

ATHENAEUS

THE LEARNED BANQUETERS

BOOKS 8–10.420E

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY

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PREFACE

For a general introduction to Athenaeus and *The Learned Banqueters*, and to my citation conventions, see the beginning of Volumes I and III. I have altered Casaubon's numbering of the text slightly at the beginning of Books 8 and 10, where he chose to repeat certain section-divisions and thus uses 330a, for example, to refer to both one of the final sections of Book 7 and the very beginning of Book 8 (my 8.330d). In addition, I have (like all previous editors) tacitly added a handful of section-divisions at points where they were accidentally omitted from Casaubon's text.

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 much of the 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 my undergraduate students Joseph McDonald and William Blessing, for their many hours of reference-checking, proofreading, format-

PREFACE

ting assistance, and the like. This volume is dedicated to my beautiful daughter Rebekkah, who will probably never read these words, but whom I love and miss more than she will ever know.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Berve H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage* ii *Prosopographie* (Munich, 1926)
- FGE D. L. Page (ed.), *Further Greek Epigrams* (Cambridge, 1981)
- FGrH F. Jacoby (ed.), *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker* (Leiden, 1923–69)
- FHG C. and T. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* (4 vols.: Paris, 1841–70)
- GGM C. Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores* (3 vols.: Paris, 1855–61)
- GPh A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page (eds.), *The Greek Anthology: The Garland of Philip* (Cambridge, 1968)
- Grainger John D. Grainger, *Aitolian Prosopographical Studies* (*Mnemosyne* Suppl. 202: Leiden, Boston and Cologne, 2000)
- HE A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page (eds.), *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams* (Cambridge, 1965)
- IG *Inscriptiones Graecae*
- K–A see PCG
- PA J. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica* (Berlin, 1901–3)

ABBREVIATIONS

- PAA** J. Traill (ed.), *Persons of Ancient Athens* (Toronto, 1994—)
- PCG** R. Kassel and C. Austin (eds.), *Poetae Comici Graeci* (Berlin and New York, 1983–2001)
- 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 Kommentare, Band 11: Berlin and New York, 1983)
- SSR** G. Giannantoni, *Socratis et Socraticorum Reliquiae* (4 vols.; n.p., 1990)
- Stephanis** I. E. Stephanis, *Διονυσιακοὶ Τεχνίται* (Herakleion, 1988)
- SVF** J. van Arnim (ed.), *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* (3 vols.; Leipzig, 1921, 1903)
- TrGF** B. Snell et al. (eds.), *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Göttingen, 1971–2004)

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 EPHESUS, 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)*

CHARACTERS

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)*

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

Η

- 330d Τὴν κατὰ τὴν Λυσιτανίαν (χώρα δ' ἐστὶν αὕτη τῆς Ἰβηρίας, ἣν νῦν Ῥωμαῖοι Σπανίαν ὀνομάζουσι) διηγούμενος εὐδαιμονίαν Πολύβιος ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης, ἀνδρῶν ἄριστε Τιμόκρατες, ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ καὶ τρι-
- 331 ακοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν φησιν ὡς αὐτόθι ἢ διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀέρος εὐκρασίαν καὶ τὰ ζῶα πολύγωνα καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καρποὶ οὐδέποτε φθείρονται. ῥόδα μὲν γὰρ αὐτόθι καὶ λευκίᾳ καὶ ἀσπάραγοι καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια τούτοις οὐ πλείον διαλείπει μηνῶν τριῶν, τὸ δὲ θαλάττιον ὄψον καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ κατὰ τὴν χρηστότητα καὶ κατὰ τὸ κάλλος μεγάλην ἔχει διαφορὰν πρὸς τὸ γινόμενον ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς θαλάττῃ. καὶ ὁ μὲν τῶν κριθῶν Σικελικὸς μέδιμνός ἐστι δραχμῆς, ὁ δὲ τῶν πυρῶν ἐννέα ὀβολῶν Ἀλεξαν-
- b δρεινῶν. τοῦ δ' οἴνου δραχμῆς ὁ μετρητῆς | καὶ ἔριφος ὁ μέτριος ὀβολοῦ καὶ λαγῶς. τῶν δ' ἀρνῶν τριῶβολον καὶ τετρώβολον ἢ τιμῆ, ὕς δὲ πίων ἑκατὸν μνᾶς ἄγων πέντε δραχμῶν καὶ πρόβατον δυεῖν, τάλαντον δὲ σύκων τριῶν ὀβολῶν, μόσχος δραχμῶν πέντε καὶ βοῦς ζύγιμος δέκα. τὰ δὲ τῶν ἀγρίων ζώων κρέα σχεδὸν οὐδὲ κατηξιούτο τιμῆς, ἀλλ' ἐν ἐπιδόσει καὶ χάριτι

BOOK VIII

In his discussion in Book XXXIV (8.4–10) of his *History* of how prosperous Lusitania is—this is part of Iberia, and is referred to nowadays by the Romans as *Spania*, my excellent Timocrates—Polybius of Megalopolis claims that because the climate is so mild, both the animals and the people there produce large numbers of offspring, and the crops in the region never fail. Roses, carnations, asparagus, and the like, for example, are never out of season for more than three months; and the seafood is far better in quantity, quality, and appearance than what is found in the sea near us. A Sicilian *medimnos*¹ of barley costs a drachma; a *medimnos* of wheat costs nine Alexandrian obols²; an amphora of wine costs a drachma; and an average-sized kid costs an obol, as does a hare. The price of a lamb is three or four obols; a fat pig that weighs 100 *minas*³ costs five drachmas, a sheep or goat two; a talent⁴ of figs costs three obols, a calf five drachmas, and a yoke-ox ten. Wild-animal meat is considered almost worthless; they give it to one another

¹ An Attic *medimnos* (a dry measure commonly used for grain) was equivalent to about 1 1/3 American bushels; the size of a Sicilian *medimnos* is unknown. ² I.e. 1 1/2 drachmas.

³ About 95 pounds (on the Attic standard).

⁴ About 58 pounds (on the Attic standard).

τὴν ἀλλαγὴν ποιοῦνται τούτων. ἡμῖν δὲ ὁ καλὸς Λα-
 ρήνσιος τὴν Ῥώμην Λυσιτανίαν ἐκάστοτε παρέχων
 ἐμπίπλησι παντοίων ἀγαθῶν ὁσημέραι, μετὰ τοῦ
 ἡδέος καὶ μεγαλοφρόνως φιλοτιμούμενος, οὐδὲν φερο-
 μένοις | οἴκοθεν ἢ λογάρια.

Πολλῶν δὲ λεχθέντων ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰχθύσι λόγων δῆλος
 μὲν ἦν ἀχθόμενος ὁ Κύνουλκος. καὶ ὁ καλὸς Δημόκρι-
 τος αὐτὸν προφθάσας ἔφη· ἀλλὰ μὴν, ἄνδρες ἰχθύες
 κατὰ τὸν Ἄρχιππον, παρελίπετε (δεῖ γὰρ καὶ ἡμᾶς
 μικρὰ προσοψωνῆσαι) τοὺς τε ὀρυκτοὺς ἰχθύας κα-
 λουμένους, οἳ ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ γίνονται καὶ περὶ Τίον
 τοῦ Πόντου τὴν Μιλησίω ἀποικίαν, ἱστοροῦντος περὶ
 αὐτῶν Θεοφράστου. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς οὗτος φιλόσοφος καὶ
 περὶ τῶν πηγνυμένων διὰ χειμῶνα τῷ κρυστάλλῳ
 ἱστόρησεν, οἳ οὐ πρότερον αἰσθάνονται οὐδὲ κινου-
 νται, πρὶν ἂν εἰς τὰς λοπάδας ἐμβληθέντες ἔψωνται.
 ἴδιον δὲ παρὰ τούτους | συμβαίνει τὸ περὶ τοὺς ἐν
 Παφλαγονίᾳ ὀρυκτοὺς καλουμένους ἰχθύς γινόμενον·
 ὀρύττεσθαι γὰρ κατὰ βάθους πλέονος τοὺς τόπους
 οὔτε ποταμῶν ἐπιχύσεις ἔχοντας οὔτε φανερῶν να-
 μάτων, καὶ εὐρίσκεσθαι ἐν αὐτοῖς ἰχθύς ζῶντας. Μνα-
 σέας δὲ ὁ Πατρεὺς ἐν τῷ Περίπλῳ τοὺς ἐν τῷ Κλείτορι
 ποταμῷ φησιν ἰχθύς φθέγγεσθαι, καίτοι μόνους εἰρη-
 κότος Ἀριστοτέλους φθέγγεσθαι σκάρων καὶ τὸν πο-
 τάμιον χοῖρον. Φιλοστέφανος δ' ὁ Κυρηναῖος μὲν
 γένος, Καλλιμάχου δὲ γνώριμος, ἐν τῷ Περί τῶν

⁵ Cf. the similar turn of phrase at 1.4b.

BOOK VIII

as a way of throwing in something extra or doing a favor. The noble Larensius routinely makes Rome into Lusitania for us, by stuffing us with good food of all kinds on a daily basis, and taking a generous pleasure in vigorously pursuing this course, even though we bring nothing from home except the speeches we make.⁵

Numerous remarks had been made on the subject of fish,⁶ and Cynulcus was obviously irritated.⁷ But before he could say anything, the noble Democritus observed: Well, piscine sirs (to quote Archippus [fr. *30]), you left out—because I need to add a few more fish to our shopping-list!—the so-called excavated fish found in Heracleia and around the Milesian colony of Tius on the Black Sea, despite the fact that Theophrastus (fr. 171 Wimmer) describes them. This same philosopher also offered an account of the fish that are frozen in ice all winter long and do not feel anything or move until they are dumped into casserole-dishes and begin to stew. But even in comparison to them, what happens in the case of the so-called excavated fish in Paphlagonia is peculiar; for deep holes are dug in places that have no rivers emptying into them and no visible springs—and live fish are found in them! Mnaseas of Patras in his *Voyage along the Coast* (fr. 14 Cappelletto) claims that the fish in the Cleitor River produce articulate sounds, although Aristotle (fr. 252) says that the only ones that actually do so are the parrot-wrasse and the rivershall. Philostephanus, whose family was from Cyrene and who was a student of Callimachus, asserts in his *On*

⁶ The main topic of Book 7.

⁷ Sc. because eating was constantly deferred in favor of more talk.

- e Παραδόξων Ποταμῶν ἐν Ἀόρνῳ φησὶ τῷ ποταμῷ | διὰ Φενεοῦ ῥέοντι ἰχθῦς εἶναι φθεγγομένους ὁμοίως κίχλαις· καλεῖσθαι δ' αὐτοὺς ποικιλίας. Νυμφόδωρος δ' ὁ Συρακόσιος ἐν τοῖς Περίπλοις ἐν τῷ Ἑλώρῳ ποταμῷ λάβρακας εἶναί φησι καὶ ἐγγέλει μεγάλας οὕτω τιθασοὺς ὡς ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν δέχεσθαι τῶν προσφερόντων ἄρτους. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν τῇ κατὰ Χαλκίδα Ἀρεθούση τεθέαμαι, ἴσως δὲ καὶ ὑμῶν οἱ πλείστοι, κεστρεῖς χειροθήεις καὶ ἐγγέλει ἐνώτια ἐχούσας ἀργυρὰ καὶ χρυσᾶ, λαμβανούσας τε καὶ λαμβάνοντας παρὰ τῶν
- f προσφερόντων τροφὰς τά | τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερείων σπλάγχνα καὶ τυροὺς χλωροὺς. Σῆμος δ' ἐν ἔκτῳ Δηλιάδος, Ἀθηναίοις, φησί, θυομένοις ἐν Δήλῳ τὴν χέρνιβα βάψας ὁ παῖς προσήνεγκε κὰν τῇ φιάλῃ μετὰ τοῦ ὕδατος ἰχθῦς κατέχεεν· εἰπεῖν οὖν αὐτοῖς τοὺς τῶν Δηλίων μάντις ὡς κυριεύσουσι τῆς θαλάσσης. ||
- 332 Πολύβιος δ' ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ καὶ τριακοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν μετὰ τὴν Πυρήνην φησὶν ἕως τοῦ Νάρβωνος ποταμοῦ πεδῖον εἶναι, δι' οὗ φέρεσθαι ποταμοὺς Ἰλλέβριν καὶ Ῥόσκυνον ῥέοντας παρὰ πόλεις ὁμωνύμους κατοικουμένας ὑπὸ Κελτῶν· ἐν οὖν τῷ πεδίῳ τούτῳ εἶναι τοὺς λεγομένους ἰχθῦς ὀρυκτοὺς. εἶναί τε τὸ πεδῖον λεπτόγειον καὶ πολλὴν ἄγρωστιν ἔχον πεφυκυῖαν· ὑπὸ δὲ ταύτην διάμμου τῆς γῆς οὕσης ἐπὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς πήχεις ὑπορρεῖν τὸ πλαζόμενον ἀπὸ τῶν
- b ποταμῶν ὕδωρ· μεθ' οὗ | ἰχθῦς κατὰ τὰς παρεκχύσεις ὑποτρέχοντες ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν χάριν τῆς τροφῆς (φιλη-

BOOK VIII

Strange Rivers that there are fish in the Aornus River, which flows through Pheneus, that produce the same sound as thrushes do; they are known as *poikiliai*.⁸ Nymphodorus of Syracuse in his *Voyages along the Coast* (FGrH 572 F 8) claims that there are large bass and eels in the Helorus River which are so tame that they take bread from your hand if you offer it to them. I myself have seen—perhaps most of you have as well—gray mullets in the Arethusa spring in Chalcis that are accustomed to being touched, and eels that wear silver and gold earrings; both take the entrails of sacrificial animals and fresh cheese if you offer it to them. Semus says in Book VI of the *History of Delos* (FGrH 396 F 12): When some Athenians were making a sacrifice on Delos, the slave scooped up the washing-water and brought it to them, and poured fish into the bowl along with the water. The Delian seers accordingly told them that they would rule the sea. Polybius in Book XXXIV (10.1–4) of his *History* says that a plain extends from Pyrene to the Narbon River, and that the Illeberis and Rhoscynus Rivers flow through it past the Celtic cities that share their names; the so-called excavated fish are found in this plain. The plain has light soil, and a considerable amount of Bermuda grass (*agrōstis*) grows in it. Beneath the grass are three to five feet⁹ of sandy earth, and under this flows the water, which has made its way there from the rivers. Fish move underground along with the water that has seeped out of the rivers, in order to

⁸ Cf. Paus. 8.21.2, who calls the river the Aroanius and expresses disappointment at not hearing the fish speak, despite waiting into the evening for this to happen.

⁹ Literally “two to three cubits”.

δοῦσι γὰρ τῇ τῆς ἀγρώστεως ρίζῃ) πεποιήκασι πᾶν
 τὸ πεδίον πλήρες ἰχθύων ὑπογείων, οὓς ἀνορύττοντες
 λαμβάνουσιν. ἐν Ἰνδοῖς δέ φησι Θεόφραστος τοὺς
 ἰχθύς ἐκ τῶν ποταμῶν εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐξίοντας καὶ πη-
 δώντας πάλιν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπιέναι καθάπερ τοὺς βα-
 τράχους, ὁμοίους ὄντας τὴν ἰδέαν τοῖς μαξείνοις κα-
 λουμένοις ἰχθύσιν. οὐκ ἔλαθεν δέ με οὐδὲ Κλέαρχος ὁ
 ἀπὸ τοῦ περιπάτου ὃς εἶρηκε καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἐξωκόιτου |
 c καλουμένου ἰχθύος ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Περὶ τῶν
 Ἐνύδρων. εἶρηκε γὰρ—κρατεῖν δ' οἶμαι καὶ τῆς λέ-
 ξεως οὕτως ἐχούσης· ὁ ἐξώκοιτος ἰχθύς, ὃν ἔνιοι
 καλοῦσιν ἄδωνιν, τοῦνομα μὲν εἴληφε διὰ τὸ πολλάκις
 τὰς ἀναπαύσεις ἔξω τοῦ ὑγροῦ ποιεῖσθαι. ἐστὶ δὲ
 ὑπόπυρρος καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν βραγχίων ἐκατέρωθεν τοῦ
 σώματος μέχρι τῆς κέρκου μίαν ἔχει διηνεκῆ λευκὴν
 ράβδον. ἐστὶ δὲ στρογγύλος ἀλλ' οὐ πλατὺς ὢν κατὰ
 τὸ μέγεθος ἴσος ἐστὶ τοῖς παραιγιαλίταις κεστρι-
 d νίσκοις· οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν ὀκταδάκτυλοι | μάλιστα τὸ
 μῆκος. τὸ δὲ σύνολον ὁμοιότατός ἐστι τῷ καλουμένῳ
 τράγῳ ἰχθυδίῳ πλην τοῦ ὑπὸ τὸν στόμαχον μέλανος,
 ὃ καλοῦσι τοῦ τράγου πώγωνα. ἐστὶ δ' ὁ ἐξώκοιτος
 τῶν πετραίων καὶ βιοτεύει περὶ τοὺς πετρώδεις τό-
 πους· καὶ ὅταν ἦ γαλήνη, συνεξορούσας τῷ κύματι
 κείται ἐπὶ τῶν πετριδίων πολὺν χρόνον ἀναπανόμενος
 ἐν τῷ ξηρῷ καὶ μεταστρέφει μὲν ἑαυτὸν πρὸς τὸν
 ἥλιον. ὅταν δ' ἰκανῶς αὐτῷ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀνάπανσιν
 ἔχη, προσκυλινδεῖται τῷ ὑγρῷ, μέχρι οὗ ἂν πάλιν
 e ὑπολαβὸν | αὐτὸν τὸ κύμα κατενέγκῃ μετὰ τῆς ἀναρ-

BOOK VIII

feed—they like the roots of the grass—and have filled the entire plain with subterranean fish, which the locals dig up and catch. In India, according to Theophrastus (fr. 171 Wimmer), the fish leave the rivers and come up onto the land, and then leap back into the water and disappear, like frogs; they look like the so-called *maxeinoi* fish. I am also familiar with what Clearchus the Peripatetic says in his work entitled *On Aquatic Creatures* (fr. 101 Wehrli) on the subject of the so-called *exōkoitos*¹⁰ fish. He says—I believe that I can quote the passage, which runs as follows: The *exōkoitos* fish, which some authorities refer to as an *adōnis*, got its name from the fact that it often rests outside of (*exō*) the water. It is reddish and has a single white stripe that runs the length of its body on both sides from its gills to its tail. It is globular, but not wide across, and is the same size as the small gray mullets caught along the shore, which are six inches¹¹ long at most. In general it most closely resembles the so-called *tragos* (“billy-goat”) fish,¹² except for the dark part beneath its mouth, which is referred to as a “goat’s-beard.” The *exōkoitos* is a rock-fish and lives in rocky areas; whenever the sea is calm, it rides a wave out of it and lies on the pebbles for a long time, resting on the beach, and turns itself to face the sun. After it has rested enough, it rolls back toward the water until the waves pick it up again and carry it back out to sea as they leave the

¹⁰ Literally “out-sleeping”.

¹¹ Literally “eight fingers.”

¹² The male sprat during mating season; cf. Hicesius at 7.328c; Arist. *HA* 607^b11–14.

ροίας εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. ὅταν δ' ἐγρηγορῶς ἐν τῷ
 ξηρῷ τύχῃ, φυλάττεται τῶν ὀρνίθων τοὺς παρευδια-
 στὰς καλουμένους, ὧν ἔστι κηρύλος, τροχίλος καὶ ὁ
 τῆ κρεκὶ προσεμφερῆς ἐρωδιός· οὗτοι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς
 εὐδαίαις παρὰ τὸ ξηρὸν νεμόμενοι πολλάκις αὐτῷ περι-
 πίπτουσιν, οὓς ὅταν προΐδῃται φεύγει πηδῶν καὶ
 ἀσπαίρων, ἕως ἂν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ ἀποκυμβήσῃ. ἔτι ὁ
 αὐτὸς Κλέαρχος καὶ ταῦτά φησι σαφέστερον τοῦ
 f Κυρηναίου Φιλοστεφάνου, | οὗ πρότερον ἐμνήσθην·
 ἐπεὶ τινες τῶν ἰχθύων οὐκ ἔχοντες βρόγχον φθέγγου-
 νται. τοιοῦτοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ περὶ Κλείτορα τῆς Ἀρκαδίας
 ἐν τῷ Λάδωνι καλουμένῳ ποταμῷ· φθέγγονται γὰρ
 καὶ πολλὴν ἦχον ἀποτελοῦσιν. Νικόλαος δ' ὁ Δαμα-
 σκηνὸς ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατὸν τῶν Ἱστοριῶν,
 περὶ Ἀπάμειαν, φησί, τὴν Φρυγιακὴν κατὰ τὰ Μιθρι-
 δατικὰ σεισμῶν γενομένων ἀνεφάνησαν περὶ τὴν χώ-
 ραν αὐτῶν λίμναι τε πρότερον¹ οὐκ οὔσαι καὶ ποταμοὶ
 καὶ ἄλλαι πηγαὶ ὑπὸ τῆς κινήσεως ἀνοιχθεῖσαι, πολ-
 λαὶ δὲ καὶ ἠφανίσθησαν, τοσοῦτόν τε ἄλλο ἀνέβλυ-
 σεν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ γῆ πικρὸν τε καὶ γλαυκὸν ὕδωρ,
 πλείστον ὅσον ἀπεχούσης τῶν τόπων τῆς θαλάσσης,
 ὥστε ὀστρέων πλησθῆναι τὸν πλησίον τόπον ἅπαντα
 καὶ ἰχθύων τῶν τε ἄλλων ὅσα τρέφει ἡ θάλασσα. ||
 333 οἶδα δὲ καὶ πολλαχοῦ ὕσαντα τὸν θεὸν ἰχθύσι· Φαι-
 νίας γοῦν ἐν δευτέρῳ Πρυτάνεων Ἑρεσιῶν ἐν Χερ-
 ρονήσῳ φησὶν ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὕσαι τὸν θεὸν ἰχθύας.
 καὶ Φύλαρχος δ' ἐν τετάρτῃ ἐωρακεῖναι τινὰς πολλα-
 χοῦ τὸν θεὸν ὕσαντα ἰχθύσι, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ γυρίνοις

BOOK VIII

shore. As it lies awake on the beach, it keeps an eye out for the so-called fair-weather birds, which include the *kērulos*, the Egyptian plover, and the type of heron that resembles a *krēx*. Because when the weather is good, these birds feed along the coast and often attack the *exōkoitos*; when it spies them, it tries to get away by flopping and thrashing about, until it finally jumps into the water. The same Clearchus (fr. 104 Wehrli) also says the following, expressing himself more clearly than Philostephanus of Cyrene, whom I mentioned earlier (8.331d–e): since some fish produce articulate sounds, despite lacking a windpipe. Those found around Arcadian Cleitor in what is known as the Ladon River are an example; they produce sounds and in fact generate considerable noise. Nicolaus of Damascus says in Book CIV of his *History* (FGrH 90 F 74): When earthquakes occurred around Apameia in Phrygia during the Mithridatic Wars, lakes that previously had not existed appeared throughout their country, as did rivers and other water-sources that had been opened up by the earth's movement, while many others disappeared. On top of that, so much gray saltwater gushed out onto their land that, although the sea was quite a long way from the region, the entire area around there was filled with shellfish, fish, and every other kind of sea-creature. I am also aware that it has rained fish in many places. Phaenias in Book II of *The Rulers of Eresus* (fr. 17a Wehrli), for example, claims that it rained fish for three days in the Chersonese. So too Phylarchus in Book IV (FGrH 81 F 4) (reports) that people have seen it rain fish in a number of places, and that some-

¹ λίμναι τε αἰ πρότερον A: λίμνας πρότερον tantum CE: αἰ del. Kaibel

τοῦ αὐτοῦ συμβαίνοντος². Ἡρακλείδης γοῦν ὁ Λέμβος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν, περὶ τὴν Παιονίαν καὶ Δαρδανίαν βατράχους, φησὶν, ὕσεν ὁ θεὸς καὶ τοσοῦτο αὐτῶν ἐγένετο τὸ πλῆθος ὡς τὰς |
 b οἰκίας καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς πλήρεις εἶναι. τὰς μὲν οὖν πρώτας ἡμέρας κτείνοντες τούτους καὶ συγκλείοντες τὰς οἰκίας διεκαρτέρον· ὡς δ' οὐδὲν ἤνουν, ἀλλὰ τά τε σκευὴ ἐπληροῦτο καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἐδεσμάτων εὐρίσκοντο συνεψόμενοι καὶ συνοπτώμενοι οἱ βάτραχοι καὶ πρὸς ταῦτοις οὔτε τοῖς ὕδασιν ἦν χρῆσθαι οὔτε τοὺς πόδας ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν θείναι συσσεσωρευμένων αὐτῶν, ἐνοχλοῦμενοι δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν τετελευτηκότων ὀδμῆς ἔφυγον τὴν χώραν. οἶδα δὲ καὶ Ποσειδώνιον τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς εἰπόντα καὶ περὶ πλῆθους ἰχθύων τάδε· ὅτε
 c Τρύφων | ὁ Ἀπαμεὺς ὁ τὴν τῶν Σύρων βασιλείαν ἀρπάσας ἐπολεμείτο ὑπὸ Σαρπηδόνοιο τοῦ Δημητρίου στρατηγοῦ περὶ Πτολεμαῖδα πόλιν καὶ ὡς ὁ Σαρπηδὼν ληφθεὶς ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν μεσόγαιαν μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων στρατιωτῶν, οἱ δὲ τοῦ Τρύφωνος ὄδευον κατὰ τὸ πλησίαλον νικήσαντες τῇ μάχῃ, ἐξαίφνης πελάγιον κῦμα ἐξαρθὲν μετέωρον εἰς ὕψος ἐξαίσιον ἐπήλθεν τῇ γῇ καὶ πάντας αὐτοὺς ἐπέκλυσεν διέφθειρέν τε ὑποβρυχίους, ἰχθύων τε πολλὴν σωρὸν ἀναχωροῦν τὸ κῦμα
 d μετὰ τῶν νεκρῶν κατέλιπε. καὶ οἱ περὶ | τὸν Σαρπηδόνα ἀκούσαντες τὴν συμφορὰν ἐπελθόντες τοῖς μὲν

² συμβαίνοντος καὶ ἐπὶ βατράχων A: καὶ ἐπὶ βατράχων del. Dobree

BOOK VIII

thing similar often occurs with tadpoles. Heracleides of Lembos, for example, says in Book XXI of his *History* (fr. 3, *FHG* iii.168): Around Paeonia and Dardania it rained frogs, and there were so many of them that they filled the houses and the streets. For the first few days the people coped by killing them and keeping the doors of their houses shut. But this got them nowhere: their pots and jars were full of frogs; they found frogs being stewed and roasted along with their food; on top of this, it became impossible to drink the water, or even to put their feet on the ground, because of the heaps of frogs; and since the stench of the dead ones was making them miserable, they abandoned the place. I am also aware that Posidonius the Stoic (*FGrH* 87 F 29 = fr. 226 Edelstein–Kidd) said the following about a large quantity of fish: After Tryphon of Apameia seized the Syrian throne, he was attacked by Demetrius' general Sarpedon near the city of Ptolemais.¹³ When Sarpedon was defeated, he withdrew into the interior with his troops; meanwhile, Tryphon's men, who had won the battle, were traveling along the coastal road. Suddenly a huge wave towering extraordinarily high in the air hit the shore, submerging and drowning them; when the wave withdrew, it left an enormous heap of fish behind, along with the corpses. Sarpedon's men heard about the disaster, and came and gloated over their enemies' bodies;

¹³ The events described here probably took place c.144/3 BCE. The Demetrius in question is Demetrius II Nicator. Strabo 16.758 offers a shorter version of the same anecdote.

τῶν πολεμίων σώμασιν ἐφήσθησαν, ἰχθύων δὲ ἀφθονίαν ἀπηνέγκαντο καὶ ἔθυσαν Ποσειδῶνι Τροπαίῳ πρὸς τοῖς προαστείοις τῆς πόλεως. οὐ κατασιωπήσομαι δὲ οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐν Λυκία ἰχθυομάντεις ἄνδρας, περὶ ὧν ἱστορεῖ Πολύχαρμος ἐν δευτέρῳ Λυκιακῶν γράφων οὕτως· ὅταν γὰρ διέλθωσι πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν, οὗ τὸ ἄλσος ἐστὶ πρὸς τῷ αἰγιαλῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, ἐν ᾧ ἐστὶν ἡ δῖνα ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμάθου, παραγίνονται ἔχοντες οἱ
 e μαντευόμενοι ὀβελίσκους δύο | ξυλίνοισι, ἔχοντας ἐφ' ἑκατέρῳ σάρκας ὀπτάς ἀριθμῷ δέκα. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἱερεὺς καθήται πρὸς τῷ ἄλσει σιωπῇ, ὁ δὲ μαντευόμενος ἐμβάλλει τοὺς ὀβελίσκους εἰς τὴν δῖναν καὶ ἀποθεωρεῖ τὸ γινόμενον. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐμβολὴν τῶν ὀβελίσκων πληροῦται θαλάσσης ἡ δῖνα καὶ παραγίνεται ἰχθύων πλήθος τοσοῦτον ὥστ' ἔκπλήττεσθαι τὸ ἀόρατον τοῦ πράγματος, τῷ δὲ μεγέθει <τοιούτων>⁴ ὥστε καὶ εὐλαβηθῆναι. ὅταν δὲ ἀπαγγείλῃ τὰ εἶδη τῶν ἰχθύων ὁ προφήτης, οὕτως τὸν χρησμὸν λαμβάνει παρὰ τοῦ
 f ἱερέως ὁ μαντευόμενος περὶ | ὧν ἠΰξαστο. φαίνονται δὲ ὀρφοί, γλαῦκοι, ἐνίοτε δὲ φάλλαιναί ἢ πρίστεις, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἀόρατοι ἰχθύς καὶ ξένοι τῇ ὄψει. Ἀρτεμίδωρος δ' ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ τῶν Γεωγραφουμένων λέγεσθαι φησὶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων πηγῆν ἀναδίδοσθαι γλυκέος ὕδατος, ὅθεν συμβαίνει δῖνας γίνεσθαι· γίνεσθαι δὲ καὶ ἰχθύας ἐν τῷ δινάζοντι τόπῳ μεγάλους. τούτοις δὲ οἱ θυσιάζοντες ἐμβάλλουσιν ἀπαρχὰς τῶν θυσιαζομένων ἐπὶ ξυλίνων ὀβελίσκων ἀναπείροντες

but they also took away an enormous quantity of fish and sacrificed them to Poseidon Tropaios (“Giver of Victory”) on the city’s outskirts. Nor will I neglect to mention the Lycian fish-prophets described by Polycharmus in Book II of the *History of Lycia* (FGrH 770 F 1), where he writes as follows: When they get to the sea, to the spot on the shore where Apollo’s sacred grove (which contains the whirlpool, set on the dune) is located, the individuals seeking an oracle are there holding two wooden spits, each of which has ten pieces of roasted meat on it. The priest sits silently in the grove, and the person seeking an oracle tosses the spits into the whirlpool and watches to see what happens. After the spits are thrown in, the pool fills with seawater, and fish appear in such numbers that the oddness of the situation inspires astonishment, while the fish themselves are big enough to make one wary of them. The interpreter announces what the fish look like, which is how the individual seeking an oracle gets a response from the priest to the questions he prayed about. Sea-perch, *glaukoi*, and occasionally whales and sawfish appear, along with many unusual, rarely-seen fish. Artemidorus in Book X of his *Geography*¹⁴ says that the locals claim that a fresh-water spring emerges and produces whirlpools; he also reports that large fish are found in the place that features the whirlpool. The people who make offerings to these fish put bits of stewed and roasted meat, barley-cakes, and loaves

¹⁴ Not necessarily referring to the same whirlpool (despite the implication of Athenaeus’ organization).

³ τοσοῦτον καὶ τοιοῦτον ὥστ’ A: τοσοῦτον ὥστε tantum
CE: καὶ τοιοῦτον del. Kaibel ⁴ add. Kaibel

- 334 κρέα ἐφθὰ καὶ ὄπτα καὶ ἥ μάζας καὶ ἄρτους. ὀνομάζε-
ται δὲ ὁ λιμὴν καὶ ὁ τόπος οὗτος Δίνος. οἶδα δὲ καὶ
Φύλαρχον εἰρηκότα που περὶ μεγάλων ἰχθύων καὶ τῶν
συμπεμφθέντων αὐτοῖς σύκων χλωρῶν, ὅτι αἰνιττόμε-
νος Πάτροκλος ὁ Πτολεμαίου στρατηγὸς Ἀντιγόνῳ
τῷ βασιλεῖ ἔπεμψεν⁵, ὡς Δαρείῳ Σκύθαι ἐπερχομένῳ
αὐτῶν τῇ χώρᾳ· ἔπεμψαν γὰρ οὗτοι μὲν, ὡς φησιν
Ἡρόδοτος, ὄρνιν καὶ οἰστὸν καὶ βάτραχον· ἀλλ' ὁ γε
Πάτροκλος, ὡς διὰ τῆς τρίτης τῶν Ἱστοριῶν φησιν ὁ
Φύλαρχος, πεμφθέντων τῶν προειρημένων σύκων |
b καὶ ἰχθύων. ἐτύγχανεν δὲ κωθωνιζόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς
καὶ ὡς πάντες διηποροῦντο ἐπὶ τοῖς δώροις, ὁ Ἀντίγο-
νος γελάσας πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἔφη γινώσκειν τί
βούλεται τὰ ξένια· “ἢ γὰρ θαλαττοκρατεῖν ἡμᾶς φησι
Πάτροκλος ἢ τῶν σύκων τρώγειν.” οὐ λανθάνει δέ με
καὶ ὅτι κοινῶς πάντες οἱ ἰχθύες καμασῆνες ὑπὸ Ἐμπε-
δοκλέους ἐλέχθησαν τοῦ φυσικοῦ οὕτως·

πῶς καὶ δένδρεα μακρὰ καὶ εἰνάλιοι καμασῆνες,

- καὶ ὅτι ὁ τὰ Κύπρια ποιήσας ἔπη, εἴτε Κυπρίας⁶ τις |
c ἐστὶν ἢ Στασίνοσ ἢ ὅστις δὴ ποτε χαίρει ὀνομαζό-

⁵ ἔπεμψεν Olson: ἔπεμπεν A

⁶ Κυπρίας Olson, cf. 15.682e: Κύπριος A

¹⁵ The incident described took place during the Chremonidean War (c.267–261 BCE), and the kings in question are Ptolemy II Philadelphus (backing Athens) and Antigonos Gonatas. De-

BOOK VIII

of bread on wooden spits as first-fruits of the victims. The name of the harbor and of the spot itself is Dinos (“Whirlpool”). I am also aware that Phylarchus somewhere discusses large fish and the green figs sent along with them, saying that Ptolemy’s general Patroclus sent these items to King Antigonus as a sort of riddle,¹⁵ in the same way the Scythians sent Darius gifts when he was about to invade their country; because according to Herodotus (4.131.1) they sent him a bird, an arrow, and a frog.¹⁶ Patroclus, on the other hand, according to Phylarchus in Book III of his *History* (FGrH 81 F 1), was sent the figs and fish mentioned above. The king was getting drunk; and when everyone was puzzled by the gifts, Antigonus laughed and told his friends that he recognized the point of the presents: “Patroclus is saying that either we control the sea or we eat figs.” Nor am I unaware that all fish were referred to generically as *kamasēnes* by the scientist Empedocles (31 B 72 D–K), as follows:

and how tall trees and *kamasēnes* in the sea.

(I am) also (aware) that the author of the epic poem the *Cypria*, whether this is a certain Cyprias, or Stasinus, or

spite Patroclus’ brave words, the Athenians and their allies were ultimately forced to capitulate to Macedon.

¹⁶ c.512 BCE. Herodotus (4.131–2) says that a mouse was included as well, and that Gobryes (one of the Persian leaders) recognized that the intended message was: “Unless you turn into fish and fly off into the air, or into mice and burrow beneath the earth, or into frogs and jump into the marshes, you will be shot by these arrows and will not get back home.”

μενος, τὴν Νέμεσιν ποιεῖ διωκομένην ὑπὸ Διὸς καὶ εἰς
 ἰχθὺν μεταμορφουμένην διὰ τούτων·

τοὺς δὲ μέτα τριτάτην Ἑλένην τέκε, θαῦμα
 βροτοῖσι·

τὴν ποτε καλλίκομος Νέμεσις φιλότῃ μιγεῖσα
 Ζηνὶ θεῶν βασιλῆι τέκε κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης·
 φεῦγε γὰρ οὐδ' ἔθελεν μιχθῆμεναι ἐν φιλότῃ |

d πατρὶ Διὶ Κρονίῳ· ἐτείρετο γὰρ φρένας αἰδοῖ
 καὶ νεμέσει· κατὰ γῆν δὲ καὶ ἀτρύγετον μέλαν
 ὕδωρ

φεῦγε, Ζεὺς δ' ἐδίωκε—λαβεῖν δ' ἐλιλαίετο
 θυμῶ—

ἄλλοτε μὲν κατὰ κῦμα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης
 ἰχθύι εἰδομένην πόντον πολὺν ἐξοροθύνων,
 ἄλλοτ' ἂν Ὀκεανὸν ποταμὸν καὶ πείρατα γαίης,
 ἄλλοτ' ἂν ἠπειρον πολυβῶλακα· γίγνεται δ' αἰνὰ
 θηρί, ὅσ' ἠπειρος πολλὰ τρέφει, ὄφρα φύγοι
 νιν. |

e οἶδα δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀπόπυριν καλουμένην περὶ
 τὴν Βόλβην λίμνην, περὶ ἧς Ἡγήσανδρος ἐν τοῖς
 Ἑπομνήμασι φησὶν οὕτως· Ἀπολλωνίαν τὴν Χαλκιδι-

¹⁷ For the disputed authorship of the *Cypria*, cf. 15.682d. Stasinus was supposedly Homer's son-in-law, to whom, according to some authorities, he gave the poem as his daughter's dowry (*Cypr. test.* 1–3 Bernabé).

BOOK VIII

whatever name he prefers to be called,¹⁷ represents Nemesis as being chased by Zeus and turning into a fish, in the following passage (*Cypr.* fr. 9 Bernabé):

After them she bore her third child, Helen, a wonder
to mortal eyes.
Fair-haired Nemesis bore her after having sex
with Zeus, the king of the gods, under harsh
compulsion;
for she tried to escape and was unwilling to have sex
with Father Zeus, son of Cronus; because her mind
was oppressed by shame
and resentment. She tried to flee over the earth and
the barren
black water, but Zeus pursued her—his heart was
eager to catch her—
sometimes through the waves of the much-surfing
sea,
stirring up the immense billows, when she took the
form of a fish;
sometimes over the river Ocean and the earth's
edges;
sometimes over the mainland with its rich soil. She
became all
the many terrible beasts the mainland nurses, in
order to escape him.

I am also aware of the stories told about the so-called *apopuris*¹⁸ near Lake Bolbe, about which Hegesander in his *Commentaries* (fr. 40, *FHG* iv.420–1) says the follow-

¹⁸ Small-fry of some sort, presumably called after the fact that they were roasted and eaten directly “off the fire”.

κὴν δύο ποταμοὶ περιρρέουσιν Ἀμμίτης καὶ Ὀλυνθιακός· ἐμβάλλουσι δ' ἀμφότεροι εἰς τὴν Βόλβην λίμνην. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Ὀλυνθιακοῦ μνημεῖόν ἐστιν Ὀλύνθου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους καὶ Βόλβης υἱοῦ. κατὰ δὲ τὸν Ἀνθεστηριῶνα καὶ Ἐλαφηβολιῶνα λέγουσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι διότι πέμπει ἢ Βόλβη τὴν ἀπόπυριν Ὀλύνθω, καὶ κατὰ τὸν
 f καιρὸν τοῦτον ἀπέραντον πλῆθος ἰχθύων | ἐκ τῆς λίμνης εἰς τὸν Ὀλυνθιακὸν ἀναβαίνει⁷ ποταμόν. ἐστὶ δὲ βραχύς, ὥστε μόλις κρύπτειν τὸ σφυρόν· ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἦττον τοσοῦτον ἔρχεται πλῆθος ἰχθύων ὥστε τοὺς περιοίκους ἅπαντας ἰκανὸν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν χρείαν συντιθέναι τάριχος. θαυμαστὸν δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ μὴ παραλλάττειν τὸ τοῦ Ὀλύνθου μνημεῖον. πρότερον μὲν οὖν φασι τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος τὰ νόμιμα συντελεῖν τοῖς τελευτήσασιν, νῦν δ' Ἀνθεστηριῶνος· διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν μόνοις τούτοις τοῖς μῆσι τοὺς ἰχθύς τὴν ἀνάβασιν ποιεῖσθαι, ἐν οἷς τοὺς τετελευτηκότας εἰώθασιν τιμᾶν.

335 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ταύτῃ, ἄνδρες ἰχθύες· ὑμεῖς γὰρ πάντα συναθροίσαντες βορὰν ἡμᾶς || τοῖς ἰχθύσι παραβεβλήκατε καὶ οὐκ ἐκείνους ἡμῖν, τοσαῦτα εἰπόντες ὅσα οὐδὲ Ἰχθύας ὁ Μεγαρικὸς φιλόσοφος οὐδ' Ἰχθύων ὄνομα δὲ καὶ τοῦτο κύριον, οὗ μνημονεύει Τηλεκλείδης ἐν Ἀμφικτύοσι. δι' ὑμᾶς δὲ καὶ τῷ παιδὶ παρακελεύσομαι κατὰ τοὺς Φερεκράτους Μυρμηκανθρώπους·

⁷ ἀναβαίνει Olson: ἀναβαίνειν A

ing: Two rivers, the Ammites and the Olynthiacus, flow on either side of Chalcidic Apollonia; both empty into Lake Bolbe. A monument to Olynthus, the son of Heracles and Bolbe, is located on the banks of the Olynthiacus. The locals claim that in Anthesterion and Elaphebolion¹⁹ Bolbe sends the *apopuris* to Olynthus, and during this period an enormous number of fish move upstream from the lake into the Olynthiacus River. The river is shallow, barely deep enough to cover one's ankles; nevertheless so many fish appear that all the inhabitants of the area can produce as much saltfish as they need. An astonishing fact is that the fish do not go past Olynthus' monument. In the past, the story goes, the people who live around Apollonia celebrated their rites for the dead in Elaphebolion, but nowadays they do so in Anthesterion. This is accordingly why the fish migrate upstream only during these months, when it is the locals' custom to honor their dead.

That is how matters stand, my piscine sirs:²⁰ although you have assembled food of every type, you have thrown us to the fish rather than the other way around, by making speeches longer than those of the Megarian philosopher Ichthyas²¹ (fr. 47 Döring) or Ichthyon; this too is a personal name²² and is mentioned by Teleclides in *Amphictyonies* (fr. 9). Because of you, I intend to order my slave, to quote Pherecrates' *Ant-People* (fr. 125):

¹⁹ I.e. in late winter/early spring.

²⁰ Another allusion to the passage of Archippus' *Fish* referred to at 8.331c; cf. Archipp. fr. 28 (cited at 8.343c) for the comment that follows.

²¹ The second master of the school, after its founder Eucleides (fr. 33 Döring).

²² Both names are cognate with *ichthys* ("fish").

ATHENAEUS

μηδέποτ' ἰχθύν, ὦ Δευκαλίων, μηδ' ἦν αἰτῶ
 παραθῆς μοι.

καὶ γὰρ ἐν Δήλῳ φησὶ Σῆμος ὁ Δήλιος ἐν δευτέρῃ
 Δηλιάδος ὅταν θύωσι τῇ Βριζοῖ—αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἡ
 ἐνυπνιόμαντις· βρίζειν δ' οἱ ἀρχαῖοι λέγουσι τὸ κα-
 θεύδειν· |

b ἔνθα δ' ἀποβρίζαντες ἐμείναμεν ἡῶ διαν—

ταύτη οὖν ὅταν θύωσιν αἱ Δηλιάδες, προσφέρουσιν
 αὐτῇ σκάφας πάντων πλήρεις ἀγαθῶν πλὴν ἰχθύων
 διὰ τὸ εὐχεσθαι ταύτη περί τε πάντων καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς
 τῶν πλοίων σωτηρίας. Χρύσιππον δ', ἄνδρες φίλοι,
 τὸν τῆς στοᾶς ἡγεμόνα κατὰ πολλὰ θαυμάζων ἔτι
 μᾶλλον ἐπαιῶ τὸν πολυθρύλητον ἐπὶ τῇ Ὀψολογίᾳ
 Ἀρχέστρατον αἰεὶ ποτε μετὰ Φιλαίνιδος κατατάττον-
 τα, εἰς ἣν ἀναφέρεται τὸ περὶ ἀφροδισίων ἀκόλαστον
 c σύγγραμμα, ὅπερ φησὶ | ποιῆσαι Αἰσχρίων ὁ Σάμιος
 ἰαμβοποιὸς Πολυκράτη τὸν σοφιστὴν ἐπὶ διαβολῇ
 τῆς ἀνθρώπου σωφρονεστάτης γενομένης. ἔχει δὲ
 οὕτως τὰ ἰαμβεῖα·

ἐγὼ Φιλαινὶς ἡ ἴβωτος ἀνθρώποις
 ἐνταῦθα γήρα τῷ μακρῷ κεκοίμημαι.
 μή μ', ὦ μάταιε ναῦτα, τὴν ἄκραν κάμπτων
 χλεύην τε ποιεῦ καὶ γέλωτα καὶ λάσθην.

²³ PAA 779380 (late 5th/early 4th century BCE); among his works was a prosecution speech supposedly delivered at Socrates'

BOOK VIII

Never serve me a fish, Deucalion, even if I ask for
one!

For on Delos, according to Semus of Delos in Book II of the *History of Delos* (FGrH 396 F 4), when they sacrifice to Brizo—this is a goddess who supplies prophecies via dreams; the ancients use *brizein* to mean “to sleep” (*Od.* 12.7):

And going to sleep (*apobrizantes*) there we awaited
bright dawn—

when the women of Delos sacrifice to her, at any rate, they bring her bowls full of everything good except fish; because they pray to her about matters of all sorts, including the safety of their ships. Although I respect Chrysippus (xxviii fr. 5, SVF iii.199), the head of the Stoa, for many reasons, my friends, I commend him in particular for always putting Archestratus (test. 5 Olson–Sens), who is notorious for his *Cookbook*, in the same category as Philaenis, to whom the perverted essay on sex is attributed—although according to the iambic poet Aeschrio of Samos she was completely chaste, and the sophist Polycrates²³ wrote it to slander her. The iambs in question run as follows (*AP* 7.345 = *HE* 1–9 = *SH* 4):

I, the notorious Philaenis,
have been laid to rest here by extended old age.
As you round the cape, flippant sailor, do not
make me a source of mockery, laughter, or insult.

trial in 399. Aeschrio of Mytilene (Berve i #34) was a student of Aristotle and a friend of Alexander the Great; another fragment of his poetry is preserved at 7.296e–f.

d οὐ γὰρ μὰ τὸν Ζῆν', οὐ μὰ τοὺς κάτω κούρους, |
 οὐκ ἦν ἔς ἄνδρας μάχλος οὐδὲ δημῶδης.
 Πολυκράτης δὲ τὴν γενὴν Ἀθηναῖος,
 λόγων τι παιπάλημα καὶ κακὴ γλῶσσα,
 ἔγραφεν οἷ' ἔγραψ'. ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐκ οἶδα.

ἀλλ' οὖν ὃ γε θαυμασιώτατος Χρῦσιππος ἐν τῷ πέμ-
 πτῳ Περὶ τοῦ Καλοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἥδονῆς φησι καὶ
 βιβλία τὰ τε Φιλαίνιδος καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἀρχεστράτου
 Γαστρονομίαν καὶ δυνάμεις ἐρωτικὰς καὶ συνουσι-
 αστικὰς, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰς θεραπαίνας ἐμπείρους
 τοιῶνδε κινήσεών τε καὶ σχημάτων καὶ περὶ τὴν
 e τούτων μελέτην γινομένης. καὶ πάλιν ἐκμανθάνειν | τ'
 αὐτοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ κτᾶσθαι τὰ περὶ τούτων γε-
 γραμμένα Φιλαίνιδι καὶ Ἀρχεστράτῳ καὶ τοῖς τὰ
 ὅμοια γράψασιν. κὰν τῷ ἑβδόμῳ δέ φησι καθάπερ
 γὰρ οὐκ ἐκμανθάνειν τὰ Φιλαίνιδος καὶ τὴν Ἀρχε-
 στράτου Γαστρονομίαν ἔστιν ὡς φέροντά τι πρὸς τὸ
 ζῆν ἄμεινον. ὑμεῖς δὲ πολλάκις τοῦ Ἀρχεστράτου
 τούτου μνημονεύσαντες ἀκολασίας ἐπληρώσατε τὸ
 συμπόσιον. τί γὰρ τῶν ἐπιτρῦψαι δυναμένων παρέλι-
 πεν ὁ καλὸς οὗτος ἐποποιὸς καὶ μόνος ζηλώσας τὸν
 f Σαρδαναπάλλου | τοῦ Ἀνακунδαράζεω βίον, ὃν ἀδια-
 νοητότερον εἶναι <ῆ>⁸ κατὰ τὴν προσηγορίαν τοῦ
 πατρὸς Ἀριστοτέλης ἔφη, ἐφ' οὗ τοῦ τάφου ἐπιγε-
 γράφθαι φησὶ Χρῦσιππος τάδε ||

⁸ add. Madvig

BOOK VIII

For, by Zeus and his sons in the Underworld,
I was never loose with men or a whore.
Polycrates the Athenian,
a sly talker and a vicious tongue,
wrote what he wrote; I know nothing of this.

But the admirable Chrysippus, at any rate, says in Book V of his *On the Good and Pleasure* (xxviii fr. 5, SVF iii.199 = Archestr. test. 5 Olson–Sens, continued): and Philaenis' books and Archestratus' *Gastronomy*, and other forces that encourage sex and partying, and likewise slave-girls who have experience in movements and positions of this sort and are involved in practicing them. And again: that they learn such material by heart and acquire what has been written on these topics by Philaenis, Archestratus, and the authors of similar works. So too in Book VII (xxviii fr. 5, SVF iii.199, continued) he says: Just as one cannot memorize the works of Philaenis or Archestratus' *Gastronomy* on the ground that they contribute something to living a better life. But you, by repeatedly mentioning this Archestratus,²⁴ filled our party with ugly behavior. For what possible source of ruin was omitted by this noble epic poet, the most notorious aspirant to the life-style of Sardanapallus²⁵ son of Anacyndaraxes, a man Aristotle (fr. 5) said was even more foolish than his father's name would lead one to expect. Chrysippus (xxviii fr. 11, SVF iii.200) claims that the following was inscribed on his tomb (= Choerilus Iasius? SH 335):

²⁴ E.g. at 7.293f, 326f–7a, 328a. For related material on Sardanapallus, see 12.529e–30c.

²⁵ The Greek name for the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal.

336 εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι θνητὸς ἔφυς σὸν θυμὸν ἄεξε
 τερπόμενος θαλίησι· θανόντι τοι οὔτις ὄνησις.
 καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ σποδός εἰμι, Νίνου μεγάλης
 βασιλεύσας.

ταῦτ' ἔχω ὅσσο' ἔφαγον καὶ ἐφύβρισα καὶ μετ'
 ἔρωτος

τέρπν' ἔπαθον· τὰ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ὄλβια κείνα
 λέλειπται.

ἦδε σοφὴ βιότιο παραίνεσις, οὐδέ ποτ' αὐτῆς |

b λήσομαι· ἐκτήσθω δ' ὁ θέλων τὸν ἀπείρουα
 χρυσόν.

καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν Φαιάκων δὲ ὁ ποιητῆς ἔφη·

αἰεὶ δ' ἡμῖν δαίς τε φίλη κίθαρίς τε χοροὶ τε
 εἵματά τ' ἔξημοιβὰ λοετρά τε θερμὰ καὶ εὐναί.

καὶ ἄλλος δὲ τίς φησι τῷ Σαρδαναπάλλῳ παραπλή-
 σιος, ὑποτιθέμενος καὶ οὗτος τοῖς μὴ σωφρονούσι
 τοιάδε·

πᾶσιν δὲ θνητοῖς βούλομαι παραινέσαι
 τοῦφήμερον ζῆν ἠδέως· ὁ γὰρ θανὼν
 τὸ μηδέν ἐστι καὶ σκιά κατὰ χθονός· |

c μικροῦ δὲ βιότου ζῶντ' ἐπαυρέσθαι χρεών.

καὶ Ἄμφις δ' ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς ἐν Ἰαλέμῳ φησί·

BOOK VIII

Keep in mind that you are mortal, and make yourself
happy
by enjoying feasts; nothing is any use to you once you
are dead.

For I am dust, even though I was king of great
Ninevah.

What is mine is what I ate, and the malicious fun I
had, and the pleasure

I got in bed, whereas my enormous, well-known
wealth has perished.

This is wise advice for living, and I will never
forget it; let anyone who wishes acquire endless gold.

In regard to the Phaeacians as well Homer²⁶ said (*Od.*
8.248-9):

We always enjoy feasts, the lyre, dances,
changes of clothing, warm baths, and bed.

Another individual who resembles Sardanapallus, and who
is likewise offering advice to reckless individuals, says
something like the following (adesp. tr. fr. 95):

I would like to offer all mortals a bit of advice,
which is to enjoy their day-to-day existence; because
a dead man's
nothing—just a shadow under the earth.

You need to enjoy the brief life you have while you're
alive.

The comic poet Amphis as well says in *Iallemus* (fr. 21):

²⁶ Literally "the poet".

ὅστις δὲ θνητὸς γενόμενος μὴ τῷ βίῳ
 ζητεῖ τι τερπνὸν προσφέρειν, τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ἔῃ,
 μάταιός ἐστιν ἔν γ' ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς σοφοῖς
 κριταῖς ἅπασιν ἐκ θεῶν τε δυστυχής.

καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐπιγραφομένη δὲ Γυναικοκρατία τὰ ὅμοια
 λέγει·

πῖνε, παῖζε· θνητὸς ὁ βίος, ὀλίγος οὐπὶ γῆ
 χρόνος·

ἀθάνατος ὁ θάνατός ἐστιν, ἂν ἅπαξ τις ἀποθάνῃ.

d καὶ Βακχίδας δέ τις τὸν αὐτὸν | Σαρδαναπάλλῳ ζήσας
 βίον ἀποθανὼν ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου ἐπιγεγραμμένον ἔχει·

πιέν, φαγὲν καὶ πάντα τᾶ ψυχᾶ δόμεν
 κῆγὼ γὰρ ἔστακ' ἀντὶ Βακχίδα λίθος.

Ἄλεξις δ' ἐν Ἀσωτοδιδασκάλῳ, φησὶ Σωτίων ὁ
 Ἄλεξανδρεὺς ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τῶν Τίμωνος Σίλλων ἐγὼ
 γὰρ οὐκ ἀπήντησα τῷ δράματι πλείονα τῆς μέσης
 καλουμένης κωμωδίας ἀναγνοὺς δράματα τῶν ὀκτα-
 κοσίων καὶ τούτων ἐκλογὰς ποιησάμενος οὐ περιέτυ-
 χον τῷ Ἀσωτοδιδασκάλῳ, | ἄλλ' οὐδ' ἀναγραφῆς
 ε ἀξιωθὲν τιμὴν σύννοιδά· οὔτε γὰρ Καλλίμαχος οὔτε
 Ἀριστοφάνης αὐτὸ ἀνέγραψαν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' οἱ τὰς ἐν
 Περγάμῳ ἀναγραφὰς ποιησάμενοι. ὁ δὲ Σωτίων φη-

BOOK VIII

Any mortal who doesn't try to add
some pleasure to his life and let everything else go
is a fool in my eyes and those of wise
judges generally, and the gods have sent him bad
luck.

He makes similar remarks in his play entitled *Women in Power* (fr. 8):

Drink! Have fun! Life's mortal, and our time on
earth's limited;
whereas death's immortal, once you're dead.

A certain Bacchidas, who died after living a life like Sardanapallus', also has inscribed on his tomb (*GVI* 1368):

Drink! Eat! Indulge your soul!
For I am a stone that stands here in Bacchidas'
place.

According to Sotion of Alexandria in his *On Timo's Silloi* (fr. 1 Wehrli), Alexis in *The Instructor in Profligacy*—I never encountered the play myself; despite reading over 800 so-called Middle Comedies and compiling extracts from them, I never came upon *The Instructor in Profligacy*, and I know of no one who thought it deserved to be catalogued; because neither Callimachus nor Aristophanes²⁷ catalogued it, and neither did the cataloguers working in Pergamum²⁸—but Sotion claims that in the play a

²⁷ Both working in the Library in Alexandria, in the first half of the 3rd and the 2nd centuries BCE, respectively.

²⁸ The site of another great library; cf. 1.3a with n. Most likely *The Instructor in Profligacy* (or at least the supposed excerpt from it cited by Sotion) is an ancient forgery.

σὶν ἐν τῷ δράματι Ξανθίαν τινὰ οἰκέτην πεποιῆσθαι
προτρεπόμενον ἐπὶ ἡδυπάθειαν ὁμοδούλους ἑαυτοῦ
καὶ λέγοντα·

τί ταῦτα ληρεῖς, φληναφῶν ἄνω κάτω
Λύκειον, Ἀκαδήμειαν, Ὀιδείου πύλας,
λήρους σοφιστῶν; οὐδὲ ἐν τούτων καλόν.
πίνωμεν, ἐμπίνωμεν, ὦ Σίκων, <Σίκων>, |
f χαίρωμεν, ἕως ἔνεστι τὴν ψυχὴν τρέφειν.
τύρβαζε, Μάνη· γαστροὺς οὐδὲν ἡδιον.
αὕτη πατήρ σοι καὶ πάλιν μήτηρ μόνη,
ἀρεταὶ δὲ πρεσβεῖαί τε καὶ στρατηγίαι
κόμποι κενοὶ ψοφοῦσιν ἀντ' ὄνειράτων.
ψύξει σε δαίμων τῷ πεπρωμένῳ χρόνῳ·
ἔξεις δ' ὅσ' ἂν φάγης τε καὶ πῆγς μόνα,
σποδοὺς δὲ τᾶλλα, Περικλῆς, Κόδρος, Κίμων.

κρεῖττον δ' ἂν εἶχε, φησὶν ὁ Χρύσιππος, εἰ μετελήφθη
τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ Σαρδαναπάλλου οὔτως· ||

337 εἶδὼς ὅτι θνητὸς ἔφυς σὺν θυμὸν ἄεξε,
τερπόμενος μύθοισι φαγόντι σοι οὔτις ὄνησις.

²⁹ The Lyceum and the Academy were the locations of the schools of Aristotle and Plato, respectively. But the Odeion (a multi-columned, roofed building used for concerts and musical contests) is not known to have been used for philosophical instruction before Chrysippus (D.L. 7.184), who arrived in Athens around 260 BCE and became head of the Stoa in 232, a fact that counts against assigning this fragment to Alexis (d. c.275)

³⁰ Pericles (PAA 772645) and Cimon (PAA 569795) were

BOOK VIII

slave named Xanthias is represented as encouraging his fellow slaves to live luxuriously and as saying (Alex. fr. 25):

Why do you talk like this, mixing up
the Lyceum, the Academy, and the gates of the
Odeion,²⁹
sophists' nonsense? None of this is any good.
Let's drink! Let's really drink, Sicon, Sicon!
Let's enjoy ourselves as long as we can stay happy!
Have a wild time, Manes! Nothing produces more
pleasure than the belly.
It's your only father, and your only mother too,
whereas personal distinctions—I mean
ambassadorships and generalships—
are empty boasts that ring as hollow as dreams.
Some god will bring about your death at the fated
time.
All you'll have is what you eat and drink;
everything else—Pericles, Codrus, Cimon³⁰—it's
dust!

It would have been better, says Chrysippus (xxviii fr. 11, *SVF* iii.200, continued), if Sardanapallus' epitaph had been emended to the following:³¹

Keep in mind that you are mortal, and make yourself
happy
by taking pleasure in conversation; nothing is any use
to you after you eat it.

prominent 5th-century Athenian generals and politicians, while the mythical Codrus was one of the city's last kings.

³¹ Reworking the opening section of the text quoted at 8.335f-6b (also from Chrysippus).

καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ράκος εἰμί, φαγὼν ὡς πλείστα καὶ
ἡσθείς.

ταῦτ' ἔχω ὅσο' ἔμαθον καὶ ἐφρόντισα καὶ μετὰ
τούτων

ἔσθλ' ἔπαθον· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ καὶ ἡδέα πάντα
λέλειπται.

παγκάλως δὲ καὶ ὁ Τίμων ἔφη·

πάντων μὲν πρότιστα κακῶν ἐπιθυμίη ἐστί.

Κλέαρχος δὲ ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Παροιμιῶν καὶ διδάσκα-
b λον | τοῦ Ἀρχεστράτου γενέσθαι φησὶν Τερψίωνα, ὃν
καὶ πρῶτον Γαστρολογίαν γράψαντα διακελεύεσθαι
τοῖς μαθηταῖς τίνων ἀφεκτέον. ἀπεσχεδιακέσαι τε τὸν
Τερψίωνα καὶ περὶ τῆς χελώνης τάδε·

ἢ κρῆ χελώνης χρῆ φαγεῖν ἢ μὴ φαγεῖν.

ἄλλοι δ' οὕτως λέγουσιν·

ἢ δεῖ χελώνης κρέα φαγεῖν ἢ μὴ φαγεῖν.

πόθεν δὲ ὑμῖν, ᾧ σοφώτατοι, ἐπήλθε καὶ ὁ ὀψολόγος
Δωρίων ὡς καὶ συγγραφεύς τις γενόμενος; ὃν ἐγὼ
κρουματοποιὸν οἶδα ὀνομαζόμενον καὶ φίλιχθυν, συγ-
c γραφέα δὲ οὔ. ὡς μὲν οὖν κρουματοποιοῦ | μνημονεύει
Μάχων ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς οὕτως·

³² Terpsion is otherwise unknown, but is perhaps to be identified with the Terpsicles whose *On Sex* Athenaeus cites at 7.325d; 9.391e-f; both fragments are gastronomic in character. Whether

BOOK VIII

For I am a tattered bit of nothing, even though I ate
and enjoyed myself as much as I could.

What is mine is what I learned and thought, and the
excellent

experiences that came with this, whereas everything
else, pleasant though it all was, has perished.

Timo (*SH* 845) was absolutely right when he said:

Of all evils, desire is the foremost.

Clearchus in his *On Proverbs* (fr. 78 Wehrli = *Archestr.* test. 3 Olson–Sens) says that Archestratus was taught by Terpsion, the first person to write a *Gastrology* and to give his pupils instructions about which foods to avoid.³² He also claims that Terpsion improvised the following verse about the tortoise:

Either it's meet to eat tortoise meat or it's not meet.

Others quote it as follows:

You should either eat tortoise meat or not eat it.

But how, my enormously wise friends, did the fish-expert Dorion get a reputation among you for being a prose-author? I am aware that he is referred to as a musician³³ and as someone who loved seafood, but not as a prose-author. The comic poet Macho (53–63 Gow) refers to him as a musician, as follows:

Terpsion/Terpsicles was actually Archestratus' teacher is impossible to say, but doubt is called for.

³³ Stephanis #805; cf. 10.435b–c with n. The alleged confusion is with the author of the *On Fish* cited repeatedly by Athenaeus' characters (e.g. 7.282c, 330a).

ὁ κρουματοποιὸς Δωρίων ποτ' εἰς Μυλῶν
 ἐλθὼν κατάλυσιν οὐδαμοῦ μισθωσίμην
 δυνάμενος εὐρεῖν, ἐν τεμένει καθίσας τινὶ
 ὃ πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἦν κατὰ τύχην ἰδρυμένον
 ἰδὼν τ' ἐκεῖ θύοντα τὸν νεωκόρον,
 “πρὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ θεῶν, τίνος, φράσον,
 ἐστὶν ὁ νεὼς, βέλτιστε,” φησὶν, “οὔτοσί;”
 ὁ δ' εἶπεν αὐτῷ, “Ζηνοποσειδῶνος, ξένε.” |
 d ὁ Δωρίων δέ, “πῶς ἂν οὖν ἐνταῦθ’,” ἔφη,
 “δύναται καταγωγεῖον ἐξευρεῖν τις, οὐ
 καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς φάσκουσιν οἰκεῖν σύνδου;”

Λυγκεὺς δ' ὁ Σάμιος, ὁ Θεοφράστου μὲν μαθητής,
 Δούριδος δὲ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ τὰς Ἱστορίας γράψαντος καὶ
 τυραννήσαντος τῆς πατρίδος, ἐν τοῖς Ἀποφθέγμασιν
 Δωρίωνι τῷ ἀλλητῇ φάσκουτός τινος ἀγαθὸν ἰχθὺν
 εἶναι βατίδα, “ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις”, ἔφη, “ἐφθὸν τρίβωνα
 ἐσθίει.” ἐπαινοῦντος δ' ἄλλου τὰ τῶν θύννων ὑπο-
 γάστρια, “καὶ μάλα,” ἔφη. “δεῖ μέντοι γε ἐσθίειν
 e αὐτά, | ὥσπερ ἐγὼ ἐσθίω.” εἰπόντος δέ, “πῶς;”,
 “ἠδέως”, ἔφη. τοὺς δὲ καράβους ἔφη τρία ἔχειν, δια-
 τριβὴν καὶ εὐωχίαν καὶ θεωρίαν. ἐν Κύπρῳ δὲ παρὰ
 Νικοκρέοντι δειπνῶν ἐπήνεσε ποτήριόν τι. καὶ ὁ Νικο-
 κρέων ἔφη “ἐὰν βούλη, ὁ αὐτὸς τεχνίτης ποιήσει σοι
 ἕτερον.” “σοί γε,” ἔφη, “ἐμοὶ δὲ τοῦτο δός,” οὐκ ἀνοή-

³⁴ “Zeus-Poseidon”.

³⁵ Sc. because they must be shelled before being eaten.

BOOK VIII

The musician Dorion visited Mylae once and was unable to find a room for rent anywhere. He sat down in a sacred precinct that happened to be located before the gates, and when he saw the person in charge of the temple making a sacrifice there,

he said: "By Athena and the other gods—tell me, sir: whose temple is this?"

The man said to him: "It belongs to Zenoposeidon³⁴, stranger."

And Dorion said: "How could anyone find a place to stay here, where they say that even the gods share a house?"

Lynceus of Samos, who was Theophrastus' student and the brother of the Duris (*FGrH* 76 T 2) who wrote the *History* and was tyrant of his native country, in his *Witty Remarks* (fr. 32 Dalby): When someone observed to the pipe-player Dorion that the skate was a nice fish, he said: "Yeah—it's like eating a stewed cloak." When someone else spoke highly of tuna underbellies, he said: "Absolutely; but you have to eat them like I do." When the other man asked: "How's that?", he said: "With great pleasure." He claimed that crayfish have three virtues: they occupy your time,³⁵ provide a fine meal, and are nice to look at. He was having dinner on Cyprus with Nicocreon³⁶ and expressed his admiration for a cup. Nicocreon said: "If you like, the same craftsman will make one for you." Dorion responded: "He can make it for *you*; give this one to me!" This was quite a

³⁶ Berve i #568; he became king of Cyprian Salamis in 332/1 BCE and was later supported by Ptolemy. Cf. 8.349e n.

τως γε τοῦτο φήσας ὁ αὐλητής· λόγος γὰρ παλαιὸς ὡς ὅτι·

f ἀνδρὶ μὲν αὐλητῆρι θεοὶ νόον οὐκ ἐνέφυσαν, |
ἀλλ' ἅμα τῷ φυσῆν χῶ νόος ἐκπέταται.

Ἡγήσανδρος δ' ἐν τοῖς Ὑπομνήμασι τάδε φησὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ· Δωρίων ὁ ὀψοφάγος τοῦ παιδὸς οὐκ ἀγοράσαντος ἰχθύς μαστιγῶν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευεν τῶν ἀρίστων ἰχθύων ὀνόματα λέγειν. τοῦ δὲ παιδὸς ὀρφὸν καὶ
338 γλαυκίσκον || καὶ γόγγρον καὶ τοιοῦτους ἑτέρους καταριθμοῦντος, “ἰχθύων σε”, φησὶν, “ἐκέλευον ὀνόματα λέγειν, οὐ θεῶν.” ὁ αὐτὸς Δωρίων καταγελῶν τοῦ ἐν τῷ Τιμοθέου Ναυτίλῳ χειμῶνος ἔφασκεν ἐν κακκάβῃ ζεύσῃ μείζονα ἑωρακέναι χειμῶνα. Ἀριστόδημος δὲ ἐν δευτέρῳ Γελοίων Ἀπομνημονευμάτων φησὶ· Δωρίωνος τοῦ κρουματοποιοῦ κυλλόποδος ὄντος ἀπώλετο ἐν συμποσίῳ τοῦ χωλοῦ ποδὸς τὸ βλαυτίον. καὶ ὅς, “οὐθέν”, ἔφη, “πλείον καταράσομαι τῷ κλέψαντι ἢ ἀρμόσαι αὐτῷ τὸ | σανδάλιον.” ὅτι δ' ἦν ὁ Δωρίων οὗτος ἐπὶ ὀψοφαγία διαβόητος φανερόν ἐξ ὧν λέγει Μνησίμαχος ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς ἐν Φιλίππῳ δράματι·

οὐκ ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς νυκτός ἐστι Δωρίων
ἔνδον παρ' ἡμῖν λοπαδοφυσητής.

οἶδα δὲ καὶ ἃ ὁ Ἑρμιονεὺς Λάσος ἔπαιξε περὶ ἰχθύων, ἅπερ Χαμαιλέον ἀνέγραψεν ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης ἐν τῷ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Λάσου συγγράμματι λέγων ὧδε· τὸν Λάσον

BOOK VIII

clever remark by the pipe-player, despite the ancient saying (anon. *FGE* 1550-1 = *SH* 1010):

The gods gave pipe-players no sense;
when they blow into their instrument, their brains
fly out.

Hegesander in his *Commentaries* (fr. 14, *FHG* iv.416) has the following to say about him: When his slave failed to purchase any fish, the glutton Dorion whipped him and simultaneously ordered him to name the best varieties. The slave listed sea-perch, *glaukiskos*, conger eel, and the like; and Dorion said: "I asked you to give me the names of *fish*, not gods!" The same Dorion ridiculed the storm in Timotheus' *The Sailor* (*PMG* 785)³⁷ by claiming to have seen a bigger storm in a pot of boiling water. Aristodemus says in Book II of the *Humorous Memoirs* (fr. 8, *FHG* iii.310): The musician Dorion had a club-foot, and when the slipper for his bad foot disappeared at a party, he said: "The extent of my curse on the thief is going to be that I hope my shoe fits him." That this Dorion was a notorious glutton is apparent from the comic poet Mnesimachus' remarks in his play *Philip* (fr. 10):

No; even at night we've got Dorion
the casserole-dish-player in our house with us.

I am also aware of the jokes Lasus of Hermione made about fish, and which Chamaeleon of Heraclea (fr. 30 Wehrli) recorded in his treatise on Lasus himself, in which he says the following: Lasus, he reports, used to refer to

³⁷ The poem is otherwise lost.

φησι τὸν ὠμὸν ἰχθὺν ὀπτὸν εἶναι φάσκειν. θαυμάζοντων δὲ πολλῶν ἐπιχειρεῖν λέγοντα ὡς ὁ ἔστιν |
 c ἀκούσαι τοῦτό ἐστιν ἀκουστὸν καὶ ὁ ἔστιν νοῆσαι
 τοῦτό ἐστιν νοητόν· ὡσαύτως οὖν καὶ ὁ ἔστιν ἰδεῖν
 τοῦτ' εἶναι ὀπτόν· ὥστ' ἐπειδὴ τὸν ἰχθὺν ἦν ἰδεῖν,
 ὀπτὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι. καὶ παίζων δέ ποτε ἰχθὺν παρά
 τινος τῶν ἀλιέων ὑφέιλετο καὶ λαβὼν ἔδωκέ τινα τῶν
 παρεστώτων. ὀρκίζοντος δὲ ὤμοσεν μήτ' αὐτὸς ἔχειν
 τὸν ἰχθὺν μήτ' ἄλλῳ συνειδέναί λαβόντι, διὰ τὸ λα-
 βεῖν μὲν αὐτόν, ἔχειν δὲ ἕτερον, ὃν ἐδίδαξεν ἀπομόσαι
 πάλιν ὅτι οὐτ' αὐτὸς ἔλαβεν οὐτ' ἄλλον ἔχοντα οἶδεν·
 d εἰλήφει μὲν γὰρ ὁ Λᾶσος, εἶχεν δὲ αὐτός. τοιαῦτα | δὲ
 καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος παίζει, ὥσπερ ἐν Λόγῳ καὶ Λογίῳ·

(A.) ὁ Ζεὺς μ' ἐκάλεσε, Πέλοπι γ' ἔρανον ἰστιῶν.

(B.) ἡ παμπόνηρον ὄψον, ὦ τάν, ὁ γέρανος.

(A.) ἀλλ' οὔτι γέρανον, ἀλλ' ἔρανον <γα> τοι
 λέγω.

Ἄλεξις δ' ἐν Δημητρίῳ Φάυλλον τινα κωμῳδεῖ ὡς
 φίλιχθον ἐν τούτοις·

πρότερον μὲν εἰ πνεύσειε βορρᾶς ἢ νότος
 ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ λαμπρός, ἰχθύς οὐκ ἐνήν
 οὐδενὶ φαγεῖν· νυνὶ δὲ πρὸς τοῖς πνεύμασι
 τούτοις Φάυλλος προσγέγονε χειμῶν τρίτος. |

³⁸ The adjective would normally be taken to mean "roasted".

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a raw fish as *optos*.³⁸ When many people repeatedly expressed puzzlement, he attempted to explain that what one can hear (*estin akousai*) is audible (*akoustos*); what one can imagine (*estin noēsai*) is conceivable (*noētos*); and so too, therefore, what one can see (*estin idein*)³⁹ is *optos*—and since the fish could be seen, it was accordingly *optos*! So too, he once stole a fish from a fisherman as a joke, and after he took it, he handed it to one of the bystanders. When the fisherman demanded that he swear to his innocence, he took an oath that he did not have the fish himself and was not aware that anyone else had taken it—because he had taken it himself, but someone else was in possession of it—and he coached the other man to swear for his part that he had not taken it himself and was unaware of anyone else having it—because Lasus had taken it, and he himself was in possession of it. Epicharmus also makes jokes of this sort, as for example in *Male and Female Logos* (fr. 76):

- (A.) Zeus was giving a pot-luck dinner (*g' eranon*) for Pelops, and he invited me.
 (B.) A crane (*geranon*)—that's quite a nasty dish, sir!
 (A.) I'm talking about a pot-luck dinner, not a crane!

Alexis in *Demetrius* (fr. 47) mocks a certain Phayllus for his love of fish in the following passage:

Previously, if a brisk north or south wind
 blew in the sea, no one had any
 fish to eat. But nowadays Phayllus has been added
 to these winds as storm number three.

³⁹ Several of the principal parts of *idein* are formed from the root *op-*, hence the pun. Cf. 3.97a.

- e ἐπὰν γὰρ ἐκνεφίας καταγιγίσας τύχη
 ἐς τὴν ἀγοράν, τοῦψον πριάμενος οἴχεται
 φέρων ἅπαν τὸ ληφθέν· ὥστε γίγνεται
 ἐν τοῖς λαχάνοις τὸ λοιπὸν ἡμῖν ἢ μάχη.

Ἀντιφάνης δ' ἐν Ἀλιενομένη φιληδοῦντάς τινας κατα-
 λέγων ἰχθύσιν φησί·

- τὰς σηπίας δὸς πρῶτον. Ἡράκλεις ἄναξ,
 ἅπαντα τεθολώκασιν. οὐ βαλεῖς πάλιν
 εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καὶ πλυνεῖς; μὴ φῶσί σε
 † Δωριάς, ἀλλ' ὄνε † σηπίας εἰληφέναι. |
 f τὸν κάραβον δὲ τόνδε πρὸς τὰς μαινίδας
 ἀπόδος· παχὺς γε νῆ Δί'. ὦ Ζεῦ, τίς ποτε,
 ὦ Καλλιμέδων, σὲ κατέδετ' ἄρτι τῶν φίλων;
 οὐδεὶς ὃς ἂν μὴ κατατιθῆ τὰς συμβολάς.
 ὑμᾶς δ' ἔταξα δεῦρο πρὸς τὰ δεξιά,
 τρίγλας, ἔδεσμα τοῦ καλοῦ Καλλισθένους·
 κατεσθίει γοῦν ἐπὶ μιᾷ τὴν οὐσίαν.
 καὶ τὸν Σινώπης γόγγρον ἤδη παχυτέρας ||
 339 ἔχοντ' ἀκάνθας τουτονὶ τίς λήψεται
 πρῶτος προσελθών; Μισγόλας γὰρ οὐ πάνυ

40 A fish-monger (presumably sorting the eponymous fisher-
 woman's catch for sale) is speaking.

41 For Callimedon "the Crayfish" (PAA 558185), see 3.104d-e;
 6.242d; 8.339e-40e, 364e.

42 A prominent Athenian politi-
 cian of the second half of the 4th century BCE (PAA 559815);
Triglē (literally "red mullet") was presumably the name of a cour-
 tesian on whom he was spending large amounts of money.

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Because whenever he roars into the marketplace like a hurricane, he buys the fish and disappears, carrying off everything he grabbed. As a result, we're left to fight it out in the vegetable-market.

Antiphanes in *The Fisher-Woman* (fr. 27) lists some people who are fond of fish, saying:⁴⁰

First give me the cuttlefish. Lord Heracles—
they're all covered with ink! Throw 'em back
in the sea and wash 'em off! Otherwise people might
say you've

caught † Doric [corrupt] † cuttlefish.

Hand me this crayfish, along with
the sprats. It's a fat one, by Zeus! Zeus! Which
of your friends, Callimedon,⁴¹ is going to gulp you
down any minute now?

No one who doesn't contribute his share of the
dinner expenses!

I stationed you here on the right,
red mullets, as the noble Callisthenes'⁴² favorite food;
he's spending everything he's got, at any rate, on just
one of you!

As for this conger eel here now, that's got spines
sturdier than Sinope's⁴³—who'll be the first
to step up and take it? Because Misgolas⁴⁴ doesn't eat

⁴³ A courtesan also mentioned at e.g. Anaxil. fr. 22.12 (preserved at 13.558b).

⁴⁴ A prominent late 4th-century Athenian (PAA 654265; also mentioned in a number of comic fragments preserved at 8.339a-c) discussed below (where his father's name and deme are also given).

τούτων ἐδεστής. ἀλλὰ κίθαρος οὔτοσί,
 ὃν ἂν ἴδῃ τὰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἀφέξεται.
 καὶ μὴν ἀληθῶς τοῖς κιθαρῳδοῖς ὡς σφόδρα
 ἅπασιν οὔτος ἐπιπεφυκῶς λαυθάνει.
 ἀνδρῶν δ' ἄριστον Κωβιὸν πηδῶντ' ἔτι
 πρὸς Πυθιονίκην τὴν καλὴν πέμψαι με δεῖ. |
 b ἀδρὸς γάρ ἐστιν. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐ γεύσεται
 ἐπὶ τὸ τάριχός ἐστιν ὠρμηκυῖα γάρ.
 ἀφύας δὲ λεπτὰς τάσδε καὶ τὴν τρυγόνα
 χωρὶς Θεανοῖ δεῦρ' ἔθηκ' ἀντιρρόπους.

πιθανώτατα ἐν τούτοις ὁ Ἀντιφάνης καὶ τὸν Μισγό-
 λαν κεκωμώδηκει ὡς ἐσπουδακότα περὶ κιθαρῳδοὺς
 καὶ κιθαριστὰς ὠραίους. φησὶ γὰρ καὶ ὁ ῥήτωρ
 Αἰσχίνης ἐν τῷ Κατὰ Τιμάρχου λόγῳ περὶ αὐτοῦ
 τάδε· Μισγόλας ἐστὶν Ναυκράτους, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
 Κολλυτεύς, ἀνὴρ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθός, καὶ
 c οὐδαμῆ ἂν τις αὐτὸν μέμψαιτο, περὶ | δὲ τὸ πρᾶγμα
 τοῦτο δαιμονίως ἐσπουδακῶς καὶ ἀεί τινὰς εἰθῶς
 ἔχειν περὶ αὐτὸν κιθαρῳδοὺς ἢ κιθαριστὰς. ταυτὶ δὲ
 λέγω οὐ τοῦ φορτικοῦ ἔνεκα, ἀλλ' ἵνα γνωρίσητε
 αὐτὸν ὅστις ἐστίν. καὶ Τιμοκλῆς δ' ἐν Σαπφοῖ φησιν·

⁴⁵ "Goby" (PAA 588990); also mentioned in Alex. fr. 102.4 (preserved at 4.134d); 173.2 (preserved at 6.242d). See 8.339e.

⁴⁶ A courtesan (PAA 793690) mentioned also in the comic fragments quoted below and at 13.567e-f, 595c-d, as well as by the historian Theopompus in passages preserved at 13.586c,

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these at all! But here's a *kitharos*;
 if he sees *this*, he won't keep his hands off it!
 The fact is, no one realizes how much time
 this guy actually spends with all the citharodes!
 I've got to send the distinguished Cobius⁴⁵ off
 to the lovely Pythionice⁴⁶ while he's still flopping
 around;
 because he's a fat one.⁴⁷ But she won't taste him
 anyway;
 she's after saltfish.
 As for these tiny small-fry and the sting-ray, they're
 the same weight as Theano⁴⁸, so I've set them aside
 here for her.

Antiphanes is mocking Misgolas in a very convincing fashion for his interest in handsome young citharodes and *cithara*-players. Because the orator Aeschines in his speech *Against Timarchus* (1.41) says the following about him: Misgolas son of Naucrates of the deme Collyte, men of Athens, is an excellent person in other respects, and no one would criticize him for anything. But he's oddly enthusiastic about this business, and he makes it a habit to constantly surround himself with citharodes and *cithara*-players. I'm telling you this not to be vulgar, but so that you understand what he's like. Timocles as well says in *Sappho* (fr. 32):

594d-5d (associated with Harpalus). For her supposed love of saltfish, see 8.339c-d.

⁴⁷ I.e. "rich".

⁴⁸ A courtesan (PAA 501887) also mentioned in Anaxil. fr. 22.20-1 (preserved at 13.558c).

ὁ Μισγόλας οὐ προσιέναι σοι φαίνεται
ἀνθούσι τοῖς νέοισιν ἠρεθισμένος.

Ἄλεξις δ' ἐν Ἀγωνίδι ἢ Ἰππίσκῳ·

ὦ μήτηρ, ἱκετεύω σε, μὴ ἴπισειέ μοι
τὸν Μισγόλαν· οὐ γὰρ κιθαρωδός εἰμ' ἐγώ.

Πυθιονίκην δέ φησι φιληδεῖν ταρίχῳ, ἐπεὶ ἐραστὰς ἴ
d εἶχε τοὺς Χαιρεφίλου τοῦ ταριχοπώλου υἱούς, ὡς
Τιμοκλῆς ἐν Ἰκαρίοις φησίν· † Ἄνυτος ὁ παχὺς πρὸς
Πυθιονίκην ὅταν ἐλθὼν φάγη τι. καλεῖ γὰρ αὐτόν, ὡς
φασιν, ὅποταν Χαιρεφίλου τοὺς δύο σκόμβρους ξε-
νίσῃ μεγάλους ἠδομένη. † καὶ πάλιν·

ἢ Πυθιονίκη δ' ἀσμένως σε δέξεται,
καὶ σου κατέδεται τυχὸν ἴσως ἂ νῦν ἔχεις
λαβὼν παρ' ἡμῶν δῶρ'· ἄπληστός ἐστι γάρ. ἴ
e ὅμως δὲ δοῦναί σοι κέλευσον σαργάνας
αὐτήν· ταρίχους εὐπόρως γὰρ τυγχάνει
ἔχουσα καὶ σύνεστι σαπέρδαις δυσίν,
καὶ ταῦτ' ἀνάλτοις καὶ πλατυρρύγχοις τισί.

πρὸ τούτων δ' ἦν ἐραστῆς αὐτῆς Κωβιός τις ὄνομα.
περὶ δὲ Καλλιμέδοντος τοῦ Καράβου ὅτι καὶ φίλιχθυσ

⁴⁹ PA 15187; cf. 3.119f.

⁵⁰ Athenaeus refers to the play as *Icarians* again at 8.342a (as does Didymus when he cites fr. 19), but calls it *Icarian Satyrs* at 9.407f.

⁵¹ PAA 139455; probably to be identified with the wealthy

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Misgolas doesn't seem to be approaching you,
even though he gets excited by handsome boys.

Alexis in *Agonis* or *The Brooch* (fr. 3):

Please, Mother—don't sic Misgolas
on me! I'm not a citharode.

As for Pythionice, he claims that she has a taste for saltfish because the sons of the saltfish-dealer Chaerephilus⁴⁹ were her lovers, as Timocles says in *Icarians*⁵⁰ (fr. 15, unmetrical): † whenever the fat Anytus⁵¹ visits Pythionice and eats something. Because people say she invites him whenever she entertains the two big mackerel of Chaerephilus she's so fond of. † Again (fr. 16):

Pythionice'll be happy to have you as a guest,
and she'll probably gobble up the gifts
you got from us; since she's insatiable.
All the same, tell her to give you
some baskets; because she's got lots of
saltfish and spends her time with a pair of
*saperdai*⁵²—
and unsalted ones with broad snouts at that!

Before them, her lover was someone named Cobius⁵³. As for the fact that Callimedon the Crayfish loved fish and was

Anytus of the deme Euonymon (PAA 139465), and thus most likely a descendant of the man by the same rare name who prosecuted Socrates (PAA 139460); cf. J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families 600–300 B.C.* (Oxford, 1971) 40–1.

⁵² An unidentified fish also described as raw material for saltfish by Archestratus (fr. 39.3–4 Olson–Sens = *SH* 169.3–4, preserved at 3.116f–17a). ⁵³ See 8.339a with n.

f ἦν καὶ διάστροφος τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, | Τιμοκλῆς ἐν
Πολυπράγμονι

εἶθ' ὁ Καλλιμέδων ἄφνω
ὁ Κάραβος προσῆλθεν. ἐμβλέπων δ' ἐμοί,
ὡς γοῦν ἐδόκει, πρὸς ἕτερον ἄνθρωπόν τινα
ἐλάλει· συνιείς δ' οὐδὲν εἰκότως ἐγὼ
340 ὦν ἔλεγεν ἐπένευον διακενῆς. || τῷ δ' ἄρα
βλέπουσι χωρὶς καὶ δοκοῦσιν αἱ κόραι.

*Ἀλέξιος δ' ἐν Κρατεία ἢ Φαρμακοπώλῃ·

(A.) τῷ Καλλιμέδοντι γὰρ θεραπεύω τὰς κόρας
ἤδη τετάρτην ἡμέραν. (B.) ἦσαν κόραι
θυγατέρες αὐτῷ; (A.) τὰς μὲν οὖν τῶν ὀμμάτων,
ἃς οὐδ' ὁ Μελάμπους, ὃς μόνος τὰς Προϊτίδας |
b ἔπαυσε μαινομένας, καταστήσειεν ἄν.

ὁμοίως αὐτὸν σκώπτει καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγραφομένοις Συν-
τρέχουσιν. εἰς δὲ ὀψοφαγίαν ἐν μὲν Φαίδωνι ἢ Φαι-
δρία οὕτως·

(A.) ἀγορανομήσεις, ἂν θεοὶ θέλωσι, σύ,
ἵνα Καλλιμέδοντ' εἰς τοῦψον, εἰ φιλεῖς ἐμέ,
παύσης καταγίζοντα δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας.
(B.) ἔργον τυράννων, οὐκ ἀγορανόμων λέγεις.
μάχιμος γὰρ ἀνὴρ, χρήσιμος δὲ τῇ πόλει. |

⁵⁴ Proetus was king of Argos, and paid the seer Melampus a

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cross-eyed, Timocles (says) in *The Busybody* (fr. 29):

Then Callimedon the Crayfish
abruptly arrived. He appeared to be
looking at me, but he was talking to
someone else. Naturally I didn't understand
a word he was saying; but I kept nodding my head
vacantly. His eyes (*korai*)
look in a different direction than they seem to.

Alexis in *Crateia* or *The Pharmacist* (fr. 117):

(A.) I've been looking after Callimedon's *korai*
for three days now. (B.) You mean he's got
daughters (*korai*)? (A.) No—the *korai* of his eyes.
Not even Melampus, the only person who could cure
Proetus' daughters of their madness,⁵⁴ could fix them.

He also makes fun of him in a similar way in his play entitled *Men Who Agree* (fr. 218). But he attacks his gluttony in *Phaedo* or *Phaedrias* (fr. 249), as follows:

(A.) If the gods permit, you'll be a market-official,
so you can prove you're my friend, by stopping
Callimedon
from roaring through the fish-market all day long like
a hurricane.

(B.) That's a job for a tyrant, not a market-official,
you're talking about;
the man's a fighter—but useful to the city.

share of his kingdom to cure his daughters and the other Argive women of madness sent by Hera; cf. Hes. fr. 270-9; Pherecyd. *FGrH* 3 F 114; Bacch. 11.43-112; Hdt. 9.34.

- c τὰ αὐτὰ ἰαμβεῖα φέρεται καὶ τῇ ἐπιγραφομένῃ Εἰς τὸ Φρέαρ. ἐν δὲ Μανδραγοριζομένῃ·

εἷ τινὰς μᾶλλον φιλῶ
ξένους ἑτέροισιν ὑμῶν, γενοίμην ἔγχελυς,
ἵνα Καλλιμέδων ὁ Κάραβος πρίαιτό με.

ἐν δὲ Κρατεία·

καὶ Καλλιμέδων μετ' Ὀρφέως ὁ Κάραβος.

Ἀντιφάνης δ' ἐν Γοργύθῳ·

ἤπτόν τ' ἀποσταίην ἂν ὧν προειλόμην
ἢ Καλλιμέδων γλαύκου πρόοιτ' ἂν κρανίον. |

- d Εὐβουλος δ' ἐν Ἀνασφωζομένοις·

ἔταιροι δὲ † θεοῖσι † συμπεπλεγμένοι
μετὰ Καραβου σύνεισιν, ὅς μόνος βροτῶν
δύναται καταπιεῖν ἐκ ζεόντων λοπαδίων
ἄθρους τεμαχίτας, ὥστ' ἐνεῖναι μηδὲ ἓν.

Θεόφιλος δ' ἐν Ἰατρῷ ἅμα σκώπτων αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἐν
λόγοις ψυχρόν·

πᾶς δὲ φιλοτίμως πρὸς αὐτὸν τῶν νεανίσκων

< . . . >

< . . . > ἐγγέλειον παρατέθεικε τῷ πατρί.

- e “τευθὶς ἦν χρηστή, πατρίδιον. πῶς ἔχεις | πρὸς
κάραβον;”

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The same lines appear in the play entitled *Into the Well* (fr. 87). And in *The Woman Who Ate Mandrake* (fr. 149):

If I love any other foreigners
more than you, may I turn into an eel—
and may Callimedon the Crayfish buy me!

In *Crateia*⁵⁵ (fr. 118):

and Callimedon the Crayfish, along with Orpheus.

Antiphanes in *Gorgythus* (fr. 77):

I'd no more abandon the people I chose
than Callimedon would give up a *glaukos*-head.

Eubulus in *Men Who Were Trying to Get Home Safe* (fr. 8):

Comrades entangled with † gods †
are accompanying me, along with Crayfish, the only
mortal
capable of gulping down whole slabs of fish
out of boiling-hot casserole-dishes, leaving them
empty.

Theophilus in *The Physician* (fr. 4) simultaneously makes fun of him for the stiffness⁵⁶ of his language:

All the young men are trying to imitate him . . .
. . . He's served his father an eel.
"The squid was excellent, Dad. How do you feel
about the crayfish?"

⁵⁵ More often referred to as *Crateia* or *The Pharmacist* (e.g. 8.340a).

⁵⁶ Literally "frigidity", a conventional term of aesthetic disapprobation; see Austin-Olson on *Ar. Th.* 168-70.

“ψυχρός ἐστίν, ἄπαγε”, φησί· “ῥητόρων οὐ
γεύομαι.”

Φιλήμονος δ' ἐν Μετιόντι εἰπόντος·

Ἄγύρριος δὲ παρατεθέντος καράβου
ὡς εἶδεν αὐτὸν “χαῖρε πάππα φίλτατε”
εἶπας, “τί ἐποίεις;”, τὸν πατέρα κατήσθιεν,

Ἡρόδικος δ' ὁ Κρατήτειος ἐν τοῖς Συμμίκτοις Ἰπο-
μνήμασι τοῦ Καλλιμέδοντος υἱὸν ὄντα ἀπέδειξε τὸν
Ἄγύρριον.

Γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ οἶδε ὀψοφάγοι. Ἀνταγόρας μὲν ὁ
f ποιητῆς οὐκ εἶα τὸν παῖδα | ἀλεῖψαι τὸν ἰχθὺν ἀλλὰ
λουσαι, ὡς φησὶν Ἡγήσανδρος. ἐν δὲ στρατοπέδῳ
ἔψοντι, φησὶν, αὐτῷ γόγγρων λοπάδα καὶ περι-
εζωσμένῳ Ἀντίγονος ὁ βασιλεὺς παραστάς, “ἄρά γε,”
εἶπεν, “ὦ Ἀνταγόρα, τὸν Ὅμηρον οἶε τὰς τοῦ Ἀγα-
μέμνονος πράξεις ἀναγράψαι γόγγρους ἔψοντα;”
κακῆινον οὐ φαύλως εἰπεῖν· “σὺ δὲ οἶε”, φησί, “τὸν
Ἀγαμέμνονα τὰς πράξεις ἐκείνας ἐργάσασθαι πολυ-
πραγμονοῦντα τίς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ γόγγρους ἔψει;”
ὄρνιν δὲ ἔψων ποτὲ ὁ Ἀνταγόρας οὐκ ἔφη βαδιεῖσθαι
εἰς τὸ βαλανεῖον, εὐλαβούμενος μὴ ποτε οἱ παῖδες τὸν
341 ζωμὸν ἐκροφήσωσι. Φιλοκύδους || δ' εἰπόντος ὅτι ἡ

57 PAA 107665; a prominent late 5th-/early 4th-century Athe-
nian politician.

58 Herodicus' conjecture is confirmed by inscriptional evi-
dence; see *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 100 #18.

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“It’s cold and stiff;” he says, “get it out of here! I’ve got no appetite for politicians.”

Because Philemon said in *The Man Who Was in Pursuit* (fr. 43):

A crayfish was served, and when Agyrrhius⁵⁷
saw it, he said: “Hi, Daddy dear;
how are you doing?”—and gobbled down his father,

Herodicus the Cratetaean in his *Miscellaneous Notes* (p. 126 Düring) accordingly identified Agyrrhius as Callimedon’s son.⁵⁸

The following individuals were also gluttons. The poet Antagoras⁵⁹ did not let his slave pour oil on his fish, but made him “give it a bath”, according to Hegesander (fr. 15, *FHG* iv.416). He was wearing an apron and stewing a casserole-dish full of conger eels in camp, Hegesander reports; and King Antigonus⁶⁰ stood beside him and said: “So, Antagoras; do you think Homer produced his account of Agamemnon’s accomplishments by stewing conger eels?” Antagoras offered a clever reply: “Do you think”, he said, “that Agamemnon produced those accomplishments by worrying about who in his camp was stewing conger eels?”⁶¹ Once when Antagoras was stewing a chicken, he refused to visit the bathhouse, since he was worried that his slaves might drink the broth. When Philocydes⁶² told

⁵⁹ Antagoras of Rhodes (3rd century BCE); only three fragments of his work survive (pp. 120–1 Powell).

⁶⁰ Antigonus Gonatas (reigned c.277–239 BCE).

⁶¹ Plutarch preserves a virtually identical anecdote at *Mor.* 668c–d.

⁶² Unidentified.

μήτηρ τηρήσει, “ἐγὼ οὖν”, εἶπε, “τῇ μητρὶ ὀρνίθειον ζωμὸν πιστεύσω;” καὶ Ἀνδροκύδης δ’ ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ζωγράφος φίλιχθυς ὢν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Πολέμων, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἦλθεν ἡδοναθείας ὡς καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὴν Σκύλλαν ἰχθῦς κατὰ σπουδὴν γράφαι. περὶ δὲ Φιλόξενου τοῦ Κυθηρίου διθυραμβοποιῦ Μάχων ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς τάδε γράφει·

- ὑπερβολῇ λέγουσι τὸν Φιλόξενον
 τῶν διθυράμβων τὸν ποιητὴν γεγονέναι |
 b ὀψοφάγον. εἶτα πουλύποδα πηχῶν δυεῖν
 ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσαις ποτ’ αὐτὸν ἀγοράσαι
 καὶ σκευάσαντα καταφαγεῖν ὅλον σχεδὸν
 πλὴν τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἀλόντα δ’ ὑπὸ δυσπεψίας
 κακῶς ἔχειν σφόδρ’· εἶτα δ’ ἰατροῦ τινος
 πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰσελθόντος ὃς φαύλως πάνν
 ὀρῶν φερόμενον αὐτὸν εἶπεν, “εἴ τί σοι
 ἀνοικονόμητόν ἐστι, διατίθου ταχύ,
 Φιλόξεν’· ἀποθανῆ γὰρ ὥρας ἐβδόμης.” |
 c κἀκείνος εἶπε, “τέλος ἔχει τὰ πάντα μοι,
 ἰατρέ,” φησί, “καὶ δεδιώκηται πάλαι.
 τοὺς διθυράμβους σὺν θεοῖς καταλιμπάνω
 ἡνδρωμένους καὶ πάντας ἐστεφανωμένους,

⁶³ Plin. *Nat.* 35.64 calls Androcydes a contemporary of Zeuxis and Parrhasius, placing him at the very end of the 5th century BCE. For the anecdote, cf. Plu. *Mor.* 665d, 668c.

⁶⁴ Cf. 1.5e–6b with 1.5b n.

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him that his mother would keep an eye on it, Antagoras said: "So I'm supposed to trust my mother with chicken broth?" The painter Androcydes of Cyzicus⁶⁵ also loved seafood, according to Polemon (fr. 66 Preller), and was so devoted to a luxurious life-style that he meticulously depicted the fish surrounding Scylla. The comic poet Macho (64-86 Gow) writes the following about the dithyrambic poet Philoxenus of Cythera.⁶⁴

They say that the dithyrambic poet
Philoxenus was an extraordinary
glutton. So once when he was in Syracuse,
he bought an octopus that was three feet⁶⁵ long,
and prepared it and ate almost the entire thing
except for the head. He got a stomach-ache
and was in terrible shape. A doctor
came to visit him, saw that he was doing
very badly, and said: "If you've got
any business that needs to be taken care of, do it
right away,

Philoxenus; because you'll be dead by mid-
afternoon⁶⁶."

He responded: "My affairs are all in order,
doctor," he said, "and have been settled for a while
now.

With the gods' help, the dithyramps I'm leaving
behind
have all grown up and been awarded garlands,⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Literally "two cubits".

⁶⁶ Literally "the seventh hour".

⁶⁷ I.e. have taken the prize in poetic competitions.

οὓς ἀνατίθημι ταῖς ἐμαντοῦ συντρόφοις
 Μούσαις. Ἀφροδίτην καὶ Διόνυσον ἐπιτρόπους—
 ταῦθ' αἱ διαθήκαι διασαφοῦσιν. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ
 ὁ Τιμοθέου Χάρων σχολάζειν οὐκ ἔα, |
 d οὐκ τῆς Νιόβης, χωρεῖν δὲ πορθμὸν ἀναβοᾶ,
 καλεῖ δὲ μοῖρα νύχιος ἧς κλύειν χρεῶν,
 ἴν' ἔχων ἀποτρέχω πάντα τὰμαντοῦ κάτω,
 τοῦ πουλύποδος μοι τὸ κατάλοιπον ἀπόδοτε.”

κὰν ἄλλω δὲ μέρει φησί·

Φιλόξενός ποθ', ὡς λέγουσ', ὁ Κυθήριος
 ἠϋξάτο τριῶν σχεῖν τὸν λάρνυγα πήχεων,
 “ὅπως καταπίνω”, φησίν, “ὅτι πλείστον χρόνον
 καὶ πάνθ' ἅμα μοι τὰ βρώμαθ' ἠδονῆν ποῆ.” |

e καὶ Διογένης δὲ ὁ κύων ὠμὸν πολύποδα καταφαγὼν
 ἐπιθεμένης αὐτῷ τῆς γαστρὸς ἀπέθανε. περὶ δὲ τοῦ
 Φιλοξένου καὶ ὁ παρωδὸς Σώπατρος λέγων φησί·

δισσαῖς γὰρ ἐν μέσαισιν ἰχθύων φοραῖς
 ἦσται, τὸν Αἴτνης ἐς μέσον λεύσσω σκοπόν.

καὶ Ὑπερείδης δὲ ὁ ῥήτωρ ὀψοφάγος ἦν, ὡς φησι

⁶⁸ This allusion to the dithyrambic poet Timotheus = PMG 786.

⁶⁹ Literally “three cubits”.

⁷⁰ I.e. since numerous different foods will be passing down different parts of his now radically elongated gullet at the same time. Cf. 1.6b.

⁷¹ Cf. D.L. 6.76.

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and I'm entrusting them to the care of the Muses I
grew
up with. That Aphrodite and Dionysus are my
executors,
my will makes clear. But since
Timotheus' Charon, the one from his *Niobe*,⁶⁸
is not allowing me to linger, but is shouting for me to
proceed to the ferry,
and my night-dark fate, which I must heed, is
calling—
so that I can run off to the Underworld with
everything that's mine:
give me the rest of that octopus!"

So too, he says elsewhere (Macho 87–90 Gow):

They say that Philoxenus of Cythera once
prayed to have a throat five feet⁶⁹ long,
"So that I can make my eating", he said, "last as long
as possible,
and everything I eat can give me pleasure
simultaneously."⁷⁰

Diogenes the Cynic likewise died when his stomach
turned on him after he ate a raw octopus.⁷¹ The parodist
Sopater (fr. 23) also says about Philoxenus:

For he sits between two loads
of fish, gazing at the central spot on Aetna.⁷²

The orator Hyperides was also a glutton, according to the

⁷² For Philoxenus on Sicily, see 1.6e–7a; but the point of Sopater's remark is unclear.

Τιμοκλῆς ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν Δήλῳ διηγούμενος τοὺς παρὰ
f Ἄρπάλου δωροδοκήσαντας. γράφει | δὲ οὕτως·

(A.) Δημοσθένης τάλαντα πεντήκοντ' ἔχει.

(B.) μακάριος, εἴπερ μεταδίδωσι μηδενί.

(A.) καὶ Μοιροκλῆς εἴληφε χρυσίου πολὺ.

(B.) ἀνόητος ὁ διδούς, εὐτυχῆς δ' ὁ λαμβάνων.

(A.) εἴληφε καὶ Δήμων τι καὶ Καλλισθένης.

(B.) πένητες ἦσαν, ὥστε συγγνώμην ἔχω.

(A.) ὁ τ' ἐν λόγοισι δεινὸς Ἵπερείδης ἔχει. ||

342 (B.) τοὺς ἰχθυοπώλας οὗτος ἡμῶν πλουτιεῖ·
† ὀψοφάγος † γὰρ ὥστε τοὺς λάρους εἶναι
Σύρους.

καὶ ἐν Ἰκαρίοις δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ποιητῆς φησι·

τόν τ' ἰχθυόρρονν ποταμὸν Ἵπερείδην πέρα,
ὃς ἠπίαις φωναῖσιν ἔμφρονος λόγου
κόμποις παφλάζων † ἠπίοις † πυκνώμασι
πρὸς † παν < . . . > δυσας † ἔχει
μισθωτὸς ἄρδει πεδία τοῦ δεδωκότος.

b Φιλέταιρος δ' ἐν Ἀσκληπιῶ⁹ πρὸς | τῷ ὀψοφαγεῖν καὶ
κυβεύειν αὐτόν φησι, καθάπερ καὶ Καλλίαν τὸν ῥήτο-

⁹ Ἀσκληπιῶ τὸν Ἵπερείδην A: τὸν Ἵπερείδην del. Wilamowitz

⁷³ See 6.245f-6a n. Of the men mentioned by Timocles, Hyperides (PA 13912), Demosthenes (PAA 318625), Moerocles (PAA 658480), and Callisthenes (PAA 559815) were prominent

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comic author Timocles in *Delos* (fr. 4), in his discussion of the people Harpalus bribed.⁷³ He writes as follows:

- (A.) Demosthenes has 50 talents.
- (B.) He's a lucky guy—provided he's not offering anyone else a share.
- (A.) Moerocles also got a lot of gold.
- (B.) The fellow doing the giving is an idiot; but the one doing the getting is lucky!
- (A.) Demon also got something; Callistratus too.
- (B.) They were poor, so I forgive them.
- (A.) And Hyperides the clever speech-writer got a bit.
- (B.) He'll make our fish-sellers rich; because he's enough of † a glutton † to make the seagulls look like Syrians!⁷⁴

So too in *Icarians*⁷⁵ (fr. 17) the same poet says:

and beyond the Hyperides River, rich in fish,
which with mild words of thoughtful speech,
blustering with constant † mild † boasts
turns toward [corrupt] . . .

is paid to water the plains of anyone who hires him.

Philetaerus in *Asclepius* (fr. 2) claims that Hyperides spent his time eating and shooting dice, which is exactly what

late 4th-century Athenian politicians. Demon (PAA 322735), on the other hand, is otherwise known only for proposing the motion that recalled his cousin Demosthenes from exile (Plu. *Dem.* 27.6; [Plu.] *Mor.* 846d).

⁷⁴ For the Syrians' refusal to eat fish, cf. 8.346c–d.

⁷⁵ For the title, see 8.339d n.

ρα Ἀξιόνικος ἐν Φιλευριπίδῃ·

ἄλλον δ' ἰχθὺν

μεγέθει πίσυνόν τινα τοῖσδε τόποις
ἤκει κομίσας

Γλαυκός τις ἐν πόντῳ † γαλούς †.

σῆτον ὀψοφάγων

καὶ λίχνων ἀνδρῶν ἀγάπημα φέρω κατ' ὤμων.
τίνα τῷδ' ἐνέπω τὴν σκευασίαν;
πότερον χλωρῷ τρίμματι βρέξας
ἢ τῆς ἀγρίας

ἄλμης πάσμασι σῶμα λιπάνας

πυρὶ παμφλέκτῳ παραδώσω;

ἔφα τις ὡς ἐν ἄλμῃ

θερμῇ τοῦτο φάγοι γ' ἐφθὸν ἀνὴρ

c Μοσχίων | φίλανλος.

βοᾷ δ' ὄνειδος ἴδιον, ᾧ Καλλία.

“ἢ σὺ μὲν ἀμφὶ <τε> σῦκα καὶ ἀμφὶ ταρίχι
ἀγάλλῃ,

τοῦ δ' ἐν ἄλμῃ παρεόντος

οὐ γεύῃ χαρίεντος ὄψου.”

τὰ μὲν σῦκα, ὡς ἂν συκοφάντην λοιδορῶν, τὰ δὲ
ταρίχη, μήποτε καὶ ὡς αἰσχροποιούντος. καὶ Ἐρμιπ-
πος δέ φησιν ἐν τρίτῳ Περὶ τῶν Ἰσοκράτους Μαθη-
τῶν ἑωθινὸν τὸν Ἐπερείδην ποιεῖσθαι νῦν τοὺς περι-
πάτους ἐν τοῖς ἰχθύσι. Τίμαιος δ' ὁ Ταυρομενίτης καὶ

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Axionicus in *The Man Who Loved Euripides* (fr. 4) says about the orator Callias:⁷⁶

A certain maritime Glaucus [corrupt]
has come, bringing
another fish confident in its size
to this place.

I bear on my shoulders
food for gluttons and a source of delight for the
greedy.

What style of preparation do I propose for it?
Ought I to douse it in an herb-sauce
or anoint its body
with a sprinkling of rough brine, before I
turn it over to the all-blazing fire?

A certain Moschion⁷⁷, a man
devoted to the pipes, claimed he would eat it
stewed in hot broth.

He cries out a personal insult, Callias:
"You certainly take delight in figs and saltfish;
but when a lovely dish in broth
is available, you've got no taste for it."

He mentions figs (*suka*) as a way of attacking him for being a sycophant, and saltfish perhaps to imply that he behaved shamefully.⁷⁸ So too Hermippus says in Book III of *On Isocrates' Students* (fr. 68a II Wehrli): that Hyperides is now taking walks in the fish-market at dawn. Timaeus

⁷⁶ PAA 553610; otherwise unidentified.

⁷⁷ PAA 659185; see Gow on Macho 46, and cf. 6.242c.

⁷⁸ The point is obscure, but the shameful behavior in question is presumably sexual in nature.

d Ἄριστοτέλη τὸν φιλόσοφον ὀψοφάγον φησὶ γεγο-
 νέναι. καὶ Μάτων | δ' ὁ σοφιστῆς ὀψοφάγος ἦν· δηλοῖ
 δὲ τοῦτο Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Κιθαρῳδῶ, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή·

οὐ ψεύδος οὐδὲν φησιν.

ὀφθαλμὸν ὄρυττέν τις ὥσπερ ἰχθύος
 Μάτων προσελθών.

Ἄναξίλας δ' ἐν Μονοτρόπῳ·

τοῦ κεστρέως κατεδήδοκεν τὸ κρανίον
 ἀναρπάσας Μάτων· ἐγὼ δ' ἀπόλλυμαι.

e ὑπερβολὴ γαστριμαργίας τὸ καὶ ἀρπάζειν ἐσθίοντα |
 καὶ ταῦτα κρανίον κεστρέως, εἰ μὴ ἄρα οἱ περὶ ταῦτα
 δεινοὶ ἴσασι ἐνόν τι χρήσιμον ἐν κεστρέως κρανίῳ,
 ὅπερ ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀρχεστράτου λιχνείας ἐμφανίσαι ἡμῖν.
 Ἀντιφάνης δ' ἐν Πλουσίοις κατάλογον ποιεῖται ὀψο-
 φάγων ἐν τούτοις·

Εὐθνος δ' ἔχων

f σανδάλια καὶ σφραγίδα καὶ μεμυρισμένος
 ἐλογίζετο † τῶν πραγμάτων οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι |
 Φοινικίδης δὲ Ταυρέας θ' ὁ φίλτατος,
 ἄνδρες † πάλαι ὀψοφάγοι τοιοῦτοί † τινες

⁷⁹ Drawing on Polybius.

⁸⁰ PAA 635840; otherwise unknown.

⁸¹ Quoted also at 7.307c.

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of Tauromenium (*FGrH* 566 F 156)⁷⁹ claims that the philosopher Aristotle was also a glutton. The sophist Maton⁸⁰ was a glutton as well; Antiphanes makes this clear in *The Citharode*, which begins (fr. 116):

He tells no lies.

Someone came up and gouged out his eye,
like Maton does with a fish. (Antiph. fr. 117)

Anaxilas in *The Recluse* (fr. 20):⁸¹

Maton grabbed the head of the gray mullet
and gobbled it down; but I'm ruined.

Snatching and eating food—and a gray mullet's head at that!—is the height of gluttony, unless the experts in such matters know of any value in a mullet's head, a point it would take Arcestratus' greed to reveal to us. Antiphanes in *Wealthy Men* (fr. 188) offers a list of gluttons in the following passage:

Euthynus,⁸² wearing
sandals and a seal-ring, and soaked in perfume,
was calculating † some sort of business;
and Phoenicides and my good friend Taureas,⁸³
certain † for a long time now gluttons of such a sort †
men,

⁸² PAA 433922; also mentioned (and described as a saltfish-vendor) in Antiph. fr. 126 (preserved at 3.120a).

⁸³ Mentioned together again in Antiph. fr. 50 (preserved at 8.343d). Taureas (otherwise unknown) is also referred to as a glutton in Philetaer. fr. 3 (preserved at 10.416e–f).

οἰοὶ καταβροχθίζειν ἐν ἀγορᾷ τὰ τεμάχη,
 ὀρώντες ἐξέθνησκον ἐπὶ τῷ πράγματι
 ἔφερόν τε δεινῶς τὴν ἀνοψίαν πάνυ.

κύκλους δὲ συναγείροντες ἔλεγον † τάδε
 ὡς οὐ βιωτόν ἐστιν οὐδ' ἀνασχετόν

“τῆς μὲν θαλάττης ἀντιποιεῖσθαί τινας ||

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ὑμῶν ἀναλίσκειν τε πολλὰ χρήματα,

ὄψου δὲ μηδὲ < . . . > εἰσπλεῖν μηδὲ γρῦ.

τί οὖν ὄφελος τῶν νησιάρχων; ἔστι δὴ

νόμῳ κατακλείσαι τοῦτο, παραπομπὴν ποεῖν

τῶν ἰχθύων. νυνδὶ Μάτων συνήρπακεν

τοὺς ἀλίεας, καὶ <δὴ> Διογείτων νῆ Δία

ἅπαντας ἀναπέπεικεν ὡς αὐτὸν φέρειν,

κοῦ δημοτικόν γε τοῦτο δρᾶ τοιαῦτα φλῶν.

γάμοι δ' ἐκείνοι καὶ πότοι νεανικοὶ |

b

ἦσαν.”

Εὐφάνης¹⁰ δὲ ἐν Μούσαις·

Φοινικίδης δ' ὡς εἶδεν ἐν πλήθει νέων

μεστήν ζέουσαν λοπάδα Νηρείων τέκνων,

¹⁰ Εὐφρων Schweighäuser

⁸⁴ PAA 325590; unidentified.

⁸⁵ According to *Suda* ε 3815, Athenaeus assigned plays entitled *Aeschra* (7.307e), *Muses*, *Fellow Ephebes* (9.377d), and *Sacred Ambassadors* (9.399b–c) to Euphro; as the manuscript contains no reference to Euphro and instead assigns this fragment to Euphanes' otherwise unattested *Muses*, Schweighäuser emended

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the type who gulp down slabs of fish in the
marketplace,
practically passed out when they saw what was going
on,
and got extremely upset about the lack of fish.
They gathered a crowd around them and said † the
following:
that life was not worth living, and that it was
unbearable
“that some of you lay claim to
the sea and spend loads of money—
but not a speck of fish enters the harbor!
What’s the use of having island-commissioners, then?
It’s legally possible,
you know, to require that the fish be escorted
by a convoy! But as it is, Maton has captured
the fishermen, and Diogeiton⁸⁴, by Zeus,
has convinced them all to bring their catch to him.
And he’s not behaving *democratically* by gobbling
food like this!
Those were wedding feasts and young men’s
drinking parties!”

Euphanes in *Muses* (fr. 1):⁸⁵

When Phoenicides was in a crowd of young men
and saw a boiling hot casserole-dish full of Nereus’
children,

the poet’s name. But Euphro probably belongs to the 3rd century BCE, whereas inscriptional evidence places Euphanes in the 4th, and (following K–A) I retain the reading in A.

ἐπίσχετ' ὀργῇ χεῖρας ἠρεθισμένας·
 "τίς φησιν εἶναι δεινὸς ἐκ κοινού φαγεῖν;
 τίς ἐκ μέσου τὰ θερμὰ δεινὸς ἀρπάσαι;
 ποῦ Κόρυδος, ἢ Φυρόμαχος, ἢ Νείλου βία;
 ἴτω πρὸς ἡμᾶς, καὶ τάχ' οὐδὲν μεταλάβοι." |

- c τῆς αὐτῆς ιδέας καὶ Μελάνθιος ἦν ὁ τῆς τραγωδίας ποιητής· ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ ἐλεγεία. κωμωδοῦσι δ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ὀψοφαγία Λεύκων ἐν Φράτερσιν, Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Εἰρήνῃ, Φερεκράτης ἐν Πετάλῃ. ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ἰχθύσιν Ἄρχιππος τῷ δράματι ὡς ὀψοφάγον δῆσας παραδίδωσι τοῖς ἰχθύσιν ἀντιβρωθησόμενον. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Ἀρίστιππος ὁ Σωκρατικὸς ὀψοφάγος ἦν· ὅστις καὶ ὑπὸ Πλάτωνός ποτε ὀνειδιζόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ ὀψοφαγίᾳ, ὡς φησι Σωτίων καὶ Ἠγήσανδρος, < . . . > γράφει δὲ οὕτως ὁ Δελφός· Ἀρίστιππος Πλάτωνος ἐπιτιμήσαν-
- d τος | αὐτῷ διότι πολλοὺς ἰχθύς ἠγόρασε, δεῖν ὀβολοῖν ἔφησεν ἐωνῆσθαι. τοῦ δὲ Πλάτωνος εἰπόντος διότι καὶ "αὐτὸς ἂν ἠγόρασα τοσοῦτον", "ὄρᾳς οὖν," εἶπεν, "ὦ Πλάτων, ὅτι οὐκ ἐγὼ ὀψοφάγος, ἀλλὰ σὺ φιλάργυρος." Ἀντιφάνης δ' ἐν Αὐλητρίδι ἢ Διδύμαις Φοινικίδην τινὰ ἐπ' ὀψοφαγία κωμωδῶν φησιν·

⁸⁶ Corydos ("Lark"; his real name was Eucrates, PAA 437510; cf. the numerous anecdotes and comic fragments quoted at 6.240e–2c), Phromachus, and Neilus (PAA 705855; cf. Timocl. fr. 10.4, quoted at 6.240f) were all notorious 4th-century Athenian gluttons.

⁸⁷ PAA 638275; he belongs to the second half of the 5th century BCE.

⁸⁸ Aristippus of Cyrene (SSR IV A; the anecdote that follows is

he restrained his hands, stirred though they were
with passion.

“Who claims he’s a terror when it comes to eating
from a shared pot?

Or a terror at snatching hot food from the midst?
Where is Corydos, or Phylomachus, or mighty
Neilus?⁸⁶

Let him confront me—and I wouldn’t be surprised if
he gets nothing!”

The tragic poet Melanthius⁸⁷ (*TrGF* 23 T 2)—he also wrote elegiac verse—was the same sort of person: Leucon in *Phratryies* (fr. 3), Aristophanes in *Peace* (803–13), and Pherecrates in *Petale* (fr. 148) make fun of him for being a glutton. And in his play *Fish* (fr. 28) Archippus puts him in chains and turns him over to the fish to be eaten in compensation, on the ground that he is a glutton. But Socrates’ student Aristippus⁸⁸ was also a glutton; according to Sotion (fr. 4 Wehrli) and Hegesander (fr. 17, *FHG* iv.416–17), Plato once criticized him for his gluttony . . . The Delphian⁸⁹ writes as follows: When Plato attacked him for buying a large number of fish, Aristippus informed him that he had paid only two obols. When Plato said “I would have bought them myself at that price,” Aristippus responded: “So you see, Plato: it’s not that I’m a glutton—it’s that you’re a miser!” Antiphanes in *The Pipe-Girl or Twin Girls* (fr. 50) makes fun of a certain Phoenicides⁹⁰ for being a glutton and says:

one of a number of similar tales about him preserved in late sources); cf. 11.507b; 12.544a–f.

⁸⁹ Hegesander.

⁹⁰ See 8.342f n.

ὁ <μὲν> Μενέλεως ἐπολέμησ' ἔτη δέκα
τοῖς Τρωσὶ διὰ γυναῖκα τὴν ὄψιν καλήν,
Φοινικίδης δὲ Ταυρέα δι' ἔγχελυν. |

- e Δημοσθένης δ' ὁ ῥήτωρ Φιλοκράτην, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τοῦ
προδοτικοῦ χρυσίου πόρνας καὶ ἰχθύς ἠγόραζεν, εἰς
ἀσέλγειαν καὶ ὀσοφαγίαν λουδορεῖ. Διοκλῆς δὲ ὁ
ὀσοφάγος, ὡς φησιν Ἡγήσανδρος, πυθομένου τινὸς
αὐτοῦ πότερος χρηστότερος ἰχθύς, γόγγρος ἢ λά-
βραξ, "ὁ μὲν ἐφθός," ἔφη, "ὁ δὲ ὀπτός." ὀσοφάγος δ'
ἦν καὶ Λεοντεὺς ὁ Ἀργεῖος τραγωδός, Ἀθηνίωνος μὲν
μαθητής, οἰκέτης δὲ γενόμενος Ἴόβα τοῦ Μαυρουσίων
βασιλέως, ὡς φησιν Ἀμάραντος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Σκηνῆς,
f γεγραφέναι φάσκων | εἰς αὐτὸν τόδε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα
τὸν Ἴοβαν, ὅτε κακῶς τὴν Ἑψιπύλην ὑπεκρίνατο·

μή με Λεοντήος τραγικοῦ κιναρηφάγον ἦχος
λεύσσων Ἑψιπύλης ἐς κακὸν ἦτορ ὄρα.
ἦμην γάρ ποτ' ἐγὼ Βάκχῳ φίλος, οὐδέ τιν' ὦδε
γῆρυν χρυσολόβοις οὔασιν ἠγάσατο·
νῦν δέ με χυτρόποδες κέραμοι καὶ ξηρὰ τάγηνα ||
χῆρωσαν φωνῆς γαστρὶ χαριζόμενον.

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91 See 8.342f n.

92 A late 4th-century Athenian politician (PA 14599).

93 Cf. 8.344b; otherwise unknown.

94 Stephanis #1534.

95 Stephanis #73; perhaps to be identified with the comic poet
by the same name quoted at 14.660e–1d (drawn from Juba!).

BOOK VIII

Menelaus waged war on the Trojans
for ten years for the sake of a beautiful woman,
whereas Phoenicides wages war on Taureas⁹¹ for the
sake of an eel.

The orator Demosthenes (19.229) criticizes Philocrates⁹² for being a dissolute glutton because he spent the gold he got for his treachery on whores and fish. According to Hegesander (fr. 16, *FHG* iv.416), when someone asked the glutton Diocles⁹³ which fish was better, a conger eel or a sea-bass, he said: "The former's better stewed, but the latter's better roasted." The Argive tragic actor Leonteus⁹⁴—he was a student of Athenion⁹⁵ and a slave of Juba the king of Mauretania⁹⁶—was also a glutton, according to Amarantus in his *On the Stage*, in which he claims that Juba wrote the following epigram about Leonteus when he did a bad job of acting in the *Hypsipyle*⁹⁷ (*FGrH* 275 F 104 = Juba Rex *FGE* 239–44):

When you behold me, the cartoon-eating⁹⁸ voice of
the tragic actor
Leonteus, do not believe that you look upon
Hypsipyle's ugly heart.
For I was once Bacchus' friend, nor did his gold-
spangled ears
get as much pleasure from any other voice.
But now earthenware pots and dry frying-pans
have taken away my voice, since I paid more
attention to my belly.

⁹⁶ Reigned 25 BCE–c.23 CE, *FGrH* 275; Athenaeus cites his historical and linguistic works repeatedly (e.g. 3.83b–c; 4.170e–f, 175d). ⁹⁷ Sc. of Euripides.

Φόρυσκον δέ φησιν Ἡγήσανδρος τὸν ἰχθυοφάγον οὐ
δυνηθέντα ὅσον ἤθελεν ἀφελεῖν τοῦ ἰχθύος, ἀλλ' ἀκο-
λουθήσαντος αὐτῷ πλείονος εἰπεῖν·

τὰ δ' ἀντιτείνοντ' αὐτόπρεμν' ἀπόλλυται,

καὶ ὄλον τὸν ἰχθὺν ἀναλώσαι. Βίων δὲ προαρπάσαν-
τός τινος τὰ ἐπάνω τοῦ ἰχθύος στρέψας καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ
δαμιλῶς φαγὼν ἐπέειπεν·

Ἴνῳ δὲ τὰπὶ θάτερ' ἐξηργάζετο. |

- b Θεόκριτος δ' ὁ Χίος τελευτησάσης τῆς γυναικὸς Διο-
κλεῖ τῷ ὀψοφάγῳ, ἐπειδὴ ποιῶν αὐτῇ τὸ περιδείπνον
πάλιν ὀψοφάγει κλαίων ἅμα, “παῦσαι”, φησί, “κλαί-
ων, ᾧ πόνηρε·

οὐδὲν γὰρ πλέον ὀψοφαγῶν ποιήσεις.”

τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν ἀγρὸν καταβεβρωκότος εἰς ὀψο-
φαγίαν, ἐπειδὴ θερμόν ποτε καταβροχθίσας ἰχθὺν
ἔφησε τὸν οὐρανὸν κατακεκαῦσθαι, “λοιπόν”, ἔφησεν,
“ἔστιν”, ὁ Θεόκριτος, “σοὶ καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκπιεῖν,
καὶ ἔση τρία τὰ μέγιστα ἠφανικῶς, γῆν καὶ θάλατταν
c καὶ οὐρανόν.” | Κλέαρχος δ' ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Βίων φί-

⁹⁸ For cardoon (*kinara*; also known as artichoke thistle), see 2.70a–1c. There appear to be no other references to its allegedly deleterious effect on the voice. ⁹⁹ Otherwise unknown.

¹⁰⁰ Presumably the philosopher Bion of Borysthenes (c.335–c.245 BCE).

Hegesander (fr. 19, *FHG* iv.417) reports that when Phorciscus⁹⁹, who ate large amounts of seafood, was unable to rip off as large a piece of a fish as he wanted, because most of it stuck to the bone, he said (*S. Ant.* 714):

but those that resist are destroyed root and branch,
and consumed it whole. When someone else grabbed the part of the fish that was facing up before Bion¹⁰⁰ (fr. 81 *Kindstrand*) could get to it, he flipped it over, ate a large piece himself, and then said (*E. Ba.* 1129):

And Ino completed the work on the other side.¹⁰¹

When the wife of the glutton Diocles¹⁰² died and he began eating aggressively again as he was hosting her funeral dinner, crying all the while, Theocritus of Chios¹⁰³ said: "Stop crying, wretch;

for you'll gain no advantage by being a glutton."¹⁰⁴

The same man had consumed his property in the country by behaving like a glutton; once when he gobbled up a hot fish and said that he had burned the roof of his mouth (*ouranos*), Theocritus responded: "All that's left for you is to swallow the sea, and you'll have made the three largest objects there are disappear: the earth, the sea, and the sky (*ouranos*)." Clearchus in his *On Lives* (fr. 58 *Wehrli*) offers

¹⁰¹ A virtually identical anecdote about the Stoic philosopher Zeno is preserved at 5.186d.

¹⁰² Cf. 8.343e with n. ¹⁰³ Active in the second half of the 4th century BCE; see 1.21c n.

¹⁰⁴ Apparently a witty adaptation of part of an otherwise unattested dactylic hexameter line; cf. 12.540a.

λιχθύν τινα ἀναγράφων φησὶν οὕτως· Τέχνων ὁ παλαιὸς αὐλητῆς Χάρμου τοῦ αὐλητοῦ τελευτήσαντος (ἦν δὲ φίλιχθος) ἀποπυρίδας ἐπὶ τοῦ μνήματος ἐνήγιζεν αὐτῷ. καὶ Ἄλεξις δ' ὁ ποιητῆς ἦν ὀψοφάγος, ὡς ὁ Σάμιός φησι Λυγκεύς· καὶ σκωπτόμενος ὑπὸ τινων σπερμολόγων εἰς ὀψοφαγίαν ἐρομένων τε ἐκείνων τί ἂν ἦδιστα φάγοι, ὁ Ἄλεξις σπερμολόγους ἔφη πεφρυγμένους. Νόθιππον δὲ τὸν τραγωδιοποιόν, ὃν Ἔρ-
d μιππος ἐν ταῖς | Μοίραις φησὶν·

εἰ δ' ἦν τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν νῦν τοιόνδε
μάχεσθαι,
καὶ βατὶς αὐτῶν ἡγείτ' ὀπτῆ μεγάλη καὶ πλευρὸν
ῥεῖον,
τοὺς μὲν ἄρ' ἄλλους οἰκουρεῖν χρῆν, πέμπειν δὲ
Νόθιππον ἐκόντα·
εἷς γὰρ μόνος ἂν κατεβρόχθισεν ἂν τὴν
Πελοπόννησον ἅπασαν.

ὅτι δὲ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ποιητῆς σαφῶς παρίστησι Τηλεκλείδης ἐν Ἡσιόδοις. Μυννίσκος ὁ τραγικὸς ὑποκριτῆς κωμωδεῖται ὑπὸ Πλάτωνος ἐν Σύρφακι ὡς ὀψοφάγος οὕτως· |

e (A.) ὀδὶ μὲν Ἀναγυράσιος ὀρφῶς ἐστὶ σοι.

¹⁰⁵ Stephanis #2621; cf. 1.4a-c with n.

¹⁰⁶ Stephanis #2404.

¹⁰⁷ Literally "seed-gatherers", i.e. "rooks" (*spermologoi*—the word also used colloquially above to mean "gossips").

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the following account of a man who loved seafood: When the pipe-player Charmus¹⁰⁵ (who loved seafood) died, the ancient pipe-player Technon¹⁰⁶ dedicated small-fry to him at his tomb. The poet Alexis was also a glutton, according to Lynceus of Samos (fr. 33 Dalby = Alex. test. 12); when some wisecracks poked fun at him for this at one point and asked what his favorite food was, Alexis said: "Roasted wag-tongues¹⁰⁷." Also the tragic poet Nothippus¹⁰⁸ (*TrGF* 26 T 1), mentioned by Hermippus in his *Fates* (fr. 46):

If people today could fight like this,
and a large roasted skate, accompanied by a side of
pork, was their commander,
the others would have to stay at home, and
Nothippus would be sent as a volunteer;
because even alone he could gulp down the entire
Peloponnese.

Teleclides in *Hesiods* (fr. 17) establishes beyond any doubt that this is the poet. The tragic actor Mynniscus¹⁰⁹ is mocked by Plato in *The Rabble* (fr. 175) for being a glutton, as follows:

(A.) Here's a sea-perch for you from Anagyrus.

¹⁰⁸ PAA 720940. His name is probably to be restored in the list of Athenian tragic victors at *IG* II² 2325.4 (470 BCE; victorious only once). No fragments of his plays survive.

¹⁰⁹ Stephanis #1757; PAA 661940. He was victorious in the actors' competition at the City Dionysia first sometime in the mid-440s BCE (*IG* II² 2325.24) and again at least once (unless this was his homonymous son) in 422 (*IG* II² 2318.119).

(B.) οἶδ', ᾧ φίλος Μυννίσκος ἔσθ' ὁ Χαλκιδεύς.

(A.) καλῶς λέγεις.

καὶ Λάμπωνα δὲ τὸν μάντιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις κωμφοῦ-
σι Καλλίας Πεδήταις καὶ Λύσιππος Βάκχαις. Κρα-
τῖνος δ' ἐν Δραπέτισιν εἰπὼν περὶ αὐτοῦ·

Λάμπωνα, τὸν οὐ βροτῶν
ψῆφος δύναται φλεγυρὰ δείπνου φίλων
ἀπείργειν,

ἐπιφέρει·

νῦν δ' αὖτις ἐρυγγάνει·

f βρῦχει γὰρ ἅπαν τὸ παρόν, τρίγλη | δὲ κἄν
μάχοιτο.

Ἡδύλος δ' ἐν Ἐπιγράμμασιν ὀψοφάγους καταλέγων
Φαίδωνος μὲν τινος ἐν τούτοις μέμνηται·

Φαίδων δὲ < . . . > φυκί' ἐνεῖκαι
χορδὰς <θ'> ὁ ψάλτης, ἐστὶ γὰρ ὀψοφάγος.

Ἄγιδος δ' ἐν τούτοις·

ἐφθός ὁ κάλλιχθος· νῦν ἔμβαλε τὴν
βαλανάγραν ||

110 PAA 601665; he belongs to the mid-5th century BCE.

111 Stephanis #2454; otherwise unknown.

112 Perhaps an alternative name for the wrasse-variety else-
where called a *rhukis*.

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(B.) I know him—he's friends with Mynniscus of Chalcis.

(A.) You're right.

Callias in *Men in Shackles* (fr. 20) and Lysippus in *Bacchants* (fr. 6) also make fun of the seer Lampon¹¹⁰ for similar reasons. Cratinus in *Runaway Women* (fr. 62, encompassing both quotations) first says about him:

Lampon, whom no flaming
vote cast by mortals can bar from a dinner given by
his friends,

and then continues:

But now he's burping again;
because he's gobbling everything that's there, and
he'd even fight with a red mullet.

Hedylus in the *Epigrams* (HE 1863–4) offers a list of gluttons, and mentions a certain Phaedo¹¹¹ in the following passage:

and the harp-player Phaedo . . . to bring
*phukia*¹¹² and sausages, since he's a glutton.

And (he mentions) Agis¹¹³ in the following passage (HE 1865–70):

The beauty-fish¹¹⁴ has been stewed. Now bolt the
door

¹¹³ Perhaps the cookbook-author referred to at 12.516c.

¹¹⁴ Obscure; cf. 7.282c–e.

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ἔλθη μὴ Πρωτεύς Ἁγίς ὁ τῶν λοπάδων.
γίνεθ' ὕδωρ καὶ πῦρ καὶ ὁ βούλεται· ἀλλ'
ἀπόκλειε

* * *

ἤξει γὰρ τοιαῦτα μεταπλασθεὶς τυχὸν ὡς Ζεὺς
χρυσορόης ἐπὶ τήνδ' Ἀκρισίου λοπάδα.

καὶ γυναικα δέ τινα Κλειῶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις σκώπτω
φησίν·

- b ὀψοφάγει, Κλειῶ· καταμύομεν. ἦν δὲ θελήσης, |
ἔσθε μόνη. δραχμῆς ἔστιν ὁ γόγγρος ἅπας.
θῆς μόνον ἢ ζώνην <ἦ> ἐνώτιον ἢ τι τοιοῦτον
σύσσημον † τὸ δ' ὄρᾶν μὴ μόνον οὐ
λέγομεν.†
ἡμετέρη σὺν Μέδουσα· λιθούμεθα † πάντα πάλαι
που †
οὐ Γοργοῦς γόγγρου δ' οἱ μέλει λοπάδι.

- Ἄριστόδημος δ' ἐν τοῖς Γελοίοις Ἀπομνημονεύμασιν
c Εὐφράνορά φησι τὸν ὀψοφάγον ἀκούσαντα | ὅτι ἄλ-
λος ἰχθυοφάγος ἀπέθανε θερμὸν ἰχθύος τέμαχος
καταπιὼν ἀναφωνῆσαι, “ἱερόσυλος ὁ θάνατος.” Κίν-

¹¹⁵ A reference to the sea-divinity encountered by Homer's Menelaus, who could turn into anything he wished, including water and fire (*Od.* 4.417–18, 455–8).

¹¹⁶ Sc. when he visited Danae, the daughter of Acrisius.

¹¹⁷ Clearly a courtesan, given that she is dining with a group of men; cf. 10.440d.

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to keep Agis, the Proteus¹¹⁵ of casserole-dishes,
from coming!

He turns into water, or fire, or whatever he wants.
But lock him out!

* * *

Because after he transforms himself, perhaps, like
Zeus did,¹¹⁶ he'll come
as a shower of gold to this casserole-dish of
Acrisius.

He makes fun of a woman named Cleio¹¹⁷ for similar reasons, saying (*HE* 1871–6):

Act like a glutton, Cleio! We've got our eyes closed.
But if you don't mind—
eat by yourself! The entire conger eel costs a
drachma.

Just offer your belt, or your earring, or something like
that
as your contribution † the seeing not only we don't
say. †

You're our Medusa; we're turned to stone †
everything long ago somehow, †
miserable us, not by a casserole-dish of Gorgon,
but by one of conger eel (*gongros*).

Aristodemus in his *Humorous Memoirs* (fr. 10, *FHG* iii.310) reports that when the glutton Euphranor¹¹⁸ heard that another seafood-eater passed away after gulping down a hot fish-steak, he cried: "Death is a sacrilegious

¹¹⁸ Otherwise unknown.

δων δὲ ὁ ὀψοφάγος καὶ Δημύλος (ὀψοφάγος δὲ καὶ οὗτος) γλαύκου παρατεθέντος, ἄλλου δ' οὐδενός, ὁ μὲν τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν κατελάβετο, καὶ ὁ Δημύλος ἐπὶ τὸν ἐκείνου ὀφθαλμὸν ἐπιβαλὼν ἐβιάζετο φωνῶν, "ἄφες καὶ ἀφήσω." ἐν δείπνῳ δὲ ποτε καλῆς λοπάδος ὄψου παρατεθείσης ὁ Δημύλος οὐκ ἔχων ὅπως αὐτὴν μόνος καταφάγη ἐνέπτυσεν εἰς αὐτήν. Ζήνων δ' ὁ Κιτιεὺς ὁ τῆς στοᾶς κτίστης πρὸς τὸν ὀψοφάγον ᾧ συνέζη ἐπὶ d πλείονα χρόνου, καθά φησιν | Ἀντίγονος ὁ Καρύστιος ἐν τῷ Ζήνωνος Βίῳ, μεγάλου τινὸς κατὰ τύχην ἰχθύος παρατεθέντος, ἄλλου δ' οὐδενὸς παρεσκευασμένου, λαβὼν ὄλον ὁ Ζήνων ἀπὸ τοῦ πίνακος οἶος ἦν κατεσθίειν. τοῦ δ' ἐμβλέψαντος αὐτῷ, "τί οὖν", ἔφη, "τοὺς συζωντάς σοι οἶει πάσχειν, εἰ σὺ μίαν ἡμέραν μὴ δεδύνησαι ἐνεγκεῖν ὀψοφαγίαν;" Ἴστρος δὲ φησι Χοιρίλου τὸν ποιητὴν παρ' Ἀρχελαίου τέσσαρας μνᾶς ἐφ' ἡμέρα λαμβάνοντα ταύτας καταναλίσκειν εἰς ὀψοφαγίαν, γενόμενον ὀψοφάγον. οὐκ ἄγνωῶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς e ἰχθυοφάγους παῖδας, ὧν Κλέαρχος μνημονεύει | ἐν τῷ Περὶ Θινῶν φάσκων Ψαμμήτιχον τὸν Αἰγυπτίων βα-

119 Sc. because he would have liked to have had a chance of getting some of the food for himself instead.

120 Neither man is known from any other source (but cf. Sosip. fr. 1.2, preserved at 9.377f, where a braggart cook's interlocutor is named Demylus).

121 D.L. 7.19 preserves a very similar anecdote.

122 Choerilus of Samos, the epic poet; 22 lines or partial lines of his poetry, supplemented by some dubiously attributed papy-

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thief!"¹¹⁹ As for Cindon the glutton and Demylus (who was also a glutton),¹²⁰ when a *glaukos*—but nothing else—was served, Cindon grabbed its eye. Demylus jammed his thumb into Cindon's eye and tried to strong-arm him, shouting: "You let go, and I'll let go!" Once when a nice casserole-dish of fish was served at a dinner party, Demylus could see no way to eat it all himself—so he spat in it. According to Antigonus of Carystus in his *Life of Zeno* (pp. 119–20 Wilamowitz = fr. 38A Dorandi = Zeno fr. 290, *SVF* i.66), Zeno of Citium, the founder of the Stoa, shared a house for a long time with a glutton; when a large fish happened to be served, but no other food had been prepared, Zeno grabbed the entire fish from the platter and managed to wolf it down. The other man glowered in his direction, and Zeno said: "What do you think your housemates go through, if you can't put up with someone else's gluttony for a single day?"¹²¹ Istrus (*FGrH* 334 F 61) claims that the poet Choerilus¹²² got four *minas*¹²³ per day from Archelaus and spent the money gorging himself, since he was a glutton. I also know about the fish-eating slaves Clearchus mentions in his *On Deserts* (fr. 98 Wehrli), where he reports that the Egyptian king Psammetichus¹²⁴ bred fish-

rus fragments, survive. Archelaus king of Macedon (reigned 413–399 BCE) lured numerous famous poets, including Euripides and Agathon, to his court with gifts of large amounts of money.

¹²³ I.e. 400 drachmas, as much as a skilled workman earned in a year.

¹²⁴ Presumably Psammetichus I (reigned 664–610 BCE), founder of the 26th (Saitte) dynasty, rather than his grandson Psammetichus II (reigned 595–589); cf. Herodotus' story at 2.2 about his experiments involving the ontogeny of human speech.

σιλέα παῖδας θρέψαι ἰχθυοφάγους, τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Νείλου βουλόμενον εὐρεῖν· καὶ ἄλλους δὲ ἀδίψους ἀσκῆσαι τοὺς ἐρευνησομένους τὰς ἐν Λιβύῃ ψάμμους, ὧν ὀλίγοι διεσώθησαν. οἶδα δὲ καὶ τοὺς περὶ Μόσσυνον τῆς Θράκης βοῦς, οἳ ἰχθῦς ἐσθίουσι παραβαλλομένους αὐτοῖς εἰς τὰς φάτνας. Φοινικίδης δὲ τοὺς ἰχθῦς παρατιθεὶς τοῖς τὰς συμβολὰς δεδωκόσι τὴν μὲν θάλασσαν ἔλεγε κοινὴν εἶναι, τοὺς δ' ἐν αὐτῇ ἰχθῦς τῶν ὠνησαμένων.

f Εἴρηται δὲ καὶ ὁ ὀψοφάγος, ὧ ἐταῖροι, καὶ ἰ τὸ ὀψοφαγεῖν. Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Νεφέλαις δευτέραις·

οὐδ' ὀψοφαγεῖν οὐδὲ κιχλίζειν.

Κηφισόδωρος Ἰτί·

οὐδ' ὀψοφάγος οὐδ' ἀδολέσχης.

Μάχων Ἐπιστολῇ·

346 ὀψοφάγος εἰμί, τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τῆς τέχνης ἢ
θεμέλιος ἡμῖν. προσπεπονθέναι τι δεῖ
τὸν μὴ τὰ παραδοθέντα λυμανούμενον·
πεφροντικῶς αὐτοῦ γὰρ οὐκ ἔσται κακός.
ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ ἢ καθαρὰ τὰσθητήρια,
οὐκ ἂν διαμάρτοις. ἔψε καὶ γενοῦ πυκνά.

¹²⁵ The idea is that the diet to which they were accustomed would allow them to live off the river's produce, no matter how far they followed it upstream.

¹²⁶ Cf. Hdt. 5.16.4.

BOOK VIII

eating slaves because he wanted to discover the sources of the Nile.¹²⁵ He also trained other slaves to go without water, so that they could explore the deserts in Libya; only a few survived. In addition, I am familiar with the cattle found around Mossynus in Thrace, which eat any fish that are thrown into their mangers.¹²⁶ When Phoenicides¹²⁷ served fish to the people who had contributed to the dinner expenses, he used to say that the sea belonged to everyone, but the fish it contained were the property of those who paid for them.

The word *opsophagos* ("glutton") is used, my friends, as is *opsophagein* ("to be a glutton"). Aristophanes in *Clouds* II¹²⁸ (983):

not *opsophagein* or to giggle.

Cephisodorus in *The Pig* (fr. 9):

not an *opsophagos* or a chatterer.

Macho in *The Letter* (fr. 2):

I'm an *opsophagos*, and this is the fundamental basis of our business. If you don't want to ruin your raw materials, you have to be sympathetic to them;

no one who's self-aware will abuse them.

Also, when your sense-organs are clear, you won't make mistakes. Taste what you're cooking repeatedly!

¹²⁷ See 8.342f n.

¹²⁸ I.e. the preserved version of the play, rather than the original (staged in 423 BCE and a failure).

ἄλλας οὐκ ἔχει προσένεγκ'. <ἔτ' > ἐπιδειῖται τινας
 ἑτέρου· πάλιν γεύου σύ, μέχρι ἂν ἡδὺς ἦ,
 ὥσπερ λύραν ἐπίτειν' ἕως <ἂν > ἀρμόσῃ. |
 b εἶθ' ὁπότεν ἤδη πάντα συμφωνεῖν δοκῆς,
 εἴσαγε διὰ πασῶν † Νικολαΐδας Μυκόνιος.†

πρὸς τούτοις τοῖς ὀψοφάγοις, ἄνδρες ἐταῖροι, οἶδα καὶ
 τὸν παρ' Ἡλείοις τιμώμενον Ὀψοφάγον Ἀπόλλωνα·
 μνημονεύει δὲ αὐτοῦ Πολέμων ἐν τῇ Πρὸς Ἄτταλον
 Ἐπιστολῇ. οἶδα δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ Πισάτιδι γραφὴν
 ἀνακειμένην ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀλφειώσας Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῷ
 (Κλεάνθους δ' ἐστὶ τοῦ Κορινθίου), ἐν ᾗ Ποσειδῶν
 c πεποιήται θύννον τῷ Διὶ | προσφέρων ὠδίνοντι, ὡς
 ἱστορεῖ Δημήτριος ἐν ὀγδόῳ Τρωικοῦ Διακόσμου.

Καὶ τοσαῦτα μὲν, ἔφη ὁ Δημόκριτος, καὶ αὐτὸς
 ὑμῖν προσοψωνήσας οὐκ ὀψοφαγήσων παρήλθον διὰ
 τὸν πάντα ἄριστον Οὐλπιανόν, ὃς διὰ τὰ Σύρων
 πάτρια καὶ ἡμᾶς τῶν ἰχθύων ἀπεστέρησεν ἕτερ' ἐκ
 Συρίας παρεισφέρων. καίτοι γε Ἀντίπατρος ὁ Ταρ-
 σεὺς ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς ἐν τετάρτῳ Περὶ Δεισιδαιμονίας
 λέγεσθαί φησι πρὸς τινων ὅτι Γάτις ἢ τῶν Σύρων
 d βασίλισσα οὕτως ἦν ὀψοφάγος ὥστε κηρῦξαι | ἄτερ
 Γάτιδος μηδένα ἰχθὺν ἐσθίειν· ὑπ' ἀγνοίας δὲ τοὺς

129 Sc. to Athena, from his head; cf. Str. 8.343, who mentions a second painting by Cleanthes, a Sack of Troy, in the same temple. Cleanthes was a very early Greek painter (perhaps early 7th century BCE); cf. Plin. Nat. 35.16. The point of the reference here

BOOK VIII

It needs salt? Add some! It still needs something else? Taste it again until it's delicious, and tweak it like a lyre until it's right! Then, once you think everything's in tune, take it in among all † Nicolaidas of Myconos †.

In addition to these gluttons, gentlemen, I am also familiar with Apollo Opsophagos ("the Glutton"), who is worshipped in Elis; Polemon mentions him in his *Letter to Attalus* (fr. 70 Preller). I also know about the painting dedicated in the temple of Artemis Alpheiosa in Pisa (the artist is Cleanthes of Corinth), which shows Poseidon offering a tuna to Zeus as Zeus gives birth,¹²⁹ according to Demetrius in Book VIII of the *Trojan Battle-Order* (fr. 5 Gaede).

Although I personally offered you all this additional seafood, said Democritus, I did not come here to be a glutton, on account of the excellent Ulpian, who has followed his ancestral Syrian customs by depriving us of our fish, while still offering us other Syrian goods.¹³⁰ Nevertheless the Stoic Antipater of Tarsus in Book IV of *On Superstition* (fr. 64, SVF iii.257) reports that some authorities claim that the Syrian queen Gatis was such a glutton that she announced that no one was to eat fish except (*ater*) Gatis; so out of ignorance many people began to refer to her as

must be that Zeus was—allegedly—represented as a typical fish-loving glutton. But doubtless the fish in Poseidon's hand was merely a bit of crude standard iconography, designed to identify him as the god of the sea.

¹³⁰ At 7.275c, Ulpian suspends the serving of the fish so that the guests can speak freely. The "other Syrian goods" in question probably include frankincense, which was routinely burned at sacrifices and dinner parties.

πολλοὺς αὐτὴν μὲν Ἀταργάτιν ὀνομάζειν, ἰχθύων δὲ ἀπέχεσθαι. Μνασέας δ' ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ Ἀσίας φησὶν οὕτως· ἐμοὶ μὲν ἢ Ἀταργάτις δοκεῖ χαλεπὴ βασιλίσι-
σα γεγονέναι καὶ τῶν λαῶν σκληρῶς ἐπεστατηκέναι, ὥστε καὶ ἀπονομίσαι αὐτοῖς ἰχθὺν μὴ ἐσθίειν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀναφέρειν διὰ τὸ ἀρέσαι αὐτῇ τὸ βρῶμα. καὶ διὰ τὸδε νόμιμον ἔτι διαμένειν, ἐπὰν εὐξωνται τῇ θεῷ, ἰχθύς ἀργυροῦς ἢ χρυσοῦς ἀνατιθέναι· τοὺς δὲ
e ἱερεῖς | πᾶσαν ἡμέραν τῇ θεῷ ἀληθινοὺς ἰχθύς ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν ὀψοποιησαμένους παρατιθέναι, ἐφθούς τε ὁμοίως καὶ ὀπτούς, οὓς δὴ αὐτοὶ καταναλίσκουσιν οἱ τῆς θεοῦ ἱερεῖς. καὶ μικρὸν προελθὼν πάλιν φησὶν· ἢ δέ γε Ἀταργάτις, ὥσπερ Ξάνθος λέγει ὁ Λυδός, ὑπὸ Μόψου τοῦ Λυδοῦ ἀλοῦσα κατεποντίσθη μετὰ Ἰχθύος τοῦ υἱοῦ ἐν τῇ περὶ Ἀσκάλωνα λίμνῃ διὰ τὴν ὑβριν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἰχθύων κατεβρώθη. τάχα δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἄνδρες φίλοι, ἐκόντες παρελίπετε ὡς ἱερόν τινα ἰχθὺν
f τὸν παρ' Ἐφίππῳ | τῷ κωμωδιοποιῷ, ὃν φησι τῷ Γηρυόνη σκευάζεσθαι ἐν τῷ ὁμωνύμῳ δράματι διὰ τούτων λέγων·

τούτῳ δ' ὀπόταν ναέται χώρας
ἰχθύν τιν' ἔλωσ' οὐχ ἡμέριον,
τῆς περικλύστου δ' ἄλιας Κρήτης
μείζω μεγέθει, λοπάς ἐστ' αὐτῷ
δυνατὴ τούτους χωρεῖν ἑκατόν.

347 καὶ περιοίκους || εἶναι ταύτη

BOOK VIII

Atargatis¹³¹ and to avoid fish. Mnaseas in Book II of *On Asia* (fr. 31 Cappelletto) says the following: In my opinion, Atargatis was a cruel queen who ruled harshly over her people, to the extent that she even refused to allow them to eat fish, and instead ordered that they bring it to her, because this was her favorite food. As a consequence, it is still their practice to dedicate silver or gold fish when they pray to the goddess; and all day long the priests cook real fish and serve them, both stewed and roasted, to the goddess on her cult-table—although the goddess' priests themselves, of course, consume them. And a little further on again he says: According to Xanthus of Lydia (*FGrH* 765 F 17a), Atargatis was captured by Mopsus of Lydia and was drowned in the lake near Ascalon, along with her son Ichthys¹³², because of her outrageous behavior, and was eaten by the fish. But perhaps you too, my friends, deliberately passed over the fish found in the comic poet Ephippus on the ground that it was sacred. He claims that it was prepared for Geryon¹³³, in the following passage from the play by the same name (fr. 5):

Whenever the inhabitants of the country catch
an exceptional fish for him,
one larger in size than Crete, which rests
in the middle of the sea, he has a casserole-dish
capable of holding 100 of these.
The people who live on its edge

¹³¹ The goddess known in the Roman world as the *Dea Syria* ("Syrian goddess").

¹³² "Fish"; cf. 7.301d.

¹³³ A mythical king of Erythrae, killed by Heracles ([Apollod.] *Bib.* 2.5.10).

Σίνδους, Λυκίους, Μυγδοनिώτας,
 Κραναούς, Παφίους. τούτους δ' ὕλην
 κόπτειν, ὁπόταν βασιλεὺς ἔψη
 τὸν μέγαν ἰχθύν· καὶ προσάγοντας,
 καθ' ὅσον πόλεως ἔστηκεν ὄρος,
 τοὺς δ' ὑποκαίειν. λίμνην δ' ἐπάγειν
 ὕδατος μεστήν εἰς τὴν ἄλμην,
 τοὺς δ' ἄλας αὐτῷ ζεύγη προσάγειν
 μηνῶν ὀκτὼ συνεχῶς ἑκατόν. |
 b περιπλεῖν δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄμβωσιν ἄνω
 πέντε κέλητας πεντασκάλμους
 περιαγγέλλειν τ'. "οὐχ ὑποκαίεις,
 Λυκίων πρύτανι; ψυχρὸν τουτί."
 "παύου φυσῶν, Μακεδῶν ἄρχων."
 "σβέννυ, Κέλθ', ὡς μὴ προσκαύσης."

οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δ' ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα εἶρηκεν ὁ Ἔφιππος
 c καὶν Πελταστῆ τῷ δράματι, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ταῦτα | ἐκείνους
 ὑποτέτακται·

τοιαῦθ' ὕθλων δειπνεῖ καὶ ζῆ
 θανμαζόμενος μετὰ μεираκίων,
 οὐ γινώσκων ψήφων ἀριθμούς,
 σεμνὸς σεμνῶς χλανίδ' ἔλκων.

εἰς τίνα δὲ ταῦτ' ἀποτευνόμενος ὁ Ἔφιππος εἶρηκεν
 ὦρα σοι ζητεῖν, καλὲ Οὐλπιανέ, καὶ διδάσκειν ἡμᾶς.
 καὶ τῶν εἰρημένων τούτων

BOOK VIII

are Sindians, Lycians, Mygdoniotae,
Cranaoi, and Paphians. They chop
wood when the king is cooking
his big fish, and bring as
much as the city's walls can hold,
and set fire to it. They also bring a lake
full of water for the stewing-brine;
100 teams of oxen work continuously for eight
months to transport the salt for it.
Five fast little boats¹³⁴
sail about on top of the rim
and carry his orders around: "Light the fire,
Lycian commander! This part's cold!"
"Stop blowing on it, ruler of Macedon!"
"Quench that flame, Celt—watch you don't burn it!"

I am well aware that Ehippus makes exactly the same remarks in his play *The Peltast* (fr. 19), in which the following lines come after the ones just quoted:

This is the nonsense he talks as he eats dinner and
lives
in enviable style with the boys;
although he can't work an abacus,
he's proud and wears a fancy wool garment
proudly.

It is time for you, my good Ulpian, to take up the question of the object of these remarks by Ehippus, and to offer us some instruction. And if any of my remarks

¹³⁴ Literally "five-tholed yachts".

ATHENAEUS

εἶ τί σοι ψελλόν τε καὶ δυσεύρετον,
ἐπανδίπλαζε καὶ σαφῶς ἐκμάνθανε·
σχολῆ δὲ πλείων ἢ θέλω πάρεστί μοι,

d κατὰ τὸν Αἰσχύλου Προμηθέα. καὶ ὁ Κύνουλκος |
ἀνεβόησε· καὶ τίν' ἂν τῶν μεγάλων οὔτος οὐκ ἰχθύων,
ἀλλὰ ζητήσεων ἐπὶ νοῦν λάβοι; ὃς τὰς ἀκάνθας αἰεὶ
ἐκλέγει ἐψητῶν τε καὶ ἀθερινῶν καὶ εἴ τι τούτων
ἀτυχέστερόν ἐστιν ἰχθύδιον, τὰ μεγάλα τεμάχη παρα-
πεμπόμενος. καθάπερ γὰρ

ἐν ταῖς γεννικαῖς εὐωχίαις,

φησὶν ἐν Ἰξίονι Εὐβουλος,

ἀμύλων παρόντων ἐσθίουσ' ἐκάστοτε
ἄνηθα καὶ σέλινα καὶ φλυαρίας
καὶ κάρδαμ' ἐσκευασμένα,

e οὕτω μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ὁ λεβητοχάρων Οὐλπιανός, κατὰ |
τὸν ἐμὸν Μεγαλοπολίτην Κερκιδᾶν, μηδὲν μὲν ἐσθίειν
τῶν ἀνδρῶν προσηκόντων, τηρεῖν δὲ τοὺς ἐσθιόντας εἰ
παρείδον ἢ ἄκανθαν ἢ τῶν τραγανῶν τι ἢ χονδρῶδες
τῶν παρατεθέντων, οὐδ' ἐπὶ νοῦν βαλλόμενος τὸ τοῦ
καλοῦ καὶ λαμπροῦ Αἰσχύλου, ὃς τὰς αὐτοῦ τραγω-
δίας τεμάχη εἶναι ἔλεγεν τῶν Ὀμήρου μεγάλων δεί-
πνων. φιλόσοφος δὲ ἦν τῶν πάντων ὁ Αἰσχύλος, ὃς καὶ

¹³⁵ A glancing allusion to one of Athenaeus' favorite common-places (3.97c-d with n.; 6.228c; 9.385b; 15.671c), as again below.

BOOK VIII

seem unintelligible or obscure to you,
return to the point and achieve a clear
understanding;

I have more free time than I wish,

to quote Aeschylus' *Prometheus* (816–18). Cynulcus bel-
lowed: But what large questions—not large fish—would
interest this fellow? He is always collecting the back-
bones¹³⁵ of stewing-fish and herring, or of any little fish
more miserable than these, and rejecting the large steaks.
For just as

at aristocratic banquets,

as Eubulus puts it in *Ixion* (fr. 35, including what follows),

although wheat-paste cakes are available, they
routinely eat
anise and celery and similar nonsense
and cress that's been prepared for them,

that is how, it seems to me, our cauldron-friend (to quote
my countryman Cercidas of Megalopolis [fr. 11, p. 212
Powell]) Ulpian behaves: he eats none of the foods that are
appropriate for a man, but keeps an eye on the people who
are dining, to see if they overlooked a backbone, a bit of
gristle, or a cartilaginous part of what has been served! He
fails to keep in mind the comment by the noble and distin-
guished Aeschylus (test. 112a), who used to claim that his
own tragedies were steaks cut from Homer's great ban-
quets. Aeschylus was a first-rate philosopher; once when

- ἡττηθεὶς ἀδίκως ποτέ, ὡς Θεόφραστος ἢ Χαμαιλέων
 f ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἡδονῆς εἴρηκεν, ἔφη Χρόνω | τὰς τραγω-
 δίας ἀνατιθέναι, εἰδὼς ὅτι κομίζεται τὴν προσήκουσαν
 τιμὴν. πόθεν δὲ καὶ εἰδέναι δύναται, ἅπερ εἶπεν Στρα-
 τόνικος ὁ κιθαριστῆς εἰς Πρόπιν τὸν Ῥόδιον κιθαρω-
 δόν; Κλέαρχος γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Παροιμιῶν φησιν ὡς
 ὁ Στρατόνικος θεασάμενος τὸν Πρόπιν ὄντα τῷ μὲν
 μεγέθει μέγαν, τῇ δὲ τέχνῃ κακὸν καὶ ἐλάττονα τοῦ
 σώματος, ἐπερωτώντων αὐτόν, “ποιός τις ἐστίν;”, ||
 348 εἶπεν, “οὐδεὶς κακὸς μέγας ἰχθύς,” αἰνισσόμενος ὅτι
 πρῶτον μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐστίν, εἰθ’ ὅτι κακός, καὶ πρὸς
 τούτοις μέγας μὲν, ἰχθύς δὲ διὰ τὴν ἀφωμίαν. Θεόφρα-
 στος δ’ ἐν τῷ Περὶ Γελοίου λεχθῆναι μὲν φησι τὴν
 παροιμίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Στρατονίκου, ἀλλ’ εἰς Σιμύκαν τὸν
 ὑποκριτὴν, διελόντος τὴν παροιμίαν “μέγας οὐδεὶς
 σαπρὸς ἰχθύς.” Ἀριστοτέλης δ’ ἐν τῇ Ναξίων Πολι-
 τεία περὶ τῆς παροιμίας οὕτως γράφει τῶν παρὰ
 b Ναξίοις εὐπόρων οἱ | μὲν πολλοὶ τὸ ἄστν ῥέκουν, οἱ δὲ
 ἄλλοι διεσπαρμένοι κατὰ κώμας. ἐν οὖν δή τιμι τῶν
 κωμῶν, ἧ ὄνομα ἦν Ληϊστάδαι, Τελεσταγόρας ῥέκει,
 πλούσιός τε σφόδρα καὶ εὐδοκιμῶν καὶ τιμώμενος
 παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ τοῖς τ’ ἄλλοις ἅπασι καὶ τοῖς καθ’
 ἡμέραν πεμπομένοις. καὶ ὅτε καταβάντες ἐκ τῆς πόλε-
 ως δυσωνοῖντό τι τῶν πωλουμένων, ἔθος ἦν τοῖς
 πωλοῦσι λέγειν ὅτι μᾶλλον ἂν προέλοιτο Τελεστα-
 γόρα δοῦναι ἢ τοσοῦτου ἀποδόσθαι. νεανίσκοι οὖν

136 Stephanis #2310.

BOOK VIII

he was cheated out of the prize (test. 113a), according to Theophrastus (fr. 553 Fortenbaugh) or Chamaeleon in his *On Pleasure* (fr. 7 Wehrli), he said that he dedicated his tragedies to Time, since he knew that it would give him the honor he deserved. And how can Ulpian understand what the *cithara*-player Stratonicus¹³⁶ said about the citharode Propis of Rhodes?¹³⁷ Because Clearchus in his *On Proverbs* (fr. 80 Wehrli) reports that Stratonicus saw that Propis was physically imposing, but bad at his craft, and thus looked better than he played; and when people asked him "What do you think of this guy?", he said: "No bad fish can be described as big," implying first of all that Propis was a nobody, second that he was no good, and in addition that he might be big, but was a fish, since he had no voice. Theophrastus in his *On the Ridiculous* (fr. 710 Fortenbaugh) claims that the proverb was coined by Stratonicus, but was aimed at the actor Simycas¹³⁸ and was a reworking of the proverb "No rotten fish can be described as big" (p. 85 Strömberg). Aristotle in his *Constitution of the Naxians* (fr. 566) writes as follows about the proverb: Many rich Naxians lived in the city, while the rest were scattered about in villages. In one village, known as Leïstadae, lived Telestagoras, who was extremely wealthy and well-respected, and whom the people honored in many ways, including by sending him gifts every day. And whenever people went down to the harbor from the city and tried to drive down the price of some merchandise, the vendors routinely said that they would rather give it to Telestagoras than sell it for so little. Some young

¹³⁷ Stephanis #2151.

¹³⁸ Stephanis #2276.

c τινες ὠνούμενοι μέγαν ἰχθὺν εἰπόντος | τοῦ ἀλιέως τὰ αὐτὰ λυπηθέντες τῷ πολλάκις ἀκούειν ὑποπιόντες ἐκώμασαν πρὸς αὐτόν. δεξαμένον δὲ τοῦ Τελεσταγόρου φιλοφρόνως αὐτοὺς οἱ νεανίσκοι αὐτόν τε ὕβρισαν καὶ δύο θυγατέρας αὐτοῦ ἐπιγάμους. ἐφ' οἷς ἀγανακτήσαντες οἱ Νάξιοι καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἀναλαβόντες ἐπήλθον τοῖς νεανίσκοις, καὶ μεγίστη τότε στάσις ἐγένετο προστατοῦντος τῶν Ναξίων Λυγδάμιδος, ὃς ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς στρατηγίας τύραννος ἀνεφάνη τῆς πατρίδος.

Οὐκ ἄκαιρον δ' εἶναι νομίζω¹¹ ἔτι καὶ αὐτός, |
 d ἐπειδήπερ ἐμνήσθη τῷ κιθαριστοῦ Στρατονίκου, λέξαι τι περὶ τῆς εὐστοχίας αὐτοῦ τῶν ἀποκρίσεων. διδάσκων γὰρ κιθαριστάς, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ διδασκαλείῳ εἶχεν ἑννέα μὲν εἰκόνας τῶν Μουσῶν, τοῦ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος μίαν, μαθητὰς δὲ δύο, πνιθανομένου τινὸς πόσους ἔχει μαθητὰς, ἔφη, “σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς δώδεκα.” εἰς Μύλασα δ' ἐπιδημήσας καὶ κατιδὼν ναοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς, ἀνθρώπους δὲ ὀλίγους στὰς ἐν μέσῃ τῇ
 e ἀγορᾷ ἔφη, “ἀκούετε νεῶ.” Μάχων δ' αὐτοῦ | ἀναγράφει τάδε ἀπομνημονεύματα:

Στρατόνικος ἀπεδήμησεν εἰς Πέλλαν ποτὲ
 παρὰ πλείονων ἔμπροσθε τοῦτ' ἀκηκῶς

¹¹ νομίζω εἰπεῖν A: εἰπεῖν del. Schweighäuser

¹³⁹ According to Hdt. 1.64.2 and [Arist.] *Ath.* 15.3, Lygdamis became tyrant of Naxos probably in the late 540s BCE. He was

BOOK VIII

men were trying to buy a large fish; when the fisherman said the usual thing, they became annoyed at hearing this again and again, and got drunk and went in a group to visit him. Although Telestagoras welcomed them amiably, the young men beat him up and abused his two marriageable daughters. The Naxians were appalled at this behavior, and seized their weapons and attacked the young men. The result was a major civic crisis, in which Lygdamis served as the Naxians' leader; he emerged from this command as tyrant of his native land.¹³⁹

Given that I mentioned the *cithara*-player Stratonicus (8.347f–8a), I consider this an appropriate occasion to say something further myself about how aptly he responded to questions. He was offering lessons on the *cithara*, and had nine pictures of the Muses in his school, one of Apollo—and two students. When someone asked him how many pupils he had, he said: “Thanks be to the gods,¹⁴⁰ a dozen!” When he was visiting Mylasa and saw a large number of temples, but not many people, he stood in the middle of the marketplace and said “*Akouete neōi!*”¹⁴¹ Macho (91–167 Gow) records the following witty remarks by him:

Stratonicus visited Pella at one point,
having heard beforehand from many sources

overthrown by the Spartans most likely in 524 (Plu. *Mor.* 859d).

¹⁴⁰ The phrase (literally “with the gods”) normally means—and would be understood—“thanks to the gods, with the assistance of the gods”. But Stratonicus uses it to mean “counting the gods”.

¹⁴¹ “Attention, temples!” (a parody of the standard formula *Akouete laōi*, “Attention, people!”, used to introduce public announcements of all sorts).

ὡς σπληνικοὺς εἶωθεν ἡ πόλις ποεῖν.
 ἐν τῷ βαλανείῳ καταμαθῶν οὖν πλείονας
 γυμναζομένους τῶν μειρακίων παρὰ τῷ πυρὶ
 κομψοὺς τό τε χρῶμα καὶ τὸ σῶμ' ἡσκηκότας,
 διαμαρτάνειν ἔφασκε τοὺς εἰρηκότας
 αὐτῷ. καταμαθῶν δ' ἡνίκ' ἐξῆει πάλιν
 τῆς κοιλίας τὸν σπλῆν' ἔχοντα διπλάσιον |

* * *

- f “καθήμενος γὰρ ἐνθάδ’ οὗτος φαίνεται
 τά <θ’> ἱμάτια τῶν εισιόντων λαμβάνων
 τηρεῖν ἅμα καὶ τοὺς σπλῆνας εὐθέως ἵνα
 μηδ’ ἠτισοῦν τοῖς ἔνδον ἧ στενοχωρία.”
 ψάλτης κακὸς Στρατόνικον ἐστιῶν ποτε
 ἐπεδείκνυτ’ αὐτῷ τὴν τέχνην παρὰ τὸν πότον.
 οὔσης δὲ λαμπρᾶς καὶ φιλοτίμου τῆς δοχῆς
 ψαλλόμενος <ὁ> Στρατόνικος οὐκ ἔχων δ’ ὄψῳ
 διαλέξεθ’ ἑτέρῳ συγκατέθλα τὸ ποτήριον. ||
 349 αἴτησε μείζον καὶ κυάθους πολλοὺς λαβῶν
 τῷ θ’ ἠλίῳ τὴν κύλικα δείξας συντόμως
 πῶν καθεῦδε ταῦτ’ ἐπιτρέψας τῇ Τύχῃ.
 ἐπὶ κῶμον ἐλθόντων δὲ τῷ ψάλτῃ τινῶν
 ἐτέρων κατὰ τύχην, ὡς ἔοικε γνωρίμων,

¹⁴² A sign of chronic malaria.

¹⁴³ The bath-attendant, as the verses that follow the lacuna make clear.

¹⁴⁴ The next six lines do not fit easily into the anecdote and may belong elsewhere.

BOOK VIII

that the city had a tendency to produce people with enlarged spleens.¹⁴²

At the bathhouse he noticed a large number of young men exercising naked beside the fire who had healthy-looking skin and were well-built;

and he commented that his informants must have been

in error. As he was going out again, however, he noticed

someone¹⁴³ whose spleen was twice as large as his belly

* * *

“because this guy apparently sits here and takes people’s robes when they go in, and keeps an eye on them, as well as their spleens, so there won’t be any shortage of space inside.”

A bad harp-player had Stratonicus to dinner at one point

and began demonstrating his skill on the instrument to him as they drank.¹⁴⁴

Although the hospitality was brilliant and lavish, Stratonicus had no one else to talk to as he listened to the music, so he broke his cup; asked for a larger one; took numerous ladlesful of wine;

quickly toasted the sun;

and after he finished drinking, fell asleep, trusting his luck.

Some other people—acquaintances of the harp-player,

apparently—happened to visit to join the party.

- ἔξοινος ὁ Στρατόνικος ἐγένετ' εὐθέως,
 προσπυθανομένων δ' ὅ τι πολλὸν πίνων αἰεὶ
 οἶνον ἐμεθύσθη συντόμως, ἀπεκρίνατο,
 “ὁ γὰρ ἐπίβουλος κάναγῆς ψάλτης”, ἔφη,
 “ὡς βοῦν ἐπὶ φάτῃ δειπνίσας ἀπέκτοεν.”¹
- b Στρατόνικος εἰς Ἄβδηρ' ἀποδημήσας ποτὲ
 ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν τιθέμενον αὐτόθι,
 ὁρῶν ἕκαστον τῶν πολιτῶν κατ' ἰδίαν
 κεκτημένον κήρυκα κηρύττοντά τε
 ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ὅτε θέλοι νουμηνίαν
 σχεδόν τε τοὺς κήρυκας ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ
 ὄντας πολὺ πλείους κατὰ λόγον τῶν δημοτῶν,
 ἐπ' ἄκρων ἐβάδιζε τῶν ὀνύχων ἐν τῇ πόλει
 σχέδην, δεδορκῶς ἀτενὲς εἰς τὴν γῆν κάτω.
 πυθθανομένου δὲ τῶν ξένων αὐτοῦ τιнос |
- c τὸ πάθος τὸ γεγονὸς ἑξαπίνης περὶ τοὺς πόδας
 τοῦτ' εἶπε, “τοῖς ὄλοις μὲν ἔρρωμαι, ξένε,
 καὶ τῶν κολάκων πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ δεῖπνον
 τρέχω,
 ἀγωνιῶ δὲ καὶ δέδοικα παντελῶς
 μὴ ποτ' ἐπιβὰς κήρυκι τὸν πόδ' ἀναπαρῶ.”
 αὐλεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖσιν αὐλητοῦ κακοῦ
 μέλλοντος ὁ Στρατόνικος, “εὐφήμει μέχρι

¹⁴⁵ An adaptation of *Od.* 4.534–5; 11.410–11 (of Agamemnon's death at Aegisthus' hands).

¹⁴⁶ Both “herald” and “whelk”.

BOOK VIII

Stratonicus was thoroughly smashed.
and when they asked him why, if he always drank a
lot
of wine, he had got drunk so quickly, he replied:
“Because the treacherous and defiled harp-player”,
he said,
“fed me like an ox at a manger and then slaughtered
me.”¹⁴⁵

Stratonicus visited Abdera at one point
for a competition that was being held there.
When he saw that every citizen had a private
herald, and that each of them was issuing a
proclamation
about when he wanted the new moon celebrated,
and that the heralds in the place were, by his count,
almost more numerous than the citizens,
he walked slowly around the city
on tiptoe, staring intently down at the ground.
When someone visiting from out of town asked him
what sudden injury he had suffered to his feet,
he said the following: “I’m by and large healthy,
stranger,
and I can outrace the flatterers to dinner.
But I’m thoroughly anxious and terrified
that I’m going to step on a *kēru*¹⁴⁶ and injure my
foot.”

A bad pipe-player was about to perform at
a sacrifice, and Stratonicus said: “Maintain a holy
silence until

- σπείσαντες εὐξώμεσθά”, φησι, “τοῖς θεοῖς.”
 Κλέων τις ἦν κιθαρῳδός, ὃς ἐκαλεῖτο Βοῦς,
 δεινῶς ἀπάδων τῇ λύρα τ’ οὐ χρώμενος. |
 d τούτου διακούσας ὁ Στρατόνικος εἶψ’ ὅτι
 “ὄνος λύρας ἐλέγετο, νῦν δὲ Βοῦς λύρας.”
 Στρατόνικος ὁ κιθαρῳδὸς ὡς Βηρισάδην
 ἐπλευσεν εἰς τὸν Πόντον ὄντα βασιλέα.
 πολλοῦ χρόνου δ’ ἤδη γεγονότος ἀποτρέχειν
 ἠβούλετο Στρατόνικος εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα.
 ὡς δ’ αὐτόν, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐ προσίετο
 τοῦτ’, ἀποκριθῆναί φησι τῷ Βηρισάδῃ,
 “σὺ γὰρ διανοεῖ”, φησὶν, “αὐτοῦ καταμένειν;”
 ἐν τῇ Κορίνθῳ παρεπεδήμησέν ποτε |
 e Στρατόνικος ὁ κιθαρῳδός, εἶτα γράδιον
 ἐνέβλεπεν αὐτῷ κούκ ἀφίστατ’ οὐδαμοῦ.
 κᾶθ’ ὁ Στρατόνικος, “πρὸς θεῶν, μήτηρ, φράσον
 τί ἔσθ’ ὃ βούλει καὶ τί μ’ εἰσβλέπεις ἀεί.”
 “διηπόρησά,” φησιν. “ἡ μήτηρ σε <γὰρ>
 δέκα μῆνας εἶχε κἀκράτει τῆς κοιλίας,
 πόλις δ’ ἔχουσά σ’ ἡμέραν ἀλγεί μίαν.”

¹⁴⁷ “Holy silence”, intended to avoid words of ill omen, was generally requested of all participants in a sacrifice—except the pipe-player! ¹⁴⁸ Stephanis #1456.

¹⁴⁹ Macar. 6.39; said of an individual unable to appreciate something good. ¹⁵⁰ King of Thrace 358–357/6 BCE.

¹⁵¹ Cf. 8.350f. The Greeks (whose months were slightly shorter than ours, and who tended to count inclusively in any case) regularly refer to a full-term pregnancy as lasting ten months.

BOOK VIII

we've poured a libation and prayed to the gods!"¹⁴⁷
Cleon,¹⁴⁸ a citharode whose nickname was Ox,
was singing horribly off-key, unaccompanied by his
lyre.

After Stratonicus listened to him perform, he said:
"The saying used to be 'A donkey (listening to) a
lyre'¹⁴⁹—but now it's 'An Ox (listening to) a
lyre'".

The citharode Stratonicus sailed to the
Black Sea to visit Berisades¹⁵⁰, the local king.
After a long time had passed, Stratonicus
wanted to return to Greece.

When Berisades, apparently, didn't want
to let him do so, people say, he responded:
"Do *you*", he said, "actually intend to stay here?"

The citharode Stratonicus was visiting
Corinth at one point, and an old woman
kept staring at him and refused to leave him alone.
So Stratonicus said: "By the gods, madam—tell me
what it is you want and why you're constantly staring
at me!"

"I'm puzzled," she said; "because your mother carried
you for ten months without miscarrying—
but our city's suffering by having you around for a
single day."¹⁵¹

¹⁵² For Nicocreon, see 8.337e n. At 8.352c-d Athenaeus (citing Phaenias) claims that Stratonicus was not drowned (below), but ordered to drink poison, and not by Nicocreon, but by another king of Cyprus, Nicocles, who dates to a generation earlier. Which account—if either—is correct, is impossible to say.

ἢ Νικοκρέοντος εἰσιούσα Βιοθέα
 γυνὴ μετὰ παιδίσκης ἀβρᾶς εἰς τὸν πότον
 ἀπεψόφησε, κᾶτα τῷ Σικυωνίῳ |
 f ἀμυγδάλην ἐπιβᾶσα συνέτριβεν ταχύ.
 Στρατόνικος εἶπεν, “οὐχ ὅμοιος ὁ ψόφος.”
 ὑπὸ νύκτα τῆς φωνῆς δὲ ταύτης οὐνεκα
 ἐν τῷ πελάγει διέλυσε τὴν παρρησίαν.
 ἐπιδεικνυμένου πόθ', ὡς ἔοικεν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ,
 ἀφουὺς κιθαρωδοῦ τὸν μαθητὴν τοῖς φίλοις,
 παρὼν κατὰ τύχην ὁ Στρατόνικος τοῦτ' ἔφη·
 “ὅς αὐτὸς αὐτὸν οὐ κιθαρίζει φαῦλος ὢν
 ἄλλους κιθαρίζων φαυλότατος ὢν δείκνυται.”

Κλέαρχος δ' ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ Φιλίας, Στρατόνικος,
 φησὶν, ὁ κιθαριστὴς ἀναπαύεσθαι μέλλων ἐκέλευεν
 αἰεὶ τὸν παῖδα προσφέρειν αὐτῷ πιεῖν “οὐχ ὅτι διψῶ,”
 φησὶν, “ἵνα δὲ μὴ διψήσω.” ἐν δὲ Βυζαντίῳ κιθαρω-
 350 δοῦ || τὸ μὲν προοίμιον ἄσαντος εὖ, ἐν δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖς
 ἀποτυγχάνοντος, ἀναστὰς ἐκήρυξεν, “ὅς ἂν κατα-
 μηνύσῃ τὸν τὸ προοίμιον ἄσαντα κιθαρωδόν, λήψεται
 χιλίας δραχμάς.” ἐρωτηθεὶς δ' ὑπὸ τινος τίνες εἰσὶν οἱ
 μοχθηρότατοι, τῶν ἐν Παμφυλίᾳ Φασηλίτας μὲν ἔφη-
 σε μοχθηροτάτους εἶναι, Σιδήτας δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκου-
 μένῃ. πάλιν δ' ἐπερωτηθεὶς, ὡς φησὶν Ἡγήσανδρος,

153 Which thus by implication excluded Pamphylia.

BOOK VIII

Nicocreon's¹⁵² wife Biothea entered
a drinking party, accompanied by a delicate little
slave-girl;
passed some gas; and then quickly stepped on an
almond
with her Sicyonian shoe and cracked it.
Stratonicus said: "That didn't sound the same."
He paid for his outspokenness in the sea
one night as a result of this remark.
At one point, apparently in Ephesus, an untalented
citharode
was showing off his pupil to his friends.
Stratonicus happened to be there and said the
following:
"The same guy who won't perform in public because
he's no good
makes other people perform and thus proves he's
terrible."

Clearchus says in Book II of *On Friendship* (fr. 18 Wehrli):
When the *cithara*-player Stratonicus was about to go to
sleep, he always ordered his slave to bring him a drink,
"Not because I'm thirsty," he said, "but so I don't *get* thirsty."
In Byzantium a citharode sang his prelude well, but the
performance was otherwise a failure. (Stratonicus) stood
up and announced: "If anyone can identify the citharode
who sang the prelude, he will receive a reward of 1000
drachmas!" When someone asked him who the nastiest
people were, he said that the inhabitants of Phaselis were
the nastiest people in Pamphylia, but that the inhabitants
of Side were the nastiest people in the civilized world.¹⁵³
Again, according to Hegesander (fr. 11, *FHG* iv.415), when

- πότερα Βοιωτοὶ βαρβαρώτεροι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες ἢ
 b Θετταλοί, Ἡλείους ἔφησεν. ἀναστήσας δέ | ποτε καὶ
 τρόπαιον ἐν τῇ διατριβῇ ἐπέγραψε “κατὰ τῶν κακῶς
 κιθαρίζοντων.” ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τινος τίνα τῶν πλοί-
 ων ἀσφαλέστατά ἐστι, τὰ μακρὰ ἢ τὰ στρογγύλα, τὰ
 νενεωλκημένα εἶπεν. ἐν Ῥόδῳ δ’ ἐπίδειξιν ποιούμενος,
 ὡς οὐδεὶς ἐπησημῆνατο, καταλιπὼν τὸ θέατρον ἐξῆλ-
 θεν εἰπὼν, “ὅπου τὸ ἀδάπανον οὐ ποιεῖτε, πῶς ἐγὼ
 ἐλπίζω παρ’ ὑμῶν ἔρανον λήψεσθαι;” < . . . > “γυμνι-
 c κούς δὲ ἀγῶνας”, ἔφη, “διατιθέτωσαν Ἡλείοι, Κορίν-
 θιοὶ δὲ θυμηλικούς, | Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ σκηνικούς. εἰ δέ τις
 τούτων πλημμελοῖη, μαστιγούσθωσαν Λακεδαιμόνι-
 οὶ”, ἐπισκώπτων τὰς παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἀγομένας μαστι-
 γώσεις, ὡς φησι Χαρικλῆς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ τοῦ
 Ἀστικού Ἀγῶνος. Πτολεμαίου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως περὶ
 κιθαριστικῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν διαλεγόμενου φιλονικότε-
 ρον, “ἕτερόν ἐστιν,” εἶπεν, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, σκῆπτρον”, ὡς
 φησι Καπίτων ὁ ἐποποιὸς ἐν τετάρτῳ τῶν Πρὸς Φιλό-
 παππον Ἰπομνημάτων. παρακληθεὶς δ’ ἀκούσαί ποτε
 κιθαρῳδοῦ μετὰ τὴν ἀκρόασιν ἔφη |
 d τῷ δ’ ἕτερον μὲν ἔδωκε πατήρ, ἕτερον δ’
 ἀνένευσεν.

154 Where the Olympic Games—at which Stratonicus had apparently not done well recently—were held.

155 Sc. and had thus been defeated, allowing Stratonicus to erect his monument; cf. the very similar anecdote at 8.351f.

BOOK VIII

he was asked whether the Boeotians or the Thessalians were the more barbaric, he said he was voting for the inhabitants of Elis.¹⁵⁴ He once set up a victory monument in his school and inscribed on it "In condemnation of those who play the *cithara* badly."¹⁵⁵ When someone asked him which ships were the safest, warships or merchantships, he said it was the ones that had been hauled up onto the shore. He put on a show in Rhodes, and when no one applauded, he said on his way out of the theater: "Why do I think I'm going to get money out of you, when you won't do something that's yours for free?" . . . "Let the inhabitants of Elis organize athletic competitions," he said, "the Corinthians musical competitions, and the Athenians dramatic competitions. And if any of them makes a mistake, let the Spartans be whipped," as a way of making fun of the floggings they celebrate, according to Charicles in Book I of *On the City Contest* (FGrH 367 F 1). When King Ptolemy¹⁵⁶ was discussing *cithara*-playing with him in a combative way, he said: "A sceptre (*skēptron*) is one thing, your majesty,"¹⁵⁷ according to the epic poet Capito in Book IV of his *Commentaries Directed to Philopappus*. Once when he was invited to listen to a citharode, he said after the performance (*Il.* 16.250):

The father granted him one request, but refused the other.

¹⁵⁶ Ptolemy I Soter only assumed the title "King" in 305 BCE, and this anecdote is thus much too late for the historical Stratonicus and must have been told originally of some other famous and witty musician.

¹⁵⁷ Sc. "but a lyre-pick (*plēktron*) is another".

καί τινος εἰπόντος “τὸ ποῖον;” ἔφη, “κακῶς μὲν κιθαρίζειν ἔδωκεν, ἄδειν δὲ καλῶς ἀνένευσε.” δοκοῦ δέ ποτε καταπεσοῦσης καὶ ἀποκτεινάσης ἓνα τῶν πονηρῶν, “ἄνδρες,” ἔφη, “δοκῶ, εἰσὶ θεοί· εἰ δὲ μὴ εἰσι, δοκοί εἰσιν.” ἀναγράφει δὲ καὶ τάδε μετὰ τὰ προειρημένα τοῦ Στρατονίκου ἀπομνημονευμάτων οὕτως. Στρατόνικος πρὸς τὸν Χρυσογόνου πατέρα λέγοντα ὅτι πάντα e αὐτῷ ὑπάρχει | οἰκεία· αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ἐργολάβος εἶναι, τῶν δὲ νιῶν ὁ μὲν διδάξει, ὁ δὲ αὐλήσει, “προσδέϊ γ’”, ἔφη ὁ Στρατόνικος, “ἔτι ἑνός.” εἰπόντος δὲ “τίνος;”, “θεάτρου”, ἔφη, “οἰκείου.” ἐρομένου δὲ τινος ὅτι τὴν Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν περινοστεῖ, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐν μιᾷ πόλει διαμένει, παρὰ τῶν Μουσῶν ἔφη εἰληφέναι τέλος τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἅπαντας, παρ’ ὧν πράττεσθαι μισθὸν ἀμουσίας. τὸν Φάωνα δὲ ἔφη αὐλεῖν οὐχ ἀρμονίαν, ἀλλὰ τὸν Κάδμον. προσποιουμένου δὲ εἶναι f Φάωνος αὐλητικῷ | καὶ ἔχειν φάσκοντος Μεγαροῦ χορόν, “ληρεῖς,” ἔφη· “ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔχεις, ἀλλ’ ἔχει.” μάλιστα δὲ θαυμάζειν ἔφη τὴν τοῦ σοφιστοῦ

158 Or (punningly) “they appear to”.

159 Thus the lemma in A, based on what evidence, we do not know.

160 Chrysogonus (Stephanis #2637) was a pipe-player who was victorious at the Pythian games sometime in the late 5th century (12.535d ~ Plu. *Alc.* 32.2); cf. 14.648d, where he is accused of being the author of a poem falsely attributed to Epicharmus.

161 Literally “their Muselessness”, the point perhaps being that they now belonged to him, not the Muses.

BOOK VIII

When someone asked "What do you mean?", he said: "He granted him the ability to play the *cithara* badly, but refused him the ability to sing well." At one point a roof-beam (*dokos*) collapsed and killed a bad person, and he said: "Gentlemen, I believe (*dokō*) the gods exist. And if they don't, there are roof-beams."¹⁵⁸ He also records the following along with the other witty sayings by Stratonicus mentioned above (= Callisthenes, *FGrH* 124 F 5)¹⁵⁹, as follows. When Chrysogonus'¹⁶⁰ father said that he had everything he needed right in his own house, because he himself was a theatrical producer, and one of his sons would direct the plays, while the other would play the pipes, Stratonicus said: "You're still short one item." When the man asked "What?", Stratonicus said: "Your own private audience." When someone asked why he traveled all over Greece, rather than settling down in one city, he told him that the Muses had awarded him all the Greeks as his source of support, and that he was allowed to extract pay from them as a consequence of their lack of musical talent.¹⁶¹ He said that it wasn't harmony (*harmonia*) that Phaon¹⁶² played on his pipes, but Cadmus.¹⁶³ When Phaon claimed to be good at playing the pipes and said that he had a chorus in Megara, Stratonicus said: "That's nonsense. You don't have anything there; *they* have *you*." He claimed to be absolutely astonished by the mother of the sophist Satyrus¹⁶⁴,

¹⁶² Stephanis #2465; nothing is known of him except what is preserved here.

¹⁶³ The husband of the legendary Queen Harmonia of Thebes.

¹⁶⁴ The name is common, and the individual in question cannot be identified.

351 Σατύρου μητέρα, ὅτι ὄν οὐδεμία πόλις ἐνεγκεῖν οἶα τε δέκα ἡμέρας, ἐκείνη δέκα μῆνας ἤνευκε. πυνθανόμενος δὲ ἐν Ἰλίῳ ἐπιδημεῖν αὐτὸν τοῖς Ἰλιείοις¹², “αἰεὶ”, ἔφησεν, “Ἰλίῳ κακά.” || Μυννάκου δ’ αὐτῷ περὶ μουσικῆς διαμφισβητοῦντος οὐ προσέχειν αὐτῷ ἔφη, ὅτι ἀνώτερον τοῦ σφυροῦ λέγει. τὸν δὲ φαῦλον ἰατρὸν ἀπανθημερίζειν ἔφη ποιεῖν εἰς Ἄιδου τοὺς θεραπευομένους. ἀπαντήσας δὲ τινι τῶν γνωρίμων ὡς εἶδεν ἐσπογγισμένα τὰ ὑποδήματα καλῶς συνηχθέσθη ὡς πράττοντι κακῶς, νομίζων οὐκ ἂν οὕτως ἐσπογγίσθαι καλῶς, εἰ μὴ αὐτὸς ἐσπόγγισεν. ἐν Τειχιούντι δὲ τῆς Μιλήτου μιγάδων οἰκούντων ὡς ἑώρα πάντας τοὺς τάφους | ξενικοὺς ὄντας, “ἀπίωμεν,” ἔφη, “παῖ· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ οἱ ξένοι εἰκόασιν ἀποθνήσκειν, τῶν δ’ ἀστῶν οὐδεῖς.” Ζήθου δὲ τοῦ κιθαριστοῦ διεξιόντος περὶ μουσικῆς, μόνῳ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη προσήκειν περὶ μουσικῆς λαλεῖν, “ὅς γε”, ἔφη, “τὸ ἀμουσότατον τῶν ὀνομάτων εἴλου, εἰ σεαυτὸν ἀντ’ Ἀμφίονος Ζήθου καλεῖς.” Μακεδόνα δὲ τινὰ κιθαρίζειν διδάσκων ἐκπικρανθεὶς ἐπὶ τῷ μηδὲν αὐτὸν ποιεῖν τῶν δεόντων “εἰς Μακεδονίαν” ἔφη. πρὸς βαλανεῖῳ ψυχρῷ καὶ φαύλῳ κεκοσμημένον

¹² ἐν τοῖς Ἰλιείοις ACE: ἐν del. Kaibel

¹⁶⁵ Cf. 10.349e (another variant of the same joke) with n.

¹⁶⁶ I.e. “above his pay-grade”. Mynnacus was apparently a well-known shoemaker; cf. Poll. 7.89.

¹⁶⁷ As if this rapidity were a mark of some distinction.

¹⁶⁸ Stephanis #1018.

¹⁶⁹ Amphion and Zethus were

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because no city could endure him for even ten days, whereas she carried him for ten months.¹⁶⁵ When he heard that Satyrus was visiting Troy for the Ilieian Games, he said: "It's always trouble for Troy." When Mynnacus was arguing with him about music, he said that he wasn't paying him any attention, because Mynnacus was speaking above his ankle.¹⁶⁶ He observed that an incompetent physician required only one day to get his patients to Hades.¹⁶⁷ When he ran into an acquaintance and saw that the man's shoes had been carefully polished, he expressed condolences for his poverty, since he assumed that his shoes would not have been so well-polished unless he had done the job himself. When he was in Milesian Teichious, which had a mixed population, and saw that all the graves belonged to people who came from elsewhere, he said: "Let's get out of here, slave! Apparently foreigners die in this city, and none of the locals do!" When the *cithara*-player Zethus¹⁶⁸ was lecturing on music, Stratonicus remarked that he was the one individual *not* entitled to speak on the subject, "Since," he said, "you chose the least musical name possible, if you call yourself Zethus rather than Amphion."¹⁶⁹ In the course of teaching a Macedonian to play the lyre, he grew bitter at his pupil's failure to do anything he was supposed to, and said: "What a Messadon!"¹⁷⁰ As he left a nasty bath-house that offered only

mythical kings of Thebes. Amphion was devoted to music, but Zethus held the art in contempt, until his brother built his portion of the city's wall by charming the stones with his lyre (AR. 1.735-41; [Apollod.] *Bib.* 3.5.5; Paus. 9.5.7-8). ¹⁷⁰ Literally *eis Makedonian* ("[Go] to Macedon!"), a punning variation on *eis makarian* ("[Go] to your reward!" i.e. "to hell!"; e.g. Ar. *Eq.* 1151).

- c ἰδὼν ἠρώων | λαμπρῶς ὡς ἐξήλθεν λελουμένος κακῶς, “οὐ θαυμάζω”, ἔφη, “ὅτι πολλοὶ ἀνάκεινται πίνακες· ἕκαστον γὰρ τῶν λουομένων ὡς σωθέντα ἀνατιθέναι.” ἐν Αἴνῳ δὲ ἔφη τοὺς μὲν ὀκτῶ μῆνας εἶναι ψῦχος, τοὺς δὲ τέτταρας χειμῶνα· τοὺς δὲ Ποντικούς ἐκ τοῦ πολλοῦ ἤκειν πόντου, ὥσπερ ἐκ τοῦ ὀλέθρου. τοὺς δὲ Ῥοδίους ἐκάλει λευκοὺς Κυρηναίους καὶ μνηστήρων πόλιν, τὴν δ’ Ἡράκλειαν Ἀνδροκόρινθον καὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον μασχάλην τῆς Ἑλλάδος, τοὺς δὲ Λευκαδίους
- d ἐώλους | Κορινθίους, τοὺς δ’ Ἀμβρακιώτας Μεμβρακιώτας. ἐκ τῆς δ’ Ἡρακλείας ὡς ἐξῆι τὰς πύλας καὶ περιεσκόπει, ἐρομένου τινὸς τί περισκοπεῖ, αἰσχύνεσθαι ἔφη, μὴ ὀφθῆ, ὥσπερ ἐκ πορνείου ἐξιῶν. ἰδὼν δ’ ἐν τῷ κύφῳ δεδεμένους δύο, “ὡς μικροπολιτικόν”, ἔφη, “τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι συμπληρῶσαι.” πρὸς δὲ ἀρμονικόν τινα, κηπουρὸν ὄντα πρότερον, ἀμφισβητοῦντ’ αὐτῷ περὶ ἀρμονίας ἔφη.

ἄρδοι τις ἦν ἕκαστος εἰδέει τέχνην.

- e ἐν Μαρωνείᾳ | δὲ συμπίνων τισὶν ἐθέλειν ἔφη γνῶναι κατὰ τίνα τόπον ἐστὶ τῆς πόλεως, εἰάν κατακαλύψαντες ἄγῳσιν. εἶθ’ ὡς ἦγον καὶ ἠρώτων, “κατὰ τὸ καπη-

¹⁷¹ Presumably referring to the behavior of Penelope’s suitors in the *Odyssey*. The same anecdote appears again, but with explanatory glosses, at 8.352b–c.

¹⁷² “Man-Corinth”, i.e. a place where the male population was as actively involved in prostitution as the women were said to be in Corinth, with a pun on “Acrocorinth” (the name of the city’s citadel).

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cold water, having had an unpleasant experience there, he saw a lavishly decorated hero-shrine next door and said: "I'm not surprised that lots of plaques are dedicated here; everyone who takes a bath offers one as thanks for having escaped alive." He observed that there were eight months of cold weather in Aenus—and the other four were winter; also that the people of Pontus had emerged from the depths of the sea (*pontos*) and thus, as it were, from the realm of death. He referred to the people of Rhodes as Cyreneans without a tan, and as a city of suitors;¹⁷¹ to Heracleia as Androcorinth;¹⁷² to Byzantium as the armpit of Greece; to the Leucadians as leftover Corinthians;¹⁷³ and to the Ambraciotes as Membraciotes.¹⁷⁴ He used to look both ways when he went out through the gates of Heracleia; when someone asked why he did this, he said that he was ashamed to be seen, because it was like leaving a whorehouse. When he noticed two men locked up in the stocks, he said: "How typical of a small town, to operate below capacity!" To a musician who had previously been a gardener and was arguing with him about a scale, he said:

Everyone should water the craft he knows.¹⁷⁵

When he was drinking with some people in Maroneia, he said that he was willing to identify where he was in the city, if they led him there blindfolded. So they took him somewhere and asked him to name the spot; and he said

¹⁷³ Leucas was a Corinthian colony (Hdt. 8.45).

¹⁷⁴ Punning on *membras* ("sprat", a small, inexpensive fish).

¹⁷⁵ A punning allusion to Ar. V. 1431, which has *erdoi* ("work at") for Stratonicus' *ardoi* ("water").

λείου,” ἔφη, ὅτι καπηλεία ἐδόκει εἶναι ἢ Μαρώνεια. τὸν δὲ Τηλεφάνην, ἐπεὶ ἀναφυσᾶν ἤρχετο παρακατακείμενος, “ἄνω”, ἔφη, “ὡς οἱ ἐρυγγάνοντες.” τοῦ δὲ βαλανέως ἐν Καρδία ρύμμα γῆν μοχθηρὰν καὶ ὕδωρ ἀλμυρὸν παρέχοντος, πολιορκεῖσθαι ἔφη κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. νικήσας δ’ ἐν Σικυῶνι τοὺς ἀνταγωνιστὰς ἀνέθηκεν | εἰς τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον τρόπαιον ἐπιγράψας· Στρατόνικος ἀπὸ τῶν κακῶς κιθαριζόντων. ἄσαντος δέ τινος, ἤρετο <τίνος>¹³ τὸ μέλος· εἰπόντος δ’ ὅτι Καρκίνου, “πολύ γε μᾶλλον”, ἔφη, “ἢ ἀνθρώπου.” ἐν Μαρωνείᾳ δ’ ἔφη οὐ γίνεσθαι ἔαρ, ἀλλ’ ἀλέαν. ἐν Φασήλιδι δὲ πρὸς τὸν παῖδα διαμφισβητούντος τοῦ βαλανέως περὶ τοῦ ἀργυρίου (ἦν γὰρ νόμος πλείονος λούειν || τοὺς ξένους), “ὦ μιარέ”, ἔφη, “παῖ, παρὰ χαλκοῦν με¹⁴ Φασηλίτην ἐποίησας.” πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἐπαινοῦντα ἵνα λάβῃ τι, αὐτὸς ἔφη μείζων εἶναι πτωχός. ἐν μικρᾷ δὲ πόλει διδάσκων ἔφη, “αὕτη οὐ πόλις ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ μόλις.” ἐν Πέλλῃ δὲ πρὸς φρέαρ προσελθὼν ἠρώτησεν εἰ πότιμόν ἐστιν. εἰπόντων δὲ τῶν ἰμώντων, “ἡμεῖς γε τοῦτο πίνομεν,” “οὐκ ἄρ’”, ἔφη, “πότιμόν ἐστιν”. ἐτύγχανον δ’ οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ χλωροὶ

¹³ add. Casaubon

¹⁴ με μικροῦ ACE: πικροῦ del. Wilamowitz

¹⁷⁶ Stephanis #2408; cf. D. 21.17; Nicarch. AP 7.159 = HE 2747–50; [Plu.] Mor. 1138a.

¹⁷⁷ Literally “low-quality earth”; cf. 9.409e.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. 8.350b.

BOOK VIII

“Near the bar” (because Maroneia is, apparently, nothing but bars). When Telephanes¹⁷⁶, who was lying beside him on a couch, started playing the pipes, he said: “People who burp are supposed to sit up!” When a bathman in Cardia supplied him with a dirty piece of soap¹⁷⁷ for washing and some saltwater, he said that he was under seige by land and by sea. When he defeated the other competitors in Sicyon, he dedicated the trophy in the sanctuary of Asclepius with the inscription: “Stratonicus, from the spoils of bad *cithara*-players.”¹⁷⁸ Someone sang a song, and he asked who the composer was; when the man told him that it was by Carcinus¹⁷⁹, he responded: “That’s a lot more likely than it being by a human being!” He claimed that there was no spring in Maroneia; the temperature just went up. When a bathman in Phaselis argued with his slave about the money (it was the law that foreigners paid more for a bath), he said: “Damn you, slave! For one *chalkous*¹⁸⁰ you turned me into a Phaselite!” When someone praised him in the hope of getting a reward, he said that he himself was even more of a beggar. When he was giving lessons in a small city, he said: “This isn’t a state (*polis*)—it’s an understatement (*molis*)¹⁸¹!” In Pella he went up to a well and asked if the water was drinkable. When the people drawing water answered “We drink it,” he said: “I guess not, then” (they looked a bit green). After he listened to

¹⁷⁹ Presumably the 4th-century tragic poet (*TrGF* 70; *PAA* 564130), rather than his homonymous grandfather. His name is literally “Crab”, hence Stratonicus’ witticism.

¹⁸⁰ A small bronze coin, and apparently the amount that the argument was about.

¹⁸¹ Literally “an almost”.

ὄντες. ἐπακούσας δὲ τῆς ᾽Ωδίνος τῆς Τιμοθέου, “εἰ δ’ ἐργολάβον”, ἔφη, “ἔτικτεν καὶ μὴ θεόν, ποίας ἂν ἠφίει
 b φωνάς.” Πολυίδου δὲ ἰσεμνυνομένου ὡς ἐνίκησε Τιμόθεον ὁ μαθητῆς αὐτοῦ Φιλωτάς, θαυμάζειν ἔφη, “εἰ ἀγνοεῖς ὅτι αὐτὸς μὲν ψηφίσματα ποιεῖ, Τιμόθεος δὲ νόμους.” πρὸς Ἄρειον δὲ τὸν ψάλτην ὀχλοῦντά τι αὐτόν, “ψάλλ’ ἐς κόρακας” ἔφη. ἐν Σικυῶνι δὲ πρὸς νακοδέψην γεγενημένος, ἐπεὶ ἐλοιδορεῖτό τι αὐτῷ <καὶ>¹⁵ κακόδαιμον ἔφη, “νακόδαιμον” ἔφη. τοὺς δὲ Ῥοδίους <ὁ> αὐτὸς Στρατόνικος σπαταλῶνας καὶ θερμοπότας θεωρῶν ἔφη αὐτοὺς λευκοὺς εἶναι Κυρηναίους, καὶ αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν Ῥόδον ἐκάλει μνηστήρων
 c πόλιν, χρώματι μὲν εἰς ἀσωτίαν ἰδιαλλάττειν ἐκείνων ἡγούμενος αὐτούς, ὁμοιότητι δ’ εἰς καταφέρειαν ἡδονῆς τὴν πόλιν μνηστήρων εἰκάζων. ζηλωτῆς δὲ <διὰ>¹⁶ τῶν εὐτραπέλων λόγων τούτων ἐγένετο ὁ Στρατόνικος Σιμωνίδου τοῦ ποιητοῦ, ὡς φησιν Ἐφορος ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ Εὐρημάτων, φάσκων καὶ Φιλόξενον τὸν Κυθηριον περὶ τὰ ὅμοια ἐσπουδακέσαι. Φαινίας δ’ ὁ περιπατητικὸς ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ Ποιητῶν, Στρατόνικος,

¹⁵ add. Dindorf

¹⁶ add. Wilamowitz

¹⁸² Sc. of Semele, mortal mother of the god Dionysus. Nothing else of the poem survives.

¹⁸³ A dithyrambic poet (*TrGF* 78, although there is no firm evidence that he wrote tragedies). Only one fragment of his poetry, a

BOOK VIII

Timotheus' *Birth-Pangs*¹⁸² (PMG 792), he said: "Imagine the shrieks she would've let loose, if she'd given birth to a theatrical producer instead of a god!" When Polyidus¹⁸³ was acting proud because his student Philotas defeated Timotheus, he said that he was astonished "if you're unaware that he merely produces decrees, whereas Timotheus produces *nomoi*¹⁸⁴." When the harp-player (*psaltēs*) Areius¹⁸⁵ was annoying him somehow, he said: "*Psall' es korakas*."¹⁸⁶ He was with a leather-worker (*nakodepsēs*) in Sicyon; when the man spoke rudely to him and called him *kakodaimōn* ("ill-starred, accursed"), he called him *nakodaimōn*. When the same Stratonicus saw that the Rhodians were self-indulgent and liked to drink hot wine, he said that they were Cyreneans without the suntan. He also referred to Rhodes itself as a city of suitors; because he took their complexion to indicate that they lived more profligately than the Cyreneans did, and compared them to a city of suitors, because they were similarly devoted to pleasure.¹⁸⁷ Stratonicus imitated the poet Simonides with these witticisms, according to Ephorus in Book II of *On Inventions* (FGrH 70 F 2), where he claims that Philoxenus of Cythera made similar efforts. Phaenias the Peripatetic says in Book II of *On Poets* (fr. 32 Wehrli):

prose summary of his account of Perseus' encounter with Atlas, survives (PMG 837). His student Philotas is otherwise unknown.

¹⁸⁴ "Laws" (which were more general and authoritative than *psēphismata*, "decrees"), but also "citharodic compositions" *vel sim.* ¹⁸⁵ Stephanis #295; otherwise unknown.

¹⁸⁶ "Play the harp to the ravens!", i.e. "to hell!"; punning on the colloquial curse *Ball' es korakas*, "Throw (yourself) to the ravens!"

¹⁸⁷ Cf. 8.351c n.

ATHENAEUS

φησίν, ὁ Ἀθηναῖος δοκεῖ τὴν πολυχорδίαν εἰς τὴν
 ψιλὴν κιθάρισιν πρῶτος εἰσενεγκεῖν καὶ πρῶτος |
 d μαθητὰς τῶν ἁρμονικῶν ἔλαβε καὶ διάγραμμα συν-
 εστήσατο. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ γελοίῳ οὐκ ἀπίθανος. φασὶ
 δὲ καὶ τελευτήσαι αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ γελοίῳ παρρη-
 σίαν ὑπὸ Νικοκλέους τοῦ Κυπρίων βασιλέως φάρμα-
 κον πιόντα διὰ τὸ σκώπτειν αὐτοῦ τοὺς υἱούς.

Τοῦ δ' Ἀριστοτέλους τεθαύμακα, ὃν πολυθρύλητον
 πεποιήκασιν οἱ σοφοὶ οὗτοι, καλέ μου Δημόκριτε, (καὶ
 σὺ τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ πρεσβεύεις ὡς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
 φιλοσόφων τε καὶ ῥητόρων) τῆς ἀκριβείας πότε μα-
 e θῶν | ἢ παρὰ τίνος ἀνελθόντος ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ Πρωτέως
 ἢ Νηρέως, τί ποιούσιν οἱ ἰχθύες ἢ πῶς κοιμῶνται ἢ
 πῶς διαιτῶνται. τοιαῦτα γὰρ συνέγραψεν ὡς εἶναι
 κατὰ τὸν κωμωδιοποιὸν

θαύματα μωροῖς.

φησὶν γὰρ ὅτι κήρυκες μὲν καὶ πάντα τὰ ὄστρακό-
 δερμα ἀνόχεντον αὐτῶν ἐστὶ τὸ γένος καὶ ὅτι ἡ πορ-
 φύρα καὶ ὁ κήρυξ μακρόβια. ζῆν γὰρ τὴν πορφύραν
 ἔτη ἕξ πόθεν τοῦτο οἶδε; καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ πλείστον χρόνον
 ἐν ὀχεία γίγνεται ἢ ἔχιδνα; καὶ ὅτι μέγιστον μὲν ἐστὶν
 f ἡ φάττα, δεύτερον | δὲ ἡ οἰνάς, ἐλάχιστον δὲ ἡ
 τρυγών; πόθεν δ' ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἄρρην ἵππος ζῆ ἔτη πέντε

¹⁸⁸ Nicocles (reigned 374/3–c.360 BCE) was the son and successor of Evagoras of Salamis. See 8.349e n.

¹⁸⁹ Two “Old Men of the Sea”; cf. 1.6e; 8.345a with n.

BOOK VIII

Stratonicus of Athens appears to have been the first to introduce multiple tunings to unaccompanied *cithara*-playing, as well as the first to take on students in musical theory and to produce a visual representation of a scale. He was also good at making people laugh; they say that he actually died as a result of his outspoken willingness to make jokes, when the Cyprian king Nicocles¹⁸⁸ forced him to drink poison, because he poked fun at the king's sons.

I am astonished, my noble Democritus, at the precise information provided by Aristotle, whom these clever people cite constantly—you too show as much respect for his remarks as for those of other philosophers and orators—and I would like to know when and from what Proteus or Nereus¹⁸⁹ arisen from the depths he learned what activities fish engage in, and how they sleep and pass their time. Because he wrote books fit to be, to quote the comic poet (adesp. com. fr. 113),

marvels for fools.

For he claims that (*HA* 537^b22–31) whelks and all testaceans reproduce asexually, and that (*HA* 547^b8) purple shellfish and whelks live for a long time. But how does he know that (*HA* 547^b9) purple shellfish live for six years?¹⁹⁰ Or that poisonous snakes take longer to have sex than any other animal? Or that (*HA* 544^b5–7) the ringdove is the largest bird of its class, the rock-pigeon second, and the turtledove the smallest?¹⁹¹ What is his source for the

¹⁹⁰ At *HA* 547^b9–11 Aristotle explains his basis for this assertion, which is that each year's growth can be detected in the physical structure of the shell.

¹⁹¹ Cf. 9.394a.

καὶ τριάκοντα, ἣ δὲ θήλεια πλείω τῶν τεσσαράκοντα, βιωσαι φήσας τινὰ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε; ἱστορεῖ δ' ὅτι καὶ ἐκ τῆς τῶν φθειρῶν ὀχείας αἱ κούιδες γεννῶνται καὶ ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ σκώληκος μεταβάλλοντος γίνεται κάμψη, ἐξ ἧς βομβυλιός, ἀφ' οὗ ὁ νεκύδαλλος ὀνομαζόμενος· ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰς μελίσσας βιοῦν φησι μέχρι ἐτῶν ἕξ, τινὰς δὲ καὶ ἑπτὰ. οὐκ ὦφθαι δὲ φησιν
 353 οὔτε μέλισσαν οὔτε κηφήνα ὀχεύοντας, ὅθεν ἢ οὐκ εἶναι διιδεῖν πότερα αὐτῶν ἄρρενα ἢ θήλεα. πόθεν δ' ὅτι οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἦσσαν μελισσῶν; αἰεὶ γὰρ αὐταὶ τὴν ἰσότητά τοῦ βίου τηροῦσιν, οὐ μεταβαλλόμεναι, ἀλλ' ἀγείρουσαι καὶ ἀδιδάκτως ποιοῦσαι· οἱ δ' ἄνθρωποι ἦσσαν μελισσῶν καὶ πλήρεις οἰήσεως ὡς ἐκεῖναι μέλιτος. πόθεν δ' ἐτήρησεν; ἐν δὲ τῷ Περὶ Μακροβιότητός φησιν ὅτι ὦπταί τις μυῖα ἔτη ἕξ ἢ ἑπτὰ ζήσασα. τίς γὰρ τούτων ἢ ἀπόδειξις; ποῦ δὲ εἶδεν ἐκ κέρατος ἐλάφου κισσὸν ἀναφύντα; γλαῦκες δέ, φησί,
 b καὶ κόρακες ἡμέρας ἀδυνατοῦσι | βλέπειν· διὸ νύκτωρ τὴν τροφήν ἑαυτοῖς θηρεύουσι καὶ οὐ πᾶσαν νύκτα ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀκρέσπερον· καὶ τὰς ἰδέας δὲ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐμφερεῖς εἶναι· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ γλαυκαί, τοῖς δὲ μέλαιναί, τοῖς δὲ χαροποί. ἀνθρώποις δὲ ὅτι παντοῖος ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς ἡθῶν τε διαφορὰς εἶναι περὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς λέγει· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ αἰγωποὺς τῶν ἀνθρώ-

¹⁹² The material that follows, which takes Aristotle's claims seriously, must be from a different source than what precedes (= Arist. fr. 253), which is otherwise bitterly and sarcastically hostile.

BOOK VIII

claim that (HA 545^b18–20) a stallion lives for 35 years and a mare for more than 40, adding that one lived to be 75? He reports that (HA 539^b10–11) nits are produced when lice mate, and that (HA 551^b10–12) larvae change into caterpillars, which become a cocoon, from which the so-called *nekudallos* (“pupa”) emerges. He also claims that (HA 554^b6–7) honeybees live for up to six years, and some even seven; and he denies that (GA 759^b21–3) any honeybee or drone has ever been seen mating, so that, as a result, it is impossible to tell which of them are male and which female. What is his source for the claim that human beings are inferior to honeybees?¹⁹² Because bees always maintain an even balance in life rather than changing; they accumulate property; and they do what they do without being taught. Human beings, on the other hand, are inferior to bees, and as full of foolish ideas as bees are of honey. What is his source for this observation? In his *On Longevity* he claims that individual flies have been observed to live for six or seven years. What proof is there of this? And where did he see (*Mir.* 831^a2–3) ivy growing from a deer’s horn? He claims that (HA 619^b18–21) owls and ravens are unable to see during the day, which is why they hunt at night, and not all night, but at dusk; also that (HA 492^a2–12)¹⁹³ their eyes do not look the same, because some have gray eyes, others black, others yellowish-brown. And he says that human beings have eyes of all sorts, and that their character varies along with their eyes: people with

¹⁹³ Aristotle is here discussing animals generally, not owls and ravens only.

πων πρὸς ὀξύτητα μὲν ὄψεως εἶ πεφυκέναι, τὰ δ' ἦθη
 βελτίστους εἶναι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς μὲν ἐκτὸς ἔχειν
 τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, τοὺς δὲ ἐντός, ἄλλους δὲ μέσως· καὶ |
 c τοὺς μὲν ἐντὸς ὀξύωπεστάτους εἶναι, τοὺς δ' ἐκτὸς
 κακοηθεστάτους· οἱ δὲ μέσως, φησὶν, ἔχοντες ἐπιει-
 κείς. εἶναι δὲ τινὰς καὶ σκαρδαμυκτικούς, τοὺς δ'
 ἀτενεῖς, τοὺς δὲ μέσους· ἀβεβαίους δ' εἶναι τοὺς
 σκαρδαμυκτικούς, ἀναιδεῖς δ' εἶναι τοὺς ἀτενεῖς· τοὺς
 δὲ μέσους βελτίστων ἡθῶν. μόνον τε ἄνθρωπον τῶν
 ζῴων τὴν καρδίαν ἔχειν ἐν τοῖς ἀριστεροῖς μέρεσι, τὰ
 δ' ἄλλα ζῶα ἐν τῷ μέσῳ. καὶ τοὺς ἄρρενας τῶν
 θηλειῶν πλείονας ὀδόντας ἔχειν· τετηρηῆσθαί φησι
 τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ προβάτου καὶ ἐπὶ συὸς καὶ ἐπὶ αἰγός.
 d τῶν δὲ ἰχθύων οὐδένα γεννᾶσθαι ὄρχεις | ἔχοντα·
 μαστοὺς δὲ οὐτ' ἰχθὺν ἔχειν οὔτε ὄρνιθας, δελφίνα δὲ
 μόνον οὐκ ἔχειν χολήν. ἐνιοὶ δέ, φησὶν, ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ
 ἥπατι οὐκ ἔχουσιν χολήν ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῖς ἐντέροις, ὡς
 ἔλοψ καὶ συναγρὶς καὶ σμύραινα καὶ ξιφίας καὶ χελι-
 δῶν. ἡ δὲ ἀμία παρ' ὅλον τὸ ἔντερον παρατεταμένην
 ἔχει τὴν χολήν, ἰέραξ δὲ καὶ ἰκτίνος πρὸς τῷ ἥπατι
 καὶ τοῖς ἐντέροις· ὁ δ' αἰγοκέφαλος πρὸς τῷ ἥπατι καὶ
 τῇ κοιλίᾳ, περιστέρα δὲ καὶ ὄρτυξ καὶ χελιδῶν οἱ μὲν
 πρὸς τοῖς ἐντέροις, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τῇ κοιλίᾳ. τὰ δὲ |

194 Literally "goat-like".

195 Aristotle actually says that the dolphin is "the only sea-creature with lungs" that lacks a gall-bladder.

BOOK VIII

yellow¹⁹⁴ eyes have excellent vision and the best characters. As for the others, some have bulging eyes, others sunken eyes, and the rest fall somewhere in between; people with sunken eyes have the best vision, while those with bulging eyes have the worst character, and those in the middle, he says, are decent individuals. Also that some people tend to blink their eyes, others stare fixedly, and others fall in between; those who blink are unreliable, those who stare are shameless, and those who fall in the middle have the best character. (He also asserts) that (HA 496^a14–17; cf. 506^b33–7^a2) human beings are the only animal with its heart on the left side, and that other animals have it in the middle. Also (HA 501^b19–21) that males have more teeth than females; he claims that this has been observed in the case of sheep, pigs, and goats. Also that (HA 509^b3; GA 716^b15–16, 717^a18–19) no fish is born with testicles; that (HA 521^b25–6) fish and birds lack breasts; and that (HA 506^b4–5) the dolphin is the only animal¹⁹⁵ that lacks a gall-bladder. Some animals, he reports (HA 506^b15–17), have a gall-bladder that is attached not to their liver, but to their intestines, for example the *elops*, *sunagris*, moray eel, swordfish, and flying fish.¹⁹⁶ (HA 506^b13–14) The bonito's gall-bladder extends the full length of its intestines, while (HA 506^b23–4) hawks and kites have one that is attached to their liver and their intestines. (HA 506^b22–3) The horned owl's gall-bladder is attached to its liver and its stomach; and (HA 506^b20–2) as for doves, quail, and swallows, some have it attached to their intestines, others to their stomach. He asserts

¹⁹⁶ The traditional text of Aristotle contains a slightly different list of fish.

- e μαλακόδερμά φησι καὶ τὰ ὄστρακόδερμα καὶ τὰ σελαχώδη καὶ τὰ ἔντομα πλείονα χρόνον ὀχεύειν· δελφίνα δὲ καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἰχθύων παρακατακλινομένους ὀχεύειν, καὶ εἶναι τῶν μὲν δελφίνων βραδείαν τὴν μίξιν, τῶν δὲ ἰχθύων ταχείαν. ἔτι ὁ λέων, φησί, στερέμνια ἔχει τὰ ὄστα, καὶ κοπτομένων αὐτῶν ὥσπερ ἐκ τῶν λίθων πῦρ ἐκλάμπειν. δελφίς δὲ ὄστα μὲν ἔχει καὶ οὐκ ἄκανθαν, τὰ δὲ σελάχη καὶ χόνδρον καὶ ἄκανθαν, τῶν δ' ἰχθύων < . . . > τὰ μὲν εἶναι χερσαῖα,
- f τὰ δὲ ἔνυδρα, τὰ δὲ πυριγενῆ· | εἶναι δὲ τινὰ καὶ ἐφήμερα καλούμενα, ἃ μίαν μόνην ἡμέραν ζῆν. τὰ δὲ ἀμφίβια εἶναι ὡς τὸν ποτάμιον ἵππον καὶ κροκόδειλον καὶ ἔνυδριν. πάντα τε τὰ ζῶα δύο ἡγεμόνας ἔχειν πόδας, καρκίνου δὲ τέσσαρας. ὅσα δ' ἔναιμά ἐστι, φησί, τῶν ζῶων ἢ ἀποδά ἐστιν ἢ δίποδα < ἢ τετράποδα >¹⁷, ὅσα δὲ τῶν τεσσάρων πλείονας ἔχει πόδας ἄναιμά ἐστι. διὸ καὶ πάντα τὰ κινούμενα τέτταρσι σημείοις κινεῖται· ἄνθρωπος μὲν δύο ποσὶ καὶ < δύο >¹⁸ χερσὶ, ὄρνις δὲ δύο ποσὶ καὶ δύο πτέρυξιν, ἔγχελυσ
- 354 καὶ γόγγρος δύο πτερυγίοις καὶ δύο καμπαῖς. || ἔτι τῶν ζῶων τὰ μὲν ἔχει χεῖρας, ὡς ἄνθρωπος, τὰ δὲ δοκεῖ, ὡς πίθηκος· οὐδὲν γὰρ τῶν ἀλόγων ζῶων δίδωσι καὶ λαμβάνει, πρὸς ἅπερ αἱ χεῖρες ὄργανα δέδονται. πάλιν τῶν ζῶων τὰ μὲν ἄρθρα ἔχει, ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ὄνος, βοῦς, τὰ δὲ ἀναρθρά ἐστιν, οἶον ὄφεις, ὄστρεα,

¹⁷ add. Musurus

¹⁸ add. Kaibel, ducente Musuro

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that (cf. *HA* 565^b20–2; *GA* 755^b32–5) soft-skinned animals, testaceans, sharks and rays and the like, and insects take a long time to mate; also that (*HA* 540^b22–4) dolphins and some fish mate lying side-by-side, and that dolphins have sex slowly, whereas fish do it quickly.¹⁹⁷ Moreover, he maintains that (*HA* 516^b9–11) lions have solid bones, and that when their bones are struck together, sparks leap out as if from stones. (*HA* 516^b11–12) The dolphin has bones, but no backbone; (*PA* 655^a23) sharks and rays have both cartilage and a backbone; and of fish . . . (*HA* 487^a15–16) that some are terrestrial, others aquatic, others (cf. *HA* 552^b11–14) born from fire; there are also creatures known as *ephēmera* that live for only one day. (Cf. *HA* 487^a19–22) Amphibious creatures include, for example, the hippopotamus, crocodile, and otter. Also that (cf. *HA* 489^a30–4; *MA* 704^a11–18) all living creatures have two feet in front, except that the crab has four. All animals that contain blood, he claims, have either no feet or two or four, while those with more than four feet have no blood. This is why (cf. *MA* 707^b5–9) everything that moves does so in units of four: human beings do this with two feet and two hands, birds with two feet and two wings, and eels and conger eels with two fins and two flexures. Some animals, moreover, have hands, for example (cf. *PA* 687^a6–12) human beings, while others merely appear to, for example monkeys; because no irrational creature gives or takes anything, which are the functions for which hands have been provided as instruments. Again, some animals have joints, for example human beings, donkeys, and cows, whereas others lack them,

¹⁹⁷ Aristotle actually says that the dolphin's mating takes "neither a short nor a particularly long time".

πλεύμονες. πολλά τε τῶν ζώων οὐ κατὰ πᾶσαν ὥραν φαίνεται, οἶον τὰ φωλεύοντα, καὶ ὅσα δὲ μὴ φωλεύει οὐκ αἰεὶ φαίνεται, οἶον χελιδόνες καὶ πελαργοί.

- Πολλὰ δὲ ἔχων ἔτι λέγειν περὶ ὧν ἐλήρησεν ὁ
 b φαρμακοπώλης | παύομαι, καίτοι εἰδὼς καὶ Ἐπίκουρον τὸν φιλαληθέστατον ταῦτ' εἰπόντα περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Περὶ Ἐπιτηδευμάτων Ἐπιστολῇ, ὅτι καταφαγὼν τὰ πατρῶα ἐπὶ στρατείαν ὥρμησε καὶ ὅτι ἐν ταύτῃ κακῶς πράττων ἐπὶ τὸ φαρμακοπωλεῖν ἦλθεν· εἶτα ἀναπεπταμένου τοῦ Πλάτωνος περιπάτου, φησί, παραβαλὼν ἑαυτὸν προσεκάθισε τοῖς λόγοις, οὐκ ὦν ἀφνης, καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς τὴν θεωρουμένην ἐξῆλθεν. οἶδα δὲ ὅτι ταῦτα μόνος Ἐπίκουρος εἶρηκεν κατ' |
 c αὐτοῦ, οὔτε δ' Εὐβουλίδης, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Κηφισόδωρος τοιοῦτόν τι ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν κατὰ τοῦ Σταγειρίτου, καίτοι καὶ συγγράμματα ἐκδόντες κατὰ τὰνδρός. ἐν δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ ἐπιστολῇ ὁ Ἐπίκουρος καὶ Πρωταγόραν φησὶ τὸν σοφιστὴν ἐκ φορμοφόρου καὶ ξυλοφόρου πρῶτον μὲν γενέσθαι γραφέα Δημοκρίτου· θαυμασθέντα δ' ὑπ' ἐκείνου ἐπὶ ξύλων τινὶ ἰδίᾳ συνθέσει ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀναληφθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ διδάσκειν ἐν
 d κώμῃ τινὶ γράμματα, ἀφ' ὧν ἐπὶ | τὸ σοφιστεύειν

¹⁹⁸ Both migratory.

¹⁹⁹ Eubulides of Megara (mid-4th century BCE), one of Aristotle's most outspoken ancient critics.

²⁰⁰ Cephisodorus of Athens (PAA 568030; mid-4th century BCE); Athenaeus cites his *Against Aristotle* (from which it is

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such as snakes, oysters, and jellyfish. And many animals cannot be seen in every season, such as those that retreat into burrows; so too those that do not retreat into burrows are not always visible, such as swallows and storks.¹⁹⁸

Although I have much more to say about the nonsense the drug-peddler talked, I am bringing my remarks to a close, despite my awareness that Epicurus (who was deeply devoted to the truth) said about him in his *Letter on Life-Styles* (fr. 171 Usener) that after he gobbled up his inheritance, he tried military service; and when he failed at that, he moved on to selling drugs. Then when Plato's school opened, he says, he took himself off there and sat in on the lectures; he was no fool, and gradually embarked on the contemplative path. I realize that only Epicurus attacks him this way, and that neither Eubulides¹⁹⁹ (fr. 61 Döring = SSR II B 10) nor Cephisodorus²⁰⁰ was reckless enough to say anything like this against the Stagirite,²⁰¹ even though they published treatises directed against him. In the same letter, Epicurus (fr. 172 Usener = Democr. 68 A 9 D-K) claims that the sophist Protagoras, who originally worked as a porter and transporting firewood, was initially Democritus' scribe. Democritus was struck by a peculiar way Protagoras had of stacking wood;²⁰² he started there, was taken on by him, and taught reading and writing in some village; from there he moved on to be a

tempting to believe that the hostile material at 8.352e-3a is drawn) at 2.60d-e; 3.122b.

²⁰¹ Aristotle (called here after his place of birth, Stagira in Chalcidice).

²⁰² Cf. D.L. 9.53-4.

ὀρμῆσαι. καὶ γὰρ δέ, ἄνδρες συνδαιταλῆς, ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν τούτων λόγων τὴν ὀρμὴν ἔχω ἐπὶ τὸ ἦδη γαστρίζεσθαι.

Εἰπόντος οὖν τινος ἔτι παρασκευάζεσθαι τοὺς μαγείρους διὰ τὴν πολλὴν τῶν λόγων ἐστίασιν, ἵνα μὴ ψυχρὰ παρατιθῶσιν—

οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἂν φάγοι ψυχρῶν—

ὁ Κύνουλλκος ἔφη· κατὰ τὸν Ἀλέξιδος τοῦ κωμωδιοποιοῦ Μίλκωνα·

ἐγὼ (φησιν),

κἂν μὴ παραθῶσι θερμά. τὰ γαθὸν Πλάτων
ἀπανταχοῦ φησ' ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, μανθάνεις;
τό θ' ἦδὺ πάντως ἦδὺ κἀκεῖ κἀνθάδε. |

- e οὐκ ἀχαρίτως δὲ καὶ Σφαῖρον τὸν συσχολάσαντα μὲν Χρυσίππῳ παρὰ Κλεάνθει, μετάπεμpton δὲ γενόμενον εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου, κηρίνων ποτὲ ἐν τῷ δείπνῳ παρατεθεισῶν ὀρνίθων ἐκτείναντα τὰς χεῖρας ἐπισχεθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς ψεύδει συγκατατιθέμενον. τὸν δ' εὐστόχως ἀποφῆνασθαι εἰπόντα οὐ τούτῳ συγκατατίθεσθαι ὅτι εἰσὶν ὄρνεις, ἀλλ' ὅτι εὐλογόν ἐστι ταύτας ὄρνεις εἶναι.
- f διαφέρειν δὲ τὴν καταληπτικὴν φαντασίαν | τοῦ εὐλόγου· τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀδιάψευστον εἶναι, τὸ δ' εὐλογον

²⁰³ Part of an adespota iambic trimeter.

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sophist. And I myself, my fellow dinner-guests, am moving on from these long remarks to stuffing myself now.

Someone observed that, as a consequence of our enormous feast of speeches (cf. *Pl. Ti.* 27b), the cooks were still working on the meal, so as to avoid serving us cold food—

because no one prefers cold food²⁰³—

and Cynulcus said: To quote the *Milcon* of the comic poet Alexis (fr. 98):

I (he says),
even if they don't serve warm food. Plato claims that
the Good is good everywhere, do you understand?
And that what's nice is nice in all circumstances,
whether here or there.

A witty remark is attributed to Sphaerus²⁰⁴ (Sphaerus 624, SVF i.140–1 = 40F Long–Sedley), who studied with Cleanthes at the same time Chrysippus did, and was invited to Alexandria by King Ptolemy. Once during a dinner party, when some birds made of wax were set on the table, he reached for them and was stopped by the king, on the ground that he was assenting to a lie. Sphaerus offered a clever response, saying that he was not assenting to the notion that they *were* birds, but to the notion that it was *probable* that they were birds. Apparent truth based on sensory perception is different from what is probable; the former cannot deceive, whereas probability can turn out other-

²⁰⁴ Sphaerus of Borysthenes (3rd century BCE); according to D.L. 7.177, who offers a slightly fuller and more coherent version of the anecdote, the Ptolemy in question is Ptolemy III Philopator (reigned 221–204 BCE).

<κᾶν>¹⁹ ἄλλως ἀποβαίνειν. καὶ ἡμῖν οὖν κατὰ τὴν καταληπτικὴν φαντασίαν καὶ τῶν κηρίνων περιε-
 εχθήτω, ἵνα κᾶν κατὰ τὴν ὄψιν πλανᾶσθαι δυνώμεθα
 μὴ²⁰ πάντα λαλῶμεν. ||

355 Καὶ μελλόντων ἤδη δειπνεῖν ἐπισχεῖν ἐκέλευσεν ὁ
 Δάφνος, ἐπειπὼν τὸ ἐκ Μαμμακύθου ἢ Αὐρῶν Μετα-
 γένους ἰαμβεῖον·

ὥσπερ ἐπειδὴν δειπνῶμέν που, τότε πλείστα
 λαλοῦμεν ἅπαντες.

κἀγὼ φημι ἐνδεῶς εἰρήσθαι τὸν περὶ ἰχθύων λόγον,
 πολλὰ εἰρηκότων καὶ Ἀσκληπιαδῶν παίδων, Φυλοτί-
 μου λέγω ἐν τοῖς Περί Τροφῆς καὶ Μνησιθέου τοῦ
 Ἀθηναίου, ἔτι δὲ Διφίλου τοῦ Σιφνίου. οὗτος γὰρ ἐν
 τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Περί τῶν Προσφερομένων τοῖς
 b Νοσοῦσι καὶ τοῖς | Ὑγιαίνουσί φησιν ὅτι τῶν θαλασ-
 σίων ἰχθύων οἱ μὲν πετραῖοί εἰσιν εὐφθαρτοί, εὐχυλοί,
 σμηκτικοί, κούφοι, ὀλιγότροφοι, οἱ δὲ πελάγιοι
 δυσφθαρτότεροι, πολύτροφοι, δυσοικονόμητοι. καὶ
 τῶν πετραίων ὁ φύκης καὶ ἡ φυκίς, ἀπαλώτατα ἰχθύ-
 δια ὄντα, ἄβρωμα καὶ εὐφθαρτά ἐστιν, ἡ δὲ πέρκη
 τούτοις προσοικυῖα κατὰ τόπους ὀλίγῳ διαλλάττει. οἱ
 δὲ κωβιοὶ ἀναλογοῦσι τῇ πέρκῃ ὧν οἱ μικροὶ καὶ οἱ
 λευκοὶ ἀπαλοὶ εἰσιν, ἄβρωμοι, εὐχυλοί, εὐπεπτοί. οἱ δὲ
 c χλωροὶ (καλοῦνται δὲ καυλίνας) ξηροὶ | εἰσι καὶ ἀλι-

¹⁹ add. Wilamowitz

²⁰ ἵνα μὴ A: ἵνα del. Kaibel

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wise than anticipated. So let something our senses can appreciate—even if it is made of wax—be brought around to us, so that even if our eyes may be taken in, we can do more than talk!

We were at last about to begin dinner; but Daphnus ordered us to wait, quoting the iambic line from Metagenes' *The Dunce or Breezes* (fr. 3):²⁰⁵

Just as, whenever we have dinner, that's when we all
talk the most.

Thus I too insist that our discussion of fish is deficient,²⁰⁶ since the sons of Asclepius²⁰⁷ have had a great deal to say on the topic; I am referring to Phylotimus in his *On Food* (fr. 14 Steckerl) and Mnesitheus of Athens (fr. 35 Bertier), as well as to Diphilus of Siphnos. For the latter asserts in his work entitled *On the Food Offered to the Sick and the Healthy* that, of the saltwater fish, rockfish are easily broken down, produce good *chulē*,²⁰⁸ and are purgative, light, and not very nourishing, whereas deep-sea fish are more difficult to break down, very nourishing, and difficult to assimilate. Of rockfish, the *phukēs*- and *phukis*-wrasses, which are extremely tender little fish, have no odor and are easily broken down, whereas the perch resembles them, but varies a bit by place. Gobies are similar to perch; the small, white varieties are tender and odorless, produce good *chulē*, and are easily digested. But the pale variety (referred to as *kaulinai*) are dry and lack fat. Sea-perch

²⁰⁵ Actually an anapestic tetrameter catalectic; from the same speech as fr. 2 (quoted at 9.385c).

²⁰⁶ Cf. Democritus at 8.331c.

²⁰⁷ I.e. the physicians.

²⁰⁸ "Digestive juice"

vel sim. (one of Diphilus' favorite technical terms).

πείσ. αἱ δὲ χάνναι ἀπαλόσαρκοι, σκληρότεροι δὲ τῆς
 πέρκης. ὁ δὲ σκάρος ἀπαλόσαρκος, ψαθυρός, γλυκύς,
 κούφος, εὐπεπτος, εὐανάδοτος, εὐκοίλιος. τούτων δὲ ὁ
 πρόσφατος ὑποπτος, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς θαλαττίους λαγῶς
 θηρεύοντες σιτοῦνται· διὸ καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς χολέρας ποιη-
 τικὰ ἔχει. ἡ δὲ καλουμένη κηρὶς ἀπαλόσαρκος, εὐκοί-
 λιος, εὐστόμαχος· ὁ δὲ χυλὸς αὐτῆς παχύνει καὶ
 σμῆχει. ὀρφὸς ἢ ὀρφῶς εὐχυλος, πολύχυλος, γλί-
 d σχρος, δύσφθαρτος, | πολύτροφος, οὐρητικός· τὰ δὲ
 πρὸς τῇ κεφαλῇ αὐτοῦ γλίσχρα, εὐπεπτα, τὰ δὲ σαρ-
 κώδη δύσπεπτα, βαρύτερα· ἀπαλώτερον δὲ τὸ οὐ-
 ραῖον. φλέγματος δ' ἐστὶ δραστικός ὁ ἰχθύς καὶ
 δύσπεπτος. αἱ δὲ σφύραιναί τῶν γόγγρων εἰσὶ τροφι-
 μώτεροι. ἡ δὲ λιμναία ἔγχελυς τῆς θαλασσίας ἐστὶν
 εὐστομωτέρα καὶ πολυτροφωτέρα. τῷ δὲ μελανούρφῳ
 ἀναλογεῖ ὁ χρύσοφρυς. σκορπίοι δὲ οἱ πελάγιοι καὶ
 e κίρροι τροφιμώτεροι | τῶν τεναγῶδων τῶν ἐν τοῖς
 αἰγιαλοῖς τῶν μεγάλων. σπάρος δὲ δριμύς, ἀπαλό-
 σαρκος, ἄβρωμος, εὐστόμαχος, οὐρητικός, οὐκ ἄπε-
 πτος, ταγνησιτὸς δὲ δύσπεπτος. τρίγλη εὐστόμαχος,
 παραστύφουσα, σκληρόσαρκος, δύσφθαρτος, ἐφεκτι-
 κὴ κοιλίας καὶ μάλιστα ἡ ἐξ ἀνθράκων· ἡ δὲ ἀπὸ
 τηγάνου βαρεῖα καὶ δύσπεπτος, κοινῶς δὲ πᾶσα αἵμα-
 τος ἐκκριτικὴ. συνόδους καὶ χάραξ τοῦ μὲν αὐτοῦ
 γένους εἰσὶ, διαφέρει δ' ὁ χάραξ. φάγγρος γίνεται μὲν
 καὶ ποτάμιος, καλλίων δ' ἐστὶν ὁ θαλάττιος. καπρί-

²⁰⁹ Said to be poisonous at 7.325c.

BOOK VIII

(*channai*) have tender flesh, but are tougher than perch. The parrot-wrasse has tender flesh and is flaky, sweet, light, easily digested and assimilated, and easy on the intestines. If any of these is fresh-caught, it should be regarded as suspect, since they hunt and feed on sea-hares;²⁰⁹ as a result, their entrails produce nausea and vomiting. The so called *kēris* has tender flesh and is easy on the intestines and the stomach; the liquid it releases is fattening and purgative. *Orphos* or *orphōs* ("sea-perch") produces large quantities of good *chulē*, is tough, difficult to break down, and very nourishing, and encourages urination. The sections nearest its head are tough and easily digested, whereas the fleshy portions are difficult to digest and heavier; the tail-section is more tender. The fish also produces phlegm and is hard to digest. Spet are more nourishing than conger eels. Lake-eels are tastier and more nourishing than marine eels. The gilthead resembles the *mel-anouros*. Bullheads and *kirroi* caught in the open sea are more nourishing than the large ones caught in the shallows along the coast. *Sparos*-bream has a pungent flavor, tender flesh, and no odor, is easy on the stomach, promotes urination, and is quite digestible, although it is difficult to digest when pan-fried. Red mullet is easy on the stomach, astringent, tough-fleshed, and difficult to break down, and has a tendency to arrest the movement of the intestines, particularly when cooked directly on the coals. When pan-fried, it is heavy and difficult to digest; but in general it encourages the secretion of blood, no matter how it is prepared. Four-toothed sea-bream and sargue (*charax*) belong to the same family, but the sargue is better. There is a river-variety of sea-bream, but the marine variety is preferable. The

f σκος καλεῖται | μὲν καὶ μῦς, βρωμώδης δ' ἐστὶ καὶ σκληρός, κιθάρον δ' ἐστὶ δυσπεπτότερος· δέρμα δ' ἔχει εὔστομον. ράφῖς ἢ βελόνη (καλεῖται δὲ καὶ ἀβλεννής) δύσπεπτος, ὑγρός, εὐκοίλιος. θρίσσα καὶ τὰ ὁμογενῆ, χαλκὶς καὶ ἐρίτιμος, εὐανάδοτα. κεστρεὺς δὲ γίνεται μὲν καὶ θαλάσσιος καὶ λιμναῖος καὶ ποτάμιος· οὗτος δέ, φησί, καλεῖται καὶ ὀξύρυγχος. ||
 356 κορακῖνος δ' ὁ ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου· ἤττων δ' ὁ μέλας τοῦ λευκοῦ καὶ ὁ ἐφθὸς τοῦ ὀπτοῦ· οὗτος γὰρ καὶ εὔστομαχος καὶ εὐκοίλιος. σάλπη σκληρά, ἄστομος. κρείσσων δ' ἢ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ καὶ ἢ τῷ φθινοπώρῳ γινόμενη· ὑγρὸν τι γὰρ καὶ λευκόν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἄβρωμον ἀνίησιν. ὁ γρύλλος ὅμοιος μὲν ἐστὶν ἐγχείλει, ἄστομος δέ. ὁ δὲ ἰέραξ σκληροσαρκότερος μὲν κόκκυγος, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ὅμοιος· καὶ ὁ κόραξ ἰέρακος σκληρότερος. οὐρανοσκόπος δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀγνὸς καλούμενος ἢ καὶ καλλιώνυμος βαρεῖς. βῶξ δὲ ἐφθὸς εὔπεπτος, εὐανάδοτος,
 b ὑγρὸν ἀνιείς, εὐκοίλιος· ὁ δ' ἀπ' | ἀνθράκων γλυκύτερος καὶ ἀπαλότερος. βάκχος εὔχυλος, πολύχυλος, εὔτροφος. τράγος οὐκ εὔχυλος, ἄπεπτος, βρωμώδης. ψήττα, βούγλωσσοι εὔτροφοι καὶ ἠδεῖαι· τούτοις ἀναλογεῖ καὶ ὁ ῥόμβος. λευκίσκοι, κέφαλοι, κεστρεῖς, μξῖνοι, χελλῶνες ὅμοιοί εἰσι κατὰ τὴν προσφορὰν, τοῦ δὲ κεφάλου καταδεέστερός ἐστὶν ὁ κεστρεὺς, ἦσ-

²¹⁰ Hence presumably the name, literally "little boar".

²¹¹ Normally "sturgeon".

BOOK VIII

kapriskos is also referred to as a *mus*; it has a strong odor²¹⁰ and is tough, and is more difficult to digest than a *kitharos*; but its skin is delicious. Garfish or gar-pike (also referred to as an *ablennēs*) is difficult to digest, moist, and easy on the intestines. Herring and related species, sardines, and *eritimoi* are easily assimilated. There are marine, marsh-, and river-varieties of gray mullet; the latter, he reports, is also referred to as an *oxurhunchos*.²¹¹ The Nile *kora-kinos*:²¹² the dark variety is inferior to the white variety, and it is worse stewed than roasted; because when roasted, it is easy on the stomach and the intestines. Saupé is tough and does not taste good, although it is better when caught in Alexandria or in the fall; for it emits a white liquid that does not smell bad. The *grullos* resembles an eel, but is unpalatable. The flying gurnard has tougher flesh than the gurnard, but is like the others; the *korax* is even tougher than the flying gurnard. *Ouranoskopos* and the so-called sacred fish or beauty-name are rich. Stewed bogue is easily digested and assimilated, yields juice, and is easy on the intestines; when cooked on the coals, it is sweeter and more tender. *Bacchos* produces large quantities of good *chulē* and is nourishing. *Tragos* produces bad *chulē*, is difficult to digest, and smells bad. Flounder and sole are nourishing and delicious; the turbot resembles them. *Leukiskoi*, *kephalos*-mullet, gray mullets, *muxinoi*, and *chellōnes* are equally valuable as food; but the gray mullet is inferior to the *kephalos*-mullet, the *muxinos* is even worse, and the

²¹² Cf. 7.309a (also from a diaetetic source, probably Hicesius).

²¹³ According to Hesychius *a* 2283, *akarnax* (presumably a variant of *akarnan*) is another name for the sea-bass (*labrax*).

σων δὲ ὁ μύξινος, τελευταῖος ὁ χελλῶν. θυννὶς δὲ καὶ
 θύννος βαρεῖς καὶ πολύτροφοι. ὁ δὲ καλούμενος ἀκαρ-
 νὰν γλυκὺς ἐστὶ | καὶ παραστύφων, τρώφimos δὲ καὶ
 εὐέκκριτος. ἡ δὲ ἀφύη βαρεῖά ἐστὶ καὶ δύσπεπτος· ὦν
 ἡ λευκὴ καλεῖται κωβίτις. καὶ ὁ ἐψητὸς δέ, τὸ μικρὸν
 ἰχθύδιον, τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους ἐστὶ. τῶν δὲ σελαχίων ὁ
 μὲν βούς κρεώδης, ὁ δὲ γαλεὸς κρείσσων ὁ ἀστερίας
 λεγόμενος. ὁ δὲ ἀλωπεκίας ὁμοῖός ἐστι τῇ γεύσει τῷ
 χερσαίῳ ζῷῳ, διὸ καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἔτυχε. καὶ ἡ βατὶς
 δὲ εὐστόμος, ἡ δὲ ἀστερία βατὶς ἀπαλωτέρα καὶ
 εὐχυλος. ὁ δὲ λειόβατος δυσκοιλιώτερος καὶ βρωμώ-
 δης. ἡ δὲ νάρκη δύσπεπτος οὖσα τὰ μὲν κατὰ | τὴν
 κεφαλὴν ἀπαλά τε καὶ εὐστόμαχα ἔχει, ἔτι δὲ εὐ-
 πεπτα, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα οὐ· κρείττονες δὲ εἰσὶν αἱ μικραὶ
 καὶ μάλιστα αἱ λιτῶς ἐψόμεναι. ἡ δὲ ῥίνη καὶ αὐτὴ
 τῶν σελαχίων οὖσα εὐπεπτός ἐστὶ καὶ κούφη· ἡ δὲ
 μείζων καὶ τροφιμωτέρα. κοινῶς δὲ πάντα τὰ σελάχια
 φυσώδη ἐστὶ καὶ κρεώδη καὶ δυσκατέργαστα πλεονα-
 ζόμενά τε τὰς ὄψεις ἀμβλύνει. ἡ δὲ σηπία καὶ ἐψομένη
 μὲν ἀπαλὴ καὶ εὐστόμος καὶ εὐπεπτος, ἔτι δ' εὐκεί-
 λιος· ὁ δ' ἀπ' αὐτῆς χυλὸς λεπτυντικός ἐστὶν αἵματος |
 καὶ κινητικὸς τῆς δι' αἰμορροΐδων ἐκκρίσεως. τευθὶς
 δὲ εὐπεπτοτέρα καὶ τρώφimos, καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ μικρά· ἡ
 δὲ ἐφθῆ σκληροτέρα ἐστὶ καὶ οὐκ εὐστόμος. ὁ δὲ
 πῶλυψ συνεργεῖ μὲν ἀφροδισίοις, σκληρὸς δ' ἐστὶ καὶ
 δύσπεπτος· ὁ δὲ μείζων τροφιμώτερος. παρυγραίνει δὲ
 καὶ κοιλίαν ἐψόμενος ἐπὶ πλείον καὶ τὸν στόμαχον

BOOK VIII

chellōn comes last. *Thunnis* and tuna are rich and nourishing. The so-called *akarnan*²¹³ is sweet and astringent, as well as nourishing and easily excreted. Small-fry are rich and difficult to digest; the white variety is referred to as *kōbittis*. Stewing fish (that is, tiny little fish) belong to the same family. Among the sharks and rays, the horned ray is meaty, but the dogfish known as an *asterias* is better. The thresher shark (*alōpekias*) tastes like the land-animal,²¹⁴ which is how it got its name. The skate also tastes good, but the *asteria*-skate is tenderer and produces good *chulē*. The *leiobatos* is harder on the intestines and has a smell. Although the electric ray is difficult to digest, the parts closer to its head are tender and easy on the stomach, as well as easily digested, whereas the rest is not; the small ones are better, particularly when lightly stewed. The monkfish, which is another member of the shark and ray family, is easily digested and light; the larger variety is more nourishing. All sharks and rays generally produce gas, are meaty and difficult to break down, and damage the vision when eaten in large quantities. Even when stewed, the cuttlefish is tender, tasty, and easily digested, as well as easy on the intestines; the liquid it yields thins the blood and assists excretion when hemorrhoids are present. Squid is more easily digested and is nourishing, especially the small variety; it is tougher when stewed and does not taste good. Octopus is an aphrodisiac, but is tough and difficult to digest; the larger variety is more nourishing. When stewed for a long time, it relaxes the intestines and settles the stomach.

²¹⁴ I.e. the fox (*alōpēx*).

ἴστησιν. ἐμφανίζει δὲ καὶ Ἄλεξις ἐν Παμφίλῃ τοῦ πολύποδος τὸ χρήσιμον λέγων ὧδε·

ἐρῶντι δέ, Κτήσων, τί μᾶλλον συμφέρει
 ὦν νῦν φέρων πάρειμι; κήρυκας, κτένας, |
 f βολβοὺς μέγαν τε πουλύπουν ἰχθύς θ' ἄδρους.

ἡ δὲ πηλαμὺς πολύτροφος μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ βαρεία, οὐρη-
 τικὴ δὲ καὶ δύσπεπτος· ταριχευθεῖσα δὲ κυβίῳ ὁμοίως
 εὐκοίλιος καὶ λεπτυντικὴ. ἡ δὲ μείζων συνοδοῦτις
 καλεῖται. ἀναλογῶν μέντοι ὁ χελιδονίας τῇ πηλαμύδι
 σκληρότερός ἐστιν. ἡ δὲ χελιδῶν ἡ τῷ πουλύπῳ ἐοι-
 κυῖα ἔχει τὸ ἀφ' αὐτῆς ὑγρὸν εὐχροίαν ποιοῦν καὶ
 357 κινοῦν αἷμα. || ὁ δὲ ὄρκυνος βορβορώδης· καὶ ὁ
 μείζων προσέοικε τῷ χελιδονία κατὰ τὴν σκληρότητα,
 τὰ δὲ ὑπογάστρια αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ κλεῖς εὔστομα καὶ
 ἀπαλά. οἱ δὲ κοστὰι λεγόμενοι ταριχευθέντες εἰσὶ
 μέσοι. ξανθίας δ' ἐπὶ ποσὸν βρωμώδης ἐστὶν καὶ
 ἀπαλώτερος τοῦ ὄρκύνου. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ Δίφιλος
 εἶρηκεν.

Ὁ δὲ Ἀθηναῖος Μνησίθεος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἐδεστώ-
 τῶν μειζόνων φησὶν ἰχθύων γένος ὑφ' ὧν μὲν καλεῖ-
 σθαι τμητόν, ὑπ' ἄλλων δὲ πελάγιον, οἷον χρυσόφρυς
 καὶ γλαύκος καὶ φάγγρος. εἰσὶ δὲ δυσκατέργαστοι
 b κατεργασθέντες | δὲ πολλαπλασίαν τροφήν παρ-
 ἔχουσι. τὸ δὲ τῶν λεπιδωτῶν γένος, οἷον θύννων,
 σκόμβρων, θυννίδων, γόγγρων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων,
 συμβαίνει τούτοις καὶ ἀγελαίοις εἶναι. τὰ μὲν οὖν
 μήτε καθ' αὐτὰ φαινόμενα μήτ' ἐν ταῖς ἀγέλαις ἐκ-

BOOK VIII

Alexis in *Pamphile* (fr. 175) indicates the use to which the octopus is put,²¹⁵ saying the following:

What's more useful for a man who's in love, Cteson,
than what I've brought you now? Whelks, scallops,
hyacinth-bulbs, a big octopus, and some nice fat fish!

Immature tuna are very nourishing and rich, but encourage urination and are difficult to digest; when salted, they are as easy on the intestines as cube-saltfish, and thin the blood. The larger variety is referred to as a *sunodontis*. Although the *chelidonias* resembles the immature tuna, it is not as tender. The flying fish that is similar to an octopus yields a juice that produces a good skin-tone and energizes the blood. The *orkunos* is muddy; the larger variety is as tough as the *chelidonias*, but its belly-sections and its key²¹⁶ are tasty and tender. What are referred to as *kostai* are moderately valuable when salted. *Xanthias* has a bit of a smell and is tenderer than the *orkunos*. This, then, is what Diphilus has to say.

Mnesitheus of Athens in his *On Foods* (fr. 38 Bertier) reports that some authorities refer to larger fish as *tmētos*²¹⁷, while others call them deep-sea fish; examples are gilthead, *glaukoi*, and sea-breems. They are difficult to break down; but once digested, they provide considerable nourishment. As for scaly fish (for example tuna, mackerel, *thunnides*, conger eels, and the like), they happen to be gregarious. Those that are not seen alone, then, but that also do not travel in schools, are more easily di-

²¹⁵ Sc. as an aphrodisiac, like the other foods the speaker mentions.

²¹⁶ See 7.315d n.

²¹⁷ "Cut", i.e. "cut into steaks to be sold and cooked".

ATHENAEUS

φερόμενα μᾶλλον ἔστιν εὔπεπτα, οἷον γόγγροι καὶ
καρχαρίαί καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. τὰ δὲ ἀγελαῖα γένη τῶν
ἰχθύων τούτων τὴν μὲν ἐδωδὴν ἠδείαν ἔχει (πίονα
γάρ ἐστι), βαρείαν δὲ καὶ δυσκατέργαστον· διὸ καὶ
ταριχεύεσθαι δύναται μάλιστα καὶ ἐστὶ τῶν ταριχη-
c ρῶν βέλτιστα γένη ταῦτα. | χρήσιμοι δ' εἰσὶν ὀπτοί-
τήκεται γὰρ τὸ πιμελώδες αὐτῶν. τὰ δὲ καλούμενα
δαρτὰ τὸ μὲν ὄλον ἐστὶν ὅσα τραχείαν ἔχει τὴν
ἐπίφυσιν τοῦ δέρματος, οὐ λεπίσιν, ἀλλ' οἷον ἔχουσιν
αἱ βατίδες καὶ ῥίνοι. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἐστὶ μὲν εὐθρυ-
πτα, οὐκ εὐώδη δέ. καὶ τροφὰς ἐμποιεῖ τοῖς σώμασιν
ὕγρας, ὑπάγει δὲ καὶ τὰς κοιλίας μάλιστα πάντων τῶν
ἐψομένων ἰχθύων· τὰ δὲ ὀπτώμενα χεῖρονα. τὸ δὲ τῶν
μαλακίων γένος, οἷον πολυπόδων τε καὶ σηπιῶν καὶ
τῶν τοιούτων, τὴν μὲν σάρκα δύσπεπτον ἔχει. διὸ καὶ
d πρὸς ἀφροδισιασμοὺς | ἀρμόττουσιν· αὐτοὶ μὲν γὰρ
εἰσι πνευματώδεις, ὁ δὲ τῶν ἀφροδισιασμῶν καιρὸς
πνευματώδους προσδεῖται διαθέσεως. βελτίω δὲ ταῦ-
τα γίνεται ἐψηθέντα· τὰς γὰρ ὑγρότητας ἔχει πονη-
ράς. ἰδεῖν γοῦν ἔστιν οἷας ἀφήσιν πλυνόμενα. ταύτας
οὖν ἢ ἐψῆσις ἐκκαλεῖται τῆς σαρκός· μαλακῆς γὰρ
τῆς πυρώσεως καὶ μεθ' ὑγροῦ διδομένης οἰονεὶ πλύσις
τις αὐτῶν γίνεται, τὰ δ' ὀπτώμενα καταξηραίνει τὰς
e ὑγρότητας· ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτῶν φύσει σκλη-
ρὰς οὔσης κατὰ λόγον οὕτως ἔχει | γίνεσθαι αὐτά.
ἀφύαι δὲ καὶ μεμβράδες καὶ τριχίδες καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσων
συγκατεσθίωμεν τὰς ἀκάνθας, ταῦτα πάντα τὴν πέψιν
φυσώδη ποιεῖ, τὴν δὲ τροφήν δίδωσιν ὑγράν. τῆς οὖν

BOOK VIII

gested (for example conger eels, sharks, and the like). The schooling varieties of these fish make pleasant eating (because they are fatty), although they are heavy and difficult to break down; this is why they are particularly suited to salting and produce the best varieties of saltfish. They are good roasted, because the fat they contain melts. What are referred to as *darta* are in general fish with a rough exterior that lack scales, but have something like what is seen on skates and rays. These are all flaky, but have an unappealing smell. They produce moist nourishment inside the body and have the strongest purgative effect on the intestines of all stewed fish; they are worse when roasted. Cephalopod molluscs (for example octopi, cuttlefish, and the like) have flesh that is difficult to digest. This is why they function as aphrodisiacs: they themselves have a flatulent character, and orgasm requires a pneumatic condition. These are better stewed, because they contain low-quality juices. One can see, at any rate, the sort of juices they release when washed. Stewing draws the juice out of their flesh; because when the fire is kept low and plenty of liquid is provided, they are, as it were, washed clean, whereas when they are roasted, the juices dry up inside them. Furthermore, since their flesh is naturally tough, it is logical that they be the same themselves. Small-fry, sprats, pilchards, and any other fish that we consume bones and all, all produce gas as part of the digestive process, but provide moist nourishment. Since the digestive process is

πέψεως οὐχ ὀμαλιζούσης, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν σαρκῶν ἄγαν
ταχὺ πεπτομένων, τῆς δὲ ἀκάνθης σχολῇ διαλυομένης
(καὶ γὰρ ἅμα αἱ ἀφύαι καθ' αὐτὰς ἀκανθώδεις) ἐμπο-
δισμὸς αὐτῶν ἑκατέρου γίγνεται περὶ τὴν κατερ-
γασίαν, εἶτα φύσαι μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς πέψεως, ὑγρασίαι δὲ
f ἀπὸ τῆς τροφῆς | συμβαίνουσι. βελτίω δ' ἐστὶν ἐψό-
μενα, τῆς δὲ κοιλίας ἐστὶν ἀνωμάλως ὑπακτικά. τὰ δὲ
καλούμενα πετραῖα, κωβιοὶ καὶ σκορπιοὶ καὶ ψῆτται
καὶ τὰ ὅμοια, τοῖς τε σώμασιν ἡμῶν ξηράν τε δίδωσι
τροφὴν (εὖογκα δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τρόφιμα καὶ πέττεται
ταχέως καὶ οὐκ ἐγκαταλείπει περιπτώματα πολλά)
πνευμάτων τε οὐκ ἐστὶ περιποιητικά. γίνεται δ' εὐ-
πεπτότερον ἅπαν ὄψον ταῖς σκευασίαις ἀπλῶς ἀρτυ-
θέν· τὰ δὲ πετραῖα καὶ < . . . > τῇ ἡδονῇ ἀπλῶς
σκευασθέντα. τούτοις δ' ὁμοίον ἐστὶ γένος τὸ καλού-
μενον μαλακόσαρκον, κίχλαι καὶ κόσσυφοι καὶ τὰ
358 ὅμοια· ἐστὶ δὲ ὑγρότερα μὲν ταῦτ' ἐκείνων, ἢ πρὸς δὲ
τὰς ἀναλήψεις ἀπόλαυσιν ἔχει πλείω. τῆς μὲν κοιλίας
καὶ τῆς οὐρήσεως ὑπακτικώτερα ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐκείνων
διὰ τὸ καὶ τὰς σάρκας ὑγροτέρας καὶ πλείους ἔχει
τῶν προειρημένων. χρῆ δὲ ἂν μὲν τὴν κοιλίαν βούλη-
ταί τις ὑπάγειν, ἔψοντα διδόναι· μετρίως δὲ ἐχούσης
ὀπηθέντα γίνεται τρόφιμα. πρὸς δὲ τὰς οὐρήσεις
ἀμφοτέρως σκευασθέντα χρήσιμα. οἱ δὲ τόποι τῆς
θαλάσσης ὅπου ποταμοὶ καὶ λίμναι συμβάλλουσιν,
ἔτι δὲ τενάγη²¹ μεγάλα καὶ κόλποι θαλάττης εἰσὶν,
b ἐνταῦθα μὲν πάντες οἱ ἰχθύες | εἰσὶν ὑγρότεροι καὶ
μᾶλλον πίονες ὑπάρχουσι· καὶ ἐσθίεσθαι μὲν εἰσιν

BOOK VIII

not uniform, then, but the flesh is digested very rapidly, whereas the bones dissolve slowly—and uncleaned small-fry are in fact full of bones—each portion prevents the other from being broken down, and the result is flatulence that results from the digestive process, while the food itself generates moisture. They are better stewed, and purge the intestines to different degrees. What are referred to as rockfish (gobies, bullheads, flounders, and the like) provide our bodies with dry nourishment—they have dense flesh, are nourishing and quickly digested, and do not leave much excess behind²¹⁸—and do not produce gas. Seafood of all types is more easily digested if it is seasoned simply when prepared; rockfish and . . . in flavor when prepared simply. Similar to these are what are referred to as the soft-fleshed group (thrush-wrasses, blackbird-wrasses, and the like); these are moister than the varieties discussed above, and provide more pleasure during assimilation. They purge the intestines and the urinary tract more effectively than the other varieties, and provide more pleasure during assimilation, because they have moister and more abundant flesh than those mentioned earlier. If you want to purge the intestines, you should serve them stewed; if the intestines are in a balanced condition, they are nourishing when roasted. But they encourage urination when prepared either way. Spots in the sea where rivers or marshes have outlets, or where there are large shallow areas or gulfs in the sea—the fish in these areas are all moister and fatter; they also have a better flavor, but are not as easily digested

²¹⁸ Sc. to be excreted.

²¹ *τενάγη* Casaubon: *πελάγη* ACE

- ἡδίουσ, πρὸς δὲ τὴν πέψιν καὶ τροφήν γίνονται χείρους. ἐν δὲ τοῖς αἰγιαλοῖς τοῖς κειμένοις πρὸς τὰ πελάγη καὶ λίαν ἀναπεπταμένοις σκληροὶ καὶ λεπτοὶ καὶ κυματοπλήγῆς εἰσιν οἱ πλείους. περὶ δὲ τὰς ἀγχιβαθεῖς, ἐν αἷς μὴ λίαν ἔγκειται μεγάλα πνεύματα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις εἴ που καὶ πόλεις σύνεγγύς εἰσιν, ἐνταῦθα δ' ἔστι τὰ πλείστα γένη τῶν ἰχθύων ὁμαλῶς ἄριστα καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ πρὸς εὐπεσίαν καὶ πρὸς τὴν τροφήν τοῦ σώματος. δύσπεπτοι δὲ καὶ βαρύντατοι | τῶν θαλασσίων εἰσὶν οἱ μετεκβαίνοντες ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης εἰς τε ποταμοὺς καὶ λίμνας, οἷον κεστρεὺς καὶ συλλήβδην τῶν ἰχθύων ὅσοι δύνανται βιοτεύειν ἐν ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς ὕδασι. τῶν δὲ τελείως ἐν τοῖς ποταμοῖς καὶ λίμναις βιοτενόντων ἀμείνους εἰσὶν οἱ ποτάμιοι· σῆψις γὰρ ὕδατος τὸ λιμναῖόν ἐστι. καὶ τῶν ποταμίων δ' αὐτῶν βέλτιστοὶ εἰσιν οἱ ἐν τοῖς ὀξυτάτοις τῶν ποταμῶν ὄντες οἳ τε πυροῦντες· οὗτοι γὰρ οὐ γίνονται, εἰ μὴ ποταμὸς ὀξὺς ἦ καὶ ψυχρὸς, διαφέρουσι δὲ τῶν ποταμίων ἰχθύων εὐπεψία.
- d Ταῦτα καὶ | παρ' ἡμῶν ἔχετε, ἄνδρες φίλοι, ὀψωνησάντων κατὰ δύναμιν τὴν ἑαυτῶν ὑγιεινῶς. κατὰ γὰρ τὸν Ἀντιφάνου Παράσιτον·

ἐγὼ περὶ τὴν ὀψωνίαν μὲν οὐ πάνν
 ἐσπούδακ', οὐδ' αὖ συνέτεμον λίαν πάνν,
 ὡς ἂν τις ἄλλως ἐξενεχθεῖσιν † ὅπου
 τοῦ διαλάβοι † κραιπάλην Ἑλληνικῶς.

ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ οὕτως εἰμὶ φίλιχθος ὡς ὁ παρὰ τῷ

BOOK VIII

and are less nourishing. Most fish caught along shores that face wide expanses of water and are overly exposed are tough, thin, and wave-beaten. Whereas in areas where the sea-floor drops off rapidly and the winds are not particularly strong, if cities are anywhere in the area, most of the fish there are uniformly the best, be it in flavor, digestibility, or the physical nourishment they provide. Saltwater fish that migrate from the sea into rivers or marshes (for example gray mullets and, in short, any fish capable of living in both types of water) are difficult to digest and extremely rich. Of fish that live exclusively in rivers or marshes, the river-fish are better; because marshes consist of putrefied water. Of the river-fish themselves, the best are those found in the most turbulent rivers, as well as the *purountes*²¹⁹; because these are only present if a river is turbulent and cold, and are more easily digested than other river-fish.

That is what I have to offer you, my friends; I have bought you the healthiest fish I could. For to quote Antiphanes' *Parasite* (fr. 182):

I wasn't particularly serious about my grocery-
shopping;
but on the other hand, I didn't cut it too short,
as someone might for pointlessly brought forth †
where
of this he could get hold † a Greek-style party.

Even so, I am not as much of a fish-lover as the character in

²¹⁹ Literally "burning (fish)"; perhaps "red (fish)"?

αὐτῷ ποιητῇ ἐν Βουταλίῳ, ὅπερ δράμα τῶν Ἀγροίκων ἐστὶν ἐνὸς διασκευῆ. φησὶ γάρ· |

e (A.) καὶ μὴν ἐστίασω τήμερον
 ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ· σὺ δ' ἀγοράσεις ἡμῖν λαβῶν,
 Πίστ', ἀργύριον. (Πι.) ἄλλως γὰρ οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι
 χρηστῶς ἀγοράζειν. (A.) φράζε δὴ, Φιλούμενον,
 ὄψω τίμη χαίρεις; (Φι.) πᾶσι. (A.) καθ' ἕκαστον
 λέγε,
 ἰχθὺν τίν' ἠδέως φάγοις ἄν; (Φι.) εἰς ἀγρὸν
 ἦλθεν φέρων ποτ' ἰχθυοπώλης μαινίδας
 καὶ τριγλίδας, καὶ νῆ Δί' ἤρεσεν σφόδρα
 ἡμῖν ἅπασιν. (A.) εἶτα καὶ νῦν, εἶπέ μοι,
 τούτων φάγοις ἄν; (Φι.) κἄν τις ἄλλος μικρὸς
 ἦ· |

f τοὺς γὰρ μεγάλους τούτους ἅπαντας νενόμικα
 ἀνθρωποφάγους ἰχθύς. (A.) τί φῆς, ὦ φιλότατη;
 ἀνθρωποφάγους, πῶς; (Πι.) οὐς <ἄν> ἀνθρώπος
 φάγοι,
 δῆλον ὅτι ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶν Ἑλένης βρώματα,
 ἃ φησιν οὗτος, μαινίδας καὶ τριγλίδας.

ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἀγροίκῳ Ἑκάτης βρώματα ἔφη τὰς μαινίδας
 εἶναι καὶ τὰς τριγλίδας. ἐκφαυλίζων δὲ καὶ Ἐφίππος
 τοὺς μικροὺς τῶν ἰχθύων ἐν Φιλύρᾳ φησί·

²²⁰ The final five lines are quoted also at 7.313b-c, where see n.

BOOK VIII

the same poet's *Boutalion* (a play that is a revised version of one of his *Rustics*). For he says (Antiph. fr. 69):²²⁰

(A.) I'm certainly going to offer you guys a feast today. Pistis—you're going to take some money and do our shopping. (Pistis) Sure; I don't know any other way

to shop properly. (A.) Tell me, Philoumenon—what kind of seafood do you like? (Philoumenon) All of it. (A.) Be specific:

what fish would you enjoy eating? (Philoumenon) A fish-seller

came out to the country once with sprats and red-mullet minnows, and, by Zeus, he really made us

all happy! (A.) So tell me: would you like to eat some of those now? (Philoumenon) Yes—and anything else that's small!

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 the ones this guy's referring to are Helen's food: sprats and red-mullet minnows.

In his *Rustic*, on the other hand, he said that sprats and red-mullet minnows are Hecate's food.²²¹ Ehippus in *Philyra* (fr. 21) shows no respect for small fish when he says:

²²¹ Thus the version of the fragment quoted at 7.313b–c.

359 (A.) παππία, βούλει δραμῶν ἢ
εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν κᾶτ' ἀγοράσαι μοι— (B.) φράζε
τί.

(A.) ἰχθῦς φρονουῦντας, ὦ πάτερ. μή μοι βρέφη.

(B.) οὐκ οἶσθ' ὅτι τὰργύριόν ἐστ' ἰσάργυρον;

ἡδιστος δ' ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ παρὰ τῷ αὐτῷ ποιητῇ ἐν τοῖς
'Οβελιαφόροις νεανίσκος κατασμικρύνων ἅπαντα τὰ
περὶ τὴν ὀψωνίαν καὶ λέγων ὧδε·

(A.) ἀλλ' ἀγόρασον εὐτελῶς·

ἅπαν γὰρ ἱκανόν ἐστι. (B.) φράζ', δέσποτα.

(A.) μὴ πολυτελῶς, ἀλλὰ καθαρείως, ὅ τι ἂν ᾖ, |

b ὀσίας ἕνεκ'· ἀρκεῖ τευθίδια, σηπίδια,
κᾶν κάραβός τις ἢ λαβεῖν, εἰς ἀρκέσει
ἢ δὴ ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν. ἐγχελύδια

Θήβηθεν ἐνίот' ἔρχεται τούτων λαβέ.

ἀλεκτρονιον, φάτιον, περδίκιον,

τοιαῦτα. δασύπους ἂν τις εἰσέλθῃ, φέρε.

(B.) ὡς μικρολόγος εἶ. (A.) σὺ δέ γε λίαν
πολυτελής.

πάντως κρέ' ἡμῖν ἔστι. (B.) πότερ' ἔπεμψέ τις;

c (A.) οὐκ ἀλλ' ἔθυσεν ἢ γυνή· | τὸ μοσχίον
τὸ τῆς Κορώνης αὔριον δειπνήσομεν.

ὁ δὲ παρὰ Μνησιμάχῳ ἐν τῷ ὁμωνύμῳ δράματι δύ-

²²² Or perhaps (punningly) "How addicted to diminutives".

²²³ The name means literally "Crow", and at 13.583e is said to be the nickname of the courtesan Theocleia (PAA 507884).

BOOK VIII

(A.) Daddykins, would you be willing to run to the marketplace and buy me—(B.) Tell me what you want.

(A.) Some thoughtful fish, Pops. No babies, please!

(B.) Don't you realize that money's worth its weight in silver?

The young man in the same poet's *Spit-Bearers* (Ephipp. fr. 15) is quite appealing when he belittles everything that shopping involves and says the following:

(A.) But do the shopping without spending too much;

anything's acceptable. (B.) Give me my orders, master.

(A.) Don't be extravagant. Keep it simple; whatever's available,

for appearances' sake. Little squid and cuttlefish are OK;

and if a crayfish is for sale, one or two'll be enough for our table. Sometimes little eels come from Thebes; buy some of them.

A little rooster, a little ringdove, a little partridge—stuff like that. If a hare appears, bring it home.

(B.) How stingy²²² you are! (A.) But *you're* too extravagant.

In any case, we've got meat. (B.) Did someone send it?

(A.) No; the lady of the house made a sacrifice. Tomorrow

we're dining on Corone's²²³ little calf!

The unpleasant man in Mnesimachus' play by the same

σκολος φιλάργυρος ὢν σφόδρα πρὸς τὸν ἀσωτευτό-
μενον νεανίσκου φησίν·

(Α.) ἀλλ' ἀντιβολῶ σ', ἐπίταττέ μοι μὴ πόλλ'
ἄγαν

μηδ' ἄγρια λίαν μηδ' ἐπηργυρωμένα,
μέτρια δέ, τῷ θείῳ σεαυτοῦ. (Β.) πῶς ἔτι
μετριώτερος, ὦ δαιμόνιε; (Α.) πῶς; σύντεμνε καὶ
ἐπεξαπάτα με. τοὺς μὲν ἰχθύς μοι κάλει |
d ἰχθύδι· ὄψον δ' ἂν λέγῃς ἕτερον, κάλει
ὀψάριον. ἥδιον γὰρ ἀπολούμαι πολὺ.

ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ θεὸν ἐν τοῖς προκειμένοις, φίλτατε Οὐλ-
πιανέ, ἢ ὑμεῖς, γραμματικῶν παῖδες, εἴπατέ μοι τίμι
ἐννοία ὁ Ἐφιππος ἐν τοῖς προειρημένοις ἔφη·

τὸ μοσχίον

τὸ τῆς Κορώνης αὔριον δειπνήσομεν.

ἐγὼ γὰρ οἶομαι ἱστορίαν τινὰ εἶναι καὶ ποθῶ μαθεῖν.
καὶ ὁ Πλούταρχος ἔφη Ῥοδιακὴν εἶναι λεγομένην
e ἱστορίαν, ἣν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἀποστοματίζειν | οὐ
δύνασθαι τῷ πάνυ πρὸ πολλοῦ ἐντετυχηκέναι τῷ ταῦ-
τα περιέχοντι βιβλίῳ. οἶδα δὲ Φοίνικα τὸν Κολοφῶ-
νιον ἰαμβοποιὸν μνημονεύοντά τινων ἀνδρῶν ὡς ἀγει-
ρόντων τῇ κορώνῃ, καὶ λέγοντα ταῦτα·

ἔσθλοί, κορώνῃ χεῖρα πρόσδοτε κριθέων,

BOOK VIII

name (fr. 3) is an extraordinary miser and says to the young man who's a spendthrift:

(A.) Please—don't ask me for way too much,
or give me overly brutal orders, or far too expensive
ones!

Make modest demands—I'm your uncle! (B.) How
could they be any
more modest, you kook? (A.) How? Dice them up
and

try to trick me! Describe the fish to me as
"little fish"; and if you mention any other delicacy,
refer to it as

a "little delicacy". That way I'll be ruined a lot more
happily.

But since this was, by chance, included in the passage
quoted earlier, my beloved Ulpian—or perhaps you gram-
marians can tell us what Ehippus meant when he said in
the passage quoted above (fr. 15.12–13, quoted at 8.359c):

Tomorrow

we're dining on Corone's little calf!

Because I suspect that there is a story here, and I would
like to learn it. Plutarch responded that there was a story
told on Rhodes, but that he was at the moment unable
to repeat it, because he had encountered the book that
included it so long ago. But I am aware (he said) that the
iambic poet Phoenix of Colophon (fr. 2, p. 233 Powell)
mentions men who make a collection "for the crow (*korō-
nē*)" and says the following:

Noble sirs, contribute a handful of barley to a crow,

τῆ παιδὶ τὰπόλλωνος, ἢ λέκος πυρῶν
 ἢ ἄρτον ἢ ἡμαιθον ἢ ὅτι τις χρήζει.
 δότ', ὦγαθοί, <τι> τῶν ἕκαστος ἐν χερσὶν
 ἔχει κορώνη· χᾶλα λήψεται χονδρόν· |
 f φιλεῖ γὰρ αὐτῆ πάγχυ ταῦτα δαίνυσθαι·
 ὁ νῦν ἄλας δοὺς αὐθι κηρίον δώσει.
 ὦ παῖ, θύρην ἄγκλιε, Πλούτος ἔκρουσε,
 καὶ τῇ κορώνῃ παρθένος φέροι σῦκα.
 θεοί, γένοιτο πάντ' ἄμεμπτος ἢ κούρη,
 κάφνειὸν ἄνδρα κώνομαστὸν ἐξεύροι,
 καὶ τῷ γέροντι πατρὶ κούρον εἰς χεῖρας
 καὶ μητρὶ κούρην εἰς τὰ γούνα κατθείη, ||
 360 θάλος τρέφειν γυναῖκα τοῖς κασιγνήτοις.
 ἐγὼ δ', ὅκοι πόδες φέρωσιν, ὀφθαλμοὺς

* * *

ἀμείβομαι Μούσῃσι πρὸς θύρης ἄδων,
 καὶ δόντι καὶ μὴ δόντι, πλεῦνα τῶν <Γύ>γεω.

καὶ ἐπὶ τέλει δὲ τοῦ ἰάμβου φησὶν·

ἀλλ', ὦγαθοί, ἴπορέξαθ' ὦν μυχὸς πλουτεῖ·
 δός, ὦ ἄναξ, δὸς καὶ σὺ πότνα μοι νύμφη·
 νόμος κορώνῃ χεῖρα δοῦν' ἐπαιτούση.
 τοσαῦτ' αἰείδω· δός τι καὶ καταχρήσει. |

b κορωνιστὰὶ δὲ ἐκαλοῦντο οἱ τῇ κορώνῃ ἀγείροντες, ὡς

²²⁴ A fabulously wealthy mid-7th-century BCE king of Lydia.

BOOK VIII

Apollo's child; or a dish of wheat,
or a loaf of bread, or half an obol, or whatever you
like!

Gentlemen—give a bit of whatever each of you has in
his hands to a crow! She'll also accept a lump of salt,
for she's very fond of dining on this;
whoever gives her salt now will give honeycomb some
other time.

Slave! Open the door—Wealth knocked!
Let an unmarried girl bring figs for the crow!
Gods, may this girl never be faulted for anything;
may she find a rich husband with a good reputation,
and set a boy in her old father's
hands, and a girl on her mother's knees,
a child to raise to be a wife for her brothers!
But as for me, wherever my feet take me, eyes

* * *

By singing at doors I trade with the Muses for
more than Gyges²²⁴ had, both for him who gives and
him who does not.

And at the end of his iambic poem he says:

But, good sirs, offer me some of the wealth your
house has deep within.

Give me something, lord! And you too, young lady!
The law requires that you give a handful to a crow
when she asks.

That's the end of my song. Give something; it will be
enough.

The people who made a collection for the crow (*korōnē*)
were referred to as *korōnistai*, according to Pamphilus

φησι Πάμφιλος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Ὀνομάτων καὶ τὰ ἀδόμενα δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν κορωνίσματα καλεῖται, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Ἀγνοκλῆς ὁ Ῥόδιος ἐν Κορωνισταῖς. καὶ χελιδονίζειν δὲ καλεῖται παρὰ Ῥοδίοις ἀγερμός τις ἄλλος, περὶ οὗ φησι Θεόγνις ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ τῶν Ἐν Ῥόδῳ Θουσιῶν γράφων οὕτως· εἶδος δέ τι τοῦ ἀγείρειν χελιδονίζειν Ῥόδιοι καλοῦσιν, ὃ γίνεται τῷ Βοηδρομιῶνι μηνί. χελιδονίζειν δὲ λέγεται διὰ τὸ |
 c εἰωθὸς ἐπιφωνεῖσθαι.

ἦλθ' ἦλθε χελιδῶν
 καλὰς ὄρας ἄγουσα,
 καλοὺς ἐνιαυτούς,
 ἐπὶ γαστέρα λευκά,
 ἐπὶ νῶτα μέλαινα.
 παλάθαν σὺ προκύκλει
 ἐκ πίονος οἴκου
 οἴνου τε δέπαστρον
 τυροῦ τε κάνυστρον.
 καὶ πύρνα χελιδῶν
 καὶ λεκιθίταν
 οὐκ ἀπωθεῖται· πότερ' ἀπίωμες ἢ λαβόμεθα;
 εἰ μὲν τι δώσεις· εἰ δὲ μή, οὐκ ἔασομες·
 ἢ τὰν θύραν φέρωμες ἢ τὸ ὑπέρθυρον
 ἢ τὰν γυναῖκα τὰν ἔσω καθημένην· |

225 In Athens, Boedromion came at the very end of summer. But the song quoted below belongs at the beginning of spring.

BOOK VIII

of Alexandria in his *On Names* (fr. XV Schmidt); and their songs are referred to as *korōnismata*, according to Hagnocles of Rhodes in *Korōnistai*. The Rhodians use the term *chelidonizein* for another type of collection, which is discussed by Theognis in Book II of *On the Sacrifices on Rhodes* (FGrH 526 F 1), where he writes as follows: The Rhodians refer to a type of collection that occurs during the month of Boedromion²²⁵ with the word *chelidonizein*. The term *chelidonizein* is used because it is their custom to cry out (carm. pop. PMG 848):

The swallow (*chelidōn*) is come, is come,
 bringing good weather
 and a good year,
 white on her belly
 and black on her back!
 You—roll a cake of dried fruit out
 of your wealthy house,
 and a cup of wine,
 and a basket of cheese!
 The swallow rejects
 neither wheat
 nor pea-cake. Should we leave or should we take
 something?
 If you'll give us something, (fine); but if not, we won't
 leave you alone.
 We'll carry off your door, or your lintel,
 or your wife who's sitting inside!

when the swallows return to Greece; so presumably that is when Badromios (the actual local name for the month) came on the Rhodian calendar.

- d μικρὰ μὲν ἐστὶ, ῥαδίως νιν οἴσομες.
 ἂν δὴ † φέρῃς τι, μέγα δὴ τι † φέροις·
 ἄνοιγ' ἄνοιγε τὰν θύραν χελιδόνι·
 οὐ γὰρ γέροντές ἐσμεν, ἀλλὰ παιδία.

τὸν δὲ ἀγερμὸν τοῦτον κατέδειξε πρῶτος Κλεόβουλος ὁ Λίνδιος ἐν Λίνδῳ χρείας γενομένης συλλογῆς χρημάτων. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ῥοδιακῶν ἱστοριῶν ἐμνήσθημεν, ἰχθυολογήσων καὶ αὐτὸς ὑμῖν ἔρχομαι ἀπὸ τῆς καλῆς Ῥόδου, ἣν εὐίχθιν εἶναί φησιν ὁ ἠδιστος Λυγκεύς.

- e Ἐργείας οὖν ὁ Ῥόδιος | ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς πατρίδος προειπὼν τινα περὶ τῶν κατοικησάντων τὴν νῆσον Φοινίκων φησὶν ὡς οἱ περὶ Φάλανθον ἐν τῇ Ἰαλυσῶ πόλιν ἔχοντες ἰσχυροτάτην τὴν Ἀχάϊαν καλουμένην καὶ ὕδατος²² ἐγκρατεῖς ὄντες χρόνον πολὺν ἀντείχον Ἰφίκλῳ πολιορκοῦντι. ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ θέσφατον ἐν χρησμῶ τινι λελεγμένον ἕξειν τὴν χώραν, ἕως κόρακες λευκοὶ γένωνται καὶ ἐν τοῖς κρατήρσιν ἰχθύες φανῶσιν. ἐλπίζοντες οὖν τοῦτ' οὐδέποτε ἔσεσθαι καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ῥαθυμοτέρως εἶχον. ὁ δ' Ἰφί-
 f κλος | πυθόμενος παρὰ τινος τὰ τῶν Φοινίκων λόγια καὶ ἐνεδρεύσας τοῦ Φαλάνθου πιστόν τινα πορευόμενον ἐφ' ὕδωρ, ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν Λάρκας, καὶ πίστευς πρὸς αὐτὸν ποιησάμενος, θηρεύσας ἰχθύδια ἐκ τῆς κρήνης

²² ὕδατος Kaibel: δαιτὸς ACE

²²⁶ One of the Seven Sages, and thus to be dated to the early 6th century BCE; cf. 10.445a.

BOOK VIII

She's small—so we'll carry her off with no trouble!
But if in fact † you bring something, something big in
fact † might you bring!
Open your door, open it, to a swallow!
For we're not old men, but children.

The pioneer of this type of collection was Cleobulus of Lindus,²²⁶ at a time when money had to be collected on Lindus. But since I mentioned Rhodian history, I am here to personally offer you fish-stories from beautiful Rhodes, which the delightful Lynceus (fr. 11 Dalby) claims has excellent seafood. Thus Ergeias of Rhodes in his essay on his fatherland (*FGrH* 513 F 1) begins with some remarks about the Phoenicians who settled the island, and then reports that because Phalanthus' people²²⁷ controlled the powerful citadel in Ialysus known as Achaea and had access to drinking water, they held out for a long time when Iphiclus had them under seige. They had a prophecy expressed in an oracle of some sort to the effect that they would control the place until ravens turned white and fish appeared in their mixing-bowls; they accordingly expected that this would never happen and were less concerned about the war. Someone told Iphiclus about the Phoenicians' prophecies, and he ambushed a man Phalanthus trusted, whose name was Larcas, as he was going to fetch water. After coming to an understanding with him, he caught some small fish in the well and put them into a

²²⁷ Perhaps simply a way of saying "Phalanthus", with the plurals that follow all accordingly to be translated as singulars. The events described here took place in the early (legendary) period of the island's history.

- καὶ ἐμβαλὼν εἰς ὑδρεῖον ἔδωκε τῷ Λάρκα καὶ ἐκέλευσε φέροντα τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτο ἐγχείαι εἰς τὸν κρατήρα ὅθεν τῷ Φαλάνθῳ ὠνοχοεῖτο. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐποίησε ταῦτα· ὁ δὲ Ἰφίκλος κόρακας θηρεύσας καὶ ἀλείψας γύψῳ
- 361 ἀφήκεν. ἢ Φάλανθος δ' ἰδὼν τοὺς κόρακας ἐπορεύετο καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν κρατήρα· ὡς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἰχθύς εἶδεν, ὑπέλαβε τὴν χώραν οὐκέτι αὐτῶν εἶναι καὶ ἐπεκηρυκέυσάτο πρὸς τὸν Ἰφίκλον, ὑπόσπονδος ὑπεξελλθεῖν ἀξιῶν μετὰ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ. συγκαταθεμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἰφίκλου ἐπιτεχνᾶται ὁ Φάλανθος τοιόνδε τι καταβαλὼν ἱερεῖα καὶ τὰς κοιλίας ἐκκαθάρας ἐν ταύταις ἐπειράτο ἐξάγειν χρυσίον καὶ ἀργύριον.
- b δὲ ὁ Ἰφίκλος διεκώλυε προφέροντός τε τοῦ | Φαλάνθου τὸν ὄρκον ὃν ὤμοσεν, ἐάσειν ἐξάγεσθαι ὅ τι κατὰ γαστρὶ αἴρωνται, ἀντισοφίζεται πλοῖα αὐτοῖς διδοὺς ἵνα ἀποκομισθῶσιν, παραλύσας τὰ πηδάλια καὶ τὰ κώπας καὶ τὰ ἰστία, ὁμόσαι φήσας πλοῖα παρέξειν, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδέν. ἐν ἀπορίᾳ δὲ οἱ Φοίνικες ἐχόμενοι πολλὰ μὲν τῶν χρημάτων κατώρυσσον ἐπισημαινόμενοι τοὺς τόπους, ἢ ὕστερόν ποτε ἀνέλωνται ἀφικόμενοι, πολλὰ δὲ τῷ Ἰφίκλῳ κατέλειπον. ἀπαλλαγέντων οὖν τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐκ τῆς χώρας τῶν Φοινίκων
- c κατέσχον | τὰ πράγματα οἱ Ἕλληνες. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ ἱστορήσας καὶ Πολύζηλος ἐν τοῖς Ῥοδιακοῖς τὰ περὶ τῶν ἰχθύων φησί· καὶ τῶν κοράκων μόνοι ἤδεδσαν ὁ Φακάς καὶ ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ Δορκία. αὕτη δ' ἐρασθεῖσα τοῦ Ἰφίκλου καὶ συνθεμένη περὶ γάμου διὰ τῆς

BOOK VIII

water-jar. He then gave the jar to Larcas, and told him to take this water and pour it into the mixing-bowl from which Phalanthus' wine was served. Larcas did what he was ordered; in the meantime, Iphiclus caught some ravens, smeared them with gypsum, and let them go. When Phalanthus saw the ravens, he went to his mixing-bowl; and when he saw the fish, he concluded that the place was no longer theirs, and sent an embassy to Iphiclus, proposing that he be allowed to withdraw under the protection of a truce, along his people. When Iphiclus agreed, Phalanthus came up with the following trick: he slaughtered and gutted some sacrificial animals, and tried to take out gold and silver coins inside the animals. Iphiclus realized what he was doing and attempted to stop him; when Phalanthus cited the terms of the oath he had sworn, which were that Iphiclus would allow them to remove whatever they had in their bellies, he came up with a clever response: he gave them ships so they could remove their property, but took off the rudders, oars, and sails, and claimed that he had sworn to supply ships, but nothing else. The Phoenicians were at a loss as to what to do, and accordingly buried much of the money, marking the spots, in order that they could come back someday and retrieve it; but they also left a large amount behind for Iphiclus. After the Phoenicians left the area in this way, the Greeks took control of the situation. Polyzelus in his *History of Rhodes* (FGrH 521 F 6) tells the same story about the fish and then says: Phacas²²⁸ and his daughter Dorcia were the only people who knew about the ravens. But she fell in love with Iphiclus and agreed to marry him; and using

²²⁸ I.e. the man Ergeias called Phalanthus.

τροφου ἔπεισε τὸν φέροντα τὸ ὕδωρ ἰχθῦς ἀγαγεῖν καὶ ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὸν κρατήρα, καὶ αὐτὴ δὲ τοὺς κόρακας λευκάνασα ἀφήκεν.

Κρεώφυλος δ' ἐν τοῖς Ἐφεσίων Ὠροῖς· οἱ τὴν Ἐφεσον, φησί, κτίζοντες καὶ πολλὰ ταλαιπωρηθέντες ἀπορία τόπου | τὸ τελευταῖον πέμψαντες εἰς θεοῦ ἠρώτων ὅπου τὸ πόλισμα θῶνται. ὁ δ' αὐτοῖς ἔχρησεν ἐνταῦθα οἰκίζειν πόλιν ἢ ἂν ἰχθὺς δείξῃ καὶ ὅς ἄγριος ὑψηγήσῃται. λέγεται οὖν ὅπου νῦν ἡ κρήνη ἐστὶν Ὑπέλαιος καλουμένη καὶ ὁ ἱερὸς λιμὴν ἀλιέας ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἰχθύων τινὰ ἀποθορόντα σὺν ἀνθρακιᾷ εἰσπεσεῖν εἰς φορυτόν, καὶ ἀφθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λόχμην, ἐν ἣ ἔτυχε σὺς ἄγριος ὢν· ὃς ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς θορυβηθεὶς ἐπέδραμε τοῦ ὄρους ἐπὶ πολὺ, ὃ δὲ καλεῖται | Τρηχεῖα, καὶ πίπτει ἀκοντισθεὶς ὅπου νῦν ἐστὶν ὁ τῆς Ἀθηναῶν ναός. καὶ διαβάντες οἱ Ἐφέσιοι ἐκ τῆς νήσου, ἔτεα εἴκοσιν οἰκήσαντες, τὸ δεύτερον²³ κτίζουσι Τρηχεῖαν καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ Κορησσόν, καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπὶ τῇ ἀγορῇ ἰδρύσαντο Ἀπόλλωνός τε τοῦ Πυθίου ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι.

Τοιούτων οὖν ἔτι πολλῶν λεγομένων τότε ἐξάκουστος ἐγένετο κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν αὐλῶν τε βόμβος καὶ κυμβάλων ἤχος ἔτι τε τυμπάνων κτύπος μετὰ

²³ τὸ δεύτερον εἴκοσι A: εἴκοσι del. Kaibel

BOOK VIII

her nurse as an intermediary, she convinced the man who fetched their water to bring some fish and throw them into the mixing-bowl, while she herself colored the ravens white and let them go.

Creophylus (says) in his *Annals of the Ephesians* (FGrH 417 F 1): The people who were trying to found Ephesus had a great deal of trouble, because they were unable to locate a site. Finally they sent to the god's oracle²²⁹ and asked where they should put their city, and he prophesied to them (Delphic Oracle L54 Fontenrose) that they should found a city in a place a fish would show them and to which a wild boar would lead the way. The story goes, then, that some fishermen were having lunch in the spot where the so-called Hypelaeus spring and the sacred lake are located today, and that one of their fish jumped out of the fire with an ember struck to it, and fell into some dry brush. This set fire to a thicket in which a wild boar happened to be; it was thrown into a panic by the fire and ran for a long distance along the mountain, which is known as Trēcheia. After it was hit by a javelin, it collapsed in the spot where the temple of Athena is now located. The Ephesians crossed over from the island where they had been living for 20 years, and settled Trēcheia and the area around Coressus for a second time; they also established a temple of Artemis in the marketplace and a temple of Pythian Apollo by the harbor.

Although many long speeches along these lines were still being made, the buzzing of pipes, the clash of cymbals, and the pounding of drums, accompanied by singing,

²²⁹ In Delphi (hence the temple dedicated to Pythian Apollo referred to below).

f ὦδῆς ἅμα γινόμενος. ἔτυχεν | δὲ οὔσα ἑορτὴ τὰ Παρί-
 λια²⁴ μὲν πάλαι καλουμένη, νῦν δὲ Ῥωμαῖα, τῇ τῆς
 πόλεως Τύχῃ ναοῦ καθιδρυμένου ὑπὸ τοῦ πάντα ἀρί-
 στοῦ καὶ μουσικωτάτου βασιλέως Ἀδριανοῦ· ἐκείνην
 τὴν ἡμέραν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπίσημον ἄγουσι πάντες οἱ
 τὴν Ῥώμην κατοικοῦντες καὶ οἱ ἐνεπιδημοῦντες τῇ
 πόλει. ὁ οὖν Οὐλπιανός, ἄνδρες, ἔφη, τί τοῦτο; ||

362 εἰλαπίνῃ ἢ γάμος; ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔρανος τάδε γ'
 ἐστίν.

καὶ τινος εἰπόντος ὅτι βαλλίζουσιν οἱ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν
 ἅπαντες τῇ θεῷ, ᾧ λῶστε, ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς γελάσας ἔφη,
 καὶ τίς Ἑλλήνων τοῦτο βαλλισμὸν ἐκάλεσεν, δέον
 εἰρηκέναι κωμάζουσιν ἢ χορεύουσιν ἢ τι ἄλλο τῶν
 εἰρημένων; σὺ δὲ ἡμῖν ἐκ τῆς Συβούρας ὄνομα πρι-
 ἄμενος

ἀπώλεσας τὸν οἶνον ἐπιχέας ὕδωρ.

καὶ ὁ Μυρτίλος ἔφη· ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Ἑλληνικώτερον
 b ἀποδείξω | σοι τὸ ὄνομα, ᾧ φίλε Ἐπιτίμαιε. πάντας

²⁴ Παράλια ACE: corr. Palmer

²³⁰ Celebrated on April 21. The temple referred to below is that of Venus and Rome. For the outspoken praise of Hadrian (reigned 117–138 CE), cf. 3.115b; 13.574f.

²³¹ Quoted again at 8.362d, along with the verse that precedes it.

²³² A commercial section of Rome with a dubious reputation.

BOOK VIII

became audible throughout the entire city. It happened to be the festival referred to long ago as the Parilia, but known today as the Romaia,²³⁰ the associated temple in honor of the city's Fortune having been established by the universally excellent and immensely cultivated emperor Hadrian. All the inhabitants of Rome, along with any visitors to the city, celebrate that day every year as an important occasion. Ulpian accordingly said: What is this, gentlemen?

A banquet or a wedding feast? Since this is not a meal to which the guests contribute. (*Od.* 1.226)²³¹

When someone replied: Everyone in the city is singing and dancing (*ballizousin*) in honor of the goddess, Ulpian laughed and said: My good sir, what Greek ever referred to this as *ballismos*? You ought to have said *kōmazousin* ("they are celebrating, revelling") or *chōreuousin* ("they are singing and dancing"), or have used some other conventional expression. By buying us a word in the Subura²³² (*Aristias TrGF* 9 F 4)²³³

you ruined our wine²³⁴ by pouring water into it.

But Myrtilus responded: I will show you that the term is in fact quite acceptable Greek, my dear Epitimaeus²³⁵.

For Ulpian's fussy refusal to use Latin (or Latinate) vocabulary, cf. 9.376e with n.

²³³ Identified by Apostolius as coming from the satyr play *Cyclops*, making it likely that the speaker is Polyphemus.

²³⁴ I.e. in context "our pure Greek"; cf. Ulpian's angrier outburst at Cynulcus at 3.121e-f. ²³⁵ "Fault-finder"; cf. 6.272b.

ATHENAEUS

γὰρ ἐπιστομίζειν πειρώμενος οὐδενὸς μὲν ἀμαθίαν
κατέγνωσ, σαυτὸν δ' ἀποφαίνεις κενότερον λεβηρίδος.
Ἐπίχαρμος, ὃ θαυμασιώτατε, ἐν τοῖς Θεαροῖς μέμνη-
ται τοῦ βαλλισμοῦ, καὶ οὐ μακράν ἐστι τῆς Σικελίας
ἢ Ἰταλία. ἐν οὖν τῷ δράματι οἱ θεωροὶ καθορῶντες τὰ
ἐν Πυθοῖ ἀναθήματα καὶ περὶ ἐκάστου λέγοντές φασι
καὶ τάδε:

λέβητες χάλκιοι,
κρατῆρες, ὀδελοί. τοῖς γὰ μὰν ὑπωδέλοις
† καιλωτε † βαλλίζοντες † σιοσσον χρῆμα |
c εἶη †.

καὶ Σώφρων δ' ἐν τῇ ἐπιγραφομένῃ Νυμφοπόνῳ φη-
σίν· κῆπειτα λαβὼν προῆχε, τοὶ δ' ἐβάλλιζον. καὶ
πάλιν· βαλλίζοντες τὸν θάλαμον σκάτους ἐνέπλησαν.
ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Ἄλεξις ἐν Κουρίδι φησί·

καὶ γὰρ ἐπικώμων < . . . > ἀνθρώπων ὀρῶ
πλήθος προσιὸν ὡς τῶν καλῶν τε καὶ γαθῶν
ἐνθάδε συνόντων. μὴ γένοιτό μοι μόνῳ
νύκτωρ ἀπαντῆσαι καλῶς πεπραγόσιν
ὑμῖν περὶ τὸν βαλλισμόν· οὐ γὰρ ἄν ποτε |
d θοιμάτιον ἀπενέγκαιμι μὴ φύσας πτερά.

²³⁶ Doubtless proverbial; cf. Stratt. fr. 52; Diogen. 3.73.

²³⁷ Meaning that a term used by a Greek-speaker like Epicharmus in Syracuse could reasonably be used in Rome as well.

²³⁸ The first two verses of the fragment are quoted at 9.408d.

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For despite your efforts to muzzle us all, you have convicted no one of ignorance, but are merely demonstrating that you yourself are emptier than a discarded snake-skin.²³⁶ Epicharmus uses the term *ballismos* in his *Sacred Envoys*, marvelous sir—and Italy is not far from Sicily.²³⁷ In the play, at any rate, the envoys are examining the dedications at Delphi and discussing them individually, and they say the following (fr. 68.2–4):²³⁸

bronze basins,
mixing-bowls, and spits. On the spit-supports, in fact,
[corrupt] dancing (*ballizontes*) [corrupt] † a matter
might be. †

Sophon as well says in his mime entitled *The Bridesmaid* (fr. 11, encompassing both quotations): And then he took it and led the way, and they started to dance (*eballizon*). Again: As they danced (*ballizontes*)²³⁹, they filled the room with shit. Alexis, moreover, says in *The Female Barber* (fr. 112):

In fact, I see a crowd of wild
drunks approaching; it looks like the nobility's
assembled here. I hope I never come face-to-face
with you at night when I'm alone and you're enjoying
yourselves *peri ton ballismon*²⁴⁰. Because if I did, I'd
never
get away with my robe, unless I sprouted wings.

²³⁹ In both passages the verb could just as easily refer to throwing something (a more normal sense of the word).

²⁴⁰ Probably to be taken "roughing people up" rather than "dancing", as Athenaeus (or his source) would have it.

οἶδα δὲ καὶ ἀλλαχόθι τοῦνομα καὶ ἀναπεμπασάμενος
ἐξοίσω. σὺ δὲ ἡμῖν δίκαιος εἶ λέγειν, ὁ καὶ τῶν
῾Ομηρικῶν μεμνημένος τούτων·

τίς δαίς, τίς δαὶ ὄμιλος ὄδ' ἔπλετο; τίπτε δέ σε
χρεώ;
εἰλαπίνη ἢ γάμος; ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔρανος τάδε γ'
ἐστίν,

τίνι διαφέρει ἀλλήλων. ἐπεὶ δὲ σιγᾶς, ἐγὼ ἐρῶ. κατὰ
γὰρ τὸν Συρακόσιον ποιητὴν·

τὰ πρὸ τοῦ δύ' ἄνδρες ἔλεγον, εἰς ἐγὼν
ἀποχρέω.²⁵

- e τὰς ἰ θυσίας καὶ τὰς λαμπροτέρας παρασκευὰς ἐκά-
λουν οἱ παλαιοὶ εἰλαπίνας καὶ τοὺς τούτων μετέχοντας
εἰλαπιναστάς. ἔρανοι δὲ εἰσιν αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν συμβαλλο-
μένων συναγωγαί, ἀπὸ τοῦ συνερᾶν καὶ συμφέρειν
ἕκαστον. καλεῖται δ' ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ ἔρανος καὶ θίασος
καὶ οἱ συνιόντες ἐρανισταὶ καὶ θιασῶται. καλεῖται δὲ
καὶ ὁ τῷ Διονύσῳ παρεπόμενος ὄχλος θίασος, ὡς
Εὐριπίδης φησίν·

ὀρῶ δὲ θιάσους τρεῖς γυναικείων χορῶν.

²⁵ Better punctuated as a question, as in PCG.

²⁴¹ The promise is never fulfilled.

²⁴² Also quoted at 7.308c, in a similar context.

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I am aware that the word appears elsewhere as well; after I think the matter through, I will quote the passages.²⁴¹ But since you have cited (8.362a) the following Homeric lines (*Od.* 1.225–6):

What is this feast, this crowd? How does this involve
you?

(Is this) a banquet (*eilapinē*) or a wedding feast?
Since this is not a meal to which the guests
contribute (*eranos*),

you are the right person to tell us: How do these occasions differ? And since you have nothing to say, I will tell you. For to quote the Syracusan poet (*Epich. fr.* 161)²⁴²,

I will suffice by myself for things two men said
previously.

The ancients referred to sacrifices and particularly lavish parties as *eilapinai*, and to the individuals who participated in them as *eilapinastai*.²⁴³ Gatherings made up of people who contribute to the cost of the event are *eranoi*, from the fact that they form a group (*suneran*) and everyone brings something. The terms *eranos* and *thiasos* ("band, company") can be used to describe the same occasion, and the members of the group are *eranistai* or *thiasōtai*. The crowd that accompanies Dionysus is also referred to as a *thiasos*, as Euripides says (*Ba.* 680):

And I saw three *thiasoi* of dancing women.²⁴⁴

²⁴³ Cf. *Ar. Byz. fr.* 285–6 Slater.

²⁴⁴ Describing the Theban maenads on Mt. Cithaeron.

f τὸς μὲν οὖν θιάσους ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ προσηγόρευον |
 καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὺς τοὺς θεοὺς οἱ Λάκωνες σιούς φασι-
 τὰς δ' εἰλαπίνας ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν αὐταῖς παρασκευῆς γινο-
 μένης καὶ δαπάνης. λαφύττειν γὰρ καὶ λαπάζειν τὸ
 ἐκκενοῦν καὶ ἀναλίσκειν, ὅθεν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πορθεῖν τὸ
 ἀλαπάζειν οἱ ποιηταὶ τάττουσι, καὶ τὰ διαρπαζόμενα
 κατὰ τὴν λάφυξιν λάφυρα. τὰς δὲ τοιαύτας εὐωχίας
 363 Αἰσχύλος καὶ Εὐριπίδης εἰλαπίνας ἀπὸ τοῦ λελα-
 πάχθαι. || λάπτειν δὲ τὸ τὴν τροφήν ἐκπέττειν καὶ
 κενούμενον λαγαρὸν γίγνεσθαι ὅθεν ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ
 λαγαροῦ ἢ λαγών, ὡσπερ καὶ λάγανον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ
 λαπάττειν λαπάρα. λαφύττειν δέ ἐστι τὸ δαψιλῶς καὶ
 ἐπὶ πολὺ λαπάττειν καὶ ἐκκενοῦν. τὸ δὲ δαπανᾶν ἀπὸ
 τοῦ δάπτειν λέγεται καὶ τοῦτο δὲ τοῦ δαψιλοῦς ἔχεται
 διόπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπλήστως καὶ θηριωδῶς ἐσθιόντων τὸ
 δάψαι καὶ δαρδάψαι. Ὅμηρος·

τὸν δ' ἄρα ἀλλὰ κύνες τε καὶ οἰωνοὶ
 κατέδαψαν.²⁶ |

b τὰς δ' εὐωχίας ἐκάλουν οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀχῆς, ἣ ἐστι
 τροφή, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ ταῦτα εὖ ἔχειν. εἰς ἃς δὴ
 συνιόντες οἱ τὸ θεῖον τιμῶντες καὶ εἰς εὐφροσύνην καὶ

²⁶ Thus Athenaeus; the traditional text of Homer has ἀλλ' ἄρα τὸν γε κύνες κτλ.

²⁴⁵ Apparently an attempt to make the etymology more convincing.

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They derived the word *thiasos* from *theos* ("god")—the Spartans in fact refer to the gods themselves as *sioi*²⁴⁵—and they called them *eilapinai* because of the planning and expense involved,²⁴⁶ since *laphuttein* and *lapazein* mean "to waste one's resources" and "to spend money". The poets accordingly use the verb *alapazein* to mean "to plunder" (e.g. *Il.* 9.328), while goods that are stolen and gluttonously consumed are *laphura*. Aeschylus (fr. 424) and Euripides (e.g. *Med.* 193) refer to feasts of this sort as *eilapinai*, deriving the word from *lelapachthai* ("to have been emptied, sacked"). To digest one's food is *laptein*, and an object that is emptied becomes *lagaros*; the word *lagōn* ("hollow, flank") thus comes from *lagaros*, as does *lagonon*,²⁴⁷ while *lapara* ("flank") is derived from *lapattein* ("to empty"). To empty and clear out something systematically and carefully is *laphuttein*. *Dapanān* ("to spend money") comes from *daptein* ("to devour"), and is also connected to *dapsilēs* ("abundant, plentiful");²⁴⁸ as a result, the verbs *daptō* and *dardaptō* (both "to devour, consume") are applied to people who eat gluttonously, like wild animals. Homer (*Od.* 3.259):

but dogs and birds devoured (*katedapsan*) him.

They got the word *euōchia* ("feast") not from *ochē*, which means "nourishment", but from being well-off (*eu echein*) in this regard.²⁴⁹ When people gathered to honor the gods

²⁴⁶ The actual origin of the word is unknown, and the discussion that follows is (from a modern linguistic perspective) largely misguided. ²⁴⁷ "wafer-bread"; see 3.110a.

²⁴⁸ This is probably correct.

²⁴⁹ This is probably correct.

ἀνεσιν αὐτοὺς μεθιέντες τὸ μὲν ποτὸν μέθυ, τὸν δὲ
 τοῦτο δωρησάμενον θεὸν Μεθυμναῖον καὶ Λυαῖον καὶ
 Εὖιον καὶ Ἰήιον προσηγόρευον, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸν μὴ
 σκυθρωπὸν καὶ σύννουν ἰλαρόν· διὸ καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον
 ἴλεων ἡξίου γίνεσθαι ἐπιφωνοῦντες ἰὴ ἰή. ὅθεν καὶ
 τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ τοῦτο ἔπραττον ἱερὸν ὠνόμαζον. ὅτι δὲ
 c τὸν αὐτὸν ἴλεων καὶ ἰλαρὸν ἔλεγον δηλοῖ Ἐφιππος
 ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ δράματι Ἐμπολή· περὶ ἐταίρας
 δέ τινος λέγει·

ἔπειτά γ' εἰσιόντ', ἐὰν λυπούμενος
 τύχη τις ἡμῶν, ἐκολάκευσεν ἡδέως·
 ἐφίλησεν οὐχὶ συμπιέσασα τὸ στόμα
 ὥσπερ πολέμιον, ἀλλὰ τοῖσιν στρουθίοις
 χανούσ' ὁμοίως † ἢ σε † παρεμυθήσατο
 ἐποίησέ θ' ἰλαρὸν εὐθέως τ' ἀφείλε πᾶν
 αὐτοῦ τὸ λυποῦν καπέδειξεν ἴλεων. |

d Οἱ δ' ἀρχαῖοι καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀνθρωποειδεῖς ὑπο-
 στησάμενοι καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς ἐορτὰς διέταξαν. ὀρώντες
 γὰρ ὡς τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀπολαύσεις ὀρμῆς οὐχ οἶόν τε
 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀποστῆσαι, χρήσιμον δὲ καὶ συμ-
 φέρον τοῖς τοιούτοις εὐτάκτως καὶ κοσμίως ἐθίζειν
 χρῆσθαι, χρόνον ἀφορίσαντες καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς προ-
 θύσαντες οὕτω μεθῆκαν αὐτοὺς εἰς ἀνεσιν, ἕκαστος

²⁵⁰ In fact, *methu* is the Greek form of an Indo-European word that means "honey, mead".

²⁵¹ All epithets of Dionysus. ²⁵² The words are in fact related.

²⁵³ Quoted again at 13.571e-f.

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at this type of feast and allowed (*methientes*) themselves to be happy and relax, they began to refer to what they drank as *methu* ("wine"),²⁵⁰ and to the god who had given it to them as *Methumnaios*, *Luaios*, *Euios*, or *Iâios*,²⁵¹ and likewise to anyone who did not scowl or act gloomy as *hilaros* ("cheerful"); they accordingly expected the deity to be well-disposed (*hileōs*) to them if they addressed him with the cry *iē iē*. As a consequence, they began to call the place where they did all this *hieron* ("holy"). That they referred to the same individual as *hileōs* and *hilaros*²⁵² is made clear by Ehippus in his play entitled *Merchandise* (fr. 6).²⁵³ He says about a certain courtesan:

Then, if one of us happens to be unhappy
when he goes into her house, she's sweet and
flattering.

She doesn't kiss him with her lips squeezed together,
as if he was an enemy; instead, she opens her mouth
wide,
just like baby swallows do † she who you † and coaxes
him
and makes him cheerful (*hilaros*); and in a flash she
makes whatever's
upsetting him disappear, and puts him in a good
mood (*hileōs*).

The ancients assumed that the gods resembled human beings, and they arranged their festivals accordingly. Because they saw that people are incapable of resisting the urge to enjoy themselves, and that it is useful and expedient to accustom them to doing so in an organized and orderly fashion, they set time aside and began with an offering to the gods, allowing themselves to relax in this setting,

ἡγούμενος ἦκειν τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς ἀπαρχὰς καὶ τὰς
 σπονδὰς μετὰ αἰδοῦς τὴν συνουσίαν ποιῆται. Ὅμη-
 e ρος γοῦν | φησιν·

ἦλθε δ' Ἀθήνη

ἱρῶν ἀντιόωσα.

καὶ ὁ Ποσειδῶν

Αἰθίοπας μετεκίαθε τηλόθ' ἐόντας,
 ἀντιῶν ταύρων τε καὶ ἀρνειῶν ἑκατόμβης.

καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς

χθιζὸς ἔβη κατὰ δαῖτα, θεοὶ δ' ἅμα πάντες
 ἔποντο.

κἂν ἄνθρωπος δέ που παρῆ πρεσβύτερος καὶ τῇ προ-
 αιρέσει σπουδαῖος, αἰδοῦνται λέγειν τι τῶν ἀσχημό-
 f νων ἢ καὶ πράττειν, ὡς καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος πού | φησιν·

ἀλλὰ καὶ σιγῆν ἀγαθόν, ὅκκα παρέωντι
 κάρρονες.

ὑπολαμβάνοντες οὖν τοὺς θεοὺς πλησίον αὐτῶν εἶναι
 τὰς ἐορτὰς κοσμίως καὶ σωφρόνως διηγόν. ὅθεν οὔτε
 κατακλίνεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἔθος, ἀλλὰ

δαίνυνθ' ἐζόμενοι,

οὔτ' εἰς μέθην πίνειν, ἀλλ'

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so that everyone would imagine that the gods had come for the preliminary offerings and the libations, and would behave decently while they were together. Homer says, for example (*Od.* 3.435–6):

Athena came
and attended the sacrifice.

So too Poseidon (*Od.* 1.22, 25)

went off to visit the distant Ethiopians
and attended a massive sacrifice of bulls and sheep.

And Zeus (*Il.* 1.424)

left yesterday for a feast, and all the gods
accompanied him.

If an older person of a serious character, moreover, happens to be there, their sense of respect and shame keeps them from saying or doing anything inappropriate, as Epicharmus (fr. 163) says somewhere:

But it's good to keep quiet, when people better than
you are present.

Because they felt that the gods were near them, therefore, they conducted their festivals in an orderly, thoughtful way. As a consequence, it was not the ancients' practice to lie down, but instead (e.g. *Od.* 3.471)

they feasted sitting.

Nor they did drink until they got drunk, but instead (e.g. *Od.* 3.395–6)

< . . . > ἐπεὶ σπείσαν τ' ἐπιόν θ' ὅσον ἤθελε
θυμός,

< . . . > ἔβαν οἰκόνδε ἕκαστος.

οἱ δὲ νῦν προσποιούμενοι θεοῖς θύειν καὶ συγκα-
λουῦντες ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς οἰκειο-
364 τάτους || καταρῶνται μὲν τοῖς τέκνοις, λοιδοροῦνται δὲ
ταῖς γυναιξί, κλαυθμυρίζουσι τοὺς οἰκέτας, ἀπειλοῦ-
σι τοῖς πολλοῖς, μονονουχὶ τὸ τοῦ Ὀμήρου λέγοντες·

νῦν δ' ἔρχεσθ' ἐπὶ δείπνον, ἵνα ξυνάγωμεν ἄρηα,
ἐπὶ νοῦν λαμβάνοντες τὰ εἰρημένα ὑπὸ τοῦ τὸν Χείρ-
να πεποιηκότος, εἴτε Φερεκράτης ἐστὶν εἴτε Νικόμα-
χος ὁ ρυθμικὸς ἢ ὅστις δὴ ποτε·

μηδὲ σύ γ' ἄνδρα φίλον καλέσας ἐπὶ δαῖτα
θάλειαν |

b ἄχθου ὄρων παρεόντα· κακὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ τόδε
ρέζει·

ἀλλὰ μάλ' εὐκηλος τέρπου φρένα τέρπε τ'
ἐκείνον.

νῦν δὲ τούτων μὲν οὐδ' ὅλως μέμνηται, τὰ δὲ ἐξῆς
αὐτῶν ἐκμανθάνουσι, ἅπερ πάντα ἐκ τῶν εἰς Ἡσίο-
δου ἀναφερομένων Μεγάλων Ἡοίων²⁷ πεπαρώδηται.

²⁷ Μεγάλων Ἡοίων καὶ Μεγάλων Ἔργων A: καὶ Μεγά-
λων Ἔργων del. Dindorf

BOOK VIII

After they poured a libation and drank as much as
their heart desired,
... they all went home.

People today, on the other hand, make a pretence of sacrificing to the gods and inviting their friends and family to the event, but then swear at their children, speak rudely to their wives, reduce their slaves to tears, threaten the group as a whole, and do everything but quote the Homeric line (*Il.* 2.381):

But now go to your dinner, so that we can join battle, not keeping in mind the words of the author of the *Cheiron*—whether this is Pherocrates (fr. 162, including the ten verses allegedly adapted from Hesiod that follow), or the rhythmician Nicomachus, or whoever it may be.²⁵⁴

If you invite a friend to a large meal, don't be upset when you see him there; this is how a bad man behaves.

Instead, enjoy yourself, entirely at your ease, and make him happy.

Whereas nowadays they forget these lines entirely, and memorize those that come immediately after them, all of which are adapted from the *Great Ehoiai* attributed to Hesiod:²⁵⁵

²⁵⁴ For doubts about the authorship of *Cheiron* (shared by other ancient authorities), cf. 9.368a–b, 388f; 14.653e–f.

²⁵⁵ In fact, the first three verses of this fragment (quoted above) appear to be Hesiodic, while those that follow do not; most likely Athenaeus (or his source) has got the situation backward.

ATHENAEUS

ἡμῶν δ' ἦν τινά τις καλέσῃ θύων ἐπὶ δεῖπνον,
 ἀχθόμεθ', ἦν ἔλθῃ, καὶ ὑποβλέπομεν παρεόντα,
 χῶττι τάχιστα θύραζ' ἐξελθεῖν βουλόμεθ'
 αὐτόν. |

- c εἶτα γνούς πως τοῦθ' ὑποδεῖται· κᾶτά τις εἶπε
 τῶν ξυμπινόντων· “ἦδη σύ; τί οὐχ ὑποπίνεις;
 οὐχ ὑπολύσεις αὐτόν;” ὁ δ' ἄχθεται αὐτὸς ὁ θύων
 τῷ κατακωλύοντι καὶ εὐθὺς ἔλεξ' ἐλεγεία·
 “μηδένα μῆτ' ἀέκοντα μένειν κατέρυκε παρ' ἡμῖν,
 μῆδ' εὔδοντ' ἐπέγειρε, Σιμωνίδῃ.” οὐ γὰρ ἐπ'
 οἴνοις
 τοιαντὶ λέγομεν δειπνίζοντες φίλον ἄνδρα;

ἔτι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα προστίθεμεν· |

- d μηδὲ πολυξείνου δαιτὸς δυσπέμφελος εἶναι·
 ἐκ κοινού πλείστη τε χάρις δαπάνῃ τ' ὀλιγίστη.

καὶ θύοντες μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς ὀλίγιστα εἰς τὰς θυσίας καὶ
 τὰ τυχόντα δαπανῶμεν, ὥσπερ ὁ καλὸς Μένανδρος ἐν
 τῇ Μέθῃ παρίστησιν·

εἶτ' οὐχ ὅμοια πράττομεν καὶ θύομεν;
 ὅπου γε τοῖς θεοῖς μὲν ἡγορασμένον
 δραχμῶν ἄγω προβάτιον ἀγαπητὸν δέκα,

²⁵⁶ Adapted from Thgn. 467, 469.

²⁵⁷ The first six verses of the fragment are quoted also at 4.146d–e.

BOOK VIII

If one of us invites a guest to dinner when he's
making a sacrifice,
we're upset if the fellow comes, and we give him
dirty looks while he's there,
and want him to leave as soon as possible.
Then somehow he recognizes this and puts on his
shoes; but one of the other guests
says "Are you leaving already? Why don't you drink a
bit?
Take off his shoes!" And the man making the sacrifice
gets upset
at the one doing the detaining, and immediately
quotes the elegiac lines:
"Neither hold back anyone who is unwilling to
remain with us,
nor wake the man who is asleep, Simonides."²⁵⁶ Don't
we say things like this
over our wine, when we have a friend to dinner?

I also add the following passage (Hes. *Op.* 722-3):

Don't act put out if there are many guests at a feast;
when everyone contributes, there's more pleasure
and considerably less expense.

When we sacrifice to the gods, we spend as little as we can
on the meal and the incidentals, as the noble Menander
establishes in his *Drunkenness* (fr. 224):²⁵⁷

So doesn't how we do in life match the way we
sacrifice?
Since I'm bringing the gods a nice little
goat purchased for ten drachmas,

- αὐλητρίδας δὲ καὶ μύρον καὶ ψαλτρίας,
 † Μενδαῖον † Θάσιον, ἐγγέλεις, τυρόν, μέλι, |
 e μικροῦ τάλαντον, γίνεται τε κατὰ λόγον
 δραχμῶν μὲν ἀγαθὸν ἄξιον λαβεῖν δέκα
 ἡμᾶς, εἴαν καὶ καλλιερηθῆ τοῖς θεοῖς·
 τούτων δὲ πρὸς ταῦτ' ἀντανελεῖν τὴν ζημίαν,
 πῶς οὐχὶ τὸ κακὸν τῶν ἱερῶν διπλάζεται;
 ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ὧν γε θεὸς οὐκ εἴασα τὴν
 ὀσφὺν ἂν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἐπιθεῖναι ποτε,
 εἰ μὴ καθήγιζέν τις ἅμα τὴν ἔγχελυν,
 ἵνα Καλλιμέδων ἀπέθανεν εἰς τῶν συγγενῶν. |
 f ὀνομάζουσι δ' οἱ ἀρχαῖοι καὶ ἐπιδόσιμά τινα δείπνα,
 ἅπερ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς λέγουσιν ἐξ ἐπιδομάτων. Ἄλεξις
 γοῦν ἐν Τῇ Εἰς τὸ Φρέαρ φησί·

(A.) νυνὶ τε μοι

ὁ δεσπότης προὔπεμψεν οἴνου κεράμιον
 τῶν ἔνδοθεν κομιούντ' ἐκεῖθεν. (B.) μανθάνω·
 ἐπιδόσιμον παρὰ τᾶλλα τοῦτ' ἔσται. (A.) φιλω
 αἰσθητικὴν γραῦν.

καὶ Κρώβυλος ἐν Ψευδνοποβολιμαίῳ ||

258 Actually an immense amount of money (6000 drachmas).

259 A standard part of sacrificial procedure; how the tailbone burned was taken to indicate the god's attitude toward the offering and thus the request that accompanied it.

BOOK VIII

whereas the cost of the dancing-girls, perfume, harp-girls,

† Mendaean and † Thasian wine, eels, cheese, and honey

is minimal—a talent.²⁵⁸ And it's reasonable for us to get ten drachmas worth of blessings—

assuming the gods take pleasure in the sacrifice!

But if we have to match what we spend on them with what we spend on ourselves,

isn't the trouble sacrifices put us to doubled?

If I were a god, I'd never let anyone

put the tailbone on the altar²⁵⁹

unless he simultaneously offered his eel—

which would be the death of its relative

Callimedon!²⁶⁰

The ancients also refer to certain dinners as *epidosima*, which are what the Alexandrians call dinners "via contributions". Alexis, for example, says in *The Woman Who Fell into the Well* (fr. 85):

(A.) But as it is, my
 master sent me off to fetch a jar of wine
 from the people who live inside that house there. (B.)
 I get it;
 this is going to be a contribution (*epidosimon*) on top
 of everything else. (A.) I love
 a perceptive old woman.

Also Crobylus in *Falsely Supposititious* (fr. 5):

²⁶⁰ For the seafood-lover Callimedon "the Crayfish", see 8.338f n.

(Α.) Λάχης. (Λα.) ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς σέ. (Α.)

πρόαγε. (Λα.) ποί;

(Α.) ὅποι μ' ἐρωτᾷς; ὡς Φιλουμένην, παρ' ἧ
τὰπιδόσιμ' ἡμῖν ἔστιν ἧς ἐχθρὸς πιεῖν
κνάθους ἕκαστον ἐβιάσω σὺ δώδεκα.

οἶδασι δὲ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι καὶ τὰ νῦν καλούμενα ἀπὸ
σπυρίδος δεῖπνα. ἐμφανίζει δὲ Φερεκράτης περὶ τού-
των ἐν Ἐπιλήσμονι ἢ Θαλάττη οὕτως·

συσκευασάμενος δεῖπνον ἐς τὸ σπυρίδιον
ἐβάδιζεν ὡς † πρὸς ωφελην †.

τοῦτο δὲ σαφῶς δηλοῖ τὸ ἀπὸ σπυρίδος δεῖπνον, ὅταν
b τις αὐτὸς | αὐτῷ σκευάσας δεῖπνον καὶ συνθεῖς εἰς
σπυρίδα παρά τινα δειπνήσων ἴη. σύνδειπνον εἴρηκεν
ἐπὶ συμποσίου Λυσίας ἐν τῷ Κατὰ Μικίνου Φόνου.
φησὶν γάρ· ἐκείνον ἐπὶ τὸ σύνδειπνον κεκλημένον· καὶ
Πλάτων δ' ἔφη· τοῖς τὸ σύνδειπνον ποιησαμένοις. καὶ
Ἄριστοφάνης Γηρντάδῃ·

ἐν τοῖσι συνδείπνοις ἐπαινῶν Αἰσχύλον.

διόπερ τινὲς καὶ τὸ Σοφοκλέους δρᾶμα κατὰ τὸ οὐδέτε-
ρον ἐπιγράφειν ἀξιούσιν Σύνδειπνον. καλοῦσι δὲ τινα
καὶ συναγώγιμα δεῖπνα, ὡς Ἄλεξις ἐν Φιλοκάλῳ ἢ
Νύμφαις· |

BOOK VIII

(A.) Laches! (B.) *I'm coming to you.* (A.) Lead the way. (B.) To where?

(A.) You're asking me where? To visit Philoumene; our *epidosima* are at her house. Yesterday you forced us all to drink a dozen ladles in her honor.

The ancients were also familiar with what are today referred to as "dinners from a basket". Pherecrates in *The Forgetful Man or The Sea* (fr. 57) has the following to say about them:

He arranged his dinner in the basket
and went to [corrupt].

What leaves no doubt that a "dinner from a basket" is involved, is when an individual prepares dinner for himself, puts it in a basket, and goes off to another person's house to eat. Lysias uses the word *sundeipnon* for a drinking party (*sumposion*) in his *Against Micinus for Murder* (fr. 233 Carey). He says: he had been invited to the *sundeipnon*. Plato as well said (cf. *Smp.* 172b): to those who prepared the *sundeipnon*. Also Aristophanes in *Gerytades* (fr. 161):

praising Aeschylus at the *sundeipna*.

This is why some authorities believe that Sophocles' play should have the title *Sundeipnon*, in the neuter.²⁶¹ The ancients also refer to certain dinners as *sunagōgima* ("collective"), as for example Alexis in *The Man Who Loved Elegance or Nymphs* (fr. 253):

²⁶¹ Sc. rather than the masculine plural *Sundeipnoi*, as at 15.678f, 685f; cf. 1.17d.

ATHENAEUS

- c (A.) κατάκεισο κακείνας κάλει.
 συναγωγίμον ποιῶμεν. (B.) ἀλλ' εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι
 κυμνοπρίστης ὁ τρόπος ἐστὶ σου πάλαι.

καὶ Ἐφιππος ἐν Γηρυόνη·

καὶ συναγωγίμον
 συμπόσιον ἐπιπληροῦσιν.

ἔλεγον δὲ συνάγειν καὶ τὸ μετ' ἀλλήλων πίνειν καὶ
 συναγωγίον τὸ συμπόσιον. Μένανδρος Ἐμπιμπρα-
 μένη·

καὶ νῦν ὑπὲρ τούτων συνάγουσι κατὰ μόνας.

εἶθ' ἐξῆς ἔφη·

< . . . > ἐπλήρωσέν τε τὸ συναγωγίον.

- d μήποτε δὲ | τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἀπὸ συμβολῶν καλούμενον.
 τίνες δ' εἰσὶν αἱ συμβολαὶ <ὁ> αὐτὸς Ἄλεξις ἐν
 Μανδραγοριζομένη σημαίνει διὰ τούτων·

(A.) ἤξω φέρουσα συμβολὰς τοίνυν ἅμα.

(B.) πῶς συμβολάς; (A.) τὰς ταινίας οἱ

Χαλκιδεῖς

καὶ τοὺς ἀλαβάστους συμβολὰς καλοῦσι, γραῦ.

Ἄργεῖοι δ', ὡς ἐν τοῖς Ὑπομνήμασί φησιν Ἠγήσαν-

BOOK VIII

(A.) Lie down and invite the women in!
Let's have a *sunagōgimon*! (B.) But I know perfectly
well that
you've been a cheapskate forever.

Also Ehippus in *Geryon* (fr. 4):

And they fill up
a *sunagōgimon* drinking party.

They used the verb *sunagein* ("to assemble") to refer to drinking with one another, and *sunagōgion* to refer to a drinking party. Menander in *The Girl Who Was on Fire* (fr. 123, encompassing both quotations):

And now as a result they're getting together
(*sunagousi*) separately.

Then immediately after this he said:

and he filled up the *sunagōgion*.

Perhaps this is what is referred to as (drinking) *apo sumbolōn* ("from tokens"). What *sumbolai* are is shown by the same Alexis in *The Woman Who Ate Mandrake* (fr. 147), in the following passage:

(A.) Well then, I'll come, and I'll bring the *sumbolai*
with me.

(B.) What do you mean by "*sumbolai*"? (A.) The
Chalcidians refer
to ribbons and perfume-flasks as *sumbolai*, old
woman.

But the Argives (do things differently), according to Hegesander in his *Commentaries* (fr. 31, *FHG* iv.419). He

δρος· γράφει δ' οὕτως· τὴν συμβολὴν τὴν εἰς τὰ συμπόσια ὑπὸ τῶν πινόντων εἰσφερομένην Ἀργεῖοι χῶν καλοῦσι, τὴν δὲ μερίδα αἴσαν.

- e Οὐκ ἰσχυρὸν δὲ καὶ τούτου τοῦ συγγράμματος τέλος εἰληφότος, ἑταῖρε Τιμόκρατες, αὐτοῦ καταπαύσω τὸν λόγον, μὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς τις οἰηθῆ κατα τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα ἰχθύς ποτε γεγονέναι. φησὶ γὰρ ὁ φυσικός·

ἤδη γάρ ποτ' ἐγὼ γενόμεν κούρος τε κόρη τε
θάμνος τ' οἰωνός τε καὶ ἕξαλος ἔλλοπος ἰχθύς.

BOOK VIII

writes as follows: The Argives refer to the *sumbolē* the members of the group bring to their drinking parties as a *chōs*, and to an individual share²⁶² as an *aisa*.

Since this treatise too has come to an end, my friend Timocrates, it is appropriate for me to conclude my speech at this point, so that no one believes that I was ever a fish,²⁶³ as Empedocles was. For the scientist says (31 B 117 D-K):

Because before this I was a boy, a girl,
a bush, a bird, and an *ellopos* fish leaping out of the
sea.

²⁶² Sc. of the cost of the party.

²⁶³ Sc. "and am thus overly interested in them".

366 Δόρπου δ' ἑξαυτίς μνησώμεθα, χερσὶ δ' ἔφ' ὕδωρ
 χευάντων· μῦθοι δὲ καὶ ἠῶθέν περ ἔσονται

ἔμοί τε καὶ σοί, ὦ Τιμόκρατες. περιενεχθέντων γὰρ
 κωλήνων καὶ τινος εἰπόντος εἰ τακεραὶ εἴσι, παρὰ τίνι
 κείται τὸ τακερόν; ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς ἔφη. καὶ σίναπυ δὲ
 τίς εἴρηκε τὸ νᾶπυ; ὁρῶ γὰρ ἐν παροψίσι περιφερό-
 μενον μετὰ τῶν κωλεῶν. οἶδα γὰρ καὶ οὕτως λεγόμε-
 νον κωλεὸν ἀρσενικῶς καὶ οὐχ, ὡς οἱ ἡμεδαποὶ Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι, μόνως θηλυκῶς. Ἐπίχαρμος | γοῦν ἐν Μεγαρίδι
 φησίν·

† ορεατηρηδιον † κωλεοί, σφόνδυλοι, τῶν δὲ
 βρωμάτων οὐδὲ ἔν.

καὶ ἐν Κύκλωπι·

χορδαί τε ἀδύ, ναὶ μὰ Δία, χῶ κωλεός.

μάθετε δὲ καὶ τοῦτο παρ' ἐμοῦ, ὦ σοφώτατοι, ὅτι νῦν ὁ
 Ἐπίχαρμος καὶ χορδὴν ὠνόμασεν, αἰεὶ ποτε ὀρύαν

BOOK IX

Let us think once again of our dinner, and let them
pour water
over our hands; and beginning at dawn there will be
stories (*Od.* 4.213–14)

for you and me, Timocrates. Because when hams (*kōlēnai*) were served, someone asked if they were tender (*takerai*), and Ulpian said: In what author is the word *takeros* attested? And who refers to mustard (*napu*) as *sinapu*? because I see that it is being served in sauce-dishes along with the hams (*kōlēōn*). For I know that the word is also pronounced this way, as masculine *kōleon*, and is not exclusively feminine, as our Athenians would have it. Epicharmus, for example, says in *The Woman from Megara* (fr. 81):

[corrupt] hams (*kōleoi*), vertebrae—but nothing
edible.

And in *Cyclops* (fr. 71):

Sausages (*chordai*) are delicious food, by Zeus, as is
the ham (*kōleos*)!

Here is something else you can learn from me, my brilliant friends: Epicharmus used the word *chordē* here, but else-

καλῶν. καὶ ἄλλας δὲ ἡδυσμένους ὀρῶ ἐν ἄλλαις παρ-
οψίσιν. ἀνηδύντων δὲ ἀλῶν πλήρεις οἱ κυνικοί, παρ'
οἷς κατὰ τὸν Ἀντιφάνην, λέγει δ' ἐν Κωρύκῃ τις
ἄλλος κύων·

(A.) τῶν θαλαπτίων δ' αἰὶ |

c ὄψων ἐν ἔχομεν, διὰ τέλους δὲ τοῦθ', ἄλα.

< . . . > ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις πίνομεν
οἰνάριον. (B.) ἡδος, νῆ Δί', οἰκίας τρόπον.

(A.) πῶς ἡδος; οἶον τοῖς παροῦσι συμφέρει
ἀπαξάπασιν ὀξυβάφῃ ποτηρίῳ.

ὀρῶ δὲ καὶ μετὰ ὄξους ἀναμεμιγμένον γάρων· οἶδα δὲ
ὅτι νῦν τινες τῶν Ποντικῶν ἰδίᾳ καθ' αὐτὸ κατασκευ-
άζονται ὀξύγαρον.

Πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπαντήσας ὁ Ζωίλος ἔφη· Ἀριστο-
φάνης, ὃ οὗτος, ἐν Δημνίαις τὸ τακερὸν ἔταξεν ἐπὶ τοῦ
τρυφεροῦ λέγων οὕτως· |

d Λῆμνος κυάμους τρέφουσα τακεροῦς καὶ καλοῦς.

καὶ Φερεκράτης Κραπατάλλοις·

τακεροῦς ποῆσαι τοὺς ἐρεβίνθους αὐτόθι.

¹ Cf. 3.94f, where Athenaeus claims that Epicharmus com-
posed an (otherwise unattested) play entitled *Orua*. The word is
not attested elsewhere in what we have of his plays, but is perhaps
to be restored in fr. 81 (above), where the manuscripts offer the
corrupt *oreatērēdion*.

BOOK IX

where always refers to this as *orua*.¹ I also see seasoned salt in other sauce-dishes. Whereas the Cynics are full of unseasoned salt; according to Antiphanes in *The Beggar's Bag* (fr. 132), another dog (*kuōn*) in their pack says:

(A. We always have one type of seafood, and we have it constantly: salt. . . . And to go with these items, we drink a little wine. (B.) It's nice (*hēdos*),² by Zeus—in the house-style!

(A.) What do you mean, "nice"? It's the kind that's good for everyone who's there, provided you use a vinegar-cruet as a cup.

I see that fermented fish-sauce has been mixed with the vinegar, and I know that nowadays some residents of the Black Sea region manufacture a vinegar-and-fermented-fish sauce specifically as such.

In response to these remarks, Zoilus said: Aristophanes in *Lemnian Women* (fr. 372), sir, used the adjective *takeros* to describe dainty food, saying the following:

Lemnos, which produces fine, dainty (*takeroi*) beans.

Also Pherecrates in *Small Change* (fr. 89):

to make the chickpeas dainty then and there.

² Or perhaps "It's vinegar" (if the word is given a smooth breathing); but the humor is in any case obscure.

σίγηπυ δ' ὠνόμασε Νίκανδρος ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἐν μὲν
Θηριακοῖς οὕτως·

ἦ μὴν καὶ σικύην χαλκήρεα ἢ ἐ σίγηπυ.¹

ἐν δὲ τοῖς Γεωργικοῖς·

σπέρματά τ' ἐνδάκνοντα σινήπυος.

καὶ πάλιν·

κάρδαμ' ἀνάρρινόν τε μελάμφυλλον τε σίγηπυ.

Κράτης δ' ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς Λέξεως Ἀριστο-
φάνη παριστᾶ λέγοντα· ||

367 κάβλεπε σίναπυ καὶ τὰ πρόσωπ' ἀνέσπασε,

καθὰ φησι Σέλευκος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Ἑλληνισμοῦ· ἐστὶ δ'
ὁ στίχος ἐξ Ἰππέων καὶ ἔχει οὕτως·

κάβλεψε νᾶπυ.

οὐδεὶς δ' Ἀττικῶν σίναπυ ἔφη· ἔχει δὲ ἐκάτερον λόγον.
νᾶπυ μὲν γὰρ οἶον νᾶφυ, ὅτι ἐστέρηται φύσεως· ἀφυὲς
γὰρ καὶ μικρόν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ ἀφύη. σίναπυ δὲ ὅτι
σίνεται τοὺς ὤπας ἐν τῇ ὁδμῇ, ὡς καὶ τὸ κρόμμυον ὅτι

¹ The traditional text of Nicander is very different: *ναὶ μὴν
καὶ σικύην χαλκήρεα λοιγῆϊ τύψει.*

³ Part of a much longer fragment, overlapping portions of
which are quoted at 4.133d-e; 9.369b-c.

BOOK IX

Nicander of Colophon used the word *sinēpu* in the *Theriacaca* (921), as follows:

assuredly a bronze cupping-glass or *sinēpu*.

And in his *Georgics* (fr. 70.16 Schneider):³

and pungent mustard (*sinēpu*)-seed.

Again (fr. 84 Schneider):

nose-smart and pepper-grass and black-leaved *sinēpu*.

Crates in his *On the Attic Dialect* (FGrH 362 F 11 = fr. 111 Broggiato) cites Aristophanes, who says:

and he was giving me a mustard (*sinapu*) look and arching his eyebrows,

according to Seleucus in his *On Hellenism* (fr. 69 Müller). But the line comes from *Knights* (631) and actually runs as follows:

and he was giving me a mustard (*napu*) look.⁴

No Attic author used *sinapu*; but either form makes sense. *Napu* is, as it were, *naphu*, because it has not been allowed to grow,⁵ since it is stunted (*aphues*) and small, like small-fry (*aphuē*).⁶ Whereas it might be *sinapu* because the smell hurts our eyes (*sinetai . . . ōpes*), just as we say *krommuon* ("onion") because we squeeze our eyes shut (*koras*

⁴ Thus in fact the manuscripts of Aristophanes.

⁵ As if *naphu* were constructed out of an initial privative combined with a word cognate with *phuō* ("to grow").

⁶ For this (false) etymology, cf. 7.324d.

τὰς κόρας μύομεν. Ξέναρχος δὲ ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς ἐν Σκύθαις ἔφη·

τουτὶ τὸ κακὸν οὐκ ἔστ' ἔτι

- b κακόν, τὸ θυγάτριόν τε μου | σεσινάπικεν
διὰ τῆς ξένης.

ἀλῶν δὲ καὶ ὄξους μέμνηται ὁ καλὸς Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν τοῖς περὶ Σθενέλου τοῦ τραγικοῦ λέγων·

(A.) καὶ πῶς ἐγὼ Σθενέλου φάγοιμ' ἂν ῥήματα;

(B.) εἰς ὄξος ἐμβαπτόμενος ἢ ξηροὺς ἄλας.

- ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν σοι ταῦτα, καλὲ ἄνθρωπε, ζητοῦντι
συνεισευπορήσαμεν· σὺ δ' ἡμῖν ἀποκρίνασθαι δίκαι-
ος εἶ παρὰ τίνι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγγείου ἢ παροψίδος κείται. ἐπὶ
c μὲν γὰρ ὄψου παρεσκευασμένου ποικίλου | καὶ εἶδους
τινὸς τοιοῦτου Πλάτωνα οἶδα εἰρηκότα ἐν Ἑορταῖς
οὕτως·

ὀπόθεν ἔσοιτο μᾶζα καὶ παροψίδες.

ἐν δὲ Εὐρώπῃ πάλιν ἐπὶ παροψήματος διὰ πλειόνων
εἴρηκεν, ἐν οἷς ἔστι καὶ τάδε·

(A.) γυνὴ καθεύδουσ' ἔστιν ἀργόν. (B.) μανθάνω.

⁷ Sc. when we eat it, because of its smell.

⁸ *TrGF* 32. The fragment is identified by Σ^{RVT} Ar. V. 1312 as coming from *Gerytades* (probably 408 or 407 BCE).

⁹ At 9.366a.

BOOK IX

muomen).⁷ The comic poet Xenarchus said in *Scythians* (fr. 12):

This problem's no longer
a problem; my daughter's applied a mustard-plaster
(*sesinapiken*)
with the foreign woman's help.

The noble Aristophanes mentions salt and vinegar in the passage about the tragic poet Sthenelus,⁸ where he says (fr. 158):

(A.) And how could I stomach Sthenelus' speeches?
(B.) By dipping them in vinegar or dry salt.

I furnished you, my good sir, with these responses to the questions you posed.⁹ But you are the right person to tell us in what author *paropsis* is attested as referring to a vessel.¹⁰ For I am aware that Plato in *Festivals* (fr. 32)¹¹ uses the word of an elaborately-prepared dish of some such type, as follows:

from which a barley-cake and *paropsides* might
come.

Again, in his *Europa* (fr. 43) he uses it repeatedly to refer to a side-dish (*paropsēma*), including in the following passage:

(A.) A woman who's asleep doesn't get you anywhere.
(B.) I understand.

¹⁰ The word more often means "side-dish" (see below), but Ulpian used it twice to refer to a vessel at 9.366a-b.

¹¹ Quoted again at 9.368c, presumably from a different source-document. Cf. 9.368d n.

(A.) ἐγρηγορίας δ' εἰσὶν αἱ παροψίδες
 αὐταὶ μόνον κρεῖττον πολὺ χρῆμ' εἰς ἡδονὴν
 ἢ τᾶλλα. (B.) βίνου γάρ τινες παροψίδες |
 d εἰς', ἀντιβολῶ σ';

κὰν τοῖς δ' ἐξῆς δίεισιν ὥσπερ ἐπὶ παροψήματος
 λέγων τῶν παροψίδων. ἐν δὲ Φάωνι·

τὰ δ' ἀλλότρι' ἔσθ' ὅμοια ταῖς παροψίσι·
 βραχὺ γάρ <τι> τέρψαντ' ἐξανήλωται ταχύ.

Ἄριστοφάνης Δαιδάλω·

πάσαις γυναιξὶν ἐξ' ἐνός γε τοῦ <τρόπου>
 ὥσπερ παροψὶς μοιχὸς ἐσκευασμένος.

Σιωπῶντος οὖν τοῦ Οὐλπιανοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐγώ, φησὶν ὁ
 Λεωνίδης, εἰπεῖν εἰμι δίκαιος πολλὰ ἤδη σιωπήσας· |

e πολλοῖς δ' ἀντιλέγειν

κατὰ τὸν Πάριον Εὐήνον

ἔθος περὶ παντὸς ὁμοίως,
 ὀρθῶς δ' ἀντιλέγειν, οὐκέτι τοῦτ' ἐν ἔθει.
 καὶ πρὸς μὲν τούτους ἀρκεῖ λόγος εἰς ὁ παλαιός·
 σοὶ μὲν ταῦτα δοκοῦντ' ἔστω, ἐμοὶ δὲ τάδε.

¹² Quoted again at 9.368b–c, presumably from a different source-document.

¹³ The fourth verse is quoted again in a similar context at 10.429f.

BOOK IX

(A.) But once she's awake, her side-dishes
(*paropsides*)
all by themselves are a much greater contribution to
pleasure
than the rest is. (B.) But are there any side-dishes
(*paropsides*) to
fucking, I'd like to know?

And in what follows he goes through the "*paropsides*" as if he were actually discussing side-dishes. Also in *Phaon* (fr. 190):

Other people's stuff is like side-dishes (*paropsides*);
it makes you happy for a little while, but it's quickly
used up.

Aristophanes in *Daedalus* (fr. 191):¹²

For all women, one way or another,
a seducer's ready, like a side-dish (*paropsis*).

When Ulpian remained silent, Leonides said: Well, I am the right person to speak, given that I have kept quiet for a long time.

Many people are in the habit—

to quote Evenus of Paros (fr. 1 West²)¹³—

of arguing about absolutely everything;
but as for arguing correctly, that's not what they
do.

To answer them, a single ancient saying's enough:
"You can think that, but I think something else!"

τοὺς ξυνετοὺς δ' ἄν τις πείσειε τάχιστα
λέγων εὖ,
οἵπερ καὶ ῥήστης εἰσὶ διδασκαλῆς.

f ἐπὶ τοῦ σκεύους οὖν εἴρηκεν, ᾧ φιλότης Μυρτίλε
(προήρπασα | γάρ σου τὸν λόγον), Ἀντιφάνης Βοι-
ωτίῳ·

καλέσας τε παρατίθησιν ἐν παροψίδι.

καὶ Ἄλεξις ἐν Ἑσιόνῃ·

ὡς εἶδε τὴν τράπεζαν ἀνθρώπους δύο
φέροντας εἴσω ποικίλων παροψίδων
κόσμου βρύουσαν, οὐκέτ' εἰς ἔμ' ἔβλεπεν.

καὶ ὁ τὰ εἰς Μάγνητα ἀναφερόμενα ποιήσας ἐν Διο-
νύσῳ πρώτῳ·

καὶ ταῦτα μὲν μοι τῶν κακῶν παροψίδες. ||

368 Ἀχαιοὺς δ' ἐν Αἴθωνι σατυρικῶ·

κεκερματίσθω δ' ἄλλα μοι παροψίδων
κάθεφθα καὶ κνισηρὰ παραφλογίσματα.

Σωτάδης δ' ὁ κωμικὸς Παραλυτρουμένῳ·

¹⁴ Pollux 10.88 quotes the next word ("hyacinth-bulbs"; simple, bitter food) as well, supplying a direct object for the verb.

BOOK IX

Whereas if you make a good case, you could easily
convince intelligent people,
because they're easy to teach.

Antiphanes in *The Boeotian* (fr. 61.1), my good friend
Myrtilus—I know I snatched the words out of your
mouth—applies the term to a vessel:

and if he invites anyone, he serves him (food) in
paropsides.¹⁴

Also Alexis in *Hesione* (fr. 89):

When he saw two people carrying
the table inside, loaded with an array of all sorts
of side-dishes (*paropsides*), he stopped paying
attention to me.

And the author of the lines attributed to Magnes (fr. 1) in
Dionysus I:¹⁵

And these are side-dishes (*paropsides*) to my
troubles.

Achaeus in the satyr play *Aethon* (TrGF 20 F 7):

Let other stewed-down, flame-roasted
side-dishes (*paropsides*) smelling of fat be chopped
up for me!

The comic author Sotades in *The Man Who Was Being
Ransomed* (fr. 3):

¹⁵ For reservations about the authorship of the play, cf.
14.646e.

ATHENAEUS

παροψίς εἶναι φαίνομαι τῷ Κρωβύλῳ·
τούτου μασᾶται, παρακατεσθίει δ' ἐμέ.

ἀμφιβόλως δ' εἴρηται τὸ παρὰ τῷ Ξενοφῶντι ἐν πρώ-
τῳ Παιδείας. φησὶ γὰρ ὁ φιλόσοφος· προσήγεν αὐτῷ
παροψίδας καὶ παντοδαπὰ ἐμβάμματα καὶ βρώματα.
καὶ παρὰ τῷ τὸν Χείρωνα δὲ πεποιηκότι τὸν εἰς
b Φερεκράτην ἀναφερόμενον ἐπὶ ἡδύσματος | ἢ παροψίς
κεῖται καὶ οὐχ, ὡς Δίδυμος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Παρεφθορίας
Λέξεως, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγγείου. φησὶ γάρ·

νῆ τὸν Δί ὥσπερ αἱ παροψίδες
τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχουσ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἡδυσμάτων,
† οὐς ὁ καλετας † ἀξιοῖ τοῦ μηδενός.

Νικοφῶν Σειρήσιν·

ἀλλᾶς μαχέσθω περὶ ἔδρας παροψίδι.

Ἄριστοφάνης Δαιδάλῳ· |

c πάσαις γυναιξὶν ἐξ ἑνός γε του <τρόπου>
ὥσπερ παροψίς μοιχὸς ἐσκενασμένος.

Πλάτων Ἑορταῖς·

ὀπόθεν ἔσοιτο μᾶζα καὶ παροψίδες.

BOOK IX

Apparently I'm a side-dish (*paropsis*) to Crobylus:
she's chewing on him, but eating me on the side.

The sense of the word is ambiguous in Book I of Xenophon's *Education* (*Cyr.* 1.3.4), because the philosopher says: He brought him *paropsides* and dipping-sauces and other foods of all types. The word *paropsis* is also attested in the author of the *Cheiron* attributed to Pherecrates,¹⁶ referring to a sauce and not, as Didymus claims in his *On Corrupt Vocabulary* (p. 19 Schmidt), to the vessel. Because he says (Pherecr. fr. 157):

By Zeus, they're just like side-dishes (*paropsides*)—
they're held responsible for the sauce they're in!
† which the one who [corrupt] † thinks are worthless!

Nicopho in *Sirens* (fr. 22):¹⁷

Let a sausage fight against side-dishes (*paropsides*)
for a seat!

Aristophanes in *Daedalus* (fr. 191):¹⁸

For all women, one way or another,
a seducer's ready, like a side-dish (*paropsis*).

Plato in *Festivals* (fr. 32):¹⁹

from which a barley-cake and *paropsides* might
come.

¹⁶ For the disputed authorship of the play, see 8.363f n.

¹⁷ Probably from the same passage as fr. 21 (quoted at 6.269e-f).

¹⁸ Quoted also at 9.367d, where see n.

¹⁹ Quoted also at 9.367c, where see n.

περὶ βολβῶν δ' ἀρτύσεως καὶ σκευασίας τὸν λόγον
ποιεῖται. οἱ δ' Ἀττικοί, ὧ Συρατικῆ Οὐλπιανέ, καὶ
ἔμβαμμα λέγουσιν, ὡς Θεόπομπος ἐν Εἰρήνῃ·

d ὁ μὲν ἄρτος ἠδύ, τὸ δὲ φενακίζειν προσὸν |
ἔμβαμμα τοῖς ἄρτοις πονηρὸν γίνεταί.

Καὶ κωλῆνα δὲ λέγουσι καὶ κωλῆν. Εὐπόλις Αὐτο-
λύκῳ·

σκέλη δὲ καὶ κωλῆνες εὐθὺ τοῦρόφου.

Εὐριπίδης Σκίρωνι·

< . . . > οὐδὲ κωλῆνες νεβρῶν.

ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ κωλέα συνηρημένον ἐστὶν ὡς συκέα συκῆ,
λεοντέα λεοντῆ, κωλέα κωλῆ. Ἀριστοφάνης Πλούτῳ
δευτέρῳ·

οἶμοι δὲ κωλῆς ἦν ἐγὼ κατήσθιον.

καὶ ἐν Δαιταλεῦσι |

e καὶ δελφακίων ἀπαλῶν κωλαῖ καὶ χναυμάτια
πετερόεντα.

ἐν δὲ Πελαργοῖς·

κεφαλὰς τ' ἀρνῶν κωλᾶς <τ'> ἐρίφων.

BOOK IX

He then discusses how hyacinth-bulbs are seasoned and prepared. Attic authors, my Syrian friend Ulpian, use the term *embamma* ("dipping-sauce"), for example Theopompus in *Peace* (fr. 9):

The bread's delicious; but the cheating, which is
there
as a dipping-sauce (*embamma*) for the bread, is nasty.

They say both *kōlē* and *kōlēn*.²⁰ Eupolis in *Autolycus* (fr. 54):

legs and hams (*kōlēnes*) hanging from the roof.

Euripides in *Sciron* (fr. 677):

and no fawns' hams (*kōlēnes*).

The form is contracted from *kōlea*, like *sukē* ("fig") from *sukea*, and *leontē* ("lion's skin") from *leontea*; so *kōlē* from *kōlea*. Aristophanes in *Wealth II*²¹ (1128):

Alas! the ham (*kōlē*) I used to gobble down!

Also in *Banqueters* (fr. 236):

and hams (*kōlai*) of tender piglets, and winged
tidbits.

And in *Storks* (fr. 449):

and lambs' heads and kids' hams (*kōlai*).

²⁰ Sc. to mean "ham"; responding to Ulpian's points about various forms of the word at 9.366a–b.

²¹ I.e. the preserved version of the play.

Πλάτων Γρυψίν·

< . . . > ἰχθύς, κωλᾶς, φύσκας.

Ἀμειψίας Κόννω·

δίδοται μάλισθ' ἱερώσυνα,
κωλῆ, τὸ πλευρόν, ἡμίκραϊρ' ἄριστερά.

Ξενοφῶν Κυνηγετικῶ· κωλῆν σαρκώδη, λαγόνας
ύγρας. καὶ Ξενοφάνης δ' ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἐν τοῖς Ἐλε-
γείοις φησί· |

- f πέμψας γὰρ κωλῆν ἐρίφου σκέλος ἦραο πῖον
ταύρου λαρινού, τίμιον ἀνδρὶ λαχεῖν
τοῦ κλέος Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν ἀφίξεται, οὐδ'
ἀπολήξει,
ἔστ' ἂν ἀοιδάων ἦ γένος Ἑλλαδικόν.

Ἐξῆς δὲ τούτων πολλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν ἐπιφερο-
μένων ἡμεῖς ἐπισημανούμεθα τὰ μνήμης ἄξια. καὶ
γὰρ ὀρνίθων πλήθος ἦν αἰεὶ καὶ χηνῶν, ἔτι δὲ τῶν
369 νεοσσῶν ὀρνίθων, οὓς πίπους² τινὲς καλοῦσι, || καὶ
χοίρων καὶ τῶν περισπουδάστων φασιανικῶν ὀρνί-
θων. περὶ λαχάνων οὖν πρότερον ἐκθέμενός σοι καὶ
περὶ τῶν ἄλλων μετὰ ταῦτα διηγῆσομαι.

² πίπους Casaubon: ἵππους ACE

BOOK IX

Plato in *Griffins* (fr. 17):

fish, hams (*kōlai*), stuffed large intestines.

Amipsias in *Connus* (fr. 7.1–2):

The priest's share is certainly being offered:
a ham (*kōlē*), a side of ribs, and the left half of the
head.

Xenophon in the *Art of Hunting* (5.30): an upper leg (*kōlē*)
with plenty of flesh, loose flanks.²² Xenophanes of Colo-
phon too says in his *Elegies* (fr. B 6 West²):

Because although you sent only a kid's ham (*kōlē*),
you took home a meaty leg
of a fatted bull, a mark of honor for the man to
whom it falls,
whose fame will spread throughout Greece and will
never fail,
so long as the Greek tribe of bards endures.

Immediately after this, many different types of food
were served; I will describe only those that deserve special
mention. There was, in fact, always a substantial supply
of birds, including geese, as well as the young birds some
authorities refer to as *pipoi* ("cheepers"), and also pigs and
pheasants, which are much sought-after. After first de-
scribing the vegetables, therefore, I will offer you an ac-
count of these items afterward.²³

²² Referring to a hare.

²³ Beginning at 9.373a. The fiction of offering an account of a
conversation among a number of different parties is abandoned
until 9.373a.

Γογγυλίδες. ταύτας Ἀπολλᾶς ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ Πόλεων ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων γάστρας φησὶ καλεῖσθαι. Νίκανδρος δ' ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἐν ταῖς Γλώσσαις παρὰ Βοιωτοῖς γάστρας ὀνομάζεσθαι τὰς κράμβας, τὰς δὲ γογγυλίδας ζεκελτίδας· Ἀμερίας δὲ καὶ Τιμαχίδας τὰς κολοκύντας ζεκελτίδας καλεῖ-

b σθαι. | Σπεύσιππος δ' ἐν δευτέρῳ Ὁμοίων, ράφανις, φησί, γογγυλῖς, ράφυς, ἀνάρρινον ὅμοια. τὴν δὲ ράφυν Γλαῦκος ἐν τῷ Ὀψαρτυτικῷ διὰ τοῦ -π ψιλῶς καλεῖ ράπυν. τούτοις δ' οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶν ὅμοιον εἰ μὴ ἡ νῦν προσαγορευομένη βουνιάς. Θεόφραστος δὲ βουνιάδα μὲν οὐκ ὀνομάζει, ἄρρενα δὲ καλεῖ τινα γογγυλίδα, καὶ ἴσως αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ βουνιάς. Νίκανδρος δ' ἐν τοῖς Γεωργικοῖς τῆς βουνιάδος μνημονεύει·

γογγυλίδας σπείροις δὲ κυλινδρωτῆς ἐφ' ἄλλως |
 c ὄφρ' ἂν ἴσαι πλαθάνοισι χαμηλοτέρους
 θαλέθωσι·

βουνιάς † ἀλλ' εἴσω ραφάνοις εἴσω
 λαθαρωκοί †.

γογγυλίδος δισση γὰρ ἰδ' ἐκ ραφάνοιο γενέθλη
 μακρὴ τε στιφρὴ τε φαίνεται ἐν πρασιῆσι.

Κηφισιακῶν δὲ γογγυλίδων μνημονεύει Κράτης ἐν Ῥήτορσιν οὕτως·

Κηφισιακαῖσι γογγυλίσιν ὅμοια πάνν.

BOOK IX

Turnips. Apollas in his *On the Cities in the Peloponnese* (fr. 3, *FHG* iv.307) reports that the Spartans refer to these as *gastrai*. Nicander of Colophon in his *Glossary* (fr. 132 Schneider) claims that the Boeotians call cabbages *gastrai*, and turnips *zekeltides*; but Amerias (p. 8 Hoffmann) and Timachidas (fr. 27 Blinkenberg) say that gourds are referred to as *zekeltides*.²⁴ Speusippus says in Book II of *Similar Things* (fr. 24 Tarán): Radish, turnip, *raphus*, and pepper-grass are similar. Glaucus in his *Art of Cooking* refers to *raphus* as *rapus*, with an unaspirated *pi*. No other vegetable resembles these, except what is known today as *bounias*. Theophrastus does not mention *bounias*, but does refer (*HP* 7.4.3) to a male turnip, which is perhaps to be identified with *bounias*. Nicander in his *Georgics* (fr. 70) mentions the *bounias*:²⁵

You might sow turnips on garden-land leveled with a
roller,
so that they grow in the shape of bread-pans set in
the ground;
bounias † but within cabbages within [obscure] †.
For two varieties of turnip and cabbage²⁶,
both large and firm, are seen in our garden-beds.

Crates in *Orators* (fr. 30) mentions Cephisian turnips, as follows:

closely resembling Cephisian turnips.

²⁴ Cf. Hsch. ζ 108 “*zelkia*: vegetables”.

²⁵ A considerably longer fragment of the poem that overlaps with this one is quoted at 4.133d–e.

²⁶ But see 4.133d n.

ATHENAEUS

Θεόφραστος δε γογγυλίδων φησὶν εἶναι γένη δύο, ἄρρεν καὶ θήλυ· γίνεσθαι δ' ἄμφω ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ
 d σπέρματος. Ποσειδώνιος δ' ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰστορίας ἐν τῇ ἐβδόμῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν περὶ τὴν Δαλματίαν φησὶ γίνεσθαι γογγυλίδας ἀκηπεύτους καὶ ἀγρίους σταφυλίνους. Δίφιλος δ' ὁ Σίφνιος ἰατρός, ἡ γογγυλὶς, φησὶ, λεπτυντικὴ ἐστὶ καὶ δριμεία καὶ δύσπεπτος, ἔτι δὲ πνευματωτικὴ. κρείττων δέ, φησὶν, ἡ βουναὶς καθέστηκεν· γλυκυτέρα γάρ ἐστὶ καὶ πεπτικωτέρα πρὸς τῷ εὐστόμαχος εἶναι καὶ τρόφιμος. ἡ δὲ ὀπτωμένη, φησὶ, γογγυλὶς μᾶλλον πέττεται, περιττότερον δὲ λεπτύνει. ταύτης μνημονεύει Εὐβουλος ἐν Ἀγκυλίῳ οὕτως· ἰ

e ὀπτήσιμον γογγυλίδα ταυτηνὶ φέρω.

καὶ Ἄλεξις ἐν Θεοφορήτῳ·

λαλῶ Πτολεμαίῳ γογγυλίδος ὀπτῶν τόμους.

ἡ δὲ ταριχευομένη γογγυλὶς λεπτυντικωτέρα ἐστὶ τῆς ἐφθῆς καὶ μάλιστα ἡ διὰ νάπυος γινομένη, ὡς φησὶν ὁ Δίφιλος.

Κράμβη. Εὐδημος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Λαχάων κράμβης φησὶν εἶναι γένη τρία, τῆς τε καλουμένης ἀλμυρίδος καὶ λειοφύλλου καὶ σελινοῦσσης· τῇ
 f δ' ἡδονῇ πρῶτην κεκρίσθαι τὴν ἀλμυρίδα. φύεται ἰ δ' ἐν Ἐρετρίᾳ καὶ Κύμῃ καὶ Ῥόδῳ, ἔτι δὲ Κνίδῳ καὶ Ἐφέσῳ· ἡ δὲ λειοφύλλος ἀνὰ πᾶσαν, φησὶ, χώραν γίγνεται. ἡ δὲ σελινοῦσσα τὴν ὀνομασίαν ἔχει διὰ

BOOK IX

Theophrastus (*HP* 7.4.3) claims that there are two varieties of turnip, a male and a female, but that both grow from the same seed. Posidonius the Stoic in Book XXVII of his *History* (*FGrH* 87 F 19 = fr. 70 Edelstein–Kidd) reports that uncultivated turnips and wild carrots grow in Dalmatia. The physician Diphilus of Siphnos says: The turnip promotes weight-loss; is acrid and difficult to digest; and also tends to produce gas. But the *bounias*, he reports, is better, because it is sweeter, more digestible and thus easier on the stomach, and nourishing. Roasted turnip, he claims, is more easily digested and is particularly effective for promoting weight-loss. Eubulus in *Ancylion* (fr. 3) mentions roasted turnip, as follows:

I'm bringing this roasted turnip here.

Also Alexis in *The Man Who Was Possessed by a God* (fr. 92):

I'm talking while roasting slices of turnip for Ptolemy.

Pickled turnip promotes weight-loss more effectively than stewed turnip, especially when prepared with mustard, according to Diphilus.

Cabbage. Eudemus of Athens in his *On Vegetables* reports that there are three varieties of cabbage: the type known as *halmuris* ("salty"), as well as smooth-leaved and celery-leaved varieties; but the *halmuris* is thought to be the tastiest. It grows in Eretria, Cumae, and Rhodes, as well as in Cnidus and Ephesus, whereas the smooth-leaved variety, he says, is found everywhere. The celery-leaved

τὴν οὐλότητα· ἐμφερῆς γάρ ἐστι σελίνῳ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην πύκνωσιν. Θεόφραστος δὲ οὕτως γράφει τῆς δὲ ραφάνου (λέγω δὲ τὴν κράμβην) ἢ μὲν ἐστὶν οὐλόφυλλος, ἢ δὲ ἀγρία. Δίφιλος δ' ὁ Σίφνιός φησι κράμβη δὲ καλλίστη γίνεται καὶ γλυκεία ἐν Κύμῃ, ἐν δὲ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ πικρά. τὸ δ' ἐκ Ῥόδου φερόμενον σπέρμα εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐπὶ ἐνιαυτὸν γλυκείαν ποιεῖ τὴν κράμβην, μεθ' ὃν χρόνον πάλιν ἐπιχωριάζει. Νίκανδρος δ' ἐν Γεωργικοῖς· ||

- 370 λέει μὲν κράμβη, ὅτε δ' ἀγρίας ἐμπίπτουσα
 σπειρομέναις πολύφυλλος ἐνηβῆσαι πρασιῆσιν
 ἢ οὐλή † καὶ τύριος ὀθαμνιτις † πετάλοισιν
 ἢ ἐπιφουίνισσουσα καὶ αὐχμηρῆσιν ὁμοίῃ
 βατραχῆ Κύμη τε κακόχροος ἢ μὲν ἔοικε
 πέλμασιν οἷσι πέδιλα παλίμβολα κασσύουσιν,
 ἢ μάντιν λαχάνοισι παλαιόγονοι ἐπέπουσιν.

μήποτε δὲ ὁ Νίκανδρος μάντιν κέκληκε τὴν κράμβην
 b ἱερὰν οὖσαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ παρ' Ἰππώνακτι | ἐν τοῖς Ἰάμ-
 βοῖς ἐστὶ τι λεγόμενον τοιοῦτον·

ὁ δ' ἐξολισθῶν ἰκέτευε τὴν κράμβην
 τὴν ἐπτάφυλλον, ἢ θύεσκε Πανδώρη
 Ταργηλίοισιν ἔγχετον πρὸ φαρμακοῦ.

27 For the problem of terminology, cf. 1.34d-e; 9.370f.

28 Literally "sandals that have been turned inside-out", sc. to be refurbished for sale.

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variety gets its name from its curliness; it also resembles celery in its general density. Theophrastus (*HP* 7.4.4, adapted) writes as follows: One type of *rhaphanos*—I am referring to cabbage (*krambē*)²⁷—has curly leaves, while the other grows wild. Diphilus of Siphnos says: The best cabbage grows in Cumae and is sweet there, whereas in Alexandria it is bitter. Seed brought to Alexandria from Rhodes produces sweet cabbage for a year, but afterward reverts to its local character. Nicander in the *Georgics* (fr. 85 Schneider):

Cabbage is smooth-leaved. But sometimes a wild
variety invades
sown garden-beds and flourishes there with many
leaves,
either the curly variety † and Tyrian [corrupt] † with
foliage,
or the green variety that has a purple tinge and looks
like
unkempt hair, and the Cumaean type with its
unattractive color, which resembles
the soles used to mend second-hand sandals;²⁸
the ancients refer to this variety as a prophet among
vegetables.

Perhaps Nicander calls the cabbage a prophet because it is sacred, since Hipponax says something along the following lines in his *Iambs* (fr. 107.47–9 Degani):

He slipped away and supplicated the seven-leaved
cabbage, to which Pandora used to sacrifice
a moulded cake as a scapegoat-offering at the
Targelia festival.

καὶ Ἀνάσιος δέ φησι·

καὶ σέ πολλὸν ἀνθρώπων
ἐγὼ φιλέω μάλιστα, ναὶ μὰ τὴν κράμβην.

καὶ Τηλεκλείδης Πρυτάνεσιν

< . . . > ναὶ μὰ τὰς κράμβας

ἔφη. καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Γᾶ καὶ Θαλάσσει·

< . . . > ναὶ μὰ τὰν κράμβαν.

Εὐπολις Βάπτταις·

< . . . > ναὶ μὰ τὰς κράμβας.

- c ἐδόκει δὲ Ἴωνικὸς εἶναι ὁ ὄρκος· καὶ οὐ | παράδοξον εἶ
κατὰ τῆς κράμβης τινὲς ᾄμνον, ὅποτε καὶ Ζήνων ὁ
Κιτιεὺς ὁ τῆς στοᾶς κτίστωρ μιμούμενος τὸν κατὰ τῆς
κυνὸς ὄρκον Σωκράτους καὶ αὐτὸς ᾄμνε τὴν κάππα-
ριν, ὡς Ἐμπεδός φησιν ἐν Ἀπομνημονεύμασιν. Ἀθή-
νησι δὲ καὶ ταῖς τετοκνίαις κράμβη παρεσκευάζετο ὡς
τι ἀντιφάρμακον εἰς τροφήν. Ἐφιππος γοῦν ἐν Γη-
ρύνῃ φησίν·

ἔπειτα πῶς

- d οὐ στέφανος οὐδεὶς ἐστι πρόσθε τῶν θυρῶν, |
οὐ κνῖσα κρούει ῥινὸς ὑπεροχὰς ἄκρας

²⁹ But Epicharmus is a Doric poet, suggesting that the quotation of his fr. 22, at least, has been clumsily inserted by Athenaeus into his source-document.

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Ananius (fr. 4 West²) as well says:

And I love you more
than anyone else, by the cabbage!

Teleclides in *Prytaneis* (fr. 29) also said:

Yes, by the cabbages!

Epicharmus in *Earth and Sea* (fr. 22) as well:

Yes, by the cabbage!

Eupolis in *Dyers* (fr. 84.2):

Yes, by the cabbages!

This was apparently an Ionian oath.²⁹ Nor is it surprising that some people swore by the cabbage, given that Zeno of Citium, the founder of the Stoa, imitated Socrates' oath "by the dog" (cf. Pl. *Ap.* 22a; *Grg.* 482b; *R.* 399e) and swore for his part by the caper, according to Empedus in the *Memoirs* (*FHG* iv.403-4 = Zeno fr. 32a, *SVF* i.12). In Athens, cabbage was prepared for women who had just given birth, as a sort of antidote intended to nourish them. Ephippus in *Geryon* (fr. 3),³⁰ for example, says:

How is it, then,
that there's no wreath in front of the doors,
and the smell of roasting meat doesn't assault the tip
of one's nose,

³⁰ At 2.65c-d (where see n.) verses identical to Ephipp. fr. 3.4-11 are assigned to Eubulus (= fr. dub. 148).

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Ἀμφιδρομίων ὄντων; ἐν οἷς νομίζεται
 ὀπτᾶν τε τυροῦ Χερρονησίτου τόμους
 ἔψειν τ' ἐλαίῳ ῥάφανον ἠγλαῖσμένην
 πνίγειν τε παχέων ἄρνιων στηθύνια
 τίλλειν τε φάττας καὶ κίχλας ὁμοῦ σπίνους
 κοινῇ τε χναύειν τευθίσιν σηπίδια
 πιλεῖν τε πολλὰς πλεκτάνας ἐπιστρόφως
 πίνειν τε πολλὰς κύλικας εὐζωρεστέρας.

Ἄντιφάνης δ' ἐν Παρασίτῳ ὡς εὐτελοῦς βρώματος |
 e τῆς κράμβης μέμνηται ἐν τούτοις·

οἶα δ' ἐστὶν οἰσθας, ὧ γύναι·
 ἄρτοι, σκόροδα, τυρός, πλακοῦντες, πράγματα
 ἐλευθέρι', οὐ τάριχος οὐδ' ἠδύσμασιν
 ἄρνεια καταπεπασμέν' οὐδὲ θρυμματὶς
 τεταραγμένη, καὶ λοπάδες ἀνθρώπων φθοραί.
 καὶ μὴν ῥαφάνους γ' ἔψουσι λιπαράς, ὧ θεοί,
 ἔτνος θ' ἅμ' αὐταῖς πίσινον.

Δίφιλος δ' ἐν Ἀπλήστῳ·

f ἤκει φερόμεν' αὐτόματα πάντα τὰγαθά, |
 ῥάφανος λιπαρά, σπλαγχνίδια πολλά, σαρκία
 ἀπαλώτατ', οὐδὲν μὰ Δία τοῖς ἐμοῖς βλίτοις
 ὅμοια πράγματ' οὐδὲ ταῖς < . . . >
 θλασταῖς ἐλάαις.

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given that the Amphidromia is going on, where it's
the custom
to roast slices of Chersonesian cheese,
stew cabbage shimmering with oil,
bake fat lambs' breasts,
pluck ringdoves and thrushes, as well as finches,
nibble on cuttlefish and small-fry together,
vigorously pound numerous octopus tentacles,
and drink many cups of strong wine?

Antiphanes in *The Parasite* (fr. 181) refers to cabbage as inexpensive food, in the following passage:

You understand the sort of food this is, woman:
loaves of bread, garlic, cheese, unbaked cakes—what
free
men eat, rather than saltfish, or lamb
sprinkled with spices, or a pastry stuffed
with a jumble of ingredients, and casserole-dishes
that ruin people's lives!
In fact, they're stewing cabbages covered with oil, by
the gods;
and there's bean-soup to go with them.

Diphilus in *The Greedy Man* (fr. 14):

Good food of every sort has arrived, transported
under its own power:
a cabbage covered with oil, lots of bits of entrails,
extremely tender
little chunks of meat—nothing the least bit like my
blite, by Zeus, or the . . .
bruised olives!

Ἄλκαϊος Παλαίστρα·

ἤδη δ' ἤψε χύτραν ραφάνων.

Πολύζηλος δ' ἐν Μουσῶν Γοναῖς κράμβας αὐτὰς ὀνομάζων φησί·

ὑψιπέταλοί τε κράμβαι συχναί.

Σεῦτλα. τούτων φησὶν ὁ Θεόφραστος εὐχυλότερον
 371 εἶναι τὸ λευκὸν ἢ τοῦ μέλανος καὶ ὀλιγοσπερμότερον
 καὶ καλεῖσθαι Σικελικόν. ἢ δὲ σευτλὶς ἕτερον, φησί,
 τοῦ τεύτλου ἐστὶ. διὸ καὶ Δίφιλος ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς ἐν
 Ἡρωὶ δράματι ἐπιτιμᾷ τινι ὡς κακῶς λέγουσι καὶ τὰ
 τεύτλα τευτλίδας καλῶν. Εὐδήμος δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Λα-
 χάνων τέτταρα γένη φησὶν εἶναι τεύτλων, σπαστόν,
 καυλωτόν, λευκόν, πάνδημον· τούτο δ' εἶναι τῇ χροᾷ
 φαιόν. Δίφιλος δ' ὁ Σίφνιος τὸ σευτλίον φησὶν εὐχυ-
 λότερον εἶναι τῆς κράμβης καὶ θρεπτικώτερον με-
 τριῶς· ἐκζεστόν δὲ καὶ λαμβανόμενον μετὰ νάπυος
 b λεπτυντικώτερον ἢ εἶναι καὶ ἐλμίνθων φθαρτικόν. εὐ-
 κοιλιώτερον δὲ τὸ λευκόν, τὸ δὲ μέλαν οὐρητικώτερον.
 ὑπάρχειν δ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ρίζας εὐστομωτέρας καὶ
 πολυτροφωτέρας.

Σταφυλῖνος. οὗτος δριμύς ἐστι, φησὶν ὁ Δίφιλος,
 ἱκανῶς δὲ θρεπτικὸς καὶ εὐστόμαχος μέσως διαχωρη-

³¹ I.e. cabbages (normally *rhaphanoi*; cf. 9.369f n.).

³² *Seutlos* (Attic *teutlos*) is the normal word for a beet. The observation recorded here is not found in Theophrastus, and the

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Alcaeus in *The Wrestling-School* (fr. 24):

She just now stewed a pot of cabbages.

But Polyzelus in *The Birth of the Muses* (fr. 10) refers to them³¹ as *krambai*, when he says:

and many cabbages (*krambai*) with lofty leaves.

Beets (*seutla*). Theophrastus (*HP* 7.4.4) reports that the white variety of these is juicier than the black variety; has fewer seeds; and is referred to as Sicilian. The *seutlis*, he claims, is different from the *teutlos*.³² This is why the comic poet Diphilus in his play *The Hero* (fr. 46) criticizes someone for speaking bad Greek, referring to *teutla* as *teutlides*.³³ Eudemus in his *On Vegetables* says that there are four varieties of beet: *spaston* ("drawn", i.e. "long"), stalked, white, and common. Also that the latter is a grayish color. Diphilus of Siphnos claims that the beet (*seutlion*) is juicier than the cabbage and moderately more nourishing; when stewed and eaten with mustard, it is better at promoting weight-loss and helps eliminate worms. The white variety is easier on the intestines, whereas the black variety is more effective at promoting urination. Their roots have a better flavor and are more nourishing.

Carrot. According to Diphilus, this has a sharp flavor; is quite nourishing and moderately easy on the stomach;

subject of the verb must be the author of a grammatical treatise on which Athenaeus is drawing.

³³ Thus Athenaeus; but it must in fact have been the character whose Greek was criticized who used *teutlides* rather than the standard Attic *teutla*.

τικός τε καὶ πνευματώδης, δύσπεπτος, οὐρητικός ἱκανῶς, διεγερτικός πρὸς ἀφροδίσια· διὸ καὶ ὑπ' ἐνίων φίλτρον καλεῖται. Νουμήμιος δ' ἐν τῷ Ἀλιευτικῷ φησι·

φύλλων δ' ὅσσο' ἄσπαρτα τά τ' ἐρρίζωται
ἀρούραις |

- c χείματος ἡδ' ὅπότεν πολυάνθεμον εἶαρ ἴκηται,
αὐχμηρὴν σκόλυμόν τε καὶ ἀγριάδα σταφυλίνον,
† ράφιν τ' ἔμπεδον † καὶ κανκκαλίδ' ἀγροιώτιν.

Νίκαιος δ' ἐν δευτέρῳ Γεωργικῶν φησιν·

ἐν δέ τε καὶ μαράθου καυλὸς βαθύς, ἐν δέ τε
ρίζαι

πετραίου, σὺν δ' αὐτὸς ἐπαυχμήεις σταφυλίνος,
σφυρνεῖον σόγκος τε κυνόγλωσσός τε σέρις τε
σὺν καὶ ἄρου δριμεῖα καταψήχιο πέτηλα
ἡδ' ὅπερ ὄρνιθος κλέεται γάλα.

- d μνημονεύει τοῦ σταφυλίνου καὶ Θεόφραστος. Φαινίας
δ' ἐν | πέμπτῳ Περὶ Φυτῶν γράφει οὕτως· κατὰ δὲ τὴν
αὐτοῦ τοῦ σπέρματος φύσιν ὁ καλούμενος σήψ καὶ τὸ
τοῦ σταφυλίνου σπέρμα. κὰν τῷ πρώτῳ δέ φησι·
πετασώδη τὴν τῶν σπερμάτων ἀπέιληφε φύσιν ἄνη-
σον, μάραθρον, σταφυλίνος, κανκαλῖς, κώνειον, κόριον,

³⁴ It is difficult to see how this passage could possibly come from the *Art of Fishing*, and the quotation from Numenius and the lemma that followed it may have fallen out of the text.

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promotes bowel movements and the production of gas; is difficult to digest; substantially encourages urination; and stirs up sexual desire. This is why some authorities refer to it as a love-charm. Numenius says in his *Art of Fishing* (SH 582):³⁴

whatever herbs are not sown, but take root in the
fields
during the winter or when the spring rich in flowers
arrives:
shaggy thistle and wild carrot,
† and deep-rooted *raphis* † and rustic *kaukalis*.

Nicander says in Book II of the *Georgics* (fr. 71 Schneider):

and among them high fennel-stalk, and among them
also roots
of stone sperage, and with them the shaggy carrot
itself,
Cretan alexander, and sow-thistle, and dog's-tongue,
and endive;
you might also grind up the pungent leaves of
cuckoo-pint along with them,
or what is referred to as bird's-milk.

Theophrastus (fr. 407 Fortenbaugh) also mentions the carrot. Phaenias in Book V of *On Plants* (fr. 39 Wehrli, encompassing all three quotations) writes as follows: as for the character of the seed itself, the so-called *sēps* and carrot-seed. And in Book I he says: Plants with unbelliferous seed-pods are anise, fennel, carrot, *kaukalis*, hemlock,

σκίλλα, ἣν ἔνιοι μνηφόνον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄρου ἐμνημόνευσεν ὁ Νίκανδρος, προσαποδοτέον ὅτι καὶ Φαινίας ἐν τῷ προειρημένῳ βιβλίῳ γράφει οὕτως· δρακόντιον, ὃ ἔνιοι ἄρου³. τὸν δὲ σταφυλῖνον Διοκλῆς ἐν πρώτῳ
 e Ὑγιεινῶν ἀσταφυλῖνον καλεῖ. | τὸ δὲ καρτὸν καλούμενον (μέγας δ' ἐστὶν καὶ εὐαυξῆς σταφυλῖνος) εὐχολότερόν ἐστι τοῦ σταφυλῖνου καὶ μᾶλλον θερμαντικώτερον, οὐρητικώτερον, εὐστόμαχον, εὐοικονόμητον, ὡς ὁ Δίφιλος ἱστορεῖ.

Κεφαλῶτόν. τοῦτο καὶ πράσιον καλεῖσθαι φησιν ὁ αὐτὸς Δίφιλος καὶ εὐχολότερον εἶναι τοῦ καρτοῦ. εἶναι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ μέσως λεπτυντικόν, θρεπτικόν τε καὶ πνευματῶδες. Ἐπαίνετος δ' ἐν Ὀψαρτυτικῷ τὰ κεφαλῶτὰ καλεῖσθαι φησι γηθυλλίδας. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ὄνομα
 f μνήμης εὐρίσκω | τετυχηκὸς παρὰ μὲν Εὐβούλῳ ἐν Πορνοβοσκῷ οὕτως·

οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην ἐμφαγεῖν ἄρτον τινά·
 παρὰ Γναθαινίῳ γὰρ ἄρτι κατέφαγον
 ἔψουσαν αὐτὴν καταλαβὼν γηθυλλίδας.

οἱ δὲ τὸ γήθιον καλούμενον τοῦτό φασιν εἶναι, οὗ μνημονεύει Φρύνιχος ἐν Κρόνῳ· ὅπερ ἐξηγούμενος δράμα Δίδυμος ὁμοιά φησιν εἶναι τὰ γήθηνα τοῖς λεγομένοις ἀμπελοπράσις, τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ γηθυλ-

³ ἄρου ἄρωνια A

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coriander, and squill (referred to by some authorities as mousebane). Given that Nicander mentioned cuckoo-pint (fr. 71.4 Schneider, quoted above), I should also acknowledge that Phaenias writes as follows in the book quoted above: *drakontion*, referred to by some authorities as cuckoo-pint. Diocles in Book I of *Matters of Health* (fr. 199 van der Eijk) calls the carrot (*staphulinos*) an *astaphulinos*. What is referred to as a *kartos*—this is a large, long carrot—produces better *chulē* than the carrot (*staphulinos*) and is more warming; promotes urination more effectively; and is easy on the stomach and easily assimilated, according to Diphilus.

Leek (*kephalōton*). The same Diphilus reports that this is also referred to as *prasion* and produces more *chulē* than the *kartos*; it is also moderately effective in promoting weight-loss, and is nourishing and produces gas. Epaenetus in the *Art of Cooking* reports that leeks are referred to as *gēthullides*. I find that this word has been used by Eubulus in *The Pimp* (fr. 88), as follows:

I couldn't eat any bread;
because I had something just now at Gnathaena's³⁵
house,
when I caught her stewing *gēthullides*.

But other authorities claim that this is what is referred to as *gēthuon*, which Phrynichus mentions in *Cronus* (fr. 12). In his explication of the play, Didymus (pp. 306–7 Schmidt) says that *gēthua* resemble what are called *ampeloprasoi* (literally “grapevine-leeks”), and that the same vegeta-

³⁵ Presumably a reference to the well-known Athenian courtesan (PAA 278790); cf. 9.384e–f with n.

λίδας λέγεσθαι. μνημονεύει τῶν γηθυλλίδων καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Φιλοκτήτῃ οὕτως· ||

372 ἐν δὲ σκορόδα † δύο καὶ γαθυλλίδες δύο.

Ἄριστοφάνης Αἰολοσίκωνι δευτέρῳ·

τῶν δὲ γηθύων
ρίζας ἐχούσας σκοροδομίμητον φύσιν.

Πολέμων δ' ὁ περιγηγῆς ἐν τῷ Περὶ Σαμοθράκης καὶ κιττήσαί φησι τῆς γηθυλλίδος τὴν Δητώ, γράφων οὕτως· διατέτακται παρὰ Δελφοῖς τῇ θυσίᾳ τῶν Θεοξενίων, ὃς ἂν κομίση γηθυλλίδα μεγίστην τῇ Δητοῖ, λαμβάνειν μοῖραν ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης. ἑώρακα δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐλάττω γηθυλλίδα γογγυλίδος καὶ τῆς στρογγύλης ῥαφανίδος. ἱστοροῦσι δὲ τὴν Δητῶ κύουσαν τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα | κιττήσαι γηθυλλίδος· διὸ δὴ τῆς τιμῆς τετυχηκέναι ταύτης.

Κολοκύντη. χειμῶνος δὲ ὥρα ποτὲ κολοκυντῶν ἡμῖν περιενεχθεισῶν πάντες ἐθαυμάζομεν νεαρὰς εἶναι νομίζοντες, καὶ ὑπεμνησκόμεθα ὧν ἐν Ὠραῖς ὁ χαρίεις Ἄριστοφάνης εἶπεν ἐπαινῶν τὰς καλὰς Ἀθήνας ἐν τούτοις·

(Α.) ὄψει δὲ χειμῶνος μέσου σικνούς, βότρυς,
ὀπώραν,

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bles are also referred to as *gēthullides*. Epicharmus in *Philoctetes* (fr. 132) mentions *gēthullides*, as follows:

In it were two † heads of garlic and two *gathullides*.

Aristophanes in *Aeolosicon II* (fr. 5):

gēthua
roots, which look a lot like garlic.

The travel-writer Polemon in his *On Samothrace* (fr. 36 Preller) claims that Leto craved leeks (*gēthullis*), writing as follows: The people of Delphi have a custom associated with the sacrifice at the Theoxenia festival,³⁶ which is that whoever brings Leto the largest leek (*gēthullis*) is given a share of the food from the table. I personally have seen a leek (*gēthullis*) that was at least as large as a turnip or the round variety of radish.³⁷ The story is that when Leto was pregnant with Apollo, she craved leeks (*gēthullis*), which is why she is accorded this honor.

Gourd. At one point we were served gourds during the winter, and we all expressed amazement, because we thought that they were fresh, and were reminded of what the witty Aristophanes said in *Seasons* (fr. 581), where he praises the lovely city of Athens in the following passage:

(A.) In mid-winter you'll see cucumbers, grapes, fruit
of all kinds,

³⁶ A generic term for a festival at which a god or gods (here Leto) were imagined as dining with human celebrants.

³⁷ This sentence appears to interrupt the quotation from Polemon.

στεφάνους ἴων <(B.) οἶμαι δὲ καὶ> κονιορτὸν
ἐκτυφλοῦντα.

(A.) αὐτὸς δ' ἀνὴρ πωλεῖ κίχλας, ἀπίους,
σχαδόνας, ἐλάας,

c πνόν, χόρια, | χελιδόνας, τέττιγας, ἐμβρύεια.
ὑρίσους δ' ἴδοις ἂν νειφομένους σύκων ὁμοῦ τε
μύρτων.

(B.) ἔπειτα κολοκύντας ὁμοῦ ταῖς γογγυλίσι
ἀρούσι,
ὥστ' οὐκέτ' οὐδεὶς οἶδ' ὀπηνικ' ἐστὶ τοῦνιαυτοῦ;

(A.) <ἄρ' οὐ> μέγιστον ἀγαθόν, εἴπερ ἔστι δι'
ἐνιαυτοῦ

ὄτου τις ἐπιθυμῆι λαβεῖν; (B.) κακὸν μὲν οὖν
μέγιστον·

εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἦν, οὐκ ἂν ἐπεθύμουν οὐδ' ἂν
ἐδαπανῶντο.

ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτ' ὀλίγον χρόνον χρήσας ἀφειλόμην
ἂν.

(A.) κἄγωγε ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι δρῶ ταῦτα πλὴν
Ἀθηνῶν·

d τούτοις δ' ὑπάρχει ταῦτ', ἐπειδὴ τοὺς | θεοὺς
σέβουσιν.

(B.) ἀπέλαυσαν ἄρα σέβοντες ὑμᾶς, ὡς σὺ φῆς.

(A.) τιῆ τί;

(B.) Αἴγυπτον αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν πεπόηκας ἂντ'
Ἀθηνῶν.

ἐθαυμάζομεν οὖν τὰς κολοκύντας μηγὶ Ἰανουαρίῳ

BOOK IX

garlands of violets—(B.) Also a blinding duststorm, I expect!

(A.) The same man will be selling thrushes, pears, honey-comb, olives, beestings, after-birth pudding, swallow-figs, cicadas, still-born kids;

and you'd see harvest-baskets pouring out a mix of figs and myrtle-berries as thick as snow.

(B.) So they're going to sow gourds along with their turnips, with the result that no one knows what time of year it is any more?

(A.) Isn't this the best possible situation—if a person can buy whatever he wants anytime of year? (B.) No—it's the greatest disaster possible!

Because otherwise they wouldn't desire things or spend their money.

I would lend them this for a little while, and then take it away.

(A.) I do this too, for the other cities except for Athens;

but *they* have these advantages, because they respect the gods.

(B.) A lot of good they've got from showing you respect, according to you! (A.) What do you mean?

(B.) You've turned their city into Egypt instead of Athens.

So we were astonished to be eating gourds in January, be-

ἔσθιοντες· χλωραὶ τε γὰρ ἦσαν καὶ τὸ ἴδιον ἀπεδί-
 δοσαν τοῦ χυμοῦ. ἐτύγγανον δ' οὔσαι τῶν συντεθει-
 μένων ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα μαγγανεύειν εἰδόντων ὀψαρ-
 τυτῶν. ἐζήτει οὖν ὁ Λαρήνσιος εἰ καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν
 ταύτην ἠπίσταντο οἱ ἀρχαῖοι. καὶ ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς ἔφη·
 e Νίκανδρος ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ | τῶν Γεωρ-
 γικῶν μνημονεύει ταύτης τῆς χρήσεως σικύας ὀνο-
 μάζων τὰς κολοκύντας· οὕτως γὰρ ἐκαλοῦντο, ὡς πρό-
 τερον εἰρήκαμεν· λέγει δ' οὕτως·

αὐτὰς μὴν σικύας τμήγων ἀνὰ κλώσμασι πείραις
 ἠέρι δὲ ξήρανον· ἐπεγκρεμάσαιο δὲ καπνῶ,
 χείμασιν ὄφρ' ἂν δμῶες ἄλις περιχανδέα
 χύτρον |

f πλήσαντες ροφέωσιν ἀεργέες, † ἔνθα τε μέτρια †
 ὄσπρια πανσπερμηδὸν ἐπεγχεύησιν ἀλετρίς.
 τῇ ἔνι μὲν σικύης ὄρμους βάλον ἐκπλύναντες,
 ἐν δὲ μύκην σειράς τε πάλαι λαχάνοισι
 πλακείσας
 αὐοτέρους † καυλοῖς τε μιγήμεναι εὐφαορίζη †. ||

373 Ὅρνεις. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὄρνεις ἐπήσαν ταῖς κολοκύν-
 ταις καὶ ἄλλοις κνιστοῖς λαχάνοις (οὕτως δ' εἴρηκεν †
 Ἀριστοφάνης † ἐν Δηλία τὰ σύγκοπτα λάχανα, κνι-
 στὰ ἢ στέμφυλα), ὁ Μυρτίλος ἔφη· ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ
 ὄρνιθας καὶ ὄρνίθια νῦν μόνως ἢ συνήθεια καλεῖ τὰς

BOOK IX

cause they were fresh and juicy. But they were actually an example of the type of food produced by chefs who know how to pull off tricks of this kind. Larensius accordingly posed the question of whether the ancients were familiar with this way of preparing them, and Ulpian said: Nicander of Colophon in Book II of his *Georgics* (fr. 72 Schneider) mentions this way of preparing gourds, which he refers to as *sikuai*. Because this is what they used to call them, as I noted earlier (2.58f–9a). He says the following:

You might slice up the gourds (*sikuai*) themselves,
 string them on threads,
 and dry them in the air. And you might hang them
 over the fire,
 so that during the winter your slaves could fill a quite
 capacious
 cookpot and gulp them down at their ease, † and then
 moderate †
 a woman who grinds grain can dump in peas and
 beans of all sorts.
 Then they wash the gourd-braids and throw them
 into the mess,
 along with mushrooms, and strings tied long ago
 around dried
 vegetables † and with stems to mix together
 [corrupt] †.

Chickens. Since chickens followed the gourds and the other grated vegetables—this is how † Aristophanes † refers to minced vegetables in *The Girl from Delos* (Ar. fr. dub. 938 = Antiph. fr. dub. 323), as grated or pressed into cakes—Myrtilus said: It is in fact the modern practice to use the terms *ornithes* and *ornithia* to refer exclusively to

- θηλείας, ὧν ὄρω περιφερόμενον πλήθος (καὶ Χρῦσιππος δ' ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ Περὶ τοῦ Καλοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἡδονῆς γράφει οὕτως· καθάπερ τινὲς τὰς λευκὰς ὄρνιθας τῶν μελαινῶν ἠδίους εἶναι μάλλον),
- b ἀλεκτρύονας | δὲ καὶ ἀλεκτοριδέας τοὺς ἄρρενας· τῶν ἀρχαίων δὲ τὸ ὄρνις καὶ ἀρσενικῶς καὶ θηλυκῶς λεγόντων ἐπ' ἄλλων ὀρνέων, οὐ περὶ τούτου τοῦ εἰδικοῦ, περὶ οὗ φησιν ἡ συνήθεια “ὄρνιθας ὠνήσασθαι”. Ὅμηρος μὲν οὖν φησι·

ὄρνιθες δέ τε πολλοὶ ὑπ' αὐγὰς ἠελίοιο.

καὶ ἀλλαχόθι θηλυκῶς·

ὄρνιθι λιγυρῇ.

καί·

ὡς δ' ὄρνις ἀπτῆσι νεοσσοῖσι προφέρησι
μάστακ', ἐπεὶ κε λάβησι, κακῶς δ' ἄρα οἱ πέλει
αὐτῇ. |

- c Μένανδρος δ' ἐν Ἐπικλήρῳ πρώτῃ σαφῶς τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς συνηθείας φησὶν ἐμφανίζων οὕτως·

ἀλεκτρυῶν τις ἐκεκράγει μέγα.
< . . . > “οὐ σοβήσεται ἔξω”, φησί, “τὰς ὄρνις ἀφ' ἡμῶν;”

καὶ πάλιν·

αὕτη ποτ' ἐξεσόβησε τὰς ὄρνις μόλις.

BOOK IX

hens (a large number of which, I see, are being served)—the philosopher Chrysippus in Book V of *On the Good and Pleasure* (xxviii fr. 4, SVF iii.199) also writes as follows: Just as some people regard white hens (*ornithes*, fem.) as tastier than black ones—and to use the terms *alektruones* and *alektorideis* to refer to roosters. The ancients, on the other hand, applied the word *ornis* in both the masculine and the feminine to other birds, and not specifically to this variety, to which conventional usage refers by saying simply “to buy *ornithes*”. Thus Homer (*Od.* 2.181) says:

and many birds (*ornithes*, masc.) beneath the rays of
the sun.

And elsewhere in the feminine (*Il.* 14.290):

to a shrill (fem.) bird (*ornis*).

And (*Il.* 9.323–4):

Just as a bird (*ornis*) offers a morsel to her unfledged nestlings, when she gets one, but her life is hard.

Menander in *The Heiress I* (fr. 132, encompassing both quotations) brings out colloquial usage clearly when he says the following:

A rooster crowed loudly.
“Shove the hens (*ornis*, fem.) outside,”
he says, “away from us!”

And again:

At one time she had trouble shoing out the hens
(*ornis*, fem.).

ATHENAEUS

ὄρνιθια δ' εἴρηκε Κρατῖνος ἐν Νεμέσει οὕτως·

< . . . > τᾶλλα πάντ' ὄρνιθια.

ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀρσενικοῦ οὐ μόνον ὄρνιν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄρνιθα.
d ὁ αὐτὸς Κρατῖνος | ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ δράματι·

ὄρνιθα φοινικόπτερον.

καὶ πάλιν·

ὄρνιθα τοῖνον δεῖ σε γίγνεσθαι μέγαν.

καὶ Σοφοκλῆς Ἀντηγορίδαις·

ὄρνιθα καὶ κήρυκα καὶ διάκονον.

Αἰσχύλος Καβείροις·

ὄρνιθα δ' οὐ ποιῶ σε τῆς ἐμῆς ὁδοῦ.

Ξενοφῶν δ' ἐν δευτέρῳ Παιδείας· ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς ὄρνιθας
τῷ ἰσχυροτάτῳ χειμῶνι. Μένανδρος Διδύμαις·

ὄρνεις φέρων ἐλήλυθα.

καὶ ἐξῆς

ὄρνιθας ἀποστέλλει

φησίν. ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πληθυντικοῦ ὄρνις λέγουσι
e πρόκειται τὸ Μενάνδρειον μαρτύριον· | ἀλλὰ καὶ
Ἄλκμάν πού φησι·

BOOK IX

Cratinus in *Nemesis* (fr. 120) uses the diminutive *ornithia*, as follows:

all the other *ornithia*.

In the masculine one finds not just accusative *ornin*, but *ornitha* as well. The same Cratinus (fr. 121) in the same play:

a scarlet-plumed bird (*ornitha*).

And again (Cratin. fr. 114):

You need to turn into a large bird (*ornitha*), then!

Also Sophocles in *The Sons of Antenor* (fr. 137):

a bird (*ornitha*), a herald, and a servant.

Aeschylus in *Cabeiri* (fr. 95):

I am not making you a bird³⁸ (*ornitha*) of my journey.

Xenophon in Book II of the *Education* (*Cyr.* 1.6.39): after the birds (*ornithas*) in the coldest weather. Menander in *Twin Girls* (fr. 115, encompassing both quotations):

I've come, bringing birds (*orneis*).

And immediately after this he says:

He's sending birds (*ornithas*).

The evidence from Menander cited above (fr. 132.3, cited at 9.373c) shows that they also use *ornis* as a plural. Alcman as well says somewhere (*PMG* 82):

³⁸ I.e. "an omen".

λύσαν δ' ἄπρακτα νεάνιδες ὤ-
τ' ὄρνις Φιέρακος ὑπερπταμένω.

καὶ Εὐπόλις ἐν Δήμοις·

οὐ δεινὸν οὖν κριοὺς μὲν ἐγγενῶν τέκνα
ὄρνις θ' ὁμοίους τοὺς νεοττοὺς τῷ πατρί;

τὸν δ' ἀλεκτρούνα ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων οἱ ἀρχαῖοι καὶ
θηλυκῶς εἰρήκασι. Κρατῖνος Νεμέσει·

Λήδα, σὸν ἔργον· δεῖ σ' ὅπως εὐσχημόνως
ἀλεκτρούνοσ μηδὲν διοίσεις τοὺς τρόπους,
ἐπὶ τῷδ' ἐπώζουσ', ὡς ἂν ἐκλέψῃς καλὸν |
f ἡμῖν τι καὶ θαυμαστὸν ἐκ τοῦδ' ὄρνεον.

Στράττις Ψυχασταίς·

αἱ δ' ἀλεκτρούνες ἅπασαι
καὶ τὰ χοιρίδια τέθνηκε
καὶ τὰ μίκρ' ὀρνίθια.

Ἀναξανδρίδης Τηρέϊ·

ὀχενομένους δὲ τοὺς κάπρους
καὶ τὰς ἀλεκτρούνας θεωροῦσ' ἄσμενοι.

374 ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ κωμικοῦ τούτου ἐμνήσθην καὶ οἶδα τὸ
δρᾶμα τὸν Τηρέα αὐτοῦ μὴ κεκριμένον || ἐν τοῖς
πρώτοις, ἐκθήσομαι ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες φίλοι, εἰς κρίσιν ἃ

BOOK IX

The girls separated, their business undone, like birds (*ornis*) when a hawk flies overhead.

Also Eupolis in *Demes* (fr. 111):

Isn't it terrible, then, that rams produce kids
and birds (*ornis*) produce nestlings that resemble
their fathers?

On the other hand, the ancients use *alektruōn*³⁹ as a feminine form. Cratinus in *Nemesis* (fr. 115):

Leda, it's up to you. You've got to act
exactly like a lovely *alektruōn*
and cluck over this, so that you hatch us
a nice, wonderful bird out of it.

Strattis in *Men Who Keep Cool* (fr. 61):

All the *alektruones* (fem.)
and piglets are dead,
along with the little birdies.

Anaxandrides in *Tereus* (fr. 48):

They enjoy watching the boars
and the *alektruones* (fem.) being mounted.

Since I mentioned this comic author and am aware that his play *Tereus* is not considered one of his best,⁴⁰ I am going to offer for your consideration, my friends, the remarks

³⁹ Generally "rooster".

⁴⁰ Or perhaps "did not take first place". The quotation from Chamaeleon momentarily interrupts the grammatical discussion of the word *alektruōn*, which resumes again below.

εἶρηκε περὶ αὐτοῦ Χαμαιλέων ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης ἐν ἔκτῳ
 Περὶ Κωμωδίας γράφων ὦδε· Ἀναξανδρίδης διδά-
 σκων ποτὲ διθύραμβον Ἀθήνησιν εἰσήλθεν ἐφ' ἵππου
 καὶ ἀπήγγειλέν τι τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἄσματος. ἦν δὲ τὴν ὄψιν
 καλὸς καὶ μέγας καὶ κόμην ἔτρεφε καὶ ἐφόρει ἀλουρ-
 γίδα καὶ κράσπεδα χρυσᾶ. πικρὸς δ' ὦν τὸ ἦθος ἐποίει
 τι τοιοῦτο περὶ τὰς κωμωδίας· ὅτε γὰρ μὴ νικῶν,
 b λαμβάνων ἔδωκεν εἰς ἃ τὸν λιβανωτὸν κατατεμεῖν καὶ
 οὐ μετεσκεύαζεν ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί. καὶ πολλὰ ἔχοντα
 κομψῶς τῶν δραμάτων ἠφάνιζε, δυσκολαίνων τοῖς
 θεαταῖς διὰ τὸ γῆρας. λέγεται δ' εἶναι τὸ γένος Ῥό-
 διος ἐκ Καμίρου. θαυμάζω οὖν πῶς καὶ ὁ Τηρεὺς
 περιεσώθη μὴ τυχὼν νίκης καὶ ἄλλα δράματα τῶν
 ὁμοίων τοῦ αὐτοῦ. καὶ Θεόπομπος δὲ ἐν Εἰρήνῃ ἐπὶ
 τῆς θηλείας ἔταξε τὸν ἀλεκτρύονα λέγων οὕτως·

ἄχθομαι δ' ἀπολωλεκῶς

ἀλεκτρύονα τίκτουσαν ᾧ ἀγάκαλα.

c καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἢ Δαιδάλω·

ᾧ μὲγιστον τέτοκεν, ὡς ἀλεκτρύων.

καὶ πάλιν·

πολλαὶ τῶν ἀλεκτρύονων βία

ὑπηνέμια τίκτουσιν ᾧ ἀπολλάκις.

BOOK IX

Chamaeleon of Heracleia made about him in Book VI of *On Comedy* (fr. 43 Wehrli), where he writes as follows: Once when Anaxandrides (test. 2) was producing a dithyramb in Athens, he entered (the Theater) on horseback and recited part of the song. He was tall and good-looking; had long hair; and wore a purple robe with a gold border. But because he was an unpleasant person, he would do something along the following lines with his comedies. When he failed to win the prize, he took them and turned them over to the incense-dealers to cut up,⁴¹ rather than revising them, as most authors did; he did away with many clever plays, since his advanced age made him peevish toward his audience. His family is said to have been from Camirus on Rhodes. I am therefore surprised that the *Tereus* survived (along with other plays of his, which got a similar reception), given that it failed to take the prize. Theopompus in *Peace* (fr. 10) also used *alektruōn* in the feminine, saying the following:

I'm upset at losing
an *alektruōn* that lays (fem.) lovely eggs.

Also Aristophanes in *Daedalus* (fr. 193):

She's laid an enormous egg, as if she were an
alektruōn.

And again (fr. 194.1-2):

Many (fem.) *alektruones* are
repeatedly forced to lay wind-eggs⁴².

⁴¹ Sc. as wrapping-material for their goods.

⁴² I.e. infertilized eggs; cf. 2.57d-e with 2.57e n.; 9.397b.

ἐν δὲ Νεφέλαις διδάσκων τὸν πρεσβύτην περὶ ὀνόματος διαφορᾶς φησι·

(Στ.) νῦν δὲ πῶς με χρῆ καλεῖν;

(Σω.) ἀλεκτρυάναν, τὸν δ' ἕτερον ἀλέκτορα.

λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἀλεκτορίς καὶ ἀλέκτωρ. Σιμωνίδης |

d ἱμερόφων' ἀλέκτωρ

ἔφη. Κρατῖνος Ὁραις·

ὥσπερ ὁ Περσικὸς ὄραν πᾶσαν καναχῶν
ὀλόφωνος ἀλέκτωρ.

εἴρηται δ' οὕτως ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ λέκτρον ἡμᾶς
διεγείρει. οἱ δὲ Δωριεῖς λέγοντες ὄρνιξ τὴν γενικὴν
διὰ τοῦ χ λέγουσιν ὄρνιχος. Ἄλκμᾶν δὲ διὰ τοῦ ξ τὴν
εὐθείαν ἐκφέρει·

< . . . > ἀλιπόρφυρος ἰαρὸς ὄρνις.

καὶ τὴν γενικὴν·

Φοῖδα δ' ὀρνίχων νόμωσ
παντῶν.

Δέλφαξ. Ἐπίχαρμος τὸν ἄρρενα χοῖρον οὕτως κα-
λεῖ ἐν Ὀδυσσεῖ Ἀντομόλῳ· |

⁴³ A comic feminine ("roosterness") invented to match masculine *alektōr*.

BOOK IX

In *Clouds* (665–6), when he is teaching the old man to distinguish among words, he says:

(Strepsiades) So how should I refer to it now?
(Socrates) As an *alektruaina*⁴³, and to the male as an
alektōr.

Alektoris and *alektōr* are both used. Simonides said (PMG 583):

an *alektōr* with a lovely voice.

Cratinus in *Seasons* (fr. 279):

like the full-voiced Persian *alektōr* that crows at any
hour.

It has this name because it rouses us from bed (*lektron*).⁴⁴
The Dorians say *ornix*⁴⁵ and accordingly pronounce the
genitive with a *chi*, *ornichos*. But Alcman⁴⁶ (PMG 26.4)
offers the nominative in *sigma*:

a sacred sea-purple bird (*ornis*).

Also the genitive (Alcm. PMG 40):

I know the songs of all
the birds (*ornichōn*).

Pig (*delphax*). Epicharmus uses this term for a male
piglet (*choiros*) in *Odysseus the Deserter* (fr. 99):

⁴⁴ As if the word were a combination of this word and an initial
privative.

⁴⁵ Sc. rather than common *ornis* ("bird, chicken"; genitive
ornithos).

⁴⁶ A Doric poet, who ought therefore to use *ornix*.

e δέλφακά τε τῶν γειτόνων
 τοῖς Ἐλευσινίοις φυλάσσων δαιμονίως ἀπώλεσα
 οὐχ ἐκῶν· καὶ ταῦτα δὴ με συμβολατεύειν μ' ἔφα
 τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖσιν προδιδόμειν τ' ὤμνέ με τὸν
 δέλφακα.

καὶ Ἀναξίλας δ' ἐν Κίρκῃ καὶ ἀρσενικῶς εἶρηκε τὸν
 δέλφακα καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ τελείου τέθεικε τοῦνομα εἰπών·

τοὺς μὲν ὄρειονόμους ὑμῶν ποιήσει δέλφακας
 ὑλιβάτας,
 f τοὺς δὲ πάνθηρας, | ἄλλους ἀγρώστας λύκους,
 λέοντας.

ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν θηλειῶν τοῦνομα τάττει Ἀριστοφάνης Τα-
 γημισταῖς

ἢ δέλφακος ὀπωρινῆς
 ἡτριαίου⁴.

καὶ ἐν Ἀχαρνέουσιν·

νέα γάρ ἐστιν. ἀλλὰ δελφακουμένα
 ἐξεῖ μεγάλην τε καὶ παχείαν κήρυθράν. ||
 375 ἀλλ' αἰ τράφειν λῆς, ἄδε τοι χοῖρος καλά.

⁴ ἡτρια 3.96c-d: ἡτριαίαν 3.110f

⁴⁷ A more substantial version of the fragment is quoted, with minor variants, at 3.96c-d, cf. 3.110f.

BOOK IX

And when I was keeping my neighbors'
delphax safe for the Eleusinia festival, I lost it by
some god's will,
not my own. As a result, he claimed I was engaged in
barter
with the Achaeans, and swore I was betraying the
delphax.

So too Anaxilas in *Circe* (fr. 12) both uses *delphax* in the masculine and applies the word to a full-grown animal, saying:

She'll turn some of you into mountain-ranging, mud-
trodding *delphakes*,
some into wildcats, others into savage wolves
or lions.

Aristophanes in *Frying-Pan Men* (fr. 520.6-7),⁴⁷ on the other hand, uses the word of sows:

or a paunch of a *delphax*
butchered (fem.) in the fall.

And in *Acharnians* (786-8):

Because she's young! But once she turns into a
delphax,
she'll have a big, fat, pink (tail)!
If you're willing to raise her, this is a nice piglet
(*choiros*)⁴⁸ for you.

⁴⁸ An obscene double-entendre (since *choiros* also had the colloquial sense "cunt", and the tail referred to in the preceding line is a penis), as perhaps again in Cratin. fr. 4 (quoted below).

καὶ Εὐπόλις ἐν Χρυσᾷ Γένει. καὶ Ἴππῶναξ δ' ἔφη·

† ὡς † Ἐφεσίη δέλφαξ.

κυρίως δ' αἱ θήλειαι οὕτως λεχθεῖεν ἂν αἱ δελφύας ἔχουσαι· οὕτως δὲ αἱ μήτραι καλοῦνται καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἔνθεν ἐτυμολογοῦνται. περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡλικίας τοῦ ζῶον Κρατῖνός φησιν ἐν Ἀρχιλόχοις·

< . . . > ἤδη δέλφακες, χοῖροι δὲ τοῖσιν ἄλλοις.

Ἀριστοφάνης δ' ὁ γραμματικὸς ἐν τᾷ Περὶ Ἑλικιῶν φησι· τῶν δὲ συνῶν τὰ μὲν ἤδη συμπεπηγότα δέλφακες, τὰ δ' ἀπαλὰ | καὶ ἔνικμα χοῖροι. ἔνθεν τὸ Ὀμηρικὸν σαφὲς γίνεται·

τά τε δμῶεσσι πάρεστι
χοίρε', ἀτὰρ σιάλους γε σύας μνηστῆρες ἔδουσι.

Πλάτων δ' ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς ἐν Ποιητῇ ἀρρενικῶς ἔφη·

τὸν δέλφακα

ἀπῆγε σιγῇ.

ἦν δὲ καὶ παλαιὸς νόμος, ὡς φησιν Ἀνδροτίων, τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ἕνεκα τῶν θρεμμάτων μὴ σφάττειν πρόβα-

⁴⁹ A quotation has probably dropped out of the text; the passage referred to is preserved at 14.657a.

⁵⁰ Apparently the correct etymology.

⁵¹ Cf. 9.374f-5a n. on Ar. Ach. 786-8 (quoted above).

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Also Eupolis in *The Golden Age* (fr. 301.1).⁴⁹ Hipponax (fr. 136 Degani) too said:

† like † an Ephesian (fem.) *delphax*.

Properly only sows would be referred to this way, because they have *delphuai*, which is a term for the womb and the source of the word *adelphos* ("womb-mate", i.e. "brother").⁵⁰ As for the age of the animal, Cratinus says in *Archilochuses* (fr. 4):

At the moment, they're *delphakes*; but they're *choiroi* in other respects.⁵¹

The grammarian Aristophanes says in his *On Ages* (fr. 170 Slater): Hogs whose flesh has become firm are *delphakes*, whereas those that are soft and moist are *choiroi*. This explains the Homeric passage (*Od.* 14.80–1):

what slaves have at their disposal—
the flesh of *choiroi*—whereas the suitors eat fattened
hogs.

The comic poet Plato in *The Poet* (fr. 118) used the word as a masculine:

Quietly lead
the *delphax*⁵² away!

Accordingly to Androtion (*FGrH* 324 F 55), there was an ancient law, intended to increase the number of domestic animals, forbidding anyone to slaughter a lamb or kid that

⁵² The definite article is masculine, but could easily be emended to feminine.

c τον ἄπεκτον ἢ ἄτοκον· διὸ τὰ ἤδη τέλεια | ἦσθιον·

< . . . > ἀτὰρ σιάλους γε σύας μνηστῆρες
ἔδουσι.

καὶ νῦν δὲ τὴν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἰέρειαν οὐ θύειν ἀμνην
οὐδὲ τυροῦ γεύεσθαι. καὶ κατὰ χρόνον δέ τινα ἐκλι-
πόντων τῶν βοῶν, φησὶν ὁ Φιλόχορος, νομοθετηθῆναι
διὰ τὴν σπάνιν ἀπέχεσθαι αὐτοὺς τῶν ζώων, συνάγειν
βουλομένους καὶ πληθῦσαι τᾶ μὴ καταθύεσθαι. χοί-
ρον δ' οἱ Ἴωνες καλοῦσι τὴν θήλειαν, ὡς Ἰππῶναξ·

σπονδῇ τε καὶ σπλάγχνοισιν ἀγρίης χοίρου.

d καὶ Σοφοκλῆς | Ἐπιταιναρίοις·

τοιγὰρ † ἰωδῇ † φυλάξαι χοῖρον ὥστε δεσμίαν.

Πτολεμαῖος δ' ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς ἐν τᾷ ἐνάτῳ
τῶν Ἀπομνημονευμάτων⁵, εἰς Ἄσσον, φησὶν, ἐπιδη-
μήσαντί μοι οἱ Ἄσσιοι παρέστησαν χοῖρον⁶ ἔχοντα
τὸ μὲν ὕψος δύο καὶ ἡμίσεους πήχεων, ὄλον δ' ἄρτιον
πρὸς τὸ μῆκος, τῇ χροιά χιόνινον. ἔφασάν τε τὸν
βασιλέα Εὐμένην τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιμελῶς ὠνεῖσθαι παρ'

⁵ Ἐπομνημονευμάτων Olson: Ἀπομνημονευμάτων A

⁶ χοῖρον tantum CE: χοῖρον ὑἷον A

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had not given birth or been sheared.⁵³ This is why they ate full-grown animals (*Od.* 14.81):

whereas the suitors eat fattened hogs.

Even today Athena's priestess is not allowed to sacrifice a lamb or to taste cheese. And at one time, according to Philochorus (*FGrH* 328 F 169b), when there were not enough cows, a law was passed in response to the shortage, that they were not to consume the animals, since they wanted to accumulate them and increase their number by not sacrificing them. The Ionians refer to a sow as a *choiros*, for example Hipponax (fr. 105.9 Degani):

with both a libation and the entrails of a wild (fem.)
choiros.

Also Sophocles in *Epitainarioi* (fr. 198a):

So [corrupt] guard like a *choiros* (fem.) tied to a rope
(fem.)!

Ptolemy the king of Egypt says in Book IX of his *Commennaries* (*FGrH* 234 F 10): When I visited Assos, the local people presented me with a *choiros*⁵⁴ that was four feet⁵⁵ tall, proportionately wide across, and the color of snow. They claimed that King Eumenes had been eager to pur-

⁵³ Cf. Philoch. *FGrH* 328 F 169a (cited at 1.9c-d).

⁵⁴ Here, as in the three poetic quotations that follows, the noun is masculine.

⁵⁵ Literally "two-and-a-half cubits".

αὐτῶν, διδόντα τοῦ ἐνὸς δραχμὰς τετρακισχιλίας.
 Αἰσχύλος δέ φησιν·¹

- e ἐγὼ δὲ χοῖρον καὶ μάλ' εὐθηλούμενον
 τόνδ' ἐν νοτοῦντι κριβάνῳ θήσω. τί γὰρ
 ὄψον γένοιτ' ἂν ἀνδρὶ τοῦδε βέλτιον;

καὶ πάλιν·

λευκός—τί δ' οὐχί;—καὶ καλῶς ἠφευμένος
 ὁ χοῖρος· ἔψου μὴδὲ λυπηθῆς πυρί.

καὶ ἔτι·

θύσας δὲ χοῖρον τόνδε τῆς αὐτῆς ὑός,
 ἢ πολλὰ μ' ἐν δόμοισιν εἴργασται κακά,
 δονοῦσα καὶ τρέπουσα τύρβ' ἄνω κάτω. |

- f ταῦτα δὲ παρέθετο Χαμαιλέων ἐν τῷ Περὶ Αἰσχύλου.

Περὶ δὲ ὑῶν ὅτι ἱερόν ἐστὶ τὸ ζᾶον παρὰ Κρησὶν
 Ἀγαθοκλῆς ὁ Βαβυλώνιος ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ Κυζίκου
 φησὶν οὕτως· μυθεύουσιν ἐν Κρήτῃ γενέσθαι τὴν Διὸς
 τέκνωσιν ἐπὶ τῆς Δίκτης, ἐν ἣ καὶ ἀπόρρητος γίνεται
 376 θυσία. || λέγεται γὰρ ὡς ἄρα Διὶ θηλὴν ὑπέσχετο ὕς
 καὶ τᾶ σφετέρῳ γρυσμᾶ περιοιχνεῦσα τὸν κνυζηθμὸν
 τοῦ βρέφους ἀνεπάιστον τοῖς παριοῦσιν ἐτίθει. διὸ

⁵⁶ The Ptolemy in question is Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (reigned 170–116 BCE), and Eumenes must therefore be Eumenes II of Pergamum (reigned 197–158). One would like to know whether the Assians' ploy convinced Ptolemy to pay a similar sum (or more) for the pig.

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chase animals like these from them and had paid 4000 drachmas apiece.⁵⁶ Aeschylus (fr. 309)⁵⁷ says:

But I'm going to put this enormously fat
choiros in a moist baking-shell. Because what
dish could a man have that's better than this?

And again (A. fr. 310):

The *choiros* is white—why not?—and nicely
singd. Get cooked, and don't worry about the fire!

Furthermore (A. fr. 311):

sacrificing this *choiros* produced by the same sow
who's done a lot of damage in my house
by galloping around and turning everything upside-
down, making a mess.

Chamaeleon cited these passages in his *On Aeschylus* (fr. 39 Wehrli).

As for the fact that the Cretans regard the pig as a sacred animal, Agathocles of Babylon says the following in Book I of *On Cyzicus* (FGrH 472 F 1): According to a story told on Crete, Zeus was born on Mt. Dicte, where a secret sacrificial ritual is carried out. They say that a sow offered a teat to Zeus, and her grunting as she ran around kept passers-by from hearing the baby's whimpering.⁵⁸ This is

⁵⁷ A. frr. 309–11 are most likely all from a single satyr play and refer to the same set of events.

⁵⁸ A crucial detail, because Cronus was eager to find his son and swallow him; cf. E. *Ba.* 120–34 (where the Corybantes protect the child in much the same way as the sow does here).

πάντες τὸ ζᾶον τοῦτο περίσεπτον ἡγούνται καὶ οὐκ ἄν, φησί, τῶν κρεῶν δαΐσαιντο. Πραΐσιοι δὲ καὶ ἱερά ρέζουσιν υἷ, καὶ αὐτῆ προτελής αὐτοῖς ἡ θυσία νε νόμισται. τὰ παραπλήσια ἱστορεῖ καὶ Νεάνθης ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ἐν δευτέρῳ Περι Τελετῆς. πεταλίδων συνῶν μνημονεύει Ἀχαιὸς ὁ Ἐρετριεὺς ἐν Αἴθωνι σατυρικᾷ λέγων οὕτως·

b πεταλίδων δέ τοι | συνῶν
 < . . . > † μορφαῖς ταῖσδε πόλλ' ἐπαίον.

πεταλίδας δ' αὐτὰς εἶρηκε μεταφέρων ἀπὸ τῶν μόσχων· οὗτοι γὰρ πέτηλοι λέγονται ἀπὸ τῶν κεράτων, ὅταν αὐτὰ ἐκπέταλα ἔχωσι. παραπλησίως δὲ τᾶ Ἀχαιᾶ καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης ἐν Ἀντερινύι τοὺς σύας λαρινοὺς προσηγόρευσε μεταγαγὼν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τῶν λαρινῶν βοῶν· οἱ οὕτως ἐκλήθησαν ἦτοι ἀπὸ τοῦ λαρινεύεσθαι, ὅπερ ἐστὶ σιτίζεσθαι (Σώφρων· βόες δὲ λαρινεύονται), ἢ ἀπὸ τινος κόμης Ἑπειρωτικῆς Λαρίνης ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ βουκολοῦντος | αὐτάς· Λαρίνος δ' οὗτος ἐκαλεῖτο.

c Εἰσαχθέντος δὲ ἡμῖν ποτε καὶ δέλφακος, οὗ τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ κραμβαλέον ἦν ἐπιμελῶς πεποιημένον, τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ ὡς ἂν ἐξ ὕδατος ἠψημένον τακερῶς, καὶ πάντων θαυμαζόντων τοῦ μαγείρου τὴν σοφίαν, μέγα φρονῶν ἐκείνος ἐπὶ τῇ τέχνῃ ἔφη· ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ τὴν σφαγὴν ἔχει τις ὑμῶν ἐπιδειξάι ὅπου ἐγένετο ἢ πῶς αὐτοῦ ἢ γαστήρ πεπλήρωται παντοίων ἀγαθῶν. καὶ γὰρ κίχλας ἐν ἑαυτᾷ ἔχει καὶ ἄλλα ὀρνίθια ὑπογαστρίων τε

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why they universally regard this animal as deserving considerable respect and, he claims, refuse to eat its flesh. The inhabitants of Praesus actually make sacrifices to a pig, and this is their standard preliminary sacrifice. Neanthes of Cyzicus in Book II of *On Initiation* (FGrH 84 F 15) offers similar information. Achaeus of Eretria in the satyr play *Aethon* (TrGF 20 F 8) mentions *petalides* ("full-grown") pigs, saying the following:

In fact I often heard *petalides*
pigs . . . † with these shapes.

When he refers to them as *petalides*, he is transferring to them a term normally used of calves, which are called *petēloi* when they have outspread (*ekpetala*) horns. Eratosthenes in *The Anti-Fury* (fr. 20, p. 64 Powell) did something like what Achaeus did, when he referred to pigs as *larinoi* ("fatted"), in his case importing the term from "fatted (*larinoi*) cows". Cows were described thus either from the verb *larineuesthai*, which means "to be fed" (Sophron [fr. 99]: cows are being fed [*larineuontai*]); or from a village in Epirus called Larinē; or from the cowherd who cared for them, who was named Larinus.

At one point we were served a pig (*delphax*), half of which had been carefully roasted, while the other half was as tender as if it had been stewed in water. We all expressed astonishment at the cook's artistry, and as he was proud of his abilities, he said: Yes, indeed; none of you can identify the wound that killed it, or explain how its belly came to be stuffed with delicious food of all kinds. Because there are thrushes inside it, as well as various other birds, bits of ba-

ATHENAEUS

d μέρη χοιρείων καὶ ἰ μήτρας τόμους καὶ τῶν ῥῶν τὰ χρυσᾶ, ἔτι δὲ ὀρνίθων

γαστέρας

αὐταῖσι μήτραις καὶ καλῶν ζωμῶν πλέας,

καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν σαρκῶν εἰς λεπτὰ κατακνιζόμενα καὶ μετὰ πεπερίδων συμπλαττόμενα· ἰσίκια γὰρ

< . . . > ὀνομάζειν < . . . > αἰδοῦμαι

τὸν Οὐλπιανόν, καίπερ αὐτὸν εἰδὼς ἠδέως αὐτοῖς χρώμενον. πλὴν ὁ ἐμός γε συγγραφεὺς Πάξαμος τῶν ἰσικίων μέμνηται· καὶ οὗ μοι φροντίς Ἀττικῶν χρήσεων. ὑμεῖς οὖν ἐπιδείξατε πῶς τε ὁ χοῖρος ἐσφάγη

e καὶ πῶς ἐξ ἡμισείας μὲν ἐστὶν ὀπτός, ἐφθός ἰ δὲ κατὰ θάτερα. ἔτ' οὖν ἡμῶν ἀναζητούντων ὁ μάγειρος ἔφη· ἀλλ' ἢ νομίζετέ με ἔλαττον πεπαιδευθῆναι τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐκείνων μαγείρων περὶ ὧν οἱ κωμωδιοποιοὶ λέγουσι; Ποσείδιππος μὲν ἐν Χορευούσαις· μάγειρος δ' ἐστὶν ὁ λέγων πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς τάδε·

μαθητὰ Δεύκων οἳ τε συνδιάκονοι

ὑμεῖς (ἅπασ γάρ ἐστὶν οἰκείος τόπος

ὑπὲρ τέχνης λαλεῖν τι)· τῶν ἠδυσμάτων

πάντων κράτιστόν ἐστιν ἐν μαγειρικῇ ἰ

f ἀλαζονεία· τὸ καθ' ὅλου δὲ τῶν τεχνῶν

ὄψει σχεδόν τι < . . . > τοῦθ' ἠγοούμενον.

BOOK IX

con, slices of womb, and egg-yolks, along with chickens'

bellies,

wombs and all, full of fine broths (adesp. com.

fr. *114),

and chunks of meat grated fine and worked into a paste with pepper. For (E. Or. 37)

I am ashamed to mention

*isikia*⁵⁹ in Ulpian's presence—even though I know that he likes to eat it! (This is true) despite the fact that Paxamus (cf. FHG iv.472), a prose-author with whom I am familiar, mentions *isikia*; nor am I much concerned with Attic usage. So let me know how the pig was butchered, and how it is that half of it is roasted, while the other half is stewed! While we were still mulling over the question, the cook said: What—do you consider me less well-trained than the famous cooks in the old days, whom the comic poets discuss? Posidippus in *Dancing-Girls* (fr. 28); the speaker is a cook, who says the following to his students:

Leucon my student, and you his fellow-servants—since anywhere's a good place to have a chat about our profession!—in the cook-business,

the most important spice of all is the ability to bullshit. In general, in fact, you'll see that this is pretty much the number-one skill.

⁵⁹ "Hash"; a Latin word (*insicium*), hence the cook's reluctance to use it in the presence of the aggressive Atticist Ulpian. Cf. 3.121e-f; 8.362a; 15.701b n.

ξεναγὸς οὗτος, ὅστις ἂν θώρακ' ἔχη
 φολιδωτὸν ἢ δράκοντα σεσιδηρωμένον,
 ἐφάνη Βριάρεως, ἂν τύχη δ' ἐστὶν λαγῶς.
 ὁ μάγειρος ἂν μὲν ὑποδιακόνους ἔχων
 πρὸς τὸν ἰδιώτην καὶ μαθητὰς εἰσίη, ||
 377 κυμνοπρίστας πάντας ἢ λιμοὺς καλῶν,
 ἔπτηξ' ἕκαστος εὐθύς· ἂν δ' ἀληθινὸν
 σαυτὸν παραβάλλης, καὶ προσεκδαρεῖς ἄπει.
 ὅπερ οὖν ὑπεθέμην, τὰ κενᾶ χώραν δίδου
 καὶ τὰ στόμια γίνωσκε τῶν κεκλημένων·
 ὥσπερ γὰρ εἰς τὰμπόρια, τῆς τέχνης πέρασ
 τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ἂν εὖ προσδράμῃς πρὸς τὸ στόμα.
 διακονοῦμεν νῦν γάμους. τὸ θῦμα βοῦς, |
 b ὁ δίδου ἐπιφανῆς, ἐπιφανῆς ὁ λαμβάνων.
 τούτων γυναῖκες ἰέρειαι † τῇ θεᾷ θεοί, †
 κορύβαντες, αὐλοί, παννυχίδες, ἀναστροφῆ·
 ἵππόδρομος οὗτός ἐστί σοι μαγειρικῆς.
 μέμνησο καὶ σὺ τοῦτο.

καὶ περὶ ἑτέρου δὲ μαγείρου (ὄνομα δ' ἐστὶ Σεύθης) ὁ αὐτός φησιν ποιητῆς οὕτως·

⁶⁰ The most prominent of the Hesiodic Hundred-Handers (*Th.* 149) and a symbol of overwhelming physical might; cf. *Timocl.* fr. 12, quoted at 6.224a–b.

BOOK IX

This mercenary commander, if he's wearing a
breastplate
of scale-armor or has an iron-plated dragon (on his
shield),
he looks like Briareus⁶⁰—but he may turn out to be a
hare!

So if a cook enters a private house
accompanied by a bunch of underlings and students,
and calls everyone cheapskates, and accuses them of
starving their guests,
they all cower in front of him instantly. But if you
expose
your true self, they'll skin you alive before you get
out of there.

My advice, therefore, is to give big talk an
opportunity
and be aware of what the guests like to eat.
It's just like sailing into harbor: the most important
part
of our trade is to aim straight for the mouth!
At the moment, we're working a wedding feast.

They're sacrificing an ox;
the guy giving away the bride is distinguished, and
so's the groom;
their women are priestesses † to the goddess gods, †;
corybants, pipes, all-night festivities, and a lot of
hullabaloo.

Your cooking's in a horserace now;
remember that!

The same poet says the following about another cook,
whose name is Seuthes (Posidipp. fr. 29):

ιδιώτης μέγας |

- c αὐτοῖς ὁ Σεύθης. οἶσθας, ᾧ βέλτισθ', ὅτι ἀγαθοῦ στρατηγοῦ διαφέρειν οὐθὲν δοκεῖ. οἱ πολέμοι πάρισιν· ὁ βαθὺς τῇ φύσει στρατηγὸς ἔσθη καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἐδέξατο. πολέμιός ἐστι πᾶς ὁ συμπίνων ὄχλος. κινεῖ γὰρ ἀθρόος οὗτος· εἰσελήλυθεν, ἐκ πεντεκαίδεχ' ἡμερῶν προηλπικῶς τὸ δεῖπνον, ὀρμῆς μεστός, ἐκκεκαυμένος, τηρῶν πότ' ἐπὶ τὰς χεῖρας οἶσει τις. νόει ὄχλου τοιούτου ραχίαν ἠθροισμένην. |
- d ὁ δ' ἐν τοῖς Εὐφρονος Συνεφήβοις μάγειρος ἀκούσατε οἶα παραινεῖ·

ὅταν ἐρανισταῖς, Καρίων, διακονῆς,
οὐκ ἔστι παίξειν οὐδ' ἄ μεμάθηκας ποεῖν.
ἐχθρὸς κεκινδύνευκας· οὐδεὶς εἶχέ σοι
κωβιδὸς ὅλως γὰρ ἦπαρ, ἀλλ' ἦσαν κενοί·
ἐγκέφαλος ἠλλοίωτο. δεῖ δέ, Καρίων,
ὅταν μὲν ἔλθῃς εἰς τοιοῦτον συρφετόν,
Δρόμωνα καὶ Κέρδωνα καὶ Σωτηρίδην,
μισθὸν διδόντας ὅσον ἂν αἰτήσῃς, ἀπλῶς |

- e εἶναι δίκαιον, οἱ δὲ νῦν βαδίζομεν
εἰς τοὺς γάμους, ἀνδροφόνον. ἂν τοῦτ' αἰσθάνῃ,

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Seuthes is a big nobody in their eyes. You're aware, sir, that he's patently no different from a fine general. The enemy's here; the profoundly ingenious general stands his ground and endures their assault. The whole mob at the party is a hostile force. They move as a unit; and when they come in, they've been anticipating the meal for two weeks, and they're full of energy and fired-up, and watching for when a slave will bring them washing-water. Imagine the roar a mob like that produces!

Listen to the sort of advice the cook in Euphro's *Fellow-Ephebes* (fr. 9) offers:

When you work for the members of an *eranos*⁶¹,
Cario,
you can't fool around or just do what you've been taught.

You took chances yesterday. Not a single one of your gobies had a liver—their bellies were empty—and their brains got stolen! When you go to work for a bunch of bums like that, Cario—people named Dromo and Cerdo and Soterides, who pay you whatever you ask—you have to be 100% honest. But where we're going now, to a wedding feast, you need to be ready to kill. If you understand this,

⁶¹ A group of men who assembled on an occasional basis to have dinner and drink, talk politics, carry out religious rites, and the like.

ἔμὸς εἶ μαθητῆς καὶ μάγειρος οὐ κακός.
 ὁ καιρὸς εὐκτός· ὠφελού. φιλάργυρος
 ὁ γέρων, ὁ μισθὸς μικρός· εἴ σε λήψομαι
 νῦν μὴ κατεσθίοντα καὶ τοὺς ἄνθρακας,
 ἀπόλωλας. εἴσω πάραγε· καὶ γὰρ οὐτοσί
 αὐτὸς προσέρχεθ'. ὡς δὲ καὶ γλίσχρον βλέπει. |

f μέγας δέ ἐστι σοφιστῆς καὶ οὐδὲν <ἤττων>⁷ τῶν
 ἱατρῶν εἰς ἀλαζονείαν καὶ ὁ παρὰ Σωσιπάτρῳ μάγει-
 ρος ἐν Καταψευδομένῳ λέγων ὧδε·

(A.) οὐ παντελῶς εὐκαταφρόνητος ἡ τέχνη,
 ἂν κατανοήσης, ἐστὶν ἡμῶν, Δημύλε,
 ἀλλὰ πέπλυται τὸ πρᾶγμα, καὶ πάντες σχεδὸν
 εἶναι μάγειροί φασι· οὐθὲν εἰδότες·
 ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων δ' ἡ τέχνη λυμαίνεται. ||
 378 ἐπεὶ μάγειρον ἂν λάβῃς ἀληθινόν,
 ἐκ παιδὸς ὀρθῶς εἰς τὸ πρᾶγμ' εἰσηγμένον
 καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις κατέχοντα καὶ τὰ μαθήματα
 ἅπαντ' ἐφεξῆς εἰδόθ', ἕτερόν σοι τυχόν
 φανήσεται τὸ πρᾶγμα. τρεῖς ἡμεῖς < . . . >
 ἐσμὲν ἔτι λοιποί, Βοιδίων καὶ Χαριάδης
 ἐγὼ τε· τοῖς λοιποῖς δὲ προσπέρδον. (Δη.) τί
 φῆς;
 ἐγώ; (A.) τὸ διδασκαλείον ἡμεῖς σῶζομεν |

⁷ add. Casaubon

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you're my student and quite a fine cook.

This is the opportunity we've been praying for; take
advantage of it! The old man's

a miser, and the wages are low; so today, if I catch
you *not* gobbling everything down, including the
coals,

you've had it! Lead the way in! But here comes
the man himself. What a stingy expression he's got on
his face!

The cook in Sospater's *False Accuser* (fr. 1) is a real intellectual and no less of a bullshitter than the physicians when he says the following:

(A.) Our business doesn't deserve complete
contempt, if you think about it, Demylus.

But it's got a bad reputation, and most people
who claim to be cooks don't know anything;
guys like this damage the profession.

If you hire a real cook,

someone actually brought up in the business since he
was a boy,

who understands what we can do, and who's learned
all his lessons from A to Z, the situation'll
look different to you. There are still

three of us left: Boedion, Chariades,⁶²

and me; piss on⁶³ the others! (Demeas) What do you
mean?

I'm supposed to do that? (A.) We're preserving
Sicon's

⁶² Cf. Euphro fr. 1.7 (quoted at 9.379e).

⁶³ Literally "fart on".

- b τὸ Σίκωνος· οὗτος τῆς τέχνης ἀρχηγὸς ἦν.
 ἐδίδασκεν ἡμᾶς πρῶτον ἀστρολογεῖν < . . . >·
 ἔπειτα μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθὺς ἀρχιτεκτονεῖν.
 περὶ φύσεως κατέειχε πάντας τοὺς λόγους·
 ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις ἔλεγε τὰ στρατηγικά.
 πρὸ τῆς τέχνης ἔσπενδε ταῦθ' ἡμᾶς μαθεῖν.
 (Δη.) ἄρα σὺ με κόπτειν οἶος εἶ γε, φίλτατε;
 (Α.) οὐκ ἄλλ' ἐν ὅσῳ προσέρχεται ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ὁ
 παῖς, |
- c μικρὰ διακινήσω σε περὶ τοῦ πράγματος,
 ἵνα τὰ λαλεῖν λάβωμεν εὐκαιρον χρόνον.
 (Δη.) Ἄπολλου, ἐργῶδές <γ>. (Α.) ἄκουσον,
 ὦγαθέ·
 δεῖ τὸν μάγειρον εἰδέναι πρώτιστα μὲν
 περὶ τῶν μετεώρων, τὰς τε τῶν ἄστρον δύσεις
 καὶ τὰς ἐπιτολάς, καὶ τὸν ἥλιον πότε
 ἐπὶ τὴν μακρὰν τε καὶ βραχεῖαν ἡμέραν
 ἐπάνεισι, καὶ ποίοισιν ἐστὶ ζῳδίοις.
- d τὰ γὰρ ὄψα πάντα καὶ τὰ βρώματα | σχεδὸν
 ἐν τῇ περιφορᾷ τῆς ὅλης συντάξεως
 ἐτέραν ἐν αὐτοῖς λαμβάνει τὴν ἡδονήν.
 ὁ μὲν οὖν κατέχων τὰ τοιαῦτα τὴν ὥραν ἰδὼν
 τούτων ἐκάστοις ὡς προσήκει χρήσεται,

⁶⁴ Cf. 9.386a n.

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school; he pioneered our system of doing things.
He taught us, first of all, how to interpret the stars;
and then next, after that, how to supervise building
projects.

He was in charge of all our conversations on the
subject of Nature;
and on top of all that, he discussed military strategy.
He wanted us to master these subjects before we
studied our own profession.

(Demeas) So you're qualified to drive me crazy, my
friend?

(A.) No; but while my slave is on his way back from
the market,

I'm going to raise some minor questions about my
business for you,
so we have the opportunity for a conversation.

(Demeas) Apollo!⁶⁴ What a bother! (A.) Listen up,
my good sir!

The first thing a cook has to know about
are celestial phenomena: when the stars set
and when they rise, when the sun
reaches the longest and the shortest day
of the year, and what signs of the Zodiac it's in.
Because almost all fish, like other types of food,
vary in how good or bad they taste
as the whole system revolves.

Someone who's mastered this sort of information will
see what season it is,
and use each of these ingredients at the appropriate
time;

ὁ δ' ἀγνοῶν ταῦτ' εἰκότως τυντλάζεται.

πάλιν τὸ περὶ τῆς ἀρχιτεκτονικῆς ἴσως

ἐθαύμασας τί τῇ τέχνῃ συμβάλλεται.

(Δη.) ἐγὼ δ' ἐθαύμασ'; (Α.) ἀλλ' ὁμως ἐγὼ

φράσω· |

- e τούπτάνιον ὀρθῶς καταβαλέσθαι καὶ τὸ φῶς
λαβεῖν ὅσον δεῖ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμ' ἰδεῖν πόθεν
ἐστίν, μεγάλην χρεῖαν τιν' εἰς τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἔχει.
ὁ καπνὸς φερόμενος δεῦρο κάκει διαφορὰν
εἴωθε τοῖς ὄψοισιν ἐμποιεῖν τινα.

† τοιοῦτον † ἔτι σοι δῖεμι τὰ στρατηγικὰ

* * *

ἔχω γε τὸν μάγειρον. ἡ τάξις σοφὸν

ἀπανταχοῦ μέν ἐστι καὶ πάσῃ τέχνῃ, |

- f ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς δ' ὥσπερ ἡγεῖται σχεδόν.

τὸ γὰρ παραθεῖναι κάφελεῖν τεταγμένως

ἕκαστα καὶ τὸν καιρὸν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἰδεῖν,

πότε δεῖ πυκνότερον ἐπαγαγεῖν καὶ πότε βᾶδην,

καὶ πῶς ἔχουσι πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον καὶ πότε

εὔκαιρον αὐτῶν ἐστὶ τῶν ὄψων τὰ μὲν

θερμὰ παραθεῖναι, τὰ δ' ἐπ' ἀνέντα, τὰ δὲ μέσως,

τὰ δ' ὅλως ἀποψύξαντα, ταῦτα πάντα < . . . > ||

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ἐν τοῖς στρατηγικοῖσιν ἐξετάζεται

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whereas someone who's ignorant about such matters—not surprisingly—gets stuck in the mud.

Moving on—perhaps you wondered what architecture contributes to our profession.

(Demeas) *I* wondered about that? (A.) I'm going to tell you anyway.

Laying out the kitchen-area properly, capturing the right

amount of light, and checking where the wind is coming from, are very important in our business.

Whether the smoke goes this way or that tends to have an effect on the food.

† this sort † I'll also run through the matter of military strategy for you.

* * *

I've got the cook. Organization implies wisdom everywhere, in every profession; but in ours it's almost the most important quality there is.

Serving and removing the various dishes in an organized way, and recognizing the proper moment for them—

when you need to bring them in closer together, when a more leisurely pace is necessary,

how they're reacting to the meal, and when's the perfect moment to serve the hot

dishes, or the ones that are just starting to cool down, or are at room temperature,

or are really cold—all these questions are subsumed in the study of

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μαθήμασιν. (Δη.) † τίς δὴ τι † παραδείξας ἐμοὶ
τὰ δέοντ' ἀπελθὼν αὐτὸς ἡσυχίαν ἄγε.

καὶ ὁ παρὰ τᾶ Ἀλέξειδι δὲ ἐν Μιλησίοις μάγειρος οὗ
μακρὰν τούτου ἐστὶ λέγων τοιαύδε·

- (A.) οὐκ ἴστε ταῖς πλείσταισι τῶν τεχνῶν ὅτι
οὐχ ἀρχιτέκτων κύριος τῆς ἡδονῆς
μόνος καθέστηκε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν χρωμένων
συμβάλλεται τις, ἂν καλῶς χρώνται, μερίς; |
b (B.) ποιὸν τι; δεῖ γὰρ καμὲ τὸν ξένον μαθεῖν.
(A.) τὸν ὀψοποιὸν σκευάσαι χρηστῶς μόνου
δεῖ τοῦψον, ἄλλο δ' οὐδέν. ἂν μὲν οὖν τύχη
ὁ ταῦτα μέλλων ἐσθίειν τε καὶ κρινεῖν
εἰς καιρὸν ἐλθὼν, ὠφέλησε τὴν τέχνην·
ἂν δ' ὑστερίζη τῆς τεταγμένης ἀκμῆς,
ὥστ' ἢ προοπτήσαντα χλιαίνει πάλιν,
ἢ μὴ προοπτήσαντα συντελεῖν ταχύ,
ἀπεστέρησε τῆς τέχνης τὴν ἡδονήν.
(B.) εἰς τοὺς σοφιστὰς τὸν μάγειρον ἐγγράφω. |
c (A.) ἐστήκαθ' ὑμεῖς, κάεται δέ μοι τὸ πῦρ,
ἤδη πυκνοὶ δ' ἄττουσιν Ἑφαιστοῦ κύνες

65 Referred to at 6.240c as *The Girl from Miletus*.

66 I.e. the sparks from the cook-fire. Cf. Eub. fr. 75.7 (quoted at 3.108b).

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strategy. (Demeas) † who in fact something † now
that you explained what
you had to to me—get out of here and leave me
alone!

The cook in Alexis' *Milesians*⁶⁵ (fr. 153) is not much different from him and makes remarks along the following lines:

(A.) Don't you realize that in most professions
the man in charge isn't the only one who's responsible
for the pleasure produced, but some of it's
contributed

by the people who enjoy it—assuming they *do* enjoy
it?

(B.) What's this? I'm a foreigner; I need an
explanation.

(A.) All the chef has to do is prepare the dishes
properly, nothing else. If the person who's going
to consume the food and pass judgment on it
shows up on time, he's made a positive contribution
to the profession.

But if he arrives after the designated moment,
so that the cook has to warm the food up a second
time after he roasts it,

or has to finish it quickly because he didn't finish
roasting it,

the guest has reduced the pleasure our profession
produces.

(B.) I'm adding the cook to my list of intellectuals.

(A.) You people stand around, and meanwhile my
fire's burning,

and Hephaestus' hounds⁶⁶ are already racing, one
after another,

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κούφως πρὸς αἴθραν, οἷς τὸ γίγνεσθαι θ' ἄμα
καὶ τὴν τελευταίην τοῦ βίου συνήψέ τις
μόνοις ἀνάγκης θεσμὸς οὐχ ὀρώμενος.

Εὐφρων δέ, οὗ καὶ πρὸ βραχείος ἐμνήσθην, ἄνδρες
δικασταί (δικαστὰς γὰρ ὑμᾶς οὐκ ὀκνήσασαι μ' ἂν κα-
λεῖν, ἀναμένων τὴν ὑμετέραν τῶν αἰσθητηρίων κρί-
d σιν), ἐν τοῖς Ἀδελφοῖς τῷ δράματι ποιήσας | τινὰ
μάγειρον πολυμαθῆ καὶ εὐπαίδευτον μνημονεύοντά τε
τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ τεχνιτῶν καὶ τίνα ἕκαστος εἶχεν ἰδίαν
ἀρετὴν καὶ ἐν τίνι ἐπλεονέκτει, ὅμως οὐδενὸς ἐμνήσθη
τοιούτου ὧν ἐγὼ ὑμῖν πολλάκις τυγχάνω παρασκευ-
άζων. λέγει δ' οὖν οὕτως·

πολλῶν μαθητῶν γενομένων ἐμοί, Λύκε,
διὰ τὸ νοεῖν αἰεὶ τι καὶ ψυχὴν ἔχειν
ἄπει γεγονὼς μάγειρος ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας
ἐν οὐχ ὅλοις δέκα μησί, πολὺ νεώτατος. |
e Ἄγις Ῥόδιος ὤπτηκεν ἰχθὺν μόνος ἄκρωσ·
Νηρεὺς δ' ὁ Χίος γόγγρον ἤψε τοῖς θεοῖς·
θρῖον τὸ λευκὸν οὐξ Ἀθηνῶν Χαριάδης·
ζωμὸς μέλας ἐγένετο πρῶτω Λαμπρία·
ἀλλᾶντας Ἀφθόνητος, Εὐθύνοσ φακῆν,
† ἀπὸ συμβολῶν συνάγουσιν ἀρίστων πόρους. †

67 Cf. 7.295e n.

68 Cf. Sosip. fr. 1.11 (quoted at 9.378a).

69 The name of a seventh brilliant cook and a description of his most striking achievement must be concealed in this corrupt line (or the lacuna that perhaps precedes it).

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lightly into the air. Some invisible law
of necessity bound their birth, and no one else's,
together with the end of their life.

Euphro, to whom I referred a little earlier (9.377d–e), gentlemen of the jury—for I would not hesitate to refer to you as jurors, as I await the judgment rendered by your taste-buds—in his play *The Brothers* (fr. 1) created a learned and well-educated cook, who mentions the artisans who preceded him, as well as the particular gift each of them had and what he was best at. But all the same, he mentioned no one capable of making anything like the food I regularly prepare for you. At any rate, he says the following:

Although I've had lots of pupils, Lycus,
the fact that you're always thinking and are brave
means you're leaving my house having become a cook
in less than ten months, far and away the youngest of
them.

Agis of Rhodes was the only one who could roast a
fish perfectly;

Nereus of Chios⁶⁷ stewed a conger eel fit for the
gods;

Chariades of Athens⁶⁸ was responsible for the white
fig-leaf pastry;

black broth was pioneered by Lamprias;

Aphonetus made sausages, Euthynus lentil-soup;

† from the money contributed they assemble of
lunches pores.⁶⁹ †

- οὔτοι μετ' ἐκείνους τοὺς σοφιστὰς τοὺς πάλαι
 γεγόνασιν ἡμῶν ἑπτὰ δεύτεροι σοφοί. |
 f ἐγὼ δ' ὀρώω τὰ πολλὰ προκατειλημμένα
 εὔρον τὸ κλέπτειν πρῶτος, ὥστε μηδένα
 μισεῖν με διὰ τοῦτ', ἀλλὰ πάντα λαμβάνειν.
 ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δ' ὀρώω σὺ τοῦτο προκατειλημμένον
 ἴδιον ἐφεύρηκας τι, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ σόν.
 πέμπτην ἔθνον ἡμέραν † οἰτινι οἱ †
 380 πολλοὶ γέροντες πλοῦν πολὺν πεπλευκότες, ||
 λεπτὸν ἔριφον καὶ μικρόν. οὐκ ἦν ἐκφορὰ
 Δύκῳ κρεῶν τότε οὐδὲ τῷ διδασκάλῳ.
 ἑτέρους πορίσασθαι δὴ ἑρίφους ἠνάγκασας·
 τὸ γὰρ ἦπαρ αὐτῶν πολλακίς σκοπουμένων
 καθεὶς κάτω τὴν χεῖρα τὴν μίαν λαθῶν
 ἔρριψας εἰς τὸν λάκκον ἰταμῶς τὸν νεφρόν. |
 b πολὺν ἐπόησας θόρυβον. "οὐκ εἶχε νεφρόν,"
 ἔλεγον. ἔκυπτον οἱ παρόντες ἀποβολῇ.
 ἔθυσαν ἕτερον· τοῦ δὲ δευτέρου πάλιν
 τὴν καρδίαν εἰδόν σε καταπίνουτ' ἐγώ.
 πάλαι μέγας εἶ, γίνωσκε· τοῦ γὰρ μὴ χανεῖν

⁷⁰ Thales of Miletus, Bias of Priene, Cleobulus of Lindos, Pittacus of Mitylene, Solon of Athens, Chilon of Sparta, and Periander of Corinth (all early 6th century BCE).

BOOK IX

After the famous seven ancient wise men,⁷⁰ these
people
represent our generation's second group of seven
sages.

As for me, when I saw that lots of specialties had
already been taken,

I became the first man to figure out how to steal food
in a way that kept anyone
from hating me for it, and instead made them all try
to hire me.

And since you saw that I'd already claimed that
specialty,

you came up with another original trick, which no
one knows but you.

Four days ago, [corrupt] a bunch of old men
who'd completed a long sea-voyage were sacrificing
a scrawny little kid. At that point, there wasn't any
meat for Lycus or his teacher to take home.

But you made them come up with two more kids;
because while they were searching around for the
liver,

you discreetly put a hand inside the animal
and quickly tossed a kidney into the cistern.

Then you made a big fuss, and they said: "It was
missing

a kidney!" Everyone there stared at the ground,
dismayed by the deficiency.

They sacrificed another one, and again I saw you
gobbling down the heart of victim number two.

You're a past master, you can be sure of that! You're
the only one

λύκον διακενής σὺ μόνος εὔρηκας τέχνην.
 χορδῆς ὀβελίσκους ἡμέρας ζητουμένους
 δὺ' ἐχθές ὠμούςς εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἀποσβέσας |
 c καὶ πρὸς τὸ δίχορδον ἑτερέτιζες. ἤσθόμην·
 ἐκείνο δρᾶμα, τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ παίγνιον.

μή τις τούτων τῶν δευτέρων ἐπὶ σοφῶν ὀνομασθέν-
 των τοιοῦτόν τι ἐπενόησε περὶ τοῦ χοίρου, πῶς καὶ τὰ
 ἐντὸς πεπλήρωται καὶ τὸ μὲν ὀπταλέον ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ τὸ
 δὲ ἐφθόν, αὐτὸς δ' ἐστὶν ἄσφακτος; δεομένων οὖν ἡμῶν
 καὶ λιπαρούντων δεικνύναι τὴν σοφίαν, οὐκ ἐρῶ, φη-
 σί, τῆτες μὰ τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι κινδυνεύσαντας καὶ
 πρὸς ἔτι τοὺς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχήσαντας. ἔδοξεν
 d οὖν πᾶσι | διὰ τὸν τηλικόνδε ὄρκον μὴ βιάζεσθαι τὸν
 ἄνθρωπον, ἐπ' ἄλλο δέ τι τῶν παραφερομένων τὰς
 χεῖρας ἐπιβάλλειν. καὶ ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς ἔφη· μὰ τοὺς ἐν
 Ἄρτεμισίῳ κινδυνεύσαντας οὐδεὶς τινος γεύσεται πρὶν
 λεχθῆναι ποῦ κείται τὸ παραφέρειν· τὰ γὰρ γεύματα
 ἐγὼ οἶδα μόνος. καὶ ὁ Μάγνος ἔφη· Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν
 Προάγωνι·

71 "The wolf with his mouth open" was a proverb used of those who hope to get something, but do not succeed (Ar. fr. 350 ap. Phot. λ 452), and the name of the animal (*lukos*) simultaneously puns on that of the individual being addressed.

72 Cf. 9.376c-d. The question of how the pig was prepared is finally answered at 9.381a-c.

73 An echo of D. 18.208 (referring to the Greek victories against the Persian invaders in 490 and 480 BCE, respectively).

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who's figured out how not to be a wolf with his mouth
dangling open!⁷¹
Yesterday, during the day, they were looking for two
spits
of sausage (*chordē*), and you dropped them raw into
the fire and put it out,
singing along with your two-stringed (*dichordos*)
instrument. I understood;
the former was a complete play, but this latest was
just a skit!

Surely no one claims that any of the second set of seven
sages just mentioned devised anything like this with a
pig—I mean, how its interior has been stuffed, and half
of it has been roasted and the other half stewed, and there
is no sign of it having been butchered!⁷² We therefore
begged and implored him to show us his trick, and he said:
I will not tell you this this year, by the men who risked their
lives at Marathon, or by those who fought the naval battle
at Salamis.⁷³ Because of the magnitude of this oath, we
all felt it would be wrong to force him to speak, and in-
stead reached for some of the other items being served
(*parapheromenōn*). And Ulpian said: By the men who
risked their lives at Artemisium,⁷⁴ no one is going to taste
anything until we are told where the verb *parapherein*
("to bring, fetch, serve") is attested. Because I am the
sole authority on snacks (*geumata*). Magnus replied:
Aristophanes in *The Proagon* (fr. 482):

⁷⁴ Another echo of D. 18.208 (referring to another Greek vic-
tory over the Persians in 480 BCE).

τί οὐκ ἐκέλευσας παραφέρειν τὰ ποτήρια; |

e Σώφρων δ' ἐν Γυναικείοις κατακοινότερον κέχρηται λέγων· πάρφερε, Κοικόα, τὸν σκύφον μεστόν. καὶ Πλάτων δ' ἐν Λάκωσιν ἔφη·

πάσας παραφερέτω.

Ἄλεξις Παμφίλῃ·

παρέθηκε τὴν τράπεζαν, εἶτα παραφέρων ἀγαθῶν ἀμάξας.

περὶ δὲ τῶν γευμάτων ἃ σαυτῶν προὔπιες ὦρα σοι λέγειν, Οὐλπιανέ. τὸ γὰρ γεῦσαι ἔχομεν ἐν Εὐπόλιδι ἐν Αἰξί·

< . . . > τοῦδε νῦν γεῦσαι λαβῶν.

f καὶ ὁ Οὐλπιανός, Ἐφιππος, ἔφη, ἐν Πελταστῇ· † ἔνθ' ὄνων ἵππων | τε στάσεις καὶ γεύματα οἴνων. † Ἀντιφάνης δ' ἐν Διδύμοις·

οἶνογευστέι, περιπατέι

ἐν τοῖς στεφάνοις.

Ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ μάγειρος ἔφη· λέξω τοίνυν καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἀρχαίαν ἐπίνοιαν, ἀλλ' εὖρεσιν ἐμήν (ἵνα μὴ ὁ αὐλητῆς πληγὰς λάβῃ· ὁ γὰρ Εὐβουλος ἐν Λάκωσιν ἦ Λήδα ἔφη· ||

BOOK IX

Why didn't you order him to fetch (*parapherein*) the cups?

Sophon in the *Women's Mimes* (fr. 14) uses the word in a more conventional sense when he says: Coicoa! Fill the bowl and bring it (*parphere*) here! Plato as well said in *Spartans* (fr. 73):

Let him bring (*parapheretō*) them all!

Alexis in *Pamphile* (fr. 176):

He set the table beside us and then brought
(*parapherōn*)
wagon-loads of good food.

But now it is time, Ulpian, for you to discuss these snacks (*geumata*) of yours that you mentioned in your toast. For we have the verb *geusai* ("to taste") in Eupolis' *Nanny-Goats* (fr. 10):

Take some of this now, and taste (*geusai*) it!

And Ulpian said: Ephippus in *The Peltast* (fr. 18, unmetrical): † where there are stalls for donkeys and horses, and samples (*geumata*) of wine. † Antiphanes in *The Twins* (fr. 83):

he samples wine (*otnogeustei*), he walks around in the garland-market.

The cook responded: Well, I will tell you about something that is not an old trick, but my own invention—to keep the pipe-player from being beaten; because Eubulus said in *Spartans or Leda* (fr. 60):

ἀλλ' ἠκούσαμεν

καὶ τοῦτο, νῆ τὴν Ἑστίαν, οἴκοι ποθ' ὡς
 <ὄσ' > ἂν ὁ μάγειρος ἐξαμάρτη, τύπτεται,
 ὡς φασιν, ἀλητῆς παρ' ὑμῖν.

Φιλύλλιός τε ἢ ὁ ποιήσας τὰς Πόλεις φησίν·

ὅ τι ἂν τύχη

<ὁ > μάγειρος ἀδικήσας, τὸν ἀλητὴν λαβεῖν
 πληγὰς)

περὶ ἡμιόπτου καὶ ἡμιέφθου καὶ ἀσφάκτου γεμιστοῦ
 χοίρου. ὁ μὲν χοῖρος ἐσφάγη ὑπὸ τὸν ὦμον σφαγὴν
 b βραχεῖαν (καὶ ἐπέδειξεν). | ἔπειτα ἀπορρεύσαντος τοῦ
 πολλοῦ αἵματος πάντα τὰ ἐντοσθίδια μετὰ τῆς ἐξαι-
 ρέσεως (εἶρηται γὰρ καὶ ἐξαίρεσις,

< . . . > ὦ στωμυλῆθραι δαιταλεῖς)

διακλύσας ἐπιμελῶς οἴνω πολλάκις ἐκρέμασα ἐκ
 ποδῶν. εἶτα πάλιν οἴνω διέβρεξα καὶ προειρήσας μετὰ
 πολλοῦ πιπέρεως τὰ προειρημένα χναυμάτια ἔβυσα
 διὰ τοῦ στόματος, πολλὸν ἐπιχέας ζωμὸν εὖ πάνυ
 πεποιημένον. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα περιέπλασα τοῦ χοίρου
 τὴν ἡμίσειαν, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, ἀλφίτοις πολλοῖς κριθῆς
 c ἀναδεύσας αὐτὰ | οἴνω καὶ ἐλαίῳ. ἔπειτ' ἐνέθηκα
 κριβάνῳ ὑποθεῖς τράπεζαν χαλκῆν ἐστάθευσά τε τῷ

⁷⁵ Athenaeus (or his source) also expresses doubts about the authorship of the play at 3.86e, 92e; 4.140a.

BOOK IX

But we heard
this once upon a time at home, by Hestia:
if the cook makes mistakes, people say,
it's the pipe-player you beat!

And Phyllylus (fr. 9), or whoever the author of *Cities* is,⁷⁵
says:

Whatever the cook
does wrong, the pipe-player
gets beaten—

and that involves a half-roasted, half-stewed, seemingly
unslaughtered, stuffed pig. The pig was slaughtered by
means of a small incision beneath its shoulder (and he
showed it to us). Then, after most of the blood had drained
out, I carefully washed its entire interior, as well as the
offal (*exairesis*)—because the word *exairesis* is used,⁷⁶

you babbling banqueters (adesp. com. fr. *115)—

repeatedly with wine, and hung it up by its feet.⁷⁷ Then I
soaked it in wine again; gave it a preliminary stewing with a
large amount of pepper; and crammed the tidbits I men-
tioned earlier (9.376c-e) in through its mouth, after pour-
ing a great deal of carefully made broth over them. After
that, I plastered half the pig, as you can see, with a large
quantity of barley-groats, into which I had mixed wine and
olive oil. Then I put a bronze tray under it, set it inside a

⁷⁶ The question is taken up below, after the way the pig was
cooked has been described.

⁷⁷ Sc. to drain the remaining blood from its body. The descrip-
tion that follows is perhaps all borrowed from some lost comedy.

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πυρί, ὡς μήτε κατακαῦσαι μήτ' ὤμὸν ἀφελεῖν. καὶ τῆς φορίνης ἤδη γενομένης κραμβαλέας εἵκασα καὶ τᾶλλο μέρος ἠψῆσθαι ἀποβαλὼν τ' αὐτοῦ τὰ ἄλφιστα οὕτω φέρων ὑμῖν παρέθηκα. τὴν δ' ἐξαιρέσιν, ᾧ καλέ μου Οὐλπιανέ, Διονύσιος ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς ἐν τοῖς Ὀμωύμοις τῷ δράματι οὕτως εἶρηκε ποιήσας τινὰ μάγειρον πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς διαλεγόμενον· |

- d ἄγε δὴ Δρόμων νῦν, εἴ τι κομψὸν ἢ σοφὸν ἢ γλαφυρὸν οἶσθα τῶν σεαυτοῦ πραγμάτων, φανερὸν πόησον τοῦτο τῷ διδασκάλῳ. νῦν τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τῆς τέχνης αἰτῶ σ' ἐγώ. εἰς πολεμίαν ἄγω σε θαρρῶν κατὰτρεχε. ἀριθμῷ διδοάσι τὰ κρέα καὶ τηροῦσί σε· τακερὰ ποιήσας ταῦτα καὶ ζέσας σφόδρα τὸν ἀριθμὸν αὐτῶν, ὡς λέγω σοι, σύγχεον. ἰχθὺς ἀδρὸς πάρεστι τάντός ἐστι σά. καὶν τέμαχος ἐκκλίνης τι, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ σόν, |
- e ἕως ἂν ἐνδον ὦμεν· ὅταν ἔξω δ', ἐμόν. ἐξαιρέσεις καὶ τᾶλλα τὰκόλουθ' ὅσα οὔτ' ἀριθμὸν οὔτ' ἔλεγχον ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἔχει, περικόμματος δὲ τάξιν ἢ θέσιν φέρει, εἰς αὔριον σε κάμει ταῦτ' εὐφρανάτω.

⁷⁸ Sc. (unless Athenaeus or his source has garbled the recipe) to the outside of the baking-shell, thus heating its interior, where the pig was.

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baking-shell, and roasted it by applying the fire,⁷⁸ aiming to neither burn it nor have it still be raw when I took it out. Once the skin was roasted, I guessed that the other half must be done as well; so I removed the barley-groats from it, and brought it and served it to you without further ado. But as for the word *exairesis* ("offal"), my good Ulpian, the comic poet Dionysius in his play *Men Who Shared a Name* (fr. 3) represents a cook having a conversation with his students, and says the following:

Come on now, Dromo! If you've got any subtlety,
cleverness, or elegance in you,
show it to your teacher;

I'm asking you to demonstrate your technique.
I'm leading you into enemy territory; boldly lay it
waste!

Suppose they count the chunks of meat as they hand
them over, and keep an eye on you;
make them tender by stewing them intensely,
and confuse the count the way I've described for you!

Suppose there's a big fish; its guts are yours!
And if you swipe a slice of the meat, that's yours
too—

as long as we're inside the house. Once we're outside,
it's mine!

As for the offal (*exaireseis*) and the other parts that
go with them,
which can't be counted or checked,
and have the rank and station of trimmings,
tomorrow they can make us both happy.

λαφυροπώλη παντάπασι μεταδίδου,
 τὴν πάροδον ἴν' ἔχῃς τῶν θυρῶν εὐνουστέραν.
 τί δεῖ λέγειν με πολλὰ πρὸς συνειδότα;
 ἐμὸς εἶ μαθητῆς, σὸς δ' ἐγὼ διδάσκαλος.
 μέμνησο τῶνδε καὶ βιάδιζε δεῦρ' ἅμα. |

- f Πάντων οὖν ἡμῶν ἐπαινεσάντων τὸν μάγειρον ἐπὶ
 τε τῷ ἐτοίμῳ τῶν λεγομένων καὶ τῇ τῆς τέχνης περι-
 εργία ὁ καλὸς ἡμῶν ἐστιάτωρ Λαρήνσιος, καὶ πόσω
 κάλλιον, ἔφη, τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐκμανθάνειν τοὺς μαγείρους
 ἢ ἄπερ παρά τινι τῶν πολιτῶν ἡμῶν, ὃς ὑπὸ πλούτου
 καὶ τρυφῆς τοὺς τοῦ θαυμασιωτάτου Πλάτωνος δια-
 λόγους ἠνάγκαζεν ἐκμανθάνοντας τοὺς μαγείρους φέ-
 382 ροντάς τε τὰς λοπάδας ἅμα λέγειν, "εἷς, δύο, τρεῖς· ||
 ὁ δὲ δὴ τέταρτος ἡμῖν, ὃ φίλε Τίμαιε, ποῦ τῶν χθῆς
 μὲν δαιτυμόνων, τὰ νῦν δ' ἐστιάτόρων;" ἔπειτ' ἄλλος
 ἀπεκρίνατο, "ἀσθένειά τις αὐτῷ ξυνέπεσεν, ὃ Σώκρα-
 τες." διεξήρχοντό τε τοῦ διαλόγου τὰ πολλὰ τὸν
 τρόπον τοῦτον, ὡς ἄχθεσθαι μὲν τοὺς εὐωχουμένους,
 ὑβρίζεσθαι δὲ τὸν πάνσοφον ἐκείνον ἄνθρωπον
 ὀσημέραι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλοὺς τῶν καθαρῶν
 ἐξόμνησθαι τὰς παρ' ἐκείνῳ ἐστιάσεις. οἱ δὲ ἡμέτεροι
 οὗτοι ἅμα ἴσως ταῦτ' ἐκμανθάνοντες οὐκ ὀλίγην ὑμῖν
 θυμηδίαν παρέχουσιν. καὶ ὁ παῖς ἐπὶ τῇ μαγειρικῇ |
 b σοφία ἐπαινεθείς, τί τοιοῦτον εὐρήκασιν, ἔφη, ἢ
 εἰρήκασιν οἱ πρὸ ἐμοῦ; ἢ ἐπὶ μετρίους ἐμαυτὸν ἄγω οὐ

⁷⁹ The slave whose job it was to guard the door (and who is

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By all means give the dealer in plunder⁷⁹ a share,
so you can get through the door with less worry.
Why should I make a long speech to someone who
 knows what I'm thinking?
You're my pupil, and I'm your teacher.
Remember my advice, and come along here with me.

We all accordingly applauded the cook for the virtuosity with which he spoke and for his technical brilliance, and our noble host Larensius said: How much better it is for cooks to learn material like this by heart than what went on in the house of one of my fellow-citizens, who was so rich and addicted to luxury that he used to force his cooks to memorize the dialogues of the marvellous Plato! And when they brought in the casserole-dishes, he would make them say (*Ti.* 17a): "One, two, three—my good Timaeus, where is our fourth dinner-guest from yesterday, these men who are now our hosts?" And then another cook would answer: "He got sick, Socrates." They made their way through much of the dialogue this way, and the result was that the people attending the feast got bored and the brilliant individual responsible was insulted on a daily basis; as a consequence, many sophisticated people swore off attending his banquets. But my servants here, I trust, supply you with a fair amount of enjoyment when they memorize this material. And the slave, having been applauded for his culinary sophistication, remarked: What have my predecessors invented or said that was like this? Or am I comparing myself to average individuals by not bragging

here assumed to be engaged in systematically looting the house)?
or the dog?

μεγαλαυχούμενος ἐπ' ἑμαυτῷ; καίτοι καὶ ὁ πρῶτος τῶν τὸν Ὀλυμπίασιν ἀγῶνα ἀναδησαμένων Κόροιβος ὁ Ἥλειος μάγειρος ἦν καὶ οὐχ οὕτως ἀγκύλλετο ἐπὶ τῇ τέχνῃ ὡς ὁ παρὰ Στράτωνι μάγειρος ἐν τῷ Φοινικίδη, περὶ οὗ τοιαῦτα λέγει ὁ μεμισθωμένος:

c σφίγγ' ἄρρεν', οὐ μάγειρον, εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν |
 εἶλληφ'. ἀπλῶς γὰρ οὐδὲ ἔν, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς,
 ὦν ἂν λέγη συνίημι· καινὰ ῥήματα
 πεπορισμένος πάρεστιν. ὡς εἰσηλθε γάρ,
 εὐθύς μ' ἐπηρώτησε προσβλέψας μέγα·
 "πόσους κέκληκας μέροπας ἐπὶ δεῖπνον; λέγε."
 "ἐγὼ κέκληκα Μέροπας ἐπὶ δεῖπνον; χολᾶς.
 τοὺς δὲ Μέροπας τούτους με γινώσκειν δοκεῖς;
 οὐδεὶς παρέσται· τοῦτο γὰρ, νῆ τὸν Δία, |
 d ἔστι κατάλοιπον, Μέροπας ἐπὶ δεῖπνον καλεῖν."
 "οὐδ' ἄρα παρέσται δαιτυμῶν οὐδεὶς ὄλωσ;"
 "οὐκ οἶομαί γε. Δαιτυμῶν;" ἐλογιζόμεν·
 "ἤξει Φιλῖνος, Μοσχίων, Νικήρατος,
 ὁ δεῖν', ὁ δεῖνα." κατ' ὄνομα ἀνελογιζόμεν·
 οὐκ ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ εἰς μοι Δαιτυμῶν.

⁸⁰ The sense of the sentence is difficult, and something may be missing from the text.

⁸¹ Moretti #1 (victorious in the foot-race in 776 BCE); cf. Call. fr. 541 Pfeiffer; Paus. 5.8.6; 8.26.3-4.

⁸² A very early papyrus (P.Cair. 65445; 3rd century BCE) preserves portions of a considerably shorter version of this speech (lacking Athenaeus' verses 9-10, 12, 16, 22, 26-33, but offering six additional verses at the end). The additional verses in Athenaeus are in general leadenly

BOOK IX

about my accomplishments?⁸⁰ In fact the first person to wear a victor's garland at the Olympic games, Coroebus of Elis,⁸¹ was a cook, and he did not get as high and mighty about his profession as the cook in Strato's *Phoenicides* (fr. 1.1–47), whose employer says the following about him:⁸²

I've taken a male Sphinx into my house,
not a cook! By the gods, I don't understand
a single word he says. He's here with a full supply
of strange vocabulary. The minute he entered the
house,
he immediately looked me in the eye and asked in a
loud voice:

“How many *meropes*⁸³ have you invited to dinner?
Tell me!”

“I've invited the Meropes to dinner? You're crazy;
do you think I know these Meropes?”

None of them'll be there. By Zeus, this is
too much—inviting Meropes to dinner!”

“So isn't a single *daitumōn*⁸⁴ going to be present?”

“I don't think so. *Daitumōn*?” I did a count:

“Philinus is coming, and Moschion, and Niceratus,
and so-and-so, and so-and-so.” I went through them,
name by name;

I didn't have a single *Daitumōn* among them.

dull, and what he preserves is apparently an expansion of the text by someone who liked the dialogue and wanted to make it longer. Verses 1–4 are also preserved at 14.659b–c, where they are assigned to Philemo.

⁸³ An obscure poetic word generally treated as meaning “people”.

⁸⁴ Homeric vocabulary (“guest”), although always used in epic in the plural.

- “οὐδεὶς παρέσται,” φημί. “τί λέγεις; οὐδὲ εἶς;”
 σφόδρ’ ἤγανάκτησ’ ὥσπερ ἡδικυγβημένος
 εἰ μὴ κέκληκα Δαιτυμόνα. καινὸν πάνυ. |
 e “οὐδ’ ἄρα θύεις ἐρυσίχθον;” “οὐκ,” ἔφη, “ἐγώ.”
 “βοῦν δ’ εὐρυμέτωπον;” “οὐ θύω βοῦν, ἄθλιε.”
 “μῆλα θυσιάζεις ἄρα;” “μὰ Δί’, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐ,
 οὐδέτερον αὐτῶν, προβάτιον δ’.” “οὐκουν;” ἔφη,
 “τὰ μῆλα πρόβατα;” “<μῆλα πρόβατ’;> οὐ
 μανθάνω,
 <μάγειρε,> τούτων οὐδέν, οὐδὲ βούλομαι. |
 f ἀγροικότερός εἰμ’, ὥσθ’ ἀπλῶς μοι διαλέγου.”
 “Ὅμηρον οὐκ οἶσθας λέγοντα;” “καὶ μάλα
 ἐξῆν ὃ βούλοιτ’, ὦ μάγειρ’, αὐτῷ λέγειν.
 ἀλλὰ τί πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοῦτο, πρὸς τῆς Ἑστίας;”
 “κατ’ ἐκείνον ἤδη πρόσεχε καὶ τὰ λοιπά μοι.”
 “Ὅμηρικῶς γὰρ διανοεῖ μ’ ἀπολλύναι;”
 “οὕτω λαλεῖν εἴωθα.” “μὴ τοίνυν λάλει
 οὕτω παρ’ ἔμοιγ’ ὦν.” “ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς τέτταρας ||
 383 δραχμὰς ἀποβάλω,” φησί, “τὴν προαίρεσιν;
 τὰς οὐλοχύτας φέρε δεῦρο.” “τοῦτο δ’ ἐστὶ τί;”
 “κριθαί.” “τί οὖν, ἀπόπληκτε, περιπλοκὰς λέγεις;”
 “πηγὸς πάρεστι;” “πηγός; οὐχὶ λαικάσει,

85 I.e. an ox.

86 “Sheep”; but the word can also mean “apples” (hence the confusion that follows).

87 A Homeric term for the barley-grains that were mixed with salt (see below) and thrown at the victim or the altar before a sacrifice was made.

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"No Daitumōn'll be there," I said. "What do you mean? Not one?"

He got real irritated, as if I was treating him badly because I hadn't invited Daitumōn. Very strange.

"Aren't you sacrificing an earthbreaker⁸⁵?" "No, I'm not," I said.

"A cow with a wide forehead?" "I'm not sacrificing a cow, you bastard."

"So you're making a sacrifice of *mēla*⁸⁶?" "No, by Zeus, I'm not.

Neither of these—just a little sheep." "Aren't *mēla* sheep?"

he said. "Apples are sheep? I don't understand any of this, cook," I said, "and I don't want to.

I'm quite unsophisticated; so talk to me very simply." "Don't you realize that Homer uses these terms?"

"He could

talk however he wanted to, cook!

But what does that have to do with us, by Hestia?"

"In the future, if you don't mind, keep him in mind."

"Are you planning to Homer me to death?"

"That's how I'm used to talking." "Well, don't talk that way when you're around *me*!" "For four drachmas",

he says, "I'm supposed to abandon my principles?

Bring the *oulochutai*⁸⁷ here!" "What's that?"

"Barley." "So why, you idiot, do you talk in riddles?"

"Is any *pēgos*⁸⁸ available?" "Pēgos? Suck me!

⁸⁸ A rare adjective meaning "solid", applied to the sea's wave at *Od.* 5.388; 23.235, hence the cook's—extremely odd—use of the word as a metonym for "salt".

ἐρείς σαφέστερόν θ' ὁ βούλει μοι λέγειν;"
 "ἀτάσθαλός γ' εἶ, πρέσβυ," φησ'. "ἄλας φέρε
 τοῦτ' ἔστι πηγός. ἀλλὰ δεῖξον χέρνιβα."

παρῆν· ἔθνευ, ἔλεγεν ἄλλα ῥήματα
 τοιαῦθ' ἄ, μὰ τὴν Γῆν, οὐδὲ εἰς ἤκουσεν ἄν, |
 b μίστυλλα, μοίρας, δίπτυχ', ὀβελούς· ὥστε με
 τῶν τοῦ Φιλίτα λαμβάνοντα βυβλίων
 σκοπεῖν ἕκαστα⁸ τί δύναται τῶν ῥημάτων.
 πλὴν ἰκέτεον αὐτὸν ἤδη μεταβαλεῖν
 ἀνθρωπίνως λαλεῖν τε. τὸν δ' οὐκ ἄν ταχὺ
 ἔπεισεν ἢ Πειθῶ, μὰ τὴν Γῆν, οἶδ' ὅτι.

περίεργον δ' ἔστιν ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸ πολὺ τῶν μαγείρων
 γένος περί τε τὰς ἱστορίας καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα. λέγουσι
 c γοῦν αὐτῶν οἱ λογιώτατοι "γόνυ κνήμης | ἔγγιον" καὶ
 † "περιῆλθον Ἀσίαν καὶ Εὐρώπην" †. ἐπιτιμῶντες δέ
 τινί φασιν μὴ δεῖν τὸν Οἰνέα Πηλέα ποιεῖν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἕνα
 τῶν ἀρχαίων μαγείρων τεθαύμακα πείρα τῆς τέχνης

⁸ The papyrus has ἕκαστον (printed by K-A).

⁸⁹ "Chunks of meat (for spitting), portions (of roasted meat), double-folded (fat for burning the gods' share), spits"; all words reminiscent of, if not necessarily restricted to Homeric scenes of sacrifice and feasting.

⁹⁰ A reference to the *Miscellaneous Glosses* of the late 4th-century BCE poet and scholar Philetas of Cos (= Philet. test. 15 Sbardella).

⁹¹ I.e. "Charity begins at home" *vel sim.*; cf. Gow on Theoc. 16.18.

BOOK IX

Say what you want to say to me more clearly!"

"You're an ignoramus, old man," he says. "Bring me
some salt;

that's what *pēgos* is. Let me see a basin."

I had one. He made the sacrifice and used countless
other

words of a sort no one, by Earth, could have
understood:

mistulla, moires, diptucha, obeloi.⁸⁹ The result was
that

I would've had to get Philetas' books
to figure out what all the vocabulary he used meant.⁹⁰

Except now I began to beg him to take a different
tack

and talk like a human being. I doubt Persuasion
herself would

ever have convinced him, by Earth; I'm sure of that.

It is striking how genuinely devoted to serious research and matters of vocabulary the majority of cooks are. The most learned ones, at any rate, say (Zenob. 3.2): "The knee is closer than the shin"⁹¹ and (Archestr. fr. 2 Olson-Sens; unmetrical)⁹² † "I made a tour of Asia and Europe." † And when they criticize someone, they say that you shouldn't make Oineus into Peleus (Strömberg p. 29).⁹³ I myself gained respect for one of the ancient cooks by trying a technique he pioneered and having success with it. Alexis

⁹² Cf. 3.116f; 7.278d, 326d.

⁹³ For Oineus, see 2.35a-b with n.; Peleus was the father of Achilles. But the real point of the names is that they allow for a pun on *oinos* ("wine") and *pēlos* ("mud").

ἦς εἰσηγήσατο ἀπολαύσας. παράγει δ' αὐτὸν Ἄλεξις
ἐν Λέβητι λέγοντα τάδε·

(A.) ἦψέ μοι δοκεῖ
πνικτόν † τιν' ὄψον † δελφάκειον. (Γλ.) ἠδύ γε.
(A.) ἔπειτα προσκέκαυκε. (Γλ.) μηδὲν φροντίσης·
ιάσιμον γὰρ τὸ πάθος ἐστί. (A.) τῷ τρόπῳ; |
d (Γλ.) ὄξος λαβὼν ἦν εἰς λεκάνην τιν' ἐγχείας
ψυχρόν (ξυνιείς;) εἶτα θερμὴν τὴν χύτραν
εἰς τοῦξος ἐνθῆς· διάπυρος γὰρ οὗσ' ἔτι
ἔλξει δι' αὐτῆς νοτίδα καὶ ζυμουμένη
ὥσπερ κίσηρις λήψεται διεξόδους
σομφάς, δι' ὧν τὴν ὑγρασίαν ἐκδέξεται
τὰ κρεάδι' ἔσται τ' οὐκ ἀπεξηραμμένα,
ἔγχυλα δ' ἀτρεμεῖ καὶ δροσώδη τὴν σχέσιν.
(A.) Ἄπολλον, ὡς ἱατρικῶς. ὦ Γλαυκία, |
e ταυτὶ ποήσω. (Γλ.) καὶ παρατίθει γ' αὐτά, παῖ,
ὅταν παρατιθῆς (μανθάνεις;) ἐψυγμένα.
ἀτμῖς γὰρ οὕτως οὐχὶ προσπηθήσεται
ταῖς ρίσιν, ἀλλ' ἄνω μάλ' εἶσι † καταφαγῶν †
(A.) πολλῶ γ' ἀμείνων, ὡς ἔοικας, ἦσθ' ἄρα
λογογράφος ἢ μάγειρος. (Γλ.) ὁ λέγεις οὐ
λέγεις,
τέχνην δ' ὀνειδίξεις.

⁹⁴ This may be not the second speaker's name, but a sarcastic reference to him as if he were the famous physician (Berve i #228) who failed to save the life of Alexander the Great's general Hephaestion (Arr. An. 7.14.4; Plu. Alex. 72; thus Webster).

BOOK IX

in *The Cauldron* (fr. 129) brings him onstage saying the following:

(A.) Apparently he was stewing
† some dish † casseroled pork. (Glaucias) Very nice.

(A.) Then he burned it. (Glaucias) Don't worry;
the problem's fixable. (A.) How?

(Glaucias) If you get some vinegar and pour it into a
pan—

cold vinegar, understand!—and then put the cookpot
in the vinegar, while it's hot. Because if it's still red-
hot,

it'll draw the moisture into its walls; and as it bubbles
and hisses,

it'll develop porous outlets, like a
sieve; and the moisture will be absorbed through
them.

Then the pieces of meat won't be dried out;
instead, they'll be perfectly juicy and in a moist
condition.

(A.) Apollo! You sound like a doctor! That's what
I'll do, Glaucias!¹⁹⁴ (Glaucias) And when you serve
them,

slave, serve them cold, understand?

That way the steam won't attack
their nostrils; it'll go straight up † gobbling down. †

(A.) Well, you're apparently a much better
speech-writer than you are a cook. (Glaucias) You
don't mean what you're saying;
you're disparaging my profession.

ATHENAEUS

καὶ μαγείρων μὲν ἄλλοις, ἄνδρες δαιταλεῖς, μὴ καὶ τις
αὐτῶν τὰ ἐκ Δυσκόλου Μενάνδρου βρενθυόμενος |
f λαρυγγίση τάδε

οὐδὲ εἰς

μάγειρον ἀδικήσας ἀθῶος διέφυγεν.
ἱεροπρεπῆς πῶς ἐστὶν ἡμῶν ἢ τέχνη.

ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν, κατὰ τὸν ἡδιστὸν Δίφιλον,

παρατίθημ' ὀλοσχερῆ

ἄρν' ἐς μέσον σύμπτυκτον, ὠνθυλευμένον,
χοιρίδια περιφόρινα κρομβώσας ὄλα·
δούρειον ἐπάγω χῆνα τῷ φυσήματι. ||

384 Χῆν. περιενεχθέντων δὲ τούτων καὶ ἄλλων⁹ περι-
τῶς ἐσκευασμένων ἔφη τις, οἱ χῆνες σιτευτοί. καὶ ὁ
Οὐλπιανός, ὁ δὲ σιτευτὸς χῆν παρὰ τίνι; πρὸς ὃν ὁ
Πλούταρχος· Θεόπομπος μὲν ἔφη ὁ Χῖος ἐν ταῖς
Ἑλληνικαῖς κὰν τῇ τρισκαιδεκάτῃ δὲ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν
Ἀγησιλάῳ τῷ Λάκωνι εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀφικομένῳ πέμ-
ψαι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους χῆνας καὶ μόσχους σιτευτούς.
καὶ Ἐπιγένης δ' ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς ἐν Βάκχαις φησίν·

ἀλλ' εἴ τις ὥσπερ χῆνα † ἔτρεφέν μοι λαβῶν
σιτευτόν. |

⁹ ἄλλων χηνῶν A: χηνῶν del. Olson: ἄλλων ὀρνίθων Gulick

⁹⁵ Further material of a similar sort is collected at 9.403e-6b.

BOOK IX

But enough of cooks, banqueters!⁹⁵ We don't want one of them to feel proud and shout the following lines from Menander's *The Difficult Man* (644–6):

No one
escapes unpunished when he injures a cook;
our profession has a sort of sanctity to it.

But to quote the delightful Diphilus (fr. 90), I

am serving you an entire
sheep trussed to a skewer and stuffed;
I roasted whole piglets with the skin still on them;
and I'm adding a goose blown up as big as the
Wooden Horse.

Goose. After these had been served, along with other carefully prepared dishes, someone said: The geese were fattened. Ulpian responded: In what author is the phrase "a fattened goose" attested? Plutarch answered him: Theopompus of Chios in his *History of Greece* and in Book XIII of his *History of Philip* (*FGrH* 115 F 106a)⁹⁶ claimed that when Agesilaus of Sparta arrived in Egypt, the Egyptians sent him fattened geese and calves. The comic poet Epigenes as well says in *Bacchants* (fr. 2):

But if someone took and † fed for me just like a
fattened
goose.

⁹⁶ Cf. 14.616d (another anecdote about Agesilaus in Egypt), 657a–b, 676c–d (two additional references to the same passage in Theopompus). Agesilaus II of Sparta (Poralla #9; c.445–359 BCE) came to Egypt to assist Nectanebis II ("Tachos") as a mercenary in 361, and died before returning home.

ATHENAEUS

b καὶ Ἀρχέστρατος ἐν τῷ πολυθρυλήτῳ ποιήματι

σιτευτὸν καὶ χηνὸς ὁμοῦ σκεύαζε νεοττόν,
ὄπτὸν ἀπλῶς καὶ τόνδε.

σὺ δὲ ἡμῖν, ὦ Οὐλπιανέ, δίκαιος εἶ λέγειν, ὁ περὶ πάντων πάντας ἀπαιτῶν, ποῦ μνήμης ἠξίωται παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τὰ πολυτελῆ ταῦτα τῶν χηνῶν ἦπατα. ὅτι γὰρ χηνοβοσκούς οἶδασι μάρτυς Κρατῖνος ἐν Διονυσαλεξάνδρῳ λέγων·

< . . . > χηνοβοσκοί, βουκόλοι.

Ὅμηρος δὲ καὶ θηλυκῶς καὶ ἀρσενικῶς εἴρηκεν·
αἰετὸς ἀργῆν χῆνα φέρων.

καί· |

c ὡς ὅδε χῆν' ἦρπαξ' ἀτιταλλομένην ἐνὶ οἴκῳ.

καί·

χῆνές μοι κατὰ οἶκον ἐείκοσι πυρὸν ἔδουσι
ἐξ ὕδατος.

χηνείων δὲ ἠπάτων (περισπούδαστα δὲ ταῦτα κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην) μνημονεύει Εὐβουλος ἐν Στεφανοπόλει λέγων οὕτως·

BOOK IX

Also Archestratus in his notorious poem (fr. 58 Olson—Sens = *SH* 189):

Along with that, prepare a fattened gosling,
which should also be simply roasted.

But since you are always asking us all questions on every subject, Ulpian, you are the right person to tell us where in the ancient authors these expensive goose-livers have been deemed worthy of mention. For Cratinus in *Dionysalexandros* (fr. 49) proves that they were familiar with goose-farmers, when he says:

goose-farmers, cowherds.

Homer uses the word as both masculine and feminine (*Od.* 15.161):

an eagle carrying a white (fem.) goose.

And (*Od.* 15.174):

As this (bird) snatched a goose that was being raised
(fem.) in our house.

And (*Od.* 19.536–7):⁹⁷

I have 20 geese in my house that eat grain
away from the water.

Eubulus mentions goose-livers—they are much sought-after in Rome—in *Female Garland-Vendors* (fr. 99), saying the following:

⁹⁷ The gender of the word “goose” is not apparent in the verses quoted here; but the same birds are referred to with masculine forms at *Od.* 19.539–40, 552–3.

εἰ μὴ σὺ χηνὸς ἤπαρ ἢ ψυχὴν ἔχεις.

Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἡμίκραιραι πολλαὶ δελφάκων. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτῶν Κρώβυλος ἐν Ψευδνποβολιμαίῳ |

- d εἰσῆλθεν ἡμίκραιρα τακερὰ δέλφακος.
ταύτης μὰ τὸν Δί' οὐχὶ κατέλιπον, λέγω,
οὐδέν.

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ καλούμενος κρεωκάκκαβος· κρέα δ' ἐστὶ ταῦτα συγκεκομμένα μεθ' αἵματος καὶ λίπους ἐν ζωμῷ γεγλυκασμένῳ. λέγειν δὲ οὕτως Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ γραμματικὸς Ἀχαιοῦς, ὁ Μυρτίλος ἔφη. Ἀντικλείδης δ' ἐν ὀγδόῳ Νόστων, ἐν δείπνῳ, φησί, μελλόντων Χίων ὑπ' Ἐρυθραίων ἐξ ἐπιβουλήs ἀναιρεῖσθαι μαθῶν τις τὸ μέλλον γίνεσθαι ἔφη |

- e ὦ Χίοι, πολλή γὰρ Ἐρυθραίους ἔχει ὕβρις·
φεύγετε δειπνήσαντες ὑὸς κρέα μηδὲ μένειν
βοῦν.

ἀναβράστων δὲ κρεῶν μνημονεύει Ἀριστομένης Γόησιν οὕτως: < . . . > καὶ ὄρχεις ἡσθιον, οὓς καὶ νεφροὺς ἐκάλουν. Φιλιππίδης ἐν τῇ Ἀνανεώσει Γναθαίνης τῆς ἐταίρας τὸ γαστρίμαργον ἐμφανίζων λέγει·

ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ τούτοις πᾶσιν ἡκ' ὄρχεις φέρων |

⁹⁸ The quotation has fallen out of the text.

BOOK IX

unless you've got the liver or soul of a goose.

There were also many split pigs'-heads. Crobylus mentions these in *Falsely Supposititious* (fr. 6):

Tender split pigs'-heads came in.
By Zeus, I didn't leave a bit of that pig behind,
I'm telling you.

These were followed by the so-called *kreokakkabos*; this is chunks of meat that have been chopped up and combined with blood and fat in a sweetened broth. Myrtilus said: The grammarian Aristophanes (fr. 351 Slater) (claims) that the inhabitants of Achaëa use this term. Anticleides says in Book VIII of the *Homecomings* (FGrH 140 F 5): When the Chians were about to be murdered treacherously by the Erythraeans at a dinner party, someone who learned what was going to happen said:

Chians! The Erythraeans are involved in something
truly outrageous!
So flee after you eat the pork, and don't wait for the
beef!

Aristomenes mentions boiled meat in *Religious Quacks* (fr. 8), as follows: . . . ⁹⁸ They also ate testicles, which they referred to as kidneys. ⁹⁹ Philippides in his *Rejuvenation* (fr. 5) brings out the gluttony of the courtesan Gnathaena¹⁰⁰ when he says:

Then, after all these dishes, (a slave) came carrying a
large number

⁹⁸ A bad deduction from the quotation that follows. For eating testicles, cf. 9.395f.

f πολλούς. τὰ μὲν οὖν γυναῖα τὰλλ' ἠκκίζετο,
 ἢ δ' ἀνδροφόνος Γνάθαινα γελάσασα < . . . >
 "καλοί γε", φησί, "οἱ νεφροί, νῆ τὴν φίλην
 Δήμητρα." καὶ δὴ ἄρπασασα κατέπιεν,
 ὥσθ' ὑπτίους ὑπὸ τοῦ γέλωτος καταπεσεῖν.

385 εἰπόντος δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἥδιστα γεγονέναι καὶ τὸν μετὰ
 ὀξύλιπάρου ἀλεκτρύονα || ὁ φιλεπιτιμητῆς Οὐλπιανὸς
 κατακείμενος μόνος, ὀλίγα δ' ἐσθίων καὶ τηρῶν τοὺς
 λέγοντας ἔφη· ὀξύλιπαρον δὲ τί ἐστι; πλὴν εἰ μὴ καὶ
 κόττανα ἡμῖν καὶ λέπιδιν, τὰ πάτριά μου νόμιμα
 βρώματα, ὀνομάζειν μέλλετε. καὶ ὅς, Τιμοκλῆς, ἔφη, ὁ
 κωμικὸς ἐν Δακτυλίῳ μέμνηται τοῦ ὀξύλιπάρου λέγων
 οὕτως·

γαλεοὺς καὶ βατίδας ὅσα τε τῶν γενῶν
 ἐν ὀξύλιπάρῳ τρίμματι σκευάζεται.

ἀκρολιπάρους δὲ τινὰς ἀνθρώπους κέκληκεν Ἀλεξίς |
 b ἐν Πονήρῳ οὕτως·

ἀκρολίπαροι, τὸ δ' ἄλλο σῶμ' ὑπόξυλον.

παρατεθέντος δὲ ποτε καὶ ἰχθύος μεγάλου ἐν ὀξάλμῃ
 καὶ εἰπόντος τινὸς ἥδιστον εἶναι ὀψάριον πᾶν τὸ ἐν

¹⁰⁰ Cf. 9.371f n. A number of additional anecdotes about Gnathaena are preserved in Book 13.

¹⁰¹ Syria; cf. 3.119a–b (where the mysterious foods in question are referred to as *kotta* and *lepidi*).

BOOK IX

of testicles. The other women pretended not to notice them,
but the bloodthirsty Gnathaena laughed and said, "What nice kidneys, by the beloved Demeter!" And she grabbed two and gobbled them down,
making everyone collapse on their backs in laughter.

Someone else observed that chicken is delicious when served in vinegar-and-oil sauce (*oxuliparon*), and Ulpian, who loved to criticize others and was lying on a couch all by himself, not eating much and keeping an eye on the participants in the conversation, said: What is vinegar-and-oil sauce? Unless perhaps you intend to identify this for us as *kottana* and *lepidis*, which are the traditional foods of my native country.¹⁰¹ The other man replied: The comic author Timocles in *The Ring* (fr. 3)¹⁰² mentions vinegar-and-oil sauce, saying the following:

dogfish and skate and whatever types
are prepared in vinegar-and-oil sauce.

Alexis in *The Miserable Woman* (fr. 197) refers to certain people as *akroliparoi*¹⁰³, as follows:

akroliparoi; but the rest of their body has a wooden core.

At one point a large fish was served in vinegar-brine (*oxalmē*), and someone remarked that any little fish (*opsarion*) served in vinegar-brine was delicious. Ulpian,

¹⁰² Quoted also at 7.295b.

¹⁰³ Literally "oily on top".

ὀξάλμη παρατιθέμενον, συναγαγὼν τὰς ὀφρῦς ὁ τὰς ἀκάνθας ἀγείρων Οὐλπιανός, ποῦ κεῖται, ἔφη, ὀξάλμη; < . . . > ὀψάριον γὰρ παρ' οὐδενὶ τῶν ζώντων λεγόμενον οἶδα. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ μακρὰ χαίρειν εἰπόντες αὐτῷ ἐδείπνου, τοῦ Κυνούλκου τὰ ἐξ Αὐρῶν Μεταγένους ἀναφωνήσαντος· |

- c ἄλλ', ὦγαθέ, δειπνῶμεν < . . . > κάπειτά με πάντ' ἐπερωτᾶν
 ὅ τι ἂν βούλη· νῦν γὰρ πεινῶν δεινῶς πῶς εἰμ' ἐπιλήσμων.

καὶ ὁ Μυρτίλος ἠδέως πως συναπογραφόμενος αὐτῷ, ἵνα μηδενὸς μεταλαμβάνη, ἀλλὰ πάντα λαλῆ, ἔφη· Κρατῖνος ἐν Ὀδυσσεύσιν εἶρηκε τὴν ὀξάλμην διὰ τούτων·

- d ἀνθ' ὧν πάντας ἔλων ὑμᾶς ἐρίηρας ἐταίρους, |
 φρύξας χἀψήσας κάπανθρακίσας κῶπτήσας,
 εἰς ἄλμην τε καὶ ὀξάλμην κᾶτ' ἐς σκοροδάλμην
 χλιαρὸν ἐμβάπτων, ὃς ἂν ὀπτότατός μοι
 ἀπάντων
 ὑμῶν φαίνηται, κατατρώξομαι, ὧ στρατιῶται.

καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης Σφηξίν·

ἀποφυσήσας

εἰς ὀξάλμην ἔμβαλε θερμήν.

ὀψάριον δὲ τῶν μὲν ζώντων ἡμεῖς λέγομεν, ἀτὰρ καὶ Πλάτων ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰχθύος ἐν Πεισάνδρῳ· |

who always picked out the thorniest problems,¹⁰⁴ scowled and said: Where is the word *oxalmē* attested? . . . Because I know that no one alive today uses the word *opsarion*. Most of the group told him to stop pestering them, and began to eat their dinner. But Cynulcus shouted out the passage from Metagenes' *Breezes* (fr. 2):

Please, good sir; let's eat our dinner first, and then
ask me anything
you like. Because at the moment I'm really hungry,
and thus rather forgetful.

Myrtilus happily lent him support, in order to keep Ulpian from enjoying any of the food and force him to do nothing but talk, and said: Cratinus in *Odysseuses* (fr. 150) uses the word *oxalmē*, in the following passage:¹⁰⁵

In return, I'll take all you noble companions;
fry you, stew you, bake you on the coals, and roast
you;
dip you in brine-sauce and vinegar-brine (*oxalmē*),
and then
in warm garlic-brine; and whoever out of all of you
looks the most well-cooked, soldiers—I'll eat him!

Also Aristophanes in *Wasps* (330–1):

Blow off the ash
and dip me in hot vinegar-brine (*oxalmē*)!

I am a living person who uses the word *opsarion*. But so does Plato in *Peisander* (fr. 102), referring to a fish:

¹⁰⁴ Cf. 3.97c–d with n.

¹⁰⁵ The Cyclops is speaking.

- e (A.) ἤδη φαγών τι πώποθ', οἷα γίγνεται,
 ὀψάριον ἔκαμες, καὶ προσέστη τοῦτό σοι;
 (B.) ἔγωγε, πέρυσι κάραβον φαγών.

Φερεκράτης Αὐτομόλοις·

< . . . > τοῦψάριον τουτὶ παρέθηκέ τις ἡμῖν.

Φιλήμων Θησαυρῶ·

οὐκ ἔστ' ἀληθές † παραλογίσασθ' οὐδ' ἔχει
 ὀψάρια χρηστά.

Μένανδρος Καρχηδονίῳ·

ἐπιθυμίαςας τῷ Βορέα <λιβαν>ίδιον
 ὀψάριον οὐδὲν ἔλαβον· ἐψήσω φακῆν. |

- f καὶ ἐν Ἐφεσίῳ·

ἐπ' ἀρίστῳ λαβὼν

ὀψάριον.

εἴτ' ἐπιφέρει·

τῶν ἰχθυοπωλῶν ἀρτίως τις τεττάρων
 δραχμῶν ἐτίμα κωβιούς.

Ἀναξίλας Ἐακίνθῳ Πορνοβοσκῶ·

ἐγὼ δ' ἰὼν ὀψάριον ὑμῖν ἀγοράσω.

καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα·

BOOK IX

(A.) Did you ever eat a little fish (*opsarion*)—it happens—and then get sick and have it turn on you?

(B.) Absolutely; last year, when I ate a crayfish.

Pherecrates in *Deserters* (fr. 32):

Someone served us this little fish (*opsarion*) here.

Philemon in *The Treasure* (fr. 32):

It isn't true † to cheat someone or to have
good little fish (*opsaria*).

Menander in *The Carthaginian* (fr. 226 Koerte-Thierfelder):

Even though I burned some incense to the North
Wind,
I didn't catch a single little fish (*opsarion*); I'll cook
lentil-soup.

And in *The Ephesian* (fr. 151, encompassing both quotations):

after buying a little fish (*opsarion*)
for lunch.

Then he continues:

Just now one of the fish-sellers was offering
gobies for four drachmas.

Anaxilas in *Hyacinthus the Pimp* (fr. 28, encompassing both quotations):

I'll go buy you a little fish (*opsarion*).

And shortly thereafter:

σκεύαζε, παῖ, τοῦψάριον ἡμῖν.

τὸ δὲ ἐν Ἀναγύρω Ἀριστοφάνους·

εἰ μὴ παραμυθῆ μ' ὀψαρίοις ἐκάστοτε,

386 ἀντὶ τοῦ προσοψήμασιν ἀκούομεν. καὶ γὰρ Ἄλεξις ἰ
ἐν Παννυχίδι περιθεὶς μαγεῖρω τὸν λόγον φησὶν·

(A.) θερμότεροις † χαιρεοῖς † αἰεὶ
τοῖς ὀψαρίοις ἢ τὸ μέσον ἢ κατωτέρω;

(B.) κατωτέρω; τί λέγεις δέ; (A.) ποταπὸς οὔτοσιν
ἄνθρωπος; οὐκ ἐπίστασαι ζῆν. ψυχρά σοι
ἅπαντα παραθῶ; (B.) μηδαμῶς. (A.) ζέοντα δέ;
(B.) Ἄπολλον. (A.) οὐκοῦν τὸ μέσον ἔστω. (B.)
δηλαδῆ.

(A.) τοῦθ' ἕτερος οὐδεὶς τῶν ὁμοτέχνων μου
ποιεῖ. |

b (B.) οὐκ οἶομ' οὐδ' ἄλλ' οὐδὲν ὦν σὺ νῦν ποεῖς.

(A.) ἐγὼ δ' † ἐρῶ † τοῖς γὰρ ἐστιωμένοις
τὸν καιρὸν ἀποδίδωμι τῆς συγκράσεως.

(B.) σὺ πρὸς θεῶν, ἔθυσας < . . . > τὸν ἔριφον,
μὴ κόπτ' ἔμ', ἀλλὰ τὰ κρέα. (A.) παῖδες,
παράγετε.

ὀπτάνιον ἔστιν; (B.) ἔστι. (A.) καὶ κάπνην ἔχει;

(B.) δῆλον ὅτι. (A.) μή μοι “δῆλον”. ἀλλ' ἔχει
κάπνην; |

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Slave! Fix the little fish (*opsarion*) for us!

In the line from Aristophanes' *Anagyros* (fr. 45):

unless you constantly reassure me with *opsaria*,

I take the word to be used to mean "side-dishes". Alexis in *The All-Night Festival* (fr. 177), in fact, gives the word to a cook and says:

(A.) † You'd prefer † always your *opsaria* on the hot side, or in the middle, or lower?

(B.) Lower? What do you mean? (A.) Where's this

guy

from? You don't know how to live! Should I serve you everything cold? (B.) Absolutely not. (A.) Boiling hot?

(B.) Apollo!¹⁰⁶ (A.) So you want your food in the middle. (B.) Obviously.

(A.) Nobody else in my business does that.

(B.) That or anything else you're doing at the moment, I imagine!

(A.) I'll † tell; † because I offer the guests the opportunity for some variety.

(B.) By the gods, . . . you killed the kid; butcher the meat, not me! (A.) Slaves! Bring my equipment!

Is an oven set up? (B.) It is. (A.) Does it have a smoke-hole?

(B.) Of course. (A.) Don't give me this "Of course."
Does it have a smoke-hole?

¹⁰⁶ The oath is frequently used to express shock, horror, disbelief, or the like; cf. 9.378c; 10.417b.

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- c (B.) ἔχει. (A.) κακόν, εἰ τύφουσαν. (B.) ἀπολεῖ μ' οὔτοσί.

ταῦτά σοι παρ' ἡμῶν τῶν ζώντων, ὀλβιογᾶστωρ Οὐλπιανέ, ἀπεμνημόνευσα. καὶ σὺ γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, μετ' ἐμοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ἄλεξιον οὐδενὸς ἐμφύχου μεταλαμβάνεις, ὅς φησιν ἐν Ἀθίδι τάδε·

- d ὁ πρῶτος εἰπὼν ὅτι σοφιστῆς οὐδὲ εἶς ἐμφυχον οὐδὲν ἐσθίει, σοφός τις ἦν. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤκω νῦν ἀγοράσας οὐδὲ ἐν |
 e ἐμφυχον. ἰχθύς ἐπριάμην τεθνηκότας μεγάλους· κρεᾶδι' ἄρνός ἐστι πίονος οὐ ζώντος· οὐχ οἶόν τε γάρ. τί ἄλλο; ναί, ἠπάτιον ὅπτὸν προσέλαβον. τούτων ἐὰν δείξῃ τις ἢ φωνήν τι ἢ ψυχὴν ἔχον, ἀδικεῖν ὁμολογῶ καὶ παραβαίνειν τὸν νόμον.

- e ἐπὶ τούτοις οὖν ἔασον ἡμᾶς δειπνεῖν. ἰδοὺ γάρ, ἕως πρὸς σὲ διαλέγομαι, καὶ οἱ φασιανικοὶ παραπεπλεύ-
 κασιν ὑπεριδόντες ἡμᾶς διὰ τὴν ἄκαιρόν | σου γλωσσαλγίαν. ἀλλ' ἦν ἐμοὶ εἵπησ, ἔφη ὁ Οὐλπιανός, διδάσκαλε Μυρτίλε, ὁ ὀλβιογᾶστωρ σοι πόθεν καὶ εἰ φασιανικῶν τις ὀρνίθων μέμνηται τῶν παλαιῶν, ἐγὼ σοι

ἦρι μάλ' (οὐκ) Ἑλλήσποντον < . . . > πλεούσας,

ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν πορευθεὶς ὠνήσομαι φασιανικόν, ὃν συγκατέδομαί σοι. καὶ ὁ Μυρτίλος, ἐπὶ ταύταις,

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(B.) It does. (A.) It's no good, if it's full of smoke. (B.)
This guy's gonna be the death of me!

I recalled these passages for you, Ulpian of the blessed belly (*olbiogastōr*), from "we the living". For you are apparently like me, in that you eat nothing that is alive—to quote Alexis, who says the following in *Atthis* (fr. 27):

The first person to say that no one with an education eats anything that's alive was a wise man indeed. I've come back now, and I didn't buy anything that was living. I did purchase some large dead fish. And there are some cuts of a fat lamb, although it wasn't alive; because that's impossible.

What else? Yeah,

I also got a roasted liver. If anyone can point to a single one of these items that's got a voice or a soul,

I'll admit I'm in the wrong and breaking the law.

So after all this—allow us to eat our dinner! Because, look—while I have been talking to you, your inopportune garrulity has made the pheasants sail by and ignore us!¹⁰⁷ Ulpian said: If you tell me, Myrtilus the pedant, where you got the word *olbiogastōr* and whether any ancient authority mentions pheasants, it won't be a matter of my (*Il.* 9.360)

sailing in early spring (to) the Hellespont

for you. But I *will* make a trip to the marketplace and buy a pheasant, which we can eat together. Myrtilus responded:

¹⁰⁷ Cf. 9.387e with n.

ἔφη, ταῖς συνθήκαις λέγω. τοῦ μὲν ὀλβιογάζτορος Ἄμφις μέμνηται ἐν Γυναικομανίᾳ οὕτωςι λέγων·

f Εὐρύβατε κνισολοιχέ, < . . . > οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως
οὐκ ὀλβιογάζτωρ | εἰ σύ.

φασιανικοῦ δὲ ὄρνιθος ὁ ἡδιστος Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν δράματι Ὅρνισιν. Ἀττικοὶ δ' εἰσὶ δύο πρεσβῦται ὑπὸ ἀπραγμοσύνης πόλιν ζητοῦντες ἐν ἧ κατοικήσουσιν ἀπράγμονα· καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀρέσκει ὁ βίος ὁ μετ' ὀρνίθων. ἔρχονται οὖν ὡς τοὺς ὄρνιθας καὶ αἰφνίδιον αὐτοῖς ἐπιπτάντος ἐνὸς τῶν ὀρνίθων ἀγρίου τὴν ὄψιν, δέισαντες ἑαυτοὺς παραμυθούμενοι λέγουσι τά τ' ἄλλα καὶ τάδε· ||

387 (Θε.) ὀδὶ δὲ δὴ τίς ἐστὶν ὄρνις; οὐκ ἐρεῖς;
(Εὐ.) ἐπικεχοδῶς ἔγωγε Φασιανικός.

καὶ τὸ ἐν Νεφέλαις δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρνίθων ἔγωγε ἀκούω
καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ ἵππων ὡς πολλοί·

τοὺς φασιανοὺς οὓς τρέφει Λεωγόρας.

δύναται γὰρ ὁ Λεωγόρας καὶ ἵππους τρέφειν καὶ ὄρνεις φασιανούς· κωμωδεῖται γὰρ ὁ Λεωγόρας ὡς γαστρίμαργος ὑπὸ Πλάτωνος ἐν Περιαλαγεί. Μνη-

BOOK IX

I am answering your questions on those terms. Amphis uses the term *olbiogastōr* in *Crazy about Women* (fr. 10), where he says the following:

Eurybates, you fat-licker; there's no way
you're not *olbiogastōr*.

As for the pheasant (*phasianikos ornīs*), the delightful Aristophanes (mentions it) in his play *Birds*. Two old men from Attica are tired of complications, and are looking for a city where they can settle that has none; and life with the birds appeals to them. They accordingly go visit the birds, and suddenly a wild-looking bird flies toward them. They are frightened and try to encourage one another by saying various things, including the following (Ar. Av. 67–8):¹⁰⁸

(Slave-bird) And what sort of a bird is this one? Tell
me!

(Euelpides) I'm a Phasian (*phasianikos*) shit-foot.

I also take the use of the word in *Clouds* (109) to refer to birds rather than to horses, as many authorities do:¹⁰⁹

the *phasianoī* that Leogoras is raising.

For Leogoras¹¹⁰ could be raising either horses or pheasants; because Plato in *Peri alges* (fr. 114.2) makes fun of

¹⁰⁸ The first speaker is in fact not one of the Athenian visitors, but the Hoopoe's doorkeeper.

¹⁰⁹ The *scholia* to *Clouds* (perhaps drawing on Aristarchus) contain very similar material, including a more complete version of the passage from Plato Comicus alluded to below.

¹¹⁰ Leogoras (*PAA* 605075), a wealthy man mentioned several other times in comedy in the late 420s/early 410s BCE, was the father of the orator Andocides.

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σίμαχος δ' ἐν Φιλίππῳ (εἷς δὲ καὶ οὗτός ἐστι <τῶν>¹⁰
τῆς μέσης κωμωδίας ποιητῶν) φησί·

καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον, |

- b σπανιώτατον πάρεστιν ὀρνίθων γάλα,
καὶ φασιανὸς ἀποτετιλμένος καλῶς.

Θεόφραστος δὲ ὁ Ἐρέσιος, Ἀριστοτέλους μαθητής, ἐν
τῇ τρίτῃ Περὶ Ζώων μνημονεύων αὐτῶν οὕτως ὡς
λέγει· ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὄρνεσι τοιαύτη διαφορὰ· τὰ μὲν
γὰρ βαρέα καὶ μὴ πτητικά, καθάπερ ἀτταγὴν, πέρδιξ,
ἀλεκτρυνών, φασιανός, εὐθύς βαδιστικά καὶ δασέα.

- c καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν ὀγδόῃ Ζώων Ἱστορίας γράφει
τάδε· εἰσὶ δὲ τῶν ὀρνίθων οἱ μὲν κονιστικοί, | οἱ δὲ
λοῦνται, οἱ δὲ οὔτε κονιστικοὶ οὔτε λοῦνται. ὅσοι δὲ μὴ
πτητικοί, ἀλλ' ἐπίγειοι, κονιστικοί, οἷον ἀλεκτορίς,
πέρδιξ, ἀτταγὴν, φασιανός, κορυδαλλός. μνημονεύει
δ' αὐτῶν καὶ Σπεύσιππος ἐν δευτέρῳ Ὁμοίων. φασια-
νὸν δὲ οὗτοι κεκλήκασιν αὐτὸν καὶ οὐ φασιανικόν.
Ἀγαθαρχίδης δ' ὁ Κνίδιος ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ καὶ τρι-
ακοστῇ τῶν Εὐρωπιακῶν περὶ τοῦ Φάσιδος ποταμοῦ
τὸν λόγον ποιούμενος γράφει καὶ ταῦτα· πλῆθος δ'
ὀρνίθων τῶν καλουμένων φασιανῶν φοιτᾷ τροφῆς
χάριν πρὸς τὰς ἐκβολὰς τῶν στομάτων. Καλλίξενος
d δ' | ὁ Ῥόδιος ἐν τετάρτῃ Περὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας διαγρά-

¹⁰ add. Musurus

BOOK IX

him for being a glutton. Mnesimachus (another Middle Comic poet) says in *Philip* (fr. 9):

There's bird's milk,
which is said to be the rarest food there is,
and a nicely plucked pheasant (*phasianos*).

Theophrastus of Eresus, who was Aristotle's student, mentions them in Book III of *On Animals* (fr. 371 Fortenbaugh) and says something along the following lines: Birds fall into the following groups: some are heavy and do not depend primarily on their wings, such as the francolin, partridge, chicken (*alektruōn*), and pheasant (*phasianos*), and are able to walk and covered with down as soon as they hatch. Aristotle writes the following in Book VIII of the *Inquiry into Animals* (633^a29–b²): Some birds dust themselves; some bathe in water; and some neither dust themselves nor bathe in water. Those that do not depend primarily on their wings, but travel on the ground, dust themselves, for example the chicken (*alektoris*), partridge, francolin, pheasant (*phasianos*), and lark. Speusippus also mentions them in Book II of *Similar Things* (fr. 25 Tarán). These authorities refer to the bird as a *phasianos*, not a *phasianikos*. Agatharchides of Cnidus in Book XXXIV of his *History of Europe* (FGrH 86 F 15) writes the following in the course of his discussion of the Phasis River: Enormous numbers of the birds known as *phasianoī* come to feed at the river's mouths. Callixenus of Rhodes in Book IV of *On Alexandria* (FGrH 627 F 2d), describing the procession put on by the King Ptolemy known as Philadelphus,¹¹¹

φων τὴν γενομένην πομπὴν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου καλουμένου βασιλέως ὡς μέγα θαῦμα περὶ τῶν ὀρνίθων τούτων οὕτως γράφει· εἶτα ἐφέροντο ἐν ἀγγείοις ψιττακοὶ καὶ ταῶ καὶ μελεαγρίδες καὶ φασιανοὶ καὶ ὄρνιθες Αἰθιοπικοὶ πλήθει πολλοί. Ἀρτεμίδωρος δὲ ὁ Ἀριστοφάνειος ἐν ταῖς ἐπιγραφομέναις Ὀψαρτυτικαῖς Γλώσσαις καὶ Πάμφιλος | ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Ὀνομάτων καὶ Γλωσσῶν Ἐπαίνεταιον παρατίθεται λέγοντα ἐν τῷ Ὀψαρτυτικῷ ὅτι ὁ φασιανὸς ὄρνις τατύρας καλεῖται. Πτολεμαῖος δ' ὁ Εὐεργέτης ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἑπομνημάτων τέταρόν φησιν ὀνομάζεσθαι τὸν φασιανὸν ὄρνιν. τοσαῦτά σοι περὶ τῶν φασιανικῶν ὀρνίθων ἔχων λέγειν, οὓς ἐγὼ διὰ σὲ ὥσπερ οἱ πυρέσσοντες περιφερομένους εἶδον. σὺ δὲ κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας ἂν μὴ αὔριον ἀποδῶς τὰ ὁμολογημένα, οὐκ ἐξαπατήσεως δημοσίᾳ σε γράψομαι, | f ἀλλὰ τὸν Φᾶσιν οἰκήσοντα ἀποπέμψω, ὡς Πολέμων ὁ περιηγητὴς Ἰστρον τὸν Καλλιμάχειον συγγραφέα εἰς τὸν ὀμώνυμον κατεπόντου ποταμόν.

Ἄτταγᾶς. Ἀριστοφάνης Πελαργοῖς·

ἄτταγᾶς ἡδιστον ἔψειν ἐν ἐπινικίοις κρέας.

¹¹¹ Ptolemy II (reigned 285–246 BCE). Athenaeus preserves a long extract from Callixenus' account of the procession at 5.196a–203b; the section quoted here is found at 5.201b.

¹¹² Cf. 1.5b with n. The Aristophanes in question is the grammarian Aristophanes of Byzantium, not the Athenian comic poet.

writes the following about these birds, which he treats as a great marvel: Then came an enormous number of parrots, peacocks, guinea-fowl, pheasants (*phasianoï*), and various Ethiopian birds, carried in cages. Aristophanes' student Artemidorus in his work entitled *Culinary Vocabulary*,¹¹² along with Pamphilus of Alexandria in his *On Names and Vocabulary* (fr. XXXIII Schmidt), cites Epaenetus as saying in his *Art of Cooking* that the pheasant (*phasianos ornis*) is referred to as a *taturas*¹¹³. But Ptolemy Euergetes in Book II of the *Commentaries* (*FGrH* 234 F 2b)¹¹⁴ claims that the pheasant (*phasianos ornis*) is called a *tetaros*. This is what I can tell you about pheasants (*phasianikoi ornithes*), which—thanks to you—I saw going in circles around me, just as happens to people who are running a fever.¹¹⁵ And if tomorrow you fail to offer me what we agreed on in our compact,¹¹⁶ I have no intention of indicting you in the public courts for deceiving the people. Instead, I will send you off to the Phasis¹¹⁷ as a colonist, in the same way the travel-writer Polemon (fr. LIV* Preller) wanted to drown Callimachus' student (*FGrH* 334 T 6), the prose-author Istrus, in the river that shared his name.

Francolin. Aristophanes in *Storks* (fr. 448):

Francolin-meat is quite delicious to stew at a victory celebration.

¹¹³ A Median word, eventually adopted into Persian. Cf. Diggle on Thphr. *Char.* 5.9. ¹¹⁴ Quoted at 14.654b-c.

¹¹⁵ Cf. 6.245f (a *bon mot* by Lark, whence presumably Myrtilus has drawn his inspiration); 9.386d.

¹¹⁶ Cf. 9.386e.

¹¹⁷ Punning on the word for "pheasant" (*phasianos/phasianikos ornis*).

Ἀλέξανδρος δ' ὁ Μύνδιός φησιν ὅτι μικρῶ μὲν μείζων
 ἐστὶ πέρδικος, ὄλος δὲ κατάγραφος τὰ περὶ τὸν νῶτον,
 κεραμεοὺς τὴν χροάν, ὑποπυρρίζων μᾶλλον. θηρεύε-
 ται δ' ὑπὸ κυνηγῶν διὰ τὸ βᾶρος καὶ τὴν τῶν πτερῶν
 βραχύτητα. ἐστὶ δὲ κοινοτικὸς πολύτεκνός τε καὶ
 388 σπερμολόγος. Σωκράτης ἢ δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ὅρων καὶ
 Τόπων καὶ Πυρὸς καὶ Λίθων, ἐκ τῆς Λυδίας μετακο-
 μισθέντες, φησὶν, εἰς Αἴγυπτον οἱ ἄτταγαῖ καὶ ἀφε-
 θέντες εἰς τὰς ὕλας ἕως μὲν τινος ὄρτυγος φωνὴν
 ἀφίεσαν, ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ κοίλου ῥυέντος λιμὸς
 ἐγένετο καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἀπώλλυντο,
 οὐ διέλιπον σαφέστερον τῶν παίδων τῶν τρανοτάτων
 ἕως νῦν λέγοντες "τρὶς τοῖς κακούργοις κακά."
 συλληφθέντες δὲ οὐ μόνον οὐ τιθασεύονται, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ
 φωνὴν ἔτι ἀφιάσιν· ἂν δὲ ἀφειθῶσι, φωνήεντες πάλιν
 γίνονται. μνημονεύει αὐτῶν Ἰππῶναξ οὕτως· |

b οὐκ ἄτταγᾶς τε καὶ λαγούς καταβρύκων.

καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Ὅρνεσσιν· ἐν δ' Ἀχαρνέσσιν καὶ
 ὡς πλεοναζόντων αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ Μεγαρικῇ. περισπῶσι
 δ' οἱ Ἀττικοὶ παρὰ τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον τοῦνομα· τὰ γὰρ
 εἰς -ας λήγοντα ἐκτεταμένον ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς ὅτε
 ἔχει τὸ \bar{a} παραλήγον, βαρύτονά ἐστίν, οἷον ἀκάμας,
 Σακάδας, ἀδάμας. λεκτέον δὲ καὶ ἄτταγαῖ καὶ οὐχὶ
 ἄτταγῆνες.

¹¹⁸ Quoted again at 14.645c, along with two additional verses.

¹¹⁹ The reference is in fact to Boeotia; Athenaeus (or his

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Alexander of Myndus (fr. I.7 Wellmann) reports that (the francolin) is slightly larger than a partridge; has markings that cover its back; and is terracotta-colored and rather reddish. Dogs are used to hunt it, because it is heavy and has short wings. It dusts itself, lays a large number of eggs, and eats seeds. Socrates says in his *On Borders, Places, Fire, and Stones* (Socrates of Cos fr. 17, *FHG* iv.499–500): When francolins were imported into Egypt from Lydia and released in the woods, they produced a quail's cry for a while. But ever since the river's flow diminished, and a famine resulted and many of the inhabitants of the country died, they have never up to the present day stopped saying, more clearly than the most articulate children: "Troubles three times for the troublemakers!" Not only is it impossible to tame them if they are captured, but they stop producing any sound; once released, however, they recover their voice. Hipponax (fr. 37.1 Degani)¹¹⁸ mentions them, as follows:

eating no francolins or hares.

Also Aristophanes in *Birds* (249, 761); and in *Acharnians* (875) he alludes to their being abundant in Megarian territory.¹¹⁹ Attic authors accent the word with a circumflex,¹²⁰ contrary to the correct rule; because words that are longer than two syllables and end in *-as* are barytone, if they have an *alpha* in the penult, for example *akámas* ("untiring"), *Sakádas*,¹²¹ and *adámas* ("adamant"). In the plural, *attagai* rather than *attagēnes* should be used.

source) has confused the Boeotian trader with the Megarian who precedes him onstage. ¹²⁰ Sc. on the ultima, *árrayās*.

¹²¹ A personal name; cf. 13.610c with n.

Πορφυρίων. ὅτι καὶ τούτου Ἀριστοφάνης μέμνηται
 δῆλον. Πολέμων δ' ἐν πέμπτῳ τῶν Πρὸς Ἀντίγονον |
 c καὶ Ἀδαῖον πορφυρίωνά φησι τὸν ὄρνιν διαιτώμενον
 κατὰ τὰς οἰκίας τὰς ὑπάνδρους τῶν γυναικῶν τηρεῖν
 πικρῶς καὶ τοιαύτην ἔχειν αἴσθησιν ἐπὶ τῆς μοιχευο-
 μένης, ὥσθ' ὅταν τοῦθ' ὑπονοήσῃ προσημαίνει τῷ
 δεσπότη, ἀγχόνῃ τὸ ζῆν περιγράψας. οὐ πρότερόν τε,
 φησί, τροφῆς μεταλαμβάνει, εἰ μὴ περιπατήσῃ τό-
 πον τινὰ ἐξευρῶν ἑαυτῷ ἐπιτήδειον· μεθ' ὃ κοισάμε-
 νος λούεται, εἴτα τρέφεται. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ σχιδανό-
 ποδά φησιν αὐτὸν εἶναι ἔχειν τε χρῶμα κυάνεον,
 d σκέλη μακρά, ῥύγχος ἠργμένον ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς φοι-
 νικοῦν, μέγεθος | ἀλεκτρούνος, στόμαχον δ' ἔχει
 λεπτόν· διὸ τῶν λαμβανομένων εἰς τὸν πόδα ταμιεύ-
 εται μικρὰς τὰς ψωμίδας. κύπτων¹¹ δὲ πίνει. πεντα-
 δάκτυλός τε ὦν τὸν μέσον ἔχει μέγιστον. Ἀλέξανδρος
 δ' ὁ Μύνδιος ἐν δευτέρᾳ Περὶ τῆς τῶν Πτηνῶν Ἱστο-
 ρίας Λίβυν εἶναί φησι τὸν ὄρνιν καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν
 Λιβύην θεῶν ἱερόν.

Πορφυρίς. Καλλίμαχος δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ὀρνίθων
 διεστάναι φησὶ πορφυρίωνα πορφυρίδος, ἰδίᾳ ἐκάτε-
 ρον καταριθμούμενος· τὴν τροφήν τε λαμβάνειν τὸν
 e πορφυρίωνα ἐν | σκότῳ καταδνόμενον, ἵνα μὴ τις
 αὐτὸν θεάσῃται· ἐχθραίνει γὰρ τοὺς προσιόντας αὐ-
 τοῦ τῇ τροφῇ. τῆς δὲ πορφυρίδος καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν
 Ὀρνισιν μνημονεύει. Ἴβυκος δὲ τινὰς λαθιπορφυρί-
 δας ὀνομάζει διὰ τούτων·

BOOK IX

Purple gallinule. That Aristophanes mentions this bird¹²² is obvious. Polemon in Book V of his *Response to Antigonus and Adaeus* (fr. 59 Preller) claims that when the purple gallinule is domesticated, it keeps a close eye on the married women in the house, and feels so strongly about the situation, if one of them is seduced, that when it suspects that this is going on, it informs its master by hanging itself. It does not eat, he says, until it walks around and finds a place it likes; after this it takes a dust-bath and then finally feeds. Aristotle (fr. 255) reports that it has a divided foot; is a dark bluish-black; has long legs and a dark red beak that grows straight out of its head; is the size of a chicken; and has a small gullet, which is why it reduces any food it gets hold of with its feet to crumbs. It bends its head forward to drink. It has five toes, and the one in the middle is the longest. Alexander of Myndus in Book II of *On the Inquiry into Birds* (fr. I.8 Wellmann) reports that the bird is native to Libya and is sacred to the Libyan gods.

Porphuris. Callimachus in his *On Birds* (fr. 414 Pfeiffer) claims that the *porphuris* should be distinguished from the purple gallinule (*porphuriōn*), and catalogues the two separately. In addition, (he claims) that the purple gallinule goes down into dark places to feed, so that no one can see it; because it hates to have anyone come near when it is eating. Aristophanes mentions the *porphuris* in *Birds* (304). Ibycus (*PMG* 317a) refers to *lathiporphurides* in the following passage:

¹²² Sc. in *Birds* (e.g. 707, 882); why there is no need to demonstrate this is unclear.

¹¹ κύπτων Olson: κάπτων ACE

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τοῦ μὲν πετάλοισιν ἐπ' ἀκροτάτοις
 ἰζάνοισι ποικίλαι αἰολόδειροι
 πανέλοπες λαθιπορφυρίδες <τε> καὶ
 ἀλκύνες ταινσίπεροι.

ἐν ἄλλοις δέ φησιν·

αἰεί μ' ὦ φίλε θυμέ τανύπερος ὡς ὄκα πορφυρίς.

f Πέρδιξ. τούτων πολλοὶ μὲν | μέμνηται, ὡς καὶ
 Ἀριστοφάνης. τοῦ δὲ ὀνόματος αὐτῶν ἔνιοι συστέλ-
 λουσι τὴν μέσσην συλλαβὴν, ὡς Ἀρχίλοχος·

< . . . > πτώσσουσαν ὥστε πέρδικα.

οὕτως καὶ ὄρνυγα καὶ χοίνικα· πολὺ δέ ἐστι τὸ ἐκτεινό-
 μενον παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς. Σοφοκλῆς Καμικοῖς·

ὄρνιθος ἦλθ' ἐπώνυμος
 πέρδικος ἐν κλεινοῖς Ἀθηναίων πάγοις.

Φερεκράτης ἢ ὁ πεποικῶς τὸν Χείρωνα·

ἔξεισιν ἄκων δεῦρο πέρδικος τρόπον. ||

389 Φρύνιχος Τραγωδοῖς·

¹²³ Sc. in the oblique cases; the forms cited below are all accusative.

¹²⁴ A dry measure equivalent to about one quart.

¹²⁵ As in the first, third, and fourth quotations that follow; contrast Epich. fr. 73 (below), in which it is short, just as Athenaeus says.

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On the highest branches of this tree
sit multicolored wild geese with
bright necks, and *lathiporphurides*, and
long-winged halcyons.

And elsewhere he says (PMG 317b):

Heart, you are always as long-winged for me as when
a *porphuris* . . .

Partridge. Many authors mention these birds, for example Aristophanes (e.g. *Av.* 297). Some shorten the middle syllable of their name,¹²³ for example Archilochus (fr. 224):

like a cowering partridge (*perdika*).

Compare *ortuga* ("quail") and *choinika*¹²⁴, although the syllable is often long in Attic authors.¹²⁵ Sophocles in *Camicians* (fr. 323):

The man who shares the name of the partridge
in Athens' famous hills arrived.¹²⁶

Pherecrates (fr. 160), or whoever the author of *Cheiron* is:¹²⁷

He'll come out here unwillingly, like a partridge.¹²⁸

Phrynichus in *Tragic Actors* (fr. 55):

¹²⁶ Perdix (literally "Partridge") was a brilliant mythical Athenian craftsman whom Daedalus murdered out of jealousy.

¹²⁷ For the disputed authorship of the play, see 8.364a n.

¹²⁸ The length of the syllable in question is ambiguous in this line.

τὸν Κλεόμβροτόν τε τοῦ

Πέρδικος υἱόν.

τὸ δὲ ζῶον ἐπὶ λαγνείας συμβολικῶς παρείληπται.
Νικοφῶν ἐν Ἐγχειρογάστορι.¹²

< . . . > τοὺς ἐψητοὺς καὶ τοὺς πέρδικας ἐκείνους.

Ἐπίχαρμος δ' ἐν Κωμασταῖς βραχέως:

σηπίας τ' ἄγον νεούσας πέρδικάς τε πετομένους.

φησὶ δ' Ἀριστοτέλης περὶ τοῦ ζῶου τάδε: ὁ πέρδιξ
ἐστὶ μὲν χερσαῖος, σχιδανόπους, ζῆ δὲ ἔτη πεντεκαί-
δεκα, ἡ δὲ θήλεια καὶ πλείονα· πολυχρονιώτερα γὰρ ἐν
τοῖς ὄρνισι τῶν ἀρρένων τὰ θήλεα. ἐπφάζει δὲ καὶ
b ἐκτρέφει | καθάπερ ἡ ἀλεκτορίς. ὅταν δὲ γινῶ ὅτι
θηρεύεται, προελθὼν τῆς νεοτιᾶς κυλινδεῖται παρὰ
τὰ σκέλη τοῦ θηρεύοντος, ἐλπίδα ἐμποιῶν τοῦ συλ-
ληφθήσεσθαι, ἐξαπατᾷ τε ἕως ἂν ἀποπτῶσιν οἱ νεο-
τοί· εἶτα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξίπταται. ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ ζῶον κακώ-
θες καὶ πανοῦργον, ἔτι δὲ ἀφροδισιαστικόν. διὸ καὶ τὰ
ὦὰ τῆς θηλείας συντρίβει, ἵνα ἀπολαύῃ τῶν ἀφρο-
δισίων. ὅθεν ἡ θήλεια γιγνώσκουσα ἀποδιδράσκουσα
c ὄρνέων. μάχονται δὲ καὶ οἱ | χῆροι αὐτῶν πρὸς

¹² ἐν Χειρογάστορι A

¹²⁹ PAA 577015; otherwise unknown.

BOOK IX

and Cleombrotus the
son of Perdix.¹²⁹

The animal is used to symbolize lust.¹³⁰ Nicopho in *Men Who Live from Hand to Mouth* (fr. 9):

the stewing-fish and those partridges.

But Epicharmus in *Revellers* (fr. 73) has it short:

They brought both swimming cuttlefish and flying
partridges.

Aristotle has the following to say about the creature (fr. 256): The partridge nests on the ground and has a divided foot. It lives for 15 years, the female even longer; because female birds outlive males. It broods on its eggs and raises its chicks in the same way a hen does.¹³¹ When it realizes that it is being hunted, it leaves its nest and stumbles about under the hunter's feet, making him think that he is going to catch it, and fools him long enough for its chicks to fly away; at that point, it flies away itself. It is a nasty, mischievous creature, and also very fond of sex. It therefore smashes the female's eggs, so that it can enjoy having sex with her. As a result, the female, who recognizes the male's tendencies, runs away from him when she lays her eggs. Callimachus offers the same information in his *On Birds* (fr. 415 Pfeiffer). Male partridges that lack mates fight one

¹³⁰ An intrusive comment; the line from Nicopho that follows does not support it, but is instead another example of the word with a long *iota* in the penult in an Attic author. But the question of the partridge's alleged fondness for sex is taken up at length below.

¹³¹ The material offered here appears to be a rough summary of Arist. *HA* 613^b13–14^a1.

ἀλλήλους καὶ ὁ ἡττηθεὶς ὀχεύεται ὑπὸ τοῦ νικήσαντος· Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ φησιν ὅτι τὸν ἡττηθέντα πάντες ἐν μέρει ὀχεύουσιν. ὀχεύουσι δὲ καὶ οἱ τιθασοὶ τοὺς ἀγρίους. ἐπειδὴν δὲ κρατηθῆ τις ὑπὸ τοῦ δευτέρου, οὗτος λάθρα ὀχεύεται ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατιστεύσαντος· γίνεται δὲ τοῦτο κατὰ τινα ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους, ὡς καὶ ὁ Μύνδιός φησιν Ἀλέξανδρος. νεοττεύουσι δὲ ἐπὶ γῆς οἱ ἄρρηνες καὶ αἱ θήλειαι, διελόμενοι ἕκαστοι οἶκον. ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν θηρεύοντα πέρδικα ὠθεῖται ὁ τῶν ἀγρίων ἡγεμὼν μαχούμενος· ἀλόντος δὲ | τούτου ἕτερος ἔρχεται μαχούμενος. καὶ ὁπότεν μὲν ἄρρην ἢ <ὁ>¹³ θηρεύων, τοῦτο ποιεῖ· ὅταν δὲ θήλεια ἢ ἡ θηρεύουσα, ἄδει ἕως ἂν ἀπαντήσῃ ὁ ἡγεμὼν αὐτῇ· καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀθροισθέντες ἀποδιώκουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς θηλείας, ὅτι ἐκείνη, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἑαυτοῖς προσέχει. ὅθεν πολλάκις διὰ ταῦτα σιγῇ προσέρχεται, ὅπως μὴ ἄλλος ἀκούσας τῆς φωνῆς ἔλθῃ μαχούμενος αὐτῷ· ἐνίοτε δὲ ἡ θήλεια τὸν ἄρρην προσιώντα κατασιγάζει. πολλάκις τε ἐπφάζουσα ἐξίσταται, ὅταν προσερχόμενον ἐπαισθάνηται τὸν

d

e ἄρρην τῇ θηρευούσῃ, ὑπομένει τε | ὀχευθῆναι, ἵνα αὐτὸν ἀποσπάσῃ τῆς θηρευούσης. ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον δ' ἐπτόνηται περὶ τὴν ὀχείαν οἱ πέρδικες καὶ οἱ ὄρνυγες ὡς εἰς τοὺς θηρεύοντας ἐμπίπτειν καθίζοντας ἐπὶ τῶν κεφαλῶν. φασὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀγομένους θήλεις πέρδικας ἐπὶ θήραν, ὁπότεν ἴδωσιν ἢ ὄσφρωνται τῶν ἄρρηνων κατ' ἀνεμὸν στάντων ἢ περιπετομένων, ἐγκύους

¹³ add. Kaibel ex Aristotele

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another, and the loser is bugged by the winner; according to Aristotle (*HA* 614^a2-4), they all take turns bugging the loser. (*HA* 614^a8-9) Domesticated partridges also bugger wild ones.¹³² When one of them defeats another, the loser is discreetly bugged by the winner; this happens in all seasons of the year, according to Alexander of Myndus (fr. I.9 Wellmann). Males and females both nest on the ground, and each selects its own spot. (*HA* 614^a10-28, condensed) When a decoy partridge is used, the dominant bird in a flock of wild ones rushes out to fight it; when it is caught, another bird comes out to fight. This is what the dominant bird does when the decoy is a male. But when the decoy is a female, it sings until the dominant bird comes out to meet her; but the others form a group and chase him away from the female, because he is paying attention to her, rather than to them. As a result, he often approaches her without making any noise because of this, to keep any other male from hearing his song and coming out to fight him; and sometimes the female silences the male when he is coming to her. Often, when a female is brooding on a nest, she leaves it when she realizes that a male is approaching a decoy, and lets him mate with her, so that she can draw him away from the decoy. Partridges and quail become so excited by the opportunity to mate that they fall into the midst of the decoys¹³³ and sit on their heads. People also say that when female partridges are taken to be used as decoys, the moment they see or smell the males that are standing or flying around upwind, they

¹³² Sc. when wild ones are caught and introduced to their cage.

¹³³ Or perhaps "the hunters".

γίγνεσθαι, τινές δὲ καὶ παραντίκα τίκτειν. πέτονται τε
 περὶ τὸν τῆς ὀχείας καιρὸν χάσκοντες καὶ τὴν γλῶσ-
 σαν ἔξω ἔχοντες οἱ τε θήλειες καὶ οἱ ἄρρενες. Κλέαρ-
 f χος δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ Πανικοῦ, οἱ στρουθοί, | φησί,
 χοὶ πέρδικες, ἔτι δὲ οἱ ἀλεκτρυόνες καὶ οἱ ὄρνυγες
 προΐενται τὴν γονὴν οὐ μόνον ἰδόντες τὰς θηλείας,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκούσασιν αὐτῶν τὴν φωνήν. τούτου δὲ
 αἴτιον ἢ τῇ ψυχῇ γινομένη φαντασία περὶ τῶν πλησι-
 ασμῶν. φανερώτατον δὲ γίνεται περὶ τὰς ὀχείας, ὅταν
 ἐξ ἐναντίας αὐτοῖς θῆς κάτοπτρον· προστρέχοντες
 γὰρ διὰ τὴν ἔμφασιν ἀλίσκονται τε καὶ προΐενται τὸ
 σπέρμα, πλὴν τῶν ἀλεκτρυόνων. τούτους δ' ἢ τῆς
 ἐμφάσεως αἰσθησις εἰς μάχην προάγεται μόνον.
 ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Κλέαρχος. καλοῦνται δ' οἱ πέρδικες ὑπ'
 390 ἐνίων κακκάβαι, ὡς καὶ ὑπ' Ἀλκμᾶνος || λέγοντος
 οὕτως·

 Ἔφη τάδε καὶ μέλος Ἀλκμᾶν
 εὔρε γεγλωσσαμέναν
 κακκαβίδων ὅπα συνθέμενος,

σαφῶς ἐμφανίζων ὅτι παρὰ τῶν περδίκων ἄδειν ἐμάν-
 θανε. διὸ καὶ Χαμαιλέων ὁ Ποντικὸς ἔφη τὴν εὔρεσιν
 τῆς μουσικῆς τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἐπινοηθῆναι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν
 ταῖς ἐρημίαις ἀδόντων ὀρνίθων· ὧν κατὰ μίμησιν
 λαβεῖν στάσιν τὴν μουσικὴν. οὐ πάντες δ' οἱ πέρ-
 δικες, φησί, κακκαβίζουσιν· Θεόφραστος γοῦν ἐν τῷ
 Περὶ Ἐτεροφωνίας τῶν Ὀμογενῶν, οἱ Ἀθήνησι, φη-
 b σίν, ἐπὶ τάδε | πέρδικες τοῦ Κορυδαλλοῦ πρὸς τὸ ἄστν

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become pregnant, and some actually lay eggs right on the spot. During mating-season, the females and the males both fly around with their mouths open and their tongues hanging out. Clearchus says in his *On Panic* (fr. 36 Wehrli): Sparrows and partridges, as well as roosters and quail, ejaculate not just when they see the hens, but even if they simply hear them calling. What causes this is the image of mating that forms in their mind. This becomes most obvious during mating-season, if you place a mirror in front of them; because they run up to their reflection, become entranced by it, and ejaculate. Roosters are the exception; when they see their reflection, they merely feel an urge to fight it. Thus Clearchus. Some authorities, however, refer to partridges as *kakkabai*. Alcman (*PMG* 39), for example, says the following:

Alcman invented these
verses and articulate song
by arranging the sound made by partridges
(*kakkabides*),

making it clear that the partridges taught him how to sing. This is why Chamaeleon of Pontus (fr. 24 Wehrli) claimed that people in ancient times discovered how to make music by listening to the birds sing in deserted places; music developed through imitating them. But not all partridges, he claims, say "*kakkabē*". Theophrastus, at any rate, says in his *On the Diversity of Sounds Produced by Members of the Same Species* (fr. 355b Fortenbaugh): Athenian partridges on this side of Mt. Corydallus, toward the city,

κακκαβίζουσιν, οἱ δ' ἐπέκεινα τιττυβίζουσιν. Βάσιλις δ' ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Ἰνδικῶν, οἱ μικροί, φησί, ἄνδρες οἱ ταῖς γεράνοις διαπολεμοῦντες πέρδιξιν ὀχήματι χρῶνται. Μενεκλῆς δ' ἐν πρώτῃ τῆς Συναγωγῆς, οἱ Πυγμαῖοι, φησί, τοῖς πέρδιξι καὶ ταῖς γεράνοις πολεμοῦσι. τῶν δὲ περδίκων ἐστὶν ἕτερον γένος ἐν Ἰταλία ἀμαυρὸν τῇ πτερώσει καὶ μικρότερον τῇ ἔξει, τὸ ρύγχος οὐχὶ κινναβάρινον ἔχον. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν Κίρραν πέρδικες ἄβρωτον ἔχουσι τὸ κρέας διὰ τὰς |
 c νομάς. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἢ οὐ διαβαίνουσιν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἢ διαβαίνοντες τῇ φωνῇ διάδηλοι γίνονται, καθάπερ προειρήκαμεν. τοὺς δὲ περὶ Παφλαγονίαν γιγνομένους πέρδικάς φησι Θεόφραστος δύο ἔχειν καρδίας. οἱ δ' ἐν Σκιάθῳ τῇ νήσῳ κοχλίας ἐσθίουσι. τίκτουσι δ' ἐνίοτε καὶ πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ ἑκκαίδεκα. πέτονται δὲ ἐπὶ βραχύ, ὡς φησι Ξενοφῶν ἐν πρώτῳ Ἀναβάσεως γράφων οὕτως· τὰς δὲ ὠτίδας ἂν τις ταχὺ ἀνιστῆ ἔστι λαμβάνειν· πέτονταί τε γὰρ
 d βραχὺ ὥσπερ οἱ πέρδικες | καὶ ταχὺ ἀπαγορεύουσι. τὰ δὲ κρέα αὐτῶν ἡδέα ἐστίν. ἀληθῆ λέγειν φησὶ τὸν Ξενοφῶντα ὁ Πλούταρχος περὶ τῶν ὠτίδων φέρεσθαι γὰρ πάμπολλα τὰ ζῶα ταῦτα εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀπὸ τῆς παρακειμένης Λιβύης, τῆς θήρας αὐτῶν τοιαύτης γινομένης. μιμητικὸν δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ ζῶον τοῦτο, ὁ ὦτος, μάλιστα ὧν ἂν ἴδη ποιοῦντα ἄνθρωπον. ποιεῖ δ' οὖν ταῦτὰ ὅσα ἂν ἴδη τοὺς κυνηγοῦντας πρᾶττοντας.

134 For the hostility between Pygmies and cranes, cf. 9.393e-f.

say “*kakkabē*”, while those on the other side say “*tittubē*”. Basilis says in Book II of his *History of India* (FGrH 718 F 1): The tiny men who fight the cranes ride on partridge-back. And Meneclēs says in Book I of his *Collection* (FGrH 270 F 7): The Pygmies wage war on the partridges and the cranes.¹³⁴ There is a separate species of partridge in Italy that has dark feathers, is smaller in size, and has a beak that is not vermilion-colored. The partridges in Cirrha have inedible flesh because of what they eat. Boeotian partridges either do not cross over into Attica or can be recognized by their call if they do, as I noted earlier.¹³⁵ According to Theophrastus (fr. 356 Fortenbaugh), Paphlagonian partridges have two hearts. Those on the island of Sciathus eat snails. They sometimes produce 15 or 16 eggs. They can fly only a short distance, as Xenophon notes in Book I (5.3) of the *Anabasis*, where he writes as follows: If you start up bustards suddenly, you can catch them; because they can only fly a short distance, like partridges, and rapidly grow tired. Their meat is delicious. Plutarch¹³⁶ observes that Xenophon is right about bustards; because large numbers of these creatures are brought to Alexandria from the Libyan territory nearby, having been caught in the following way. This creature, the *ōtos*,¹³⁷ loves to imitate behavior, especially anything it sees a human being doing,

¹³⁵ At 9.390a–b.

¹³⁶ The character Plutarch, who is supposed to be from Alexandria (setting up the observation that follows), rather than the historical author, who was from Chaeronea.

¹³⁷ Athenaeus (or his source) has become confused: an *ōtos* is a short-eared owl, whereas a bustard (a large terrestrial bird) is an *ōtis*.

οἱ δὲ στάντες αὐτῶν καταντικρὺ ὑπαλείφονται φαρμάκῳ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, παρασκευάσαντες ἄλλα φάρμακα | κολλητικὰ ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ βλεφάρων, ἅπερ οὐ πόρρω ἑαυτῶν ἐν λεκανίσκαις βραχεΐαις τιθέασιν. οἱ οὖν ὧτοι θεώμενοι τοὺς ὑπαλειφομένους τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ αὐτοὶ ποιούσιν ἐκ τῶν λεκανίδων λαμβάνοντες καὶ ταχέως ἀλίσκονται. γράφει δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν Ἀριστοτέλης οὕτως, ὅτι ἐστὶ μὲν τῶν ἐκτοπιζόντων καὶ σχιδανοπόδων καὶ τριδακτύλων, μέγεθος ἀλεκτρυνόου μεγάλου, χρῶμα ὄρνυγος, κεφαλὴ προμήκης, ῥύγχος ὀξύ, τράχηλος λεπτός, ὀφθαλμοὶ μεγάλοι, γλῶσσα ὀστῶδης, πρόλοβον δ' οὐκ ἔχει. | Ἀλέξανδρος δ' ὁ Μύνδιος καὶ προσαγορεύεσθαι φησιν αὐτὸν λαγωδίαν. φασὶ δ' αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν τροφήν ἀναμαρκαῶσθαι ἠδεσθαι τε ἵππῳ. εἰ γοῦν τις δορὰν ἵππων περιθοῖτο, θηρεύσει ὅσους ἂν θέλη· προσίασι γάρ. ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ πάλιν φησὶν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης· ὁ ὧτός ἐστι μὲν παρόμοιος τῇ γλαυκί, οὐκ ἐστὶ δὲ νυκτερινός. ἔχει τε περὶ τὰ ὦτα πτερύγια, διὸ καὶ ὧτος καλεῖται· μέγεθος περιστερᾶς, μιμητῆς ἀνθρώπων ἀντορχούμενος γοῦν ἀλίσκεται. ἀνθρωποειδῆς δ' ἐστὶ τὴν μορφήν καὶ πάντων μιμητῆς ὅσα ἀνθρώπος ποιεῖ. διόπερ καὶ τοὺς

391 ἐξαπατωμένους ῥαδίως || ἐκ τοῦ τυχόντος οἱ κωμικοὶ ὧτους καλοῦσιν. ἐν γοῦν τῇ θήρᾳ αὐτῶν ὁ ἐπιτηδειότατος ὀρχεῖται στὰς κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ ζῶα βλέποντα εἰς τὸν ὀρχούμενον νευροσπαστεῖται. ἄλλος δέ τις ὀπισθεν στὰς καὶ λαθῶν συλλαμβάνει τῇ περὶ τὴν μίμησιν ἠδονῇ κατεχομένους. τὸ δ'

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and it therefore does exactly what it sees the people who are hunting it doing. They stand in front of the birds and smear an oily substance in their eyes; before they do this, they prepare other compounds that make one's eyes and eyelids stick together, and set them nearby in shallow bowls. The *ōtoi*, at any rate, watch the men smear the first substance in their eyes, and then follow their example, taking what they use out the bowls, and are rapidly caught. Aristotle (fr. 257) writes as follows about them: This is a migratory bird, which has a divided foot and three toes. It is the size of a large chicken and the color of a quail; has an elongated head, a pointed beak, a slender neck, large eyes, and a bony tongue; and lacks a crop. Alexander of Myndus (fr. I.10 Wellmann) claims that it is also referred to as a *lagōdia*. People say that it chews the cud and likes horses; if you wrap a horseskin around yourself, therefore, you can catch as many as you like, because they come right up to you. Elsewhere again Aristotle (fr. 257, continued) says: The short-eared owl resembles the little owl, but is not nocturnal. It also has tufts around its ears (*ōta*), which is why it is referred to as an *ōtos*. It is the size of a pigeon and likes to imitate human beings; it is therefore caught when it imitates someone's dancing. It looks like a human being and imitates anything a person does. As a consequence, the comic poets (adesp. com. fr. 209) refer to individuals who are easily fooled by anyone who comes along as *ōtoi*. When they are being hunted, at any rate, the best dancer stands in front of them and performs, and the birds gawk at him and move around like marionettes. Someone else stands behind them and grabs them before they notice him, because they are so wrapped up in the pleasure they get from

αὐτὸ ποιεῖν λέγουσι καὶ τοὺς σκῶπας· καὶ γὰρ τούτους ὀρχήσῃ λόγος ἀλίσκεσθαι. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτῶν Ὅμηρος. γένος τε ὀρχήσεως ἀπ' αὐτῶν καλεῖται σκῶψ λαβὼν τοῦνομα ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὸ ζῶον ἐν τῇ
 b κινήσει ποικιλίας. χαίρουσι δὲ οἱ | σκῶπες καὶ ὁμοιότητι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἡμεῖς σκῶπτειν καλοῦμεν τὸ συνεικάζειν καὶ καταστοχάζεσθαι τῶν σκωπτομένων διὰ τὸ τὴν ἐκείνων ἐπιτηδεύειν προαίρεσιν. πάντα δὲ τὰ τῶν ζῴων εὐγλωττα καὶ διηρθρωμένα ἐστὶ τὴν φωνὴν καὶ μιμεῖται τοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὀρνίθων ἤχους ὥσπερ ψιττακὸς καὶ κίττα. ὁ δὲ σκῶψ, ὡς φησιν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μύνδιος, μικρότερός ἐστι γλαυκὸς καὶ ἐπὶ μολυβδοφανεῖ τῷ χρώματι ὑπόλευκα στίγματα ἔχει δύο τε ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφρύων παρ'
 c ἐκάτερον κρόταφον ἀναφέρει | πτερά. Καλλίμαχος δὲ φησι δύο γένη εἶναι σκωπῶν καὶ τοὺς μὲν φθέγγεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ οὐ, διὸ καὶ καλεῖσθαι τοὺς μὲν σκῶπας αὐτῶν, τοὺς δ' ἀείσκωπας. εἰσὶ δὲ γλαυκοί. ὁ δὲ Μύνδιος Ἀλέξανδρός φησι τοὺς παρ' Ὀμήρῳ χωρὶς τοῦ ῥ κῶπας εἶναι, καὶ Ἀριστοτέλη οὕτως αὐτοὺς ὠνομακέναι. φαίνεσθαι τε τούτους ἀεὶ καὶ μὴ ἐσθίεσθαι· τοὺς δ' ἐν τῷ φθινοπώρῳ φαινομένους δύο

138 Cf. 14.629f; Ael. NA 15.28.

139 A very unlikely etymology; both words may well be connected to *skeptomai* ("look at, inspect"; Indo-European).

140 A garbled summary of Arist. HA 617^b31–18^a6, from which

imitation. People claim that the scops owl (*skōps*) acts the same way; the story is that dancing is used to catch them as well. Homer (*Od.* 5.66) mentions them. A dance-style known as the *skōps* gets its name from the variety of movements the creature makes.¹³⁸ Scops owls enjoy mimickry, and we get the term *skōptein*, meaning to copy and poke fun of the individuals we are mocking, from them, because we are behaving the way they tend to.¹³⁹ All animals with well-developed tongues are capable of producing articulate sounds and imitate the noises human beings and other birds produce; examples are the parrot and the jay. According to Alexander of Myndus (fr. I.11 Wellmann), the scops owl is smaller than the little owl, and has whitish spots on top of its lead-gray color, and two tufts that extend from its brow along each temple. Callimachus (fr. 418 Pfeiffer) claims that there are two varieties of scops owls, and that one produces a call, while the other does not, which is why some of them are referred to as *skōpes*, others as *aeiskōpes*.¹⁴⁰ They have bright eyes. Alexander of Myndus (fr. I.12 Wellmann) claims that the birds mentioned in Homer (*Od.* 5.66) are *kōpes*, without a *sigma*, and that Aristotle also refers to them this way.¹⁴¹ The birds are seen in all seasons and are not eaten; but those that

the material that follows the quotation from Alexander of Myndus is also drawn.

¹⁴¹ The word (a *hapax legomenon* in Homer) stands at the head of the line at *Od.* 5.66, and either form is thus technically possible. But Alexander is presumably doing nothing more than ascribing unnecessary authority to a minor scribal error he found both there and in his copy of the *Historia Animalium*, and which Athenaeus (or another source) also found in Speusippus (below).

ἡμέραις ἢ μιᾷ, τούτους εἶναι ἐδωδίμους. διαφέρουσι
 δὲ τῶν ἀεισκώπων τῷ τάχει¹⁴ καὶ εἰσι παραπλήσιοι
 d τρυγόνι καὶ φάτῃ. καὶ Σπεύσιππος δ' | ἐν δευτέρῳ
 Ὅμοίων χωρὶς τοῦ ῥ κῶπας αὐτοὺς ὀνομάζει. Ἐπί-
 χαρμος·

σκῶπας, ἔποπας, γλαῦκας.

καὶ Μητρόδωρος δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Συνηθείας ἀντορχου-
 μένους φησὶν ἀλίσκεσθαι τοὺς σκῶπας.

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν περδίκων λόγῳ ἐμνήσθημεν
 ὅτι εἰσὶν ὀχευτικώτατοι, προσιστορήσθω ὅτι καὶ
 ἀλεκτρῶν ἀφροδισιαστικὸν τὸ ὄρνειον. Ἀριστοτέλης
 γοῦν φησιν ὅτι τῶν ἀνατιθεμένων ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς
 ἀλεκτρῶν τὸν ἀνατεθέντα οἱ προόντες ὀχεύουσι
 μέχρι ἂν ἄλλος ἀνατεθῆ· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀνατεθείη, μάχου-
 e ται | πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ὁ ἡττήσας τὸν ἡττηθέντα διὰ
 παντὸς ὀχεύει. ἱστορεῖται δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἀλεκτρῶν εἰσιῶν
 οἰανδήποτε θύραν ἐπικλίνει τὸν λόφον καὶ ὅτι τῆς
 ὀχείας ἐτέρῳ δίχα μάχης οὐ παραχωρεῖ. ὁ δὲ Θεόφρα-
 στος τοὺς ἀγρίους φησὶν ὀχευτικώτερον εἶναι τῶν
 ἡμέρων. λέγει δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄρρενας εὐθὺς ἐξ εὐνῆς
 ἐθέλειν πλησιάζειν, τὰς δὲ θηλείας προβαινούσης
 μᾶλλον τῆς ἡμέρας. καὶ οἱ στρουθοὶ δὲ εἰσὶν ὀχευ-
 τικοί· διὸ καὶ Τερψικλῆς τοὺς ἐμφαγόντας φησὶν
 f στρουθῶν ἐπικαταφόρους πρὸς ἀφροδίσια | γίνεσθαι.
 μήποτε οὖν καὶ ἡ Σαπφῶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἱστορίας τὴν Ἀφρο-

¹⁴ τάχει A: πάχει Aristotle, Aelian

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appear in the fall for only a day or two are edible. The latter are faster than *aeiskōpes* and resemble turtledoves or ringdoves. Speusippus in Book II of *Similar Things* (fr. 26 Tarán) also refers to them as *kōpes*, without a *sigma*. Epicharmus (fr. 164):

scops owls, hoopoes, little owls.

Metrodorus in his *On Habit* (FGrH 184 F 3) also claims that scops owls are caught when they imitate people who are dancing.

Since I mentioned in the course of my discussion of partridges that they are highly sexed creatures (9.389a), I should also note that the rooster is a randy bird. Aristotle (fr. 259; cf. HA 614^a7-9), for example, claims that when roosters are dedicated in temples, those that are already there bugger the new rooster until yet another one is dedicated. If no new dedications are made, they fight one another, and the winner always buggers the loser. It is also reported that whenever a rooster enters a door of any kind, it raises its crest, and that no rooster ever lets another one bugger it without a fight. Theophrastus (fr. 381 Fortenbaugh) claims that wild birds are more interested in mating than domesticated birds are. He also says that the males are willing to have sex immediately after they wake up, but that the females become interested as it gets later in the day. Sparrows are also highly sexed; this is why Terpsicles claims that people who eat sparrows are prone to lust.¹⁴² Perhaps, therefore, this is the basis on which Sappho (fr. 1.9-10) reports that Aphrodite's chariot

¹⁴² Clearly a second fragment of *On Sex* (cf. 7.325d; 8.337b n.).

δίτην ἐπ' αὐτῶν φησιν ὀχεῖσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ὀχευτικὸν τὸ ζῶον καὶ πολύγονον. τίκτει γοῦν ὁ στρουθός, ὡς φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης, καὶ μέχρι ὀκτώ. Ἀλέξανδρος δ' ὁ Μύνδιος δύο γένη φησὶν εἶναι τῶν στρουθῶν, τὸ μὲν ἡμερον, τὸ δ' ἄγριον· τὰς δὲ θηλείας αὐτῶν ἀσθενεστέρας τὰ τ' ἄλλα εἶναι καὶ τὸ ρύγχος κερατοειδὲς μᾶλλον τὴν χροάν, τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον οὔτε λίαν λευκὸν ἐχούσας οὔτε μέλαν. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ φησι
 392 τοὺς ἄρρενας τῷ χειμῶνι ἀφανίζεσθαι, διαμένειν ἢ δὲ τὰς θηλείας, τεκμαιρόμενος ἐκ τῆς χροᾶς τὴν πιθανότητα· ἀλλάττεσθαι γάρ, ὡς τῶν κοσσύφων καὶ φαλαριδῶν, ἀπολευκαιομένων κατὰ καιρούς. Ἡλείοι δὲ καλοῦσι τοὺς στρουθοὺς δειρήτας, ὡς Νικανδρὸς φησιν ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἐν τρίτῳ Γλωσσῶν.

Ὅρτυγες. καθόλου ἐπὶ τῶν εἰς -νξ ληγόντων ὀνομάτων ἐζήτηται τί δὴ ποτε τῷ αὐτῷ οὐ χρώνται ἐπὶ γενικῆς συμφώνῳ τῆς τελευταίας συλλαβῆς τυπωτικῷ (λέγω δὲ ὄνυξ καὶ ὄρτυξ), τὰ δὲ εἰς ξ ἀρσενικὰ ἀπλᾶ
 b δισσύλλαβα ὅταν τῷ ὕ | παρεδρεύηται, ἔχη δὲ τῆς τελευταίας συλλαβῆς ἄρχον ἐν τι τῶν ἀμεταβόλων ἢ δι' ὧν ἡ πρώτη συζυγία τῶν βαρυτόνων λέγεται, διὰ τοῦ κ ἐπὶ γενικῆς κλίνεται, κήρυκος, πέλυκος, Ἔρυκος, Βέβρυκος, ὅσα δὲ μὴ τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν χαρακτήρα, διὰ τοῦ γ, ὄρτυγος, ὄρυγος, κόκκυγος. σημειῶδες δὲ τὸ

143 Singular *ortux* (genitive *ortugos*).

144 I.e. what we would call a nasal or a liquid.

145 I.e. what we would call third-declension labial stems.

is drawn (*ocheisthai*) by sparrows; because the fact is that the bird likes to have sex (*ocheutikon*) and lays many eggs. According to Aristotle (fr. 260), at any rate, the sparrow lays up to eight eggs. Alexander of Myndus (fr. I.14 Wellmann) claims that there are two types of sparrows, the domesticated variety and the wild variety; the females are less powerful overall, and have a beak that is more horn-colored and a face that is neither particularly light nor particularly dark. Aristotle reports that the males disappear in the winter, but the females remain; he deduces this from their coloring, because certain birds (for example blackbirds and coots) change color and become lighter in particular seasons. The inhabitants of Elis refer to sparrows as *deirētai*, according to Nicander of Colophon in Book III of the *Glossary* (fr. 123 Schneider).

Quail.¹⁴³ In general, in the case of nouns that end in *-ux*, the question arises as to why they fail to use the same consonant in the genitive to form the final syllable (I refer to the words *onux* ["fingernail"] and *ortux*). As for simple disyllabic masculine nouns that end in a *xi*, when that letter is preceded by an *upsilon* and the final syllable begins with an unchangeable sound¹⁴⁴ or with one of the sounds used to form the so-called first barytone conjugation,¹⁴⁵ the word declines with *kappa* in the genitive: *kērukos* ("herald"), *pelukos* ("ax"), *Erukos*, *Bebrukos*.¹⁴⁶ Nouns that are not of this type, on the other hand, decline with *gamma*: *ortugos* ("quail"), *orugos* ("oryx"), *kokkugos*

¹⁴⁶ Formed, respectively, from the nominatives *kērux*, *pelux*, *Eruk*, and *Bebrux*. Eryx was a place in western Sicily (cf. 9.394f), while the Bebrykes were an Iberian tribe.

ὄνυχος. καθόλου τε τῇ πληθυντικῇ εὐθεία ἐπομένη ἢ
 ἐνικῇ γενικῇ χρῆται τῷ αὐτῷ συμφώνῳ τῆς τελευταίας
 τυπωτικῷ, κὰν ἄνευ συμφώνου λέγεται, ὁμοίως. Ἄρι-
 c στοτέλης δέ φησιν· ὁ ὄρτυξ ἐστὶ μὲν τῶν | ἐκτο-
 πιζόντων καὶ σχιδανοπόδων, νεοττιὰν δὲ οὐ ποιεῖ,
 ἀλλὰ κοίστραν· καὶ ταύτην σκεπάζει φρυγάνοις διὰ
 τοὺς ἰέρακας, ἐν ἧ ἔπφάζει. Ἀλέξανδρος δ' ὁ Μύνδιος
 ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ Ζῶων, ὁ θῆλυς, φησὶν, ὄρτυξ λεπτο-
 τράχηλός ἐστι τοῦ ἄρρενος οὐκ ἔχων τὰ ὑπὸ τῷ γενεῖω
 μέλανα. ἀνατμηθεὶς δὲ πρόλοβον οὐχ ὁράται μέγαν
 ἔχων, καρδίαν δ' ἔχει μεγάλην, καὶ ταύτην τρίλοβον.
 ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἦπαρ καὶ τὴν χολὴν ἐν τοῖς ἐντέροις
 κεκολλημένην, σπλῆνα μικρὸν καὶ δυσθεώρητον, ὄρ-
 d χεις δὲ | ὑπὸ τῷ ἦπατι ὡς ἀλεκτρούνας. περὶ δὲ τῆς
 γενέσεως αὐτῶν Φανόδημος ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἀθίδος φη-
 σὶν· ὡς κατείδεν Ἐρυσίχθων Δῆλον τὴν νῆσον τὴν
 ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων καλουμένην Ὀρτυγίαν παρ' ὃ τὰς
 ἀγέλας τῶν ζῶων τούτων φερομένας ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους
 ἰζάνειν εἰς τὴν νῆσον διὰ τὸ εὖορμον εἶναι < . . . >
 Εὐδοξος δ' ὁ Κνίδιος ἐν πρώτῳ Γῆς Περιόδου τοὺς
 Φοῖνικας λέγει θύειν τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ὄρτυγας διὰ τὸ τὸν
 Ἡρακλέα τὸν Ἀστερίας· καὶ Διὸς πορευόμενον εἰς
 e Λιβύην ἀναιρεθῆναι μὲν | ὑπὸ Τυφῶνος, Ἰολάου δ'

147 Formed, respectively, from the nominatives *ortux*, *orux*, and *kokkux*.

148 Sc. because the nominative *onux* declines with neither *kappa* nor *gamma*, but instead yields genitive singular *onuchos*.

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("cuckoo").¹⁴⁷ The form *onuchos* ("fingernail"; genitive singular) is worth noting.¹⁴⁸ In general, the genitive singular follows the nominative plural, using the same consonant to form the final syllable; this is true even if the noun is formed without a consonant. Aristotle (fr. 261) says: The quail is a migratory bird and has a divided foot. It does not build a nest, but does make a place to dust itself; it covers this with sticks to guard against hawks, and broods on its eggs there. Alexander of Myndus says in Book II of *On Animals* (fr. I.15 Wellmann): The female quail has a slender neck and lacks the black marks under the chin characteristic of the male. When dissected, it can be seen to lack a large crop; but it does have a large heart, and a three-lobed one at that. It also has a liver; a gall-bladder firmly attached to its intestines; a small spleen that is difficult to detect; and, like roosters, testicles located beneath its liver. As for their origin, Phanodemus reports in Book II of the *History of Attica* (FGrH 325 F 2): When Erysichthon¹⁴⁹ saw the island of Delos, which the ancients referred to as Ortygia ("Quail Island") because flocks of these creatures were carried there¹⁵⁰ from the sea and settled on the island, since it was a good place to put into . . . Eudoxus of Cnidus in Book I of the *Tour of the Earth* (fr. 284a Lasserre) claims that the Phoenicians sacrifice quail to Heracles because, when Heracles the son of Asteria and Zeus was on his way to Libya, he was killed by Typhon; but when Iolaus brought

¹⁴⁹ An Attic hero and the son of the mythical early king Cecrops; cf. [Apollod.] *Bib.* 3.14.2; Paus. 1.2.6. For another fragment of the (largely obscure) tale of his visit to Delos, see Paus. 1.31.2.

¹⁵⁰ Sc. by the wind.

αὐτῷ προσενέγκαντος ὄρνυγα καὶ προσαγαγόντος
ὄσφρανθέντα ἀναβιώναι· ἔχαιρε γάρ, φησί, καὶ
περιῶν τῷ ζῳῷ τούτῳ. ὑποκοριστικῶς δὲ Εὐπόλις ἐν
Πόλεσιν αὐτοὺς κέκληκεν ὀρτύγια λέγων οὕτως·

(A.) ὄρνυγας ἔθρεψας σύ τινας ἤδη πρόποτε;

(B.) ἔγωγε μικρά γ' ὀρτύγια. κάπειτα τί;

Ἀντιφάνης δ' ἐν Ἀγροίκῳ ὀρτύγιον εἶρηκεν οὕτως·

ὡς δὴ σύ τι
ποιεῖν δυνάμενος ὀρτυγίου ψυχὴν ἔχων.

Πρατίνας δ' ἐν Δυμαίαις ἢ Καρυάτισιν

< . . . > ἀδύφωνον

- f ἰδίως καλεῖ τὸν ὄρνυγα, | πλὴν εἰ μὴ τι παρὰ τοῖς
Φλιασίοις ἢ τοῖς Λάκωσι φωνήεντες, ὡς καὶ οἱ πέρ-
δικες. καὶ ἡ σιαλὶς δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἂν εἶη, φησὶν ὁ
Δίδυμος, ὠνομασμένη· σχεδὸν γὰρ τὰ πλείστα τῶν
ὀρνέων ἀπὸ τῆς φωνῆς ἔχει τὴν ὀνομασίαν. ἡ δὲ
ὀρτυγομήτρα καλουμένη, ἧς μνημονεύει Κρατῖνος ἐν
Χείρωσι λέγων· † Ἰθακησία ὀρτυγομήτρα †—λέγει δὲ
393 περὶ αὐτῆς ὁ Ἠ Μύνδιος Ἀλέξανδρος ὅτι ἐστὶ τὸ
μέγεθος ἡλίκῃ τρυγῶν, σκέλη δὲ μακρά, δυσθαλῆς
καὶ δειλή. περὶ δὲ τῆς τῶν ὀρτύγων θήρας ἰδίως

151 Diogenian. 4.49 (also citing Eudoxus) gives a more complete version of the story, in which the quail was burned alive and the smoke it produced revived Heracles. For Asteria as Heracles'

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him a quail and held it up close to him, he revived after he caught the scent of it.¹⁵¹ Because when he was alive, Eudoxus says, he was fond of the creature. Eupolis in *Cities* (fr. 226) refers to them with the diminutive *ortugia*, saying the following:

(A.) Did you ever breed any quail?

(B.) I did—some little tiny quail (*ortugia*)! So what?

Antiphanes in *The Rustic* (fr. 5) also uses *ortugion*, as follows:

As if you were, in fact,
capable of doing anything, given that you have the
courage of a little quail (*ortugion*)!

Pratinas in *Women of Dyme or Caryatids* (TrGF 4 F 1) refers in an odd way to the quail, as

sweet-voiced,

unless perhaps Phliasian¹⁵² or Spartan quail produce a call, as partridges do. This must also be the source of the name of the *sialis*¹⁵³, according to Didymus (fr. 46, pp. 76–7 Schmidt); because almost all birds get their names from their cries. The so-called *ortugomētra* (“corncrake”),¹⁵⁴ which Cratinus mentions in *Cheirons* (fr. 264, unmetrical), where he says: † an Ithacan *ortugomētra* † —Alexander of Myndus (fr. I.16 Wellmann) claims that this bird is the size of a turtledove, has long legs, and is thin and wary. As for

mother, cf. Cic. *ND* 3.42. *Asteria* is also supposed to have been an early name for Delos; cf. West on Hes. *Th.* 409.

¹⁵² Pratinus was from Phlius.

¹⁵³ Unidentified, but

probably a bird mentioned by one of the poets.

ιστορεῖ Κλέαρχος ὁ Σολεὺς ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Περὶ τῶν Ἐν τῇ Πλάτωνος Πολιτείᾳ Μαθηματικῶς Εἰρημένων γραφῶν οὕτως· οἱ ὄρνυγες περὶ τὸν τῆς ὀχείας καιρὸν, εἴαν κάτοπτρον ἐξ ἐναντίας τις αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸ τούτου βρόχον θῆ, τρέχοντες πρὸς τὸν ἐμφαινόμενον ἐν τῷ κατόπτρῳ ἐπίπτουσιν εἰς τὸν βρόχον. καὶ περὶ τῶν κολοιῶν δὲ καλουμένων τὰ ὅμοια ἱστορεῖ ἐν |
b τούτοις· καὶ τοῖς κολοιοῖς δὲ διὰ τὴν φυσικὴν φιλοστοργίαν, καίπερ τοσοῦτον πανουργία διαφέρουσιν, ὅμως ὅταν ἐλαίου κρατῆρ τεθῆ πλήρης, οἱ στάντες αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖλος καὶ καταβλέψαντες ἐπὶ τὸν ἐμφαινόμενον καταράττουσι. διόπερ ἐλαιοβρόχων γενομένων ἢ τῶν πτερῶν αὐτοῖς συγκόλλησις αἰτία γίνεται τῆς ἀλώσεως. τὴν μέσσην δὲ τοῦ ὀνόματος συλλαβὴν ἐκτείνουσιν Ἀττικοὶ ὡς δοῖδουκα καὶ κήρυκα, ὡς ὁ Ἰξίῳν φησὶ Δημήτριος ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων
c Διαλέκτου. Ἀριστοφάνης | δ' ἐν Εἰρήνῃ συνεσταλμένως ἔφη διὰ τὸ μέτρον·

ὄρνυγες οἰκογενεῖς.

τῶν δὲ καλουμένων χεννίων (μικρὸν δ' ἔστιν ὀρνύγιον) μνημονεύει Κλεομένης ἐν τῇ Πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον Ἐπιστολῇ γραφῶν οὕτως· φαληρίδας ταριχηρὰς μυρίας,

¹⁵⁴ Referred to briefly here because its name contains the element *ortugo*- ("quail-").

¹⁵⁵ The *upsilon* is short in the nominative forms of all three words (*doidux*, *kēruux*, and *ortux*), and long in the oblique cases of

how quail are hunted, Clearchus of Soli offers unusual information in his work entitled *On the Mathematical Sections in Plato's Republic* (fr. 3 Wehrli), where he writes as follows: During mating-season, if you set a mirror in front of them, and a noose before the mirror, they rush toward the image in the mirror and are snared by the noose. He makes similar comments about what are referred to as *koloioi* ("jackdaws"), in the following passage (fr. 3 Wehrli, continued): Because jackdaws are naturally gregarious—and despite the fact that they are quite clever—when a basin full of olive oil is set out, if they stand on the rim and look down at their image, they fall in. As a consequence, their wings become soaked with oil and stick together, which leads to their being captured. Attic authors lengthen the middle syllable of the word in the same way they do with *doiduka* ("pestle") and *kēruka* ("herald"), according to Demetrius Ixion in his *On the Alexandrian Dialect* (fr. 40 Staesche).¹⁵⁵ But Aristophanes in *Peace* (788) pronounces it short for the sake of the meter:

domestically-bred quail (*ortuges*).

What are known as *chennia* (this is a tiny variety of quail) are mentioned by Cleomenes in his *Letter to Alexander*, where he writes as follows:¹⁵⁶ 10,000 salted coots, 5000

the first two. But the claim that it is long in the oblique cases of *ortux* appears to be incorrect, as the example from Aristophanes cited below makes clear.

¹⁵⁶ Cleomenes of Naucratis (Berve i #431) was Alexander the Great's chief financial officer in Egypt; this passage presumably comes from a cover letter that accompanied a large shipment of supplies sent to the king.

τυλάδας πεντακισχιλίας, χέννια ταριχηρὰ μύρια. καὶ Ἴππαρχος ἐν τῇ Αἰγυπτίᾳ Ἰλιάδι·

οὐκδέ μοι Αἰγυπτίων βίος ἤρρεσεν οἶον ἔχουσι,
χέννια τίλλοντες † καλκατιαδειςαλέοντα. †

Οὐκ ἀπελείποντο δὲ ἡμῶν τοῦ συμποσίου πολ-
d λάκεις | οὐδὲ κύκνοι, περὶ ὧν φησιν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης· ὁ
κύκνος εὐτεκνός ἐστι καὶ μάχιμος· ἀλληλοκτονεῖ γοῦν
ὁ μάχιμος. μάχεται δὲ καὶ τῷ αἰετῷ, αὐτὸς μάχης μὴ
προαρξάμενος. εἰσὶ δ' ὠδικοὶ καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τὰς
τελευταί· διαίρουσι δὲ καὶ τὸ πέλαγος ἄδοντες. ἐστὶν
δὲ τῶν στεγανοπόδων καὶ ποηφάγων. ὁ δὲ Μύνδιός
φησιν Ἀλέξανδρος πολλοῖς τελευτῶσιν παρακολου-
θήσας οὐκ ἀκούσαι ἄδόντων. ὁ δὲ τὰ Κεφαλίωνος
e ἐπιγραφόμενα Τρωϊκὰ συνθεῖς Ἠγησιάναξ ὁ Ἀλεξαν-
δρεὺς καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖ μονομαχήσαντα Κύκνον φησὶ
τραφήναι ἐν Λευκόφρυνι πρὸς τοῦ ὄμωνύμου ὄρνιθος.
Βοῖος δ' ἐν Ὀρνιθογονίᾳ ἢ Βοιῷ, ὡς φησι Φιλόχορος,
ὑπὸ Ἄρεως τὸν Κύκνον ὀρνιθωθῆναι καὶ παραγενό-
μενον ἐπὶ τὸν Σύβαριν ποταμὸν πλησιάσαι γεράνω.
λέγει δὲ καὶ ἐντίθεσθαι αὐτὸν τῇ νεοττιᾷ πόαν τὴν
λεγομένην λυγαίαν. καὶ περὶ τῆς γεράνου δὲ φησιν ὁ
Βοῖος ὅτι ἦν τις παρὰ τοῖς Πυγμαίοις γυνὴ διάσημος,
ὄνομα Γεράνα. αὕτη κατὰ θεὸν τιμωμένη πρὸς τῶν

157 *tuladas*; cf. 2.65a (citing Alexander of Myndus).

158 Much of the material that follows (to 9.395a) is preserved in slightly different form at Ael. VH 1.14–15 (perhaps drawn

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thrushes¹⁵⁷, 10,000 salted *chennia*. Also Hipparchus in his *Egyptian Iliad* (SH 497):

I didn't like the sort of life the Egyptians lead,
plucking *chennia* [corrupt].

Even swans were not generally absent from our party.¹⁵⁸ Aristotle (fr. 262) says about them: The swan takes good care of its young and is belligerent—belligerent enough, at any rate, that they kill one another. It even fights the eagle, although it does not initiate the fight. They like to sing, especially when dying; they even sing as they cross the sea. They are web-footed and herbivorous. Alexander of Myndus (fr. I.17 Wellmann), on the other hand, claims to have followed many dying swans and not heard them singing. Hegesianax of Alexandria, the author of the work entitled *Cephalion's History of Troy* (FGrH 45 F 1), claims that Cycnus¹⁵⁹, who fought a duel with Achilles, was raised in Leucophrys by the bird whose name he shared. According to Philochorus (FGrH 328 F 214), Boeus (or Boeo) in the *Origin of Birds*¹⁶⁰ claims that Cycnus was transformed into a bird by Ares and, when he came to the Sybaris River, had sex with a crane; he adds that Cycnus put the grass referred to as *lugaia*¹⁶¹ in his nest. As for the crane (*geranos*), Boeus says that there was an important Pygmy woman named Gerana, who was hon-

straight from Alexander of Myndus, with the additional material in Athenaeus coming from other sources).

¹⁵⁹ Literally "Swan".

¹⁶⁰ Boeus' *Origin of Birds* (Powell pp. 24–5) was known to Ovid. For Boeo of Delphi, see Paus. 10.5.7–8 (citing four dactylic hexameter lines from a *Hymn for the Delphians*, = Powell p. 24).

¹⁶¹ Literally "gloomy, dark".

f πολιτῶν αὐτῇ τοὺς ὄντως θεοὺς ταπεινῶς | ἦγε, μάλιστα δὲ Ἥραν τε καὶ Ἄρτεμιν. ἀγανακτήσασα οὖν ἡ Ἥρα εἰς ἀπρεπῆ τὴν ὄψιν ὄρνιν μετεμόρφωσε πολέμιόν τε καὶ στυγητὴν κατέστησε τοῖς τιμήσασιν αὐτὴν Πυγμαίους, γενέσθαι τε λέγει ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ Νικοδάμαντος τὴν χερσαίαν χελώνην. καθόλου δὲ ὁ ποιήσας ταῦτα τὰ ἔπη πάντα τὰ ὄρνεα ἀνθρώπους ἱστορεῖ πρότερον γεγονέναι.

394 Φάσσαι. Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶ περιστερῶν μὲν εἶναι ἐν γένος, εἶδη δὲ πέντε, γράφων οὕτως· περιστερὰ, οἰνάς, φάψ, φάσσα, || τρυγῶν. ἐν δὲ πέμπτῳ Περὶ Ζώων Μορίων τὴν φάβα οὐκ ὀνομάζει, καίτοι Δισχύλου ἐν τῷ σατυρικῷ Πρωτέῳ οὕτω μνημονεύοντος τοῦ ὄρνιθος·

σιτουμένην δύστηνον ἀθλίαν φάβα
μέσακτα πλευρὰ πρὸς πτύοις πεπληγμένην.

κὰν Φιλοκτήτη δὲ κατὰ γενικὴν κλίσιν

φαβῶν

εἶρηκεν. ἡ μὲν οὖν οἰνάς, φησὶν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης, μείζων ἐστὶ τῆς περιστερᾶς, χρώμα δ' ἔχει οἰνωπόν, ἡ δὲ φάψ μέσον περιστερᾶς καὶ οἰνάδος, ἡ δὲ φάσσα ἀλέκτορος τὸ μέγεθος, χρώμα δὲ σποδιόν, ἡ δὲ τρυγῶν πάντων ἐλάττων, χρώμα δὲ τεφρόν. αὕτη δὲ
b θέρους φαίνεται, τὸν δὲ χειμῶνα φωλεύει. | ἡ δὲ φάψ καὶ ἡ περιστερὰ αἰεὶ φαίνονται, ἡ δ' οἰνάς φθινοπώρῳ

ored like a goddess by her fellow-citizens, but herself held the real gods, especially Hera and Artemis, in contempt. Hera accordingly became upset and transformed Gerana into an ugly-looking bird, and made the Pygmies (who worshipped Hera) hate and loathe her.¹⁶² He also claims that Gerana and Nicodamas were the parents of the tortoise. Nearly all birds, the author of this poem reports, were previously human beings.

Ringdoves. Aristotle (fr. 263), writing as follows, says that these constitute a single group with five sub-types: pigeon, rock-pigeon, *phaps*, ringdove, turtledove. He fails to mention the *phaps* in Book V of *On Parts of Animals*, even though Aeschylus refers to the bird in his satyr play *Proteus* (fr. 210), as follows:

an unhappy, miserable, feeding *phaps*,
whose middle ribs were broken when it was struck by
the winnowing shovels.

He also uses the word in *Philoctetes* (fr. 257), in the genitive case:

phabōn.

According to Aristotle (fr. 264; cf. *HA* 544^b6-7), the rock-pigeon (*oinas*) is larger than the pigeon and reddish colored (*oinōpos*); the *phaps* falls mid-way between the pigeon and the rock-pigeon; the ringdove is the size of a chicken, and a dirty white color; and the turtledove is the smallest of them all, and ash-gray. The turtledove is seen in the summer, but goes into hiding in the winter. The *phaps* and the pigeon are visible all year round, whereas the rock-

¹⁶² For the hostility between Pygmies and cranes, cf. 9.390b.

μόνῳ. πολυχρονιωτέρα δὲ εἶναι λέγεται τούτων ἢ φάσσα· καὶ γὰρ τριάκοντα καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ζῆ ἔτη. οὐκ ἀπολείπουσι δ' ἕως θανάτου οὔτε οἱ ἄρρηνες τὰς θηλείας οὔτε αἱ θήλειαι τοὺς ἄρρηνες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τελευτήσαντος χηρεύει ὁ ὑπολειπόμενος. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ ποιούσι καὶ κόρακες καὶ κορώναι καὶ κολιοί. ἐπφάζει δ' ἐκ διαδοχῆς πᾶν τὸ περιστεροειδὲς γένος, καὶ γενομένων τῶν νεοττῶν ὁ ἄρρην ἐμπτύει αὐτοῖς, ὡς μὴ βασκαν-
 c θῶσι. | τίκτει δὲ ῥὰ δύο, ὧν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἄρρην ποιεῖ, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον θῆλυ. τίκτουσι δὲ πᾶσαν ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους· διὸ δὴ καὶ δεκάκις τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τιθέασιν, ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δὲ δωδεκάκις· τεκοῦσα γὰρ τῇ ἐχομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ συλλαμβάνει. ἔτι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης ὅτι περιστερὰ ἕτερον, πελειὰς δ' ἔλαττον, καὶ ὅτι ἡ πελειὰς τιθασὸν γίνεται, περιστερὰ δὲ καὶ μέλαν καὶ μικρὸν καὶ ἐρυθρόπουν καὶ τραχύπουν· διὸ οὐδεὶς τρέφει. ἴδιον δὲ λέγει τῆς περιστερᾶς τὸ κυνεῖν αὐτὰς ὅταν μέλλωσιν ἀναβαίνειν ἢ οὐκ ἀνέχεσθαι τὰς θη-
 d λείας. ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτερος, | φησί, καὶ προαναβαίνει καὶ μὴ κύσας· οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι αἰεὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαντες ὀχεύουσιν. καὶ αἱ θήλειαι δ' ἀλλήλας ἀναβαίνουσιν, ὅταν ἄρρην μὴ παρῆ, κυνήσασαι· καὶ οὐδὲν προιέμεναι εἰς ἀλλήλας τίκτουσιν ῥὰ, ἐξ ὧν οὐ γίνεται νεοττός. οἱ δὲ Δωριεῖς τὴν πελειάδα ἀντὶ περιστερᾶς τιθέασιν, ὡς Σώφρων ἐν Γυναικείοις. Καλλίμαχος δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ὀρνέων ὡς διαφορὰς ἐκτίθεται φάσσαν, πυραλλίδα,

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pigeon is seen only in the fall. The ringdove is said to be longer-lived than the others; in fact, it lives 30 or 40 years. The males do not desert the females or *vice versa* until they die; if one member of the pair dies, the other is left alone. Ravens, crows, and jackdaws behave the same way. All pigeon-varieties take turns brooding on their eggs, and when the chicks hatch, the male spits on them to keep off the evil eye. The pigeon lays two eggs; the first produces a male chick, the second a female chick. They lay eggs in every season of the year. As a consequence, they produce them ten times a year, or 12 times a year in Egypt; because after the female lays her eggs, she conceives again the next day. Aristotle goes on to say in the same section that the pigeon is different,¹⁶³ and that the dove is smaller and can be domesticated, whereas the pigeon is tiny and dark-colored, and has rough, red feet; as a result, no one breeds them. He claims that a peculiar characteristic of the pigeon is that the males kiss the females when they are about to mount them, and that otherwise the females do not put up with them. An older bird, he says, can mount a female first, without kissing her; but the younger ones always kiss her before they mate. The females also mount one another, if no male is available, after kissing first; although they ejaculate nothing into one another, they produce eggs, which are, however, infertile. The Dorians, for example Sophron in the *Women's Mimes*,¹⁶⁴ use the word *peleias* ("dove") rather than *peristera* ("pigeon"). Callimachus in his *On Birds* (fr. 416 Pfeiffer) explains that the ringdove, *purallis*, pigeon, and turtledove are different

¹⁶³ Sc. from the dove (*peleias*).

¹⁶⁴ The fragment is omitted by Kassel-Austin.

περιστεράν, τρυγόνα. ὁ δὲ Μύνδιος Ἀλέξανδρος οὐ
 e πίνειν φησὶ τὴν φάσσαν ἀνακύπτουσαν | ὡς τὴν
 τρυγόνα καὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος μὴ φθέγγεσθαι, εἰ μὴ
 εὐδίας γενομένης. λέγεται δὲ ὅτι ἡ οἰνὰς ἐὰν φαγοῦσα
 τὸ τῆς ἰξίας σπέρμα ἐπὶ τινος ἀφοδεύσῃ δένδρου,
 ἰδίαν ἰξίαν φύεσθαι. Δαίμαχος δ' ἐν τοῖς Ἰνδικοῖς
 ἱστορεῖ περιστερὰς μηλίνας γίνεσθαι ἐν Ἰνδοῖς.
 Χάρων δ' ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς ἐν τοῖς Περσικοῖς περὶ Μαρ-
 δονίου ἱστορῶν καὶ τοῦ διαφθαρέντος στρατοῦ Περ-
 σικοῦ περὶ τὸν Ἄθω γράφει καὶ ταῦτα· καὶ λευκαὶ
 περιστερὰὶ τότε πρῶτον εἰς Ἑλληνας ἐφάνησαν,
 πρότερον οὐ γιγνόμεναι. ὁ δ' Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶν ὡς
 f αὶ περιστερὰὶ γινομένων | τῶν νεοττῶν τῆς ἀλμυρι-
 ζούσης γῆς διαμασησάμεναι ἐμπτύουσιν αὐτοῖς διοι-
 γνῦσαι τὸ στόμα, διὰ τούτου παρασκευάζουσαι αὐ-
 τοὺς πρὸς τὴν τροφήν. τῆς δὲ Σικελίας ἐν Ἑρυκι
 καιρὸς τις ἐστίν, ὃν καλοῦσιν Ἀναγωγάς, ἐν ᾧ φασι
 τὴν θεὸν εἰς Λιβύην ἀνάγεσθαι. τότε οὖν αἱ περὶ τὸν
 τόπον περιστερὰὶ ἀφανεῖς γίνονται ὡς δὴ τῇ θεῷ
 συναποδημοῦσαι. καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας ἐννέα ἐν τοῖς λεγο-
 395 μένοις Καταγωγίοις || μιᾶς προπετασθείσης ἐκ τοῦ
 πελάγους περιστερὰς καὶ εἰς τὸν νεῶν εἰσπτάσης
 παραγίνονται καὶ αἱ λοιπαί. ὅσοι οὖν τότε περιουσίας
 εὔῃ ἤκουσι τῶν περιοίκων εὐωχοῦνται, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ
 κροταλίζουσιν μετὰ χαρᾶς, ὅξει τε πᾶς ὁ τόπος τότε

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creatures. Alexander of Myndus (fr. I.18 Wellmann) claims that the ringdove does not put its head back to drink, as the turtledove does, and does not call during the winter, except when the weather is good. People say that if a rock-pigeon eats mistletoe-seed and defecates on a tree, another shoot of mistletoe grows there. Daimachus in his *History of India* (FGrH 716 F 4) reports that pigeons the color of quinces are found in India. When Charon of Lampsacus in his *History of Persia* (FGrH 262 F 3a) discusses Mardonius and the Persian fleet that was destroyed in the vicinity of Mt. Athos,¹⁶⁵ he writes the following: This was the first time that white pigeons were seen in Greece, having previously not been found there. Aristotle (*HA* 613^a2-5)¹⁶⁶ reports that when their chicks hatch, pigeons chew up a bit of salty earth, open the chicks' beaks, and spit it in, as a way of preparing them to accept food. In Eryx in Sicily there is a time of year known as the Festival of Departure when, they claim, the goddess¹⁶⁷ leaves for Libya. The pigeons in the area disappear at that point, as if they were accompanying the goddess on her journey abroad. After nine days, at the so-called Festival of Return, a single pigeon flies in from the sea in advance of the others and alights in the temple, and afterward the rest arrive. At that point, the rich people in the region have a feast; the rest use clappers to express their joy; and the whole area smells

¹⁶⁵ In 492 BCE; cf. Hdt. 6.44.2-3. Ael. *VH* 1.15 cites the same fragment of Charon.

¹⁶⁶ = Gigon's fr. 265.

¹⁶⁷ Aphrodite, according to Ael. *NA* 4.2, who offers a more complete version of the anecdote.

βουτύρου¹⁵, ᾧ δὴ τεκμηρίω χρῶνται τῆς θείας ἐπανόδου. Αὐτοκράτης ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαικοῖς καὶ τὸν Δία ἱστορεῖ μεταβαλεῖν τὴν μορφήν εἰς περιστερὰν ἐρασθέντα παρθένου Φθίας ὄνομα ἐν Αἰγίῳ. Ἀττικοὶ δὲ ἀρσενικῶς περιστερόν καλοῦσιν. Ἄλεξις Συντρέχουσιν·

λευκὸς Ἀφροδίτης εἰμὶ γὰρ περιστερός. |

b ὁ δὲ Διώνυσος οἶδε τὸ μεθύσαι μόνον·
εἰ δὲ νέον ἢ παλαιόν, οὐ πεφρόντικεν.

ἐν δὲ Δορκίδι ἢ Ποππυζούσῃ θηλυκῶς εἴρηκε καὶ ὅτι αἱ Σικελικαὶ διάφοροί εἰσι·

περιστερὰς

ἔνδον τρέφω τῶν Σικελικῶν τούτων πάνυ κομψάς.

Φερεκράτης ἐν Γραυσί φησιν·

ἀπόπεμψον ἀγγέλλοντα τὸν περιστερόν.

ἐν δὲ Πετάλῃ·

c ἀλλ' ᾧ περιστέριον ὁμοῖον Κλεισθένει, |
πέτου, κόμισσον δέ μ' ἐς Κύθηρα καὶ Κύπρον.

¹⁵ βουτύρου Olson: βούτυρον ACE

¹⁶⁸ The word may refer instead to a plant of some sort; cf. Hsch. β 1000.

¹⁶⁹ Apparently a fragment of a foundation-myth for the region of Achaean Phthiotis in Thessaly.

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like butter¹⁶⁸, which they regard as evidence that the goddess has returned. Autocrates in his *History of Achaëa* (FGrH 297 F 2) reports that Zeus transformed himself into a pigeon when he fell in love with a girl named Phthia in Aegium.¹⁶⁹ Attic authors use the word as a masculine, *peristeros*. Alexis in *Men Who Agree* (fr. 217):

I'm Aphrodite's white pigeon (*peristeros*).
All Dionysus understands is getting drunk;
he doesn't notice if the wine's new or old.

In *Dorcis or The Girl Who Popped Her Lips* (fr. 58), on the other hand, he uses it as a feminine form and claims that Sicilian pigeons are particularly good:

Inside my house
I'm breeding some really nice pigeons (*peristerai*) of
this Sicilian
variety.

Pherecrates says in *Hags* (fr. 38):

Send the pigeon (*peristeros*) off as a messenger!

And in *Petale* (fr. 143):

O little pigeon (*peristerion*) who resemble
Cleisthenes¹⁷⁰—
fly away and take me to Cythera and Cyprus!

¹⁷⁰ Cleisthenes (PAA 575540) is repeatedly mocked by the comic poets for his alleged effeminacy (cf. Olson on Ar. *Ach.* 118), and the point is presumably that the pigeon—which is being asked to carry the speaker off to several of Aphrodite's favorite haunts—is as soft and white as he is.

Νίκαιδρος δὲ ἐν δευτέρῳ Γεωργικῶν τῶν Σικελικῶν μνημονεύων πελειάδων φησί·

καί τε σύ γε θρέψαιο Δρακοντιάδας διτοκέυσας
ἢ Σικελὰς μεγάροισι πελειάδας· οὐδέ φιν ἄρπαι
οὐδ' ὄφεις ὀστρακέοις λωβήσιμοι ἐξενέπονται.

Νήτται. τούτων, ὡς φησιν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μύνδιος, ὁ ἄρρη μείζων καὶ ποικιλώτερος. τὸ δὲ λεγόμενον
d γλαυκίον διὰ τὴν τῶν ὀμμάτων | χροῖαν μικρῶ ἔλαττον
ἔστι νήττης. τῶν δὲ βοσκάδων καλουμένων ὁ μὲν
ἄρρη κατάγραφος < . . . > νήττης. ἔχουσι δὲ οἱ
ἄρρες σιμά τε καὶ ἐλάττονα τῇ συμμετρίᾳ τὰ ρύγχη.
ἢ δὲ μικρὰ κολυμβίς, πάντων ἐλαχίστη τῶν ἐνύδρων,
ῥυπαρομέλαινα τὴν χροῖαν καὶ τὸ ρύγχος ὄξυ ἔχει
σκέπον τε τὰ ὄμματα, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ καταδύεται. ἔστι δὲ
καὶ ἄλλο γένος βοσκάδων μείζον μὲν νήττης, ἔλαττον
δὲ χηναλώπεκος. αἱ δὲ λεγόμεναι φασκάδες μικρῶ
μείζονες οὖσαι τῶν μικρῶν κολυμβίδων τὰ λοιπὰ
νήτταις εἰσὶ παραπλήσιοι. ἢ δὲ λεγομένη οὐρία οὐ |
e πολὺ λείπεται νήττης, τῷ χρώματι δὲ ῥυπαροκέραμος
ἔστι, τὸ δὲ ρύγχος μακρὸν τε καὶ στενὸν ἔχει. ἢ δὲ
φαλαρίς καὶ αὐτὴ στενὸν ἔχουσα τὸ ρύγχος στρογγυ-
λωτέρα τὴν ὄψιν οὖσα ἔντεφρος τὴν γαστέρα, μικρῶ
μελαντέρα τὸν νῶτον. τῆς δὲ νήττης καὶ κολυμβάδος,
ἀφ' ὧν καὶ τὸ νήχεσθαι καὶ κολυμβᾶν εἴρηται, μνημο-

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Nicander in Book II of the *Georgics* (fr. 73 Schneider) mentions Sicilian doves, saying:

You might also raise Dracontiad doves, which lay
two eggs, in your house, or else the Sicilian variety.

Kites

and snakes are said not to harm their eggs.

Ducks. According to Alexander of Myndus (fr. I.20 Wellmann), the male duck is larger and more variegated in color. The bird known as the *glaukion*, because of the color of its eyes,¹⁷¹ is slightly smaller than a duck. As for the so-called *boskades*¹⁷², the male has conspicuous markings . . . than a duck. The males have snubbed beaks that are disproportionately small. The little grebe, the smallest of all aquatic birds, is a dirty black color; has a pointed beak that shields its eyes; and dives frequently below the surface of the water. There is also another variety of *boskas* that is larger than a duck, but smaller than an Egyptian goose. What are referred to as *phaskades* are slightly larger than little grebes, but otherwise resemble ducks. What is referred to as an *ouria* is not much smaller than a duck; is a dirty terracotta color; and has a long, narrow beak. The coot too has a narrow beak; appears rather round; and has an ash-gray belly and a slightly darker back. Aristophanes in *Acharnians* (875–6) mentions the duck (*nēttē*) and the grebe (*kolumbas*), from which the verbs *nēchesthai* (“to

¹⁷¹ Which must thus have been *glaukos* (“light blue, gray” *vel sim.*).

¹⁷² Literally “feeders”. The words that have been lost below probably included something to the effect of “and is smaller”; cf. Arist. *HA* 593^b17–18.

νεύει μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων λιμναίων πολλῶν Ἀριστοφάνης
ἐν Ἀχαρνέυσι διὰ τούτων·

νάσσας κολοιῶς ἀτταγᾶς φαλαρίδας |
f τροχίλως κολύμβως.

μνημονεύει αὐτῶν καὶ Καλλίμαχος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ὀρνέων.

Παρήσαν δὲ πολλάκις ἡμῖν καὶ οἱ καλούμενοι
παραστάται, ὧν μνημονεύει Ἐπαίνετος ἐν Ὀψαρτυτικῷ
καὶ Σιμάριστος ἐν τρίτῳ Συνωνύμων καὶ τετάρτῳ.
εἰσὶ δ' οἱ ὄρχεις οὕτω καλούμενοι.

Συγκεκνισωμένων δέ τινων κρεῶν ζωμῶ¹⁶ παρα-
φερομένων ἐπεὶ τις ἔφη, τῶν πνικτῶν κρεαδίων δός. ὁ
396 τῶν ὀνομάτων Δαίδαλος Οὐλπιανός, || αὐτὸς ἐγώ,
φησὶν, ἀποπνιγήσομαι, εἰ μὴ εἴπῃς ὅπου καὶ σὺ εὔρες
τὰ τοιαῦτα κρεάδια. οὐ μὴ γὰρ ὀνομάσω πρὶν μαθεῖν.
ὁ δέ, Στράττις εἶπεν, ἔφη, ἐν Μακεδόσιν ἢ Πανσανία·

πνικτόν τι τοίνυν < . . . > ἔστω σοι συχρὸν
τοιούτου.

καὶ Εὐβουλὸς Κατακολλωμένῳ·

καὶ πνικτὰ Σικελὰ πατανίων σωρέματα.

Ἀριστοφάνης τ' εἴρηκεν ἐν Σφηξίν·

¹⁶ ζωμῶ καὶ A: καὶ del. Schweighäuser

¹⁷³ In fact, there is probably no etymological relationship be-

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swim") and *kolumban* ("to dive") are derived,¹⁷³ along with many other marsh-birds, in the following passage:

ducks (*nassai*), jackdaws, francolins, coots,
plovers, grebes (*kolumboi*).

Callimachus also mentions them in his *On Birds* (fr. 417 Pfeiffer).

We often had what are known as *parastatai*¹⁷⁴, which Epænetus mentions in the *Art of Cooking*, as does Simaristus in Books III and IV of *Synonyms*. Testicles are referred to this way.

Chunks of meat that had been stewed in broth were being served, when someone said: Give me some hunks of smothered meat! Ulpian, the Daedalus¹⁷⁵ of vocabulary, responded: I'll smother myself, unless you tell me where you found a reference to meat of that sort! And I refuse to use the term until I get an answer. The other man said: Strattis used the word in *Macedonians or Pausanias* (fr. 30):

Make sure you have a lot of smothered . . .
like this!

Also Eubulus in *The Man Who Was Glued to the Spot* (fr. 46):

and smothered Sicilian-style heaps of cook-pans.

Aristophanes too uses the word in *Wasps* (511):

tween *nēttē* and *nēchesthai*, while *kolumbas* is derived from *kolumban*, rather than the other way around.

¹⁷⁴ Literally "witnesses". For eating testicles, cf. 9.384e-f.

¹⁷⁵ I.e. "the inventive genius"; cf. 9.399d.

< . . . > ἐν λοπάδι πεπνυγμένον.

Κρατῖνος δ' ἐν Δηλιάσι·

b τῷ δ' ὑποτρίψας | τι μέρος πνίξον καθαρύλλως.

Ἀντιφάνης δ' ἐν Ἀγροίκῳ·

(A.) καὶ πρῶτα μὲν

αἶρω ποθεινὴν μᾶζαν, ἣν φερέσβιος
 Δηῶ βροτοῖσι χάρμα δωρεῖται φίλον·
 ἔπειτα πνικτὰ τακερὰ μηκάδων μέλη,
 χλόην καταμπέχοντα σάρκα νεογενῆ.

(B.) τί λέγεις; (A.) τραγωδίαν περαίνω
 Σοφοκλέους.

c Γαλαθηνῶν δὲ χοίρων ποτὲ περιενεχθέντων | καὶ
 περὶ τούτων ἐζήτησαν οἱ δαιταλεῖς εἰ τὸ ὄνομα εἴρη-
 ται. καὶ τις ἔφη· Φερεκράτης Δουλοδιδασκάλῳ·

γαλαθὴν' ἔκλεπτον, οὐ τέλεα.

ἐν δὲ Αὐτομόλοις·

οὐ γαλαθηνὸν ἄρ' ὕν θύειν μέλλεις.

Ἄλκαῖος Παλαίστρα·

ὄδὲ γὰρ αὐτός ἐστιν· εἴ τι γρύξομαι
 ὧν σοι λέγω πλέον τι γαλαθηνοῦ μῦός.

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smothered in a casserole-dish.

Cratinus in *Delian Women* (fr. 29):

Grind a bit up and smother it daintily with this!

Antiphanes in *The Rustic* (fr. 1):

(A.) And first of all

I'm fetching a luscious barley-cake, which Deo,
the giver of life, grants mortals as a welcome source
of joy.

Then tender smothered goat-haunches,
new-born flesh clad in greens.

(B.) What are you talking about? (A.) I'm reciting a
tragedy by Sophocles.¹⁷⁶

At one point suckling pigs were served, and the guests
at the banquet took up the question of whether the word is
used.¹⁷⁷ Someone said: Pherecrates in *The Slave-Teacher*
(fr. 49):

I stole a suckling pig that wasn't full-grown.

And in *Deserters* (fr. 33):

You're not going to be sacrificing a suckling pig, then!

Alcaeus in *The Wrestling-School* (fr. 22):

Here's the man himself. If anything I say to you
amounts to more than a squeek of a suckling
mouse . . .

¹⁷⁶ Probably a reference to Sophocles II (*TrGF* 62; active in
the first half of the 4th century BCE).

Ἡρόδοτος δ' ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ φησὶν ὅτι ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ βωμοῦ οὐκ ἔξεστι θύειν ὅτι μὴ γαλαθηνὰ μοῦνα. Ἀντιφάνης Φιλεταίρω·

d κομψός γε μικρὸς κρωμακίσκος | οὔτοσι
γαλαθηνός.

Ἠνίοχος Πολυεύκτω·

ὁ βοῦς <ὁ> χαλκοῦς ἦν ἂν ἐφθὸς δεκάπαλαι,
ὁ δ' ἴσως γαλαθηνὸν τέθυκε τὸν χοῖρον λαβών.

καὶ Ἀνακρέων δέ φησιν·

οἶά τε νεβρὸν νεοθηλέα
γαλαθηνὸν ὅς τ' ἐν ὕλῃ κεροέσσης
ἀπολειφθεὶς ἀπὸ μητρὸς ἐπτοήθη.

Κράτης Γείτοσι·

νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἡμῖν † παιδικῶν δαις †
ὄκωσπερ ἀρνῶν ἐστι γαλαθηνῶν τε καὶ
χοίρων.

e Σιμωνίδης δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ | Περσέως τὴν Δανάην ποιεῖ
λέγουσαν·

ὦ τέκος, οἶον ἔχω πόνον·
σὺ δ' ἄωτεις, γαλαθηνῶ
δ' ἤθει κνωώσεις.

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Herodotus in his Book I (183.2) claims that nothing can be sacrificed on the gold altar in Babylon except sucklings. Antiphanes in *The Man Who Loved His Comrades* (fr. 214):

This here is a dainty little suckling
piglet.

Heniochus in *Polyeuctus* (fr. 2):

The bronze bull¹⁷⁸ would've been stewed ages ago;
maybe he's taken the suckling pig and sacrificed it.

Anacreon (PMG 408.1–3) as well says:

Just like a newborn suckling
fawn, which was abandoned in the woods
by its horned mother and is frightened.

Crates in *Neighbors* (fr. 1):

Because now for us † of sex with boys [corrupt] †
just as it is of lambs and sucklings and
pigs.

Simonides (PMG 543.7–9) represents Danae as saying about Perseus:¹⁷⁹

Oh child, what grief I have!
But you are asleep, and you slumber
as a suckling does.

¹⁷⁷ Sc. in what Athenaeus and his characters would have regarded as ancient literature.

¹⁷⁸ See 9.396e n.

¹⁷⁹ Sc. after her father Acrisius set her adrift with her baby in the sea to die.

καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ἐπ' Ἀρχεμόρου εἶρηκεν·

ἰοστεφάνου γλυκεΐαν ἐδάκρυσαν
ψυχὰν ἀποπνέοντα γαλαθηνὸν τέκος.

Κλέαρχος δ' ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Βίων εἰς τοῦτό φησιν ὠμό-
τητος Φάλαριν τὸν τύραννον ἐλάσαι ὡς γαλαθηνὰ
θουινᾶσθαι βρέφη. θῆσθαι δ' ἐστὶ τὸ θηλάζειν τὸ
f γάλα. | Ὅμηρος·

Ἐκτωρ μὲν θνητός τε γυναϊκά τε θήσατο μαζόν.

διὰ τὸ ἐντίθεσθαι τὰς θηλὰς εἰς τὰ στόματα τὰ βρέ-
φη, καὶ ὁ τιτθὸς ἐνθένδε διὰ τὸ ἐντίθεσθαι τὰς θηλὰς.

νεβροὺς κοιμήσασα νεηγενέας γαλαθηνούς. ||

397 Περιενεχθεισῶν δέ ποτε καὶ δορκάδων ὁ Ἐλεατικός
Παλαμήδης <ὁ> ὀνοματολόγος ἔφη· οὐκ ἄχαρι κρέας
τὸ τῶν δορκῶνων. πρὸς ὃν ὁ Μυρτίλος ἔφη· μόνως
δορκάδες λέγονται, δόρκωνες δὲ οὔ. Ξενοφῶν Ἀνα-
βάσεως πρώτῳ· ἐνήσαν δὲ καὶ ὠτίδες καὶ δορκάδες.

¹⁸⁰ Archemorus, the son of the king and queen of Nemea, died after his nurse Hypsipyle set him on the ground to show the Seven Against Thebes the way to a spring, and the snake that guarded it struck him; the Nemean Games were founded in his honor. Cf. Hyg. *fab.* 74.

¹⁸¹ An early 6th-century BCE tyrant of Acragas in Sicily, whose name became a byword for cruelty, and to whom the bronze bull alluded to above belonged.

BOOK IX

And in another passage (PMG 553) he says about Archemorus:¹⁸⁰

They wept for the suckling child of a violet-crowned mother, as it breathed out its sweet life.

Clearchus in his *On Lives* (fr. 61 Wehrli) claims that the tyrant Phalaris¹⁸¹ became so savage that he dined on suckling babies. The verb *thēsthai* means to suck milk (*gala*) from a teat.¹⁸² Homer (*Il.* 24.58):

Hector is mortal and sucked (*thēsato*) on a mortal woman's breast.

Because babies put the nipples into (*entithesthai*) their mouths, this is the source of the word *tithos* ("breast"), that is, the fact that they put the nipples in their mouths.¹⁸³

putting her newborn suckling fawns to bed (*Od.* 4.336).¹⁸⁴

At one point gazelles were served, and the lexicographer Palamedes of Elis said: Gazelle meat (*kreas dorkōnōn*) is quite nice. Myrtilus responded: *Dorkades* is the only form of the word that is used; *dorkōnes* is not. Xenophon in Book I of the *Anabasis* (5.2): and bustards and gazelles (*dorkades*) were also found in it.

¹⁸² Hence *galathēnos*, "suckling."

¹⁸³ A false etymology.

¹⁸⁴ Another example of the adjective *galathēnos* ("suckling"), which has been separated from the poetic quotations above (with which it belongs) via the insertion of the reference to Clearchus and some etymological material.

ATHENAEUS

Ταῶς. ὅτι σπάνιος οὗτος ὁ ὄρνις δηλοῖ Ἀντιφάνης
ἐν Στρατιώτῃ ἢ Τύχωνι λέγων οὕτως·

τῶν ταῶν μὲν ὡς ἅπαξ τις ζεύγος ἤγαγεν μόνον,
σπάνιον ὃν τὸ χρῆμα, πλείους εἰσὶ νῦν τῶν
ὀρτύγων.

καὶ Εὐβουλος ἐν Φοίνικι· |

b καὶ γὰρ ὁ ταῶς διὰ τὸ σπάνιον θαυμάζεται.

ὁ ταῶς, φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης, σχιδανόπους ἐστὶ καὶ
ποιολόγος καὶ τίκτει τριέτης γενόμενος, ἐν οἷς¹⁷ καὶ
τὴν ποικιλίαν τῶν πτερῶν λαμβάνει. ἐπωάζει δ' ἡμέ-
ρας πρὸς τριάκοντα. τίκτει τε ἅπαξ τοῦ ἔτους ὧὰ
δώδεκα· ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ εἰς ἅπαξ, ἀλλὰ παρ' ἡμέρας δύο·
αἱ δὲ πρωτοτόκοι ὀκτώ. τίκτει δὲ καὶ ὑπηνέμα, ὡς ἡ
ἀλεκτορίς, οὐ πλείω δὲ τῶν δύο. ἐκλέπει δὲ καὶ ἐπωάζει
καθάπερ ἡ ἀλεκτορίς. Εὐπολις δ' ἐν Ἀστρατεύοις
c φησὶ περὶ | αὐτοῦ οὕτως·

μή ποτε θρέψω

παρὰ Φερσεφόνη τοιόνδε ταῶν, ὃς τοὺς εὐδοντας
ἐγείρει.

Ἀντιφῶντι δὲ τῷ ῥήτορι λόγος μὲν γέγραπται ἔχων
ἐπίγραμμα Περὶ Ταῶν, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ λόγῳ οὐδεμία

¹⁷ οἷς χρόνοις ACE: χρόνοις del. Rose (om. Arist.)

BOOK IX

Peacock. Antiphanes in *The Soldier or Tycho* (fr. 203.1–2)¹⁸⁵ makes it clear that the bird was rare, when he says the following:

When someone imported a single pair of peacocks
only once,
they were rare. But nowadays they're more common
than quail.

Also Eubulus in *Phoenix* (fr. 113):

For the peacock's treated like a curiosity because it's
so rare.

According to Aristotle (fr. 266), the peacock has a divided foot; is herbivorous; and lays eggs when it is three years old, at which point it also acquires its elaborate plumage. It broods on its eggs for up to 30 days. It lays a dozen eggs once a year. The eggs are not produced all at once, but over the course of two days; the first time they lay eggs, they produce only eight. It also produces infertile eggs,¹⁸⁶ as hens do, although not more than two. It hatches and broods on its eggs just as a hen does. Eupolis in *Draft-Dodgers* (fr. 41) says the following about it:

so that I never breed
a peacock (*tahōs*) like this, which wakes up anyone
who's sleeping, in Persephone's house.¹⁸⁷

The orator Antiphon wrote a speech with the title *On the Peacocks*, although he never uses the word in the speech

¹⁸⁵ Quoted at greater length at 14.654e.

¹⁸⁶ Literally "wind-eggs"; cf. 9.374c n.

¹⁸⁷ I.e. the Underworld.

μνεία τοῦ ὀνόματος γίνεται, ὄρνεις δὲ ποικίλους πολ-
 λάκις ἐν αὐτῷ ὀνομάζει, φάσκων τούτους τρέφειν
 Δῆμον τὸν Πυριλάμπους καὶ πολλοὺς παραγίνεσθαι
 κατὰ πόθον τῆς τῶν ὀρνίθων θεάς ἕκ τε Λακεδαίμονος
 καὶ Θετταλίας καὶ σπουδῆν ποιείσθαι τῶν ὧν μετα-
 d λαβεῖν. περὶ δὲ τῆς ἰδέας | αὐτῶν λέγων γράφει· εἴ τις
 ἐθέλοι καταβαλεῖν εἰς πόλιν τοὺς ὄρνιθας, οἰχήσονται
 ἀναπτόμενοι. εἰ δὲ τῶν πτερύγων ἀποτέμῃ, τὸ κάλ-
 λος ἀφαιρήσεται· τὰ πτερὰ γὰρ αὐτῶν τὸ κάλλος
 ἐστίν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ σῶμα. ὅτι δὲ καὶ περισπούδαστος ἦν
 αὐτῶν ἡ θεὰ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ πάλιν φησίν· ἀλλὰ τὰς
 μὲν νομηνίας ὁ βουλόμενος εἰσῆει, τὰς δ' ἄλλας
 ἡμέρας εἴ τις ἔλθοι βουλόμενος θεάσασθαι, οὐκ ἔστιν
 ὅστις ἔτυχε. καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐχθρὸς οὐδὲ πρῶην, ἀλλ' ἔτη
 e πλέον ἢ τριάκοντά ἐστιν. ταῶς | δὲ λέγουσιν Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι, ὡς φησι Τρύφων, τὴν τελευταίαν συλλαβὴν
 περισπῶντες καὶ δασύνοντες. καὶ ἀναγιγνώσκουσι
 μὲν οὕτως παρ' Εὐπόλιδι ἐν Ἀστρατεύτοις—πρόκειται
 δὲ τὸ μαρτύριον—καὶ ἐν Ὀρμισιν Ἀριστοφάνους·

Τηρεὺς γὰρ εἶ σύ; πότερον ὄρνις ἢ ταῶς;

καὶ πάλιν·

¹⁸⁸ For the speech, cf. *Plu. Mor.* 833d; *Ael. NA* 5.21.

¹⁸⁹ *PAA* 317910. The family was distinguished and thus most likely wealthy. Plato reports that Pyrilampes travelled repeatedly as an ambassador to the Great King (*Chrm.* 158a), and the peacocks were almost certainly given to him in Persia, perhaps in the 440s BCE. Antiphon was related to the family by marriage.

BOOK IX

itself, and instead refers repeatedly in the course of it to “brightly colored birds” (fr. 57 Blass–Thalheim).¹⁸⁸ He alleges that Demos the son of Pylilampes¹⁸⁹ bred them, and that large numbers of people came from Sparta and Thessaly, wanting to see the birds and eager to get some eggs. When he discusses their appearance, he says: If someone tries to keep the birds in town, they’ll fly away. But if he lops their wings, they’ll be less beautiful; because their plumage is what’s attractive, not their body. He also notes in the same speech that people were extremely eager to see them: But anyone who was interested was allowed in on the first of the month;¹⁹⁰ whereas on other days, if someone came and wanted to see them, he was out of luck. And this didn’t happen yesterday or the day before; instead, it’s now more than 30 years. According to Tryphon (fr. 5 Velsen), the Athenians say *tahōs*,¹⁹¹ putting a circumflex accent and a rough breathing on the final syllable. This is the reading in Eupolis’ *Draft-Dodgers* (fr. 41.2)—I cited the passage earlier (9.397c)¹⁹²—and in Aristophanes’ *Birds* (102):

You’re Tereus? Are you a bird—or a peacock (*tahōs*)?
And again (*Av.* 269):

¹⁹⁰ Literally “on new-moon days”.

¹⁹¹ Sc. rather than *taōs*.

¹⁹² The implication would seem to be that this was *not* the manuscript reading, on the other hand, in Antiphanes fr. 203.1, with which this section begins (9.397a).

< . . . > ὄρνις δῆτα. τίς ποτ' ἐστίν; οὐ δῆπου
ταῶς;

λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τὴν δοτικὴν ταῶνι, ὡς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ
Ἄριστοφάνη. ἀμήχανον δὲ παρὰ Ἀττικοῖς καὶ Ἰωσιν
ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ μίαν συλλαβὴν ὀνόμασι τὴν τελευτῶ-
f σαν | ἀπὸ φωνήεντος ἀρχομένην δασύνεσθαι πάντως
γὰρ εἶναι ψιλὴν αὐτὴν παρηκολούθηκεν, οἷον νεῶς,
λεῶς, Τυνδάρεως, Μενέλεως, λειπόνεως, εὐνεως, Νεί-
λεως, πρᾶος, υἱός, Κεῖος, Χῖος, δῖος, χρεῖος, πλείος,
λείος, λαιός, βαιός, φαιός, πῆός, γός, θός, ῥός,
ζώος. φίλαρχος γὰρ οὕσα καὶ ἡγεμονικὴ τὴν φύσιν ἢ
δασύτης τοῖς τελευταίοις μέρεσι τῶν ὀνομάτων οὐδα-
μῶς ἐγκαθεύργνυται. ὀνόμασται δὲ ταῶς ἀπὸ τῆς
398 τάσεως τῶν πτερῶν. || Σέλευκος δ' ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ Περὶ
Ἑλληνισμοῦ ταῶς παραλόγως δ' οἱ Ἀττικοὶ καὶ
δασύνουσι καὶ περισπῶσι. τοῖς δὲ πρώτοις τῶν
φωνηέντων κατὰ τὰς ἀπλᾶς τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐκφορὰς
συνεκφέρεσθαι ἐθέλει καὶ ἐνταυθοῖ προάπτουσα καὶ
τάχιον ἐκθέουσα δι' ἐπιπολῆς ἐστὶ τῶν λέξεων.
τεκμαιρόμενοι οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ διὰ τῆς τάξεως τὴν
ἐνούσαν τῇ προσῳδία φύσιν οὐκ ἐπὶ τῶν φωνηέντων
αὐτὴν τιθέασιν ὥσπερ τὰς ἄλλας, πρὸ δὲ τούτων
τάσσουσιν. οἶμαι δὲ καὶ διὰ τοῦ Ἡ στοιχείου τυπώ-
σασθαι τοὺς παλαιοὺς τὴν δασείαν· διόπερ καὶ Ῥω-

193 An epic, not an Attic form.

194 A desperate and misguided etymology; *tahōs* is in fact an Oriental loan-word.

BOOK IX

It's obviously a bird. But what bird is it? I don't
suppose it's a peacock (*tahōs*)?

Moreover, they pronounce the dative *tahōni*, as Aristophanes does in the same play (*Av.* 884). In the case of words of more than one syllable, Attic- and Ionic-speakers find it impossible to put a rough breathing on the final syllable when it begins with a vowel. This is because consistency absolutely requires that the breathing be smooth; compare *neōs* ("temple"), *leōs* ("people"), *Tyndareōs*, *Meneleōs*, *leiponeōs* ("one who deserts his ship"), *euneōs* ("well-supplied with ships"), *Neileōs*, *praos* ("mild"), *huios* ("son"), *Keios*, *Chios*, *dios* ("bright"), *chreios* ("needy"), *pleios*¹⁹³ ("full"), *leios* ("smooth"), *laios* ("left"), *baios* ("small, few"), *phaios* ("gray"), *pēos* ("son-in-law"), *goos* ("lamentation"), *thoos* ("swift"), *rhoos* ("stream"), and *zōos* ("life"). For it is in the nature of the rough breathing to stand at the beginning of words and come first, and it is not included in the final portion of a word under any circumstances. The bird got the name *tahōs* from the pattern (*taseōs*) in which its feathers are arranged.¹⁹⁴ Seleucus in Book V of *On Greek Style* (fr. 70 Müller): *Tahōs* ("peacock"); contrary to the normal rule, Attic authors put a rough breathing and a circumflex accent on the word. In the simple pronunciation of words, (the rough breathing) tends to be pronounced along with initial vowels, and darts forward from there and races off rapidly over the surface of the words. As a way of acknowledging the inherent character of the breathing mark by where it is placed, therefore, the Athenians do not put it over vowels (as they do with other such marks), but in front of them. In my opinion, the ancients also indicated a rough breathing with the letter H;

b μαῖοι | πρὸ πάντων τῶν δασυνομένων ὀνομάτων τὸ Ἡ προγράφουσι, τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν αὐτῆς διασημαίνοντες. εἰ δὲ τοιαύτη ἢ δασύτης, μήποτ' ἀλόγως κατὰ τὴν τελευτῶσαν συλλαβὴν ὁ ταῶς πρὸς τῶν Ἀττικῶν προσπνεῖται.

Πολλῶν οὖν καὶ ἄλλων ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ περὶ ἐκάστου τῶν εἰσκομιζομένων ῥηθέντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ γὰρ φησὶν ὁ Δαρῆνσιος, κατὰ τὸν πάντα ἄριστον Οὐλπιανὸν προτείνω τι καὶ αὐτὸς ὑμῖν ζητήσεις γὰρ σιτούμεθα· τὸν τέτρακα τί νομίζετε; καὶ τινος εἰπόντος,
c εἶδος ὀρνέου (ἔθος δὲ γραμματικῶν | παισὶν περὶ πάντων τῶν προβαλλομένων λέγειν, “εἶδος φυτοῦ, εἶδος ὀρνέου, εἶδος λίθου”), ὁ Δαρῆνσιος ἔφη· καὶ αὐτὸς, ἀνδρῶν λῶστε, ὅτι ὁ χαρίεις Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν τοῖς Ὀρνισι μνημονεύει ἐν τούτοις οἶδα·

πορφυρίωνι καὶ πελεκᾶντι
καὶ πελεκίνῳ καὶ φλέξιδι
καὶ τέτρακι καὶ ταῶνι.

ζητῶ δ' ἐγὼ παρ' ὑμῶν μαθεῖν εἰ καὶ παρ' ἄλλῳ τινὶ αὐτοῦ τις γίνεται μνήμη. Ἀλέξανδρος γὰρ ὁ Μύνδιος ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ Πτηνῶν Ζῴων οὐ τοῦ ὀρνιθος τοῦ μεγάλου μνημονεύει, ἀλλὰ τινος τῶν σμικροτάτων. λέγει γὰρ οὕτως· τέτραξ τὸ μέγεθος ἴσος σπερ-
d μολόγῳ, τὸ χρῶμα | κεραμεοῦς, ῥυπαραῖς στιγμαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις γραμμαῖς ποικίλος, καρποφάγος. ὅταν

BOOK IX

this is why the Romans put an H at the beginning of all their aspirated words, as a way of marking the tendency of the rough breathing to come first.¹⁹⁵ If this is the character of the rough breathing, the Attic pronunciation of *taōs* with such a breathing on the final syllable may be irrational.

After many additional remarks were made at our party about the various items we were served, Larensius said: I too have something to offer you, in the style of the marvellous Ulpian, since we are being fed questions. What do you think a *tetrax*¹⁹⁶ is? When someone responded: A type of bird—no matter what the question is, the grammarians' habit is to say, "It's a type of plant, or a type of bird, or a type of stone"!—Larensius replied: I myself am aware, best of men, that the witty Aristophanes mentions the creature in his *Birds* (882-4):

to the purple gallinule and both types
of pelican and the *phlexis*
and the *tetrax* and the peacock.

But what I would like to learn from you, is whether any other author mentions it. Because Alexander of Myndus in Book II of *On Winged Creatures* (fr. I.21 Wellmann) does not refer to this as a large bird, but as one of the very smallest. For he says the following: The *tetrax* is the same size as a rook; is terracotta-colored, with variegated markings that consist of dirty-looking spots and long stripes; and

¹⁹⁵ to *hēgemonikon*, whence supposedly the Roman H.

¹⁹⁶ Identified by Dunbar (on *Ar. Av.* 884, quoted below) as an Asian sandgrouse of some sort.

ὥσοτὴ δέ, τετράζει τῇ φωνῇ. καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν
Ἡβας Γάμφ·

λαμβάνοντι γὰρ

ὄρνυγας στρουθούς τε κορυδαλλάς <τε>
φιλοκονείμονας
τέτραγὰς τε σπερματολόγους κάγλαας
συκαλλίδας.

καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δέ φησιν·

ἦν δ' ἐρωδιοὶ τε πολλοὶ μακροκαμπυλαύχενες
τέτραγές τε σπερματολόγοι.

ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑμεῖς οὐδὲν ἔχετε (σιωπᾶτε γάρ), ἐγὼ καὶ τὸ
ὄρνειον ὑμῖν ἐπιδείξω. ἐπιτροπεύων γὰρ ἐν Μυσῖα τοῦ
e κυρίου αὐτοκράτορος | καὶ προϋστάμενος τῶν τῆς
ἐπαρχίας ἐκείνης πραγμάτων τεθέσθαι ἐπὶ τῇ χώρᾳ
ἐκείνῃ τοῦρνεον. καὶ μαθὼν οὕτω καλούμενον παρὰ
τοῖς Μυσοῖς καὶ Παίοσις ὑπεμνήσθη ἐκ τῶν ὑπ'
Ἀριστοφάνους εἰρημένων τὸν ὄρνιθα. νομίζων δὲ καὶ
παρὰ τῷ πολυμαθεστάτῳ Ἀριστοτέλει μνήμης ἡξιῶ-
σθαι τὸ ζῶον ἐν τῇ πολυτάλαντῳ πραγματείᾳ (ὀκτα-
κόσια γὰρ εἰληφέναι τάλαντα παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν
Σταγίριτον λόγος ἔχει εἰς τὴν Περὶ τῶν Ζῴων Ἱστο-
ρίαν) ὡς οὐδὲν εὔρον περὶ αὐτοῦ λεγόμενον, ἔχαιρον

¹⁹⁷ Clearly intended to serve as an etymology of the name.

¹⁹⁸ The final two words of the fragment are quoted also at 2.65b, where they are again followed immediately by Epich. fr. 85 (in slightly more complete form).

BOOK IX

feeds on fruit. When it lays its eggs, it cackles (*tetrazei*).¹⁹⁷
Epicharmus in *The Wedding of Hebe* (fr. 42):¹⁹⁸

Because they get
quail, and sparrows, and larks that love to dust
themselves,
and seed-gathering *tetrages*, and colorful warblers.

He also says in another passage (fr. 85.1–2):¹⁹⁹

There were many herons with long curved necks
and seed-gathering *tetrages*.

Since none of you have anything to contribute—I see that you are keeping quiet—I will offer you an account of the bird myself. Because when I was serving as procurator for our lord the Emperor in Mysia and was in charge of the provincial government there, I saw a *tetrax* in that country; and when I learned that this was the name the Mysians and Paeonians have for it, I remembered it from the remarks offered by Aristophanes.²⁰⁰ I assumed that the deeply learned Aristotle would have thought that the creature deserved some mention in his enormously expensive treatise—since the story goes that the Stagirite got 800 talents from Alexander to support work on his *Research on Animals*²⁰¹—but when I found no reference to it there, I

¹⁹⁹ Quoted also, with a gap in the first verse but more of the second, at 2.65b.

²⁰⁰ Av. 884 (quoted at 9.398c). ²⁰¹ I.e. the *Historia Animalium*. Aristotle (called “the Stagirite” after his native city of Stagira in Chalcidice) was Alexander’s tutor (Berve i #135). Whether Alexander later supported his research is unclear; but 800 talents is in any case a preposterously large amount of money.

f ἔχων ἐχεγγυώτατον μάρτυρα τὸν χαρίεντα | Ἀριστοφάνη. ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα λέγοντος αὐτοῦ εἰσηγήθη τις φέρων ἐν τῷ ταλάρῳ τὸν τέτρακα. ἦν δὲ τὸ μὲν μέγεθος ὑπὲρ ἀλεκτρύονα τὸν μέγιστον, τὸ δὲ εἶδος πορφυρίωνι παραπλήσιος· καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὠτων ἐκατέρωθεν εἶχε κρεμάμενα ὥσπερ οἱ ἀλεκτρύονες τὰ κάλλαια· βαρεῖα δ' ἦν ἡ φωνή. || θαυμασάντων οὖν ἡμῶν 399 τὸ εὐανθὲς τοῦ ὄρνιθος μετ' οὐ πολὺ καὶ ἐσκευασμένος παρηνέχθη, καὶ τὰ κρέα αὐτοῦ ἦν παραπλήσια τοῖς τῆς μεγάλης στρουθοῦ, ἦν καὶ αὐτὴν πολλάκις κατεδαισιάμεθα.

Ψύαι. ὁ τὴν τῶν Ἀτρειδῶν Κάθοδον πεποιηκῶς ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ φησίν·

Ἴσον δ' Ἑρμιονεὺς ποσὶ καρπαλίμοισι
μετασπῶν
ψύας ἔγχεϊ νύξε.

b Σιμάριστος δ' ἐν τρίτῳ Συνωνύμων οὕτως γράφει | ὁσφύος αἰ ἐκ πλαγίων σάρκες ἐπανεστηκυῖαι ψύαι. τὰ δ' ἐκατέρωθεν κοιλώματα λέγουσι † κύβους γαλλίας †. Κλέαρχος δ' ἐν δευτέρῳ Περί Σκελετῶν οὕτως φησί· σάρκες μυωταὶ καθ' ἑκάτερον μέρος, ἃς οἱ μὲν ψύας, οἱ δὲ ἀλώπεκας, οἱ δὲ νευρομήτρας καλοῦσι. μνημονεύει δὲ τῶν ψυῶν καὶ Ἱπποκράτης ὁ ἱερώτατος. ὠνομάσθησαν δ' οὕτως διὰ τὸ ῥαδίως ἀποψῆσθαι ἢ οἷόν τις ἐπιψαύουσα.¹⁸ σὰρξ καὶ ἐπιπολῆς τοῖς ὀστέοις ὑπάρ-

¹⁸ τις οὔσα ACE: οὔσα del. Wilamowitz

was delighted to have the witty Aristophanes as an utterly reliable witness. As he was in the middle of these remarks, someone came in, carrying the *tetrax* in its cage. It was larger than the largest rooster; looked a great deal like a purple gallinule; had wattles hanging below its ears on both sides, like a rooster; and produced a low-pitched call. We expressed amazement at the bird's beautiful coloring, and a few minutes later it was cooked and served; its meat resembled ostrich, which we also dined on frequently.

Loin-muscles. The author of the *Return of the Atreidae* says in Book III (*Nost.* fr. 11 Bernabé):

Hermioneus used his swift feet to pursue Isos,
and pierced his loin-muscles with a spear.

Simaristus writes as follows in Book III of *Synonyms*: The sections of flesh that sit sideways over the tailbone are loin-muscles. The hollow sections on either side of it, on the other hand, are referred to as [corrupt]. Clearchus says the following in Book II of *On Skeletons*²⁰² (fr. 106a Wehrli): the muscles on either side, which various authorities refer to as loin-muscles (*psuai*), *alōpekes*, and *neuromētrai*. The venerable Hippocrates (e.g. *Morb. Sacr.* 6.366.14 Littré) also mentions loin-muscles. They got this name from the fact that they can easily be wiped clean (*apopsasthai*), or because they represent a bit of flesh that sits on top of the bones and barely touches (*epipsauousa*) them.²⁰³ The

²⁰² Or *On Dried Bodies, Mummies*.

²⁰³ Desperate and impossible etymologies.

- c χουσα. μνημονεύει αὐτῶν καὶ Εὐφρων ὁ κωμικὸς | ἐν Θεωροῖς·

λοβός τις ἐστὶ καὶ ψύαι καλούμεναι
ταύτας ἐπιτεμὼν πρὶν θεωρῆσαι μαθῶν.

Οὐθαρ. Τηλεκλείδης Στερροῖς·

ὡς οὔσα θήλυς εἰκότως οὐθαρ φορῶ.

Ἡρόδοτος δ' ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν φησιν
< . . . >. σπανίως δ' ἔστιν εὐρεῖν τὸ οὐθαρ ἐπὶ τῶν
ἄλλων ζώων λεγόμενον· ὑπογάστριον δὲ μόνον ὡς ἐπὶ
τῶν ἰχθύων λέγεται. Στράτις Ἀταλάντη·

- d ὑπογάστριον | θύννου τι κάκροκώλιον.

Θεόπομπος Καλλαίσχρω·

ἰχθύων δὲ δὴ

ὑπογάστρι', ὧ Δάματερ.

ἐν δὲ Σειρήσιν ὑπήτρια καλεῖ τὰ ὑπογάστρια λέγων
οὕτως·

θύννων τε λευκὰ Σικελικῶν ὑπήτρια·

Λαγῶς. περὶ τούτου ὁ μὲν ὀψιδοαΐδαλος Ἀρχέστρα-
τος οὕτως φησί·

²⁰⁴ The quotation (from an account of how the Scythians milk their horses) has fallen out of the text. Teleclides fr. 33 (above) is quoted also at 14.656e, where see n.

BOOK IX

comic author Euphro refers to them in *Sacred Ambassadors* (fr. 7):

There's a lobe, as well as what are called loin-muscles;
make a gash in them before you leave on your
embassy, after you learn . . .

Udder. Teleclides in *Tough Guys* (fr. 33):

I'm a female, so naturally I've got an udder.

Herodotus says in Book IV (2.1) of his *History*: . . .²⁰⁴ The word udder (*outhar*) is rarely attested referring to any other animal, while *hupogastrion* ("underbelly") is only used of fish. Strattis in *Atalante* (fr. 5.1):²⁰⁵

a tuna-underbelly and a trotter.

Theopompus in *Callaeschrus* (fr. 24):²⁰⁶

underbellies
of fish indeed, O Demeter!

But in *Sirens* (fr. 52) he refers to underbellies as *hupētria* ("underpaunches"), saying the following:

and white underpaunches (*hupētria*) of Sicilian tuna.

Hare. Arcestratus (fr. 57 Olson–Sens = *SH* 188), the Daedalus²⁰⁷ of fancy dishes, says the following about this creature:

²⁰⁵ A slightly longer version of the fragment is preserved at 7.302d–e.

²⁰⁶ Quoted also at 7.302e.

²⁰⁷ See 9.396a n.

τοῦ δὲ λαγῶ πολλοί τε τρόποι πολλαί τε
θέμιστες

σκευασίης εἰσίν. κείνος δ' οὖν ἔστιν ἄριστος,
ἂν πίνουσι μεταξὺ φέρρης κρέας ὁππὸν ἐκάστω, |
e θερμόν, ἀπλῶς ἀλίπαστον, ἀφαρπάζων
ὀβελίσκου

μικρὸν ἐνωμότερον. μὴ λυπείτω δέ σ' ὀρώντα
ἰχώρα σταζόντα κρεῶν, ἀλλ' ἔσθιε λάβρως.
αἱ δ' ἄλλαι περίεργοι ἔμοιγ' εἰσὶν διὰ παντὸς
σκευασίαι, γλοιῶν καταχύσματα καὶ κατάτυρα
καὶ κατέλαια λίην, ὥσπερ γαλή ὀψοποιούντων.

Ναυσικράτης δ' ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς ἐν Περσίδι, σπα-
f νίως, | φησίν, ἔστιν εὐρεῖν δασύποδα περὶ τὴν Ἀττι-
κὴν. λέγει δὲ ὧδε·

ἐν τῇ γὰρ Ἀττικῇ τίς εἶδε πώποτε
λέοντας ἢ τοιοῦτον ἕτερον θηρίον;
οὐ δασύποδ' εὐρεῖν ἔστιν οὐχὶ ῥάδιον.

Ἄλκαϊος δ' ἐν Καλλιστοῖ καὶ ὡς πολλῶν ὄντων ἐμφα-
νίζει διὰ τούτων·

(A). κορίαννον ἵνα τί λεπτόν; (B.) ἵνα τοὺς
δασύποδας
οὓς ἂν λάβωμεν ἀλσι διαπάττειν ἔχης. ||

400 Τρύφων δὲ φησι· τὸν λαγῶν ἐπ' αἰτιατικῆς ἐν Δαναί-
σιν Ἀριστοφάνης ὀξύτωνως καὶ μετὰ τοῦ ν λέγει·

BOOK IX

Diverse are the manners and settled customs of
the hare's preparation. But it is best
if, while the others are drinking, you serve each man
 roasted meat,
hot and seasoned with salt only, pulling it off the spit
when it is still a bit on the rare side. Do not let it
 trouble you when you see
the juice dripping from the meat, but eat it greedily!
The other ways of preparing it are, in my opinion,
 much
too elaborate—sauces made of sticky ingredients and
 over-rich
in oil and cheese, as if they were preparing a dish for
 a weasel.

The comic poet Nausicrates in *The Girl from Persia* (fr. 2) claims that hares are seldom found in Attica. He puts it as follows:

Because who's ever seen lions
or any other beast like that in Attica?
It's not even easy to find a hare there!

But Alcaeus in *Callisto* (fr. 17) suggests that there were plenty of them, in the following passage:

(A.) What's the powdered coriander for? (B.) So you
 can
sprinkle any hares we catch with salt.

Tryphon (fr. 19 Velsen) says: Aristophanes in *Danaids* (fr. 263) uses the accusative form *lagōn* ("hare") with an acute accent on the final syllable and a *nu*:

λύσας ἴσως ἂν τὸν λαγὼν ξυναρπάσειεν ὑμῶν.
καὶ ἐν Δαιταλεύσιν·

ἀπόλωλα· τίλλων τὸν λαγὼν ὀφθήσομαι.

Ξενοφῶν δ' ἐν Κυνηγετικῷ χωρὶς τοῦ ὦ λαγῷ καὶ
περισπωμένως, ἐπεὶ τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐστὶ λαγός, ὥσπερ
δὲ ναὸν λεγόντων ἡμῶν ἐκεῖνοί φασιν νεῶν καὶ λαὸν
λεῶν, οὕτω λαγὸν ὀνομαζόντων ἐκεῖνοι λαγῶν ἐροῦσι.
b τῇ δὲ τὸν λαγὸν ἐνικῇ αἰτιατικῇ | ἀκόλουθός ἐστιν ἡ
παρὰ Σοφοκλεί ἐν Ἀμύκῃ σατυρικῷ πληθυντικῇ ὀνο-
μαστική·

γέρανοι, χελῶναι, γλαῦκες, ἰκτῖνοι, λαγοί.

τῇ δὲ λαγῶν ἡ διὰ τοῦ ὦ παραπλησίως προσαγορευ-
ομένη λαγῷ παρ' Εὐπόλιδι ἐν Κόλαξιν·

ἵνα πάρα μὲν < . . . > βατίδες καὶ λαγῷ
καὶ γυναικες εἰλίποδες.

εἰσὶν δ' οἱ καὶ ταῦτ' ἀλόγως κατὰ τὴν τελευτῶσαν
συλλαβὴν περισπωμένως προφέρονται. δεῖ δὲ ὀξυτο-
νεῖν τὴν λέξιν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ εἰς -ος λήγοντα τῶν ὀνο-
μάτων ὁμότονά ἐστι, κἂν μεταληφθῇ | εἰς τὸ ὦ παρ'
c

²⁰⁸ Probably a proverbial expression (or a comic adaptation thereof).

²⁰⁹ I.e. Attic-speakers.

²¹⁰ Quoted again below, in a slightly different form (and thus presumably from a different source).

BOOK IX

He might let the hare (*lagōn*) go and then join you in
stealing it.

And in *Banqueters* (fr. 218):

I've had it; I'm going to be seen plucking the hare
(*lagōn*)!²⁰⁸

Xenophon in the *Art of Hunting* (e.g. 4.10), on the other hand, has *lagō* without the *nu* and with a circumflex accent on the final syllable. Because our form of the word is *lagos*; and just as we say *naos* ("temple") and *laos* ("people"), whereas they²⁰⁹ say *neōs* and *lēōs*, so too we say *lagos*, whereas they say *lagōs*. The form of the nominative plural used in Sophocles' satyr play *Amycus* (fr. 111)²¹⁰ is consistent with the accusative singular *lagon*:

cranes, tortoises, little owls, kites, hares (*lagoi*).

The form *lagōi* pronounced with an *omega* and analogous with *lagōn*, on the other hand, is found in Eupolis' *Flatterers* (fr. 174.2-3):²¹¹

where skate and hares (*lagōi*) are present,
as well as shambling-footed²¹² women.

Some authorities accent these forms irrationally, placing a circumflex on the final syllable. But the word ought to take an acute there, since nouns that end in *-os* have the same pitch throughout, even if they change to an *omega* in Attic:

²¹¹ A slightly longer version of the fragment is quoted at 7.286b.

²¹² A Homeric epithet of cattle.

Ἄττικοῖς· ναὸς νεῶς, κάλος κάλως. οὕτως δ' ἐχρήσατο τῷ ὀνόματι καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος καὶ Ἡρόδοτος καὶ ὁ τοὺς Εἰλωτας ποιήσας. εἰτά ἐστι τὸ μὲν Ἰακὸν λαγός·

λαγὸν ταραξᾶς πίθι τὸν θαλάσσιον,

τὸ δὲ λαγὸς Ἄττικόν. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ Ἄττικοὶ λαγός, ὡς Σοφοκλῆς·

γέρανοι, κορῶναι, γλαῦκες, ἰκτίνοι, λαγοί.

τὸ μέντοι

< . . . > ἢ πτώκα λαγῶν

d ἔι μὲν ἐστὶν Ἰωνικόν, πλεονάζει τὸ ῶ, εἰ δ' Ἄττικόν, τὸ ὀ. λαγῶα δὲ λέγεται | κρέα. Ἠγήσανδρος δ' ὁ Δελφὸς ἐν Ἵπομνήμασι κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ Γονατᾶ φησιν βασιλείαν τοσοῦτον πλήθος γενέσθαι λαγῶν ἐν Ἀστυπалаία, ὡς τοὺς Ἀστυπалаίεις περὶ αὐτῶν μαντεύσασθαι· καὶ τὴν Πυθίαν εἰπεῖν κύνας τρέφειν καὶ κυνηγετεῖν· ἀλῶναί τε ἐν ἐνιαυτῷ πλείους τῶν ἑξακισχιλίων. ἐγένετο δὲ τὸ πλήθος τοῦτο Ἀναφάιου τινὸς ἐμβαλόντος δύο λαγωὺς εἰς τὴν νῆσον· ὡς καὶ πρότερον Ἀστυπалаίειος τινὸς ἀφέντος δύο πέρδικας

²¹³ The first form is the common one, the second form the Attic.

²¹⁴ Sc. the common form *lagos*.

²¹⁵ Quoted repeatedly by Athenaeus (7.286f, 287b–c, 305c).

²¹⁶ For doubts about the authorship of this play (attributed to Euripolis by Polemon at 4.138f), see 14.638e.

BOOK IX

naós neōs ("temple"), *kálos kálōs* ("rope, line").²¹³ This²¹⁴ is the form of the word used by Epicharmus (fr. 53.2)²¹⁵, Herodotus (e.g. 1.123.4, 124.1), and the author of *Helots* (Eup. fr. 153).²¹⁶ Next, the Ionian form is *lagos*:

Stir up the sea-hare (*lagos*) and drink it! (Amips. fr. 17),²¹⁷

whereas *lagōs* is the Attic form. But even Attic authors use *lagos*, as for example Sophocles (fr. 111):²¹⁸

cranes, crows, little owls, kites, hares (*lagoi*).

But as for the phrase (*Il.* 22.310)

or a cowering hare (*lagōon*),

if this is an Ionic form, the *omega* is superfluous, whereas if it is Attic, the *omicron* is. Hare-meat is referred to as *lagōia*. Hegesander of Delphi in his *Commentaries* (fr. 42, *FHG* iv.421) claims that during the reign of Antigonus Gonatas²¹⁹ there were so many hares in Astypalaea that the local residents consulted an oracle about them. The Pythia told them (Delphic Oracle Q233 Fontenrose) to raise dogs and hunt them; that year more than 6000 were caught. This explosion in their numbers occurred when someone from Anaphe released two hares on the island; so too earlier, after an Astypalaeian let two partridges go on Anaphe,

²¹⁷ Attributed to Amipsias' *Sling* at 10.446d; the speaker is presumably either a physician or someone imitating medical language. The material that follows appears to come from a different source than the preceding.

²¹⁸ Cf. 9.400b with n.

²¹⁹ King of Macedon c.277/6–239 BCE.

εἰς τὴν Ἀνάφην τοσοῦτον πλήθος ἐγένετο περδίκων ἐν
 e τῇ Ἀνάφῃ, ἢ ὡς κινδυνεύσαι ἀναστάτους γενέσθαι
 τοὺς κατοικοῦντας. κατ' ἀρχὰς δ' ἡ μὲν Ἀστυπάλαια
 οὐκ εἶχεν λαγῶς, ἀλλὰ πέρδικας. πολύγονον δ' ἐστὶ τὸ
 ζῶον ὁ λαγῶς, ὡς Ξενοφῶν εἴρηκεν ἐν τῷ Κυνηγετικῷ.
 καὶ Ἡρόδοτος δ' οὕτως φησὶν· τοῦτο μὲν ὅτι ὁ λαγῶς
 ὑπὸ πάντων θηρεύεται, καὶ θηρίου καὶ ὄρνιθος καὶ
 ἀνθρώπου, οὕτω δὴ τι πολύγονόν ἐστίν, ἐπικυῖσκει τε
 μόνον πάντων θηρίων, καὶ τὸ μὲν δασὺ τῶν τέκνων ἐν
 τῇ γαστρὶ, τὸ δὲ ψιλόν, τὸ δὲ ἄρτι ἐν τῆς μήτρησι
 f πλάσσεται, τὸ δ' ἐπαναιρέεται. Πολύβιος δ' ἐν ἰ τῇ
 δωδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν γίγνεσθαί φησι παρόμοιον
 τῷ λαγῷ ζῶον τὸν κούνικλον καλούμενον, γράφων
 οὕτως· ὁ δὲ κούνικλος καλούμενος πόρρωθεν μὲν ὀρώ-
 μενος εἶναι δοκεῖ λαγῶς μικρός· ὅταν δ' εἰς τὰς χεῖρας
 λάβῃ τις, μεγάλην ἔχει διαφορὰν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐπι-
 φάνειαν καὶ κατὰ τὴν βρῶσιν. γίνεται δὲ τὸ πλείον
 401 κατὰ γῆς. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτῶν καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἢ ὁ
 φιλόσοφος ἐν τῇ Ἱστορίᾳ· καὶ ἡμεῖς εἶδομεν πολλοὺς
 κατὰ τὸν ἀπὸ Δικαιαρχείας πλοῦν ἐπὶ Νέαυ πόλιν·
 νῆσος γάρ ἐστιν οὐ μακρὰν τῆς γῆς κατὰ τὰ τελευ-
 ταῖα μέρη τῆς Δικαιαρχείας ὑπ' ὀλίγων μὲν κατοι-
 κουμένη, πολλοὺς δὲ ἔχουσα τοὺς κουνίκλους τούτους.
 καλοῦνται δὲ τινες καὶ χελιδοναῖα λαγωοί. μνημονεύει
 Δίφιλος ἢ Καλλιάρχης ἐν Ἀγνοίᾳ οὕτως·

BOOK IX

there were so many partridges there that the inhabitants almost had to abandon the place. Astapalaea originally had no hares, but did have partridges. According to Xenophon in his *Art of Hunting* (5.13), the hare is a prolific creature. Herodotus (3.108.3) as well says the following:²²⁰ Because, first of all, the hare is hunted by everything—animals, birds, and humans—it is accordingly prolific, and is the only animal that carries a number of pregnancies simultaneously: one set of young is covered with fur in its belly, while a second set is fur-less, a third is just beginning to take shape in its womb, and a fourth is being conceived. Polybius in Book XII (3.10) of his *History* reports that the so-called *kouniklos* (“rabbit”) is a creature that resembles the hare. He writes as follows: When seen from a distance, the so-called *kouniklos* appears to be a small hare; but when you get one in your hands, it both looks and tastes quite different. It is generally found underground. The philosopher Posidonius also mentions them in his *History* (*FGrH* 87 F 61 = fr. 52 Edelstein-Kidd): We saw many of these on our voyage from Dicaearcheia to Neapolis; because there is an island not far from shore, at the very edge of Dicaearcheian territory, that has only a few human inhabitants, but large numbers of these *kounikloi*. Certain varieties of hare are also known as *chelidoniai*²²¹. Diphilus (fr. 1) or Calliades²²² mentions them in *Ignorance*, as follows:

²²⁰ Some Ionicisms have been removed from the text.

²²¹ Presumably cognate with *chelidōn*, “swallow”.

²²² Otherwise known only from his presence in the catalogue of victors at the Lenaia festival (*IG* II² 2325.166; one victory near the end of the 4th century BCE).

(A.) τί τοῦτο; ποδαπὸς οὗτος;

(B.) χελιδόνειος ὁ δασύπους, γλυκεία δ' ἡ
μίμαρκυς.

- b Θεόπομπος δὲ ἐν τῇ εἰκοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν | περὶ τὴν Βισαλτίαν φησὶ λαγωὺς γίγνεσθαι δύο ἥπατα ἔχον-
τας.

Συὸς δὲ ἀγρίου ἐπεισενεχθέντος, ὃς κατ' οὐδὲν ἦν ἐλάττων τοῦ καλοῦ γραφομένου Καλυδωνίου, προβάλλω, τίς ἔφη, σοὶ ζητεῖν, φροντιστὰ καὶ λογιστὰ Οὐλπιανέ, τίς ἰστόρηκε τὸν Καλυδώνιον σὺν θήλειαν τε γεγονέναι καὶ λευκὸν τὴν χροάν. ὁ δὲ σφόδρα φροντίσας καὶ τὸ προβληθὲν ἀποδιοπομπησάμενος, ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς γε, ἔφη, ἄνδρες γάστρωνες, εἰ μὴ κόρον ἤδη ἔχετε τοσοῦτων ἐμπλησθέντες, ὑπερβάλλειν μοι

- c δοκεῖτε πάντας | τοὺς ἐπὶ πολυφαγία διαβοήτους γε-
νομένους· καὶ τίνες εἰσὶν οὗτοι ζητεῖτε. προφέρεσθαι δὲ δίκαιόν ἐστιν ὑμᾶς σὺν τῷ ᾧ σὺς ἐτυμώτερον· παρὰ τὸ σεύεσθαι γὰρ καὶ ὀρμητικῶς ἔχειν τὸ ζῶον εἴρηται. τέτριπται δὲ καὶ τὸ λέγειν χωρὶς τοῦ κατ' ἀρχὰς ᾧ ὄν. οἱ δὲ σὺν εἰρῆσθαι οἶονεὶ θύν, τὸν εἰς θυσίαν εὐθε-
τοῦντα. νῦν δέ, εἰ δοκεῖ, ἀποκρίνασθέ μοι τίς μνημο-
νεύει κατὰ τὸ σύνθετον ὁμοίως ἡμῖν συνάγρου ἐπὶ τοῦ

²²³ A dish made from the blood and entrails of a hare; see Olson on Ar. Ach. 1112.

²²⁴ The object of the famous hunt in the generation before the Trojan War, which led to the death of the hero Meleager and was a popular topic in art from the 6th century BCE on; cf. Il. 9.529–99; Bacch. 5; A. Ch. 602–11.

BOOK IX

- (A.) What's this? What type's this one?
(B.) The hare's a *chelidoneios*; but the *mimarkus*²²³ is delicious!

Theopompus in Book XX of his *History* (FGrH 115 F 126a) reports that there are hares in Bisaltia that have two livers.

After a wild boar (*sus agrios*) no smaller than the fine Calydonian boar²²⁴ seen in paintings was served, someone said: I invite you, (adesp. com. fr. *116, unmetrical) my thoughtful and precise Ulpian, to take up the question of who reports that the Calydonian boar (*sus*) was both a sow and white. He thought hard and set the matter aside,²²⁵ and said: Potbellies, unless you are so full of topics like this that you are satisfied, you appear to me to outdo anyone who was ever notorious for gluttony. The question you must explore is: Who are these individuals?²²⁶ You ought properly to pronounce the word *sus*, with a *sigma*, which is closer to its origin; because the creature gets its name from the fact that it moves rapidly (*seuesthai*) and tends to attack.²²⁷ But pronouncing it *hus*, without the initial *sigma*, has become common usage. Some authorities claim that it is pronounced *sus* because this is, as it were, a *thus*, since the creature is appropriate for sacrifice (*thusia*).²²⁸ But now, if you will, tell me who refers to a wild boar (*sus agrios*) with the compound form *suagros*, as we do. For

²²⁵ The question is taken up at 9.402a.

²²⁶ Gluttons are the main topic of Books 10 and especially 11, but the question is ignored in what follows.

²²⁷ A false etymology. Most likely *sus* and *hus* are simply variant forms of the same, originally Indo-European word.

²²⁸ Another false etymology.

σὺς τοῦ ἀγρίου. Σοφοκλῆς μὲν γὰρ ἐν Ἀχιλλέως
 d Ἐρασταῖς ἐπὶ κυνὸς ἔταξε τοῦνομα ἀπὸ | τοῦ σὺς
 ἀγρεύειν, λέγων·

σὺ δ', ὦ Σύαγρε, Πηλιωτικὸν τρέφος.

παρ' Ἡροδότῳ δὲ ὄνομα κύριον Σύαγρος Λάκων γέ-
 νος, ὁ πρὸς Γέλωνα τὸν Συρακόσιον πρεσβεύσας περὶ
 τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Μήδους συμμαχίας ἐν τῇ ἑβδόμῃ. καὶ
 Αἰτωλῶν δὲ οἶδα στρατηγὸν Σύαγρον, οὗ μνημονεῖ
 Φύλαρχος ἐν τετάρτῃ Ἱστοριῶν. καὶ ὁ Δημόκριτος
 ἔφη· αἰεὶ ποτε σὺ, ὦ Οὐλπιανέ, οὐδενὸς μεταλαμβάνει
 εἴωθας τῶν παρασκευαζομένων πρὶν μαθεῖν εἴ ἢ χρῆ-
 e σις μὴ εἶη τῶν ὀνομάτων | παλαιά. κινδυνεύεις οὖν
 ποτε διὰ ταύτας τὰς φροντίδας ὥσπερ ὁ Κῶος Φιλη-
 τᾶς ζητῶν τὸν καλούμενον ψευδολόγον τῶν λόγων
 ὁμοίως ἐκείνῳ διαλυθῆναι. ἰσχνὸς γὰρ πάνυ τὸ σῶμα
 διὰ τὰς ζητήσεις γενόμενος ἀπέθανεν, ὡς τὸ πρὸ τοῦ
 μνημείου αὐτοῦ ἐπίγραμμα δηλοῖ·

ξείνε, Φιλίτας εἰμί· λόγων ὁ ψευδόμενός με
 ὤλεσε καὶ νυκτῶν φροντίδες ἐσπέριοι.

ἴν' οὖν μὴ καὶ σὺ ζητῶν τὸν σύαγρον ἀφαναιθῆς,
 f μάθε ὅτι Ἀντιφάνης μὲν ἐν Ἀρπαζομένη οὕτως | ὠνό-
 μασε·

BOOK IX

Sophocles in *The Lovers of Achilles* (fr. 154) gave the name to a dog, since it hunts boars (*sus agreuein*), saying:

and you, Suagros, whom Pelion produced.

In Herodotus Book VII (153.1), Suagros is a proper name that belongs to a Spartan who was sent to Gelon in Syracuse about the question of forming an alliance against the Medes.²²⁹ I also know of an Aetolian general named Suagros²³⁰, who is mentioned by Phylarchus in Book IV of the *History* (FGrH 81 F 5). Democritus responded: Ulpian, you always make it your practice not to taste any of the food prepared for us, until you learn whether an ancient author uses the word. Your concern for such matters may be putting you at risk of wasting away like Philetas of Cos, when he tried to identify what he referred to as the lying word. He became extremely emaciated as a result of his research and died, as the epigram inscribed on his tomb makes clear (adesp. FGE 1612–13 = Philet. test. 21 Spanoudakis = test. 7 Sbardella):

I am Philitas, stranger. The lying word brought about
my
death, along with hard work at night after the sun
went down.

So to keep you from shriveling up as a result of your inquiry into the term *suagros*, allow me to inform you that Antiphanes used it in *The Girl Who Was Kidnapped* (fr. 44), as follows:

²²⁹ In 480 BCE. Suagros (otherwise unknown) is Poralla #677.

²³⁰ Grainger p. 313 (Suagros 1); he was general in 226/5 BCE.

λαβὼν ἐπανάξω σύαγρον εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν
τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτῆς καὶ λέοντα καὶ λύκον.

Διονύσιος δὲ ὁ τύραννος ἐν τῷ Ἀδώνιδι·

νυμφῶν ὑπὸ σπήλυγγα † τὸν † αὐτόστεγον
σύαγρον ἐκβόλειον † εὐθῆρον κλύειν †
ὄπλᾶς τ' ἀπαρχὰς ἀκροθινιάζομαι.

402 Λυγκεὺς δ' ὁ Σάμιος ἐν τῇ Πρὸς Ἀπολλόδωρον Ἐπι-
στολῇ γράφει οὕτως· ἵνα τὰ μὲν αἴγεια ἢ τοῖς παισί,
τὰ δὲ σύαγρεια μετὰ τῶν φίλων αὐτὸς ἔχῃς. καὶ
Ἰππόλοχος δὲ ὁ Μακεδών, οὗ ἐμνημονεύσαμεν ἐν τοῖς
πρὸ τούτων, ἐν τῇ πρὸς τὸν προειρημένον Λυγκέα
ἐπιστολῇ ἐμνήσθη σύαγρων πολλῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ σὺ καὶ
τὸ προβληθέν σοι ἀποπροσπεποίησαι περὶ τῆς χροῆς
τοῦ Καλυδωνίου σὺς, εἴ τις αὐτὸν ἱστορεῖ λευκὸν τὴν
χροῆαν γεγονότα, ἐροῦμεν ἡμεῖς τὸν εἰπόντα· τὸ δὲ
μαρτύριον ἀνίχνευσον σύ. πάλαι γὰρ τυγχάνω ἀν-
εγνωκῶς τοὺς Κλεομένους τοῦ Ῥηγίνου διθυράμβους,
ᾧ ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Μελεάγρῳ τοῦτο ἱστόρηται.
b οὐκ ἴσθι ἀγνοῶ δ' ὅτι οἱ περὶ τὴν Σικελίαν κατοικοῦντες
ἀσχέδωρον καλοῦσι τὸν σύαγρον. Αἰσχύλος γοῦν ἐν
Φορκίσι παρεικάζων τὸν Περσέα τῷ ἀγρίῳ τούτῳ σὺ
φησιν·

ἔδου δ' ἐς ἄντρον ἀσχέδωρος ὤς.

²³¹ Presumably a high-style way of referring to a sow's womb
(for which, cf. 3.100b-1c).

BOOK IX

Tonight I'm going to get a wild boar (*suagros*), a lion, and a wolf, and bring them into the house too!

The tyrant Dionysius in his *Adonis* (*TrGF* 76 F 1):

Within the cave of the nymphs † here † with its
natural roof

I take as first-fruit spoils for myself the hooves and
and wild-boar (*suagron*) expulsion²³¹ † easily caught
to hear about. †

Lynceus of Samos in his *Letter to Apollodorus* (fr. 18 Dalby) writes as follows: so that you can have goat-meat for your slaves, but wild-boar meat (*ta suagreia*) to enjoy yourself, along with your friends. Hippolochus of Macedon, whom we discussed earlier, also referred repeatedly to *suagroi* in his letter to the Lynceus mentioned above.²³² But since you have deferred the question posed for you (9.401b) about the color of the Calydonian boar and whether anyone describes it as white, I will tell you who said this; but you can track down the reference yourself. For I read the dithyrambs of Cleomenes of Rhegium long ago, and this claim is put forward in the one entitled *Meleager* (*PMG* 838). I am well aware that the Sicilians refer to the wild boar (*suagros*) as an *aschedōros*. Aeschylus in *The Children of Phorcys*²³³ (fr. 261), for example, compares Perseus to this wild boar and says:

He descended into the cave like an *aschedōros*.

²³² I.e. in the letter describing the wedding feast of Caranus of Macedon quoted at 4.128a–30d.

²³³ I.e. the Graeae and the Gorgons (including Medusa).

καὶ Σκίρας (εἷς δ' ἐστὶν οὗτος τῆς Ἰταλικῆς καλουμένης κωμωδίας ποιητής, γένος Ταραντίνος) ἐν Μελεάγρῳ φησίν·

ἐνθ' οὔτε ποιμὴν ἀξιοῖ νέμειν βοτὰ
οὔτ' ἀσχέδωρος νεμόμενος καπρώζεται. |

c ὅτι δὲ Αἰσχύλος διατρίψας ἐν Σικελίᾳ πολλαῖς κέχρηται φωναῖς Σικελικαῖς οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν.

Περιεφέροντο καὶ ἔριφοι πολλάκις ποικίλως ἐσκευασμένοι· ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ πολὺ τοῦ ὁποῦ ἔχοντες, οἷτινες οὐ τὴν τυχούσαν ἡδονὴν παρείχον ἡμῖν. καὶ γὰρ τὸ τοῦ αἰγὸς κρέας τροφιμώτατόν ἐστι. Κλειτόμαχος γοῦν ὁ Καρχηδόσιος οὐδενὸς δεύτερος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς νέας Ἀκαδημείας κατὰ τὴν θεωρίαν ὦν Θηβαῖόν τινα ἀθλητὴν ὑπερβαλεῖν ἰσχύι φησὶ τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν κρέασιν αἰγείοις χρώμενον· εὔτονοι γὰρ καὶ γλίσχροι
d <οῖ>¹⁹ χυμοὶ καὶ πολὺν χρόνον | ὑπομένειν ἐν τοῖς ὄγκοις δυνάμενοι. ἐσκώπτετο δὲ ὁ ἀθλητὴς διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδρώτων δυσωδίαν. τὰ δ' ἕνεια καὶ ἄρνεια κρέα ἀδιαπόνητα ταῖς ἐξεσιν ὑπάρχοντα ῥᾶστα φθείρεται διὰ τὴν πιμελήν.

Τὰ δὲ παρὰ τοῖς κωμωδιοποιοῖς λεγόμενα δείπνα ἡδίστην ἀκοὴν παρέχει τοῖς ὡσὶ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ φάρνυγι, ὥσπερ τὰ παρὰ Ἀντιφάνει μὲν ἐν Ἀκροστρίᾳ·

¹⁹ add. Kaibel

BOOK IX

And Sciras—(test. 1) he wrote what is referred to as Italian comedy, and his family was from Tarentum—says in *Meleager* (fr. 1):

In that spot neither does any shepherd think it right
to graze his flocks,
nor does an *ashedōros* rut there as it grazes.

It comes as no surprise that Aeschylus (test. 92a) uses a considerable amount of Sicilian vocabulary, given that he spent time on the island.²³⁴

Fancily-prepared kids were often served; some were made with a large amount of silphium juice, and we found them exceptionally tasty. Goat-meat is in fact extremely nourishing. Cleitomachus of Carthage,²³⁵ at any rate, who is second to no one in the New Academy in his theoretical work, claims that a Theban athlete overpowered all his opponents by eating nothing except goat-meat; because the humours it produces are strong and sticky, and capable of remaining in one's flesh for a long time. But people made fun of the athlete because his sweat smelled bad. Pork and mutton, on the other hand, are quite easily broken down while still in an undigested state, because of the fat they contain.

The accounts of dinner parties offered by the comic poets provide more pleasure for one's ears than one's throat, as for example the passage in Antiphanes' *The Seamstress* (fr. 21):

²³⁴ Aeschylus made at least two trips to Sicily, once in the late 470s BCE (to Syracuse) and again in the mid-450s (to Gela, where he died in 456/5). ²³⁵ Head of the New Academy c.128–c.110 BCE (PAA 575900); none of his writings are preserved.

(A.) κρέας δὲ τίνος ἤδιστ' ἂν ἐσθίους (φησίν);

(B.) τίνος;

e εἰς εὐτέλειαν. τῶν προβάτων μὲν οἷς ἔνι |
μῆτ' ἔρια μῆτε τυρός, ἀρνός, φίλτατε.
τῶν δ' αἰγιδίων κατὰ ταῦθ' ἃ μὴ τυρὸν ποεῖ,
ἐρίφου· διὰ τὴν ἐπικαρπίαν γὰρ τῶν ἀδρῶν
ταῦτ' ἐσθίων τὰ φαῦλ' ἀνέχομαι.

ἐν δὲ Κύκλωπί φησι·

τῶν χερσαίων δ' ἡμῖν²⁰ ἤξει
παρ' ἐμοῦ ταυτί·
βοῦς ἀγελαῖος, τράγος ὑλιβάτης,
αἰξ οὐραυία, κριὸς τομίας,
κάπρος ἐκτομίας, ὄς οὐ τομίας,
δέλφαξ, δασύπους, ἔριφοι, < . . . >
τυρὸς χλωρός, τυρὸς ξηρός,
τυρὸς κοπτός, τυρὸς ξυστός,
τυρὸς τμητός, τυρὸς πηκτός.

Μησίμαχος δ' ἐν Ἴπποτρόφῳ τοιαῦτα παρασκευάζει·

f βαῖν' ἐκ θαλάμων κυπαρισσορόφων |
ἔξω, Μάνη· στείχ' εἰς ἀγορὰν
πρὸς τοὺς Ἑρμᾶς,
οὐ προσφοιτῶσ' οἱ φύλαρχοι,

²⁰ ἡμῖν Nesselrath: ὑμῖν ACE (followed by K-A)

BOOK IX

(A.) What kind of meat's your favorite (he says)? (B.)
What kind?

The cheap kind! The type of sheep that doesn't
produce
any wool or cheese, which is to say a lamb, my friend.
Likewise the type of goat that doesn't produce any
cheese,
that is, a kid. Since there's money to be made from
the full-grown ones,
I don't mind eating lousy food like this.

And in *The Cyclops* (fr. 131)²³⁶ he says:

I'll furnish us with the following
mainland items:
a cow from my herd, a mud-trodding he-goat,
a heavenly she-goat, a castrated ram,
a castrated boar, an uncastrated pig,
a hog, a hare, kids,
fresh cheese, dried cheese,
chopped cheese, grated cheese,
sliced cheese, cottage cheese.

Mnesimachus in *The Horse-Groom* (fr. 4) prepares food of
the following sort:

Leave our cypress-roofed chambers,
Manes! Go to the marketplace,
to the Herms,
where the cavalry commanders spend their time,

²³⁶ The love-smitten Cyclops lists the provisions he will offer for their wedding banquet, if the sea-nymph Galatea will have him as her husband.

τούς τε μαθητὰς τοὺς ὠραίους,
οὓς ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους
μελετᾶ Φείδων καὶ καταβαίνειν.
οἶσθ' οὓς φράζω;

τούτοις τοίνυν ἄγγελλ' ὅτι ἡ
ψυχρὸν τοῦψον, τὸ ποτὸν θερμόν,
ξηρὸν φύραμ', ἄρτοι ξηροί· ||
403 σπλάγχν' ὀπτᾶται, χναῦμ' ἤρπασται,
κρέας ἐξ ἄλμης ἐξήρηται,
τόμος ἀλλᾶντος, τόμος ἡνύστρου,
χορδῆς ἕτερος, φύσκης ἕτερος
διαλαιμοτομεῖθ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἔνδον.
κρατῆρ' ἐξερροίβδητ' οἴνου·
πρόποσις χωρεῖ· λέπεται κόρδαξ·
ἀκολασταίνει νοῦς μεираκίων·
πάντ' ἔστ' ἔνδον τὰ κάτωθεν ἄνω.
μέμνησ' ἃ λέγω, πρόσεχ' οἷς φράζω.
χάσκεις οὗτος;
βλέψον δευρί· πῶς αὐτὰ φράσεις;
αὐτίκ' ἐρῶ σοι πάλιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς.
b ἤκειν ἤδη καὶ | μὴ μέλλειν,
τῷ τε μαγείρω μὴ λυμαίνεσθ',
ὡς τῶν ὄψων ἐφθῶν ὄντων,

²³⁷ PA 14178; cf. Shear, *Hesperia* 42 (1973) 178–9 (several clay seals found in a well in the Agora that read “Pheidon of the deme Thriasus, hipparch for Lemnos”).

BOOK IX

and to the handsome young pupils
Pheidon²³⁷ is training to mount
and dismount from their horses.
Do you know who I'm talking about?
Well, then—announce to them that
the fish is cold, the wine's warm,
the barley-cake's dry, and the bread's baked.
Entrails are roasting; snacks have been pulled from
the fire;
meat's been removed from the stewing-brine;
a slice of sausage, and a slice of fourth-stomach
sausage,
and one of gut-sausage, and one of large-intestine
sausage,
are having their throats slit by the people working
inside.
A mixing-bowl's gulped down some wine;
a toast's going around; a wild dance²³⁸ is being
thrashed out;
the boys are having dirty thoughts;
and everything in the house is upside-down.
Remember what I'm saying! Pay attention to what
I'm telling you!
Hey! Are you ignoring me?
Look at me! How are you going to give them the
message?
I'll start over and tell you again.
They should come immediately and not wait;
and they shouldn't mistreat the cook,
because there's stewed fish,

²³⁸ A *kordax*; see 14.630e, 631d.

ATHENAEUS

ὀπτῶν ὄντων, ψυχρῶν ὄντων,
 καθ' ἕκαστα λέγων· βολβός, ἐλαία,
 σκόροδον, καυλός, κολοκύνθη, ἔτνος,
 θρίον, φυλλάς, θύννου τεμάχη,
 γλάνιδος, γαλεοῦ, ῥίνης, γόγγρου,
 φοξίνος ὄλος, κορακίνος ὄλος,
 μεμβράς, σκόμβρος,
 θυννίς, κωβίος, ἤλακατήνες,
 κυνὸς οὐραίου τῶν καρχαριῶν,
 νάρκη, βάτραχος, πέρκη, σαῦρος,
 τριχίας, φυκίς, βρίγκος, τρίγλη,
 κόκκυξ, τρυγών, σμύραινα, φάγγρος,
 c μύλλος, λεβίας, | σπάρος, αἰολίας,
 θράττα, χελιδών, καρίς, τευθίς,
 ψήττα, δρακαινίς,
 πουλυπόδειον, σηπία, ὀρφώς,
 κάραβος, ἔσχαρος, ἀφύαι, βελόλαι,
 κεστρεύς, σκορπίος, ἔγχελνς, ἄρκτοι,
 κρέα τ' ἄλλα (τὸ πλῆθος ἀμύθητον)
 χηνός, χοίρου, βοός, ἀρνός, οἰός,
 κάπρου, αἰγός, ἀλεκτρυόνος, νήττης,
 κίττης, πέρδικος, ἀλωπεκίου.
 καὶ μετὰ δεῖπνον θουμαστὸν ὅσ' ἔστ'
 ἀγαθῶν πλήθη.
 πᾶς δὲ κατ' οἴκους μάττει, πέττει,
 τίλλει, κόπτει, τέμνει, δεύει,
 χαίρει, παίζει, πηδᾷ, δειπνεῖ,

BOOK IX

roasted fish, and cold fish—
 give them the whole list! Hyacinth-bulbs, olives,
 garlic, silphium stalk, gourds, pea-soup,
 fig-leaf pastries, grape-leaf pastries, tuna steaks,
 cuts of sheatfish, dogfish, monkfish, and conger eel,
 a whole *phoxinos*, a whole *korakinos*,
 a smelt, a mackerel,
 a *thunnis*, a goby, *ēlakatēnes*,
 a tail of one 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,
 a gurnard, a stingray, a moray eel, a sea-bream,
 a *mullos*, a *lebias*, a *sparos*-bream, an *aiolias*,
 a *thraitta*, a flying-fish, a shrimp, a squid,
 a flounder, a weever-fish,
 an octopus, a cuttlefish, a sea-perch,
 a crayfish, an *escharos*, small-fry, garfish,
 a gray mullet, a bullhead, an eel, and bear-crabs.
 Also other kinds of meat (in unbelievable quantities):
 goose, pork, beef, lamb, mutton,
 boar, goat, chicken, duck,
 jay, partridge, thresher shark.
 As for after dinner, it's amazing how much
 good food there is!
 Everyone in the house is kneading, baking,
 plucking, chopping, slicing, soaking,
 enjoying, goofing off, jumping around, eating dinner,

- d πίνει, σκιρτᾶ, | λορδοί, κεντέ²¹.
 σεμναὶ δ' αὐλῶν ἀγαναὶ φωναί,
 μολπά, κλαγγὰ θράττει, πνεΐται²²
 κούρα κασίας
 ἀπὸ γᾶς ἀγίας ἀλίας Συρίας,
 ὄσμῃ σεμνῇ μυκτῆρα δονεῖ
 λιβάνου, μάρου, σμύρνης, καλάμου,
 στύρακος, βάρου,
 λίνδου, κίνδου, κισθοῦ, μίνθου.
 τοιάδε δόμους ὁμίχλη κατέχει
 πάντων ἀγαθῶν ἀνάμεστος.

- Ἐπὶ τούτοις λεγομένοις παρηνέχθη ἡ ῥοδουντία
 καλουμένη λοπάς· περὶ ἧς ἐξετραγώδησεν ὁ σοφὸς
 e ἐκείνος | μάγειρος, πρὶν καὶ ἐπιδείξαι ὃ τι φέρει.
 διεχλεύαζε τε τοὺς πάνυ μαγείρους γενομένους, ὧν καὶ
 μνημονεύων ἔφη· τί τοιοῦτον ἐξεῦρεν ὁ παρὰ Ἀναξίπ-
 πῳ²³ τῷ κωμικῷ μάγειρος, <ὄς>²⁴ ἐν τῷ Ἐγκαλυπτο-
 μένῳ τοιάδε ὠγκώσατο·

(A.) Σόφων Ἀκαρνὰν καὶ Ῥόδιος Δαμόξενος
 ἐγένονθ' ἑαυτῶν συμμαθηταὶ τῆς τέχνης· |

²¹ κεντει βινεῖ ACE: βινεῖ del. Meineke

²² νεΐται πνεΐται A: νεΐται del. Meineke

²³ Ἀναξίππῳ Valcknaer: Ἀνθίππῳ A: ξανθίππῳ CE

²⁴ add. Schweighäuser

BOOK IX

drinking, hopping up and down, lying on their back,
driving it in.²³⁹

The sacred, gentle voices of pipes,
song, and music resound; the daughter
of cassia, from the holy
land of maritime Syria, breathes forth;
and nostrils are set awirl by the sacred scent
of frankincense, sage, myrrh, sweet-flag,
storax, *baros*,
lindos, *kindos*, rock-rose, and mint.
That's the sort of cloud, packed with everything
good, that fills the house.

As he was still speaking, we were offered the so-called *rhodountia* ("rose-flavored") casserole-dish; our clever cook provided us with an extravagant description of it before showing us what he was serving.²⁴⁰ He also made fun of the famous cooks of the past,²⁴¹ referring to them individually and saying: What did the cook in the comic author Anaxippus invent that resembled this? He bragged as follows in *The Man Who Tried to Hide His Face* (fr. 1):

(A.) Sophon of Acarmania and Damoxenus of Rhodes were fellow-students when they got their training;²⁴²

²³⁹ I.e. having sex with the (women) just referred to, who are lying on their backs.

²⁴⁰ Cf. 9.406a, where the dish is referred to as a *rhodōnia*.

²⁴¹ Continuing the catalogue of long comic fragments dealing with cooks broken off abruptly at 9.383e. ²⁴² Sophon is also mentioned at Bato fr. 4.4 (quoted at 14.662c-d), and Damoxenus may be referred to in *adesp. com. fr. 1057.9*. Both men are otherwise unknown, as is their teacher Labdacus.

- f ἐδίδασκε δ' αὐτοὺς Σικελιώτης Λάβδακος.
οὔτοι τὰ μὲν παλαιὰ καὶ θρυλούμενα
ἀρτύματ' ἐξήλειψαν ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων
καὶ τὴν θυείαν ἠφάνισαν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου,
οἶον λέγω κύμινον, ὄξος, σίλφιον,
τυρόν, κορίαννον, οἷς ὁ Κρόνος ἀρτύμασιν
ἐχρήτο, πάντ' ἀφείλον εἶναί θ' ὑπέλαβον ||
404 τὸν τοῖς <τοιούτοις> παντοπώλην χρώμενον.
αὐτοὶ δ' ἔλαιον καὶ λοπάδα καινὴν, πάτερ,
πῦρ τ' ὄξυ καὶ μὴ πολλάκις φυσώμενον
ἐπόουν· ἀπὸ τούτου πᾶν τὸ δείπνον εὐτρεπές.
οὔτοί τε πρῶτοι δάκρυα καὶ παταρμόν πολλὴν
ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης καὶ σίαλον ἀπήγαγον,
τῶν τ' ἐσθιόντων ἀνεκάθηραν τοὺς πόρους.
ὁ μὲν οὖν Ῥόδιος πιὼν τιν' ἄλμην ἀπέθανεν·
b παρὰ τὴν φύσιν γὰρ τὸ ποτὸν ἦν. μάλ' εἰκότως.
ὁ Σόφων δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἔχει,
ἐμὸς γενόμενος, ὦ πάτερ, διδάσκαλος.
καυτὸς φιλοσοφῶ καταλιπεῖν συγγράμματα
σπεύδων ἐμαυτοῦ καινὰ τῆς τέχνης. (B.) παπαῖ·
ἐμὲ κατακόψεις, οὐχ ὁ θύειν μέλλομεν.
(A.) τὸν ὄρθρον ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ μ' ὄψει βιβλία

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their teacher was Labdacus of Sicily.

These guys erased the famous old seasonings from the cookbooks and got the mortar out of sight—

I'm talking, for example, about cumin, vinegar, silphium,

cheese, and coriander, the spices Cronus used to cook with. They got rid of them all and became convinced

that anyone who used ingredients like that was just a grocer.

They themselves went in for olive oil and a new casserole-dish,

honored sir, and a hot fire that wasn't blown on too much; any meal can be prepared with this equipment.

They were the first to remove tears and a lot of sneezing and runny noses from the dinner table, and they cleaned out the pores of the people who ate their food.

The Rhodian drank some stewing-brine and died; because drinking it was contrary to his nature. Just as you might expect!

Sophon, on the other hand, is the master of all Ionia; and he, honored sir, was my teacher.

I'm also a philosopher, and I'm eager to leave behind my own original treatises on my line of work. (B.)

Damn!

You'll be the death of *me*, not the animal we're going to sacrifice!

(A.) First thing in the morning, you'll see me with books

- ἔχοντα καὶ ζητοῦντα <τὰ> κατὰ τὴν τέχνην. |
 οὐθὲν Διοδώρου διαφέρω τὰσπενδίου.
 γεύσω δ', ἐὰν βούλη, σε τῶν εὐρημένων.
 οὐ ταῦτα προσάγω πᾶσιν ἀεὶ βρώματα,
 τεταγμέν' εὐθύς ἐστί μοι πρὸς τὸν βίον·
 ἕτερον ἐστὶ τοῖς ἐρώσι καὶ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις
 καὶ τοῖς τελώναις. μεράκιον ἐρωμένην
 ἔχον πατρώαν οὐσίαν κατεσθίει·
 τούτῳ παρέθηκα σηπίας καὶ τευθίδας
 καὶ τῶν πετραίων ἰχθύων τῶν ποικίλων,
 ἐμβαμματίοις γλαφυροῖσι κεχορηγημένα. |
 ὁ γὰρ τοιοῦτός ἐστιν οὐ δειπνητικός,
 πρὸς τῷ φιλεῖν δὲ τὴν διάνοιάν ἐστ' ἔχων.
 τῷ φιλοσόφῳ παρέθηκα κωλῆν ἢ πόδας·
 ἀδηφάγον τὸ ζῶον εἰς ὑπερβολὴν
 ἐστίν. τελώνη γλαῦκον, ἔγχελυν, σπάρων
 ὅταν ἐγγὺς ἦ δ' ὁ Δύστρος, ἀρτύω φακῆν
 καὶ τὸ περιδείπνον τοῦ βίου λαμπρὸν ποῶ.
 τὰ τῶν γερόντων στόματα διαφορὰν ἔχει,
 νωθρότερα πολλῶ δ' ἐστὶν ἢ τὰ τῶν νέων. |
 σίναπι παρατίθημι τούτοις καὶ ποῶ
 χυλοὺς ἐχομένους δριμύτητος, τὴν φύσιν
 ἵνα διεγείρας πνευματῶ τὸν ἀέρα.

243 A Pythagorean philosopher (probably late 5th or early 4th century BCE) said to have been the first to adopt what eventually became distinctly Cynic mannerisms, by growing his hair and beard long, declining to bathe, and dressing like a beggar. Cf. 4.163e-4a.

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in my hands, doing research on my trade;
 I'm no different from Diodorus of Aspendus.²⁴³
 If you want, I'll give you a sample of my discoveries.
 I don't offer everyone the same food all the time.
 Instead, I organize what I serve from the beginning,
 to suit their lifestyle;
 lovers, philosophers, and tax-collectors
 require different menus. Suppose a young man's got a
 girlfriend, and is gobbling up his inheritance;
 I serve him cuttlefish, squid,
 and some variegated rockfish,
 all immersed in elegant sauces.
 Because someone like that isn't interested in dinner;
 his attention's fixed on being in love.
 I serve the philosopher a ham or pigs' feet;
 that's a really gluttonous
 creature. The tax-collector gets *glaukos*, eel, and
 sparos-breem;²⁴⁴
 and when it's almost Dustros²⁴⁵, I fix lentil-soup
 and make his funeral meal a brilliant one.
 Old men's palates are different;
 they're much more sluggish than young men's.
 I serve them mustard, and I produce
 sauces that have some zing, so I can wake
 their body up and pump air into it.

²⁴⁴ Presumably because all three fish—like the tax-collector who is going to eat them—are characterized by vicious, voracious greed.

²⁴⁵ A month in the Macedonian calendar.

ἰδὼν τὸ πρόσωπον γνώσομ' οὐ ζητεῖ φαγεῖν
ἕκαστος ὑμῶν.

καὶ ὁ παρὰ Διονυσίῳ δὲ ἐν Θεσμοφόρῳ μάγειρος,
ἄνδρες δαιταλεῖς (οὐ χεῖρον γὰρ καὶ τούτου μνησθή-
ναι), τί φησίν;

(Α.) σφόδρα μοι κεχάρισαι, Σιμία, νῆ τοὺς
θεούς,

f ταυτὶ προείπας· τὸν μάγειρον εἰδέναι |
πολὺ δεῖ γὰρ αἰεὶ πρότερον οἷς μέλλει ποεῖν
τὸ δεῖπνον ἢ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐγχειρεῖν ποεῖν.
ἂν μὲν γὰρ ἔν τις τοῦτ' ἐπιβλέψῃ μόνον,
τοῦψον ποῆσαι κατὰ τρόπον πῶς δεῖ, τίνα
τρόπον παραθεῖναι δ' ἢ πότ' ἢ πῶς σκευάσαι
< . . . > μὴ προῖδηται τοῦτο μηδὲ φροντίσῃ,
οὐκέτι μάγειρος, ὀψοποιὸς ἔστι δέ.

οὐ ταῦτὸ δ' ἔστι τοῦτο, πολὺ διήλλαχεν. ||
405 <ὡς γὰρ> στρατηγὸς πᾶς καλεῖθ' ὅς ἂν λάβῃ
δύναμιν, ὁ μέντοι δυνάμενος κἂν πράγμασιν
ἀναστραφῆναι καὶ διαβλέψαι τί που
στρατηγὸς ἔστιν, ἡγεμῶν δὲ θάτερον,
οὕτως ἐφ' ἡμῶν σκευάσαι μὲν ἢ τεμείν
ἡδύσμαθ' ἐψησαί τε καὶ φυσᾶν τὸ πῦρ
ὁ τυχῶν δύναιτ' ἂν ὀψοποιὸς οὖν μόνον
ἔστιν ὁ τοιοῦτος, ὁ δὲ μάγειρος ἄλλο τι. |
b συνιδεῖν τόπον, ὄραν, τὸν καλοῦντα, τὸν πάλιν

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When I see your faces, I'll know what each of you
wants to eat.

As for the cook in Dionysius' *Lawgiver* (fr. 2),
banqueters—because there's no harm in mentioning
him—what does he have to say?

(A.) By the gods, Simias, you've done me quite a
favor

by telling me this ahead of time! A cook always really
needs to know in advance who he's going to be
making

dinner for—or trying to make dinner for.

Because if all someone worries about
is how to prepare the fish properly, but as for
how to serve it, or when or how to fix

... , if he doesn't look ahead to this or give it some
consideration,

he's no longer a cook; he's just a guy who prepares
fish.

This isn't the same; it's very different.

Because just as anyone who gets an army is *called* a
general,

but the man who can recover when he's
in trouble, and can somehow see the situation clearly
is a *real* general, whereas the other guy's just a
commander,

so too in our case. Any warm body could
fix food, or mince spices, or stew meat,
or blow on the fire. But someone like that
just prepares fish; a real cook is a different matter.
To understand the site and the season, the host as
well

δειπνοῦντα, πότε δεῖ καὶ τίν' ἰχθὺν ἀγοράσαι,
 < . . . > πάντα μὲν λήψει σχεδὸν

αἰεὶ γάρ· οὐκ αἰεὶ δὲ τὴν τούτων χάριν
 ἔχεις ὁμοίαν οὐδ' ἴσην τὴν ἡδονήν.

Ἀρχέστρατος γέγραφέ τε καὶ δοξάζεται
 παρά τισιν οὕτως ὡς λέγων τι χρήσιμον.
 τὰ πολλὰ δ' ἠγγνόηκε κούδὲ ἔν λέγει.!

- c μὴ πάντ' ἄκουε μηδὲ πάντα μάνθανε
 † τῶν βιαίων ἐσθ' ἔνεκα τὰ γεγραμμένα,
 κενὰ μᾶλλον ἢ ὅτε ἦν οὐδέπω γεγραμμένα· †
 οὐδ' ἔστιν εἰπεῖν περὶ μαγειρικῆς, ἐπεὶ
 εἶπ' ἀρτίως < . . . >

ὄρον γὰρ οὐκ ἔσχηκεν † οὗ ὁ καιρὸς †
 αὐτῇ δ' ἑαυτῆς ἐστὶ δεσπότης. εἰάν δ'
 εὖ μὲν σὺ χρήσῃ τῇ τέχνῃ, τὸν τῆς τέχνης
 καιρὸν δ' ἀπολέσῃς, παραπόλωλεν ἡ τέχνη.
 (Σιμ.) ἄνθρωπε, μέγας εἶ. (Α.) τουτοῖ δ', ὄν
 ἀρτίως |

- d ἔφης ἔχοντα πείραν ἤκειν πολυτελῶν
 πολλῶν τε δείπνων, ἐπιλαθέσθαι, Σιμία,
 πάντων ποήσω, θρίον ἂν δείξω μόνον
 παραθῶ <τε> δείπνον ὄζον αὔρας Ἀττικῆς.
 ἐξ ἀντλίας ἦκοντα καὶ γέμοντ' ἔτι
 φορτηγικῶν μοι βρωμάτων ἀγωνίαις
 τῆμῃ ποήσω νυστάσαι παροψίδι.

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as the guest; when to buy the fish, and what kind
. . . Because you can almost always
get anything; but you don't always get the same
joy or an equal amount of pleasure out of these items.

Archestratus (test. 1 Olson-Sens) has done some
writing, and there are people
who think he's got something useful to say.

But he's mostly ignorant, and he talks nonsense.
Don't listen to everything or try to learn everything
† because of violent actions what's been written is
more hollow than when it hadn't been written. †

You can't just talk about cooking, since
he said just now . . .

Because it didn't have any limit † where the right
moment †

Our craft's its own master. And if
you make good use it, but don't do so
at precisely the right moment, it's ruined.

(Simias) You're really something, mister. (A.) And this
guy, who you said

arrived just now with lots of experience in
expensive dinner parties—I'll make him
forget them all, Simias, if I simply show him a fig-leaf
pastry

and serve him a dinner that smells like the Attic
breezes!

When he emerges from the hold of his ship and
comes to me, still
full of the tortures inflicted by the food they serve on
merchant-ships,

I'll put him to sleep with my side-dish.

Πρὸς ταῦτα Αἰμιλιανὸς ἔφη·

βέλτιστε, πολλοῖς πολλὰ περὶ μαγειρικῆς |
e εἰρημέν' ἐστίν,

κατὰ τοὺς Ἡγησίππου Ἀδελφούς· σὺ οὖν ἢ δρῶν τι
φαίνου

καινὸν παρὰ τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν ἢ μὴ κόπτε με,
καὶ δείξον ὃ φέρεις καὶ λέγε τί ἐστι. καὶ ὅς κατα-
φρονεῖς ὅτι μάγειρός εἰμι ἴσως·

ὅσον ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς τέχνης εἴργασμ' ἐγώ,
κατὰ τὸν κωμικὸν Δημήτριον, ὃς ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ
Ἄρεοπαγίτῃ ταῦτ' εἶρηκεν·

ὅσον ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς τέχνης εἴργασμ' ἐγώ,
οὐδεὶς ὑποκριτῆς ἐσθ' ὅλως εἴργασμένος.
καπνιζομένη τυραννὶς αὕτη 'σθ' ἡ τέχνη. |
f ἀβурτακοποιὸς παρὰ Σέλευκον ἐγενόμην,
παρ' Ἀγαθοκλεῖ <δὲ> πρῶτος εἰσήνεγκ' ἐγὼ
τῷ Σικελιώτῃ <τὴν> τυραννικὴν φακῆν.
τὸ μέγιστον οὐκ εἶρηκα· Λαχάρους † τινος †,
ὅτ' ἦν ὁ λιμός, ἐστιῶντος τοὺς φίλους,
ἀνάληψιν ἐποίησ' εἰσενέγκας κάππαριν.

²⁴⁶ Quoted at much greater length at 7.290b–e. Aemilianus' next few words are a slightly adapted version of the rest of the second verse.

²⁴⁷ *Aburtakē* was a “barbarian” sour sauce made of ingredients

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Aemilianus responded:

My good sir, many people have had a lot to say
about the art of cooking,

to quote Hegesippus' *Brothers* (fr. 1.1–2).²⁴⁶ So either
make it clear that you are doing (Hegesipp. Com. fr. 1.3)

something different from your predecessors, or don't
waste my time;

show us what you are serving and identify it for us! (The
cook) replied: Perhaps you feel contempt for me because I
am a cook.

As for what I've accomplished through my trade,

to quote the comic author Demetrius, who says the follow-
ing in his play entitled *The Areopagite* (fr. 1):

As for what I've accomplished through my trade,
there's not a single actor who's done as much.

This business is a smoky tyranny.

I was an *aburtakē*-maker²⁴⁷ in Seleucus' court,

as well as the first person to introduce royal
lentil-soup in the court of Agathocles²⁴⁸ in Sicily.

But I haven't mentioned my greatest

accomplishment. † A certain † Lachares

was giving a dinner party for some friends when the
famine was going on,

and I made everything alright by serving capers.

such as garlic, mustard, leeks, and pomegranate seeds (Phot. *a* 66;
Suda a 103). ²⁴⁸ Tyrant of Syracuse from the mid-310s to
289/8 BCE. The Seleucus mentioned above must accordingly be
Seleucus I Nicator (d. 281 BCE).

406 γυμνήν ἐποίησεν Ἀθηναίαν Λαχάρης, οὐδὲν ἐνοχλοῦ-
 σαν <σὲ>²⁵ δ' ἐνοχλοῦντα νῦν ἐγώ, ἢ ὁ Αἰμίλιανός
 ἔφη, εἰ μὴ δείξεις ὅ τι φέρεις. καὶ ὅς μόνις ἔφη
 ῥοδωνιὰν καλῶ μὲν τὴν λοπάδα ταύτην ἐγώ, ἐσκεύ-
 ασται δ' οὕτως, ἵνα καὶ ἡδυσμα στεφανωτικὸν μὴ
 μόνον ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς λαβὼν σχῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔνδον
 σεαυτοῦ καὶ πανδαισία τὸ σωματίον πᾶν ἐστιάσης.
 ῥόδα τὰ εὐοσμότερα ἐν ἕξει τρίψας ἐπέβαλον ἐγκε-
 φάλους ὀρνίθων τε καὶ χοίρων ἐφθόους σφόδρα ἕξινα-
 σθέντας καὶ τῶν ὤων τὰ χρυσᾶ, μεθ' ἃ ἔλαιον, γάρον,
 πέπερι, οἶνον. καὶ ταῦτα διατρίψας ἐπιμελῶς ἐπέβαλον
 b εἰς λοπάδα καινὴν, ἀπαλὸν καὶ συνεχὲς διδοῦς²⁶ | τὸ
 πῦρ. καὶ ἅμα λέγων ἀναπετάσας τὴν λοπάδα τοσαύ-
 την εὐωδίαν παρέσχε τῷ συμποσίῳ, ὡς ἀληθῶς τινα
 τῶν παρόντων εἰπεῖν

τοῦ καὶ † κινυμένοιο Διὸς κατὰ χαλκοβατῆς δῶ
 ἔμψης ἐς γαίαν τε καὶ οὐρανὸν ἵκετ' αὐτμή.

τοσαύτη διεχύθη ἀπὸ τῶν ῥόδων εὐωδία.

²⁵ add. Schweighäuser

²⁶ Casaubon's text lacks an indication of where 9.406a ends and 9.406b begins, but the division appears to fall approximately here.

²⁴⁹ Identified by Dindorf (followed by Meineke, but not by Kassel–Austin) as an adespota comic fragment (fr. XXIb Meineke). Lachares (PAA 602090) was an Athenian general who

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Lachares stripped Athena naked,²⁴⁹ and she did nothing to stop him, said Aemilianus; and I will now do the same to you for pestering me, unless you identify what you have there. (The cook) finally said (adesp. com. fr. *117, unmetrical): I call this dish a *rhodōnia*,²⁵⁰ and it has been prepared as follows, allowing you not only to take the sauce and wear it on your head like a garland,²⁵¹ but also to have it inside you and entertain your entire body with an amazing feast. I ground up exceptionally fragrant roses in a mortar; threw in chickens' heads and pigs' heads that had been stewed for a long time and had had their stringy parts removed, along with some egg-yolks; and added olive oil, fermented fish-sauce, pepper, and wine. I ground these ingredients up thoroughly; tossed them into a new casserole-dish; and set it all over a constant, low fire. As he was making these remarks, he took the lid off the dish, and what the group smelled was so delicious that one of the men present actually said (*Il.* 14.173–4):²⁵²

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

This is how fragrant the roses were.

in 296 BCE used the gold from Athena's statue on the Acropolis to pay his mercenary troops (Paus. 1.25.7–8, 29.16; Plu. *Mor.* 379d).

²⁵⁰ Cf. 9.406a, where the dish is referred to as a *rhodōnia*.

²⁵¹ Sc. because roses (the most important ingredient in the dish) were routinely used in garlands.

²⁵² Also quoted at 1.17b.

Μετὰ ταῦτα περιενεχθεισῶν ὀρνίθων τε ὀπτῶν φα-
 κῆς τε καὶ πισῶν αὐταῖς χύτραις, ἔτι δὲ τῶν τοιούτων
 c περὶ ὧν Φαινίας | ὁ Ἐρέσιος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Φυτῶν τάδε
 γράφει· πᾶσα γὰρ χεδροπώδης ἡμερος φύσις ἐνσπέρ-
 ματος. ἢ μὲν ἐψήσεως ἔνεκα σπείρεται, οἶον κύαμος,
 πισός· ἐτηγρὸν γὰρ ἐκ τούτων ἐψημα γίνεται. τὰ δὲ
 πάλιν αὐθις λεκιθώδη, καθάπερ ἄρακος· τὸ δὲ φακῆς,
 οἶον φακός.²⁷ τὸ δὲ χόρτου ἔνεκα τῶν τετραπόδων
 ζῶων, οἶον ὄροβος μὲν ἀροτήρων βοῶν, ἀφάκη δὲ
 προβάτων. πισοῦ δὲ τοῦ ὀσπρίου μνημονεύει καὶ Εὐ-
 πολις ἐν Χρυσῷ Γένει. Ἡλιόδωρος δ' ὁ περιηγητὴς ἐν
 πρώτῳ Περὶ Ἀκροπόλεως, τῆς τῶν πυρῶν, φησὶν,
 d ἐψήσεως ἐπινοηθείσης | οἱ μὲν παλαιοὶ πύανον, οἱ δὲ
 νῦν ὀλόπυρον προσαγορεύουσιν. τοιούτων ἔτι πολλῶν
 λεγομένων ὁ Δημόκριτος ἔφη· ἀλλὰ κἂν τῆς φακῆς
 ἐάσητε²⁸ ἡμᾶς μεταλαβεῖν ἢ αὐτῆς γε τῆς χύτρας, μὴ
 καὶ λίθοις τις ὑμῶν βεβλήσεται, κατὰ τὸν Θάσιον
 Ἠγήμονα. καὶ ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς ἔφη· τίς δ' αὐτῆ ἢ λιθίνῃ
 βαλλητύς; Ἐλευσῖνι γὰρ τῇ ἐμῇ οἶδά τινα πανήγυριν
 ἀγομένην καὶ καλουμένην Βαλλητύν· περὶ ἧς οὐκ ἄν
 τι εἴποιμι μὴ παρ' ἐκάστου μισθὸν λαβών. ἀλλ' ἔγω-
 γε, φησὶν ὁ Δημόκριτος, οὐκ ὧν

²⁷ ἀφάκη φακός A: ἀφάκη del. Olson

²⁸ ἐάσητε Olson: ἐάσατε A

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After this, roasted chickens, lentil-soup, and peas were brought around, cookpots and all,²⁵³ along with items of the sort discussed by Phaenias of Eresos in his *On Plants* (fr. 48 Wehrli), where he writes the following: Because all domesticated leguminous plants produce seeds. One type is sown in order to be cooked (for example beans and peas, which are boiled to make soup), while other varieties are more suited to producing gruel (for example *arakos*) or for porridge (for example lentils). The second type is planted to provide forage for four-legged animals (for example bitter vetch for plow-oxen, and tare for sheep and goats). Eupolis in *The Golden Age* (fr. 323) mentions the pulse-variety known as the pea.²⁵⁴ The travel-writer Heliodorus says in Book I of *On the Acropolis* (FGrH 373 F 3): After the idea of boiling wheat arose, the ancients referred to the dish as *puanos*, whereas people nowadays call it *holo-puros*²⁵⁵. Many remarks like these were still being made, when Democritus said: Well, I wish you would let us have a bit of this lentil-soup, or even part of the cookpot itself, so that none of you (cooks) gets pelted with stones, like Hegemon of Thasos. And Ulpian responded: What sort of pelting (*ballētus*) with stones are you referring to? For I know that a festival celebrated in my own city of Eleusis is referred to as the *Ballētus*; but I decline to say anything about it, unless each of you pays me for doing so. Whereas I for my part, said Democritus, since I am no

²⁵³ Identified by Kock (not followed by Kassel–Austin) as an *adespota* comic fragment (fr. 416 Kock).

²⁵⁴ A quotation has perhaps fallen out of the text.

²⁵⁵ Literally “whole-wheat”.

< . . . > λαβάργυρος ὠρολογητής,

- e κατὰ τὸν Τίμωνος | Πρόδικον, λέξω τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἑγήμονος. Χαμαιλέων ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν ἕκτῳ Περὶ τῆς Ἀρχαίας Κωμωδίας· Ἑγήμων ὁ Θάσιος <ὁ> τὰς Παρωδίας γράφας Φακῆ ἐπεκαλεῖτο καὶ ἐποίησεν ἐν τινι τῶν Παρωδιῶν·

ταῦτά μοι ὀρμαίνοντι παρίστατο Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη,
χρυσῆν ῥάβδον ἔχουσα, καὶ ἤλασεν εἰπέ τε
μῦθον· |

- f “δεινὰ παθοῦσα, Φακῆ βδελυρή, χῶρει ᾿ς τὸν
ἀγῶνα.”
καὶ τότε ἐγὼ θάρσησα.

εἰσηλθε δέ ποτε καὶ εἰς τὸ θέατρον διδάσκων κωμω-
δίαν λίθων ἔχων πλήρες τὸ ἱμάτιον, οὓς βάλλων εἰς
τὴν ὀρχήστραν διαπορεῖν ἐποίησε τοὺς θεατάς. καὶ
ὀλίγον διαλιπὼν εἶπε· ||

- 407 λίθοι μὲν οἶδε· βαλλέτω δ' εἴ τις θέλει·
ἀγαθὸν δὲ κὰν χειμῶνι κὰν θέρει φακῆ.

εὐδοκίμει δ' ὁ ἀνὴρ μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς παρωδίαις καὶ
περιβόητος ἦν λέγων τὰ ἔπη πανούργως καὶ ὑπο-
κριτικῶς καὶ διὰ ταῦτα σφόδρα παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις
εὐδοκίμει. ἐν δὲ τῇ Γιγαντομαχίᾳ οὕτω σφόδρα τοὺς
Ἀθηναίους ἐκήλησεν, ὡς ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πλείστα

²⁵⁶ Quoted at much greater length at 15.698d–9a.

BOOK IX

money-grubbing speaker-by-the-hour,

like Timo's Prodicus (*SH* 792), will tell you what I know about Hegemon. Chamaeleon of Pontus in Book VI of *On Old Comedy* (fr. 44 Wehrli): Hegemon of Thasos, the author of the *Parodies*, was nicknamed Lentil-Soup and wrote in one of his *Parodies*:²⁵⁶

And as I was pondering these things, Pallas Athena
stood beside me
with a gold wand in her hand, and she struck me with
it and made a speech:

"Although you have suffered terribly, wretched
Lentil-Soup, enter the contest."

And then I got my courage up.

Once when he was staging a comedy (test. 4), he entered the Theater with his robe full of stones, and puzzled the audience by tossing them into the orchestra. But a few minutes later he said:

Here are some stones, and anyone who likes can
throw them.

But Lentil-Soup is a fine dish in winter and summer
alike.

He was particularly admired for his parodies and had a reputation for reciting his poems stylishly, like an actor; as a consequence, the Athenians had an extremely high opinion of him. They were so captivated by his *Gigantomachy* that they laughed a great deal that day, even though the di-

²⁵⁷ In 413 BCE, when a huge Athenian expeditionary force to the island was almost entirely destroyed.

- αὐτοὺς γελάσαι, καίτοι ἀγγελθέντων αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ
 θεάτρῳ τῶν γενομένων περὶ Σικελίαν ἀτυχημάτων.
 b οὐδεὶς ἀπέστη καίτοι σχεδὸν πᾶσι τῶν οἰκείων | ἀπο-
 λωλότων. ἔκλαιον οὖν ἐγκαλυψάμενοι, οὐκ ἀνέστησαν
 δ', ἵνα μὴ γένωνται διαφανεῖς τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων
 πόλεων θεωροῦσιν ἀχθόμενοι τῇ συμφορᾷ· διέμειναν
 δ' ἀκροώμενοι καίτοι καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἑγήμονος, ὡς
 ἤκουσε, σιωπᾶν διεγνωκότος. καθ' ὃν δὲ χρόνον θα-
 λασσοκρατοῦντες Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνήγον εἰς ἄστν τὰς
 νησιωτικὰς δίκας, γραψάμενός τις καὶ τὸν Ἑγήμονα
 δίκην ἤγαγεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. ὁ δὲ παραγενόμενος καὶ
 συναγαγὼν τοὺς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνίτας προσ-
 c ἦλθε μετ' | αὐτῶν Ἀλκιβιάδῃ βοηθεῖν ἀξιῶν. ὁ δὲ
 θαρρεῖν παρακελευσάμενος εἰπὼν τε πᾶσιν ἐπεσθαι
 ἦκεν εἰς τὸ Μητρῶον, ὅπου τῶν δικῶν ἦσαν αἱ γραφαί,
 καὶ βρέξας τὸν δάκτυλον ἐκ τοῦ στόματος διήλευσε
 τὴν δίκην τοῦ Ἑγήμονος. ἀγανακτοῦντες δ' ὁ τε
 γραμματεὺς καὶ ὁ ἄρχων τὰς ἡσυχίας ἤγαγον δι'
 Ἀλκιβιάδην, φυγόντος δι' εὐλάβειαν καὶ τοῦ τὴν
 δίκην γραψάμενου. αὕτη παρ' ἡμῶν, Οὐλπιανέ, ἢ
 βαλλητύς· σὺ δ' ὅταν βουλευθῆς ἐρεῖς περὶ τῆς Ἐλευ-
 d σῖνι. καὶ ὁ Οὐλπιανός· ἀλλὰ με ἀνέμνησας, | καλὴ
 Δημόκριτε, μνησθεῖς χύτρας ποθοῦντα μαθεῖν πολ-

258 Sc. of the Empire. 259 Alcibiades son of Cleinias of the deme Scambonidae (PAA 121630) was an enormously wealthy and influential political and social loose cannon throughout the 410s and 400s BCE, and was *inter alia* one of the original commanders of the Sicilian Expedition (above).

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sasters that had occurred in Sicily²⁵⁷ were announced to them in the Theater. No one got up to leave, despite the fact that almost everyone had lost family-members. So they covered their faces and cried, but did not leave their seats, because they did not want it to be obvious to the spectators from the other cities²⁵⁸ that they were upset about what had happened. Instead, they stayed there and listened to the recital, even though Hegemon himself had decided not to perform when he heard the news. The Athenians were the masters of the sea in this period and required all legal cases involving islanders to be heard in their city. Someone filed a suit against Hegemon and summoned him to Athens, and when he got there, he gathered everyone involved in the theater business and went with them to see Alcibiades,²⁵⁹ in the expectation that he could be of assistance. Alcibiades encouraged him to keep his spirits up; told them all to follow him; went to the Metroon, where the records having to do with lawsuits were kept; and licked his finger and erased Hegemon's trial from the list. The secretary and the magistrate in charge were unhappy about this, but kept quiet, because it was Alcibiades and because the man who brought the suit had discreetly disappeared. This is what I have to offer, Ulpian, about the *ballētus*; and whenever you like, you may tell us about what goes on in Eleusis.²⁶⁰ Ulpian said: But, my good Democritus, when you mentioned a cookpot (9.406d), you reminded me that I often wanted to learn

²⁶⁰ Cf. 9.406d. Ulpian never takes the point up, and our only other information about the *Ballētus* festival is preserved at Hsch. β 167: "an Athenian festival, celebrated in honor of Demophon son of Celeus" (sc. in connection with the mystery-cult at Eleusis).

λάκισ τίς ἢ Τηλεμάχου καλουμένη χύτρα καὶ τίς ὁ Τηλέμαχος. καὶ ὁ Δημόκριτος ἔφη· Τιμοκλῆς ὁ τῆς κωμωδίας ποιητῆς (ἦν δὲ καὶ τραγωδίας) ἐν μὲν δράματι Λήθη φησί·

μετὰ τοῦτον αὐτῷ Τηλέμαχος συνετύγχανε.
καὶ τοῦτον ἀσπασάμενος ἠδέως πάνν
ἔπειτα “χρῆσόν μοι σύ,” φησί, “τὰς χύτρας |
e ἐν αἰσιω ἔψεις τοὺς κνάμους.” καὶ ταῦτά τε
εἶρητο καὶ παριόντα Φείδιππον πάνν
τὸν Χαιρεφίλου πόρρωθεν ἀπιδὼν τὸν παχύν
ἐπόππυσ’, εἶτ’ ἐκέλευσε πέμπειν σαργάνας.

ὅτι δὲ καὶ τῶν δήμων Ἀχαρνεὺς ὁ Τηλέμαχος ὁ αὐτὸς ποιητῆς φησιν ἐν Διονύσῳ οὕτως·

- (A.) ὁ δ’ Ἀχαρνικὸς Τηλέμαχος ἔτι δημηγορεῖ;
(B.) οὗτος δ’ ἔοικε τοῖς νεωνήτοις Σύροις.
(A.) πῶς; ἢ τί πράττων; βούλομαι γὰρ εἰδέναί.
(B.) θάργγηλον ἀγκάλη χύτραν φέρει. |

f ἐν δ’ Ἰκαρίοις Σατύροις φησίν·

²⁶¹ Telémachus (PA 13562) was active in Athenian politics in the 320s BCE, but most of what is known about him comes from the fragments quoted below.

²⁶² The tragic poet by this name (*TrGF* 86; victorious at the City Dionysia in 340 and 329 BCE) is almost certainly someone else. The confusion may be due in part to the title *Icarian Satyrs* (below), which almost certainly belongs to a comedy, but might

what the so-called "cookpot of Telemachus" is and who this Telemachus might be.²⁶¹ And Democritus replied: The comic poet Timocles, who also wrote tragedies (test. 2),²⁶² says in his play *Forgetfulness* (fr. 23):

After this guy, Telemachus bumped into him.
He gave him a warm greeting and
then said, "Loan me the pots
you cook your beans in!" That's what
he said; and then from a long distance off he spied
Chaerephilus' fat son Pheidippus²⁶³ passing by,
and he whistled him over and told him to send
baskets.

The same poet, in the following passage from *Dionysus* (fr. 7), claims that Telemachus was from the deme Acharnae:

- (A.) Is Telemachus of Acharnae still a leading politician?
- (B.) He's like newly-purchased Syrian slaves.
- (A.) How so? What's he do? I want to know.
- (B.) He's carrying a *thargēlos* cookpot around under his arm.²⁶⁴

And in *Icarian Satyrs* (fr. 18) he says:

easily have been mistaken for a satyr play by Hellenistic scholars with only a few small scraps of the text at their disposal.

²⁶³ PA 14163; also mentioned in Alex. fr. 221 (quoted at 3.120b).

²⁶⁴ Newly-purchased slaves were greeted with a shower of small gifts when they first entered the house (Ar. *Pl.* 768–9), and Hsch. *θ* 106 glosses *thargēlos* as "a cookpot for stewing sacred food" (cf. 3.114a); but the point of the remark remains obscure.

ὥστ' ἔχειν οὐδὲν παρ' ἡμῖν. νυκτερεύσας δ'
ἀθλίως

πρῶτα μὲν σκληρῶς καθηύδον, εἶτα Θούδιππος
βδέων

παντελῶς ἐπνιξεν ἡμᾶς, εἶθ' ὁ λιμὸς ἤπτετο.

† ἐφέρετο † πρὸς Δίωνα τὸν διάπυρον· ἀλλὰ γὰρ
οὐδ' ἐκεῖνος οὐθὲν εἶχε. πρὸς δὲ τὸν χρηστὸν
δραμῶν

Τηλέμαχον Ἀχαρνέα σωρόν τε κνάμων
καταλαβῶν

ἀρπάσας τούτων ἐνέτραγον. <ὁ> δ' ὄνος ἡμᾶς ὡς
ὀρᾶ

ὁ < . . . > Κηφισόδωρος περὶ τὸ βῆμ' ἐπέρδετο.

- 408 ἐκ τούτων δῆλόν ἐστιν ὅτι Τηλέμαχος ἢ κνάμων χύ-
τρας αἰετιοῦμενος ἤγε Πυανέσια πορδὴν ἐορτήν.
ἔττους δὲ κυμίνου μνημονεύει Ἡνίοχος ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν
Τροχίλῳ λέγων οὕτως·

(A.) πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν ἐνθυμούμενος, νῆ τοὺς θεούς,
ὄσφ διαφέρει σῦκα καρδάμων. σὺ δὲ

Παύσωνι φῆς τὸ δεῖνα προσλεαληκέναι;

(B.) καὶ πρᾶγμα <γ'> ἡρώτα με δυστράπελον
πάνν,

ἔχον δὲ πολλὰς φροντίδων διεξόδους. |

²⁶⁵ Thudippus (PAA 514700) was a member of a wealthy and politically active family (cf. J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families 600–300 B.C.* [Oxford, 1971] 228–30), and was executed as an associate of Phocion in 318 BCE.

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so that we wouldn't have anything. I spent a
miserable night.

First of all, I was sleeping on a hard bed; then
Thudippus²⁶⁵ kept farting
and absolutely suffocated us; and on top of that I was
starving.

† It was taken † to the red-hot Dion²⁶⁶, but even he
didn't have anything. I ran to the noble
Telemachus of Acharnae, got a pile of beans,
and grabbed some of them and ate them. But when
that donkey

Cephisodorus²⁶⁷ saw us, he started farting around the
speaker's stand.

It is clear from these passages that (adesp. com. fr. *118)
because Telemachus was always consuming cookpots full
of beans, he celebrated the Pyanepsia²⁶⁸ as a festival of
farts. The comic author Heniochus mentions bean-soup in
Trochilus (fr. 4), saying the following:

(A.) thinking to myself, by the gods,
how much better figs are than cress. But you
claim you've said something or other to Pauson²⁶⁹?

(B.) And he asked me about an extremely
problematic matter,
which involves many intellectual ins-and-outs.

²⁶⁶ PAA 369570; otherwise unknown.

²⁶⁷ PAA 568060; otherwise unknown.

²⁶⁸ Literally the "Bean-Boiling (Festival)"; celebrated in Athens in late October.

²⁶⁹ PAA 770375; perhaps a Pythagorean philosopher (thus Meineke).

- b (A.) λέγ' αὐτό· καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἀγέλοιόν ἐστ' ἴσως.
 (B.) ἔτνος κυάμινον διότι τὴν μὲν γαστέρα
 φυσᾶ, τὸ δὲ πῦρ οὐ. (A.) χάριεν οἷς γινώσκεται
 τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦ Παύσωνος. ὡς δ' αἰεί ποτε
 περὶ τοὺς κυάμους ἔσθ' οὗτος ὁ σοφιστῆς †
 τέλος †.

Τοιούτων οὖν πολλάκις λεγομένων ὕδωρ ἐφέρετο
 κατὰ χειρῶν. καὶ πάλιν ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς ἐζήτει εἰ τὸ
 χέρνιβον εἴρηται, καθάπερ ἡμεῖς λέγομεν ἐν τῇ συνη-
 θείᾳ. καὶ τις αὐτῷ ἀπήντησεν λέγων τὸ ἐν Ἰλιάδι· |

- c ἦ ῥα, καὶ ἀμφίπολον ταμίην ὄτρυν' ὁ γεραῖος
 χερσὶν ὕδωρ ἐπιχεῦναι ἀκήρατον· ἢ δὲ παρέστη
 χέρνιβον ἀμφίπολος πρόχόον θ' ἅμα χερσὶν
 ἔχουσα.

- Ἄττικοὶ δὲ χερνίβιον λέγουσιν, ὡς Λυσίας ἐν τῷ Κατὰ
 Ἀλκιβιάδου λέγων οὕτως· τοῖς χρυσοῖς χερνιβίοις
 d καὶ θυμιατηρίοις. | χειρόνιπτρον δ' Εὐπόλις ἐν Δή-
 μοις·

κᾶν τις τύχη πρῶτος βαλῶν, εἴληφε
 χειρόνιπτρον,
 ἀνὴρ δ' ὅταν τις ἀγαθὸς ἦ καὶ χρήσιμος
 πολίτης,
 νικᾷ τε <πάντας> χρηστὸς ὢν, οὐκ ἔστι
 χειρόνιπτρον.

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(A.) Tell me about it; maybe it's kind of funny.

(B.) Why is it that bean-soup pumps air into your belly, but not into the fire? (B.) It's nice how you can

recognize Pauson's work; since this clever thinker's always involved with beans † end †.

As numerous remarks along these lines were being made, water was brought and poured over our hands (*kata cheirōn*); and Ulpian attempted to raise another question, as to whether the word *chernibon* ("washing-basin") is attested in the sense in which we are accustomed to using it. Someone responded to him by quoting the passage in the *Iliad* (24.302-4):

Thus he spoke; and the old man ordered a serving-
woman

to pour pure water over his hands. The servant stood beside him, holding a *chernibon*, along with a pitcher, in her hands.

But Attic authors use *chernibion*, as for example Lysias in his *Against Alcibiades*, where he says the following:²⁷⁰ the gold washing-basins (*chernibioi*) and censers. Eupolis uses *cheironiptron* in *Demes* (fr. 129):

Whoever's the first to hit it gets a *cheironiptron*.

But if someone's a good, effective citizen,
and beats everyone else for honesty, there's no
cheironiptron for him.

²⁷⁰ The quotation is in fact drawn not from Lysias, but from And. 4.29.

Ἐπίχαρμος δ' ἐν Θεαροῖς εἶρηκε χειρόνιβα διὰ τούτων·

κιθάραι, τρίποδες, ἄρματα, τράπεζαι χάλκiai,
χειρόνιβα, λοιβάσια, λέβητες χάλκιοι.

e ἡ πλείων δὲ χρῆσις κατὰ χειρὸς ὕδωρ | εἴωθε λέγειν,
ὡς Εὐπόλις ἐν Χρυσῶ Γένει καὶ Ἀμειψίας Σφενδόνη
Ἄλκαϊός τε ἐν Ἱερῶ Γάμφ. πλείστον δ' ἐστὶ τοῦτο.
Φιλύλλιος δὲ ἐν Αὐγῇ κατὰ χειρῶν εἶρηκεν οὕτως·

καὶ δὴ δεδειπνήκασιν αἱ γυναῖκες· ἀλλ' ἀφαιρεῖν
ᾧρα ὅστιν ἤδη τὰς τραπέζας, εἶτα παρακορήσαι,
ἔπειτα κατὰ χειρῶν ἐκάστη καὶ μύρον τι δοῦναι.

Μένανδρος Ἰδρία·

f οἱ δὲ κατὰ χειρῶν λαβόντες περιμένουσι, |
φίλτατοι.

Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ ὁ γραμματικὸς ἐν τοῖς Πρὸς τοὺς
Καλλιμάχου Πίνακας χλευάζει τοὺς οὐκ εἰδότας τὴν
διαφορὰν τοῦ τε κατὰ χειρὸς καὶ τοῦ ἀπονύσασθαι.
παρὰ γὰρ τοῖς παλαιοῖς τὸ μὲν πρὸ ἀρίστου καὶ
δείπνου λέγεσθαι κατὰ χειρός, τὸ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα
ἀπονύσασθαι. ἔοικε δ' ὁ γραμματικὸς τοῦτο πεφυλα-
409 χέναι παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς, || ἐπεὶ τοι Ὀμηρός πη μὲν
φησι·

²⁷¹ Several additional verses of the fragment are quoted and the context supplied at 8.362b–c.

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Epicharmus in *Sacred Envoys* (fr. 68.1-2)²⁷¹ uses the plural *cheironiba* in the following passage:

lyres, tripods, chariots, bronze tables,
cheironiba, libation vessels, bronze basins.

Normal usage was to say "water over the hand" (*kata cheiros*), for example Eupolis in *The Golden Age* (fr. 320), Amipsias in *The Sling* (fr. 20), and Alcaeus in *The Sacred Marriage* (fr. 16). This is the most common usage. But Philyllius in *Auge* (fr. 3) says "over the hands" (*kata cheirōn*), as follows:

The women have in fact finished dinner. Now it's
time to remove the tables, then to sweep,
and then to give them all (water) over their hands
(*kata cheirōn*) and some perfume.

Menander in *The Water-Jar* (fr. 360):

They got (water) over their hands (*kata cheirōn*) and
are waiting around, my friends.

The grammarian Aristophanes in his *Response to Callimachus' Tablets* (fr. 368 Slater) makes fun of people who do not know the difference between "(water) over the hand" (*kata cheiros*) and "to wash up" (*aponipsasthai*); because in ancient authors "(water) over the hand" was used to refer to what went on before lunch or dinner, whereas what went on after meals is described as "washing up". The grammarian has apparently made this observation on the basis of Attic authors, since Homer in fact says somewhere (e.g. *Od.* 1.138):

νίφασθαι· παρὰ δὲ ξεστὴν ἐτάνυσσε τράπεζαν.

πῆ δέ·

τοῖσι δὲ κήρυκες μὲν ὕδωρ ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἔχευαν,
σίτον δὲ δμῶαί παρενήνεον ἐν κανέοισι.

καὶ Σώφρων ἐν Γυναικείοις· τάλαινα Κοικόα, κατὰ
χειρὸς δούσα ἀπόδος πόχ' ἀμῖν τὰν τράπεζαν. παρὰ
μέντοι τοῖς τραγικοῖς καὶ τοῖς κωμικοῖς παροξυτόνως
ἀνέγνωσται χερνίβα· παρ' Εὐριπίδῃ ἐν Ἡρακλεῖ· |

b ἐς χερνίβ' ὡς βάψειεν Ἀλκμήνης τόκος.²⁹

ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ' Εὐπόλιδι ἐν Αἰξίν·

αὐτοῦ τὴν χερνίβα παύσεις.

ἐστὶ δὲ ὕδωρ εἰς ὃ ἀπέβαπτον δαλὸν ἐκ τοῦ βωμοῦ
λαμβάνοντες ἐφ' οὗ τὴν θυσίαν ἐπετέλουν· καὶ τούτῳ
περιρραίνοντες τοὺς παρόντας ἤγγιζον. χρὴ μέντοι
προπαροξυτόνως προφέρεσθαι· τὰ γὰρ τοιάδε ῥη-
ματικά σύνθετα εἰς ψ̄ λήγοντα γεγονότα παρὰ τὸν
παρακείμενον τὴν παραλήγουσαν τοῦ παρακειμένου
φυλάσσουσιν, ἄν τε ἔχη τοῦτον διὰ τῶν δύο μ̄ λεγόμε-

²⁹ The Euripidean text has a comma at hepthemimeral caesura, and Ἀλκμήνης τόκος is actually the subject of the verb that follows in the next line.

²⁷² Sc. in the accusative singular.

²⁷³ The line ought in fact to be divided by a comma at the hepthemimeral caesura.

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to wash themselves (*nipsasthai*); and she stretched out a polished table beside them.

But in another place (*Od.* 1.146-7):

and heralds poured (water) over their hands (*epi cheiras*) for them,
and slave-women heaped up bread in baskets.

Also Sophron in the *Women's Mimes* (fr. 15): Coicoa, you idiot—after you give us (water) over our hand (*kata cheiros*), then bring us the table! Again, in the tragic and comic poets, the word²⁷² is read with an acute on the penultimate syllable, *cherníba*. In Euripides' *Heracles* (929):

so that Alcmene's child might dip it into the
cherníba.²⁷³

Also in Eupolis' *Nanny-Goats* (fr. 14):

You'll keep the *cherníba* from him.

This is the water into which they dipped a burning piece of wood, after they removed it from the altar where they were making a sacrifice; they sprinkled the individuals present with it to sanctify them. The word should in fact be accented with an acute on the antepenult.²⁷⁴ Because compounds of this sort that end in *psi* and are derived from the perfect retain the penultimate syllable of the perfect, and if this syllable is pronounced with a double *mu*, it gets an

²⁷⁴ I.e. *chérníba* (from nominative *chérníps*); the discussion that follows is apparently intended to correct the position on the accentuation of the word attributed to the tragic and comic poets above.

c νον, βαρύνεται, λέλειμμαί | αἰγίλιψ, τέτριμμαί οἰκό-
 τριψ, κέκλεμμαί βοίκλεψ, παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ Ἑρμῆς,
 <βέβλεμμαί>³⁰ κατῶβλεψ, παρὰ Ἀρχελάω τῷ Χερρο-
 νησίτῃ ἐν τοῖς Ἴδιοφυέσιν. ἐν δὲ ταῖς πλαγίοις τὰ
 τοιαῦτα ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς συλλαβῆς φυλάττειν τὴν
 τάσιν. Ἀριστοφάνης δ' ἐν Ἑρωσι χερνίβιον εἴρηκεν.
 ἐχρῶντο δ' εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ἀποπλύνοντες αὐτὰς καὶ
 σμήματι ἀπορρῦψεως χάριν, ὡς παρίστησιν Ἀντι-
 φάνης ἐν Κωρύκῳ·

(A.) ἐν ὄσῳ δ' ἀκροῶμαί σου κέλευσόν <μοι>
 τινὰ |

d φέρειν ἀπονύσασθαι. (B.) δότω τις δεῦρ' ὕδωρ
 καὶ σμήμα.

ἔτι δὲ καὶ εὐώδεσι τὰς χεῖρας κατεχρίοντο τὰς ἀπο-
 μαγδαλίας ἀτιμάσαντες, ἃς Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐκάλουν
 κυνάδας, ὡς φησι Πολέμων ἐν τῇ Περὶ Ὀνομάτων
 Ἀδόξων ἐπιστολῇ. περὶ δὲ τοῦ εὐώδεσι χρίεσθαι τὰς
 χεῖρας Ἐπιγένης ἢ Ἀντιφάνης φησὶν ἐν Ἀργυρίου
 Ἀφανισμῷ οὕτως·

³⁰ hab. Eustathius p. 1401.16

²⁷⁵ Whence (according to the argument articulated here) ac-
 cusative singular *aigilipa*, like *oikótriba*, *boíklepa*, and *katóblepa*
 (below). *aigilips* is attested in Homer and Aeschylus; for *oikotrips*,
 cf. *Ar. Th.* 426 with Austin–Olson ad loc.

²⁷⁶ Cf. 5.221b (citing Alexander of Myndus) with n.

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acute accent: thus *léleimmai* ("I have been left") and *aigilips*²⁷⁵ ("destitute of goats"); *tétrimmai* ("I have been ruined") and *oikótrips* ("a home-bred slave"); *kéklemmai* ("I have been deceived") and *boikleps* ("cattle-thief"), which is used by Sophocles (fr. *318) of Hermes; *béblemmmai* ("I have been seen") and *katōbleps* ("downward-looking"), which is used by Archelaus of the Chersonese in his *Strange Creatures* (fr. 7 Giannini).²⁷⁶ In the oblique cases, words of this type retain the accent on the same syllable. Aristophanes uses the form *chernibion* in *Heroes* (fr. 330).²⁷⁷ They put soap on their hands when they washed them, in order to get them clean, as Antiphanes establishes in *The Beggar's-Bag* (fr. 134):

(A.) While I'm listening to you, please order someone
to bring me water to wash up. (B.) Someone bring
water and
soap here!

In addition, they applied lotions with a pleasant fragrance to their hands, and did not bother with hand-wiping bread, which the Spartans referred to as *kunades* ("dog-bits"),²⁷⁸ according to Polemon in his letter *On Unusual Words* (fr. 77 Preller). As for applying lotions with a pleasant fragrance to their hands, Epigenes or Antiphanes (fr. 41)²⁷⁹ says the following in *Vanished Money*:

²⁷⁷ The quotation has perhaps fallen out of the text.

²⁷⁸ Because after they were used, they were thrown to the household's dogs to eat.

²⁷⁹ This is the only reference to a play with this title by either man.

καὶ τότε

e † περιπατήσεις † κάπονύβει κατὰ τρόπον |
τὰς χεῖρας εὐώδη λαβὼν τὴν γῆν.

καὶ Φιλόξενος δ' ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Δείπνῳ φησὶν·

ἔπειτα δὲ παῖ-
δες νίπτρ' ἔδοσαν κατὰ χειρῶν
σμήμασιν ἱρινομί-
κοις χλιεροθαλπῆς ὕδωρ
ἐπεγχείοντες
τόσον ὅσον <τις> ἔχρηζ',
ἐκτρίμματά τ(ε) < . . . > λαμπρὰ
σινδονυφῆ, δίδοσαν
<δὲ> χρίματά τ' ἀμβροσίο-
δμα καὶ στεφάνους ἰοθαλέας.

Δρόμων δ' ἐν Ψαλτρίᾳ·

f ἐπεὶ δὲ θᾶπτον ἦμεν ἠρισθηκότες,
< . . . > περιεῖλε τὰς τραπέζας, νίμματα
ἐπέχει τις, | ἀπενιζόμεθα, τοὺς στεφάνους πάλιν
† δὲ σπορινούς † λαβόντες ἐστεφανούμεθα.

ἐκάλουν δ' ἀπόνιπτρον τὸ ἀπόνιμμα τῶν χειρῶν καὶ
τῶν ποδῶν. Ἀριστοφάνης·

ὥσπερ ἀπόνιπτρον ἐκχέοντες ἐσπέρας.

BOOK IX

and then
 † you'll walk around † and you'll get the nice-smelling
 soap²⁸⁰ and wash your hands the right way.

Philoxenus as well says in his poem entitled *The Dinner Party* (PMG 836(b).40–3):²⁸¹

then slaves
 poured washing-water over our hands (*kata cheirōn*),
 spilling as much
 lukewarm water mixed with iris-scented
 soaps over them
 as anyone needed;
 and (they . . .) clean towels (*ektrimmata*)²⁸²
 woven of linen, and gave us
 lotions that smelled like ambrosia,
 and garlands full of violets.

Dromo in *The Female Harp-Player* (fr. 2):

And then, as soon as we were done with lunch,
 . . . removed the tables; someone poured us
 washing-water, and we washed up; and again we got
 [corrupt] garlands and put them on our heads.

They referred to the water used to wash their hands and feet as *aponiptron*. Aristophanes (*Ach.* 616):

just like people who dump *aponiptron* in the evening.

²⁸⁰ Literally "earth"; cf. 8.351e with n.

²⁸¹ A large number of additional verses from the fragment (overlapping at the very end with the material preserved here) are quoted at 4.146f–7e.

²⁸² See 9.410b.

ἴσως δὲ καὶ τὴν λεκάνην οὕτως ἔλεγον, ἐν ᾧ τρόπῳ καὶ
 χειρόνιπτρον. ἰδίως δὲ καλεῖται παρ' Ἀθηναίοις ἀπό-
 νιμμα ἐπὶ τῶν εἰς τιμὴν τοῖς νεκροῖς γινομένων καὶ
 ἐπὶ τῶν τοὺς ἐναγείας καθαιρόντων, ὡς καὶ Κλείδημος ||
 410 ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Ἐξηγητικῷ. προθεὶς γὰρ περὶ
 ἐναγισμῶν γράφει τάδε· ὄρυξαι βόθυνον πρὸς ἐσπέ-
 ραν τοῦ σήματος. ἔπειτα παρὰ τὸν βόθυνον πρὸς
 ἐσπέραν βλέπε, ὕδωρ κατὰ χεε λέγων τάδε· “ὑμῖν ἀπό-
 νιμμα οἷς χρῆ καὶ οἷς θέμις.” ἔπειτα αὐθις μύρον
 κατὰ χεε. παρέθετο ταῦτα καὶ Δωρόθεος, φάσκων καὶ
 ἐν τοῖς τῶν Εὐπατριδῶν πατρίοις τάδε γεγράφθαι
 b περὶ τῆς τῶν ἰκετῶν καθάρσεως· | ἔπειτα ἀπονιψάμε-
 νος αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ σπλαγχνεύοντες ὕδωρ λα-
 βῶν κάθαιρε, ἀπόνιζε τὸ αἷμα τοῦ καθαιρομένου καὶ
 μετὰ τὸ ἀπόνιμμα ἀνακινήσας εἰς ταὐτὸ ἔγχεε. χειρό-
 μακτρον δὲ καλεῖται ᾧ τὰς χεῖρας ἀπεμάττοντο ὠμο-
 λίνῳ· ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς προκειμένοις Φιλόξενος ὁ Κυθήριος
 ἀνόμασεν ἔκτριμμα. Ἀριστοφάνης Ταγηνισταῖς·

φέρει παῖ ταχέως κατὰ χεῖρὸς ὕδωρ,
 παράπεμπε τὸ χειρόμακτρον.

283 Cf. Eup. fr. 129.1, 3 (quoted at 9.408d).

284 I.e. those that involved washing the corpse.

285 The name ought perhaps to be emended to Autocleides (thus Stiehle), as also at 11.473b.

286 Presumably Dorotheus of Ascalon or Sidon, quoted by Athenaeus also at e.g. 7.329d; 11.481d, 497e.

They may also have referred to the basin this way, as they did with the word *cheironiptron*.²⁸³ The Athenians alone use the term *aponimma* to refer to the rituals intended to show respect for dead bodies²⁸⁴ and those that serve to purify individuals subject to a curse, for example Cleidemus²⁸⁵ in his work entitled *The Art of Interpretation*. After some initial remarks about offerings to the dead, he writes the following: Dig a hole to the west of the grave. Then stand beside the hole, look to the west, and pour water into it as you say the following: "This is *aponimma* intended for you who need and ought to receive it." Then, after that, pour perfume in. This passage is cited by Dorotheus²⁸⁶, who claims that the following is included in the traditional texts of the Eupatridae²⁸⁷ on the subject of the cleansing-ceremony for suppliants: Then after you and the others who tasted the entrails wash up, take water and cleanse him. Wash the blood off the individual being cleansed, and after the cleansing ceremony (*aponimma*), stir the water and dump it in the same place. The coarse linen towel they used to wipe their hands was referred to as a *cheiromaktron*; in the passage cited above (PMG 836(b).42, cited at 9.409e), Philoxenus of Cythera called it an *ektrimma*. Aristophanes in *Frying-Pan Men* (fr. 516):

Slave! Hurry up and bring us water to wash our
hands (*kata cheiros*)!

And bring the *cheiromaktron* too!

²⁸⁷ The Eupatridae were Athens' traditional pre-Solonian aristocracy, whose formal powers gradually shrank to include only a few ritual functions, including the ones referred to in the passage cited here.

c σημειωτέον δὲ ὅτι καὶ μετὰ τὸ δειπνήσαι κατὰ χειρὸς ἔλεγον, οὐχ ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ γραμματικός | φησὶν ὅτι πρὶν φαγεῖν οἱ Ἀττικοὶ κατὰ χειρὸς ἔλεγον, μετὰ δὲ τὸ δειπνήσαι ἀπονύσασθαι. Σοφοκλῆς Οἰνομάω·

Σκυθιστὶ χειρόμακτρον ἐκκεκαρμένος.

καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ἐν δευτέρᾳ. Ξενοφῶν δ' ἐν πρώτῳ Παιδείας γράφει· ὅταν δὲ τούτων τινὸς θίγῃς, εὐθὺς ἀποκαθαίρη τὴν χεῖρα εἰς τὰ χειρόμακτρα, ὡς πάνν ἀχθόμενος ὅτι κατάπλεά σοι ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐγένετο. Πολέμων δ' ἐν ἕκτῳ τῶν Πρὸς Ἀντίγονον καὶ Ἀδαίον περὶ τῆς d διαφορᾶς λέγει τοῦ | κατὰ χειρὸς πρὸς τὸ νύσασθαι. Δημόνικος δ' ἐν τῷ Ἀχελῳῷ τὸ πρὸ τοῦ δείπνου κατὰ χειρὸς φησὶ διὰ τούτων·

ἔσπονδάκει δ' ἕκαστος ὡς ἂν ἐστιῶν
 ἄμα τ' ὀξύπεινον ἄνδρα καὶ Βοιωτίου.
 τὸ γοῦν κατὰ χειρὸς περιέγραψ', εἶπας ὅτι
 μετὰ δείπνον αὐτῷ τοῦτο γίνεται λαβεῖν.

ὠμολίνου δὲ μέμνηται Κρατῖνος ἐν Ἀρχιλόχοις·

ὠμολίνοις κόμη βρύουσ' ἀτιμίας πλέως.

²⁸⁸ This sentence is clearly out of place here.

²⁸⁹ Quoted at 9.410e.

²⁹⁰ The Boeotians had a reputation for gluttony; cf. 10.417b-18b.

BOOK IX

It should also be noted that they said *kata cheiros* (“[water] over the hand”) in reference to what went on after dinner, and that it is not the case, as the grammarian Aristophanes (fr. 368 Slater, cited at 9.408f) claims, that Attic authors said *kata cheiros* to refer to what went on before they ate, but *aponipsasthai* (“to wash up”) to refer to what went on after dinner.²⁸⁸ Sophocles in *Oenomaus* (fr. 473):

with his head sheared so that it looked like a
cheiromaktron, Scythian style.

Also Herodotus in Book II (122.1).²⁸⁹ Xenophon writes in Book I of the *Education* (*Cyr.* 1.3.5): When you touch any of these foods, you immediately wipe your hand clean on your napkins, as if you were quite upset because you had picked up an infection from them. Polemon in Book VI of his *Response to Antigonus and Adaeus* (fr. 62 Preller) discusses the difference between *kata cheiros* and *nipsasthai* (“to wash oneself”). Demonicus in his *Achelotis* (fr. 1) refers to what goes on before dinner as *kata cheiros*, in the following passage:

Everyone was as busy as if he were entertaining
an individual who was simultaneously extremely
hungry and a Boeotian.²⁹⁰

He rejected the (water) *kata cheiros*, for example,
saying
he preferred to have this after dinner.

Cratinus mentions rough linen in *Archilochuses* (fr. 10):

hair teeming with strips of rough linen and full of
disgrace.

Σαπφῶ δ' ὅταν λέγῃ ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ τῶν Μελῶν πρὸς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην·

- e χερρόμακτρα δὲ | † καγγόνων †
 πορφύρα † καταταμενά-
 τατιμάσεις † ἔπεμψ' ἀπὸ Φωκάας
 δῶρα τίμια † καγγόνων †,

- κόσμον λέγει κεφαλῆς τὰ χειρόμακτρα, ὡς καὶ Ἐκαταίος δηλοῖ ἢ ὁ γεγραφὼς τὰς Περιηγήσεις ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἐπιγραφομένη· γυναῖκες δ' ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔχουσι χειρόμακτρα. Ἡρόδοτος δ' ἐν τῇ δευτέρῃ φησί· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἔλεγον τοῦτον τὸν βασιλέα ζῶν καταβῆναι κάτω εἰς ὃν οἱ Ἕλληνες Αἶδην νομίζουσι κάκειθι συγκυβεύειν τῇ Δήμητρι, καὶ τὰ μὲν νικᾶν
 f αὐτήν, τὰ δὲ ἐσοῦσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῆς· καὶ μιν | πάλιν ἀναφικέσθαι δῶρον ἔχοντα παρ' αὐτῆς χειρόμακτρον χρύσειον. τὸν δὲ τῷ χερνίβῳ ῥάναντα παῖδα διδόντα κατὰ χειρὸς Ἡρακλεῖ ὕδωρ, ὃν ἀπέκτεινεν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς κονδύλῳ, Ἑλλάνικος μὲν ἐν ταῖς Ἱστορίαις Ἀρχίαν φησὶ καλεῖσθαι δι' ὃν καὶ ἐξεχώρησε Καλυδῶνος. ἐν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ τῆς Φορωνίδος Χερίαν αὐτὸν ὀνομάζει. Ἡρόδωρος δ' ἐν ἑπτακαιδεκάτῃ τοῦ καθ' Ἡρακλέα
 411a λόγου Εὐνομον. καὶ Κῦαθον || δὲ τὸν Πύλητος μὲν υἱόν, ἀδελφὸν δὲ Ἀντιμάχου ἀπέκτεινεν ἄκων Ἡρακλῆς οἰνοχοοῦντα αὐτῷ, ὡς Νίκανδρος ἱστορεῖ ἐν

²⁹¹ Cf. D.S. 4.36.2-3; [Apollod.] Bib. 2.7.6 (where the boy is called Eunomus).

BOOK IX

When Sappho in Book V of her *Lyric Poems* (fr. 101) tells Aphrodite:

and towels (*cherromaktra*) [corrupt]
 with purple [corrupt]
 [corrupt] he sent from Phocaea
 as a gift full of honor [corrupt],

she is using *cheiromaktra* to refer to something worn on one's head, as Hecataeus (or whoever wrote his *Tours*) makes clear in his work entitled *Asia* (*FGrH* 1 F 358): Women wear *cheiromaktra* on their heads. Herodotus says in Book II (122.1): Afterward, they claimed, this king descended alive to the place the Greeks regard as Hades, and shot dice there with Demeter; sometimes he beat her, and sometimes he lost to her. They also claimed that he emerged again with a gold *cheiromaktron* as a gift from her. The slave who spilled washing-water (*chernibos*) on Heracles when he was offering it to him to wash his hands, and whom Heracles killed with a punch, was named Archias, according to Hellanicus in his *History* (*FGrH* 4 F 2, including the reference to Book II that follows); he was the reason that Heracles left Calydon.²⁹¹ But in Book II of the *History of Phoroneus*, Hellanicus refers to him as Cherias.²⁹² Herodorus in Book XVII of his *Story of Heracles* (*FGrH* 31 F 3), on the other hand, (calls him) Eunomus. Heracles also killed Cyathus the son of Pyles and brother of Antimachus accidentally, when Cyathus was pouring wine for him, according to Nicander in Book

²⁹² Most likely one name is a corruption of the other (thus Casaubon).

δευτέρῳ Οἰταικῶν, ᾧ καὶ ἀνείσθαι φησι τέμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἐν Προσχίῳ, ὃ μέχρι νῦν προσαγορεύεσθαι Οἰνοχόου.

Ἡμεῖς δ' ἐνταῦθα καταπαύσαντες τὸν λόγον ἀρχὴν ποιησόμεθα τῶν ἐξῆς ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἀδηφαγίας.

BOOK IX

II of his *Oetaica* (fr. 17 Schneider = *FGrH* 271-2 F 14); he claims that Heracles dedicated a sanctuary in Cyathus' honor in Proschion which is referred to even today as the sanctuary of Oinochoous ("the Winepourer").²⁹³

I will break off my account at this point and begin what follows with the question of Heracles' gluttony.

²⁹³ Cf. Paus. 2.13.8.

I

411b Ἄλλ' ὥσπερ δείπνου γλαφυροῦ ποικίλην εὐωχίαν
 τὸν ποιητὴν δεῖ παρέχειν τοῖς θεαταῖς τὸν
 σοφόν,
 ἵν' ἀπίη τις τοῦτο φαγὼν καὶ πίων, ὅπερ λαβὼν
 χαίρει <τις>, καὶ σκενασία μὴ μί' ἧ τῆς
 μουσικῆς,

Ἄστυδάμας ὁ τραγικὸς ἐν Ἡρακλεῖ σατυρικῶ, ἑταῖρε,
 φησί, Τιμόκρατες. φέρε εἴπωμεν ἐνταῦθα τοῖς προ-
 ειρημένοις τὰ ἀκόλουθα ὅτι ἦν καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἀδη-
 φάγος. ἀποφαίνονται δὲ τοῦτο σχεδὸν πάντες ποιηταὶ
 καὶ συγγραφεῖς. Ἐπίχαρμος μὲν ἐν Βουσίριδι λέ-
 γων |

- c πρᾶτον μὲν αἱ κ' ἔσθοντ' ἴδοις νιν, ἀποθάνοις·
 βρέμει μὲν ὁ φάρυγξ ἔνδοθ', ἀραβεῖ δ' ἄ
 γνάθος,
 ψοφεῖ δ' ὁ γομφίος, τέτριγε δ' ὁ κυνόδων,
 σίζει δὲ ταῖς ρίνεσσι, κινεῖ δ' οὔατα.

BOOK X

A clever poet should supply his audience with
a rich feast that resembles an elegant dinner,
so everyone eats and drinks whatever he likes before
he leaves, and the entertainment doesn't consist of a
single course,

says the tragic poet Astydamos in his satyr play *Heracles* (*TrGF* 60 F 4),¹ my friend Timocrates. So let me describe the discussions that followed those I told you about earlier, and which concerned Heracles being a glutton. Almost every poet and prose-author makes this clear. Epicharmus in *Bousiris*² (fr. 18), saying:

If you saw him eating, first of all, you'd die.
His throat emits a roar, his jaw rattles,
his molars resound, his canine teeth squeak,
he snorts loudly, and he wiggles his ears.

¹ The quotation is relevant to the theme of this Book, in that it involves Heracles and feasting, but is also programmatic for the *Learned Banqueters* as a whole; cf. *Metag.* fr. 15 (quoted at 10.459b-c, at the very end of the Book).

² *Bousiris*, the king of Egypt—who is most likely being addressed here—misguidedly attempted to sacrifice Heracles to Zeus when Heracles visited Egypt; cf. 10.420e with n.; [*Apollod.*] *Bib.* 2.5.11.

ATHENAEUS

Ἴων δ' ἐν Ὀμφάλῃ ἐμφανίσας αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀδηφαγίαν ἐπιφέρει·

ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς εὐφημίας
κατέπινε καὶ τὰ κᾶλα καὶ τοὺς ἄνθρακας.

d παρὰ | Πινδάρου δὲ τοῦτ' εἴληφεν εἰπόντος·

δοιὰ βοῶν
θερμὰ πρὸς ἀνθρακιὰν
στέψαν πυρὶ δείπνον
σώματα. καὶ τότε ἔγω
σαρκῶν τ' ἐνοπᾶν < . . . > ἢδ' ὁ-
στέων στεναγμὸν βαρύν·
ἦν διακρίναι ἰδόντα πολλὸς ἐν καιρῷ χρόνος.

τοιούτων οὖν αὐτὸν ὑποστησάμενοι ταῖς ἀδηφαγίαις
καὶ τῶν ὀρνέων ἀποδεδώκασιν αὐτῷ τὸν λάρον τὸν
προσαγορευόμενον βουφάγον. εἰσάγεται δὲ ὁ Ἡρα-
κλῆς καὶ Λεπρεῖ περὶ πολυφαγίας ἐρίζων ἐκείνου
412 προκαλεσαμένου, καὶ νενίκηκεν. Ζηνόδοτος || δ' ἐν
δευτέρῳ Ἐπιτομῶν Καύκωνός φησι τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος
καὶ Ἀστυδαμείας τῆς Φόρβαντος γενέσθαι τὸν Λε-
πρέα, ὃν τὸν Ἡρακλέα κελεύσαι δεθῆναι, ὅτε Αὐγέαυ

³ Omphale was a Lydian queen whom Heracles served as a slave for a number of years; cf. *S. Tr.* 248–53, 274–8; Pherecyd. *FGrH* 3 F 82b.

⁴ The fragment as preserved in Athenaeus is desperately corrupt and is printed here in substantially emended form; Athenaeus (or his source) apparently thought that Pindar meant

BOOK X

But Ion in *Omphale*³ (*TrGF* 19 F 29) first describes his gluttony and then continues:

while the order for silence was being given,
he began gulping down the firewood and the
charcoal.

He borrowed this from Pindar (fr. 168b), who said:⁴

They surrounded
two hot bull-carcasses
with fire, along with charcoal,
to be his dinner. And then I
. . . the cry of flesh and the
heavy groan of bones.

There was considerable time available to watch and
evaluate.

Because they believe that he is such an extraordinary glutton, they have given him the sea-gull, also known as the *bouphagos*⁵, to be his bird. Heracles is also represented as having an eating-contest with Lepreus, after Lepreus challenged him, and as winning. Zenodotus in Book II of the *Epitomes*⁶ (*FGrH* 19 F 1) reports that Lepreus was the son of Caucon the son of Poseidon and Astydameia the daughter of Phorbas, and that he suggested that Heracles be put in chains after he asked Augeas for his pay.⁷ After

that Heracles intended to have the charcoal as well as the bulls for dinner. ⁵ Literally "bull-eater." For the association of the sea-gull with Heracles, see *Ar. Av.* 567.

⁶ Sc. "of the *Epic Sagas*". ⁷ Sc. for cleaning Augeas' stables. For the story of Heracles and Lepreus, cf. *Ael. VH* 1.24 (apparently drawing on the same source); *Paus.* 5.5.4.

τὸν μισθὸν ἀπῆτει. Ἡρακλῆς δ' ἐκτελέσας τοὺς ἄθλους ἔρχεται ἐπὶ Καύκωνας καὶ δεηθείσης Ἄστουδαμείας διαλύεται πρὸς τὸν Λεπρέα. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Λεπρεὺς Ἡρακλεῖ ἐρίζει δίσκῳ καὶ ὕδατος ἀντλήσει καὶ ὅστις ἀναλώσει θάττον ταῦρον, καὶ λείπεται πάντα. | εἶτα θωρηχθεὶς προκαλεῖται Ἡρακλέα καὶ θνήσκει ἐν τῇ μάχῃ. Μᾶτρρις δ' ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους Ἐγκωμίῳ καὶ εἰς πολυποσίαν φησὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα προκληθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ Λεπρέως, καὶ πάλιν νικηθῆναι. τὰ αὐτὰ ἱστορεῖ καὶ ὁ Χίλιος ῥήτωρ Καύκαλος, ὁ Θεοπόμπου τοῦ ἱστοριογράφου ἀδελφός, ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους Ἐγκωμίῳ.

Καὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσεά δὲ Ὅμηρος πολυφάγον καὶ λαίμαργον παραδίδωσιν ὅταν λέγῃ·

ἀλλ' ἐμὲ μὲν δορπηῆσαι ἐάσατε κηδόμενόν περ· |
 οὐ γάρ τι στυγερῆ ἐπὶ γαστέρι κύντερον ἄλλο
 ἔπλετο, ἢ τ' ἐκέλευσεν ἔο μνήσασθαι ἀνάγκη
 καὶ μάλα τειρόμενον καὶ ἐνιπλησθῆναι ἀνώγει.¹

ὑπερβάλλουσα γὰρ ἐν τούτοις φαίνεται αὐτοῦ λαίμαργία μετὰ τοῦ μηδὲ ἐν δέοντι τὰ περὶ τῆς γαστρὸς γνωμολογεῖν· ἔχρῆν γάρ, εἰ καὶ ἐλίμωπτεν, διακαρτερεῖν ἢ μετριάζειν τὰ περὶ τὴν τροφήν. τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον καὶ τὴν τελειοτάτην αὐτοῦ παρίστησι λαίμαργίαν καὶ γαστριμαργίαν· |

¹ The traditional text of Homer has καὶ ἐνὶ φρεσὶ πένθος ἔχοντα; for the text preserved here, cf. *Od.* 7.221 (quoted below).

BOOK X

Heracles completed his labors, he visited the Cauconians and, at Astydameia's request, gave up his hostility toward Lepreus. Afterward, Lepreus competed against Heracles in the discus, in bailing water, and to see who could eat a bull more rapidly, and lost every time. Then he put on his breastplate, challenged Heracles to a fight, and died in the duel. Matris in his *Eulogy of Heracles* (FGrH 39 F 1) claims that Lepreus also challenged Heracles to a drinking-contest and lost there as well. The Chian orator Caucaus, who was the brother of the historian Theopompus (FGrH 38 T 1 = 115 T 4), tells the same story in his *Eulogy of Heracles*.

Homer presents Odysseus as well as a greedy gourmand, when he says (*Od.* 7.215–18):

But let me eat my dinner, unhappy as I am.
For nothing is more shameless than the miserable
belly, which orders us to pay attention to it and gives
us no choice,
even when we are worn out, and demands to be
filled.

For in this passage Odysseus' greed is shown to be excessive, and he offers an unnecessary sententious discussion of his belly; because even if he was famished, he should have put up with the situation, or have eaten a modest amount. But his conclusion establishes his extreme greed and gluttony (*Od.* 7.219–21):

- d ὡς καὶ ἐγὼ πένθος μὲν ἔχω φρεσίν, ἣ δὲ μάλ' αἰεὶ
 ἐσθέμεναι κέλεται καὶ πινέμεν, ἐκ δέ με πάντων
 ληθάνει ὅσσο' ἔπαθον, καὶ ἐνιπλησθῆναι ἀνώγει.
 ταῦτα γὰρ οὐδ' ἂν ἐκείνος ὁ Σαρδανάπαλλος εἰπεῖν
 ποτε ἂν ἐτόλμησεν. γέρων τε ὦν
 ἦσθιεν ἀρπαλέως κρέα τ' ἄσπετα καὶ μέθυ ἠδύ.
 Θεαγένης δ' ὁ Θάσιος ἀθλητῆς ταῦρον μόνος κατ-
 ἔφαγεν, ὡς Ποσειδίππος φησιν ἐν Ἐπιγράμμασι |
- e καὶ περὶ συνθεσίης ἔφαγόν ποτε Μηόνιον βούν,
 πάτρη γὰρ βρώμην οὐκ ἂν ἐπέσχε Θάσος
 Θευγένει, ὅσσα φαγὼν ἔτ' ἐπήτεον· οὐνεκεν οὕτω
 χάλκεος ἐστήκω χεῖρα προῖσχόμενος.
 Μίλων δ' ὁ Κροτωνιάτης, ὡς φησιν ὁ Ἱεραπολίτης
 Θεόδωρος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Ἀγώνων, ἦσθιε μνᾶς κρεῶν
 εἴκοσι καὶ τοσαύτας ἄρτων οἴνου τε τρεῖς χοᾶς ἔπινεν.
 f ἐν δὲ Ὀλυμπίᾳ ταῦρον ἀναθέμενος τοῖς ὤμοις | τετρα-
 ἔτη καὶ τοῦτον περιενέγκας τὸ στάδιον μετὰ ταῦτα

⁸ Cf. 8.335f–6d with n.

⁹ The second half of the line occurs at *Od.* 9.162 (describing Odysseus' men on Goat Island, before the visit to the land of the Cyclopes).

¹⁰ Theagenes (more likely Theogenes; the poets call him Theugenes for metrical reasons) was one of the dominant boxers and pancratiasts of the 480s and 470s BCE (Moretti #201).

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Since I feel pain in my heart; but my belly
relentlessly
insists that I eat and drink, and makes me forget
all my sufferings, and demands to be filled.

Not even the famous Sardanapallus would have dared to
say this.⁸ And although he was an old man,

he ravenously consumed boundless meat and
delicious wine.⁹

The Thasian athlete Theagenes¹⁰ ate a bull all by him-
self, according to Posidippus in the *Epigrams* (120 Austin-
Bastianinni = *HE* 3126-9):

I once ate a Meionian bull on a bet;
because my native land, Thasos, could not supply
enough food for
Theagenes; however much I ate, I still asked for
more. I accordingly stand
here, made of bronze, with my hand stretched
out.

According to Theodorus of Hierapolis in his *On Contests*
(fr. 1, *FHG* iv.513), Milo of Croton¹¹ used to eat 20 *minas*¹²
of meat, along with an equal amount of bread, and would
drink three pitchers of wine. At Olympia he put a four-
year-old bull on his shoulders and walked around the sta-
dium carrying it, and afterward he butchered it and ate

¹¹ A famous wrestler, victorious six times at the Olympic
games in the late 6th century BCE (Moretti #115, etc.), as well six
times at the Pythian games, ten times at the Isthmian games, and
nine times at the Nemean games.

δαιτρεύσας μόνος αὐτὸν κατέφαγεν ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ. Τίτορμος τε ὁ Αἰτωλὸς διηριστήσατο αὐτῷ βοῦν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ ὁ Αἰτωλὸς Ἀλέξανδρος. Φύλαρχος δὲ φησιν ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν τὸν Μίλωνα ταῦρον καταφαγεῖν κατακλιθέντα πρὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Διός, διὸ καὶ ποιῆσαι εἰς αὐτὸν Δωριέα τὸν ποιητὴν τάδε:

413 τοῖος ἔην Μίλων, ὅτ' ἀπὸ χθονὸς ἤρατο βρῖθος,
 τετραετῇ δαμάλην, ἐν Διὸς εἰλαπίναις, ||
 ὤμοις δὲ κτήνος τὸ πελώριον ὡς νέον ἄρνα
 ἤνεγκεν δι' ὄλης κούφα πανηγύρεως.
 καὶ θάμβος μὲν, ἀτὰρ τοῦδε πλέον ἤνυσε θαῦμα
 πρόσθεν Πισαίου, ξεῖνε, θνηπολίῳ·
 ὃν γὰρ ἐπόμπευσεν βοῦν ἄζυγον, εἰς κρέα τόνδε
 κόψας πάντα κατ' οὖν μῦνος ἐδαίσατό νιν.

b Ἀστυάναξ δ' ὁ Μιλήσιος τρὶς Ὀλύμπια νικήσας |
 κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς παγκράτιον, κληθεὶς ποτε ἐπὶ δεῖπνον
 ὑπὸ Ἀριοβαρζάνου τοῦ Πέρσου καὶ ἀφικόμενος ὑπ-
 ἔσχετο φαγεῖν πάντα τὰ πᾶσι παρασκευασθέντα καὶ
 κατέφαγε. τοῦ Πέρσου δ' αὐτὸν ἀξιώσαντος, ὡς ὁ
 Θεόδωρος ἱστορεῖ, ἀξιὸν τι ποιῆσαι τῶν κατὰ τὴν
 ἰσχὺν φακὸν τῆς κλίνης περίχαλκον ὄντα κλάσας
 ἐξέτεινε μαλάξας. τελευτήσαντος δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ κατα-

¹² Roughly 20 pounds (on the Attic standard).

¹³ I.e. Olympia. ¹⁴ In 324, 320, and 316 BCE (Moretti #470, 474, 479). ¹⁵ Several important Persians from this period bore the name Ariobarzanes (Berve i #115-16), and precisely who is being referred to is unclear.

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the whole thing in a single day, all by himself. According to Alexander Aetolus (fr. 14 Magnelli), Titormus of Aetolia competed with Milo in eating an ox for lunch. Phylarchus in Book III of his *History* (*FGrH* 81 F 3) claims that Milo lay down in front of the altar of Zeus and consumed a bull, which is why the poet Dorieus (*SH* 396 = *FGE* 159–66) wrote the following about him:

This is what Milo was like, when he lifted the weight
of a four-year-old
heifer from the earth at Zeus' feast,
and carried the enormous beast lightly on his
shoulders
through the entire crowd, as if it were a new-born
lamb.

This was astonishing; but he did something more
amazing than this,
stranger, before the altar in Pisa¹³;
for he cut up this unyoked cow he carried around
into chunks of meat
and ate the entire thing all by himself.

Astyanax of Miletus, who took the prize in the pancration three times in a row at Olympia,¹⁴ was invited to dinner at one point by Ariobarzanes of Persia;¹⁵ when he got there, he claimed that he could eat all the food that had been prepared for the entire party—and did so. According to Theodorus (fr. 2, *FHG* iv.513), when the Persian asked him to do something to show how strong he was, he broke a bronze-plated ornament off of his couch, kneaded it until it was soft, and pressed it flat. When he died and was cre-

καυθέντος οὐκ ἐχώρησε μία ὑδρία τὰ ὀστέα, μόλις δὲ
 δύο. καὶ τὰ τοῖς ἐννέα ἀνδράσι παρεσκευασμένα παρὰ
 c τῷ Ἀριοβαρζάνῃ | εἰς τὸ δεῖπνον μόνον καταφαγεῖν.

Καὶ οὐδὲν παράδοξον τούτους τοὺς ἀνδρας ἀδηφά-
 γους γενέσθαι· πάντες γὰρ οἱ ἀθλοῦντες μετὰ τῶν
 γυμνασμάτων καὶ ἐσθίειν πολλὰ διδάσκονται. διὸ καὶ
 Εὐριπίδης ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Ἀυτολύκῳ λέγει·²

κακῶν γὰρ ὄντων μυρίων καθ' Ἑλλάδα
 οὐδὲν κάκιόν ἐστιν ἀθλητῶν γένους.
 οἱ πρῶτα μὲν ζῆν³ οὔτε μαθάνουσιν εὖ
 οὔτ' ἂν δύναιντο· πῶς γὰρ ὅστις ἔστ' ἀνὴρ
 γνάθου τε δούλος νηδύος θ' ἡσσημένος |
 d κτήσαιοτ' ἂν ὄλβον εἰς ὑπερβολὴν πατρός;
 οὐδ' αὖ πένεσθαι κάξυπηρετεῖν τύχαις
 οἰοί τ'· ἔθῃ γὰρ οὐκ ἐθισθέντες καλὰ
 σκληρῶς διαλλάσσουσιν εἰς τὰ μήχανα.⁴
 λαμπροὶ δ' ἐν ἤβῃ καὶ πόλεως ἀγάλματα
 φοιτῶσ'· ὅταν δὲ προσπέσῃ γῆρας πικρόν,
 τρίβωνες ἐκβαλόντες οἷχονται κρόκας.
 ἐμεμφάμην δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήνων νόμον,
 οἱ τῶνδ' ἕκατι σύλλογον ποιούμενοι
 τιμῶσ' ἀχρείους ἡδονὰς δαιτὸς χάριν. |

² Verses 1–6 are also preserved in *POxy.* liii 3699, while verses 1–9, 16–22 are also preserved by Galen, *Protrept.* 10.

³ *POxy.* liii 3699 and Galen (followed by Kannicht in *TrGF*) have πρῶτον οἰκεῖν.

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mated, a single jar was not big enough to hold his bones, and two barely were. All by himself he ate the food that had been prepared for nine men's dinner at Ariobarzanes' house.

It comes as no surprise that these men were gluttons; because all athletes in the course of their training are taught to eat a large amount of food. This is why Euripides in *Autolycus I* (fr. 282) says:

Because although Greece has more problems than
you can count,

there's none worse than the athletes.

First of all, they don't learn to live decently,
and they couldn't anyway. For how could a man
who's enslaved to his jaws and weaker than his belly
accumulate more wealth than his father?

They're also incapable of being poor or coping with
adversity; because the bad habits they develop mean
that

they have trouble adapting to difficult circumstances.
They're famous when they're young, and they're the
city's stars

wherever they go. But when bitter old age hits them,
they disappear like cheap robes that lose their nap.

I also disapprove of how the Greeks behave
when they call an assembly because of these people
and shower them with worthless pleasures in order to
have a feast.

⁴ Galen (followed by Kannicht in *TrGF*) has σκληρῶς μεταλλάσσουσιν εἰς τὰ μήχανον.

- e τί γὰρ παλαίσας εὖ, τίς δ' ὠκύπους ἀνήρ
 ἢ δίσκον ἄρας ἢ γνάθον παίσας καλῶς
 πόλει πατρῶα στέφανον ἤρκεσεν λαβών;
 πότερα μαχοῦνται πολεμίοισιν ἐν χεροῖν
 δίσκους ἔχοντες ἢ δι' ἀσπίδων χερὶ
 θείνοντες ἐκβαλοῦσι πολεμίους πάτρας;
 οὐδεὶς σιδήρου ταῦτα μωραίνει πέλας
 † στάς. ἄνδρας χρὴ σοφούς τε καγαθοὺς
 φύλλοις στέφεσθαι, χῶστις ἡγείται πόλει |
 f κάλλιστα σώφρων καὶ δίκαιος ὦν ἀνὴρ,
 ὅστις τε μύθοις ἔργ' ἀπαλλάσσει κακὰ
 μάχας τ' ἀφαιρῶν καὶ στάσεις. τοιαῦτα γὰρ
 πόλει τε πάση πᾶσί θ' Ἑλλήσιν καλά.

Ταῦτ' εἴληφεν ὁ Εὐριπίδης ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Κολοφωνίου
 Ἑλεγείων Ξενοφάνους οὕτως εἰρηκότος·

- ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ταχυτῆτι ποδῶν νίκην τις ἄροιτο
 ἢ πενταθλεύων, ἔνθα Διὸς τέμενος ||
 414 πὰρ Πίσαιο ῥοῆς ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ, εἶτε παλαίων
 ἢ καὶ πυκτοσύνην ἀλγινόεσσαν ἔχων

⁵ Galen (followed by Kannicht in *TrGF*) has τίς . . . τίς.

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If someone's a good wrestler, or runs fast,
or has a talent for throwing a discus or punching
another person in the jaw—
what good does he do his native city by winning a
garland?

Are they planning to fight the enemy with discuses
in their hands? Or do they intend to expel hostile
forces from

their country by punching their fist through shields?
No one indulges in this kind of foolishness when he's
† standing

close to iron. We ought to wreath the heads of
good, wise men, and of anyone who's sensible and
just,

and does an excellent job of leading the city,
or who uses eloquence to put a stop to bad behavior,
or to extricate us from battles and political strife.

Because actions like those
are good for the entire city and for the Greeks
generally.

Euripides borrowed these remarks from the *Elegies* of
Xenophanes of Colophon (fr. B 2 West²), who says the fol-
lowing:

But if someone wins a victory by the speed of his
feet,

or by competing in the pentathlon, where Zeus'
sacred precinct lies
alongside the streams of the Pisa in Olympia, or by
wrestling,

or through his control of the painful skill of boxing

εἶτε τὸ δεινὸν ἄεθλον ὃ παγκράτιον καλέουσιν,
 ἀστοῖσιν κ' εἶη κυδρότερος προσορᾶν,
 καί κε προεδρίην φανερὴν ἐν ἀγῶσιν ἄροιτο,
 καί κεν σίτ' εἶη δημοσίων κτεάνων
 ἐκ πόλεως, καὶ δῶρον ὃ οἱ κειμήλιον εἶη—
 εἶτε καὶ ἵπποισιν ταυτὰ κε πάντα λάχοι,
 οὐκ ἐὼν ἄξιος ὥσπερ ἐγώ· ῥώμης γὰρ ἀμείνων |
 b ἀνδρῶν ἠδ' ἵππων ἡμετέρη σοφίη.
 ἀλλ' εἰκῆ μάλα τοῦτο νομίζεται, οὐδὲ δίκαιον
 προκρίνειν ῥώμην τῆς ἀγαθῆς σοφίης.
 οὔτε γὰρ εἰ πύκτης ἀγαθὸς λαοῖσι μετείη
 οὔτ' εἰ πενταθλεῖν οὔτε παλαισμοσύνην,
 οὐδὲ μὲν εἰ ταχυτήτι ποδῶν, τόπερ ἐστὶ
 πρότιμον,
 ῥώμης ὅσσο' ἀνδρῶν ἔργ' ἐν ἀγῶνι πέλει,
 τοῦνεκεν ἂν δὴ μᾶλλον ἐν εὐνομίῃ πόλις εἶη· |
 c σμικρὸν δ' ἂν τι πόλει χάρμα γένοιτ' ἐπὶ τῷ,
 εἴ τις ἀεθλεύων νικῶ Πίσασο παρ' ὄχθας·
 οὐ γὰρ παιίνει ταῦτα μυχοὺς πόλεως.

πολλά δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ὁ Ξενοφάνης κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ
 σοφίαν ἐπαγωνίζεται, διαβάλλων ὡς ἄχρηστον καὶ
 ἀλυσυτελὲς τὸ τῆς ἀθλήσεως εἶδος. καὶ ὁ Ἀχαιῶς⁶ δὲ ὁ
 Ἐρετριεὺς περὶ τῆς εὐεξίας τῶν ἀθλητῶν διηγουμένους
 φησι·

⁶ Ἀχαιῶς Casaubon: ἀχιλλῖος A

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or the awful contest known as the pancration;
and if his fellow-citizens regard him as more
distinguished,
and he is awarded a prominent front-row seat at
competitions,
and the city grants him maintenance at public
expense, as well as a gift he can keep as a treasure—
or even if he is victorious in chariot-racing—he
could get all these rewards
and not deserve them as much as I do. For my
wisdom

is better than the strength of men or of horses.
This is very bad practice, and it is wrong to prefer
physical strength to my good wisdom.

For the fact that one of the people is a good boxer,
or good at the pentathlon or in wrestling,
or in the speed of his feet, which is the most
respected
of all the contests of physical strength in which
men engage,

could not make a city better governed.

A city would get only minimal joy from the fact
that someone takes the prize when he competes
beside the banks of the Pisa;

for this is not what enriches a city internally.

Xenophanes also offers many other contentious comments
about his own wisdom, attacking the idea of athletics as
useless and worthless. So too Achaëus of Eretria (*TrGF* 20
F *4) says in his description of the fine living conditions
athletes enjoy:

d γυμνοὶ γὰρ † ὄθουν † φαιδίμους βραχίονας |
 ἤβη σφριγῶντες ἐμπορεύονται, νέω
 στίλβοντες ἄνθει καρτερὰς ἐπωμίδας·
 ἄδην δ' ἐλαίου στέρνα καὶ † ποδῶν † κύτος
 χρίουσιν ὡς ἔχοντες οἴκοθεν τρυφήν.

Ἡράκλειτος δ' ἐν τῷ Ξενίζοντι Ἑλένην φησὶ τινα
 γυναῖκα πλείστα βεβρωκέναί. Ποσειδίππος δ' ἐν
 Ἐπιγράμμασι Φυρόμαχον, εἰς ὃν καὶ τόδ' ἐπέγραψε·

Φυρόμαχον, τὸν πάντα φαγεῖν βορόν, οἶα
 κορώνην |

e παννυχικήν, αὕτη ῥωγὰς ἔχει κάπετος
 χλαίνης ἐν τρύχει Πελληνίδος. ἀλλὰ σὺ τούτου
 καὶ χριε στήλην, Ἀττικέ, καὶ στεφάνου,
 εἴ ποτέ σοι προκύων συνεκώμασεν. ἦλθε δ'
 ἀμαυρὰ
 βλέψας ἐκ πελιῶν νωδὸς ἐπισκυνίων,
 † ὁ τριχιδιφθερίας⁷ † μονολήκυθος· ἐκ γὰρ
 ἀγώνων
 τῶν τότε Δηναϊκὴν ἦλθ' ὑπὸ Καλλιόπην.

Ἀμάραντος δὲ ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Σκηνῆς |

⁷ ὁ τρεχέδειπνος ἀεὶ Austin

¹⁶ An otherwise unknown (comic?) poet; see K-A vol. V s.v.

¹⁷ Calliope was the leader of the Muses, and the point (admittedly obscure) is presumably that Phylomachus was routinely referred to in the comedies staged at the Lenaia festival in Athens.

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Because naked † they were pushing † they travel
 around, their
 gorgeous arms bursting with adolescent strength,
 their powerful
 shoulders glistening with the glow of youth;
 and they anoint their chest and the trunk † of their
 feet † with
 plenty of oil, as if they had been raised in the lap of
 luxury.

Heracleitus¹⁶ in his *The Host* claims that a woman named Helen ate more than anyone else could. Posidippus in the *Epigrams* (121 Austin–Bastianinni = *HE* 3134–41) (mentions) Phyromachus, about whom he composed the following poem:

This crudely dug trench contains Phyromachus, who
 was as voraciously
 eager to eat everything as a raven at an all-night
 festival,
 in the ragged remnants of a Pellenian robe. It is for
 you,
 resident of Athens, to anoint his stele and garland
 it,
 if he ever joined you as a hanger-on at a party. He
 went there, toothless and
 casting a blind glance from his black-and-blue
 brow,
 † the one with a hairy robe made of skin † with a
 single oil-flask; for he came from the contests
 held in those days, escorted by Lenaian Calliope.¹⁷

Amarantus of Alexandria in his *On the Stage* claims that

- f Ἡρόδωρόν φησι τὸν Μεγαρέα σαλπικτήν γενέσθαι τὸ μὲν μέγεθος πηχῶν τριῶν καὶ ἡμίσιους, εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὰς πλευρὰς ἰσχυρόν· ἐσθίειν δὲ ἄρτων μὲν χοίνικας ἕξ, κρεῶν δὲ λίτρας εἴκοσιν οἶων ἂν εὐρήκη, πίνειν δὲ χοᾶς δύο καὶ σαλπίζειν ἅμα σάλπιγξι δυοσί. κοιμᾶσθαι δὲ ἔθος εἶχεν ἐπὶ λεοντῆς μόνῃς. ἐσήμαινε δὲ σαλπίζων μέγιστον. Ἄργος γοῦν πολιορκουῖντος Δημητρίου || τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου καὶ οὐ δυναμένων τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὴν ἐλέπολιν προσαγαγεῖν τοῖς τείχεσι διὰ τὸ βάρος, ταῖς δύο σάλπιγξι σημαίνων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀδρότητος τοῦ ἤχου τοὺς στρατιώτας ἠνάγκασε προθυμθέντας προσαγαγεῖν τὴν μηχανήν. ἐνίκησε δὲ τὴν περίοδον δεκάκις καὶ ἐδείπνει καθήμενος, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Νέστωρ ἐν τοῖς Θεατρικοῖς Ὑπομνήμασι. καὶ γυνὴ δὲ ἐσάλπισεν Ἀγλαῖς ἢ Μεγακλέους ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἀχθείσῃ μεγάλῃ πομπῇ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τὸ πομπικόν, περιθέτην ἔχουσα καὶ λόφον | ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ὡς δηλοῖ Ποσειδίππος ἐν Ἐπιγράμμασιν. ἤσθιε δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ λίτρας μὲν κρεῶν δώδεκα, ἄρτων δὲ χοίνικας τέσσαρας, καὶ ἔπινεν οἴνου χοᾶ.
- 415
- b

¹⁸ Literally "three-and-a-half cubits".

¹⁹ A *choinx* was a dry measure equivalent (on the Attic standard, at least) to about one quart.

²⁰ Literally "and 20 *litrai*".

²¹ Demetrius Poliorcetes. The siege of Argos perhaps took place in 303 BCE; cf. Plu. *Demetr.* 25.1–2 (although there the city is liberated via bribery); Poll. 4.89 (who tells a similar story, but does not name the city).

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the Megarian trumpeter Herodorus was only about five feet¹⁸ tall, but had a powerful chest. He used to eat six *choinikes*¹⁹ of bread and 20 pounds²⁰ of any meat he could find, and drank two pitchers of wine; blew two trumpets at the same time; and made it a practice to sleep on a lion-skin and nothing else. He produced extremely loud signals when he blew the trumpet. When Demetrius the son of Antigonus²¹ was beseiging Argos, at any rate, and the weight of the siege-engine was preventing the soldiers from bringing it up to the walls, Herodorus used two trumpets to give the signals, and the noise was so loud that the soldiers had no choice but to get their courage up and move the machine forward. He was victorious ten times on the circuit,²² and used to eat his meals sitting down, according to Nestor in his *Theatrical Commentaries*. So too, a woman named Aglaïs the daughter of Megacles gave the trumpet-signals at the first great procession held in Alexandria, wearing a wig and a crest on top of her head, according to Posidippus in the *Epigrams* (143 Austin-Bastianinni = *SH* 702).²³ She also used to eat 12 pounds²⁴ of meat and four *choinikes*²⁵ of bread, and could drink a full pitcher of wine.

²² I.e. he took the prize at all four of the major games: the Olympic (Moretti #468, etc.), Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian.

²³ Cf. Ael. *VH* 1.26 (drawing on the same source). The procession is most likely the one organized by Ptolemy II Philadelphus (reigned 285/3–246 BCE) and described at great length by Callixeinus of Rhodes (quoted at 5.197c–203b).

²⁴ Literally "12 *litrai*".

²⁵ See 10.414f n.

Λιτυέρσας δὲ ἦν μὲν υἱὸς Μίδου νόθος, Κελαινῶν δὲ τῶν ἐν Φρυγίᾳ βασιλεύς, ἄγριος ιδέσθαι καὶ ἀνήμερος ἄνθρωπος, ἀδηφάγος δ' ἰσχυρῶς. λέγει δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ Σωσίθεος ὁ τραγωδιοποιὸς ἐν δράματι Δάφνιδι ἢ Λιτυέρσα οὕτως·

ἔσθαι μὲν ἄρτους⁸, τρεῖς ὄλους⁹ κανθηλίους,
 τρὶς τῆς βραχείας ἡμέρας· πίνει δ', ἓνα |
 c καλῶν μετρητήν, τὸν δεκάμφορον πίθον.

τοιούτος ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ παρὰ Φερεκράτει ἢ Στράττιδι ἐν Ἀγαθοῖς, περὶ οὗ φησιν·

(A.) ἐγὼ κατεσθίω μόλις τῆς ἡμέρας
 πένθ' ἡμιμέδιμν', εἰς βιάζωμαι. (B.) μόλις;
 ὡς ὀλιγόσιτος ἦσθ' ἄρ', ὅς κατεσθίεις
 τῆς ἡμέρας μακρᾶς τριήρους σιτία.

Ξάνθος δ' ἐν τοῖς Λυδιακοῖς Κάμβλητά φησι τὸν βασιλεύσαντα Λυδῶν πολυφάγον γενέσθαι καὶ πολυπότην, ἔτι δὲ γαστρίμαργον. τοῦτον οὖν ποτε νυκτὸς |
 d τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναιῖκα κατακρεουργήσαντα καταφαγεῖν,

⁸ ἄρτους C: αὐτοὺς A: αὐτὸς E

⁹ ὄλους A: ὄνους CE

²⁶ For Lityersas, whose name is apparently drawn from the refrain of a traditional reaping song, and who is said to have forced passers-by to reap with him and then to have cut off their heads, see Gow on Theoc. 10.41. He was eventually killed by Heracles.

²⁷ A much fuller version of this fragment is quoted at Stob.

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Lityersas was an illegitimate son of Midas, and was king of the Celaenai in Phrygia; he was a cruel and savage-looking individual, and a devoted glutton.²⁶ The tragic poet Sositheus says the following about him in his play *Daphnis or Lityersas* (TrGF 99 F 2.6–8):²⁷

He eats "bread"—three entire loaves as big as a
donkey could carry!—
three times in one short day. And he drinks a 10-
amphora
jar of wine—which he refers to as "just one jarful".

The man in Pherecrates' (fr. 1) or Strattis' *Good Men*²⁸, about whom the poet says the following, is the same sort:

(A.) I can barely consume two-and-a-half *medimnoi*²⁹
per day, if I'm forced to. (B.) "Barely"?
What a tiny appetite you have, then—a man who
consumes
enough rations for a large trireme every day!

Xanthus in his *History of Lydia* (FGrH 765 F 18) claims that Cambles, the king of Lydia,³⁰ ate and drank large amounts, and was a glutton on top of that. At one point, in fact, he chopped his own wife up into pieces during

4.10.18. Ael. VH 1.27 appears to be a condensed version of 10.415b–16e or the source from which it is drawn.

²⁸ Athenaeus expresses similar doubts about the authorship of the play at 6.248c (where he quotes vv. 3–4) and 15.685b (quoting Pherecr. fr. 2). But Pollux twice assigns the play unambiguously to Pherecrates (7.198; 10.47).

²⁹ A *medimnos* was a dry measure equivalent to about six gallons.

³⁰ A mythological rather than an historical figure.

ἔπειτα πρῶτὸν εὐρόντα τὴν χεῖρα τῆς γυναικὸς ἐνούσαν ἐν τῷ στόματι ἑαυτὸν ἀποσφάξει, περιβοήτου τῆς πράξεως γενομένης. περὶ δὲ Θυδῶς τοῦ Παφλαγόνων βασιλέως ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν πολυφάγος προειρήκαμεν, παραθέμενοι Θεόπομπον ἱστοροῦντα ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ καὶ τριακοστῇ. Ἀρχίλοχος δ' ἐν Τετραμέτροις Χαρίλαν εἰς τὰ ὅμοια διαβέβληκεν, ὡς οἱ κωμωδιοποιοὶ Κλεώνυμον καὶ Πείσανδρον. περὶ δὲ Χαιρίππου φησὶ Φοι-
e νικίδης | ἐν Φυλάρχῳ οὕτως·

τρίτον δὲ πρὸς τούτοισι τὸν σοφώτατον
Χαίριππον. οὗτος, ὥσπερ οἶδας, ἐσθίει
μέχρι ἂν διδῶ τις ἢ λάθῃ διαρραγείς.
τοιούτ' ἔχει ταμίειον ὥσπερ οἰκίας.

Νικόλαος δ' ὁ περιπατητικὸς ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατὸν τῶν Ἱστοριῶν Μιθριδάτην φησὶ τὸν Ποντικὸν βασιλέα προθέντα ἀγῶνα πολυφαγίας καὶ πολυποσίας (ἦν δὲ τὸ ἄθλον τάλαντον ἀργυρίου) ἀμφοτέρα νικῆσαι. τοῦ μέντοι ἄθλου ἐκστῆναι τῷ μετ' αὐτὸν κριθέντι Καλαμόδρῳ τῷ Κυζικηνῷ ἀθλητῇ. καὶ Τιμο-
f κρέων δ' ὁ Ῥόδιος | ποιητῆς καὶ ἀθλητῆς πένταθλος

³¹ At 4.144e–5a, where see n.

³² Also mentioned in Archil. fr. 168, where the poet addresses him (ironically?) as “far and away the dearest of my companions”.

³³ Cleonymus (PAA 579410) and Peisander (PAA 771270) were prominent late 5th-century BCE Athenian politicians.

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the night and ate her; then the next morning, when he found her hand in his mouth, he committed suicide, since rumors about what he had done had already spread. I noted earlier³¹ that Thys the king of the Paphlagonians also ate large amounts, citing Theopompus, who discusses him in Book XXXV (*FGrH* 115 F 179). Archilochus in the *Tetrameters* (fr. 167 West²) makes similarly hostile remarks about Charilas,³² as the comic poets do about Cleonymus and Peisander (adesp. com. fr. 119).³³ Phoenicides in *The Tribal Cavalry Commander* (fr. 3) says the following about Chaerippus:³⁴

and third, in addition to them, the brilliant
Chaerippus. As you know, this guy eats for
as long as anyone offers him food—or until he stops
paying attention and explodes!
He's got a storeroom inside him as big as one in a
house.

Nicolaus the Peripatetic in Book CIII of his *History* (*FGrH* 90 F 73) claims that Mithridates, the king of Pontus,³⁵ held an eating- and drinking-contest—the prize was a talent³⁶ of silver—and won in both categories, although he yielded the prize to the Cyzicene athlete Calamodrys, who took second place behind him. The poet Timocreon of Rhodes, who competed in the pentathlon,

³⁴ Otherwise unknown. Phoenicides dates to the early 3rd century BCE.

³⁵ Given the location of the anecdote in Book CIII, this must be a reference to Mithradates VI Eupator Dionysos (reigned 120–63 BCE).

³⁶ About 60 pounds.

ἄδην ἔφαγε καὶ ἔπιεν, ὡς τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου αὐτοῦ
ἐπίγραμμα δηλοῖ·

πολλὰ πίων καὶ πολλὰ φαγῶν καὶ πολλὰ κάκ'
εἰπῶν
ἀνθρώπους κείμει Τιμοκρέων Ῥόδιος. ||

- 416 Θρασύμαχος δ' ὁ Χαλκηδόνιος ἐν τινι τῶν Προοιμίων
τὸν Τιμοκρέοντά φησιν ὡς μέγαν βασιλέα ἀφικόμε-
νον καὶ ξενιζόμενον παρ' αὐτῷ πολλὰ ἐμπορεύσθαι.
πυθομένου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ὃ τι ἀπὸ τούτων ἐργά-
ζοιτο, εἶπε Περσῶν ἀναριθμήτους συγκόψειν. καὶ τῇ
ὑστεραίᾳ πολλοὺς καθ' ἓνα νικήσας μετὰ τοῦτο ἐχει-
ρονόμησε. πυνθανομένου δὲ τὴν πρόφασιν ὑπολεί-
πεσθαι ἔφη τοσαύτας, εἰ προσίοι | τις, πληγὰς. Κλέ-
αρχος δ' ἐν πέμπτῳ Βίων Καντιβάρι φησὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ,
ὁπότε κοπιάσειε τὰς σιαγόνας ἐσθίων, κεχηνότι
καθάπερ εἰς ἄψυχον ἀγγεῖον εἰσαντλεῖν τὴν τροφήν
τοὺς οἰκείους. Ἑλλάνικος δ' ἐν πρώτῃ Δευκαλιωνείας
Ἐρυσίχθονά φησι τὸν Μυρμιδόνοσ, ὅτι ἦν ἄπληστος
βορᾶς, Αἰθῶνα κληθῆναι. Πολέμων δ' ἐν πρώτῳ τῶν
c Πρὸς | Τίμαιον παρὰ Σικελιώταις φησὶν Ἀδηφαγίας
ιερὸν εἶναι καὶ Σιτοῦς Δήμητροσ ἄγαλμα, οὗ πλησίον
ιδρῦσθαι καὶ Ἰμαλίδος, καθάπερ ἐν Δελφοῖς † ερμού-

³⁷ A satirical (rather than a genuine sepulchral) epigram.

³⁸ For Timocreon's (late 6th/early 5th centuries BCE) attraction to Persia, cf. *PMG* 729.

³⁹ For Erysichthon (whose insatiable appetite was a curse imposed upon him when he cut down a sacred grove belonging to Demeter), cf. Callimachus' *Hymn to*

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also ate and drank enormous amounts, as the epigram on his tomb (*FGE* 831-2)³⁷ attests:

After drinking much, and eating much, and making
many nasty remarks
about others, I lie here, Timocreon of Rhodes.

Thrasymachus of Chalcedon in one of his *Preludes* (85 B 4 D-K) claims that Timocreon visited the Great King³⁸ and consumed a large amount of food when they had dinner together. When the King asked what this was going to give him energy for, he said he intended to beat up more Persians than you could count. The next day he defeated numerous opponents, one after another, and did some shadow-boxing afterward. When the King asked why, he said that that was how many punches he had left, if anyone else wanted to fight him. Clearchus in Book V of the *Lives* (fr. 52 Wehrli) claims that whenever Cantibaris the Persian was eating and his jaws got tired, he would open his mouth and his servants would pour the food in, as if he were an inanimate jar. Hellanicus in Book I of the *Story of Deucalion* (*FGrH* 4 F 7) says that because Erysichthon the son of Myrmidon could eat endless amounts, he was called Aethon.³⁹ Polemon in Book I of his *Response to Timaeus* (fr. 39 Preller)⁴⁰ reports that in Sicily there is a temple of Gluttony and statue of Demeter Sitō ("Goddess of Grain"), near to which is another statue of (Demeter) Himalis,⁴¹

Demeter with Hopkinson's Introduction pp. 18-31, and on verse 67 (on the name Aethon, here perhaps imagined to be derived from *aiei* ["always"] and a participial form of *esthō* ["eat"]).

⁴⁰ Quoted also at 3.109a-b.

⁴¹ "Goddess of Abundance" *vel sim.*; cf. 14.618d.

χου †, ἐν δὲ Σκώλῳ τῷ Βοιωτικῷ Μεγαλάρτου καὶ
Μεγαλομάζου. καὶ Ἀλκμᾶν δ' ὁ ποιητῆς ἑαυτὸν ἀδη-
φάγον εἶναι παραδίδωσιν ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ διὰ τούτων·

καὶ ποκά τοι δώσω τρίποδος κύτος
† ὠκένιλεα Γείρης †
ἀλλ' ἔτι νῦν γ' ἄπυρος, τάχα δὲ πλέος
ἔτνεος, οἶον ὁ παμφάγος Ἀλκμᾶν
ἠράσθη χλιαρὸν πεδὰ τὰς τροπᾶς·
οὔτι γὰρ † οὐ τετυμμένον † ἔσθαι,
ἀλλὰ τὰ κοινὰ γάρ, ὥπερ ὁ δᾶμος,
ζατεύει.

κὰν τῷ πέμπτῳ δὲ ἐμφανίζει αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀδηφάγον
d λέγων | οὕτως·

ὦρας δ' ἔσηκε τρεῖς, θέρος
καὶ χεῖμα κῶπώραν τρίταν
καὶ τέτρατον τὸ Φῆρ, ὅκα
σάλλει μὲν, ἐσθίην δ' ἄδαν
οὐκ ἔστι.

Ἀναξίλας δ' ὁ κωμικὸς περὶ Κτησίου τινὸς διαλεγό-
μενος ἐν Χρυσοχόῳ δράματί φησιν·

ἤδη σχεδόν τι πάντα σοι πλὴν Κτησίου.
δείπνου γὰρ οὔτος, ὡς λέγουσιν οἱ σοφοί,
ἀρχήν, τελευτὴν δ' οὐκ ἐπίσταται μόνος.

⁴² PAA 586680 (also mentioned in Is. 4.9, along with Cranaus, referred to below).

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like that of † *ermouchos* † in Delphi, and those of Megalartos (“Large Loaf of Bread”) and Megalomazos (“Large Barley-Cake”) in Boeotian Scolus. The poet Alcman also presents himself as a glutton in Book III (PMG 17), in the following passage:

And someday I'll give you a hollow tripod
[corrupt]
but has not yet been placed on a fire, and soon it will
be full
of bean-soup of the kind the gluttonous Alcman
loves to eat hot after the solstice.
Because he never eats any [corrupt],
but looks for ordinary food, what normal people
like.

He also brings out his own gluttony in Book V (PMG 20), where he says the following:

He added three seasons: summer,
and winter, and autumn third,
and spring fourth, when
everything's growing, but there's not enough
to eat.

The comic author Anaxilas says in his discussion of a certain Ctesias⁴² in his play *The Goldsmith* (fr. 30):

You've now got almost everything except Ctesias;
because the clever people say he understands how
dinner
begins, but he's the only one who doesn't know how it
ends.

ATHENAEUS

κάν Πλουσίοις·

- e (A.) διαρραγήτω χᾶτερος δειπνῶν τις εὖ, |
 μὴ Κτησίας μόνος. (B.) τί γάρ σε κωλύει;
 (A.) δείπνου γὰρ οὗτος, ὡς λέγουσιν οἱ σοφοί,
 ἀρχήν, τελευτήν δ' ἔμαθεν οὐδεπώποτε.

κάν Χάρισι δὲ Κραναόν τινα συγκαταλέγει οὕτως
 αὐτῷ·

οὐκ ἐτὸς ἐρωτῶσίν <με> προσιόντες τινές·
 “ὄντως ὁ Κραναὸς Κτησίου κατεσθίει
 ἔλαττον, ἢ δειπνοῦσιν ἀμφοτέροι συχνά;”

Φιλέταιρος δ' ἐν Ἀταλάντῃ·

- f κᾶν δέη, τροχάζω στάδια πλείω Σωτάδου, |
 τὸν Ταυρέαν δὲ τοῖς πόνοις ὑπερβαλῶ,
 τὸν Κτησίαν τε τῷ φαγεῖν ὑπερδραμῶ.

Ἀνάξιππος Κεραυνῷ·

(A.) ὀρῶ γὰρ ἐκ παλαιίστρας τῶν φίλων
 προσιόντα μοι Δάμιππον. (B.) <ἦ> τοῦτον λέγεις

⁴³ Sc. “from exploding”.

⁴⁴ PAA 583465; cf. on Ctesias, above.

⁴⁵ Literally “more stades”.

⁴⁶ Victorious in the long run at Olympia in 384 and 380 BCE (Moretti #390, 398); see Paus. 6.18.6.

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And in *Rich Men* (fr. 25):

(A.) I hope anyone else who eats well explodes,
and not just Ctesias! (B.) Well, what's stopping you?⁴³

(A.) The fact that, as the clever people say, he
understands how dinner
begins, but he's the only one who's never learned how
it ends.

And in *The Graces* (Anaxil. fr. 29) he includes some-
one named Cranaus⁴⁴ in the same category as Ctesias, as
follows:

It's not for nothing that certain people come up to me
and ask:

"Does Cranaus actually consume less food
than Ctesias, or do they both eat huge dinners?"

Philetaerus in *Atalanta* (fr. 3):

And if necessary, I run further⁴⁵ than Sotades;⁴⁶
and I'll work harder than Taureas⁴⁷,
and I'll beat Ctesias when it comes to eating!

Anaxippus in *The Lightning-Bolt* (fr. 3):

(A.) Because I see one of my friends, Damippus,⁴⁸
coming out of
the wrestling school to meet me. (B.) Are you talking
about this guy,

⁴⁷ Presumably to be identified with the glutton referred to at
Antiph. fr. 50.3 (preserved at 8.343d); 188.4 (preserved at
8.342f).

⁴⁸ PAA 301110.

417 τὸν † πέτρινον; || † (A.) τοῦτον οἱ φίλοι καλοῦσί
 σοι
 νυνὶ δι' ἀνδρείαν Κεραυνόν. (B.) εἰκότως.
 ἀβάτους ποεῖν γὰρ τὰς τραπέζας οἴομαι
 αὐτόν, κατασκήπτοντα † αὐταῖς † τῇ γνάθῳ.

ἐν τούτοις ἐδήλωσεν ὁ κωμικὸς διότι καὶ τὸ δράμα
 Κεραυνὸν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιγέγραφε. Θεόφιλος δ' ἐν Ἐπι-
 δαύρῳ·

Ἄτρεστίδας τις Μαντινεὺς λοχαγὸς ἦν,
 ἀνδρῶν ἀπάντων πλείστα δυνάμενος φαγεῖν.

ἐν δὲ Παγκρατιαστῇ παραγαγὼν τὸν ἀθλητὴν ὡς |
 b πολλὰ ἐσθίοντά φησιν·

(A.) ἐφθῶν μὲν σχεδὸν
 τρεῖς μνᾶς. (B.) λέγ' ἄλλο. (A.) ῥυγχίον, κωλῆν,
 πόδας
 τέτταρας ὑείους. (B.) Ἡράκλεις. (A.) βοὸς δὲ
 τρεῖς,
 ὄρνιθ'. (B.) Ἄπολλον. λέγ' ἕτερον. (A.) σύκων
 δύο
 μνᾶς. (B.) ἐπέπιες δὲ πόσον; (A.) ἀκράτου
 δώδεκα
 κοτύλας. (B.) Ἄπολλον, ὦρε καὶ Σαβάζιε.

Καὶ ἔθνη δὲ ὅλα εἰς πολυφαγίαν ἐκωμωδεῖτο, ὡς τὸ

⁴⁹ Spots that had been struck by lightning were regarded as sacred; cf. E. Ba. 6-12 with Dodds' n.

BOOK X

the † rocky one † ? (A.) Nowadays your friends call
him

Lightning-Bolt, because he's so brave. (B.) That
makes sense;

because I imagine he makes their tables sacred
ground, by descending † on them † with his jaws.⁴⁹

The author made it clear in this passage that his play *Lightning-Bolt* gets its title from this individual. Theophilus in *Epidaurus* (fr. 3):

A certain Atrestidas of Mantinea was a company-
commander,
a man who was better than anyone else—at eating.

And in *The Pancratiast* (Theophil. fr. 8)⁵⁰ he introduces the athlete as someone who eats large quantities, saying:

(A.) Almost three pounds⁵¹
of stewed meat— (B.) Keep going. (A.) a little snout,
a ham, four
pigs' feet— (B.) Heracles! (A.) and three cows' feet,
poultry— (B.) Apollo!⁵² Tell me the rest! (A.) two
pounds⁵³
of figs— (B.) And how much did you drink on top of
this? (A.) 12 cups
of unmixed wine. (B.) Apollo, Horus, and Sabazius!

Entire ethnic groups were also mocked for being glut-

⁵⁰ The first three verses are quoted also at 3.95a-b.

⁵¹ Literally "three *minas*".

⁵² Cf. 9.386a n.

⁵³ Literally "two *minas*".

ATHENAEUS

c Βοιωτόν. Εὐβουλος γοῦν ἐν Ἀντιόπῃ | φησί·

πώνειν μὲν ἀμῆς καὶ φαγεῖν μάλ' ἀνδρικοῖ
καὶ καρτερεῖμεν † τοῖς δ' Ἀθηναίοις λέγειν
καὶ μικρὰ φαγέμεν, τοῖ δὲ Θηβαῖοι μέγα. †

καὶ ἐν Εὐρώπῃ·

κτίζε Βοιωτῶν πόλιν,
ἀνδρῶν ἀρίστων ἐσθίειν δι' ἡμέρας.

καὶ ἐν Ἴωνι·

οὕτω σφόδρ' ἐστὶ τοὺς τρόπους Βοιωτίος,
ὥστ' οὐδὲ δειπνῶν, ὡς λέγουσ', ἐμπίμπλαται.

ἐν δὲ Κέρκωψι· |

d μετὰ ταῦτα Θήβας ἦλθον, οὗ τὴν νύχθ' ὄλην
τὴν θ' ἡμέραν δειπνοῦσι καὶ κοπρῶν' ἔχει
ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις ἕκαστος, οὗ πλήρει βροτῶ
οὐκ ἔστι μείζον ἀγαθόν· ὡς χεζητιῶν
μακρὰν βαδίζων, πολλὰ δ' † ἐσθίων † ἀνὴρ,
δάκνων τὰ χεῖλη παγγέλοιός ἐστ' ἰδεῖν.

ἐν δὲ τοῖς Μυσοῖς πρὸς τὸν Ἡρακλέα ποιεῖ τινα τάδε
λέγοντα·

⁵⁴ The lines are in a dialect apparently intended to approximate Boeotian.

BOOK X

tons, for example the Boeotians. Thus Eubulus says in *Antiope* (fr. 11):⁵⁴

We're very brave, when it comes to eating and
drinking
and enduring † whereas it's the Athenians' job to not
talk
or eat much, while the Thebans a lot. †

And in *Europa* (Eub. fr. 33):

Found the city of the Boeotians,
the men who are best at eating all day long!

And in *Ion* (Eub. fr. 38):

His behavior's so thoroughly Boeotian
that people say he doesn't feel full even during
dinner.

And in *Cercopes* (Eub. fr. 52):

After that I went to Thebes, where they eat dinner all
night long
and all day, and where everyone has his own
outhouse
right next to his door. There's nothing better
for a mortal whose belly's full of food. Because
someone who
needs to take a shit and has a long way to go, and †
who's eating † a lot
and biting his lips, is an extremely amusing sight.

And in his *Mysians* (Eub. fr. 66) he presents someone as
saying the following to Heracles:

ATHENAEUS

- σὺ μὲν τὸ Θήβης, ὡς λέγεις, πέδον λιπών,
 ἀνδρῶν ἀρίστων ἐσθίειν δι' ἡμέρας |
 e ὅλης τραχήλους, καὶ κοπρῶνας πλησίον.

Δίφιλος δὲ ἐν Βοιωτίῳ·

οἶος ἐσθίειν πρὸ ἡμέρας
 ἀρξάμενος ἢ πάλιν πρὸς ἡμέραν.

Μνησίμαχος Βουσίριδι·

(A.) εἰμὶ γὰρ Βοιώτιος
 ὀλίγα μὲν λαλῶν, (B.) δίκαια ταῦτα. (A.) πολλὰ
 δ' ἐσθίων.

Ἄλεξις Τροφονίῳ·

νῦν δ' ἵνα μὴ παντελῶς Βοιώτιοι
 φαίνησθ' εἶναι τοῖς διασύρειν ὑμᾶς εἰθισμένοις,
 ὡς ἀκίνητοι † νῦν εἶναι † βοᾶν καὶ πίνειν
 μόνον |

- f καὶ δειπνεῖν ἐπιστάμενοι διὰ τέλους τὴν νύχθ'
 ὅλην,
 γυμνοῦθ' αὐτοὺς θᾶπτον ἅπαντες.

Ἀχαιοὺς δ' ἐν Ἄθλοις·

(A.) πότερα θεωροῖς εἶτ' ἀγωνισταῖς λέγεις; ||

* * *

- 418 (B.) πόλλ' ἐσθίουσιν, ὡς ἐπασκούντων τρόπος.

55 Speaker A is presumably Heracles; cf. 10.411a–b with n.

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As for you, after you left the Theban plain, as you say,
which belongs to the best men in the world at eating
shellfish-necks all day long, and the outhouses
nearby.

Diphilus in *The Boeotian* (fr. 22):

the type who starts eating before
the sun's up, or on the other hand (continues) until
the crack of dawn.

Mnesimachus in *Bousiris* (fr. 2):⁵⁵

(A.) Because I'm a Boeotian:
I don't talk much— (B.) That's true. (A.) But I eat a
lot.

Alexis in *Trophonius* (fr. 239):

But now, so you don't look like complete
Boeotians to the people who are used to making fun
of you
for being stolid † now to be † and not knowing
anything except how
to shout, and drink, and eat dinner endlessly all night
long—
hurry up, all of you, and take off your clothes!

Achaeus in *The Competitions* (TrGF 20 F 3):

(A.) Are you speaking to the sacred ambassadors or
the contestants?

* * *

(B.) They eat a lot—as men in training do!

* * *

(A.) ποδαποὶ γάρ εἰσιν οἱ ξένοι; (B.) Βοιωτοί.

ἐκ τούτων εἰκὸς ἐστὶ καὶ Ἐρατοσθένη ἐν ταῖς Ἐπιστολαῖς Πρεπέλαον φῆσαι ἐρωτηθέντα τί αὐτῷ δοκοῦσιν εἶναι Βοιωτοὶ εἰπεῖν· “τί γὰρ ἄλλο ἢ τοιαῦτα ἐλάλουν, οἷα ἂν καὶ τὰ ἀγγελία φωνὴν λαβόντα, ὅποσον ἕκαστος χωρεῖ.” Πολύβιος δ’ ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης ἐν τῇ εἰκοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν φησιν ὡς Βοιωτοὶ μεγίστην δόξαν λαβόντες κατὰ τὰ Λευκτρικὰ κατὰ μικρὸν ἀν-
 b ἐπεσον ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ ὀρμήσαντες | ἐπ’ εὐχίας καὶ μέθας διέθεντο καὶ κοινωνεῖα τοῖς φίλοις. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐχόντων γενεὰς ἀπεμέριζον τοῖς συσσιτίοις τὸ πλεόν μέρος τῆς οὐσίας, ὥστε πολλοὺς εἶναι Βοιωτῶν οἷς ὑπῆρχε δείπνα τοῦ μηνὸς πλείω τῶν εἰς τὸν μῆνα διατεταγμένων ἡμερῶν. διόπερ Μεγαρεῖς μισήσαντες αὐτῶν τὴν τοιαύτην κατάστασιν ἀπένευσαν εἰς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς.

Καὶ Φαρσάλιοι δὲ κωμωδοῦνται ὡς πολυφάγοι. Μνησίμαχος γοῦν ἐν Φιλίππῳ φησί·

(A.) τῶν Φαρσαλίων |

c ἤκει τις, ἵνα <καὶ> τὰς τραπέζας καταφάγη;

⁵⁶ One of Cassander's generals (late 4th/early 3rd century BCE).

⁵⁷ What follows is a garbled summary of phrases and ideas borrowed from Plb. 20.4.2, 6–7; 20.6.5.

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* * *

(A.) So where are the strangers from? (B.) They're Boeotians.

These passages explain why Eratosthenes in his *Letters* (*FGrH* 241 F 18) claims that when Prepelaus⁵⁶ was asked his opinion of the Boeotians, he said: "Well, what else except that they say what pots would if they could talk, and each of them announces how much he can hold?" Polybius of Megalopolis in Book XX of his *History*⁵⁷ says that after the Boeotians got a great reputation for what happened at Leuctra,⁵⁸ they gradually allowed themselves to relax, began having feasts and drinking parties, and made arrangements in their wills for their friends to have parties.⁵⁹ Even many of those who had families divided up the majority of their property among their messmates, the result being that large numbers of Boeotians had more dinners to attend each month than there were days in it. This is why the Megarians, who despised the situation in Boeotia, revolted to the Achaeans.⁶⁰

The inhabitants of Pharsalus are also mocked in comedy for being gluttons. Mnesimachus, for example, says in *Philip* (fr. 8):

(A.) Did any of the Pharsalians come in order to eat the tables?

⁵⁸ Where the Boeotians, led by Epameinondas of Thebes, defeated the Spartans in 371 BCE.

⁵⁹ Sc. in their memory.

⁶⁰ In the 240s BCE, when Megara joined the Achaean League.

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(B.) οὐδείς πάρεστιν. (A.) εὖ γε δρῶντες. ἄρα
 που
 ὅπτην κατεσθίουσι πόλιν Ἀχαιϊκὴν;

ὅτι δὲ καὶ πάντες Θετταλοὶ ὡς πολυφάγοι διεβάλλουτο Κράτης φησὶν ἐν Λαμιά·

ἔπη τριπλήχη Θετταλικῶς τετμημένα.

τοῦτο δ' εἶπεν ὡς τῶν Θετταλῶν μεγάλα κρέα τεμνόντων. Φιλέταιρος δ' ἐν Λαμπαδηφόροις·

καὶ χειροβαρὲς σαρκὸς ὑείας Θετταλότμητον κρέας.

ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ Θετταλικὴν ἔνθεσιν τὴν μεγάλην. Ἐρμιππος Μοίραις· |

d ὁ Ζεὺς δὲ τούτων οὐδὲν ἐνθυμούμενος
 μύων ξυνέπλαττε Θετταλικὴν τὴν ἔνθεσιν.

ταῦτα δὲ καπανικὰ εἶρηκεν Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Ταγηνισταῖς·

(A.) τί πρὸς τὰ Λυδῶν δεῖπνα καὶ τὰ Θετταλῶν;
 (B.) τὰ Θετταλικὰ μὲν πολὺ καπανικώτερα.

οἶον τὰ ἀμαξιαῖα· Θετταλοὶ γὰρ τὰς ἀπήνας καπάνας ἔλεγον. Ξέναρχος Σκύθαις· |

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(B.) None of them's here. (A.) Good for them. Maybe they're gobbling down a roasted Achaean city?

Crates in his *Lamia* (fr. 21) claims that the Thessalians generally⁶¹ were attacked for being gluttons:

five-foot⁶² words cut Thessalian-style.

He said this because the Thessalians cut meat into large chunks. Philetaerus in *Torch-Bearers* (fr. 10):

and a piece of pork, heavy in your hand, cut
Thessalian-style.

They also referred to a large mouthful of food as "Thessalian". Hermippus in *Fates* (fr. 42):

Zeus paid no attention to any of this,
but closed his eyes and began to mould a Thessalian
mouthful.⁶³

Aristophanes in *Frying-Pan Men* (fr. 507) refers to these as *kapanika*:

- (A.) How about compared to Lydian or Thessalian dinners?
(B.) Thessalian dinners are a lot more *kapanika*.

This means "as much as a wagon can carry"; because the Thessalians referred to wagons as *kapanai*. Xenarchus in *Scythians* (fr. 11):

⁶¹ I.e. rather than the inhabitants of Pharsalus alone.

⁶² Literally "three-cubit".

⁶³ Despite Athenaeus (or his source), this might just as well be a high-style way of referring to a barley-cake made of Thessalian grain.

- e (A.) ἑπτὰ δὲ καπάνας ἔτρεφον εἰς Ὀλύμπια.
 (B.) τί λέγεις; <καπάνας; πῶς;> (A.) καπάνας
 Θετταλοὶ
 πάντες καλοῦσι τὰς ἀπήνας. (B.) μανθάνω.

Αἰγυπτίους δὲ Ἑκαταῖος ἀρτοφάγους φησὶν εἶναι
 κυλλήστιας ἐσθίουσας, τὰς δὲ κριθὰς εἰς ποτὸν κατα-
 λέοντας. διὰ ταῦτα καὶ Ἀλεξίνος¹⁰ ἐν τῷ Περὶ Αὐταρ-
 κείας ἔφη μετρία τροφῇ κεχρηῆσθαι τὸν Βόκχοριν καὶ
 τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ Νεόχαβιν. καὶ Πυθαγόρας δ' ὁ
 Σάμιος μετρία τροφῇ ἐχρήτο, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Λύκων ὁ
 Ἰασεὺς ἐν τῷ Περὶ Πυθαγορείου <Βίου>¹¹. οὐκ ἀπέ-
 χετο δὲ ἐμψύχων, ὡς Ἀριστόξενος εἴρηκεν. Ἀπολ-
 f λόδωρος | δὲ ὁ ἀριθμητικὸς καὶ θύσαι φησιν αὐτὸν
 ἑκατόμβην ἐπὶ τῷ εὐρηκέναι ὅτι τριγώνου ὀρθογωνίου
 <ῆ> τὴν ὀρθὴν γωνίαν ὑποτείνουσα ἴσον δύναται ταῖς
 περιεχούσαις·

ἡνίκα Πυθαγόρης τὸ περικλεῆς εὔρετο γράμμα,
 κλεινὸς ἐφ' ᾧ κλεινὴν ἤγαγε βουθυσίην. ||

- 419 ἦν δὲ καὶ ὀλιγοπότης ὁ Πυθαγόρας καὶ εὐτελέστατα
 διεβίου, ὡς καὶ πολλάκις μέλιτι μόνῳ ἀρκεῖσθαι. τὰ
 παραπλήσια δ' ἱστορεῖται καὶ περὶ Ἀριστείδου καὶ
 Ἐπαμεινώνδου καὶ Φωκίωνος καὶ Φορμίωνος τῶν

¹⁰ Ἀλεξίνος Meineke: Ἄλεξις A

¹¹ add. Kaibel

⁶⁴ Very similar material is cited at 10.447c.

⁶⁵ Cf. 3.114c-d.

⁶⁶ Beer; cf. 1.34a-b.

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(A.) They were stabling seven *kapanai* for the Olympic games.

(B.) What are you talking about? *Kapanai*? Huh? (A.) The Thesalians all refer to wagons as *kapanai*. (B.) I get it.

Hecataeus (*FGrH* I F 323b)⁶⁴ reports that the Egyptians consume bread, in that they eat *kullēstiai*⁶⁵, but that they grind up barley to produce a substance that can be drunk.⁶⁶ This is why Alexinus in his *On Self-Sufficiency* (*SSR* IIc F 19) claimed that Bocchoris⁶⁷ and his father Neochabis consumed a modest diet. Pythagoras of Samos also ate moderately, according to Lycon of Iasos in his *On the Pythagorean Lifestyle* (57.3 D–K); but he did not avoid meat, according to Aristoxenus (fr. 28 Wehrli). The mathematician Apollodorus claims that Pythagoras sacrificed a hecatomb when he discovered that the hypotenuse of a right-triangle is equal to the sides that enclose it:⁶⁸

When Pythagoras discovered his famous theorem, celebrating which the famous man offered a famous sacrifice of bulls.

Pythagoras also did not drink much, and lived a very simple life, to the extent that he was often satisfied with honey and nothing else.⁶⁹ Similar stories are told about the generals Aristides, Epameinondas, Phocion, and

⁶⁴ Bocchoris was the last Pharaoh of the 24th Egyptian Dynasty (reigned 726/5–720 BCE?); his father was named Stephinates (Tefnacht).

⁶⁸ Sc. when the numbers are squared.

⁶⁹ Cf. 2.46e–f (Democritus).

στρατηγῶν. Μάνιος δὲ Κούριος ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ γογγυλίσι διεβίω πάντα τὸν χρόνον· καὶ Σαβίνων αὐτῷ πολὺ χρυσίον προσπεμπόντων οὐκ ἔφη δείσθαι χρυσίου, ἕως ἂν τοιαῦτά δειπνῇ. ἱστορεῖ δὲ ταῦτα Μεγακλῆς ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἐνδόξων Ἄνδρῶν.

Τῶν δείπνων δὲ πολλοὶ τὰ μέτρια ἀσπάζονται, ὡς Ἄλεξις ἐν Φιλούσῃ παραδίδωσιν |

- b ἄλλ' ἔγωγε τοῦ τὰ δέοντ' ἔχειν
τὰ περιττὰ μισῶ· τοῖς ὑπερβάλλουσι γὰρ
τέρψις μὲν οὐκ ἔνεστι, πολυτέλεια δέ.

<ἐν>¹² Ψευδομένῳ·

τὰ περιττὰ μισῶ· τοῖς ὑπερβάλλουσι γὰρ
δαπάνη πρόσεστιν, ἡδονὴ δ' οὐδ' ἠτισοῦν.

ἐν δὲ Συντρόφοις·

- c ὡς ἡδὺ πᾶν τὸ μέτριον· οὐθ' ὑπεργέμων |
ἀπέρχομαι νῦν οὔτε κενός, ἀλλ' ἡδέως
ἔχων ἑμαυτοῦ. Μνησίθεος γὰρ φησι δεῖν
φεύγειν ἀπάντων τὰς ὑπερβολὰς αἰεί.

Ἄριστων δ' ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐν Ἐρωτικῶν Ὁμοίων δευτέρῳ Πολέμωνά φησι τὸν Ἀκαδημαϊκὸν παραινεῖν

¹² add. Olson

⁷⁰ The Athenian politicians and generals Aristides (PAA 165170), Phocion "the Good" (PA 15076), and Phormio (PA

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Phormio.⁷⁰ The Roman general Manius Curius survived on turnips for his entire life; when the Sabines sent him a large amount of gold,⁷¹ he said that he had no need for gold, as long as he had turnips for dinner. Megacles preserves this information in his *On Famous Men* (FHG iv.443).

Many people take a positive attitude toward modest dinners, as Alexis informs us in *Philousa* (fr. 256):

But as for me, I despise having
more than I need; because there's no pleasure
in extravagance, and it costs lots of money.

In *The Liar* (Alex. fr. 261):

I despise excess; because extravagance
involves expense, and there's no pleasure in it at all.

And in *Foster-Brothers* (fr. 219):

Moderation's always nice. I'm leaving now, and
I'm neither too full nor empty; I just
feel good. Because Mnesitheus⁷² says you should
always avoid excess in everything.

The philosopher Ariston in Book II of the *Erotic Comparisons* (fr. 24 Wehrli) reports that Polemon of the Academy⁷³

14958) date to the early 5th century, the 4th century, and the 440s–430s BCE, respectively. For Epameinondas (d. 362 BCE), see 10.418b n. ⁷¹ During his first consulship, in 290 BCE.

⁷² = fr. 21 Bertier. Mnesitheus was a well-known 4th-century BCE Athenian physician with a particular interest in dietetic matters, and is cited by Athenaeus at e.g. 8.355a, 357a–8c.

⁷³ PAA 776720; cf. 2.44e n.

τοῖς ἐπὶ δείπνον πορευομένοις φροντίζειν ὅπως ἡδὺν
 πότον ποιῶνται μὴ μόνον εἰς τὸ παρόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς
 τὴν αὔριον. Τιμόθεος δ' ὁ Κόνωνος ἐκ τῶν πολυτελῶν
 d καὶ στρατηγικῶν δείπνων παραληφθεὶς ὑπὸ | Πλά-
 τωνος εἰς τὸ ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ συμπόσιον καὶ ἐστιαθεὶς
 ἀφελῶς καὶ μουσικῶς ἔφη ὡς οἱ παρὰ Πλάτωνι
 δειπνοῦντες καὶ τῇ ὑστεραία καλῶς γίνονται. ὁ δ'
 Ἡγήσανδρος ἐν τοῖς Ἱπομνήμασιν ἔφη ὡς καὶ τῇ
 ὑστεραία ὁ Τιμόθεος ἀπαντήσας τῷ Πλάτωνι εἶπεν·
 “ὕμεις, ὦ Πλάτων, εὖ δειπνεῖτε μᾶλλον εἰς τὴν ὑστε-
 ραίαν ἢ τὴν παροῦσαν ἡμέραν.” Πύρρων δ' ὁ Ἡλείος
 τῶν γνωρίμων τινὸς αὐτὸν ὑποδεξαμένου πολυτελῶς
 <μέν, . . . >¹³ δέ, ὡς <ὁ>¹⁴ αὐτὸς ἱστορεῖ, “εἰς τὸ
 e λοιπόν,” εἶπεν, “οὐχ ἤξω πρὸς σέ, ἂν | οὕτως ὑποδέχη,
 ἵνα μῆτε ἐγὼ σὲ ἀηδῶς ὀρώ καταδαπανώμενον οὐκ
 ἀναγκαίως μῆτε σὺ θλιβόμενος κακοπαθῆς. μᾶλλον
 γὰρ ἡμᾶς τῇ μεθ' ἑαυτῶν συνουσίᾳ προσῆκόν ἐστιν
 εὐεργετεῖν ἢ τῷ πλήθει τῶν παρατιθεμένων, <ῶν>¹⁵ οἱ
 διακονοῦντες τὰ πλείστα δαπανῶσιν.” Ἀντίγονος δ' ὁ
 Καρύστιος ἐν τῷ Μενεδήμου Βίῳ τὴν διάταξιν διηγού-
 μενος τοῦ παρὰ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ συμπόσιου φησὶν ὅτι
 f τοὺς λοιποὺς παρεῖναι δεδειπνηκότας· ἦν γὰρ | τὸ τοῦ
 Μενεδήμου τοιοῦτον ἄριστον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰς-

¹³ lac. not. Kaibel

¹⁴ add. Dobree

¹⁵ add. Casaubon

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advised people who were on their way to dinner to think about how they could make the drinking enjoyable not only at the moment, but on the next day as well.⁷⁴ Timotheus son of Conon,⁷⁵ who was accustomed to expensive dinners of the sort given by generals, was invited by Plato to a drinking party in the Academy; after he was entertained in a frugal, but sophisticated style, he said that people who had dinner with Plato were happy the next day as well. Hegesander in his *Commentaries* (fr. 34, *FHG* iv.420) reported that when Timotheus met Plato the next day, he said: "Plato, you people get more pleasure out of your dinner the next day than you do on the day of the party itself!" When one of his disciples entertained him lavishly, but . . . , according to the same authority, Pyrrho of Elis said: "I'm not going to visit you in the future, if you entertain me that way, so that I don't feel bad when I see you wasting your money unnecessarily, and so that you don't run short of funds and suffer. Because it's better to favor one another with our company than with a large number of dishes, most of which the servants consume." Antigonus of Carystus in his *Life of Menedemus* (pp. 99–101 Wilamowitz = fr. 26A Dorandi),⁷⁶ when he describes how the philosopher's drinking parties were organized, says that he used to have the equivalent of lunch along with one or two guests; he adds that the others needed to have had their dinner before they got there, because this was how light a meal Menedemus served. Afterward they

⁷⁴ I.e. by avoiding a hangover.

⁷⁵ PA 13700; he was active politically in the 370s–mid-350s BCE.

⁷⁶ Parallel material is preserved at D.L. 2.139–40.

εκάλουν τοὺς παραγινομένους· ὦν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὅτε προτερήσειαν ἔνιοι τῆς ὥρας, ἀνακάμπτοντες παρὰ τὰς θύρας ἀνεπνυθάνοντο τῶν ἐξιόντων παίδων τί τὸ παρακείμενον εἶη καὶ πῶς ἔχοι τῆς τοῦ χρόνου συμμετρίας τὸ ἄριστον. ὅτε μὲν οὖν ἀκούσειαν λάχανον ἢ τάριχος, ἀνεχώρουν, ὅτε δ' ὅτι κρεάδιον, εἰσήεσαν εἰς
 420 τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦτο παρεσκευασμένον οἶκον. || ἦν δὲ τοῦ μὲν θέρους ἡτοιμασμένη ψίαθος ἐφ' ἐκάστης κλίνης, τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος κώδιον· προσκεφάλαιον δὲ αὐτὸν φέρειν ἕκαστον ἔδει. τὸ δὲ περιαιγόμενον ποτήριον οὐ μείζον ἦν κοτυλαιίου, τράγημα δὲ θερμός μὲν ἢ κύαμος συνεχῶς, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ τῶν ὠρίων εἰσεφέρετό τι, τοῦ μὲν θέρους ἄπιος ἢ ρόα, τοῦ δ' ἔαρος ὄχροι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν χειμερινὴν ὥραν ἰσχάδες. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτων Λυκόφρων ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς γράψας σατύρους Μενέδημον, ἐν οἷς φησιν ὁ Σιληνὸς πρὸς τοὺς σατύρους·

παῖδες κρατίστου πατρὸς ἐξωλέστατοι, |
 b ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμῖν, ὡς ὁράτε, στρηγιῶ·
 δεῖπνον γὰρ οὐτ' ἐν Καρία, μὰ τοὺς θεούς,
 οὐτ' ἐν Ῥόδῳ τοιοῦτον οὐτ' ἐν Λυδία
 κατέχω δεδειπνηκώς. Ἄπολλον, ὡς καλόν.

καὶ προελθών·

ἀλλὰ κυλίκιον
 ὑδαρὲς ὁ παῖς περιῆγε τοῦ πεντωβόλου,

⁷⁷ The final two verses are quoted also at 2.55d.

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would invite in anyone who was there. As one might expect, any of them who arrived early would walk back and forth in front of the doors and ask the slaves as they were coming out what was being served and how far along the schedule the meal had got. When they heard that (the main course was) a vegetable or some saltfish, they left, whereas when they heard it was a cut of meat, they went into the room that had been prepared for the occasion. In the summer, a rush mat was set on each couch ahead of time, whereas during the winter there was a sheepskin; but everyone had to bring his own pillow. The cup that was passed around held less than a ladleful, and the snack that was offered was normally lupine-seeds or beans, although occasionally seasonal fruit was served, pears or pomegranates in the summer, bird's-pease in the spring, or figs in the wintertime. Lycophron of Chalcedon also attests to these facts in the satyr play *Menedemus* (*TrGF* 100 F 2, encompassing both quotations) he wrote, in which Silenus says to the satyrs:

Vile children of a powerful father,
I'm running rough-shod over you, as you can see;
because, by the gods, I don't recall having eaten
a dinner like this in Caria, or Rhodes,
or Lydia. Apollo! How nice it was!

And further on:⁷⁷

But the slave brought
around a cup full of water and some five-obol⁷⁸ wine

⁷⁸ I.e. extremely inexpensive.

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ἀτρέμα παρεξεστηκός· ὁ τ' ἀλιτήριος
καὶ δημόκοινος ἐπεχόρευε δαψιλῆς
θέρμος, πενήτων καὶ τρικλίνου συμπότης. |

c ἐξῆς δέ φησιν ὅτι ζητήσεις ἦσαν παρὰ πότον·

τράγημα δὲ
ὁ σωφρονιστῆς πᾶσιν ἐν μέσῳ λόγος.

ἱστορεῖται δὲ καὶ ὅτι

πολλάκις
συνόντας αὐτοὺς

ἐπὶ πλείον ὁ ὄρνις κατελάμβανε

τὴν ἕω καλῶν,
< . . . > τοῖσι δὲ οὐδέπω κόρος.

Ἄρκεσίλαος δ' ἐστιῶν τινας, καὶ ἐλλιπόντων τῶν ἄρ-
των νεύσαντος τοῦ παιδὸς ὡς οὐκ ἔτ' εἰσίν, ἀνα-
καγχάσας καὶ τὴν χεῖρε συγκροτήσας, "οἶόν τι", ἔφη,
"τὸ συμπόσιόν ἐστιν ἡμῶν, ἄνδρες φίλοι· ἄρτους ἐπι-
λελήσμεθ' ἀρκούντας πρίασθαι. τρέχε δὴ, παῖ." καὶ
d τοῦτ' ἔλεγεν αὐτὸς γελῶν· | καὶ τῶν παρόντων δ'
ἄθρους ἐξεχύθη γέλως καὶ διαγωγὴ πλείων ἐνέπεσεν
καὶ διατριβή, ὥστε ἡδυσμα γενέσθαι τῷ συμποσίῳ
τὴν τῶν ἄρτων ἔνδειαν. ἄλλοτε δὲ ὁ Ἄρκεσίλαος
Ἄπελλῆ τῷ γνωρίμῳ προστάξας καθυλίσει τὸν οἶνον,

79 A longer version of the fragment is preserved at D.L. 2.140.

BOOK X

that had already gone a bit bad. And the criminal and plentiful common lupine, which drinks with poor men at their parties, came dancing in.

Immediately after this he says that they posed questions for one another as they were drinking (*TrGF* 100 F 3.2–3):⁷⁹

Because our snack
was the moralizing conversation we all engaged in.

It is also reported that (*TrGF* 100 F 4, encompassing both quotations)

often,
when they were together
for a long time, the rooster overtook them

summoning the dawn,
and they had by no means had enough.

When Arcesilaus⁸⁰ had some people to dinner, and the bread ran out and the slave shook his head to signal that it was all gone, he burst out in laughter, clapped his hands, and said: "What a party we're having, my friends—we forgot to buy enough bread! Run, slave!" He was laughing as he said this, and all the guests also began to laugh, and the party became happier and more enjoyable, the result being that the shortage of bread added zest to the occasion. On another occasion Arcesilaus assigned his student Apelles to strain the wine, and when Apelles' lack of expe-

⁸⁰ Arcesilaus of Pitane (316/5–242/1 BCE; PAA 202740) was the founder of the Middle Academy. Apelles and Arideices (below) are PAA 140190 and 162020, respectively.

ATHENAEUS

ἐπειδὴ διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν ἐκείνος τὰ μὲν ἐτάραπτεν, τὰ δ' ἐξέχει, καὶ πολὺ θολώτερος ἐφαίνετο ὁ οἶνος, ὑπομειδιάσας ἔφη· “ἐγὼ δὲ καθυλίσαι προσέταξα ἀνθρώπῳ μηδὲν ἑωρακότι ἀγαθὸν ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἐγώ. ἀνάστηθι e οὖν σύ, Ἀρίδεικες· σὺ δὲ ἀπελθὼν † τὰ | ἐκτὰ τρύπα †.” ταῦτα δ' οὕτως εὐφραине καὶ ἐξιλάρον τοὺς παρόντας ὡς εὐθυμίας πληροῦσθαι.

BOOK X

rience caused him to make some of it cloudy, and to spill the rest, and when the wine actually looked much murkier than it did before, Arcesilaus smiled gently and said: "I assigned someone to strain the wine who has no more idea of what the Good is than I do. So get off of your couch, Arideices! And as for you, go away † the qualities pierce!" † These remarks delighted and amused the other guests so much that they were in a very good mood.

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