

West, M. L.: *Ancient Greek Music*, Oxford 1992.

West, St.: *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey*. Volume I. Introduction and Books I–VIII. A. Heubeck / St. West / J.B. Hainsworth, Oxford 1988 (commentary on books I–IV by St. West, see „Contents“).

Wünsch, R.: *Hymnos*, RE IX 1 (1914) 140 – 183.

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OBSERVATIONS ON ΑΔΗΦΑΓΙΑ

1. LSJ ninth edition (1940): ἄδην-φαγέω, *to be greedy*, Her-mipp.84 [Kock = 79 K.-A.]; of horses, S.Fr.976, Isoc.6.55. -φαγία, ἢ, *gluttony*, Call.Dian.160: pl., Arist.Fr.144, Opp.H.2.218: – personified, Ἀδηφαγίας ἱερὸν Polem.Hist. 39. -φάγοϛ, ον, (ἄδην) *gluttonous, greedy*, ἀνήρ Theoc.22.115; τὴν ἄ. νόσον S.Ph.313; ἄ. λύχνος, of a lamp *that burns much oil*, Alc.Com.21. [Kock → K.-A.] 2. metaph., *devouring much money, costly*, τριήρεις Lys.Fr.39 [Thalheim, 103 Sauppe], cf. Philist.58; of racehorses, Pherecr.197 [Kock = 212 K.-A.], Ar.Fr.736 [OCT = 758 K.-A.].

LSJ Supplement (1968): ἄδηνφάγοϛ, add ‘IG 2².2311.55 (iv B.C.)’.

LSJ ninth edition with a revised Supplement (1996): ἄδην-φαγέω, for ‘of horses’ read ‘in part., of horses, = °ἀδηφάγοϛ 1b’. ἄδηνφάγοϛ, lines 3/5, for ‘ἄ. λύχνος’ to end of article read ‘b t.t. for a category of horses at the Games, Pherecr.212 K.-A., Ar.fr.758 K.-A. (both fr. Phot.), Theopomp.Hist.250J, IG2².2311.55 (Athens, iv BC); cf. °ἀδηφαγέω; superl. Ach.Tat.4.3.2. 2 fig., *eating up* fuel, money, etc., ἄ. λύχνος Alc.Com.21 [Kock → K.-A.]; τριήρεις Lys.fr.39 [Thalheim, 103 Sauppe], cf. Philist.68J.’

I shall argue¹ that still further revision is called for. For the earlier material at any rate, I want to challenge this equation of ἀδηφαγία with ‘gluttony’ – a concept which, even if it were not one of Christianity’s Seven Deadly Sins, entails unavoidable notions of individual and deliberate human excess that may be quite out of

1) I have benefited, in doing so, from the advice of Dr Roger Brock (Leeds) and Professor Robert Parker (Oxford), but responsibility for the argument is mine alone.

place here. To speak of gluttony cannot but involve a value-judgement; ἄδηφασία and its cognates, however, may or may not embody one, depending (in large part) on whether there is a connection with animals, especially horses. That gluttony and greed existed in the ancient world is of course a matter of common sense as well as ample hard evidence, yet its expression in ἄδηφασια- words seems to be a late development. Consequently, while the existence of at least one cult of Adephegia is not something we can dismiss out of hand, the kind of cult it was is by no means self-evident.

2. What the 1968 LSJ Supplement did, as we see, was to add an inscription to literary testimony. IG ii²2311, SIG³ 1055, is a list (from some time in the first half of the fourth century)² of prizes attached to the competitive events at the Panathenaea. Lines 52–57, concerned with first and second prizes (in quantities of olive oil) for two kinds of chariot race, read as follows: ἵππων πωλικῶι ζεύγει· | ΔΔΔΔ ἀμφορῆς ἐλαίω. | ΠΙΠΙ δευτέρωι | ἵππων ζεύγει ἀδηφάγωι· | ΗΔΔΔΔ ἀμφορῆς ἐλαίω. | ΔΔΔΔ δευτέρωι. The distinction, then, is between a ζεύγος πωλικόν and, evidently much more prestigious, a ζεύγος ἀδηφάγον. Since the former can be nothing other than a team of foals (πῶλοι), the constituents of the latter must be fully-grown, adult horses; literally those eating their fill.³

No comparable epigraphic evidence reveals the use of the term at any of the four great periodic Games outside Athens (Isthmian, Nemean, Olympic, Pythian), or indeed anywhere else. Any festival which did come to include races for foal-drawn chariots – as we know the Olympics did in 384 (Paus. 5.8.10) and the Pythians in 374 (Paus. 10.7.7) – may from that time onwards have applied to the senior event the word ἀδηφάγος, or simply τέλειος (adult).⁴

2) All ancient dates are B.C. unless otherwise indicated.

3) According to Phot. Lex. α345 (quoted below, section 3) ‘certain runners at Nemea were called ἀδηφάγοι’, but this, in so far as it is intelligible, appears to refer to human rather than to equine kind. Hesychius (again, quoted below) claims that Boiotians as well as Athenians distinguished fully-grown horses from foals by calling them ἀδηφάγοι. With Photius’ additional comment that ‘gymnasts were so called in Argos’ we may well have crossed the boundary between technical term and (when not applied to horses) value-judgement.

4) On τέλειος see further in note 5, below, and generally V.J. Rosivach, *The System of Public Sacrifice in Fourth-Century Athens*, Atlanta 1994, 91–92 with 148–153. Rosivach points out that the definition of τέλειος is connected with the complete loss of the animal’s first set of teeth (a state of affairs reached in horses, according to Aristot. HA 576a6–12, by the age of four and a half).

3. IG ii²2311 alone, unambiguous as it is – in this respect anyway – on the nature of the ζεύγος ἀδηφάγων race at the Panathenaea,⁵ would have been enough to show that ἀδηφάγος is indeed what LSJ now calls it, a ‘(technical) (term) for a category of horses at the Games’; but the inscription also brings welcome corroboration to a body of lexicographical testimony which makes an ἀδηφάγος = τέλειος equation with regard to racehorses. See chiefly:

Harpor. s.v. ἀδηφάγους τριήρεις (A29 Keaney): Λυσίας λέγει ἐν τῇ Ὑπὲρ Εὐκρίτου διαμαρτυρία (fr. 39 Thalheim, 103 Sauppe), εἰ γνήσιος ὁ λόγος, καὶ ἀδηφάγον πεντηκόντορον Φίλιστος (FGI Hist 556 F 68)· λέγοιεν δ’ ἂν τὰς ἐντελομίσθους καὶ πολλὰ ἀναλισκούσας. ἔοικε δὲ ἐκ μεταφορᾶς τῶν ἵππων τῶν τελείων καὶ ἀγωνιστῶν λέγεσθαι, οἵτινες εἰώθησιν “ἔδμεναι ἄδδην” κατὰ τὸν ποιητὴν (‘ἀδηφάγοι triremes: Lysias says this in the witness-plea *For Eukritos* – if the speech is genuine – and Philistos writes of an ἀδηφάγος fifty-oarer; they mean to say [warships] on full pay and costing a lot. It seems to be a metaphorical way of speaking from adult racehorses, which according to the poet [Hom. Il. 5.203] are accustomed “to eat their fill”’);

Hesych. α1110, ἀδηφάγοι· τοὺς τελείους ἵππους οὕτως ἔλεγον Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Βοιωτοὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν πῶλων διάκρισιν (‘ἀδηφάγοι· Athenians and Boiotians used to call adult horses this, to distinguish them from foals’);

Phot. Lex. α341, ἀδηφάγον ἄρμα· τὸ τέλειον (‘ἀδηφάγον chariot-team: the adult kind’);

Phot. Lex. α342, ἀδηφάγοι τριήρεις· ... καὶ ἀδηφάγα ἄρματα τὰ μεγάλα καὶ τέλεια. καὶ ἔστι πεποιημένον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄδδην ἐσθίειν ἦτοι δαψιλῶς (‘ἀδηφάγοι triremes: ... and ἀδηφάγα chariot-teams are the large, adult ones. It comes from eating one’s fill or liberally’);

Phot. Lex. α345, ἀδηφάγοι· (οἱ) ἀγωνισταὶ ἵπποι οὕτως ἐκαλοῦντο, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης (fr. 758 K.-A.) καὶ Φερεκράτης (fr. 212 K.-A.). ἔφη δὲ καὶ ἀδηφαγοῦσα Σοφοκλῆς (fr. 976 Pearson → Radt) καὶ ἀδηφαγεῖν Ἑρμιππος (fr. 79 K.-A.). ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀδηφάγον εἶπε

5) See e.g. Kirchner’s note to IG ii²2311, and Dittenberger’s to SIG³ 1055 (pointing out that “in recentioribus victorum laterculis ζεύγος τέλειον vocatur”); L. Ziehen, Panathenaia (1), RE XVIII 3, 1949, 457–489, at 478; S. G. Miller, *Arete: ancient writers, papyri, and inscriptions on the history and ideals of Greek athletics and games*, Chicago 1979, 44–47, no. 28; H. W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians*, London 1977, 36. Where doubt does arise, it is over the question of whether these events were for four-horse (so Ziehen) or two-horse (so Miller) chariots.

Λυσίας (fr. 39 Thalheim, 103 Sauppe) τὴν τέλειον μισθὸν λαμβάνουσαν τριήρη. Ἄλκαϊος δὲ ὁ κωμικὸς (fr. 21 K.-A.) καὶ τοὺς πότας λεγομένους λύχνους ἀδηφάγους ἔφη χαριεντιζάμενος. καὶ δρομεῖς δὲ τινες ἐν Νεμέᾳ ἀδηφάγοι ἐλέγοντο. καὶ οἱ γυμναστικοὶ παρὰ Ἄργείοις οὕτως. λέγουσι δὲ τινες καὶ τὸν ἱερὸν λόχον ἀδηφάγον (ἀδηφάγοι: competition horses were so called, as Aristophanes and Pherecrates show. Also, Sophocles used [the feminine participle] ἀδηφαγοῦσα and Hermippos [the infinitive] ἀδηφαγεῖν. But in addition ἀδηφάγος was how Lysias spoke of the trireme drawing full pay. Alcaeus the comic poet also, in jest, said that the lamps referred to as tippers were ἀδηφάγοι. And certain runners at Nemea were called ἀδηφάγοι. And gymnasts were so called in Argos. Some also describe the Sacred Band as ἀδηφάγος’);

Pollux 1.181, ἵπποι ἀθληταὶ καὶ ἀγωνισταὶ καὶ ἀδηφάγοι (‘horses [are called] racers and competition and ἀδηφάγοι’).

4. As is obvious, the penultimate item in the dossier of material just set out, Phot. Lex. α345, is the source of many of the illustrations of the ἀδηφαγ- words in LSJ; and these contextless lexicographical citations have been duly frogmarched, to and fro, between the standard modern editions of the fragments of the classical authors concerned. Mention of IG ii²2311 has been much rarer, but does go back at least as far as A.C. Pearson, *The Fragments of Sophocles*, Cambridge 1917, III 127.

Pearson’s overall observations on Soph. fr. 976 – the single word ἀδηφαγοῦσα – are so acute that they deserve quotation (fuller than the precis in Radt, *TrGF*, ad loc.): “Naber, Nauck, Dindorf and Blaydes agree in thinking that ἀδηφαγοῦσα is a corruption of ἀδηφάγον νόσον, and that the reference is to *Phil.* 313 [Philoctetes on his chronically suppurating foot: βόσκων τὴν ἀδηφάγον νόσον]. I am unable to assent to this view, which appears to me to be highly improbable, if the whole scope of the article in Photius is considered and compared with the parallel extracts in [other lexicographers]. All of these go back ultimately to a common source, the objects of which were to show that the κυριολογία of ἀδηφάγος was its application to race-horses, and to illustrate its metaphorical use. In each case the quotation from Lysias is the first of the metaphorical examples; but, if we accept ἀδηφάγον νόσον, we must also assume that the subject of ἀδηφαγεῖν [in the fragment of Hermippus] has dropped out, since it is incredible that a return to

the κύριον would have been so awkwardly placed, however much the extract may have been abbreviated. [...] Although mares were employed in racing (Jebb on *El.* 705), since ἀδηφάγος was a technical equivalent of τελεῖος ἵππος, Sophocles cannot have written ἀδηφαγοῦσα πῶλος. But ἀδηφαγοῦσα ξυνωρίς would have been a possible expression after the pattern of ἵππων ζεύγει ἀδηφάγῳ in *C.I.A.* II 965 [= IG ii²2311]”.

One need not follow this every step of the way; for example, Wilamowitz (according to Radt) noted in his copy of Nauck ad loc. that the noun governed by ἀδηφαγοῦσα may simply have been (ἡ) ἵππος, rather than Pearson’s ξυνωρίς, a two-horse (or two-foal) chariot. Nevertheless, if Pearson’s main line of reasoning is accepted we ought to re-classify under the ‘t.t. for a category of horses’ heading even more of LSJ’s original material than was done in 1996. This would remove from overt association with the semantic fields of greed and expense not only Aristophanes and Pherecrates, but also Sophocles, Hermippus (whose ἀδηφαγεῖν, likewise, should be understood to pertain to horses), and indeed – the only one of these citations which is not an isolated fragment – Isocrates 6.55. There Archidamus expresses his disgust with the self-indulgence of his fellow-Spartans in the 360s by depicting them as ζεύγη ... ἵππων ἀδηφαγούντων ... τρέφοντας. The Loeb translator, George Norlin, rendered this as ‘feeding teams of ravenous horses’. If ἀδηφαγούντων is modified to ‘full-grown’, the sting in the remark is not lost; it merely becomes a matter of implication.⁶ And the same goes for Isocrates’ ex-pupil Theopompus, *FGrHist* 115 F 250 (picked up in the revised LSJ; see section 1 above): though a ‘slave’ (meaning a non-Hellene), Hermias of Atarneus ἀδηφάγοις ζεύγεσιν ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσιν ἀγωνίζεται. A recent translator professes “he is contending in the national games with an expensive team of horses”.⁷ Once again I would argue that ‘expensive’ wrongly makes explicit what is actually tacit.

6) With Norlin’s ‘ravenous’ cf. ‘voracious’ (G.E.M. de Ste. Croix, *The Origins of the Peloponnesian War*, London 1972, 355 – a useful brief survey, nevertheless, of Spartan chariot-victories between the 540s and the 360s; on that see also P. A. Cartledge, *Agasilaos and the Crisis of Sparta*, London 1987, 149–150, esp. on Archidamos’ aunt [Agasilaos’ half-sister] Kyniska).

7) M. A. Flower, *Theopompos of Chios: history and rhetoric in the fourth century B. C.*, Oxford 1994, 86. I do not see, incidentally, why Flower makes ἀδηφάγοις ζεύγεσιν singular.

5. The association of the ἀδηφαγ- concept with what might be termed high-performance horses appears indeed to be original and fundamental to it, as we see in Harpoc. s.v. ἀδηφάγους τριήρεις, quoted in section 3 above (and also in Eustathius' comment on Homer's words). Pandarus in Iliad book 5 is obliged to fight on foot, as an archer, because of his decision (which he now regrets) to leave at home his eleven (!) two-horse chariots. He had done this out of concern for his horses, who were 'accustomed to eating their fill' (εἰωθότες ἔδμεναι ἄδην v. 203) of barley and rye but might not get enough on active service.

Neither here nor – once the ἀδηφαγ- words had come into existence – in any other attested equestrian context are there discernible overtones of gluttony or excess.⁸ The Greeks were of course apt to regard certain creatures as positively greedy for food; pigs, for example, or particular species of bird such as the gull (λάρος);⁹ but I am not aware of any evidence that horses (setting aside wholly untypical ones like the carnivorous mares of Diomedes) could fall into that category. Rather, a fully-grown horse expected to run fast will want, and will need, to eat to full capacity, and a solicitous (or merely sensible) owner will feed it accordingly.¹⁰

Against this general background, from Homer to Theopompus, it is therefore tempting to suggest that all other uses of the ἀδηφαγ- words should be seen as what Harpocration called 'a metaphorical way of speaking from adult racehorses', and that these uses arose for the reason – simple enough in itself – that he

8) An interesting late (and similarly neutral) context occurs in the ninth-century A.D. Hippiatrica Parisina, section 1066, *περὶ ἰάσεως διαφορῶν νοσημάτων*; this includes dietary instructions for what must be done if a horse (μη ἀδηφαγῆ). (The textual supplement is guaranteed by the parallel passage in Geoponica 16.3.3.) A more pointed sort of allusion to the amount horses can eat is Phryn. Praep. Soph. 79.20 de Borries, drawn to my attention by Roger Brock: κριθώλεθροι ἵπποι: ἐπὶ τὴν μάτην ἐσθιόντων ἵππων ('κριθώλεθροι [barley-wasting] horses, [a term applied] to those horses which eat and have nothing to show for it').

9) Pigs: see e.g. Xen. Cyrop. 5.2.17 (the Persians consider ὑκόν an enthusiasm for food and drink). Gulls: see in brief N. Dunbar, Aristophanes: Birds, Oxford 1995, 380. The wretched ἀδηφάγα ζῶα of Plut. Lyk. 10.2 are evidently creatures (of unspecified species) being fattened up, whether they liked it or not, for the table.

10) On the nutritional requirements of horses in antiquity (including the high-protein diet appropriate to racehorses) see A. Hyland, *Equus: the horse in the Roman world*, London 1990, 40–45.

himself perceived. Mature horses were hearty eaters, and their being so was no criticism of the beasts themselves, which were admired and coveted creatures. The disapproving value-judgement implicit in a modern term like ‘gluttony’ was a secondary development of the ἀδηφαγ- words (albeit, over the course of time, a dominant one), not something inherent in them. For such a development to occur, the idea of uninhibited consumption had to be liberated from its original, equine context (which we may call type-A usage) and applied to something, or someone, without the horse’s inbuilt justification for its appetite (type-B usage).¹¹

This scenario would of course gain considerably in persuasiveness if the earliest-surviving instances of the ἀδηφαγ- words themselves were type-A, that is, instances of LSJ’s ‘t.t. for a category of horses’ kind. So are they? Whether they are appears to depend, in terms of the evidence we have, on whether Sophocles’ ἀδηφαγοῦσα and/or Hermippus’ ἀδηφαγεῖν (if used, as I have suggested, of horses) come earlier than 409, the year of Sophocles’ *Philoctetes* with its arresting image of an ἀδηφάγος νόσος: see section 6 below. From what we know of the periods during which Sophocles and Hermippus were active it seems to me probable – though not provable – that one or both of these type-A passages do predate 409 (and, along the same lines, that Alcaeus’ ἀδηφάγοι lamps are later). This would then represent the state of affairs implicit in Harpocration’s assertion that the type-B usage arose ἐκ μεταφορᾶς from a situation in which the ἀδηφαγ- words were used of horses only and, accordingly, carried no adverse overtones.

6. With that chronological uncertainty noted, we observe that the transferred, non-equine applications (type-B) appear to come first in respect of inanimate objects: disease in Sophocles; lamps in Alcaeus Comicus; warships in Lysias (triremes) and Philistus (pentekonters).

The first of these, quoted in section 3 above, stands somewhat apart from the other three, in its complete and utter inanimateness. Sophocles has the wretched Philoctetes speak of himself feeding, βόσκων, his disease; in reality it is the disease which feeds on him, and there is nothing he, the victim, can do about it. This is

11) Homer’s notion of a horse eating its fill appears to be that it will eat all it naturally needs, but not more. Contrast humans, who can have a surfeit of war (Il. 13.315; 19.423) or wickedness (Od. 5.290).

an extremely striking turn of phrase: coming from a great writer at the height of his powers (in 409), was it perhaps the pivotal one in demonstrating the metaphorical potentialities of ἀδηφάγ- words?

By contrast, human participation, whether willing or grudging, is obviously required to replenish oil-lamps and to pay the crews of warships (who in any case are necessarily human themselves: see further below).¹² To that extent, the humans who do the replenishing and the paying are in a position – involved in heavy expenditure – broadly analogous to that of the owner of ἀδηφάγοι ἵπποι; but with horses not involved, ἀδηφαγία is likely to be cast in a different, less favourable light. According to Photius (quoted in section 3 above), Alcaeus' ἀδηφάγοι lamps were so called in jest, and doubtless the joke came and went without needing to be laboured. Lysias and Philistus (probably in that order) on warships as ἀδηφάγοι are harder to fathom without a context. Harpocration and Photius make explicit what we would have assumed anyway – that such vessels are ἀδηφάγοι in the sense of the overall wage-bill for the crews; this still leaves unclear, though, the purpose of calling them so. Hostility to the actual recipients of the money is possible but, I would think, unlikely; rather, a larger political point (the heavy costs of naval warfare) may be at issue.¹³

At all events, individuals characterized as ἀδηφάγοι are something else again. The earliest I can find for certain is no earlier than the late fourth century, in a long fragment of Attic New Comedy preserved by Athenaeus: Anaxippos' cook, whose policy it is to match the dish to the diner, will serve a philosopher with ham or pigs' feet – because 'the creature is excessively ἀδηφάγος'

12) For another, necessarily human element in something inanimate characterized as ἀδηφάγος see Suda κ2162, defining rancour: Κότος: ὀργή, ἢ φθόνος ἢ ὁ ἀδηφάγος. Compare also Didyma II: Die Inschriften von Albert Rehm, ed. R. Harder, Berlin 1958, no. 496B (which seems to be the only other appearance of an ἀδηφάγ- word on stone besides IG ii²2311), second century A.D.: in an Apolline oracular response, in hexameters, given to a priestess of Demeter, the goddess is credited with having made mankind civilized cereal-eaters instead of savage carnivores (cf. generally e.g. Isoc. 4.28) who ἀδηφάγον εἶχον ἐδοδῆν ('had gluttonous food': H.W. Parke, *The Oracles of Apollo in Asia Minor*, London 1985, 83).

13) On Philistus I forbear to comment further, but in Lysias' case at least it must be a possibility that his client Eukritos was seeking the jurors' approval of (e.g.) his record as trierarch. If that is so, the expense he had incurred was apparently being equated with that of the owner of ἀδηφάγοι ἵπποι. For another possible instance where ἀδηφαγία has nothing to do with horses yet is still viewed favourably, see section 7 below.

(ἀδηφάγον τὸ ζῶον εἰς ὑπερβολήν / ἔστιν: Athen. 404D). However, under this head we should recall Photius' assertion (quoted in section 3 above) that 'some also describe the Sacred Band as ἀδηφάγος'. While Diodorus Siculus makes brief mention of such a ἱερός λόχος in Carthage in 340 (16.80.4) and in 310 (20.10.6), it seems reasonable to understand Harpocration's allusion as being to 'the' Sacred Band, the Theban one (Plut. Pelop. 18.1), attestations of whose existence are confined to the period 378–338. Plutarch describes its three hundred members as being maintained at public expense (ἢ πόλις ἄσκησιν καὶ διαίταν ἐν τῇ Καδμείᾳ στρατοπεδουμένοις παρέιχε). With or without the help of modern analogies it is easy enough to see how the notion of their being ἀδηφάγοι could have arisen, whether within Thebes or amongst outsiders looking in, and particularly so against a general background of perceived Boiotian gourmandizing.¹⁴

On into the hellenistic period proper, and we come upon the two passages cited by LSJ. In Theocr. Idylls 22.115 the massive ἀδηφάγος ἀνήρ – Amycus, king of the Bebryces – who, to his eventual cost, challenges the pugilistic prowess of Polydeuces is not a currently living man but a human character in myth.¹⁵ And qua ἀδηφάγος he is the human counterpart of Heracles, playfully described in Callimachus' *Hymn to Artemis* (3.146–61, at 159–60) as having by no means abandoned his ἀδηφαγία (οὐ ... παύσατ' ἀδηφαγίης) once he had attained immortality.

As is well recognized, Heracles had been a figure of low comic gluttony since at least the early fifth century (Ἐπίχαρμος fr. 21 Kaibel). Aristophanes, after reassuring audiences in the late 420s that they would not be treated to anything as hackneyed as 'Hera-

14) 'I am (like) a Boiotian, talking little ... but eating lots', says a character in Mnesimachus' *Busiris* (fr. 2 K.-A., ap. Athen. 417E); see generally Athen. 417B–418B; and cf. Plut. Mor. 635A and 995E for teasing about the ἀδηφαγία of his fellow-Boiotians.

15) A.S.F. Gow, *Theocritus*, Cambridge 1952, ad loc. (p. 397): "... since all strong men, and therefore presumably also Polydeuces, ate to excess (4. 10, 34 nn, 24. 137), T. is probably thinking only of Amycus's portentous size". Homer's Nestor and Phoinix may be associated with an ἀδηφαγ- word in Aristot. fr. 144 Rose (cited by LSJ), but it is by no means certain that Athen. 556D is quoting Aristotle verbatim when he writes of their bodies not having been abused, in their youth, by drink, sex, or the dyspeptic consequences of ἀδηφαγία (ἢ διὰ μέθης ἢ δι' ἀφροδισίων ἢ καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐν ταῖς ἀδηφαγίαις ἀπεψίας); it would be the only instance of an ἀδηφαγ- word anywhere in the *Corpus Aristotelicum*.

cles defrauded of his dinner' (Ἡρακλῆς τὸ δεῖπνον ἐξαπατώμενος, Vesp. 60; cf. Pax 741–2), proceeded in later plays to make capital out of that very stereotype: Av. 567 and, at length, 1565–1693; Ran. 62–3 and 549–60. Even tragedy could portray a Heracles bent on consuming a meal larger than the one originally served (Eur. Alk. 753–5). Yet never once, in what survives of these and other pre-hellenistic writers, are ἀδηφαγ- words used of Heracles, metrically very suitable though they often are; and the same goes for others whom (for example) scholiasts to Aristophanes identify as being ridiculed for ἀδηφαγία but who are never, in point of fact, described in those terms.¹⁶

7. Mention of Heracles has taken us from men to gods, and thus to the most tantalizing of all the ἀδηφαγία passages marshalled by LSJ: “*gluttony* . . . personified, ἀδηφαγίας ἱερόν, Polem. Hist.39”. To quote the testimonium (ap. Athen. 416B [= Polemon fr. 39 Preller]) in full: Πολέμων δ' ἐν α' τῶν (Schweighäuser: ἐνάτωρ mss) πρὸς Τίμαιον παρὰ Σικελιώταις φησὶν Ἀδηφαγίας ἱερόν εἶναι, καὶ Σιτοῦς Δήμητρος ἄγαλμα, οὗ πλησίον ἰδρῦσθαι καὶ Ἴμαλίδος, καθάπερ ἐν Δελφοῖς Εὐνόστου (Gulick: ερμούχου mss), ἐν δὲ Σκώλῳ τῷ Βοιωτικῷ Μεγαλόρτου καὶ Μεγαλομάζου ('Polemon in the first book of *Reply to Timaeus* says that amongst the Sicilian Greeks there is a shrine of Adephagia, and a statue of Grain Demeter, near which there is also situated one of [Demeter] Abundant, just like the one of [?] Good Yield in Delphi and, in Boiotian Skolos, Big Loaf and Big Barleycake'). There is no indication of date, beyond the simple terminus ante quem established by the source being Polemon (late third/early second century).

The macrocosmic context (411A–422D) in which this occurs might at first sight seem to justify the translation ‘Gluttony’, adopted by the Loeb editor of Athenaeus, C.B. Gulick, as well as by LSJ. Here is a realm of individuals, athletes especially (cf. e.g. Plut. Arat. 3.2) who simultaneously disgust and fascinate us by their sheer capacity for food; a gallery of grotesques like Dionysius, tyrant of Pontic Heraclea, whose wilful obesity reached such a pitch that he conducted audiences from a box which hid from view everything but his face (Athen. 549A–D). Here is gluttony in the simple, recognizable sense that we see it in the definition given

16) See e.g. Σ Nub. 674, on Cleonymus.

by Suda α469: Ἄδηφαγία· ἡ ἀπληστία· καὶ Ἄδηφάγος, ἀθρόως ἐσθίων (ἀδηφαγία: insatiate greed. And ἀδηφάγος, eating incessantly/copiously, omnivorous, belly-mad').

Yet all this, even if true, could not in itself guarantee that Athenaeus has put Polemon's information (much of it already given at 109A–B) to appropriate use. In the microcosm, that of Polemon's subject, we have surely left the subject of individual gourmandizing for that of serious cult observance, particularly – once Adephegia has been mentioned – various manifestations of Demeter.¹⁷ The textual uncertainty surrounding her epithet at Delphi is unwelcome, but even ignoring the phrase καθάπερ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐρμούχου a fairly consistent theme seems discernible; and 'gluttony' risks being a way of describing it which is highly prejudicial (and indeed, from well-nourished modern scholars, patronizing). Others, better-versed in the intricacies of Greek religion than I am, might care to pursue the matter, which appears to have been ignored.¹⁸ Everyone acknowledges the generally prime place of eating at festival times. Clear too, it would seem, is its particularly close association with Heracles, not as comic glutton but as serious (if still food-oriented) cult figure.¹⁹ In any case the anarchic

17) Epithets like Megalartos and Megalomazos are unlikely to carry implications about the goddess's own appetite. (It is her part in the story of Tantalus and Pelops that Pind. Ol. 1.52 has in mind when denying that any of the immortals could be γαστήριμαργος.)

18) Robert Parker has kindly informed me that Adephegia is not dealt with by F.W. Hamdorf, *Griechische Kultpersonifikationen der vorhellenistischen Zeit*, Mainz 1964 (non vidi). Given Polemon's date, the omission may of course have been quite deliberate.

19) In this regard see e. g. W. Burkert, *Buzyge und Palladion*, ZRGG 22, 1970, 356–368, at 364–365 (cf. L. Bruit Zaidman and P. Schmitt Pantel, *Religion in the Ancient Greek City*, Cambridge 1992, 171–172) on a sacrifice to Heracles at Lindos; according to the sources on this (Philostratus et al.) the underlying myth involved Heracles cooking and eating a whole ox himself. S. Woodford, *Cults of Heracles in Attica*, in: *Studies presented to George M.A. Hanfmann*, ed. by D.G. Mitten, J.G. Pedley, J.A. Scott, Cambridge Mass. 1971, 211–225, at 213–214, draws attention to vases, reliefs, and archaeological remains in Attica [and elsewhere: see A. Schachter, *Heracles*, in: *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Oxford³ 1996, 684–686, at 685] which show a special kind of unroofed building, associated with Heracles cults, that may have been the venue for ritual banquets. And note also Plutarch's eighteenth Roman Question (Mor. 267E–F), 'Why used many of the rich to give a tithe of their property to Heracles?'; amongst the rhetorical answers to this is the suggestion that lavish sacrifices – wrongly understood as tithes – were appropriate for such an ἀδηφάγος and εὐθόινος (trencherman).

nature of that mass of phenomena which for convenience's sake we call 'Greek religion' makes it unwise to exclude the possibility that someone, somewhere in Greek Sicily, chose to personify ἀδηφαγία in the sense of luxurious over-eating and to build it a shrine. Nevertheless, an alternative demands consideration: a ἱερόν raised not in praise of self-indulgent, individualistic Gourmandizing but in communal gratitude for Plenty to Eat (and in the earnest hope of its continuation).²⁰

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20) On the ever-present likelihood of food shortage (if not outright famine) in the ancient Mediterranean in general see P.D.A. Garnsey, *Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World*, Cambridge 1988, part I. Where Sicily is concerned, there is ample evidence (in Garnsey and elsewhere) for a long-term role as an exporter of cereals, but this may have been slow to develop to the extent that we see it in the fourth century and later. Note M.H. Jameson on 'Sicily and Magna Graecia, cults and mythology' in the *OCD* (full citation in the preceding note) 1403: "[cults] of Demeter and Persephone are particularly widespread and conspicuous in the archaeological record, reflecting perhaps the urgency of ensuring fertility and survival in a new environment".