

SALPE'S ΠΑΙΓΝΙΑ: ATHENAEUS 322A AND PLIN. *H.N.* 28.38*

Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie* knows of two women named after the attractive looking, but allegedly unappetising fish, *γάλη*. The first is mentioned several times in the elder Pliny, who on one occasion refers to her as an *obstetrix*,¹ while the second features in the *Deipnosophistae* of Athenaeus as a writer of *παίγνια*.² In a recent issue of this journal J. N. Davidson has made the suggestion that they were one and the same person.³ Salpe's *παίγνια*, Davidson argues, would not have consisted of light or frivolous verse, but of a compilation of prose recipes of a kind that is to be found in a section of a London magical papyrus which is headed *παίγνια Δημοκρίτου*.⁴ Such recipes might well have cohabited with the kind of practical medical advice reportedly given by the Salpe referred to in Pliny. His case is superficially attractive since, as will be seen, such a collocation of practical help and frivolity is easy to parallel in magical and other subliterate texts. It needs to be scrutinized, however, in the light of a fuller presentation and consideration of the evidence than is to be found in his note. First, it is worth describing at greater length the phenomena in question, which are much more common than one would gather from a reading of Davidson and which are, I suspect, not as yet as familiar to the scholarly world as they should be.

DEMOCRITUS' ΠΑΙΓΝΙΑ AND ITS PARALLELS

The above-mentioned *παίγνια Δημοκρίτου* consists of twelve prescriptions with for the most part frivolous or dubious ends: to make bronze look like gold, to make an egg look like a quince,⁵ to cause a cook not to be able to light his stove, to eat garlic without acquiring bad breath, to prevent an old woman from talking or drinking too much, to make gladiators depicted in a painting (on the glasses) appear to engage in

* I am grateful to Mary Beagon and K.-D. Fischer for reading and commenting on an earlier draft of this note and also to the journal's anonymous referee, particularly for the reference supplied regarding the medical inspection of slaves before they are sold (note 46). Jim Adams and David Langslow were kind enough to discuss with me passages from Pliny and Celsus.

¹ Plin. *H.N.* 28.38, 66, 82, 262; 32.135, 140, *RE* 1 A 2, Salpe (1). Though she is only once mentioned by name as an *obstetrix*, she must be included in the *obstetricum nobilitas* of Plin. *H.N.* 28.67.

² Athen. 322a, *RE* 1 A 2, Salpe (2).

³ J. N. Davidson, 'Don't try this at home: Pliny's Salpe, Salpe's *Paignia* and magic', *CQ* n.s. 45 (1995), 590–2. The connection between Salpe's *παίγνια* and the *παίγνια* of 'Democritus' had already been made by M. Wellmann, *Die Georgika des Demokritos*, *SPAW* (1921), 29 n. 3. He suggested that, like Laevius', they might have been *erotopaignia*, but certainly assumed that they were written in prose.

⁴ *PGM* 7. 167–86 = D.-K. 68 F 300. Compare Maltomini in *Corpus dei papiri filosofici greci* i i** 43a 1 l. For the most recent discussion of 'Democritus' see P. Kingsley, *JWCI* 57 (1995), 5ff. and, for an English translation of the *παίγνια*, H.-D. Betz (ed.), *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation including the Demotic Spells* (Chicago, 1992), 119ff.

⁵ Reading *μήλωι* rather than *μήλων* in l. 170 (so K. F. W. Schmidt, *GGA* 196 [1934], 170 following Wessely). In a text of this date there is nothing unusual syntactically about *ῥμοιος* followed by the genitive (see L. Rydbeck, *Fachprosa, Vermeintliche Volkssprache und neues Testament: zur Beurteilung der sprachliche Niveauunterschiede im nachklassischen Griechisch* [*Studia Graeca Upsaliensia*, 5, Uppsala, 1967], 46ff.), but the sense here demands a singular.

a real fight, to be scalded despite eating cold food, to benefit people who have difficulty mixing socially (or couples who have sexual difficulties?), to drink a lot and not get drunk, not to become thirsty when travelling, to be able to fuck (βινεῖν) a lot, and to have an erection at will. Such tricks and spells can easily be paralleled both from papyri and from literature, and are often explicitly designated as intended for performance at symposia.⁶ The most extensive collection is to be found in Psellus' *περὶ παραδόξων ἀκουσμάτων*.⁷ Here we have sixteen tricks that it is permissible to perform without impiety: catching fish, ensuring the success of a fighting cock, creating the illusion that a black man is present at a symposium, smashing a nut with bare hands, avoiding pain when walking, making an egg purple, manipulating lead and tin, splitting an anvil, preventing a cock from crowing, writing on water, finding whether or not a girl is a virgin, not to feel sleepy despite suffering from insomnia, changing water into wine, smashing iron, causing a woman looking into a mirror to see her nose as an ass's snout, and dividing an egg. Elsewhere there are six items found in a Yale papyrus which present material of a character very similar to the *παίγνια* Δημοκρίτου.⁸ The first describes a method of sustaining an erection, the second (possibly) how to pick up a partner at the baths, the third how to 'play' with a woman, the fourth how to cause a fight⁹ to break out at a symposium, the fifth how to turn cheap wine sour, and the sixth how to be able to fuck (βινεῖν) many times.¹⁰

A further example of a text of the kind postulated by Davidson, where recipes which involve illusion and/or mischief are combined with recipes aiming at more practical ends, is to be found in the still relatively little known medico-magical work entitled *Cyranides*.¹¹ This work, as well as containing prescriptions for cures, for personal hygiene, for cosmetic improvement, and for self-advancement, presents items involving illusion and mischief. For example, at 2.31.25ff. we are offered a recipe which

⁶ For parallels to these *παίγνια* in Athenaeus see Kotansky ap. Betz (n. 4), 120, nn. 4, 5, 8, 9, 10. For symposiastic tricks see also Anaxilaus ap. Plin. *H.N.* 35.175, Ael. *N.A.* 1.38, *Suppl. Mag.* 2.76, *Cyr.* 1.8.13ff., 1.15.29f., 2.31.22, 2.40.19ff., 3.13.6ff., 4.9.8ff., 4.23.4f., Psell. (see the following note), 70–1.

⁷ Michael Psellus, *Philosophica Minora I*, edited by J. M. Duffy (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1992), pp. 32.65–90. If these were indeed excerpted from Julius Africanus' *Kesti*, we would have another parallel for what Davidson is postulating for his unitary Salpe, recipes for tricks being inserted into a work which contained practical medical (and in this case veterinary) advice, but Wellmann (*Die φυσικά des Bolos Demokritos und der Magier Anaxilaos aus Larissa: Teil I, APAW* [1928], p. 79, also in D.-K. 2.220), who drew attention to these tricks in connection with the *παίγνια* Δημοκρίτου, is wrong to treat them as part of the *Kesti* (excerpted from Anaxilaus' *παίγνια*). See J.-R. Vieillefond, *Les 'Cestes' de Julius Africanus. Etude sur l'ensemble des fragments avec édition, traduction et commentaires* (Florence and Paris, 1970), p. 312 n. 3.

⁸ *P. Yale* 2.134.7–8 (*Suppl. Mag.* 2.76). For another paignion on papyrus see *PGM* 11b. For examples in late manuscripts see A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia* 1 (1927), 449 (3–7).

⁹ μάχην is a supplement, but it is undoubtedly correct. See Maltomini ad loc. adducing parallels such as Ael. *N.A.* 1.38.

¹⁰ I do not agree with the interpretation of the construction of *πρὸς πολλὰ βινεῖν* offered in *Suppl. Mag.* (v. contra Bain, *CQ* n.s. 41 [1991], 57 n. 44). There is no need to take *πρὸς* as purposive with the infinitive *βινεῖν* and assume the omission of the article: none of the other infinitives in these or other recipes has such an accompaniment.

¹¹ I refer to this work by book, section, and line numbers as given in the edition of D. Kaimakis (*Die Kyraniden* [Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie Heft 76, Meisenheim am Glan, 1976]). The *OCD*³ article on the *Cyranides* is unfortunately out of date, uninformed and uninformative. On the character of this work see D. Bain, "'Treading birds": an unnoticed use of *πατέω* (*Cyranides*, 1.10.27, 1.19.9)', in E. M. Craik (ed.), *Owls to Athens: Essays on Classical Subjects Presented to Sir Kenneth Dover* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 295–304, and, for more detail, my forthcoming *RAC* entry s. v. *Koeraniden*.

induces non-stop farting in a woman. Another recipe creates the illusion that the sea has flooded the room in which a symposium is taking place (2.40.19ff.).¹² At 3.13.6ff. the symposiasts are sent to sleep, while at 1.8.13ff. they are tricked into thinking that they are drunk (presumably thereby greatly reducing the host's drink bills).¹³

THE CHARACTER OF SALPE'S ΠΑΙΓΝΙΑ

Davidson merely paraphrases the passage from Athenaeus which informs us of the existence of Salpe's παίγνια. This is unfortunate, since in some respects his paraphrase is inexact and misleading. For instance, we shall see that Athenaeus does something more specific than just 'associate' the παίγνια of Salpe with Botrys of Messana.

The passage in question must be examined in detail. It runs as follows:

ἐστὶ δὲ ποικίλος ὁ ἰχθύς. ὅθεν καὶ τὸν Λοκρὸν ἢ Κολοφώνιον Μναεῖαν¹⁴ συνταξάμενον τὰ ἐπιγραφόμενα παίγνια διὰ τὸ ποικίλον τῆς συναγωγῆς Κάλην οἱ συνήθεις προσηγόρευον. Νυμφόδωρος δὲ ὁ Κυρακόσιος (FGH 572 F5) ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀσίας περιπλῶι Λεββίαν φησὶ Κάλην <τὴν> τὰ παίγνια συνθεῖσαν. Ἀλκιμος δ' ἐν Κικελικοῖς (FGH 560 F1) ἐν Μεσσήνῃ φησὶ τῇ κατὰ τὴν νῆσον Βότρυν γενέσθαι εὐρετὴν τῶν παραπλησιῶν παιγνίων τοῖς παραγορευομένοις Κάλην.¹⁵

The speaker, Ulpian, reports a disagreement over the attribution of a work which may well have circulated under the title παίγνια Κάλης and goes on to say that the first person to write a work of this kind was a certain Botrys. παίγνια is a catch-all title.¹⁶ It can be applied to light verse, whether pastoral,¹⁷ epigrammatic,¹⁸ or satirical.¹⁹ A mime or comedy might be referred to as a παίγνιον,²⁰ but so also might a piece of frivolous prose.²¹ Does the language used by Athenaeus enable us to determine the likely content of the work in question? Was it written in prose or, as has been more commonly assumed, in verse?²² Of the two words used in this passage to denote composition, συνταξάμενον and συνθεῖσαν, the first strongly suggests prose.²³ The other, συντιθέναι, however, is freely used of any sort of

¹² An example of 'a symposium at sea', for which see W. J. Slater, *BICS* 23 (1976), 161–70. Compare also 4.9.11ff.

¹³ Compare also 1.24.56ff. (a recipe for smashing a stone), 1.15.33ff. (to achieve invisibility), and 4.23.4f. (inducing hallucination).

¹⁴ For the little that is known of Mnaseas see Maas, *RE* 15. 2. 2225–6.

¹⁵ Athen. 321f–322a. Jacoby quite arbitrarily deletes the last three words.

¹⁶ On παίγνια generally see the Pauly article (*RE* 18. 2. 2396–8), which surprisingly is not mentioned by Davidson. See also LSJ s. v. παίγνιον III 2.3.4.5.

¹⁷ Ael. *N.A.* 15.19 Θεόκριτος ὁ τῶν νομειτικῶν παιγνίων συνθέτης.

¹⁸ Compare Leonidas of Alexandria, *A. P.* 6.322 (see D. L. Page, *Further Greek Epigrams*, p. 515) τῇνδε Λεωνίδεω θαλερὴν πάλι δέρκεο Μοῦσαν, δίστιχον εὐθίκτου παίγνιον εὐεπὴς (a highly appropriate reference since each line of the poem is isopsephistic, producing therefore a totally ludic effect) and Meleager, *A. P.* 7.196, 5f. On Philetas' παίγνια see G. Kuchenmüller, *Philetas Coi Reliquiae* (Berlin, 1928), 70ff. Ludwig (*RE* Suppl. XII. 30) assumes that the παίγνια of Aratus were epigrams.

¹⁹ Such works were written by Monimus (Diog. Laert. 6.83) and Crates (Diog. Laert. 6.85).

²⁰ Comedy can be referred to deprecatingly and self-deprecatingly in this way (e.g. Plat. *Laws* 816e). παίγνιον, however, can be used technically as a designation of a category of mime. See most recently E. Voutiras, *EA* 24 (1995), 71.

²¹ Gorg. *Hel.* 21.

²² So most recently E. Courtney, *The Fragmentary Latin Poets* (Oxford, 1993), p. 119. M. L. West, *Die griechische Dichterin. Bild und Rolle* (Lectio Teubneriana VI, Leipzig, 1996), p. 47, does not commit himself.

²³ All the examples cited at LSJ II 3 are from prose.

composition.²⁴ Neither of these expressions is decisive since one might in this instance take *συνταξάμενον* to mean 'ordering a collection' (compare *συναγωγής*). Athenaeus does at least tell us that the nickname *κάλλη*²⁵ was given to Mnaseas because of the variety of the work composed by him (a detail Davidson neglects to mention). The statement that Botrys was *εὔρετῆν*²⁶ τῶν παραπλησίων παιγνίων τοῖς προσαγορευομένοις *Κάλλης* is more helpful. It first of all suggests a special category of work called *παίγνια*. Secondly, there exists external evidence regarding Botrys. He recurs in Polybius' famous quotation of Timaeus:

ὅτι Τίμαιός φησι (FGH 566 T2) Δημοχάρην ἡταιρηκέναι μὲν τοῖς ἄνω μέρεσι τοῦ σώματος, οὐκ εἶναι δ' ἄξιον τὸ ἱερὸν πῦρ φυεῖν, ὑπερβεβηκέναι δὲ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι τὰ Βότρυος ὑπομνήματα καὶ τὰ Φιλαινίδος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀναισχυντογράφων.²⁷

This additional reference to Botrys confirms beyond doubt that he was a writer of prose and almost certainly disposes of Davidson's conjecture that the work variously attributed to *Κάλλη* and *Μνασέας* ὁ καὶ *Κάλλη*²⁸ was a collection of recipes. Here Botrys' work is referred to not as *παίγνια*, but as *ὑπομνήματα*, a most unlikely title either for a verse-book or for a collection of recipes.²⁹ The work is associated by Timaeus with pornographic writing in general and, in particular, with the notorious Philainis.³⁰

THE MEANING OF ΠΑΙΓΝΙΑ IN A MEDICO-MAGICAL CONTEXT³¹

Davidson also advances a novel idea about the meaning of *παίγνιον* in works containing recipes of the kind found in pseudo-Democritus and postulated by him for Salpe. For him, playfulness or frivolity is not a compelling description of the kind of recipes found in 'Democritus' and the recipes of Salpe *obstetrix* cited by Pliny.³² What is at issue rather is simplicity: 'it is more cogent to relate the title to the simplicity which characterizes all the recipes in the collection'.³³

Davidson cites LSJ s. v. where the meaning of *παίγνιον* in Euphro comicus fr. 1.35 is given as 'child's play', noted as a metaphorical usage, but in this passage (not quoted

²⁴ *συντιθέναι* is used of Kallias the author of the alphabetic tragedy (276a). For other examples of *συντιθέναι* used of verse authors in Athenaeus see 101a (*ἔπαιρχος ὁ τὴν Αἰγυπτιακὴν Γλιάδα συνθείς*) and 599f (Aeschylus of Alexandria). Note also *συνθέτης* in the passage of Aelian cited in note 17.

²⁵ I do not see any warrant for Davidson's suggestion (590 n. 1) that *Κάλλη* was a pseudonym of Mnaseas.

²⁶ For Hellenistic works dealing with founders of literary genres see A. Kleingünther, *ΠΡΩΤΟΣ ΕΥΡΕΤΗΣ. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte einer Fragestellung* (Philologus Supplementband 26.1, Leipzig, 1933), 135ff.

²⁷ Polyb. 12.13. For Botrys see also *RE* 3.1.793, 'Botrys (3)', where it is suggested that his *παίγνια* and *ὑπομνήματα* may have been separate works.

²⁸ For such a mode of reference see D. Bain, 'Bo.tiades ὁ πρωκτός: an abusive Graffito from Thorikos', *ZPE* 104 (1994), 33–5. Fish-names were not uncommon as nicknames: see L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie-mineure, première partie* (Paris, 1963), p. 167ff., who actually cites (p. 168 n. 6) a modern Greek instance of this particular name, *Σάλλα*, from the island of Lesbos.

²⁹ On *ὑπομνήματα* see *Der kleine Pauly* 2.1282–3 and J. Engels, *ZPE* 96 (1993), 26ff.

³⁰ For *ὑπομνήματα* as a title of pornographic works see K. Tsantsanoglou, *ZPE* 12 (1973), 193.

³¹ See also R. Ganschinietz, *Die Capitel des Hippolytos gegen die Magier* (Texte und Untersuchungen 39.2, Leipzig, 1913), 19, 72.

³² Plin. *H.N.* 32.135.

³³ Davidson, 592. Contrast Blumenthal in *RE* (note 16), 2397: 'das Spielerische als Gegensatz zum *σπουδαῖον* ist allen diesen Bezeichnungen gemeinsam'.

by Davidson) *παίγνιον* retains its basic meaning of non-serious activity or non-serious artifact. *παίγνιον* occurs in the final line of a speech delivered by a cook:

ἐκεῖνο δράμα, τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ παίγνιον.

The last four lines of this fragment are very obscure,³⁴ but it is at any rate certain that a second achievement of a pupil of the cook is being contrasted with an earlier one. Notice that the contrast is basically between the serious (*δράμα*) and the non-serious (*παίγνιον*). There may be a connotation of easiness in the latter, but *παίγνιον* here hardly deserves its separate entry in LSJ.

Davidson tries to support his interpretation of Salpe's title by reference to Pliny's description³⁵ of a work by the otherwise unknown Marcion of Smyrna, *qui de simplicibus effectibus scripsit* (Plin. *H.N.* 28.38, occurring a little before the first mention of Salpe in Pliny). What is meant by *qui de simplicibus effectibus scripsit* is a genuine puzzle, but I cannot accept that it means what Davidson wants it to mean;³⁶ *simplex* is not a synonym of *facilis*. Translators of Pliny take *simplicibus* to be referring to *single*, non-compound ingredients used for healing or other purposes. They translate as if the reading was *simplicium*,³⁷ and indeed Dalecampius restored that word by emendation.

Davidson does not take into account a most powerful obstacle against his suggestion: Pliny himself took *παίγνια* to mean 'playful tricks'. The Pythagorean Anaxilaus of Larissa who was expelled from Rome in 28 B.C. and was clearly regarded as a kind of magician wrote or collected *παίγνια*.³⁸ These are referred to explicitly as *παίγνια* by Epiphanius, bishop of Constance, following and partially quoting a lost

³⁴ Kaibel's comment is cited by Kassel and Austin on 33: '*despero*'.

³⁵ Is this a description of an activity by Marcion or a translation of his Greek title (e.g. *περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀπλῶν δυνάμεως*: so Ernout, but better *περὶ ἀπλῶν δυνάμεων*, as suggested by David Langslow, which could have motivated a mistranslation)? As the anonymous referee points out, *de simplicibus effectibus* would constitute an odd sort of title since one expects a drug book to be entitled 'the properties of simples' (*facultatibus* rather than *effectibus*). *effectus*, however, is common enough in medical contexts: see *TLL* s. v. B 2. More detailed examination of Pliny's usage might settle the matter. Celsus, 5.17.1A (*expositis simplicibus facultatibus dicendum est quemadmodum misceantur, quaeque ex his fiant*: cited by *OLD*) might make the correction suggested by Dalecampius unnecessary by providing a parallel for *simplex* meaning 'belonging to simples'. David Langslow who agrees with me that *simplicibus* must have its usual sense in the Pliny passage suspects that *et* or *ac* has fallen out between *simplicibus* and *facultatibus*.

³⁶ He does not offer a translation, but it is clear that he wants the expression to mean 'results that are easy to achieve', 'results achievable by easy/simple methods'.

³⁷ 'Marcion de Smyrne, qui à écrit sur l'action des médicaments simples' (Ernout). Compare Bostock-Riley and Jones.

³⁸ Wellmann (1928), pp. 77–80, collects the fragments. Wellmann (p. 57), R. Halleux, *Les alchimistes grecs* 1, 69ff. and Kingsley (note 4), 7 n. 41, assume the existence of a work by Anaxilaus circulating under the title *παίγνια*. The sceptic might question this and argue that the way in which Irenaeus alludes to Anaxilaus' *παίγνια* provides no confirmation for the existence of a work with this title and does not exclude the possibility that Anaxilaus' works were interspersed with *παίγνια*. A sceptic might also question whether we can be sure of the existence of a work by ps.-Democritus which was entitled *παίγνια*. It is not otherwise attested. It has become the custom to call an individual item of the kind found there a *paignion* (so, for example, Maltomini commenting on *P. Yale* 2.134.7–8 in *Supplementum magicum* 2, p. 143) and no doubt it is conceivable that a collection of such might have gone under the heading '*παίγνια*', but it might be argued the papyrus-heading does not justify the assumption of the existence of an otherwise unattested Democritean work. It says '*paignia* of Democritus', not 'from the *paignia* of Democritus'.

passage from Saint Irenaeus' *adv.haer.*³⁹ (the Latin translation of this last work has at this point *ludicra*).⁴⁰ Pliny, in referring to one of Anaxilaus' tricks, uses the word *ludo*:

lusit et Anaxilaus (fr. 3 Wellmann) *eo* (sc. *sulphure*), *addens in calicem uini prunaeque subdita circumferens, exardescantis percussu pallorem dirum uelut defunctorum effundente in conuiuuiis*.⁴¹

SALPE THE OBSTETRIX

In summarizing Salpe's final appearance in the *Historia Naturalis*, Davidson does not do full justice to the import of the text.⁴² Describing the use of parts of the tunny as a depilatory,⁴³ Pliny says of Salpe that she *ita pueros mangonicauit*.⁴⁴ This is clearly a reference to the slave trade. On the face of it, it also looks like a reference to a known person who herself dealt in slaves or else assisted slave dealers.⁴⁵ We have no evidence that midwives were also merchants of flesh, although this would be one possible interpretation of Pliny's text. There is, however, testimony which indicates that slaves were inspected medically before sale and that is what may be in question here.⁴⁶ As well as doctors, Salpe and other midwives may have been called in by slave dealers on such occasions. *mangonicauit* in the passage in question would not then refer to Salpe acting on her own behalf as an independent businesswoman, but to a paid service performed in the capacity of a consultant.

THE NAME SALPE

Davidson assumes that the name or nickname Salpe must be opprobrious.⁴⁷ As we have seen, this was not the case when it was applied to Mnaseas. Nor need it be the case with the *obstetrix* who appears in Pliny. The saupe, whatever one thinks of its eating habits, is by any standards a beautiful fish.⁴⁸ It is described as *εὐανθής* in the *Cyranides*.⁴⁹ If the idea of a beautiful midwife⁵⁰ so dubbed by her contemporaries or

³⁹ Epiphanius, *adv.haer.* 34.1: it is printed in Stieren's edition of Irenaeus, vol. 1, p. 144.

⁴⁰ Irenaeus, *adv.haer.* 1.13 (vol. 1, p. 145 Stieren). Anaxilaus' work is also referred to as *lusus Anaxilai* in ps.-Cyprian, *de rebaptismate* 16 (III, 89ff. Hartel).

⁴¹ Plin. *H.N.* 35.175: for *in conuiuuiis* compare above, note 6.

⁴² 'At the end of Book 28 Pliny abandons his source for a while, but returns to her in Book 32... for some handy hints on hair removal... and silencing noisy dogs...', p. 591.

⁴³ Plin. *H.N.* 32.135: *psilotrum est thynni sanguis, fel, iocur, siue recentia siue seruata, iocur autem tritum mixtoque cedrio plumbea pyxide adseruatum. ita pueros mangonicauit Salpe obstetrix*.

⁴⁴ See T. Kleberg, *Eranos* 43 (1945), 279: 'with an interesting secondary meaning "polish up in order to make saleable as slaves"'. Cloudy Fischer points out that, since the *psilotrum* is used for removing hair, Salpe would be using it or recommending the use of it to make the *pueri* look less sexually mature than they really were and therefore more saleable by removing both body and facial hair.

⁴⁵ Unless we interpret Pliny as intending to imply 'Salpe [in her recipe-book] suggested this means by which slaves might be made saleable': *quae docet alios facere, facit per se?*

⁴⁶ The existence of a work by Rufus of Ephesus entitled 'On the Sale of Slaves' proves that medical examinations of slaves must on some occasions at least have taken place before their sale. This lost work is cited by ar-Razi (see Rufus, pp. 469f. Daremberg-Ruelle for the Latin version of the Arabic: there is an English translation of the extracts by F. Rosenthal in *The Classical Heritage of Islam* [London, 1975], 204).

⁴⁷ Davidson, 590 n. 1: 'unlikely to have been coined for the sake of flattery'.

⁴⁸ *Cyr.* 1.18.7, where, incidentally, it is described as *ἑδωδιμος*. Opinions differed as to its culinary merits: see Thompson (n. 49).

of a midwife whose parents gave her this name in the hope that she would turn out to be beautiful does not appeal, another line of approach might be tried. Perhaps in this connection it is worth pointing out that almost every time the word *κάλη* occurs in the *Cyranides*, it is in a sexual context. The bezoar in the right side of the head of the *κάλη*, worn as an amulet, creates an erection, while the one in the left side prevents one.⁵¹ Its suet along with honey creates sexual ecstasy when rubbed on the genitals of the partners in intercourse.⁵² The fish is depicted on an amulet whose purpose, apart from aiding the digestion and bestowing charm on the wearer, is to ensure erections for the aged and those wishing to indulge frequently in intercourse.⁵³ If the *κάλη* and its parts were notoriously effective as aphrodisiacs, might not its name have been thought suitable for a midwife who compiled a collection of recipes some of which presumably contained advice on sexual matters?

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⁴⁹ See D. Arcy W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Fishes* (London, 1947), p. 225. Compare also A. Davidson, *Mediterranean Fish* (Harmondsworth, 1972), p. 104: 'an easy fish to recognise, with ten or eleven golden-yellow horizontal stripes'.

⁵⁰ Davidson (p. 592) argues that *obstetrix* as applied to *Salpe* need not necessarily mean 'midwife' and quotes with approval de Saint-Denis's translation 'sage-femme'. 'Sage-femme' is, in fact, the French for midwife.

⁵¹ *Cyr.* 1.18.50ff. ~4.58.2ff.

⁵² *Cyr.* 1.18.52ff. ~4.58.4ff.

⁵³ *Cyr.* 1.18.54–69. See also M. Waegeman, *Amulet and Alphabet: Magical Amulets in the First Book of Cyranides* (Amsterdam, 1987), p. 145.