimed not to have seen the sun rising or setting for 20 years; as far as he was concerned, this was substantial and extraordinary evidence of how lucky he was. Apparently he used to go to sleep early and get up late—making him unfortunate on both counts.³⁸⁶ Hestiaeus of Pontus,³⁸⁷ on the other hand, used to offer the honorable boast that he had never seen the sun rise or set because he was always studying, according to Nicias of Nicaea in his *Successions* (*FHG* iv.464). What then—did

12.511c, 541b-c; Ael. *VH* 12.24 (with details similar to those offered here).

³⁸⁶ More likely what Smindyrides (or Chamaeleon) meant was that he slept late every morning and was inside at a feast every night before the sun went down; cf. 12.526b.

³⁸⁷ Otherwise unknown; he might have been better off spending his time like Smindyrides.

καὶ Σκιπίων καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ οἰκέτας; εἶχον, ἀλλ' ἐφύλασσον τοὺς πατρίους νόμους καὶ κεκολασμένως ἔζων τηροῦντες τὰ τῆς πολιτείας ἔθη. συννετῶν γάρ ἐστιν ἀνδρῶν ἐμμένειν τοῖς παλαιοῖς ζηλώμασιν, δι' ὧν στρατευόμενοι κατεστρέφοντο τοὺς ἄλλους, λαμβάνοντες ἅμα | τοῖς δοριαλώτοις καὶ εἴ τι χρήσιμον καὶ καλὸν ὑπῆρχε παρ' ἐκείνοις εἰς μίμησιν· ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς πάλαι χρόνοις ἐποιοῦν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διαφυλάττοντες γὰρ ἅμα καὶ τὰ πάτρια μετήγον παρὰ τῶν χειρωθέντων εἴ τι λείψανον καλῆς ἀσκήσεως εὐρισκόν, τὰ ἄχρηστα ἐκείνοις ἐῶντες, ὅπως μὴδ' εἰς ἀνάκτησιν ὧν ἀπέβαλον ἐλθεῖν ποτε δυνηθῶσι. παρὰ γοῦν τῶν Ἑλλήνων μηχανὰς καὶ ὄργανα πολιορκητικὰ μαθόντες τούτοις αὐτῶν περιεγέγοντο, Φοινίκων τε τὰ ναυτικὰ εὐρόντων τούτοις αὐτοὺς κατεναυμάχισαν. | ἔλαβον δὲ καὶ παρὰ Τυρρηνῶν τὴν σταδίαν μάχην φαλαγγηδὸν ἐπιόντων, καὶ παρὰ Σαυνιτῶν δὲ ἔμαθον θυρεοῦ χρήσιν, παρὰ δὲ Ἰβήρων γαίσω· καὶ ἄλλα δὲ παρ' ἄλλων μαθόντες ἄμεινον ἐπέχειργάσαντο. μιμησάμενοί τε κατὰ πάντα τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτείαν διετήρησαν αὐτὴν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκείνοι. νῦν δὲ τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῶν χρησίμων ποιούμενοί παρὰ τῶν ἐναντίων συναποφέρονται καὶ τὰ μοχθηρὰ ζηλώματα.

274 || πάτριος μὲν γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς, ὡς φησι Ποσειδώνιος, καρτερία καὶ λιτὴ δίαίτα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πρὸς τὴν κτῆσιν ἀφελῆς καὶ ἀπερίεργος χρήσις, ἔτι δὲ εὐσέβεια μὲν θαυμαστὴ περὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον, δικαιοσύνη δὲ

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Scipio and Caesar not have slaves? They had them; but they preserved their ancestral customs and lived a disciplined life, respecting their state's norms. Because it is a mark of intelligent men to maintain the ancient practices that allowed them to overcome other nations in war, while simultaneously adopting anything good or useful that their defeated enemies had worth imitating. This is what the Romans did in ancient times: they preserved their traditional practices, while at the same time taking over from the people they conquered any remnant of good behavior they discovered there, leaving them what was worthless, so they would never be able to recover their losses. After they learned about siege-machines and siege-engines from the Greeks, for example, this is what they used to defeat them, just as they defeated the Phoenicians at sea by using ships, despite the fact that the Phoenicians invented sailing. So too they took over the idea of fighting in close order from the Etruscans, who attacked in a phalanx, and learned how to use an oblong shield³⁸⁸ from the Samnites, and how to hurl javelins from the Iberians; and whatever they learned from anyone, they improved it. They also imitated the Spartan constitution in all respects, but preserved it better than the Spartans themselves did. Nowadays, however, although they continue to collect useful ideas from their enemies, they borrow their ugly habits as well. According to Posidonius (*FGrH* 87 F 35, continuing through 6.275b; = fr. 266 Edelstein-Kidd), the Roman tradition involved endurance, a frugal diet, and the modest and limited use of other material possessions, as well as extraordinary respect for the divine realm, on the one hand, and justice and a

³⁸⁸ The *scutum*, as opposed to the *cliteus*.

- καὶ πολλή τοῦ πλημμελεῖν εὐλάβεια πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους μετὰ τῆς κατὰ γεωργίαν ἀσκήσεως. τοῦτο δ' ἔστιν ἐκ τῶν πατρίων θυσιῶν ὧν ἐπιτελοῦμεν ἰδεῖν ὁδοὺς τε γὰρ πορευόμεθα τεταγμένας καὶ ὠρισμένας καὶ τεταγμένα φέρομεν καὶ λέγομεν ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς καὶ
- b δρῶμεν ἐν ταῖς ἱερουργίαις, | ἀφελῆ τε ταῦτα καὶ λιτά, καὶ οὐδὲν πλέον τῶν κατὰ φύσιν οὔτε ἡμφιεσμένοι καὶ περὶ τὰ σώματα ἔχοντες οὔτε ἀπαρχόμενοι, ἐσθῆτάς τε ἔχομεν καὶ ὑποδέσεις εὐτελεῖς πύλους τε ταῖς κεφαλαῖς περικείμεθα προβατείων δερμάτων δασεῖς, κέραμα δὲ καὶ χαλκᾶ τὰ διακονήματα κομίζομεν καὶ τούτοις βρωτὰ καὶ ποτὰ πάντων ἀπεριεργότατα, ἄτοπον ἡγούμενοι τοῖς μὲν θεοῖς πέμπειν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, αὐτοῖς δὲ χορηγεῖν κατὰ τὰ ἐπέισακτα· καίτοι γε τὰ
- c μὲν εἰς ἡμᾶς δαπανώμενα | τῇ χρείᾳ μετρεῖται, τὰ δ' εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀπαρχαί τινές εἰσι. Μούκιος γοῦν Σκευόλας τρίτος ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὸν Φάνιον ἐτήρει νόμον αὐτὸς καὶ Αἴλιος Τουβέρων καὶ Ῥουτίλιος Ῥοῦφος ὁ τὴν πατριὸν ἱστορίαν γεγραφώς. ἐκέλευε δ' ὁ νόμος τριῶν μὲν πλείονας τῶν ἔξω τῆς οἰκίας μὴ ὑποδέχασθαι, κατὰ ἀγορὰν δὲ τῶν πέντε· τοῦτο δὲ τρις τοῦ μηνὸς ἐγίνετο. ὀψωνεῖν δὲ πλείονος τῶν δυεῖν δραχμῶν καὶ ἡμίσιους οὐκ ἐπέτρεπεν· κρέως δὲ καπνιστοῦ δεκαπέντε τάλαντα δαπανᾶν | εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπεχώρει καὶ ὅσα γῆ φέρει λάχανα καὶ ὀσπρέων
- d

389 The *Lex Fannia* (161 BCE), which was intended to restrict

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deep reluctance to harm anyone, on the other, combined with a commitment to agriculture. This is apparent from the traditional sacrifices we carry out: we travel fixed, specific routes, and bring prescribed objects; in our prayers and offerings we say prescribed words and carry out prescribed actions, which are simple and unspectacular; we do not wear unusual clothing or otherwise adorn ourselves; and we make no unusual sacrifices. Instead, we wear inexpensive clothes and shoes; put rough sheepskin caps on our heads; and bring ceramic and bronze vessels that contain the simplest possible food and drink, since we consider it inappropriate to honor the gods in the traditional local manner while supplying ourselves with imported delicacies. Indeed, the amount we spend on ourselves is determined by what we need, and what we spend on the gods represents a sort of "first fruits". Mucius Scaevola, for example, was one of three men in Rome who respected the Fannian Law³⁸⁹, the others being Aelius Tubero and Rutilius Rufus, who wrote a history of his country (*FGrH* 815 T 7b).³⁹⁰ The law stipulated that no one was to entertain more than three people from outside his household, or five on market-days, which occurred three times a month.³⁹¹ It prohibited buying fish that cost more than two-and-a-half drachmas, but allowed individuals to consume 15 talents³⁹² of smoked meat per year, as well as whatever vegetables and dried legumes their land pro-

the ostentatious display of personal wealth at large dinner parties; see Gell. *NA* 2.24.2-6; Plin. *Nat.* 10.139.

³⁹⁰ Cf. 4.168e.

³⁹¹ The *nundinae*.

³⁹² About 850 pounds, which seems too large a figure to be right.

ἐψήματα. σμικρᾶς δὲ πάνυ τῆς δαπάνης ὑπαρχούσης
 διὰ τὸ τοὺς παρανομοῦντας καὶ ἀφειδῶς ἀναλίσκον-
 τας ἀνατετιμηκέναι τὰ ὄνια πρὸς τὸ ἐλευθεριώτερον
 νομίμως προήρχοντο· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Τουβέρων παρὰ τῶν
 ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀγροῖς ὄρνιθας ὠνεῖτο δραχμαίους, ὁ δὲ
 Ῥουτίλιος παρὰ τῶν ἀλιευόντων αὐτοῦ δούλων τρι-
 ωβόλου τὴν μνᾶν τοῦ ὄψου καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ θυριανοῦ
 e καλουμένου· μέρος δ' ἐστὶ τοῦτο θαλασσίου | κυνὸς
 οὔτω καλούμενον· ὁ δὲ Μούκιος παρὰ τῶν εὐχρηστού-
 μένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν τύπον ἐποιεῖτο τὴν
 διατίμησιν. ἐκ τοσούτων οὖν μυριάδων ἀνθρώπων
 οὔτοι μόνοι τὸν νόμον ἐνόρκως ἐτήρουν καὶ δῶρον
 οὐδὲ τὸ μικρότατον ἐδέχοντο· αὐτοὶ δ' ἄλλοις ἐδίδο-
 σαν καὶ φίλοις τοῖς ἀπὸ παιδείας ὀρμωμένοις μεγάλα·
 καὶ γὰρ ἀντείχοντο τῶν ἐκ τῆς στοᾶς δογμάτων. τῆς
 δὲ πολυτελείας τῆς νῦν ἀκμαζούσης πρῶτος ἡγεμὼν
 ἐγένετο Δεύκολλος ὁ καταναυμαχῆσας Μιθριδάτην, |
 f ὡς Νικόλαος ὁ περιπατητικὸς ἱστορεῖ· ἀφικόμενος
 γὰρ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην μετὰ τὴν ἥτταν τὴν Μιθριδάτου
 ἔτι τε τὴν Τιγράνου τοῦ Ἀρμενίου καὶ θριαμβεύσας
 λόγον τε ἀποδοὺς τῶν τοῦ πολέμου πράξεων ᾧκειλεν
 εἰς πολυτελῆ δίαιταν ἐκ τῆς παλαιᾶς σωφροσύνης καὶ
 πρῶτος τρυφῆς εἰσηγητῆς Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένετο, καρπω-
 σάμενος δυεῖν βασιλέων τῶν προειρημένων πλοῦτον.
 Κάτων δὲ ἐκεῖνος, ὡς Πολύβιος ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ
 καὶ τριακοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν, ἐδυσχέραине καὶ ἐκε-

393 About a pound.

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duced. Although the expenditure allowed was very small, the fact that people who broke the law and spent money freely drove the price of commodities up meant that the individuals in question became more independent by respecting it. Thus Tubero used to buy birds for a drachma from the men who worked his fields; Rutilius bought a mina³⁹³ of fish, including what is referred to as *thurianos*—this is the term for a section of a sea-shark—for three obols from the slave fishermen who belonged to him; and Mucius manipulated prices with the people who owed him favors in the same way. Out of all these tens of 1000s of people, these were the only ones who obeyed the law as they had sworn to do and did not accept even the smallest gift. Instead, they themselves gave large gifts to others who had become their friends because of the education they shared, since they adhered to Stoic doctrine. The man who initiated the extravagance flourishing today was the Lucullus who defeated Mithridates at sea,³⁹⁴ according to Nicolaus the Peripatetic (*FGrH* 90 F 77).³⁹⁵ Because when he came to Rome after defeating Mithridates as well as Tigranes of Armenia, and celebrated his triumph, he offered an account of his conduct during the war, but then abandoned his earlier self-discipline and wrecked his life on the reef of extravagance, becoming the first person to introduce the Romans to luxury, by exploiting the wealth of the two kings mentioned above. According to Polybius in Book XXXI (24.3–4) of his *History*, the well-known

³⁹⁴ L. Licinius Lucullus, whose command against Mithridates VI of Pontus and Tigranes II of Armenia lasted from 73–66 BCE.

³⁹⁵ Cf. 12.543a.

- κράγει ὅτι τινὲς τὰς ξενικὰς τρυφὰς εἰσήγαγον εἰς τὴν
 275 Ῥώμην ἢ τριακοσίων μὲν δραχμῶν κεράμιον ταρίχων
 Ποντικῶν ὠνησάμενοι, καὶ μειράκια δ' εὖμορφα ὑπερ-
 βαλλούσης ἀγρῶν τιμῆς. πρότερον δὲ οὕτως ὀλιγοδε-
 εῖς ἦσαν οἱ τὴν Ἰταλίαν κατοικοῦντες ὥστε καὶ καθ'
 ἡμᾶς ἔτι, φησὶν ὁ Ποσειδώνιος, οἱ σφόδρα εὐκαιρού-
 μενοι τοῖς βίοις ἤγον τοὺς υἱοὺς ὕδωρ μὲν ὡς τὸ πολὺ
 πίνοντας, ἐσθίουσας δ' ὅ τι ἂν τύχη. καὶ πολλάκις,
 φησὶν, πατὴρ ἢ μήτηρ υἱὸν ἠρώτα πότερον ἀπίους ἢ
 κάρνα βούλεται δειπνήσαι, καὶ τούτων τι φαγὼν ἤρ-
 b κέιτο καὶ ἐκοιμᾶτο. νῦν ἰδέ, ὡς ὁ Θεόπομπος ἱστορεῖ
 ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν, οὐδεὶς ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν
 μετρίως εὐπορουμένων, ὅστις οὐ πολυτελῆ μὲν τράπε-
 ζαν παρατίθεται, μαγείρους δὲ καὶ θεραπείαν ἄλλην
 πολλὴν κέκτηται καὶ πλείω δαπανᾷ τὰ καθ' ἡμέραν ἢ
 πρότερον ἐν ταῖς ἐορταῖς καὶ ταῖς θυσίαις ἀνήλισκον.
 Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς ἱκανὸν μῆκος προὔβη τὰ τῶν ἀπομνη-
 μονευθέντων, αὐτοῦ καταπαύσωμεν τὸν λόγον.

BOOK VI

Cato³⁹⁶ was disgusted and complained publicly that certain people had imported foreign luxury into Rome by buying a jar of Pontic saltfish for 300 drachmas, and handsome boys for more than fields cost. Previously the inhabitants of Italy were so frugal that even in our own time, says Posidonius (*FGrH* 87 F 59 continued; = fr. 267 Edelstein-Kidd), the very rich brought their sons up to drink water most of the time and to eat whatever was set in front of them. Often, he claims, a father or mother would ask their son whether he wanted pears or nuts for dinner, and after he ate some of them, he was satisfied and went to bed. But nowadays, according to Theopompus in Book I of his *History of Philip* (*FGrH* 115 F 36), there is no one even among the only moderately well-to-do who does not set an expensive table, own cooks and many other servants, and spend more money every day than people spent in the past at their festivals and sacrificial rites.

Since this section of my reminiscences has gone on long enough, let us bring the conversation to a close at this point.

³⁹⁶ M. Porcius Cato ("Uticensis"); the year in question is 90 BCE.

Z

275c Ἐπιτελουμένων δὲ ἤδη τοῦ δείπνου τῶν Φαγησίων
 ἑορτὴν συντελείσθαι νομίσαντες οἱ κυνικοὶ πάντων
 μᾶλλον ἠϋφραίνοντο. καὶ ὁ Κύνουλκος ἔφη, ἕως ἡμεῖς
 δειπνοῦμεν, ὦ Οὐλπιανέ, λόγοις γὰρ ἐστιᾶ, προβάλλω
 σοι παρὰ τίνι εἴρηται Φαγήσια ἑορτὴ καὶ Φαγησιπό-
 σια. καὶ ὃς ἀπορηθεὶς ἐπισχεῖν τε κελεύσας τοὺς
 παῖδας τὴν περιφορὰν καίτοι ἤδη οὔσης ἐσπέρας· οὐ
 d συμπεριφέρομαι, ὦ σοφώτατε· ἵ ὥστε λέγειν σοὶ
 καιρὸς, ἵνα μᾶλλον καὶ δειπνήσης ἡδιον. καὶ ὅς, εἰ
 χάριν ὁμολογήσεις μαθῶν, λέξω. ὁμολογήσαντος δ'
 ἔφη· Κλέαρχος Ἀριστοτέλους μαθητῆς, Σολεὺς δὲ τὸ
 γένος, ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ Περὶ Γρίφων (κρατῶ γὰρ καὶ
 τῆς λέξεως διὰ τὸ σφόδρα μοι εἶναι προσφιλεῖ) οὕτω-
 σί πως εἴρηκε· Φαγήσια, οἱ δὲ Φαγησιπόσια προσ-
 αγορεύουσι τὴν ἑορτὴν· ἐξέλιπε δὲ αὕτη, καθάπερ ἡ
 τῶν ραιψωδῶν ἦν ἡγῶν κατὰ τὴν¹ τῶν Διονυσίων· ἐν ἧ
 παριόντες ἐκάστῳ τῶν θεῶν οἶον τιμὴν ἐπετέλουν τὴν

¹ κατὰ τὴν Olson: καὶ τὴν A: καὶ ἡ CE

¹ Cognate with *phagō*, "eat". We know nothing about the festival except what Athenaeus tells us below.

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The dinner was now coming to an end, and the Cynics, who thought that they were celebrating the Phagesia¹ festival, were enjoying themselves more than anyone else. Cynulcus said: While we are dining, Ulpian—since you are feeding us speeches—I have a question for you: Who mentions the Phagesia festival and the Phagesiposia?² Ulpian was at a loss and ordered the slaves to stop bringing food around, even though the sun had already set. I am unacquainted with these terms, learned sir, he replied; so here is your opportunity to speak—which will allow you to enjoy your dinner more! Cynulcus responded: If you express your gratitude after you find out, I will tell you. When Ulpian agreed,³ Cynulcus said: Aristotle's student Clearchus, whose family was from Soli, says something along the following lines in Book I of *On Riddles* (fr. 91a Wehrli)—I remember the passage because I find it so congenial: The Phagesia (although others refer to the festival as the Phagesiposia); it lapsed, as did the rhapsodes' festival they used to celebrate during the Dionysia, in the course of which they visited all the gods and gave a rhapsodic perfor-

² "The Festival of Eating and Drinking" (the second element being cognate with *pinō*, "drink").

³ In the event, Ulpian never thanks Cynulcus (with whom he argues constantly) for the enlightenment he provides.

- 276 ῥαψωδίαν. ταῦτ' εἶπεν ὁ Κλέαρχος. εἰ δ' ἀπιστεῖς, ὦ
 276 ἑταῖρε, καὶ τὸ βιβλίον ἢ κεκτημένος οὐ φθονήσω σοι·
 ἀφ' οὗ πολλά ἐκμαθὼν εὐπορήσεις προβλημάτων καὶ
 γὰρ Καλλίαν ἱστορεῖ τὸν Ἀθηναῖον Γραμματικὴν
 συνθεῖναι Τραγωδίαν, ἀφ' ἧς ποιῆσαι τὰ μέλη καὶ τὴν
 διάθεσιν Εὐριπίδην ἐν Μηδείᾳ καὶ Σοφοκλέα τὸν Οἰ-
 δίπουν. θαυμασάντων δὲ πάντων τὸ εὐπαίδευτον τοῦ
 Κυνούλκου ὁ Πλούταρχος, κατὰ τὸ ὅμοιον, ἔφη, καὶ ἐν
 Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τῇ ἐμῇ Λαγυνοφόρια ἑορτὴ τις ἦγετο,
 b περὶ ἧς ἱστορεῖ Ἐρατοσθένης ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ
 συγγράμματι ἢ Ἀρσινώῃ. λέγει δὲ οὕτως· τοῦ Πτολε-
 μαίου κτίζοντος ἑορτῶν καὶ θυσιῶν παντοδαπῶν γένη
 καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον, ἠρώτησεν Ἀρσινώῃ
 τὸν φέροντα τοὺς θαλλοὺς τίνα νῦν ἡμέραν ἄγει καὶ
 τίς ἐστὶν ἑορτὴ. τοῦ δ' εἰπόντος, “καλεῖται μὲν Λαγυ-
 νοφόρια, καὶ τὰ κομισθέντα αὐτοῖς δειπνοῦσι κατα-
 κλιθέντες ἐπὶ στιβάδων καὶ ἐξ ἰδίας ἕκαστος λαγύνου
 παρ' αὐτῶν φέροντες πίνουσιν.” ὡς δ' οὕτως ἀπεχώ-
 ρησεν, ἐμβλέψασα πρὸς ἡμᾶς, “συννοικία γ’”, ἔφη,
 c “ταῦτα ῥηπάρᾳ ἢ ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὴν σύνοδον γίνεσθαι
 παμμιγοῦς ὄχλον, θοίνην ξῶλον καὶ οὐδαμῶς εὐπρεπῆ
 παρατιθεμένων. εἰ δὲ τὸ γένος τῆς ἑορτῆς ἦρεσκεν,

⁴ Athenaeus quotes extensively from *On Riddles* in Book 10.

⁵ Cf. 10.448b, 453c–e (a much expanded version of the material cited here). It is unclear whether the Callias in question is the early Athenian comic playwright, and Snell takes him to be instead an otherwise unknown tragic poet (*TrGF* 233). But whoever the

mance as a way of honoring them. This is what Clearchus reports. If you do not believe me, my friend, I own the book and will be happy to lend it to you; you will learn a great deal from it and be well supplied with questions.⁴ Clearchus also reports that Callias of Athens composed a *Literal Tragedy* (Call. Com. test. *7),⁵ which provided the model for the choral sections and plot of Euripides' *Medea*, as well as for Sophocles' *Oedipus*. Everyone was astonished at Cynulcus' erudition, and Plutarch said: So too in my native city of Alexandria, a festival known as the Lagynophoria⁶ used to be celebrated. Eratosthenes offers an account of it in his treatise entitled *Arsinoe* (FGrH 241 F 16), saying the following: When Ptolemy was establishing many different types of festivals and sacrifices, particularly in honor of Dionysus, Arsinoe⁷ asked the man carrying the branches what day he was celebrating now and what the festival was. He said: "It's called the Lagynophoria. They lie down on camp-beds⁸ and eat the food they've brought for themselves, and everyone drinks from a personal wine-flask (*lagynos*) he's brought (*pherontes*) from home." He went on his way, and she looked at us and said: "This is a filthy celebration. It's inevitable that the crowd will include people of every kind, who'll serve themselves a meal consisting of nasty leftovers. If this was the

author of the *Literal Tragedy* was, it is impossible to believe that his play provided any sort of model for either the *Oedipus* or the *Medea*.

⁶ "The Wineflask-Carrying Festival".

⁷ Presumably Arsinoe III Philopator (d. 205 BCE), making the Ptolemy in question most likely Ptolemy IV Philopator.

⁸ Made of the branches mentioned above.

οὐκ ἂν ἐκοπίασε δῆπου τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα παρασκευάζων²
καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς Χουσίῃ· εὐωχοῦνται μὲν γὰρ κατ'
ἰδίαν, παρέχει δὲ ταῦτα ὁ καλέσας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίασιν.”

Τῶν δὲ παρόντων γραμματικῶν τις ἀποβλέψας εἰς
τὴν τοῦ δείπνου παρασκευὴν ἔφη·

εἶτα πῶς δειπνήσομεν
τοσαῦτα δείπνα; ἴσως διὰ νυκτός,

ὡς <ὁ> χαρίεις Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Αἰολοσίκωνι εἶπεν,
d οὕτως | λέγων οἶονεὶ δι' ὅλης νυκτός· ὡς καὶ τὸ
Ἵομηρικὸν ἔχει·

κεῖτ' ἔντοσθ' ἄντροιο ταινισσάμενος διὰ μήλων,
ἀντὶ τοῦ διὰ πάντων τῶν μήλων, τὸ μέγεθος αὐτοῦ
ἐμφανίζων. πρὸς ὃν ὁ ἱατρὸς ἔφη Δάφνος, ὠφελι-
μώτερα ἔστι, φίλτατε, τῷ παντὶ σώματι τὰ νυκτερινὰ
δείπνα· τὸ γὰρ τῆς σελήνης ἄστρον πρὸς τὰς τῆς
τροφῆς ἀρμόττει πέψεις σηπτικὸν ὑπάρχον· κατὰ σῆ-
ψιν δ' ἢ πέψις. εὐσηπτότερα γοῦν τὰ νύκτωρ θνύμενα
e τῶν | ἱερείων καὶ τῶν ξύλων τὰ πρὸς τὸ σελήνιον
κοπτόμενα, καὶ τῶν καρπῶν δὲ οἱ πλείστοι πρὸς τὸ
σελήνιον πεπαίνονται.

Πολλῶν δὲ ὄντων καὶ διαφόρων τῶν παρεσκευ-
ασμένων καὶ αἰεὶ παρασκευαζομένων ἰχθύων μεγέθει
τε καὶ ποικιλίᾳ ὁ Μυρτίλος ἔφη· εἰκότως, ἄνδρες

² παρασκευάζων Olson: παρασκευάζουσα ἢ βασιλεία A

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sort of festival he wanted, he wouldn't have had any difficulty making the same arrangements as at the Choes festival; they eat individually there, but the host supplies the material for the feast."⁹

One of the grammarians present looked at the preparations being made for dinner and said:

So how are we going to eat
a dinner like this? Maybe throughout the night,

as the witty Aristophanes put it in *Aeolosicon* (fr. 12), meaning "throughout the entire night". Compare the Homeric line (*Od.* 9.298):

He lay within the cave, stretched out among the
sheep,

by which he means "among all the sheep", as a way of hinting at the creature's size. The physician Daphnus responded: Meals eaten by night, my good friend, are better for the body generally; because moonlight is amenable to the digestion of one's food, since it aids decomposition, and digestion is a process of decomposition. Sacrificial animals killed at night accordingly decompose more rapidly, as does wood cut by moonlight; so too most crops ripen when the moon is out.

Many large fish of various sorts had been and continued to be prepared for us, and Myrtilus said:¹⁰ It is understand-

⁹ At the Choes ("Pitchers") festival, each guest had his own table and drank from his own pitcher of wine; cf. 10.437b-d.

¹⁰ Virtually identical material is preserved at *Plu. Mor.* 667f-8a; and cf. 8.340e-f with n., 341a with n.

φίλοι, πάντων τῶν προσοψημάτων ὄψων καλουμένων
 ἐξενίκησεν ὁ ἰχθύς μόνος³ οὕτως καλεῖσθαι διὰ τοὺς
 ἐπιμανῶς ἐσχηκότας πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ἐδωδὴν. λέγο-
 f μεν | γοῦν ὀψοφάγους οὐ τοὺς βόεια ἐσθιοντας, οἷος
 ἦν Ἡρακλῆς, ὃς τοῖς

κρέασι βοείοις χλωρὰ σῦκ' ἐπήσθιεν⁴,

οὐδὲ τὸν φιλόσκον, οἷος ἦν Πλάτων ὁ φιλόσοφος, ὡς
 ἱστορεῖ Φανόκριτος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Εὐδόξου ἱστορεῖ δ' ὅτι
 καὶ Ἀρκεσίλας φιλόβοτρυς ἦν· ἀλλὰ τοὺς περὶ τὴν
 ἰχθυοπωλίαν ἀναστρεφομένους. φιλόμηλοι δ' ἦσαν
 Φίλιππος τε ὁ Μακεδὼν καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀλέξανδρος,
 ὡς Δωρόθεός φησιν ἐν τῇ ἕκτη τῶν Περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον
 277 Ἱστοριῶν. || Χάρης δ' ὁ Μυτιληναῖος ἱστορεῖ ὡς
 κάλλιστα μῆλα εὐρῶν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος περὶ τὴν Βαβυ-
 λωνίαν χώραν τούτων τε πληρώσας τὰ σκάφη μηλο-
 μαχίαν ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἐποίησατο, ὡς τὴν θεῶν ἡδίστην
 γενέσθαι. οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δὲ ὅτι ὄψων κυρίως καλεῖται πᾶν
 τὸ πυρὶ κατασκευαζόμενον εἰς ἐδωδὴν· ἤτοι γὰρ ἔψων
 ἐστὶν ἢ παρὰ τὸ ὠπτῆσθαι ὠνόμασται.

Πολλῶν οὖν ὄντων τῶν ἰχθύων, οὓς κατὰ τὰς
 ἐκάστας ὥρας ἐδαινύμεθα, ὧ θυμασιώτατε Τιμόκρα-
 τες. κατὰ γὰρ τὸν Σοφοκλέα· |

³ ὁ ἰχθύς διὰ τὴν ἐξαίρετον ἐδωδὴν μόνος ACE

⁴ βοείοις κρέασι ἐπήσθιε σῦκα χλωρὰ ACE

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able, my friends, that of all the side-dishes (*prosopsēmata*) referred to as *opson*, fish alone enjoys the distinction of being specifically called by this name, because of the people who are crazy about it. We do not use the term *opsophagos* (“*opson*-eater”), at any rate, for someone who likes to eat beef, such as Heracles, who (E. fr. 907.1)

used to eat green figs on top of slabs of beef,

or for a person who loves figs, such as the philosopher Plato, according to Phanocritus in his *On Eudoxus* (FHG iv.473); he notes that Arcesilas¹¹ also loved grapes. Instead, we apply the term to individuals who hang around the fish market. Philip of Macedon and his son Alexander liked apples, according to Dorotheus in Book VI of his *History Involving Alexander* (FGrH 145 F 1). Chares of Mytilene (FGrH 125 F 9) reports that when Alexander came upon wonderful apples in Babylonian territory, he filled his ships with them and staged a naval apple-battle, which was quite an amusing sight. Nor am I unaware that the term *opson* is properly applied to anything rendered edible by the application of fire; either the word is actually *hepson*¹², or it reflects the fact that the food has been baked (*ōptēsthai*).¹³

At any rate, there were large quantities of fish, and we feasted on them in every season of the year, my marvellous Timocrates. For to quote Sophocles (fr. 762),

¹¹ Arcesilas (or Arcesilaus) of Pitane was head of the Academy c.268–242/1 BCE and founded the so-called Middle Academy.

¹² Cognate with *hepsō*, “stew”.

¹³ This is in fact the correct etymology.

b χορὸς δ' ἀναύδων ἰχθύων ἐπερρόθει
σαίνοντες οὐραίοισι

οὐ τὴν κεκτημένην ἀλλὰ τὰς λοπάδας. καὶ κατὰ τὰς
Ἄχαιοῦ δὲ Μοίρας·

πολὺς † γὰρ ὄμιλος
πόντιος κυκλουσοβῶν, ἐνάλιος θεωρία,
χραίνοντες οὐραίοισιν εὐδίαν ἀλός.

ἀπομνημονεύσω δέ σοι ἅ περὶ ἐκάστου ἔλεξαν οἱ
δειπνοσοφισταί· πάντες γὰρ συνεισήνεγκαν εἰς αὐ-
c τούς τὰς ἐκ βιβλίων συμβολάς, ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα | διὰ
τὸ πλῆθος παραλείψω.

ὅστις ἀγοράζων ὄψον < . . . >
ἔξ' ὃν ἀπολαύειν ἰχθύων ἀληθινῶν,
ῥαφανίδας ἐπιθυμεῖ πρίασθαι, μαίνεται,

φησὶν Ἄμφις ἐν Λευκάδι· ἵνα δὲ εὐμνημόνευτά σοι
γένηται τὰ λεχθέντα, κατὰ στοιχείον τάξω τὰ ὀνό-
ματα. καὶ γὰρ Σοφοκλέους εἰπόντος ἐν Αἴαντι Μαστι-
γοφόρῳ τοὺς ἰχθύς ἐλλούς·

ἔφηκεν ἐλλοῖς ἰχθύσιν διαφθοράν,

ἔζητησέν τις εἰ καὶ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ τις τῷ ὀνόματι
d κέχρηται. πρὸς ὃν ὁ Ζωῖλος ἔφη· ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ | ὧν
ὀψοφαγίστατος — οὕτω γὰρ Ξενοφῶν ὀνόμασεν ἐν

14 Cf. 1.4b.

15 Quoted also at 2.57b.

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A chorus of mute fish were shouting their approval
by wagging their tails

not at their mistress, but at the casserole-dishes. And to
quote Achaëus' *Fates* (*TrGF* 20 F 27):

for † a large marine
crowd whirling in a circle, a sacred sea-board
embassy,
disturbing the sea's calm with their tails.

But I will recall for you what the learned banqueters said
about each fish; because they all contributed to the discus-
sion of the subject from their books,¹⁴ whose titles I will
omit because there are so many of them.

If anyone who's buying fine food (*opson*)
has the opportunity to enjoy actual fish
but wants to purchase radishes, he's crazy,

says Amphis in *The Girl from Leucas* (fr. 26).¹⁵ But to
make it easier for you to remember what was said, I will or-
ganize the names alphabetically.¹⁶ Although Sophocles in
Ajax the Whip-Bearer (*Ai.* 1297) refers to fish as *elloi*¹⁷—

He imposed destruction on *elloi* fish—

someone asked if any author earlier than him uses the
word. Zoilus responded: Although I am not especially fond
of eating *opson* (*opsophagistatos*)—Xenophon used the

¹⁶ The pretence of offering a faithfully linear account of an ac-
tual conversation is accordingly abandoned for much of this Book.

¹⁷ The word is obscure and ought perhaps to be aspirated
(*helloi*).

Ἀπομνημονεύμασι γράφων οὕτως· ὀψοφαγίστατός τε καὶ βλακίστατός ἐστιν — οἶδα ὅτι ὁ τὴν Τιτανομαχίαν ποιήσας, εἴτ' Εὐμηλός ἐστιν ὁ Κορίνθιος ἢ Ἀρκτῖνος ἢ ὅστις δήποτε χαίρει ὀνομαζόμενος, ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ οὕτως εἴρηκεν·

ἐν δ' αὐτῇ πλωτοὶ χρυσώπιδες ἰχθύες ἔλλοι
νήχοντες παίζουσι δι' ὕδατος ἀμβροσίῳ. |

e ἔχαιρε δὲ Σοφοκλῆς τῷ ἐπικῷ κύκλῳ, ὡς καὶ ὅλα δράματα ποιῆσαι κατακολουθῶν τῇ ἐν τούτῳ μυθοποιῶν.

Παρατεθεισῶν οὖν ἀμίων ἔφη τις· ταύτας Ἀριστοτέλης ἱστορεῖ τὰ μὲν βράγχια ἔχειν καλυπτὰ, εἶναι δὲ καρχαρόδοντας καὶ τῶν συναγελαζομένων καὶ σαρκοφάγων χολὴν τε ἔχειν ἰσομήκη τῷ ἐντέρῳ καὶ σπλῆνα ὁμοίως. λέγεται δὲ ὡς θηρευθεῖσαι προσανάλλονται καὶ ἀποτρώγουσαι τὴν ὄρμιαν ἐκφεύγουσιν. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτῶν | Ἄρχιππος ἐν Ἰχθύσι λέγων οὕτως· †
f ὅτε δ' ἦσθες ἀμίας παχείας †. καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος δ' ἐν Σειρήσιν·

(A.) πρῶτὴ μὲν γ' ἀτενὲς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀφύας
ἀπεπυρίζομεν

στρογγύλας, καὶ δελφακίνας ὅπτα κρέα καὶ
πωλύπους,

καὶ γλυκύν γ' ἐπ' ὧν ἐπίομεν οἶνον. (B.) οἴβοιβοὶ
τάλας.

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word in this form in the *Memorabilia* (3.13.4),¹⁸ writing as follows: He's extremely fond of eating *opson* (*opsophagistatos*) and a great dunce—I am aware that the author of the *Titanomachy* (test. 2 Bernabé), whether this is Eumelus of Corinth, or Arctinus, or whatever name he likes to use, says the following in Book II (*Titan.* fr. 4 Bernabé):

Floating golden-eyed *elloi* fish swim around
in it, frolicking in the immortal water.

Sophocles (test. 136) was fond of the Epic Cycle, to the extent that he composed entire plays based on the stories told in it.

After bonitos were served, someone said: Aristotle (fr. 188) reports that these have hidden gills and are jagged-toothed; belong to the schooling, carnivorous class of fish; and have a gall-bladder and a spleen that are as long as their gut. They supposedly leap in the air when hooked, bite through the line, and escape. Archippus mentions them in *Fish*, saying the following (fr. 20, unmetrical): † when you were eating fat bonitos †. Also Epicharmus in *Sirens* (fr. 122.1–7):¹⁹

(A.) First thing in the morning, starting at dawn, we
cooked globular
small-fry on the fire, along with bits of roasted pork
and octopi;
and we were drinking sweet wine along with them.
(B.) Oh my—poor fellow!

¹⁸ Slightly adapted.

¹⁹ Most of the seventh verse, along with an eighth, are quoted at 7.309e–f.

(A.) † περι σᾶμά με καλοῦσα κατίσκα † λέγοι.

(B.) φου̅ τῶν κακῶν. ||

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(A.) † ὁ καὶ παρὰ τρίγλας τε καὶ παξῆα † κάμια
δύο

διατεταμέναι μέσαι, φάσσαι τε τοσσαῦται
παρῆν

σκορπίοι τε.

Ἄριστοτέλης δὲ παρετυμολογῶν αὐτῆς τοῦνομά φη-
σιν ὠνομάσθαι παρὰ τὸ ἅμα ἰέναι ταῖς παραπλη-
σίαις· ἐστὶ γὰρ συναγελαστική. Ἰκέσιος δ' ἐν τοῖς
Περὶ Ὑλης εὐχύλους μὲν αὐτὰς εἶναι καὶ ἀπαλάς,
πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἐκκρίσεις μέσας, ἦσσον δὲ τροφίμους. ὁ
δὲ ὀψοδαίδαλος Ἀρχέστρατος ἐν τῇ Γαστρολογία
(οὕτως γὰρ ἐπιγράφεσθαι φησι Λυκόφρων ἐν τοῖς
b Περὶ Κωμωδίας, | ὡς τὴν Κλεοστράτου τοῦ Τενεδίου
Ἄστρολογίαν) περὶ τῆς ἀμίας φησὶν οὕτως·

τὴν δ' ἀμῆν φθινοπώρου, ὅταν Πλειὰς καταδύνη,
πάντα τρόπον σκεύαζε. τί σοι τάδε μυθολογεῖω;
οὐ γὰρ μὴ σὺ διαφθείρης οὐδ' ἂν ἐπιθυμῆς.

εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις καὶ τοῦτο δαήμεναι, ὦ φίλε Μόσχε,
ὄντινα χρή σε τρόπον κείνην διαθεῖναι ἄριστα, |
c ἐν συκῆς φύλλοις καὶ ὀριγάνῳ οὐ μάλα πολλῆ.

²⁰ *hama ienai*, whence supposedly the bonito's Greek name *amía*. For another (equally misguided) etymology, see 7.324d; the actual origin of the word is obscure.

²¹ "digestive juice" *vel sim.*; one of Hicesius' favorite terms.

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(A.) † around a tomb me calling held down † should
say. (B.) Oh—what troubles!

(A.) † which also beside both red mullets and
[corrupt] † and two bonitos
split down the middle; and an equal number of
ringdoves and bullheads
were there.

Aristotle (fr. 188, continued) explains the bonito's name by claiming that it is called this because it accompanies²⁰ other fish of the same type; because it is found in schools. Hicesius in his *On Raw Material* (claims that) they produce good *chulē*²¹; are soft; and are moderately easy to excrete, but less nourishing. The culinary genius Archestra-tus in his *Gastrology*—Lycophron in his *On Comedy* (Arche-str. test. 7 Olson—Sens) claims that this is the title of the work, like Cleostratus of Tenedus' *Astrology* (6 A 4 D—K)—has the following to say about the bonito (fr. 36 Olson—Sens = *SH* 166):²²

As for the bonito, in autumn, when the Pleiades set,
prepare it any way you like! Why should I make a
long story for you out of this?

You certainly will not ruin it, even if you wish to do
so.

But, my dear Moschus, if you nonetheless want to
know

the best way for you to prepare this fish,
the answer is: in fig leaves and just a bit of marjoram.

²² Part of the first verse is quoted again, in slightly variant form, at 7.314a (from Lynceus of Samos).

μη τυρόν, μη λήρον· ἀπλῶς δ' οὕτως θεραπεύσας
 ἐν συκῆς φύλλοις σχοίνῳ κατάδησον ἄνωθεν,
 εἴθ' ὑπὸ θερμῆν ὥσον ἔσω σποδόν, ἐν φρεσὶ
 καιρὸν

γινώσκων ὁπότ' ἐστ' ὀπτῆ, καὶ μὴ κατακαύσης.
 ἔστω δ' αὕτη σοι Βυζαντίου ἐξ ἔρατεινοῦ,
 εἶπερ ἔχειν ἀγαθὴν ἐθέλεις· κἂν ἐγγὺς ἀλῶ που
 τοῦδε τόπου, κεδνὴν λήψει τηλοῦ δὲ θαλάσσης |
 d Ἑλλησποντιάδος χείρων, κἂν κλεινὸν ἀμείψῃ
 Αἰγαίου πελάγους ἔναλον πόρον, οὐκέθ' ὁμοίῃ
 γίνεται, ἀλλὰ καταισχύνει τὸν πρόσθεν ἔπαινον.

οὗτος ὁ Ἀρχέστρατος ὑπὸ φιληδονίας γῆν πᾶσαν καὶ
 θάλασσαν περιῆλθεν ἀκριβῶς, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, τὰ πρὸς
 γαστέρα ἐπιμελῶς ἐξετάσαι βουλευθείς· καὶ ὥσπερ οἱ
 τὰς Περιηγῆσεις καὶ τοὺς Περίπλους ποιησάμενοι
 μετ' ἀκριβείας ἐθέλει πάντα ἐκτίθεσθαι

ὅπου ἐστὶν ἕκαστον
 κάλλιστον βρωτόν τε <ποτόν τε>.

e τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ προοιμίῳ ἐπαγγέλλεται | τῶν
 καλῶν τούτων ὑποθηκῶν ὧν πρὸς τοὺς ἐταίρους ποι-
 εῖται Μόσχον τε καὶ Κλέανδρον, ὥσπερ ὑποτιθέμενος

²³ Similar remarks about Arcestratus appear at 7.314f.

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No cheese, no other nonsense! Treat it simply, as described;
tie it up in fig leaves with a string, the knot on top;
and shove it down within the warm ashes, keeping
mental track of
the moment when it will be roasted—and do not
burn it up!

Be sure you get it from lovely Byzantium,
if you want to have a good specimen. If it is caught
somewhere near
there, you will get a fine one. But it is far worse
if it comes from the Hellespontine Sea; and if it
crosses
the famous salt-water strait of the Aegean Sea, it is no
longer
the same, but brings shame on the praise previously
awarded it.

Driven by his love of pleasure, this Arcestratus made a careful circuit of the entire earth and sea because, it seems, he wanted to inquire painstakingly into matters associated with the belly;²³ and just like individuals who write accounts of their travels by land or sea, he wishes to furnish accurate information about everything as to (fr. 3 Olson-Sens = *SH* 133)

where each item of food
and drink is best.

For he himself announces this in the opening section of these noble *Counsels*, which he addresses to his comrades Moschus and Cleandrus, as if he were advising them, as

αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὴν Πυθίαν ζητεῖν

ἵππον Θεσσαλικὴν Λακεδαιμονίαν τε γυναῖκα,
ἄνδρας δ' οἱ πίνουσιν ὕδωρ καλῆς Ἀρεθούσης.

Χρῦσιππος δ' αὐτὸν ὁ ὄντως φιλόσοφος καὶ περὶ
πάντα ἀνὴρ ἀρχηγὸν Ἐπικούρω φησὶ γενέσθαι καὶ
τοῖς τὰ τούτου ἐπισταμένοις τῆς πάντα διαλυμηνα-
f μένης | ἡδονῆς· καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἐγκαλυπτόμενος ὁ
Ἐπίκουρος λέγει, ἀλλὰ μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ· οὐ γὰρ
ἔγωγε δύναμαι νοῆσαι τὰ γαθὸν ἀφελῶν μὲν τὴν διὰ
χυλῶν, ἀφελῶν δὲ τὴν δι' ἀφροδισίων ἡδονήν. οἶεται
γὰρ οὕτως ὁ σοφὸς καὶ τὸν ἀσώτων βίον ἀνεπίληπτον
εἶναι, εἴπερ αὐτῷ προσγένοιτο τὸ ἀδεὲς καὶ ἕλεων. διὸ
καὶ οἱ τῆς κωμωδίας ποιηταὶ κατατρέχοντές που τῆς
ἡδονῆς καὶ ἀκρασίας ἐπικούρους καὶ βοηθοὺς βοῶ-
279 σιν. || Βάτων μὲν ἐν Συνεξαπατῶντι δυσχεραίνοντα
ποιήσας πατέρα τῷ τοῦ υἱοῦ παιδαγωγῷ καὶ λέγοντα·

(A.) ἀπολώλεκας τὸ μειράκιόν μου παραλαβών,
ἀκάθαρτε, καὶ πέπεικας ἐλθεῖν ἐς βίον
ἀλλότριον αὐτοῦ· καὶ πότους ἐωθινούς
πίνει διὰ σέ νῦν, πρότερον οὐκ εἰθισμένος.

(B.) εἴτ' εἰ μεμάθηκε, δέσποτα, ζῆν, ἐγκαλεῖς;

²⁴ Very similar material is preserved at 3.104b.

²⁵ Arcestratus' poem probably dates to the first half of the 4th century BCE; Epicurus was born in 340 and died in 270.

²⁶ Quoted again, at slightly greater length, at 7.280a-b; 12.546e.

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the Pythia put it (Delphic Oracle Q26.2–3 Fontenrose), to seek out

a Thessalian horse, a Spartan woman,
and men who drink the water of lovely Arethusa.

Chrysippus (fr. 709, *SVF* iii.178 = Archestr. test. 6 Olson-Sens),²⁴ who is a genuine philosopher in all respects, claims that Archestratus was the predecessor of Epicurus²⁵ and those who share his views regarding pleasure, which corrupts everything. Because Epicurus says, not covertly, but in a loud voice (fr. 67, p. 120 Usener):²⁶ For I, at any rate, am unable to conceive of “the Good” if I remove from consideration the pleasure derived from the flavors of food or from sex. The wise man thus regards the lifestyle of spendthrifts as deserving no censure, provided a sense of calm and graciousness accompanies it. This is why, when the comic poets condemn pleasure and wild living, they call for allies²⁷ and assistants. Thus Bato in *The Partner in Deception* (fr. 5) presents a father who is upset with his son’s slave guardian and says:²⁸

(A.) You’ve taken my boy and ruined him,
you bastard! And you’ve convinced him to adopt a
life-style
that’s foreign to him! He’s drinking in the morning
now, because of you—which isn’t something he used
to do.

(B.) Are you complaining, master, because he’s
learned how to live?

²⁷ *epikouroi*, punning on “Epicureans”.

²⁸ Quoted also at 3.103c–e.

(A.) ζῆν δ' ἐστὶ τὸ τοιοῦθ'; (B.) ὡς λέγουσιν οἱ σοφοί·

ὁ γοῦν Ἐπίκουρός φησιν εἶναι τὰγαθὸν τὴν ἠδονὴν δῆπουθεν· οὐκ ἔστιν δ' ἔχειν |
b ταύτην ἐτέρωθεν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ζῆν παγκάλως
† ευσωσιαπαντη τυχὸν δώσεις ἐμοί.

(A.) ἐόρακας οὖν φιλόσοφον, εἶπέ 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, ἴσασιν οὐδεὶς πρῶτον ἄψασθαι τόπου |

c καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ζητοῦσιν ὥσπερ πράγματος ὥστ' ἐκπεπλήχθαι πάντας.

καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἀνδροφόνῳ δὲ ἐπιγραφομένῳ ὁ αὐτὸς Βάτων διαπαίξας τινὰ τῶν ἐπιεικῶν φιλοσόφων ἐπιφέρει·

ἐξὸν γυναικ' ἔχοντα κατακεῖσθαι καλὴν καὶ Λεσβίου χυτρίδε λαμβάνειν δύο·

ὁ φρόνιμός ἐστι <τοῦτο,> τοῦτο τὰγαθόν.

Ἐπίκουρος ἔλεγε ταῦθ' ἃ νῦν ἐγὼ λέγω.

εἰ τοῦτον ἔζων πάντες ὃν ἐγὼ ζῶ βίον, |

d οὐτ' ἄτοπος ἦν ἂν οὔτε μοιχὸς οὐδὲ εἷς.

²⁹ Literally "who have raised eyebrows"; cf. 2.35d n.

³⁰ Diminutive < *glaukos* (an unidentified but seemingly very popular fish); cf. 7.295b-7c.

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(A.) Is this sort 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 actions like those you're describing?

(B.) All of them! The ones with a haughty expression on their faces,²⁹ 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*³⁰, 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.

And in the play entitled *The Murderer* (fr. 3) the same Bato makes fun of one of the decent philosophers and then continues:

When a man can lie down with a beautiful woman in his arms,
and have two little pots of Lesbian wine—
this is "the thoughtful man", this is "the Good"!
Epicurus used to say exactly what I'm saying now.
If everyone lived the way I do,
no one would be odd or an adulterer.

Ἡγήσιππος δ' ἐν Φιλεταίροις·

Ἐπίκουρος ὁ σοφὸς ἀξιώσαντός τινος
εἰπεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὃ τι ποτ' ἐστὶ τὰγαθόν,
ὃ διὰ τέλους ζητοῦσιν, εἶπεν ἡδονήν.
εὖ γ', ὦ κράτιστ' ἄνθρωπε καὶ σοφώτατε·
τοῦ γὰρ μασᾶσθαι κρεῖττον οὐκ ἔστ' οὐδὲ ἐν
ἀγαθόν· πρόσσεστιν ἡδονῇ γὰρ τὰγαθόν.

ἀσπάζονται δὲ οὐ μόνον οἱ Ἐπικούρειοι τὴν ἡδονήν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ Κυρηναῖοι καὶ <οἱ> Μνησιστράτειοι δὲ |
e καλούμενοι· καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι ζῆν μὲν ἡδέως < . . . >
χαίρουσιν, ὡς φησι Ποσειδώνιος. οὐ μακρὰν δὲ
τούτων ἦν καὶ Σπεύσιππος ὁ Πλάτωνος ἀκουστής καὶ
συγγενής· Διονύσιος γοῦν ὁ τύραννος ἐν ταῖς πρὸς
αὐτὸν ἐπιστολαῖς καὶ τὰ τῆς φιληδονίας αὐτοῦ διεξερ-
χόμενος ἔτι τε τῆς φιλαργυρίας ἐρανίζεσθαί τε παρὰ
πολλῶν αὐτὸν διελέγχων ὄνειδίζει καὶ τὸν Δασθενείας
τῆς Ἀρκαδικῆς ἐταίρας ἔρωτα ἐπὶ πᾶσιν τε λέγει τάδε·
f σύ τισι φιλαργυρίαν ὄνειδίζεις αὐτὸς μηδὲν ἔλλε-
λοιπῶς | αἰσχροκερδείας; τί γὰρ οὐ πεποίηκας; οὐχ
ὑπὲρ ὧν Ἑρμείας ὄφειλεν αὐτὸς ἐκτετικῶς ἔρανον

31. The Cyrenaics were a late-Classical philosophical school founded by Aristippus; they may have had some influence on Epicureanism. The Mnesistratians are perhaps the students of Mnesistratus of Thasos (D.L. 3.47).

32. Speusippus was the son of Plato's sister.

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Hegesippus in *Men Who Were Fond of Their Comrades*
(fr. 2):

When someone demanded that the wise Epicurus
tell him what "the Good" they're
constantly looking for is, he said it was pleasure.
Well done, best and wisest!
There's no greater good than chewing;
the Good's an attribute of pleasure.

Nor is it just the Epicureans who embrace pleasure, but the Cyrenaics and the so-called Mnesistrateans as well;³¹ because they in fact like to enjoy life . . . , according to Posidonius (*FGrH* 87 F 106 = fr. 289 Edelstein-Kidd). Plato's student and relative Speusippus (test. 39a Tarán)³² was not much different from them. The tyrant Dionysius,³³ at any rate, in his letter to him, offers a detailed account of his hedonism, as well as of his hunger for money; establishes that he accepted loans from many people; criticizes him for being in love with the Arcadian courtesan Lastheneia;³⁴ and sums it all up by saying the following: Do you fault anyone for their hunger for money, when you yourself are utterly, shamelessly devoted to profit? What have you stopped at? Although you've paid off Hermeias'³⁵ debts, aren't you trying to get other people to

³¹ Very similar material is preserved at 12.546d. The Dionysius in question is Dionysius II of Syracuse (reigned 367–357 BCE); D.L. 4.2 preserves another snippet of the letter that also refers to Lasthenia.

³² Described at D.L. 3.46 (cf. 4.2) as one of Plato's students.

³³ For Hermeias of Atarneus (another student of Plato; d. 345/4 BCE), see 15.696a–e.

συνάγειν ἐπιχειρεῖς; περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἐπικούρου Τίμων ἐν τρίτῳ Σίλλων φησί·

γαστρὶ χαριζόμενος τῆς οὐ λαμνρώτερον οὐδέν·

ταύτης γὰρ ἕνεκεν ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης τῆς κατὰ σάρκα ἡδονῆς ἐκολάκευεν καὶ Ἰδομενέα καὶ Μητρόδωρον. καὶ αὐτὸς δέ που ὁ Μητρόδωρος οὐκ ἀπο-
 280 κρηπτόμενος τὰς καλὰς ἢ ταύτας θέσεις φησίν· περὶ γαστέρα γάρ, ὡς φυσιολόγε Τιμόκρατες, περὶ γαστέρα ὁ κατὰ φύσιν βαδίζων λόγος τὴν ἅπασαν ἔχει σπουδὴν. Ἐπίκουρος γὰρ ἦν ὁ τούτων διδάσκαλος, <ὅς> καὶ βοῶν ἔλεγεν· ἀρχὴ καὶ ρίζα παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ ἢ τῆς γαστρὸς ἡδονή, καὶ τὰ σοφὰ καὶ τὰ περιττὰ εἰς ταύτην ἔχει τὴν ἀναφορὰν. κὰν τῷ Περὶ Τέλους δέ φησιν οὕτω πως· οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε δύναμαι νοῆσαι τὰγαθὸν ἀφαιρῶν μὲν τὰς διὰ χυλῶν ἡδονάς, ἀφαιρῶν δὲ
 b τὰς ἢ δι' ἀφροδισίων, ἀφαιρῶν δὲ τὰς δι' ἀκροαμάτων, ἀφαιρῶν δὲ τὰς διὰ μορφῆς κατ' ὄψιν ἡδέϊας κινήσεις. καὶ προελθῶν (φησι) λέγει· τιμητέον τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ τὰ τοιοῦτότροπα, ἐὰν ἡδονὴν παρασκευ-

³⁶ An adaptation of *Od.* 7.216. The passage from Timo is quoted partially and in passing also at 4.163c–d.

³⁷ Idomeneus of Lampsacus (*FGrH* 338), one of Epicurus' friends; quoted at e.g. 13.590d, 592f.

³⁸ Metrodorus of Lampsacus (331/0–278/7 BCE), one of Epicurus' students; cf. 12.546f (quoting the same passage, along with most of the same excerpts from Epicurus, and followed by the same quotation from Sophocles); D.L. 10.22–3. His father was

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help cover the expense? Timo in Book III of the *Silloi* (*SH* 781) says about Epicurus:

taking care of his belly, than which nothing is more greedy;³⁶

because it was on account of his belly and physical pleasure of other sorts that this fellow sucked up to Idomeneus³⁷ and Metrodorus (fr. 24 Körte).³⁸ Metrodorus (fr. 39 Körte) himself somewhere, making no attempt to conceal these noble principles of his, says: Reasoning that proceeds in accord with nature is entirely devoted to the belly, my philosophical friend Timocrates, to the belly! Because the one who taught these people was Epicurus, who used to shout out loud (fr. 409, p. 278 Usener = 21M Long-Sedley): The pleasure derived from the belly is the origin and root of every good, and whatever is wise or exceptional is so by reference to it. So too in his *On the End* he says something along the following lines (fr. 67, p. 120 Usener; cf. fr. 130, p. 141 Usener):³⁹ Because I, at any rate, am unable to conceive of "the Good" if I remove from consideration the pleasure derived from the flavors of food, or from sex, or from music, or if I exclude bodily motions that are pleasant to watch.⁴⁰ And further on, (Chrysippus) reports, Epicurus declares (fr. 70, p. 123 Usener): We ought to respect beauty, the virtues, and the like if they

named Athenaeus, while his brother (who quarreled with and bitterly denounced Epicurus) was named Timocrates, like the main narrator's interlocutor in *The Learned Banqueters*—all of which which seems unlikely to be coincidence.

³⁹ Cf. 7.278f with n.

⁴⁰ I.e. dance.

ATHENAEUS

άλξη· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ παρασκευάζη, χαίρειν ἐατέον. πρότερος δὲ τοῦ Ἐπικούρου Σοφοκλῆς ὁ τραγωδιοποιὸς ἐν Ἀντιγόῃ περὶ τῆς ἡδονῆς τοιαῦτα εἶρηκεν·

καὶ γὰρ ἡδοναὶ
ὅταν προδῶσιν ἀνδρός, οὐ τίθημ' ἐγὼ
ζῆν τοῦτον, ἀλλ' ἔμψυχον ἡγοῦμαι νεκρόν. |
c πλούτει τε γὰρ κατ' οἶκον, εἰ βούλη, μέγα,
καὶ ζῆ τύραννον σχῆμ' ἔχων· ἐὰν δ' ἀπῆ
τούτων τὸ χαίρειν, τᾶλλ' ἐγὼ καπνοῦ σκιᾶς
οὐκ ἂν πριαίμην ἀνδρὶ πρὸς τὴν ἡδονήν.

Φιλέταιρος Κυναγίδι·

τί δεῖ γὰρ ὄντα θνητόν, ἱκετεύω, ποεῖν
πλὴν ἡδέως ζῆν τὸν βίον καθ' ἡμέραν,
ἐὰν ἔχη τις ὀπόθεν; ἀλλὰ δεῖ σκοπεῖν
τουτ' αὐτό, τὰνθρώπει' ὀρώντα πράγματα, |
d εἰς αὔριον δὲ <μηδὲ> φροντίζειν ὅ τι
ἔσται· περίεργόν ἐστιν ἀποκεῖσθαι πάνν
ἔωλον ἔνδον τὰργύριον.

καὶ ἐν Οἰνοπίωνι δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς φησιν·

θνητῶν δ' ὅσοι

ζῶσιν κακῶς ἔχοντες ἄφθονον βίον,
ἐγὼ μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀθλίους εἶναι λέγω·
οὐ γὰρ θανῶν δήπουθ' ἂν ἔγχελυν φάγοις,

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give us pleasure. But if they do not, we should ignore them. The tragic poet Sophocles, who was earlier than Epicurus, says something like the following about pleasure in *Antigone* (1165–71):⁴¹

Because in fact, when a man
can no longer enjoy himself, I don't regard
him as alive; I consider him a living corpse.
Have enormous wealth in your house, if you like,
and spend your time dressed like a king! If no
joy goes along with that, I wouldn't buy the rest of it
from someone for a plugged nickel,⁴² compared to
pleasure.

Philetaerus in *The Huntress* (fr. 7):

Because what, I ask you, should a mortal do
except enjoy his life from one day to the next,
if he's got the wherewithal? This is what you
need to consider when you look at human affairs,
instead of worrying about what's going to happen
tomorrow. It's very strange that money gets stored up
for tomorrow inside one's house.

Likewise the same poet says in *Oenopion* (fr. 13):

Any mortals who
live like paupers when they're immensely wealthy—
in my opinion, they're miserable!
After you're dead, let me assure you, there's no eating
an eel;

⁴¹ Quoted again, in a very similar context, at 12.547c. Sophocles lived c.495–406 BCE.

⁴² Literally “for a shadow of smoke”.

οὐδ' ἐν νεκροῖσι πέττεται γαμήλιος.

Ἄπολλόδωρος δ' ὁ Καρύστιος ἐν Γραμματειδιοποιῶ· |

- e ὦ πάντες ἄνθρωποι, τί τὸ ζῆν ἠδέως
 παρέντες ἐπιμελείσθε τοῦ κακῶς ποεῖν
 πολεμοῦντες ἀλλήλους; πότερα πρὸς τῶν θεῶν
 ἐπιστατεῖ τις τοῦ βίου νυνὶ Τύχη
 ἄγροικος ἡμῶν, οὐδὲ παιδείαν ὄλωσ
 εἰδυῖα, τί τὸ κακόν ποτ' ἢ τί τὰ γαθὸν
 ἔστ' ἀγνοοῦσα παντελῶς εἰκῆ τέ πως
 ἡμᾶς κυλίνδουσ' ὄντιν' ἂν τύχη τρόπον;
 οἶμαί γε· πῶς γὰρ μᾶλλον ἂν προείλετο
 Ἕλλην ἀληθῶς οὔσα λεπτομένους ὄραν |
 f αὐτοὺς ὑφ' αὐτῶν καὶ καταπίπτοντας νεκρούς,
 ἐξὸν ἰλαροὺς παίζοντας ὑποπεπωκότας
 αὐλουμένους; † ωδει † λέγ' αὐτή, γλυκυτάτη.
 ἔλεγχ' ἄγροικον οὔσαν ἡμῶν τὴν Τύχην.

καὶ προελθῶν·

- οὐ τοῦτο τὸ ζῆν ἔστι τὸν καλούμενον
 θεῶν ἀληθῶς βίον. ὅσῳ δ' ἠδίονα
 τὰ πράγματ' ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἦν ἂν ἢ τὰ νῦν,
 εἰ μεταβαλόντες τὸν βίον διήγομεν· ||
 281 πίνειν Ἀθηναίους ἅπαντας τοὺς μέχρι
 ἑτῶν τριάκοντ', ἐξιέναι τοὺς ἱππέας
 ἐπὶ κῶμον εἰς Κόρινθον ἡμέρας δέκα
 στεφάνους ἔχοντας καὶ μύρον πρὸ ἡμέρας,

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and no wedding cake is baked among the dead.

Apollodorus of Carystus in *The Tablet-Maker* (fr. 5, encompassing both passages):

People, people—why do you give up the possibility of living happily and make it your business to suffer, by fighting wars against one another? By the gods, is some uncivilized Fortune currently in charge of our lives, one that's utterly uneducated and completely ignorant of what's bad and what's good, and more or less randomly tosses us around this way and that?

I think that's how it is; because if Fortune were really a Greek,

how would she have preferred to watch them ripping their own skin off and falling down dead, when they could be happy and enjoy themselves, getting drunk

and listening to pipe-music? [corrupt] Tell me yourself, my sweet;

expose our Fortune as unsophisticated!

And further on:

This isn't really living what's called the life of the gods. How much pleasanter everything would be in our cities than it is now, if we changed how we lived!

All Athenians under age 30 would spend their time drinking; the Knights would head off to Corinth before dawn for ten days for a party, wearing garlands and perfume;

τοὺς τὴν ράφανον πωλοῦντας ἔψειν Μεγαρέων,
 εἰς τὸ βαλανεῖον ἀπιέναι τοὺς συμμάχους,
 κεραυνῦναι τὸν οἶνον Εὐβοῆς. τρυφή
 καὶ βίος ἀληθῶς. ἀλλ' ἀπαιδέντω Τύχη |
 b δουλεύομεν.

- φιλήδονον δ' οἱ ποιηταὶ καὶ τὸν ἀρχαῖόν φασι γενέ-
 σθαι Τάνταλον ὁ γοῦν τὴν τῶν Ἀτρειδῶν ποιήσας
 Κάθοδον ἀφικόμενον αὐτὸν λέγει πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ
 συνδιατρίβοντα ἐξουσίας τυχεῖν παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς αἰτή-
 σασθαι ὅτου ἐπιθυμῆι. τὸν δὲ πρὸς τὰς ἀπολαύσεις
 ἀπλήστως διακείμενον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τε τούτων μνείαν
 ποιήσασθαι καὶ τοῦ ζῆν τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τοῖς θεοῖς.
 c ἐφ' οἷς ἀγανακτήσαντα τὸν Δία τὴν μὲν εὐχὴν |
 ἀποτελέσαι διὰ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν, ὅπως δὲ μηδὲν ἀπο-
 λαύη τῶν παρακειμένων, ἀλλὰ διατελῆ ταραττόμενος,
 ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐξήρτησεν αὐτῷ πέτρον, δι' ὃν οὐ
 δύναται τῶν παρακειμένων τυχεῖν οὐδενός. καὶ τῶν
 στωικῶν δέ τινες συνεφήψαντο ταύτης τῆς ἡδονῆς·
 Ἐρατοσθένης γοῦν ὁ Κυρηναῖος μαθητῆς γενόμενος
 Ἀρίστωνος τοῦ Χίου, ὃς ἦν εἰς τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς,
 ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Ἀρίστωνι παρεμφαίνει τὸν δι-
 δάσκαλον ὡς ὕστερον ὀρμήσαντα ἐπὶ τρυφήν, |
 d λέγων ὧδε· ἤδη δέ ποτε καὶ τοῦτον πεφώρακα τὸν τῆς
 Ἠδονῆς καὶ Ἀρετῆς μεσότοιχον διορύττοντα καὶ ἀνα-
 φαινόμενον παρὰ τῇ Ἠδονῇ. καὶ Ἀπολλοφάνης δὲ
 (γνώριμος δὲ ἦν καὶ οὗτος τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος) ἐν τῷ

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the Megarian cabbage-vendors would produce the
perfume;
the allies would proceed to the bathhouse;
and the Euboeans would mix the wine. That's
real luxury and wealth! But we're enslaved
to an uneducated Fortune.

The poets claim that the ancient Tantalus was a hedonist. The author of *The Return of the Atreidae* (Nost. fr. 4 Bernabé), for example, says that Tantalus visited the gods and spent time with them, and that Zeus gave him the opportunity to ask for anything he wanted. Because he was completely devoted to pleasure, this is what he mentioned, as well as living in the same style as the gods. Zeus was annoyed at this, but granted the request because of his promise. To prevent Tantalus, however, from enjoying the food he was served and to keep him in a constant state of anxiety, he suspended a rock over his head, and as a result he was unable to touch anything he was served.⁴³ Some Stoics as well got involved in this sort of pleasure. Eratosthenes of Cyrene, for example, who was a pupil of Ariston of Chios—he was one of the Stoics—in his work entitled *Ariston* (FGrH 241 F 17 = Ariston 342, SVF i.77) alludes obliquely to his master's eventual movement toward a life of luxury, saying the following: I have caught him before this digging through the wall that separates the houses of Pleasure and Virtue, and appearing in Pleasure's company.⁴⁴ So too Apollophanes—he was another pupil of Ariston—in his

⁴³ For this version of Tantalus' punishment, cf. Pi. O. 1.57–8.

⁴⁴ For the image, cf. 13.588a.

Ἄριστωνι, καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτως ἐπιγράψας τὸ σύγγραμμα, ἐμφανίζει τὴν τοῦ διδασκάλου φιληδονίαν. περὶ δὲ Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἡρακλεώτου τί δεῖ καὶ λέγειν; ὃς ἄντικρυς ἀποδὺς τὸν τῆς ἀρετῆς χιτῶνα ἀνθινὰ μετ-
 ημφιάσατο καὶ Μεταθέμενος καλούμενος ἔχαιρε, |
 e καίτοι γηραιὸς ἀποστὰς τῶν τῆς στοᾶς λόγων καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐπίκουρον μεταπηδήσας· περὶ οὗ οὐκ ἀχαρίτως ὁ Τίμων ἔφη·

ἡνίκ' ἐχρῆν δύνειν, νῦν ἄρχεται ἠδύνεσθαι.
 ὦρη ἐρᾶν, ὦρη δὲ γαμῆν, ὦρη δὲ πεπαῦσθαι.

Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ Περὶ Σώφρονος τῷ εἰς τοὺς Ἀνδρείους Μίμους προθεὶς τὸ καταπυγοτέραν τ' ἀλφηστᾶν φησὶν· ἰχθύς τινες οἱ
 f ἀλφησταὶ τὸ μὲν ὄλον κίρροειδεῖς, | πορφυρίζοντες δὲ κατὰ τινα μέρη. φασὶ δ' αὐτοὺς ἀλίσκεσθαι σύνδυο καὶ φαίνεσθαι τὸν ἕτερον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου κατ' οὐρὰν ἐπόμενον. ἀπὸ τοῦ οὖν κατὰ τὴν πυγῆν θατέρῳ τὸν ἕτερον ἀκολουθεῖν τῶν ἀρχαίων τινὲς τοὺς ἀκρατεῖς καὶ καταφερεῖς οὕτω καλοῦσιν. Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ζῴων μονάκανθον εἶναι καὶ κίρρον τὸν ἀλφηστικόν. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Νουμήνιος ὁ Ἡρα-

⁴⁵ 3rd century BCE; he was originally a student of Zeno. Cf. 10.437e.

⁴⁶ Quoted also at 13.601c–d (ignored by SH).

⁴⁷ Sc. to Hades.

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Ariston (Apollophanes 408, SVF i.90)—he himself gave the treatise its title—alludes to his teacher's hedonism. And why do I even need to mention Dionysius of Heracleia⁴⁵ (Dion. Heracl. 430, SVF i.94)? He openly stripped off the tunic of virtue and put on an embroidered one instead, and was happy to be referred to as Turncoat; when he was an old man he in fact abandoned Stoic doctrine and hopped over to Epicurus. Timo made a clever comment about him (*SH* 791):⁴⁶

When he should have been heading down (*dunein*),⁴⁷
now he starts living high (*hēdunesthai*).

There's a time for love, a time for marriage—and a
time for cutting it out.

Apollodorus of Athens in Book III of *On Sophron* (*FGrH* 244 F 214)—this is the Book concerned with the *Men's Mimes*—cites the phrase (Sophr. fr. 63) “more depraved than wrasses” and says:⁴⁸ Wrasses are a type of fish that are mostly yellowish, but have some purple sections. People say that they are caught in pairs and that the second one appears behind the first, following on its tail. Because one of them follows directly behind the other's rear end, some ancient authorities refer to them as depraved and lecherous. Aristotle in his *On Animals* (fr. 189) reports that the wrasse⁴⁹ has a single prickle and is yellow. Numenius of

⁴⁸ The catalogue of fish that makes up most of the Book now resumes after the digression on philosophers and pleasure that began at 7.278d.

⁴⁹ Here called *alphēstikos*, as also by Diocles of Carystus at 7.305b.

282 κλεώτης || ἐν Ἀλιευτικῷ οὕτως·

φυκίδας ἀλφηστήν τε καὶ ἐν χροιῆσιν ἐρυθρὸν
σκορπίον.

καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Ἑβας Γάμῳ·

μύες <ἄμ > ἀλφησταί τε κορακίνοί τε
κοριοειδέες.

μνημονεύει δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Μίθαικος ἐν Ὀφαρτυτικῷ.

Ἀνθίας κάλλιχθυσ. τούτου μέμνηται Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν
Ἑβας Γάμῳ·

καὶ σκιφίας χρόμις θ', ὅς ἐν τῷ ἡρι κατὰ τὸν
Ἀνάτιον

b ἰχθύων πάντων | ἄριστος, ἀνθίας δὲ χείματι.

λέγει δὲ Ἀνάτιος οὕτως·

ἔαρι μὲν χρόμιος ἄριστος, ἀνθίας δὲ χειμῶνι
τῶν καλῶν δ' ὄψων ἄριστον καρὶς ἐκ συκῆς
φύλλου.

ἡδὺ δ' ἐσθίειν χιμαίρης † φθινοπωρισμῷ κρέας·
δέλφακος δ' ὅταν τραπέωσιν καὶ πατέωσιν
ἐσθίειν,

καὶ κυνῶν αὐτῇ τόθ' ὄρη καὶ λαγῶν κάλωπέκων.

⁵⁰ Various overlapping portions of this fragment are quoted also at 7.313c–d, 319b–c, 320e.

⁵¹ Various overlapping portions of this fragment are quoted also at 7.288b, 304e, 307b–c, 308e, 322f.

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Heracleia refers to it in the *Art of Fishing*, as follows (*SH* 577.2–3):⁵⁰

phukis-wrasses, a wrasse, and a red-skinned
bullhead.

Also Epicharmus in *The Wedding of Hebe* (fr. 41.1):⁵¹

mussels as well, and wrasses and dark-gleaming
korakinoi.

Mithaecus too mentions it in the *Art of Cooking*.

Anthias or beauty-fish. Epicharmus mentions this in
The Wedding of Hebe (fr. 51):⁵²

and a swordfish and a *chromis*, which according to
Ananius
is the best fish there is in the spring, whereas the
anthias is the best in the winter.

Ananius (fr. 5 West²) puts it thus:

The *chromios* is best in the spring, the *anthiēs* in
winter;
but the finest of great delicacies is a shrimp in a fig-
leaf.⁵³

It's nice to eat she-goat meat † in the fall.

But when people turn and trample (grapes), it's nice
to eat pork;

this is also the season for dogs, hares, and foxes.⁵⁴

⁵² Quoted, in slightly abbreviated form, also at 7.328a (on the obscure *chromis*).

⁵³ The fig-leaf serves as a wrapper in which the shrimp is steamed; cf. Arcestr. fr. 36.8–9 (quoted at 7.278c); Sotad. Com. fr. 1.27–9 (quoted at 7.293d–e).

⁵⁴ Or perhaps “for dogfish, hares, and thresher sharks”.

οἶος αὐθ', ὅταν θέρος τ' ἦ κηχέται βαβράζωσιν·
εἶτα δ' ἐστὶν ἐκ θαλάσσης θύννος οὐ κακὸν

βρώμα,

ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἰχθύεσσιν ἐμπρεπῆς ἐν μυσσωτῶ.

c βουῦς δὲ πιανθείς, δοκέω | μὲν, καὶ μεσέων

νυκτῶν ἠδὺς

κῆμέρης.

τῶν τοῦ Ἀνανίου πλεόνων ἐμνημόνευσα νομίζων καὶ
τοῦτον ὑποθήκας τοῖς λάγνοις τοιαύτας ἐκτεθήσθαι.
Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ζῴων Ἡθῶν, ὅπου ἂν
ἀνθίας ἦ, φησὶν, οὐκ ἐστὶν θηρίον· ᾧ σημεῖω χρώ-
μενοι οἱ σπογγιεῖς κατακολυμβῶσι καλοῦντες αὐτὸν
ἱερὸν ἰχθύν. μνημονεῦει δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Δωρίων ἐν τῷ
Περὶ Ἰχθύων· τὸν δ' ἀνθίαν τινὲς καὶ κάλλιχθην
καλοῦσιν, ἔτι δὲ καλλιώνυμον καὶ ἔλοπα. Ἰκέσιος δ'
d ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Ἰγλῆς· | ὑπὸ μὲν τινῶν λύκον, ὑπὸ δ'
ἄλλων καλλιώνυμον· εἶναι δ' αὐτὸν χονδρώδη καὶ
εὐχυλὸν καὶ εὐέκκριτον, οὐκ εὐστόμαχον δέ. Ἀριστο-
τέλης δὲ καὶ καρχαρόδοντα εἶναι τὸν κάλλιχθην σαρ-
κοφάγον τε καὶ συναγελαζόμενον. Ἐπίχαρμος δ' ἐν
Μούσαις τὸν μὲν ἔλοπα καταριθμεῖται, τὸν δὲ κάλ-
λιχθην ἢ καλλιώνυμον ὡς τὸν αὐτὸν ὄντα σεσίγηκεν·
λέγει δὲ περὶ τοῦ ἔλοπος οὕτως·

τόν τε πολυτίματον ἔλοφ', ὁ δ' † αὐτὸς χαλκὸς †
ῶνιος,

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The season for mutton, on the other hand, comes
when it's summer and the cicadas are chirping;
then tuna fresh from the sea is fine food
and stands out among all fish when served with
garlic-paste.

But a fattened cow, in my opinion, is delicious both at
midnight
and during the day.

I quoted Ananius at length because I believe that he offers this sort of advice to lecherous individuals. Aristotle says in his *On the Habits of Animals* (fr. 190): If an *anthias* is present, there are no predators; sponge-fishermen take this as a sign when they dive, and refer to the *anthias* as a sacred fish. Dorion also mentions it in his *On Fish*: Some authorities refer to the *anthias* as a beauty-fish (*kallichthus*), as well as a beauty-name (*kalliōnumos*) or an *elops*. Hicesius in his *On Raw Material*: (referred to as) a *lukos*⁵⁵ by some authorities, as a beauty-name by others. It is gristly, produces good *chulē*, and is easily excreted, but is not easy on the stomach. Aristotle (fr. 191) (reports) that the beauty-fish is jagged-toothed, carnivorous, and found in schools. Epicharmus in *Muses* includes the *elops* in his list, but makes no mention of the beauty-fish or the beauty-name, since this is the same fish. He says the following about the *elops* (fr. 88):

and the much-honored *elops*, but he † himself bronze
† for sale,

⁵⁵ Literally "wolf".

- e ἓνα μόνον, καὶ κῆνον ὁ | Ζεὺς ἔλαβε
κῆκελήσατο
καθθέμειν αὐτῷ τέ οἱ καὶ τῆ δάμαρτι † θωτέρω †.

Δωρίων δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἰχθύων διαφέρειν φησὶν ἀνθίαν
καὶ κάλλιχθον, ἔτι τε καὶ καλλιώνυμον καὶ ἔλοπα.

- Τίς δ' ἐστὶν ὁ καλούμενος ἱερὸς ἰχθύς; ὁ μὲν τὴν
Τελχινιακὴν Ἱστορίαν συνθείς, εἴτ' Ἐπιμενίδης ἐστὶν
ὁ Κρής ἢ Τηλεκλείδης εἴτ' ἄλλος τις, ἱερούς φησιν
εἶναι ἰχθύας δελφίνας καὶ πομπίλους. ἐστὶ δ' ὁ πομ-
πίλος ζῶον ἐρωτικόν, ὡς ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς γεγωνὸς ἐκ τοῦ
f Οὐρανίου αἵματος ἅμα τῇ | Ἀφροδίτῃ. Νίκανδρος δ'
ἐν δευτέρῳ Οἰταϊκῶν φησι·

πομπίλος ὃς ναύτησιν ἀδημονέουσι κελεύθους
μηνύσαι φιλέρωσι καὶ ἄφθογγός περ ἀμύνων. ||

- 283 Ἀλέξανδρος δ' ὁ Αἰτωλὸς ἐν Κρίκῃ, εἰ γνήσιον τὸ
ποιημάτιον·

πηδαλίῳ ἄκρῳ ἔπι πομπίλος ἀνιοχεύων
ἦστ' ἀκάτω κατόπισθε, θεᾶς ὑπο πόμπιμος ἰχθύς.

Παγκράτης δ' ὁ Ἀρκὰς ἐν τοῖς Θαλασσίοις Ἔργοις
ἐπιγραφομένους προειπῶν·

πομπίλος, ὃν καλέουσιν ἀλίπλοοι ἱερὸν ἰχθύν,

⁵⁶ Seemingly a correction of the view ascribed to "some authorities" (probably including Epicharmus) above. For the *elops*, see 7.300d–e.

⁵⁷ The material in the next few sentences must come from a

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one only; and Zeus bought it and ordered him to serve it to himself and his wife [corrupt].

But Dorion in his *On Fish* claims that the *anthias* and the beauty-fish are different, as are the beauty-name and the *elops*.⁵⁶

What is the so-called sacred fish? The author of the *Telchinian History* (*FGrH* 457 T 10), whether this is Epimenides of Crete, Teleclides, or someone else, says (*FGrH* 457 F 22) that dolphins and pilot-fish are sacred fish.⁵⁷ The pilot-fish is a sensual creature, as one might expect, given that it was itself born from Sky's blood along with Aphrodite.⁵⁸ Nicander says in Book II of the *Oetaean Tales* (fr. 16 Schneider):

Pilot-fish, you who show the way to troubled
sailors who are in love, aiding them despite being
mute.

Alexander Aetolus in *Crica* (fr. 2, p. 122 Powell)—if the poem is genuine:

A pilot-fish sat at the tip of the rudder behind
the vessel, taking its reins, a fish sent as an escort by a
goddess.

Panocrates of Arcadia in his poem entitled *Maritime Occupations* begins (*SH* 598):

a pilot-fish, which mariners refer to as a holy fish,

separate source; discussion of the possible identification of the pilot-fish as a "sacred fish" resumes after the quotation from Alexander Aetolus.

⁵⁸ Cf. Hes. *Th.* 188–98 (but with no mention of the pilot-fish).

- διηγείται ὡς οὐ μόνον τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ὁ πομπίλος ἐστὶ διὰ τιμῆς, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τοῖς τὴν Σαμοθράκην |
 b κατέχουσι θεοῖς. ἀλιέα γοῦν τινα πρεσβύτην τῷ ἰχθύι τούτῳ κόλασιν ὑποσχέειν ἔτι τοῦ χρυσοῦ γένους κατ' ἀνθρώπους ὄντος. ὄνομα δ' ἦν αὐτῷ Ἐπωπεὺς καὶ ἐξ Ἰκάρου ἦν τῆς νήσου. καὶ τοῦτον οὖν ἅμα τῷ νιῷ ἀλιεύοντα καὶ οὐκ εὐτυχήσαντα ἄλλων ἰχθύων ἐν τῇ ἄγρᾳ ἢ πομπίλων οὐκ ἀποσχέσθαι τῆς τούτων ἐδωδῆς, ἀλλὰ πάντας μετὰ τοῦ νιοῦ καταθωινθηῆναι καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ δίκας ἐκτίσαι τῆς δυσσεβείας· κῆτος γὰρ ἐπελθὼν τῇ νηὶ τὸν Ἐπωπέα ἐν ὄψει τοῦ παιδὸς κατα-
 c πιεῖν. ἱστορεῖ | δ' ὁ Παγκράτης ὡς καὶ πολέμιός ἐστιν ὁ πομπίλος τῷ δελφίνι καὶ ὅτι οὐδ' οὗτος ἀτιμώρητος ἐκφεύγει πομπίλου φαγῶν· ἀχρεῖος γοῦν γίνεται καὶ σφαδάζων ἐπειδὰν φάγη καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς αἰγιαλοὺς ἐκκυμανθεὶς βορὰ γίνεται αἰθνίαις τε καὶ λάροις, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ταῖς κητείαις παρεδρεόντων ἀνδρῶν παρανομεῖται. μνημονεύει τῶν πομπίλων καὶ Τιμαχίδαο ὁ Ῥόδιος ἐν τῷ ἐνάτῳ τοῦ Δείπνου

κωβιοὶ εἰνάλιοι καὶ πομπίλοι, ἱεροὶ ἰχθύς. |

- d Ἡριννά τε ἢ ὁ πεποιηκῶς τὸ εἰς αὐτὴν ἀναφερόμενον ποιημάτιον·

πομπίλε, ναύτησιν πέμπων πλόον εὐπλοον ἰχθύ,
 πομπεύσαις πρύμναθεν ἐμὰν ἀδείαν ἐταίραν.

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and explains that the pilot-fish is honored not just by Poseidon, but also by the gods who control Samothrace.⁵⁹ An old fisherman, for example, was punished an account of this fish when men were still living in the Golden Age. His name was Epopeus, and he was from the island of Icarus. He was fishing along with his son; and when he caught nothing except pilot-fish, he did not resist eating them. Instead, he and his son consumed them all, and shortly thereafter he paid the price for his impiety: a sea-monster attacked their boat and gulped down Epopeus before his son's eyes. Pancrates also reports that the pilot-fish is the dolphin's enemy, and that not even the dolphin escapes unpunished when it eats a pilot-fish. It grows weak, at any rate, and starts thrashing around when it eats one; and after the waves carry it onto the beach, it becomes a meal for sea-gulls and terns. It is also treated brutally at times by men involved in tuna-fishing.⁶⁰ Timachidas of Rhodes mentions pilot-fish in Book IX of his *Dinner Party* (*SH* 772):

sea-gobies and pilot-fish, sacred fish.

Also Erinna, or whoever wrote the poem attributed to her (*SH* [404]):

Pilot-fish, you who provide sailors with an easy
voyage,
escort my dear friend, trailing her ship's stern!

⁵⁹ Very similar material is preserved at Ael. *NA* 15.23 (but with no mention of Pancrates). For the "Samothracian deities" (guardians of sailors), see Olson on Ar. *Pax* 276-9.

⁶⁰ Sc. when they catch it competing with them for fish or damaging their nets (Ael. *NA* 15.6; contrast 2.8).

Ἀπολλώνιος δ' ὁ Ῥόδιος ἢ Ναυκρατίτης ἐν Ναυκράτειος Κτίσει τὸν πομπίλον φησὶν ἄνθρωπον πρότερον ὄντα μεταβαλεῖν εἰς ἰχθὺν διὰ τινα Ἀπόλλωνος ἔρωτα. τὴν γὰρ Σαμίων πόλιν παραρρεῖν | ποταμὸν Ἴμβρασον,

τῷ ρά ποτ' Ὀκυρόην νύμφην, περικαλλέα
κούρην,

Χησιᾶς εὐπατέρεια τέκεν φιλότῃ μιγείσα,
Ὀκυρόην, ἣ κάλλος ἀπείριτον ὤπασαν [Ωραι

ταύτης οὖν ἐρασθέντα Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπιχειρήσαι ἀρπάσαι. διαπεραιωθείσαν δ' εἰς Μίλητον κατὰ τινα Ἀρτέμιδος ἑορτὴν καὶ μὴ ἀρπάζεσθαι εὐλαβηθείσαν Πομπίλον τινὰ θαλασσοεργὸν ἄνθρωπον καθικετεύσαι ὄντα πατρῶον φίλον, | ὅπως αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα διασώσῃ, λέγουσαν τάδε

πατρὸς ἐμείου φίλου συμφράδμονα θυμὸν ἀέξων,
Πομπίλε, δυσκελάδου δεδαῶς θοὰ βένθεα πόντου,
σῶζέ με.

καὶ τὸν εἰς τὴν ἄκτὴν διαγαγόντα αὐτὴν διαπεραιούσιν ἐπιφανέντα δὲ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα τὴν τε κόρην ἀρπάσαι καὶ τὴν ναῦν ἀπολιθώσαντα τὸν Πομπίλον εἰς τὸν ὁμώνυμον ἰχθὺν μεταμορφῶσαι ποιῆσαι τε τὸν ||

⁶¹ Cf. 6.229e n.

⁶² The anecdote that follows is preserved, in a slightly differ-

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Apollonius of Rhodes or Naucratis⁶¹ says in the *Foundation of Naucratis* (fr. 7, p. 6 Powell) that the pilot-fish was originally a human being who turned into a fish as a result of one of Apollo's love-affairs.⁶² For the river Imbrasmus flows alongside the Samians' city,

and Chesias of distinguished parentage once bore
him the nymph
Ocyroe, a lovely girl, after she slept with him;
Ocyroe, to whom the Seasons furnished limitless
beauty.

Apollo fell in love with her and tried to rape her. She had crossed over to Miletus to celebrate a festival of Artemis; in an attempt not to be raped, she begged Pompilus, who made his living from the sea⁶³ and was a friend of her father, to get her back safely home. She said the following (A.R. fr. 8, p. 6 Powell):

Pompilus, you who nurse a heart sympathetic to your
friend
my father, and are familiar with the swift depths of
the dangerously roaring sea—
save me!

He took her across to the other shore; but Apollo appeared, raped the girl, turned the ship to stone, and transformed Pompilus into the fish of the same name, making him the (A.R. fr. 9, p. 6 Powell)

ent form and without the quotation from Apollonius, also at Ael. NA 15.23.

⁶³ Aelian says specifically that he was a ferryman.

284 πομπίλον ὠκυάλων νηῶν παιήονα δούρων.

Θεόκριτος δ' ὁ Συρακόσιος ἐν τῇ ἐπιγραφομένῃ Βερενίκη τὸν λεῦκον ὀνομαζόμενον ἰχθὺν ἱερὸν καλεῖ διὰ τούτων·

κεῖ τις ἀνὴρ αἰτεῖται ἐπαγροσύνην τε καὶ ὄλβον,
 ἐξ ἀλδὸς ᾧ ζωή, τὰ δὲ δίκτυα κείνω ἄροτρα,
 σφάζων ἀκρόνυχος ταύτῃ θεῷ ἱερὸν ἰχθὺν
 ὃν λεῦκον καλέουσιν, ὃ γάρ θ' ἱερώτατος ἄλλων, |
 b καὶ κε λίνα στήσαιοτο καὶ ἐξερύσαιτο θαλάσσης
 ἔμπλεα.

Διονύσιος δ' ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος Ἰαμβος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Διαλέκτων γράφει οὕτως· ἀκηκόαμεν γοῦν ἀλιέως Ἐρετρικοῦ ἱερὸν ἰχθὺν καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν ἀλιέων καλούντων τὸν πομπίλον· ἐστὶν πελάγιος καὶ παρὰ τὰς ναῦς πυκνὰ φαίνεται ἐοικῶς πηλαμῦδι, ποικίλος. τὸν δ' οὖν ἰχθύν τις παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ ἔλκει |

c πέτρῃ ἐπι προβλήτι καθήμενος ἱερὸν ἰχθύν,
 εἰ μὴ ἄλλος τίς ἐστὶν οὕτω καλούμενος ἱερὸς ἰχθύς.
 Καλλίμαχος δ' ἐν Γαλατεία τὸν χρύσοφρυν·

ἢ μᾶλλον χρύσειον ἐν ὀφρύσιν ἱερὸν ἰχθύν
 ἢ πέρκας ὅσα τ' ἄλλα φέρει βυθὸς ἄσπετος
 ἄλμης.

⁶⁴ But the goddess in question is probably Hecate (cf. Hes. Th. 440-2), and the fish may thus be a mullet of some sort; cf.

pilot-fish (*pompilos*), protective deity of ships'
timbers that travel swiftly through the sea.

Theocritus of Syracuse in his poem entitled *Berenice* (fr. III Gow (vol. i.238)) refers to the so-called white fish⁶⁴ as sacred, in the following passage:

And if anyone who makes his living from the sea,
whose nets
are his plows, asks for good fishing and prosperity,
and at nightfall slaughters for this goddess a sacred
fish,
one people refer to as white, because it is the most
sacred fish of all,
his nets would be taut and he would pull them out of
the sea
full.

The Dionysius nicknamed Iambus writes as follows in his *On Dialects*: For example, I have heard an Eretrian fisherman, as well as many other fishermen, refer to the pilot-fish as a sacred fish; it is a sea-fish that often appears alongside their ships, and resembles an immature tuna and is speckled. Someone in the poet catches this fish while (*Il.* 16.407)

sitting on a rock that juts into the sea, a sacred fish,
unless there is another sacred fish referred to this way.
Callimachus in *Galateia* (fr. 378 Pfeiffer) (identifies it with) the gilthead:

or rather a sacred fish with gold upon its brows,
or a perch, or whatever others the salt sea's endless
depths yield.

ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ἐπιγράμμασιν ὁ αὐτὸς ποιητῆς φησιν·

< . . . > θεὸς δέ οἱ ἱερὸς ὕκης.

ἄλλοι δ' ἀκούουσι ἱερὸν ἰχθύν τὸν ἄνετον, ὡς καὶ ἱερὸν βοῦν τὸν ἄνετον, οἱ δὲ τὸν μέγαν, ὡς

d < . . . > ἱερὸν | μένος Ἀλκινόοιο,

τινὲς δὲ τὸν ἰέμενον πρὸς τὸν ῥοῦν. Κλείταρχος δ' ἐν ἐβδόμῃ Γλωσσῶν, οἱ ναυτικοί, φησί, πομπίλον ἱερὸν ἰχθύν προσαγορεύουσι διὰ τὸ ἐκ πελάγους προπέμπειν τὰς ναῦς ἕως εἰς λιμένα· διὸ καὶ πομπίλον καλεῖσθαι, χρύσοφρον ὄντα. καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης δ' ἐν Ἑρμῇ φησιν·

ἄγρης μοῖραν ἔλειπον, ἔτι ζῶντας ἰούλους
ἢ ἔ γενειῆτιν τρίγλην ἢ περκάδα κίχλην
ἢ δρομίνην χρύσειον ἐπ' ὀφρύσιν ἱερὸν ἰχθύν. |

e ἐκ ταύτης ἡμῶν τῆς ὀψολογίας ὁ καλὸς Οὐλλπιανὸς ζητεῖτω κατὰ τί Ἀρχέστρατος ἐν ταῖς καλαῖς Ὑποθήκαις περὶ τῶν ἐν Βοσπόρῳ ταρίχων εἰπών·

Βοσπόρου ἐκπλεύσαντα τὰ λευκότατ'· ἀλλὰ
προσέστω
μηδὲν ἐκεῖ στερεῆς σαρκὸς Μαιώτιδι λίμνῃ

7.306d–e, 325a–d.

⁶⁵ For the *hukēs*, see 7.300f, 327a–c (where this line is quoted again) with n.

BOOK VII

The same poet says in his *Epigrams* (fr. 394 Pfeiffer):⁶⁵

a sacred *hukēs* as his god.

Other authorities understand a sacred fish to be one dedicated to a god, as a sacred cow is one dedicated to a god; others take it to be a large fish, as in (*Od.* 8.385)

the sacred might of Alcinous;

while some claim that it is a fish that rushes into the current.⁶⁶ Cleitarchus says in Book VII of the *Glossary*: Sailors refer to the pilot-fish as a sacred fish because it escorts (*propempein*) their ships from the sea into harbor, which is why it is called a *pompilos*, although it is actually a gilthead. Eratosthenes as well says in *Hermes* (fr. 12, p. 60 Powell):

They used to abandon a portion of their catch:
rainbow wrasses, still alive,
a bearded red mullet, a thrush-wrasse,
or a rapid sacred fish with gold upon its brows.

To cap my discussion of fish, let the noble Ulpian inquire into what Archestratus means in his excellent *Counsels* (fr. 40 Olson-Sens = *SH* 170) when he says about Bosporan saltfish:

the very whitest that sail out of the Bosporus. But let
none
of the hard flesh of the fish that grew up in Lake
Maeotis

⁶⁶ As if *hieron* were derived from *hiemenon* . . . *rhoun* (as it of course is not).

ἰχθύος αὐξηθέντος, ὃν ἐν μέτρῳ οὐ θέμις εἰπεῖν.

τίς οὗτός ἐστιν ὃν φησιν οὐ θεμιτὸν εἶναι ἐμμέτρως |
f εἰπεῖν;

Ἄφύαι. καὶ ἐνικῶς δὲ ἀφύην λέγουσιν. Ἀριστῶν-
μος Ἡλίῳ Ῥιγῶντι·

ὥστ' οὗτ' ἀφύη νῦν ἔστ' ἔθ' ἀπλῶς.

τῆς δ' ἀφύης ἐστὶ γένη πλείω· καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀφρῖτις
λεγομένη οὐ γίνεται ἀπὸ γόνου, ὥς φησιν Ἀριστο-
τέλης, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιπολάζοντος τῇ θαλάσσει ἀφροῦ,
οὗ ἂν ὄμβρων γενομένων πολλῶν σύστασις γένηται.
ἐτέρα δ' ἐστὶν ἀφύη <ἡ> κωβίτις λεγομένη· γίνεται δ'
αὕτη ἐκ τῶν μικρῶν καὶ φαύλων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἄμμῳ
285 διαγενομένων κωβιδίων. || καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς δὲ ταύτης τῆς
ἀφύης ἀπογεννῶνται ἕτεραι, αἵτινες ἐγκρασίχολοι
καλοῦνται. γίνεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλη ἀφύη ὁ γόνος τῶν
μαινίδων καὶ ἄλλη ἐκ τῆς μεμβράδος καὶ ἔτι ἄλλη ἐκ
τῶν μικρῶν κεστρέων τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἄμμου καὶ τῆς ἰλύος
γινομένων. πάντων δὲ τούτων ἡ ἀφρῖτις ἀρίστη. Δω-
ρίων δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἰχθύων κωβίτην τινὰ ἐψητὸν λέγει
καὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀθερίνης· ἰχθυδίου δὲ ὄνομα ἀθερίνη. εἶναι
δέ φησι καὶ τριγλίτιν ἀφύην. Ἐπίχαρμος δ' ἐν Ἡβας
b Γάμμῳ ἐν μεμβράσει καὶ καμμάροις | τὰς ἀφύας

67 The fish in question is probably the *akkipēsios* or *antakaios* (neither of which will fit into dactylic hexameter); cf. 7.294e-f. But Ulpian never takes up the challenge.

68 Quoted again at 7.285e, and in more complete form at

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be present, a fish it is not permitted to mention in verse.

What is this fish that he claims is not allowed to be mentioned in poetry?⁶⁷

Small-fry (*aphuai*). They also used the word in the singular form *aphuē*. Aristonymus in *The Shivering Sun* (fr. 2.2).⁶⁸

so that, simply put, there's now no longer any small-fry.

There are numerous varieties of small-fry. The so-called *aphritis* is not produced via spawning, according to Aristotle (fr. 192), but from the foam (*aphros*) that forms on the surface of the sea after heavy rains. Another variety of small-fry is referred to as *kōbitis*; it is generated from the tiny, insignificant goby-minnows (*kōbidia*) that live in the sand. Other varieties, known as *enkrasicholoi* ("anchovies"),⁶⁹ are generated from the same type of small-fry. Another variety of small-fry are sprat-minnows; a second is produced by smelt; and yet a third come from the tiny gray mullets generated out of sand and muck. Of all these, the *aphritis* is the best. Dorion in his *On Fish*⁷⁰ mentions a stewed dish made with gobies, and another made with *etherinai* ("sand-smelt"); *etherinē* is the name of a tiny variety of fish. He also claims that there are red-mullet small-fry. Epicharmus in *The Wedding of Hebe* (fr. 53)⁷¹ includes small-fry in his list along with smelt and crayfish, and re-

7.287c-d.

⁶⁹ Cf. 7.300f.

⁷⁰ Quoted at 7.300f; cf. 7.287c.

⁷¹ Various portions of the fragment are quoted or alluded to at 7.286f, 287b-c, 305c, 306c; 9.400c.

καταριθμείται διαστέλλων τὸν λεγόμενον γόνον. Ἴκέσιος δέ φησι τῆς ἀφύης ἢ μὲν λευκὴ καὶ λίαν λεπτὴ καὶ ἀφρώδης, ἣν καλοῦσιν ἔνιοι καὶ κωβίτιν, ἢ δὲ ῥυπαρωτέρα ταύτης καὶ ἀδροτέρα· διαφέρει δ' ἢ καθαρὰ καὶ λεπτή. Ἀρχέστρατος δ' ὁ ὀψοδαίδαλός φησι

c τὴν ἀφύην μίνθου πᾶσαν πλὴν τὴν ἐν Ἀθήναις τὸν γόνον ἐξαυδῶ, τὸν ἀφρὸν καλέουσιν Ἴωνες. | καὶ λαβὲ πρόσφατον αὐτὸν ἐν εὐκόλποιο

Φαλήρου

ἀγκῶσιν ληφθένθ' ἱεροῖς· κὰν τῇ περικλύστῳ ἐστὶ Ῥόδῳ γενναῖος, ἐὰν ἐπιχώριος ἔλθῃ.

ἂν δέ που ἰμείρης αὐτοῦ γεύσασθαι, ὁμοῦ χρῆ κνίδας ὀψωνεῖν, τὰς ἀμφικόμους ἀκαλήφας.

εἰς ταῦτόν μείξας δ' αὐτὰς ἐπὶ τηγάνου ὄπτα, εὐώδη τρίψας ἄνθη λαχάνων ἐν ἐλαίῳ.

d Κλέαρχος δ' ὁ περιπατητικὸς ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Παροιμιῶν περὶ τῆς ἀφύης φησί· διὰ τὸ μικροῦ δεῖσθαι πυρὸς ἐν τοῖς τηγάνοις οἱ περὶ Ἀρχέστρατον ἐπιβαλόντας | κελεύουσιν ἐπὶ θερμὸν τήγανον σίζουσιν ἀφαιρεῖν· ἅμα δ' ἤπται καὶ σίζει, καθάπερ τοῦλαιον, εὐθύς. διὸ

⁷² Literally "the Daedalus of seafood", as again at 7.326f.

⁷³ One of Athens' harbors; cf. Macho 36 Gow (quoted at 6.244c); Ar. fr. 521 and Lynceus of Samos fr. 8 Dalby (both quoted at 7.285e-f); Sotad. Com. fr. 1.30 (quoted at 7.293e).

⁷⁴ Probably to be understood as a periphrasis for "Archestraus himself".

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fers separately to what is called *gonos* ("spawn, fingerlings"). Hicesius says: One variety of small-fry is light-colored, extremely delicate, and foamlike; some authorities refer to this as *kōbitis*. The other variety is darker-colored and more substantial than the first. The clean, delicate variety is better. And Arcestratus the culinary genius⁷² says (fr. 11 Olson–Sens = *SH* 140):

Treat all small-fry with contempt, except those from
Athens—

I mean *gonos* ("spawn"), which the Ionians refer to as
aphros ("foam").

Buy them fresh after they have been caught in the
holy
arms of Phaleron⁷³ with its lovely bay. They are also
of good quality
in sea-washed Rhodes, provided they actually come
from there.

But if somehow you feel a desire to taste them, you
must buy
sea anemones—that is, tentacle-enwrapped sea-
nettles—along with them.

Mix them together and fry them on a skillet,
after grinding up some fragrant green herbs in olive
oil.

Clearchus the Peripatetic in his *On Proverbs* (fr. 81 Wehrli = Arcestr. fr. 61 Olson–Sens = *SH* 141) says about small-fry: Because they need only a small fire when cooked in a skillet, Arcestratus' followers⁷⁴ suggest that you throw them onto a hot skillet and then take them off once they begin to sizzle. The moment they come into contact with the heat, they immediately begin to sizzle, precisely as

λέγεται "ἴδε πῦρ ἀφύη." Χρύσιππος δ' ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν Δι' Αὐτὰ Αἰρετῶν, τὴν ἀφύην, φησί, ἐν Ἀθήναις μὲν διὰ τὴν δαψίλειαν ὑπερορῶσι καὶ πτωχικὸν εἶναί φασιν ὄψον, ἐν ἐτέραις δὲ πόλεσιν ὑπερθαυμάζουσι πολὺ χεῖρω γινομένην. εἶθ' οἱ μὲν, φησίν, ἐνταῦθα τοὺς Ἀδριατικοὺς ὄρνιθας τρέφειν σπεύδουσιν ἀχρειοτέρους ὄντας, ὅτι τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν πολὺ ἐλάττους εἰσίν. | ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τὰναντία μεταπέμπονται τοὺς ἐνθάδε. ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐνικοῦ Ἐρμιππος Δημόταις⁵.

νῦν δ' οὐδ' ἀφύην κινεῖν δοκεῖς.

Καλλίας Κύκλωψιν

πρὸς τῆς ἀφύης τῆς ἡδίστης.

Ἀριστώνυμος Ἡλίῳ Ῥιγῶντι

ὥστ' οὐτ' ἀφύη νῦν ἐστ' ἔθ' ἀπλῶς.

ἀφύδια δὲ Ἀριστοφάνης Ταγμισταῖς

μηδὲ τὰ Φαληρικὰ τὰ μικρὰ τὰδ' ἀφύδια.

Λυγκεὺς δ' ὁ Σάμιος ἐν τῇ Πρὸς Διαγόραν Ἐπιστολῇ ἐπαινῶν τὰς Ῥοδιακὰς ἀφύας καὶ ἀντιτιθεὶς πολλὰ τῶν Ἀθήνησι γινομένων πρὸς τὰ ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ φησί

⁵ Δημόταις τὸ ἐνικόν A: τὸ ἐνικόν del. Casaubon

⁷⁵ Athenaeus now returns to the lexicographic source with which the entry began, after a discussion (taken up again below) of the gustatory and culinary character of the fish.

olive oil does. This is why the saying goes: The small-fry saw the fire. The philosopher Chrysippus says in his *On Things To Be Chosen for Their Own Sake* (ix.2, SVF iii.195): In Athens they regard small-fry with contempt because they are abundant, and they claim that this is beggars' fish, whereas in other cities they admire them immensely, even though they are much worse there. Moreover, he says, the people here are eager to raise Adriatic fowl, despite the fact that they are inferior, because they are much rarer than our local varieties; people there, by contrast, import *our* poultry. Hermippus in *Demesmen* (fr. 14) uses the word in the singular:⁷⁵

But now you don't even appear to be disturbing
small-fry.

Callias in *Cyclopes* (fr. 10):

from the most delicious small-fry (sing.).

Aristonymus in *The Shivering Sun* (fr. 2.2):⁷⁶

so that, simply put, there's now no longer any small-fry (sing.).

Aristophanes uses the diminutive *aphudia* in *Frying-Pan Men* (fr. 521):

and not these tiny Phaleric *aphudia*.

Lynceus of Samos in his *Letter to Diagoras* (fr. 8 Dalby) recommends Rhodian small-fry and compares many foods found in Athens with those in Rhodes, saying: (Rhodes)

⁷⁶ Cf. 7.284f with n.

- f ταῖς μὲν | Φαληρικαῖς ἀφύαις τὰς Αἰνάτιδας καλου-
 μένας ἀφύας, τῷ δὲ γλαυκίσκῳ τὸν ἔλοπα καὶ τὸν
 ὄρφον ἀντιπαρατιθείσα, πρὸς δὲ τὰς Ἑλεσινιακὰς
 ψήττας καὶ σκόμβρους καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος παρ' αὐτοῖς
 ἰχθὺς ἐπάνω τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ Κέκροπος γέγονεν ἀντιγεν-
 νήσασα τὸν ἀλώπεκα καλούμενον, <ὄν> ὁ τὴν Ἑδυ-
 πάθειαν γράψας παρακελεύεται τῷ μὴ δυναμένῳ τιμῇ
 κατεργάσασθαι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἀδικία κτήσασθαι⁶. ||
 286 Ἄρχέστρατον λέγει τὸν τέυθην ὁ Λυγκεύς, ὃς ἐν τῷ
 πολυθρυλήτῳ ποιήματι περὶ τοῦ γαλεοῦ λέγει οὕτως·

ἐν δὲ Ῥόδῳ γαλεὸν τὸν ἀλώπεκα, κὰν
 ἀποθνήσκειν
 μέλλης, ἂν μὴ σοι πωλεῖν θέλῃ, ἄρπασον αὐτόν,
 ὄν καλέουσι Συρακόσιοι κύνα πίονα, κᾶτα
 ὕστερον ἤδη πάσχ' ὃ τί σοι πεπρωμένον ἐστίν.

Ἄχαρνος. Καλλίας Κύκλωψιν·

- b κίθαρος | ὀπτὸς καὶ βατὶς θύννου τε κεφάλαιον
 τοδί,
 ἐγγέλεια, κάραβοι, λινεύς, ἄχαρνος οὐτοσί.

Βατὶς, βάτραχος, βάτος. τῆς μὲν οὖν βατίδος
 καὶ τοῦ βατράχου μνημονεῖει Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τοῖς
 Περὶ Ζῴων καταριθμῶν αὐτὰ ἐν τοῖς σελάχεσιν. Εὐ-
 πολὶς δ' ἐν Κόλαξί φησι·

⁶ κτήσασθαι τὴν ὀψοφαγίαν ACE: τὴν ὀψοφαγίαν del.
 Madvig

matches Phaleric small-fry with the so-called Aenatidan small-fry,⁷⁷ the *glaukiskos* with the *elops* and the sea-perch, and has outdone Cecrops⁷⁸ reputation by producing, to match Eleusinian flounders and mackerel⁷⁹, and whatever other fish they have, the so-called thresher shark, which the author of the *Hedupatheia* tells the man who cannot satisfy his desire for it with cash to acquire dishonestly. Lynceus is referring to the glutton Archestratus, who in his notorious poem has the following to say about the thresher shark (fr. 22 Olson—Sens = *SH* 152):⁸⁰

And in Rhodes, if someone declines to sell you
the thresher shark, steal it, even if death is likely to
be the result—

the Syracusans refer to it as a fat sea-dog⁸¹—and then
after that suffer whatever fate has been allotted you.

Acharnos. Callias in *Cyclopes* (fr. 6):⁸²

a roasted *kitharos*, a skate, and this tuna-head here;
eels, crayfish, a *lineus*,⁸³ this *acharnos* here.

Skate (*batis*), fishing-frog, *batos*⁸⁴. Aristotle refers to the skate and the fishing-frog in his *On Animals* (fr. 193),⁸⁵ where he lists them among the cartilaginous fish. Eupolis says in *Flatterers* (fr. 174):

⁷⁷ Aenos was located on the coast of Asia Minor opposite Rhodes. ⁷⁸ A mythical king of Athens, and thus by extension the Athenians generally. ⁷⁹ Eleusis lay north and east of the city of Athens, on a large, land-locked bay. ⁸⁰ Quoted also at 7.295a. ⁸¹ Cf. Epich. fr. 61 (quoted at 7.328c-d).

⁸² The first verse is quoted also at 7.306a. ⁸³ Identified by Hesychius (λ 1060) as a gray mullet. ⁸⁴ A 2nd-declension form (used by Epicharmus and Aristotle, below) of the more common 3rd-declension form *batis*. ⁸⁵ Cf. fr. 194 (below) with n.

παρὰ τῷδε Καλλία πολλή θυμηδία,
 ἵνα πάρα μὲν κάραβοι καὶ βατίδες καὶ λαγῶ
 καὶ γυναικες εἰλίποδες.

καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Ἦβας Γάμφ·

ἦν δὲ νάρκαι, βατίδες, ἦν δὲ <καὶ> ζύγαινοι, |
 c πρήστιες,
 καμίαι τε καὶ βάτοι ρίναί τε τραχυδέρμονες.

ἐν δὲ Μεγαρίδι·

τὰς πλευρὰς οἰόνπερ βατίς,
 τὰν δ' ὀπισθίαν † ἐχῆσθ' ἀτενὲς οἰόνπερ βάτος,
 τὰν δὲ κεφαλὰν ὀστέων οἰόνπερ ἔλαφος, οὐ
 βατίς,
 τὰν δὲ λαπάραν σκορπίος † παῖς ἐπιθαλάττιος
 τεου †.

Σαννυρίων δ' ἐν Γέλωτι·

ὦ βατίδες, ὦ γλαύκων κάρα.

Ἄριστοτέλης δ' ἐν πέμπτῳ Ζώων Μορίων σελάχῃ
 φησὶν εἶναι βάτον, τρυγόνα, βούν, λάμιαν, αἰετόν,
 νάρκην, βάτραχον καὶ πάντα τὰ γαλεοειδῆ. Σώφρων
 d δ' ἐν | Μίμοις Ἄνδρείοις βότιν καλεῖ τινα ἰχθὺν ἐν
 τούτοις· κέστραι βότιν κάπτουσαι· καὶ μήποτε βο-
 τάνην τιὰ λέγει. περὶ δὲ τοῦ βατράχου συμβουλεύει

BOOK VII

There's great contentment in the house of
Callias here;
crayfish, skate, and hares are present,
along with shambling-footed women.

Also Epicharmus in *The Wedding of Hebe* (fr. 52):

There were electric rays and skates; there were also
hammerhead sharks and sawfish,
and bonitos, *batoi*, and rough-skinned monkfish.

And in *The Megarian Woman* (fr. 79):

sides like a ray's;
you've got † a rear end that sticks out like that of a
batos;
a bony head like a deer's, not a skate's;
a flank a bullhead's † a marine child [corrupt] †.

Sannyrio in *Laughter* (fr. 3):

O skates! O *glaukos*-head!

Aristotle in Book V of *Parts of Animals* (fr. 194)⁸⁶ says that the cartilaginous fish include the *batos*, sting-ray, horned ray, Lamia, eagle-ray, electric ray, fishing-frog, and all those that resemble sharks. Sophron in the *Men's Mimes* (fr. 64)⁸⁷ mentions a fish called a *botis* in the following passage: mullets (*kestrai*) gulping down a *botis*; although he is perhaps referring to a plant.⁸⁸ The brilliant Arcestratus

⁸⁶ Cf. 7.330a.

⁸⁷ Quoted again at 7.323a.

⁸⁸ Cf. the cynical comment about grammarians and rare words for plants at 9.398c.

ὁ σοφώτατος Ἀρχέστρατος ἐν ταῖς Γνώμαις τάδε·

βάτραχον, ἐνθ' ἂν ἴδης, ὀψώνει < . . . >
 < . . . > καὶ γαστρίον αὐτοῦ
 σκεύασον.

περὶ δὲ τῆς βατίδος·

καὶ βατίδ' ἐφθῆν ἔσθε μέσου χειμῶνος ἐν ὄρῃ,
 καὶ ταύτῃ τυρὸν καὶ σίλφιον. ἅττα τε σάρκα |
 e μὴ πείρασαν ἔχη πόντου τέκνα, τῶδε τρόπῳ χρῆ
 σκευάζειν. ἤδη σοι ἐγὼ τάδε δευτέρον αὐδῶ.

Ἐφιππος δ' ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς ἐν Φιλύρα δράματι· ἑταί-
 ras δ' ὄνομα ἢ Φιλύρα·

(A.) πότερον ἐγὼ

τὴν βατίδα τεμάχῃ κατατεμῶν ἔψω; τί φῆς;

ἢ Σικελικῶς ὀπτὴν ποιήσω; (B.) Σικελικῶς.

f Βῶκες. Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ | Ζωϊκῶ
 ἢ Περὶ Ἰχθύων, νωτόγραπτα, φησί, λέγεται βῶξ,
 σκολιόγραπτα δὲ κολίας. Ἐπίχαρμος δ' ἐν Ἑβας
 Γάμῳ·

ἔτι δὲ πὸς τούτοις βῶκες, σμαρίδες, ἀφύαι,
 κάμμαροι.

Νουμήμιος δ' ἐν Ἀλιευτικῶ βόηκας αὐτοὺς καλεῖ ἐν
 τούτοις·

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offers the following advice about the fishing-frog in his *Maxims* (fr. 48 Olson-Sens = SH 178):

As for the fishing-frog, wherever you see it, buy it . . .
. . . and prepare its
belly-section.

As for the skate (fr. 50 Olson-Sens = SH 180):

Eat stewed skate too in the season of mid-winter,
and cheese and silphium with it. This is the way
to prepare whatever children of the sea have flesh
that lacks fat. I tell you this now for the second time.

The comic poet Ephippus in his play *Philyra* (fr. 22)—
Philyra is a courtesan's name:

(A.) After I cut the skate
into steaks, should I stew it? What's your opinion?
Or should I roast it Sicilian style? (B.) Sicilian style.

Bogues. Aristotle says in his work entitled *Concerning Living Creatures or On Fish* (fr. 195): The variety with marks on its back is referred to as a bogue, whereas the striped one is a Spanish mackerel. Epicharmus in *The Wedding of Hebe* (fr. 53.1):⁸⁹

And also, in addition to them, bogues, picarels, small-fry, and crayfish.

Numenius in the *Art of Fishing* (SH 569)⁹⁰ refers to them as *boēkes* in the following passage:

⁸⁹ Cf. 7.285a-b n.

⁹⁰ Quoted also at 7.322b.

ἢ λευκὴν συνόδοντα βόηκας τε τριγούς τε.

Σπύσιππος δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀτικοὶ βόακας. Ἀριστοφάνης Σκηναὶς Καταλαμβανούσαις. ||

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ἀλλ' ἔχουσα γαστέρα
μεστὴν βοάκων ἀπεβάδιζον οἴκαδε.

ὠνομάσθη δὲ παρὰ τὴν βοήν· διὸ καὶ Ἑρμοῦ ἱερὸν εἶναι λόγος τὸν ἰχθύν, ὡς τὸν κίθαρον Ἀπόλλωνος. Φερεκράτης δ' ἐν Μυρμηκαυθρώποις εἰπών·

(A.) ἀλλὰ φωνὴν οὐκ ἔχειν
ἰχθύν γε φασὶ τὸ παράπαν,

ἐπιφέρει·

(B.) νῆ τὸ θεῶ,
οὐκ ἔστιν ἰχθὺς ἄλλος οὐδεὶς ἢ βόαξ.

Ἀριστοφάνης δ' ὁ Βυζάντιος κακῶς φησιν ἡμᾶς λέγειν τὸν ἰχθύν βῶκα δέον βόωπα, ἐπεὶ μικρὸς ὑπάρχων μεγάλους ὦπας ἔχει· εἴη ἂν οὖν ὁ βόωψ | βοὸς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχων. πρὸς ὃν λεκτέον, εἰ τοῦτον κακῶς ὀνομάζομεν, διὰ τί κορακῖνόν φαμεν καὶ οὐ κοροκῖνον; ὠνομάσθη γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ τὰς κόρας κινεῖν. τί δ' οὐχί

91 Spelled *trikkoι* at 7.322b; neither form of the word is attested elsewhere.

92 Sc. as god of messengers and heralds.

93 Because the name suggests *kithara/kitharis* ("lyre",

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or a white four-toothed sea-bream, *boēkes*, and
trinkoi.⁹¹

But Speusippus (fr. 15b Tarán) and other Attic authors call them *boakes*. Aristophanes in *Women Occupying Tents* (fr. 491):

But I was making my way
home with a belly full of *boakes*.

The name is derived from *boē* ("cry, shout"); this is the reason for the story that the fish is sacred to Hermes,⁹² in the same way that the *kitharos* is sacred to Apollo.⁹³ After Pherecrates says in *Ant-People* (fr. 117, encompassing both quotations):

(A.) But people claim that no
fish at all has a voice,

he continues:

(B.) Yes, by the two goddesses;
no fish does—except the bogue!

Aristophanes of Byzantium (fr. 409 Slater) says that we are mistaken to refer to the fish as a *bōx* when we should call it a *boōps*, since even though it is small, it has large eyes (*ōpes*); a *boōps* would accordingly have eyes as big as a cow's (*bous*). The appropriate response to this would be: If we are using the wrong name for *this* fish, why do we say *korakinos* rather than *korokinos*? Because it got its name from the fact that it moves its eyes (*koras kinein*).⁹⁴ And

Apollo's instrument); cf. 7.306a (citing Apollodorus of Athens), 325a–b (also from Apollodorus?).⁹⁴ Cf. 7.309a.

καὶ σείουρον λέγομεν, ἀλλὰ σίλουρον; ὠνόμασται
γὰρ καὶ οὗτος ἀπὸ τοῦ σείειν συνεχῶς τὴν οὐράν.

Βεμβράδες. Φρύνιχος Τραγωδοῖς·
ὧ χρυσοκέφαλοι βεμβράδες θαλάσσιαι.

Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Ἑβας Γάμῳ βαμβραδόνας αὐτὰς
καλεῖ·

c βαμβραδόνας τε καὶ κίχλαι, λαγοὶ δράκοντές |
τ' ἄλκιμοι.

καὶ Σώφρων ἐν Ἀνδρείοις· βαμβραδόσι † ῥαφεία †.
Νουμήμιος δ' ἐν Ἀλιευτικῷ·

ἠβαιῆ καρῖδι καὶ εἴ ποτε βεμβράδι, κείνη
ζωῆ ἔπ' ἀγρώσσοις· τάδε <δὴ> σκέψαιο δέλετρα.

Δωρίων δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἰχθύων φησί· βεμβράδα ἀπο-
κεφαλίσας, ἐὰν ἦ ἀδροτέρα, καὶ ἀποπλύνας ἀλὶ λεπτῷ
καὶ ὕδατι, ἔψε τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τῇ τριγλίτιδι. γίνεται
δέ, φησὶν, ἐκ μόνης τῆς βεμβράδος⁷ ἢ προσαγο-
ρευομένη βεμβραφύη· ὧν μνημονεύει Ἀριστῶννμος ἐν
d | Ἠλίῳ Ῥιγῶντι·

ὁ γέ τοι Σικελὸς ταῖς βεμβραφύαις προσέοικεν ὁ
καρκινοβήτης.

⁷ βεμβράδος σκενασία τις ACE: σκενασία τις del. Olson

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why do we say *silouros* ("sheatfish")⁹⁵ rather than *seiouros*? Because this fish got its name from the fact that it constantly shakes its tail (*seiein ouran*).

Smelt (*bembrades*). Phrynichus in *Tragic Actors* (fr. 52):

O gold-headed sea-smelts!

Epicharmus in *The Wedding of Hebe* (fr. 53.2)⁹⁶ refers to them as *bambradones*:

and *bambradones* and thrushes, hares and powerful weever-fish.

Also Sophron in the *Men's Mimes* (fr. 65): to a *bambradōn* [corrupt]. Numenius in the *Art of Fishing* (*SH* 570):

With a little shrimp or perhaps a smelt might you
hunt
for that sort of life; keep an eye out for this bait.

Dorion says in his *On Fish*: As for a smelt, remove its head, if it is on the larger side; wash it in water with a bit of salt; and stew it in the same way you do red-mullet small-fry. He claims that what is referred to as *bembraphuē* can only be made from smelt. Aristonymus mentions these in *The Shivering Sun* (fr. 2.1):⁹⁷

The Sicel who walks like a crab resembles
bembraphuai, let me tell you!

⁹⁵ Not to be confused with the worthless Minnesota Sheepshead fish (*Autepainetes nappaphulax*).

⁹⁶ See 7.285a n.

⁹⁷ Cf. below; 7.284f n.

Ἄττικοὶ δ' ὅμως βεμβράδας λέγουσιν. Ἀριστομένης
Γόησι·

βεμβράδας φέρων ὀβολοῦ.

Ἀριστώνυμος Ἡλίῳ Ῥιγῶντι·

οὔτ' ἀφήνῃ νῦν ἐστ' ἔθ' ἀπλῶς οὔτ' αὖ βεμβράς
κακοδαίμων.

Ἀριστοφάνης Γήρα·

ταῖς πολιόχρωσι βεμβράσιν τετραμμένη.

Πλάτων Πρέσβεσιν·

< . . . > Ἡράκλεις, τῶν βεμβράδων.

e ἐν δὲ ταῖς Εὐπόλιδος Αἰξίν ἔστιν εὐρεῖν καὶ διὰ | τοῦ
μῦ γραφόμενον. Ἀντιφάνης δ' ἐν Κνοιθιδεῖ·

ἄτοπά γε κηρύττουσιν ἐν τοῖς ἰχθύσι
κηρύγμαθ', οὐδ' καὶ νῦν τις ἐκεκράγει μέγα
μέλιτος γλυκυτέρας μεμβράδας φάσκων ἔχειν.
εἰ τοῦτο τοιοῦτ' ἐστίν, οὐδὲν κωλύει
τοὺς μελιτοπώλας αὖ λέγειν βοᾶν θ' ὅτι
πωλοῦσι τὸ μέλι σαπρότερον τῶν μεμβράδων.

καὶ Ἀλεξίς δ' ἐν Χορηγίδι διὰ τοῦ μῦ εἴρηκεν· |

⁹⁸ Referred to at 10.448e as *The Man from Mount Cnoithideus or Pot-Belly*.

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Attic authors nonetheless refer to them as *bembrades*.
Aristomenes in *Quack Prophets* (fr. 7):

fetching an obol's worth of *bembrades*.

Aristonymus in *The Shivering Sun* (fr. 2.2):

so that, simply put, there's now no longer any small-
fry nor a miserable *bembras*.

Aristophanes in *Old Age* (fr. 140):

a girl raised on white *bembrades*.

Plato in *Ambassadors* (fr. 131):

Heracles! What *bembrades*!

In Eupolis' *Nanny-Goats* (fr. 31), on the other hand, the
word can be found written with an initial *mu*. Antiphanes
in *The Man from Mount Cnoithideus*⁹⁸ (fr. 123):

They're making odd announcements in the
fishmarket,
where someone just now was calling out loudly,
claiming he had sprats (*membrades*) sweeter than
honey.
If that's the case, nothing's stopping
the honey-vendors for their part from saying and
shouting that
they're selling honey that's more rotten than sprats
(*membrades*).

Alexis in *The Female Choregos*⁹⁹ (fr. 260) also pronounces
the word with a *mu*:

⁹⁹ Perhaps a courtesan's name, Choregis; cf. 13.577c.

- f ὃς τοῖς τετραδισταῖς μὲν παρέθηκεν ἐσθίειν
πρώην λέκιθον καὶ μεμβράδας καὶ στέμφυλα.

ἐν δὲ Πρωτοχόρῳ·

ἐπιπονώτερον

<ἔργον> μὰ τὸν Διόνυσον οὐκ εἴληφ' ἐγὼ
ἀφ' οὗ παρασιτῶ. μεμβράδας μοι κρεῖττον ἦν
ἔχειν μετ' Ἀττικιστὶ δυναμένου λαλεῖν·
ὀνησιφόρον ἦν τοῦτο. ||

- 288 Βλένος. τούτου μέμνηται Σώφρων ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφο-
μένῳ Ὀλλιεύς τὸν Ἀγροιώταν, βλέννῳ θηλαμόνι. ἐστὶ
δὲ κωβιῶ τὴν ιδέα παραπλήσιος.

Ἐπίχαρμος δ' ἐν Ἑβας Γάμῳ βαιόνας τινὰς ἰχθύς
καλεῖ ἐν τούτοις·

ἄγε δὴ τρίγλας τε κυφὰς κάχαρίστους βαιόνας.

καὶ παρ' Ἀττικοῖς δὲ παροιμία ἐστὶ, μὴ μοι βαιῶν
κακὸς ἰχθύς.

Βούγλωσσοσ. ὁ Πυθαγορικὸς δὲ δι' ἐγκράτειαν
Ἀρχέστρατὸς φησιν· |

- b εἶτα λαβεῖν ψῆτταν μεγάλην καὶ τὴν ὑπότρηχυν
βούγλωσσον, ταύτην δὲ θέρευσ περιὶ Χαλκίδα
κεδινήν.

¹⁰⁰ The fourth day of the month was considered the birthday of Hermes and Heracles, and was also associated with Aphrodite Pandemos (14.659d).

¹⁰¹ Quoted also at 7.324e.

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who the day before yesterday served the members of his fourth-day club¹⁰⁰ lentil-soup, sprats (*membrades*), and olive pomace to eat.

And in *The Lead-Dancer* (fr. 200):

By Dionysus, for as long as I've been a parasite, I've never worked harder! I'd have been better off having sprats (*membrades*) with someone capable of speaking Attic; that would be worth it.

Butterfish. Sophron mentions this in his mime entitled *The Fisherman and the Rustic* (fr. 42): to a wet-nurse butterflyfish. It looks the same as a goby.

Epicharmus in *The Wedding of Hebe* (fr. 57)¹⁰¹ refers to some sort of fish as *baiones*,¹⁰² in the following passage:

Indeed, he brought hunchbacked red mullets and unappealing *baiones*.

The Athenians also have a proverb (cf. Strömberg p. 85): No *baiōn* for me; it's a bad fish.

Bouglōssos.¹⁰³ Arcestratus—a virtual Pythagorean, as far as self-discipline is concerned—says (fr. 33 Olson—Sens = *SH* 163):¹⁰⁴

Then buy a big flounder and the slightly rough *bouglōssos*; during the summer, the latter is excellent around Chalcis.

¹⁰² Unidentified. probably sole or the like.

¹⁰³ Literally "cow-tongue"; presumably

¹⁰⁴ Quoted also at 7.330b.

Ἐπίχαρμος δ' ἐν Ἑβας Γάμφ·

βούγλωσσοί τε καὶ κίθαρος ἐνῆς.

τῶν δὲ βουγλώσσω διαλλάττοντές εἰσιν οἱ κυνό-
γλωσσοι· περὶ ὧν καὶ αὐτῶν Ἐπίχαρμος φησιν·

αἰολίαί πλωτές τε κυνόγλωσσοί τ', ἐνῆν δὲ
σκιαθίδες.

Ἀττικοὶ δὲ ψῆτταν αὐτὴν καλοῦσιν.

- c Γόγγροι. | τούτους Ἰκέσιος σκληροτέρους τῶν
ἐγγέλεων εἶναί φησι καὶ ἀραιοσαρκοτέρους τε καὶ
ἀτροφωτέρους εὐχυλία τε πολὺ λειπομένους, εὐστο-
μάχους δὲ εἶναι. Νίκανδρος δὲ ὁ ἐποποιὸς ἐν τρίτῳ
Γλωσσῶν καλεῖσθαι φησιν αὐτοὺς καὶ γρύλλους. Εὐ-
δοξος δ' ἐν ἕκτῳ Γῆς Περιόδου γόγγρους δὲ φησιν
πολλοὺς ἀνδραχθεῖς ἐν Σικυῶνι ἀλίσκεσθαι ὧν ἐνίους
εἶναι καὶ ἀμαξιαίους. Φιλήμων δὲ τῆς κωμωδίας ὁ
ποιητῆς καὶ αὐτὸς μνημονεύων τῶν ἐν Σικυῶνι δια-
d φόρων γόγγρων ποιεῖ τινα | μάγειρον ἐπὶ τέχνῃ τῇ
ἑαυτοῦ σεμνυνόμενον καὶ λέγοντα ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφο-
μένῳ Στρατιώτῃ τάδε·

ὡς ἡμέρος μ' ὑπήλθε γῆ τε κούρανῳ
λέξαι μολόντι τοῦψον ὡς ἐσκεύασα.

105 Various portions of the fragment are quoted also at 7.306a, 326e, 330a. 106 Literally "dog-tongues"; unidentified, but presumably smaller than "cow-tongues".

107 For this fragment, see 7.282a n.

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Epicharmus in *The Wedding of Hebe* (fr. 58.1):¹⁰⁵

Bouglōssoi and a *kitharos* were in there.

*Kunoglōssoi*¹⁰⁶ are different from *bouglōssoi*. Epicharmus also mentions the former (fr. 41.2):¹⁰⁷

Speckle-fish and *plōtes*¹⁰⁸ and *kunoglōssai*; and
maigres were in there.

Attic authors refer to the fish as a *psētta* ("flounder").

Conger eels. Hicesius claims that these are tougher, spongier-fleshed, and less nourishing than freshwater eels, and far inferior to them in terms of the quality of their *chulē*, but easy on the stomach. The epic poet Nicander in Book III of the *Glossary* (fr. 122 Schneider) says that they are also known as *grulloi*. Eudoxus in Book VI of the *Tour of the Earth* (fr. 318 Lasserre) claims that many conger eels as large as a man can carry are caught in Sicyon; some even have to be transported by wagon. The comic poet Philemon also mentions the outstanding congeners in Sicyon, representing a cook as boasting about his personal skill and saying the following in the play entitled *The Soldier* (fr. 82.1–24):¹⁰⁹

What a desire came over me to come out and tell
earth and sky how I prepared the food!

¹⁰⁸ Supposedly another—doubtless local Sicilian—name for the gray mullet; cf. 7.307b with n. ¹⁰⁹ The first two verses are a parody of E. *Med.* 57–8. Two additional verses apparently from the end of same speech are preserved at 7.290a. Schweighäuser, comparing the fragment of another boastful cook's speech at 7.291d–f, argued that the lines ought to be attributed not to Philemon, but to Philemon Junior.

νῆ τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἡδὺ γ' ἔστ' εὐημερεῖν
 ἐν ἅπασιν. ἰχθύς ἀπαλὸς οἶος γέγονέ μοι,
 οἶον παρατέθεικ', οὐ πεφαρμακευμένον
 τυροῖσιν οὐδ' ἄνωθεν ἐξηνθισμένον,
 ἀλλ' οἶος ἦν ζῶν, κώπτὸς ὧν τοιοῦτος ἦν. |
 e οὕτως ἀπαλὸν ἔδωκα καὶ πρᾶον τὸ πῦρ
 ὀπτῶν τὸν ἰχθύν. οὐδὲ πιστευθήσομαι
 ὁμοιον ἐγένετ', ὄρνις ὁπότεν ἀρπάσῃ
 τοῦ καταπιεῖν μείζον τι περιτρέχει κύκλω
 τηροῦσα τοῦτο, καταπιεῖν δ' ἐσπούδακεν,
 ἕτεροι διώκουσιν δὲ ταύτην ταυτὸν ἦν.
 τὴν ἡδονὴν ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῶν καταμαθὼν
 τῆς λοπάδος ἀνεπήδησε κάφευγεν κύκλω |
 f τὴν λοπάδ' ἔχων, ἄλλοι δ' ἐδίωκον κατὰ πόδας.
 ἐξῆν ὀλολύζειν· οἱ μὲν ἤρπασάν τι γάρ,
 οἱ δ' οὐδέν, οἱ δὲ πάντα. καίτοι παρέλαβον
 ἰχθύς ποταμίους ἐσθίοντας βόρβορον·
 εἰ δ' ἔλαβον † ἄρτι σκάρων †, ἢ 'κ τῆς Ἀττικῆς
 γλαυκίσκον, ὦ Ζεῦ σῶτερ, ἢ 'ξ Ἄργους κάπρον, ||
 289 ἢ 'κ τῆς Σικυῶνος τῆς φίλης ὅν τοῖς θεοῖς
 φέρει Ποσειδῶν γόγγρον εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν,
 ἅπαντες οἱ φαγόντες ἐγένοντ' ἄν θεοί.
 ἀθανασίαν εὖρηκα· τοὺς ἤδη νεκροὺς,
 ὅταν <μόνον> ὀσφρανθῶσι, ποιῶ ζῆν πάλιν.
 ταῦτα, νῆ τὴν Ἀθηναίων, οὐδ' ἄν Μενεκράτης ἄν ὁ

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By Athena, it's nice to be successful
at everything! I've served the fish just
as tender as he was when I got him, not dosed
with cheese or buried in herbs.

Just as he was when he was alive,
that's what he was like roasted; that's how soft and
gentle a fire

I furnished the fish with when I roasted him. And no
one will believe me!

It was just like when a chicken snatches
something too big to swallow at a gulp: it runs around
in a circle

trying to hold onto it, and does its best to swallow it
down,

while the other chickens chase it. It was exactly the
same.

The first man to understand how delicious
the casserole-dish was jumped up and began to run
away in a circle,

holding it; and the others were hot on his heels.

I got to raise a shout for joy; because some of them
snatched something,

some got nothing, others got it all. And I was given
muck-eating river-fish!

If I'd got † a parrot wrasse just now †, or an Attic
glaukiskos, O Zeus the Savior, or an Argive *kapros*,
or a conger eel, which Poseidon takes to heaven
for the gods, from beloved Sicyon,
everyone who ate it would have become a god.

Self-promotion like this, by Athena, would not have been
indulged in even by Menecrates of Syracuse, who was

Συρακόσιος ἐξωγκώσατο ὁ Ζεὺς ἐπικαλούμενος, ὃς ἐφρόνει μέγα ὡς μόνος αἴτιος τοῦ ζῆν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις γινόμενος διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἰατρικῆς. τοὺς γοῦν θεραπευομένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὰς ἱεράς καλουμένας | νόσους
 b συγγράφεσθαι ἠνάγκαζεν ὅτι ὑπακούσονται αὐτῷ δούλοι περισωθέντες. καὶ ἠκολούθουν ὁ μὲν τις Ἡρακλέους σκευὴν ἔχων καὶ καλούμενος Ἡρακλῆς (Νικόστρατος δ' ἦν οὗτος ὁ Ἀργεῖος, ἱεράν νόσον θεραπευθεῖς· μνημονεύει δ' αὐτῶν Ἐφιππος ἐν Πελταστῆ λέγων ὧδε·

οὐ Μενεκράτης μὲν ἔφασκεν εἶναι † ὁ θεός †,
 Νικόστρατος δ' Ἀργεῖος ἕτερος Ἡρακλῆς;),

ἄλλος δέ τις ὡς Ἑρμῆς χλαμύδα ἔχων καὶ κηρύκειον,
 c πρὸς δὲ τούτοισι πτερά, ὡς ὁ Ζελεΐτης Νικαγόρας | ὁ καὶ τῆς πατρίδος τυραννήσας, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Βάτων ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ Τυράννων. Ἠγήσανδρος δὲ φησιν ὅτι καὶ Ἀστυκρέοντα θεραπευθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Ἀπόλλωνα ἐκάλεσε· καὶ ἄλλος δ' αὐτῷ τῶν περισωθέντων Ἀσκληπιοῦ στολὴν ἀναλαβὼν συμπεριεφθέρητο. αὐτὸς δ' ὁ Ζεὺς πορφύραν ἠμφιεσμένος καὶ στέφανον χρυσοῦν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔχων καὶ σκῆπτρον κρατῶν κρηπίδās τε ὑποδεδεμένος περιήει μετὰ τοῦ θείου χοροῦ. καὶ ἐπιστέλλων Φιλίππῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ
 d | οὕτως ἔγραψεν· Μενεκράτης Ζεὺς Φιλίππῳ χαίρειν. σὺ μὲν Μακεδονίας βασιλεύεις, ἐγὼ δὲ ἰατρικῆς, καὶ

110 A long digression, most of which has to do with comic

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nicknamed Zeus and was extremely proud, since he was convinced that his medical skills were the only thing that kept people alive.¹¹⁰ He required the individuals he was treating, at any rate, for the so-called sacred diseases¹¹¹ to draw up a document promising that, if they survived, they would serve him like slaves. One man used to accompany him wearing a Heracles-outfit and was actually referred to as Heracles. (This was Nicostratus of Argos, who had been cured of the sacred disease. Ehippus mentions the two of them in *The Peltast* (fr. 17), putting it thus:

Didn't Menecrates claim to be † the god †?
And isn't Nicostratus of Argos another Heracles?)

Another man followed him outfitted with a heavy wool cloak and a herald's staff, like Hermes, and with wings¹¹² as well, like Nicagoras of Zeleia,¹¹³ who was the tyrant of his native island, according to Bato in his *On the Tyrants in Ephesus* (FGrH 268 F 2). Hegesander (fr. 5, FHG iv.414) reports that Menecrates cured Astycreon and referred to him as Apollo; another person he kept from dying dressed like Asclepius and wandered around with him. And "Zeus" himself, clothed in purple, wearing a gold garland on his head, wielding a sceptre, and with high boots on his feet, travelled everywhere accompanied by his divine retinue. In a letter to King Philip¹¹⁴ he wrote the following: Menecrates (Zeus) extends his greetings to Philip. You are the king of Macedon, whereas I am the king of medicine; and

cooks, begins here; the catalogue of fish resumes at 7.293e.

¹¹¹ Epilepsy and the like. ¹¹² Presumably on his feet.

¹¹³ Probably a contemporary of Alexander the Great.

¹¹⁴ Philip II of Macedon (reigned 360/59–336 BCE).

σὺ μὲν ὑγιαίνοντας δύνασαι ὅταν βουληθῆς ἀπολ-
 λύναι, ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς νοσοῦντας σῶζειν καὶ τοὺς εὐρώ-
 στους ἀνόσους οἳ ἂν ἐμοὶ πείθονται παρέχειν μέχρι
 γήρως ζῶντας. τοιγαροῦν σὲ μὲν Μακεδόνας δορυφο-
 ροῦσιν, ἐμὲ δὲ καὶ οἱ μέλλοντες ἔσεσθαι. Ζεὺς γὰρ
 ἐγὼ αὐτοῖς βίον παρέχω. πρὸς ὃν ὡς μελαγχολῶντα
 e ἐπέστελλεν ὁ Φίλιππος· <Φίλιππος>⁸ Μενεκράτει |
 ὑγιαίνειν. παραπλησίως δὲ ἐπέστελλε καὶ Ἀρχιδάμῳ
 τῷ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεῖ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσοις
 ἔγραφεν, οὐκ ἀπεχόμενος τοῦ Διός. καλέσας δ' αὐτόν
 ποτε ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ὁ Φίλιππος μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων θεῶν
 συγκατέκλινε πάντας ἐπὶ τῆς μέσης κλίνης ὑψηλό-
 τατα καὶ ἱεροπρεπέστατα κεκοσμημένης, καὶ τράπε-
 ζαν παραθείς, ἐφ' ἧς βωμὸς ἔκειτο καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ γῆς
 παντοδαπῶν ἀπαρχαί. καὶ ὁπότε τοῖς ἄλλοις παρεφέ-
 f ρετο τὰ ἐδώδιμα, τοῖς ἀμφὶ Μενεκράτην ἔθνημιον | καὶ
 ἔσπενδον οἱ παῖδες· καὶ τέλος ὁ καινὸς Ζεὺς μετὰ τῶν
 ὑπηκόων γελῶμενος θεῶν ἔφυγεν ἐκ τοῦ συμποσίου,
 ὡς Ἡγήσανδρος ἱστορεῖ. μνημονεύει δὲ τοῦ Μενε-
 κράτους καὶ Ἀλεξίς ἐν Μίνῳ. καὶ Θεμίσων δὲ ὁ
 Κύπριος, τὰ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ βασιλέως παιδικά, ὡς
 φησι Πύθερμος ὁ Ἐφέσιος ἐν τῇ ὀγδῷ τῶν Ἰστο-
 ριῶν, οὐ μόνον ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσιν ἀνεκηρύττετο

⁸ add. Casaubon

115 Apparently intended as a pun on *makaros* ("blessed, happy"), as in Stratonicus' remark at 8.351b.

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you can put healthy people to death whenever you wish, whereas I am capable of saving the sick and keeping healthy individuals alive and free of disease until they reach old age, if they follow my instructions. Macedonians therefore serve as your bodyguard, whereas those who anticipate being such¹¹⁵ attend me; for in the guise of Zeus I furnish them with life. Philip in his reply treated him like a madman: Philip wishes Menecrates good health.¹¹⁶ Menecrates sent similar letters to the Spartan king Archidamus¹¹⁷ and everyone else he wrote, showing no reluctance to refer to himself as Zeus. Once when Philip invited Menecrates to dinner along with his personal deities, he had them all lie down on the central couch, which was very high and elaborately decorated in a style appropriate for gods, and set a table beside them with an altar of first-fruits of all the earth's products on top of it. Whenever food was brought to the other guests, the slaves burned incense and poured libations for Menecrates' group; and in the end the new Zeus fled the party with everyone laughing at him and his subject deities, according to Hegesander. Alexis in *Minos* (fr. 156) also mentions Menecrates.¹¹⁸ So too, according to Pythermus of Ephesus in Book VIII of his *History* (*FGrH* 80 F 1), not only was Themison of Cyprus, the

¹¹⁶ Ael. *VH* 12.51 tells a similar story, but claims that Philip went on to advise Menecrates to visit Anticyra, where hellebore grew (and where he thus had some hope of being cured of his madness). Plu. *Ages.* 21.5; *Mor.* 191a, 213a preserves a very similar anecdote about Menecrates and the Spartan king Agesilaus II (father of Archidamus III [see below]; Poralla #9).

¹¹⁷ Archidamus III (reigned c.359–338 BCE; Poralla #158).

¹¹⁸ The quotation has perhaps dropped out of the text.

290 Θεμίσων Μακεδών, Ἀντιόχου βασιλέως Ἡρακλῆς, ἢ ἔθνον δὲ αὐτῷ πάντες οἱ ἐγχώριοι ἐπιλέγοντες Ἡρακλεί Θεμίσωνι, καὶ παρῆν αὐτὸς ὅποτε τις τῶν ἐνδόξων θύοι καὶ ἀνέκειτο στρωμνὴν καθ' αὐτὸν ἔχων ἠμφιεσμένος λεοντῆν· ἐφόρει δὲ καὶ τόξα Σκυθικὰ καὶ ῥόπαλον ἐκράτει. ὁ δ' οὖν Μενεκράτης τοιοῦτος ὢν ὁποῖος εἴρηται οὐδὲν παραπλήσιόν ποτε ἐξωγκώσατο οἶον ὁ προειρημένος μάγειρος·

ἀθανασίαν ἠϋρηκα· τοὺς ἤδη νεκρούς,
ὅταν <μόνον> ὀσφρανθῶσι, ποιῶ ζῆν πάλιν.

b | Ἀλαζονικὸν δ' ἐστὶ πᾶν τὸ τῶν μαγείρων φύλον, ὡς
καὶ Ἡγήσιππος ἐν Ἀδελφοῖς παρίστησι. παράγει δὲ
μάγειρον λέγοντα·

(Συ.) βέλτιστε, πολλοῖς πολλὰ περὶ μαγειρικῆς
εἰρημέν' ἐστίν· ἢ λέγων φαίνου τι δὴ
καινὸν παρὰ τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν ἢ μὴ κόπτε με.

(Α.) οὐκ ἄλλὰ τὸ πέρας τῆς μαγειρικῆς, Σύρε,
εὐρηκέσαι πάντων νόμιζε μόνον ἐμέ.

οὐ γὰρ παρέργως ἔμαθον ἐν ἔτεσιν δυεῖν
ἔχων περίζωμ', ἀλλ' ἅπαντα τὸν βίον
ζητῶν κατὰ μέρη τὴν τέχνην ἐξήτακα· |

c εἶδη λαχάνων ὅσ' ἐστί, βεμβράδων τρόπους,

¹¹⁹ For Themison and his brother Aristus, cf. 10.438d with n.; Ael. VH 2.41. ¹²⁰ Cf. 7.288d–9a with n. ¹²¹ The first three verses of the fragment are quoted again at 9.405d.

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boy-love of King Antiochus,¹¹⁹ proclaimed "Themison of Macedon, the Heracles of King Antiochus" at festivals, but everyone in the country used to sacrifice to him, calling upon Heracles Themison; and whenever anyone important was having a sacrifice, he was there, lying down with a couch all to himself and wearing a lion-skin. He also used to carry a Scythian bow and wield a club. But even though Menecrates was the type of person I have described, he never engaged in the same sort of self-promotion as the cook discussed earlier (Philem. fr. 82.25-6).¹²⁰

I've invented immortality: whenever people who are currently dead get just a whiff, I bring them back to life.

The entire tribe of cooks is full of bullshit, as Hege-sippus establishes in his *Brothers* (fr. 1).¹²¹ He brings a cook onstage saying:

(Syrus) My good sir, many people have had a lot to
say
about the art of cooking. So either make it clear that
you're telling me
something different from your predecessors, or don't
waste my time.

(A.) No, Syrus; you have to think of me as the only
one out of
all of them who's mastered the fine points of cooking.
And I didn't learn this casually, by wearing an apron
for a couple of years. I've been studying the art
my entire life, looking into one topic after another:
how many types of vegetables there are; the habits of
smelts;

φακῆς γένη παντοδαπά. τὸ πέρασ σοι λέγω
 ὅταν ἐν περιδείπνῳ τυγχάνω διακουῶν,
 ἐπᾶν τάχιστ' ἔλθωσιν ἐκ τῆς ἐκφορᾶς,
 τὰ βάπτ' ἔχοντες, τοῦπίθημα τῆς χύτρας
 ἀφελῶν ἐπόησα τοὺς δακρύνοντας γελᾶν.
 τοιοῦτος ἔνδοθέν τις ἐν τῷ σώματι
 διέδραμε γαργαλισμὸς ὡς ὄντων γάμων.
 (Συ.) φακῆν παρατιθείς, εἰπέ μοι, καὶ
 βεμβράδας;

- (Α.) τὰ πάρεργά μου ταῦτ' ἐστίν. ἦν δὲ δὴ λάβω |
 d τὰ δέοντα καὶ τοῦπτάνιον ἀρμόσωμ' ἅπαξ,
 ὅπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἔμπροσθε Σειρήνων, Σύρε,
 ἐγένετο, καὶ νῦν ταῦτὸ τοῦτ' ὄψει πάλιν.
 ὑπὸ τῆς γὰρ ὀσμῆς οὐδὲ εἰς δυνήσεται
 ἀπλῶς διελθεῖν τὸν στενωπὸν τουτονί·
 ὁ δὲ παριῶν πᾶς εὐθέως πρὸς τὴν θύραν
 ἐστήξειτ' ἀχανῆς, προσπεπατταλευμένος,
 ἄφωνος, ἄχρι ἂν τῶν φίλων βεβυσμένος
 τὴν ρῖν' ἕτερός τις προσδραμῶν ἀποσπάσῃ.
 (Συ.) μέγας εἶ τεχνίτης. (Α.) ἀγνοεῖς πρὸς ὄν
 λαλεῖς |
 e πολλοὺς ἐγὼ σφόδρ' οἶδα τῶν καθημένων,
 οἳ καταβεβρώκασ' ἕνεκ' ἐμοῦ τὰς οὐσίας.

πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, τί διαφέρειν οὗτος ὑμῖν δοκεῖ τῶν

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the various kinds of lentil soup. Let me sum it up for you:

when I'm working at a funeral meal,
the minute they enter the house after the procession,
wearing their mourning clothes, I take the lid off
the pot—and make everyone who's crying start to
laugh.

That's the kind of tingling sensation that races around
inside their bodies, as if a wedding was being
celebrated.

(Syrus) You do this by serving them lentil-soup, you
mean, and smelt?

(A.) Items like that don't show what I can do. If I
ever get

the right material and a kitchen set up how I want it,
you'll see a replay, Syrus, of what happened
in the old days with the Sirens.¹²²

The smell simply won't let
anyone get past the alleyway here.

Whoever passes by will immediately come to a stop
beside the door—struck dumb, nailed to the spot,
speechless—until one of his friends plugs his nose,
and runs over and drags him away.

(Syrus) You're a great artist. (A.) You don't realize
who you're talking to.

I know quite a few members of the audience
who've gobbled up all their property because of me.

By the gods, what difference can you see between this fel-

¹²² Mythical singers who entranced everyone who sailed past their island and trapped them there forever; cf. *Od.* 12.157–200.

παρὰ Πινδάρῳ Κηληδόνων, αἱ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον
ταῖς Σειρήσι τοὺς ἀκρωμένους ἐποίουν ἐπιλανθανο-
μένους τῶν τροφῶν διὰ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀφαναίνεσθαι;
Νικόμαχος δ' ἐν Εἰλειθυίᾳ καὶ αὐτὸς παράγει τινὰ
μάγειρον ὑπερβάλλοντα τοὺς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον
τεχνίτας. λέγει δ' οὖν οὗτος πρὸς τὸν μισθωσάμενον |

- f (A.) ὑποδεικνύεις μὲν ἦθος ἀστείον πάνν
καὶ πρᾶον, ὀλίγωρον δὲ πεπόηκάς τι. (B.) πῶς;
(A.) ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ τίνες ἐσμέν οὐκ ἐξήτακας.
ἢ πρότερον ἐπύθου τῶν ἀκριβῶς εἰδότεν
οὕτω τ' ἐμισθώσω με; (B.) μὰ Δί', ἐγὼ μὲν οὔ.
(A.) καὶ μὴν ἴσως ὅσον μαγείρου διαφέρει ||
291 μάγειρος οὐκ οἶσθ'. (B.) εἴσομαι δέ γ', ἦν λέγῃς.
(A.) τὸ γὰρ παραλαβόντ' ὄψον ἡγορασμένον
† πότερον † ἀποδοῦναι σκευάσαντα μουσικῶς
διακόνου 'στ' οὐ τοῦ τυχόντος. (B.) Ἡράκλεις.
(A.) ὁ μάγειρός ἐσθ' ὁ τέλειος ἑτέρα διάθεσις.
πολλὰς τέχνας λάβοις ἂν ἐνδόξους πάνν,
ὧν τὸν μαθεῖν βουλόμενον ὀρθῶς οὐκ ἔνι
ταύταις προσελθεῖν εὐθύς, ἀλλ' ἔμπροσθε δεῖ
† ζωγραφίας ἠφθαι ταῦτα † καὶ μαγειρικῆς

123 Sc. in the self-serving nonsense he talks.

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low and Pindar's *Kēlēdones* ("Charmers") (*Pa.* 8.70ff), who made anyone who listened to them forget about eating and drinking, and wither away to nothing, because they were enjoying themselves so much, just like the Sirens did? Likewise Nicomachus in *Eileithuia* (fr. 1) introduces a cook who outdoes the actors.¹²³ This man says to the person who hired him:

(A.) You're showing signs of having quite a sophisticated, accommodating character; but you've neglected something. (B.) What do you mean?

(A.) You haven't inquired into my position in my field. Or did you ask the people with good information ahead of time and hire me on that basis? (B.) I did not, by Zeus.

(A.) Well, perhaps you don't understand how different one cook

is from the next. (B.) I will if you tell me!

(A.) Because being handed the fish that's been purchased

† whether † and giving it back after you've prepared it artistically

isn't a job for any old wage-slave. (B.) Heracles!

(A.) A fully-trained cook's a different matter.

You'd need to master a large number of quite significant arts;

and someone who wants to learn them the right way can't

take them on immediately. First you have

† to take up painting these things †; and before the art

- b πρότερον μαθεῖν δεῖ τῆς τέχνης ἑτέρας τέχνας, ἵ
 ὧν εἰδέναι σοι κρεῖττον ἦν μοι πρὶν † λαλεῖν †,
 ἀστρολογικὴν, γεωμετρικὴν, ἰατρικὴν.
 τῶν ἰχθύων γὰρ τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ τὰς τέχνας
 ἐντεύθεν εἴσῃ παρακολουθήσεις χρόνοις,
 πότε ἄωρός ἐσθ' ἕκαστος ἢ πότε ὤριμος.
 τῶν ἡδονῶν γὰρ μεγάλα τὰ διαστήματα
 ἐνίοτε κρεῖττων γίνεται θύννον βόαξ.
 (B.) ἔστω. γεωμετρικῇ δὲ καὶ σοὶ πρᾶγμα τί;
 (A.) τοῦπτάνιον ἡμεῖς σφαῖραν εἶναι τιθέμεθα·
 τοῦτο διελέσθαι καὶ τόπον λαβόνθ' ἕνα |
- c μερίσαι κατ' εἶδος τῆς τέχνης ἐπιδέξια,
 ἐκείθεν ἐνταῦθ' ἐστὶ μετενηνεγμένα.
 (B.) οὗτος, πέπεισμαι, κἂν τὰ λοιπὰ μὴ λαλήῃς.
 (A.) περὶ τῆς ἰατρικῆς δέ· τῶν γὰρ βρωμάτων
 πνευματικὰ καὶ δύσπεπτα καὶ τιμωρίαν
 ἔχοντ' ἐνὶ ἔστιν, οὐ τροφήν, δειπνῶν δὲ πᾶς
 τὰλλότρια γίνετ' ὀξύχειρ κοῦκ ἐγκρατής·
 τοῖς δὴ τοιούτοις βρώμασιν τὰ φάρμακα
 εὔρητ' ἐκείθεν. μεταφορὰ δ' ἐστὶν τέχνης·
 ἤδη τὸ μετὰ νοῦ καὶ τὸ συμμέτρως ἐμόν. |
- d περὶ τακτικῆς, ἕκαστα ποῦ τεθήσεται·
 ἀριθμῶ τὸ πλῆθος εἰδέναι μαγειρικῆς.

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of cooking you have to master others,
some of which it would be better to understand
before † talking † to me,
like astrology, geometry, and medicine.
Because that's how you'll understand the capacities
and
tricks to handling the fish—you'll pay attention to the
time of year,
when each type is out of season and when it's in.
Since there are huge differences in how they taste:
sometimes a bogue's better than a tuna.

(B.) Granted. But what use do you have for
geometry?

(A.) We set up the kitchen-area as a sphere;
dividing it into sections and assigning each spot
the type of job that matches it in the most
advantageous way—
this all comes from there.

(B.) Hey; I'm convinced, even if you don't tell me the
rest.

(A.) As for medicine: Some foods
produce gas or indigestion, or punish a person
instead of nourishing him, and anyone who eats
what's wrong for him becomes cranky or out of
control.

Medicine's where you'd find antidotes for
this kind of food. My training's where I get this from;
what I do involves insight and a sense of proportion.
As for tactics: The question is where everything's
going to be put;
and counting the crowd is part of a cook's job.

οὐδεὶς ἕτερός σοι πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ γραφήσεται.
 (B.) μίκρ' ἀντάκουσον ἐν μέρει κάμου. (A.) λέγε.
 (B.) σὺ μῆθ' ἐνόχλει μῆτε σταντὸν μῆτ' ἐμέ,
 ἀπραγμόνως δὲ διαγενοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν.

ὁ δὲ παρὰ τῷ νεωτέρῳ Φιλήμονι μάγειρος διδασκα-
 λικός τις εἶναι θέλει τοιαῦτά τινα λαλῶν·

e εἶσαθ' οὕτως <ὡς> ἔχει. τὸ πῦρ μόνον |
 ποιεῖτε τοῖς ὀπτοῖσι μῆτ' ἀνεϊμένον
 (τὸ γὰρ τοιοῦτ' οὐκ ὀπτόν ἀλλ' ἐφθὸν ποιεῖ)
 μῆτ' ὀξύ· κατακάει γὰρ ὅσ' ἂν ἔξω λάβη
 τοῦτο πάλιν, εἰς τὴν σάρκα δ' οὐκ ἐνδύεται.
 μάγειρός ἐστιν οὐκ ἂν ζωμήρυσιν
 ἔχων τις ἔλθη καὶ μάχαιραν πρὸς τινα,
 οὐδ' ἂν τις εἰς τὰς λοπάδας ἰχθύς ἐμβάλη. |
 f ἀλλ' ἔστι τις φρόνησις ἐν τῷ πράγματι.

ὁ δὲ παρὰ Διφίλῳ ἐν τῷ Ζωγράφῳ καὶ πρὸς οὓς
 ἐκμισθοῦν αὐτὸν δεῖ διδάσκει λέγων οὕτως·

οὐ μὴ παραλάβω σ' οὐθαμοῦ, Δράκων, ἐγὼ
 ἐπ' ἔργον οὐ μὴ διατελεῖς τὴν ἡμέραν
 τραπεζοποιῶν ἐν ἀγαθοῖς πολλοῖς χύδην.
 οὐ γὰρ βαδίζω πρότερον ἂν μὴ δοκιμάσω ||
 292 τίς ἐσθ' ὁ θύων, ἢ πόθεν συνίσταται
 τὸ δεῖπνον, ἢ κέκληκεν ἀνθρώπους τίνας.
 ἔστιν δ' ἀπάντων τῶν γενῶν μοι διαγραφή,

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No one else is going to be on your roster-list except me.

(B.) Now it's your turn to listen to a little speech from me. (A.) Go ahead.

(B.) Don't cause yourself or me any trouble—stay out of the way all day!

The cook in *Philemon Junior* (fr. 1) aspires to act like a teacher when he says something along the following lines:

Leave that as it is! Just make sure the fire's
not too low for what we're cooking—
because then it stews the food rather than roasting
it—
or too high—because then it burns the outside
of anything it touches instead, and doesn't penetrate
the flesh.

A man's not a cook just because he comes to
someone's house carrying a ladle and a butcher's
knife,
or because he tosses fish into casserole-dishes.
There's thought involved in the business.

The cook in *Diphilus' The Painter* (fr. 42) informs us about the people he hires himself out to, saying the following:

I wouldn't take you to work anywhere,
Draco, where you won't spend the day
setting tables surrounded by lots of good food stacked
high.

Because I don't go anywhere until I check to see
who's making the sacrifice, or what's the occasion for
the dinner, or who he's invited.

I've got a list of all the types,

εἰς ποῖα μισθοῦν ἢ φυλάττεσθαι με δεῖ.
οἶον τὸ κατὰ τοῦμπόριον, εἰ βούλει, γένος.
ναύκληρος ἀποθύει τις εὐχὴν, ἀποβαλὼν
τὸν ἰστὸν ἢ πηδάλια συντρίψας νεώς,
ἢ φορτί' ἐξέρριψ' ὑπέραντλος γενόμενος.
ἀφήκα τὸν τοιοῦτον· οὐθὲν ἠδέως
ποιεῖ γὰρ οὗτος, ἀλλ' ὅσον νόμον χάριν. |

- b ὁμοῦ δὲ ταῖς σπονδαῖσι διαλογίζεται
τοῖς συμπλέουσιν ὅποσον ἐπιβάλλει μέρος
τιθείς, τά θ' αὐτοῦ σπλάγχν' ἕκαστος ἐσθίει.
ἀλλ' ἕτερος εἰσπέπλευκεν ἐκ Βυζαντίου
τριταῖος, ἀπαθῆς, εὐπορηκῶς, περιχαρῆς
εἰς δέκ' ἐπὶ τῇ μνᾷ γεγονέναι καὶ δώδεκα,
λαλῶν τὰ ναῦλα καὶ δάνει' ἐρυγγάνων,
ἀφροδίσι' ὑπὸ κόλλοψι μαστροποῖς ποῶν
ὑπὸ τοῦτον ὑπέκνψ' εὐθὺς ἐκβεβηκότα,
τὴν δεξιὰν ἐνέβαλον, ἐμνήσθην Διὸς |
- c Σωτήρης, ἐμπέπηγα τῷ διακουεῖν.
τοιοῦτος ὁ τρόπος. μειράκιον ἐρῶν πάλιν
τὰ πατρῶα βρύκει καὶ σπαθᾶ· πορεύομαι.
ἀπὸ συμβολῶν συνάγοντα νῆ Δί' ἕτερά που
ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὸν κέραμον † ἐνευρημένα †,

124 Where cooks rented their equipment.

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those I ought to hire myself out to and those I should avoid.

Take the kind of people you find in the port, for example.

Suppose a sea-captain's fulfilling a vow after he's lost his mast or smashed his ship's steering-oars; or maybe he threw the cargo overboard when he took on water.

I leave someone like that alone; he's not doing anything

because he enjoys it, but only what the rules require.

As the libations are being poured, he's calculating how much of the cost he can pass on to the other people

on board, and each of them feels his stomach churning.

Whereas another guy has sailed in from Byzantium after a two-day voyage, having suffered no damage and earned a lot of money; he's delighted

because he's made ten or 12 percent, and he's yapping about fares, and belching up loans, and using gay pimps to arrange liaisons.

The minute he's off the boat I bow down before him, take his right hand, invoke Zeus the Savior, and fixate on working for him.

That's how I do it. Again: suppose a young man's in love, and he's devouring his inheritance and running through his money; I keep on going.

Maybe some other people, by Zeus, have collected money

and invaded the pottery market¹²⁴ [corrupt]

τὰ κράσπεδ' ἀποθλιβέντα καὶ κεκραγότα,
 "ὄψάριον ἀγοραῖον ποεῖν τίς βούλεται;"
 ἐὼ βοᾶν· πληγὰς γὰρ ἔνι προσλαμβάνειν
 ἐλθόντα καὶ τὴν νύχθ' ὄλην διακονεῖν.
 τὸ μισθάριον γὰρ ἂν ἀπαιτῆς, "ἀμίδα μοι |
 d ἔνεγκε πρῶτον" φησίν. "ὄξος ἢ φακῆ
 οὐκ εἶχε." πάλιν ἤτησας· "οἰμῶξει μακρὰ
 πρῶτος μαγείρων" φησίν. ἕτερα μυρία
 τοιαῦτα καταλέξαιμ' ἄν. οὐδὲ νῦν σ' ἄγω,
 πορνείον ἐστίν, πολυτελῶς Ἀδώνια
 ἄγουσ' ἑταῖρα μεθ' ἐτέρων πορνῶν· χύδην
 σαυτὸν ἀποσάξεις τόν τε κόλπον ἀποτρέχων.

καὶ παρ' Ἀρχεδίκῳ δ' ἐν Θησαυρῷ ἄλλος σοφιστῆς |
 e μαγειρίσκος τάδε λέγει·

πρῶτον ὠμῶν κειμένων
 τῶν ἰχθύων πάρεσιν οἱ κεκλημένοι.
 "δίδου κατὰ χειρός." "τοῦψον οἰχήσει λαβῶν."
 τὰς λοπάδας ἐπιθεῖς ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ τοὺς ἄνθρακας
 ἔρραν' ἐλαίῳ πάντα καὶ ποιῶ φλόγα.
 ἐν ᾧ τὸ λάχανον αἶ τε τῶν παροψίδων
 τὸν ἄνδρα δριμύτητες εὐφραίνουσί μου,
 ἐφθὸν τὸν ἰχθὺν ἀποδίδωμ' ἔχοντα τοὺς |
 f χυμοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν τε τῆς ἄλμης ἀκμήν,
 εἰς ἣν ἂν ἐμβάψαιτο πᾶς ἐλεύθερος·
 ἐλαδίου κοτύλης τε παραναλωμένης
 σέσωκ' ἔμοι τρίκλινα πεντήκοντ' ἴσως.

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clutching the edges of their robes and shouting:

“Who wants to produce a simple dinner?”

I let them yell; the offer includes getting beaten up after you arrive, and working all night long.

Because if you ask for your money, he says: “First bring me a piss-pot. And the lentil-soup didn’t have any vinegar in it.” You ask again. “You’ll be cook number one”,

he says, “—to go to hell!” I could offer a million other examples like that. But where I’m taking you now is a brothel, and a courtesan’s spending a lot of money

to celebrate the Adonia with some other whores.

You’ll totally stuff yourself—as well as your robe when you leave!

Another sophistic little cook says the following in Archedicus’ *The Treasure* (fr. 2):

First of all, while the fish is still lying there uncooked, the guests appear.

“Pour water over my hands!” “Take the fish and get out of here!”

I put the casserole-dishes on the fire and sprinkle the coals thoroughly with oil, producing a flame.

While the vegetables and sharp-tasting side-dishes are keeping my employer happy,

I deliver the fish stewed with the

juices still in it, along with a perfect brine-sauce, which any free man could dip his food into.

For the price of a cup of oil

I’ve saved myself maybe 50 dinner parties.

Φιλοστέφανος δ' ἐν Δηλίῳ καὶ ὀνόματα ἐνδόξων μα-
γείρων ἐν τοῖσδε καταλέγει. ||

- 293 εἰδῶς σε πάντων διαφέροντα τῇ τέχνῃ
τῇ τ' ὀξύτητι μετὰ Θίβρωνα, Δαίδαλε,
τὸν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν τὸν καλούμενον Πέρας,
δοὺς μισθὸν ὃν <μ' > ἤτησας ἤκω δευρ' ἄγων.

Σωτάδης δ', οὐχ ὁ τῶν Ἴωνικῶν Ἄσμάτων ποιητῆς ὁ
Μαρωνίτης, ἀλλ' ὁ τῆς μέσης κωμωδίας, ποιεῖ καὶ
αὐτὸς ἐν Ἐγκλειομέναις (οὕτω γὰρ ἐπιγράφει τὸ
δρᾶμα) τοιαύδε μάγειρον λέγοντα·

- καρίδας ἔλαβον πρῶτον· ἀπεταγήμισα |
b ταύτας ἀπάσας· γαλεὸς εἴληπται μέγας·
ᾧπτησα τὰ μέσα, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν γρυμέαν
ἔψω πῆσας τρίμμα συκαμίνιον.
γλαύκου φέρω κεφάλαια παμμεγέθη δύο,
ἐν λοπάδι μεγάλη ταῦτα, λιτῶς προσαγαγὼν
χλόην, κύμινον, ἄλας, ὕδωρ, ἐλάδιον.
λάβρακα μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐπριάμην καλὸν σφόδρα·
ἔσται δι' ἄλμης λιπαρὸς ἐφθὸς ἐν χλόῃ,
ἀποδοὺς ὅσ' ἐστὶν ἀπ' ὀβελίσκων ὀπτανά. |
c τρίγλας καλὰς ἠγόρασα καὶ κίχλας καλὰς·
ἔρριψα ταύτας ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνθραχ' ὡς ἔχει
ἄλμη τε λιπαρᾷ παρατίθημ' ὀρίγανον.
ταύταις προσέλαβον σηπίας καὶ τευθίδας·

125 PAA 514293; otherwise unknown.

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Philostephanus in *The Man from Delos* (fr. 1) offers a list of the names of famous cooks in the following passage:

Since I know you're more skilled and clever
than all the others, Daedalus, except Thibron
of Athens,¹²⁵ a.k.a. The Limit,
I agreed to pay you what you asked, and I've brought
you here.

Sotades—not the author of the *Ionian Songs*, who was from Marone,¹²⁶ but the Middle Comic poet—also presents a cook saying something like the following in *Captive Women* (fr. 1)—this is his title for the play:

First I bought shrimp; I pan-fried
them all. A large dogfish had been purchased;
I roasted the middle sections, and made a
mulberry sauce for the junk that was left over, and
stewed it.

I got two huge *glaukos*-heads;
they went into a large casserole-dish, and I added
herbs and a bit of cumin, salt, water, and olive oil.
After that, I bought a beautiful sea-bass;
it's going to be stewed in an herb-sauce and served in
brine with oil drizzled over it,
after it takes its roasted parts off the spits and gives
them back to me.

I bought some nice red mullets and thrush-wrasses;
I tossed them on the coals just as they were,
and added marjoram in an oily brine-sauce.
Besides them, I purchased cuttlefish and squid;

¹²⁶ Discussed at 14.620e–1b; “Ionian” in this context means “sexually explicit” or the like.

- ἀστεῖον ἐφθῆ τευθὶς ὠνθυλευμένη
 καὶ πτερύγι ἀπαλῶς σηπίας ὠπτημένα.
 τριμμάτιον ὠκείωσα τούτοις ἀνθινὸν
 παντοδαπὸν. ἐψητὸν δὲ μετὰ ταύτας τινά·
 ὀξύλιπαρον τούτοις ἔδωκα χυμίον. |
 d γόγγρον ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐπριάμην παχὺν σφόδρα·
 κατέπνιξ' ἐν ἄλμῃ τοῦτον εὐανθεστέρα.
 κωβίδι' ἄττα καὶ πετραῖα δὴ τινα
 ἰχθύδια, τούτων ἀποκνίσας τὰ κρανία
 ἐμόλυν' ἀλεύρω < . . . > τοιούτῳ τινὶ
 πέμπω τε ταῖς καρῖσι τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδόν.
 ἀμίαν τε χήραν, θηρίον καλὸν σφόδρα,
 θρίοισι ταύτην ἄλις ἐλαδίῳ διεῖς
 ἐσπαργάνωσα περιπάσας ὀρίγανον |
 e ἐνέκρυσά θ' ὥσπερ δαλὸν εἰς πολλὴν τέφραν.
 ἀφύαν θ' ἄμ' αὐτῇ παρέλαβον Φαληρικὴν
 εἰς κύαθος ἐνταῦθ' ὕδατος ἐπιχυθεὶς πολὺ·
 τεμῶν δὲ λεπτὴν τῆς χλόης καὶ πλείονα,
 κὰν ἦ δικότυλος λήκυθος, καταστρέφω.
 τί λοιπόν; οὐδὲν ἄλλο. τοῦτ' ἔσθ' ἡ τέχνη,
 οὐκ ἐξ ἀπογραφῆς οὐδὲ δι' ὑπομνημάτων.
 καὶ μαγείρων μὲν ἄλις· περὶ δὲ τοῦ γόγγρου |
 f λεκτέον. Ἀρχέστρατος μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ Γαστρονομίᾳ

127 Cf. 7.282b n.

128 Cf. 7.285b n.

129 The discussion now abruptly returns to the catalogue of

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a stuffed stewed squid and gently roasted
cuttlefish fins make a sophisticated dish.

I produced a sauce that was perfect for them, using
all kinds

of herbs. After those came some stewing-fish;

I provided them with a vinegar-and-oil sauce.

In addition to these items, I bought an enormously
fat conger eel

and smothered it in a brine-sauce full of herbs.

There were some little gobies and

rock-fish; I snipped off their heads,

sprinkled them with just this much flour,

and sent them down the same road as the shrimp.

As for the neglected bonito, a lovely little creature,

I soaked it in just enough olive oil; sprinkled

marjoram on top; wrapped it tight in fig-leaves;¹²⁷

and hid it in a large heap of coals like a fire-brand.

I purchased Phaleric small-fry¹²⁸ along with the
bonito.

One ladleful of water poured over the latter was
plenty;

then I chopped a lot of herbs up fine

and dumped the contents of the oil-flask over it, even
though it held two cups.

What's left? Nothing; that's my business,

and it doesn't depend on a recipe or someone's notes.

But enough of cooks; something needs to be said about the
conger eel.¹²⁹ Archestratus in his *Gastronomy* (fr. 19 = *SH*

seafood, and specifically conger eels, after the long digression on
braggarts (especially braggart cooks) that began at 7.288c.

καὶ ὀπόθεν ἕκαστον μέρος αὐτοῦ δεῖ συνωνεῖσθαι
διηγείται οὕτως·

γόγγρου μὲν γὰρ ἔχεις κεφαλὴν, φίλος, ἐν
Σικυῶνι
πίονος ἰσχυροῦ μεγάλου καὶ πάντα τὰ κοῖλα.
εἶτα χρόνον πολὺν ἔψε χλόη περίπαστον ἐν
ἄλμῃ. ||

294 ἐξῆς τε περὶ τῶν κατ' Ἰταλίαν τόπων διεξιῶν πάλιν ὁ
καλὸς οὗτος περιηγητῆς φησιν·

καὶ γόγγρος σπουδαῖος ἀλίσκεται, ὅς τε
τοσοῦτον
τῶν ἄλλων πάντων ὄψων κρατεῖ αὐτός, ὅσον περ
θύννος ὁ πιότατος τῶν φαυλοτάτων κορακίνων.

Ἄλεξις ἐν Ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβαις·

γόγγρου δ' ὁμοῦ σωρευτὰ πιμελῆς μέλη |
b ὑπεργέμοντα.

Ἀρχέδικος δ' ἐν Θησαυρῷ παράγει τινὰ μάγειρον
λέγοντα περὶ ὧν ὠψώνηκεν αὐτός·

δραχμῶν τριῶν γλαυκίσκον < . . . >
γόγγρου <δὲ> κεφαλὴν καὶ τὰ πρῶτα τεμάχια
δραχμῶν πάλιν πέντ' ᾧ ταλαιπώρου βίου·
δραχμῆς τραχήλους. ἀλλὰ νῆ τὸν Ἥλιον,
κάμοι τράχηλον ἕτερον εἴ ποθεν λαβεῖν
ἦν καὶ πρίασθαι δυνατόν, ὃν ἔχω τοῦτον ἄν,

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149) describes where each part of it ought to be purchased, as follows:

For in Sicyon, my friend, you get the head of a big, fat, strong conger eel, plus all its hollow parts. Then sprinkle it with herbs and stew it for a long time in a brine-sauce.

Next our noble guide goes through the various places in Italy and says again (fr. 20 Olson-Sens = *SH* 150):

And a fine conger eel is caught, which is itself as much superior to all other dishes as the fattest tuna is to the utterly worthless *korakinos*.

Alexis in *Seven Against Thebes* (fr. 83):

and along with that, the heaped-up limbs of a fat conger eel filling the pot to overflowing.

Archedicus in *The Treasure* (fr. 3) introduces a cook describing food he purchased personally:

a small *glaukos* that cost three drachmas, and a conger eel's head and the first slices of it for another five drachmas—what a difficult life!—and necks for a drachma. By the sun, if I could get *myself* another neck from somewhere and buy it, I'd have tied a rope around

- πρὶν εἰσενεγκεῖν ταῦτα δεῦρ', ἀπηγξάμην. |
 οὐθεις δεδιακόνηκεν ἐπιπονώτερον.
 ἄμα μὲν πρίασθαι πολλὰ καὶ πολλοῦ σφόδρα,
 ἄμα δ' εἴ τι χρηστὸν ἀγοράσαιμ' ἀπωλλύμην,
 "κατέδοντ' ἐκείνοι τοῦτο" πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν λέγων,
 "διαπυτιοῦσ' οἶνον δὲ τοιοῦτον χαμαί."
 οἴμοι.

- Γαλεοί. Ἰκέσιος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Ἰγθῶν τῶν γαλεῶν
 βελτίονας εἶναι καὶ ἀπαλωτέρους τοὺς ἀστερίας κα-
 λουμένους. | Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ εἶδη αὐτῶν φησιν εἶναι
 πλείω, ἀκανθίαν, λείον, ποικίλον, σκύμνον, ἀλωπε-
 κίαν, ρίνην. Δωρίων δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἰχθύων τὸν ἀλωπε-
 κίαν μίαν ἔχειν φησὶ λοφιᾶν πρὸς τῷ οὐραίῳ, ἐπὶ δὲ
 τῆς ῥάχεως οὐδαμῶς. ὁ δ' Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν πέμπτῳ
 Ζῶων Μορίων καὶ κεντρίνην φησὶ τινα γαλεὸν εἶναι
 καὶ νωτιδανόν. Ἐπαίνετος δ' ἐν Ὀψαρτυτικῷ ἐπινωτι-
 δέα καλεῖ, χείρονα δ' εἶναι τὸν κεντρίνην καὶ δυσώδη.
 γνωρίζεσθαι δ' ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς τῇ πρώτῃ λοφιᾷ ἔχειν
 κέντρον τῶν ὁμοειδῶν | οὐκ ἔχόντων οὔτε δὲ στέαρ
 οὔτε πιμελὴν ἔχειν τοὺς ἰχθύς τούτους διὰ τὸ χονδρώ-
 δεις εἶναι. ἰδίως δὲ ὁ ἀκανθίας τὴν καρδίαν ἔχει
 πεντάγωνον. τίκει δ' ὁ γαλεὸς τὰ πλείστα τρία καὶ
 εἰσδέχεται τὰ γεννηθέντα εἰς τὸ στόμα καὶ πάλιν
 ἀφήσιον· μάλιστα δ' ὁ ποικίλος καὶ ὁ ἀλωπεκίας. οἶ

130 Either this is an error or the text is garbled.

131 The material that follows appears to be drawn once again

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this one I've got, before I brought all this stuff in here!

No one's ever had a worse job:

I bought a lot of food at a very high price,
but at the same time, if I bought anything good, it ruined me.

"They'll eat *this*," I said to myself,

"but they'll spit wine like *this* out on the ground."

Oh my.

Dogfish. Hicesius in his *On Raw Materials* claims that the so-called spotted dogfish (*asteriai*) are better and tenderer than the others. Aristotle (fr. 196) says that there are many varieties of them: spiny, smooth, spotted, *skumnos* ("cub"), thresher shark, and monkfish. Dorion in his *On Fish* claims that the thresher shark has a single fin near its tail, but lacks one along its backbone.¹³⁰ Aristotle in Book V of *Parts of Animals* (fr. 197) reports the existence of a spiked (*kentrinēs*) variety of dogfish, as well as of a *nōtidanos* variety; Epaenetus in the *Art of Cooking* refers to it as an *epinōtidēs*, and claims that the spiked variety is not as good and smells bad.¹³¹ The latter can be recognized by the fact that it has a spike (*kentron*) on its first back-fin, whereas the varieties that resemble it lack this characteristic. These fish contain neither fat nor lard, because they are cartilaginous. The spiny dogfish is unique in having a pentagonal heart. The dogfish bears three pups at most, and after they are born, it takes them into its mouth and then releases them again; this is especially true of the spot-

from Aristotle, the reference to Epaenetus (like that to Dorion, above) having been inserted by Athenaeus.

δὲ λοιποὶ οὐκ ἔτι διὰ τὴν τραχύτητα. Ἀρχέστρατος δὲ ὁ τὸν αὐτὸν Σαρδαναπάλλω ζήσας βίον περὶ τοῦ ἐν Ῥόδῳ γαλεοῦ λέγων τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι ἡγεῖται τῷ παρὰ |
 f Ῥωμαίοις μετ' αὐλῶν καὶ στεφάνων εἰς τὰ δείπνα περιφερομένῳ ἐστεφανωμένων καὶ τῶν φερόντων αὐτὸν καλούμενόν τε ἀκκιπήσιον. ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν μικρὸς καὶ μακρορυγχότερός ἐστι καὶ τῷ σχήματι τρίγωνος ἐκείνων μᾶλλον· τούτων δ' ὁ εὐτελέστατος καὶ μικρότατος οὐχ ἦττον Ἀττικῶν χιλίων πιπράσκειται. Ἀπίων δ' ὁ γραμματικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῆς Ἀπικίου Τρυφῆς τὸν ἔλοπα καλούμενον τούτῳ φησιν εἶναι τὸν ἀκκιπήσιον. ἀλλ' ὃ γε Ἀρχέστρατος περὶ τοῦ Ῥοδιακοῦ γαλεοῦ λέγων τοῖς ἐταίροις πατρικῶς πως συμβουλευῶν φησίν· ||

295 ἐν δὲ Ῥόδῳ γαλεὸν τὸν ἀλώπεκα, κἂν ἀποθνήσκειν μέλλης, ἂν μὴ σοι πωλεῖν θέλῃ, ἄρπασον αὐτόν, ὃν καλέουσι Συρακόσιοι κύνα πίονα, κἄτα ὕστερον ἤδη πάσχ' ὃ τί σοι πεπρωμένον ἐστίν.

τούτων τῶν ἐπῶν μνησθεῖς καὶ Λυγκεὺς ὁ Σάμιος ἐν τῇ Πρὸς Διαγόραν Ἐπιστολῇ φησιν καὶ δικαίως παρακελεύεσθαι τὸν ποιητὴν τῷ μὴ δυναμένῳ τιμὴν
 b ἀριθμῆσαι ἀδικία κτήσασθαι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν. | καὶ γὰρ τὸν Θησέα, φησί, γεγονότα καλὸν ὑπολαμβάνω

132 Sc. the inside of their mouths?

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ted variety and the thresher shark, whereas the others do not do this, because of how rough they¹³² are. Arcestratus (fr. 62 Olson–Sens), who lived the life of Sardanapallus,¹³³ in his discussion of the thresher shark caught in Rhodes considers it the same fish as the one that is carried around at banquets in Rome, accompanied by pipes and garlands, with the people who carry it being garlanded as well, and is referred to as an *akkipēsios*. The *akkipēsios*, however, is small and has a longer jaw and a more triangular shape than the thresher shark, and the cheapest and tiniest of them costs at least 1000 Attic drachmas. The grammarian Apion in his *On Apicius' Decadence* claims that this *akkipēsios* is the fish referred to as an *elops*. But Arcestratus (fr. 22 Olson–Sens = *SH* 152),¹³⁴ in the course of his discussion of Rhodian dogfish, offers his comrades some fatherly advice, saying:

In Rhodes, if someone declines to sell you
the thresher shark, steal it, even if death is likely to
be the result—
the Syracusans refer to it as a fat sea-dog—and then
after that suffer whatever fate has been allotted you.

After quoting these verses, Lynceus of Samos in his *Letter to Diagoras* (fr. 9 Dalby) says that the poet is right to encourage anyone unable to pay the price to satisfy his desire by breaking the law. Because I suspect, he says, that Theseus—who was a good-looking boy—gave Tlepolemus

¹³³ Sardanapallus was the Greek name for the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal; cf. 8.335e–f (quoting Chrysippus).

¹³⁴ Quoted also at 7.286a, glossing a fragment of a letter by Lynceus of Samos (see below).

τοῦ Τληπολέμου τὸν ἰχθὺν τοῦτον αὐτῷ παρασχόντος
 παρεσχηκένας. Τιμοκλῆς δ' ἐν Δακτυλίῳ φησί·

γαλεοὺς καὶ βατίδας ὅσα τε τῶν γενῶν
 ἐν ὄξυλιπάρῳ τρίμματι σκευάζεται.

Γλαῦκος. Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Ἡβας Γάμῳ·

σκορπίοι τε ποικίλοι σαῦροί τε, γλαῦκοι πίονες.

Νουμήνιος ἐν Ἀλιευτικῷ·

ῥκην ἢ κάλλιχθιν, ὅτε χρώμιν, ἄλλοτε δ' ὀρφὸν |
 ἢ γλαῦκον περόωντα κατὰ μνία σιγαλόεντα.

τὴν δὲ τοῦ γλαύκου κεφαλὴν ἐπαινῶν ὁ Ἀρχέστρατός
 φησιν·

ἀλλά μοι ὀψώνει γλαύκου κεφαλὴν ἐν Ὀλύμβῳ
 καὶ Μεγάροις· σεμνὸς γὰρ ἀλίσκεται ἐν
 τενάγροισι.

καὶ Ἀντιφάνης δ' ἐν Προβατεῖ φησιν·

Βοιώται μὲν ἐγγέλεις, μῦς Ποντικοί,
 θύννοι Μεγαρικοί, μαινίδες Καρύστιαι, |
 φάγροι δ' Ἐρετρικοί, Σκύριοι δὲ κάραβοι.

¹³⁵ Tlepolemus, a son of Heracles, was the king of Rhodes, and Lynceus' (implicitly anti-Athenian; cf. fr. 8 Dalby, quoted at 7.285e-f) point is that, even if some might regard this as bad behavior, Theseus allowed Tlepolemus to have sex with him when the older man served exceptionally good and expensive fish.

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what he wanted, when Tlepolemus gave him this fish.¹³⁵
Timocles says in *The Ring* (fr. 3):¹³⁶

dogfish and skate and whatever creatures like that
are prepared in vinegar-and-oil sauce.

Glaukos. Epicharmus in *The Wedding of Hebe* (fr.
44):¹³⁷

both speckled bullheads and horse-mackerel, fat
glaukoi.

Numenius in the *Art of Fishing* (SH 571):¹³⁸

a *hukē* or a beauty-fish; sometimes a *chromis*; at other
times a sea-perch
or a *glaukos* traversing the glossy seaweed.

Archestratus (fr. 21 Olson-Sens = SH 151) recommends
the head of the *glaukos*, saying:

But I urge you to buy a *glaukos*-head in Olynthus
and Megara; for an outstanding one is caught in the
shallows.

Antiphanes as well says in *The Shepherd* (fr. 191):

On the one hand Boeotian eels, Pontic mussels,
Megarian tuna, Carystian sprats;
on the other Eretrian sea-brems and Scyrian
crayfish.

¹³⁶ Quoted also at 9.385a.

¹³⁷ Very similar to *Muses* fr. 87, quoted at 7.320f.

¹³⁸ The first verse is quoted again at 7.328a.

ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ἐν Φιλώτιδι καὶ ταῦτα λέγει·

(A.) οὐκοῦν τὸ μὲν γλαυκίδιον, ὥσπερ ἄλλοτε,

ἔφειν ἐν ἄλμῃ φημί. (B.) τὸ δὲ λαβράκιον;

(A.) ὀπτᾶν ὄλον. (B.) τὸν γαλεόν; (A.) ἐν

ὑποτρίμματι

ζέσαι. (B.) τὸ δ' ἐγγέλειον; (A.) ἄλες, ὀρίγανον,

ὑδωρ. (B.) ὁ γόγγρος; (A.) ταυτόν. (B.) ἡ βατίς;

(A.) χλόη.

(B.) πρόσσεστι θύννου τέμαχος. (A.) ὀπτήσεις.

(B.) κρέας

ἐρίφειον. (A.) ὀπτόν. (B.) θάτερον; (A.) τάναντία.

(B.) ὁ σπλήν; (A.) σεσάχθω. (B.) νῆστις; †

e Εὐβουλος Καμπυλίῳ·

τὴν τ' ἐνπρόσωπον λοπάδα † τοῦδε τοῦ

θαλαττίου

Γλαύκου φέρουσαν εὐγενέστερον < . . . >

λάβρακά θ' ἐφθὸν < . . . > ἄλμῃ μίαν.

Ἀναξανδρίδης Νηρεί·

ὁ πρῶτος εὐρὼν πολυτελὲς τμητὸν μέγα

γλαύκου πρόσωπον τοῦ τ' ἀμύμονος δέμας

θύννου τά τ' ἄλλα βρώματ' ἐξ ὑγρᾶς ἀλὸς

139 Quoted again at 14.662b, with one final remark ("This guy's going to be the death of me!") by Speaker A.

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The same poet says the following in *Philotis* (fr. 221.1–8):¹³⁹

(A.) So then, as for the *glaukidion*, I'm ordering you
to stew

it in brine, like the other times. (B.) What about the
little sea-bass?

(A.) Roast it whole. (B.) The dogfish? (A.) Stew it
in a sauce. (B.) The eel? (A.) Salt, marjoram,
and water. (B.) The conger eel? (A.) Ditto. (B.) The
skate? (A.) Green herbs.

(B.) There's also a tuna steak. (A.) Roast it. (B.) The
kid-meat? (A.) Roasted. (B.) The other meat? (A.)

The opposite.

(B.) The spleen? (A.) Let's have it stuffed. (B.) The
jejunum?

Eubulus in *Campulion* (fr. 43):

and the pretty casserole-dish bearing a . . .
more nobly born than † the sea-god Glaucus¹⁴⁰ here,
and a single sea-bass stewed in brine-sauce.

Anaxandrides in *Nereus* (fr. 31):

Nereus,¹⁴¹ who invented a large and expensive
severed *glaukos*-head, and a body of the faultless
tuna, and the other food that comes from the wet

¹⁴⁰ Glaucus was a minor sea-divinity with prophetic powers; cf. 7.296a–7c; E. Or. 362–5; Paus. 9.22.7.

¹⁴¹ Probably a reference to the famous Chian cook also mentioned at Euphro fr. 1.6 (quoted at 9.379e) rather than to the sea-god, although the humor depends on the fact that—as befits his name—Nereus specializes in preparing seafood.

Νηρεὺς κατοικεῖ τόνδε πάντα τὸν τόπον.

Ἄμφις ἐν Ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβαις·

f γλαῦκοι δ' ὄλοι, | ῥαχιστὰ κρανίων μέρη
εὔσαρκα.

καὶ ἐν Φιλεταίρῳ·

ἔχειν καθαρείως ἐγχελύδιόν τι καὶ
γλαυκινιδίου κεφάλαια καὶ λαβρακίου
τεμάχια.

Ἄντιφάνης δ' ἐν Κύκλωπι ὑπερακουτίζων τὸν τένθην
Ἄρχέστρατόν φησιν·

ἔστω δ' ἡμῖν κεστρεὺς τμητός,
νάρκη πνικτή, πέρκη σχιστή,
τευθίς σακτή, συνόδων ὀπτός,
γλαύκου προτομή, γόγγρου κεφαλὴ,
βατράχου γαστήρ, θύννου λαγόνες,
βατίδος νῶτον, κέστρας ὀσφύς,
† ψηττας κισχος † μαινίς, καρίς, τρίγλη, φυκίς·
τῶν τοιούτων μηδὲν ἀπέστω. ||

296 Ναυσικράτης Ναυκλήροις·

(A.) δύο μὲν, φασίν, ἀπαλοὶ καὶ καλοὶ
< . . . > τοῦ ναυτίλοισι πολλάκις
ἤδη φανέντος πελαγίοις ἐν ἀγκάλαις,
ὃν καὶ τὰ θνητῶν φασιν ἀγγέλλειν πάθη.

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salt sea, inhabits this entire region.

Amphis in *Seven Against Thebes* (fr. 16):

whole *glaukoi*, sliced head-portions
with lots of meat.

And in *The Man Who Loved His Comrades* (fr. 35):

to be frugal and have a little eel,
small *glaukos*-heads, and tiny sea-bass
steaks.

Antiphanes in *Cyclops* (fr. 130) outdoes the glutton
Archestratus (test. 8 Olson-Sens) when he says:

Let's have sliced gray mullet,
baked electric ray, perch split down the middle,
stuffed squid, roasted four-toothed sea-bream,
the front half of a *glaukos*, the head of a conger eel,
the belly of a fishing-frog, the flanks of a tuna,
the back of a skate, the tail of a spet,
† a flounder's [corrupt] †
a minnow, a shrimp, a red mullet, a *phukis*-wrasse.
No fish of this kind should be missing.

Nausicrates in *Sea-Captains* (fr. 1.1-5):¹⁴²

(A.) They say that two nice tender
. . . of the one who often appears
to sailors in the arms of the sea,
and who, people claim, announces mortals' troubles.

¹⁴² Additional portions of the fragment are quoted at 7.325e-f, 330b.

(B.) Γλαῦκον λέγεις. (A.) ἔγνωκας.

τὸν δὲ Γλαῦκον τὸν θαλάττιον δαίμονα Θεόλυτος μὲν ὁ Μηθυμναῖος ἐν τοῖς Βακχικοῖς ἔπεσιν ἐρασθέντα φησὶν Ἀρεάδης, ὅτ' ἐν Δία τῇ νήσῳ ὑπὸ Διονύσου ἤρπασθη, καὶ βιαζόμενον ὑπὸ Διονύσου ἀμπελίνῳ
b δεσμῷ | ἐνδεθῆναι καὶ δεθθέντα ἀφεθῆναι εἰπόντα·

Ἄνθηδῶν νύ τίς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ πλευροῖο θαλάσσης
ἀντίον Εὐβοίης σχεδὸν Εὐρίπιοιο ῥοαῶν
ἔνθεν ἐγὼ γένος εἰμί· πατὴρ δέ με γείνατο
Κωπεύς.

Προμαθίδας δ' ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης ἐν Ἡμιάμβοις Πολύ-
βου τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Εὐβοίας τῆς Λαρύμνου γενεα-
λογεῖ τὸν Γλαῦκον. Μνασέας δ' ἐν τρίτῳ τῶν Εὐρω-
πιακῶν Ἀνθηδόνος καὶ Ἀλκυόνης αὐτὸν γενεαλογεῖ.
c ναυτικὸν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ κολυμβητὴν ἀγαθὸν | γενό-
μενον Πόντιον καλεῖσθαι· ἀρπάσαντα Σύμην τὴν Ἰη-
λύσου καὶ Δωτίδος θυγατέρα ἀποπλεῦσαι εἰς τὴν
Ἀσίαν καὶ τὴν ἐγγὺς τῆς Καρίας νῆσον ἔρημον κατοι-
κίσαντα ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς Σύμην αὐτὴν προσαγορεύ-
σαι. Εὐάνθης δ' ὁ ἐποποιὸς ἐν τῷ Εἰς τὸν Γλαῦκον
Ἔμνω Ποσειδῶνος αὐτὸν υἱὸν εἶναι καὶ Ναΐδος νύμ-
φης μιγῆναί τε Ἀρεάδην ἐν Δία τῇ νήσῳ ἐρασθέντα,
ὅτε ὑπὸ Θεσέως κατελείφθη. Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἐν τῇ

¹⁴³ See 7.295e n. Here the joke must be that the god's name is a riddling reference to the homonymous fish.

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(B.) You're talking about Glaucus!¹⁴³ (A.) You got it!

Theolytus of Methymna in his epic poem *The Adventures of Dionysus* (fr. 1, p. 9 Powell) claims that the sea-divinity Glaucus fell in love with Ariadne, when she was carried off by Dionysus on the island of Dia¹⁴⁴; that Dionysus attacked him and tied him up with a grapevine; and that when Glaucus begged to be released, he said:

There is a place called Anthedon beside the sea
opposite Euboea, close to the streams of the Euripus.
This is where my family is from; the father who sired
me was Copeus.

Promathidas of Heracleia in the *Hemiambes*¹⁴⁵ (SH 711) identifies Glaucus as the child of Polybus son of Hermes and Euboea the daughter of Larymnus. But Mnaseas in Book III of his *History of Europe* (fr. 4 Cappalletto) reports that he was the child of Anthedon and Alcyone. Because he was fond of boats and swam well, he got the nickname Pontius¹⁴⁶. He kidnapped Syme, the daughter of Ialysus and Dotis, and sailed off to Asia, where he settled a deserted island near Caria, which he named Syme after his wife. The epic poet Euanthes in his *Hymn to Glaucus* (SH 409), on the other hand, says that Glaucus was the son of Poseidon and a Naiad nymph, and fell in love with Ariadne and slept with her on the island of Dia, after Theseus abandoned her. Aristotle in his *Constitution of the Delians* (fr.

¹⁴⁴ Sc. when Theseus abandoned her there after their escape from Crete. ¹⁴⁵ I.e. catalectic iambic dimeters.

¹⁴⁶ "Of the sea". Aeschylus wrote a play entitled *Glaucus Pontius* (fr. 25c-34).

Δηλίων Πολιτεία ἐν Δήλῳ κατοικήσαντα μετὰ τῶν |
 d Νηρηίδων τοῖς θέλουσι μαντεύεσθαι. Πόσσις δ' ὁ
 Μάγνης ἐν τρίτῳ Ἀμαζονίδος τῆς Ἀργοῦς φησι δημι-
 ουργὸν γενέσθαι τὸν Γλαῦκον καὶ κυβερνῶντα αὐτήν,
 ὅτε Ἰάσων μετὰ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν ἐμάχετο, μόνον ἄτρω-
 τον γενέσθαι ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ· κατὰ δὲ Διὸς βούλησιν
 ἐν τῷ τῆς θαλάσσης βυθῷ φανῆναι καὶ οὕτως γενέ-
 σθαι θαλάττιον δαίμονα ὑπὸ μόνου τε Ἰάσονος θεω-
 ρηθῆναι. Νικάνωρ δὲ ὁ Κυρηναῖος ἐν Μετονομασίαις
 τὸν Μελικέρτην φησὶ Γλαῦκον μετονομασθῆναι. ἱστο-
 ρεῖ δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ Αἰτωλὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τῷ
 e ἐπιγραφομένῳ | Ἀλιεῖ, ὡς ὅτι

γευσάμενος βοτάνης

κατεποντώθη,

ἦν Ἥελίῳ φαέθοντι

ἐν μακάρων νήσοισι λιτὴ φύει εἶαρι γαίῃ·
 Ἥελιος δ' ἵπποις θυμήρεα δόρπον ὀπάζει
 ὕλην ναιετάουσιν, ἵνα δρόμον ἐκτελέσωσιν
 ἄτρυτοι, καὶ μή τιν' ἔλοι μεσσηγὺς ἀνίη.

Αἰσχρίων δ' ὁ Σάμιος ἐν τινι τῶν Ἰάμβων Ἔδνης
 φησὶ τῆς Σκύλλου τοῦ Σκιωναίου κατακολυμβητοῦ
 f θυγατρὸς τὸν θαλάσσιον Γλαῦκον ἐρασθῆναι. | ἰδίως

147 The stories referred to here do not appear to be attested elsewhere.

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496) reports that Glaucus settled on Delos and joined the Nereids in offering prophecies to anyone who wanted them. Possis of Magnesia in Book III of the *Report on the Amazons* (FGrH 480 F 2) claims that Glaucus built the Argo, and that he was steering it when Jason fought the Etruscans, and was the only man not wounded in the naval battle;¹⁴⁷ in accord with the will of Zeus, he appeared in the depths of the sea and thus became a sea-divinity seen by Jason alone. Nicanor of Cyrene in *Changes of Names* claims that Melicertes changed his name to Glaucus.¹⁴⁸ Alexander Aetolus also offers an account of him in his poem entitled *The Fisherman* (fr. 1, p. 121 Powell), saying that he descended into the sea

after he tasted the plant the pure earth produced
in spring on the Islands of the Blessed for radiant
Helios.

Helios gives it as a satisfying meal to his horses,
who live in the wood, so that they may complete their
course
unwearied and no trouble might lay hold of any of
them in mid-journey.

Aeschrion of Samos in one of his *Iambs* (SH 5) reports that the sea-divinity Glaucus fell in love with Scylla, the daughter of the diver Scionaeus.¹⁴⁹ He also offers a unique

¹⁴⁸ Melicertes was thrown into the sea by his mother Ino; according to Pausanias 1.44.7–8, his name was changed not to Glaucus, but to Palaemon.

¹⁴⁹ The affair ended badly, with Scylla transformed into a monster (*Od.* 12.85–100); see *Ov. Met.* 13.898–14.74.

δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς βοτάνης λέγει, ἣν φαγὼν ἀθάνατος ἐγένετο·

καὶ θεῶν ἄγρωστιν εὔρες, ἣν Κρόνος κατέσπειρε.

Νίκανδρος δ' ἐν τρίτῳ Εὐρωπίας Νηρέως ἐρώμενον τὸν Γλαῦκον ἱστορεῖ γενέσθαι. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς Νίκανδρος ἐν πρώτῳ Αἰτωλικῶν τὴν μαντικὴν φησιν Ἀπόλλωνα ὑπὸ Γλαύκου διδαχθῆναι· θηρῶντα δὲ περὶ τὴν Ὀρείην || (ὄρος δὲ τοῦθ' ὑπάρχειν ὑψηλὸν ἐν Αἰτωλία) λαγῶν θηρᾶσαι, ὃν λιποθυμοῦντα ὑπὸ τῆς διώξεως ἀπαγαγεῖν ὑπὸ κρήνῃ τινὶ καὶ τῇ παρακειμένη πόσῃ ἤδη ὑποψυχόμενον ἀπομάσσειν. ἀναζωπυρήσαντος δὲ τοῦ λαγῶ τῇ βοτάνῃ ἐπιγνόντα τῆς βοτάνης τὴν δύναμιν ἀπογεύσασθαι καὶ ἔνθεον γενόμενον ἐπιγενομένου χειμῶνος κατὰ Διὸς βούλησιν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν αὐτὸν ἐκρῖψαι. Ἡδύλος δ' ὁ Σάμιος ἢ Ἀθηναῖος Μελικέρτου φησὶν ἐρασθέντα τὸν Γλαῦκον ἑαυτὸν b ρῖψαι εἰς τὴν | θάλατταν. Ἡδύλη δ' ἡ τοῦ ποιητοῦ τούτου μήτηρ, Μοσχίνης δὲ θυγάτηρ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἰάμβων ποιητρίας, ἐν τῇ ἐπιγραφομένῃ Σκύλλῃ ἱστορεῖ τὸν Γλαῦκον ἐρασθέντα Σκύλλης ἐλθεῖν αὐτῆς εἰς τὸ ἄντρον

¹⁵⁰ Generally translated "Bermuda grass". Whether Cronus is supposed to have planted the grass, or (more likely) it was produced by his blood when he was castrated by Zeus (cf. 7.282e-f with n.), is unclear.

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detail about the plant that made Glaucus immortal when he ate it:

And you discovered the gods' *agrōstis*¹⁵⁰, which
Cronus sowed.

Nicander in Book III of the *History of Europe* (fr. 25 Schneider) reports that Glaucus was Nereus' boy-love. The same Nicander says in Book I of the *History of Aetolia* (fr. 2 Schneider) that Glaucus taught Apollo the art of prophecy. Glaucus was hunting around Oreia—this is a high mountain in Aetolia—and caught a hare. The hare was in a state of shock as a result of being chased; Glaucus took it to a spring, and as it was cooling down, rubbed it with the grass that grew there. When the hare was revived by the grass, he recognized its power, tasted it, and was inspired; and when a storm arose, he threw himself into the sea in accord with Zeus' plan.¹⁵¹ But Hedylus of Samos or Athens (*SH* 457) claims that Glaucus was in love with Melicertes and threw himself into the sea.¹⁵² Hedyle, the poet's mother and the daughter of Moschine of Athens,¹⁵³ who wrote iambs, reports in her poem entitled *Scylla* (*SH* 456) that Glaucus was in love with Scylla and went to her cave bearing

¹⁵¹ The final phrase sounds like a specific echo of Possis (or Possis' poetic source), quoted above.

¹⁵² Sc. in pursuit of his beloved (cf. n. 146 above)? Or when he was rejected?

¹⁵³ PAA 659035; otherwise unknown.

ἢ κόγχους δωρήματ'

φέροντα

Ἐρυθραίης ἀπὸ πέτρης

ἢ τοὺς ἀλκυόνων παῖδας ἔτ' ἀπτερύγους

τῇ νύμφῃ δύσπιστος ἀθύρματα. δάκρυ δ' ἐκείνου
καὶ Σειρὴν γείτων παρθένος ὤκτίσατο. |

c ἀκτὴν γὰρ κείνην ἀπεινήχεται καὶ τὰ σύνεγγυς
Αἴτνης.

Γναφεύς. Δωρίων ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἰχθύων τὸ ἐκ τῆς
ἐφήσεως τοῦ γναφέως ὑγρόν φησι πάντα σπῖλον
καθαίρειν. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἐπαίνετος ἐν
᾽Οψαρτυτικῷ.

Ἐγχελευς. τῶν θαλασσίων ἐγχέλεων μνημονεύει
Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Μούσαις. Δωρίων δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἰχθύ-
ων μνημονεύων καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Κωπαίδος τὰς Κω-
d παῖδας | ἐπαινεῖ. γίνονται δ' αὐταὶ ὑπερμεγέθεις.
φησὶ γοῦν Ἀγαθαρχίδης ἐν ἕκτῃ Εὐρωπιακῶν τὰς
ὑπερφυεῖς τῶν Κωπαίδων ἐγχέλεων ἱερείων τρόπου
στεφανοῦντας καὶ κατευχομένους οὐλὰς τ' ἐπιβάλ-
λοντας θύειν τοῖς θεοῖς τοὺς Βοιωτοῦς· καὶ πρὸς τὸν
ξένον τὸν διαποροῦντα τὸ τοῦ ἔθους παράδοξον καὶ
πυνθανόμενον ἐν μόνον εἰδέναί φῆσαι τὸν Βοιωτὸν
φάσκειν τε ὅτι δεῖ τηρεῖν τὰ προγονικὰ νόμιμα καὶ ὅτι
e μὴ καθήκει τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀπολογίζεσθαι. οὐ
χρῆ θαυμάζειν εἰ | ἱερείων τρόπου ἐγχέλεις θύονται,

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as gifts either shells from the Erythraean rock
or halcyon chicks, yet unfledged,
as little presents for the girl; since he lacked
confidence. The Siren-girl
next door pitied his weeping;
for he was swimming away to that shore and the
regions near
Aetna.

Gnapheus.¹⁵⁴ Dorion in his *On Fish* claims that the liquid produced when the *gnapheus* is stewed removes stains of all kinds. Epaenetus also recommends it in the *Art of Cooking*.

Eel. Epicharmus mentions sea-eels in *Muses* (fr. 90). Dorion in his *On Fish* refers to the eels that come from Lake Copais and speaks highly of them. They grow extremely large; Agatharchides in Book VI of the *History of Europe* (*FGrH* 86 F 5), at any rate, claims that the Boeotians put garlands on the largest Copaic eels, as if they were sacrificial animals; offer prayers over them; pelt them with barley groats;¹⁵⁵ and sacrifice them to the gods.¹⁵⁶ When a foreigner was puzzled at this odd behavior and asked about it, the Boeotian said that he could think of only one thing to say, and told him that people need to maintain their ancestral customs and should feel no obligation to defend them to outsiders. There is no need to be surprised that they offer eels as if they were sacrificial animals, given

¹⁵⁴ Literally "fuller" (for the supposed power of the juice extracted from it).

¹⁵⁵ Part of the ritual with any sacrificial animal.

¹⁵⁶ Only domestic animals were normally sacrificed, making this an extremely unusual procedure.

ὁπότε καὶ Ἀντίγονος ὁ Καρύστιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Λέξεως
 τοὺς Ἀλαιέας λέγει θυσίαν ἐπιτελοῦντας τῷ Ποσει-
 δῶνι ὑπὸ τὴν τῶν θύννων ὥραν, ὅταν εὐαγρήσωσι,
 θύειν τῷ θεῷ τὸν πρῶτον ἀλόντα θύννον, καὶ τὴν
 θυσίαν ταύτην καλεῖσθαι θυνναῖον. καὶ τάριχοι δὲ
 παρὰ Φασηλίταις ἀποθύνονται. Ἡρόπυθος γοῦν ἐν
 Ὀροις Κολοφωνίων περὶ τῆς κτίσεως ἱστορῶν τῆς
 Φασήλιδός φησιν ὅτι Λάκιος ὁ τὴν ἀποικίαν στείλας
 f μισθὸν ἔδωκε τοῦ τόπου | Κυλάβρα ποιμένι νέμοντι
 πρόβατα ταρίχους, ἐκείνου τοῦτο αἰτήσαντος· προθέν-
 τος γὰρ αὐτῷ τοῦ Λακίου λαβεῖν τοῦ χωρίου ἢ ἄλφιτα
 ἢ ταρίχους εἴλετο ὁ Κυλάβρας τοὺς ταρίχους. καὶ διὰ
 τοῦτο οἱ Φασηλίται ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος τῷ Κυλάβρα ἔτι καὶ
 νῦν τάριχον θύουσι. Φιλοστέφανος δ' ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ
 Περὶ τῶν Ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Πόλεων οὕτως γράφει· Λάκιον
 τὸν Ἀργεῖον τῶν σὺν Μόψῳ ἀφικομένων, ὃν τινες μὲν
 Λίνδιον εἶναι λέγουσιν, ἀδελφὸν δὲ Ἀντιφήμου τοῦ
 Γέλαν οἰκίσαντος, εἰς τὴν Φασήλιδα ὑπὸ Μόψου μετ'
 298 ἀνδρῶν || πεμφθέντα κατὰ τινα λόγον Μαντοῦς τῆς
 Μόψου μητρὸς, ὅτε αἱ πρῦμαι τῶν ἰδίων νηῶν συν-
 ἔβαλον καὶ συνεθραύσθησαν κατὰ Χελιδονίας τῶν
 μετὰ τοῦ Λακίου διὰ τὸ ὑστερεῖν αὐτῶν νυκτὸς προσ-
 βαλόντων. ἀγοράσαι δ' αὐτὸν τὴν γῆν λέγεται, οὗ ἢ
 πόλις νῦν ἐστὶ, καθὰ ἡ Μαντῶ προεῖπε, παρὰ Κυ-
 λάβρα τινὸς δόντα τάριχον· τοῦτον γὰρ ἐλέσθαι

¹⁵⁷ Cited again (recalling the reference here) at 7.303b.

that Antigonus of Carystus in his *On Diction* (p. 174 Wilamowitz = fr. 56a Dorandi)¹⁵⁷ alleges that the inhabitants of Halae sacrifice to Poseidon during tuna-season, whenever they have a good catch, offering the god the first tuna they capture, and that this sacrifice is referred to as a *thunnaion*.¹⁵⁸ The inhabitants of Phaselis, moreover, sacrifice saltfish. Heropythus, at any rate, in his account of the foundation of Phaselis in the *Annals of the Colophonians* (FGrH 448 F 1), claims that Ladius, who established the colony, bought the spot from a shepherd named Cylabras, who was grazing his flocks there, by giving him saltfish; because this is what he asked for. For when Ladius offered him either barley groats or saltfish for the place, Cylabras chose the saltfish. As a consequence, the Phaselians sacrifice saltfish to Cylabras every year even today. Philostephanus writes as follows in Book I of *On the Cities in Asia* (fr. 1, FHG iii.29): Ladius of Argos was one of the people who arrived with Mopsus; some authorities claim that he was from Lindos and a brother of Antiphemus, who founded Gela. He was sent to Phaselis by Mopsus along with some men in response to a remark made by Mopsus' mother, Manto¹⁵⁹, when the prows of the ships the two of them were on collided and broke around Chelidonia, when Ladius' people ran into them at night because they were behind them. The story goes that he bought the land where the city now stands from a certain Cylabras by giving him saltfish, in accord with a prophecy offered by Manto; because this is what Cylabras opted to take from

¹⁵⁸ Cognate with *thunnos*, "tuna".

¹⁵⁹ Cognate with *mantis*, "seer", as fits her role in the story (below).

- λαβείν αὐτὸν ἀφ' ὧν ἦγον. ὅθεν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τοὺς Φασηλίτας τῷ Κυλάβρα θύειν τάριχον τιμῶντας ὡς ἤρωα. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐγγέλεων Ἰκέσιός φησιν ἐν τοῖς |
- b Περὶ Ἰγλῆς ὡς αἱ ἐγγέλεις εὐχυλότεραι πάντων εἰσὶν ἰχθύων καὶ ὅτι εὐστομαχία διαφέρουσι τῶν πλείστων πλῆσμαι γὰρ εἰσι καὶ πολύτροφοι. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ταρίχεσι τὰς Μακεδονικὰς ἐγγέλεις κατατάττει. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ χαίρειν φησὶ τὰς ἐγγέλεις καθαρωτάτῳ ὕδατι, ὅθεν τοὺς ἐγγελουτρόφους καθαρὸν αὐταῖς ἐπιχεῖν πνίγεσθαι γὰρ ἐν τῷ θολερῷ. διὸ καὶ οἱ θηρεύοντες θολοῦσι τὸ ὕδωρ, ἵνα ἀποπνίγωνται· λεπτὰ γὰρ ἔχουσαι τὰ βράγχια αὐτίκα ὑπὸ τοῦ θολοῦ τοὺς πόρους
- c ἐπιπωματίζονται. | ὅθεν καὶ τοῖς χειμῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων ταραττομένοι τοῦ ὕδατος ἀποπνίγονται. ὀχεύονται δὲ συμπλεκόμεναι κατ' ἀφιάσι γλοιῶδες ἐξ αὐτῶν, ὃ γενόμενον ἐν τῇ ἰλύι ζωογονεῖται. λέγουσι δὲ οἱ ἐγγελουτρόφοι καὶ ὡς νυκτὸς μὲν νέμονται, ἡμέρας δ' ἐν τῇ ἰλύι ἀκινήτιζουσι ζῶσί τε τὸ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐπὶ ὀκτῷ ἔτη. ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ πάλιν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης ἱστορεῖ γίνεσθαι αὐτὰς οὔτε ὠτοκούσας οὔτε ζωτοκούσας ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐξ ὀχείας, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ βορβόρῳ καὶ τῇ ἰλύι
- d σήψεως γινομένης, καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ | τῶν καλουμένων τῆς γῆς ἐντέρων λέγεται. διὸ καὶ Ὅμηρον τῆς τῶν ἰχθύων φύσεως χωρίζοντα τάδε εἰπεῖν·

τείροντ' ἐγγέλυνες τε καὶ ἰχθύες οἱ κατὰ δίνας.

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the goods they were carrying with them. As a result, the inhabitants of Phaselis sacrifice saltfish to Cylabras every year and honor him like a hero.¹⁶⁰ On the subject of eels: Hicesius in his *On Raw Materials* claims that eels produce better *chulē* than any other fish and are easier on the stomach than most, because they are filling and nourishing. He categorizes Macedonian eels as a type of saltfish. Aristotle (fr. 198) reports that eels like the cleanest water they can find, as a consequence of which eel-farmers pour clean water over them; because they suffocate in muddy water. This is why people hunting eels stir up the water, to make them suffocate, since they have delicate gills whose pores are immediately blocked by the mud. As a consequence, they also suffocate in storms, when the water is agitated by the winds. They wrap around one another when they mate, and afterward release a sticky substance that settles in the muck and produces their young. The eel-farmers report that they feed at night and lie motionless in the muck during the day, and generally live for eight years. But elsewhere Aristotle (*HA* 570^a3–24) reports that eels produce neither eggs nor live young, and do not even have sex, but reproduce when a process of decomposition takes place in the mud and muck, precisely as is supposed to happen in the case of what are referred to as “the earth’s guts”¹⁶¹. This is the reason Homer distinguishes them from fish when he says the following (*Il.* 21.353):

The eels and fish in the eddies were hard-pressed.

¹⁶⁰ Sc. as the *oikistēs* (“founder”) of the city; cf. 6.263a with n.

¹⁶¹ Earthworms.

Ἐπικούρειος δέ τις εἰκαδιστῆς τῶν συνδειπνούντων ἡμῖν ἐγγέλως παρατεθείσης, πάρεστιν, ἔφη, ἡ τῶν δείπνων Ἑλένη· ἐγὼ οὖν Πάρις ἔσομαι. καὶ χεῖρας μήπω τινὸς ἐκτετακότος ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἐπιβαλὼν ἐψίλωσε τὸ πλευρὸν ἀνάγων εἰς ἄκανθαν. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς οὗτος πλακοῦντός ποτε θερμοῦ παρατεθέντος καὶ πάντων ἀπεχομένων ἐπιφωνήσας· |

- e τοῦ δ' ἐγὼ ἀντίος εἶμι, καὶ εἰ πυρὶ χεῖρας ἔοικεν, προπετῶς ἐπιβαλὼν καὶ καταπιὼν φλεγόμενος ἐξεφέρετο. καὶ ὁ Κύνουλκος ἔφη· ἀποφέρεται ἐκ τῆς βρογχοπαρατάξεως ὁ λάρος. καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐγγέλως δ' Ἀρχέστρατος οὕτως ἱστορεῖ·

- f ἐγγέλων αἰνῶ μὲν πᾶσαν, πολὺ δ' ἐστὶ κρατίστη |
Ῥηγίου ἀντιπέρας πορθμῶ ληφθεῖσα θαλάσσης.
ἔνθα σὺ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων, Μεσσήνιε, θνητῶν
βρῶμα τιθεῖς τοιόνδε διὰ στόματος πλεονεκτεῖς.
οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ κλέος γ' ἀρετῆς μέγα κάρτα
 φέρουσι
Κωπαῖαι καὶ Στρυμόναι· μεγάλαι τε γάρ εἰσι
καὶ τὸ πάχος θαυμασταί. ὁμῶς δ' οἶμαι
 βασιλεύει ||

- 299 πάντων τῶν περὶ δαῖτα καὶ ἡδονῆ ἡγεμονεύει
ἔγγελως, ἡ φύσει ἐστὶν ἀπύρηνος μόνος ἰχθύς.

¹⁶² Epicurus was born on Gamelion 20, and his followers celebrated that day every month.

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When an eel was served, an Epicurean 20th-dayer¹⁶² who was dining with us said: Here is the Helen of dinner parties; I will therefore be Paris. And before anyone could get his hands on it, he attacked the eel and stripped the flesh from its side, reducing it to a backbone. Once when a hot flat-cake was served and everyone was hesitating to touch it, this same fellow remarked (*Il.* 20.371):

I will go head-to-head with him, even if his hands are like fire.

He recklessly attacked it, gulped it down, and was carried out of the room on fire; and Cynulcus said: Mr. Seagull is disqualified from the swallowing competition. As for the eel, Archestratus offers the following information (fr. 10 Olson-Sens = *SH* 139):

I praise every eel; but it is far and away the best when caught in the sea-strait opposite Rhegium. In that place, Messenian, you have the advantage over all other mortals, in putting food like this into your mouth.

Yet Copaic and Strymonian eels have a tremendous reputation for quality; for they are both long and of amazing girth. But however that may be, I believe that the king of everything associated with a feast and the foremost in pleasure is the eel, the only fish with a naturally minimal bone-structure.

Ὅμηρον δὲ εἰπόντος·

τείρουτ' ἔγγέλους τε καὶ ἰχθύες,
ἀκολούθως ἐποίησε καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος·

πολλὰς δὲ τυφλὰς ἔγγελλυς ἐδέξω.

οἱ δ' Ἀττικοί, καθὼς Τρύφων φησί, τὰς ἐνικὰς χρή-
σεις ἐπιστάμενοι διὰ τοῦ ὕ τὰς πληθυντικὰς οὐκ ἔτι
ἀκολούθως ἐπιφέρουσιν. ὁ γοῦν Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν μὲν
Ἀχαρνέυσι·

σκέψασθε, (φησί)παῖδες, τὴν κρατίστην⁹ |
b ἔγγελλυ.

καὶ ἐν Δημνίαις·

< . . . > ἔγγελλυ Βοιωτίαν.

τὴν δ' εὐθείαν ἐν Δαιταλεῦσι·

καὶ λείος ὥσπερ ἔγγελλυς.

καὶ Κρατῖνος ἐν Πλούτοις·

θύννος, ὀρφῶς, γλαῦκος, ἔγγελλυς, κύων.

τὰς μέντοι πληθυντικὰς οὐκ ἔθ' ὁμοίως τῷ ποιητῇ.
Ἀριστοφάνης Ἰππεῦσιν·

ὅπερ γὰρ οἱ τὰς ἔγγελλεις θηρώμενοι πέπονθας.

⁹ The manuscripts of Aristophanes have ἀρίστην.

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When Homer said (*Il.* 21.353):

The eels (*enchelues*) and fish were hard-pressed,
Archilochus followed him¹⁶³ and wrote (fr. 189 West²):

You got many blind eels (*enchelus*).

According to Tryphon (fr. 21 Velsen), although Attic authors are familiar with the use of *upsilon* in the singular forms, they do not continue using it analogically in the plurals. Aristophanes, for example, says in *Acharnians* (889):

Children, behold this wonderful eel (*enchelun*)!

And in *Lemnian Women* (fr. 380.2):¹⁶⁴

a Boeotian eel (*enchelun*).

He uses the nominative in *Banqueters* (fr. 229):

and smooth like an eel (*enchelus*).

Also Cratinus in *Gods of Wealth* (fr. 171.50):¹⁶⁵

a tuna, a sea-perch, a *glaukos*, an eel (*enchelus*), a shark.

But the plurals are no longer the same as they are in Homer. Aristophanes in *Knights* (864):

Because you're in the same situation as people
hunting eels (*encheleis*).

¹⁶³ Sc. in the use of a plural form of the noun that includes an *upsilon*.

¹⁶⁴ Other portions of the fragment (which do not all overlap, but were assembled by Dobree) are preserved at 7.302d, 311d.

¹⁶⁵ Quoted again, along with the preceding verse, at 7.303d.

καὶ δευτέραις Νεφέλαις·

τὰς εἰκούς τῶν ἐγγέλεων τὰς ἐμὰς μιμούμενοι.

ἐν Σφηξί δὲ ἡ δοτική·

οὐδὲ χαίρω βατίσιν οὐδ' ἐγγέλεσιν.

Στράττις δ' ἐν Ποταμίους ἔφη·

< . . . > ἐγγέλεων ἀνεψιός. |

c Σημωνίδης δ' ἐν Ἰάμβοις·

ὥσπερ ἔγγελυς κατὰ γλοιοῦ.

καὶ τὴν αἰτιατικὴν·

ἐρωδιὸς γὰρ ἔγγελυν Μαιανδρίην
τρίορχον εὐρῶν ἐσθίοντ' ἀφείλετο.

Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Ζῴων διὰ τοῦ ἰ ἔγγελις
εἴρηκεν. ὅταν δ' Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Ἰππεῦσι λέγῃ·

ὅπερ γὰρ οἱ τὰς ἐγγέλεις θηρώμενοι πέπονθας.
ὅταν μὲν ἡ λίμνη καταστῆ, λαμβάνουσιν οὐδέν· |
d εἰάν δ' ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω τὸν βόρβορον κυκῶσιν,
αἰροῦσι· καὶ σὺ λαμβάνεις, ἦν τὴν πόλιν
ταράττης,

σαφῶς δηλοῖ ὅτι ἡ ἔγγελυς ἐκ τῆς ἰλύος λαμβάνεται.

¹⁶⁶ I.e. the preserved version of the play (early 410s BCE), as opposed to the original (staged in 423).

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Also in *Clouds II*¹⁶⁶ (559):

mimicking my image of the eels (*encheleōn*).

The dative is found in *Wasps* (510):

I don't like skate or eels (*enchelesin*).

Strattis said in *Men from the Deme Potamus* (fr. 40):

cousin of eels (*encheleōn*).

Semonides in the *Iambs* (fr. 8 West²):

just like an eel (*enchelus*)¹⁶⁷ in the oil and dirt.

Also the accusative (Semon. fr. 9 West²):

Because when a heron found a buzzard eating
an eel (*enchelun*) from the Maeander, it stole it.

Aristotle in his *On Animals* (fr. 199) pronounces the word *enchelis*, with an *iota*.¹⁶⁸ When Aristophanes says in *Knights* (864–7):

Because you're in the same situation as people
 hunting eels (*encheleis*):
when the water's still, they don't catch anything;
but if they stir up the mud,
they catch them. Similarly, you make a profit, if you
 stir up trouble in the city,

he makes it quite clear that the eel (*enchelus*) is caught in

¹⁶⁷ Nominative; the catalogue of examples of the word abruptly returns here to early, non-Attic authors.

¹⁶⁸ Thus presumably some manuscripts, but not Aristotle himself.

ἐνθεν καὶ τοῦνομα εἰς -υς ἐπερατώθη. καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς
οὖν θέλων δηλώσαι τὸ εἰς βάθος τοῦ ποταμοῦ καί-
μενον οὕτως ἔφη·

τείρουτ' ἐγγέλους τε καὶ ἰχθύες.

ἰδικώτερον δὲ καὶ κατ' ἐξάιρετον ἐγγέλους, ἵνα καὶ τὸ
e βάθος τοῦ κεκαυμένου ὕδατος | δηλώσῃ. Ἀντιφάνης
δ' ἐν Λύκωνι κωμωδῶν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους φησίν·

τά τ' ἄλλα δεινούς φασι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους
εἶναι τὸ νομίσαι τ' ἰσόθεον τὴν ἐγγέλων·
πολὺ τῶν θεῶν γὰρ ἐστὶ τιμιώτερα.
τῶν μὲν γὰρ εὐξαμένοισιν ἐσθ' ἡμῖν τυχεῖν,
τούτων δὲ δραχμὰς τοῦλάχιστον δώδεκα
ἢ πλεον ἀναλώσασιν ὀσφρέσθαι μόνον·
οὕτως † ἐσθ' ἄγιον παντελῶς τὸ θηρίον.

Ἀναξανδρίδης δ' ἐν Πόλεσι πρὸς τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους |
f ἀποτεινόμενος τὸν λόγον φησίν·

οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην συμμαχεῖν ὑμῖν ἐγώ·
οὔθ' οἱ τρόποι γὰρ ὁμονοοῦσ' οὔθ' οἱ νόμοι
ἡμῶν, ἀπ' ἀλλήλων δὲ διέχουσιν πολὺ.
βοῦν προσκυνεῖς, ἐγὼ δὲ θύω τοῖς θεοῖς·
τὴν ἐγγέλων μέγιστον ἡγεί δαίμονα,
ἡμεῖς δὲ τῶν ὄψων μέγιστον παρὰ πολὺ·
οὐκ ἐσθίεις ὕει', ἐγὼ δὲ γ' ἡδομαι ||

300 μάλιστα τούτοις· κύνα σέβεις, τύπτω δ' ἐγώ,

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the muck (*ilus*); this is why the noun ends in *-us*.¹⁶⁹ Because Homer wanted to make it clear that the fire's effect reached the bottom of the river, he put it thus (*Il.* 21.353):

The eels and fish were hard-pressed.

He refers specifically to eels in particular to make it clear how deep the heated water extended. Antiphanes in *Lycon* (fr. 145) makes fun of the Egyptians, saying:

They say the Egyptians are clever in lots
of ways, including in regarding eels as equivalent to
gods;

because eels get more respect than the gods.

We can contact the gods by praying;

but people spend at least a dozen drachmas,
or even more, just to get a whiff of eels.

That's † how profoundly sacred the creature is.

Anaxandrides in *Cities* (fr. 40) extends the discussion of the Egyptians and says:

I couldn't make an alliance with you.

Because our styles don't agree, and neither do
our customs; they're really different from one
another.

You worship a cow, whereas I sacrifice it to the gods.

You consider the eel the greatest deity,
whereas we regard it as far and away the greatest
delicacy.

You don't eat pork, whereas I'm extremely
fond of it. You worship a dog, whereas I beat it

¹⁶⁹ A false etymology.

τοῦψον κατεσθίουσαν ἡνίκ' ἂν λάβω.
 τοὺς ἱερέας ἐνθάδε μὲν ὀλοκλήρους νόμος
 εἶναι, παρ' ὑμῖν δ', ὡς ἔοικ', ἀπηργμένους.
 τὸν αἰέλουρον κακὸν ἔχοντ' ἔαν ἴδῃς
 κλάεις, ἐγὼ δ' ἥδιστ' ἀποκτείνας δέρω.
 δύναται παρ' ὑμῖν μυγαλῆ, παρ' ἐμοὶ δέ γ' οὔ.

Τιμοκλῆς δ' ἐν Αἰγυπτίοις·

- b πῶς ἂν μὲν οὖν σώσειεν ἴβις ἢ κύων; |
 ὅπου γὰρ εἰς τοὺς ὁμολογουμένους θεοὺς
 ἀσεβοῦντες οὐ διδῶσιν εὐθέως δίκην,
 τίν' αἰελούρου βωμὸς ἐπιτρίψειεν ἄν;

ὅτι δ' ἦσθιον τὰς ἐγχέλεις καὶ μετὰ τεύτλων ἐντυ-
 λίξαντες πολὺ μὲν ἔστι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις κωμι-
 κοῖς, καὶ Εὐβουλος δέ φησιν ἐν Ἠχοῖ·

νύμφα ἀπειρόγαμος τεύτλω περὶ σῶμα καλυπτὰ
 λευκόχρως παρέσται
 ἔγγελυς, ᾧ μέγα μοι μέγα σοι φῶς < . . . >
 ἐναργές.

καὶ ἐν Ἰωνί |

- c μετὰ ταῦτα θύννων μεγαλόπλουτ' ἐπεισέπλει
 ὑπογάστρι' ὀπτῶν, αἳ τε λιμνοσώματοι

170 An oblique reference to castration.

171 A Middle Comic poet.

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when I catch it eating my food.
It's the custom here for priests to have
all their parts, whereas in your country, apparently, a
piece of them's offered as a sacrifice.¹⁷⁰
If you see a cat suffering,
you cry, whereas I'm perfectly happy to kill it and
take the skin.
A fieldmouse is important in your eyes, but not in
mine.

Timocles in *The Egyptians* (fr. 1):

How could an ibis or a dog protect someone?
If people who fail to respect generally recognized
gods aren't punished immediately,
who's going to be destroyed by an altar dedicated to a
cat?

That they used to eat eels wrapped in beet is commonplace
in the Old Comic poets, and Eubulus¹⁷¹ as well says in
Echo (fr. 34):

A young woman, still unmarried, her body veiled in
beet,
her skin white, will be there—
an eel, clear light, great in my eyes and great in
yours!

Also in *Ion* (fr. 36):¹⁷²

Following these items, expensive underbellies of
roasted
tuna came sailing in next; the marsh-bodied

¹⁷² Most of the first two verses are quoted again at 7.302d.

Βοιώτιαι παρήσαν ἐγγέλεις θεαὶ
τεῦτλ' ἀμπεχόμεναι.

καὶ ἐν Μηδείᾳ·

παρθένου Βοιωτίας

Κωπᾶδος· ὀνομάζειν γὰρ αἰδοῦμαι θεάν.

ὅτι δὲ καὶ αἱ Στρυμόνιαι ἐγγέλεις δι' ὀνόματος ἦσαν
φησιν ἐν Θαμύρᾳ Ἀντιφάνης·

καὶ σοῦ γ' ἐπώνυμός τις ἐν φήμαις βροτῶν
Θρήκην κατάρδων ποταμὸς ὠνομασμένος, |

d Στρυμών, μεγίστας ἐγγέλεις κεκτημένος.

καὶ περὶ τὸν Εὐλέα¹⁰ δὲ ποταμὸν (οὗ μνημονεύει Ἀντί-
μαχος ἐν ταῖς ἐπιγραφομέναις Δέλτοις οὕτως·

ἐλθὼν † εὐλείας¹¹ † πηγὰς ἔπι δινήεντος)

Δημήτριος ὁ Σκήψιος ἐν ἐκκαιδεκάτῃ τοῦ Τρωικοῦ
Διακόσμου ἐγγέλεις φησὶ διαφόρους γίνεσθαι.

Ἔλοψ. προείρηται μὲν τινα περὶ αὐτοῦ· ἀλλὰ καὶ
Ἀρχέστρατός φησι τάδε περὶ αὐτοῦ· |

e τὸν δ' ἔλοπ' ἔσθε μάλιστα Συρακούσαις ἐνὶ
κλειναῖς,

τόν γε κρατιστεύουθ'. οὗτος γὰρ αὖ ἐστὶν ἐκείθεν

¹⁰ Εὐλέα Schweighäuser: εὐκλέα A

¹¹ Εὐλείος Bergk

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Boeotian eel-goddesses were also present,
wearing beet.

And in *Medea* (fr. 64):

of a young Boeotian girl
from Copais; because I'm hesitant to refer to a
goddess by name.

Antiphanes in *Thamyra* (fr. 104) claims that Strymonian
eels were also well-known:

and a river that bears your name and is widely
discussed among mortals, which waters Thrace—
the Strymon—and has the largest eels.

There are also outstanding eels round the Euleus River—
Antimachus mentions it in his poem entitled *The Tablets*
(fr. 129 Matthews), as follows:

after coming to the sources of the eddying †
euleias †—

according to Demetrius of Scepsis in Book XVI of his *Trojan Battle-Order* (fr. 11 Gaede).

Elops. Some remarks have been offered about this fish
earlier.¹⁷³ But Arcestratus as well has the following to say
about it (fr. 12 Olson-Sens = SH 142):

As for the *elops*, eat it in particular in famous
Syracuse,
where it is at its best. Because this fish comes from
there

¹⁷³ At 7.282c-e.

τὴν ἀρχὴν γεγονώς, <ὡς>θ' ἦν<ί>κ' ἂν ἢ περὶ
 νήσους
 ἢ περὶ τὴν Ἀσίην που ἀλῶ γῆν ἢ περὶ Κρήτην,
 λεπτὸς καὶ στερεὸς καὶ κυματοπλήξ ἀφικνεῖται.

Ἐρυθρίνος. Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ζῴων καὶ
 Σπεύσιππος παραπλήσιά φησιν εἶναι φάγγρον, ἐρυ-
 f θρίνον, ἥπατον. τὰ παραπλήσια εἶρηκε καὶ Ἰ Δωρίων
 ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἰχθύων. Κυρηναῖοι δὲ ὕκην τὸν ἐρυθρίνον
 καλοῦσιν, ὡς Κλείταρχός φησιν ἐν Γλώσσαις.

Ἐγκρασίχολοι. καὶ τούτων μέμνηται Ἀριστοτέλης
 ὡς μικρῶν ἰχθυδίων ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ζωικῶν. Δωρίων δὲ ἐν
 τῷ Περὶ Ἰχθύων τῶν ἐγκρασιχόλων ἐν τοῖς ἐψητοῖς
 μέμνηται εἰπὼν οὕτως· ἐψητοὺς εἶναι μὲν δεῖ ἐγκρα-
 σιχόλους ἢ ἰώπας ἢ ἀθερίνας ἢ κωβιοὺς ἢ τριγλίδας
 μικρὰς σηπίδια τε καὶ τευθίδια καὶ καρκίνια. ||

301 Ἐψητός. ἐπὶ τῶν λεπτῶν ἰχθυδίων. Ἀριστοφάνης
 ἐν Ἀναγύρω·

οὐχ ἐψητῶν λοπάς ἐστίν.

Ἄρχιππος Ἰχθύσι·

καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀφύην καταπέπωκεν † ἐψητὸς
 ἐντυχών.

Εὐπολις Αἰξίν·

ὦ Χάριτες αἴσι μέλουσιν ἐψητοί.

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originally, and thus, whenever it is caught around the islands
or somewhere around Asia Minor or Crete,
it arrives there thin, tough, and wave-beaten.

Eruthrinos. Aristotle in his *On Animals* (fr. 200) and Speusippus (fr. 12a Tarán)¹⁷⁴ claim that the sea-bream, *eruthrinos*, and *hēpatos* resemble one another. Dorion makes similar remarks in his *On Fish*. The inhabitants of Cyrene refer to the *eruthrinos* as a *hukē*,¹⁷⁵ according to Cleitarchus in the *Glossary*.

Anchovies. Aristotle refers to these as tiny little fish in his *On Living Creatures* (fr. 201). Dorion in his *On Fish*¹⁷⁶ includes anchovies among stew-fish (*hepsētoi*), putting it as follows: Fish that ought to be stewed (*hepsētoi*) are anchovies, *iōpes*, sand-smelt, gobies, and small *triglides*, as well as little cuttlefish, squid, and crabs.

Hepsētos ("stew-fish"). Used of tiny, insubstantial fish. Aristophanes in *Anagyryus* (fr. 56):

There's no casserole-dish of *hepsētoi*.

Archippus in *Fish* (fr. 19):

After a *hepsētos* met † it's gulped down the small-fry.

Eupolis in *Nanny-Goats* (fr. 16):

O Graces who watch over *hepsētoi*.

¹⁷⁴ Cited again at 7.327c, and attributed there specifically to Book II of *Similar Things*. ¹⁷⁵ Perhaps a deduction from fr. 394 of Callimachus (who came from Cyrene), quoted at 7.284c. Cf. 7.327b (citing Zenodotus).

¹⁷⁶ Cf. 7.285a.

ATHENAEUS

Εὐβουλος ἐν Προσουσία ἢ Κύκνω·

ἀγαπῶν τε κἄν ἐψητὸν ἐν τεύτλοις ἕνα
διὰ δωδεκάτης ἐψόμενον ἡμέρας ἴδη.

Ἄλεξις ἐν Ἀπεγλαυκωμένω·

καὶ γὰρ ἐψητοῖ τινες
παρήσαν ἡμῖν δαιδάλεοί πως·

b τὰ γὰρ καλὰ | πάντα Δαιδάλου καλοῦσιν ἔργα. καὶ
πάλιν·

τῶν οὖν κορακίνων πείραν οὐχὶ λαμβάνεις;
οὐδὲ τριχίδων, οὐδ' οἶον ἐψητῶν τινων;

πληθυντικῶς δὲ λέγουσιν ἐψητοὺς κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον.
Ἀριστοφάνης Δράμασιν ἢ Νιόβω·

οὐδὲν μὰ Δί' ἐρῶ λοπάδος ἐψητῶν.

Μένανδρος Περιθία·

τὸ παιδίον
εἰσῆλθεν ἐψητοὺς φέρον.

ἐνικῶς δὲ Νικόστρατος ἐν Ἡσιόδω·

βεμβράδ', ἀφύην, ἐψητόν.

Ποσειδίππος Ἀποκλειομένη·

ἐψητὸν ἀγοράζειν τινά.

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Eubulus in *Prosousia or Cycnus* (fr. 92):

pleased if he sees even a single *hepsētos*
being stewed in beets every 11 days.

Alexis in *The Man Who Had a Cataract* (fr. 17):

In fact some rather elaborately
prepared (*daidaleoi*) *hepsētoi* were there for us;

because they refer to everything beautiful as a "work of
Daedalus".¹⁷⁷ Again (Alex. fr. 18):

Aren't you trying the *korakinoi*?
Or the sardines, or maybe some *hepsētoi*?

They generally use the word in the plural, *hepsētoi*.
Aristophanes in *Dramas or Niobus* (fr. 292):

I'm not at all interested, by Zeus, in a casserole-dish
of *hepsētoi*.

Menander in *The Girl from Perinthus* (*Perinth.* fr. 6
Köerte-Thierfelder):

The slave
came in carrying *hepsētoi*.

But Nicostratus uses it in the singular in *Hesiod* (fr. 11):

a smelt, a small-fry, a *hepsētos*.

Posidippus in *The Girl Who Was Locked Out* (fr. 3):

to buy a *hepsētos*.

¹⁷⁷ Daedalus was a brilliant legendary craftsman, who *inter alia* designed the Labyrinth for King Minos. His name is actually derived from the adjective, rather than the other way around.

c ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐμῇ Ναυκράτει ἐφητοὺς | καλοῦσιν ἰχθύδια ὑπολειπόμενα ἐν ταῖς διώρυξι, ὅταν ὁ Νεῖλος ὑποπαύηται τῆς πληρώσεως.

Ἡπατος ἢ λεβίας. Διοκλῆς τοῦτόν φησι τῶν πετραίων εἶναι. Σπεύσειππος δ' ὅμοιον φάγρω τὸν ἥπατον. ἐστὶ δὲ μονήρης, ὡς φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης, σαρκοφάγος τε καὶ καρχαρόδους, τὴν χροιάν μὲν μέλας, ὀφθαλμοὺς δὲ μείζονας ἢ καθ' αὐτὸν ἔχων, καρδίαν τρίγωνον λευκήν. Ἀρχέστρατος δ' ὁ τῶν δείπνων λοχαγός φησιν |

d καὶ λεβίνην λαβέ, Μόσχε, τὸν ἥπατον, ἐν
περικλύστῳ
Δήλῳ καὶ Τήνῳ.

Ἡλακατῆνες. Μνησίμαχος Ἴπποτρόφῳ·
σκόμβρος,
θυννίς, κωβιός, ἥλακατῆνες.

εἰσὶ δὲ κητώδεις, ἐπιτήδειοι εἰς ταριχείαν. Μένανδρος Κόλακί φησι·

κωβιός, ἥλακατῆνες,
κυνὸς οὐραίου.

Μνασέας δὲ ὁ Πατρεύς φησι· Ἰχθύος δὲ γίνεται καὶ Ἕσυχίας τῆς ἀδελφῆς Γαλήνη καὶ Μύραινα καὶ Ἡλακατῆνες.

178 Cf. 3.108a (citing Hegesander of Delphi), 118b (citing

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In my native city of Naucratis they use the term *hepsētoi* for the little fish left stranded in the ditches when the water-level of the Nile drops.

Hēpatos or *lebias*. Diocles (fr. 232 van der Eijk) says that this is a rockfish, while Speusippus (fr. 12c Tarán) claims that the *hēpatos* is identical with the sea-bream.¹⁷⁸ According to Aristotle (fr. 202), it is solitary, carnivorous, and jagged-toothed; black in color; and has disproportionately large eyes and a white, triangular heart. Archestratus the company-commander of dinners says (fr. 28 Olson-Sens = *SH* 158):

Buy a *lebias* as well, Moschus—that is to say, a
hēpatos—in sea-washed
 Delos and Tenos.

Ēlakatēnes. Mnesimachus in *The Horse-Groom* (fr. 4.34–5):¹⁷⁹

a mackerel,
 a *thunnis*, a goby, *ēlakatēnes*.

These are coarse fish, suitable for salting. Menander says in *The Flatterer* (*Kolax* fr. 7 Körte-Thierfelder):

a goby, *ēlakatēnes*,
 a shark's tail.

Mnaseas of Patras (fr. 48 Cappelletto) says: *Galēnē* ("Calm") is the child of Fish¹⁸⁰ and his sister Peace-and-Quiet, as are *Muraina* ("Moray Eel") and *Ēlakatēnes*.

Dorion); 7.300e (citing the same passage of Speusippus, presumably from *Similar Things*).

¹⁷⁹ Part of a much longer fragment quoted at 9.402f.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. 8.346e (drawing again on Mnaseas).

- e Θύννος. | τοῦτόν φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης εἰσπλεῖν εἰς τὸν Πόντον ἐχόμενον τῆς γῆς· ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ ὀφθαλμῷ βλέπειν, τῷ γὰρ εὐωνύμῳ ἀμβλυωπεῖν. ἔχει δ' ὑπὸ τὰ πτερύγια τὸν λεγόμενον οἴστρον. χαίρει δὲ ἀλέα· διὸ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἄμμον πρόσσεισι. γίνεται δὲ ἐδώδιμος ὅταν τοῦ οἴστρου παύσηται. μίσηται δὲ μετὰ τὴν φωλείαν, ὡς φησι Θεόφραστος, καὶ ἕως μὲν ἂν ἔχη μικρὰ τὰ κνήματα, δυσάλωτος, ὅταν δὲ μείζω γένηται,
- f | διὰ τὸν οἴστρον ἀλίσκεται. φωλεύει δὲ ὁ θύννος καίτοι πολυαίματος ὢν. Ἀρχέστρατος δὲ φησιν·

ἀμφὶ δὲ τὴν ἱερὴν τε καὶ εὐρύχορον Σάμον ὄψει θύννον ἀλισκόμενον σπουδῇ μέγαν, ὃν καλέουσιν ὄρκυν, ἄλλοι δ' αὖ κῆτος. τούτου δὲ θέρευσ χρηρὴ ὀψωνεῖν ἅ πρέπει ταχέως καὶ μὴ περὶ τιμῆς. ||

302 ἔστι δὲ γενναῖος Βυζαντίῳ ἔν τε Καρύστῳ· ἐν Σικελῶν δὲ κλυτῇ νήσῳ Κεφαλοιδίς ἀμείνους πολλῷ τῶνδε τρέφει θύννους καὶ Τυνδαρίς ἀκτῆ. ἂν δέ ποτ' Ἰταλίας ἱερῆς Εἰπώνιον ἔλθης, ἔρπε τότ' εἰς ὕδατος στεφάνους· πολὺ δὴ πολὺ πάντων

b ἐνταῦθ' εἰσὶν ἄριστοι ἔχουσί τε τέρματα νίκης. | οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τῶνδε τόπων πεπλανημένοι εἰσὶν ἐκεῖθεν πολλὰ περήσαντες πελάγη βρυχίου διὰ πόντου·

181 Cf. 7.303c (patently a reference to the same passage in Aristotle).

182 Literally "horsefly"; a crustacean parasite. Cf. 7.302b-c, again citing Aristotle.

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Tuna. Aristotle (fr. 203) claims that this fish follows the shoreline as it enters the Black Sea; it sees out of its right eye, since it is blind in its left.¹⁸¹ It carries what is referred to as an *oistros*¹⁸² beneath its fins. It likes warmth, which is why it approaches the beach. It is edible once it is free of its *oistros*. It mates after it hibernates, according to Theophrastus (fr. 368 Fortenbaugh). As long as its offspring are small, it is difficult to catch; once they grow larger, it can be caught, because of its *oistros*. The tuna hibernates even though it has a large amount of blood. Archestratus says (fr. 35 Olson-Sens = *SH* 165):

Around sacred, spacious Samos you will see
a large tuna caught with effort, a fish the Samians
refer to as
an *orkus*, while others call it a *kētos*. During the
summer, you should buy
the right parts of this fish quickly—don't argue about
the price.
It is good in Byzantium and in Carystus,
but Cephaloedis on the famous island of the Sicels
produces
tuna that are much better than these, as does Cape
Tyndaris.
If you ever travel to Eiponium in holy Italy,
go then to the water's edge; the tuna there are far and
away
the best and take the prize of victory.
The tuna in these other spots have made their way
from there
by crossing many bodies of water, travelling through
the deep sea;

ὥστ' αὐτοὺς ἡμεῖς θηρεύομεν ὄντας ἀώρους.

ὠνομάσθη δὲ θύννος ἀπὸ τοῦ θύνει τε καὶ ὄρμᾶν. ὀρμητικὸς γὰρ ὁ ἰχθύς διὰ τὸ ἔχειν κατὰ τινα ὥραν οἴστρον ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ὑφ' οὗ φησιν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης αὐτὸν ἐξελαύνεσθαι γράφων οὕτως· οἱ δὲ θύννοι καὶ οἱ ξιφίαί οἰστρῶσι περὶ κυνὸς ἐπιτολήν· ἔχουσι
 c γὰρ ἀμφότεροι τηνικαῦτα παρὰ | τὰ πτερύγια οἰονεῖ σκωλήκιον τὸν καλούμενον οἴστρον, ὅμοιον μὲν σκορπίῳ, μέγεθος δ' ἡλίκον ἀράχνης. τοῦτο δὲ ποιεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐξάλλεσθαι οὐκ ἔλαττον τοῦ δελφίνου· καὶ τοῖς πλοίοις πολλάκις ἐμπίπτουσι. καὶ Θεοδωρίδας δὲ φησι·

θύννοι τε † δὴ οἴστρησοντι † Γαδείρων δρόμον.

Πολύβιος δ' ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης ἐν τετάρτῃ καὶ τριακοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν περὶ τῆς ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ Λυσιτανίας χώρας διαλεγόμενός φησιν ὅτι βάλανοί εἰσι κατὰ
 d βάθος ἐν τῇ αὐτόθι θαλάττῃ πεφυτευμένοι, ὧν | τὸν καρπὸν σιτουμένους τοὺς θύννους πιαίνεσθαι. διόπερ οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοι τις λέγων ὅς εἶναι θαλαττίους τοὺς θύννους¹². ἐπαινεῖται δὲ τοῦ ἰχθύος τούτου τὰ ὑπογάστρια, ὡς καὶ Εὐβουλός φησιν ἐν Ἰωνι·

¹² τοὺς θύννους. εἰσὶν γὰρ οἱ θύννοι οἶον ὕες, ἀπὸ τῶν βαλάνων ἀνξανάμενοι ACE: εἰσὶν κτλ. del. Kaibel

¹⁸³ For the etymology, cf. 7.324d–e. The actual origin of the word is unknown.

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so the rest of us hunt them when they are past their prime.

It is called a *thunnos* ("tuna") because it races madly around (*thuein*) and rushes here and there (*horman*).¹⁸³ The fish has a tendency to rush around because it has an *oistros* on its head during part of the year. Aristotle (*HA* 602^a25–31), writing as follows, claims that the *oistros* drives it mad: Tuna and swordfish behave insanely in late summer¹⁸⁴; because at that time they both carry near their fins something that resembles a small worm, known as the *oistros*, which is like a scorpion, but the size of a spider. This parasite makes them leap out of the water as often as dolphins do, and they frequently fall into the fishing-boats. Theodoridas (*SH* 744) as well says:

and tuna † in fact will behave insanely (?) † the race for Gades.

Polybius of Megalopolis in Book XXXIV (8.1–2) of his *History*, in his discussion of the Lusitanian region of Spain,¹⁸⁵ claims that nut-trees grow in the depths of the sea there, and that the tuna grow fat from eating their fruit. It would therefore not be a mistake to refer to tuna as sea-pigs.¹⁸⁶ The underbellies of this fish are regarded highly, as Eubulus says in *Ion* (fr. 36.1–2):¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁴ Literally "when the Dog-Star is rising"; see Olson–Sens on Archestr. fr. 27.1.

¹⁸⁵ Quoted at greater length at 8.330c–1b.

¹⁸⁶ Because pigs were fed acorns (e.g. *Od.* 13.407–10).

¹⁸⁷ A more substantial version of the fragment is quoted at 7.300c.

μετὰ ταῦτα θύννων μεγαλόπλουτ' ἐπεισέπλει
 ὑπογάστρι' ὀπτῶν.

Ἄριστοφάνης Δημνίαις·

οὐκ ἔγγελυν Βοιωτίαν, οὐ γλαῦκον, οὐχὶ θύννου
 ὑπογάστριον.

Στράτις Ἀταλάντη·

e ὑπογάστριον θύννου τι κάκροκῶλιον |
 δραχμῆς ὕειον.

ἐν δὲ Μακεδόσιν·

ὑπογάστριά θ' ἠδέα θύννων.

Ἐριφος Μελιβοία·

† ταῦτα γὰρ οἱ † πένητες οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀγοράσαι
 ὑπογάστριον θύννακος, οὐδὲ κρανίου
 λάβρακος, οὐδὲ γόγγρον, οὐδὲ σηπίας,
 ἅς οὐδὲ μάκαρας ὑπερορᾶν οἶμαι θεούς.

ὅταν δὲ καὶ Θεόπομπος ἐν Καλλαίσχρω λέγῃ·

ἰχθύων δὲ δὴ

ὑπογάστρι', ὦ Δάματερ,

f παρατηρητέον | ὅτι ἐπὶ ἰχθύων μὲν ὑπογάστριον λέγου-
 σι, σπαινίως δ' ἐπὶ χοίρων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων.
 ἄδηλον δ' ἐπὶ τίνων ἔταξε τὸ ὑπογάστριον Ἀντιφάνης
 ἐν τῷ Ποντικῷ, ὅταν λέγῃ·

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After these items, expensive underbellies of roasted tuna came sailing in.

Aristophanes in *Lemnian Women* (fr. 380.2-3):¹⁸⁸

no Boeotian eel, no *glaukos*, no tuna-underbelly.

Strattis in *Atalanta* (fr. 5):¹⁸⁹

a tuna-underbelly and a pig's trotter for a drachma.

And in *Macedonians* (fr. 32):

and delicious tuna-underbellies.

Eriphus in *Meliboea* (fr. 3):

† because these things the † poor people who can't buy
a little tuna's underbelly, or the head
of a sea-bass, or a conger eel, or cuttlefish,
which not even the blessed gods despise, I think.

When Theopompus says in *Callaeschrus* (fr. 24):¹⁹⁰

underbellies
of fish indeed, Demeter!,

it should be noted that they use the term *hupogastrion* ("underbelly") to refer to fish, but rarely to refer to pigs or other animals. It is not clear what creature Antiphanes in *The Man from Pontos* (fr. 190) is using the term "underbelly" in connection with, when he says:

¹⁸⁸ For the fragment, see 7.299b n. ¹⁸⁹ The first verse is quoted again at 9.399c. ¹⁹⁰ Quoted again at 9.399d.

ὅστις ὠψώνηκ' ἴσως
 ταύταις μεγαλείως ταῖς κάκιστ' ἀπολουμέναις
 ὑπογαστρὶ ἔλθων (ὅσα Ποσειδῶν ἀπολέσαι)
 τάττειν τε γεννικῶς παρασκευάζεται
 πλευρὰν μετ' αὐτῶν. ||

303 Ἄλεξις δ' ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐ Ὑφαίνοντι καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν
 τοῦ θύννου ἐπαινῶν φησιν·

(A.) καὶ τοὺς ἀλιέας δ' εἰς τὸ βάραθρον ἐμβαλῶ.
 ἀπελευθέρων ὠψάρια θηρέουσί μοι,
 τριχίδια καὶ σηπίδια καὶ φρυκτούς τινας.

(B.) οὗτος πρότερον † κεφαλὴν εἰ λάβοι θύννου †
 ἐνόμιζεν ἐγχείλεια καὶ θύννας ἔχειν.

ἐπήνον δὲ τῶν θύννων καὶ τὰς κλείδας καλουμένας,
 ὡς Ἀριστοφῶν ἐν Πειρίθῳ·

(A.) καὶ μὴν διέφθαρταί γε τοῦψον παντελῶς· |

b κλείδες μὲν ὄπται δύο παρεσκευασμέναι —

(B.) αἷς τὰς θύρας κλείουσι; (A.) θύννιοι μὲν
 οὖν.

(B.) σεμνὸν τὸ βρῶμα. (A.) καὶ τρίτη Λακωνική.

Ἀντίγονος δ' ὁ Καρύστιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Λέξεως τῷ

191 Where condemned criminals were thrown; cf. 6.237a n.

192 A 1st-declension form of the standard 2nd-declension word for "tuna".

193 For the use of this term, see also 7.315d; it is unclear what part of the tuna is being referred to.

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who's apparently gone
and spent a lot of money on underbellies—
may Poseidon destroy them all!—for these damned
women,
and is making generous preparations to station
a rib alongside them.

Alexis in *Odyseus Weaving* (fr. 159) also speaks highly of
tuna-head, saying:

(A.) And I'm going to throw the fishermen into the
Pit!¹⁹¹

They catch me tiny fish that are only fit for
freedmen—

sardines and cuttlefish and some fry-fish.

(B.) This guy previously † if he got a tuna-head †
thought he had eels and *thunnai*¹⁹²!

They also spoke highly of what are referred to as the tunas'
keys (*kleides*),¹⁹³ for example Aristophon in *Pirithous*
(fr. 7):

(A.) Well, the fish's completely ruined.

A pair of roasted keys are ready—

(B.) The ones people lock doors with? (A.) No—tuna
keys.

(B.) That's fancy food. (A.) and a third key, the
Spartan type.¹⁹⁴

Antigonus of Carystus in his *On Diction* (fr. 56b Dorandi)

¹⁹⁴ "Spartan keys" were more elaborate than the conventional
variety, but little is known about how they worked; see Austin-
Olson on *Ar. Th.* 421-3.

Ποσειδῶνί φησι θύννον θύεσθαι, καθάπερ προείπα-
 μεν. Ἡρακλέων δ' ὁ Ἐφέσιος <θύννον> τὸν ὄρκυόν
 φησι λέγειν τοὺς Ἀττικούς. Σώστρατος δ' ἐν δευτέρῳ
 Περὶ Ζώων τὴν πηλαμίδα θυννίδα καλεῖσθαι λέγει,
 μείζω δὲ γινομένην θύννον, ἔτι δὲ μείζονα ὄρκυον,
 ὑπερβαλλόντως δὲ αὐξανόμενον γίνεσθαι κῆτος. |
 c μνημονεύει δὲ τοῦ θύννου καὶ Αἰσχύλος λέγων·

σφύρας δέχεσθαι κάπιχαλκεύειν μύδρους
 ὡς ἀστενακτὶ θύννος ὡς ἠνείχετο
 ἄναυδος.

καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ·

τὸ σκαιὸν ὄμμα παραβαλὼν θύννου δίκην,
 ὡς τοῦ θύννου τῷ σκαιῷ ὀφθαλμῷ οὐ βλέποντος, ὡς
 Ἄριστοτέλης εἴρηκεν. <Μένανδρος> Ἄλιεῦσι·

καὶ θάλαττα βορβορώδης, ἣ τρέφει θύννον
 μέγαν.

καὶ παρὰ Σώφρονι ὁ θυννοθήρας ἐστίν. < . . . > οὓς
 ἔνιοι θύννους καλοῦσιν, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ θυννίδας.

d Θυννίς. τοῦ ἄρρενος ταύτην φησὶ διαφέρειν | ὁ
 Ἄριστοτέλης τῷ ἔχειν ὑπὸ τῇ γαστρὶ περυγίον, ὃ
 καλεῖσθαι ἀθέρα. ἐν δὲ τῷ Περὶ Ζώων Μορίων διιστάς

195 At 7.297e.

196 Cf. 7.301e with n.

BOOK VII

claims that tuna are sacrificed to Poseidon, as I noted earlier.¹⁹⁵ Heracleon of Ephesus says that Attic authors refer to the *orkunos* as a *thunnos* ("tuna"). But Sostratus in Book II of *On Animals* (cf. *FHG* iv.505) claims that the juvenile tuna (*pēlamus*) is referred to as a *thunnis*; that when it grows larger, it is a *thunnos*; that when it becomes even larger, it is an *orkunos*; and that when it gets extremely big, it becomes a *kētos*. Aeschylus mentions the tuna, saying (fr. 307):

He put up with taking hammers and forging
red-hot iron with as few groans as a mute
tuna.

And elsewhere (A. fr. 308):

turning his left eye to the side, like a tuna,
since tunas lack vision in their left eye, according to Aristotle (fr. 204).¹⁹⁶ Menander in *Fishermen* (fr. 27):

and the murky sea, which nourishes large tuna.

The word *thunnothēras* ("tuna-fisher") is attested in Sophron.¹⁹⁷ . . . which some authorities refer to as *thunnoi*, but the Athenians call *thunnides*.

Thunnis.¹⁹⁸ Aristotle (fr. 205) claims that this fish differs from the *thunnos* ("tuna") in having a small fin beneath its belly which is referred to as an *athera*. In his *On the Parts of Animals* he distinguishes it from the *thunnos*

¹⁹⁷ This is in fact the title of one of the *Men's Mimes* (cited at 7.306d; cf. 7.309c).

¹⁹⁸ A feminine 3rd-declension variant of the masculine 2nd-declension *thunnos* ("tuna").

αὐτὴν τοῦ θύννου φησὶν τοῦ θέρους τίκτειν περὶ τὸν Ἑκατομβαιῶνα θυλακοειδές, ἐν ᾧ πολλὰ γίνεσθαι μικρὰ ψά. καὶ Σπεύσιππος δ' ἐν δευτέρῳ Ὁμοίων δίστησιν αὐτὰς τῶν θύννων καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Μούσαις. Κρατῖνος δ' ἐν Πλούτοις φησίν·

ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι θυννὶς ἢ μέλαινά σοι
καὶ θύννος, ὀρφῶς, γλαῦκος, ἔγχελυσ, κύων.

Ἄριστοτέλης δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἰχθύων ἀγελαῖον καὶ
e ἔκτοπιστικὸν εἶναι τὴν θυννίδα. | Ἀρχέστρατος δ' ὁ
κίμβιξ φησί·

καὶ θύννης οὐραῖον ἔχειν, τὴν θυννίδα φωνῶ
τὴν μεγάλην, ἧς μητρόπολις Βυζαντιόν ἐστιν.
εἶτα τεμῶν αὐτὴν ὀρθῶς ὄπτησον ἅπασαν
ἀλσὶ μόνον λεπτοῖσι πάσας καὶ ἐλαίῳ ἀλείψας,
θερμά τ' ἔδειν τεμάχη βάπτων δριμεῖαν ἐς
ἄλμην·

καὶ ξήρ' ἂν ἐθέλης ἔσθειν, γενναῖα πέλονται,
ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι φνὴν καὶ εἶδος ὁμοία. |
f ἂν δ' ὄξει ράνας παραθῆς, ἀπόλωλεν ἐκεῖνα.

καὶ Ἀντιφάνης δ' ἐν Παιδεραστῇ·

τῆς τε βελτίστης μεσαῖον θυννίδος Βυζαντίας
τέμαχος ἐν τεύτλου λακιστοῖς κρύπτεται
στεγάσμασιν.

BOOK VII

and says that in the summer around Hecatombaion¹⁹⁹ it produces something that resembles a sack, which contains numerous tiny eggs. Speusippus in Book II of *Similar Things* (fr. 13 Tarán) also distinguishes *thunnides* from *thunnoi*, as does Epicharmus in *Muses* (fr. 91). Cratinus says in *Gods of Wealth* (fr. 171.49–50):²⁰⁰

Because I'm your black *thunnis*
and your *thunnos*, sea-perch, *glaukos*, eel, and shark.

Aristotle in his *On Fish* (fr. 206) (reports) that the *thunnis* is schooling and migratory. The meticulous Arcestratus (fr. 38 Olson–Sens = *SH* 168) says:

Get the tail of a *thunnē* as well; I mean the big
thunnis, whose mother-city is Byzantium.

Then cut it up properly and roast it all,
after merely sprinkling it with fine-ground salt and
basteing it with olive oil,
and eat the steaks hot, dipping them into pungent
brine-sauce.

Even if you want to eat them without sauce, they are
still quite good,

like the immortal gods in nature and appearance.

But if you serve them sprinkled with vinegar, they are
ruined.

So too Antiphanes in *The Pederast* (fr. 179):

And a center-cut steak of the finest Byzantine
thunnis is hidden in heaps of shredded beet.

¹⁹⁹ I.e. in midsummer.

²⁰⁰ Most of the second verse is quoted also at 7.299b.

τῆς θυννίδος τὸ οὐραῖον ἐπαινεῖ καὶ Ἀντιφάνης ἐν
Κουρίδι οὕτως·

(A.) ὁ μὲν ἀγρῶ τρεφόμενος
θαλάττιον μὲν οὗτος οὐδὲν ἐσθίει ||
304 πλὴν τῶν παρὰ γῆν, γόγγρον τιῦ ἢ νάρκην τιῦ
ἢ
θύνης τὰ πρὸς γῆς. (B.) ποῖα; (A.) τὰ κάτωθεν
λέγω.
(B.) τούτους φάγοις ἄν; (Γ.) τοὺς γὰρ ἄλλους
νερόμικα
ἀνθρωποφάγους ἰχθύς. (B.) τὸ δεῖνα δ' ἐσθίεις,
† τουτὶ κακόνωτα πλοῖα; † (Γ.) Κωπᾶδας λέγεις;
† ἀγρίως γε † παρὰ λίμνην γὰρ γεωργῶν
τυγχάνω.
τὰ δ' ἐγχείλεια γράφομαι λιποταξίου·
κομιδῆ γὰρ οὐκ ἦν οὐδαμοῦ.

τούτων τῶν ἰαμβείων ἓνια ἔστιν εὐρεῖν καὶ ἐν
b Ἀκεστρίᾳ καὶ ἐν Ἀγροίκῳ | ἢ Βουταλίῳ. Ἰππῶναξ
δέ, ὡς Λυσανίας ἐν τοῖς Περι Ἰαμβοποιῶν παρα-
τίθεται, φησίν·

ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἡσυχῆ τε καὶ ρύδην
θύνην τε καὶ μυσσωτὸν ἡμέρας πάσας
δαινύμενος ὥσπερ Λαμφακηνὸς εὐνοῦχος
κατέφαγε δὴ τὸν κλῆρον· ὥστε χρῆ σκάπτειν
πέτρας ὀρείας σῦκα μέτρια τρώγων

BOOK VII

Antiphanes in *The Female Barber* (fr. 127) recommends the tail-section of the *thunnis*, as follows:

(A.) Because he grew up in the country,
this guy doesn't eat any seafood
except the types caught near land: conger eel, electric
eel, or

the parts of a *thunnē* that are closest to the ground.

(B.) What parts are those? (A.) I mean the lower
parts.

(B.) You'd eat these fish? (C.) Yeah—I think of the
other

kinds as man-eaters. (B.) And you eat the
whatchamacallit,

† this here foul-backed ships? † (C.) Are you talking
about Copaic eels?

† savagely † ; because when I'm working my land
near the lake, I bump into them.

But I'm going to indict the eels for desertion;
they simply weren't anywhere.

Some of these verses can also be found in *The Seamstress* (fr. 24) and *The Rustic* (fr. 12) or *Boutalion* (fr. 69.10–12)²⁰¹. But Hipponax (fr. 36 Degani), as cited by Lysanias in his *On Iambic Poets*, says:

Because one of them, by dining at his ease
and lavishly on *thunna* and garlic-paste
every day, like a Lampsacene eunuch,
gobbled down his inheritance; so he has to dig up
rocks in the mountains, eating a few figs

²⁰¹ Quoted in full at 8.358e.

καὶ κρίθινον κόλλικα, δούλιον χόρτον.

c μνημονεύει δὲ τῶν θυννίδων καὶ Στράτις ἐν | Καλλιπίδῃ.

Ἴππουροι. Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν δευτέρῳ Ζῴων Μορίων τοὺς ἵππούρους φησὶν ὡς τίκτειν, καὶ ταῦτα ἐξ ἐλαχίστων μέγιστα γίνεσθαι, ὡς καὶ τὰ τῆς σμυραίνης· τίκτειν δὲ ἕαρος. Δωρίων δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἰχθύων κορύφαιναν καλεῖσθαι φησι τὸν ἵππουρον. Ἰκέσιος δ' ἵππουρεῖς αὐτοὺς προσαγορεύει. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτῶν Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Ἡβας Γάμῳ.

κῶξύρυγχοι ραφίδες ἵππουροί τε καὶ
χρυσόφρνες.

d Νουμήμιος δ' ἐν Ἀλιευτικῷ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ ἰχθύος διηγούμενος συνεχῆς φησιν αὐτὸν | ἐξάλλεσθαι, διὸ καὶ ἀρνευτὴν ὀνομάζεσθαι. λέγει δὲ οὕτω περὶ αὐτοῦ·

ἢ ἐ μέγαν συνόδοντ' ἢ ἀρνευτὴν ἵππουρον.

Ἀρχέστρατος δὲ φησιν·

ἵππουρος δὲ Καρύστιός ἐστιν ἄριστος.
ἄλλως τ' εὖοιπον σφόδρα χωρίον ἐστὶ Κάρυστος.

Ἐπαίνετος δ' ἐν Ὀψαρτυτικοῖς κορύφαιναν αὐτὸν φησιν ὀνομάζεσθαι.

202 A quotation has perhaps dropped out of the text.

203 Literally "horse-tails".

204 Cf. Arist. fr. 219, cited at 7.312c.

and a barley roll, slave-fodder.

Strattis in *Callipides* (fr. 13) also mentions *thunnides*.²⁰²

Hippouroi.²⁰³ Aristotle in Book II of *Parts of Animals* (fr. 207) says that *hippouroi* produce eggs, which are initially very small but grow extremely large, like the eggs of the moray eel;²⁰⁴ they produce their eggs in the spring. Dorion in his *On Fish* says that the *hippouros* is referred to as a *koruphaina*.²⁰⁵ Hicesius calls them *hippoureis*.²⁰⁶ Epicharmus mentions them in *The Wedding of Hebe* (fr. 45):²⁰⁷

And garfish with pointed jaws, and *hippouroi* and
giltheads.

When Numenius in the *Art of Fishing* describes the character of the fish, he claims that it constantly leaps out of the water and is accordingly referred to as an *arneutēs* ("tumbler"). He says the following about it (*SH* 578.2):²⁰⁸

either a large four-toothed sea-bream or an *arneutes*
hippouros.

But Archestratus (fr. 51 Olson-Sens = *SH* 181) says:

A Carystian *hippouros* is best.
Carystus is in any case a place quite rich in fish.

Epaenetus in the *Art of Cooking* claims that it is referred to as a *koruphaina*.

²⁰⁵ Cf. Epaenetus, below.
declension form of the word.

²⁰⁶ An alternative 3rd-
²⁰⁷ Quoted also, in less com-
plete form, at 7.319d-e; cf. 7.328b.

²⁰⁸ Quoted in more complete form at 7.322f; cf. 7.322b.

e Ἴπποι. μήποτε | τούτους ἰππίδια καλεῖ Ἐπίχαρμος
ὅταν λέγῃ·

κορακῖνοί τε κοριοειδέες,

* * *

πίονες χίππίδια λεία † ψυχει παλοκουρίδες †.

Νουμήγιος δ' ἐν Ἀλιεντικῶ·

ἢ σκάρον ἢ κῶθον τροφήν καὶ ἀναιδέα λίην
χάννους τ' ἐγγέλυάς τε καὶ ἐννυχίην πίτυνον
ἢ μύας ἢ ἵππους ἢ γλαυκὴν κορύδουλιν.

μνημονεύει αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἀντίμαχος ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἐν τῇ
Θηβαΐδι λέγων οὕτως·

f ἢ ὕκην ἢ ἵππον ἢ | ὄν κίχλην καλέουσιν.

Ἰουλίδες. περὶ τούτων Δωρίων ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἰχθύων
φησὶν· ἰουλίδας ἔψειν μὲν ἐν ἄλμῃ, ὀπτᾶν δ' ἐπὶ
τηγάνου. Νουμήγιος δέ·

κείνο δὲ δὴ σκέπτοιο, τό κεν καὶ ἰουλίδα μάργον
πολλὸν ἀποτροπόφτο καὶ ἰοβόλον σκολόπενδραν.

209 Literally "horses".

210 Portions of the first two verses of this fragment are quoted repeatedly in Book 7 (see 7.282a n.), but the third is preserved only here.

211 The individual verses that make up this fragment are quoted also at 7.306c, 309c, 327f.

Hippoi.²⁰⁹ Epicharmus (fr. 41.1, 3)²¹⁰ perhaps refers to these as *hippidia* ("little horses") when he says:

and dark-gleaming
korakinoi;

* * *

and fat, smooth *hippidia* [corrupt].

Numenius in the *Art of Fishing* (SH 572):²¹¹

Or a parrot wrasse or a well-fed, utterly shameless
goby²¹²,
and sea-perch, eels, and a nocturnal *pitunos*,
or mussels or *hippoi* or a gray *korudulis*²¹³.

Antimachus of Colophon as well mentions the fish in his *Thebaid* (fr. dub. 192 Matthews), saying the following:

or a *hukē* or a *hippos* or what people refer to as a
thrush-wrasse.

Rainbow wrasses. Dorion in his *On Fish* says about them: Stew rainbow wrasse in brine-sauce, but roast them in a frying pan.²¹⁴ Numenius (SH 583):

Keep an eye out for that substance, which could
keep a raging rainbow wrasse at a distance,²¹⁵ or a
venom-spouting centipede.

²¹² *kōthos* is a Sicilian dialect-form for common *kōbios*; see 7.309c. ²¹³ Apparently a creeping marine animal (otherwise unidentified). ²¹⁴ Perhaps drawn from Arcestratus.

²¹⁵ The rainbow wrasse was wrongly believed to be poisonous (e.g. Ael. NA 2.44), probably because its name (*ioulos*) resembles *ios* ("poison").

ιούλους δ' <ό> αὐτὸς ὀνομάζει τὰ ἔντερα τῆς γῆς διὰ τούτων· ||

305 καὶ δὲ σύ γε μνήσαιο δελείατος, ὅτι παρ' ἄκρα δῆεις αἰγιαλοῖο γεώλοφα· οἱ μὲν ἴουλοι κέκληνται, μέλανες γαιηφάγοι ἔντερα γαίης. ἤε καὶ ἐρπήλας δολιχήποδας, ὀππότε πέτραι ἀμμώδεις κλύζονται ἐπ' ἄκρη κύματος ἀγῆ, ἔνθεν ὀρύξασθαι θέμεναί τ' εἰς ἄγγος ἀολλεῖς.

b Κίχλαι καὶ κόσσυφοι. διὰ τοῦ ἧ Ἀττικοὶ | κίχλην λέγουσι, καὶ ὁ λόγος οὕτως ἔχει. τὰ γὰρ εἰς -λα λήγοντα θηλυκὰ πρὸ τοῦ ᾗ ἕτερον ᾗ ἔχει, Σκύλλα, σκίλλα, κόλλα, βδέλλα, ἄμιλλα, ἄμαλλα· τὰ δὲ εἰς -λη οὐκέτι, ὀμίχλη, φύτλη, γενέθλη, αἴγλη, τρώγλη. ὁμοίως οὖν καὶ τρίγλη. Κρατῖνος·

τρίγλη δ' εἰ μὲν ἐδηδοκοίη τένθου τινὸς ἀνδρός.

Διοκλῆς δ' ἐν πρώτῳ Ἑγυειῶν, οἱ δὲ πετραῖοι, φησίν, καλούμενοι μαλακόσαρκοι, κόσσυφοι, κίχλαι, πέρκαι, κωβιοί, φυκίδες, ἀλφηστικός. Νουμήμιος δ' ἐν Ἀλιευτικῷ· |

²¹⁶ The term used in the other passages cited here for "rainbow wrasse".

²¹⁷ Clearly from the same source as the discussion of the form of the word *triglē* ("red mullet") offered at 7.324c-d.

²¹⁸ For this form of the name, cf. 7.281f.

²¹⁹ Various portions of the fragment are quoted also at 7.315b, 321b.

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The same author refers to earthworms as *iouloi*²¹⁶ in the following passage (*SH* 584):

But think about what bait you will find
along the high hills of the seashore; one type are
called
iouloi, dark soil-eating earthworms.
Or perhaps, when the sandy rocks are drenched
at the very edge of the breakwater, dig up long-
legged
centipedes from there and put a large number in a
jar.

Thrush-wrasses (*kichlai*) and blackbird-wrasses (*kossu-
phoi*). Attic authors pronounce the word *kichlē*, with
an *ēta*, for the following reason: Feminine nouns that end
in *-la* have another *lambda* before the *lambda*: *Scylla*,
skilla ("squill"), *kolla* ("glue"), *bdella* ("leech"), *hamilla*
("contest"), and *amalla* ("sheaf of grain"). Those that end
in *-lē*, on the other hand, do not: *homichlē* ("mist"), *phutlē*
("generation"), *genethlē* ("family"), *aiglē* ("radiance"), and
trōglē ("mouse-hole").²¹⁷ Similarly, therefore, *triglē* ("red
mullet"). Cratinus (fr. 358):

If a red mullet (*triglē*) were to eat a piece of some
glutton.

Diocles says in Book I of *On Matters of Health* (fr. 229 van
der Eijk): The so-called rockfish have soft flesh: blackbird-
wrasses, thrush-wrasses, perch, gobies, *phukis*-wrasses,
and wrasse (*alphēstikos*)²¹⁸. Numenius in the *Art of Fish-
ing* (*SH* 573.1-2):²¹⁹

c γλαύκους ἢ ὀρφῶν ἔναλον γένος ἢ ἐ μελάγχρων
κόσσυφον ἢ κίχλας ἀλιειδέας.

Ἐπίχαρμος δ' ἐν Ἡβας Γάμῳ.

βαμβραδόνες τε καὶ κίχλαι, λαγοὶ δράκοντές τ'
ἄλκιμοι.

Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ζωικῶν· καὶ τὰ μὲν μελα-
νόστικτα, ὥσπερ κόσσυφος, τὰ δὲ ποικιλόστικτα,
ὥσπερ κίχλη. Παγκράτης δ' ὁ Ἄρκας ἐν Ἔργοις
Θαλαττίοις τὴν κίχλην πολλοῖς ὀνόμασί φησι κα-
λεῖσθαι·

d οἷς ἤδη κίχλην οἰνώδεα, τὴν καλαμῆες |
σαῦρον κικλήσκουσι καὶ αἰολίην, ὀρφίσκον
πιότατον κεφαλῇ.

Νίκανδρος δ' ἐν τετάρτῳ Ἑτεροιοιμένων φησίν·

ἢ σκάρον ἢ κίχλην πολυώνυμον.

Κάπρος καὶ κρέμυς. Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ζῴων
φησί· τὰ δὲ ἀνόδοντα καὶ λεία, ὡς ραφίς. καὶ τὰ μὲν
λιθοκέφαλα, ὡς κρέμυς, τὰ δὲ σκληρότατα, τραχύ-
δερμα, ὡς κάπρος. καὶ τὰ μὲν δίραβδα, ὥσπερ σε-

220 For the fragment, see 7.285a–b n. Whether thrushes or thrush-wrasses are in question is not clear.

221 This term is elsewhere always used of the horse-mackerel.

222 Literally "boar".

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glaukoi or the marine race of sea-perch or a dark-skinned blackbird-wrasse or thrush-wrasses the color of the sea.

Epicharmus in *The Wedding of Hebe* (fr. 53.2):²²⁰

and *bambradones* and thrushes, hares and powerful weever-fish.

Aristotle on his *On Living Creatures* (fr. 208): Also those with black spots, such as the blackbird-wrasse, and those with spots of various colors, such as the thrush-wrasse. Pancrates of Arcadia in *Maritime Occupations* (SH 599) claims that the thrush-wrasse is referred to by many names:

with which now the wine-colored thrush-wrasse,
which those who fish with reed poles
call a *sauros*²²¹ or an *aioliē* ("speckle-fish"), a little
sea-perch
with a very fat head.

Nicander says in Book IV of *Things That Change* (fr. 59 Schneider):

or a parrot-wrasse or a thrush-wrasse with its many names.

*Kapros*²²² and *kremus*. Aristotle says in his *On Animals* (fr. 209): Some, on the other hand, lack teeth and are smooth, for example the garfish, whereas some have stones in their heads, for example the *kremus*, while others have very firm flesh and rough skin, for example the *kapros*. Also some have two stripes, for example the *seserinos*,

e σερίνος, τὰ δὲ πολύραβδα καὶ ἐρυθρόγραμμα, ὡς
 e σάλπη. τοῦ δὲ κάπρου μνημονεύει καὶ Δωρίων | καὶ
 Ἐπαίνετος. Ἀρχέστρατος δὲ φησιν·

αὐτὰρ ἐς Ἀμβρακίην ἐλθὼν εὐδαίμονα χώρην
 τὸν κάπρον, ἂν ἐσίδης, ὠνοῦ καὶ μὴ κατάλειπε,
 κἂν ἰσόχρυσος ἔη, μή σοι νέμεσις καταπνεύση
 δεινὴ ἀπ' ἀθανάτων· τὸ γάρ ἐστιν νέκταρος
 ἄνθος.

τούτου δ' <οὐ> θέμις ἐστὶ φαγεῖν θνητοῖσιν
 ἅπασιν |

f οὐδ' ἐσίδειν ὄσσοισιν, ὅσοι μὴ πλεκτὸν ὕφασμα
 σχοίνου ἐλειοτρόφου κοῖλον χεῖρεσσιν ἔχοντες
 εἰώθασιν δονεῖν ψήφους αἴθωνι λογισμῶ
 κάρθρων μηλείων ἐπὶ γῆν δωρήματα βάλλειν.

Κίθαρος. Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ζῴων ἢ Περὶ
 Ἰχθύων, ὁ κίθαρος, φησί, καρχαρόδου, μονήρης, φυ-
 κοφάγος, τὴν γλῶτταν ἀπολελυμένος, καρδίαν λευκὴν
 ἔχων καὶ πλατεῖαν. Φερεκράτης Δουλοδιδασκάλῳ ||

306 (A.) κίθαρος γεγενῆσθαι ἀγοράζειν κίθαρος ὦν.

(B.) ἀγαθόν γ' ὁ κίθαρος καὶ πρὸς Ἀπόλλωνος
 πάνν.

(A.) ἐκείνο θράττει μ', ὅτι λέγουσιν, ὦ γαθή·
 "ἔνεστιν ἐν κιθάρῳ τι κακόν."

223 Apparently a riddling reference to gambling with dice, knucklebones, and dice-cups at symposia.

224 Cf. Strömberg pp. 62-3.

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while others have numerous stripes and red spots, for example the saupe. Dorion also mentions the *kapros*, as does Epaenetus. And Archestratus (fr. 16 Olson-Sens = *SH* 146) says:

But when you come to the wealthy land of Ambracia,
buy the *kapros*, if you see it, and do not leave it
behind,
even if it costs its weight in gold, lest terrible
resentment blow down
upon you from the immortals. For this is the finest
sort of nectar.
Not all mortals are permitted to eat this fish
or even to see it with their eyes, except those who
hold in their hands
a hollow, twisted weaving made of marsh-raised rush
and are accustomed to whirl pebbles about with
brilliant calculation
and to throw the gifts of sheep's limbs on the
ground.²²³

Kitharos. Aristotle says in his *On Animals* or *On Fish* (fr. 210): The *kitharos* is jagged-toothed and solitary; feeds on seaweed; and has a detached tongue and a flat, white heart. Pherecrates in *The Slave Teacher* (fr. 43):

(A.) I'd become a *kitharos* and was doing my shopping like that.

(B.) The *kitharos* is a good omen; it's closely connected to Apollo.

(A.) What disturbs me, my good woman, is that people say

"There's some trouble in a *kitharos*."²²⁴

Ἐπίχαρμος Ἦβας Γάμψ·

ἦν δ' ὑαινίδες τε βούγλωσσοί τε καὶ κίθαρος
ἐνῆς.

ὅτι δὲ διὰ τὸ ὄνομα ἱερὸς εἶναι νενόμισται τοῦ Ἀπόλ-
λωνος εἶρηκεν Ἀπολλόδωρος. Καλλίας δ' ἢ Διοκλῆς
Κύκλωψι·

κίθαρος ὀπτὸς καὶ βατὶς θύννου τε κεφάλαιον
τοδί,

ὁ δ' Ἀρχέστρατος ἐν τῇ Ἠδυπαθείᾳ· |

b κίθαρον δὲ κελεύω,

ἂν μὲν λευκὸς ἔῃ † στερεός τε πεφύκη,
ἔψειν εἰς ἄλμην καθαρὴν βαιὰ φύλλα καθέντα·
ἂν δ' ἢ πυρρὸς ἰδεῖν καὶ μὴ λίην μέγας, ὅπτᾶν
ὀρθῇ κεντήσαντα δέμας νεοθῆγι μαχαίρη.
καὶ πολλῶ τυρῶ καὶ ἐλαίῳ τοῦτον ἄλειφε·
χαίρει γὰρ δαπανῶντας ὀρῶν, ἔστιν δ'
ἀκόλαστος.

c Κορδύλος. τοῦτον Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶν | ἀμφίβιον
εἶναι καὶ τελευτᾶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ἀναυθέντα. Νου-
μήμιος δ' ἐν Ἀλιευτικῶ κουρύλον αὐτὸν καλεῖ·

225 For the fragment, see 7.288b n.

226 Cf. 7.287a with n.

227 Athenaeus also expresses doubt about the authorship of
the play at 4.140e; 12.524f; 15.667d, but attributes it unambigu-

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Epicharmus in *The Wedding of Hebe* (fr. 58):²²⁵

There were puntazzos and *bouglōssoi*, and a *kitharos* was included.

Apollodorus (*FGrH* 244 F 109b) claims that it is regarded as sacred to Apollo because of its name.²²⁶ Callias (fr. 6.1) or Diocles in *Cyclopes*:²²⁷

a roasted *kitharos*, a skate, and this tuna-head here.

Archestratus in his *Life of Luxury* (fr. 32 Olson–Sens = *SH* 162):

As for the *kitharos*, I urge you,
if it is white † and it is tough,
to stew it, adding a few leaves to a simple brine-
sauce.

But if it is yellowish-brown in appearance and not too
big, roast it
after you punch holes in its body with a straight,
newly-whetted butcher's knife.

Baste this fish with large amounts of cheese and olive
oil;

for it likes to see people spend money, since it lacks
self-control.

Kordulos.²²⁸ Aristotle (fr. 211) reports that this fish is amphibious, but dies when dried out by the sun. Numenius in the *Art of Fishing* (*SH* 574) refers to it as a *kourulos*:

ously to Callias at 7.285e, 286a–b (where a more complete version of this fragment is quoted); 11.487a.

²²⁸ See 7.304e n.

τοῖσί κεν ἄρμενα πάντα παροπλίσσαιο δέλετρα
κουρύλον ἢ πειρήνα ἢ εἰναλίην ἔρπηλαν.

μέμνηται δὲ καὶ κορυδυλίδος¹³ ἐν τούτοις·

ἢ μύας ἢ ἵππους ἢ γλαυκὴν κορύδουλιν.

Κάμμοροι. Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Ἡβας Γάμφ·

ἔτι δὲ πὸτ τούτοισι βῶκες, σμαρίδες, ἀφύαι,
κάμμοροι.

καὶ Σώφρων δ' ἐν Γυναικείοις Μίμοις αὐτῶν μέμνηται.
d ἔστι δὲ καρίδων γένος καὶ | ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων οὕτως
καλοῦνται.

Καρχαρίαί. Νουμήνιος ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης ἐν τῷ Ἄλι-
ευτικῷ φησιν·

ἄλλοτε καρχαρίην, ὅτε δὲ ρόθιον ψαμαθίδα.

Σώφρων Θυνοθήρα· ἃ δὲ γαστήρ ὑμέων καρχαρίας,
ὄκκα τινὸς δῆσθε. Νίκανδρος ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἐν ταῖς
Γλώσσαις τὸν καρχαρίαν καλεῖσθαί φησι καὶ Λάμιαν
καὶ Σκύλλαν.

Κεστρεύς. Ἰκέσιός φησι τῶν δὲ καλουμένων
e λευκίσκων πλεονά | ἔστιν εἶδη. λέγονται γὰρ οἱ μὲν

¹³ κορυδυλίδος Olson: κορυδλίδος ACE

²²⁹ For the fragment, see 7.304e n.

²³⁰ For the frag-

ment, see 7.285a–b n.

²³¹ Quoted in more complete form

at 3.106e.

²³² An unidentified variety of shark.

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for which you might outfit yourself with every type of appropriate bait:

a *kourulos*, a *peirēn*, or a marine centipede.

He also mentions a *korudulis* in the following passage (*SH* 572.3):²²⁹

or mussels or *hippoi* or a gray *korudulis*.

Crayfish. Epicharmus in *The Wedding of Hebe* (fr. 53.1):²³⁰

And also, in addition to them, bogues, picarels, small-fry, and crayfish.

Sophron in the *Women's Mimes* (fr. 25.1)²³¹ mentions them as well. There is also a variety of shrimp that the Romans refer to by this name.

Karchariai.²³² Numenius of Heracleia says in the *Art of Fishing* (*SH* 575):²³³

sometimes a *karchariē*, at other times a noisy *psamathis*.

Sophron in *The Tuna-Fisher* (fr. 45): You've got the appetite of a *karcharia* when you want something! Nicander of Colophon in his *Glossary* (fr. 137 Schneider) claims that the *karcharia* is also referred to as a *Lamia* and a *Scylla*.²³⁴

Gray mullet (*kestreus*). Hicesius says: There are numerous varieties of the so-called *leukiskoi*²³⁵; some are re-

²²³ Quoted also at 7.327a.

²³⁴ After two mythological figures known for snatching and killing human beings, as sharks occasionally do as well.

²³⁵ Seemingly a generic term for gray mullet varieties, including the *kestreus* and the *kephalos*; cf. 8.356b.

κέφαλοι, οἱ δὲ κεστρεῖς, ἄλλοι δὲ χελλῶνες, οἱ δὲ
 μυξῖνοι. ἄριστοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ κέφαλοι καὶ πρὸς τὴν
 γεῦσιν καὶ πρὸς τὴν εὐχυλίαν. δεῦτεροι δ' εἰσὶ τούτων
 οἱ λεγόμενοι κεστρεῖς, ἥσσονες δ' οἱ μυξῖνοι κατα-
 δεέστεροι δὲ πάντων οἱ χελλῶνες¹⁴. εὐχυλοὶ δὲ εἰσι
 σφόδρα καὶ οὐ πολύτροφοι καὶ εὐέκκριτοι. Δωρίων δ'
 ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἰχθύων τῶν κεστρέων τὸν μὲν θαλαττίον
 f ἐκτίθεται, τὸν δὲ ποτάμιον οὐ δοκιμάζει¹⁵. τὸν ἰ δὲ
 κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ κεστρέως ἔχινον σφόνδυλον
 ὀνομάζει διαφέρειν τέ φησι κεφάλου κεφαλῖνον, ὃν
 καὶ βλεψίαν καλεῖσθαι. Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἐν πέμπτῳ
 Μορίων, ἄρχονται μὲν, φησί, κύειν τῶν κεστρέων οἱ
 μὲν χελλῶνες Ποσιδεῶνος μηνὸς καὶ ὁ σαργὸς καὶ ὁ
 μύξος καλούμενος καὶ ὁ κέφαλος· κύουσι δὲ τριάκοντα
 ἡμερῶν. ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν κεστρέων οὐ γίνονται ἐκ συν-
 δυνασμοῦ, ἀλλὰ φύονται ἐκ τῆς ἰλύος καὶ τῆς ἄμμου. ||
 307 ἐν δ' ἄλλοις φησὶν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης· ὁ κεστρεὺς καρχα-
 ρόδους ὧν οὐκ ἀλληλοφαγεῖ, ἅτε δὴ οὐδ' ὄλως σαρκο-
 φαγῶν. ἔστι δὲ ὁ μὲν τις κέφαλος, ὁ δὲ χελλῶν, ὁ δὲ
 φεραῖος. καὶ ὁ μὲν χελλῶν πρὸς τῇ γῇ νέμεται, ὁ δὲ
 φεραῖος οὔ. καὶ τροφῇ χρῆται ὁ μὲν φεραῖος τῇ ἀφ'
 αὐτοῦ γενομένη μύξῃ, ὁ δὲ χελλῶν ἄμμῳ καὶ ἰλύι.
 λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὅτι τὸν γόνον τῶν κεστρέων οὐδὲν τῶν

¹⁴ οἱ χελλῶνες οἱ λεγόμενοι βάκχοι ACE: οἱ λεγόμενοι βάκχοι del. Olson

¹⁵ δοκιμάζει, εἶδη δὲ τοῦ θαλαττίου κέφαλον καὶ νῆστιν ACE (κέφαλος καὶ νῆστις CE): εἶδη κτλ. del. Olson

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ferred to as *kephaloi*, some as *kestreis*, others as *chellōnes*, and yet others as *muxinoi*.²³⁶ The *kephaloi* are the best as regards both flavor and the quality of the *chulē* they produce. After them come what are referred to as *kestreis*; the *muxinoi* are inferior to them; and the *chellōnes* are the worst of all. They produce excellent *chulē*, are not particularly nourishing, and are easily excreted. Dorion in his *On Fish* expresses a preference for the marine variety of *kestreus* and does not recommend the river-variety. He refers to the neck-vertebra found in the *kestreus* as a *sphondulos*, and claims that the *kephalinos* (also known as a *blepsias*) is different from a *kephalos*. Aristotle says in Book V of *Parts* (fr. 212): Of the gray mullets (*kestreis*), the *chellōnes* begin to be pregnant in the month Poseidion,²³⁷ as do the sargue, the so-called *muxos*, and the *kephalos*; they are pregnant for 30 days. Some gray mullets (*kestreis*) do not reproduce sexually, but are born from the muck and the sand. Elsewhere Aristotle says (fr. 213): Although the gray mullet (*kestreus*) is jagged-toothed, it does not eat its own kind, since it is not at all carnivorous. One type is the *kephalos*, another the *chellōn*, and another the *pheraios*. The *chellōn* feeds near the land, but the *pheraios* does not. The *pheraios* feeds on the slime it generates itself, whereas the *chellōn* feeds on sand and muck. It is also said that no other animal consumes the gray mullet's spawn, because

²³⁶ Cf. Plin. *Nat.* 32.77 *bacchi, quem quidem myxona vocant.*

²³⁷ The sixth month of the Attic year, approximately our December.

- θηρίων κατεσθίει, ἐπεὶ <οὐδ' > οἱ κεστρεῖς οὐδένα τῶν ἰχθύων. Εὐθύδημος δ' ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ταρίχων εἶδη κεστρέων εἶναι <κέφαλον καὶ>¹⁶ | σφηνέα καὶ δακτυλέα. καὶ κεφάλους μὲν λέγεσθαι διὰ τὸ βαρυτέραν τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔχειν, σφηνέας δὲ ὅτι λαγαροὶ καὶ τετράγωνοι· τὰ δὲ τῶν δακτυλέων τὸ πλάτος ἔχει ἔλασσον τῶν δυνεῖν δακτύλων. θαυμαστοὶ δ' εἰσὶ τῶν κεστρέων οἱ περὶ Ἄβδηρα ἀλίσκομενοι, ὡς καὶ Ἀρχέστρατος εἶρηκε, δεύτεροι δὲ οἱ ἐκ Σινώπης. καλοῦνται δὲ οἱ κεστρεῖς ὑπὸ τινων πλώτες, ὥς φησι Πολέμων ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ Ποταμῶν. καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος δ' ἐν Μούσαις οὕτως αὐτοὺς ὀνομάζει·
- c αἰολίαι πλώτές | τε κυνόγλωσσοί τ', ἐνῆν δὲ σκιαθίδες.

Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ζῴων Ἡθῶν καὶ Βίων φησὶν, ὅτι ζῶσιν οἱ κεστρεῖς κὰν ἀφαιρεθῶσι τὰς κέρκους. ἀπεσθίεται δ' ὁ μὲν κεστρεὺς ὑπὸ λάβρακος, ὁ δὲ γόγγρος ὑπὸ μυραίνης. ἡ δὲ λεγομένη παροιμία “κεστρεὺς νηστεύει” ἐπὶ τῶν δικαιοπραγούντων ἀκούεται, ἐπειδὴ οὐ σαρκοφαγεῖ ὁ κεστρεὺς. Ἀναξίλας ἐν Μονοτρόπῳ Μάτωνα τὸν σοφιστὴν ἐπὶ γαστριμαργίᾳ διαβάλλων φησί·

¹⁶ add. Schweighäuser

²³⁸ The name appears to be cognate with *sphēn*, “wedge”.

²³⁹ Cf. 3.118b–c (citing Dorion, who is himself presumably dependent on Archestratus).

gray mullets for their part do not eat any fish. Euthydemus of Athens in his *On Saltfish* (claims) that the varieties of gray mullet (*kestreis*) are the *kephalos*, the *sphēneus*, and the *daktuleus*; and that *kephaloi* get their name from the fact that they have quite a heavy head (*kephalē*), while *sphēneis* get theirs from the fact that they are thin and rectilinear,²³⁸ and *daktuleis* are less than two fingers (*daktuloi*) across. The gray mullets caught around Abdera are spectacular, according to Arcestratus (fr. 44 Olson-Sens),²³⁹ and after them come those from Sinope. Some authorities refer to gray mullets as *plōtes* (literally "floaters"), according to Polemon in his *On the Rivers in Sicily* (fr. 82 Preller). Epicharmus in *Muses* (fr. 41.2)²⁴⁰ also uses this name for them:

and variegated *plōtes* and *kunōglossoi*; and maigres
were in there.

Aristotle in his *On the Habits and Lives of Animals* (fr. 214) reports that gray mullets survive even if they lose their tails. The gray mullet is preyed upon by the sea-bass, the conger eel by the moray eel. The proverbial expression "A gray mullet is fasting" (Zenob. 4.52) is applied to people who behave honestly, since the gray mullet is not carnivorous. Anaxilas in *The Recluse* (fr. 20)²⁴¹ accuses the sophist Maton²⁴² of gluttony, saying:

²⁴⁰ Cf. 7.281e–2a (fr. 41.1 attributed to *The Wedding of Hebe*, from which *Muses* was adapted), 288b, 308e (fr. 41.2 attributed to both *The Wedding of Hebe* and *Muses*), 322f (fr. 41.2 attributed to *The Wedding of Hebe*).

²⁴¹ Quoted again at 8.342d.

²⁴² PAA 635840. Cf. 8.342c–3a, where this fragment is quoted again, along with Antiph. fr. 117; 188.

τοῦ κεστρέως κατεδήδοκεν τὸ κρανίον
 ἀναρπάσας Μάτων· ἐγὼ δ' ἀπόλλυμαι. |

d ὁ δὲ καλὸς Ἀρχέστρατός φησι·

κεστρέα δ' Αἰγίνης ἐξ ἀμφιρύτης ἀγόραζε,
 ἀνδράσι τ' ἀστείοισιν ὀμιλήσεις.

Διοκλῆς Θαλάττη·

ἄλλεται δ' ὑφ' ἡδονῆς

κεστρεύς.

ὅτι δὲ εἶδος κεστρέων οἱ νήστες Ἄρχιππος Ἡρακλεῖ
 Γαμουῦντί φησιν·

νήστες κεστρέας, κεφάλους.

Ἄντιφάνης Λάμπωνι·

κεστρεῖς ἔχων, ἀλλ' οὐ στρατιώτας, τυγχάνεις
 νήστες.

Ἄλεξις Φρυγί·

ἐγὼ δὲ κεστρεὺς νήστις οἴκαδ' ἀποτρέχω.

Ἀμειψίας Ἀποκοτταβίζουσιν |

e· (A.) ἐγὼ δ' ἰὼν πειράσομαι
 εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔργον λαβεῖν. (B.) ἦττόν γ' ἂν
 οὔν
 νήστις καθάπερ κεστρεὺς ἀκολουθήσῃς ἐμοί.

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Maton grabbed the head of the gray mullet
and gobbled it down; but I'm ruined.

And the noble Arcestratus (fr. 43 Olson-Sens = SH 174)
says:

Purchase a gray mullet from sea-girt Aegina,
and you will be counted among clever men.

Diocles in *The Sea* (fr. 6):

A gray mullet leaps out of
sheer joy.

Archippus in *Heracles Getting Married* (fr. 12) says that
nēsteis ("fasters") are a variety of gray mullet (*kestreis*):

fasting gray mullets (*nēsteis kestreis*), *kephaloi*.

Antiphanes in *Lampon* (fr. 136):

You happen to have fasting gray mullets (*kestreis*
nēsteis), but not
fasting soldiers.

Alexis in *The Phrygian* (fr. 258):

But I'm a fasting gray mullet (*kestreus nēstis*) running
off home.

Amipsias in *Cottabus-Players* (fr. 1):

(A.) But I'm going to go to
the marketplace and try to find a job. (B.) In that
case you'd
follow me around less like a fasting gray mullet
(*nēstis kestreus*).

Εὐφρων Αἰσχρᾶ·

Μίδας δὲ κεστρεύς ἐστι νῆστις περιπατεῖ.

Φιλήμων Συναποθνήσκουσιν·

ἡγόρασα νῆστιν κεστρέ' ὀπτὸν οὐ μέγαν.

Ἄριστοφάνης Γηρυτάδη·

ἄρ' ἔνδον ἀνδρῶν κεστρέων ἀποικία;
ὥς μὲν γὰρ εἰσι νῆστιδες, γινώσκεται.

Ἄναξανδρίδης Ὀδυσσεῖ·

f τὰ πόλλ' ἄδειπνος περιπατεῖ, | κεστρῖνός ἐστι
νῆστις.

Εὐβουλος Ναυσικάα·

ὃς νῦν τετάρτην ἡμέραν βαπτίζεται
νῆστιν πονηροῦ κεστρέως τρίβων βίον.

Τούτων ποτὲ λεχθέντων ἐπὶ τῷ καλῷ τούτῳ ὄψω
τῶν κυνικῶν τις ἐσπέριος ἐλθὼν ἔφη, ἄνδρες φίλοι, μὴ
καὶ ἡμεῖς¹⁷ ἄγομεν Θεοδοφορίων τὴν μέσην ἄγομεν·
δίκην γὰρ κεστρέων νηστεύομεν; ὥς γὰρ ὁ Δίφιλος
φησιν ἐν Δημνίαις·

¹⁷ ἡμεῖς νηστείαν A: νηστείαν del. Nauck

²⁴³ Depending on the accentuation, the title might instead represent the personal name *Aeschra*.

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Euphro in *The Ugly Girl*²⁴³ (fr. 2):

Midas is a gray mullet (*kestreus*); he walks around fasting (*nēstis*).

Philemon in *Men Who Were Dying Together* (fr. 83):

I bought a small roasted fasting gray mullet (*nēstis kestreus*).

Aristophanes in *Gerytades* (fr. 159):

Is there a colony of gray mullet- (*kestreis*) men inside?
Because it's known that they're fasting (*nēstides*)!

Anaxandrides in *Odysseus* (fr. 35.8):²⁴⁴

A guy generally goes around without having had dinner; he's Fasting Mullet (*Kestrinos Nēstis*).

Eubulus in *Nausicaa* (fr. 68):

who's been in the water for three days now,
living the fasting (*nēstis*) life of a miserable gray
mullet (*kestreus*).

After these remarks were made over this fine seafood, one of the Cynics, who had arrived as the sun was setting, said (adesp. com. fr. *112): My friends, it cannot be that we are celebrating the middle day of the Thesmophoria, can it?²⁴⁵ Because we are fasting like gray mullets. As Diphilus puts it in *Lemnian Women* (fr. 53):²⁴⁶

²⁴⁴ Part of a much longer fragment preserved at 6.242e-f.

²⁴⁵ The *Nēsteia*, which (as the name implies) involved fasting.

²⁴⁶ The second verse is quoted also at 4.156b.

308 οὔτοι δεδειπνήκασιν· ὁ δὲ τάλας ἐγὼ ἢ
κεστρεὺς ἂν εἶην ἔνεκα νηστείας ἄκρας.

ὑπολαβὼν δὲ Μυρτίλος·

καὶ στήτ' ἐφεξῆς,

ἔφη, κατὰ τὸν Θεοπόμπου Ἡδυχάρην·

κεστρέων νῆστις χορὸς

λαχάνοισιν ὥσπερ χῆνες ἐξενισμένοι.

οὐ πρότερον γὰρ τινος μεταλήψεσθε, ἕως ἂν ἡ ὑμεῖς ἢ
ὁ συμμαθητῆς ὑμῶν Οὐλπιανὸς εἶπητε διὰ τί νῆστις
μόνος τῶν ἰχθύων ὁ κεστρεὺς καλεῖται. καὶ ὁ Οὐλ-
πιανὸς ἔφη· ὅτι οὐδὲν δέλεαρ ἐσθίει ἔμφυχον, καὶ
ἀνελκυσθεὶς δ' οὐ δελεάζεται οὔτε σαρκὶ οὔτ' ἄλλω
b τινὶ ἐμφύχῳ, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης ἱστορεῖ φάσκων ἢ ὅτι μὴ
νῆστις ὦν φαῦλός ἐστι καὶ ὅτι ἐὰν φοβηθῆ κρύπτει
τὴν κεφαλὴν ὡς τὸ πᾶν κρύπτων σῶμα. Πλάτων τε ἐν
Ἑορταῖς φησιν·

ἐξιόντι γὰρ

ἄλιεὺς ἀπήνησεν φέρων μοι κεστρέας,
ἰχθύς ἀσίτους καὶ πονηροὺς ἔν γ' ἐμοί.

σὺ δέ μοι εἰπέ, ὦ Θετταλὸν πάλαισμα Μυρτίλε, διὰ τί
οἱ ἰχθύες ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν ἔλλοπεσ καλοῦνται. καὶ ὅς-
ῃτοι διὰ τὸ ἄφωνοι εἶναι· βούλονται γὰρ κατὰ τὴν
c ἀναλογίαν ἴλλοπέσ τινεσ εἶναι ἢ διὰ τὸ εἶργεσθαι
φωνῆσ· ἐστὶ γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἴλλεσθαι εἶργεσθαι, ἢ δὲ ὄψ

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These people have had dinner. But poor me—
I might as well be a gray mullet, given my extreme
fasting (*nēsteia*)!

Myrtilus responded and said:

Stand in a row,

to quote Theopompus' *Hedonist* (fr. 14),

as a fasting (*nēstis*) chorus of gray
mulletts (*kestreis*),
being fêted on vegetables, like geese.

For you are not going to get a taste of anything until you or your fellow-student Ulpian explain why the gray mullet is the only fish referred to as "fasting" (*nēstis*). And Ulpian replied: This is because it does not eat any living bait, and is not attracted by meat or anything else alive when it is caught, according to Aristotle (fr. 215), who claims that it is not very good when it is not fasting, and also that when frightened, it hides its head as if it were concealing its entire body. And Plato says in *Festivals* (fr. 28):

Because as I was going out,
a fisherman carrying gray mullets met me—
miserable, inedible fish in my opinion!

But tell me, my Thessalian grappler²⁴⁷ Myrtilus, why the poets refer to fish as *ellopes*. And he said: Because they are mute, of course. By strict analogy they ought to be *illopes*, since they are excluded from having a voice; for *illesthai* means "to be excluded", while *ops* means "voice". You are

²⁴⁷ Apparently proverbial; cf. 1.11b with n.

φωνή. καὶ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἀγνοεῖς ἔλλοψ τις ὦν. ἐγὼ δὲ
κατὰ τὸν σοφὸν Ἐπίχαρμον μηδὲν ἀποκρινόμενου τοῦ
κυνὸς

τὰ πρὸ τοῦ δὺ ἄνδρες ἔλεγον, εἰς ἐγὼν ἀποχρέω,
καὶ φημί ἔλλοπες διὰ τὸ εἶναι λεπιδωτοί. λέξω δὲ καὶ
μὴ προβληθέντος διὰ τί οἱ Πυθαγορικοὶ τῶν μὲν
ἄλλων ἐμφύχων μετρίως ἄπτονται, τινὰ δὲ καὶ θύου-
τες, ἰχθύων μόνων οὐ γέονται τὸ παράπαν < . . . > ἢ
διὰ τὴν ἐχεμυθίαν. θεῖον γὰρ ἠγοῦνται τὴν σιωπὴν.
d ἐπεὶ | οὖν καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὦ Μολοττικοὶ κύνες, πάντα μὲν
σιωπάτε, πυθαγορίζετε δὲ οὐ, ἡμεῖς μὲν ἄλλους ἰχθυο-
λογήσομεν.

Κορακῖνος. οἱ μὲν θαλάττιοι, φησὶν Ἰκέσιος, ὀλι-
γότροφοι καὶ εὐέκκριτοι, εὐχυλία δὲ μέσοι. Ἀριστο-
τέλης δ' ἐν πέμπτῳ Ζῴων Μορίων συμβαίνει μὲν
φησι σχεδὸν πᾶσι τοῖς ἰχθύσι ταχείαν γίνεσθαι τὴν
αὔξησιν, < οὐχ > ἥκιστα δὲ κορακίνῳ. τίκει δὲ πρὸς τῇ
γῆ καὶ τοῖς βρυώδεσι καὶ δασέσι. Σπεύσιππος δ' ἐν
δευτέρῳ Ὀμοίων ἐμφερεῖς φησὶν εἶναι μελάνουρον
καὶ κορακῖνον. Νουμήμιος δ' ἐν Ἀλιευτικῷ φησι |

248 Presumably the anonymous man referred to at 7.307f, who has missed his chance to re-enter the conversation.

249 Cited again in a very similar context at 8.362d.

250 That is, Myrtilus will now offer a second (contradictory) answer to Ulpian's question.

251 As if the word (the true etymology and meaning of which are alike obscure) were derived from *en lepsi*.

of course ignorant of this, being an *ellops* yourself. But since the Cynic²⁴⁸ has no answer to your question, I, to quote the wise Epicharmus (fr. 161),²⁴⁹

suffice by myself for things two men said
previously²⁵⁰—

and I maintain that they are *ellopes* because they have scales.²⁵¹ And although no one posed the question of why the Pythagoreans consume modest quantities of other living creatures and even sacrifice some, but the one food they absolutely refuse to eat is fish, I will tell you . . . or because of their taciturnity; because they consider silence a divine quality. But since you, my Molossian hounds,²⁵² are keeping quiet about everything, but are not acting like Pythagoreans,²⁵³ I will discuss some additional types of fish.

Korakinos. According to Hicesius, the marine varieties are not very nutritious and are easily excreted, but produce moderately good *chulē*. Aristotle in Book V of *Parts of Animals* (fr. 216) says that it is the case that almost all fish grow rapidly, but especially the *korakinos*. It spawns near the shore in shaded areas full of seaweed. Speusippus in Book II of *Similar Things* (fr. 14 Tarán) claims that the *melanouros* and the *korakinos* resemble one another. Numenius says in the *Art of Fishing* (SH 576):

²⁵² Punning on the word for "Cynic" (literally "Dog-like"); cf. 6.270d. Molossian hounds (also mentioned at 5.201b) were used for herding and hunting, and were famous for their size and savagery (e.g. Arist. HA 608a28–31; Ael. NA 3.2; 10.41).

²⁵³ I.e. because of their outspoken eagerness to consume seafood (cf. 7.308c).

e ῥηιδίως ἔλκοιτο καὶ αἰολίην κορακῖνον.
μήποτ' οὖν καὶ οἱ παρ' Ἐπιχάρμῳ αἰολίαι λεγόμενοι
ἐν Μούσαις κορακῖνοί εἰσι. φησὶ γάρ·

αἰολίαι πλῶτές τε κυνόγλωσσοί τ.'

ἐν δὲ Ἥβας Γάμῳ καὶ τῶν αἰολιῶν μνημονεῖει ὡς
διαφόρων·

μῦες ἀλφησταί τε κορακῖνοί τε κοριοειδέες,
αἰολίαι πλῶτές τε κυνόγλωσσοί τ.'

Εὐθύδημος δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ταρίχων τὸν κορακῖνόν
φησιν ὑπὸ πολλῶν σαπέρδην προσαγορεύεσθαι.
f ὁμοίως δ' εἶρηκε | καὶ Ἡρακλέων ὁ Ἐφέσιος, ἔτι δὲ
Φυλότιμος ἐν Ὀψαρτυτικῷ. ὅτι δὲ καὶ πλατιστακὸς
καλεῖται ὁ σαπέρδης, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ κορακῖνος, Παρ-
μένων φησὶν ὁ Ῥόδιος ἐν πρώτῳ Μαγειρικῆς Δι-
δασκαλίας. Ἀριστοφάνης δ' ἐν Τελμησσεύσι

< . . . > μελανοπτερύγων (ἔφη) κορακῖνων.

ὑποκοριστικῶς δὲ ὠνόμασεν αὐτοὺς Φερεκράτης ἐν
Ἐπιλήσμονι·

309 τοῖς || σοῖσι συνῶν κορακινιδίους
καὶ μαινιδίους.

254 For the fragment, see 7.282a n.

255 As Athenaeus notes at 3.110b, *Muses* was a revised version of *The Wedding of Hebe*.

BOOK VII

Easily might one pull in a variegated (*aioliē*)
korakinos.

Perhaps, therefore, the *aioliai* mentioned by Epicharmus in *Muses* are *korakinoi*. Because he says (fr. 41.2):²⁵⁴

and variegated (*aioliai*) *plōtes* and *kunōglossoi*.

He also refers to *aioliai* as exceptional in *The Wedding of Hebe* (fr. 41.1–2):²⁵⁵

mussels, and wrasses and dark-gleaming raven-fish,
and variegated (*aioliai*) *plōtes* and *kunōglossoi*.

Euthydemus in his *On Saltfish* claims that many authorities refer to the *korakinos* as a *saperdēs*. Heracleon of Ephesus makes the same point, as does Philotimus in the *Art of Cooking* (fr. 20 Steckerl). That the *saperdēs*, like the *korakinos*, is also called a *platistakos*, is asserted by Parmenon of Rhodes in Book I of *Culinary Instructions*.²⁵⁶ Aristophanes in *Telmessians* (fr. 550) used the phrase

of black-winged *korakinoi*.²⁵⁷

Pherecrates in *The Forgetful Man* ²⁵⁸ (fr. 62) referred to them with the diminutive:

spending time with your *korakinidia*
and spratlets.

²⁵⁶ Cf. 3.118b–c, where similar (but more detailed) information is attributed to Dorion.

²⁵⁷ Given the adjective, presumably a reference to the raven (cf. *Ar. Eq.* 1053).

²⁵⁸ Referred to as *The Forgetful Man or The Sea* at 8.365a (simply as *The Forgetful Man* also at 3.111b; 8.308f).

Ἄμφις δ' ἐν Ἰαλέμφῳ

ὅστις κορακῖνον ἐσθίει θαλάττιον
γλαύκου παρόντος, οὗτος οὐκ ἔχει φρένας.

οἱ δὲ Νειλώται κορακῖνοι ὅτι γλυκεῖς καὶ εὖσαρκοι, ἔτι δὲ ἠδέεις, οἱ πεπειραμένοι ἴσασιν. ὠνομάσθησαν δὲ διὰ τὸ διηνεκῶς τὰς κόρας κινεῖν καὶ οὐδέποτε παύεσθαι. καλοῦσι δ' αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς πλάτακας ἀπὸ τοῦ περιέχοντος.

Κυπρίνος. τῶν σαρκοφάγων καὶ οὗτος, ὡς Ἀριστο-
b τέλης ἱστορεῖ, καὶ συναγελαστικῶν. τὴν | δὲ γλώτταν οὐχ ὑπὸ τῷ στόματι, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τὸ στόμα κέκτηται. Δωρίων δ' αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς λιμναίοις καὶ ποταμίοις καταλέγων γράφει οὕτως· λεπιδωτόν, ὃν καλοῦσιν τινες κυπρίνον.

Κωβιοί. πολύχυλοι, ὡς φησιν Ἰκέσιος, εὖστομία
διαφέροντες, εὐέκκριτοι, ὀλιγότροφοι καὶ κακόχυμοι.
διαφέρουσι δ' εὖστομία οἱ λευκότεροι τῶν μελάνων. ἡ
δὲ τῶν χλωρῶν κωβιῶν σὰρξ χαννοτέρα ἐστὶν καὶ
ἀλιπεστέρα· καὶ χυλὸν ἐλάττονα καὶ λεπτότερον ἐνα-
c φιάσι, τροφιμώτεροί τ' εἰσὶ διὰ | τὸ μέγεθος. Διοκλῆς
φησι τοὺς πετραίους αὐτῶν μαλακοσάρκους εἶναι.
Νουμήμιος δ' ἐν Ἀλιευτικῷ κώθους αὐτοὺς καλεῖ·

259 This remark seems more appropriate to the narrator Athenaeus than to Myrtilus, who is supposedly speaking at this point. Cf. 7.312a.

BOOK VII

Amphis in *The Oaf* (fr. 22):

If anyone eats a sea-*korakinos*
when a *glaukos* is available, he's got no sense.

Those who have tried Nile *korakinoi* know that they are sweet and meaty, as well as delicious.²⁵⁹ They got their name from the fact that they constantly move their eyes (*koras kinein*) without ever stopping.²⁶⁰ The inhabitants of Alexandria refer to them as *platakes*, from the generic term.²⁶¹

Carp. According to Aristotle (fr. 217), this is one of the carnivorous, schooling fish. Its tongue²⁶² is not located inside its mouth, but beneath it. Dorion lists it among the marsh- and river-fish, writing as follows: *lepidōtos*, which some authorities refer to as a carp.

Gobies. According to Hicesius, they produce a large amount of *chulē*, are particularly easy on the stomach and easily excreted, provide little nourishment, and produce an unhealthy juice. The lighter-colored varieties are easier on the stomach than the darker varieties. The flesh of yellow gobies is spongier and contains less fat; they also release juice that is lower in quality and less substantial, but are more nourishing because of their size. Diocles (fr. 231 van der Eijk) says that those that are rockfish have soft flesh. Numenius in the *Art of Fishing* (SH 572.1)²⁶³ refers to them as *kōthoi*:

²⁶⁰ Cf. 7.287b.

²⁶¹ Cf. the use of the term *platistakos* discussed at 7.308f with n.

²⁶² Actually its palate; see Thompson, *Fishes*, p. 135.

²⁶³ Quoted also at 7.304e, where see n.

ἢ σκάρου ἢ κῶθου τροφήν καὶ ἀναιδέα λίην.

καὶ Σώφρων ἐν τῷ Ἀγροιώτῃ κωθωνοπλῦται φησὶ καὶ τὸν τοῦ θυννοθήρα δὲ υἱὸν ἴσως ἀπὸ τούτου Κωθωνίαν προσηγόρευσε. Σικελιώται δ' εἰσὶν οἱ τὸν κωβιὸν κῶθωνα καλοῦντες, ὡς Νίκανδρός φησιν ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἐν ταῖς Γλώτταις καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ d Σώφρονος. Ἐπίχαρμος | δ' ἐν Ἑβας Γάμφ κωβιοὺς ὀνομάζει.

τρυγόνες τ' ὀπισθόκεντροι καὶ μάλ' ἄδροι κωβιοί.

Ἀντιφάνης δ' ἐν Τίμωνι ἐπαινῶν τοὺς κωβιοὺς καὶ ὀπόθεν εἰσὶ κάλλιστοι δηλοῖ διὰ τούτων.

ἦκω πολυτελῶς ἀγοράσας εἰς τοὺς γάμους,
λιβανωτὸν ὀβολοῦ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ταῖς θεαῖς
πάσαισι, τοῖς δ' ἦρωσι τὰ ψαῖστ' ἀπονεμῶ.
ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς θνητοῖς ἐπριάμην κωβιοὺς.
ὡς προσβαλεῖν δ' ἐκέλευσα τὸν τοιχωρῦχον, |
e τὸν ἰχθυοπώλην, "προστίθημι", φησί, "σοὶ
τὸν δῆμον αὐτῶν· εἰσὶ γὰρ Φαληρικοί."
ἄλλοι δ' ἐπῶλουν, ὡς ἔοικ', Ὀτρυνικούς.

264 Referred to as *The Fisherman and the Farmer* at 3.86a; 7.288a.

265 What were thrown in must have been Phaleric small-fry; cf. 7.285b-d.

266 A village in Attica.

BOOK VII

or a parrot-wrasse or a nourishing, utterly shameless
kōthos.

Sophon in *The Farmer*²⁶⁴ (fr. 44) also uses the word *kōthōnoplutai* ("kōthōn-washers"), and perhaps derives the name of the son of the tuna-fisherman (*thunnothēres*), Cothonias, from here. It is the Sicels who refer to the goby as a *kōthōn*, according to Nicander of Colophon in his *Glossary* (fr. 141 Schneider) and Apollodorus in his *On Sophron* (FGrH 244 F 217). Epicharmus in *The Wedding of Hebe* (fr. 59) calls them gobies (*kōbioi*):

and sting-rays with spines in their tails, and
immensely fat gobies (*kōbioi*).

Antiphanes in the following passage from *Timon* (fr. 204) speaks highly of gobies and specifies where the best ones are from:

I've returned, after making some expensive purchases
for the wedding feast.

I'm allowing an obol's worth of frankincense for the
gods and all

the goddesses, and honey-and-barley cakes for the
heroes;

but for us mortals I bought gobies.

When I asked that crook the fish-seller

to throw in something else, he said: "I'm adding a few
of

their demesmen for you—because they're from
Phaleron."²⁶⁵

The others were apparently selling the type that
comes from Otrune!²⁶⁶

Μένανδρος Ἐφεσίω·

τῶν ἰχθυοπωλῶν ἀρτίως τις τεττάρων
δραχμῶν ἐτίμα κωβιοὺς < . . . > σφόδρα.

ποταμίων δὲ κωβίων μνημονεύει Δωρίων ἐν τῷ Περὶ
Ἰχθύων.

Κόκκυγες. Ἐπίχαρμος·

κἀγλαοὶ κόκκυγες, οὓς παρσχίζομε
f πάντας, ἢ ὀπτᾶντες δὲ χἀδύναντες αὐτοὺς
χναύομες.

καὶ Δωρίων δὲ φησι δεῖν αὐτοὺς ὀπτᾶν παρασχί-
σαντας κατὰ ῥάχιν καὶ παρηδύνειν χλόῃ, τυρῶ, ῥοιῶ,
σιλφίω, ἀλί, ἐλαίω· στρέφοντα δὲ ἀλείφειν καὶ ὑπο-
πάσσειν ἀλλὶ ὀλίγω, ἀφελόντα δὲ ὄξει ῥᾶναι. ἐρυθρὸν
δ' αὐτὸν καλεῖ ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος Νουμήμιος
οὕτως·

ἄλλοτ' ἐρυθρὸν
κόκκυγ' ἢ ὀλίγας πεμφηρίδας, ἄλλοτε σαῦρον. ἢ

310 Κύων καρχαρίας. περὶ τούτων φησὶν Ἀρχέστρατος
ὁ τῶν ὀψοφάγων Ἡσίοδος ἢ Θεόγνις· ἦν δὲ καὶ ὁ
Θεόγνις περὶ ἡδυνάθειαν, ὡς αὐτὸς περὶ αὐτοῦ φησὶν
διὰ τούτων·

²⁶⁷ Quoted again, along with portions of two additional
verses. at 9.385f.

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Menander in *The Ephesian* (fr. 151.3-4):²⁶⁷

One of the fishsellers was just now charging
four drachmas for extremely . . . gobies.

Dorion in his *On Fish* mentions river-gobies.

Gurnards. Epicharmus (fr. 122.7-8):²⁶⁸

And shining gurnards, all of which we're splitting
down the middle; and we're roasting and seasoning
them, and gnawing on them.

Dorion²⁶⁹ also claims that you ought to split them along the backbone and then roast them, seasoning them with herbs, cheese, pomegranate, silphium, salt, and olive oil. Turn them over, pour oil on them, and season them with a little salt; and after you remove them from the fire, sprinkle them with vinegar. Numenius refers to the fish as red—because it is—as follows (*SH* 585):

sometimes a red
gurnard or a few *pemphērides*, at other times a horse-
mackerel.

Saw-toothed shark. Arcestratus, the Hesiod or Theognis of gourmands, discusses these.²⁷⁰ Theognis too was interested in living luxuriously, as he says in reference to himself in the following passage (997-1002):

²⁶⁸ The first seven verses of the fragment are quoted at 7.277f-8a.

²⁶⁹ Perhaps summarizing Arcestratus.

²⁷⁰ The passage is cited below.

- τῆμος δ' Ἡέλιος μὲν ἐν αἰθέρι μώνυχας ἵππους
 ἄρτι πάραυτ' ἐλάοι μέσσατον ἦμαρ ἔχων,
 δείπνον δὴ λήγοιμεν, ὅπου τινα θυμὸς ἀνώγοι,
 παντοίων ἀγαθῶν γαστρὶ χαριζόμενοι, |
 b χέρνιβα δ' αἶψα θύραζε φέροι, στεφανώματα δ'
 εἴσω
 εὐειδῆς ῥαδιναῖς χερσὶ Λάκαινα κόρη.

οὐδὲ τὸ παιδεραστεῖν ἀπαναίνεται ὁ σοφὸς οὗτος.
 λέγει γοῦν·

εἰ θείης Ἀκάδημε ἐφίμερον ὕμνον αἰεῖδεν,
 ἄθλον δ' ἐν μέσσω παῖς καλὸν ἄνθος ἔχων
 σοὶ τ' εἶη καὶ ἐμοὶ σοφίης πέρι δηρισάντων,
 γνοίης χ' ὅσσον ὄνων κρέσσονες ἡμίονοι.

- c ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀρχέστρατος ἐν ταῖς καλαῖς ταύταις | ὑπο-
 θήκαις παραινεῖ·

ἐν δὲ Τορωναίων ἄστει τοῦ καρχαρία χρῆ
 τοῦ κυνὸς ὀψωνεῖν ὑπογάζτρια κοῖλα κάτωθεν,
 εἶτα κυμίνω ταῦτα πάσας ἀλὶ μὴ συχνῶ ὄπτα.
 ἄλλο δ' ἐκέισε, φίλη κεφαλή, μηδὲν

- προσενέγκης,
 εἰ μὴ γλαυκὸν ἔλαιον. ἐπειδὰν δ' ὄπτα γένηται, |
 d ἦδη τριμμάτιόν τε φέρειν καὶ ἐκεῖνα μετ' αὐτοῦ.

271 The final five verses of this fragment, along with four more, are quoted again at 4.163c–e.

BOOK VII

While the sun is just now driving his solid-hoofed
horses sideways
through the upper air, occupying the mid-point of his
daily journey,
let us bring our dinner to a close whenever anyone's
heart urges him to do so,
favoring our bellies with good food of every sort;
and let a pretty Spartan girl immediately carry the
washing-water
out and bring in garlands with her soft hands.

Nor does this wise man decline to engage in pederasty. He
says, for example (993-6):

If you were to propose, Academus, that we sing a
lovely song,
and that a pretty young boy be set between us as a
prize
for you and me, as we compete in wisdom,
you would find out how much better mules are than
donkeys.

Archestratus, then, in those lovely *Counsels* of his, advises
(fr. 24.1-17 Olson-Sens = *SH* 154.1-17):²⁷¹

In the Toronaeans' city, you ought to buy
hollow lower under-bellies of the saw-tooth shark,
then sprinkle them with cumin and roast them with a
little salt.

Do not add anything else, my friend,
except gray olive oil. And once they are roasted,
then serve a dipping-sauce and them along with it.

ὄσσα δ' ἂν ἐν λοπάδος κοίλης πλευρώμασιν
ἔψης,

† μήθ' ὕδατος πηγὴν μήτ' οἴνινον ὄξος
συμμίξῃς, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ μόνον κατάχευον ἔλαιον
ἀνχμηρόν τε κύμινον, ὁμοῦ δ' εὐώδεα φύλλα.
ἔψε δ' ἐπ' ἀνθρακιῆς φλόγα τούτοις μὴ

προσενεγκῶν

καὶ κίνει πυκινῶς, μὴ προσκαυθέντα λάθῃ σε.
ἀλλ' οὐ πολλοὶ ἴσασι βροτῶν τόδε θείον ἔδεσμα |
e οὐδ' ἔσθειν ἐθέλουσιν ὅσοι κουφαττελεβῶδη
ψυχὴν κέκτηνται θνητῶν εἰσὶν τ' ἀπόπληκτοι,
ὡς ἀνθρωποφάγου τοῦ θηρίου ὄντος. ἅπας δὲ
ἰχθύς σάρκα φιλεῖ βροτέην, ἅν που περικύρση.

τούτου τοῦ ἰχθύος μέρος ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων
καλούμενος θυρσίω, ἥδιστος ἂν καὶ τρυφερώτατος.

Δάβρακες. οὗτοι, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης ἱστορεῖ, μονή-
ρεις εἰσὶ καὶ σαρκοφάγοι γλώσσαν δ' ἔχουσιν ὀστώ-
δη καὶ προσπεφυκυῖαν, καρδίαν τρίγωνον. ἐν δὲ πέμ-
f πτω Ζῶων Μορίων τίκτειν αὐτοὺς καθάπερ | τοὺς
κεστρεῖς καὶ χρυσόφρνας μάλισθ' οὗ ἂν ποταμοὶ
ρέωσι. τίκτουσι δὲ χειμῶνος καὶ τίκτουσι δῖς. Ἰκέσιος
δέ φησιν ὅτι οἱ λάβρακες εὐχυλοὶ εἰσὶ καὶ οὐ πολύ-
τροφοι, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἔκκρισιν ἤσσονες, εὐστομία δὲ
πρῶτοι κρίνονται. ὠνομάσθη δ' ὁ ἰχθύς παρὰ τὴν

272 Latin *thursio*; Plin. *Nat.* 9.34 (the only other attestation of the word) identifies it as a fish that resembles the dolphin.

BOOK VII

As for the parts you stew within the sides of a hollow
casserole-dish,

† mix no spring of water nor wine-vinegar
together with them, but merely pour pure olive oil
and dried cumin down over them, and fragrant herbs
as well.

Stew them on the coals, keeping the flame away from
them

and stirring constantly, so they do not burn without
your noticing.

But few mortals know about this divine food,
and those who have the sense of a foolish locust
and are insane refuse to consume it,
on the ground that this animal eats human beings.

But every
fish likes mortal flesh, if it encounters it somewhere.

What the Romans refer to as a *thursiōn*²⁷² is a cut of this
fish; it is extremely delicious and luxurious.

Sea-bass. Aristotle (fr. 218) reports that these fish are
solitary and carnivorous, and have a bony tongue firmly at-
tached to their mouth, and a triangular heart. In Book V of
Parts of Animals he says that they spawn in particular
where rivers are flowing, just as gray mullets and gilthead
do.²⁷³ They spawn in winter and do so twice. Hicesius
states that sea-bass produce good *chulē*, but are not partic-
ularly nourishing; are excreted with more difficulty; and
are considered the best-tasting variety there is. The fish
got its name because of its greed (*labrotēs*).²⁷⁴ People

²⁷³ Cf. 7.328b.

²⁷⁴ Whence supposedly *labrax*, "sea-bass".

λαβρότητα. λέγεται δὲ ὅτι καὶ συνέσει τῶν ἄλλων
 ἰχθύων διαφέρει, ἐπινοητικὸς ὢν τοῦ διασώζειν ἑαυ-
 τόν. διὸ καὶ ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς Ἀριστοφάνης φησί· ||

311 λάβραξ ὁ πάντων ἰχθύων σοφώτατος.

Ἄλκαϊος δ' ὁ μελοποιὸς μετέωρόν φησιν αὐτὸν νήχε-
 σθαι. ὁ δὲ σοφὸς Ἀρχέστρατος·

λάμβανε δ' ἐκ Γαίσιωνος, ὅταν Μίλητον ἴκηαι,
 κεστρέα τὸν κέφαλον καὶ τὸν θεόπαιδα λάβρακα·
 εἰσὶ γὰρ ἐνθάδ' ἄριστοι, ὁ γὰρ τόπος ἐστὶ
 τοιοῦτος.

πιότεροι δ' ἕτεροι πολλοὶ Καλυδῶνί τε κλεινῇ
 Ἄμβρακίῃ τ' ἐνὶ πλουτοφόρῳ Βόλβῃ τ' ἐνὶ
 λίμνῃ, |

b ἀλλ' οὐκ εὐώδη γαστρὸς κέκτηνται ἀλοιφήν
 οὐδ' οὕτω δριμύειαν. ἐκεῖνοι δ' εἰσὶν, ἑταῖρε,
 τὴν ἀρετὴν θαυμαστοί. ὅλους δ' αὐτοὺς
 ἀλεπίστους

ὀπτήσας μαλακοὺς χρηστῶς προσένευκε δι'
 ἄλμης.

μηδὲ προσέλθη σοί ποτε τοῦψον τοῦτο ποιοῦντι
 μήτε Συρακόσιος μηθεὶς μήτ' Ἰταλιώτης·

οὐ γὰρ ἐπίστανται χρηστοὺς σκευαζέμεν ἰχθύς, |

c ἀλλὰ διαφθείρουσι κακῶς τυροῦντες ἅπαντα
 ὄξει τε ραίνοντες ὑγρῶ καὶ σιλφίου ἄλμῃ.

275 See 7.311d-e.

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claim that it is more intelligent than any other fish, since it can work out how to save itself. The comic poet Aristophanes (fr. 612) accordingly says:

A sea-bass, the wisest fish there is.

The lyric poet Alcaeus (test. 433 Voigt) claims that it swims near the surface of the water. The wise Arcestratus (fr. 46 Olson-Sens = SH 176):

When you reach Miletus, try to buy the *kephalos*-
variety of gray mullet
and the divinely-sired sea-bass that come from the
Gaison²⁷⁵;
for they are the best there, since that is the nature of
the place.

There are many other, fatter ones in famous Calydon
and in wealth-producing Ambracia and Lake Bolbe,
but their belly-fat is not as fragrant
or as pungent. The Milesian variety, on the other
hand, my friend,
are of amazingly high quality. Roast them whole and
unscaled,
but carefully, since they are tender, and serve them
drenched in brine-sauce.

Let no Syracusan or Italian
come near you as you are making this dish;
for they do not understand how to prepare top-
quality fish,
but completely ruin them, by covering everything
they cook with cheese
and sprinkling it with liquid vinegar and silphium-
flavored brine-sauce.

τῶν δὲ πετραίων ἰχθυδίων τῶν τρισκαταράτων
 πάντων εἰσὶν ἄριστοι ἐπισταμένως διαθεῖναι
 καὶ πολλὰς ἰδέας κομφῶς παρὰ δαιτὶ δύνανται
 ὄψαρίων τεύχειν γλίσχρων ἠδυσματολήρων.

καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης δ' ἐν Ἰππεύσι μνημονεύει ὡς δια-
 φόρων γινομένων τῶν περὶ τὴν Μίλητον λαβράκων, |
 d ὅταν οὕτως λέγῃ·

ἀλλ' οὐ λάβρακας καταφαγῶν Μιλησίους
 κλονήσεις.

ἐν δὲ Δημύαις·

οὐ κρανίον λάβρακος, οὐχὶ κάραβον πρίασθαι,
 ὡς διαφόρου ὄντος τοῦ τῶν λαβράκων ἐγκεφάλου
 καθάπερ καὶ τοῦ τῶν γλαύκων. καὶ Εὐβουλος δ' ἐν
 Τιτθαῖς φησι·

μὴ πολυτελῶς, ἀλλὰ καθαρείως ὅ τι ἂν ᾖ,
 ὀσίας ἔνεκα, σηπίδι ἢ τευθίδια,
 πλεκτάνια μικρὰ πουλύποδος, νῆστίν τινα,
 μήτραν, χόρια, πύον, λάβρακος κρανίον
 εὐμέγεθες.

e ὁ δὲ Γαίσων, οὗ Ἀρχέστρατος μνημονεύει, ἢ | Γαι-
 σωνίς λίμνη ἐστὶ μεταξὺ Πριήνης καὶ Μιλήτου ἠνω-

276 For the fragment, see 7.299b n.

277 Quoted at 7.311a; that the note is separated from the pas-

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They are the very best, however, at preparing
some thrice-damned rockfish knowledgeable,
and at a feast they are capable of cleverly devising
many types
of sticky little dishes full of seasonings and other
nonsense.

Aristophanes in *Knights* (361) also refers to the sea-bass caught around Miletus as exceptionally good, when he says the following:

But you won't go on the rampage after you eat
Milesian sea-bass!

And in *Lemnian Women* (fr. 380.1):²⁷⁶

to buy no sea-bass head, no crayfish,

since sea-bass brain is as outstanding as *glaukos* brain.
Eubulus too says in *Wet-Nurses* (fr. 109):

(A.) Don't be extravagant; keep it simple, (and buy)
whatever's available—
for appearances' sake: little squid and cuttlefish,
tiny octopus tentacles, a jejunum,
a womb, a fetal-envelope pie, beestings, a nice big
sea-bass
head.

The Gaison mentioned by Arcestratus (fr. 46.1 Olson—
Sens = *SH* 176.1)²⁷⁷ is the Gaisonian marsh that connects
to the sea between Priene and Miletus, according to

sage it glosses reflects Athenaeus' technique of roughly weaving
several sources together.

μένη τῇ θαλάσση, ὡς Νεάνθης ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν. Ἐφορος δ' ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ ποταμὸν εἶναί φησι τὸν Γαῖσωνα περὶ Πριήνην, ὃν εἰσερεῖν εἰς λίμνην. Ἄρχιππος ἐν Ἰχθύσι μνημονεύων τῶν λαβράκων φησίν·

Αἰγύπτιος μιαρῶτατος τῶν ἰχθύων κάπηλος,
Ἐρμαιοσ, ὃς βία δέρων ῥίνας γαλεοῦσ τε πωλεῖ
καὶ τοὺσ λάβρακασ ἐντερεύων.

f Λάτος. τοῦτον κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν | κράτιστον εἶναί φησιw Ἄρχέστρατοσ λέγων οὕτωσ·

τὸν δὲ λάτον τὸν κλεινὸν ἐν Ἰταλίῃ πολυδένδρω
ὁ Σκυλλαῖοσ ἔχει πορθμόσ, θανμαστὸν ἔδεσμα.

οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ Νεῖλῳ ποταμῷ γινόμενοι λάτοι τὸ μέγεθοσ εὐρίσκονται καὶ ὑπὲρ διακοσῖασ λίτρασ ἔχοντεσ. ὁ δὲ ἰχθύσ οὗτοσ λευκότατοσ ὢν καὶ ἥδιτοσ ἐστί πάντα τρόπον σκευαζόμενοσ, παραπλήσιοσ ὢν τῷ κατὰ τὸν
312 Ἰστρον γινομένῳ γλάνιδι. || φέρει δ' ὁ Νεῖλοσ καὶ ἄλλα γένη πολλὰ ἰχθύων καὶ πάντα ἥδιστα, μάλιστα δὲ τὰ τῶν κορακίνων· πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ τούτων γένη. φέρει δὲ καὶ τοὺσ μαιώτασ καλουμένουσ, ὢν μνημονεύει Ἄρχιπποσ ἐν Ἰχθύσι διὰ τούτων·

τοὺσ μαιώτασ καὶ σαπέρδασ καὶ γλάνιδασ.

εἰσὶ δὲ πολλοὶ περὶ τὸν Πόντον, φέροντεσ τὴν ὀνομασίαν ἀπὸ τῆσ λίμνησ τῆσ Μαιώτιδοσ. Νειλῳοὶ δ' εἰσὶν

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Neanthes of Cyzicus in Book VI of his *History of Greece* (FGrH 84 F 3). But Ephorus in Book V (FGrH 70 F 48) claims that the Gaison is a river near Priene that flows into the marsh. Archippus in *Fish* (fr. 23) mentions sea-bass, saying:²⁷⁸

Hermaeus the Egyptian, the vilest fish-seller,
who violently fillets monkfish and dogfish, and
guts sea-bass, and sells them.

Latos. Archestratus claims that this fish is best around Italy, putting it thus (fr. 52 Olson-Sens = SH 182):

In Italy rich in trees Scylla's strait contains
the famous *latos*, which is amazing food.

The *latoi* found in the Nile River²⁷⁹ are known to weigh over 200 *litrai*.²⁸⁰ This fish is bright white, and is extremely delicious no matter how it is prepared; it resembles the sheatfish found in the Istrus. The Nile also produces many other types of fish, all of them delicious, especially the *korakinoi*, of which there are numerous varieties.²⁸¹ In addition, it produces what are referred to as *maiōtai*, which Archippus in *Fish* (fr. 26) mentions in the following passage:

the *maiōtai*, *saperdai*, and sheatfish.

Large quantities of these are found near the Black Sea; they get their name from Lake Maeotis.²⁸² Nile fish—if my

²⁷⁸ Quoted also, in slightly more complete form, at 6.227a.

²⁷⁹ Apparently a reference to the Nile perch.

²⁸⁰ About 15 pounds. ²⁸¹ Cf. 7.309a.

²⁸² The Sea of Azov.

ἰχθύες, εἴ γ' ἔτι μνημονεύειν δύναμαι πολυέτη τὴν ἀποδημίαν ἔχων, νάρκη μὲν ἢ ἠδίστη, χοῖρος, σίμος, b φάγρος, ὀξύρυγχος, | ἀλλάβης, σίλουρος, συνοδοντίς, ἐλέωτρις, ἔγγελυς, θρίσσα, ἄβραμις, τύφλη, λεπιδωτός, φῦσα, κεστρεύς. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι οὐκ ὀλίγοι.

Λειόβατος. οὗτος καλεῖται καὶ ρίνη. ἐστὶ δὲ λευκόσαρκος, ὡς Ἐπαίνετος ἐν Ὀψαρτυτικῷ. Πλάτων Σοφισταῖς·

κἂν ἦ γαλεός, κἂν λειόβατος, κἂν ἔγγελυς.

Μύρραινοι. Θεόφραστος ἐν τῷ¹⁸ Περὶ τῶν Ἐν τῷ Ξηρῷ Διαιτωμένων ἔγγελύν φησιν καὶ μύρραιναι πολλὸν χρόνον δύνασθαι ἔξω τοῦ ὑγροῦ ζῆν διὰ τὸ μικρὰ c ἔχειν βράγχια καὶ ὀλίγον | δέχεσθαι τὸ ὑγρόν. τροφίμους δ' αὐτὰς εἶναι φησιν ὁ Ἰκέσιος οὐχ ἦττον τῶν ἐγγέλεων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν γόγγρων. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἐν δευτέρῳ Ζῶων Μορίων ἐκ μικροῦ φησιν αὐτὴν ταχέϊαν τὴν αὔξησιν λαμβάνειν καὶ εἶναι καρχαρόδον τίκτειν τε πᾶσαν ὥραν μικρὰ ψά. Ἐπίχαρμος δ' ἐν Μούσαις χωρὶς τοῦ ὄ μυρραίνας αὐτὰς καλεῖ οὕτωςι λέγων·

οὔτε < . . . > γόγγρων τι παχέων οὔτε μυρραίναν ἀπῆς.

¹⁸ τῷ ε' (i.e. πέμπτῳ) A: ε' del. Casaubon

²⁸³ See 7.309a n.

²⁸⁴ A different fish from the sea-bream, with which it shares a name.

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memory still serves me, given that I have been out of the country for many years²⁸³—include: electric ray (the tastiest of them all), schall, *sīmos*, *phagros*,²⁸⁴ *oxurhunchos* (“pointed jaw”),²⁸⁵ *allabēs*,²⁸⁶ *silouros*,²⁸⁷ shilbe, *eleōtris*, eel, herring, *abramis*, *tuphlē*, *lepidōtos*, globefish, and gray mullet. There are also many others.

Leiobatos.²⁸⁸ This is also referred to as a monkfish. It has white flesh, according to Epaenetus in the *Art of Cooking*. Plato in *Sophists* (fr. 146):

and if it were a dogfish, or a *leiobatos*, or an eel.

Moray eels. Theophrastus in his *On Land-Creatures* (fr. 363 #2 Fortenbaugh) reports that the eel and the moray eel are able to survive for a long time out of water because they have tiny gills and do not take in much liquid. Hicesius claims that moray eels are just as nourishing as other eels, including conger eels. Aristotle in Book II of *Parts of Animals* (fr. 219)²⁸⁹ says that the moray eel is initially small, but rapidly grows larger; is jagged-toothed; and produces tiny eggs at all times of year. Epicharmus in *Muses* (fr. 89) refers to them as *murainai* without a *sigma*, saying the following:

No part of fat conger eels or morays (*murainai*) was absent.

²⁸⁵ Perhaps the tilapia.

²⁸⁶ Like *abramis* (below), but unlike most of the other—largely obscure—names in this catalogue, *allabēs* is seemingly a genuine Egyptian name taken over into Greek.

²⁸⁷ Not the sheatfish, for which the name is normally used, but which is not found in the Nile. ²⁸⁸ A skate of some type.

²⁸⁹ Cf. 7.304c.

ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Σώφρων. Πλάτων δ' ἢ Κάνθαρος ἐν τῇ Συμμαχίᾳ σὺν τῷ σ̄.

βατίς τε καὶ σμύραινα

πρόσεστιν.

- d Δωρίων δ' ἐν | τῷ Περὶ Ἰχθύων τὴν ποταμίαν φησὶ μύραιναν ἔχειν μίαν ἄκανθαν μόνην, ὁμοίαν τῷ ὀνίσκῳ τῷ καλουμένῳ γαλλαρία. Ἀνδρέας δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Δακέτων τῶν μυραινῶν φησιν δακούσας ἀναίρειν τὰς ἐξ ἔχως, εἶναι δ' αὐτὰς ἦπτον καὶ περιφερεῖς <καὶ> ποικίλας. Νίκανδρος δ' ἐν Θηριακῷ

σμυραίνης δ' ἔκπαγλον· ἐπεὶ μογεροὺς ἀλιῆας
πολλάκις ἐμπρήσασα κατεπρήνιξεν ἐπάκτρον
εἰς ἄλα φυζήθεντας ἐχετλίου ἐξαναδύσα.

* * *

- e εἰ ἔτυμον κείνην γε σὺν οὐλοβόροις ἐχίεσσι |
θόρνησθαι προλιποῦσαν ἀλὸς νομὸν ἠπέριον.

Ἀνδρέας δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν Ψευδῶς Πεπιστευμένων ψεῦδος φησιν εἶναι τὸ μύραιναν ἔχει μίγνυσθαι προερχομένην ἐπὶ τὸ τεναγῶδες· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ τενάγους ἔχεις νέμεσθαι, φιληδοῦντας ἀμμώδεσιν ἐρημίαις.

²⁹⁰ A quotation has perhaps dropped out of the text.

²⁹¹ Athenaeus also expresses doubt about the authorship of *The Alliance* at 2.68b; 7.314a, but other sources generally assign it to Plato alone.

²⁹² Perhaps a variety of cod.

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Likewise Sophron (fr. 98).²⁹⁰ But Plato (fr. 166) or Cantharus in his *Alliance*²⁹¹ has the word with a *sigma*:

A skate is present, as is
a moray eel (*smuraina*).

Dorion in his *On Fish* says that the river-moray has a spine consisting of only one bone, and resembles the *ontiskos*²⁹² referred to as a *gallaria*. Andreas in his *On Venomous Creatures* (fr. 18 von Staden) claims that those morays that are descended from a venomous snake have a fatal bite,²⁹³ and are smaller in circumference and have fewer markings. Nicander in the *Theriaca* (823-7):

the horror of the moray (*smurainē*); since it often
inflames
miserable fishermen with terror and drives them
headlong from their skiffs
into the sea in flight, when it springs out of the hold.
* * *²⁹⁴

if it is true that that creature mates on dry land with
deadly-biting
venomous snakes, after abandoning its pasturage in
the sea.

But Andreas in his *On False Beliefs* (fr. 45 von Staden) claims that it is not true that the moray is able to come up into the shallows and mate; because (poisonous snakes) do not frequent shoal-water, but prefer sandy deserts. Sostra-

²⁹³ Morays were thought to come up on dry land to mate with poisonous snakes (e.g. Ael. NA 1.50; 9.66).

²⁹⁴ The same lacuna is found in our manuscripts of Nicander.

Σώστρατος δὲ ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Ζώων (ἐστὶ δὲ δύο ταῦτα βιβλία) συγκατατίθεται τῇ μίξει.

Μῦρος. ὁ δὲ μῦρος, ὡς φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν πέμπτῳ Ζώων Μορίων, διαφέρει τῆς σμυραίνης· ἡ μὲν
 f γὰρ ποικίλον | καὶ ἀσθενέστερον, ὁ δὲ μῦρος λειόχρως
 καὶ ἰσχυρὸς καὶ τὸ χρῶμα ὅμοιον ἔχει ἴνυγι ὀδόντας
 τε ἔσωθεν καὶ ἔξωθεν. Δωρίων δὲ τὸν μῦρόν φησι τὰς
 διὰ σαρκὸς ἀκάνθας οὐκ ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ὅλον εἶναι χρήσι-
 μον καὶ ἀπαλὸν ὑπερβολῇ. εἶναι δὲ αὐτῶν γένη δύο·
 εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν μέλανες, οἱ δ' ὑποπυρρίζοντες, κρείσ-
 σονες δ' εἰσὶν οἱ μελανίζοντες. Ἀρχέστρατος δὲ ὁ
 ἠδονικὸς φιλόσοφος φησιν· ||

313 Ἰταλῆς δὲ μεταξὺ κατὰ στενοκύμονα πορθμόν
 ἢ πλωτὴ μύραινα καλουμένη ἂν ποτε ληφθῆ,
 ὠνού· τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐκεῖ θανμαστὸν ἔδεσμα.

Μαινίδες. ταύτας φησὶν Ἰκέσιος εὐχυλοτέρας εἶναι
 τῶν κωβιῶν, λείπεσθαι δὲ εὐστομία καὶ τῷ πρὸς τὴν
 ἔκκρισιν τῆς κοιλίας συνεργεῖν. Σπεύσιππος δ' ἐν
 δευτέρῳ Ὁμοίων ὁμοιά φησιν εἶναι τῇ μαινίδι βόακας
 b καὶ σμαρίδας, | ὧν μνημονεύειν καὶ Ἐπίχαρμον ἐν Γᾶ
 καὶ Θαλάσσει οὕτως·

ὄκχ' ὀρή βῶκάς <τε> πολλοὺς καὶ σμαρίδας.

Ἐπαίνετος δ' ἐν Ὀψαρτυτικῷ φησι σμαρίδα, ἣν ἔνιοι

295 A variety of eel.

tus in his *On Animals* (cf. *FHG* iv.505)—the work consists of two Books—expresses a similar opinion about its mating-habits.

Muros.²⁹⁵ According to Aristotle in Book V of *Parts of Animals* (fr. 220), the *muros* is different from the moray eel (*smurainē*), because the latter has elaborate markings and is quite weak, whereas the *muros* is smooth-skinned²⁹⁶ and powerful; is the same color as the wryneck;²⁹⁷ and has teeth inside as well as out. Dorion claims that the *muros* lacks fine bones running through its flesh, and can be consumed whole and is extremely tender. There are two varieties of them: some are black, the others reddish, and the black ones are larger. Archestratus the voluptuary philosopher says (fr. 17 Olson—Sens = *SH* 147):

If the so-called floating moray eel is ever caught
between there and Italy, in the Strait with its
confined waves,
buy it; for this is an amazing food there.

Sprats. Hicesius claims that these produce better *chulē* than gobies, but are harder on the stomach and offer less help in emptying the gut. Speusippus in Book II of *Similar Things* (fr. 15a Tarán) says that sprats resemble bogues and picarel, which Epicharmus mentions in *Earth and Sea* (fr. 26), as follows:

Whenever he sees many bogues and picarel.

Epænetus says in the *Art of Cooking*:²⁹⁸ picarel, which

²⁹⁶ The manuscripts of Aristotle read "uniform in color".

²⁹⁷ The manuscripts of Aristotle read "the pine tree".

²⁹⁸ Cited again, at slightly greater length, at 7.328f–9a.

καλοῦσι κυνὸς εὐνάς. Ἀντιφάνης δ' ἐν Ἀγροίκῳ ἢ Βουταλίῳ Ἐκάτης βρώματα καλεῖ τὰς μαινίδας διὰ τὴν βραχύτητα, λέγων οὕτως·

(Φι.) τοὺς γὰρ μεγάλους τούτους ἅπαντας
 νενόμικα

ἄνθρωποφάγους ἰχθύς. (Α.) τί φήσ, ὦ φιλτάτη;
 ἄνθρωποφάγους, πῶς; (Πι.) οὐς <ἄν> ἄνθρωπος
 φάγοι, |

- c δῆλον ὅτι ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶν Ἐκάτης βρώματα,
 ἃ φησιν οὗτος, μαινίδας καὶ τριγλίδας.

καλοῦνται δέ τινες καὶ λευκομαινίδες, ἃς ἔνιοι βόακας
 ὀνομάζουσι. Πολίοχος Κορινθιαστῆ·

ὅπως σε πείσει μηδὲ εἰς, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν,
 τοὺς βόακας, ἄν ποτ' ἔλθῃ, λευκομαινίδας
 καλεῖν.

Μελάνουρος. περὶ τούτου φησὶ Νουμήνιος ἐν Ἀλι-
 ευτικῷ·

- d σκορπίον ἢ | πέρκαισι καθηγητὴν μελάνουρον.
 Ἰκέσιος δ' αὐτὸν σαργῶ φησιν παραπλήσιον εἶναι,
 καταδέεστερον δὲ τῇ εὐχυλία καὶ τῇ εὐστομία, μικρῶς
 δὲ παραστύφειν καὶ εἶναι τρόφιμον. μνημονεύει δ'
 αὐτοῦ Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Ἦβας Γάμῳ·

²⁹⁹ Literally "dog's beds".

³⁰⁰ Quoted at greater length at 8.358d-f, where Athenaeus

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some authorities refer to as *kunos eunai*²⁹⁹. Antiphanes in *The Rustic or Boutalion* refers to sprats as Hecate's food because they are so tiny (*Bout.* fr. 69.11–15), putting it thus:³⁰⁰

(Philoumenon) Because I consider all these big fish people-eaters. (A.) What are you talking about, my dear?

People-eaters—how so? (Pistis) She means the type that people eat, obviously. But what this guy's referring to is Hecate's food: sprats and red-mullet minnows.

Certain varieties are also referred to as *leukomainides* ("white-sprats"), which some authorities call bogues. Poliochus in *The Whore-Monger* (fr. 1):

Make sure, by the gods, that no one convinces you, if you ever go there, to refer to bogues as *leukomainides*.

Melanouros.³⁰¹ Numenius in the *Art of Fishing* (*SH* 577.3)³⁰² says about this fish:

a bullhead or a *melanouros*, which guides the perch.

Hicesius claims that it resembles a sargue, but produces worse *chulē* and does not taste as good, and is slightly astringent and not particularly nourishing. Epicharmus mentions it in *The Wedding of Hebe* (fr. 49.2):³⁰³

has "Helen" rather than "Hecate" in the penultimate verse.

³⁰¹ Literally "black-tail". ³⁰² Various portions of the fragment are quoted also at 7.319b–c, 320e.

³⁰³ Quoted at greater length at 7.321b–c, where see n.

ἦν δὲ σαργῖνοί τε μελάνουροί τε.

Ἄριστοτέλης δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ζωικῶν γράφει οὕτως·
ὀρροπυγόστικτοι δὲ τῶν ἰχθύων μελάνουρος καὶ σαργὸς πολύγραμμοί τε καὶ μελανόγραμμοι. ὅμοιον δὲ
e εἶναι τῷ μελανούρῳ φησὶ Σπεύσιππος | ἐν δευτέρῳ
Ὅμοίον τὸν καλούμενον ψύρον· ὃν Νουμήνιος καλεῖ
ψόρον οὕτως·

ἢ ψόρον ἢ σάλπας ἢ αἰγιαλλῆα δράκοντα.

Μορμύρος. τροφιμώτατος, ὥς φησιν Ἰκέσιος. Ἐπί-
χαρμος δ' ἐν Ἡβας Γάμῳ μύρμας αὐτοὺς ὀνομάζει, εἰ
μὴ διάφοροι τὴν φύσιν εἰσίν. γράφει δ' οὕτως·

καὶ χελιδόνες τε μύρμαι θ', οἳ τε κολιᾶν μέζονες
ἐντί.

Δωρίων δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἰχθύων μορμύλους αὐτοὺς
f καλεῖ. Λυγκεὺς | δ' ὁ Σάμιος ἐν τῇ Ὀψωνητικῇ Τέχνῃ,
ἦν προσεφώνησέ τινα τῶν ἐταίρων δυσώγη, φησίν·
οὐκ ἄχρηστον δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀτενίζοντας καὶ μὴ συγ-
καθιέντας τῇ τιμῇ καὶ τὸ κακῶς λέγειν παρεστηκότα
τοὺς ἰχθύας, ἐπαγόμενον Ἀρχέστρατον τὸν γράψαντα
τὴν Ἡδυνάθειαν ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τινα ποιητῶν καὶ λέ-
γοντα τὸ μέτρον·

μόρμυρος αἰγιαλεύς, κακὸς ἰχθύς, οὐδέ ποτ'
ἐσθλός. ||

304 Quoted at greater length at 7.321a.

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There were both sea-pike and *melanouroi*.

Aristotle in his *On Living Creatures* (fr. 221) writes as follows: Among the fish, the *melanouros* and the sargue have spotted tails and numerous black stripes. Speusippus in Book II of *Similar Things* (fr. 16 Tarán) claims that what is referred to as a *psuros* resembles the *melanouros*. Numenius refers to the fish as a *psoros*, as follows (*SH* 586):

or a *psoros* or saupes or a shore-hugging weever-fish.

Mormuros. Exceptionally nourishing, according to Hicesius. Epicharmus in *The Wedding of Hebe* refers to them as *murmai*, unless this is a different variety of fish. He writes as follows (fr. 55.1-2):³⁰⁴

and flying-fish and *murmai*, which are larger than
Spanish
mackerel.

Dorion in his *On Fish* refers to them as *mormuloi*. Lynceus of Samos in his *Art of Grocery-Shopping* (fr. 20 Dalby),³⁰⁵ which he addressed to one of his close friends who had trouble doing his marketing, says: It is useful against them³⁰⁶, when they're trying to stare you down and refusing to lower the price, to stand beside their fish and disparage them, citing Archestratus, who wrote the *Life of Luxury*, or some other poet, and quoting the line (Archestr. fr. 53 Olson-Sens = *SH* 183):

the shore-dwelling *mormuros*—a wretched fish and
never good;

³⁰⁵ Cf. 6.228b-c.

³⁰⁶ Sc. the fish-sellers.

314 καὶ

τὴν ἀμίαν ὠνοῦ φθινοπώρου,

“νῦν δ’ ἐστὶν ἔαρ.” καί·

κεστρέα τὸν θαυμαστόν, ὅταν χειμῶν ἀφίκηται,

“νῦν δ’ ἐστὶ θέρος.” καὶ πολλὰ τῶν τοιούτων. ἀποσοβήσεις γὰρ πολλοὺς τῶν ὠνουμένων καὶ προσεστηκόντων· τοῦτο δὲ ποιῶν ἀναγκάσεις τὸ σοὶ δοκοῦν λαβεῖν αὐτόν.

Νάρκη. Πλάτων ἢ Κάνθαρος ἐν Συμμαχία·

νάρκη γὰρ ἐφθῆ βρῶμα χαρίεν γίνεται.

ὁ δὲ φιλόσοφος Πλάτων ἐν Μένωνί φησι τῇ θαλαττία
 b νάρκη· καὶ γὰρ αὕτη τὸν ἰ πλησιάζοντα ναρκᾶν ποιεῖ.
 ἢ δὲ κλήσις αὐτῆς καὶ παρ’ Ὀμήρω·

< . . . > νάρκησε δὲ χεῖρ ἐπὶ καρπῶ.

Μένανδρος δ’ ἐν Φανίῳ διὰ τοῦ ᾠ ἔφη·

ὑπελήλυθέν τε μου

νάγκα τις ὄλον τὸ δέρμα,

μηδενὸς τῶν παλαιῶν οὕτω κεχρημένον. Ἰκέσιος δὲ φησιν ἀτροφωτέραν καὶ ἀχυλοτέραν αὐτὴν εἶναι ἔχειν τε χονδρῶδες τι διακεχυμένον, εὐστόμαχον πάνν. Θεόφραστος δ’ ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν Φωλευόντων διὰ τὸ ψυχός

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or (Archestr. fr. 36.1 = SH 166.1):³⁰⁷

Buy the bonito in fall

“—but it’s spring now!”; or (Archestr. fr. 45 = SH 175):

the gray mullet, wonderful when winter comes

“—but it’s summer now!”; and many such things. For you’ll drive away many of the people standing around doing their shopping, and by doing so you’ll compel him to take the price that seems good to *you*.

Electric ray (*narkē*). Plato (fr. 164) or Cantharus in *The Alliance*:³⁰⁸

Because a stewed electric ray is a lovely dish.

The philosopher Plato says in the *Meno* (80a): The marine electric ray; because it makes anyone who gets close to it go numb. Homer also refers to it (*Il.* 8.328):

His hand grew numb (*narkēse*) at the wrist.

Menander in *Phanion* (fr. 388) has the word with an *alpha*:

A sort of numbness (*narka*)

crept over all my flesh,

although no ancient author uses it in this form. Hicesius claims that it provides very little nourishment or *chulē*; is full of gristle throughout; and is extremely easy on the stomach. Theophrastus in his *On Animals That Hibernate* (fr. 369 Fortenbaugh, encompassing both references) says

³⁰⁷ Quoted at much greater length, and with this verse in a slightly different form, at 7.278b–d.

³⁰⁸ For the disputed authorship of the play, see 7.312c n.

- φησι τὴν νάρκην κατὰ γῆς δύεσθαι. ἐν δὲ τῷ Περὶ τῶν
 c Δακέτων καὶ Βλητικῶν διαπέμπεσθαι | φησι τὴν νάρ-
 κην τὴν ἀφ' αὐτῆς δύναμιν καὶ διὰ τῶν ξύλων καὶ διὰ
 τῶν τριοδόντων, ποιούσαν νάρκᾶν τοὺς ἐν χεροῖν
 ἔχοντας. εἶρηκε δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν Κλέαρχος ὁ Σολεὺς ἐν
 τῷ Περὶ Νάρκης, ἅπερ μακρότερα ὄντα ἐπιλέλησμαι,
 ὑμᾶς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ σύγγραμμα ἀναπέμπω. ἐστὶ δ' ἡ
 νάρκη, ὡς φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης, τῶν σελαχωδῶν καὶ
 τῶν σκυμνοτοκούντων· θηρεύει δ' εἰς τροφήν ἑαυτῆς
 τὰ ἰχθύδια προσαπτομένη καὶ ναρκᾶν καὶ ἀκινήτιζεν
 d ποιούσα. Δίφιλος δ' ὁ Λαοδικεὺς ἐν τῷ Περὶ | τῶν
 Νικάνδρου Θηριακῶν μὴ πάν τὸ ζῶον φησι τὴν νάρ-
 κην ἐμποιεῖν, μέρος δέ τι αὐτῆς, διὰ πείρας πολλῆς
 φάσκων ἐληλυθέναι. ὁ δ' Ἀρχέστρατός φησι·

καὶ νάρκην ἐφθῆν ἐν ἐλαίῳ ἢ δὲ καὶ οἴνῳ
 καὶ χλόῃ εὐώδει καὶ βαιῶ ξύσματι τυροῦ.

Ἄλεξις ἐν Γαλατείᾳ·

νάρκην μὲν οὖν, ὡς φασιν, ὠνθυλευμένην
 ὀπτᾶν ὄλην.

ἐν δὲ Δημητρίῳ·

ἔπειτα νάρκην ἔλαβον, ἐνθυμούμενος |

309 Nothing else survives of the work.

310 Nicander does not discuss the electric ray in the *Theriaca* as it is preserved for us, and this must have been an explanatory di-

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that cold causes the electric ray to burrow underground. And in his *On Biting and Venomous Creatures* he claims that the electric ray can exercise its influence through sticks or fishing spears, causing those who hold such implements in their hands to go numb. Clearchus of Soli in his *On the Electric Ray* (fr. 105 Wehrli) offers an explanation of this; but because his remarks are rather extended, I have forgotten them, and I refer you to the treatise itself.³⁰⁹ According to Aristotle (fr. 222), the electric ray is one of the cartilaginous and viviparous fish. It catches small fish to feed itself by touching them, causing them to grow numb and be frozen in place. Diphilus of Laodicea in his *On Nicander's Theriaca*³¹⁰ claims that it is not the entire creature that produces numbness, but only a specific part of it; he says that he arrived at this conclusion after considerable experimentation. Archestratus says (fr. 49 Olson-Sens = SH 179):

and electric ray, stewed in olive oil as well as wine,
fragrant green herbs, and a little grated cheese.

Alexis in *Galateia* (fr. 38):

to roast a whole stuffed electric ray, then,
as they say.

And in *Demetrius* (fr. 49):³¹¹

Next I bought an electric ray, keeping in mind

gression by Diphilus—who was correct to argue that there are two specific electrical organs (located at the base of the pectoral fins).

³¹¹ Also quoted at 3.107c, but embedded there in a much longer passage attributed to *Crateia or The Pharmacist*.

e ὅτι δεῖ γυναικὸς ἐπιφερούσης δακτύλους ἀπαλοὺς ὑπ' ἀκάνθης μηδὲ ἐν τούτους παθεῖν.

Ξιφίας. τοῦτον Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶν ἔχειν τοῦ ῥύγχους τὸ μὲν ὑποκάτω μικρόν, τὸ δὲ καθύπερθεν ὀστῶδες μέγα, ἴσον τῷ ὄλῳ αὐτοῦ μεγέθει· τοῦτο δὲ καλεῖσθαι ξίφος· ὀδόντας δ' οὐκ ἔχειν τὸν ἰχθύν. Ἀρχέστρατος δέ φησιν·

f ἀλλὰ λαβὲ ξιφίου τέμαχος Βυζάντιον ἐλθών, ἰ οὐραίου γ' αὐτὸν τὸν σφόνδυλον. ἔστι δὲ κεδνὸς κὰν πορθμῷ πρὸς ἄκραισι Πελωριάδος προβολαῖσι.

τίς οὕτως τακτικὸς ἀκριβῆς ἢ τίς οὕτως κριτῆς ὄψων ὡς ὁ ἐκ Γέλας, μᾶλλον δὲ Καταγέλας οὗτος ποιητής; ὃς ἀκριβῶς οὕτως διὰ λιχνεΐαν καὶ τὸν πορθμὸν διέπλευσε καὶ τῶν μερῶν ἐκάστου τῶν ἰχθύων τὰς ποιότητας καὶ τοὺς χυμοὺς¹⁹ ἐξήτασεν, ὡς τινα πραγματεΐαν βιωφελῆ καταβαλλόμενος. ||

315 Ὀρφῶς. καλεῖται δὲ καὶ ὀρφός, ὡς Πάμφιλος. Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἐν πέμπτῳ Ζῴων Μορίων ταχεΐαν λέγων γίνεσθαι τοῖς ἰχθύσι τὴν αὔξησιν, καὶ ὀρφῶς, φησὶν, ἐκ μικροῦ γίνεται μέγας ταχέως. ἔστι δὲ καὶ σαρκοφάγος καὶ καρχαρόδους, ἔτι δὲ καὶ μονήρης. ἴδιον δ' ἐν αὐτῷ ἔστι τὸ τοὺς θορικοὺς πόρους μὴ εὐρίσκεσθαι καὶ τὸ δύνασθαι πολὺν χρόνον ζῆν μετὰ τὴν ἀνα-

¹⁹ τοὺς χυμοὺς διὰ τὴν λιχνεΐαν ACE: διὰ τὴν λιχνεΐαν del. Olson

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that when a woman lays her soft fingers on it,
they shouldn't suffer any harm from its sting.

Swordfish. Aristotle (fr. 223) reports that the lower portion of its jaw is small; that the upper portion is large and bonelike, and equal in length to the rest of the creature as a whole—this part is referred to as the sword—and that the fish lacks teeth. Archestratus says (fr. 41 Olson-Sens = *SH* 171):

But when you come to Byzantium, buy a swordfish
steak,
the very backbone section of the tail. It is also
excellent
in the strait by the lofty headlands of Pelorias.

Who is so precise a tactician or fish-critic as this poet from Gela—or rather Catagela³¹²—whose gluttony led him to sail through the Strait³¹³ and evaluate the qualities and flavors of the parts of every fish with such precision, as if he were laying the foundation of some science likely to improve human existence?

Sea-perch (*orphōs*). According to Pamphilus (fr. XXVI Schmidt), it is also referred to as an *orphos*. Aristotle in Book V of *Parts of Animals* (fr. 224) notes that fish grow rapidly, and says that the sea-perch in particular is initially tiny, but quickly becomes big. It is carnivorous and jagged-toothed, as well as solitary. Among its peculiar features are that it has no seminal ducts and can live for a long time af-

³¹² A pun on *katagelaō* ("mock") modeled in Ar. *Ach.* 606.

³¹³ Probably a reference to the Straits of Messina, which divide Italy from Sicily.

τομήν. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν φωλευόντων ἐν ταῖς χειμεριω-
τάταις ἡμέραις χαίρει τε πρόσγειος μᾶλλον ὢν ἢ
πελάγιος. ζῆ δ' οὐ πλέον δύο ἐτῶν. μνημονεύων δ' |
b αὐτοῦ Νουμήνιος φησι·

τοῖσί κεν εὐμαρέως θαλάμης ἄπο μακρὸν αἰέροις
σκορπίον ἢ ὀρφὸν περιτρηχέα· τῶν γὰρ ἐπ'
ἄκρης.

καὶ πάλιν·

γλαύκους ἢ ὀρφῶν ἕναλον γένος ἢ ἐμεγάγχρων
κόσσυφον.

Δωρίων δὲ τὸν νέον φησὶν ὀρφὸν ὑπ' ἐνίων καλεῖσθαι
ὀρφακίην. Ἄρχιππος δ' ἐν Ἰχθύσιν·

ιερεὺς γὰρ ἦλθ' αὐτοῖσιν ὀρφῶς του θεῶν.

Κρατῖνος δ' Ὀδυσσεῦσι·

< . . . > τέμαχος ὀρφῶ χλιαρόν.

Πλάτων Κλεοφῶντι |

c σὲ γάρ, γραῦ, συγκατόκισεν σαπρὰν
ὀρφῶσι σελαχίοις τε καὶ φάγροις βοράν.

Ἄριστοφάνης Σφηξίν·

³¹⁴ For the fragment, see 7.305c n.

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ter being dissected. It is among the fish that withdraw into holes during the coldest days of winter, and prefers to be close to the shore rather than out in the middle of the sea. It lives a maximum of two years. Numenius mentions it, saying (SH 587):

with which you could easily lift far from its lair
a bullhead or a very rough sea-perch; for at their
peak . . .

And again (SH 573.1-2):³¹⁴

glaukoi or the marine race of sea-perch or a black-
skinned
blackbird-wrasse.

Dorion claims that some authorities refer to a young sea-perch as an *orphakinē*. Archippus in *Fish* (fr. 17):

Because a sea-perch came to serve them as the priest
of some god.

Cratinus in *Odysseuses* (fr. 154):

a hot sea-perch steak.

Plato in *Cleophon* (fr. 57):³¹⁵

Because he planted your rotten self
there, old woman, along with
some sea-perch, as food for sharks and rays and sea-
breams.

Aristophanes in *Wasps* (493):

³¹⁵ The second verse is quoted again at 7.327d, but is assigned there to Amipsias' *Connus*.

ἦν μὲν ὠνήταί τις ὀρφῶς, μεμβράδας δὲ μὴ
 ἴθελῃ.

τὴν μέντοι ἐνικὴν εὐθείαν ὀξυτόνως προφέρονται Ἀτ-
 τικοί. Ἄρχιππος Ἰχθύσιν, ὡς πρόκειται. τὴν δὲ γενι-
 κὴν Κρατῖνος Ὀδυσσεῦσι·

< . . . > τέμαχος ὀρφῶ χλιαρόν.

Ἄρκυκος. Δωρίων ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἰχθύων τοὺς ὀρκύ-
 νους ἐκ τῆς περὶ Ἡρακλέους στήλας θαλάσσης πε-
 ραιουμένους | εἰς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔρχεσθαι θάλασσαν
 d διὸ καὶ πλείστους ἀλίσκεσθαι ἐν τῷ Ἰβηρικῷ καὶ
 Τυρρηνικῷ πελάγει· κἀντεῦθεν κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην θά-
 λασσαν διασκίδνασθαι. Ἰκέσιος δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐν Γα-
 δείροις ἀλισκομένους πιμελεστέρους εἶναι, μετὰ δὲ
 τούτους τοὺς ἐν Σικελίᾳ· τοὺς δὲ πόρρω Ἡρακλείων
 στηλῶν ἀλιπεῖς διὰ τὸ πλείονα τόπον ἐκνευῆσθαι. ἐν
 Γαδείροις μὲν οὖν τὰ κλειδία καθ' αὐτὰ ταριχεύεται,
 ὡς καὶ τῶν ἀντακαίων αἱ γνάθοι καὶ οὐρανίσκοι καὶ οἱ
 e λεγόμενοι μελανδρῦναι ἐξ αὐτῶν | ταριχεύονται. Ἰκέ-
 σιος δὲ φησὶ τὰ ὑπογάστρια αὐτῶν λιπαρὰ ὑπάρ-
 χοντα τῇ εὐστομίᾳ πολὺ διαλλάσσειν τῶν ἄλλων
 μερῶν, τὰ δὲ κλειδία εὐστομώτερα εἶναι τούτων.

Ἄονος καὶ ὀνίσκος. ὄνος, φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ
 Περὶ Ζωικῶν, ἔχει στόμα ἀνερρωγὸς ὁμοίως τοῖς γα-
 λεοῖς, καὶ οὐ συναγελαστικός. καὶ μόνος οὗτος ἰχθύων

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if someone buys sea-perch but doesn't want smelt.

Attic authors in fact accent the nominative singular with an acute on the final syllable. Archippus in *Fish* (fr. 17), quoted above. Cratinus has the genitive in *Odysseuses* (fr. 154):³¹⁶

a hot sea-perch steak.

Orkunos.³¹⁷ Dorion in his *On Fish* says that the *orkunoi* travel from the sea around the Pillars of Heracles and make their way to the sea near us³¹⁸—this is why immense quantities of them are caught in the Iberian and Tyrrhenian Seas—and that from there they scatter throughout the Mediterranean. Hicesius claims that those caught in Gadeira have more fat, and that after them come those caught in Sicily; but those caught far from the Pillars of Heracles contain little fat, because they have swum further from it. In Gadeira their keys³¹⁹ are salted separately, in the same way that the jaws and roofs of sturgeons' mouths, as well as their so-called *melandruai*³²⁰, are. Hicesius claims that their underbellies are fatty and accordingly taste much better than their other parts, but that the keys taste even better than the underbellies.

Cod and small cod. According to Aristotle in his *On Living Creatures* (fr. 225), the cod has a wide mouth that resembles that of the dogfish, and does not form

³¹⁶ Also quoted above.

³¹⁷ A large tuna-variety.

³¹⁸ Sc. the western Mediterranean.

³¹⁹ For this term, see 7.303a-b.

³²⁰ Literally "black-oak portions".

τὴν καρδίαν ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ ἔχει καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐγκεφάλῳ
λίθους ἐμφερεῖς μύλαις. φωλεύει τε ὁ μόνος ἐν ταῖς ὑπὸ
f κύνα θερμοτάταις ἡμέραις, | τῶν ἄλλων ταῖς χειμε-
ριωτάταις φωλεόντων. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτῶν Ἐπίχαρ-
μος ἐν Ἑβας Γάμφῳ·

μεγαλοχάσμονάς τε χάννας κῆκτραπελο-
γάστορας ὄνους.

διαφέρει δ' ὄνος ὀνίσκου, ὡς φησι Δωρίων ἐν τῷ Περὶ
Ἰχθύων γράφων οὕτως· ὄνος, ὃν καλοῦσιν τινες γάδου.
γαλλερίας, ὃν καλοῦσιν τινες ὀνίσκου τε καὶ μάξεινον.
Εὐθύδημος δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ταρίχων, οἱ μὲν βάκχον,
φησί, καλοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ χελλαρίην, οἱ δὲ ὀνίσκου. Ἀρ-
χέστρατος δὲ φησι ||

316 τὸν δ' ὄνον Ἀνθηδών, τὸν καλλαρίην καλέουσιν,
ἐκτρέφει εὐμεγέθη, σομφὴν δὲ φορεῖ τινα σάρκα,
κάλλως οὐχ ἠδείαν ἔμοιγ', ἄλλοι δ' < . . . >
αἰνοῦσιν· χαίρει γὰρ ὁ μὲν τούτοις, ὁ δ' ἐκείνοις.

Πουλύπους, πουλύποδος. οὕτως φασὶν οἱ Ἀττικοί
(ὡς καὶ Ὅμηρος·

321 A sufficiently substantial misstatement of fact that it is tempting to think that a lacuna should be marked in the Greek between *ou* ("does not") and *sunagelastikos* ("form schools").

322 Cf. 7.302b n.

323 Quoted again at 7.327f.

324 Cf. Euthydemus' *chellariēs* and Archedstratus' *kallariē* (below), both presumably variants of the same word.

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schools.³²¹ This is the only fish that has its heart in its belly and stones that resemble mill-stones in its brain. It is also the only fish that retreats into a burrow during the hottest days of the the year, when the Dog-Star is rising,³²² whereas the others do so during the coldest days of the year. Epicharmus mentions them in *The Wedding of Hebe* (fr. 60):³²³

and sea-perch (*channai*) with great, gaping jaws, and
cod with enormous bellies.

The cod (*onos*) is different from the small cod (*oniskos*), according to Dorion in his *On Fish*, where he writes as follows: cod, which some authorities refer to as a *gados*; *gallerias*³²⁴, which some authorities refer to as an *oniskos* or a *maxeinos*. Euthydemus says in his *On Saltfish*: Some authorities refer to it as a *bakchos*, others as a *chellariēs*, yet others as an *oniskos*.³²⁵ But Archestratus says (fr. 15 Olson-Sens = *SH* 145):

As for the cod, which people refer to as the *kallariē*,
Anthedon
raises a nice big one; but some of its flesh is spongy,
and in other respects as well it does not please me,
although others
praise it. Because one person likes this, another that.

Octopus (*poulupous*), genitive *poulupodos*. This is how Attic authors pronounce it—as Homer does too (*Od.* 5.432):

³²⁵ Cf. 3.118c (again citing Dorion, but without reference to Epaenetus).

ὡς δ' ὅτε πουλύποδος θαλάμης ἐξελκομένοιο)

ἀνάλογον· παρὰ τὸ πούς γὰρ γέγονεν. τὴν δὲ αἰτια-
 b τικὴν πουλύπου φασίν, ὡς Ἰ' Ἀλκίνου καὶ Οἰδίπου.
 καὶ τρίπου δὲ λέβητα Αἰσχύλου εἰρηκέναι ἐν Ἀθά-
 μαντι ἀπὸ ἀπλοῦ τοῦ πούς ὡς νοῦς. τὸ δὲ πάλυπον
 λέγειν Αἰολικόν· Ἀττικοὶ γὰρ πουλύπου λέγουσιν.
 Ἀριστοφάνης Δαιδάλω·

καὶ ταῦτ' ἔχοντα πουλύπους καὶ σηπίας.

καὶ πάλιν·

τὸν πουλύπου μοι ἔθηκε.

καὶ πάλιν·

πληγαὶ λέγονται πουλύπου πιλουμένου.

Ἀλκαῖος Ἀδελφαῖς Μοιχενομέναις·

ἠλίθιον εἶναι νοῦν τε πουλύποδος ἔχειν.

Ἀμειψίας Κατεσθίουτι·

< . . . > δεῖ μέν, ὡς ἔοικε, πολλῶν πουλύπων.

³²⁶ "foot"; genitive *podos*.

³²⁷ The accusative singular of *πους* is *ποδα*, and *πουλυποδα* would therefore be expected (cf. the normal *τριποδα*). But nominative *νοῦς* ("mind") yields accusative singular *νοῦν* (cf. the proper name *Alkinoun*), and the argument is that it is thus understandable that *πουλυπους* can yield accusative *πουλυπουν*.

³²⁸ The argument (supported by the quotation that follows) is

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as when of an octopus (*poulupodos*), dragged from its
lair—

by analogy; because the word is formed from *pous*.³²⁶ They pronounce the accusative *poulupoun*, like *Alkinoun* and *Oidipoun*. Aeschylus as well uses the phrase *tripoun lebēta* (“a three-footed cauldron”) in *Athamas* (fr. 2a), forming the word from the simple *pous*, like *nous*.³²⁷ Saying *pōlupos* is Aeolic; because Attic authors say *poulupous*.³²⁸ Aristophanes in *Daedalus* (fr. 195):³²⁹

and when he's got octopi (*poulupous*) and cuttlefish at
that!

Again (fr. 196):

He served me the octopus (*poulupoun*).

Again (fr. 197):

What's being described are the blows an octopus
(*poulupou*) gets when it's pounded.³³⁰

Alcaeus in *Sisters Being Seduced* (fr. 1):

to be a fool and have the sense of an octopus
(*poulupodos*).

Amipsias in *The Glutton* (fr. 6):

Apparently a lot of octopi (*poulupōn*) are needed.

now about the first syllable of the word rather than the last. The discussion of the final syllable resumes momentarily after Alc. Com. fr. 30; cf. 7.318f with n.

³²⁹ Quoted also at 7.323c, but attributed there to *Danaids*.

³³⁰ Sc. to make its flesh soft enough to eat; cf. 7.317b.

Πλάτων Παιδίω·

c ὥσπερ τοὺς πουλύποδας | πρώτιστα σέ.

Ἄλκαϊος·

ἔδω δ' ἔμαντον ὡς πουλύπους.

οἱ δὲ πουλύποδα προφέρονται ἀνάλογον τῷ πούς πο-
δὸς ποδὶ πόδα. Εὐπολις Δήμοις·

ἀνὴρ πολίτης πουλύπους ἐς τοὺς τρόπους.

Διοκλῆς δ' ἐν πρώτῳ Ἑγχεινῶν, τὰ δὲ μαλάκια, φησί,
πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἀφροδίσια· μάλιστα δὲ οἱ
πουλύποδες. ἱστορεῖ δ' Ἀριστοτέλης τὸν πουλύποδα
ἔχειν πόδας ὀκτώ, ὧν τοὺς μὲν ἄνω δύο καὶ κάτω
d ἐλαχίστους, τοὺς δ' ἐν μέσῳ μεγίστους· | ἔχει δὲ καὶ
κοτυληδόνας δύο, αἷς τὴν τροφήν προσάγεσθαι· τοὺς
δ' ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπάνω τῶν δύο ποδῶν· τὸ δὲ στόμα καὶ
τοὺς ὀδόντας ἐν μέσοις τοῖς ποσὶ. ἀναπτυχθεὶς δὲ
ἐγκέφαλον ἔχει διμερῆ. ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὸν λεγόμενον
θόλον, οὐ μέλανα καθάπερ σηπία ἀλλ' ὑπέρυθρον, ἐν
τῷ λεγομένῳ μήκωνι· ὁ δὲ μήκων κείται ἐπάνω τῆς
κοιλίας οἴουεὶ κύστις. σπλάγχνω²⁰ δ' οὐκ ἔχει ἀνα-
λογούν. τροφῇ δὲ χρῆται ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ τοῖς τῶν
κογχυλίων σαρκιδίοις, τὰ ὄστρακα ἐκτὸς τῶν θαλα-
e μῶν | ρίπτων· ὅθεν διαγιγνώσκουσιν οἱ θηρεύοντες.

²⁰ σπλάγχνω Olson: σπλάγχνον ACE

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Plato in *The Little Child* (fr. 100):

you, first of all, like octopi (*poulupodas*).

Alcaeus (fr. 30):

I'm eating myself, † like an octopus (*poulupous*).

But others decline the word *poulupoda*, on analogy with *pous*, *podos*, *podī*, *poda*. Eupolis in *Demes* (fr. 117):

a citizen who acts like an octopus (*poulupous*).³³¹

Diocles says in Book I of *On Matters of Health* (fr. 222 van der Eijk): Cephalopod molluscs, especially octopi, contribute to pleasure, including sex. Aristotle (fr. 226) reports that the octopus has eight legs; the upper and lower pairs are the shortest, and those in the middle are the longest. It also has two sets of sucker-cups, with which it gathers its food; its eyes above the two feet; and its mouth and teeth between its feet. When dissected, it has a brain that consists of two parts. It also has what is referred to as its ink, which is not black, as in the case of cuttlefish, but dark red, inside what is referred to as its *mēkōn* ("ink-sac").³³² The ink-sac is located on top of its gut and resembles a bladder. It has nothing comparable to entrails. It occasionally feeds on the flesh of shellfish, and tosses the shells outside its lair; this is how people hunting it recognize its presence. It entangles itself with the other octopus

³³¹ Sc. by taking on the characteristics of his environment, as in the quotations from Theognis and the *Thebaid* below. The quotation is irrelevant to the point made above, and instead continues the catalogue of example of Attic *poulupous*.

³³² Literally "poppy".

ὀχεύει δὲ συμπλεκόμενος καὶ πολὺν χρόνον πλησιάζει
διὰ τὸ ἄναιμος εἶναι. τίκει δὲ διὰ τοῦ λεγομένου
φυσητήηρος, ὅς ἐστι πόρος τῷ σώματι καὶ τίκει ψὰ
βοτρυδόν. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ ὡς ἂν ἀπορήσῃ τροφῆς,
αὐτὸν κατεσθίει. ὦν εἷς ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς
Φερεκράτης· οὗτος γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἐπιγραφομένοις Ἀγρί-
οις φησὶν·

ἐνθρύσκοισι καὶ βρακάνοις
καὶ στραβήλοισι ζῆν· ὁπόταν δ'
ἤδη πεινώσιν σφόδρα,
ὡσπερὶ τοὺς πουλύποδας
f < . . . > νύκτωρ | περιτρώ-
γειν αὐτῶν τοὺς δακτύλους.

καὶ Δίφιλος ἐν Ἐμπόρῳ·

(A.) πουλύπους·

ἔχων ἀπάσας ὀλομελεῖς τὰς πλεκτάνας.

(B.) οὐ περιβεβρωκῶς αὐτόν ἐστι, φίλτατε.

τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ ψεῦδος· ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν γόγγρων διωκόμε-
νος τοὺς πόδας ἀδικεῖται. λέγεται δ' ὡς, ἂν τις ταῖς
θαλάμαις αὐτοῦ ἄλας ὑποσπείρῃ, εὐθέως ἐξέρχεται.
ιστορεῖται δὲ καὶ ὅτι φεύγων διὰ τὸν φόβον μεταβάλ-
317 λει τὰς χροῶς || καὶ ἑξομοιοῦται τοῖς τόποις ἐν οἷς
κρύπτεται, ὡς καὶ ὁ Μεγαρεὺς Θεόγονίς φησιν ἐν ταῖς
Ἐλεγείαις·

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when mating, and has intercourse for a long time, since it lacks blood. It gives birth through what is referred to as its *phusētēr* ("blow-pipe"), which is a pore in its body; the eggs it produces resemble a cluster of grapes. People say that if it is short of food, it eats itself. One source of this story is the comic poet Pherecrates; because he says in his play entitled *Savages* (fr. 14):

to live on chervil, wild
herbs, and snails. But whenever
they get *really* hungry,
just like octopi,
they gnaw on their own
fingers at night.

Also Diphilus in *The Merchant* (fr. 33):

(A.) an octopus
with all his tentacles undamaged.
(B.) He hasn't gnawed on himself, my dear.

This is a misrepresentation; its feet are damaged when conger eels chase it.³³³ People say that if salt is introduced into its lair, it immediately emerges. The story also goes that when it is in flight, its fear causes it to change color and it makes itself resemble the place where it is hiding, as Theognis of Megara says in his *Elegiacs* (215-16):

³³³ Cf. Arist. *HA* 590^b18, 591^a5.

πουλύπου ὄργην ἴσχε πολυπλόκου, ὃς ποτὶ
 πέτρῃ,
 τῇ προσομιλήσῃ, τοίος ἰδεῖν ἐφάνη.

ὁμοίως ἱστορεῖ καὶ Κλέαρχος ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ Παροι-
 μιῶν παρατιθέμενος τάδε τὰ ἔπη, οὐ δηλῶν ὅτου ἐστί·

πουλύποδός μοι, τέκνον, ἔχων νόον, Ἀμφίλοχ'
 ἦρως, |

b τοῖσιν ἐφαρμόζου, τῶν κεν <κατὰ> δῆμον ἵκηαι.

περὶ δὲ Τροιζήνα τὸ παλαιόν, φησὶν ὁ αὐτὸς Κλέαρ-
 χος, οὔτε τὸν ἱερὸν καλούμενον πουλύπουν οὔτε τὸν
 κωπηλάτην²¹ νόμιμον ἦν θηρεῦειν, ἀλλ' ἀπέϊπον τού-
 των τε καὶ τῆς θαλαττίας χελώνης μὴ ἄπτεσθαι. ὁ δὲ
 πουλύπους ἐστὶ συντηκτικὸς καὶ λίαν ἀνόητος· πρὸς
 γὰρ τὴν χεῖρα τῶν διωκόντων βαδίζει καὶ διωκόμενος
 ἔστιν ὅτε οὐχ ὑποχωρεῖ. συντήκονται δ' αὐτῶν αἱ
 θήλειαι μετὰ τὸν τόκον καὶ παρίενται διὸ καὶ ῥαδίως
 c ἀλίσκονται. ἐωράθησαν | δὲ ποτε καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ξηρὸν
 ἐξιόντες, μάλιστα δὲ πρὸς τὰ τραχέα τῶν χωρίων
 φεύγουσι γὰρ τὰ λεία. καὶ χαίρουσι δὲ τῶν φυτῶν
 ταῖς ἐλαίαις καὶ πολλάκις εὐρίσκονται ταῖς πλεκτά-
 ναις περιειληφότες τὸ στέλεχος. ἐφωράθησαν δὲ καὶ
 συκέαις προσπεφυκυῖαις τῇ θαλάσσει προσπλεκόμε-
 νοι καὶ τῶν σύκων ἐσθίουτες, ὡς φησι Κλέαρχος ἐν τῷ
 Περὶ τῶν Ἐν τῷ Ἰγρῷ. ἐστὶ δὲ δεῖγμα τοῦ ἠδεσθαι

²¹ κωπηλάτην πουλύπουν ACE: πουλύπουν del. Kaibel

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Have the temperament of a wily octopus, which looks like the rock it clings to!

Clearchus in Book II of *On Proverbs* (fr. 75 Wehrli)³³⁴ offers a similar account, citing the following hexameter lines, although without identifying the author (*Theb.* fr. 4.1–2 Bernabé):

Think like an octopus, heroic Amphilocheus my child,
and assimilate yourself to the people to whose land
you come!

Long ago in Troezen, according to the same Clearchus, no one was allowed to hunt either the so-called sacred octopus or the nautilus, and they refused to let anyone touch either creature or the sea-turtle. The octopus is easily liquefied³³⁵ and extremely stupid; it goes straight into the hands of people hunting it and sometimes does not try to get away when it is being hunted. Female octopi waste away and grow weak after giving birth, and are therefore easily caught. They have occasionally been seen coming out of the water onto dry land, especially in rough areas; they avoid smooth places. They also like olive trees, and are often found with their tentacles wrapped around the trunk of one. They have also been spotted entangled in fig-trees that grow beside the sea, eating the figs, according to Clearchus in his *On Aquatic Creatures* (fr. 102 Wehrli).

³³⁴ Continuing through 7.317d; but cf. Arist. *HA* 621^b–2^a.

³³⁵ I.e. made soft enough to eat; cf. 7.316b.

αὐτοὺς τῇ ἐλαίᾳ καὶ τοῦτο· εἴαν τις κλάδον τοῦ φυτοῦ
τούτου καθῆ εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν καθ' ἣν εἰσι πουλύ-
d ποδες | καὶ μικρὸν ἐπίσχη, ἀπονητὶ ἀνέλκει τῷ κλάδῳ
περιπλεκομένους ὄσους ἐθέλει. ἔχουσι δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα
μέρη ἰσχυρότατα, τὸν δὲ τράχηλον ἀσθενῆ. λέγεται δ'
αὐτῶν τὸν ἄρρενα ἔχειν²² αἰδοιωδές τι ἐν μιᾷ τῶν
πλεκτανῶν, ἐν ἣ αἱ δύο μεγάλαι κοτυληδόνες εἰσίν.
εἶναι δὲ τοῦτο νευρῶδες μέχρι εἰς μέσσην τὴν πλεκτά-
νην ἅπαν προσπεφυκός. ἐν δὲ πέμπτῳ Μορίων φησὶν
Ἀριστοτέλης· πουλύπους ὀχεύει τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ
τίκτει τῷ ἔαρι. φωλεύει δὲ περὶ δύο μῆνας. ἐστὶ δὲ
e πολύγονον τὸ ζῶον. διαφέρει | δὲ ὁ ἄρρην τῆς θηλείας
τῷ τε τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔχειν προμηκεστέραν καὶ τὸ κα-
λούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλιέων αἰδοῖον ἔχειν ἐν τῇ
πλεκτάνῃ. ἐπώζει δὲ ὅταν τέκη· διὸ καὶ χεῖριστοὶ εἰσι
κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον. ἀποτίκτει δ' ὁ μὲν πουλύπους
ἢ εἰς θαλάμας ἢ εἰς κεράμιον ἢ τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτο
κοῖλον· καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας πεντήκοντα ἐκ τῶν ὤων που-
λυπόδια ἐξέρπει ὥσπερ τὰ φαλάγγια πολλά. ὁ δὲ
θηλὺς πουλύπους ὅτε μὲν κ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ὤοις, ὅτε δ' ²³ ἐπὶ
τῷ στόματι προκάθεται τῆς θαλάμης, τὴν πλεκτάνην |
f ἐπέχων. Θεόφραστος δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν Μεταβαλλόν-
των τὰς Χρόας τὸν πολύποδά φησι τοῖς πετρώδεσι
μάλιστα μόνοις συνεξομοιοῦσθαι, τοῦτο ποιῶντα
φόβῳ καὶ φυλακῆς χάριν. ἐν δὲ τῷ Περὶ τῶν Ἐν τῷ
Ξηρῷ Διατριβόντων Ζώων οὐδέχασθαι φησι τοὺς
πολύποδας τὴν θάλατταν. ἐν δὲ τῷ Περὶ τῶν Κατὰ
Τόπους Διαφορῶν ὁ Θεόφραστος πολύποδας οὐ γίνε-

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The following shows that they like fig trees: if you lower a branch of this tree into a part of the sea where there are octopi, and wait a bit, you can catch as many as you want, entangled in the branch, without any effort. The rest of their body is extremely strong, but their neck is weak. People say that the male has something that resembles a penis in one of his tentacles, and that it contains two large sacs. This organ is muscular and is fully attached to the tentacle along half its length. Aristotle says in Book V of *Parts* (fr. 227): The octopus mates in the winter and bears its young in the spring. It retreats into a burrow for about two months. The creature produces large numbers of young. The male differs from the female in having a longer head, as well as what the fishermen refer to as its penis on its tentacle. It broods on its eggs when it produces them; octopi are therefore of the lowest quality during this period. The octopus releases its eggs either into nests or into a jar or something else hollow of that sort; after 50 days large numbers of tiny octopi resembling spiders emerge from the eggs. The female octopus sometimes sits on the eggs, and at other times sits at the mouth of its lair with its tentacles extended. Theophrastus in his *On Things That Change Color* (fr. 365b Fortenbaugh, encompassing all three quotations) claims that the octopus generally tries to make itself resemble only rocks and the like, and does so out of fear and to keep itself safe. In his *On Animals That Live on Dry Land* he says that octopi do not ingest sea-water. In his *On Things That Vary by Place*, Theophrastus claims that

²² ἔχειν ed. Basil: ἔλκειν ACE

²³ Added by Kaibel from Aristotle.

- σθαί φησιν περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον· ψυχρὰ γὰρ ἡ θάλασσα αὕτη καὶ ἦττον ἀλμυρά, ταῦτα δ' ἀμφοτέρω πολέμια πολύποδι. ὁ δὲ ναυτίλος καλούμενος, φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης, πολύπους μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν, ἐμφερῆς δὲ κατὰ τὰς πλεκτάνας· ἔχει δὲ τὸ νῶτον ὄστρακόδερμον.
- 318 ἢ ἀναδύνει δὲ ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἔχων τὸ ὄστρακον, ἵνα μὴ τὴν θάλατταν ἔλκη· ἐπαναστραφεὶς δ' ἐπιπλεῖ ἄνω ποιήσας δύο τῶν πλεκτανῶν, αἱ μεταξὺ αὐτῶν λεπτὸν ὑμένα ἔχουσιν διαπεφυκότα, ὡς καὶ τῶν ὀρνίθων οἱ πόδες ὀρῶνται μεταξὺ τῶν δακτύλων δερμάτινον ὑμένα ἔχοντες· ἄλλας δὲ δύο πλεκτάνας καθίστησιν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀντὶ πηδαλίων. ὅταν δέ τι προσιὸν ἴδῃ, δείσας συστέλλει τοὺς πόδας καὶ πληρώσας αὐτὸν τῆς θαλάσσης κατὰ βυθοῦ ὡς τάχος
- b χωρεῖ. ἢ ἐν δὲ τῷ Περὶ Ζωικῶν καὶ Ἰχθύων, πολύπους, φησί, τις ὁ μὲν τρεψίχρως, ὁ δὲ ναυτίλος. εἰς τὸν ναυτίλον τοῦτον φέρεται τι Καλλιμάχου τοῦ Κυρηναίου ἐπίγραμμα οὕτως ἔχον·

κόγχος ἐγώ, Ζεφυρίτι, παλαιότερον, ἀλλὰ σὺ νῦν
 με,

Κύπρι, Σεληναίης ἄνθεμα πρῶτον ἔχεις,
 ναυτίλος ὃς πελάγεσσιν ἐπέπλεον, εἰ μὲν ἀῆται,
 τείνας οἰκείων λαΐφος ἀπὸ προτόνων,
 εἰ δὲ Γαληναίη, λιπαρὴ θεός, οὖλος ἐρέσσω |
 c ποσσίν — ἴδ' ὡς τῶργῳ τοῦνομα
 συμφέρεται —

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no octopi are found around the Hellespont; because the sea is cold and less salty there, and both conditions are unfavorable for octopi. According to Aristotle (fr. 228, including the quotation from *On Living Creatures and Fish* below), the so-called nautilus is not an octopus, but has similar tentacles; its back is fitted with a hard shell. When it rises from the depths, it has its shell over it, to keep it from taking on sea-water. Once it reaches the surface, it raises two of its tentacles, which have a thin membrane that grows between them, just as birds' feet can be seen to have a leathery membrane between the digits, and sails along; it lowers another two tentacles into the sea to serve as rudders. When it sees something approaching, it becomes frightened and rolls up its feet; fills itself with sea-water; and descends into the depths as quickly as it can. But in his *On Living Creatures and Fish* he says: One type of octopus changes color, while another is the nautilus. An epigram by Callimachus of Cyrene (Epigram V = *HE* 1109–20) refers to this nautilus and runs as follows:

I was a shellfish long ago, Cypris Zephyritis, but now
I am an initial dedication by Selenaië that belongs
to you.

I was a nautilus who sailed over the sea, spreading
out
a sail from my private forestays if the wind blew,
whereas if the radiant goddess Calm was present, I
traveled by rowing vigorously
with my feet—look how my name fits my
behavior!³³⁶—

³³⁶ Sc. because *nautilus* ("nautilus") is cognate with the verb *nautillomai* ("sail").

ἔστ' ἔπεσον παρὰ θίνας Ἰουλίδας ὄφρα γένωμαι
 σοὶ τὸ περίσκεπτον παίγνιον, Ἄρσινόη,
 μηδὲ μοι ἐν θαλάμησιν ἔθ' ὡς πάρος (εἰμὶ γὰρ
 ἄπνους)

τίκτεται νοτερῆς ὤεον ἀλκύνος.

Κλεινίου ἀλλὰ θυγατρὶ δίδου χάριν, οἶδε γὰρ
 ἐσθλὰ

ῥέζειν, καὶ Σμύρνης ἐστὶν ἀπ' Αἰολίδος. |

- d ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ Ποσειδίππος εἰς τὴν ἐν τῷ Ζεφυρίῳ
 τιμωμένῃ ταύτῃ Ἀφροδίτῃ τὸδε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα·

τοῦτο καὶ ἐν πόντῳ καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ τῆς

Φιλαδέλφου

Κύπριδος ἰλάσκεσθ' ἱερὸν Ἄρσινόης

ἣν ἀνακοιρανέουσιν ἐπὶ Ζεφυρίτιδος ἀκτῆς

πρῶτος ὁ ναύαρχος θήκατο Καλλικράτης·

ἣ δὲ καὶ εὐπλοίην δώσει καὶ χεῖματι μέσσω

τὸ πλατὺ λισσομένοις ἐκλιπανεῖ πέλαγος.

- τοῦ πολύποδος μνημονεύει καὶ ὁ τραγικὸς Ἴων ἐν |
 e Φοίνικι λέγων·

καὶ τὸν πετραῖον πλεκτάναις ἀναίμοσι

στρυγῶ μεταλλακτῆρα πουλύπουν χροός.

εἶδη δ' ἐστὶ πολυπόδων ἐλεδώνη, πολυποδίνη, βολβι-
 τίνη, ὄσμυλος, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης ἱστορεῖ καὶ Σπεύσιπ-
 πος. ἐν δὲ τῷ Περὶ Ζωικῶν Ἀριστοτέλης μαλάκιά

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until I fell along the Iulian shore, to become
 your remarkable trinket, Arsinoe,
 and so that no longer, as before, the eggs of the sea-
 halcyon
 might be laid in my recesses; for I am lifeless.
 But show favor to Cleinias' daughter; for she knows
 how
 to behave well and is from Aeolian Smyrna.

Posidippus wrote the following epigram as well in honor of this Aphrodite, who is worshipped in Zephyrium (Posidipp. 119 Austin-Bastianini = *HE* 3120-5):

On both sea and land make offerings to this temple
 of Philadelphus Cypris Arsinoe,
 whom the fleet-commander Callicrates was first to
 establish
 as queen upon the Zephyrian coast.
 She will grant easy sailing, and even in mid-storm
 will calm the broad sea for those who beseech her.

The tragic poet Ion mentions the octopus in *Phoenix* (*TrGF* 19 F 36), saying:

I despise the octopus that lives among the rocks
 with its bloodless tentacles, and changes color.

According to Aristotle (fr. 229, including the material from *On Living Creatures* that follows) and Speusippus (fr. 17 Tarán),³³⁷ the varieties of octopus are: the *heledōnē*, *polupodinē*, *bolbitinē*, and *osmulos*. But in his *On Living Creatures* Aristotle says that the cephalopod molluscs are:

³³⁷ Probably from *Similar Things*.

φησιν εἶναι πουλύποδας, ὀσμύλην, ἐλεδώνην, σηπῖαν, τευθίδα. Ἐπίχαρμος δ' ἐν Ἑβας Γάμῳ

πώλυποί τε σηπῖαι τε καὶ ποταναὶ τευθίδες
 χαῖ δυσώδης βολβιτὶς γραῖαί τ' ἐριθακώδεες. |

f Ἀρχέστρατος δέ φησι

πούλυποι ἔν τε Θάσῳ καὶ Καρίῃ εἰσὶν ἄριστοι.
 καὶ Κέρκυρα τρέφει πολλοὺς μεγάλους τε τὸ
 πλῆθος.

Δωριεῖς δ' αὐτὸν διὰ τοῦ ᾧ καλοῦσι πώλυπον, ὡς
 Ἐπίχαρμος. καὶ Σιμωνίδης δ' ἔφη

πώλυπον διζήμενος.

Ἀττικοὶ δὲ πουλύπουν. ἐστὶ δὲ τῶν σελαχωδῶν τὰ
 χονδρώδη δ' οὕτω λέγεται

πουλύποδες, γαλεοὶ τε κύνες.

μαλάκια δὲ καλεῖται τὰ τευθιδώδη. σελάχια δὲ τὰ τῶν
 ῥινῶν²⁴ φύλα.

319 Πάγουροι. || τούτων μέμνηται Τιμοκλῆς ἢ Ξέναρ-
 χος ἐν Πορφύρᾳ οὕτως:

²⁴ ῥινῶν Kaibel: ἐρίων ACE

338 The first verse is quoted also at 7.323f.

339 Presumably to be identified with the *bolbitinē* variety of octopus mentioned above.

BOOK VII

octopi, the *osmulē*, *heledōnē*, cuttlefish, and squid. Epicharmus in *The Wedding of Hebe* (fr. 54):³³⁸

and octopi (*pōlupoi*) and cuttlefish and racing squid
and the foul-smelling *bolbitis*³³⁹ and large crabs with
their soft parts inside.

And Arcestratus says (fr. 54 Olson–Sens = *SH* 184.1–2):

Octopi (*poulupoi*) are best in Thasos and Caria.
Cercyra too produces many that are large in size.

Doric authors refer to it as a *pōlupos*, with an *omega*, for example Epicharmus (fr. 54.1, above).³⁴⁰ Simonides (*PMG* 514) as well said:

Looking for an octopus (*pōlupos*).

But Attic authors use *poulupous*. It is one of *selachōdai*, which is the term for cartilaginous fish (Arcestr. fr. dub. 63 Olson–Sens = *SH* 184.3):

octopi (*poulupodes*) and dogfish-sharks.

Squid-like creatures are referred to as *malakia*³⁴¹. The various species of monkfish are *selachia*.

Crabs. Timocles or Xenarchus (fr. 8) mentions these in *Porphyra*,³⁴² as follows:

³⁴⁰ A final fragment of the grammatical source with which the entry began (7.316a–c).

³⁴¹ “Softies”, i.e. “cephalopod molluscs”.

³⁴² Athenaeus expresses doubts about the authorship of *Porphyra* also at 10.431a, but at 6.225c attributes the play unambiguously to Xenarchus.

ATHENAEUS

† ἵτ ἄλιεὺς ὢν ἄκρος σοφίαν
 ἐν παγούροις μὲν θεοῖς ἐχθροῖσι καὶ †
 ἰχθυδίοις εὖρηκα παντοδαπὰς τέχνας,
 γέροντα βούγλωπτον δὲ μὴ ταχέως πάνυ
 συναρπάσομαι; καλόν γ' ἂν εἴη.

Πηλαμύς. Φρύνιχος ἐν Μούσαις μνημονεύει. Ἄριστοτέλης δ' ἐν πέμπτῳ Ζῶων Μορίων, αἱ πηλαμύδες, φησί, καὶ οἱ θύννοι τίκτουσιν ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ, ἄλλοθι δὲ οὐ. μνημονεύει αὐτῶν καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Ποιμέσιν. |

- b ἔνθ' ἡ πάροικος πηλαμύς χειμάζεται
 πάραυλος Ἑλλησποντίς, ὠραία θέρουσ
 τῷ Βοσπορίτῃ· τῆδε γὰρ θαμίζεται.

Πέρκαι. τούτων μέμνηται Διοκλῆς καὶ Σπεύσιππος ἐν δευτέρῳ Ὅμοίων, παραπλησίας εἶναι λέγων πέρκην, χάνναν, φυκίδα. Ἐπίχαρμος δὲ φησι

κομαρίδας τε καὶ κύνας κέστρας τε πέρκας τ'
 αἰόλας.

Νουμήμιος δ' ἐν Ἀλιευτικῷ·

ἄλλοτε δ' αὖ πέρκας, ὅτε δὲ στροφάδας παρὰ
 πέτρην |

³⁴³ Sometimes used as a generic name equivalent to *thunnos* ("tuna"), at other times seemingly a specific term for a young tuna or one of the smaller species.

³⁴⁴ Cf. 7.305b.

† [corrupt] being a consummate fisherman wisdom in crabs on the one hand to hostile gods and † I've discovered all sorts of tricks to use on little fish—and you think I won't catch an old *bouglōttos* immediately? That would be great!

Pēlamus.³⁴³ Phrynichus mentions the fish in *Muses* (fr. 36). Aristotle says in Book V of *Parts of Animals* (fr. 230): *Pēlamudes* and tuna (*thunnoi*) spawn in the Black Sea, but nowhere else. Sophocles refers to them in *Shepherds* (fr. 503):

The *pēlamus* spends the winter there as a visitor living nearby, in the Hellespont, and is in season in the summer
for the inhabitants of the Bosphorus; it is common there.

Perches. Diocles mentions these (fr. 230 van der Eijk),³⁴⁴ as does Speusippus in Book II of *Similar Things* (fr. 18 Tarán), where he claims that the perch, sea-perch (*channa*), and *phukis*-wrasse resemble one another. Epicharmus says (fr. 43):³⁴⁵

and crayfish and sharks and spets and speckled perches.

Numenius in the *Art of Fishing* (SH 577.1–3):³⁴⁶

Sometimes, moreover, perches, at other times *phukis*-wrasses that swim in circles

³⁴⁵ Also quoted at 7.323c (cf. 7.323a), where the fragment is assigned to *The Wedding of Hebe*.

³⁴⁶ For the fragment, see 7.313c–d n.

- c φυκίδας ἀλφηστήν τε καὶ ἐν χροίησιν ἐρυθρὸν σκορπίον.

Πέρκη. καὶ ταύτης Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Ἡβας Γάμφ μέμνηται καὶ Σπεύσιππος ἐν δευτέρῳ τῶν Ὀμοίων καὶ Νουμήνιος, ὧν τὰ μαρτύρια πρόκειται. Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ζωικῶν ἀκανθοστεφῆ φησιν εἶναι καὶ ποικιλόχροα φυκίδα. τῶν δὲ γραμμοποικίλων πλαγίαις τε ταῖς ῥάβδοις κεχρημένων πέρκη. καὶ παροιμία δέ ἐστιν·

< . . . > ἔπεται πέρκη μελανούρω.

Ῥαφίδες. καὶ τούτων μέμνηται Ἐπίχαρμος λέγων·

- d κῶξύρυγχοι ραφίδες | ἵππουροί τε.

Δωρίων δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἰχθύων, βελόνην, φησίν, ἣν καλοῦσιν ραφίδα. Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἐν πέμπτῳ Ζῴων Μορίων βελόνην αὐτὴν καλεῖ· ἐν δὲ τῷ Περὶ Ζωικῶν ἢ Ἰχθύων ραφίδα αὐτὴν ὀνομάσας ἀνόδου φησὶν αὐτὴν εἶναι. καὶ Σπεύσιππος αὐτὴν βελόνην καλεῖ.

Ῥίνη. Δωρίων ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἰχθύων ἐν Σμύρνη φησὶν τὰς ῥίνας διαφόρους γίνεσθαι, καὶ πάντα δὲ τὰ σελαχάδη τὸν Σμυρναϊκὸν κόλπον ἔχειν διαφέροντα. Ἀρχέστρατος δὲ φησιν· |

347 Cf. SH 587.2 (quoted at 7.315b).

348 This sentence is out of place here.

349 I.e. "Every cloud has a silver lining" *vel sim.*; cf. Matro fr.

among the rocks, or a wrasse or a red-skinned bullhead.

Perch. Epicharmus mentions this fish in *The Wedding of Hebe* (fr. 43), as do Speusippus in Book II of *Similar Things* (fr. 18 Tarán) and Numenius (*SH* 577.1);³⁴⁷ the evidence drawn from them is cited above. Aristotle in his *On Living Creatures* (fr. 231) says that the *phukis*-wrasse has spines along its back and variegated coloring.³⁴⁸ The perch is one of the fish with stripes and lines that run sideways. There is also a proverb:

A perch follows a *melanouros*.³⁴⁹

Garfish. Epicharmus mentions these, saying (fr. 45.1):³⁵⁰

and garfish with pointed jaws and *hippouroi*.

Dorion says in his *On Fish*: a *belonē*³⁵¹, also referred to as a garfish. Aristotle in Book V of *Parts of Animals* (fr. 232) refers to it as a *belonē*; but in his *On Living Creatures or Fish* he calls it a garfish and says that it lacks teeth. Speusippus (fr. 19 Tarán) also refers to it as a *belonē*.³⁵²

Monkfish. Dorion in his *On Fish* claims that the monkfish are particularly good in Smyrna, and that all the cartilaginous fish (*ta selachōdē*) found in the Gulf of Smyrna are outstanding. But Archestratus says (fr. 47 Olson-Sens = *SH* 177):

1.51-2 Olson-Sens (quoted at 4.135e); Numen. *SH* 577.3 (quoted at 7.313c-d); Antiph. fr. 192.4 (quoted at 10.450c).

³⁵⁰ Quoted at slightly greater length at 7.304c; cf. 7.328b.

³⁵¹ Literally "a needle".

³⁵² Cf. 7.323a-b (from *Similar Things*).

- e καὶ σελάχη μέντοι κλεινὴ Μίλητος ἄριστα
ἐκτρέφει. ἀλλὰ τί χρὴ ρίνης λόγον ἢ πλατυνώτου
λειοβάτου ποιείσθαι; ὁμῶς κροκόδειλον ἂν ὀπτὸν
δαισαίμην ἀπ' ἵπνου τερπνὸν παιδείσσειν Ἴώνων.

Σκάρος. τοῦτον Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶν καρχαρόδοντα
εἶναι καὶ μονήρη καὶ σαρκοφάγον ἔχειν τε στόμα
f μικρὸν καὶ γλωτταν οὐ λίαν | προσπεφυκυῖαν, καρ-
δίαν τρίγωνον, ἦπαρ λευκὸν τρίλοβον, ἔχειν τε χολήν
καὶ σπλήνα μέλανα, τῶν δὲ βραγχίων τὸ μὲν διπλοῦν,
τὸ δὲ ἀπλοῦν. μόνος δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἰχθύων μηρυ-
κάζει. χαίρει δὲ τῇ τῶν φυκίων τροφῇ· διὸ καὶ τούτοις
θηρέυεται. ἀκμάζει δὲ θέρους. Ἐπίχαρμος δ' ἐν Ἦβας
Γάμω φησὶν·

ἀλιεύομεν σπάρους

καὶ σκάρους, τῶν οὐδὲ τὸ σκάρ θεμιτὸν ἐκβαλεῖν
θεοῖς. ||

- 320 Σέλευκος δ' ὁ Ταρσεὺς ἐν τῷ Ἀλιευτικῷ μόνον φησὶ
τῶν ἰχθύων τὸν σκάρον καθεύδειν²⁵. ὅθεν οὐδὲ νύκτωρ
ποτὲ ἀλῶναι. τοῦτο δ' ἴσως διὰ φόβον αὐτῷ συμ-
βαίνει. Ἀρχέστρατος δ' ἐν τῇ Γαστρονομίᾳ·

<τὸν> σκάρον ἐξ Ἐφέσου ζήτει, χειμῶνι δὲ
τρίγλαν

²⁵ add. Casaubon

³⁵³ Quoted again, in a more complete (and somewhat differ-
ent) form, at 7.320c. .

BOOK VII

As for sharks and rays, you know, famous Miletus
produces
the best. But why should I mention the monkfish
or the broadbacked *leiobatos*-ray? I would just as
soon dine on
oven-roasted lizard, in which the children of the
Ionians take delight.

Parrot-wrasse. Aristotle (fr. 233) reports that this fish is jagged-toothed, solitary, and carnivorous, and has a small mouth with a tongue not very tightly attached to it, a triangular heart, and a white liver with three lobes, as well as a black gall-bladder and spleen, and one double and one single gill. It is also the only fish that chews a cud. It likes to eat seaweed and is accordingly caught using this as bait. It is best in the summer. Epicharmus says in *The Wedding of Hebe* (fr. 48.2-3):³⁵³

We're fishing for *sparos*-breams
and parrot-wrasse; the gods aren't even allowed to
discard their shit!

Seleucus of Tarsus in his *Art of Fishing*³⁵⁴ claims that the parrot-wrasse is the only fish that sleeps, which is why it is never caught at night. But perhaps this happens simply because it is afraid. Arcestratus in his *Gastronomy* (fr. 42.1-3 Olson-Sens = *SH* 172):³⁵⁵

Seek out the parrot-wrasse from Ephesus, and in
winter eat

³⁵⁴ Cf. 1.13c.

³⁵⁵ Three additional verses seemingly from the same fragment are quoted at 7.325e.

ἔσθι' ἐνὶ ψαφαρῇ ληφθεῖσαν Τειχιόεσση,
Μιλήτου κόμη Καρῶν πέλας ἀγκυλοκῶλων.

κὰν ἄλλω δὲ μέρει φησίν· |

- b καὶ σκάρων ἐν παράλῳ Καλχηδόνι τὸν μέγαν
ὄπτα
πλύνας εὖ· χρηστὸν δὲ καὶ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ὄψει
κευμεγέθη, κυκλίῃ ἴσον ἀσπίδι σῶμα φοροῦντα.
τούτου ὅλον θεράπευε τρόπον τοιόνδε· λαβὼν νιν,
ἥνικ' ἂν εὖ τυρῶ καὶ ἐλαίῳ πάντα πυκασθῆ,
κρίβανον ἐς θερμὸν κρέμασον κᾶπειτα κατόπτα.
πάσσειν δ' ἄλσι κυμινοτρίβοις καὶ γλαυκῶ
ἐλαίῳ |
- c ἐκ χειρὸς κατακρουνίζων θεοδέγμονα πηγῆν.

Νίκανδρος δ' ὁ Θυατειρηνὸς δύο γένη φησὶν εἶναι
σκάρων καὶ καλεῖσθαι τὸν μὲν ὀνίαν, τὸν δὲ αἰολον.

Σπάρως. τούτου Ἰκέσιος εὐχυλότερον μὲν εἶναι
μαινίδος καὶ ἄλλων δὲ πλειόνων τροφιμώτερον. Ἐπί-
χαρμος δ' ἐν Ἑβας Γάμῳ·

αὐτὸς ὁ Ποτιδὰν ἄγων γαύλοισιν ἐν Φοινικικοῖς
ἴκε καλλίστους † ἀθηατήγανος † ἀγεμῶν
σπάρους

356 I.e. olive oil, one of Athena's gifts to mankind.

357 For the fragment, cf. 7.319f with n.

BOOK VII

red mullet caught in sandy Teichioessa,
a Milesian village close to the bent-limbed Carians.

So too in another part of the poem he says (fr. 14 Olson-Sens = *SH* 144):

As for the parrot-wrasse, the big one in seaside
Calchedon, roast it
after you wash it carefully. In Byzantium as well you
will see a fine one,
nice and big, with a body as large as a circular shield.
Prepare the latter whole in the following way: after
you purchase it,
as soon as it has been thoroughly coated with cheese
and olive oil,
hang it in a hot oven, and then roast it thoroughly.
Sprinkle it with salt ground up with cumin, and with
grayish olive oil,
pouring the god-given stream³⁵⁶ out of your hand
down over it.

Nicander of Thyateira (*FGrH* 343 F 11) says that there are two varieties of parrot-wrasse, and that one is referred to as an *onias*, the other as an *aiolos*.

Sparos-bream. Hicesius claims that this fish produces better *chulē* than the sprat and is more nourishing than most other fish. Epicharmus in *The Wedding of Hebe* (fr. 48):³⁵⁷

Poseidon himself has come in the lead, bringing
wonderful
[corrupt] *sparos*-breams and parrot-wrasses in
Phoenician

καὶ σκάρους, τῶν οὐδὲ τὸ σκὰρ θεμιτὸν ἐκβαλεῖν
θεοῖς.

Νουμήνιος δ' ἐν Ἀλιευτικῷ· |

d ἢ σπάρων ἢ ὕκας ἀγελήιδας.

μνημονεύει δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Δωρίων ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἰχθύων.

Σκορπίος. Διοκλῆς ἐν πρώτῳ τῶν Πρὸς Πλείσταρχον Ὑγιεινῶν τῶν μὲν νεαρῶν φησιν ἰχθύων ξηροτέρους εἶναι τὰς σάρκας σκορπίους, κόκκυγας, ψήττας, σαργούς, τραχούρους, τὰς δὲ τρίγλας ἤττον τούτων ξηροσάρκους· οἱ γὰρ πετραῖοι μαλακοσαρκότεροί εἰσιν. Ἰκέσιος δὲ φησι τῶν σκορπίων ὁ μὲν ἐστὶ πελάγιος, ὁ δὲ τεναγώδης. καὶ ὁ μὲν πελάγιος πυρρός,
e ὁ δ' ἕτερος μελανίζων· | διαφέρει δὲ τῇ γεύσει καὶ τῷ τροφίμῳ ὁ πελάγιος. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ σκορπίοι σμηκτικοί, εὐέκκριτοι, πολύχυλοι, πολύτροφοι· χονδρώδεις γὰρ εἰσι. τίκτει δ' ὁ σκορπίος δῖς, ὡς φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν πέμπτῳ Ζῶων Μορίων. Νουμήνιος δ' ἐν Ἀλιευτικῷ·

φυκίδας ἀλφηστήν τε καὶ ἐν χροιῆσιν ἐρυθρὸν
σκορπίον ἢ πέρκαισι καθηγητὴν μελάνουρον.

ὅτι δὲ καὶ πληκτικός ἐστίν, Ἀριστοτέλης ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἰχθύων <καὶ> Ζωικῶν. Ἐπίχαρμος δ' ἐν Μούσαις ποικίλον εἶναί φησι τὸν σκορπίον· |

358 Quoted at slightly greater length at 7.327a–b.

359 Cf. 7.324f, 326a, 329e.

360 For the fragment, see 7.313c–d n.

merchant-ships; the gods aren't even allowed to discard their shit!

Numenius in the *Art of Fishing* (SH 581.1):³⁵⁸

or a *sparos*-bream or schooling *hukes*.

Dorion also mentions it in his *On Fish*.

Bullhead. Diocles in Book I of his *A Response to Pleistarchus on Matters of Health* (fr. 225 van der Eijk)³⁵⁹ says that of fresh fish, those with drier flesh are bullheads, gurnards, flounder, sargues, and scads, whereas red mullets are less dry-fleshed than these; because rockfish have tenderer flesh. Hicesius says: One variety of bullhead lives in the deep sea, the other in the shallows. The deep-sea variety is reddish, while the other tends toward black; and the deep-sea variety is superior in both flavor and the nourishment it provides. Bullheads are purgative, easily excreted, productive of large amounts of *chulē*, and very nourishing; because they are cartilaginous fish. The bullhead spawns twice a year, according to Aristotle in Book V of *Parts of Animals* (fr. 234). Numenius in the *Art of Fishing* (SH 577.2-3):³⁶⁰

phukis-wrasses and a wrasse and a red-skinned bullhead, or a *melanouros* that leads the way for perches.

Aristotle in his *On Fish and Living Creatures* (fr. 235) reports that it has a sting. Epicharmus in *Muses* (fr. 87)³⁶¹ claims that the bullhead is speckled:

³⁶¹ Very similar to Epich. fr. 44 (from *The Wedding of Hebe*), quoted at 7.295b.

f σκορπίοι τε ποικίλοι γλαυκοί τε, σαῦροι πίονες.

μονήρης δ' ἐστὶ καὶ φυκοφάγος. ἐν δὲ πέμπτῳ Ζῶων Μορίων ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης σκορπίους καὶ σκορπίδας ἐν διαφόροις τόποις ὀνομάζει· ἄδηλον δὲ εἰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς λέγει· ὅτι καὶ σκόρπαινας²⁶ καὶ σκορπίους πολλάκις ἡμεῖς ἐφάγομεν καὶ διάφοροι καὶ οἱ χυμοὶ καὶ αἱ χροαὶ εἰσὶν οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ. ὁ δ' ὀψαρτυτῆς Ἀρχέστρατος ἐν τοῖς χρυσοῖς ἔπεισι λέγει· ||

321 ἐν δὲ Θάσῳ τὸν σκορπίον ὠνοῦ, ἐὰν ἦ μὴ μείζων πυγόνος· μεγάλου δ' ἀπὸ χεῖρας ἴαλλε.

Σκόμβρος. Ἀριστοφάνης Γηρυτάδῃ. Ἰκέσιός φησι τοὺς σκόμβρους ἐλαχίστους μὲν εἶναι κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος, τροφιμωτέρους δὲ τῶν κολιῶν καὶ εὐχυλοτέρους, οὐ μὴν εὐεκκριτωτέρους. μνημονεύει αὐτῶν οὕτως καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Ἑβας Γάμῳ·

καὶ χελιδόνες τε μύρμαι θ' οἷ τε κολιῶν μέζονες ἐντὶ καὶ σκόμβρων, ἀτὰρ τῶν θυννίδων γὰρ μήονες.

b Σαργοί. οὗτοι, ὡς φησιν Ἰκέσιος, στύφουσι | μᾶλλον καὶ τῶν μελανούρων εἰσὶ τροφιμώτεροι. Νουμή-

²⁶ σκόρπαιναν ACE

and speckled bullheads and *glaukoi*, fat horse-mackerel.

It is solitary and eats seaweed. In Book V of *Parts of Animals* (fr. 236) Aristotle uses the names *skorpioi* ("bullheads") and *skorpidēs* in different places; it is unclear whether he is referring to the same fish. No one is unaware that we often ate both *skorpainai* and *skorpioi*, and that their broth and color are exceptional. The chef Archestratus says in his exemplary verses (fr. 30 Olson-Sens = SH 160):

Buy the bullhead in Thasos, unless it is
larger than a bare cubit.³⁶² Keep your hands off the
big one.

Mackerel. Aristophanes in *Gerytades* (fr. 189).³⁶³ Hicesius claims that mackerel are quite small, but are more nourishing and produce better *chulē* than Spanish mackerel, although they are less easily excreted. Epicharmus in *The Wedding of Hebe* (fr. 55) refers to them as follows:³⁶⁴

and flying-fish and *murmai*, which are larger than
Spanish
mackerel and mackerel, but smaller than *thunnides*.

Sargues. According to Hicesius, these are more astringent and more nourishing than *melanouroi*. Numenius in

³⁶² 5/6 of a normal cubit, or about 15 inches.

³⁶³ The quotation has apparently fallen out of the text.

³⁶⁴ A portion of the fragment is quoted also at 7.313e.

νιος δ' ἐν Ἀλιευτικῷ πανούργον εἶναί φησι περὶ τὰς
θήρας τὸν σαργόν·

κόσσυφον ἢ κίχλας ἀλιειδέας, ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλη
σάργον ἐπικέλσονται, λινοπληγέστατον ἰχθύν.

Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἐν πέμπτῳ Μορίων τίκτειν αὐτόν φη-
σιν δῖς, ἕαρος, εἶτα μετοπώρου. Ἐπίχαρμος δ' ἐν
Ἑβας Γάμφ·

αἱ δὲ λῆς, σαργοὶ τε χαλκίδες τε καὶ τοὶ πόντιοι.

c ὡς διαφόρους δὲ τοὺς | σαργίνους ἐν τοῖσδε κατα-
λέγει·

ἦν δὲ σαργίνοί τε μελάνουροί τε καὶ ταῖ
φίνταται

ταινίαι, λεπταὶ μὲν, ἀδέαι δέ.

ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Δωρίων ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἰχθύων φησὶ
σαργίνους διὰ τοῦτ' αὐτοὺς καλῶν καὶ χαλκίδας. ὁ δὲ
σοφὸς Ἀρχέστρατός φησιν·

ἦνίκα δ' ἂν δύνοντος ἐν οὐρανῷ Ὀρίωνος
μήτηρ οἰνοφόρου βότρνος χαίτην ἀποβάλλη,
τῆμος ἔχειν ὀπτὸν σαργὸν τυρῷ κατάπαστον
εὐμεγέθη θερμὸν δριμεῖ δεδαῖγμένον ὄξει· |
d σκληρὸς γὰρ φύσει ἐστίν. ἅπαντα δέ μοι
θεράπευε

365 For the fragment, see 7.305c n.

366 Other, over-
lapping portions of the fragment are quoted at 7.313d, 325f.

BOOK VII

the *Art of Fishing* (SH 573.2–3)³⁶⁵ claims that the sargue is clever about being caught:

a blackbird-wrasse or thrush-wrasses the color of the
sea, or at another time and place
a sargue that is being landed, a fish quite skilled at
breaking nets.

Aristotle in Book V of *Parts* (fr. 237) reports that it spawns twice a year, in spring and then in fall. Epicharmus in *The Wedding of Hebe* (fr. 49.1):³⁶⁶

and if you like, sargues, sardines, and those that live
far out in the sea.

He includes *sarginoi* ("sea-pike") in the list as a different fish in the following passage (fr. 49.2–3):³⁶⁷

and there were *sarginoi* and *melanouroi* and the
beloved
tainiai, which are slender but delicious.

Dorion in his *On Fish* agrees and accordingly refers to them as *sarginoi* and *chalkides* ("sardines"). But the wise Arcestratus (fr. 37 Olson–Sens = SH 167) says:

And when, as Orion is setting in the sky,
the mother of the wine-producing grape-cluster
begins to shed her hair,
then get a roasted sargue, sprinkled with cheese,
nice and big, warm, and pierced by pungent vinegar;
for it is naturally hard. I urge you to remember

³⁶⁷ A different portion of the same verses is quoted at 7.325f.

τὸν στερεὸν τοιῶδε τρόπῳ μεμνημένος ἰχθύν.
τὸν δ' ἀγαθὸν μαλακόν τε φύσει καὶ πίονα
σάρκα

ἀλσὶ μόνον λεπτοῖσι πάσας καὶ ἐλαίῳ ἀλείψας·
τὴν ἀρετὴν γὰρ ἔχει τῆς τέρψιμος αὐτὸς ἐν αὐτῷ.

Σάλπη. Ἐπίχαρμος Ἡβας Γάμψ·

ἀόνες φάγροι τε λάβρακές τε καὶ ταὶ πίονες
σκατοφάγοι σάλπαι βδελυχραί, ἀδέαι δ' ἐν τῷ
θέρει.

- e Ἀριστοτέλης | δ' ἐν πέμπτῳ Μορίων ἅπαξ τίκτειν
φησὶν αὐτήν, τοῦ μετοπώρου. ἐστὶ δὲ πολύγραμμος
καὶ ἐρυθρόγραμμος, ἔτι δὲ καρχαρόδους καὶ μονήρης.
λέγεσθαι δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλιέων φησὶν ὡς καὶ κολο-
κύντη θηρεύεται χαίρουσα τῷ βρώματι. Ἀρχέστρατος
δέ φησιν·

σάλπην δὲ κακὸν μὲν ἔγωγε
ἰχθὺν εἰς αἰὲ κρῖνω· βρωτὴ δὲ μάλιστα
ἐστὶ θεριζομένου σίτου· λαβὲ δ' ἐν Μυτιλήνῃ
αὐτήν.

Παγκράτης δ' ἐν Ἔργοις Θαλασσίοις· |

- f σάλπαι τ' ἰσομήκεες ἰχθύς,
ἄς τε βόας πορκῆες ἀλίζωι καλέουσιν,
οὐνεκα γαστέρι φῦκος αἰὲ ἀλέουσιν ὄδοῦσιν.

368 Part of the first verse is quoted again at 7.327c.

to treat every tough fish this way.

But as for fish that is good and naturally soft and rich-fleshed,

(prepare it) by simply sprinkling it with fine-ground salt and basting it with olive oil;

for it contains the height of pleasure within itself.

Saupe. Epicharmus in *The Wedding of Hebe* (fr. 56):³⁶⁸

aones, sea-breems, sea-bass, and the fat,

disgusting, shit-eating saupes, which are nevertheless delicious in the summer.

Aristotle in Book V of *Parts* (fr. 238) reports that it spawns once a year, in the fall. It has numerous red stripes and is jagged-toothed and solitary. He also says that the fishermen claim that it likes to eat gourd and can accordingly be caught using this as bait. But Arcestratus says (fr. 29 Olson-Sens = *SH* 159):

As for the saupe, I at any rate consider it a bad fish at all times; but it is most edible when the grain is being harvested. Buy it in Mitylene.

Panocrates in *Maritime Occupations* (*SH* 600):

and saupes, fish of equal length, which those who use fish-traps to make a living from the sea refer to as *boai*,³⁶⁹ because they always grind up seaweed for their bellies with their teeth.

³⁶⁹ Literally "cows" (which chew the cud, as the saupe is here said to do as well).

ἔστι δὲ ποικίλος ὁ ἰχθύς· ὅθεν καὶ τὸν Δοκρὸν ἢ Κολοφώνιον Μνασέα συνταξάμενον τὰ ἐπιγραφόμενα Παίγνια διὰ τὸ ποικίλον τῆς συναγωγῆς Σάλπην οἱ συνήθεις προσηγόρευον. Νυμφόδωρος δὲ ὁ Συρακόσιος ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀσίας Περίπλῳ Λεσβίαν φησὶ γενέσθαι Σάλπην || <τὴν> τὰ Παίγνια συνθεῖσαν. Ἄλκιμος δ' ἐν τοῖς Σικελικοῖς ἐν Μεσσήνῃ φησὶ τῇ κατὰ τὴν νῆσον Βότρυν γενέσθαι εὐρετὴν τῶν παραπλησίων παιγνίων τοῖς προσαγορευομένοις Σάλπης. Ἄρχιππος δὲ ἐν Ἰχθύσι ἀρσενικῶς εἴρηκεν ὁ σάλπης·

ἐκήρυξεν βόαξ,
σάλπης δ' ἐσάλπιγξ' ἔπτ' ὀβολοὺς μισθὸν
φέρων.

γίνεται δ' ὅμοιος ἰχθύς ἐν τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσῃ ὁ καλούμενος στρωματεύς, ῥάβδους ἔχων δι' ὅλου τοῦ σώματος τεταμένας χρυσιζούσας, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Φίλων
b ἐν τῷ | Μεταλλικῷ.

Συνόδοντες καὶ συναγρίς. καὶ τούτων Ἐπίχαρμος μέμνηται·

συναγρίδας μαζοὺς τε συνόδοντάς τ'
ἐρυθροποικίλους.

Νουμήμιος Ἀλιευτικῷ διὰ τοῦ ὕ λέγων φησὶν·

370 Nothing else is known of Mnaseas or his *Paignia*.

371 As is shown by the masculine participle at the end of the second line.

The fish is speckled; as a consequence, after Mnaseas of Locris or Colophon composed the work entitled *Paignia* ("Light Verses"), his acquaintances addressed him as Salpē ("Saupe"), because the collection was so diverse.³⁷⁰ But Nymphodorus of Syracuse in his *Voyage along the Coast of Asia* (FGrH 572 F 5) says that the Salpē who composed the *Paignia* was a woman from Lesbos; whereas Alcimus in his *History of Sicily* (FGrH 560 F 1) claims that the inventor of light verses similar to those ascribed to Salpē was born in the city of Messene located opposite the island called Botrus. Archippus in *Fish* (fr. 16) treats the noun as masculine.³⁷¹

A bogue³⁷² was their herald,
and a saupe (*salpēs*) served as trumpeter (*esalpinx*'),
drawing a wage of seven obols.

The fish referred to as a *strōmateus*, which is found in the Red Sea and has gold stripes that extend the length of its body, is similar to it, according to Philo in his *Art of Mining*.

Four-toothed sea-brems (*sunodontes*) and the *sunagris*. Epicharmus mentions these (fr. 162):³⁷³

sunagrides and *mazoi* and red-speckled four-toothed
sea-brems.

Numenius in the *Art of Fishing* (SH 569)³⁷⁴ pronounces the word with an *upsilon*, saying:

³⁷² *Boax*, punning on *boaō*, "shout, cry aloud"; cf. 7.287a–b.

³⁷³ The fragment appears to be referred to also at 7.322f–3a, where it is specifically identified as coming from either *The Wedding of Hebe* or *Earth and Sea*.

³⁷⁴ Quoted also at 7.286f, where see n.

ἢ λευκὴν συνόδοντα βόηκάς τε τριγικούς τε.

καὶ πάλιν·

τοῖσιν κε θηρήσαιο λαβεῖν λελιημένος ἰχθὺν
ἢ μέγαν συνόδοντ' ἢ ἀρνευτὴν ἵππουρον.

c σινόδοντα δὲ αὐτὸν λέγει διὰ τοῦ ἰ Δωρίων, ἢ ἔτι δὲ
Ἄρχεστρατος ἐν τούτοις·

αὐτὰρ <τὸν> σινόδοντα μόνον ζῆτει παχὺν εἶναι·
ἐκ πορθμοῦ δὲ λαβεῖν πειρῶ καὶ τοῦτον, ἑταῖρε.
ταῦτά δὲ ταῦτα κυρῶ φράζων καὶ πρὸς σέ,
Κλέανδρε.

Ἀντιφάνης δ' ἐν Ἀρχεστράτῃ·

τίς δ' ἐγχείλειον ἂν φάγοι
ἢ κρανίον σινόδοντος;

Σαῦρος. τούτου μνημονεύει Ἄλεξις ἐν Δεύκῃ· μά-
γειρος δ' ἐστὶν ὁ λέγων.

(A.) ἐπίστασαι τὸν σαῦρον ὡς δεῖ σκευάσαι; ἢ
d (B.) ἀλλ' ἂν διδάσκῃς. (A.) ἐξελὼν τὰ βραγχία,
πλύνας, περικόψας τὰς ἀκάνθας τὰς κύκλω,
παράσχισον χρηστῶς, διαπτύξας θ' ὄλον
τῷ σιλφίῳ μᾶστιξον εὖ τε καὶ καλῶς,
τυρῶ τε σάξον ἀλσί τ' ἢ δ' ὀριγάνῳ.

375 Quoted at greater length at 7.322f; cf. 7.304c-d (verse 2 only).

BOOK VII

or a white four-toothed sea-bream (*sunodōn*) and
boēkes and *trinkoi*.

Again (*SH* 578.1–2):³⁷⁵

If you want to get a fish, you could use these items to
catch
either a large four-toothed sea-bream (*sunodōn*) or a
hippouros tumbler.

But Dorion refers to it as a *sinodōn*, with an *iota*, as does
Archestratus (fr. 18 Olson–Sens = *SH* 148) in the following
passage:

But as for the four-toothed sea-bream (*sinodōn*),
simply make sure it is fat.
Try to get this fish as well from the Straits, my friend.
And I happen to have the same advice for you as
well, Cleandrus.

Antiphanes in *Archestrate* (fr. 45):

Who would eat an eel
or the head of a four-toothed sea-bream (*sinodōn*)?

Horse-mackerel. Alexis mentions this fish in *Leuce* (fr.
138); the speaker is a cook:

(A.) Do you know how the horse-mackerel should be
prepared?

(B.) I will if you give me directions. (A.) Remove its
gills;

wash it; cut off the spines that cover it;
split it carefully; spread it wide open;
beat it carefully and thoroughly with the silphium;
and stuff it with cheese, salt, and marjoram.

ATHENAEUS

Ἐφιππος δ' ἐν Κύδωνι πολλῶν καὶ ἄλλων ἰχθύων
κατάλογον ποιούμενος καὶ τοῦ σαύρου μνημονεῖει διὰ
τούτων·

e θύννου τεμάχη, γλάνιδος, γαλεοῦ,
ρίνης, γόγγρου, κεφάλου, πέρκης, |
σαῦρος, φυκίς, βρίγκος, τρίγλη,
κόκκυξ, φάγρος, μύλλος, λεβίας,
σπάρος, αἰολίας, θρᾶττα, χελιδών,
καρίς, τευθίς, ψήττα, δρακαινίς,
πουλυπόδειον, σηπία, ὀρφῶς,
κωβίος, ἀφύαι, βελόνας, κεστρεῖς.

Μνησίμαχος δ' ἐν Ἴπποτρόφῳ·

τῶν καρχαριῶν
νάρκη, βάτραχος, πέρκη, σαῦρος,
τριχίας, φυκίς, βρίγκος, τρίγλη,
κόκκυξ.

Σκέπινος. τούτου μνημονεύων Δωρίων ἐν τῷ Περὶ
Ἰχθύων καλεῖσθαι φησιν αὐτὸν ἀτταγεινόν.

f Σκίανα. | Ἐπίχαρμος Ἡβας Γάμφ·

αἰολίαι πλώτες τε κυνόγλωσσοί τ', ἐνήν δὲ
σκιαθίδες.

Ephippus in *Cydon* (fr. 12),³⁷⁶ in the course of offering a catalogue of many other fish, also mentions the horse-mackerel in the following passage:

Steaks cut from tuna, sheatfish, dogfish,
monkfish, conger eel, *kephalos*-mullet, and perch;
horse-mackerel, *phukis*-wrasse, *brinkos*, red mullet,
gurnard, sea-bream, *mullos*, *lebias*,
sparos-wrasse, *aiolias*, *thraitta*, flying-fish,
shrimp, squid, flounder, weever-fish,
octopus, cuttlefish, sea-perch,
goby, small-fry, garfish, gray mullets.

Mnesimachus in *The Horse-Groom* (fr. 4.36-9):³⁷⁷

of the jagged-toothed sharks,
an electric ray, a fishing-frog, a perch, a horse-
mackerel,
a pilchard, a *phukis*-wrasse, a *brinkos*, a red mullet.

Skepinos.³⁷⁸ Dorion mentions it in his *On Fish* and says that it is also referred to as an *attageinos*.

Maigre (*skiaina*). Epicharmus in *The Wedding of Hebe* (fr. 41.2):³⁷⁹

and variegated *plōtes* and *kunoglōssoi*; and maigres
were in there.

³⁷⁶ Portions of the fragment are quoted also at 7.329d; 9.403b-c (embedded within a much longer fragment of Mnesimachus.)

³⁷⁷ An excerpt from a much longer fragment quoted at 9.402f-3d.

³⁷⁸ Probably an immature tuna.

³⁷⁹ For the fragment, see 7.282a n.

Νουμήνιος δὲ σκιαδέα αὐτὸν καλεῖ ἐν τούτοις·

τοῖσί κε θηρήσαιο λαβεῖν λελιημένος ἰχθὺν
ἢ μέγαν συνόδοντ' ἢ ἀρνευτὴν ἵππουρον
ἢ φάγρον λοφίην, ὅτε δ' ἀγρόμενον σκιαδῆα.

323 Συναγρίδες²⁷. τούτων μνημονεύει Ἐπίχαρμος ἢ ἐν Ἑκβάς Γάμῳ καὶ ἐν Γᾶ καὶ Θαλάσῳ.

Σφύραιναί. ταύτας φησὶν Ἰκέσιος τροφιμωτέρας εἶναι τῶν γόγγρων, ἀπειθεῖς δὲ τὴν γεῦσιν καὶ ἀστόμους, εὐχυλία δὲ μέσους. ὁ δὲ Δωρίων σφύραιναν, φησὶν, ἣν καλοῦσι κέστραν. Ἐπίχαρμος δ' ἐν Μούσαις κέστραν ὀνομάσας οὐκ ἔτι σφυραίνας ὀνομάζει ὡς ταῦτὸν οὔσας·

χαλκίδας τε καὶ κύνας κέστρας τε πέρκας τ'
αἰόλας.

καὶ Σώφρων ἐν Ἀνδρείοις· κέστραι βότιν κάπτουσαι. Σπεύσιππος δὲ ἐν δευτέρῳ Ὀμοίων ὡς παραπλήσια
b ἐκτίθεται | κέστραν, βελόνην, σαυρίδα. καὶ οἱ Ἀττικοὶ
δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τὴν σφύραιναν καλοῦσι κέστραν, σπανίως δὲ τῷ τῆς σφυραίνης ὀνόματι ἐχρήσαντο. Στράτις γοῦν ἐν Μακεδόσιν ἐρομένου τινὸς Ἀττικοῦ ὡς ἀγνοοῦντος τὸ ὄνομα καὶ λέγοντος·

²⁷ Συναγρίδες CE: Σναγρίδες A

³⁸⁰ Smaller portions of the fragment are quoted at 7.304d, 322b.

³⁸¹ See 7.322b (where the verse of Epicharmus in question is apparently quoted) with n.

BOOK VII

Numenius refers to it as a *skiadeus* in the following passage (SH 578):³⁸⁰

If you want to get a fish, you could use these items to catch
either a large four-toothed sea-bream or a *hippouros*
tumbler
or a crested sea-bream, or at another time a *skiadeus*,
for which men hunt.

Sunagrides.³⁸¹ Epicharmus mentions these in *The Wedding of Hebe* (fr. 62) and in *Earth and Sea* (fr. 25).

Spets (*sphurainai*). Hicesius claims that these are more nourishing than conger eels; have an unappealing taste and are unpalatable; but produce moderately good *chulē*. Dorion says: spet, also referred to as a *kestra*. Epicharmus in *Muses* (fr. 86),³⁸² after mentioning a *kestra*, makes no reference to *sphurainai*, since they are the same fish:

and sardines and sharks and *kestrai* and speckled perch.

Also Sophron in the *Men's Mimes* (fr. 64):³⁸³ *kestrai* gulping down a skate (*botis*). But Speusippus in Book II of *Similar Things* (fr. 20 Tarán) cites the *kestra*, garfish (*belonē*), and *sauris* as resembling one another.³⁸⁴ Attic authors also generally refer to the spet as a *kestra* and rarely used the name *sphuraina*. In Strattis' *Macedonians* (fr. 29, encompassing both lines), for example, when an Athenian character, seemingly ignorant of the name, asks about it and says:

³⁸² Cf. Epich. fr. 43, quoted at 7.319b and below.

³⁸³ Quoted also at 7.286d.

³⁸⁴ Cf. Speusippus fr. 19 Tarán (quoted at 7.319d).

ATHENAEUS

(A.) ἡ σφύραινα δ' ἐστὶ τίς;

φησὶν ὁ ἕτερος·

(B.) κέστραν μὲν ὕμμες ὄπτικοὶ κικλήσκετε.

Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Εὐθυδίκῳ·

(A.) πάνυ συχνὴ
σφύραινα. (B.) κέστραν Ἀττικιστὶ δεῖ λέγειν.

Νικοφῶν δ' ἐν Πανδώρῳ·

κέστραι τε καὶ λάβρακες.

Ἐπίχαρμος Ἡβας Γάμψ' I

c < . . . > κέστρας τε πέρκας τ' αἰόλας.

Σηπία. Ἀριστοφάνης Δαναίσι·

καὶ ταῦτ' ἔχοντα πουλύπους καὶ σηπίας.

ὡς αἰτίας ἢ παραλήγουσα παροξύνεται, ὡς Φιλήμων ἱστορεῖ, ὁμοίως καὶ ταῦτα· τηλία²⁸, ταινία, οἰκία. τὴν σηπίαν δὲ Ἀριστοτέλης πόδας ἔχειν ὀκτώ, ὧν τοὺς ὑποκάτω δύο μεγίστους, προβοσκίδας δύο καὶ μεταξύ αὐτῶν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ <τὸ> στόμα. ἔχει δὲ καὶ

²⁸ τηλία Herodian: παιδία A

³⁸⁵ Spoken in a dialect presumably intended to approximate Macedonian.

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(A.) What's a *sphuraina*?,

the other man says:

(B.) You Athenians refer to it as a *kestra*.³⁸⁵

Antiphanes in *Euthydicus* (fr. 97):

(A.) An enormous
sphuraina. (B.) You should refer to it in Attic as a
kestra.

Nicopho in *Pandora* (fr. 14):

kestrai and sea-bass.

Epicharmus in *The Wedding of Hebe* (fr. 43.1):³⁸⁶

kestrai and speckled perch.

Cuttlefish. Aristophanes in *Danaids* (fr. 195):³⁸⁷

and when he's got octopi and cuttlefish at that!

The penult takes an acute accent, according to Philemon, like *aitías* ("causes"),³⁸⁸ as well as the following: *tēlia* ("baker's board"),³⁸⁹ *tainía* ("ribbon, band"), and *oikía* ("house"). According to Aristotle (fr. 239), the cuttlefish has eight legs, the two lowest of which are the longest; two feelers; and between them its eyes and mouth. It also has

³⁸⁶ The entire verse is quoted at 7.319b.

³⁸⁷ Quoted also at 7.316b, but attributed there to *Daedalus*.

³⁸⁸ Accusative plural, unlike the other words referred to (all nominative singular).

³⁸⁹ The manuscripts have *paidia* ("children"), which is a neuter plural and either represents a serious blunder by Philemon or (more likely) a manuscript corruption.

ὀδόντας δύο τὸν μὲν ἄνω, τὸν δὲ κάτω, καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον ὄστρακον ἐν τῷ νώτῳ. ἐν δὲ τῇ μύτιδι | ὁ θολός ἐστιν· αὕτη δὲ κείται παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ στόμα κύστεως τόπον ἐπέχουσα. ἐστὶ δ' ἡ κοιλία πλακώδης καὶ λεία, ὁμοία τοῖς τῶν βοῶν ἡνύστροις. τρέφονται δ' αἱ μικραὶ σηπίαι τοῖς λεπτοῖς ἰχθυδίοις, ἀποτείνουσαι τὰς προβοσκίδας ὥσπερ ὄρμιᾶς καὶ ταύταις θηρεύουσαι. λέγεται δ' ὡς ὅταν ὁ χειμὼν γένηται τῶν πετριδίων ὥσπερ ἀγκύραις ταῖς προβοσκίσι λαμβανόμεναι ὄρμουσι. διωκομένη τε ἡ σηπία τὸν θολὸν ἀφήσει καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ κρύπτεται ἐμφήνασα φεύγειν | εἰς τοῦμπροσθεν. λέγεται δὲ ὡς καὶ θηρευθείσης τῆς θηλείας τριόδοντι οἱ ἄρρενες ἐπαρήγουσιν ἀνθέλκοντες αὐτήν· ἂν δ' οἱ ἄρρενες ἀλῶσιν, αἱ θηλείαι φεύγουσιν. οὐ διετίζει δ' ἡ σηπία, καθάπερ οὐδ' ὁ πολύπους. ἐν δὲ πέμπτῳ Ζῶων Μορίων, αἱ σηπίαι, φησί, καὶ αἱ τευθίδες νέουσιν ἅμα καὶ συμπεπλεγμέναι, τὰ στόματα καὶ τὰς πλεκτάνας ἐφαρμόττουσαι καταντικρὺ ἀλλήλαις· ἐφαρμόττουσιν δὲ καὶ τὸν μυκτῆρα εἰς τὸν μυκτῆρα. τῶν τε μαλακίων τίκτουσιν | f πρῶται τοῦ ἔαρος αἱ σηπίαι καὶ οὐ | κύνουσι²⁹ πᾶσαν ὥραν καὶ κύνσκονται πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμέραις. ὅταν δὲ τέκωσι τὰ ῥά, ὁ ἄρρην παρακολουθῶν καταφυσῆ καὶ στιφρᾷ. βαδίζουσι δὲ κατὰ ζυγά. καὶ ἐστὶν ὁ ἄρρην τῆς θηλείας ποικιλώτερός τε καὶ μελάντερος τὸν νῶτον. Ἐπίχαρμος δ' ἐν Ἡβας Γάμῳ φησί·

²⁹ οὐ κύνουσι ACE: τίκτουσι Aristotle

BOOK VII

two teeth, one above and the other below, and what is referred to as its shell on its back. Its ink is contained in its ink-sac, which is located beside its mouth and occupies the position of a bladder. Its gut is flat and smooth, and resembles a cow's fourth stomach. Small cuttlefish feed on minnows by extending their feelers like fishing-lines and doing their hunting with them. People say that when there is a storm, they seize hold of small rocks and moor themselves to them with their feelers, as if they were using anchors. When the cuttlefish is being hunted, it releases its ink and hides in it, while pretending to be trying to escape forward. People also say that when a female cuttlefish is impaled on a fishing-spear, the males try to help her by pulling her off, whereas if the males are caught, the females try to get away. The cuttlefish does not live for more than a year, and neither does the octopus. In Book V of *Parts of Animals* he says (Arist. fr. 240): Cuttlefish and squid swim tangled together, with their mouths and tentacles fastened to one another; they also link funnel to funnel. The first cephalopod molluscs to spawn in the spring are the cuttlefish; they do not become pregnant in every season, and their gestation period is 15 days. When they produce their eggs, the male follows behind and sprays them, causing them to harden. They move in pairs. The male has a more variegated coloring than the female, and a darker back. Epicharmus says in *The Wedding of Hebe* (fr. 54.1):³⁹⁰

³⁹⁰ Quoted, along with a second verse, also at 7.318e.

πώλυποί τε σηπίαι τε καὶ ποταναὶ τευθίδες.

324 τοῦτο δὲ σημειωτέον πρὸς Σπεύσιππον λέγοντα εἶναι
ὅμοια σηπίαν τευθίδα. ἢ Ἰππώνακτος δ' ἐν τοῖς Ἰάμβοις εἰπόντος

σηπίης ὑπόσφαγμα

οἱ ἐξηγησάμενοι ἀπέδωκαν τὸ τῆς σηπίας μέλαν. ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ ὑπόσφαγμα, ὡς Ἐρασίστρατος φησιν ἐν Ὀψαρτυτικῷ, ὑπότριμμα. γράφει δὲ οὕτως· ὑπόσφαγμα δ' εἶναι κρέασιν ὁποῖς ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος τεταραγμένον μέλιτι, τυρῷ, ἀλί, κυμίνῳ, σιλφίῳ, ὄξει ἐφθοῖς. καὶ Γλαῦκος δ' ὁ Λοκρὸς ἐν Ὀψαρτυτικῷ οὕτως γράφει· ὑπόσφαγμα δ' αἷμα ἐφθὸν καὶ σίλφιον καὶ ἔψημα ἢ
b μέλι καὶ ὄξος καὶ γάλα καὶ τυρὸς καὶ φύλλα | εὐώδη τετμημένα. ὁ δὲ πολυμαθέστατος Ἀρχέστρατος φησιν·

σηπίαι Ἀβδήροις τε Μαρωνεία τ' ἐνὶ μέσση.

Ἄριστοφάνης Θεσμοφοριαζούσαις·

ἰχθὺς ἐώνηταί τις ἢ σηπίδιον;

καὶ ἐν Δαναίσι·

ὄσμύλια καὶ μαινίδια καὶ σηπίδια.

391 Presumably another fragment of *Similar Things*.

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octopi and cuttlefish and racing squid.

This should be pointed out in response to Speusippus, who claims (fr. 21) that the cuttlefish and the squid are similar.³⁹¹ When Hipponax in his *Iambs* (fr. 142 Degani) said:

cuttlefish *huposphagma*,

his interpreters took this as a reference to cuttlefish ink. But according to Erasistratus in the *Art of Cooking* (fr. 291 Garofalo), a *huposphagma* is a sauce. He writes as follows: For roasted meat, a *huposphagma* is made of blood mixed with honey, cheese, salt, cumin, and silphium, whereas for stewed meat it contains vinegar. Glaucus of Locris in the *Art of Cooking* likewise writes as follows: a *huposphagma* consisting of stewed blood, silphium, boiled-down grape-must or honey, vinegar, milk, cheese, and fragrant minced herbs. But the deeply learned Arcestratus says (fr. 56 Olson-Sens = SH 186):

cuttlefish in Abdera and mid-Maroneia.

Aristophanes in *Women Celebrating the Thesmophoria* (fr. 333.1):³⁹²

Has any fish been bought? Or a tiny cuttlefish?

And in *Danaids* (fr. 258.2):

little octopi,³⁹³ sprats, and cuttlefish.

³⁹² From the lost play by this title, rather than the preserved one (performed in 411 BCE); the fragment is quoted at greater length at 3.104e-f.

³⁹³ For *osmulos* as an octopus variety, see 7.318e.

Θεόπομπος Ἀφροδίτη·

ἀλλ' ἔντραγε

τὴν σηπίαν τὴνδὶ λαβούσα καὶ τοδὶ

τὸ πουλυπόδειον.

περὶ δὲ ἐφήσεως σηπιδίων Ἀλεξίς ἐν Πονήρᾳ παράγει
μάγειρον τάδε λέγοντα·¹

c

σηπίαι τόσους

δραχμῆς μίας τρίς. τῶν δὲ τὰς μὲν πλεκτάνας

καὶ τὰ πτερύγια συντεμῶν ἐφθὰς ποῶ.

τὸ δ' ἄλλο σῶμα κατατεμῶν πολλοὺς κύβους

σμήσας τε λεπτοῖς ἀλσὶ δειπνούντων ἅμα

ἐπὶ τὸ τάγηνον σίζον ἐπεισιῶν φέρω.

d

Τρίγλη, κίχλη διὰ τοῦ ἦ· τὰ γὰρ εἰς -λα λήγοντα
θηλυκὰ ἕτερον αἰτεῖ ἰ, Σκύλλα, Τελέσιλλα. ὅσα δ'
ἐπιπλοκὴν ἔχει τοῦ γ εἰς ἦ | λήγει, τρώγλη, αἶγλη,
ζεύγλη. τὴν δὲ τρίγλην φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης τρίς
τίκτειν τοῦ ἔτους ἐν πέμπτῳ Μορίων, τεκμαίρεσθαι
λέγων τοὺς ἀλιεῖς τοῦτο ἐκ τοῦ γόνου τρίς φαινομένου
περὶ τινὰς τόπους. μήποτ' οὖν ἐντεῦθεν ἔστι καὶ τὸ τῆς
ὀνομασίας, ὡς ἀμῖαι ὅτι οὐ κατὰ μίαν φέρονται ἀλλ'
ἀγγεληδόν, σκάρος δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ σκαίρειν καὶ καρὶς,
ἀφύαι δ' ὡς ἂν ἀφνεῖς οὔσαι, τουτέστιν δυσφνεῖς.

³⁹⁴ I.e. rather than with a final *alpha*. This material must be drawn from the same source as the discussion of words like *kichlē* ("thrush, thrush-wrasse") at 7.305a-b. ³⁹⁵ As if the first let-

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Theopompus in *Aphrodite* (fr. 6):

But take this
cuttlefish here and this little octopus,
and eat them!

Alexis in *The Miserable Woman* (fr. 192) introduces a cook who says the following about stewing cuttlefish:

three times as many
cuttlefish for a single drachma. I chopped up their
tentacles and fins and stewed them.
As for the rest of their body, I diced it small
and rubbed it with finely ground salt; and as they
were starting to eat dinner,
I came in, bringing it to them sizzling on a frying pan.

Triglē ("red mullet") and *kichlē* ("thrush, thrush-wrasse") are written with an *ēta*;³⁹⁴ because feminine nouns that end in *-la* require a second *lambda*, for example Scylla and Telesilla. But those that incorporate a *gamma* end in *ēta*, for example *trōglē* ("mouse-hole"), *aiglē* ("radiance"), and *zeuglē* ("yoke-loop"). Aristotle in Book V of *Parts* (fr. 241) reports that the red mullet spawns three times (*tris*) a year, and claims that the fishermen draw this conclusion from the fact that the roe appears three times in certain places. This may be the source of the name, just as bonitos (*amiai*) get their name from the fact that they do not travel alone (*kata mian*),³⁹⁵ but in schools; the parrot-wrasse (*skaros*) gets its from *skairein* ("to leap"), as does the shrimp (*karis*); and small-fry (*aphuai*) on the ground that they are *aphueis*, which is to say *dusphueis* ("difficult

e θύω, θύννος ὁ ὀρμητικός, διὰ <τὸ κατὰ> τὴν τοῦ κυνὸς ἐπιτολήν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς | οἷστρου ἐξελαύνεσθαι. ἐστὶ δὲ καρχαρόδους, συναγελαστική, παντόστικτος, ἔτι δὲ σαρκοφάγος. τὸ δὲ τρίτον τεκούσα ἄγονός ἐστι· γίνεται γὰρ τινα σκωλήκια αὐτῇ ἐν τῇ ὑστέρα, ἃ τὸν γόνον τὸν γινόμενον κατεσθίει. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος Ἐπίχαρμος ὀνομάζει αὐτὰς κυφὰς ἐν Ἦβας Γάμω διὰ τούτων·

ἄγε δὴ τρίγλας τε κυφὰς κάχαρίστους βαιόνας.

Σώφρων δ' ἐν τοῖς Ἀνδρείοις τριγόλας τινὰς ἐν τούτοις ὀνομάζει· τριγόλα ὀμφαλοτόμω καὶ τριγόλαν | f τὸν εὐδιαῖον. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Παιδικὰ Ποιφ-ξείς φησί· τρίγλας μὲν γένηον, τριγόλα δ' ὀπισθίδια. καὶ τοῖς Γυναικείοις δὲ ἔφη· τρίγλαν γενεάτιν. Διοκλῆς δ' ἐν τοῖς Πρὸς Πλείσταρχον σκληρόσαρκον εἶναί φησι τὴν τρίγλαν. Σπεύσιππος δ' ἐμφερῆ φησιν εἶναι κόκκυγα, χελιδόνα, τρίγλαν. ὅθεν Τρύφων φησὶν ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Ζώων τὸν τριγόλαν τινὰς οἶεσθαι 325 κόκκυγα || εἶναι διὰ τε τὸ ἐμφερὲς καὶ τὴν τῶν ὀπισθίων ξηρότητα, ἣν σεσημείωται ὁ Σώφρων λέγων· τρίγλας μὲν γένηον, τριγόλα δ' ὀπισθίδια. Πλάτων δ' ἐν Φάωνί φησι·

ter in *amia* were an *alpha*-privative, as the initial *alpha* in *aphuai* supposedly is (below); cf. 7.278a for another (equally misguided) etymology. ³⁹⁶ Literally "horsefly"; see 7.302b–c, where information very similar to what follows is traced to Aristotle.

³⁹⁷ Quoted also at 7.288a. ³⁹⁸ Cf. fr. 225 van der Eijk, cited

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to generate"). *Thuō* ("to rage, seethe"), whence the "tuna" (*thunnos*), because it is driven out of the water by the *oistros*³⁹⁶ on its head when the Dog-Star is rising. The red mullet is jagged-toothed, schooling, and covered with speckles, as well as carnivorous. After it spawns for the third time, it is sterile; because worms of some sort appear in its womb and eat any roe it produces. As a consequence of this, Epicharmus refers to them as hunched in *The Wedding of Hebe*, in the following passage (fr. 57):³⁹⁷

Indeed, he brought hunched red mullets and
unappealing *baiones*.

Sophron in his *Men's Mimes* (fr. 66) refers to something called *trigolai* in the following passages: to a midwife *trigola*, and the *trigola* caught in fair weather. But in the work entitled *Scaring Children* (fr. 49) he says: a jaw-section of a red mullet (*trigla*), but the hind-section of a *trigola*. And in his *Women's Mimes* (fr. 30) he said: a bearded red mullet (*trigla*). Diocles in his *Response to Pleistarchus* (fr. 228 van der Eijk) reports that the red mullet has tough flesh.³⁹⁸ Speusippus (fr. 22 Tarán)³⁹⁹ claims that the gurnard, flying-fish, and red mullet resemble one another. This is the source of Tryphon's claim in his *On Animals* (fr. 121 Velsen) that some authorities believe that the *trigola* is a gurnard, because they resemble one another and have dry hind-sections, something Sophron indicates when he says (fr. 49):⁴⁰⁰ a jaw-section of a red mullet (*trigla*), but the hind-section of a *trigola*. Plato says in *Phaon* (fr. 189.20-1):⁴⁰¹

at 7.320d.³⁹⁹ Doubtless in *Similar Things*.⁴⁰⁰ Just quoted above.⁴⁰¹ Quoted at much greater length at 1.5b-d, where see nn.

τρίγλη δ' οὐκ ἐθέλει νεύρων ἐπιήρανος εἶναι
 < . . . > Ἀρτέμιδος γὰρ ἔφην καὶ στύματα μισεῖ.

- τῇ δὲ Ἑκάτῃ ἀποδίδεται ἡ τρίγλη διὰ τὴν τῆς ὀνομασίας κοινότητα· Τριοδίτις γὰρ καὶ Τρίγληνος, καὶ ταῖς τριακάσι δ' αὐτῇ τὰ δείπνα φέρουσι. κατὰ τὸ παραπλήσιον δ' οἰκειοῦσιν Ἀπόλλωνι μὲν κίθαρων, |
 b Ἑρμῇ δὲ βόακα, Διονύσῳ δὲ κιττάν³⁰, καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃ φαλαρίδα, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Ὀρνισι, κατὰ συνέμφασιν τοῦ φαλλοῦ· καὶ τὴν νῆτταν δὲ καλουμένην Ποσειδῶνι τινες οἰκειοῦσι. καὶ τὸν θαλάττιον γόνον, ὃν ἡμεῖς μὲν ἀφύνην, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀφρίτιν ὀνομάζουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἀφρόν· προσφιλέστατον δ' εἶναι καὶ τοῦτον Ἀφροδίτῃ διὰ τὸ καὶ αὐτὴν ἐξ ἀφροῦ γεννηθῆναι. Ἀπολλόδωρος δ' ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Θεῶν τῇ Ἑκάτῃ φησὶ θύεσθαι τρίγλην διὰ τὴν τοῦ ὀνόματος οἰκειότητα· τρίμορφος |
 c γὰρ ἡ θεός. Μελάνθιος δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι Μυστηρίων καὶ τρίγλην καὶ μαινίδα, ὅτι καὶ θαλάττιος ἡ Ἑκάτη. Ἠγήσανδρος δὲ ὁ Δελφὸς τρίγλην

³⁰ κιττάν Olson: κιττόν ACE

⁴⁰² See 7.325d.

⁴⁰³ Cf. 7.287a, 306a (where these ideas are attributed to Apollodorus of Athens, who is cited below).

⁴⁰⁴ Because of the apparent resemblance of the name of the fish (*boax*) to the verb *boāō* ("cry out, shout"); cf. 7.322a n.

⁴⁰⁵ Because the name of the bird (*kitta*) is similar to *kissos* ("ivy"; sacred to Dionysus).

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The mullet refuses to be of assistance to the male
muscle;
because it is devoted to Artemis and hates hard-ons.

The red mullet (*triglē*) belongs to Hecate because they share a name; for she is known as Trioditis ("Goddess of the Crossroads")⁴⁰² and Triglēnos ("Three-Eyed"?), and people bring her dinner on the 30th day of the month (*tais triakasi*). In a similar way the *kitharos* is associated with Apollo,⁴⁰³ the bogue with Hermes,⁴⁰⁴ the jay with Dionysus,⁴⁰⁵ and the coot (*phalaris*) with Aphrodite, as Aristophanes says in *Birds* (565), alluding to the word "phallus"; some authorities also associate what is referred to as the *nētta* ("duck") with Poseidon.⁴⁰⁶ As for sea-gonos ("spawn"), which we call small-fry (*aphuē*), some authorities refer to it as *aphritis*, while others call it *aphros*; this is Aphrodite's favorite fish, because she herself was born from foam (*aphros*).⁴⁰⁷ Apollodorus in his *On Gods* (FGrH 244 F 109a) claims that the red mullet (*triglē*) is sacrificed to Hecate because it has an appropriate name; for the goddess takes three forms (*trimorphos*).⁴⁰⁸ But Melanthius in his *On the Mysteries at Eleusis* (FGrH 326 F 2) says that both the red mullet and the sprat (*mainis*) are⁴⁰⁹, because Hecate is a sea-goddess.⁴¹⁰ Hegesander of Delphi (fr. 39,

⁴⁰⁶ Because the name in some cases and dialects resembles *naus* ("ship"; cf. Matro fr. 1.95–6 Olson–Sens, quoted at 4.136e) or a form of the verb *neō* ("swim").

⁴⁰⁷ Cf. Hes. *Th.* 195–8, and the similar (but more extended) discussion of the name and its significance at 7.284f–5c.

⁴⁰⁸ I.e. as Artemis, Hecate, and Persephone/Corē.

⁴⁰⁹ Sc. sacrificed to her.

⁴¹⁰ Cf. Hes. *Th.* 440–3.

παραφέρεσθαι ἐν τοῖς Ἀρτεμισίοις διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν τοὺς
 θαλασσίους λαγῶς θανασίμους ὄντας θηρεύειν ἐπι-
 μελῶς καὶ καταναλίσκειν· διόπερ ὡς ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τῶν
 ἀνθρώπων τοῦτο ποιούσα τῇ κυνηγετικῇ θεῷ ἢ κυνη-
 γέτις ἀνάκειται. γενεᾶτιν δ' ἔφη τὴν τρίγλην Σώφρων,
 ἐπεὶ αἱ τὸ γένειον ἔχουσαι ἠδιόνες εἰσι μᾶλλον τῶν
 ἄλλων. Ἀθήνησι δὲ καὶ τόπος τις Τρίγλα καλεῖται, |
 d καὶ αὐτόθι ἐστὶν ἀνάθημα τῇ Ἑκάτῃ Τριγλανθίνῃ. διὸ
 καὶ Χαρικλείδης ἐν Ἀλύσει φησί·

δέσποιν' Ἑκάτη Τριοδίτι,
 τρίμορφε, τριπρόσωπε,
 τρίγλαις † κηδευμένα.

ἐὰν δ' ἐναποπνιγῇ τρίγλη ζῶσα ἐν οἴνῳ καὶ τοῦτο
 ἀνὴρ πῆχ ἀφροδισιάζειν οὐ δυνήσεται, ὡς Τερψικλῆς
 ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἀφροδισίων· κἄν γυνὴ δὲ πῆχ τοῦ
 αὐτοῦ οἴνου, οὐ κῦτσκεται. ὁμοίως δὲ οὐδὲ ὄρνις. ὁ δὲ
 πολυῖστωρ Ἀρχέστρατος ἐπαινέσας τὰς κατὰ Τειχι-
 οῦντα τῆς Μιλησίας τρίγλας ἐξῆς φησι· |

e κἄν Θάσῳ ὀψώνει τρίγλην, κοῦ χείρονα λήψει
 ταύτης· ἐν δὲ Τέῳ χείρω, κεδνὴ δὲ καὶ αὕτη.
 ἐν δ' Ἐρυθραῖς ἀγαθὴ θηρεύεται αἰγιαλίτις.

Κρατῖνος δ' ἐν Τροφωνίῳ φησίν·

411 Cf. 10.446d.

412 Cf. 4.168c.

413 Cf. 9.391e (another fragment of *On Sex*) with 8.337b n.

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FHG iv.420)⁴¹¹ reports that a red mullet is carried in processions at festivals of Artemis because it is thought to relentlessly hunt sea-hares—which are deadly poisonous—and kill them; accordingly, since it does this for the benefit of mankind, the huntress fish is dedicated to the huntress goddess. Sophron (fr. 30, quoted above) referred to the red mullet as bearded, because those with beards taste better than the others. An area in Athens is called Trigla, and there is a shrine there dedicated to Hecate Trigranthinē. This is why Chariclides says in *The Chain* (fr. 1):

Mistress Hecate of the Crossroads (*Trioditi*),
with three forms (*trimorphe*) and three faces
(*triprosōpe*),⁴¹²
attended † by red mullets (*triglai*).

If a live red mullet is smothered in wine and a man drinks the concoction, he will be unable to get an erection, according to Terpsicles in his *On Sex*;⁴¹³ whereas if a woman drinks the same wine, she does not become pregnant. The same is not true of a chicken. The learned Arcestratus (fr. 42.4–6 Olson–Sens = *SH* 173), immediately after praising the red mullets in Milesian Teichious,⁴¹⁴ says:

Buy the red mullet in Thasos too, and you will not get
one worse
than the Teichioessan variety. In Teos it is worse, but
even this one is excellent.
In Erythrae it is good when caught near the shore.

Cratinus says in *Trophonius* (fr. 236):

⁴¹⁴ In fr. 42.1–3 Olson–Sens (quoted at 7.320a), where the place is called Teichioessa, as also below.

ATHENAEUS

οὐδ' Αἰζωνίδ' ἐρυθρόχρων ἐσθίειν ἔτι τρίγλην
οὐδὲ τρυγόνος οὐδὲ δεινοῦ φηνὴν μελανούρου.

Ναυσικράτης δ' ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς ἐπαινεῖ τὰς Αἰζω-
νικὰς τρίγλας ἐν Ναυκλήροις λέγων οὕτως·

(A.) μετ' αὐτῶν δ' εἰσὶν ἐκπρεπεῖς φύσιν
αἱ ξανθόχρωτες, ἅς κλύδων Αἰζωνικὸς
πασῶν ἀρίστας ἐντόπους παιδεύεται |
f αἷς καὶ θεὰν τιμῶσι φωσφόρον κόρην,
δείπνων ὅταν πέμπωσι δῶρα ναυτίλοι.
(B.) τρίγλας λέγεις.

Ταινίαι. καὶ τούτων Ἐπίχαρμος μέμνηται·

καὶ ταὶ φίνταται
ταινίαι, λεπταὶ μὲν, ἀδέαι δέ, κῶλίγου πυρός.

Μίθαικος δ' ἐν Ὀψαρτυτικῷ, ταινίαν, φησὶν, ἐκκοιλί-
ξας, τὰν κεφαλὰν ἀποταμών, ἀποπλύνας καὶ ταμῶν
326 τεμάχεια κατὰχει τυρὸν καὶ ἔλαιον. || πλείσται δὲ
γίνονται καὶ κάλλισται κατὰ τὸν πρὸς τῇ Ἀλεξαν-
δρείᾳ Κάνωπον καὶ ἐν Σελευκείᾳ τῇ πρὸς Ἀντιοχείᾳ.
ὅταν δ' Εὐπόλις ἐν Προσπαλτίοις λέγῃ·

μήτηρ τις αὐτῷ Θραῖττα ταινιόπωλις ἦν,

415 Other portions of the fragment are quoted at 7.296a, 330b.

416 Literally "ribbons, bands".

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no longer to eat a red-skinned red mullet from
Aexone,
or a bit of sting-ray or of a *melanouros* with its fearful
shape.

The comic poet Nausicrates speaks highly of red mullets from Aexone in *Ship-Owners* (fr. 1.6–11),⁴¹⁵ saying the following:

(A.) After them come the extraordinary
tawny-skins, raised by the Aexonian
billow as the best local product there is;
sailors honor the light-bearing maiden goddess with
them,
when they send her dinners as gifts.

(B.) You're talking about red mullets.

Tainiai.⁴¹⁶ Epicharmus mentions these too (fr. 49.2–3):⁴¹⁷

and the beloved

tainiai, which are slender but delicious, and require
only a small fire.

Mithaecus says in the *Art of Cooking*: After you gut a *tainia* and remove its head, wash it off and cut it into steaks, and pour cheese and olive oil over it. They are particularly numerous and of very high quality around Canopus near Alexandria and in Antiochian Seleuceia.⁴¹⁸ But when Eupolis in *Men from the Deme Prospaltia* (fr. 262) says:

His mother was some Thracian *tainia*-seller,

⁴¹⁷ For the fragment, see 7.321b n.

⁴¹⁸ That is, Seleuceia Pieria, on the Syrian coast.

τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑφασμάτων λέγει καὶ τῶν ζωνῶν, αἷς αἱ γυναικες περιδέονται.

Τράχουροι. τούτων ὡς ξηροτέρων μέμνηται Διοκλῆς. Νουμήνιος δ' ἐν Ἀλιευτικῷ φησιν· † ἀκουίας κυγκάλους τε καὶ ἀλλοπίην τράχουρον †. |

b Ταυλωπίας. περὶ τούτου Ἀρχέστρατος ἱστορεῖ·

καὶ νεαροῦ μεγάλου τ' αὐλωπία ἐν θέρει ὠνοῦ κρανίον, ἃν Φαέθων πυμάτην ἀψίδα διφρεύη· καὶ παράθες θερμὸν ταχέως καὶ τρίμμα μετ' αὐτοῦ.

ὄπτα δ' ἀμφ' ὀβελίσκον ἐλὼν ὑπογάστριον αὐτοῦ.

Teuthis. Ἀριστοτέλης εἶναί φησι καὶ ταύτην τῶν συναγελαζομένων ἔχειν τε τὰ πλείστα τῆς σηπίας, c τὸν τῶν ποδῶν ἀριθμόν, | τὰς προβοσκίδας. τῶν δὲ ταύτης ποδῶν οἱ μὲν κάτω μικροὶ εἰσιν, οἱ δ' ἄνω μείζους· καὶ τῶν προβοσκίδων ἡ δεξιὰ παχυτέρα, καὶ τὸ ὅλον σωματίον τρυφερὸν καὶ ὑπομηκέστερον. ἔχει δὲ καὶ θολὸν ἐν τῇ μύτιδι οὐ μέλανα ἀλλ' ὠχρόν· καὶ τὸ ὄστρακον μικρὸν λίαν καὶ χονδρῶδες.

Teuthos. ὁ δὲ τεῦθος μόνῳ τούτῳ διαφέρει, τῷ μεγέθει· γίνεται δὲ καὶ τριῶν σπιθαμῶν. τὸ δὲ χρώμα ἐστὶν

419 Quoted at 7.320d (= fr. 225 van der Eijk).

420 Or perhaps "a rough-tailed *allopies*".

421 The name is an error, Archestratus' τ' *aulōpia* having been mistaken for *taulōpia*.

422 The Sun-god.

he is referring to the sort of *tainia* ("ribbon") used in tapestries and the belts women wrap around themselves.

Scads. Diocles (fr. 227 van der Eijk)⁴¹⁹ refers to these as very dry. Numenius says in the *Art of Fishing* (SH 579, unmetrical): † *akoniai* and *kinkaloi* and an *aloppiēs* scad⁴²⁰†.

Taulopias.⁴²¹ Arcestratus offers information about this fish (fr. 34 Olson-Sens = SH 164):

Buy the head of a strapping, large *aulopias*
in the summer, when the Shining One⁴²² drives his
chariot on its furthest arc,
and serve it quickly, while it is hot, and a sauce along
with it.

But if you get its underbelly, roast it on a spit.

Squid. Aristotle (fr. 242, including the quotation from *Parts of Animals* V in the next entry) says that this is one of the schooling fish and shares most characteristics of the cuttlefish, including the number of legs it has and its feelers. Its lower legs are small, the upper ones larger; its right feeler is more substantial than the other; and its body as a whole is delicate and more extended.⁴²³ The ink in its sac is not black, but pale yellow, and its shell is very tiny and cartilaginous.

Teuthos.⁴²⁴ The *teuthos* is different⁴²⁵ in only one aspect, its size; it grows up to three spans⁴²⁶ long. It is red-

⁴²³ Sc. than that of the cuttlefish.

⁴²⁴ The material that follows appears to be drawn once again from Aristotle. ⁴²⁵ Sc. from the squid (*teuthis*).

⁴²⁶ Perhaps 15–18 inches, depending on the size of one's hand.

ATHENAEUS

ὑπέρυθρος καὶ τῶν ὀδόντων τὸν μὲν κάτω ἐλάττονα
 d ἔχει, τὸν δὲ ἄνω μείζονα, ἄμφω δὲ μέλανας | καὶ
 ὁμοίους ῥύγχει ἰέρακος. ἀναπτυχθεὶς δὲ κοιλίαν ἔχει
 ὁμοίαν ταῖς ὑείαις. ἐν δε πέμπτῳ Μορίων βραχύβιά
 φησιν εἶναι τὸν τεύθον καὶ τὴν σηπίαν. Ἀρχέστρατος
 δ' ὁ πᾶσαν γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν διὰ γαστριμαργίαν
 περιελθὼν καὶ περιπλεύσας³¹ φησί·

τευθίδες ἐν Δίῳ τῷ Πιερικῷ παρὰ χεῦμα
 Βαφύρα· καὶ ἐν Ἀμβρακίῃ παμπληθέας ὄψει.

Ἄλεξις δὲ ἐν Ἐρετρικῷ τάδε ποιεῖ λέγοντα μάγειρον·

† τευθίδες, σπιναι, βατίς, δῆμος, ἀφύαι, |
 e κρεάδι, ἐντερίδια· ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν τευθίδας, †
 τὰ πτερύγι αὐτῶν συντεμών, στεατίου
 μικρὸν παραμείξας, περιπάσας ἠδύσμασι
 λεπτοῖσι χλωροῖς ὠνθύλευσα.

καὶ πέμμα δέ τι τευθίδα ὀνομάζειν Ἰατροκλέα ἐν
 Ἄρτοπουκῷ φησι Πάμφιλος.

Ἔες. Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Ἑβας Γάμφ·

ἦν δ' ὑαινίδες τε βούγλωσσοί τε καὶ κίθαρος
 ἐνῆς.

³¹ περιελθὼν καὶ περιπλεύσας CE: περιελθὼν πλεύσας A:
 περιελθὼν [πλεύσας] Dindorf

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dish-colored and has a smaller lower tooth and a larger upper one; both teeth are black and resemble a hawk's beak. When dissected, it has a gut that resembles a pig's. In Book V of *Parts*, [Aristotle] says that the *teuthos* and the cuttlefish are short-lived. Archestratus (fr. 55 Olson—Sens = *SH* 185), who wandered everywhere on earth and sailed all the seas on account of his gluttony, says:

There are squid in Pieric Dion beside Baphyras' stream. You will also see large quantities of them in Ambracia.

Alexis in *The Man Who Wished He Was from Eretria* (fr. 84) presents a cook as saying the following:

† squid, [corrupt], a skate, beef-fat, small-fry,
little chunks of meat, and entrails. But as for the
squid, †
I diced their fins, mixed them with a bit
of suet, sprinkled them with minced
green herbs, and stuffed them.

Pamphilus (fr. XXXV Schmidt) reports that Iatrocles in the *Art of Breadmaking* refers to a cake of some sort as a *teuthis*⁴²⁷.

Hues.⁴²⁸ Epicharmus in *The Wedding of Hebe* (fr. 58):⁴²⁹

There were puntazzos (*huainides*) and *bouglōssoi*,
and a *kitharos* was included.

⁴²⁷ Literally "squid".

⁴²⁸ Literally "pigs".

⁴²⁹ For the fragment, see 7.288b n.

λέγει δέ τινας καὶ ὕας διὰ τούτων·

χαλκίδες θ' ὕες τε ἰερακές τε χῶ πίων κύων,

- f εἰ μὴ ἄρα οὔτοι οἱ αὐτοὶ εἰσι τῷ κάπρω. | Νουμήμιος δ' ἐν τῷ Ἀλιεντικῷ ἀντικρυς ὕαινάν τινα καταριθμῆται ἐν τούτοις·

καυθαρίδα προφανείσαν ὕαινάν τε τρίγλην τε.

καὶ Διονύσιος δ' ἐν Ὀψαρτυτικῷ τῆς ὑαίνης μνημονεύει. Ἀρχέστρατος δ' ὁ ὀψοδαίδαλος·

ἐν δ' Αἴνω καὶ τῷ Πόντῳ τὴν ὕν ἀγόραζε,
ἢν καλέουσί τινες θνητῶν ψαμμίτιν ὀρυκτῆν.
ταύτης τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔψειν μηδὲν προσενεγκῶν
ἠδυσμ', ἀλλ' ἐς ὕδωρ μόνον ἐνθείς καὶ θαμὰ
κινῶν

- 327 ὕσσωπον παράθες τρίψας, κὰν ἄλλο τι χρήζης, ||
δριμὺν διεὶς ὄξος· κᾶτ' ἔμβαπτ' εὐ καὶ ἐπέιγουν
οὕτως ὡς πνίγεσθαι ὑπὸ σπουδῆς καταπίνων.
τὴν λοφιῆν δ' ὀπτᾶν αὐτῆς καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ
πλείιστα.

μήποτ' οὖν καὶ ὁ Νουμήμιος ἐν τῷ Ἀλιεντικῷ τὴν ὕν ψαμαθίδα καλεῖ ἐπὶ λέγει·

430 Quoted also at 7.328c–d, where the verse is assigned to *The Wedding of Hebe*.

431 Literally “boar”; see 7.305d–f.

432 See 7.285b n.

433 Quoted also at 7.306d.

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He also refers to *hues* of some sort in the following passage (fr. 61):⁴³⁰

and sardines and *hues* and flying gurnards and the fat
shark,

unless these are identical to the *kapros*.⁴³¹ Numenius in his *Art of Fishing* (SH 580) includes a straightforward reference to a *puntazzo* (*huaina*) of some sort in his list, in the following passage:

a shining black bream and a *puntazzo* (*huaina*) and a
red mullet.

Dionysius in the *Art of Cooking* also mentions the *puntazzo*. The culinary genius⁴³² Arcestratus (fr. 23 Olson-Sens = SH 153):

But in Aenus and the Black Sea try to buy the *hus*,
which some mortals refer to as an excavated sand-
dweller (*psammitis*).

Stew its head, adding no seasonings
to it; simply put it in water, stir it constantly,
and serve it, after grinding up some marjoram and, if
you want something else,
soaking (the marjoram) in pungent vinegar; then dip
it thoroughly and
suck it down eagerly enough to choke yourself.
As for its back-meat, roast it and most of the other
parts.

Perhaps, therefore, Numenius in his *Art of Fishing* (SH 575)⁴³³ is referring to the *hus* as a *psamathis* when he says:

ATHENAEUS

ἄλλοτε καρχαρίην, ὅτε δὲ ρόθιον ψαμαθίδα.

Ἔκαι. καὶ τὸν ὕκην Καλλίμαχος ἐν Ἐπιγράμμασιν
ιερόν ἰχθύν καλεῖ διὰ τούτων·

< . . . > θεὸς δέ οἱ ἱερός ὕκης.

Νουμήμιος δ' ἐν Ἀλιευτικῷ·

b ἢ σπάρων ἢ ὕκας ἀγελήιδας ἢ ἐπὶ φάγρον |
πέτρην ἀλωόμενον.

Τίμαιος δ' ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν περὶ
τοῦ Σικελικοῦ πολιχνίου (λέγω δὲ τῶν Ἰκάρων) δια-
λεγόμενος προσαγορευθῆναί φησι τὸ πολίχνιον διὰ
τὸ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐλθόντας ἐπὶ τὸν
τόπον ἰχθῦς εὐρεῖν τοὺς καλουμένους ὕκας καὶ τού-
τους ἐγκύους· δι' οὓς οἰωνισαμένους Ἔκαρον ὀνο-
μάσαι τὸ χωρίον. Ζηνόδοτος δὲ φησι Κυρηναίους τὸν
ὕκην ἐρυθρῖνον καλεῖν. Ἐρμιππος δὲ ὁ Σμυρναῖος ἐν
c τοῖς Περὶ Ἰππώνακτος ὕκην | ἀκούει τὴν ἰουλίδα· εἶναι
δ' αὐτὴν δυσθήρατον, διὸ καὶ Φιλητᾶν φάναι·

οὐδ' ὕκης ἰχθῦς ἔσχατος ἐξέφυγε.

Φάγρος. Σπεύσιππος ἐν δευτέρῳ Ὁμοίων παρα-
πλήσιά φησιν εἶναι φάγρον, ἐρυθρῖνον, ἥπατον.

434 Apparently some sort of perch or sea-bream.

435 Quoted in a different form at 7.284c.

436 Part of the first verse is quoted also at 7.320d.

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sometimes a *karchariē*, at other times a noisy
psamathis.

Hukai.⁴³⁴ Callimachus in the *Epigrams* (fr. 394 Pfeiffer)⁴³⁵ refers to the *hukē* as a sacred fish in the following passage:

a holy god in his eyes, a *hukēs*.

Numenius in the *Art of Fishing* (*SH* 581):⁴³⁶

or a *sparos*-bream or schooling *hukai* or a sea-bream wandering among the rocks.

Timaeus in Book XIII of his *History* (*FGrH* 566 F 23), in the course of his discussion of the citadel on Sicily—I am referring to Hycara⁴³⁷—says that the place got its name from the fact that the first people to arrive there found the fish referred to as *hukai*, and spawning at that; they treated them as an omen and named the place Hycaron. Zenodotus claims that the inhabitants of Cyrene refer to the *hukē* as an *eruthrinos*.⁴³⁸ But Hermippus of Smyrna in his *On Hipponax* (fr. 93 Wehrli) understands *hukē* to mean the rainbow wrasse, and claims that the fish is difficult to catch, which is why Philetas (fr. 20, p. 94 Powell = fr. 21 Sbardella = fr. 18 Spanoudakis) says:

and the final fish, a *hukēs*, did not escape.

Sea-bream. Speusippus in Book II of *Similar Things* (fr. 12b Tarán)⁴³⁹ claims that the sea-bream, *eruthrinos*, and

⁴³⁷ Cf. 13.588b–9a; Timaeus was discussing the sack of the place by the Athenians in 415 BCE.

⁴³⁸ Cf. 7.300f with n.

⁴³⁹ Cited also at 7.300e, 301c.

ATHENAEUS

ἐμνημόνευσε δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Νουμήνιος ἐν τοῖς προκειμένοις. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ σαρκοφάγον φησὶν αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ μονήρη καρδίαν τε ἔχειν τρίγωνον ἀκμάζειν τε ἕαρος. Ἐπίχαρμος δ' ἐν Ἡβας Γάμῳ φησὶν·

ἀόνες φάγροι τε λάβρακές.

μνημονεύει δ' αὐτῶν καὶ Μεταγένης ἐν Θουριοπέρσαις. Ἀμειβίας δ' ἐν Κόννῳ·

d ὀρφῶσι | σελαχίοις τε καὶ φάγροις βορά.

Ἰκέσιος δὲ φησι· φάγροι καὶ χρομίς καὶ ἀνθίας καὶ ἀκαρνᾶνες καὶ ὀρφοὶ καὶ συνόδοντες καὶ συναγρίδες τῷ μὲν γένει παραπλήσιοι ὑπάρχουσιν· γλυκεῖς τε γὰρ καὶ παραστύφοντες καὶ τρόφιμοι· κατὰ λόγον δὲ καὶ δυσέκκριτοι. τροφιμώτεροι δ' αὐτῶν οἱ σαρκώδεις καὶ γεωδέστεροι ἐλάττονά τε πιμελήν ἔχοντες. Ἀρχέστρατος δὲ φησι Σειρίου ἀντέλλοντος δεῖν τὸν φάγρον ἐσθίειν |

e Δήλῳ τ' Εἰρετρίῃ τε κατ' εὐλιμένους ἀλὸς οἴκους.
τὴν κεφαλὴν δ' αὐτοῦ μόνον ὠνοῦ καὶ μετ'
ἐκείνης
οὐραῖον· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ δόμον < . . . > μηδ'
ἐσενέγκης.

μνημονεύει τοῦ φάγρου καὶ Στράτις ἐν Δημνομέδῃ·

440 SH 581.1, quoted at 7.327a–b.

441 Quoted at greater length at 7.321d.

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hēpatos resemble one another. Numenius also mentioned it in the passage cited earlier.⁴⁴⁰ Aristotle (fr. 243) reports that it is carnivorous and solitary; has a triangular heart; and is best in the spring. Epicharmus says in *The Wedding of Hebe* (fr. 56.1):⁴⁴¹

aones, sea-breems, and sea-bass.

Metagenes also mentions them in *Thuriopersians* (fr. 6.6).⁴⁴² Amipsias in *Connus* (fr. 8):⁴⁴³

with sea-perch, as food for sharks and rays and sea-breems.

Hicesius says: Sea-breems, the *chromis*, the *anthias*, bass, sea-perches, four-toothed sea-breems, and *sunagrides* belong to a closely-related group; because they are sweet, rather astringent, and nourishing, and also (as one might expect) difficult to excrete. The full-fleshed members of the group are more nourishing and earthier, and have less fat. Archestratus (fr. 27 Olson-Sens = *SH* 157) claims that you should eat the sea-bream when Sirius is on the rise

in Delos and Eretria, among houses with fine sea-harbors.

Buy only its head, and the tail-portion
along with it; as for the rest of it, † don't even bring it home.

Strattis in *Lemnomeda* (fr. 26) also mentions the sea-bream:

⁴⁴² Quoted at 6.269f-70a. ⁴⁴³ Cf. 7.315b-c, where a slightly longer version of what appears to be the same fragment is attributed to Plato's *Cleophon* (= *Pl. Com.* fr. 57).

πολλοὺς δὴ μεγάλους τε φάγρους ἐγκάψας.

καὶ ἐν Φιλοκτήτῃ·

κᾶτ' εἰς ἀγορὰν ἐλθόντες ἀδρούς
ὀψωνούσιν μεγάλους τε φάγρους
καὶ Κωπάδων ἀπαλῶν τεμάχη
στρογγυλοπλεύρων.

ἔστι δὲ καὶ γένος λίθου φάγρος· ἡ γὰρ ἀκόνη κατὰ
f Κρήτας φάγρος, ὡς ἰ φησι Σιμίας.

Χάνναι. Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Ἑβας Γάμῳ·

μεγαλοχάσμονάς τε χάννας κῆκτραπελο-
γαστορας ὄνους.

Νουμήνιος ἐν Ἀλιευτικῷ·

χάννους τ' ἐγγέλυάς τε καὶ ἐννυχίην πίτυνον.

μνημονεύει δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Δωρίων ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἰχθύων.
Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ζωικῶν ποικιλερυθρομέ-
λαιναν αὐτὴν ὀνομάζει καὶ ποικιλόγραμμα δια τὸ
μελαίνας γραμμαῖς πεποικίλθαι. ||

328 Χρόμις. καὶ τούτου μνημονεύει Ἐπίχαρμος λέγων·

καὶ σκιφίας χρόμις θ', ὅς ἐν τῷ ἦρι κατ τὸν
Ἄνάγιον

444 Normally "sea-bream".

445 Cf. the cynical comment about grammarians and rare words for stones at 9.398c.

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after gulping down many large sea-bream, in fact.

And in *Philoctetes* (fr. 45):

and then they go to the marketplace and buy
large, fat sea-breams for their dinner,
and slices of tender, round-ribbed
Copaic eels.

There is also a type of stone known as a *phagros*⁴⁴⁴; because the Cretan word for a whetstone is *phagros*, according to Simias.⁴⁴⁵

Sea-perch. Epicharmus in *The Wedding of Hebe* (fr. 60):⁴⁴⁶

and sea-perch with great gaping jaws, and cod
with enormous bellies.

Numenius in the *Art of Fishing* (*SH* 572.2):⁴⁴⁷

and sea-perch and eels and a nocturnal *pitunos*.

Dorion also mentions it in his *On Fish*. Aristotle in his *On Living Creatures* (fr. 244) calls it speckled-red-and-black and speckle-lined because black lines are scattered randomly all over it.

Chromis. Epicharmus mentions this fish too, saying (fr. 51.1-2):⁴⁴⁸

and a swordfish and a *chromis*, which according to
Ananius

⁴⁴⁶ Quoted also at 7.315f.

⁴⁴⁷ For the fragment, see 7.304e n.

⁴⁴⁸ A slightly fuller version is quoted at 7.282a-b (with an explanation of the reference to Ananius).

ἰχθύων πάντων ἄριστος.

Νουμήμιος δ' ἐν Ἀλιευτικῷ·

ὑκην ἢ κάλλιχθιν, ὅτε χρόμιν, ἄλλοτε δ' ὀρφόν.

καὶ Ἀρχέστρατος·

τὸν χρόμιν ἐν Πέλλῃ λήψει μέγαν — ἔστι δὲ
πίων,

ἂν θέρος ἦ — καὶ ἐν Ἀμβρακίῃ.

Χρυσόφρυς. Ἀρχιππος ἐν Ἰχθύσιν·

ἱερεὺς Ἀφροδίτης χρύσοφρυς Κυθηρίας.

- b τοὺς δ' ἰχθύς τούτους φησὶν Ἰκέσιος | καὶ τῇ γλυκύτητι καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐστομία πάντων εἶναι ἀρίστους. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ τροφιμώτατοι. τίκτουσι δέ, ὡς φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης, ὁμοίως τοῖς κεστρεῦσιν οὐ ἂν ποταμοὶ ῥέωσιν. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτῶν καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Μούσαις καὶ Δωρίων ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἰχθύων. Εὐπόλις δ' ἐν Κόλαξί φησιν·

δραχμῶν ἑκατὸν ἰχθύς ἐώνημαι μόνον,
ὀκτὼ λάβρακας, χρυσόφρυς δὲ δώδεκα.

ὁ δὲ σοφὸς Ἀρχέστρατος ἐν ταῖς Ἐπιποθήκαις λέγει· |

- c χρύσοφρυν ἐξ Ἐφέσου τὸν πίονα μὴ παράλειπε,
ὃν κείνοι καλέουσιν ἰωνίσκον. λαβὲ δ' αὐτόν,

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is the best fish there is in the spring.

Numenius in the *Art of Fishing* (SH 571.1):⁴⁴⁹

a *hukē* or a beauty-fish; sometimes a *chromis*, at other times a sea-perch.

Also Archestratus (fr. 31 Olson-Sens = SH 161):

You will get a *chromis* that is big in Pella—it is fat, if it is summer-time—and in Ambracia.

Gilthead. Archippus in *Fish* (fr. 18):

as priest of Cytherian Aphrodite, a gilthead.

Hicesius claims that these are the best fish there are for sweetness and a generally good flavor; they are also very nourishing. According to Aristotle (fr. 245), they resemble gray mullets in spawning where rivers run.⁴⁵⁰ Epicharmus as well mentions them in *Muses* (fr. 45),⁴⁵¹ as does Dorion in his *On Fish*. Eupolis says in *Flatterers* (fr. 160):

For 100 drachmas I've bought nothing but fish:
eight sea-bass and a dozen giltheads.

The wise Archestratus says in his *Counsels* (fr. 13 Olson-Sens = SH 143):

As for the gilthead, do not neglect the fat one from
Ephesus;
the people there refer to it as "the little Ionian". Buy
it,

⁴⁴⁹ A fuller version is quoted at 7.295b-c.

⁴⁵⁰ Cf. 7.310e-f.

⁴⁵¹ Quoted at 7.304c.

θρέμμα Σελινοῦντος σεμνοῦ, πλῦνον δέ νιν
ὀρθῶς,
εἰθ' ὄλον ὀπτήσας παράθες κὰν ἧ δεκάπηχους.

Χαλκίδες καὶ τὰ ὅμοια, θρίσσαι, τριχίδες, ἐρίτιμοι.
Ἰκέσιός φησιν· αἱ λεγόμεναι χαλκίδες καὶ οἱ τράγοι
καὶ αἱ ῥαφίδες καὶ <αἱ> θρίσσαι ἀχυρώδεις καὶ ἀλι-
πέεις καὶ ἄχυλοι. Ἐπίχαρμος δ' ἐν Ἡβας Γάμῳ·

d χαλκίδες θ' ὕες τε ἰέρακές τε χῶ πίων | κύων.

Δωρίων δὲ χαλκιδικὰς αὐτὰς ὀνομάζει. Νουμήνιος δὲ
φησι·

σὺ δ' ἂν καὶ χαλκίδ' ἐκείνην
αὐτῶς ἀμπίραις ὀλίγην καὶ μαινίδα.

διαφέρει δὲ τῆς χαλκίδος ὁ χαλκεύς, οὗ μνημονεύει
Ἡρακλείδης ἐν Ὀψαρτυτικῷ καὶ Εὐθύδημος ἐν τῷ
Περὶ Ταρίχων λέγων αὐτοὺς γίνεσθαι ἐν τῇ Κυζικη-
νῶν χώρα περιφερεῖς τε εἶναι καὶ κυκλοειδεῖς. θρίσ-
σων δὲ μέμνηται Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ζῴων καὶ
Ἰχθύων ἐν τούτοις· μόνιμα θρίσσαι, ἐγκρασίχολος, |
e μεμβράς, κορακῖνος, ἐρυθρίνος, τριχίς. τριχίδων δὲ
Εὐπόλις ἐν Κόλαξιν·

ἐκείνος ἦν φειδωλός, ὃς ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου
πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου μὲν τριχίδας ὠψώνησ' ἅπαξ,
ὄτε τὰν Σάμῳ δ' ἦν, ἡμιωβελίου κρέα.

452 Literally "choice, valued".

453 Literally "he-goats".

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the offspring of the august Selinous, and wash it
thoroughly,
then roast and serve it whole, even if it is ten cubits
long.

Sardines and the like, herring, pilchards, *eritimo*⁴⁵².
Hicesius says: What are referred to as sardines, *tragoi*⁴⁵³,
garfish, and herring are chaff-like, lack fat, and produce no
chulē. Epicharmus in *The Wedding of Hebe* (fr. 61):⁴⁵⁴

and sardines and *hues* and flying gurnards and the fat
shark.

Dorion calls them *chalkidikai*. But Numenius says (*SH*
588):

You might likewise spit
that tiny sardine and a sprat.

The sardine (*chalkis*) is different from the John Dory
(*chalkeus*), which Heracleides mentions in the *Art of*
Cooking, as does Euthydemus in his *On Saltfish*, where
he reports that they are found in Cyzicene territory and
are round and globular. Aristotle mentions herring in his
On Animals and Fish (fr. 246), in the following passage:
Non-migratory fish include the herring, anchovy, smelt,
korakinos, *eruthrinos*, and pilchard. Eupolis mentions pil-
chards in *Flatterers* (fr. 156):

He was a cheap guy: he bought pilchards
only once in his life before the war.
But when the Samian business was going on, he
bought half an obol's worth of meat.

⁴⁵⁴ Quoted also at 7.326e.

Ἀριστοφάνης Ἰππεύσι·

αἱ τριχίδες εἰ γενοίαθ' ἑκατὸν τοῦβολοῦ.

Δωρίων δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἰχθύων καὶ τῆς ποταμίας
μέμνηται θρίσσης καὶ τὴν τριχίδα τριχίαν ὀνομάζει.
Νικοχάρης Δημνίαις·

τριχίας δὲ καὶ τὰς πρημνάδας
ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἠκούσας ὑπερπληθεῖς.

f πρημνάδας δὲ τὰς θυννίδας ἔλεγον. | Πλάτων Εὐ-
ρώπη·

ἀλιευόμενός ποτ' αὐτὸν εἶλον ἀνδράχνη
μετὰ πρημνάδων, κᾶπειτ' ἀφήχ' ὅτι ἦν βόαξ.

ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν πέμπτῳ Ζῴων Μορίων
ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ <Περὶ> Ζωικῶν τριχίδα. τῶν
δὲ λεγομένων ἐστ' ὅτι ἤδεται ὀρχήσει καὶ ᾠδῇ καὶ
ἀκούσασα ἀναπηδᾷ ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης. τῶν δὲ ἐρι-
τίμων μέμνηται Δωρίων <ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἰχθύων>³² λέγων
κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ποιεῖν ταῖς χαλκίσιν, ἠδεῖς δ' εἶναι τὰς
ἐν ὑποτρίμματι. Ἐπαίνετος δέ³³ φησι γαλῆν,
σμαρίδα, ἣν ἔνιοι καλοῦσι κυνὸς εὐναί, χαλκίδας, ἅς
329 καλοῦσι καὶ σαρδίνους, ἐριτίμους, || ἰέρακα, χελιδόνα.
Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἐν πέμπτῳ Ζῴων Ἱστορίας σαρδίνους
αὐτὰς καλεῖ. Καλλίμαχος δ' ἐν Ἐθνικαῖς Ὀνομασίαις

³² add. Kaibel (vide infra)

³³ δὲ ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἰχθύων A: ἐν κτλ. del. Kaibel (vide supra)

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Aristophanes in *Knights* (662):

if the pilchards were 100 for an obol.

Dorion in his *On Fish* also mentions the river-herring, and refers to the pilchard (*trichis*) as a *trichia*. Nicochares in *Lemnian Women* (fr. 14):

pilchards (*trichiai*) and *prēmnaḍai*
that have come to dinner in enormous quantities.

They referred to *thunnides* as *prēmnaḍai*. Plato in *Europa* (fr. 44):

Once when I was fishing I caught him, along with
some
prēmnaḍai, using purslane as bait; then I let him go,
because he was a bogue.

Likewise Aristotle in Book V of *Parts of Animals* (fr. 247); but in the work entitled *On Living Creatures* (fr. 248) he uses *trichis*. This is one of the fish that allegedly love singing and dancing, and it leaps out of the sea when it hears them. Dorion in his *On Fish* mentions *eritimoī* and says that they behave the same way as sardines do and are delicious in a sauce. And Epaenetus says: a *galē*⁴⁵⁵, a picarel (referred to by some authorities as "dog's-beds"),⁴⁵⁶ sardines (also known as *sardinoī*), *eritimoī*, a flying-gurnard, a flying-fish. Aristotle in Book V of the *History of Animals*⁴⁵⁷ (fr. 249) refers to them as *sardinoī*. Callimachus in *Local*

⁴⁵⁵ Literally "weasel".

⁴⁵⁶ Cf. 7.313b.

⁴⁵⁷ Thus the manuscripts; but this may be an error for the lost *Parts of Animals* cited repeatedly in this Book.

γράφει οὕτως· ἐγκρασίχολος (ἐρίτιμος Χαλκηδόνιοι),
τριχίδια, χαλκίς, ἴκταρ, ἀθερίνη. ἐν ἄλλῳ δὲ μέρει
καταλέγων ἰχθύων ὀνομασίας φησίν· ὄζαινα, ὀσμύ-
λιον Θούριοι Ἰώπες, ἐρίτιμοι Ἀθηναῖοι. τῶν δὲ ἰώπων
μνημονεύει Νίκανδρος ἐν δευτέρῳ Οἰταϊκῶν·

ὡς δ' ὀπότη' ἀμφ' ἀγέλησι νεηγενέεσσιν ἰώπων
ἢ φάγροι ἢ σκῶπες ἀρείονες ἢ καὶ ὀρφός. |

b Ἀριστοφάνης δ' ἐν Ὀλκάσι·

ὦ κακοδαίμων ὅστις ἐν ἄλμῃ πρῶτον τριχίδων
ἀπεβάβθη·

τοὺς γὰρ εἰς τὸ ἀπανθρακίζειν ἐπιτηδέιους ἰχθύς εἰς
ἄλμην ἀπέβαπτον, ἦν καὶ Θασίαν ἐκάλουσαν ἄλμην. ὡς
καὶ ἐν Σφηξίν ὁ αὐτὸς φησιν ποιητῆς·

καὶ γὰρ πρότερον ἐπανθρακίδων ἐμπλήμενος.

Θράτται. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐνταῦθα τοῦ λόγου ἐσμὲν προδιει-
λέγμεθά τε περὶ θρισσῶν, φέρε εἴπωμεν τίνες εἰσὶν αἱ
παρὰ Ἀρχίππῳ ἐν Ἰχθύσι τῷ δράματι θράτται. κατὰ
τὰς συγγραφὰς γὰρ τῶν ἰχθύων καὶ Ἀθηναίων ταυτὶ
c πεποίηκεν· | ἀποδοῦναι δ' ὅσα ἔχομεν ἀλλήλων, ἡμᾶς
μὲν τὰς Θράττας καὶ Ἀθερίνην τὴν αὐλητρίδα καὶ

458 *osmulos* is an octopus-variety at 7.318e.

459 A mangled quotation.

460 Literally "Thracian women", presumably because their markings resembled tattoos. A small, herring-like fish.

461 The passage is in prose, which is rare but not unexampled

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Terminology (fr. 406 Pfeiffer) writes as follows: anchovy (the Chalcidians call it an *eritimos*), pilchardlets, sardine, brisling, sand-smelt. In another section he lists terms for fish and says: *ozaina* (the inhabitants of Thurii call it an *osmulion*)⁴⁵⁸; *iōpes* (the Athenians call them *eritimoi*). Nicander mentions *iōpes* in Book II of *Oetaean Tales* (fr. 18 Schneider):

As when, among the freshly-spawned schools of
iōpes,
sea-bream or *skōpes* are stronger, or else a sea-perch.

Aristophanes in *Merchantships* (fr. 426):

O unfortunate one, who was first immersed in
pilchard-brine!;

because they dipped fish suited to roasting on the coals
into brine-sauce, which they referred to as Thasian brine.
As the same poet says in *Wasps* (1127):⁴⁵⁹

for on a previous occasion, in fact, when I was stuffed
with fish fried on the coals.

Thraittai.⁴⁶⁰ Since we have reached this point in our conversation and have just discussed herring above, let us now consider what the *thraittai* mentioned by Archippus in his play *Fish* are. For in the agreement between the fish and the Athenians he writes the following (fr. 27):⁴⁶¹ (It is agreed) to return whatever we have belonging to the other party, we for our part our *Thraittas*,⁴⁶² Atherinē (“Sand-

in comedy (e.g. Ar. Av. 864–88, 1035–6, 1040–2, 1046–7, 1661–6; Th. 295–311).

⁴⁶² A common female slave-name.

Σηπίαν τὴν Θύρσου καὶ τοὺς Τριγλίας καὶ Εὐκλείδην τὸν ἄρξαντα καὶ Ἀναγυρουντόθεν τοὺς Κορακίωνα καὶ Κωβιοῦ τοῦ Σαλαμινίου τόκον καὶ Βάτραχον τὸν πάρεδρον τὸν ἐξ Ὀρεοῦ. ἐν τούτοις ἄν τις ζητήσῃ ποίας θράττας παρὰ τοῖς ἰχθύσιν εἶναι συμβέβηκεν, ἃς ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συντίθενται, ἐπεὶ οὖν ἰδίᾳ μοι συγγέγραπταί τι περὶ τούτου, αὐτὰ τὰ και-
 d ριώτατα νῦν λέξω. ἰχθύδιον | οὖν ἐστὶν ἀληθῶς ἢ θράττα θαλάττιον. καὶ μνημονεύει αὐτοῦ Μνησίμαχος ἐν Ἴπποτρόφῳ — ποιητῆς δ' ἐστὶν οὗτος τῆς μέσης κωμωδίας — λέγει δ' οὕτως·

μύλλος, λεβίας, σπάρος, αἰολίας,
 θράττα, χελιδών, καρίς, τευθίς.

Δωρόθεος δ' ὁ Ἀσκαλωνίτης ἐν τῷ ὀγδόῳ πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν τῆς Δέξεων Συναγωγῆς θέτταν γράφει, ἧτοι ἡμαρτημένῳ περιτυχῶν τῷ δράματι ἢ διὰ τὸ ἄηθες τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτὸς διορθώσας ἐξήνεγκεν. ὅπως δ'
 e οὐδ' ἐστὶ τὸ ὄνομα³⁴ παρὰ οὐδενὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν. | ὅτι δὲ θράτταν ἔλεγον τὸ θαλάττιον ἰχθύδιον καὶ Ἀναξανδρίδης παρίστησιν ἐν Δυκούργῳ λέγων οὕτως·

καὶ συμπαίξῃν καριδαρίοις
 μετὰ περκιδίων καὶ θραττιδίων.

³⁴ τὸ τῆς θράττης ὄνομα ACE: τῆς θράττης del. Kaibel

⁴⁶³ PAA 108385.
 mullet".

⁴⁶⁴ Cf. the fish-name *triglē*, "red
 eponymous archon in 403/2

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smelt") the pipe-girl,⁴⁶³ *Sepia* ("Cuttlefish") the daughter of Thyrsus, the Trigliai,⁴⁶⁴ the ex-archon Eucleides,⁴⁶⁵ the Coraciones⁴⁶⁶ from Anagyrus, the child of Cobius of Salamis,⁴⁶⁷ and the assessor *Batrachus* from Oreus.⁴⁶⁸ If someone were to inquire as to who the *Thraitas* in this list are, who are being held by the fish and whom they are agreeing to return to the human beings, since I have composed a private treatise on this subject, I will now offer you the most relevant portions. The *thraitta* is in fact a small sea-fish. Mnesimachus—he is a Middle Comic poet—mentions it in *The Horse-Groom* (fr. 4.40–1),⁴⁶⁹ where he says the following:

a *mullos*, a *lebias*, a *sparos*-bream, an *aiolias*,
a *thraitta*, a flying-fish, a shrimp, a squid.

Dorotheus of Ascalon in Book CVIII of his *Collected Vocabulary* writes *thetta*, either because he ran into a defective copy of the play or because he introduced the reading himself as a correction, since the name is rare; this form is in any case not used by any Attic author. Anaxandrides in *Lycurgus* (fr. 28.1–2)⁴⁷⁰ establishes that they referred to a small sea-fish as a *thraitta*, when he says the following:

and to play with little shrimp
accompanied by tiny perch and *thraittai*.

BCE. Why he is mentioned is unclear; most likely he was nicknamed after a fish. ⁴⁶⁶ Cf. the fish-name *korakinos*.

⁴⁶⁷ PAA 588995; cf. the fish-name *kōbios*, "goby".

⁴⁶⁸ PAA 264180; cf. the fish-name *batrachos*, "fishing-frog".

⁴⁶⁹ An excerpt from a much larger fragment quoted at 9.402f–3d (cf. 7.322e). ⁴⁷⁰ Quoted also, at greater length and with a number of variants, at 3.105f.

καὶ Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Τυρρηνῶ·

(A.) δῆμον δ' Ἀλαιεύς ἐστιν. (B.) ἐν γὰρ τοῦτό
μοι

τὸ λοιπόν ἐστιν, καὶ κακῶς ἀκούσομαι.

(A.) τί δῆτα τοῦτο; (B.) θρᾶπταν ἢ ψῆττάν τιν' ἢ
μύραιναι ἢ κακόν τι μοι δώσει μέγα
θαλάττιον.

Ψῆτται. ταύτας Διοκλῆς ἐν τοῖς ξηροτέροις κατα-
f ριθμείται. Σπεύσιππος δ' ἐν | δευτέρῳ Ὁμοίων παρα-
πλήσιά φησιν εἶναι ψῆτταν, βούγλωσσον, ταινίαν.
Ἄριστοτέλης δ' ἐν πέμπτῳ Ζῴων Μορίων γράφει
ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἰχθύων οἱ πλείστοι ἅπαξ τίκτουσιν,
οἶον οἱ χυτοὶ οἱ τῷ δικτύῳ περιεχόμενοι, χρόμις,
ψῆττα, θύννος, πηλαμύς, κεστρεύς, χαλκίδες καὶ τὰ
330 τοιαῦτα. || ἐν δὲ τῷ Περὶ Ζωικῶν, σελάχη, φησί, βοῦς,
τρυγών, νάρκη, βατίς, βάτραχος, βούγλωττος, ψῆττα,
μῦς. Δωρίων δὲ ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἰχθύων γράφει τῶν δὲ
πλατέων βούγλωττον, ψῆτταν, ἔσχαρον, ὃν καλοῦσι
καὶ κόριν. βουγλώσσους δ' ὀνομάζει καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος
ἐν Ἡβας Γάμῳ·

ὑαινίδες τε βούγλωσσοί τε καὶ κίθαρος.

Λυγκεὺς δ' ὁ Σάμιος ἐν Ἐπιστολαῖς τὰς καλλίστας
γίνεσθαί φησι ψῆττας περὶ Ἐλευσίνα τῆς Ἀττικῆς.
Ἀρχέστρατος δὲ φησιν· |

471 Quoted at 7.320d (= fr. 225 van der Eijk).

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Also Antiphanes in *The Etruscan* (fr. 209):

(A.) He's from the deme Halae. (B.) This is the last straw; he's going to say nasty things about me.

(A.) What do you mean? (B.) He'll give me a *thraitta* or a flounder or a moray eel or some big, nasty sea-fish.

Flounders. Diocles (fr. 226 van der Eijk)⁴⁷¹ includes this in his list of drier fish. Speusippus in Book II of *Similar Things* (fr. 23 Tarán) claims that the flounder, *bouglōssos*, and *tainia* resemble one another. Aristotle writes in Book V of *Parts of Animals* (fr. 250): Likewise most fish spawn only once a year, as for example the schooling fish caught in nets: *chromis*, flounder, tuna, *pēlamus*, gray mullet, sardines, and the like. But in his *On Living Creatures* (fr. 251)⁴⁷² he says: Cartilaginous fish: horned ray, sting-ray, electric ray, skate, fishing-frog, *bouglōttos*, flounder, globe-fish. Dorion writes in his *On Fish*: of the flatfish: *bouglōttos*, flounder, *escharos* (also known as a *koris*). Epicharmus mentions *bouglōssoi* in *The Wedding of Hebe* (fr. 58.1):⁴⁷³

puntazzos and *bouglōssoi*, and a *kitharos*.

Lynceus of Samos in the *Letters* (fr. 10 Dalby) claims that the best flounders are found around Eleusis in Attica.⁴⁷⁴ But Archestratus says (fr. 33 Olson–Sens = *SH* 163):⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁷² Cf. Arist. fr. 194, quoted at 7.286c with n.

⁴⁷³ For the fragments, see 7.288b n. The quotation glosses the fragment of Dorion above, but is otherwise out of place here.

⁴⁷⁴ Clearly another fragment of the *Letter to Diagoras* quoted at 7.285e–f, 295a–b.

⁴⁷⁵ Quoted also at 7.288b.

- b εἶτα λαβεῖν ψῆτταν μεγάλην καὶ τὴν ὑπότρηχυν
βούγλωσσον, ταύτην δὲ θέρευσ περιὶ Χαλκίδα
κεδνήν.

Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ καλοῦσι τὴν ψῆτταν ῥόμβον, καὶ ἐστὶ τὸ
ὄνομα Ἑλληνικόν. Ναυσικράτης ἐν Ναυκλήροις· προ-
ειπὼν δὲ περὶ γλαύκου τοῦ ἰχθύος ἐπιφέρει·

(A.) αἱ ξανθόχρωτες, ἃς κλύδων Αἰξωνικὸς
πασῶν ἀρίστας ἐντόπους παιδεύεται
αἷς καὶ θεὰν τιμῶσι φωσφόρον κόρην,
δείπνων ὅταν πέμπωσι δῶρα ναυτίλοι.

(B.) τρίγλαν λέγεις < . . . >

* * *

(A.) γαλακτόχρωτα Σικελὸς ὄν πηγγυσ' ὄχλος

* * *

(B.) ῥόμβος.

- c Πεπληρωκότες τὴν περὶ ἰχθύων γενομένην τοῖς |
δειπνοσοφισταῖς ἀδολεσχίαν, ᾧ Τιμόκρατες, αὐτοῦ
τὸν λόγον καταπαύσαντες, εἰ μὴ τι καὶ ἄλλων σοι δεῖ
βρωμάτων, παραθήσομέν σοι καὶ ἃ Εὐβουλος εἴρηκεν
ἐν Λάκωσιν ἢ Λήδα·

πρὸς τούτοισιν δὲ παρέσται σοι
θύννου τέμαχος, κρέα δελφακίων,
χορδαί τ' ἐρίφων, ἥπάρ τε κάπρου,

476 Greek *rhombo* ("turbot").

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Then buy a big flounder and the slightly rough
bouglōssos; during the summer, the latter is excellent
around Chalcis.

The Romans refer to the flounder as a *rhombus*, which is actually a Greek word.⁴⁷⁶ Nausicrates in *Ship-Owners* (fr. 1.7–13);⁴⁷⁷ after first discussing the fish known as the *glaukos*,⁴⁷⁸ he goes on to say:

The tawny-skins, raised by the Aexonian
billow as the best local product of all;
sailors honor the light-bearing maiden goddess with
them,

when they send her dinners as gifts.

(B.) You're talking about a red mullet.

* * *

(A.) milky-skinned, which the Sicilian rabble spits

* * *

(B.) A turbot.

Now that I have offered a full account of the learned banqueters' discussion on the topic of fish, Timocrates, I will conclude my account at this point—unless perhaps you are hungry for more food!—and offer you what Eubulus says in *Spartans or Leda* (fr. 63):

In addition, you'll have
a tuna-steak, pork,
kid-meat sausages, a boar's liver,

⁴⁷⁷ Most of this passage, along with one additional verse, is quoted also at 7.325e–f (with some variants from the text as it is preserved, in badly damaged form, here).

⁴⁷⁸ In fr. 1.1–5, quoted at 7.296a.

ATHENAEUS

κριοῦ τ' ὄρχεις, χόλικές τε βοός,
κρανία τ' ἀρνῶν, νῆστίς τ' ἐρίφου,
γαστήρ τε λαγῶ, φύσκη, χορδή,
πνεύμων, ἀλλᾶς τε.

ἐμφορηθεῖς οὖν καὶ τούτων ἔασον ἡμᾶς καὶ τοῦ σωμα-
τίου ἐπιμέλειαν ποιήσασθαι, ἵνα δυνηθῆς τὰ μετὰ
ταῦτα εὐλόγως σιτεῖσθαι.

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he-goat testicles, beef wurst,
lambs' heads, a kid's jejunum,
a hare's stomach, a *phuskē*⁴⁷⁹, a *chordē*,
a lung, and an *allas*.

So now that you are stuffed with all these items, allow me to take care of my body,⁴⁸⁰ making it possible for you to feed happily on what will follow.

⁴⁷⁹ Like *chordē* and *allas* (below), some specific type of sausage.

⁴⁸⁰ That is, by going to sleep, the entire day having supposedly been used up by the account offered in Books VI and VII.

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