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FRAGMENTS OF OLD COMEDY
II

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FRAGMENTS OF
OLD COMEDY

VOLUME II

DIOPEITHES TO PHERECRATES

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY

IAN C. STOREY



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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>A&R</i>	<i>Atene e Roma</i>
<i>Aevum (Ant.)</i>	<i>Aevum Antiquum</i>
<i>AFLB</i>	<i>Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia di Bari</i>
<i>AHB</i>	<i>Ancient History Bulletin</i>
<i>AION (fil.)</i>	<i>Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli. Sezione filologico-letteraria.</i>
<i>AJPh</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>Bakola</i>	<i>E. Bakola, Cratinus and the Art of Comedy (Oxford 2010)</i>
<i>BICS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</i>
<i>C&M</i>	<i>Classica et Mediaevalia</i>
<i>Campbell GL</i>	<i>D. A. Campbell (ed.), Greek Lyric, 5 vols. (1982–1993)</i>
<i>Capps</i>	<i>E. Capps, "Epigraphical Problems in the History of Comedy," CPh 28 (1907) 179–99</i>
<i>CGA</i>	<i>A. López Eire (ed.), Sociedad, Política y Literatura: Comedia griega antigua (Salamanca 1997)</i>
<i>CGFP</i>	<i>C. Austin (ed.), Comiorum Graecorum Fragmenta in Papyris Reperta (Berlin/New York 1973)</i>

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Companion</i>	G. W. Dobrov (ed.), <i>Brill's Companion to the Study of Greek Comedy</i> (Leiden 2010)
<i>CPh</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i>
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
<i>CW</i>	<i>Classical World</i>
Demianczuk	J. Demianczuk (ed.), <i>Supplementum Comicum</i> (Krakow 1912)
Dobrov (BA)	G. Dobrov (ed.), <i>Beyond Aristophanes</i> (Atlanta 1993)
Dobrov (City)	G. Dobrov, <i>The City as Comedy</i> (Chapel Hill, NC 1995)
Edmonds	J. M. Edmonds (ed./tr.), <i>The Fragments of Attic Comedy</i> , vol. I (Leiden 1957)
Euripides VII	C. Collard and M. Cropp, <i>Euripides Fragments: Aegeus–Meleager</i> (Cambridge, MA 2008)
Euripides VIII	C. Collard and M. Cropp, <i>Euripides Fragments: Oedipus–Chrysippus, other fragments</i> (Cambridge, MA 2008)
<i>G&R</i>	<i>Greece and Rome</i>
Geissler	P. Geissler, <i>Chronologie der altattischen Komödie</i> , 2nd ed. (Dublin/Zurich 1969)
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
<i>GrGr</i>	<i>Grammatici Graeci</i> , ed. G. Uhlig and others, 4 vols., in 6 (Leipzig 1867–1910)
<i>ICS</i>	<i>Illinois Classical Studies</i>
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
Kaibel	Extracts from Kaibel's unpublished writings on Old Comedy appear <i>ad loc.</i> in <i>PCG</i>

ABBREVIATIONS

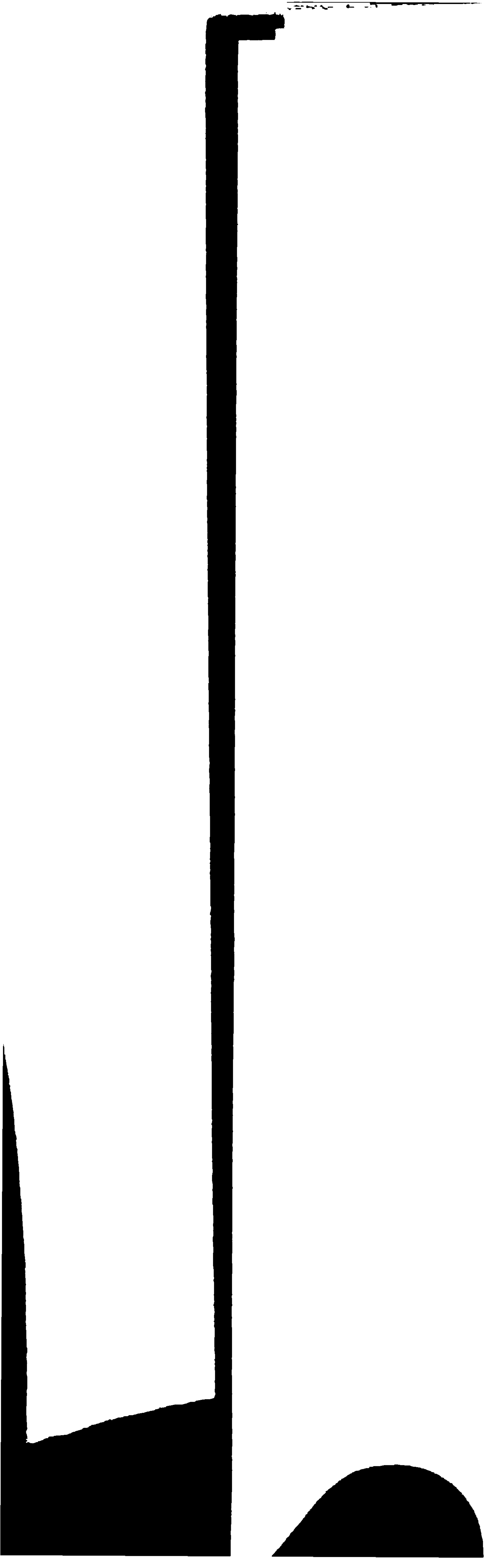
Kassel-Austin [K.-A.]	= <i>PCG</i>
Kock	T. Kock (ed.), <i>Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta</i> , vol. I (Leipzig 1880)
Koster	W. J. W. Koster (ed.), <i>Scholia in Aristophanem, Pars I: fasc. IA. Prolegomena de Comoedia</i> (Groningen 1975)
ΚΩΜΩΙΔΟ- ΤΡΑΓΩΙΔΙΑ	E. Medda, M. S. Mirto, and M. P. Pattoni (eds.), <i>ΚΩΜΩΙΔΟΤΡΑΓΩΙΔΙΑ Intersezioni del tragico e del comico nel teatro del V secolo a.C.</i> (Pisa 2006)
<i>LCM</i>	<i>Liverpool Classical Monthly</i>
<i>MCr</i>	<i>Museum Criticum</i>
Meineke	A. Meineke (ed.), <i>Fragmenta Comicorum Graecorum</i> . (Berlin 1839–1857)
<i>MH</i>	<i>Museum Helveticum</i>
Norwood	G. Norwood, <i>Greek Comedy</i> (London 1931)
Olson	S. D. Olson, <i>Broken Laughter</i> (Oxford 2007)
<i>PAA</i>	J. Traill (ed.), <i>Persons of Ancient Athens</i> , 20 vols. (Toronto 1994–)
<i>PCG</i>	R. Kassel and C. Austin (eds.), <i>Poetae Comici Graeci</i> (Berlin 1983–)
<i>PCPhS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</i>
Pellegrino (<i>Utopie</i>)	M. Pellegrino, <i>Utopie e immagini gastronomiche nei frammenti dell' archaia</i> (Bologna 2000)
<i>PMG</i>	D. L. Page (ed.), <i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i> (Oxford 1962)
P. Oxy.	Oxyrhynchus Papyrus

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>PSI</i>	<i>Pubblicazioni della Società italiana per la ricerca dei papyri greci e latini in Egitto</i>
<i>QUCC</i> Revermann	<i>Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica</i> M. Revermann, <i>Comic Business</i> (Oxford 2006)
<i>RFIC</i>	<i>Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica</i>
<i>Rivals</i>	D. Harvey and J. Wilkins (eds.), <i>The Rivals of Aristophanes</i> (London 2000)
Rothwell	K. S. Rothwell, <i>Nature, Culture and the Origins of Old Comedy</i> (Cambridge 2007)
<i>RPh</i>	<i>Révue de Philologie</i>
<i>SemRom</i>	<i>Seminaria Romana</i>
<i>SIFC</i>	<i>Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica</i>
<i>SPhV</i>	<i>Studia Philologica Valentina</i>
Storey	I. C. Storey, <i>Eupolis: Poet of Old Comedy</i> (Oxford 2003)
<i>TCP</i>	A. H. Sommerstein, S. Halliwell, J. Henderson, and B. Zimmermann (eds.), <i>Tragedy, Comedy and the Polis</i> (Bari 1993)
<i>Tessere</i>	A. M. Belardinelli et al. (eds.), <i>Tessere. Frammenti della commedia greca: studi e commenti</i> (Bari 1998)
Thompson (<i>Birds</i>)	D.W. Thompson, <i>A Glossary of Greek Birds</i> (London 1936)
Thompson (<i>Fishes</i>)	D. W. Thompson, <i>A Glossary of Greek Fishes</i> (London 1947)

ABBREVIATIONS

- TrGF* B. Snell (corrected edition by R. Kannicht), *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, vol. I (Göttingen 1986)
- Tsantsanoglou K. Tsantsanoglou, *New Fragments of Greek Literature in the Lexicon of Photius* (Athens 1984)
- ZPE* *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*



FRAGMENTS OF OLD COMEDY
II

[ΔΙΟΠ]ΕΙΘΗΣ

Testimonium

i IG ii² 2325.51

Διοπ]είθης II

[DIOP]EITHES

The list of victors at the Dionysia attributes two victories to a poet whose name ends in -eithes. He comes after Cratinus (debut 454) and before Crates and Callias, poets of the 440s. We are thus looking for a poet who won for the first time in the late 450s. Space on the inscription will allow for four or five characters before -eithes. The name is most commonly completed as Diopeithes, but other possibilities exist: an Axiopeithes, known to belong to a prominent family in the mid-fifth century (PAA 139645), and (more interestingly) Philopeithes (PAA 941940), who married the sister of Aeschylus and was the father of the tragic poet Philocles.

Testimonium

i [on the list of victors at the Dionysia]

Diop]eithes 2

ΕΚΦΑΝΤΙΔΗΣ

A minor comic poet of the early period, his name appears on the list of victors at the Dionysia (T 1) after that of Euphronius (victory known for 458) and before that of Cratinus. His career began, therefore, in the mid-450s. F 5 refers to one Androcles, a kōmōidoumenos of the 420s, and if the allusion is correctly attributed, shows that he must still have been active in the mid- to late 430s. As with many of these early or lesser poets, only one or two plays were actually known and quoted from. In Ecphantides' case it was his Satyrs. The recorded total of four victories, set against only two known titles, confirms that he was more active (and more successful) than the meagre remains suggest.

There appears to be an intertextual conversation going on between Cratinus and Ecphantides. Cratinus quotes the other poet by name (F 361.1 = T 7a) and at F 502

Testimonia

i IG ii² 2325.49

Ἐκφαν]τίδης IIII

ECPHANTIDES

creates the comic compound Choerilecphantides, Choerilus being the early tragic poet (TrGF I nr. 2, 66–67). We may compare his linking of Euripides (tragedian) with Aristophanes (comic poet) at F 342 in a similar compound, euripidaristophanizein. The scholiast to Wasps 151 (T 5) implies that Cratinus had called Ecphantides “Smoky,” the metaphor being that of wine going stale. The point is presumably the same as that at Knights 507–40, successful poets of earlier days, now past their prime.

A vase of the late sixth century by Euphronius depicts a scene at a symposium with a singer named Ecphantides. Vermeule (Antike Kunst 8 [1965] 34–39) points out that fifty years later we find comic poets named Euphronius and Ecphantides—grandsons of the vase painter and singer?

Testimonia

i [list of victors at the Dionysia, from the late 450s]

Ecphan]tides 4

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

ii IG ii² 3091.1-2

Ε.[. . . . χορηγῶν ἐνίκα] κωμωδοῖς·
Ἐκφαντίδης ἐδίδασκε * Πείρας.

iii Aristotle *Politics* 1341a30

καὶ μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ φρονηματισθέντες ἐκ τῶν ἔργων,
πάσης ἤπτοντο μαθήσεως, οὐδὲν διακρίνοντας ἀλλ'
ἐπιζητοῦντες. διὸ καὶ τὴν αὐλητικὴν ἤγαγον πρὸς τὰς
μαθήσεις. καὶ γὰρ ἐν Λακεδαίμονί τις χορηγὸς αὐτὸς
ἠΰλησε τῷ χορῷ, καὶ περὶ Ἀθήνας οὕτως ἐπεχωρίασεν
ᾧστε σχεδὸν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρων μετεῖχον αὐτῆς·
δῆλον δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πίνακος ὃν ἀνέθηκε Θράσιππος Ἐκ-
φαντίδῃ χορηγήσας.

iv Anonymous *On Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics* 4.6

Ἐκφαντίδης παλαιότατος ποιητῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων.

v Σ *Wasps* 151b

τὸν ὑπεκλυόμενον οἶνόν φασί τινες καπνίαν λέγε-
σθαι· ἐν δὲ τοῖς περὶ Κρατίνου διώρισται, ὅτι τὸν
ἀπόθετον ἢ καὶ παλαιόν. διὸ καὶ Ἐκφαντίδην Κα-
πνίαν καλοῦσιν.

ECPHANTIDES

ii [an inscription from Aexone listing victorious *chorēgoi* and poets]

E[. . . won as *chorēgus*] in comedy/Ecphantides produced his *Experiments*.

iii After the Persian Wars they [the Greeks], inspired by their achievements, devoted themselves to all sorts of learning, making no distinction but just pursuing research. And so they included *aulos* playing as a subject of learning. For at Sparta a certain *chorēgus* played the *aulos* himself for his chorus, and in Athens it became so popular that most freeborn citizens would know how to play it. This is clear from the tablet which Thrasippus put up when he served as a *chorēgus* for Ecphantides.

iv Ecphantides, a very early poet of Old Comedy.

v But some call wine that is starting to go off “smoky,” but in the <notes> about Cratinus it is defined as “discarded” or “too old.” That is why they call Ecphantides “Smoky.”

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

vi

(a) Hesychius κ 716

Καπνίας· Ἐκφαντίδης ὁ τῆς κωμωδίας ποιητῆς Καπνίας ἐπεκαλεῖτο διὰ τὸ μηδὲν λαμπρὸν γράφειν.

(b) Hesychius ε 1439

Ἐκφαντίδην γὰρ τῷ κωμικῷ Χοιρίλος θεράπων ἦν, ὃς συνεποιεῖτο κωμωδίας.

vii

(a) Cratinus F 361.1

“εὔμε κισσοχαῖτ’ ἀναξ χαῖρ’,” ἔφασκ’ Ἐκφαντίδης.

(b) Cratinus F 502

Χοιριλεκφαντίδης

Fragments

ΠΕΙΡΑΙ

ECPHANTIDES

vi

(a) Ecphantides, the comic poet, was nicknamed "Smoky" because he did not write anything brilliant.

(b) Ecphantides the comic poet had a servant called Choerilus, who helped him write his comedies.¹

¹ Compare the story of Euripides and Cephisophon at *Life of Euripides* 2, 6 and Aristophanes *Frogs* 944 + Σ and F 596.

vii

(a) "Hail, Lord Bacchus, with ivy in your hair," to quote Ecphantides [F 4].

(b) Chorilecphantides.

Fragments

EXPERIMENTS

We know about this comedy only from the records at Aexone (T 2). It is not readily apparent what this title means or what sort of form the chorus might have taken.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

ΣΑΤΤΡΟΙ

1 Athenaeus 96bc

πόδας ἐπεὶ δέοι πριάμενον καταφαγεῖν ἐφθόους ὑός.

ΑΔΗΛΩΝ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΩΝ

3 Anonymous *On Aristotle's Nichomachean Ethics* 4.6

Μεγαρικῆς κωμῳδίας † ἄσμα δῖμαι †
αἰσχυνόμενος τὸ δράμα Μεγαρικὸν ποιεῖν.

4 Hephaestion *Handbook* 15.21 [= Cratinus F 361.1]

εὖιε κισσοχαῖτ' ἄναξ, χαίρε.

ECPHANTIDES

SATYRS

At least five comedies of the late fifth century were either named "Satyrs" (others by Callias, Cratinus, Phrynichus) or had a chorus of satyrs (Dionysalexander). This seems to have been the only comedy of Ecphantides which was cited or about which anything was known. If F 5, which mentions Androcles, comes from Satyrs, then we may date this play in the 430s, when Callias (Satyrs) and Cratinus (Dionysalexander) were putting on their plays with satyrs in the chorus. Was Ecphantides' comedy another reaction perhaps to the satyrs missing from Euripides' Alcestis in 438?

1 Whenever he had to buy and eat boiled pigs' feet.

Brief fragment: (F 2) "having shut out."

UNASSIGNED FRAGMENTS

3 A song of Megarian comedy I refuse to sing, being ashamed to write drama from Megara.¹

¹ While the text is uncertain, the sense is clear. See the summary by F. Conti Bizzarro, *MCr* 29 (1994) 155–56, who sees l. 2 as part of the commentary, not the text.

4 Hail, Lord [Bacchus], with ivy in your hair.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

5 Aristophanes Σ *Wasps* 1187a

Ἄνδροκλέα δὲ Κρατῖνος Σεριφίοις φησὶ δούλον καὶ
πτωχόν, ἐν δὲ Ὀραις ἡταιρηκότα, <εἰ> ἄρα τὸν αὐτόν·
Τηλεκλείδης δὲ ἐν Ἑσιόδοις καὶ Ἐκφαντίδης βαλ-
λαντιοτόμον.

6 Pollux 2.127

κακηγορίστατος

ECPHANTIDES

5 Cratinus in *Men of Seriphos* [F 223] calls Androcles a slave and a beggar, in *Seasons* [F 281] a sexual pervert, <if he means> the same person. Teleclides in *Hesiods* [F 16] and Ecphantides <call him> a cutpurse.

6 Very abusive.

ΕΠΙΛΥΚΟΣ

Testimonium

i *Suda* ε 2450

Ἐπίλυκος, κωμικὸς ποιητής. τῶν δραμάτων αὐτοῦ
ἐστὶ Κοραλίσκος, ὡς Ἀθηναῖος.

Fragments

ΚΩΡΑΛΙΣΚΟΣ

EPILYCUS

Crates is said (Suda κ 2339) to have had a brother Epilycus, an epic poet. Was he in fact (or also) a poet of Old Comedy? The perfumed ointments of F 1 are mentioned several times in the fragments of Old Comedy, but not exclusively so (see Athenaeus 690–91). But the other comic allusions to the Spartan kopis (F 4) cited by Athenaeus (138e, 140a) are all from poets of Old Comedy (Cratinus F 175, Eupolis F 147, Philyllius F 15).

Testimonium

i Epilycus: comic poet, whose plays include *Young'un*, according to Athenaeus [citing F 1, 2, 4, 5].

Fragments

YOUNG'UN

Photius (p. 198.15) records that kōraliskos is a Cretan term for meirakion (youth). The speaker of F 4 is a Dorian Greek, perhaps a Cretan, but more likely in view of the kopis (a Spartan festival) to have been a Spartan. Compare the Doricisms in Eupolis' Helots (F 147, 149).

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

1 Photius (a) p. 119 (Tsantsanoglou); Athenaeus 691c

μέμωρ δὲ δάκρυμ' τε καὶ ψαγδας ὄμοῦ.

2 Athenaeus 670c

μήλα καὶ ῥαῖς λέγεις.

3 Photius (b, z) a 1308

πλοῖόν τε λαβὼν κατ' ἑμαυτὸν
κάμφιβληστροῦ τήν τε τρίαυαν.

4 Athenaeus 140a

ποττὰν κοπίδ', οἰῶ, σῶμαι
ἐν Ἀμύκλαισιν παρ' Ἀπέλλῳ
βάρακες πολλοὶ κάρτοι
καὶ δωμός τοι μάλα ἀδύς.

ΑΔΗΛΩΝ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΩΝ

7 Athenaeus 28d

Χῖος καὶ Θάσιος ἠθημένος

EPIYCUS

1 For perfume, asarabacca and sagda as well.

2 You [sing.] are talking about apples and pomegranates.¹

¹At *Wasps* 1268 "apples and pomegranates" are a very simple meal.

3 And taking a boat by myself and a net and the trident.

4 I am off to the *kopis*, I reckon. At Amyclae, in Apollo's temple, there are many barley cakes and loaves of bread, and a very tasty broth.

Brief fragments: (F 5) "cicada," (F 6) "bailer."

UNASSIGNED FRAGMENTS

7 Chian and strained Thasian <wine>.

Brief fragments: (F 8) "bone collector," (F 9) "morsel."

ΕΥΕΤΗΣ

The Suda (T 1) records three shadowy poets active at Athens at the same time as Epicharmus, whom he dates to “six years before the Persian Wars,” that is in the mid-480s. As the list of tragic victors at the Dionysia (IG ii² 2325a.2) presented a ..]etes (TrGF 6) as a contemporary of Aeschy-

Testimonium

i Suda ε 2766

Ἐπίχαρμος . . . ἦν δὲ πρὸ τῶν Περσικῶν ἔτη ἕξ, διδάσκων ἐν Συρακούσαις· ἐν δὲ Ἀθήναις Εὐέτης καὶ Εὐξενίδης καὶ Μύλλος ἐπεδείκνυντο.

Fragment

ΕΠΙΑΚΛΗΡΟΣ

I Photius (z) δ 144

ἀπελθεῖν με δεῖται.

EUETES

lus, it seemed possible that the Suda had misidentified an early tragic poet as a writer of comedy. But the fragment of Photius (citing F 1) gives not only a name but also a play title (Heiress), which sounds far more comic than tragic. With Tsantsanoglou I suspect that this may be a hitherto unknown poet of Middle or New Comedy.

Testimonium

i Epicharmus . . . he was active six years before the Persian Wars [486/5] producing plays in Syracuse. At Athens Euetes and Euxenides and Myllus were putting on plays.

Fragment

HEIRESS

A common title among the poets of Middle and New Comedy. An epikleros was a woman who had inherited money and property from her father, and as such could be the focus for all sorts of comedies of love and intrigue.

1 I must go away.

ΕΥΝΙΚΟΣ

Testimonium

i *Suda* αἰ 222

Αἴνικος, Ἀθηναῖος, κωμικός. ἔστι δὲ τῆς ἀρχαίας
κωμωδίας. δράματα αὐτοῦ Ἄνθεια.

ΑΝΘΕΙΑ

EUNICUS

The Suda (T 1) gives the name of a poet of Old Comedy as "Ainikos" and his one title as Anteia. As Athenaeus and Pollux assign an Anteia to a Eunicus (Eunikos), Meineke "corrected" the text of the Suda accordingly. At Aristotle Eudemian Ethics 1238a32–39 a statement about lovers and loved ones (F 2) is attributed to someone whose name has been restored by Jackson as "Ainikos." Are all these references to one man, and is his name Eunikos or Ainikos? As the hetaera Anteia, who gave her name to the comedy, was active in the early fourth century, if Eunicus "belongs to the Old Comedy" (T 1), then he was active in the very last years of the genre.

Testimonium

i Eunicus [MSS "Ainicus"]: of Athens, comic poet. He belongs to the Old Comedy. His plays include *Anteia*.

ANTEIA

At 567c and 586e Athenaeus lists comedies named after hetaerae, including Anteia by "Eunicus or Philyllius." Anteia (PAA 131297) was a celebrated hetaera of the early fourth century, mentioned as a friend of Lais at Anaxandrides F 9 and the subject of a comedy by Antiphanes.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

Fragment

1 Pollux 10.100

λαβοῦσα τῶν ὠτων φίλησον τὴν χύτραν.

ΠΟΛΕΙΣ

ΑΔΗΛΩΝ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΩΝ

2 Aristotle *Eudemian Ethics* 1238b32

ἐρώμενος τοιαῦτ' ἄν, οὐκ ἐρῶν λέγοι¹

¹ Reading Jackson's εἴρηκεν Αἴνικος for the received text εὔρηκέμαι νεῖκος in Aristotle.

EUNICUS

Fragment

1 Take hold of the ears and give a pot-kiss [or “take hold of the ‘ears’ and kiss the pot”].¹

¹ Pollux uses this passage to identify *χύτρα* as a sort of kiss that one gives children by seizing their ears, but it may just mean “take the pot by the ears and kiss it.”

CITIES

Athenaeus mentions this comedy four times, each time with the author's identity in question. Four times Philyllius is named as a possible author, Aristophanes twice (86e, 140a), “whoever wrote the play” twice (92e, 381a), and Eunicus once (86e). As both Pollux and Hesychius confidently assert the authorship of Philyllius, that ascription should be accepted.

UNASSIGNED FRAGMENT

2 A loved one would say that, but not a lover.

ΕΥΦΡΟΝΙΟΣ

Testimonia

i IG ii² 2318.46–48

κωμῶν
Εὐρυκλείδης ἐχορήγει
Εὐφρόνιος ἐδίδασκε

ii IG ii² 2325.48

Εὐφρόν]ιος I

EUPHRONIUS

This shadowy figure won a victory at the Dionysia of 458 (T 1). If his name is to be restored on the list of victors at the Dionysia before those of Ecphantides and Cratinus (first victory in 454), this was his only success. Vermeule (Antike Kunst 5 [1964] 34–39) calls attention to a late sixth century vase by Euphronius on which a singer, labelled “Ecphantides,” performs at a symposium and wonders if the comic poets of the 450s, Euphronius and Ecphantides, could be the grandsons of vase painter and singer.

Testimonia

i [the results of the dramatic contests for the Dionysia of 458]

Of comic poets/Euryclides acted as *chorēgus*/Euphronius put on the play.

ii [from the list of victors at the Dionysia]

Euphron]ius 1

ΕΥΠΟΛΙΣ

Along with Cratinus and Aristophanes, Eupolis was one of the canonical Three of Old Comedy (see T 16–20). T 2 suggests that he began his career in 429. He was thus one of the “next generation” of comic poets who would dominate the 420s and 410s and create the political and topical sort of comedy that we now regard as typical of the genre. T 1 records his death “in a shipwreck in the Hellespont,” the context being that of military service. Since no play or reference in his surviving works demands a date of 410 or later, it is commonly assumed that he died in the sea battle of Cynossema, fought in the later part of 411 (Thucydides 8.104–6). In a career, then, of eighteen or nineteen years, he performed fourteen (T 2) or seventeen (T 1) times and won seven victories (T 1). The plays whose authenticity is in no doubt add up to fourteen, fifteen if we include the performance of the second Autolycus. Seven victories, three at the Lenaea (T 11) and thus four at the Dionysia (T 10), in fourteen starts is an enviable record. Eupolis seems to have been especially productive in the 420s, when at least eight of his comedies were produced. If the Suda (T 1) is correct that he began to produce at age seventeen, then we have life dates of 445–411.

As far as we can gather, his comedy resembled that of his rival Aristophanes, but with one or two significant exceptions. His comedy was based on a great and fantastic

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idea, often with a principal character engaged putting that idea into practice. In Demes the idea was to bring back four leaders from the dead and thus improve things at Athens. In Officers it was "Dionysus joins the navy." In Dyers a new deity arrives at Athens, to be greeted by the appropriate chorus, cross-dressing dancing effeminates. Also like Aristophanes and Cratinus, he wrote political comedy, especially in Demes (where four political leaders are brought back from the dead), Cities (with a chorus of cities from the archē), probably Golden Race (where Athens of the 420s is anything but golden), and certainly Maricas, a demagogue comedy about Hyperbolus.

Eupolis was especially fond of bringing real people on stage as characters in his dramas and making the comedy turn on the comic possibilities they presented. In addition to the four leaders in Demes, only one of whom (Pericles) would have been known personally to the spectators, we may cite Callias and Protagoras in Spongers, Autolycus the boy victor and very possibly Callias again in Autolycus, Hyperbolus "disguised" as Maricas in that comedy, Phormion in Officers, and most notorious of all, Alcibiades in Dyers. It is very likely also that Socrates appeared as a character in Eupolis, but we cannot pin down a play for certain.

But he does not seem to have followed Aristophanes

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with the latter's obsession for parody, especially of Euripides. There are brief allusions to and parodies of epic and poetry and drama, but nothing on a large scale, nothing along the lines of Aristophanes' attempt to define his comic art in terms of tragedy. Like Aristophanes, Eupolis appears to have avoided the mythological burlesque that was so popular with Cratinus and Hermippus in the 430s. When he brings Dionysus on stage in Officers, it is to a contemporary setting with an Athenian general in command. Unless Golden Race is an instance of the comic theme of the ideal existence, Eupolis also did not write comedies of utopia, again a very popular theme in the late fifth century.

Testimonia

i *Suda* ε 3657

Εὐπόλις, Σωσιπόλιδος, Ἀθηναῖος, κωμικός. ὃς ἑπτακαίδεκα ἔτη γεγονὼς ἤρξατο ἐπιδείκνυσθαι· καὶ ἐδίδαξε μὲν δράματα ιζ', ἐνίκησε δὲ ζ'. καὶ ἀπέθανε ναυαγήσας κατὰ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐν τῷ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πολέμῳ· καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐκωλύθη στρατεύεσθαι ποιητὴν. τὰ δὲ δράματα αὐτοῦ Αἶγες, Ἀστράτευτος ἢ Ἀνδρόγυνοι, καὶ ἄλλα.

ii *Anonymous On Comedy* (Koster III.9–13, 33–35)

τούτων δὲ εἰσιν ἀξιολογώτατοι Ἐπίχαρμος, Μάγνης, Κρατῖνος, Κράτης, Φερεκράτης, Φρύνιχος, Εὐπόλις, Ἀριστοφάνης.

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His plays seem to be firmly rooted in Athens and its issues and denizens of the day.

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Testimonia

i Eupolis: son of Sosipolis, of Athens, comic poet. He began to put on plays at the age of seventeen. He produced seventeen plays and won seven victories. He died in a shipwreck in the Hellespont during the Peloponnesian War. As a result poets were forbidden to serve in the military. His plays are *Nanny-Goats*, *Draft-Dodgers* or *Men-Women*, etc.

ii The most noteworthy poets [of Old Comedy] are Epicharmus, Magnes, Cratinus, Crates, Pherecrates, Phrynichus, Eupolis, and Aristophanes.

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Εὐπόλις Ἀθηναῖος. ἐδίδαξεν ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀπολλοδώρου. ἐφ' οὗ καὶ Φρύνιχος, γεγωνὸς δυνατὸς τῇ λέξει καὶ ζηλῶν Κρατῖνον· πολὺ γοῦν λοῖδορον καὶ σκαιὸν ἐπιφαίνει. γέγραπται δὲ αὐτῷ δράματα ἰδ'.

σκαιὸν cold., αὐτχρὸν Geel.

iii Canon of Comic Poets

κωμωδοποιοὶ ἀρχαίας ζ'. Ἐπίχαρμος, Κρατῖνος, Εὐπόλις, Ἀριστοφάνης, Φερεκράτης, Κράτης, Πλάτων.

iv Pausanias 2.7.3

μετὰ δὲ τὸ μνήμα τοῦ Λύκου διαβεβηκόσιν ἤδη τὸν Ἄσωπόν, ἔστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τὸ Ὀλύμπιον, ὀλίγον δὲ ἔμπροσθεν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ τάφος Εὐπόλιδι Ἀθηναίῳ ποιήσαντι κωμωδίαν.

v

(a) Eusebius (Jerome)

Eupolis et Aristophanes scriptores comoediarum agnoscuntur.

(b) Eusebius (Armenian)

Eupolis und Aristophanes waren als Liederdichter bekannt.

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Eupolis: of Athens. He produced in the archonship of Apollodorus [430/29], the same year as Phrynichus, a powerful poet in his language and an emulator of Cratinus. He displays much that is abusive and clumsy ["repulsive"?]. Fourteen plays are written by him.

iii There are seven poets of Old Comedy: Epicharmus, Cratinus, Eupolis, Aristophanes, Pherecrates, Crates, Platon.

iv [in Sicyon] After the memorial to Lycus, once you have crossed the Asopus on your right is the Olympium, and a little farther on the left side of the road is the tomb of Eupolis, the Athenian comic poet.

v

(a) [428/7] Eupolis and Aristophanes, the writers of comedy, are becoming known.

(b) [427/6] Eupolis and Aristophanes were becoming known as poets.

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vi Cyril of Alexandria *Against Julian* 1.13

ὀγδοηκοστῇ ὀγδῶν Ὀλυμπιάδι τὸν κωμῶδον Ἀριστοφάνην, Εὐπολὶν τε καὶ Πλάτωνα γενέσθαι φασίν.

vii Syncellus p. 309.15 Mosshammer

Εὐπολις καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης κωμικοὶ Σοφοκλῆς τε ὁ τραγωδοποιὸς ἐγνωρίζετο.

viii *Chronica Minora* I 266.4 Fr.

filosofi autem cognoscebantur temporibus Artaxerxis Sofoclus . . . Euripidus cantoconpositor . . . Socratus Athenus et Periclus et Eupolus et Aristofanus architector.

ix *Suda* π 1708

Πλάτων, Ἀθηναῖος, κωμικός, γεγονὼς τοῖς χρόνοις κατὰ Ἀριστοφάνην καὶ Φρύνιχον, Εὐπολιν, Φερεκράτην.

x *IG* ii² 2325.59

Εὐ[πολις

xi *IG* ii² 2325.126

Εὐ]πολις IIII

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vi In the 88th Olympiad [428/7–425/4] they say that Aristophanes the comic poet was active, also Eupolis and Platon.

vii [428/7–425/4] The comic poets, Eupolis and Aristophanes, and Sophocles the tragedian were becoming known.

viii In the time of Artaxerxes [464–423] the philosophers were becoming known, Sophocles . . . Euripides the writer of songs . . . Socrates of Athens and Pericles and Eupolis and Aristophanes the dramatist.

ix Platon: of Athens, comic poet, who lived at the same time as Aristophanes and Phrynichus, Eupolis, Pherecrates.

x [list of victors at the Dionysia, in the 420s]

Eu[polis

xi [list of victors at the Lenaea, in the 420s]

Eu]polis 4

xii Aelian *On the Nature of Animals* 10.41

Εὐπόλιδι τῷ τῆς κωμωδίας ποιητῆ δίδωσι δῶρον Λύγέας ὁ Ἐλευσίνιος σκύλακα ἰδεῖν ὠραῖον, Μολοττὸν τὸ γένος, καὶ καλεῖ τοῦτον ὁ Εὐπόλις ὁμωνύμως τῷ δωρησαμένῳ αὐτόν. κολακευθεὶς οὖν ταῖς τροφαῖς, καὶ ἐκ τῆς συνηθείας ὑπαχθεὶς τῆς μακροτέρας, ἐφίλει τὸν δεσπότην ὁ Λύγέας ὁ κύων. καὶ ποτε ὁμόδουλος αὐτῷ νεανίας, ὄνομα Ἐφιάλτης, ὑφαιρεῖται δράματά τινα τοῦ Εὐπόλιδος, ἃ οὐκ ἔλαθε κλέπτων, ἀλλὰ εἶδεν αὐτὸν ὁ κύων, καὶ ἐμπεσὼν ἀφειδέστατα δάκνων ἀπέκτεινεν. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἐν Αἰγίνῃ τὸν βίον ὁ Εὐπόλις κατέστρεψε, καὶ ἐτάφη ἐνταῦθα· ὁ δὲ κύων ὠρυόμενός τε καὶ θρηγῶν τὸν τῶν κυνῶν θρηγῶν, εἶτα μέντοι λύπη καὶ λιμῷ ἑαυτὸν ἐκτῆξας ἀπέθανεν ἐπὶ τῷ τροφῆ καὶ δεσπότη, μισήσας τὸν βίον ὁ κύων. καὶ ὅ γε τόπος καλεῖται μνήμη τοῦ τότε πάθους Κυνὸς Θρηγῶν.

xiii

(a) Hypothesis I *Acharnians*

ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ Εὐθύνου ἄρχοντος ἐν Ληναίοις διὰ Καλλιπράτου· καὶ πρῶτος ἦν· δεύτερος Κρατῖνος Χειμαζομένοις. οὐ σώζονται. τρίτος Εὐπόλις Νουμηνίαις.

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xii Augeas of Eleusis once gave a gift to Eupolis, the comic poet, a handsome Molossian puppy dog, and Eupolis called it "Augeas" after the man who had given it to him. Spoilt in its upbringing and becoming used to Eupolis over a long period of time, Augeas the dog came to love its master very much. On one occasion, a fellow slave named Ephialtes was stealing some of Eupolis' plays, but the thief did not get away with it, for the dog saw him, attacked and bit him without mercy, finally killing him. Later on Eupolis passed away in Aegina and was buried there. The dog howled and wailed the lament that dogs utter, then finally tired with life, starved itself through grief and hunger, expiring on the tomb of its lord and master. And the place is in fact called "Dog's Lament," in memory of its suffering.

xiii

(a) It [*Acharnians*] was produced in the archonship of Euthynus [426/5] at the Lenaea through Callistratus. It finished first. Cratinus <was> second with *Tempest-Tossed*—it is not extant. Eupolis <was> third with *New Moons*.

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(b) Hypothesis II *Knights*

ἐδιδάχθη τὸ δράμα ἐπὶ Στρατοκλέους ἄρχοντος δημοσία εἰς Λήναια δι' αὐτοῦ <τοῦ> Ἀριστοφάνους. πρῶτος ἦν· ἐνίκα δεύτερος Κρατῖνος Σατύροις· τρίτος Ἀριστομένης Ὑλοφόροις.

(c) Hypothesis III *Peace*

ἐνίκησε δὲ τῷ δράματι ὁ ποιητὴς ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀλκαίου ἐν ἄστει. πρῶτος Εὐπόλις Κόλαξι, δεύτερος Ἀριστοφάνης Εἰρήνῃ, τρίτος Λεύκων Φράτορσιν.

xiv *Suda* δ 756

διασκεναζόμενα. Εὐπόλις, Ἀθηναῖος, κωμικός, ἔγραψε τόσα καὶ ἄλλα διασκεναζόμενος.

xv *Horace Satires* 2.3.11–12

quorsum pertinuit stipare Platona Menandro?
Eupolin, Archilochum, comites educere tantos?

xvi *Horace Satires* 1.4.1–5

Eupolis atque Cratinus Aristophanesque poetae
atque alii, quorum comoedia prisca virorum est,
siquis erat dignus describi, quod malus ac fur,
quod moechus foret aut sicarius aut alioqui
famosus, multa cum libertate notabant.

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(b) The play [*Knights*] was produced in the archonship of Stratocles at the Lenaia through Aristophanes in his own name. It was first. Kratinos won the second prize with *Satyrs*, Aristomenes the third with *Wood-Bearers*.

(c) The poet won a prize with his play at the City Dionysia in the archonship of Alcaeus [422/1]. Eupolis came first with *Spongers*, Aristophanes second with *Peace*, and Leukon third with *Phratry-Members*.

xiv "Revising": Eupolis, of Athens, the comic poet, wrote a number of comedies, revising some.

xv What was the purpose of packing Platon along with Menander, of bringing along such companions as Eupolis or Archilochus?

xvi Eupolis, Cratinus, and Aristophanes and indeed any of the other poets of Old Comedy, would single out with great freedom anyone who was worthy of being pointed out, for being a wicked man or a thief, an adulterer or a cutthroat or notorious for any other reason.

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xvii Persius 1.122–24

audaci quicumque adflate Cratino
iratum Eupolidem praegrandi cum sene palles,
aspice et haec, si forte aliquid decoctius audis.

xviii Velleius Paterculus 1.16.3

una priscam illam et ueterem sub Cratino Aristophaneque
et Eupolide comoediam.

xix Quintilian 10.1.65–66

antiqua comoedia cum sinceram illam sermonis Attici gra-
tiam prope sola retinet, tum facundissimae libertatis, et si
est <in> insectandis uitiiis praecipua, plurimum tamen
uirium etiam in ceteris partibus habet. nam et grandis et
elegans et uenusta . . . plures eius auctores, Aristophanes
tamen et Eupolis Cratinusque praecipui.

xx [Dionysius of Halicarnassus] *Art of Rhetoric* 8.11

ἡ δέ γε κωμῳδία ὅτι πολιτεύεται ἐν τοῖς δράμασι καὶ
φιλοσοφεί, ἢ τῶν περὶ τὸν Κρατῖνον καὶ Ἀριστο-
φάνην καὶ Εὐπόλιν, τί δεῖ καὶ λέγειν;

xxi Plutarch *Table-Talk* 7.8.3

οὕτω δεήσει γραμματικὸν ἐκάστῳ τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον
ἐξηγεῖσθαι, τίς ὁ Λαισποδίας παρ' Εὐπόλιδι καὶ ὁ

EUPOLIS

xvii You who get off on bold Cratinus, who are impressed by Eupolis as well as the grand old man [Aristophanes], turn your attention also to this, if you would hear something more distilled.

xviii One <generation has featured> that early Old Comedy under Cratinus, Aristophanes, and Eupolis.

xix Old Comedy is perhaps alone in preserving not only that pure grace of Attic language but also a very potent freedom, and if it is especially good in chasing down vice, it does have a very great deal of power, however, in other areas. For it is grand and elegant and charming . . . there are many authors but especially Aristophanes, Eupolis, and Cratinus.

xx It is hardly necessary to state that comedy in the time of Cratinus and Aristophanes and Eupolis engaged with politics and philosophy.

xxi We would need a learned scholar beside each guest to explain every reference, e.g., who Laespodias was in

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Κινησίας παρὰ Πλάτωνι καὶ ὁ Λάμπων παρὰ Κρατίνῳ, καὶ τῶν κωμωδουμένων ἕκαστος, ὥστε γραμματοδιδασκαλεῖον ἡμῖν γενέσθαι τὸ συμπόσιον ἢ κωφὰ καὶ ἄσημα τὰ σκώμματα διαφέρεσθαι.

xxii Lucian *To the Uneducated Man* 27

τὰ τοσαῦτα βιβλία ἔχων τί μάλιστα ἀναγιγνώσκεις αὐτῶν; τὰ Πλάτωνος; τὰ Ἀντισθένης; τὰ Ἀρχιλόχου; τὰ Ἰππώνακτος; ἢ τούτων μὲν ὑπερφρονεῖς, ῥήτορες δὲ μάλιστα σοὶ διὰ χειρός; εἶπέ μοι, καὶ Αἰσχίνου τὸν κατὰ Τιμάρχου λόγον ἀναγιγνώσκεις; ἢ ἐκεῖνά γε πάντα οἶσθα καὶ γινώσκεις αὐτῶν ἕκαστον, τὸν δὲ Ἀριστοφάνην καὶ τὸν Εὐπολιν ὑποδέδυκας;

xxiii Lucian *Twice Accused* 33

τὸ μὲν τραγικὸν ἐκεῖνο καὶ σωφρονικὸν προσωπεῖον ἀφείλε μου, κωμικὸν δὲ καὶ σατυρικὸν ἄλλο ἐπέθηκέ μοι καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν γελοῖον. εἶτά μοι εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ φέρων συγκαθεῖρξεν τὸ σκῶμμα καὶ τὸν ἴαμβον καὶ κυνισμὸν καὶ τὸν Εὐπολιν καὶ τὸν Ἀριστοφάνην, δεινούς ἄνδρας ἐπικερτομῆσαι τὰ σεμνὰ καὶ χλευάσαι τὰ ὀρθῶς ἔχοντα.

xxiv Lucian *Fisherman* 25

φύσει γὰρ τι τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν ὁ πολὺς λεώς, χαίρουσι τοῖς ἀποσκώπτουσιν καὶ λοιδορουμένοις, καὶ μάλισθ'

EUPOLIS

Eupolis [F 107], and Cinesias in Platon [F 200], and Lampon in Cratinus [F 62, 125] and so on for each of the people made fun of. So our party would become a classroom or the jokes would fall on deaf and ignorant ears.

xxii With all those books of yours, which of them in particular do you read? The works of Plato? Of Antisthenes? Those of Archilochus or of Hipponax? Or do you reject these, and have the orators ready at hand? Tell me, do you read the speech of Aeschines, *Against Timarchus*? Are you familiar with all of those and know each one of them? Have you dipped into Aristophanes and Eupolis?

xxiii He [Lucian] stripped me [Dialogue] of my tragic and respectable mask and gave me another, a comic and satirical one, just short of ridiculous. Then bringing me to the same place he locked in with me Jest and the Iambic and the Cynical, Eupolis and Aristophanes, men very skilled at lampooning what is decent and at making fun of what is proper.

xxiv That is what the majority of people are like by nature. They enjoy those who make jokes and exchange in-

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ὅταν τὰ σεμνότατα εἶναι δοκοῦντα διασύρηται, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ πάλαι ἔχαιρον Ἀριστοφάνει καὶ Εὐπόλιδι Σωκράτη τουτονὶ ἐπὶ χλεύῃ παράγουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ κωμωδοῦσιν ἀλλοκότους τινὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ κωμωδίας.

xxv Libanius F 50 2

τί τοῦτον οὐκ ἔχει δράμα; τίς οὐκ Εὐπολις; τίς οὐκ Ἀριστοφάνης; διὰ τοῦτον εὐδοκίμησε κωμωδία. ὅμως δὲ καὶ κωμωδοὶ κεκμήκασιν τὰ τούτου γράφοντες.

xxvi Macrobius Satires 7.5.8

notus est omnibus Eupolis, inter elegantes habendus veteris comoediae poetas.

xxvii Platonius *On the Distinctions among Comedians*
(Koster I)

ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀριστοφάνους καὶ Κρατίνου καὶ Εὐπόλιδος χρόνων τὰ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἐκράτει παρ' Ἀθηναίοις . . . τῆς ἰσηγορίας οὖν πᾶσιν ὑπαρχούσης ἄδειαν οἱ τὰς κωμωδίας συγγράφοντες εἶχον τοῦ σκώπτειν καὶ στρατηγούς καὶ δικαστὰς τοὺς κακῶς δικάζοντας καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τινὰς ἢ φιλαργύρους ἢ συζῶντας ἀσελγείᾳ . . . ἐπὶ τοίνυν τῆς Ἀριστοφάνους καὶ Κρατίνου καὶ Εὐπόλιδος κωμωδίας ἀφόρητοί τινες κατὰ τῶν ἀμαρτανόντων ἦσαν οἱ ποιηταί.

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sults, especially when what is held to be most serious is being made fun of. Just as long ago they certainly enjoyed Aristophanes and Eupolis when they brought Socrates here on stage for the sake of mockery and made up all sorts of bizarre comedies about him.

xxv What play does not contain him [Alcibiades]? What Eupolis or Aristophanes <did not include him in their plays>? He is the reason that comedy flourished. But still even the comic poets got tired of writing about his exploits.

xxvi Everyone knows Eupolis, who must be ranked among the elegant poets of Old Comedy.

xxvii In the time of Aristophanes and Cratinus and Eupolis the democracy ruled at Athens . . . because freedom of speech existed for all, those who were writing comedies had no fear of making jokes at generals and jurors who rendered bad verdicts and any of the citizens who were greedy for money or lived a life of corruption . . . so in the time of the comedy of Aristophanes and Cratinus and Eupolis the poets were an irresistible force against wrongdoers.

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xxviii Platonius *On the Distinctions among Styles*
(Koster II)

Εὐπολις δὲ εὐφάνταυτος μὲν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν ἔστι κατὰ
τὰς ὑποθέσεις· τὰς γὰρ εἰσηγήσεις μεγάλας τῶν δρα-
μάτων ποιεῖται καὶ ἤνπερ ἐν τῇ παραβάσει φαντα-
σίαν κινῶσιν οἱ λοιποί, ταύτην ἐκεῖνος ἐν αὐτοῖς
τοῖς δράματιν, ἀναγαγεῖν ἰκανὸς ὦν ἐξ Ἄιδου νομο-
θετῶν πρόσωπα καὶ δι' αὐτῶν εἰσηγούμενος ἢ περι-
θέσεως νόμων ἢ καταλύσεως. ὥσπερ δὲ ἔστιν ὑψηλός,
οὕτω καὶ ἐπίχαρις καὶ περὶ τὰ σκώμματα λίαν εὐ-
στοχος. ὁ δὲ Ἀριστοφάνης τὸν μέτρον ἐλήλακε τῶν
ἀνδρῶν χαρακτῆρα· οὔτε γὰρ πικρὸς λίαν ἔστιν,
ὥσπερ ὁ Κρατῖνος, οὔτε χαρίεις, ὥσπερ ὁ Εὐπολις,
ἀλλ' ἔχει καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας τὸ σφοδρὸν
τοῦ Κρατῖνου καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐπιτρεχούσης χάριτος Εὐ-
πόλιδος.

xxix Diomedes (Koster XXIV.2.46)

secunda aetate fuerunt Aristophanes, Eupolis et Crati-
nus, qui et principum vitia sectati acerbissimas comoedias
composuerunt.

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xxviii Eupolis is exceedingly imaginative in his comic plots, for he brings important topics into his plays, and the sort of *phantasia* which the others employ in the parabasis he uses throughout his plays, being able to bring back as characters lawgivers from Hades and through them discussing the passing and repealing of laws. Just as he is lofty, so too is he charming and spot on the mark with his jokes. Aristophanes has attained a character balanced between these two [Cratinus, Eupolis], since he is not too bitter, like Cratinus, nor <too> charming, like Eupolis, but possesses both the power of Cratinus against wrongdoers and the pervasive charm of Eupolis.

xxix To the second age [of comedy] belonged Aristophanes, Eupolis, and Cratinus, who wrote very fierce comedies attacking the vices of the leading men.

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XXX

(a) Tzetzes *Distinctions among Poets* (Koster XXIa.82-84)

τῆς δευτέρας ἦν ὁ ψόγος κεκρυμμένος,
ἥς ἦν Κρατῖνος, Εὐπόλις, Φερεκράτης,
Ἀριστοφάνης, Ἑρμιππός τε καὶ Πλάτων.

(b) Tzetzes Proem (Koster XIaI)

οὕτως ἡ πρώτη κωμῳδία τὸ σκῶμμα εἶχεν ἀπαρα-
κάλυπτον· ἐξήρκεσε δὲ τὸ ἀπαρακαλύπτως οὕτως
κωμῳδεῖν μέχρις Εὐπόλιδος . . . ἀλλὰ ψήφισμα θέν-
τος Ἀλκιβιάδου κωμῳδεῖν ἐσχηματισμένως καὶ μὴ
προδήλως αὐτός τε ὁ Εὐπόλις Κρατῖνός τε καὶ Φερε-
κράτης καὶ Πλάτων, οὐχ ὁ φιλόσοφος, Ἀριστοφάνης
τε σὺν ἑτέροις τὰ συμβολικὰ μετεχειρίσαντο σκώμ-
ματα, καὶ ἡ δευτέρα κωμῳδία τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἀνεσκίρ-
τησεν.

(c) Tzetzes *Prolegomena to Lycophron* (Koster XXIIb)

κωμῳδοὶ πραττόμενοί εἰσιν οὗτοι οἷοι Ἀριστοφάνης,
Κρατῖνος, Πλάτων, Εὐπόλις, Φερεκράτης καὶ ἕτεροι.

(d) Tzetzes, *Prolegomena to Hesiod*

τῶν ποιητῶν οἱ μὲν εἰσι λυρικοί, οἱ δὲ μονῳδοί, οἱ δὲ
κωμικοί, καὶ ἕτεροι τραγικοί . . . κωμικῶν δὲ ὁ γέλωσ

EUPOLIS

XXX

(a) Indirect insult was characteristic of second <comedy>, of which there were Cratinus, Eupolis, Pherecrates, Aristophanes, Hermippus, and Platon.

(b) In this way First Comedy had unrestricted jokes, and this unrestricted humour prevailed until the time of Eupolis . . . but when Alcibiades passed a law to make fun of people indirectly and not plainly, Eupolis himself and Cratinus and Pherecrates and Platon (not the philosopher) and Aristophanes along with the rest fashioned their jokes allusively and so second comedy was at its height.

(c) Comic poets that are studied are those such as Aristophanes, Cratinus, Platon, Eupolis, Pherecrates, and the others

(d) There are lyric poets, writers of monody, comic poets, and tragedians . . . <characteristic> of comic poets is laugh-

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μετὰ χορευτῶν καὶ προσώπων, οἷος Ἀριστοφάνης,
Εὐπόλις, Φερεκράτης.

xxxī *Life of Aristophanes* (Koster XXVIII.2-5)

ὅς πρῶτος δοκεῖ τὴν κωμῶδιαν ἔτι πλανωμένην τῇ
ἀρχαίᾳ ἀγωγῇ ἐπὶ τὸ χρησιμώτερον καὶ σεμνότερον
μεταγαγεῖν, πικρότερόν τε καὶ αἰσχρότερον Κρατίνου
καὶ Εὐπόλιδος βλασφημούντων ἢ ἔδει.

xxxīi

(a) Σ *Aristophanes Peace* 763c

αἰνίττεται εἰς Εὐπόλιον καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ὡς παίδων
ἐρῶντας καὶ παλαίστρας περιερχομένους.

(b) Σ *Aristophanes Peace* 740b

ῥακοφοροῦντας. αἰνίττεται δὲ καὶ εἰς Εὐπόλιον.

(c) Σ *Aristophanes Peace* 741b

αἰνίττεται ταῦτα εἰς Εὐπόλιον, ὅς ἐποίησε τὸν Ἡρα-
κλέα πεινῶντα καὶ Διόνυσον δειλὸν καὶ Δία μοιχὸν
καὶ δούλον κλαίοντα.

Εὐριπίδην codd., Εὐπόλιον Dobree.

EUPOLIS

ter along with dancers and masks, for example Aristophanes, Eupolis, Pherecrates.

xxxi [Aristophanes] who seems to have been the first to steer comedy, which was wandering about in the old style, to something more useful and more serious, since Cratinus and Eupolis were using insulting people more bitterly and more shamelessly than they needed to.

xxxii

(a) He is alluding to Eupolis and those around him as being in love with boys and cruising the wrestling grounds.

(b) "Wearing rags": he is alluding again to Eupolis.

(c) This alludes to Eupolis [MS: "Euripides"], who created a starving Heracles and a cowardly Dionysus and an adulterous Zeus and a wailing slave.

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(d) Σ Aristophanes Clouds 296c

οἱ τρυγοδαίμονες οὗτοι· οἱ ἄλλοι κωμικοὶ ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασιν αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπους εἰσῆγον χέζοντάς τε καὶ ἕτερα αἰσχρὰ ποιούντας. λέγει δὲ δι' Εὐπόλιον καὶ Κρατῖνον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους.

xxiii Σ Aelius Aristides 3.43

εἰς τοὺς κωμικούς· ὧν εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ Εὐπόλις.

xxiv Σ Thucydides 1.30.1

ἡ παλαιὰ Ἀθίς, ἧς ἔστιν Εὐπόλις, Κρατῖνος, Ἀριστοφάνης, Θουκυδίδης.

xxv Σ Lucian Tragic Zeus 1

τὸ δραματουργεῖν τοῦ ὑποδραματουργεῖν ταύτη διαφέρει· δραματουργεῖ μὲν γὰρ ὁ ποιητῆς καὶ τῆς ὑποθέσεως ὅλης καὶ τῶν ἐπῶν, ὡς Εὐριπίδης, Εὐπόλις, Ἀριστοφάνης καὶ εἴ τις τοιοῦτος.

xxvi Rufinus *On the Metres of Terence* (GrL VI 564.7)

ad Probum de metris comoediarum sic dicit: "nam quod de metris comoediarum requisisti, et ego scio plurimos existimare Terentianas vel maxime fabulas metrum non habere comoediae graecae, id est Menandri Philemonos Diphili et ceterorum, quae trimetris versibus constat.

EUPOLIS

(d) "These gods of comedy": the other comic poets in their plays would bring on men shitting and doing other shameful things. He says this because of Eupolis and Cratinus and the others.

xxxiii <He is alluding> to the comic poets, one of whom is Eupolis.

xxxiv The Old Attic, to which belong Eupolis, Cratinus, Aristophanes, Thucydides.

xxxv "To create drama" differs from "take part in drama" in this way. The poet creates the whole of the plot and the dialogue, such as Euripides, Eupolis, Aristophanes, and any other such a one.

xxxvi He [Firmianus] writes to Probus as follows about comic metres: "Now about what you have asked about the metres of comedy, I do know that very many people believe that Terence's plays in particular do not employ the metre of Greek Comedy, that is the comedy of Menander, Philemon, Diphilus and others, which consists of verses in

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nostri enim veteris comediae scriptores in modulandis
bulis usque maluerunt, Eupolis Cratinum Aristophanem.

xxvii Hephaestion *Handbook* 16.5

καὶ τὸ Εὐπολίδειον [τὸ] καλούμενον ἐπιχοριαμβικὸν
πολιτικημάτων ἐστίν, ἐν ᾧ τὰς τροχαϊκὰς παρὰ
τάξιν ποιῶσι δέχεσθαι τὸν σπονδεῖον· ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ
αὐτοπαιστικὸν καθαρὸν ποιῶσιν.

xxviii Marius Plotius Sacerdos *Art of Grammar* 3.7
(*GrL* VI 536.10)

choriambicum eupolidium tetrametrum catalecticum fit
primo pede ditrochaeo, secundo choriambo, tertio ditro-
chaeo, quarto, id est novissimo, amphimacro.

xxix Marius Victorinus (Aphthonius) *Art of Grammar* 4
(*GrL* VI 144.6)

trochaicum tetrametrum catalecticum quartum iambum
habens, quod eupolidion vocatur.

xl Calen *On his own Books* 17

τῶν παρ' Εὐπόλιδι πολιτικῶν ὀνομάτων τρία· τῶν
παρ' Ἀριστοφάνει πολιτικῶν ὀνομάτων πέντε· τῶν ἰδίων
παρὰ Κρατίνῳ παραδείγματα, ἐν· εἰ χρήσιμον
εὐφυικῶν ὀνομάτων παραδείγματα, ἐν· εἰ χρήσιμον
ἀνάγκη τῆς παιδευομένοις ἢ παλαιὰ κωμῳδία'

EUPOLIS

trimeters. For in composing their verse our writers preferred to follow the poets of Old Comedy, such as Eupolis, Cratinus, and Aristophanes.”

xxxvii The epichoriambic called “the Eupolidean” is also multiform, in which they make the trochaic <syzygies> admit the spondee against the order and sometimes they compose a pure anapaest.

xxxviii The “eupolidean” choriambic tetrameter catalectic would be: in the first metron two trochees [– ∪ – ∪], in the second a choriamb [– ∪ ∪ –], in the third again two trochees [– ∪ – ∪], and in the fourth and last an amphimacrum [– ∪ –].

xxxix The trochaic tetrameter catalectic having an iamb in the fourth foot, which is called the “eupolidean.”

xl Three books of political terms in Eupolis, five books of political terms in Aristophanes, and two books of political terms in Cratinus. Examples of particular comic expressions, one book. *Is Old Comedy Useful Reading for Educated Men?*

ΑΙΓΕΣ

The references to goats in the extant fragments (F 3, 12, 19, 22) and their own description of their favourite foods (F 13) show that we have an animal chorus of the type familiar from other old comedies (Beasts, Birds, Fishes, etc.). F 1 may refer to a ram and leader of the flock.

An intriguing aspect of this lost comedy is its relationship to Aristophanes' *Clouds*. F 17–18 show that one character, called Prodamus in F 17, was a teacher of both *grammatikē* and *mousikē*. In one scene he was teaching a man from the country how to dance, and that countryman was performing badly—cf. the teaching scene at *Clouds* 627–804. In light of the rustic allusions at F 1, 3, 12, 13, 15, 19, 22, 24, the overall theme of the comedy may have been

Fragments

1 Erotianus σ 55

† ὡς ἡ ποτ' αὐτὸν ἦν κάμη τις, εὐθέως
ἐρεῖ πρὸς αὐτόν, "πρίω μοι σελάχιον". τί δὲ ἦν
λύκον †

κεκράξεται φράσει τε πρὸς τὸν αἰπόλον.

1 ὡς ἡ ποτ' αὐτὸν ἦν codd., ὡς ἦν ποτ' αὐτῶν δὴ Austin.

2 Athenaeus 106b

ἅπαξ ποτ' ἐν Φαίακος ἔφαγον καρίδας.
πλήν

NANNY-GOATS

the ever-popular opposition of town and country. Has the farmer been evacuated to the city, bringing with him his flock of goats?

F 20 mentions Hipponicus, father of Callias, who was dead by 421 when Callias had come into his inheritance. Thus Nanny-Goats could belong at any festival between 429 and 422 (not L-425, L-424, D-423). I would suggest D-424, perhaps Eupolis' first victory at the *Dionysia*. Thus Nanny-Goats would be earlier than the first version of *Clouds*, a date that has consequences for the relationship between the poets.

Recent bibliography: J. Wilkins, in *Rivals* 341–54; M. Telò, *SemRom* 9 (2006) 63–67; Rothwell 130–32, 200–204.

Fragments

1 (A) If one gets sick, immediately he says to them, "buy some shark meat for me."

(B) What if <he spots> a wolf?

(A) He will shout and tell the goatherd.

2 Except that I once ate shrimps at Phaeax's house.¹

¹ Phaeax (PAA 911410) was a well-known political figure of the 420s and 410s, who was involved in the ostracism of Hyperbolus in 416. At F 116 and at *Knights* 1375–83 he is made fun of for his pretentious rhetoric.

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3 Photius (b, z) a 506

σὺ δ' αἰγιάζεις ἐνθαδὶ καθήμενος.

4 Photius p. 564.17

καὶ ζῆν μαθόντι μηδὲ τάγυρι μουσικῆς.

5 Photius p. 47.6

καὶ τῆς λοπάδος· ἔνεισι δ' ἔψητοί τινες.

6 Athenaeus 426f

Διόνυσε χαῖρε. μή τι πέντε καὶ δύο;

7 Priscian *Institutes of Grammar* 18.252

προσένεγκέ μουγγὺς τὸ στόμ' ὀσφρέσθαι τὸ σόν.

8 Photius (S^z) a 2839

ταύτην ἐγὼ ᾗζήτουν πάλαι τὴν ἀρμογήν.

9 Σ Aristophanes *Wasps* 902b

τὴν πανδοκείτριαν γὰρ ὁ γλάμων ἔχει.

10 Athenaeus 380e

τοῦδε νῦν γεῦσαι λαβών.

EUPOLIS

3 And you sit here and talk of goats.

4 And to live without having learned even a scrap of *mousikē*.

5 And on the plate. And there are some boiled fish on it.

6 Greetings, Dionysus, the five and two perhaps?¹

¹ A normal ratio for wine drinking was five parts water to two parts wine (see Athenaeus 426e).

7 Bring your mouth here and let me smell it.

8 I have been seeking this modulation for a long time.

9 The bleary-eyed man is married to the tap woman.

10 Now, you [masc.] take some of this and taste it.

11 Photius (z) ined., *Suda* χ 471

ἐγὼ τελῶ τὸν μισθὸν ὄντιν' ἂν χρῆ.

12 Photius p. 290.20

ἐπίσταμαι γὰρ αἰπολεῖν, σκάπτειν, νεᾶν, φυτεύειν.

13 Plutarch *Table-Talk* 662d

βοσκόμεθ' ὕλης ἀπὸ παντοδαπῆς, ἐλάτης, πρίνου
κομάρου τε

πτόρθους ἀπαλοὺς ἀποτρώγουσαι, καὶ πρὸς
τούτοισιν ἔτ' ἄνθην,

κύτισόν τ' ἠδὲ σφάκον εὐώδη, καὶ σμίλακα τὴν
πολύφυλλον,

κότινον, σχῖνον, μελίαν, λεύκη, ἀρίαν, δρῦν, κιττόν,
ἐρίκη,

5 πρόμαλον, ράμνον, φλόμον, ἀνθέρικον, κισθόν,
φηγόν, θύμα, θύμβραν.

14 Athenaeus 409b

αὐτοῦ τὴν χερνίβα παύσεις.

15 Σ Aristophanes *Peace* 790-91a

σφυράδων πολλῶν ἀναμέστη

16 Athenaeus 301a

ὦ Χάριτες, αἴσι μέλουσιν ἐψητοί.

11 I will pay whatever fee is necessary.

12 I know how to herd goats, to dig, to plough, to plant.

13 We feed off every sort of tree: fir tree, prickly oak, and strawberry tree, munching on their tender shoots and also the foliage: the medick tree and fragrant sage, and leafy bindweed, wild olive, lentisk, ash tree, poplar, holm oak, oak tree, ivy, heather, willow, thornbush, mullein, asphodel, rockrose, deciduous oak, thyme, and savory.¹

¹ The translations in the catalogue are based on Wilkins & Rackham.

14 You will keep the water for washing from him.

15 Crammed with sheep droppings.

16 O Graces, who care about boiled fish.

17

(a) Quintilian 1.10.17

grammaticae quondam ac musicae iunctae fuerunt . . . eosdem utriusque rei praeceptores fuisse cum Sophron ostendit . . . tum Eupolis, apud quem Prodamus et musicen et litteras docet

(b) Σ Dionysius Thrax, *GrGr* I 3 p. 490.25

πάλαι τοὺς αὐτοὺς γραμματικῆς καὶ μουσικῆς εἶναι διαδασκάλους, ὡς Εὐπόλις εἰσάγει ἐν Αἰξί.

18 P. Oxy. 2738 col. ii

πυρριχίζων, ἐν δὲ Αἰξίν Εὐπόλ[ιδος] τὸ μαλακὴν κε[λ]εύ[ειν] τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ποεῖν. σκλη[ρ]ῶς ποιοῦντο[ς] τοῦ ἀγροίκου τὸ σχῆμα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ὁ διδ[ά]σκαλος ἐκέλευσεν μαλακῶς αὐτὸ ποεῖν.

19 The Antiatticist p. 84.19

βουκολεῖσθαι αἰγας

20

(a) Hesychius ι 292

ἱερεὺς Διονύσου· Εὐπόλις Αἰξίν Ἰππόνικον σκώπτων ὡς ἐρυθρὸν τῇ ὄψει.

60

17

(a) Grammar and music were once combined . . . that the same people were teachers of both subjects is shown not only by Sophron [F 155], but also by Eupolis in whom Prodamus teaches both grammar and music.

(b) Long ago the same people were teachers of grammar and music, as Eupolis brings on stage in *Nanny-Goats*.

18 "Doing the Pyrrhic dance": in Eupolis' *Nanny-Goats* there is the command to perform the Athena dance smoothly. When the farmer performed the Athena dance awkwardly, the teacher ordered him to do it smoothly.

19 To herd goats.

20

(a) "Priest of Dionysos": Eupolis in his *Nanny-Goats* making fun of Hipponicus for being red-faced.

61

(b) Σ Aristophanes *Frogs* 308

ὄδι δὲ δείσας· ὁ τοῦ Διονύσου ἱερεύς. πυρρὸς γὰρ ἦν
κατὰ φύσιν. . . . Εὐπόλις δὲ “τὸν τοῦ Διονύσου ἱερέα
νομίζετ’ αἰγίπυρρον” ἀντὶ τοῦ πυρρόν. τὸ γὰρ ἄνθος
ἔχειν φησὶ Δημήτριος ἰκανῶς ἐρυθρόν.

νομίζετ’ codd., ὀνομάζει Hemsterhuis.

21 Pollux 10.102

νεόκοπον κάρδοπον

22 Σ Homer *Iliad* 16.353b

καὶ Εὐπόλις “προβατικὸν χορόν” φησὶ τὸν ἐξ αἰγῶν.

ΑΣΤΡΑΤΕΤΤΟΙ Η ΑΝΔΡΟΓΥΝΑΙ

The titles suggest that the play turned on the portrayal of the *astrateutos* (“one who avoided military service”) as a woman—cf. the joke at *Amyntias* at *Clouds* 691–92 and also at *Cratinus* F 60, where the female runaways of the title may be effeminate males. Men appear on stage as women in *Aristophanes’ Thesmophoriazusae*, *Eupolis’ Dyers*, and *Cratinus’ Poofters*. There may also have been an allusion to *Achilles*, who to avoid the Trojan War was disguised as a woman on *Scyrus*.

(b) “This one was afraid”: the priest of Dionysos. For he was red-haired in appearance . . . Eupolis “consider the priest of Dionysos to be *aigipyrrhos*,” instead of “red-haired” (*pyrrhos*). *Demetrius* [F 34] says that this flower has quite a reddish colour.¹

¹ Or with Hemsterhuis “Eupolis calls the priest of Dionysus ‘*aigipyrrhos*.’”

21 A newly carved trough.

22 Eupolis uses “*probatikos* chorus” of goats.¹

¹ The point being that *probatikos* technically applies to sheep.

Brief fragments: (F 23) “incurable,” (F 24) “leaping up” [fem.], (F 25) “little pouches,” (F 26) “livelihood,” (F 27) “pitiful,” (F 28) “they had escaped notice,” (F 29) “on horseback,” (F 30) “little girl,” (F 31) “anchovies,” (F 32) “he behaves like a young man,” (F 33) “whinny,” (F 34) “sausages.”

DRAFT-DODGERS OR MEN-WOMEN

Some have assumed that Eupolis was writing an anti-war play like those of Aristophanes, but “men-women” would be an odd chorus to attract the sympathies of the spectators—*Plato Symposium* 189e reveals that *androgynos* has always been an insult at Athens. We may wonder also if the chorus was “converted” to a more manly form of behaviour during the play.

The play could have been performed during any period of combat. Scholars have rather too confidently dated the

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play to 426 or 423–421, but the *kōmōidoumenoi* in the fragments do not allow of any certain date. Peisander (F 35) was active until 411, and Melanthius (F 43) during the 420s and 410s. Phormion is best known for his exploits during the early years of the War (431–428), but F 44 does not have to belong to that period. The mention of Pactolus

Fragments

35 Σ Aristophanes *Birds* 1556

Πείσανδρος εἰς Πακτωλὸν ἐστρατεύετο,
κάνταῦθα τῆς στρατιᾶς κάκιστος ἦν ἀνὴρ.

36 Diogenes Laertius 3.7

ἐν εὐσκίοις δρόμοισιν Ἑκαδήμου θεοῦ.

37 Choeroboscus On Hephaestion *Handbook* 1.6

Ἀθηναίων εἰ βούλεται τις ἐγγράφειν

38 Orus On *Orthography* fol. 280^v 1

ὡς ἦρξε περὶ Μίνωαν αὐτὸς οὐτοσί.

39 Photius (b, z) a 551

ὁμοιον ᾄδειν· οὐ γὰρ ἔστ' ἄλλως ἔχον.

EUPOLIS

(F 35) has been taken to refer to the military action at Spartolus (429) and Minoa to the occupation there in 427 (Thucydides 3.51). But neither reference need be to a recent event. I would suggest 414–412.

Recent bibliography: M. Christ, CQ 54 (2004) 33–57.

Fragments

35 Peisander served at Pactolus, and there he was the most cowardly soldier in the army.¹

¹ Pactolus was a fabled river of gold in Lydia (Sophocles *Philoctetes* 394). Hanow read “Spartolus” here, relating the fragment to the expedition in 429 recorded at Thucydides 2.79.

36 At the shady running tracks of the divine Hecademus.¹

¹ A gymnasium was located in the sacred grove of the hero Hecademus, in which was located the site of Plato’s school (Academy).

37 If any of the Athenians wishes to put on the roll.

38 That (when?) this man here was in charge at Minoa.

39 Sing all you want—it won’t be any different.

40 Photius (z) a 3453

οἱ πεπείρους ἀχράδας ἐσθίουσιν

41 Athenaeus 397b

παρὰ Περσεφόνη τοιόνδε ταῶν, ὅς τοὺς εὐδοντας ἐγείρει.
μήποτε θρέψω

42 Hephaestion *Handbook* 15.22

ἄνδρες ἐταῖροι, δεῦρο ἤδη τὴν γνώμην προσίσχετε,
εἰ δυνατόν, καὶ μή τι μείζον πράττουσα τυγχάνει.
καὶ ξυνεγιγνόμεν ἄει τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς φάγροισιν.

43 Σ Aristophanes *Peace* 808b

ὅτι γὰρ ὁ Μελάνθιος ὀψοφάγος, προείρηται. καὶ παρ'
Εὐπόλιδι ἐν Ἀστρατεύτοις.

44 Σ Aristophanes *Peace* 348e

αὐτοῦ μέμνηται . . . Εὐπολις Ἀστρατεύτοις.

45 Σ Lucian *Alexander* 4

καὶ ὁ Φρυνώνας ἐπὶ πονηρίᾳ βοᾶται Εὐπόλιδι ἐν
Ἀστρατεύτοις, Δήμοις.

46 Photius (b, z) a 1764

ἀνδρογύνον ἄθυρμα

40 Those who eat ripe pears.

41 So that I won't raise in Persephone's house such a peacock that wakes sleepers.

42 Comrades, now direct your attention here
If possible, and unless < > happens to be doing something more important
And I always got together with good sea bream.¹

¹ The first two lines are cratineans, a metre of the parabasis; Hephaestion 16.6 says that the whole parabasis of *Draft-Dogers* was in this metre. The third line is in trochaics, used in the *epirrhemata* of parabases.

43 That Melanthios was a glutton has already been stated. And also in Eupolis' *Draft-Dogers*.

44 Eupolis mentions him [Phormion] in *Draft-Dogers*.

45 Phrynondas is notorious for wickedness—Eupolis in *Draft-Dogers* and *Demes* [F 139].

46 An androgynous plaything.

Brief fragment: (F 47) "knuckle bones of deer."

ΑΤΤΟΛΥΚΟΣ Α ΚΑΙ Β

This play is unusual for two reasons. First it was produced "through *Demostratus*." Aristophanes used producers all through his career (*Philonides*, *Callistratus*, *Araros*), but this is the only documented instance for *Eupolis*—but see the plural at T 14. The other is that the comedy was revised and presumably performed a second time, although the extent of the revision seems not to be that extensive (see T 2 below). The date of one version is fixed by the reference in *Athenaeus* (T 1) to 420. This is more likely the first version, since we know from *Xenophon* that *Autolycus*' victory was at the *Panathenaea*—422 was a year of the most recent *Panathenaea*.

Two problems bedevil the student of this comedy. First is whether there is any connection with the myths of *Autolycus*, grandfather of *Odysseus* and the greatest thief in ancient lore. *Euripides* wrote two satyr plays called "*Autolycus*," one of which portrayed the story of *Autolycus*' ability to disguise his thefts. F 282a contains an impressive denunciation of the athlete in modern society.

The other problem is what sort of comedy could be constructed around a teenaged athlete. The boy's father was made fun of at F 61 and the boy's victory at F 63. *Apsines*' rhetorical example (T 3) may suggest a plotline, on which *Eupolis* presented himself in the prologue as being sold as a slave to *Lycon*, who "handed his son over to him." On this

ΑΥΤΟΛΥΚΟΣ

line *Eupolis* would have found himself in charge of a not too bright young athlete. The story of *Eupolis* and the dog in *Aelian* (T 12) may allow one to go farther. *Eupolis* is described as a "fellow slave" of *Ephialtes*, who had stolen some of his plays. Can we imagine a pair of comic poets, portrayed as slaves, competing for the tutorship of the young *Autolycus*? The obvious person to lurk beneath "*Ephialtes*" is, of course, *Aristophanes*.

The comedy makes a nice pair with *Spongers*, produced the previous year, in that both will have had something to do with *Callias*, son of *Hipponicus*, richest man in Athens and known to us for *Plato*'s entertaining description in *Protagoras* as one who welcomed sophists into his house and as the lover (*erastēs*) of the young *Autolycus* in *Xenophon*'s *Symposium*. While nothing in the fragments must refer to *Callias*, it is very likely that he had a role in this comedy, which may have influenced *Xenophon*'s description of a symposium at *Callias*' home following the youth's victory in the pancration at the *Panathenaea*. F 58, 61, and 63 show that the family of *Autolycus* was made fun of in the comedy. It has often been assumed that *Lycon*'s wife and mother of *Autolycus* was named *Rhodia*, but in F 58 and 61 the Greek may just mean "a Rhodian woman," with whom *Lycon* was associated—cf. F 50a for *Leogoras* and *Myrrhine*.

Testimonia

i Athenaeus 216cd

πάντ' οὖν ψεύδονται οἱ φιλόσοφοι καὶ πολλὰ παρὰ τοὺς χρόνους γράφοντες οὐκ αἰσθάνονται, καθάπερ οὐδ' ὁ καλὸς Ξενοφῶν, ὃς ἐν τῷ Συμποσίῳ ὑποτίθεται Καλλίαν τὸν Ἰππονίκου Αὐτολύκου τοῦ Λύκωνος ἐρῶντα καὶ νενικηκότος αὐτοῦ παγκράτιον ἐστίασιν ποιούμενον καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις δαιτυμόσι παρόντα <αὐτὸν> τὸν ἴσως μηδὲ γεννηθέντα ἢ περὶ τὴν παιδικὴν ἡλικίαν ὑπάρχοντα. ἐστὶν δὲ οὗτος ὁ καιρὸς καθ' ὃν Ἀριστίων ἄρχων ἦν. ἐπὶ τούτου γὰρ Εὐπόλις τὸν Αὐτόλυκον διδάξας διὰ Δημοστράτου χλευάζει τὴν νίκην τοῦ Αὐτολύκου.

ii Galen On Hippocrates' Regimen of Life 1.4

ἐπιδιεσκευάσθαι λέγεται βιβλίον ἐπὶ τῷ προτέρῳ γεγραμμένῳ τὸ δεύτερον γραφέν, ὅταν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἔχον τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ τὰς πλείστας τῶν ῥήσεων τὰς αὐτὰς, τινὰ μὲν ἀφηρημένα τῶν ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου συγγράμματος ἔχη, τινὰ δὲ προσκείμενα, τινὰ δ' ὑπηλλαγμένα· παράδειγμα δ' εἰ βούλει τούτου σαφηνείας ἕνεκα, τὸν δεύτερον Αὐτόλυκον Εὐπόλιδος ἔχεις ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου διεσκευασμένον.

Testimonia

i Philosophers make all sorts of mistakes and do not realise that they are committing many chronological errors, like the marvellous Xenophon, who in his *Symposium* portrays Callias the son of Hipponicus in love with Autolycus the son of Lycon and holding a feast after Autolycus had won the pancration, with himself [Xenophon] present along with the other guests, when he had either not yet been born or was just in childhood. This was the time when Aristion was archon [421/0]. In that year Eupolis put on his *Autolycus* through Demostratus and makes fun of the victory of Autolycus.

ii "To be a revision": a work is so called when it is rewritten from the original version. It has the same plot and most of the same text, but will have some things removed from the previous version, some things added, and some things revised. If for the sake of clarity you need an example of this, you have the second *Autolycus* "revised" from its previous version.

iii Apsines *Rhetoric* 3

ἐν ταῖς προσαγγελίαις ἀρμόσει σοι ἐκείνο τὸ θεώρημα, ὅταν ὁ βούλει ὡς ἀναιρῶν τιθῆῃς, οἷον ὡς ἐπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ὑποθέσεως· Εὐπολις ἀλοὺς ξενίας δημοσία ἐπράθη. πριάμενος αὐτὸν ὁ Λύκων ἐγχειρίζει τὸν παῖδα, ὁ δὲ ἑαυτὸν προσαγγέλλει . . . "οὔτε ἐλευθερίαν πράξων ἐμαντῶ, οὔτε ὅπως ἂν ἀπαλλαγείην τῆς παρούσης ταύτης δουλείας, ὡς τις ἴσως τῶν ἀκούοντων ἑμῶν ὑπολαμβάνει, παρελήλυθα, ἀλλὰ θανάτου δεόμενος."

Fragments

45 Pollux 10.161

οἰκῶσι δ' ἐνθάδ' ἐν τρισὶν καλιδίοις,
οἰκῆμ' ἔχων ἕκαστος.

49 Σ Homer *Iliad* 13.353

ἤδη γὰρ Ἀρίσταρχον στρατηγούντ' ἄχθομαι.

50

(a) Zosteras p. 545

ἴστη τὰ πατρίωα πρὸς σέ καταδιέφθορα.

iii In denunciations this technique will work for you, presenting what you want as if rejecting it, e.g., as from this situation: Eupolis was convicted of *xenia* and sold at a public sale. Lycon bought him and handed his son over to him. Eupolis denounces himself . . . "Not to gain freedom for myself have I come nor that I might be delivered from this present slavery, as perhaps one of you listening might suppose, but to ask for death."

Fragments

48 They live here in three shacks, each one having his own home.¹

¹ This fragment has been often cited as evidence for a three-door *skene* in the 5th c. See Revermann 209.

49 I already hate Aristarchus as general.¹

¹ An Aristarchus (PAA 164155) is known as general in 411.

50

(a) Because I have wasted all my inheritance on you.¹

¹ Many have followed Runkel in identifying the speaker of F 50a as Leogoras, based on the evidence of Σ *Clouds* 109d. I would identify the speaker of F 50a as Callias (to Autolycus or a hetaera?) and regard the reference in the Aristophanic scholia as a separate fragment.

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(b) Σ Aristophanes *Clouds* 109d

Εὐπόλις ἐν Αὐτολύκῳ β' ὡς καὶ διὰ Μυρρίνην ἑταίραν
τὰ χρήματα ἀποβεβληκότα.

51 *Epimerismi Homerici* ω 21

ἄρα σφόδρ' ἐνεούρησεν οὐξώλης γέρων;

52 Photius (b, z) α 1197

τί δῆτ' ἄν, εἰ μὴ τὴν ἀμίδα καθεῦδ' ἔχων;

53 Pollux 10.44–45

τί δῆτ' ἄν, εἰ μὴ τὸ σκάφιον αὐτῆ παρῆν;

54 Athenaeus 368d

σκέλη δὲ καὶ κωλῆνες εὐθὺ τοῦρόφου.

55 Pollux 9.30

ἐλλιμένιον δοῦναι πρὶν εἰσβῆναί σε δεῖ.

56 Photius p. 650.10

ἀτὰρ ἤγαγες καινόν <τι> φῖτυ τῶν βοῶν.

57 Photius (b, z) α 1797

ἀνεκάς τ' ἐπαίρω καὶ βδελυρὸς σὺ τὸ σκέλος.

EUPOLIS

(b) Eupolis in his *Second Autolycus* <makes fun of him
[Leogoras]> for having thrown his money away on a
hetaera Myrrhine.

51 Has that cursed old man pissed in it?

52 What then, if he hadn't been sleeping with a chamber
pot?

53 What then, if she hadn't had the basin?

54 Legs and buttocks hanging straight to the roof.

55 You must pay the harbour tax before you enter.

56 Indeed you brought a new planting of cattle.

57 You raised your leg upwards, you disgusting man.

58 Photius β 12

Ῥοδίαν γυναῖκα βακκάριδα μεμιγμένην

59 Σ Aristophanes *Clouds* 252b

καπνοὺς ἀποφαίνει καὶ σκιάς.

60 Erotianus α 103

{A.} ἐπὶ καινοτέρας ιδέας ἀσεβῆ βίον, ᾧ μοχθηρός,
ἔτριβες.

{B.} πῶς ᾧ πολλῶν ἤδη λοπάδων τοὺς ἄμβωνας περι-
λείξας;

61 Σ (Arethas) Plato *Apology* 23e

Εὐπολις δ' ἐν Φίλοις καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ γυναικὶ Ῥοδία κωμω-
δεῖ αὐτόν, ἐν δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ Αὐτολύκῳ εἰς ξένον.

62 Σ (Arethas) Plato *Apology* 19c

κωμωδεῖται δὲ καὶ <ὅτι> τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης κολοσσικὸν
ἐξῆρεν ἄγαλμα. Εὐπολις Αὐτολύκῳ.

63 Athenaeus 216d

Εὐπολις τὸν Αὐτόλυκον διδάξας διὰ Δημοστράτου
χλευάζει τὴν νίκην τοῦ Αὐτολύκου.

58 A Rhodian woman smeared with perfume.

59 He is just showing smoke and shadows.

60 (A) Wretch, you lived an unholy life with your novel
ideas.

(B) How so, you who have licked the lips of many
dishes?¹

¹ An exchange between two comic poets speaking metaphori-
cally about their work?

61 Eupolis makes fun of him [Lykon] also for his wife
Rhodia in *Friends* [F 295], and as a foreigner in his first
Autolykus.

62 Aristophanes was made fun of because he set up the
statue of Peace. Eupolis in his *Autolykus*.

63 Eupolis put on his *Autolykos* through Demostratus,
poking fun at the victory of Autolykus.

64 Photius (z) c 235b

Εὐτρητίος· παρὰ τὸ τετρήσθαι, τὸν Αὐτόλυκον ὁ ἑὲς πόλις σκώπτει. Εὐτρητίς δὲ πόλις Ἀρκαδική.

65 Σ Aristophanes Wasps 1025b

δὲ Εὐπόλιον εἰς Αὐτόλυκῳ δὲ τοιαῦτά φησιν ὅτι περιήει τὰς παλαιότητας σεμνυόμενος καὶ τοῖς παισὶν ἑαυτὸν δῆλον ποιῶν τῆς νίκης εἶρεκα.

66 Pollux 10.47

διόφρος Θετταλικὸς τετράπους

BAIHTAI

The noun *Baptae* occurs only in reference to this comedy. The verb *baptein* has often been taken as equivalent to *baptizesthai* (to be immersed) and the chorus as a group initiated into the mysteries of *Cotyto* (see below) by immersion or "baptism." But a noun ending in *-tēs/-tai* suggests rather men doing something active, hence the frequent translation "dippers." But in fifth-century Athenian texts, *baptein* means "to dye" rather than "to dip." What then did this chorus of effeminate males dye, their hair or their robes? Probably the latter, since dyeing the hair was to feign youth rather than display effeminacy. For choruses with effeminate males we may compare *Cratinus' Poofers*, *Run-Aways*, and *Eupolis' Draft-Dodgers*.

The *testimonia* reveal that the Thracian goddess *Cotyto* had a role in the comedy, very likely as a character. *Cotyto*

64 "Eutrosian" instead of "to be drilled." Eupolis pokes fun at Autolycus. Eutrosis is a city in Arcadia.

65 Because of Eupolis. He says something of the sort in *Autolycus*, that he [Aristophanes] would go around the wrestling grounds putting on airs and parading himself in front of boys on account of his victory.

66 A four-footed Thessalian chair

Brief fragments: (F 67) "to entertain," (F 68) "nettles," (F 69) "masturbation," (F 70) "lack of buyers," (F 71) "feeble," (F 72) "violence," (F 73) "interest at a fifth," (F 74) "warning," (F 75) "to be a whore."

DYERS

was both a fertility goddess, whose rites were practised in Sicily in the fifth century, and a Thracian goddess, whose worship resembled that of the Mother Goddess. What Eupolis seems to have done is create a comic version, whereby *Cotyto's* rites at Athens were conducted by gender-challenged males. The references in both the *testimonia* and the fragments to lyre players might imply that *Cotyto* appeared in the guise of a lyre player (cf. the disguised *Dionysus* in *Bacchae*).

The comedy was associated strongly with *Alcibiades*, and elaborate stories were created to connect *Alcibiades'* alleged reprisal against Eupolis with a larger restriction on the freedom of Old Comedy. Ancient critics were constantly seeking evidence for the state's curtailment of the licence of the comic poets. The witty rejoinder attributed to

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Alcibiades may be historical—it does suit everything we know about the enfant terrible of Athenian politics. But was the entire comedy a large-scale attack on Alcibiades, as is often assumed without sufficient evidence, or (more probably) was he made fun of in some memorable scene, perhaps in the latter part of the comedy and involving a vat of dye?

The comedy is usually dated to 415, the year of the Sicilian Expedition and of the scandals over the Herms and the Mysteries. Critics have been quick to connect a comedy involving Alcibiades and the rites of a new goddess with the profanation of the Mysteries which would lead to his self-

Testimonia

i Lucian *To the Uneducated Man* 27

ἀνέγνωσ καὶ τοὺς Βάπτας, τὸ δράμα ὅλον; εἶτ' οὐδέν σου τὰ κεῖ καθίκετο, οὐδ' ἠρυθρίασας γνωρίσας αὐτά;

ii

(a) Juvenal 2.91–92

talia secreta coluerunt orgia taeda
Cecropiam soliti Baptae lassare Cotyto.

(b) Σ (π) ad loc

Baptae titulus libri, quo impudici describuntur ab Eupolide, qui inducit viros ad imitationem feminarum sal-

EUPOLIS

imposed exile, but on a 415 date, the comedy would have been produced before the scandal was made public. A date of 414 or 413 would have the play produced when Alcibiades was in exile and perhaps a less likely comic target. It is not unreasonable that Alcibiades' disregard for religious propriety was not a one-off activity in 416/5, had perhaps gone on for several years, and was not as much of a secret as has been assumed. I would prefer a date of 416.

Recent bibliography: A. M. Velardi, AION (fl.) 4–5 (1982–1983) 4–5, 65–74; E. C. Kopff, AJPh 111 (1990) 318–29; V. Lozanova, in Colloquia Pontica I (1995) 31–40; I. C. Storey, AJPh 114 (1993) 71–84.

Testimonia

i Have you read *Dyers*, the whole play? And did nothing there get through to you? Did you not blush on realising it?

ii

(a) The Baptae observed such rites with secret torches, used to wearing out an Athenian Cotyto.

(b) “Baptae” is the title of a work in which Eupolis portrays immoral men; he brings on stage men dancing in the

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ταρτεσ. Βαπταε αυτεμ μολλεσ· ρυο τιτυλο Ευπολιω
ξομοεδιαμ σξριπισιτ, οβ ρυαμ αβ Αλξιβιαδε, ρυεμ
πραεξιπυε περστρινχερατ, νεξατυσ εστ.

(c) Σ (Z) ad loc

Baptae: quo titulo scripsit Eupolis comoediam, in qua in-
ducit viros Athenienses ad imitationem feminarum lassare
<p>saltriam.

(d) Σ (φ) ad loc

Baptae dicuntur molles et effeminati, quo titulo Eupolis
et Aristophanes comediam scripserunt, in qua inducunt
Athenienses viros ad imitationem feminarum colere Coty-
ton, id est psaltriam deam Atheniensium, quam effeminati
colebant.

iii "Probus" ad Juvenal 2.91-92

quo titulo Eupolis comoediam scripsit, ob quam Alcibia-
des, quem praecipue perstinxerat, necuit ipsum pergit in
mare praecipitando, dicens "ut tu me in theatris madefe-
cisti, nunc ego te in mari madefaciam."

iv Σ Aelius Aristides 3.8

ἄλλοι δὲ λέγουσιν ὅτι ἐκωμῶδουν ὀνομαστὶ τοὺς ἄν-
δρας μέχρις Εὐπόλιδος. περιεῖλε δὲ τοῦτο Ἀλκιβιάδης
ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ ῥήτωρ. κωμωδηθεὶς γὰρ παρὰ Εὐ-

EUPOLIS

guise of women. Moreover, "Baptae" are effeminates.
Eupolis wrote a comedy with this title, because of which
he was killed by Alcibiades, whom he had especially at-
tacked.

(c) "Baptae"—Eupolis wrote a comedy with this title, in
which he brings on stage Athenian men in the guise of
women wearing out a female lyre player.

(d) By "Baptae" are meant delicate and effeminate males;
Eupolis and Aristophanes wrote a comedy of this title, in
which they bring on stage Athenian men in the guise of
women worshipping Cotyto, that is a lyre-playing goddess
of the Athenians whom effeminate men worshipped.

iii Eupolis wrote a comedy with this title, because of
which Alcibiades, whom he had especially attacked, killed
him by pitching him headfirst into the sea with these
words: "You have drenched me in the theatre, now I will
drench you in the sea."

iv Others say that they made fun of men until the time
of Eupolis. Alcibiades, the general and politician, did away
with this. After being made fun of by Eupolis he pitched

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πόλιδος ἔρριψεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ ἐν Σικελίᾳ
 συστρατευόμενον εἰπὼν “βάπτες με ἐν θυμέλῃσιν,
 ἐγὼ δέ σε κύμασι πόντου / βαπτίζων ὀλέσω νόμασι
 πικροτάτοις.”

v Platonius *On the Distinctions among Comedians*
 (Koster I.19–21)

ἴσμεν γοῦν τὸν Εὐπόλιν ἐπὶ τῷ διδάξαι τοὺς Βάπτας
 ἀποπνιγέμεντα εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ὑπ’ ἐκείνου εἰς ὃν
 καθήκε τοὺς Βάπτας.

vi Themistius 8 p. 110AB

Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ὁ Κλεινίου, καὶ ταῦτα στρατηγὸς ὢν
 αἰρετός, οὐχ οὕτως ἀπεμνημόνευσεν Εὐπόλιδι τῷ κω-
 μωδοδιδασκάλῳ τοὺς Βάπτας, καίτοι τῆς τέχνης αὐτῷ
 διδούσης τοῦ σκώπτειν τὴν ἄδειαν ἐκ τῶν νόμων;

vii Cicero *ad Atticum* 6.1.18

quis . . . non dixit Εὐπόλιν τὸν τῆς ἀρχαίας ab Alcibiade
 navigante in Siciliam deiectum in mare? redarguit Eratos-
 thenes; adfert enim quas ille post id tempus fabulas do-
 cuerit.

viii Tzetzes *Proem* (Koster XIaI.88–97)

ἐπεὶ δ’ οὗτος εἰς Ἀλκιβιάδην τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀπέρριψε
 σκῶμμα καὶ φανερώς τὴν τραυλότητα τούτου διελοι-

EUPOLIS

him into the sea when he was serving with him in Sicily
 saying: “You dyed me in the theatre, but I’ll destroy you
 with very bitter waters, by plunging you in the waves of the
 sea.”

v We know at any rate that Eupolis after producing *Dyers*
 was drowned in the sea by the man against whom he had
 written *Dyers*.

vi Did Alcibiades the son of Clinias, an elected general in
 fact, not hold *Dyers* against Eupolis the comic poet, even
 though Eupolis’ occupation gave him freedom under the
 law to make jokes?

vii Everyone says that Eupolis of Old <Comedy> was
 thrown into the sea by Alcibiades as he was sailing to Sic-
 ily? Eratosthenes [*FGrHist* 241 F 19] refuted this, for he
 pointed out plays which Eupolis produced after that time.

viii When he [Eupolis] launched a joke against the gen-
 eral Alcibiades and openly made fun of his speech de-

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δόρησεν—ἔτυχον δὲ τότε καὶ ταῖς τριήρεσιν ὄντες
ὡς ναυμαχίας προσδοκωμένης—κελεύει τοῖς στρατιώ-
ταις, καὶ ἡ ἄπαξ ἐκβράπτουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν θάλατ-
ταν καὶ ἀπόλετο, ἢ σχοίνῳ δεδεμένον ἀνάγοντες καὶ
κατάγοντες ἦσαν εἰς θάλατταν καὶ τέλος περιέσωσαν
τοῦτον τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου εἰπόντος αὐτῷ· “βάπτε με σὺ
θυμέλαις, ἐγὼ δέ σε κατακλύσω ὕδασιν ἀλμυρω-
τάτοις.”

Fragments

76 Hephaestion *Handbook* 4.6

ἀλλ' οὐχὶ δυνατόν ἐστιν· οὐ γὰρ ἀλλὰ προ-
βούλευμα βαστάζουσι τῆς πόλεως μέγα.

77 Photius (b, z) a 989

ἀναρίστητος ὢν
κοῦδὲν βεβρωκῶς, ἀλλὰ γὰρ στέφανον ἔχων.

78 Photius (z) a 3123

ὅτι οὐκ ἀτρύφερος οὐδ' ἄωρός ἐστ' ἀνήρ.

79 Herodian *On Singular Vocabulary* II p. 911.15

ἀλλ' ἐξαπολείς με ναὶ μὰ τὴν ἀμυγδαλῆν.

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fect—they happened at that time to be at sea with a battle
imminent—Alcibiades gave an order to his men. Either
they pitched him once into the sea and he died, or tying a
rope around him they raised and lowered him into the sea,
finally sparing his life when Alcibiades said to him: “So,
dye me in the theatre, but I will soak you in very bitter
waters.”

Fragments

76 But that's not possible. No way because they are con-
sidering a council proposal, an important one for the city.

77 Without breakfast and having eaten nothing, but still
wearing a garland.

78 That he is not an unluxurious or unattractive man.

79 You will destroy me, yes by the almond tree.

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80 Σ Aristophanes *Frogs* 418

ἐπιχώριος δ' ἔστ' ἢ ξένης ἀπὸ χθονός;

81 Photius (b, z) a 1413

αὔλησον αὕτη κύκλιον ἀναβολήν τινα.

82 Photius (b, z) a 1901

οὐκ ἀνέχομ' αὐτόν· ἀντιπράττει παρὰ μέλος.

83 Σ Apollonius of Rhodes 4.143–44

ὦ ῥύμβε μαστίξας ἐμέ

84 Priscian *On the Metres of Terence* 23

{A.} ἀνόσια πάσχω ταῦτα ναὶ μὰ τὰς Νύμφας.

{B.} πολλοῦ μὲν οὖν δίκαια ναὶ μὰ τὰς κράμβας.

85 Σ Aristophanes *Birds* 129

ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἔξεις ἀγαθὰ πολλὰ δὴ πρῶ.

86 Pollux 10.91

ἀλλὰ τὰς κοίτας γ' ἔχουσι πλουσίως σεσαγμένας.

87 Ammonius *On the Difference between Related Words*
488

σὺ δ' ὑπαγ' εἰς τοῦμπροσθεν

EUPOLIS

80 Is he [Archedemus] a local or from some foreign land?¹

¹ Archedemus (PAA 208855) was a demagogue of the late 5th c. (see *Frogs* 416–21), who was made fun of for alleged irregularity about his citizenship and for impaired eyesight (*Frogs* 588).

81 You there [fem.], play some cyclic prelude.

82 I can't bear him; he plays against the tune.

83 O rhombus, that has whipped me.

84 (A) The treatment I am receiving is unholy, by the Nymphs.

(B) Long deserved, by the cabbages.

85 Tomorrow you will have many fine things there.

86 Their boxes are richly crammed full, at any rate.

87 And you, go in front.

88 Athenaeus 183f (ll. 1-2), Erotianus F 17 (ll. 1, 3-4)

ὅς καλῶς μὲν τυμπανίζει
καὶ διαψάλλει τριγώνοις
κάπικινεῖ ταῖς κοχώναις
καὶ † πείθει † ἄνω σκέλη.

4 καὶ πείθει ἄνω Erot., καὶ τίθει ἄνω Schneidewin, κάνα-
τείνει τὸ Fritzsche.

89 Σ Aristophanes *Clouds* 554a

† κάκεινος † τοὺς Ἰππέας
συνεποίησα τῷ φαλακρῷ <- υ > κάδωρησάμην.

κάκεινους Hermann, κάκεινῳ Kaibel.

90 Σ Aristophanes *Wasps* 687c

τὸν γὰρ Χαιρέαν Εὐπολις ἐν Βάπταις ὡς ξένον
κωμῶδει.

91 Hesychius β 311

Βάστας ὁ Χῖος· Δημοκρίτου ἐπώνυμον, καθὰ καὶ Εὐ-
πολις ἐν Βάπταις.

92

(a) Harpocration p. 72.3

Βάταλος· Αἰσχίνης ἐν τῷ παραπρεϊβείας. κωμῶδη-

90

88 You're the one who beats the drum so well, who
strums the triangle harp, swings his ass, and kicks (?) his
legs on high.

89 And as for the *Knights* I collaborated with the bald one
on them and made him a present of them.¹

¹ There is a minor problem in the text—read either “those
Knights” or “that bald man,” the bald man being Aristophanes.

90 Eupolis in his *Dyers* makes fun of Chaireas as a for-
eigner.

91 “Bastas the Chian”: a nickname for Democritus, so
Eupolis in *Dyers*.

92

(a) “Batalus”: Aischines in *On the Embassy* [2.99]. He is

ται δὲ ἐπὶ μαλακία. Εὐπολις δὲ τὸν πρωκτὸν βάταλον λέγει. μήποτε οὖν ἔνθεν τοὺς κιναίδους βατάλους καλοῦσι.

(b) Σ Aischines 1.126

εἰσὶ δ' οἱ βάταλον προσηγόρευον τὸν πρωκτόν· καὶ Δημοσθένην ἐκ μεταφορᾶς διὰ μαλακίαν βάταλον ἐκάλεσαν . . . δοκεῖ δέ μοι λελέχθαι Βάταλος παρὰ τὸ Εὐπόλιδος σκῶμμα· ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν βαπτῶν ὀνόματα κείσθαι τοῖς αἰσχροῖς καὶ τὸν πρωκτὸν βάταλον ὑπ' αὐτῶν καλεῖσθαι.

93 Hesychius κ 3820

Κοτυτώ· ὁ μὲν Εὐπολις κατ' ἔχθος τὸ πρὸς τοὺς Κορινθίους φορτικόν τινα δαίμονα διατίθεται.

94 John of Alexandria *On Accent* p. 36.12

εὐαῖ σαβαῖ

95 Σ Aristophanes *Peace* 1244c

χαλκῶ περὶ κοττάβῳ

96 Σ Aristophanes *Wealth* 883

δακτύλιον φαρμακίτην.

made fun of for effeminacy. Eupolis calls the anus "Batalus." Perhaps that is why they call queers "bataloi."

(b) Some people used to call the anus "Batalus" [stammerer] and they called Demosthenes "Batalus" because of his effeminacy [Aeschines 2.99] . . . Demosthenes seems to me to have been called "Batalus" from the joke of Eupolis, for <he has made> names applied by the Baptae to shameless men and the anus to be called "Batalus" by them.

93 Cotyto: out of hatred for the Corinthians Eupolis portrayed <her as> a certain vulgar deity.

94 Hurrah, Sabae.

95 Around a bronze *cottabus* bowl.

96 A ring of protection.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

98 Harpocration p. 231.7

ὅτι γὰρ τοὺς τοιοῦτους ἐκάλουν παλιναιρέτους, καὶ τοὺς ἀποχειροτονηθείτας τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ πάλιν χειροτονηθείτας. Εὐπολὶς τε ἐν Βάπταις δηλοῖ καὶ Ἀρχιππος ἐν τοῖς Ἰχθύσι.

ΔΗΜΟΙ

Demes was the best known and most cited of the lost plays of Old Comedy. The Cairo papyrus (F 99) shows that it was still being copied (and read) in the fourth century AD. The theme was certainly familiar to both the literary and the scholarly traditions, and the allusion to Pericles (F 102) was cited or alluded to by nearly thirty ancient and medieval writers.

The plot is clear: four dead leaders of Athens (Solon, Miltiades, Aristides, Pericles) returned from the dead to Athens, and presumably put things right in that city. The character responsible for their return was called "Pyronides," who was not meant, as had been thought for many decades, to stand for the general Myronides from the 450s and 440s. Rather it is a comic nom parant and means either "the fiery one" (i.e., in temperament) or "the purifier." A figure labelled "Pyronides" is shown on a fourth-century Paestan vase by Assteas (V 7) engaging in an altercation with the musician Phrynus.

The publication of three papyrus pages, about 120 lines, from the play (F 99) in 1911 was a very welcome addition to our knowledge of Old Comedy, but unfortunately

EUPOLIS

98 That they called men whose election had been overturned and subsequently reversed "second catch" is revealed by Eupolis in *Dyers* and Archippus in *Fishes* [F 14].

Brief fragment: (F 97) "chimney."

DEMES

they do not tell us all that much about the larger structure of the play. One major matter of debate is whether the first part of the comedy was played in the Underworld, where the need for an embassy from the dead and its composition would have been played out before the spectators. Using *Frogs* as a template, although much the later play, critics have had Pyronides descend into the Underworld, obtain Hades' consent to release the dead leaders, and then preside over an agon to select them. But nothing in the fragments that we possess requires a scene in the Underworld, and I would prefer to see Pyronides conducting a necromancy or raising of the dead in the first part of the comedy. This would be the "great idea" at the heart of Eupolis' play.

On this reading the agon would not have had anything to do with the sending or raising of the Four, but would have occurred at Athens in the second part of the comedy, and would have turned on handing the state over to the Four, presumably on the grounds that the dead could only be an improvement upon the living. The parallels of *Clouds*, *Lysistrata*, and *Wealth* are instructive here. Certain of the fragments reveal that the comedy turned, as

often in Eupolis and Aristophanes, on the opposition of old = better and modern = inferior (F 99.40–47, 103–4, 106, 111–12, 116, 119, 127, 129–30, 132).

F 99 presents other problems for the structure of Demes. The first twenty lines in iambic dimeter, followed by a section in trochaics, look very much like a parabasis, but at lines 60–77 it seems that the chorus is only recognising the Four for the first time. Were they not present for the raising of the Four? If not, then we might regard F 99.1–34 as part of their initial entry (parodos), but with parabasis-like features, for which there are parallels in Cratinus and also at Frogs 354–71. The difficulty is made worse if we postulate a scene in the Underworld, for what would a chorus of Athenian demes be doing there? Certain earlier critics were driven to imagine two distinct choruses, first a chorus of "dead demes" in the Underworld, and then a chorus of modern (inferior) entities in the present city.

The plural *dēmoi* (demes) at Athens in the fifth century meant either the plural of democracy, or the 139 demes established by Clisthenes in the late sixth century, or "country towns," as opposed to the "city." This last is the most frequent use, but either "demes" in the technical sense or as "country towns" would make a suitable comic chorus. On the parallel of *Cities and Birds*, they may have been individually identified. We need to consider also whether they maintained some sort of metaphorical identity or were just treated as "country folk," as in the choruses of Aristophanes' *Peace*, *Wealth*, and *Farmers*. It is worth noting at F 99.12–14 that they are hostile to those living within the Long Walls of the city, "for they eat better than we do."

The third page from the Cairo papyrus reveals an encounter between a man who claims to be "a just man," very probably Aristides "the Just" and an informer (sycophantēs).

This is very much in the spirit of the "intruder episodes," where outsiders to the ideal community are dismissed in a physically humiliating fashion. We may conclude that each of the Four had his own scene and his own appropriate opponent: Miltiades v. an incompetent general, Solon v. a lawgiver (or perhaps a philosopher or a poet), and Pericles v. a political leader, whom it would be nice to identify with Alcibiades. Finally F 131 shows that the play ended with the Four successful and honoured by the state.

The play was universally dated to 412, partly because a serious political comedy requires a serious political background, and what was more serious than the crisis following the defeat in Sicily in 413? Also F 99.10–12 refers to "those in the Long Walls," who, it is argued, returned there after the Spartan occupation of Decelia in 413, and the business at F 99.78–120 about the Epidaurian and the Mysteries must postdate the scandal of 415. None of these stands up to scrutiny. We do not ask what was so critical about the late 390s that the "salvation" (*sōteria*) could be achieved only by handing the state over to women. It is just a good comic fantasy. Andocides 1.45 shows that in 415 there were enough people living in the Long Walls to form a separate population to be marshalled in a crisis, and not all allusions to the Mysteries must follow the breaking of the great scandal involving Alcibiades in 415. Hints of his irreligious behaviour may well have been in the air for years. I suggest 417 because it makes the mention of the campaign at Mantinea in the summer of 418 (F 99.30–32), an allusion to a recent event and allows the demagogue of F 99.23–34 to be Hyperbolus, certainly the most likely target. Hyperbolus was ostracised in 416.

Testimonia

i

(a) Aelius Aristides 3.365

τῶν κωμικῶν τις ἐποίησεν τέτταρας τῶν προστατῶν ἀνεστῶτας, ἐν οἷς δύο τούτων ἔνεισιν.

(b) Σ ad loc

Εὐπολις ἐποίησεν ἀναστάντα τὸν Μιλτιάδην καὶ Ἀριστείδην καὶ Σόλωνα καὶ Περικλέα. ἐν τούτοις οὖν ἔνεισιν δύο, φησί, Περικλῆς καὶ Μιλτιάδης.

ii Aelius Aristides 3.487

οὐδεὶς ἦν ὅστις οὐκ ἂν εὐξαιτο ἀναστῆναι, ὥστε καὶ δράμασιν ὡς ἀνεστῶτα ὀρῶντες εὐφραίνοντο.

Recent bibliography: S. Beta, ZPE 101 (1994) 25–26; T. Braun, in Rivals 191–231; I. C. Storey, in Rivals 173–90; B. Zimmermann, in Rivals 273–84; I. Ruffell, in Rivals 488–90; M. Telò and L. Porciani, QUCC 72 (2002) 23–40; M. Telò, Philologus 147 (2003) 13–43; ZPE 146 (2004) 1–12; SemRom 7 (2004) 31–50, in ΚΩΜΩΙΔΟΤΡΑΓΩΙΔΙΑ 263–306; Eupolidis Demi (2007); Revermann 311–19.

Testimonia

i

(a) One of the comic poets made four leaders return from the dead, among which are two of these.

(b) Eupolis made Miltiades and Aristides and Solon and Pericles return from the dead. Among these are two, he says, Pericles and Miltiades.

ii There was no one who would not pray that he [Pericles] might return from the dead, just as they were pleased to see him return in plays.

iii

(a) Aphthonius *Progymnasmata* 11

εἰδωλοποιία δὲ ἢ πρόσωπον μὲν ἔχουσα γνώριμον,
τεθνεὸς δὲ καὶ τοῦ λέγειν παυσάμενον, ὡς ἐν Δήμοις
Εὐπόλις ἔπλασε καὶ Ἀριστείδης ἐν τῷ Ὑπὲρ τῶν
τεσσάρων.

(b) Σ ad loc

πολλὰ περὶ δημοκρατίας δημηγορεῖ. ταῦτό δὲ τοῦτο
καὶ ὁ Εὐπόλις περὶ παλαιῶν δήμων γράφων πεποίηκε.

iv John Doxapatres on Aphthonios' *Progymnasmata*, p.
142.16

ἐν τῷ Ὑπὲρ τῶν τεσσάρων τὸν Ἀριστείδην ποιῆσαι
εἰδωλοποιίαν καὶ τὸν Εὐπόλιον ἐν Δήμοις ποιῆσαι
πρωτωποποιίαν

v Platonius *On the Difference in Styles* (Koster II)

ἀναγαγεῖν ἱκανὸς ὢν ἐξ Ἄιδου νομοθετῶν πρόσωπα
καὶ δι' αὐτῶν εἰσηγούμενος ἢ περὶ θέσεως νόμων ἢ
καταλίψεως.

vi Hypothesis to Sophocles *Oedipus at Colonus* p. 2.4

Ἀριπτοφάνης ἐν τοῖς Βατράχοις . . . ἀνάγει τοὺς
στρατηγοὺς ὑπὲρ γῆς.

iii

(a) "Ghost-making": having a known person, but one who
is dead and thus past speaking, as Eupolis created in
Demes and Aelius Aristides in *On the Four*.

(b) He [Aelius Aristides] says much about democracy.
Eupolis has done much the same thing writing about the
demes of old.

iv That in his *On the Four* Aelius Aristides employs
"ghost-making" and Eupolis in *Demes* "character-
making."

v Being able to bring the figures of lawgivers out of Hades
and through them discoursing on the passage and repeal-
ing of laws.

vi Aristophanes in *Frogs* . . . brings leaders back up above
ground.

vii Valerius Maximus 7.2 (ext.9.5)

qui in comoedia introduxit remissum ab inferis † Atheniensium Periclen uaticinantem non oportere in urbe nutriri leonem, sin autem sit altus, obsequi ei conuenire.

Fragments

99 Pap.Cair. 43227

καὶ δὴ δὲ Πείσανδρ[ο]ν διε-
στράφθαι χθὲς ἀριστῶντά φα-
σ'. † ἐπιξενοῖν τιν' οὐτ' αὐτοῦ †
οὐκ ἔφασκε θρέψειν.

5 Παύσων δὲ προστάς Θεογένει
δειπνοῦντι πρὸς τὴν καρδίαν
τῶν ὀλκάδων τιν' αὐτοῦ
λέψας ἅπαξ διέστρεφεν.

10 λ]υτὸς δ' ἔκειθ' ὁ Θεογένης
τ]ὴν νύχθ' ὄλην πεπορδῶς.
δια]στρέφειν οὖν πρῶτα μὲν
χρῆ Καλλίαν τοὺς ἐν μακροῖν
τειχοῖν θ' ἄμ', ἀ[ρ]ιστητικώ-
τεροι γάρ εἰσιν ἡμῶν,

15 Νικήρατόν τ' Ἀχαρνέα

¹ The text of l. 3 is corrupt. I have translated the text suggested by Hartman and van Leeuwen, which does restore the iambic metre in l. 4: ἐπεὶ ξένον τιν' οὐτ' ἄστυτον.

vii [Aristophanes] who in a comedy brought Pericles, the Athenian leader, on stage declaring that one should not bring up a lion in a city, but <if one did>, one should learn to cater to it.

viii A Paestan bell-crater by Assteas, dated to the middle of the fourth century, shows two comic figures, a youthful figure holding a lyre and labelled as "Phrynis," being rough-handled by a vigorous old man labelled "Pyronides." See V 7.

Fragments

99 This fragment consists of three leaves of the Cairo codex, first published in 1911 and recognized by Körte as belonging to Demes.

(a) The first leaf contains part of a parabasis-like section, in which the chorus complain in iambic dimeter (1-22) about certain notorious Athenians and then in trochaic tetrameters (23-34) about a certain political leader.

Recto

And indeed they say that Peisander was screwed yesterday while having breakfast, after he said he wouldn't feed a hungry stranger.¹ And Pauson, standing beside Theogenes dining to his heart's content off one of his merchant ships, thrashed and screwed him good, and the beaten Theogenes lay there, farting all night long. First of all, they ought to screw Callias and those in the Long Walls, for they eat better than we do. And Niceratus of Acharnae . . . giving

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

.....]ιν διδόντα χοίνικας
]εον ἐκάστωι
]ιη
 τῶν χρημάτων [.....]
 20 οὐ]δ' ἂν τριχὸς πριαίμην.
]ν
].ος

 desunt versus 12

 κάξιοι δημηγορεῖν,
 25 χθὲς δὲ καὶ πρώην παρ' ἡμῖν φρατέρων ἔρημ[ος ἦν
 κούδ' ἂν ἠττίκιζεν, εἰ μὴ τοὺς φίλους ἠισχύν[ετο,
 τῶν ἀπραγμόνων γε πόρνων κούχι τῶν σεμνῶν [υ -
 ἀλλ' ἔδει νεύσαντα χωρεῖν εἰς τὸ κινητήρ[ιον·
 τῆς ἐταιρίας δὲ τούτων τοὺς φίλους ἐσκ[- υ -
 ταῖς στρατηγίαις δ' ὑφέρπει καὶ τρυγωιδο[- υ -
 30 εἰς δὲ Μαντίνειαν ὑμᾶς οὗτος οὐ μέμ[νησθ' ὅτι
 τοῦ θεοῦ βροντῶντος ὑμῖν οὐκ ἐῶντ[ας ἐμβαλεῖν
 εἶπε δήσειν τοὺς στρατηγοὺς πρὸς βίαν [ἐν τῶι
 ξύλωι;
 ὅστις οὖν ἄρχειν τοιούτους ἄνδρας ἀ[ίρειταί ποτε
 μήτε πρόβατ' αὐτῶι τεκνοῖτο μήτε γῆ κ[αρπὸν
 φέρου.

EUPOLIS

quarts of grain . . . to each . . . of the goods . . . I wouldn't
 buy for a penny. (1-22)

Verso

. . . and has the gall to speak before the people. In fact yesterday and the day before he was devoid of phratries with us, and wouldn't even be speaking Attic if he weren't ashamed before his friends . . . of apolitical male prostitutes and not of respectable . . . but he should have ducked his head and gone into the brothel. Of friends such as these has he . . . his political club . . . He sneaks around the generalships and . . . the comic poets. Don't you people remember that when the god was thundering and the generals were not allowing you to take the field at Mantinea, he said he would bind the generals forcibly in the stocks? May the flocks of anyone who elects such men to govern bear no offspring and may their land never bear crops.¹ (23-34)

¹ The identity of this figure is hotly disputed and the exact point of the chorus' imprecations is affected by what one chooses to read at the ends of the lines. The most likely candidates for identification are Hyperbolus (my preference), Cleophon, and Archdemus.

35 [AP.] ὦ γῆ πατρώια χαίρει· σὲ γὰρ ...[
 πασιῶν πόλεων ἐκπαυλ[οτατ
 [-] τόδε πρᾶγμα τί ἐστὶ; [
 [AP.] χαίρειν δέ φη[μι
 πάντα προ[
 40 προ[

desunt versus fere 10-12

τὸ χαλκίον,
 Ἑρμαινέ θ' ἡμῖν καὶ θύη, πέττειν τι, νὰ,
 κέλευ', ἵνα σπλάγχ, νοισι συγγενώμεθα.
]· ταῦτα καὶ πεπράξεται.
 45]· γν]ώσεσθε τοὺς δήμους ὅστωι
]· εἰ]σι νῦν διακείμενοι
]· ἡνί]κ' ἤρχετον σὺ καὶ Σόλων
 ἡβῆς τ' ἐκείνης ν, οὐ τ' ἐκείνου καὶ φρενῶν.
 50]· α, ηδ[...]· μάτων
]· οι[...]· α συχνή
]· χεται
]· τοιη
 π]· ρόσθεν
 55]· μὴ προδῶις
]· ν προθυμίαν
]· υρωνίδην
]· οὺς ἀνήγαγεν
]· ἀσπάσασθαι
 κ]· α[ραδ]οκῶ

(ARISTEIDES)

My homeland, greeting. I... you... of all cities most...

What is this?

(ARISTEIDES) I say... to greet... (35-40)

(b) The second leaf of the Cairo codex is very badly mutilated and only bits of the sense can be determined; we seem to be seeing the reception of the Four at Athens. It may well follow directly on (a).

Recto

(41-48) Heat the bronze pot for us and tell someone to make cakes, so that we may come to grips with sacrificial meats... this will have been done... And you people will recognize by how much the demes... they are now... when you and Solon governed "that youth and heart and mind."¹

(49-59) sweetenings... frequent... before... do not betray... enthusiasm... Pyronides... whom he has brought up... to welcome... I wait for.

¹ The full text of 42-44 has been restored from a citation by Athenaeus (123a). Line 48 appears to be a citation of Cratinus F 71.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

desunt versus fere 10-12

60 {XO.} .],τος γὰρ ὡς.[] ἄνδρες,
 ὦν κ[ιχόν]τες ἐν τοίαισιν
 ἡδοναῖσι κείμεθα.
 ...].ι δοκῶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἤδη τού[σδ'] ἰ[δεῖν
 65 καθ]ημένους, οὓς φασιν ἤκειν παρ[ὰ νεκρῶν
]. α μὲν δὴ τῶν φίλων προστ.[
 ὡς ὀρθὸς ἐστηκῶ[ς]....στ' αὐτῶν .[
 Πυρωνίδης, ἐρώμεθ' [α]ὐτὸ[ν
 εἰπέ μοι, ὦ[] ἔ-
 70 μολεσετ[
 πρὸς πολιτῶ[ν
 φράσον, τί κ[
 {ΠΤ.} ὅ]δ' αὐτὸς εἰμ' ἐκείνος ὃν σ[ὺ
 ὅ]ς τὰς Ἀθήνας πόλλ' ἔτη [
 75 .],αστ['] ἀ]γάμδρους ἄνδρ[ας
 {XO.} ἦ καὶ σαφῶς οἰδ[
 ἡμῖν ἐξ[.]ηιτρ[

.....]ιν[.....]ντε προς.[.]..[
 {ΣΤ.}]νὺν αὐτίχ' ἀγνός εἰμ' ἐγώ
 80]δί]καίως εἰμ' ἀνήρ. λέγ' ὅ τι λέγεις.
 ΣΤ]ος ποτ' εἰς ἀγο[ρά]ν κυκεῶ πιῶν
]κρίμων τή[ν] ὑπήνην ἀνόπλεως
]ων τοῦτ' ἐννακῆμαί πως ἐγώ.
 εἰθῶν δὲ ταχέως οἴκαδ' εὐθὺ τοῦ ξένου.

EUPOLIS

Verso

(60-77) (CHORUS) . . . the men, whom we are so pleased to meet.

(CHORUS LEADER or CHARACTER) I think I see seated these man whom they say have come from the dead . . . from friends at . . . since standing upright in front of them is Pyronides, let us ask him. Tell me . . . you came . . . to the citizens' . . . tell us what . . .

(PYRONIDES) I am that very man whom you . . . Athens for many years . . . unmanly men

(CHORUS) Indeed I know well . . . for us.

(c) Critics hesitated at first to attribute the third leaf of the Cairo codex to Demes, but the claim of the second speaker to be "a just man" suggests very strongly that we have here an encounter between Aristides, one of the raised Four, and an informer.

Recto

(78-99) (INFORMER) . . . now at once, my hands are clean.

(ARISTEIDES) And I am a just man. Tell me what you mean.

(INFORMER) . . . who into the agora after drinking a broth, his upper lip coated with barley . . . I noticed this and went straight to the home of the foreigner.

- 85 {ΑΠ.} τί] ἔδρασας, ὦ πανούργε καὶ κυβευτὰ σὺ;
 {ΣΤ.} ἔφ]ην, κελεύων τὸν ξένον μοι χρυσίου
 δοῦν]αι στατ[ῆ]ρας ἑκατόν· ἦν γὰρ πλούσιος.
]ιον ἐκ[έ]λευσέ μ' εἰπεῖν ὅτι πιῶν
]ν[.....] κᾶτ' ἔλαβον τὸ χρυσίον.
 90ποι]εῖτω τις † ὅ τι ποτε βούλεται.
 {ΑΡ.}]τῆς δικαιοσύνης ὄση
 {ΣΤ.}]ητην οὔτε πω διαστολὰς
]ων ἔπραξεν οὐπιδαύριος
]ρφρ. νων ἀπεκλεισ< > ἐκποδῶν.
 95 {ΑΡ.}]ραν κατέλυσας ἠττηθεῖς πολὺ.
 {ΣΤ.}]ἐπρ]αξάμην δὲ χρήματ' οὐ λέγω.
] θανόντων {ΑΡ.} ταῦτα χάριτος ἄξια
μᾶ]λλον εἰ σαφῶς τις ἀποθάνοι
]υσπουτ[

 100]σι[...].]ι[...].]αιτωχει[...].]ι[...].]σι[
]μεδ' ἢ ταῦτ' ἂν ποιῶ. χρήμα[τα
 {ΑΡ.} τί, τοὺς θανόντας οὐκ ἔᾶς τεθνηκέναι;
 {ΣΤ.} μ]αρτύρομαι τί δ' οὐκ ἀγωνι[ο]ύμ[εθα;
 κα]λέσας με συνδεῖς κἀδικε[ῖ]ς. {ΑΡ.} ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐγὼ
 105 ξυνέδησά σ', ἀλλ' ὁ ξένος ὁ τὸν κυκεῶ πιῶν.
 {ΣΤ.} δικά[ι]α δῆτα ταῦτα πάσχειν ἦν ἐμέ;
 {ΑΡ.} ἐροῦ βαδίζων ἱερέα τὸν τοῦ Διός.
 {ΣΤ.} † ὕβριζε ταῦτα δ' οὖν ἔτ' ὀφλήσεις ἐμοί.
 {ΑΡ.} ἔτ[ι] γὰρ σὺ τοῦφείλειν λέγεις οὕτως ἔ[χ]ων;

- {ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΕΣ} What did you do, you wicked cheat?
 {ΙΝΦΟΡΜΕΡ} I ordered the stranger to give me a hun-
 dred staters of gold—he was a rich man . . . and he told me
 to say that after drinking . . . and then I took the gold . . . let
 him do whatever he wants.
 {ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΕΣ} . . . such justice.
 {ΙΝΦΟΡΜΕΡ} . . . nor yet explanations . . . the
 Epidaurian did . . . but sneering down at me he slammed
 the door.
 {ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΕΣ} Coming off very badly, you settled
 down . . .
 {ΙΝΦΟΡΜΕΡ} . . . but I . . . the money, that's not what
 I'm saying . . . of the dead
 {ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΕΣ} This is a reason to be grateful . . . if
 someone clearly died . . .

Verso

- {ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΕΣ} Why do you not let the dead be dead?¹
 {ΙΝΦΟΡΜΕΡ} Witnesses! Shall we not go to trial? You
 summon me and then beat me and tie me up.
 {ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΕΣ} But I didn't tie you up—the foreigner
 who drank the broth did.
 {ΙΝΦΟΡΜΕΡ} It is right for me to suffer in this way?
 {ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΕΣ} Go and ask the priest of Zeus.
 {ΙΝΦΟΡΜΕΡ} Insult me, you'll still pay me back for
 this.
 {ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΕΣ} The way you are, how can you still talk
 of paying back?

¹ This appears to be a citation of Euripides F 507.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

110 {ΣΤ.} καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δία κλάοντα καθέσω σ' [.
 {ΑΡ.} καὶ τοῦτό μου τὸ χρέος καταψευδ[
 ...]αγεῖτ' αὐτὸν καὶ παράδοτ' ο.[
]αρεστιν τῶν τοιούτων δ[εσπότης.
 ἐβ[ο]υλ]όμην δ' ἂν καὶ Διόγνητον λαβ[εῖν
 115 τὸν ἱερόσυλον, ὅς ποτ' ἦν τῶν ἔνδεκ[α,
 ὃς τῶν πανούργων ἐ[σ]τὶ τῶν νεωτ[έρων
 πολλῶι κράτιστος, ὁπόταν εὖ τὸ σῶμ' ἔχ[η].
 ἐγὼ δὲ πάσῃ προσαγορεύω τῇ πόλ[ει
 εἶναι δικαίους, ὡς ὅς ἂν δίκαιος ἦ
 120]λσικοινημ[...].]ων

100 P. Oxy. 1240

{ΠΥΡΩΝΙΑΔ[ΗΣ].} ἄρ' οὐχὶ φαν[ερόν
 ἦ που μέγ' οἱ[
 ζῆ].[
 κόσμος .[
 5 [.].[

 [ἔ]μβαινε παρ[
 κώμαζ' ὁποιῶ[
 [.....].ισ[

{Ο]ΙΚΕΤΗΣ.) [
 10 [

EUPOLIS

(INFORMER) By Zeus, I'll make you sorry . . .
 (ARISTEIDES) You'll forfeit that debt as well. Take
 him away and hand him quickly over to Oineis (?) . . . he is
 the master (?) of such as these.² I would like to have gotten
 Diognetus the temple robber as well—the man who was
 one of the Eleven, by far the most powerful of the younger
 villains, at least when his health is good. To all the city I
 proclaim to be just, since whoever is just . . .
² Reading παράδοτ' Οἰνεῖ ταχὺ (Körte), compare F 172.15–
 16.

100 This fragment consists of four scraps of text. It is as-
 signed to Demes on the basis of the name, Pyronid[es in
 the left margin of the first line. Also in the left margin are
 the words o]iketēs (servant) and cho[rus.
 (PYRONIDES) Is this not clear . . . great indeed . . .
 world . . . Come in . . . celebrate
 (SERVANT)

 [ΧΟΡΟΣ.] ἐγὼ δὲ φιλ[
 καὶ φιλ..[
 καὶ νῦν [
 το[
 15 [ΟΙΚ]ΕΤΗ(Σ).] φέρ' ἴδω πλακ[

]
].
] ἐξιόντας

101 P. Oxy. 863

]..[
]δήμου[.....]ηλυσ[
]. τοῖς ἐνεργ[τέ]ροις θεοῖς
]. κως οὐκ ἀνεβίων οὐδ' ἄπαξ
 5]ημοι τῆς πόλεως πλείστον πολύ
]αμοι διαφθείρουσι νῦν
]δροί τε καὶ Πάριδες ὁμοῦ
]των ἐνθάδε
]παρέλειπον πρὸ τ[ο]ῦ
 10]. εἰς ἀνάκρισιν
].ως μαχου.[
]ται. θεῖ

(CHORUS) And I like . . . and now . . .
 (SERVANT) See here, cakes . . . people going out

101 These lines were plausibly attributed to Demes by Schroeder because of the mention of "deme" (2), "the lower gods" (3), and "would never have come back to life" (4). Some restore line 7 as "Peisanders and Parises together" (cf. F 99.1-4), but "Alexanders and Parises together" is equally likely, and keeps the allusion within the world of myth.¹

Of a deme . . . Elysion (?) . . . to the gods down below . . . I (they?) would never have come back to life . . . by far the best part of the city . . . they now destroy . . . -anders and Parises together . . . here . . . I neglected before this . . . to a decision . . . fight

¹ Wright CQ 56 (2006) 593-95 assigns F 101 to Cratinus' *Dionysalexander* on the basis of "Parises" in V 7. Against this see Luppe ZPE 160 (2007) 24-26.

102 Σ Aelius Aristides 3.51 (ll. 1-5), Diodorus 12.40.6
(ll. 5-7)

{A.} κράτιστος οὗτος ἐγένετ' ἀνθρώπων λέγειν·
ὅποτε παρέλθοι <δ'>, ὥσπερ ἀγαθοὶ δρομῆς,
ἐκ δέκα ποδῶν ἤρει λέγων τοὺς ῥήτορας.

{B.} ταχὺν λέγεις μέν. {A.} πρὸς δέ <γ'> αὐτοῦ τῷ
τάχει

5 πειθῶ τις ἐπεκάθιζεν ἐπὶ τοῖς χείλεσιν,
οὕτως ἐκήλει καὶ μόνος τῶν ῥητόρων
τὸ κέντρον ἐγκατέλειπε τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις.

103 Aelius Aristides 3.51

{A.} ῥήτωρ γάρ ἐστι νῦν τις; {B.} ὧν γ' ἔστιν
λέγειν;

ὁ Βουζύγης ἄριστος ἀλιτήριος.

104 Σ Aelius Aristides 3.365

καὶ μηκέτ', ὦναξ Μιλτιάδῃ καὶ Περικλέες,
ἑάστατ' ἄρχειν μειράκια κινούμενα,
ἐν τοῖν σφυροῖν ἔλκοντα τὴν στρατηγίαν.

105 Galen *Affections and Errors of the Soul* 7.10

{A.} † ητίας ὧν † ἐγένον δίκαιος οὕτω διαπρεπῶς;
{ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΗΣ.} ἡ μὲν φύσις τὸ μέγιστον <ἦν>,
ἔπειτα δὲ

καὶ γὰρ προθύμως τῇ φύσει συνελάμβανον.

102 (A) This man [Pericles] was the very best at speaking.
Whenever he came forward, like the best runners, he'd
beat the others at speaking, from more than ten feet back.

(B) You're saying he spoke quickly?

(A) Yes, but in addition to his speed a Persuasion of
sorts perched upon his lips. That's how he could cast a
spell, and he alone of the speakers left a sting in his audi-
ence.

103 (A) Is there any speaker now?

(B) The best of those worth a mention is that god-
damned Bouzyges.¹

¹ Probably referring to Demostratus (PAA 319245); see also
F 113 and *Lysistrata* 391-97.

104 And, lords Miltiades and Pericles, do not let these
young faggots hold office any more, who drag the general-
ship around their ankles.

105 (A) <How> did you become so outstandingly just?

(ARISTEIDES) Nature was the most important factor,
and then I enthusiastically helped nature along.¹

¹ The name of A is garbled in Galen's text, but does not seem to
be Pyronides. Perhaps a companion, whose name Luppe has sug-
gested was Eugeiton (Good Neighbour).

106 Longinus *On the Sublime* 16.3

οὐ γὰρ μὰ τὴν Μαραθῶνι τὴν ἐμὴν μάχην
χαίρων τις αὐτῶν τοῦμὸν ἀλγυνεῖ κέαρ.

107 Σ Aristophanes *Birds* 1569

ταδὶ δὲ τὰ δένδρα Λαισποδίας καὶ Δαμασίας
αὐταῖσι ταῖς κνήμαισιν ἀκολουθοῦσί μοι.

108 Stobaeus 3.35.2

καὶ τοῦ μὲν <ἐν> κύκλω γε παύσομαι λόγου,
φράσω δέ σοι τὸ πρᾶγμα διὰ τῶν χωρίων.

109 Photius p. 291.3

γυναῖκ' ἔχοντα μάλα καλήν τε κάγαθήν·
αὕτη νεανικοῦντος ἐπεθύμησέ μου.

110 Plutarch *Pericles* 24.10

{ΠΕΡΙΚΛΗΣ.} ὁ νόθος δέ μοι ζῆ; {ΠΥΡΩΝΙΔΗΣ.} καὶ
πάλαι γ' ἂν ἦν ἀνὴρ,
εἰ μὴ τὸ τῆς πόρνης ὑπωρρώδει κακόν.

111 Athenaeus 373e

οὐ δεινὸν οὖν κριοὺς μὲν ἐκγεννᾶν τέκνα,
ὄρνεις δ' ὁμοίους τοὺς νεοττοὺς τῷ πατρί;

106 (MILTIADES)

No, not by my battle at Marathon, will anyone of them
grieve my heart and get away with it.

107 These trees, Damasias and Laespodias, are following
me, shins and all.¹

¹ Damasias (PAA 300930) is otherwise unknown, but Lae-
spodias (PAA 600730) was a general and ambassador in the late
410s, made fun of at *Birds* 1569, Phrynichus F 17, Philyllius F 8,
Strattis F 19, and Theopompus F 40. Both he and Damasias
clearly had some visible deformity of the legs.

108 I will stop this circular talk, and explain the situation
to you point by point.

109 Who had a very fine and beautiful wife; I was young,
and she wanted me.

110 (PERIKLES)

And is my bastard son still alive?

(PYRONIDES) Yes, and he would have grown up long
ago, if he weren't so bothered about having a whore for a
mother.

111 Is it not strange that rams and birds father children
and offspring like their father?

112 Σ Aristophanes *Clouds* 1001

εἶς Ἰπποκράτους τε παῖδες ἐκβόλιμοί τινες,
βληχητὰ τέκνα καὶ οὐδαμῶς τοῦ < - > τρόπου.

113 Σ Aristophanes *Lysistrata* 397

τί κέκραγας ὥσπερ Βουζύγης ἀδικούμενος;

114 Orion *Anthology* 6.5

τὸ γὰρ δίκαιον πανταχοῦ φυλακτέον.

115 Plutarch *Pericles* 3.7

ὅ τι περ κεφάλαιον τῶν κάτωθεν ἤγαγες.

116 Plutarch *Alcibiades* 13.2

λαλεῖν ἄριστος, ἀδυνατώτατος λέγειν.

117 Athenaeus 316c

ἀνὴρ πολίτης πουλύπους ἐς τοὺς τρόπους.

118 Tiberius *On Figures* 47

ἅπαντα γὰρ ποθοῦμεν ἢ κλεινὴ πόλις.

119 *Etymologicum Genuinum* AB

ἀμβλυστονῆσαι καὶ χλοῆσαι τὴν πόλιν.

112 There are the abortive sons of Hippocrates, bleating offspring and hardly <worthy?> of my (?) nature.¹

¹ Hippocrates (PAA 538615), the brother of Pericles, was killed at Delion in 424. His sons were made fun of in comedy for stupidity or swinish behaviour (Aristophanes *Clouds* 1001, F 116, 568), and perhaps for physical deformity.

113 Why do you shout like an injured Bouzyges?¹

¹ In myth an Athenian called Bouzyges (ox-yoker) was the first to plough the earth. The Bouzygae were members of an Athenian priesthood and would shout curses during a ritual ploughing. Their best-known member was Demonstratus (see F 103).

114 Right must always be protected.

115 You have brought up the head of the dead.¹

¹ Of the appearance of Pericles.

116 [Phaeax] very good at chattering, totally incapable of speaking.

117 A citizen, an octopus in his ways.

118 We long for, all this famous city.

119 For the city to spring up and flourish again.

120 Athenaeus 106b

ἔχων τὸ πρόσωπον καρίδος μασθλητίνης.

121 Photius p. 300.1

τοιαῦτα μέντοι νιγλαρεύων κρούματα

122 Pollux 7.163–64

ἐνταῦθα τοίνυν ἦν ἐκείνοισιν πιθῶν.

123 Pollux 9.58

ἔχων στατήρας χρυσίου τρισχιλίους.

124 Suda a 3789

ἐγὼ δὲ συμψήσασα τὰργυρίδιον

125 Photius (z) a 3145

λέγ' ὅτου 'πιθυμείς, κούδεν ἀτυχήσεις ἐμοῦ.

126 Plutarch *Aristeides* 4.3

σοφὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ, τῆς δὲ χειρὸς οὐ κρατῶν

127 Olympiodorus on Plato *Gorgias* 50.9

δίκαιον οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ νεοττίον

120 With the face of a leather-red shrimp.

121 Whistling, however, such melodies.

122 Yes indeed they had a wine cellar.

123 Having three thousand staters of gold.

124 (WOMAN) And scraping together a little bit of cash,
I . . .

125 Say whatever you desire, you won't lose by me.

126 For the man [Themistocles] was clever, but couldn't
control his hand.

127 Hardly a just offspring.¹
¹ Cited in reference to Aristides "the Just."

128 *Etymologicum Genuinum* AB

ὅτω δ' ἂν οἶνος ἦ πολὺς πίσει.

129 Athenaeus 408c

κἄν τις τύχη πρῶτος βαλῶν, εἴληφε χειρόνιπτρον,
ἀνὴρ δ' ὅταν τις ἀγαθὸς ἦ καὶ χρήσιμος πολίτης,
νικᾷ τε <πάντας> χρηστὸς ὢν, οὐκ ἔστι
χειρόνιπτρον.

130 Harpocration p. 200.15

τοιγαροῦν στρατηγὸς ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου οὐδεὶς
δύναται ὥσπερ μειαγωγὸς ἐστιῶν τῆς τοῦδε νίκης
πλείον' ἐλκύσαι σταθμόν.

131 Photius (b, z) a 163

{A.} ἀναθῶμεν νῦν χῆμεῖς τούτοις τασδι τὰς εἰρεσι-
ώνας
καὶ προσαγήλωμεν ἐπελθόντες. χαίρετε πάντες. {B.}
δεχόμεσθα.

132 Harpocration p. 223.12

ὄν χρῆν ἔν <τε> ταῖς τριόδοις κἂν τοῖς ὀξυθυμίοις
προστρόπαιον τῆς πόλεως κάεσθαι τετριγότα.

133 Photius p. 267.18

μὴ παιδὶ τὰ κοινά.

128 Whoever has a great deal of wine will provide the
drink.

129 And if someone happens to score first, he wins a
washbasin; but if a man is a good and honest citizen and
surpasses <everyone> in honesty, for him there is no wash-
basin.

130 For that reason, no general since that time could
outweigh that man's [Miltiades] victory—it would be like
offering an undersize lamb at a sacrifice.¹

¹ This is the sense of the text as quoted by Harpocration—
there have been many attempts to render it into iambic trimeters
or tetrameters.

131 (A) Now let us also go forward and dedicate these
wreaths in honour of these men, and offer words of
praise. All hail.

(B) We accept.

132 Whom they (you? we?) should have burned squeal-
ing among the trash at the crossroads, as a propitiation for
the city.

133 Matters of state are not for a child.

134 Σ Aristophanes *Clouds* 1022a

τέταρτος ὁ τραπεζίτης, οὗ μέμνηται Εὐπόλις ἐν Δήμοις.

135 Σ Aristophanes *Birds* 822

ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Καπνὸς, ὅτι πολλὰ ὑπισχνούμενος οὐδὲν ἐτέλει. Εὐπόλις ἐν Δήμοις.

136 Σ Aristophanes *Birds* 876

καὶ ἴσως ἕτερος ἂν εἴη τοῦ παρ' Εὐπόλιδος ἐν Δήμοις καὶ Κόλαξι.

137 Σ Aristophanes *Acharnians* 61a, *Suda* β 144

Εὐπόλις δὲ ἐν Δήμοις εἰσάγει τὸν Πεισίστρατον βασιλέα.

εἰσάγει ΣΕ, εἰσφέρει ΣΓ, καλεῖ *Suda*

138 Σ Aristophanes *Peace* 348e

πέμπτος ἀρχαῖος Ἀθηναῖος μετὰ Σόλωνα ἄρξας· Εὐπόλις ἐν Δήμοις.

139 Σ Lucian *Alexander* 4

ὁ Φρυνώνδας ἐπὶ πονηρίᾳ βοᾶται Εὐπόλιδι ἐν Ἀστρατεύτοις, Δήμοις.

134 The fourth [Antimachos] was a banker, whom Eupolis mentions in *Demes*.

135 He [Theogenes] was called "Smoke," because he promised much but never delivered—Eupolis in *Demes*.

136 He [Cleocritus] may be different from the one mentioned by Eupolis in *Demes* and *Spongers* [F 177].

137 Eupolis in *Demes* calls <Peisistratus> "king."¹
¹ One ancient source reads "brings on stage." This would add a fifth Athenian to the cast of past leaders, but how likely was a tyrant to appear among democratic leaders?

138 The fifth Phormion was an ancient Athenian who was archon after Solon—Eupolis in *Demes*.

139 Phrynondas is celebrated for wickedness—Eupolis in *Draft-Dodgers* [F 45] and *Demes*.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

141 The Antiatticist p. 95.8

ἐγχώριος ἀνὴρ, ἐγχώριον πρᾶγμα

ΕΙΛΩΤΕΣ

There was some confusion over the authorship of this comedy. Five of the fragments (F 147, 150, 152, 154–55) are attributed to Helots by Eupolis, and four (F 148–49, 151, 153) to “the man who wrote Helots.” There is no controversy about the play’s existence—F 148 is clearly in the style of Old Comedy—only over its authorship. On what grounds would authorship have been questioned? Because it was absent from the production lists? Because it was produced through someone else, as Autolycus was produced “through Demonstratus”? Because it was unlike anything else that Eupolis wrote? If Eupolis did have it produced through another man’s agency, we should regard it as an early work, in 429 or 428. This would fit the joke against Gnesippus, who is a comic target of the 430s.

EUPOLIS

141 Local man, local matter.

Brief fragments: (F 140) “steam baths,” (F 142) “pleasure,” (F 143) “beasts,” (F 144) “chimney,” (F 145) “to boast,” (F 146) “wine offering.”

HELOTS

The title suggests a chorus of helots, the Spartan serfs. This would seem to be confirmed by the Doric expressions in F 147 and 149, as well as the “starving Dorians” of F 154. The mention of the sanctuary of Poseidon (F 149) and the possibility that Knights 1225 borrows from a scene in Helots (T 1) might suggest that the comedy featured runaway helots taking sanctuary, perhaps at the temple of Poseidon at Sounion (F 151)—compare Heracles’ family taking refuge from hostile Peloponnesians at the temple of Zeus at Marathon in Euripides’ Children of Heracles (c. 430).

Recent bibliography: M. Cummings, Scholia 10 (2001) 38–53; J. Davidson, in Rivals 41–64; J. H. Hordern, CQ 53 (2003) 608–13; L. Pranscello, CPh 101 (2006) 52–66.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

Testimonium

i Σ *Knights* 1225

τὸ δὲ "ἑσπεφάνιξα" . . . μιμῆται δὲ τοὺς εἰλωτας, ὅταν
σπεφανῶσι τὸν Ποσειδῶνα.

Fragments

147 Athenaeus 138e

αἱ κα γένηται τοῦδε σάμερον κοπίς.

148 Athenaeus 638e

τὰ Στησιχόρου τε καὶ Ἀλκμᾶνος Σιμωνίδου τε
ἀρχαῖον αἰδεῖν· ὁ δὲ Γνήσιππος ἔστ' ἀκούειν.
κεῖνος νικτερίν' ἠῦρε μοιχοῖς αἰίσματ' ἐκκαλεῖσθαι
γυναῖκας ἔχοντας ἰαμβύκην τε καὶ τρίγωνον.

149 Herodian *On Singular Vocabulary* II p. 917.1

τέμενος Ποσειδᾶ ποντίω

150 Pollux 9.74

ὀβολὸν τὸν καλλιχέλωνον

151 Herodian *On Singular Vocabulary* II p. 933.1

† αἶμην ἀλλὰ μισχοῦν καθήμενοι

EUPOLIS

Testimonium

i "I put a garland on you": he is imitating the helots when
they put a garland on Poseidon.¹

¹ The quotation from *Knights* is in Doric. Müller, followed by
Sommerstein (*CQ* 30 [1980] 46–56), interprets the scholion as "he
[Ar.] is imitating [Eupolis'] *Helots*, when they [in the play] put a
garland on Poseidon." Sommerstein calls attention to the use of
the same verb "gave a present" at Eupolis F 89, part of the inter-
textual "war between the poets" over *Knights*.

Fragments

147 If there be a feast here today.

148 It is old-fashioned to sing the songs of Stesichorus
and Alcman, and Simonides, but Gnesippus is the one to
hear. He invented the nighttime songs for adulterers to
call out their women, while holding a *sambyke* and a spin-
dle harp.¹

¹ Gnesippus (*PAA* 279680) is a poet of mimes and light poetry,
active 450–430 and the subject of frequent comic jokes about his
poetry, usually in the context of love and adultery. See Chionides
F 4; Cratinus F 17, 104, 276; Teleclides F 36.

149 The precinct of Poseidon, the sea god.

150 The fair-turtled obol.

151 But seated all together.

ΚΟΛΑΚΕΣ

The hypothesis to Peace (T 1) records this play's first-place finish at the Dionysia of 421. Eupolis' principal target is Callias, son of Hipponicus, a young man who had recently come into an inheritance which made him the richest man in Athens. We know Callias from the brilliant picture drawn by Plato in Protagoras, the enthusiastic amateur philosopher whose home is full of sophists, and that by Xenophon in Symposium, where he holds a victory party to celebrate the athletic victory of his young lover, Autolycus. Autolycus will be the subject of Eupolis' comedy of that name the next year. A less attractive picture of Callias and the complications of his personal life is presented in Andocides 1 at the end of the century.

Callias was especially notorious for his extravagant style of living and for the women in his life, who according to Aristophanes (Birds 286) and other comic poets had taken him for all he was worth. Spongers portrayed him as the opposite of his father (F 156), planning a great party (F 160, 165, 174) and pledging his possessions to finance his extravagance (F 163-65). There are hints that Callias came to grief by the end of the comedy. Comedy frequently makes fun of Callias for squandering his inheritance. Spongers may be the source of this tradition. F 162 and 169 show that valuable possessions are vanishing from the house, either stolen by the guests or claimed by a money lender, F 186 mentions debts, and F 167 might show Callias now forced to clean the house.

Brief fragments: (F 152) "seasonings," (F 153) "hare," (F 154) "hungry Dorians," (F 155) "frying pan."

SPONGERS

It is very likely that Protagoras was a character in the play, presented as the typical comic "expert," who is very good at looking out for his own interests (F 157-58). In the first fragment, alitērios can mean "cursed" or "charlatan," but also "poltergeist," and Andocides 1.130-31 records a tradition that Hipponicus' house was haunted by a poltergeist, "which kept upsetting his tables." Eupolis has turned this poltergeist into Protagoras as the master of the disturbing revels in Callias' home "upsetting his tables." Alcibiades is mentioned at F 171, and it has been suggested that both he and Socrates were characters in this comedy as well. Spongers may have provided Plato with much of his material for Protagoras.

The chorus was composed of kolakes, "spongers" who depended on fawning up to rich Athenians to acquire free meals and a living in general. From the fourth century into Roman comedy and then through later antiquity these would be called "parasites," but in Old Comedy they are "spongers." F 172 is a complete epirrhema from a parabasis, where the chorus reveal their modus operandi as well as the dangers of a sponger's life. F 177-80 list several people targeted as "spongers," but it is unlikely that we have a chorus of twenty-four distinct individuals; it is more likely that these were men named as those who frequented the houses of the wealthy, including that of Callias. "Spongers" probably included a wide variety of individual types; the connecting link was that they had attached themselves to Callias.

Testimonia

i See Eupolis T 13c.

ii

(a) Athenaeus 218b

ὁ ἐν τῷ Πρωταγόρα διάλογος, μετὰ τὴν Ἰππονίκου τελευτὴν γενόμενος παρειληφότος ἤδη τὴν οὐσίαν Καλλίου, τοῦ Πρωταγόρου <μέμνηται> παραγεγονότος τὸ δεύτερον οὐ πολλαῖς πρότερον ἡμέραις. ὁ δ' Ἰππόνικος . . . τέθνηκε πρὸ τῆς ἐπ' Ἀλκαίου διδασκαλίας τῶν Εὐπόλιδος Κολάκων οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ κατὰ τὸ εἶκός. πρόσφατον γάρ τινα τοῦ Καλλίου τὴν παράληψιν τῆς οὐσίας ἐμφαίνει τὸ δράμα. ἐν οὖν τούτῳ τῷ δράματι Εὐπολις τὸν Πρωταγόραν ὡς ἐπιδημοῦντα εἰσάγει, Ἀμειψίας δ' ἐν τῷ Κόννῳ δύο πρότερον ἔτεσιν διδαχθέντι οὐ καταριθμεῖ αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ τῶν φροντιστῶν χορῷ. δῆλον οὖν ὡς μεταξύ τούτων τῶν χρόνων παραγέγονεν.

(b) Athenaeus 506f

ὁ δὲ καλὸς αὐτοῦ Πρωταγόρας πρὸς τῷ καταδρομῆν ἔχει πολλῶν ποιητῶν καὶ σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκθεατριζόμενον ἔχει καὶ τὸν Καλλίου βίον μᾶλλον τῶν Εὐπόλιδος Κολάκων.

Recent bibliography: S. Beta, QUCC 51 (1995) 93–98; M. Dorati, QUCC 50 (1995) 87–103; M. Napolitano, SemRom 1 (1998) 289–98; SemRom 8 (2005) 45–66; A. Pawlak, Eos 84.2 (1996) 277–83; E. Tylawsky, Satorio's Inheritance (2002) 43–57.

Testimonia

i See Eupolis T 13c.

ii

(a) The conversation in *Protagoras*, which took place after the death of Hipponicus, when Callias has already come into his inheritance, <mentions> that Protagoras had arrived <in Athens> for the second time not many days before. Now Hipponicus . . . had died probably shortly before the production of Eupolis' *Spongers* in the archonship of Alcaeus [422/1], since the play makes it plain that Callias' acquisition of his inheritance was something recent. In this play Eupolis brings Protagoras on stage as being present <in Athens>, while Ameipsias in his *Connus*, produced two years earlier [D-423], does not include Protagoras in his chorus of intellectuals. It is clear that he came to Athens between these two occasions.

(b) His [Plato] excellent *Protagoras* as well as containing attacks on many poets and philosophers also depicts the life of Callias more dramatically than Eupolis' *Spongers*.

iii Σ Aristophanes *Birds* 283

ὁ Ἴππονίκου Καλλίας ἐδόκει τὰ πατρῶα διεσπαρκέναι εἰς ἀσέλγειαν. κωμωδεῖται δὲ εἰς ἀσέλγειαν καὶ ὡς ληφθεὶς μοιχεύων ἀπέτιψε χρήματα. κεκωμώδηκε δὲ αὐτὸν ἰκανῶς Εὐπόλις ἐν τοῖς Κόλαξι.

iv Maximus of Tyre 14.7

ἀλλὰ Καλλίαν μὲν ἐν Διονυσίοις ἐκωμῶδει Εὐπόλις, ἰδιώτην ἄνδρα ἐν συμποσίοις κολακευόμενον, ὅπου τῆς κολακείας τὸ ἄθλον ἦν κύλικες καὶ ἐταῖραι καὶ ἄλλαι ταπειναὶ καὶ ἀνδραποδώδεις ἡδοναί· τὸν δὲ δῆμον αὐτόν, τὸν τῆς Εὐπόλιδος στωμυλίας θεατήν, ποῦ τις ἐλθὼν κωμωδήσει;

v Philostratus *Lives of the Sophists* 2.25.3

τὸν γὰρ πατρῶον οἶκον βαθὺν αὐτῷ παραδοθέντα κατεδαπάνησεν οὐκ ἐς ἵπποτροφίας οὐδὲ ἐς λειτουργίας, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ ὄνομά ἐστιν ἄρασθαι, ἀλλ' ἐς ἄκρατον καὶ ἐταίρους οἶους παρασχεῖν καὶ κωμωδία λόγον, οἶον παρέσχον λόγον οἱ Καλλίαν ποτὲ τὸν Ἴππονίκου κολακεύσαντες.

vi Phrynichus *Selection* 109

παρασίτους οὐκ ἔλεγον οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἐπ' ὀνειδούς, ὡς νῦν, ἀλλὰ κόλακας· καὶ δράμα ἔστι Κόλακες τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων.

iii Callias, the son of Hipponicus, seems to have squandered his inheritance on wanton living. He is made fun of for wanton living and that he had to pay a fine when caught in the act of adultery. Eupolis makes fun of him quite nicely in *Spongers*.

iv Eupolis would make fun of Callias at the Dionysia as a private citizen surrounded by spongers at drinking parties, where the prizes for sponging were cups and prostitutes and low-class and servile pleasures. But where will one go to make fun of the people itself, the audience for Eupolis' insults?

v He [Hermocrates of Phocis] spent the extensive inheritance from his father not on raising horses or public services, from which one may make quite a reputation, but on strong drink and companions of the sort to provide a plot for comedy, just like the one that those who once sponged off Callias the son of Hipponicus provided.

vi The ancients did not use the insulting term "parasites" as we do now, but "spongers." There is a play called "Spongers" about such men.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

vii Σ Aristophanes *Lysistrata* 1189

ἀποκοπή ἐστὶν τοῦ ἄλλου χοροῦ, ὡς παρ' Εὐπόλιδι ἐν Κόλαξι.

Fragments

156 Athenaeus 328e

ἐκεῖνος ἦν φειδωλός, ὃς ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου
πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου μὲν τριχίδας ὠψώνησ' ἄπαξ,
ὅτε τὰν Σάμῳ δ' ἦν, ἡμιωβελίου κρέα.

157 Diogenes Laertius 9.50 (l. 1), Eustathius *On the
Odyssey* p. 1547.52 (ll. 2-3)

ἔνδον μὲν ἐστὶ Πρωταγόρας ὁ Τήσιος
ὃς ἀλαζονεύεται μὲν ἀλιτήριος
περὶ τῶν μετεώρων, τὰ δὲ χαμᾶθεν ἐσθίει.

158 Plutarch *Table-Talk* 699a, Macrobius *Satires* 7.15.22

πίνειν γὰρ αὐτὸν Πρωταγόρας ἐκέλευ', ἵνα
πρὸ τοῦ κυνὸς τὸν πνεῦμον' ἔκπλυτον φορῇ.

159 Σ Hippocrates *Epidemics* 5.7

καὶ τὸν Κέκροπα τᾶνωθεν ἀνδρός φασ' ἔχειν
μέχρι τῶν κοχωνῶν, τὰ δὲ κάτωθεν θυννίδος.

EUPOLIS

vii Interlude of the other chorus, just as in Eupolis'
Spongers.

Fragments

156 Now he was quite the tightwad, who in his life before
the War bought anchovies only once, and when the
Samian business took place, a half-obol's worth of meat.¹

¹ Very probably Hipponicus, the father of Callias.

157 Inside there is Protagoras of Teos, the *alitērios* who
goes on and on about celestial matters, but also devours
earthly things.

158 Protagoras ordered him to drink so that he have his
lungs well soaked before the rising of the Dog Star.

159 They say that Cecrops was human as far down as the
crotch, then a tunny-fish from there on down.¹

¹ In myth and art Cecrops, one of the earliest kings of Athens,
was portrayed as human to the waist and then as a serpent below.

160 Athenaeus 328b

δραχμῶν ἑκατὸν ἰχθῦς ἑώνημαι μόνον
ὀκτὼ λάβρακας, χρυσόφρυς δὲ δώδεκα.

161 Pollux 10.10

ἄκουε δὴ σκεύη τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν.

παραπλήσιως τέ σοι γέγραπται τᾶπιπλα.

162 Pollux 9.89

φοροῦσιν, ἀρπάζουσιν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας
τὸ χρυσίον, τὰργύρια πορθεῖται.

163 Choeroboscus *On the Canons of Theodosius*, GrGr
IV 1 p. 238.30

θὲς νῦν ἀγροὺς καὶ πρόβατα καὶ βοῦς.

164 Phrynichus *Sophistic Preparation* p. 28.9

ἵππον κέλητ' ἀσκοῦντα θὲς.

165 Pollux 9.59

x - υ {A.} δεῖπνον θὲς ἑκατὸν δραχμάς. {B.} ἰδού.
{A.} κόλαξιν οἶνον θὲς ἑτέραν μνᾶν.

166 Σ Aristophanes *Clouds* 52b

λαφύσσεται λαφυγμὸν ἀνδρείον πάνυ.

160 I have bought a hundred drachmas' worth of fish
alone: eight sea bass and a dozen gold-heads.

161 Listen then, here are the utensils throughout the
house.

You've written down most of the household goods.

162 . . . they are taking, they are stealing the gold from
the house, the silver is being plundered.

163 Put down fields and flocks and cattle.

164 Put down a racehorse in training.

165 (A) For supper put down a hundred drachmas.
(B) Done.

(A) For wine for the spongers put down another mina.¹

¹ "For the spongers" may be part of the quotation or a citation
of the play's title.

166 He wolfs down a man-sized helping.

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167 Pollux 10.28

τουτὶ λαβῶν τὸ κόρημα τὴν αὐλὴν κόρει.

168 Eustathius *On the Odyssey* p. 1406.27

κατ' ἀντιβολίαν δέκα τάλαντ' ἀπετεισάμην.

169 Pollux 10.90

φροῦδον τὸ χειρόνιπτρον

170 Pollux 7.192

κεκρύφαλοί τε καὶ τύλη

171 Athenaeus 535a

{A.} Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐκ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐξίτω. {B.} τί
ληρεῖς;
οὐκ οἴκαδ' ἐλθὼν τὴν σεαυτοῦ γυμνάσεις δάμαρτα;

172 Athenaeus 236e

ἀλλὰ δίαιταν ἦν ἔχουσ' οἱ κόλακες πρὸς ὑμᾶς
λέξομεν· ἀλλ' ἀκούσαθ' ὡς ἐσμέν ἅπαντα κομψοὶ
ἄνδρες· ὅτοισι πρῶτα μὲν παῖς ἀκόλουθός ἐστιν
ἀλλότριος τὰ πολλά, μικρὸν δέ τι † κάμὸν † αὐτοῦ.
ἱματίω δέ μοι δὺ' ἐστὸν χαρίεντε τούτοις,
< - > μεταλαμβάνων αἰεὶ θάτερον ἐξελαύνω
εἰς ἀγοράν. ἐκεῖ δ' ἐπειδὴν κατίδω τιν' ἄνδρα

EUPOLIS

167 Take this broom and sweep the courtyard.

168 On appeal I came away with ten talents.

169 The hand basin is gone.

170 Hairnets and a cushion.

171 (A) Let Alcibiades leave the women. (B) What are you saying? Won't you go home and exercise your own wife?¹

¹ The point here is obscure; a possibility is to read γυμνάσει in the second line, "what are you saying? Won't *he* go home and exercise *your* wife?"

172 We shall now describe to you the life which the spongers lead. Hear first that we are clever men in every way. First we have a slave attending us, mostly someone else's, but a little bit mine (?) as well. I have two good cloaks and putting on one or the other I head off to the agora. When I see some fellow there, not too bright but

ἡλίθιον, πλουτοῦντα δ', εὐθὺς περὶ τοῦτον εἰμί.
 κἄν τι τύχη λέγων ὁ πλούταξ, πάνυ τοῦτ' ἐπαινώ,
 καὶ καταπλήττομαι δοκῶν τοῖσι λόγοισι χαίρειν.
 εἴτ' ἐπὶ δείπνον ἐρχόμεσθ' ἄλλυδις ἄλλος ἡμῶν
 μᾶζαν ἐπ' ἀλλόφυλον, οὐδὲ χαρίεντα πολλὰ
 τὸν κόλακ' εὐθέως λέγειν, ἢ κφέρεται θύραζε.
 οἶδα δ' Ἀκέστορ' αὐτὸ τὸν στιγματίαν παθόντα.
 σκῶμμα γὰρ εἶπ' ἀσελγές, εἴτ' αὐτὸν ὁ παῖς θύραζε
 ἔξαγαγὼν ἔχοντα κλωιδὸν παρέδωκεν Οἰνεῖ.

173 Hephaestion *Handbook* 13.2

φημὶ δὲ βροτοῖσι πολὺ πλείστα παρέχειν ἐγὼ
 καὶ πολὺ μέγιστ' ἀγαθὰ. ταῦτα δ' ἀποδείξομεν.

174 Athenaeus 286b

παρὰ τῷδε Καλλία πολλὴ θυμηδία,
 ἵνα πάρα μὲν κάραβοι καὶ βατίδες καὶ λαγῶ,
 καὶ γυναῖκες εἰλίποδες.

¹ Καλλία codd., del. Dindorf.

175 Plutarch *Philosophers and Men in Power* 778d

οὐ πῦρ οὐδὲ σίδηρος
 οὐδὲ χαλκὸς ἀπείργει
 μὴ φοιτᾶν ἐπὶ δείπνον.

very rich, I am all over him. Whatever this rich man utters,
 I praise to the skies and I stand there awestruck, pretend-
 ing to enjoy his words. Then we go our various ways to dine
 off another man's bread. There the sponger must come out
 with many witty things immediately or be chucked out the
 door. I know that's what happened to Acestor (used to be a
 slave); he made a really bad joke, and the slave took him
 outside with a collar round his neck, and handed him right
 over to Oeneus.¹

¹ The point of "handing him over to Oeneus" is usually ex-
 plained that the *barathron*, the place of execution for certain
 criminals, was located in a deme in the territory of the tribe
 Oeneis.

173 I say that we provide for mortals by far the greatest
 and most numerous benefits, and we shall prove this.

174 There is much cheer at this man's house, where you
 can get crawfish and skates and hares, and women with a
 rolling walk.

175 Not fire, not iron, not bronze ever prevents them
 from going to dinner.

176 Athenaeus 646f

ὅς χαρίτων μὲν ὄζει,
καλλαβίδας δὲ βαίνει,
σηγαμίδας δὲ χέζει,
μῆλα δὲ χρέμπτεται.

177 Σ Aristophanes *Birds* 876

καὶ ἴσως ἕτερος ἂν εἶη τοῦ παρ' Εὐπόλιδος ἐν Δήμοις
καὶ Κόλαξι.

178 Σ Aristophanes *Peace* 803

ὁ δὲ Μελάνθιος κωμωδεῖται εἰς μαλακίαν καὶ ὀψο-
φαγίαν. καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς Κόλαξι Εὐπόλις ὡς
κίναιδον αὐτὸν διαβάλλει καὶ κόλακα.

179 *Suda* β 374

Ὀρέστης, Μαρψίας, Καλλίου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου κόλακες
σὺν ἑτέροις.

180 Σ (Arethas) *Plato Apology* 20e

Εὐπόλις δ' ἐν Κόλαξι Καλλίου κόλακα λέγει.

181 Σ Aristophanes *Frogs* 407

ὅτι σύνηθες ἦν τὸ ἐπιλέγειν, ὅποτε ἐπαινοῖέν τι ἢ
συνομολογοῖεν, καὶ Εὐπόλις Κόλαξι.

176 He smells of the Graces, his walk is a dance,
he shits sesame seeds, and coughs up apples.

177 Perhaps he [Cleocritus—PAA 576825] is different
from the man in Eupolis' *Demes* [F 136] and *Spongers*.

178 Melanthius is made fun for effeminacy and gluttony.
Eupolis makes much more fun of Melanthius in his
Spongers as a faggot and a sponger.

179 Orestes and Marpsias along with others as spongers
of Callias the Athenian.

180 In his *Spongers* Eupolis calls him [Chairephon] a
sponger of Callias.

181 It was customary to utter when they were thanking
for something or agreeing on something. Also Eupolis in
Spongers.

Brief fragments: (F 182) "a white day," (F 183) "spit-rests
made of lead," (F 184) "foot heifers" [prostitutes], (F 185)
"once and for all," (F 186) "debts," (F 187) "belly god,"
(F 188) "centres of attention" [women surrounded and
admired by men], (F 189) "fellow neighbours," (F 190)
"frypan-whiff-hunters."

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ΛΑΚΩΝΕΣ

Fragment

191 Erotianus μ 4

τὰ σικάρι' ἐποίησε μυττωτὸν πολύν.

ΜΑΡΙΚΑΣ

Maricas did to Hyperbolus what Knights had done to Cleon. Aristophanes seems to have pioneered the demagogue comedy with Knights, but as he complains in *Clouds* 551–59 (T 1), the other comic poets could not resist following his example. Maricas seems to have been the first of these comedies, and can be firmly dated “two years after *Clouds*” (T 3), that is to the archon year 422/1. Since we know of his Spongers at the Dionysia of that year, we are left with the *Lenaea* of 421 for the date of this comedy.

At Peace 680 we hear that “Hyperbolus now controls the rock on the Pnyx,” that is the speaker’s platform in the assembly. Now that Cleon had died in the late summer of 422, Hyperbolus would have been the natural target for the comedians, although Eupolis must have been working on his Maricas before Cleon’s death became known. Hyperbolus became one of comedy’s most frequent targets, made fun of as the stereotypical demagogue (of questionable birth, ill-educated and badly spoken, unprincipled, roguish, sexually deviant, etc.). All of these themes may be

EUPOLIS

LACONIANS

A Laconians by Eupolis is attested only by Erotianus citing F 191. It is likely that a confusion with Laconians by Platon has occurred, or just possibly with Eupolis’ own Helots, although Erotianus does twice quote from Eupolis’ Helots by that name.

Fragment

191 The utensils made up a mess of savoury paste.

MARICAS

found in the fragments of Maricas. The name “Maricas” is said to be Persian, with the connotations of alien origin, cunning behaviour, youth, and sexual perversion. Cassio proposed a fanciful reconstruction of the comedy as set in Persia with the Demos as the Great King and Maricas-Hyperbolus as a clever young courtier. F 192.43 does mention Persians, and F 207 does parody line 65 of Aeschylus’ Persians, but the geography and allusions of the fragments are Athenocentric, and an identification between the Athenian dēmos and the Great King is hardly a flattering one.

The most controversial thing about Maricas was its relationship with Knights and the “war between the poets” that it set off. At *Clouds* 553–56 Aristophanes accuses Eupolis of “turning our Knights inside out,” as well as lifting an old woman out of a play by Phrynichus for a scene of vulgar comedy. Aristophanes F 58, continuing the metaphor clothing, complains that someone “made three tunics out of my cloak.” Eupolis will reply at Dyers F 89 that he in fact collaborated with Aristophanes on Knights and

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

made a gift of them to him. The extant fragments of Maricas do show an astonishing similarity to *Knights*: e.g., a disguised demagogue, with rough education, a master (Demos again?), a formal assembly, some comic business with rings, etc. But Eupolis has made three major changes to what Aristophanes did in *Knights*: (1) a double chorus, one of poor men (presumably supporting Maricas, and one of rich men, (2) an antagonist to Maricas, from the ranks of the elite (Callias?—see F 192.154), whereas in *Knights* the

Testimonia

i Aristophanes *Clouds* 551–59

οὔτοι δ', ὡς ἅπαξ παρέδωκεν λαβὴν Ὑπέρβολος,
 τοῦτον δείλαιον κολετρῶσ' αἰεὶ καὶ τὴν μητέρα.
 Εὐπολις μὲν τὸν Μαρικᾶν πρῶτιστος παρείλκυσε
 ἐκστρέψας τοὺς ἡμετέρους Ἰππέας κακὸς κακῶς,
 προσθεὶς αὐτῷ γραῦν μεθύσῃν τοῦ κόρδακος οὐνεχ',
 ἦν

Φρύνιχος πάλαι πεπόηχ', ἦν τὸ κῆτος ἦσθιεν.
 εἶθ' Ἑρμιππος αὐθις ἐποίησεν εἰς Ὑπέρβολον,
 ἄλλοι τ' ἤδη πάντες ἐρείδουσιν εἰς Ὑπέρβολον,
 τὰς εἰκοὺς τῶν ἐγχέλεων τὰς ἐμὰς μιμούμενοι.

ii Σ Aristophanes *Clouds* 549b

ὡς περὶ ζῶντος αὐτοῦ διαλέγεται ἐν οἷς φησι “Κλέωνα
 τὸν λάρων.” καὶ Ἀνδροτίων δέ φησιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ Ἀλ-
 καίου τεθνάναι δυσὶν ἔτεσιν ὕστερον Ἰσαρχου, ἐφ' οὗ
 αἱ πρῶται Νεφέλαι ἐδιδάχθησαν. πῶς οὖν δύναται καὶ

EUPOLIS

antagonist to Paphlagon-Cleon is an even worse villain, and (3) an old woman representing the mother of Hyperbolus. The word “age-mates” at F 193.5 shows that the two choruses were distinguished by age as well as wealth.

Recent bibliography: A. C. Cassio, *CQ* 35 (1985) 38–42; J. D. Morgan, *CQ* 36 (1986) 529–31; M. Sonnino, *Eikasmos* 8 (1997) 43–60; ZPE 156 (2006) 39–51; A. H. Sommerstein, in *Rivals* 437–51.

Testimonia

i But these fellows, as soon as Hyperbolus gave them a hold, are always pummelling the poor man and his mother. First that wretched Eupolis dragged his wretched Maricas on stage, turning our *Knights* inside out, tacking onto it a drunken crone for the sake of a vulgar dance, the same old woman that Phrynichus portrayed once, the one whom the sea monster was eating. Then in his turn Hermippus went after Hyperbolus and then everyone starts in on Hyperbolus, copying my metaphor of the eels.

ii He is talking about Cleon being alive when he says, “Cleon the seagull” [*Clouds* 591]. Androtion [*FGrHist* 324 F 40] says that Cleon died in the archonship of Alcaeus [422/1], two years later than that of Isarchus, in which the first *Clouds* was produced. How then can he mention

τοῦ Μαρικᾶ μεμνήσθαι, ὅς ἐδιδάχθη μὲν πρὸ τῶν Νεφελῶν, ὡς καὶ νῦν αὐτός φησιν, ἐκεῖ δὲ ὁ Εὐπόλις ὡς τεθνηκός Κλέωνος μέμνηται; ἢ, ἐπεὶ οὐ φέρονται αἱ διδασκαλῖαι τῶν δευτέρων Νεφελῶν, οὐδὲν δυνάμεθα διαρθρῶσαι ἢ Εὐπόλις ἐπλάσατο τὴν Κλέωνος τελευτὴν ἐν τῷ Μαρικᾷ.

iii Σ Aristophanes *Clouds* 553

δῆλον ὅτι πρῶτος ὁ Μαρικᾶς ἐδιδάχθη τῶν δευτέρων Νεφελῶν. Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ φησι Καλλίμαχον ἐγκαλεῖν ταῖς διδασκαλίαις, ὅτι φέρουσιν ὕστερον τρίτῳ ἔτει τὸν Μαρικᾶν τῶν Νεφελῶν, σαφῶς ἐνταῦθα εἰρημένου, ὅτι πρῶτος καθεῖται. λανθάνει δὲ αὐτόν, φησίν, ὅτι ἐν μὲν ταῖς διδαχθείσαις οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον εἶρηκεν ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὕστερον διασκευασθείσαις εἰ λέγεται, οὐδὲν ἄτοπον· αἱ διδασκαλῖαι δὲ δηλονότι τὰς διδαχθείσας φέρουσιν. πῶς δ' οὐ συνείδεν, ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῷ Μαρικᾷ προτετελεύτηκε Κλέων, ἐν δὲ ταῖς Νεφέλαις λέγεται "εἰς τὸν θεοῖσιν ἐχθρὸν τὸν βυρσοδέψην";

iv

(a) Σ Aristophanes *Clouds* 591a

"Κλέωνα τὸν λάρον". καὶ μὴν ὡς μετὰ θάνατον Κλέωνος φαίνεται γεγραφῶς τὸ δράμα, ὅπου γε τοῦ Μαρικᾶ Εὐπόλιδος μέμνηται, ὃ ἐδιδάχθη καθ' Ἵπερβόλου μετὰ τὸν θάνατον Κλέωνος. ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ἔτι ζῶντος

Maricas, which was produced before *Clouds*, as he himself says here? But there Eupolis speaks of Cleon as dead [F 211]. Or, since the production date of second *Clouds* is not preserved, we are not able to see the whole picture. Or, Eupolis made up the death of Cleon in *Maricas*.

iii It is clear that *Maricas* was produced before the second *Clouds*. Eratosthenes [F 97] says that Callimachus found fault with the production lists because they recorded that *Maricas* was produced two years after *Clouds*, while it is plainly stated that it was produced before. It escaped Callimachus' notice, he says, that in the performed version Aristophanes does not say this at all. If this was said in the version revised later, there is nothing unusual here. For clearly the production lists record plays that were actually performed. How then did he not realise that Cleon is dead by the time of *Maricas* [F 211], but in *Clouds* is spoken of as "the goddamned tanner of hides" [581]?

iv

(a) "Cleon the seagull": He seems to have written the play after the death of Cleon, at least the part where he mentions *Maricas* by Eupolis, which was written against Hyperbolus after the death of Cleon. But this part is spo-

Κλέωνος λέγεται. δῆλον οὖν, ὅτι μετὰ πολλοστοῦς χρόνους διεσκέυασε τὸ δράμα.

(b) Σ Aristophanes *Clouds* 591b

ταῦτα ἀπὸ τῶν προτέρων Νεφελῶν· τότε γὰρ ἔζη ὁ Κλέων, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων τέθνηκεν. καὶ γὰρ Εὐπόλις μετὰ θάνατον Κλέωνος τὸν Μαρικᾶν ἐποίησεν.

v Σ Aristophanes *Frogs* 569

Ἵπέρβολον δέ, εἰς ὃν καὶ Εὐπόλις ἔγραψε τὸν Μαρικᾶν.

vi Hesychius μ 283

Μαρικᾶν· κίναιδον. οἱ δὲ ὑποκόρισμα παιδίου ἄρρενος βαρβαρικόν.

Fragments

192 P. Oxy. 2741

ΕΥΠΟ[ΛΙΔΟΣ

Μαρικᾶ[

[ὑπόμνημα)

Fr. 1 A^r col. i

]μηκατα[

]πατ γα[

]αχειαν·

]νικας ἐνίκα·

ken while Cleon is still alive. It is clear, therefore, that he revised the play several years later.

(b) This comes from the earlier version of *Clouds*, when Cleon was still alive, but he was dead by the time of this version. Eupolis wrote his *Maricas* after the death of Cleon.

v Hyperbolus, against whom Eupolis wrote his *Maricas*.

vi "Maricas": faggot. Some say that it is a barbarian nickname for a male child.

Fragments

192 These fragments of a commentary to *Maricas* are dated to the second half of the second century or the first half of the third century. The title was added later on the back of the roll, and the commentary provides four known quotations from Eupolis (two attributed to *Maricas*). It is interesting that the commentator names the main character not as "Maricas" but as "Hyperbolus" (ll. 120–21, 150).

[Commentary] to *Maricas* by Eup[olis]

(2–6) **He won victories.** He would win victories . . . this is . . . fawn . . .

]τατ.ταρτ.[νι]κας ἐνίκα
]υς[]....[]εν ταῦτ' ἐστ'
 5]νεβρον[]εωνος ταῦτα
].....πα.[]εμε.αι
]μας πάλι[ν νοσ]ήματα ὑποτροπάζει
]ὑποτροπά[ζ χ]εῖρον διατιθέασιν
 ἐπα]νερχομέ[]καταλαμβάνουσιν
 10]..[]μενα[].[], αυτον τ[.]ο
]ον[].[]π.[].δ[]ησθηνηκυ[ι]ινν πάλιν
]φης[ι] καταπ[ο]νεῖσθαι συ[μ]βησε[
 πολὺ]ν πολλοῦ χρό[ν]ον καὶ τόν[δ'] ἀφεῖ[σθε
].τι.[.]παμπ[.]ιν. ἢ δὲ μ[ετα]φ[ορὰ
 15 ἀπὸ τῶν γ]ραμματοδιδ[α]σκάλων .[
].τι. ἢ δὲ μ[ετ]αφορὰ ἀπ[ὸ] τῶ]ν γρα[μ-
 ματοδιδασκά]λων "πολὺν χρόνον ἀφεῖσθε"
]σὺ γοῦν ἀλλ' ἐξάλειφετε τοῦτο δ'
]ν ἐστιν. "λέαινε τὰς δέλτους".
 20]ν[]ον οὔτω φθέγξεται ε-
].τότε δὴ μείζον φθε.ομαι.[
].τοῖς ἐσχάτοις ἐνη[
]κη καὶ τοῖς ἐσχάτ[οις
]
 25].τεδ[]ο προ[σφ]]ντ[ε
]προσφ[]ντε[]ονδ[
]μεις κ[]νον[]
]ετον.]ν[.]..οπο[]ημα
]ἀπὸ τούτου ὅλος ὁ χορὸς λέγει .[
 30]ω τέως καὶ νῦν τὸ τέως ἀντὶ[

(7-12) **Diseases recur on us.** <Diseases> recur . . . coming back make him worse . . . attack . . . weakened he says that he is hard at work again . . . ¹

(13-17) **You have been dismissed for some time.** A very great deal . . . "you have been dismissed for some time" is a metaphor from schoolteaching.

(18-19) **But you [pl.] rub out.** This . . . is "clean the tablets."

(20-21) **Thus he will speak.** Then I shall speak louder.

(22-23) **To those at the end.** . . . and to those at the end.

(25-29) **Those bringing forward (?).** . . . from this point on the whole chorus is speaking.

(30) **Up to now.** Here also "up to now" instead of . . .

¹ This is possibly metatheatrical, Eupolis alleging that he is just now recovering from illness and able to turn his hand again to comedy.

]
]ω.[Fr. 2]ἅπανσι τοῖς κ[ριταῖς
]ους.[]ς[]ντα ἢ δ(ἐ) με[ταφορὰ
]ισθ.[]ν[]:εν.[
 35]ω[
]..[]ιτη[
]ντ.[]μιν[
]αρεικ[- - -
]ην[
 40]ν.[
]η[
 - - -

Fr. 1 A' col. ii

]α[
 καὶ ταῖς ε.[
 τοὺς Πέρσας[
 45 παρεδέξαντ[
 γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐπι[
 ζητῶν γὰρ ω[
 οὐδὲν κενὸν τρύπημ' <ἄν> ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἄν,
 εὔρες τούτων[
 50 τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τ[
 κενὸν τρύπη[μ
 οἰδεμία κε[νῆ
]αίται λέγει δετ[
 π[εριτμήματα[
 55 δερμάτων η[
 τῶν περιτεμ[νομένων

Fr. 1 B col. i

- - - -

(32) By all the judges (?).

(43-47) ... the Persians ... they received ... for to them ...

(47-53) Even if you looked, you wouldn't have found an empty hole in the houses. Of these ... good men (things?) ... empty hole ... no empty ... he means

(54-58) Scraps ... of hides ... cut up ... people ... glued

60 τοι γὰρ ἀνθρω[π
 κολλητεο[] s
 ἕτερος δε[] .
 60 κακω[] ε
 ἀλλεν[] η
 σωμεν αυτη. [] .
 ποιησωμεν. [] .
] . τελευτα[] .
 65 διδόντες τ. [] .
 ριανικ[] . [] .
 και θεος[] .
 προσφερο[] .
 70 οἷα τ' ἐσθ' ἀ[] .
 το τοιουτο. [] .
 δεύτερον[] .
 ι. [] . νοι [] .
 αν ἀνθρωπο[] .
 75 τί τὸ κακόν; οὐκ[] .
 τοῦτο λέγει μ[] .
 α[] ρους λ. [] .
 ροντο ὡς ἀντι[] .
 ἀλλ' ὦτα μὲν μ[] .
 παρὰ τὴν παρ[οιμίαν
 81 δῆμος αυτημε. [] .
 κυδῶντα δ' οὐ κυ[] .
 τῶν ἀπαριουμέν[ων δούλων γεγονέναι ἐ]πειδὰν ἐ-
 82 λεύθεροι γένων[ται]

(59-60) **The other one** . . .

(61-68) **But in** . . . let us . . . let us do . . . end. people giving
 . . . and a god . . . offering

(69-73) **Such things as** . . . Such a thing . . . second . . . men
 . . .

(74-77) **What's the matter?** Not . . . He means this . . .

(78-80) **Ears of Midas (?)**. With reference to the proverb
 (?) . . . the people . . .

(81-83) **Him κυδῶντα but not** . . . This is said of slaves
 who deny that they used to be slaves now that they are
 free.²

² The verb κυδῶντα is otherwise unattested and its meaning is
 uncertain.

85 ἔξαχ[]ε καὶ πρῶιρα[α
 ρον τὴν γλῶττα[ν]αν ἀντίπρωι-
 λέγειν πρῶιρα γὰ[ρ ροθ]ίαζε πρὸς τὸ
 * καὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις α[]ῦ[]ιάζου λέγεται.
 τὰς οἰκίας ἐπὶ τῶ[ν ἐν α]ῦταις οἰκούντων
 οὗτος ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων αὐτὸ τέθεικεν
 90 φέρ' ἴδω τί Ἀλκμέων[α.....] πρόθυρ' ἐπωφελ(εῖ);
 * εὐγενῆς τις οὗτος [Ἀλκμέ]ων.
 εἰδῶς ἐφ' οἶων ῥηγμάτ[ων κα]ῖ στιγμαμάτων· παῖ[ζ]ων
 ῥήγματα λέγει τ(ὰ) ὑπ(ὸ) [το]ῖς ποσί·
 ὀριβατοῦντες
 γὰρ κόπτουσι ξύλα. ἔστιν [καὶ] παρὰ Μενάνδρωι
 95 τὸ τοιοῦτον
 τοῦτ' ἐκδανείζει καὶ κυκᾶις [τὸ]ν ναυτικὸν α[
 ἐπὶ τῶι πέμπτωι μέρε[ι]τοὺς τόκ[ους οἰ
 * ναυτικοί· ἡμεῖς δ' ἄρ' οἴκ[αδ' ἄπιμ]εν· ὁ τῶν
 πλουσίων λέγει χορός.
 καὶ γὰρ αἱ γυναῖκ[ε]ς ὅσαι μ[ἐν ἄν] νεανίαις
 100 ξυνῶσ[ι
 καταγελῶνται, [ὅσαι δ'
 ὠφελοῦνται· [],[]]] καὶ δούλοισιν
 νεανισκο[
]δουλο[
 105]οιη[
]s
]
]
].

(84-86) **Go ahead and point . . .** "point the prow of your tongue ahead" . . . means "to speak." "Prow" is used instead of . . .

(87-89) **And in the houses . . .** the one person has used the word *oikia* of those who lived in them, while the other has used it of the buildings.

(90-91) **Well then, what good are the halls of Alc-maeon?** This man was someone of good birth . . .

(92-95) **Knowing by what sort of lacerations and punctures.** In jest. By "lacerations" he means <wounds> on the feet. By walking in the mountains they trample down the brush. There is something similar in Menander.

(96-98) **You borrow this and upset the fleet <account>.** Mariners <pay> interest at the rate of a fifth.

(98-99) **We will go home then.** The chorus of wealthy men.

(100-104) **For the women who go with young men get laughed at, and . . . with slaves benefit. . . .** young men . . . slaves . . .

Fr. 1 C col. i

]ην

]α

]ας

]ξύλαι

]

]ριτωναυ

]ς γνώμην

]

115

Fr. 1 B col. iii

καὶ οἱ μὲν πένητε[ς

οἱ δὲ πλούσιοι τῶν δεσ[πότη

κοινῶς ὅτι ἐν τοῖς [

120 οὗτος, τί κέκυφας; [

βαλου λέγει τὸ ἡμιχόρι[ον

λακεδαιμονίους μὲν [

τας ἀπὸ κοινοῦ τ[.]υλε[

ἀπολω γὰρ αὐτούς· ω[

125 ρυ προσχωροῦντασπ[.]...[.]...[

διεῖν τάττεται τ[.]...[.] υμν[

τοεν[.]...[.]ους...[

παραγενέσθαι δεδ[

ους ἐφ' ἡμᾶς[.]α[

130 κὴ Δία δεδο[κ

γεμετουτε[

μειν πρ[

δεπελθο[

κωσιν εἰ[

164

(117-19) The poor men and the rich men . . . to the master together that in the . . .

(120-21) **Hey you, why are you bending over?** The semichorus to Hyperbolus.

(122-23) **The Spartans . . . together.**

(124-36) **I shall destroy them . . . those approaching . . . used in two ways . . . to be present . . . to us . . . By Zeus, I**

πρὸς τὸν Ὑπέρ-

ἐπὶ

165

135 Κλέων παφλ[
παφλάζειν[
 ὡσπερ γενη[
 κως ἐνίκα α[
 *
 140 οι χοροὶ ὅταν[
 ἀλλοτρίοις π[
 πον στρατη[
 ελομεν στ[
 εστρατηγη[
 ξας ἀλλα[
 145]ταλλα[
]οπλ[
 εγ.[κ]έρδους ἔνεκα σὺ νῦν· ἐγὼ γὰρ..[
 εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἕως οὗ οἱ συνα.[
 ταί μοι, σὺ τὸ συνέδριον σκεύαζε πρὸς τ[ὸν
 150 δεσπότην ὁ Ὑπέρβολος.
 ἢ μὴν ἐγὼ σε σκέψομαι γὰρ ἐν .[
 ἢ μὴν ἐγὼ σε ὄψομαι ἀξιοῦντα[.][.][.][.][
 δ' ἂν ἦσθα δεδεμένος ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ.[
 τῶν γνωρίμων τινὰ καλ[
 155 ἑαυτὸν λέγει τοῦ Ὑπερβόλου κε[
 λῦω λέσχας. ὁ χορὸς πρὸς τ[ὸ θέατρον
 πρὸς τὸ θέατρον· ἐν μὲν τῷ ε[

Fr. 4

]αιδιδωμ[
]γματα λέγω.[

am afraid . . . Cleon <is called> "Paphlagon" <from the
 verb> "to splutter" [paphlazein].
 (137-) **Just as** . . . He would win . . . the choruses whenever
 . . . to others . . . was general . . .

Fr. 1 C col. ii

].[
]μοι ἐστιν ..[
]ὁ μετατιθεσθ[.][

(147-50) **And you now for your advantage, for I** . . . to a
 meeting of the assembly where the . . . you [s.] get the
 meeting set up. Hyperbolus to his master.

(151-55) **For I indeed will observe you at** . . . Indeed I
 will watch you getting what you deserve . . . you would have
 been locked up in the stocks . . . he means himself, one of
 the respectable sort . . . of Hyperbolus.

(156) **I cut the cackle.** The chorus to the [audience] . . .

(157) **To the audience.** In the . . . ³

³We may have reached the parabasis of the play at this point.

160

 δ[]γυσιν φανερα.[
 οικ.[]ων κτημ[
 φειν τας οίκι[ας]να.[]ων.[
 χρυσία τὰ ἀργυρ[ώμ]ατα καὶ τ[

165

]υν φησιν τωσκ[]λ.ιόντωα.[
]' ἐκ πονηρῶν τῶι νόθωι .[
]'Ἀσπασίας ἐπισκέψασθαι δε[
]ει ἢ Πάραλον· ἀμφότεροι γὰρ[
]ἕτερος αὐτῶν μετήλλαχεν[

170

οἷσ,νουργῶι γ' ἀνδρί, νῆ τὸν Διοκλέα[
 κ]λεα προσθεῖς Διοκλέα εἶρηκε.[
 δίδ]ωμι τῶι καλῶι. σαρκάζων α[
].[]νμ[.]ν μακρὸν ἔχει τοδ[
]ὑπαλλαγῆι κέχρηται τῶι[

Fr. 5 col. i

175

] [
]σκος[...].[
]και .ω
].τιμην

180

]τινων.
]ιλευς

μο

]α...ον Λακεδαι-
]
]μηνειστα

168

(166-69) **From wicked men to the bastard.** We must consider <whether he means> the son of Aspasia . . . or Paralus, for both . . . the one of them had died . . . ⁴

(170-71) **For a man who plaits twigs, by Diocles.** . . . by adding "-cles" he has created "Diocles."

(172-74) **To the good man I give.** Sneeringly . . . he has employed exaggeration.

⁴ The commentator detects an allusion to the sons of Pericles. His two legitimate sons, Xanthippus and Paralus, had died in the plague of 430. His illegitimate son by Aspasia, named Pericles, had been made an Athenian citizen by this time.

169

185

χοριον
βείς

ἤκούσατ', ὦ, ξυνήλικες
] οὐ τὸ ἡμι-
ὕμεῖς γάρ, ὦ φρενοβλα-
]
]....[.....]...με.:[

Fr. 5 col. ii

190

πρὸς τὸ διδο. [
Κορινθίων α[

ὅστις προδοσίας τ[
κληθήσομαι εἰς δικ[
ἀγοράων τῶν κατα[

195 x

προτελοῦσι. προπη[
φουσιν αὐτοκάβδα[λα
λέγεται τὰ ἐπικαθα[
κάπτειν αἱ ἀλετρί[δες

φατνίσματα δὲ τὰ [

200

να, φρνά[γμ]..[
τρεφουσ[
θαρτοι[
μη.τ. [

αὐτοκάρδαλα γρά-
αὐτοκάβ]δαλα
ἄπερ ε]ιώθασι
]ἐκ-
ἐκβαλλ]όμε-

Fr. 6-12 (= K.-A. F 192.204-74) are but scraps from which very little can be gleaned.

193 Plutarch Nicias 4.3 (ll. 1-8); F 192.185 (ll. 5, 7)

{ΜΑΡΙΚΑΣ.} πόσου χρόνου γὰρ συγγεγένησαι
Νικία;

170

(185-88) Did you hear that, friends? . . . the semi-chorus. You empty-headed fools . . . [= F 193.5, 7]

(192-93) I who shall be indicted . . . for treason. Into court . . .

(194) Market goers. Those who <spend time> in <the marketplace>.

(195) They pay (?) in advance. They . . . in advance. Improvisations [autokardala]. <Some> write autokabdala <with a "b">; "improvisations" means the sort of things . . . which slave girls in the mill are accustomed to gulp down.

(199) Scraps from the manger.

193 (ΜΑΡΙΚΑΣ) How long since you got together with Nicias?

171

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

{B.} οὐδ' εἶδον, εἰ μὴ ἄναγχος ἐστῶτ' ἐν ἀγορᾷ.
 {ΜΑ.} ἀνὴρ ὁμολογεῖ Νικίαν ἑορακέναι.
 καίτοι τί μαθὼν ἂν εἶδεν, εἰ μὴ προυδίδου;
 {ΧΟΡΟΣ ΠΕΝΗΤΩΝ.} ἤκούσατ', ὦ ξυνήλικες,
 ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ Νικίαν εἰλημμένον;
 {ΧΟΡΟΣ ΠΛΟΥΣΙΩΝ.} ὑμεῖς γάρ, ὦ φρενοβλαβεῖς,
 λάβοιτ' ἂν ἄνδρ' ἄριστον ἐν κακῶ τινι;

194 Σ Plato *Sophist* 239c

καὶ πόλλ' ἔμαθον ἐν τοῖσι κουρείοις ἐγὼ
 ἀτόπως καθίζων κούδὲ γιγνώσκειν δοκῶν.

195 Σ Aristophanes *Birds* 1556

{A.} ἄκουε νῦν Πείσανδρος ὡς ἀπόλλυται.
 {B.} ὁ στρεβλός; {A.} οὐκ ἄλλ' ὁ μέγας, οὐνοκίνδιος.

196 Σ Sophocles *Oedipus at Colonus* 1600

ἀλλ' εὐθὺ πόλεως εἶμι· θῦσαι γάρ με δεῖ
 κριὸν Χλόῃ Δήμητρι.

197 *Epimerismi Homerici* ω 21

κρούων γε μὴν αὐτὰς ἐωνούμην ἐγώ.

198 Photius p. 270.12

τῶν γὰρ πονηρῶν μικρόν † ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀβολοῦ.

EUPOLIS

{B.} I haven't seen him, except just now standing in the
 agora.

{MARIKAS} The fellow confesses that he has seen
 Nicias. Why would he have seen him, except that he was
 engaged in treason?

{CHORUS OF POOR MEN} Did you hear that, age-
 mates, Nicias caught in the act?
 {CHORUS OF RICH MEN} You empty-headed fools,
 how would you ever convict such a good man for anything
 wicked?

194 I learned a great deal in the barbershops, sitting out
 of the way and pretending not to understand.

195 {A} Hear now how Peisander is being destroyed.
 {B} The squint-eyed man? {A} No, the big man, the
 donkey driver.

196 I am on my way straight to the Acropolis, for I must
 sacrifice a ram to Demeter Chloe.

197 I tapped them [fem.] when I bought them.

198 Not many scoundrels for an obol.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

- 199 Stephanus of Byzantium p. 193.15
 πότερ' ἦν τὸ τάριχος Φρύγιον ἢ Γαδειρικόν;
- 200 *Suda* a 1785
 περιήλθομεν καὶ φύλον ἀμφορεαφόρων.
- 201 Orus *On Orthography* fol. 281r 20
 πεύσεσθε· νὼ γάρ, ἄνδρες, οὐχ ἰππεύομεν.
- 202 Aelian *Historical Miscellany* 12.30
 ὁμολογεί δὲ καὶ Εὐπόλις ἐν τῷ Μαρικᾷ, ὅστις αὐτῶν
 εὐτελέστατος, σφραγίδας εἶχε δέκα μνῶν.
- 203 Eustathius *On the Iliad* p. 300.22
 ἀλλ' οὖν ἔγωγέ σοι λέγω Μαρικᾶντα μὴ κολάζειν.
- 204 Photius (z) *apud* Tsantsanoglou pp. 119–20
 ἔχοντα τὴν σφραγίδα καὶ ψάγδαν ἐρυγγάνοντα
- 205 Aelius Aristides 28.91
 ἀφυπνίζεσθαι < > χρὴ πάντα θεατὴν
 ἀπὸ μὲν βλεφάρων αὐθημερινὸν ποιητῶν λῆρον
 ἀφέντα

EUPOLIS

- 199 Was the salt-fish from Phrygia or Gadeira?
- 200 We went around to a tribe, the Amphora bearers.
- 201 You will discover, for, people, the two of us are not knights.¹
¹ From the prologue, where a pair of slaves explains the situation with the caveat that “we are not doing *Knights* <again>”?
- 202 Eupolis agrees <about the people of Cyrene> in his *Maricas*—even the most ordinary person has a ring worth ten minas.
- 203 And I tell you not to punish Maricas.
- 204 Wearing a ring and belching unguent.
- 205 Now every spectator must wake up and wash away from their eyes today's nonsense from the poets.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

206 Photius p. 657.2

ὅς θυμήνας τοῖς στρατιώταις λοιμὸν καὶ ψῶζαν
ἔπεμψεν.

207 Σ Aeschylus *Persians* 65

πεπέρακεν μὲν ὁ περσέπτολις ἤδη Μαρικᾶς.

208 Quintilian 1.10.18

Maricas, qui est Hyperbolus, nihil se ex musice scire nisi
litteras confitetur.

209 Σ Aristophanes *Wealth* 1037

κάκεῖ γὰρ τὴν Ὑπερβόλου μητέρα τηλία εἰκάζει τῇ
πλατεία σανίδι . . . εἰς ὃ τιθέασιν οἱ ἄρτοκόποι τοὺς
ἄρτους ἐπὶ τῷ ξηραίνεσθαι . . . εἰάν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐν
Μαρικᾷ προσέλθῃ, ἔνθα εἰς τηλίαν φησὶ τὰ τοῦ
Ὑπερβόλου ὅσῳ ἐμβεβλήσθαι.

210 Harpocration p. 286.15

ὅτι δὲ καὶ τοῖς τριηράρχοις παρέιποντο ταμίαι δεδή-
λωκεν Εὐπολις ἐν Μαρικᾷ.

211 Σ Aristophanes *Clouds* 549b

ἐκεῖ δὲ ὁ Εὐπολις ὡς τεθνηκότος Κλέωνος μέμνηται.

EUPOLIS

206 Who in anger at the soldiers sent pestilence and itch.

207 The city-sacking Maricas has now passed over.¹
¹ A parody of Aeschylus *Persians* 65 ("the city-sacking royal
army has now passed over").

208 Maricas, who is Hyperbolus, admits that he knows
nothing about learning except the alphabet.

209 There [Eupolis in his *Maricas*] likens the mother of
Hyperbolus to a flat board . . . on which the bread makers
place loaves to dry . . . but if we go on to the passage in
Maricas where he says that the bones of Hyperbolus have
been placed on a flat board.

210 That stewards accompany trierarchs Eupolis has
made clear in *Maricas*.

211 There [in *Maricas*] Eupolis mentions Cleon as dead.

Brief fragments: (F 212) "city of slaves," (F 213) "error,"
(F 214) "we have dressed as Thessalians," (F 215) "har-
vest," (F 216) "to owe," (F 217) "small wine jar."

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

ΝΟΤΜΗΝΙΑΙ

Were it not for the hypothesis to Acharnians, we would not have known that this comedy existed. If the phrase "it has not been preserved" applies to Eupolis' play as well as to Cratinus', the text of New Moons did not survive into the period of the Alexandrian scholars. If the title refers to the chorus, then what sort of chorus would new moons comprise, and how would one costume it? The play might

ΠΟΛΕΙΣ

The title suggests that the chorus was made up of personified cities from the Athenian archē and is confirmed by F 245–47, where three cities are identified as they enter. Very likely this was an individuated chorus, but if each of the twenty-four choristers received its own introduction, the scene could have lasted a hundred lines or so and run the risk of tiring out its audience. In addition to Tenos, Chios, and Cyzicus, F 256 suggests that Amorgos was among the cities, perhaps also Lesbos, if in F 243 "a proper man" carries a sexual suggestion.

Earlier critics treated Cities in the same manner that they had regarded Aristophanes' Babylonians, that in each comedy the poet was presenting the allies sympathetically against the imperial power of Athens. For neither comedy does this claim hold up. In Eupolis' play the cities would hardly be pleased with their depictions in F 245–47, and

EUPOLIS

NEW MOONS

have had something to do with debts coming due at the end of the month (Clouds 740–56), or with the secular calendar and the lunar calendar being desperately out of step (Clouds 607–26), or with the revels that accompanied the new moon (Lysias F 53). If the last, I would suggest that the actual title of the comedy was Noumeniastai (New Moon Revellers).

Testimonium

i See Eupolis T 13a.

CITIES

throughout the attitude is male v. female, master v. slave, human v. animal, and Athens v. the cities. F 250 is in the archilochean metre, usually reserved for the chorus, and if this is the chorus speaking, they had a "master" to whom they owed obedience.

Several fragments demonstrate the familiar opposition of old:superior and new:inferior that operates in Demes. F 219 contrasts current with former leaders, F 221 praises the old conservative Cimon with some personal reservations, F 233 mentions the heritage of Marathon, F 237 the weakness of old men, while F 238 praises a man as not being "meddlesome," in Greek polypragmōn, a touchstone of considerable debate in the late fifth century. There is a hint also of the debate within the play. F 238 takes the side of the quiet v. the involved life, while F 248 claims the opposite. Euripides is exploring precisely the same territory in his

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

contemporary plays, *Suppliant Women* and *Antiope*, and it would be revealing to know if Eupolis allowed the champion of involvement to prevail (and thus open the possibility of irony) or the exponent of more traditional values.

With the exception of Demes, the fragments of this comedy contain more allusions to *kōmōidoumenoi* than any other comedy, testimony perhaps to the topical theme suggested by its title. A lower date is provided by the mention of Chios as an ally (F 246), as it revolted in 412, and by

Fragments

218 Pollux 10.192

κρατῆρας ὀκτώ, δέχ' ὑδρίας, δύο τρυβλίω,
κνέφαλλα δέκα, θέρμανστριν, ἕξ θρόνους, χύτραν,
κάννας ἑκατόν, κόρημα, κιβωτόν, λύχνον.

219 Athenaeus 425b

οὓς δ' οὐκ ἂν εἴλεσθ' οὐδ' ἂν οἰνόπτας πρὸ τοῦ,
νυνὶ στρατηγούς < - υ > . ὦ πόλις, πόλις,
ὡς εὐτυχῆς εἶ μᾶλλον ἢ καλῶς φρονεῖς.

220 Σ Aristophanes *Birds* 1297

Συρακόσιος δ' ἔοικεν, ἥνικ' ἂν λέγη,
τοῖς κυνιδίοισι τοῖσιν ἐπὶ τῶν τειχιῶν.
ἀναβὰς γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμ' ὑλακτεῖ περιτρέχων.

EUPOLIS

the allusion to Stilbides (F 225), who died in Sicily in 413. Several of the *kōmōidoumenoi* seem to have been in vogue in the late 420s (Amynias—F 222, Demus—F 227, Hierocles—F 231, and Philoxenus—F 249), and for that reason a date of D-422 is often assumed as proven. This is a reasonable conclusion, although one would not be disturbed by discovering that it was produced in 420 or 419.

Recent bibliography: R. Rosen, in Dobrov (City) 149–76.

Fragments

218 Troughs and eight mixing bowls, ten water pitchers, a pair of bowls, ten pillows, tongs, six chairs, a pot, a hundred mats, a broom, a chest, a lamp.

219 Men whom before now you wouldn't even have chosen as wine inspectors, now you elect as generals. O my city, my city, you are more lucky than smart.

220 Whenever he speaks, Syracosius resembles those little dogs upon the walls. He gets up on the rostrum and runs about howling.¹

¹ Political figure of the 410s (PAA 853435)—see *Birds* 1297; allegedly the author of a decree against personal humour in comedy. Seen by some as the demagogue at F 99.23–34.

221 Plutarch *Cimon* 15.3

κακὸς μὲν οὐκ ἦν, φιλοπότης δὲ κάμελής.
κάνιότ' <ἄν> ἀπεκοιμάτ' ἄν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι,
κἂν Ἐλπινίκην τῆδε καταλιπὼν μόνην.

222 Σ Aristophanes *Wasps* 1271a

χάμυνίας ἐκεῖνος ἀμέλει κλαύσεται,
ὅτι <ῶν> ἄγροικος ἴσταται πρὸς τῷ μύρῳ,
† ὅτι θεῶν εἵνεκα † ἔπλευσε κακὸς ῶν εἴσεται.

223 Bachmann's *Lexicon* p. 128.7

ὁ Φιλῖνος οὗτος, τί ἄρα πρὸς ταύτην βλέπεις;
οὐκ ἀπολιβάξεις εἰς ἀποικίαν τινά;

224 Σ Aristophanes *Frogs* 1513

οὐκ ἀργαλέα δῆτ' ἐστὶ πάσχειν τοῦτ' ἐμέ,
τὸν Λευκολαφίδου παῖδα τοῦ Πορθάουτος;

225 Σ Aristophanes *Peace* 1031

ὡς οὖν τίς ἔλθω δῆτά σοι τῶν μάντεων;
πίτερις ἀμείνων, Ἀμφιτέρις ἢ Στιλβίδης;

2 ἀμφιτέριον σκῆδ., Ἀμφιτέρις van Herwerden

221 He [Cimon] wasn't a bad man, but he was fond of drink and thoughtless. Sometimes he would spend the night in Sparta, leaving Elpinice here all alone.

222 That Amynias will squeal with good reason, because, like the rustic at the perfume stall, he will realise that he sailed there . . . ¹

¹ Amynias (PAA 124575) was made fun of in the late 420s (*Clouds* 690–92, *Wasps* 74, 466, 1267–70; Cratinus F 227; Hermissippus *Iambs* F 5 West) for avoiding military service and for living a style of life above his means.

223 Hey, Philinus, why are you looking at her? Why don't you piss off to a colony somewhere?¹

¹ Possibly PAA 928030, the son of the general Cleippides and brother of Cleophon (see Antiphon 6).

224 Is it not dreadful that I, Adeimantus, the son of Leucolophides the son of Porthaon, suffer things like this?¹

¹ An important figure at Athens in the last quarter of the fifth century, a character in Plato's *Protagoras*, exiled as a result of the scandal over the Mysteries in 415, and a major player in the fall of Athens in 405/4 (PAA 107695).

225 So in your view, to which of the seers I should go? Which one is better, Amphoterus or Stilbides?¹

¹ Stilbides was a prominent *mantis* in the late 420s and 410s, serving in that capacity on the expedition to Sicily in 415–13 (PAA 835500). "Amphoterus," van Herwerden's emendation, is not an attested name at Athens.

226 Athenaeus 392e

{A.} ὄρνυγας ἔθρεψας σὺ τινας ἤδη πώποτε;
{B.} ἔγωγε μικρά γ' ὄρνυγία, κάπειτα τί;

227 Σ Aristophanes Wasps 98a

καὶ τῷ Περιλάμπους ἄρα Δήμῳ κυψέλη
ἔνεστιν;

228 Harpocration p. 46.22

ὡς ὑμῖν ἐγὼ
πάντ' ἀποκρινοῦμαι πρὸς τὰ κατηγορούμενα.

229 Pollux 7.13

κακὰ τοιάδε
πάσχουσιν, οὐδὲ πρᾶσιν αἰτῶ

2 πάσχουσιν F, S; πάσχουσα A

230 Photius (b, z) a 1286

ὤφειλ' Ἰάκινθος ἀποθανεῖν ἀμυγδάλη.

231 Σ Aristophanes Peace 1046

Ἱερόκλεες βέλτιστε χρησμοδῶν ἄναξ

232 Σ Aristophanes Lysistrata 270

ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τὴν Λύκωνος ἔρρει πᾶς ἀνὴρ.

226 (A) Have you ever raised any quails?
(B) I have, some little ones. So what?

227 And is there a chest at Demus' place, son of Pyri-
lamps?

228 As I shall answer all your [pl.] charges.

229 They suffer such things, but I don't ask to be sold.

230 Hyacinthus should have been killed by an almond
tree.

231 Hierocles, best of soothsayers.¹

¹ A known expert in religious matters and a character at *Peace*
1043–1126 (PAA 532080).

232 Just like every male goes to ruin with Lycon's wife

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

- 233 Photius p. 362.13
ὅς τὴν Μαραθῶνι κατέλιφ' ἡμῖν οὐσίαν.
- 234 Photius (z) a 2758
τί δ' ἔστ' Ἀθηναίοισι πράγμ' ἀπώμοτον;
- 235 Σ Aristophanes *Clouds* 351b
ἐξ Ἡρακλείας ἀργύριον ὑφείλετο.
- 236 Photius (b, z) a 1905
ὄν οὐκ ἀνέωξα πώποτ' ἀνθρώποις ἐγώ.
- 237 Photius (b, z) a 1936
ὡς μόλις ἀνήρρησ'. οὐδέν ἐσμεν οἱ σαπροί.
- 238 Photius (z) a 2441
οὐ γὰρ πολυπράγμων ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἀπλήγιος.
- 239 Harpocration p. 194.7
ἄνδρες λογισταὶ τῶν ὑπευθύνων χορῶν.
- 240 Moeris p. 202.30
ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστ' οὐδὲ λάσαν' ὅπου χέσω.

EUPOLIS

- 233 Who left us Marathon as our inheritance.
- 234 What deed would be sworn as impossible for Athenians?
- 235 He [Simon] filched money from Heracleia.¹
¹ An alleged embezzler of public funds (PAA S22065—see *Clouds* 351, 399).
- 236 Which I have never opened to men.
- 237 How destroyed I am—we decrepit folk are nothing.¹
¹ The first part might read “how destroyed he is,” he being one of the “decrepit folk.”
- 238 He is not a meddlesome sort, but a simple person.
- 239 Gentlemen, scrutineers of the choruses under review.
- 240 I don't even have a basin where I may shit.

241 Stephanus of Byzantium p. 432.17
καὶ Χαόνων καὶ Παιόνων καὶ Μαρδόνων

242 Pollux 7.29
ἄνευ καλαθίσκων καὶ † πόρων † καὶ πηνίων

243 *Etymologicum Genuinum* B
ἔχω γὰρ ἐπιτήδειον ἄνδρ' αὐτῇ πάνυ.

244 Photius p. 654.21
πεφυτευμένη δ' αὐτῆ ἴστιν, ἢ ψιλὴ μόνον;

245 Σ Aristophanes *Wealth* 718
Τῆνος αὐτῆ,
πολλοὺς ἔχουσα σκορπίους ἔχεις τε συκοφάντας.
2 ἔχεις τε cod., πολλοὺς τε Wilamowitz.

246 Σ Aristophanes *Birds* 880
αὐτῆ Χίος, καλὴ πόλις < >
πέμπει γὰρ ὑμῖν ναῦς μακρὰς ἄνδρας θ' ὅταν
δεήσῃ,
καὶ τὰλλα πειθαρχεῖ καλῶς, ἄπληκτος ὥσπερ
ἵππος.

241 Of the Chaonians and the Paeonians and the Mar-
donians

242 Without spools and wool (?) and spindles.

243 I have a very suitable man for her.

244 Is she cultivated or just bare land?

245 She is Tenos, with many scorpions and informers.

246 She is Chios, a fine city, for she sends you warships
and men whenever there is need, and the rest of the time
she is nicely obedient, like a horse that does not need a
whip.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

247 Σ Aristophanes *Peace* 1176

{A.} ἡ δ' ὑστάτη ποῦ 'σθ'; {B.} ἦδε Κύζικος πλέα
στατήρων.

{A.} ἐν τῇδε τοίνυν τῇ πόλει φρουρῶν <ἐγώ> ποτ'
αὐτὸς

γυναῖκ' ἐκίνουν κολλύβου καὶ παῖδα καὶ γέροντα,
κάξῃν ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν τὸν κύσθον ἐκκορίζειν.

248 Photius (z) a 2989

<x - υ> ἄσπουδος δ' ἀνὴρ σπουδαρχίδου κακίων.

249 Σ Aristophanes *Wasps* 82b

ἔστι δέ τις θήλεια Φιλόξενος ἐκ Διομείων.

250 Σ Hephaestion *Handbook* 15.3

ὦ δέσποτα, καὶ τάδε νῦν ἄκουσον, ἂν λέγω σοι.

251 Σ Aristophanes *Frogs* 970

ὅτι δοκεῖ προσγεγράφθαι τῇ πολιτείᾳ, Ἄγνωτος αὐ-
τὸν ποιησαμένου, ὡς Εὐπόλις Πόλεσιν.

252 Σ Lucian *Timon* 30

Κρατῖνος δὲ ἐν Ὠραις ὡς παρελθόντος νέου τῷ βή-
ματι μέμνηται καὶ παρ' ἡλικίαν καὶ Ἀριστοφάνη
Σφηξὶ καὶ Εὐπόλις Πόλεσι.

EUPOLIS

247 (A) Where is the last one? (B) She is Cyzicus, full of
staters,

(A) Indeed, on guard duty once in that city I screwed a
woman, a boy, and an old man, all for a dime. I could have
spent the whole day cleaning out its cunt.¹

¹ The text as printed in K.-A. has a single speaker throughout.

248 The unambitious man is worse than the office seeker.

249 There is a certain feminine Philoxenus from the
Diomeia,

250 Master, hear now these things which I shall tell you.

251 He <Theramenes> seems to have been enrolled
into Athenian citizenship, when Hagnon adopted him—
Eupolis in *Cities*.

252 Cratinus in *Seasons* [F 283] mentions that he
<Hyperbolus> came to speak at the *bema* at an unusually
early age, also Aristophanes in *Wasps* [1007] and Eupolis
in *Cities*.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

253 Σ (Arethas) Plato *Apology* 20e

Εὐπολις μὲν οὖν ἐν Πόλεσι διὰ τὴν χροιάν πύξιον αὐτὸν καλεῖ.

254 Σ Aristophanes *Acharnians* 504e

εἰς δὲ τὰ Διονύσια ἐτέτακτο Ἀθήναζε κομίζειν τὰς πόλεις τοὺς φόρους, ὡς Εὐπολὶς φησιν ἐν Πόλεσι.

255 Photius δ 161

δέκα τοῦβολου· διὰ τὸ μικρὸν εἶναι Ἀσωπόδωρον. Εὐπολις Πόλεσι.

ΠΡΟΣΠΑΛΤΙΟΙ

The publication of P. Oxy. 2813 (F 259) has changed our view of Prospaltians from a comedy possibly following the dicaestic theme of *Wasps* to a potentially political drama that was the precursor of *Acharnians*. As the first part of the commentary seems to be describing Eupolis at the start of his career, scholars now date the comedy as Eupolis' first, in 429, or perhaps in 428.

The title indicates that this was a comedy with a chorus of men representing an Attic deme, for which *Acharnians* is the best parallel. But *Prospalta* is an out-of-the-way and not especially prominent place, unless that is the point of the chorus, men from the backwoods. The *Suda* (T 2) records that the Prospaltians were made fun of as "fond of litigation," which may reflect something in comedy. *Dicae-*

EUPOLIS

253 Eupolis in *Cities* calls him [Chairephon] "boxwood-yellow" because of his complexion.

254 It was the custom for the cities to bring the tribute to Athens at the Dionysia, as Eupolis says in *Cities*.

255 Ten for an obol—because Asopodorus was a little fellow. Eupolis in *Cities*.

Brief fragments: (F 256) "made of amorgis," (F 257) "roughriders," (F 258) "stench of goats."

PROSPALTIANS

opolis' recollection of the tempers of country folk and old men at *Acharnians* 370–76 may be relevant here.

Much of the discussion has focussed on F 260, a discussion between three speakers, one of whom (C) is very likely the chorus or a subchorus. One man (A) is trying to persuade a second man (B) to do something. When he refuses, A asks C to run and tell the Prospaltians to send an army (would this be an absurdity for such a small deme?) or to convey something or themselves. Goossens proposed that this scene reflected contemporary events, identifying B as Pericles and the situation as local opposition to his policy of *Sitzkrieg* in the first year of the War. The options for the Prospaltians in 15–16 are thus those outlined by Thucydides: go out and fight the Spartans or withdraw into the

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

city ("convey themselves"). Goossens restored the end of v. 17 to read "so that they may not say that I sit by and waste time," relating this to the criticism by the country folk, especially the Acharnians, of Pericles' tactics (Hermippus F 47, Thucydides 2.21, Plutarch Pericles 33.7). But this is unsafe ground, and missing the ends of the lines we cannot say for certain what the point of the scene was. Also a date of 429 does not suit the context of the War, since by that

Testimonia

i Σ Aristophanes *Clouds* 541a

οὐδὲ πρεσβύτης ὁ λέγων· ὡς Εὐπόλις ἐν τοῖς Προσπαλτίοις.

ii *Etymologicum Genuinum* AB, *Suda* δ 1515

ἐκωμωδοῦντο . . . Θυμοιτάδαι καὶ Προσπάλτιοι ὡς δικαστικοί.

Fragments

259 P. Oxy. 2813

EUPOLIS

time there no longer was the option of fight or flee to the city.

The mention of "inferior and good people" (F 260.10-11), of the deme of Prospalta, the option of sending an army, yielding to reasoned argument, the citation of Antigone 712-15 (a scene of political debate) do suggest that Prospaltians was a political comedy, of the sort that Eupolis would write in *Demes and Cities* (and very likely, in *Golden Race*). If it was his first comedy, he began his career on his own distinctive note.

Testimonia

i "Nor an old man speaking": like Eupolis in *Prospaltians*.

ii The Thymoedatae and the Prospaltians were made fun as fond of litigation.

Fragments

259 A badly mutilated papyrus of the late second or early third century AD, this is almost certainly a commentary on Eupolis' *Prospaltians* (see ll. 13, 15, 17). The lack of lemmata in the first section suggests that the commentator is summarising the poet's description of the circumstances behind the writing of the play. Perhaps in the *parodos* or *parabasis*, but I wonder if Eupolis opened his first comedy with an *apologia* like those found in Terence.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

Fr. 1 col. i

]ωσπ[...]ανην προ
] (ἔστι) δη α.[] ἀπεστάλησαν δεη-
 σόμενοι δη]μηγορη[σα]ι πρὸς αὐτοῦ νέ-
 5 ον ἀρ]χ[ο]μ(έν)ου γράφ[ειν] κωμωδίαν κ(αὶ) ταῦτα
 ἐν]αὐτ(ῶν) ὄντος [...]ειν βιασάμ(εν)οι η-
]ο μ(έν) τοὺς πολίτας μὴ γράφειν
 ἤ]ρωας διω[]προ[...]ων παλι-
]ος αὐτοῦς α[] .οτ[...]τους ἤρωας
]δ(ἐ) τ(ῶν) πολιτ(ῶν) ἕκασ[τ]]προσφυῶς
 10] .πωναδ.αγα[]οι πρέσβεις
] .μ[]ο.[] .[]σ
]χ[] .[] .σι δ(ἐ) λοι[]ρ[]ωφω[
 η]νέχθη χορὸς δ(ἐ) Πρ[οσπ]αλτίων
]ραιοι δ(ἐ) ἤχθη ι.[]αι μ(έν) ὑπ.[
 15] .ι. Εὐπόλιδος[]αμα
] .θυσ.[]σθαι εκ.[
]φ[α[...]υς[]ιδ' Εὐπολ[ι
] .σδ(ια)π.[]s δ' ἔνιοι
 20] .[] .[] .[]λυφανου.
] .ερων[]λ[] .[]νεσθαι
] .ωμ[]ρας[] .[] .σθῆναι
] .σπ[]υγ
] και[]υδο[]γαγ[]οισακρο
 25] γελωτ.[] γελωτ'
] φειδε[]ιμην
] .ος
] μεαπο

EUPOLIS

(1-23) ... they were sent off to ask ... to speak out in public on his [Eupolis'] behalf, who was just beginning to write comedy and in fact was ... years (?) and ... compelling him or ... not to write about citizens ... heroes ... the heroes themselves ... and each of the citizens suitably ... envoys ... a chorus of Prospaltioi was brought on stage ... and was brought ... by Eupolis ... Eupolis ... of Aristophanes (?) ... and some

(24-25) laughter: laughter.

30

]ειηθη

]νπρ[].

]ασω

]ταιπροε

είπεῖν μη]δενί γελοίως

]τι ἠρώτησέ με

35

]μηδενὶ [ε]ίπεῖν ὅτι ες[

]σ.ος κωμωδία[

]..[.]στον χο(ρόν) διδάσκει

]..συκοφαντεῖ (ἔστι) δ(ε)[

]κλοιὸν ἀπ' ὀβελίσκου[

40

]η θερμ[.]ουμη[

]σπεει

Fr. I col. ii

γάζει [

η κωμωδι[

βάνειν αυ[

μ(έν)ους η ο[

45 δομ(εν)ον τρ[

τας ὄψεις[

πειων μη[

το ἄθλον[

βοὸς τικῶ.[

50 εν τοῖς κακ.[

περὶ ταδε[

[.]κατα[

]θαικ.[

(32-40) **to tell nobody**: jokingly ... he asked me ... to tell nobody ... comedy ... instructs the chorus ... and he is an informer ... collar from a spit.

(41-67) **he kneads** ... comedy ... to take ... the sights ... the prize ... of a cow ... among the evils ... around this ...

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

- 55]δημ[
]λομα[
]αλειν[
]κουει[
]μ(εν)ος[
 έφυγε δι(α)]
 60 βουλευειν[
 κιθαρωδός[
 κ(αι) μετοικ[
 ξενον κ(αι) προ[στατήν
 σταταις έχ[ρ-
 65 πολειτης[
 στατου σπ[
 κουσιμοικο[
 τής γής μ(έν) άχθο[s
 χθος μ(έν) έπει καμ[
 70 κουφότης δ(έ) έπει[
 αλλά κούφοι κ(αι) φ[
 Συρακόσιον η[
 είην τούτους[
 τις Έξήκεστον[
 75 ταλου κομίζω[
 π(αρα)γενόμ(εν)ον ταν[
 νειν δοκεί μο[
 μηδ' υθλει μή φ[λυάρει
 πεια κλωγμός[
 80 θρώπων γ[
 γλώττης[

200

EUPOLIS

he fled through/because of . . . to plan . . . cithara player . . .
 a metic . . . a proxenos and a leader . . . to/for leaders . . . citi-
 zen . . . of a leader.

πρό-

προ-

προ-

ᾶ-

(68-83) **burden on the earth:** . . . burden since . . . light-
 ness . . . but lightweights and Syrakosios [of Syracuse?] . . .
 Execestus . . . I bring in . . . showing up . . . it seems to me
 . . . do not talk blather: do not talk nonsense . . . noise . . .

άν-

201

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

τραγικὸς ἦ[
]δ' παρ[

Fr. 2-4 (= K.-A. F 259.85-102) are but scraps.

Fr. 5]....[

105]γας σχ[
]ει κ(αὶ) το.[
εὐ]ρύκρειο[ν
εὐ οἶ]δ' ὅτι τι.[
ε]ὐ οἶδ' ὅτι π[
]εχθραν πα[
110]ω βόσκεις
κ]ωμωδεῖ θ.[
]ξε δ(ὲ) ἵνα κακῶς κρ[
]νωσ Φρύγα μὰ Δί.[
115]σ Εὐάνδρου τοῦ Ἄ[ρκάδος
]ς μάτερ Μεγάλα [
]ες αὐληταὶ ἐν ταῖς[
ἀρ]χόμε(εν)οὶ ἀνακρούεσ[θαι
]θει ξυμμαιν.[
120]ρο.[]ν φαῦλον .[]..ρ.[
].υβ[] φλαῦρον κακὸν[
].[]ἐπίπονον οὐ γ' ε[
].κράτης τοιχωρυχο[
ο]υστιν ἔνδον μετ' ὀφέω[ν
οἶ] ἥρωες ζωγραφοῦνται α.[

EUPOLIS

of men . . . tongue . . . tragic.

(103-31): **wide-ruling . . . I know well that: I know well that . . . hostility . . . you raise . . . he makes fun of . . . and so that badly . . . a Phrygian, no by Zeus . . . of Euander of Arcadia (?) . . . Great Mother . . . aulos-players in the . . . beginning to strike up the music . . . inferior nonsense . . . laborious . . . -crates: burglar . . . inside the heroes are depicted with serpents . . . most reproachable . . .**

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

125]ες κἀπικῆκαστον ε[
 Σθενέ]βοια Προίτου τοῦ Κορι[νθίου
]ν αὐτ(ῆ)ν λέγει οὗτος σ[
].[]νοντα αρ.[
]..κ.φι.[
 130]...[
]..αι.[

Frr. 6-15 (= K.-A. F 259.132-72) are but scraps.

260 PSI 1213

— —
]κι
]ερω
]δες
 5]ν χορόν
]ηι δέος
]ψειεν ἄν
].βον
].εθη
].αρη
 10 {A.} ἐ]γὼ δ' ἴν' εἰσὶν οἱ κακο[
]....σδε χρηστῶν μ.[
 ε]ἰ μὴ ποίην ω...[
 {B.} βαδίζεθ' ὑμεῖς ὡς τὰ[χι]στ' ε[
 καὶ φράζεθ' οἷα τὰνθάδ' ἐστ[
 15 Προσπαλτίοισιν ἢ στρατιὰν[

EUPOLIS

Sthenboea wife of Proetus of Corinth . . . this one says that she.¹

¹ A reference to the story of Bellerophon and Stheneboea, wife of Proetus (usually king of Tiryns), which was dramatised by Euripides in his *Stheneboea* (c. 430?).

260 (A) And I where the bad ones are . . . of honest people . . . if I were not to do
 (B) You people, go as quickly as you can and tell what's going on here. Order the Prospaltians either to send an

- πέμπειν κελεύετ' ἢ κομίζεσθ[
 ἵνα μὴ καθῆσθαι φῶσ' ἀναλίσκ[
 ὡς οὗτος οὐδέν, ὡς ἔοικε, πείσεται.
 {Γ.} ἀλλ' ἐρχόμεσθ'. ἀτὰρ τὸ δεῖνα χρῆ[
 20 πόσ' ἄττα σοι πέμπωσιν. {B.} ἐξεστι[
 εἰ δεῖ γε τοῦτον ἐν κύκλωι πε[
 ἀλλ', ὦγάθ', ἔτι καὶ νῦν πιθοῦ πά[ση τέχνη.
 ὀρᾶς παρὰ ρείθροισιν ὅταν η[...δ[
 ἦν μὲν τις εἴκη τοῖς λόγοις ἐκσῶζε[ται,
 25 ὁ δ' ἀντιτείνων αὐτόπρεμνος οἴχε[ται.
 αὐτῶς δὲ ναός {A.} ἀπό μ' ὀλείς, ἀνθρωπ[ε, σύ.
 {Γ.} ἀνθρωπος οὗτος νοῦν ἔχοντας[
 {A.} ἀλλ' οὐχὶ δυνάτ'. εἰ γὰρ πιθοίμ[ην σοι τάδε,
 τίν' ἂν τ[.]χ.ην ε.....[
 30 {B.} μέγα στένοι μέντ' ἀν ακ[
 ἡμεῖς δὲ ναῶν ναυτίλο[

261 Anonymous on Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics* 4.6

{A.} τὸ δεῖν', ἀκούεις; {B.} Ἡράκλεις, τοῦτ' ἔστι σοι
 τὸ σκῶμμ' ἀσελγὲς καὶ Μεγαρικὸν καὶ σφόδρα
 ψυχρόν. † γελάς, ὡς ὀρᾶς, τὰ παιδιά.

262 Athenaeus 326a

μήτηρ τις αὐτῷ Θράττα ταινιόπωλις ἦν

263 Priscian *Institutes of Grammar* 18.225

τί; κατακροᾷσθέ μου τὰ μουσοδονήματα;

army or to convey . . . so that they cannot say that I just sit
 here, wasting . . . since this person, it seems, won't be per-
 suaded.

{C} We're going. But you must say what they are to send
 you.

{B} It is possible . . . if I have to . . . in a circle. But, my
 good fellow, by all means heed even now. You see beside
 the water banks when . . . , if someone yields to argument,
 he is saved. But he who resists perishes root and branch.
 Similarly of a ship,

{A} You'll be the death of me, sir.

{C} This man . . . things that make sense.

{A} It's not possible. If I were to heed . . .

{B} . . . would be quite sorry . . . we, like sailors of the
 ships . . .

261 {A} The whatchamacallit, do you hear?

{B} By Heracles, that joke of yours is vulgar, Megarian,
 and completely frigid. You see, † laughter the boys.¹

¹ For Megarian humour, regarded by the Athenians as crude
 and primitive stuff, see *Wasps* 57; *Ecphantides* F 2; Aristotle
Poetics 1448a31–32, *Ethics* 1123a34.

262 His mother was some Thracian ribbon seller.

263 What? Are you people listening closely to my musical
 swirls?

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

264 Zenobius 2.37

ὅτι χωλὸς τὴν ἑτέραν χεῖρα εὖ σφόδρα.

265 Priscian *Institutes of Grammar* 18.190

πάντα γὰρ τυχὼν ἄπει.

266 Σ Aristophanes *Birds* 839

ἢ πηλὸν ὀργάζειν τινά

267 Σ Plato *Menexenus* 235e

ἐν δὲ Προσπατλίοις Ἑλένην αὐτὴν καλεῖ.

ΤΑΞΙΑΡΧΟΙ

This play is an example of the comic subgenre that Sommerstein calls "Dionysus as antihero." In both comedy and satyr-drama there was good value in putting Dionysus in the most incongruous situation possible and then letting the natural humour of the situation work itself out. In Eupolis' comedy Dionysus joins the navy, and like all raw recruits encounters a stern taskmaster, the renowned Athenian general Phormion, known for his naval exploits in the opening years of the War.

We can glimpse how the comedy treated Dionysus. He arrives in inappropriate dress (F 272-73), complains about the food (F 271, 275), misunderstands the jargon of the military, mistaking perigraphein (maintain a perimeter) for marking the circle for a game of knuckle-bones (F

EUPOLIS

264 That he is well and truly crippled in his other hand.

265 You will go away with everything you [masc. sing.] wanted.

266 Or for someone to knead the mortar.

267 In *Prospaltians* he calls her [Aspasia] Helen.

OFFICERS

269), bewails the effect of service on his appearance (F 270, 280), and fails to learn how to row properly (F 268.51-55). Why he should be joining the navy is unclear. He may have been so compelled, or if "I fled" is correctly read in F 274, was he fleeing the wrath of Hera? Or if the play belongs in 415, can we see the god swept up in the war-fever that was engulfing Athens at this time?

Does this scenario then make Officers an antiwar play as some have proposed? There is a difference between exploiting the humour of the incongruous recruit and criticising the military itself. The treatment of Lamachus in Aristophanes is indicative. Comic sensibility would demand that in some fashion Dionysus redeem himself and turn the tables on the military system. An oinochoe in the

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

British Museum, very much like the one in T 2 (V 11e), shows a comic figure rowing a giant fish. Is this Dionysus returning in triumph at the end of the comedy?

The comedy is usually set early in Eupolis' career on the grounds that Phormion disappears from the narrative of Thucydides in 428 (3.7.1), but Phormion is mentioned as late as 411 (Lysistrata 804), and, even if he had died in the early 420s, Eupolis could have raised him from the dead as

Testimonium

i Σ Peace 348e

καὶ Διόνυσος ἐν Ταξίαρχοις παρ' Εὐπόλιδι μαθάνων
παρὰ τῷ Φορμίῳ τοὺς τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ πολέμων
νόμους.

Fragments

268 P. Oxy. 2740

Fr. 1

]..[

πτω[

χρω.[

δελεγ[

5

]δεινεστ[

περις[

]τουτου Σοφοκλέο[υς προ-

EUPOLIS

part of the humour—in which case he would be literally “the sergeant major from Hell.” The vase (T 2) showing Phormion and Dionysus was found with material associated with the ostracism of 416, the one kōmōidoumenos (Opuntius—F 284) was made fun of in 414 (Birds 1294), and F 280 may be a parody of Euripides' Electra 184–85 (c.420). I suggest 415, the play's theme being “Dionysus goes to Sicily.”

Testimonia

i In *Officers* by Eupolis, Dionysus learning from Phormion the ways of generals and wars, says . . . [F 274].

ii An *oinochoe*, found in material associated with the ostracism of 416, shows two comic figures labelled]ONYSOS and PHOR[. See V 11d.

Fragments

268 *This papyrus commentary is dated in the opinion of the first editor “as early as the end of the first century” and is assigned to Eupolis' Officers on the mention of Phormion as a character in line 13.*

(1–21) . . . of this from Sophokles abandoning him to

10] εἰς νιν εἰς φθορ[άν
 μενται τὰ δ' ἄλλα[
 Σοφοκλέους ἐστ[ὶν ἐκ
 Τηρέως δοκῶ [
 οσαρκετον λόγω[ἀν-
 τὶ τοῦ ἀμφοτεροι[οὐ-
 κ οἴσθ' Ἄρη μοι τοῦνο[μ-
 15]α; Ἄρης ὁ Φορμίων[ν
 ἐπεκαλεῖτο κόκ[κην πρῶ-
 τοι ἀντὶ τοῦ πρὶν [εἰπέιν
 κόκκυ ἠδὺ στρ[
 σ]θαι πλ.ην ἐστι[
 20]αμισθον ἀντ[ὶ τοῦ
 προφ[

 --

Fr. 2 col. i

]μ.ν[
].ρ.[
 perierunt lineae 4

25]..ατι.[
]ος ἔστηκας ηδ[
]αι ξύνθημαν[
]ασον καὶ γνω[
]πλησίον ἀν[τὶ
 τοῦ
 30].ωι πλησίον .[
]ν το συνθημα[
]. νή τὸν Δί' ἀλ[-

212

ruin: the following . . . is from *Tereus* by Sophocles, as I believe . . . **satisfactory. A pair of words:** instead of both <words> . . . **Don't you know that my name is "War"?:** Phormion was nicknamed "War." **Cuckoo first:** instead of saying "cuckoo before." **It is pleasant to serve in the army <and earn a> wage:** instead of <receive>.

(22-43) (A) you stand here . . . (B) Tell the password and know . . . nearby: instead of . . . nearby . . . that pass-

λ

35]καὶ μισῶ γε πρ[
]ν Φορμίωνα . . .
]τε πρώτην ἐλ-
 λείπει τὸ]φυλακὴν εἶτ' οὐ
]μον δῆτ' ἐγὼ πορ-
 []ς ἀντὶ τοῦ χω-
 ρὶς]ης ἀπλῶς ὅπερ
 40 Ἀττικ]οὶ ἀτεχνῶς λέ-
 γουσι]ς ἐγὼ κλαίειν
]ονι τούτου μνη-
 μονεύει] καὶ Τηλεκλεί-
 δης]ὡς λωπο-
 δύτου

col. ii

45

γο. [ἀν-
πα . . ρι[
τι τοῦ ἐμ[
γὰρ οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι [παρὰ
 τὸ πεζῆι βαδίζω [νεῖν
 50 γὰρ οὐκ ἐπίσταμα[ι οὐ
 παύσει ραίνων ἡμ[ᾶς, οὐκ
πρώρας; εἰώθασι λ[έγειν·
ὁ ἐκ πρώρας, μὴ ρ[αῖνε οὐκ
 ἐκτενεῖς οὖν τὸν σ [κελί-
 55 σκον ἀντὶ τοῦ τὸ σ[κέλος

FRG. 3-11 (= K.-A. F 267.56-171) are but scraps.

word . . . Yes by Zeus, but . . . and I hate . . . Phormion . . .
 first; he omits "watch." Then not . . . indeed I . . . : instead
 of "separately" . . . simply: by which the Attic Greeks mean
 "really." I . . . to be sorry . . . Teleclides mentions him
 [F 73] as a clothes thief.

(45-55) for I don't know how to . . . : for "I am going on
 foot, for I don't know how <to swim>." You at the front,
 will you not stop splashing us? They would usually say
 "the one at the front, do not splash us." So will you
 stretch out your little leg: instead of "leg."

269 Pollux 9.102

{ΦΟΡΜΙΩΝ.} οὐκουν περιγράψεις ὅσον ἐναριστᾶν
 κύκλον;
 {ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ.} τί δ' ἔστιν; εἰς ὤμιλλαν
 ἀριστήσομεν;
 ἢ κόψομεν τὴν μᾶζαν ὥσπερ ὄρτυγα;

270 Pollux 9.58

< > ὄτ' ἦν μέντοι νεώτερος, κρόκης
 πέντε στατήρας εἶχε, ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δία.
 νῦν δὲ ῥύπου γε δύο τάλαντα ῥαδίως.

271 Athenaeus 52b

δίδου μασᾶσθαι Ναξίας ἀμυγδάλας,
 οἶνόν τε πίνειν Ναξίων ἀπ' ἀμπέλων.

272 Pollux 10.63

ὅστις πύελον ἦκεις ἔχων καὶ χαλκίον,
 ὥσπερ λεχὼ στρατιῶτις ἐξ Ἰωνίας.

273 Photius (b, Sz) a 1065

οὐ θᾶπτον αὐτὴν δευρό μοι τῶν τοξοτῶν
 ἄγων ἀποκηρύξει τις, ὃ τι ἂν ἀλφάνη;

269 (PHORMION) Aren't you going to mark out a site to
 eat?
 (DIONYSOS) What? Are we going to have lunch inside
 the ring, or tap our bread like a quail?¹

¹ "Inside the ring" is a reference to a game called *omilla* (see
 F 314); quail-tapping (cf. *Birds* 1297) also involved a ring.

270 When it was new, it had five staters' worth of saffron
 dye—yes, by Zeus, it did—but now two talents' worth of
 dirt, easily.

271 Give me Naxian almonds to munch and wine to drink
 from Naxian vines.

272 You've come here with a bathtub and a brass pot, like
 a she-soldier from Ionia that's just given birth.

273 Won't one of the archers quickly take her away and
 auction her off for whatever she may fetch?

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

274 Σ Aristophanes *Peace* 348e, *Suda* φ 604
 ὡς οὐκέτ' ἂν φάγοιμι † στιβάδος ἐξ ὅτου 'φυγον.
 φύγοιμι Σ Ar., φάγοιμι *Suda*; φύγον *Suda*, φάγον Σ Ar.

275 Athenaeus 170d

< > ἐπιφαγεῖν μηδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ κρόμμυον
 λέποντα καὶ τρεῖς ἀλμάδας < >

276 Photius p. 658.19

οὐκ ἦν φυλάττη γ' ὦδ' ἔχων τὴν ἀσπίδα.

277 Pollux 10.136

ἐγὼ δέ γε στίξω σε βελόναισιν τρισίν.

278 Photius (z) ε 867

{A.} τίς ἐνεβρόντησέ μοι;
 {B.} ὦ μοχθηρέ, τίς ἐπάταξέ σε;

279 Photius p. 337.16

ὄνος ἀκροᾶ σάλπιγγος

280 Pollux 7.168

ἀντὶ ποικίλου
 πιναρὸν ἔχοντ' ἀλουτία
 κάρα τε καὶ τρίβωνα

EUPOLIS

274 Ever since I ran away, I would never more eat sleep-
 ing-mats.¹

¹ The text and meaning are in considerable dispute. Other suggestions are:

(1) Ever since I began to eat, I would avoid a sleeping-mat as a bed (Meineke).

(2) Ever since I ate sleeping-mats, would I eat . . . (Bergk).

(3) Ever since I began to eat, I would avoid the sleeping-mats at Phormion's (Cobet, Kaibel).

(4) I would avoid troubles, ever since I took sleeping-mats [i.e., joined the army] (Blaydes).

275 And to eat as a side dish nothing but a peeled onion and three salted olives.

276 No, not if you protect yourself by holding your shield in this way.

277 And I will brand you with three needles.

278 (DIONYSUS ?) Who thunderstruck me?
 (B) You fool, who beat you?

279 The ass hears the trumpet.

280 Wearing a cloak instead of a multicoloured <robe> and my hair filthy from lack of washing.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

281 Photius (z) *apud* Tsantsanoglou p. 121
ἐν ταῖσι γὰρ μάχαισιν ἀποθνήσκουσι κόκκυ πρώτοι

282 Σ Aristophanes *Birds* 1294

ὡς τοιούτου τὴν ὄψιν ὄντος μνημονεύει αὐτοῦ καὶ μέγα
ῥύγχος ἔχοντος καὶ ὁ τὰς Ἀταλάντας γράψας καὶ
Εὐπολις ἐν Ταξιάρχοις.

ΤΒΡΙΣΤΟΔΙΚΑΙ

EUPOLIS

281 For in battles those in front die, just like that.

282 The author of the *Atalantai* [Callias F 4] and Eupolis in *Officers* record that he [Opuntius] had such facial features [one eye] and a large hooked nose.

Brief fragments: (F 283) "the craft of ironworking," (F 284) "hooking the leg," (F 285) "baggage carrier."

VIGILANTES (?)

This comedy is known only from one curious reference (T 1) by Ptolemy Chennus to the works found on the deathbeds of various ancient figures. The title in Greek is *hybristodikai* (violence + justice) and explained (T 2) as "those who were unwilling to bring cases to court." A comedy about people wanting to avoid the law courts would be very much in the spirit of *Wasps* or *Birds* 110 ("anti-jurors"), but the term should mean something like "those who get justice with violence," hence my tentative title "vigilantes." The cases of Eupolis' *New-Moons*, *Cratinus' Tempest-Tossed*, and *Platon's Security* show that we have lost almost all knowledge of certain Old comedies, and we may thus not want to reject the existence of *Vigilantes* out of hand. Was it perhaps an alternative title for another comedy, say, *Prospaltians*?

Recent bibliography: P. J. Bicknell, *LCM* 13 (1988) 114-15.

Testimonia

i Ptolemy Chennus (*ap. Photius Library* 19, p. 151a10)
 ὅτι τελευτήσαντος Δημητρίου τοῦ Σκηψίου τὸ βιβλίον
 Τέλλιδος πρὸς τῇ κεφαλῇ αὐτοῦ εὐρέθη· τὰς δὲ Κο-
 λυμβώσας Ἀλκμάνους πρὸς τῇ κεφαλῇ Τυννίχου τοῦ
 Χαλκιδέως εὐρεθῆναί φασι, τοὺς δ' Ὑβριστοδίκας
 Εὐπόλιδος πρὸς εὐρεθῆναί φασι πρὸς τῇ Ἐφιάλτου,
 τοὺς δὲ Εὐνείδας Κρατίνου πρὸς τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ
 βασιλέως Μακεδόνων, τὰ δ' Ἔργα καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας
 Ἡσιόδου πρὸς τῇ τοῦ Σελεύκου τοῦ Νικάτορος κε-
 φαλῇ.

ii Pollux 8.126

ὑβριστοδίκαι δὲ ἐκαλοῦντο, εἴ τι χρὴ Κρατέρῳ πι-
 στεύειν τῷ τὰ ψηφίσματα συναγαγόντι, οἱ μὴ βου-
 λόμενοι τὰς δίκας εἰσαγαγεῖν.

ΦΙΛΟΙ

Testimonia

i When Demetrius of Scepsis died, the book by Tellis was
 found by his head, and they say that the *Diving-Women* of
 Alcman was found by the head of Tynnichus of Chalchis,
 the *Vigilantes* of Eupolis by the <head> of Ephialtes, and
Sons of Euneus by Cratinus by the <head> of Alexander,
 and Hesiod's *Works and Days* by the head of Seleucus son
 of Nicator.

ii If one may trust Craterus at all, who collected decrees,
 those who were unwilling to bring cases to court were
 called *hybristodikai*.

FRIENDS

Only thirteen fragments survive, giving little hint of what
 the play was about. F 293 indicates that one of the charac-
 ters, perhaps one of Old Comedy's favourite old men, may
 have tried to join the cavalry for its financial benefits, only
 to find himself hopelessly out of place, like Strepsiades in
 the "think-shop" or Philocleon at an upper-class sympo-
 sium.

The title should refer to the chorus, but what sort of
 "friends" would they be? Suitors have been suggested for
 an attractive young kalos, such as Autolycus or Demus, but
 "friend" does not need to bear an erotic sense. Another sug-
 gestion is that these "friends" were spongers, but in this
 context the word "friend" means the victim rather than the
 sponger. The ineffectual door at F 293 could support either
 interpretation. But the natural sense of the word is like
 "neighbour" or "demesman," the close people in one's life,

Fragments

- 286 Σ Aristophanes *Acharnians* 127a
 νῆ τὸν Ποσειδῶ, † οὐδέποτ' ἴσχει † ἡ θύρα.
- 287 Ammonius *On the Differences among Related Words*
 458
 οὐ δεινὰ ταῦτα † δὲ Ἀργείας φέρειν
 σχιστὰς ἐνεργεῖν.
- 288 Photius (z) ε 972
 οὐδεὶς γὰρ οἶδεν ἐν Κέφ τις ἡμέρα.
- 289 Photius p. 329.2
 ῥέγκειν δὲ τοὺς ὄλμους <ο> οἴμοι τῶν κακῶν.
- 290 Apollonius Dyscolus *Pronouns*, GrGr II 1.1
 εὐφρανῶ δὲ νῶ.
- 291 Pollux 7.133
 τί μισθοῖ; ποῖ; πόση τις ἡ φορά;

but that does not take us far with the identity or role of these friends.

A date is almost impossible to ascertain. The 420s are mostly full, and perhaps the early 410s, or even the latest part of Eupolis' career, 414–411.

Fragments

- 286 By Poseidon, the door never keeps out.
- 287 Isn't this awful, to wear Argive sandals on the job?
- 288 No one on Chios knows what day <it is>.
- 289 And the mouthpieces [of an *aulos*] squeak—oh no!
- 290 I will cheer you both up.
- 291 What does he have to hire? To where? What is the ferry charge?

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

292 Pollux 10.85

τὴν δ' αὐτὸς ἐκκανάξει

293 Harpocration p. 170.7

οὐκ ἐσωφρόνησας, ὦ πρεσβῦτα, τὴν κατάστασιν
τῆνδε λαμβάνων ἄφνω πρὶν καὶ μαθεῖν τὴν
ἵππικὴν.

294 Σ Plato *Menexenus* 235e

αὐτὴν καλεῖ . . . Εὐπόλις Φίλοις.

295 Σ (Arethas) Plato *Apology* 23e

Εὐπόλις δ' ἐν Φίλοις καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ γυναικὶ Ῥοδία κωμω-
δεῖ αὐτόν.

296 Athenaeus 266f

Χίος δεσπότην ὠνήσατο.

ΧΡΥΣΟΤΗ ΓΕΝΟΣ

The critics have made a number of assumptions about this lost comedy, principally over its date (usually D-424) and its relationship to Aristophanes' *Knights*. But the first thing that the title "Golden Race" brings to mind is the use of that term in *Hesiod's Works and Days* (109ff.) for the first and best age of humanity, a paradise lost. We might

EUPOLIS

292 And the other he will gulp down himself.

293 You weren't very smart, old man, to accept this cavalry subsidy so quickly before even learning how to ride.

294 Eupolis in *Friends* calls her [Aspasia] . . . ¹

¹ It is not clear from the text of the scholion what Eupolis called Aspasia in *Friends*; in *Prospaltians* (F 267) he calls her "Helen."

295 Eupolis in *Friends* makes fun of him [Lycon] for his wife Rhodia also.

296 A Chian has bought a master.

Brief fragment: (F 297) "to gargle."

GOLDEN RACE

want to consider whether this was an instance of Old Comedy's favourite theme of the utopian ideal, either in the past, in the future, or somewhere "out there." F 315 might support such a reading, but this is a parody of Homer, and Eupolis is not known to have employed the utopian theme elsewhere in his comedy.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

The theme of the "Golden Race" is usually taken ironically and politically to apply to Athens in the 420s, which in the comedian's view was anything but a golden age, especially given the influence of Cleon (F 316). This assumes a somewhat jaundiced view of democracy "where it is possible for the inferior and ugly in appearance" to rule, be the equal of the "good and the noble." This need not be Eupolis' own view, but only that of his chorus, but if F 316 is from a parabasis, then Eupolis could be seen as voicing some of the same reservations about Athenian society as Aristophanes.

The play is usually dated to D-424, partly on the reference to Cleon "overseeing the cities," which, it is argued, means his ascendancy after Pylos in 425/4, and partly on the assumption that Eupolis followed Aristophanes in the assault on Cleon. But F 308 "sand-hundreds" seems to be

Fragments

298 Porphyrus ap. Σ Homer *Iliad* 10.252

[A.] δωδέκατος ὁ τυφλός, τρίτος ὁ τὴν κάλην ἔχων,
ὁ στιγματίας τέταρτος ἔστιν ἐπὶ δέκα,
πέμπτος δ' ὁ πυρρός, ἕκτος ὁ διεστραμμένος.

[B.] χούτοι μὲν εἰς ἑκκαίδεκα εἰς Ἀρχέστρατον.

5 [A.] ἐς τὸν δὲ φαλακρὸν ἑπτακαίδεκα. [B.] ἔσχε δὴ.

[A.] ἰγώκιος ὁ τὸν τριβῶν ἔχων.

3 πύργος καὶ πυρρός Hunkel.

EUPOLIS

topped by Aristophanes' "sand-hundred-heaps" at Acharnians 3 (L-425), and this would push Eupolis' play back to 426 at least. Sidwell and others have also made a good case for Aristophanes adapting material from Eupolis in the *creation of Knights* (see Eupolis F 89 for his claim of "collaboration") and for *Golden Race* as that comedy by Eupolis. Cleon may in fact have been a character in *Golden Race*, the scene mentioned by Dicaeopolis at Acharnians 5-8? I suggest L-426 for the comedy, on which occasion Eupolis won his first victory at the Lenaea. Cleon's presence at Thucydides 3.36-40 as the champion of an imperialistic policy toward the cities in 427 shows that Cleon could be seen as "overseeing the cities" before his success at Pylos.

Recent bibliography: Ruffell, in *Rivals* 490-92.

Fragments

298 (A) Twelfth is the blind man, thirteenth the man with the hump, the branded man makes fourteen, fifteenth the redhead, next the man with the squint.

(B) Ah, that makes sixteen up to Arcestratus.

(A) Seventeen to the bald man. (B) Hold on there.

(A) The man with the tunic is eighteen.¹

¹ I have given v. 4 to speaker B. The numbering has suggested to some that this was an individuated chorus of "ugly Athenians," appropriate for an ironic "Golden Age." Some have seen "the bald man" as Aristophanes.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

299 Σ Aristophanes Wasps 925

λοιπὸς γὰρ οὐδείς· <ή> τροφαλὶς ἐκεινηὶ
ἐφ' ὕδωρ βαδίζει σκῆρον ἡμφιεσμένη.

300 Pollux 10.140

ἔπειθ' ὁ κουρεὺς τὰς μαχαιρίδας λαβὼν
ὑπὸ τῆς ὑπῆνης κατακερεῖ τὴν εἰσφοράν.

301 Athenaeus 657a

οὐκ ἄλλ' ἔθνον δέλφακ' ἔνδον θῆστία
καὶ μάλα καλήν.

ῶδον MS, ῶδον K.-A., νωδόν Meineke; ἔνδον Kock, ἀπα-
λήν Blaydes.

302 Stephanus of Byzantium p. 433.5

{A.} ὀρῶ. {B.} θεῶ νῦν τήνδε Μαρνανδυνίαν.

303 Σ Aristophanes Thesmophoriazusae 162

ῶλκαίε Σικελιώτα Πελοποννήσιε

304 Zenobius 6.2

ἀτεχνῶς μὲν οὖν τὸ λεγόμενον σκύτη βλέπει.

305 Pollux 10.63

ἀλλ' ὦ φίλε Ζεῦ κατάχυτλον τὴν ῥῖν' ἔχεις.

EUPOLIS

299 There's not one left. That cheese over there is head-
ing for water, wearing its rind.

300 Then the barber will take his blades and from his lip
will shear away . . . the income tax.¹

¹ The *eisphora* was a tax on the wealthy introduced in the early
420s and connected with Cleon. We expect "hair" or "beard" and
get "income tax." But who was being shaved: a wealthy victim, or
perhaps Cleon himself?

301 No, but I was [they were?] sacrificing a pig inside (?)
to Hestia and a very fine . . .

302 (A) I see. (B) Now look over here at Mariandynia.¹

¹ Mariandynia was a region on the coast of the Black Sea near
Paphlagonia. Do we have a viewing scene like that at *Knights* 168-
75 or a map scene as at *Clouds* 201-16?

303 Alcaeus of Sicily and from the Peloponnese.

304 As they say, he looks totally whipped.

305 O dear Zeus, you have a shower for a nose.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

- 306 Photius (z) a 2602
 [A.] τί γάρ ἐστ' ἐκεῖνος; [B.] ἀποπάτημ' ἀλώπεκος.
- 307 Σ Herphaestion Handbook 2.1
 καὶ σκεῦος οὐδέν εὖρον ἐν τῷ κήματι.
- 308 Σ Aristophanes Acharnians 3a
 ἀριθμεῖν θεατὰς ψαρμακοσίους
- 309 Σ Aristophanes Birds 42
 τίς ὁ φῶνος, ὦ ραψωδέ;
- 310 Choreboscus On the Canons of Theodosius, GrGr
 IV 2
 εἰ μή τις αὐτὴν κατακλιεῖ
- 311 Σ Aristophanes Wasps 1278a
 ὦ καλαβρὲ κιθαραοιδότατε
- 312 Photius p. 596.20
 τοῦ Διὸς τὸ σάνδαλον
- 313 P. Oxy. 1803
 καὶ ἀρα... ης... μ' ἦλθες
 ἐξυρημένος σαβύττους

EUPOLIS

- 306 (A) So what is he? (B) Fox droppings.
- 307 I found no furniture in the house.
- 308 To count spectators by the sand-hundreds.
- 309 What's that noise, rhapsode?
- 310 Unless someone shuts it.
- 311 O foreign one, most skilled on the lyre.
- 312 The sandal of Zeus.
- 313 And... you [masc.] came to me with a nice haircut.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

314 Σ (Arethas) Plato *Lysis* 206e

ἡ δὲ ὄμιλλα ἐστὶν ὅταν περιγράψαντες κύκλον ἐπι-
ρίπτωσιν ἀστραγάλους ἢ τι ἄλλο, ὡς τῇ μὲν ἐντὸς
βολῇ νικόντων τῇ δὲ ἐκτὸς ἡττωμένων. Εὐπόλις Χρυ-
σῶ Γένει μεταφέρων ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν κύκλῳ κατάκλισιν
τοῦνομα οὕτω φησὶν.

† ἔπειτ' εἴσειμι ἐνθάδε μείνας
εἰς ὄμιλλαν κἂν μὴ μετίη.

2 μετίη codd., μεθίη Erbse.

315 Zenobius 1.15

αὐτόματοι δ' ἀγαθοὶ δειλῶν ἐπὶ δαίτας ἴασιν.

316 Priscian *On the Metres of Terence* 26

ὦ καλλίστη πόλι πασῶν ὅσας Κλέων ἐφορᾷ,
ὡς εὐδαίμων πρότερόν τ' ἦσθα νῦν δὲ μᾶλλον ἔση

ἔδει πρῶτον μὲν ὑπάρχειν πάντων ἰσηγορίαν

πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἂν τις ὀμιλῶν χαίροι τοιαῦδε πόλει
ἴν' ἔξεστιν πάνυ λεπτῶ κακῶ τε τὴν ἰδέαν

317 Photius (z) a 282A

ἄρκτους, ἐλάφους, ἐλέφαντας, ὕστριχας, χελώνας

EUPOLIS

314 *Omilla*: when they draw a circle and shoot knuckle bones or some other object, those with a cast inside are the winners, and those outside the losers. In *Golden Race* Eupolis uses it in a metaphorical sense when he says:

Then I shall go in, and staying inside the *omilla*, even if he doesn't throw.¹

¹ The text is uncertain and the application to *omilla* not immediately obvious. I take *μείνας* in the sense of "stay," "stick" of a successful cast, and read *μεθίη* (throw) for *μετίη* (follow).

315 The brave come uninvited to the banquets of the cowardly.

316 O fairest city of all that Cleon oversees, how fortunate you were before and now will be even more so.

First of all there had to be equal speech for all.

How would one not be happy to be part of such a city where it is possible for the inferior and ugly in appearance

...

317 Bears, deer, elephants, boars, tortoises.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

318 Σ Aristophanes *Frogs* 1036

Παντακλέης σκαιός

319 The Antiatticist p. 96.18

Λάμπων ούξηγητής

320 Athenaeus 408e

κατὰ χειρὸς ὕδωρ

ΑΔΗΛΩΝ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΩΝ

326 Photius β 88

{A.} ἄγε δὴ, πότερά βούλεσθε τὴν <νῦν> διάθεσιν
ὠδῆς ἀκούειν ἢ τὸν ἀρχαῖον τρόπον;

{B.} ἀμφοτέρ' ἐρεῖς, ἐγὼ δ' ἀκούσας τοῖν τρόπων
ὄν ἂν δοκῆ μοι βαστάσας αἰρήσομαι.

327 Pollux 9.47

οὐ τὰ βιβλί' ὄνια

περιῆλθον εἰς τὰ σκόροδα καὶ τὰ κρόμνα
καὶ τὸν λιβανωτόν, κεῦθ' ἰσῶν ἀρωμάτων,
καὶ περὶ τὰ γέλγη.

328 Zonaras p. 605

τίς οὐξεγείρας μ' ἐστίν; οἰμῶξει μακρά,
ὅτι μ' ἀνέστησ' ὠμόπνον.

EUPOLIS

318 Pantacles <is> stupid.

319 Lampon the interpreter of oracles.

320 Water for hand washing.

Brief fragments: (F 321) "bran heap," (F 322) "settler,"
(F 323) "pea," (F 324) "corn bin," (F 325) "the Odeion."

UNASSIGNED FRAGMENTS

326 (A) Well now, do you people want to hear the modern
style of song or the old sort?

(B) Do both. I will listen to the two styles and upon
examination choose the one that I prefer.

[Nanny-Goats, Golden Race, Demes?]

327 Where books are for sale.

I went around to the garlic stalls, to the onion stalls and
the incense market, straight through the spice market, and
then around the odds and ends. [Maricas?]

328 Who is it who woke me up? He'll be very sorry, be-
cause he roused me from sleep. [Demes?]

329 Pollux 3.115

ἤδη χορηγὸν πώποτε
ῥυπαρώτερον τοῦδ' εἶδες;

330 Eustathius *On the Odyssey* p. 1441.11

πόλιν < > θεοφιλεστάτην
οἰκοῦσιν ἀφθονεστάτην τε χρήμασιν.

331 Moeris p. 213.31

πρῶτος γὰρ ἡμᾶς, ὦ Κλέων,
χαίρειν προσεῖπας πολλὰ λυπῶν τὴν πόλιν.

332 Photius (b, z) a 1977

συνέτυχεν ἐξιόντι μοι
ἄνθρωπος ἀποφρὰς καὶ βλέπων ἀπιστίαν.

333 [Herodian] *On Figures of Speech*, *Rh.Gr.* VIII p.
583.8

καὶ λέγουσὶ γε
τὰ μειράκια προϊστάμενα τοῖς ἀνδράσι.

334 Photius p. 178.17

οὐ πάνυ ταχὺ
ρίψας ἐμοὶ τοῦτ' ἀναβαλεῖς τὸ Κρητικόν;

329 Have you ever seen a more miserly *chorēgus* than
him?

330 They live in a city very dear to the gods and most
abundant in possessions. [Cities?]

331 Cleon, you were the first to say to us "Be well," while
doing the city great harm. [Golden Race, Demes?]

332 As I was going out a miserable fellow met me, with
falsehood all over his face.

333 And they say that youngsters stand up before the
men. [Demes?]

334 Please, won't you quickly cast this off and put on the
Cretan robe?

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

335 [Herodian] *Philetaerus* 231

κἂν ποία πόλει
 τοσοῦτος <ᾧν> τὸ μέγεθος ἰχθῦς τρώγεται;

336 *Etymologicum Genuinum* β 89

ὅσον
 γένοιτ' ἂν αὐτῇ βελτίω τὰ πράγματα.

337 Cocondrius *On Styles*, *Rh.Gr.* VIII, p. 789.18

κατεικάζουσιν ἡμᾶς † σχάδι
 βολβῶ.

338 Athenaeus 56e

ῥαφανίδες ἄπλυτοι, σηπίαί,
 δρυπεπεῖς τ' ἐλάαι.

339 Eustathius *On the Odyssey* p. 1535.18

σὺ δὲ τὰ καλώδια
 ταῦθ' ἀρκυῶρει.

340 Σ Aeschines 2.167

οὔτος ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις κοιτάζεται

καὶ τοὺς περιπόλους ἀπιέναι ᾿ς τὰ φρούρια.

EUPOLIS

335 And in what sort of city is such a large fish eaten?

336 How much better things might be for her (it?).

337 They liken us to a fig and an onion.¹

¹ The text is uncertain. For σχάδι Walz' ἰσχάδι (fig) is a reasonable reading, but Kaibel's ἰσχαλέω (dried <onion>), based on Homer *Odyssey* 19.232 is tempting.

338 Unwashed radishes, squid, and ripe olives. [Cities?]

339 You [sing.], keep a close watch on these strings.

340 This man is sleeping in the watch-posts.

<It is necessary for> the scouts to depart to the watch-posts.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

- 341 Eustathius *On the Odyssey* p. 1680.24
 μὴ τρηχὺς ἴσθι.
 ὦ δαιμόνι' ἀνδρῶν, μὴ φθονερόν ἴσθ' ἀνδρίον.
- 342 Σ Homer *Iliad* 2.333
 οἶόν γέ πού 'στι γλῶσσα κἀνθρώπου λόγος.
- 343 Eustathius *On the Odyssey* p. 1517.8
 ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἵππῳ μούπιβαλεῖς τρυσίππιον;
- 344 Σ Homer *Odyssey* 7.104
 τῇ χειρὶ νῶσαι μαλθακωτάτην κρόκην
- 345 Photius (z) α 2949
 ὥσπερ ἀνέμου 'ξαίφνης ἀσελγοῦς γενομένου
- 346 *Epimerismi Homeric* π 165
 καὶ μὴ πονηρούς, ὦ πονήρα, προξένει.
- 347 Bachmann's *Lexicon* 164.4
 ἐγὼ δ' ἄδειπνος ἐσπέρας ηὐλιζόμεν.
- 348 [Herodian] *Philetaerus* 52
 οὐ γὰρ κατάξει τῆς κεφαλῆς τὰ ῥήματα.

EUPOLIS

- 341 Don't be harsh.
 Best of men, don't be a spiteful fellow. [Spongers?]
- 342 So what a thing is a tongue, and also human speech.
 [Demes?]
- 343 But will you put a brand on me as if I were a retired
 horse? [Officers?]
- 344 Women spinning the softest thread with their hands.
- 345 Just as if a violent wind had suddenly arisen.
- 346 (DEMOS) Do not recommend such wretched lov-
 ers, you wretched woman. [Friends?]
- 347 I spent last night without having had dinner.
 [Officers?]
- 348 Words will not break my head.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

- 349 [Herodian] *Philetaerus* 137
 ἄγαμαι κεραμέως αἰθωνος ἐστεφανωμένου.
- 350 [Herodian] *Philetaerus* 229
 ἱμάντας ἤξω δεῦρο πυκτικοῦς ἔχων.
- 351 Σ Dionysius Thrax 20
 μῶν μὴ παρ' αὐτῇ Νικίας ἀναπαύεται;
- 352 Σ Homer *Iliad* 7.86
 ῥυψάσπιδόν τε χεῖρα τὴν Κλεωνύμου
- 353 Pollux 2.90
 † ἀνωροθεία ἢ † παρὰ τὰ χεῖλη τῆς νεώς.
- 354 Pollux 2.159
 ὅταν δὲ δὴ πίνωσι τὴν ἐπιδέξια
- 355 Pollux 6.65
 οἴνου παρόντος ὄξος ἠράσθη πιεῖν.
- 356 Photius p. 369.11
 ἐγὼ δὲ χαίρω † πρὸς τοῖς σοῖς παιδικοῖς.

EUPOLIS

- 349 Hooray for the fiery potter wearing a garland.
 [Maricas?]
- 350 I shall come here with boxing straps.
 [Prospaltians?]
- 351 Nicias isn't staying with her, is he?
 [Maricas?]
- 352 The shield-throwing hand of Cleonymus.
- 353 Raise your oar up (?) to the lips of the ship.
 [Officers?]
- 354 Whenever they drink to the right.
- 355 Even when there was wine, he loved to drink vinegar.
- 356 I too am happy, along with your boyfriends.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

357 *Etymologicum Genuinum* AB

γυνὴ μέλαιναν δέρριν ἡμφιεσμένη.

358 *Etymologicum Genuinum* AB

ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἤκουσιν ἐβλαστηκότες.

359 Photius (b, S^z) a 1984

οὐκ ἐς κόρακας, ἀνθρωπάριον, ἀποφθερῆ;

360 Eustathius *On the Odyssey* p. 1817.46

οὐ γὰρ λείπεται τῶν ἐμῶν οὐδ' ἔγκαφος.

361 *Etymologicum Genuinum* AB

ὡς οἴχεται μὲν τυρὸς ἐξεγλυμμένος.

362 *Etymologicum Genuinum* AB

εἰ μὴ κόρη δεύσειε τὸ σταῖς ἧθεος.

363 *Etymologicum Genuinum* AB

βάπτειν τὰ κάλλη τὰ περίσεμνα τῆ θεῶ.

βάπτειν codd., Βάπταις Hemsterhuis

364 *Etymologicum Genuinum* AB

αὐτοῦ δ' ὄπισθεν κατέλαβεν τὸν κόντιλον.

EUPOLIS

357 A woman wearing a black leather coat. [Friends?]

358 They have come from the fields in full bloom.
[Golden Race?]

359 Won't you go to hell, you nasty little man?

360 There isn't even a morsel left of my things.
[Spongers?]

361 My cheese is gone, all hollowed out.
[Golden Race?]

362 Unless an unmarried girl should moisten the dough.

363 To dye the purple robes sacred to the goddess.¹
[Dyers?]

¹ Or "in *Dyers*: 'the purple robes sacred to the goddess.'"

364 He seized the pole behind him.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

- 365 Athenaeus 68a
 ὄψω ποιηρῶ πολυτελῶς ἤρτυμένῳ.
- 366 Athenaeus 623e
 καὶ μουσικὴ πρᾶγμ' ἐστὶ βαθύ τι † καὶ καμπύλον.
- 367 Zonaras p. 548
 ὃς τὸν νεανίσκον συνῶν διέφθορεν.
- 368 Zonaras p. 601
 τὸ σῶμ' ἔχουσι λείον ὥσπερ ἐγχέλεις.
- 369 Σ Theocritus 1.95–98c
 λυγίζεται καὶ συστρέφει τὸν αὐχένα.
- 370 Σ Dionysius Thrax, *GrGr* I 3 p. 97.2
 μάττει γὰρ ἤδη καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐκκάεται.
- 371 Photius (b, S^z) a 2019
 ἀνόητά γ' εἰ τοῦτ' ἦλθες ἐπιτάξων ἐμοί.
- 372 Σ Aristophanes *Frogs* 1400
 ἀποφθαρεῖς δὲ δύο κύβω καὶ τέτταρα

EUPOLIS

- 365 Bad food lavishly seasoned.
- 366 The arts are a deep and intricate thing.
- 367 Who has corrupted the young man just by being with
 him. [Dyers, Demes, Spongers, Nanny-Goats?]
- 368 They have smooth bodies just like eels.
- 369 He writhes and bends his neck.
- 370 He (she?) is already kneading bread and the fire is
 blazing up. [Maricas, Demes?]
- 371 That's crazy if you've come to give me this order.
- 372 Done in by two ones and a four. [Helots?]

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

- 373 Σ Aristophanes *Peace* 812a
 παρὰ τῆδε < - > σὺ τῆ σοβάδι κατηγάγου;
- 374 Plutarch *On Distinguishing a Friend from a Sponger*
 54b
 τῶν περὶ τάγηνον καὶ μετ' ἄριστον φίλων
- 375 *Etymologicum Gudianum* p. 290.18
 ὅσος <δ' > ὁ βρυγμὸς καὶ κοπετὸς ἐν τῆ στέγῃ.
- 376 *Etymologicum Genuinum* AB
 ἄνδρες, δοκῶ μοι νῦν ὁρᾶν ἀφαδίαν
- 377 Photius (z) a 2664
 καὶ γὰρ αἰσχρὸν ἀλογίου 'στ' ὀφλεῖν.
- 378 [Herodian] *On Mistaken Words* 24
 τῆ νῦν καταδέχεσθε τοὺς φακούς.
- 379 Zenobius 2.57
 ὥσπερ ἀπὸ χοῦς πεσῶν
- 380 Pollux 6.56
 ζωμὸς ἀλφίτων μέτα

EUPOLIS

- 373 Did you stay with this whore? [Maricas, Friends?]
- 374 [of a parasite] One of the frying-pan and after lunch
 friends. [Spongers?]
- 375 What a noise of eager eating in the house.
 [Maricas, Demes?]
- 376 Men, I think I see an enemy <ship>.
 [Draft-Dodgers, Officers?]
- 377 For it is a disgrace to be convicted for not submitting
 accounts. [Officers?]
- 378 Here, take these lentil beans.
- 379 Like falling off a wine jar.
- 380 Broth with barley.

381 Photius p. 460.3

πρόσισχε τὸν νοῦν τῆδε

382 Athenaeus 502b

σὺν φθοῖσι προπεπωκώς

383 Stephanus of Byzantium p. 143.5

εἰς Ἄτραγα νύκτωρ

384 Stobaeus 4.1.9

καὶ μὴν ἐγὼ πολλῶν παρόντων οὐκ ἔχω τί λέξω.
 οὕτω σφόδρ' ἀλγῶ τὴν πολιτείαν ὁρῶν παρ' ἡμῖν.
 ἡμεῖς γὰρ οὐχ οὕτω τέως ᾤκοῦμεν οἱ γέροντες,
 ἀλλ' ἦσαν ἡμῖν τῆ πόλει πρῶτον μὲν οἱ στρατηγοὶ
 5 ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων οἰκιῶν, πλούτῳ γένει τε πρῶτοι,
 οἷς ὡσπερὶ θεοῖσιν ἠνυχόμεσθα· καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν.
 ὥστ' ἀσφαλῶς ἐπράττομεν· νυνὶ δ' ὄπη τύχοιμεν,
 στρατευόμεσθ' αἰρούμενοι καθάρματα στρατηγούς.

2 ἡμῖν codd., ὑμῖν van Herwerden.
 Brunck.

3 ὦ codd., οἱ
 7 τύχοιμεν codd., τύχωμεν Kaibel; ὅποι' ἔ
 τύχωμεν, ὅταν τύχωμεν Kock.

381 Turn your [sing.] attention here.

382 Having drunk with saucers.

[Cities?]

383 By night to Atrax.¹

¹ A city in Thessaly.

384 Well now, with so many possibilities I don't know what to say. I am so upset when I look at our [your?] state of government. This is not how we old men used to live. Our city had generals from the greatest families, leaders in wealth and birth, to whom we prayed as if they were gods—and gods they were to us. And so we lived in security. But now we take the field in haphazard fashion, electing as our generals the scum of the earth.¹

[Demes, Cities, Maricas?]

¹ In the first line the text might also be translated, "with so many people present."

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

385 Athenaeus 17d

{ΑΛΚΙΒΙΑΔΗΣ.} μισῶ λακωνίζειν, ταγηνίζειν δὲ
κᾶν πριαίμην.

{B.} πολλὰς δ' † οἶμαι νῦν βεβινῆσθαι.

{ΑΛΚ.} < > ὅς δὲ πρῶτος ἐξεῦρον τὸ πρῶ
'πιπίνειν;

{B.} πολλήν γε λακκοπρωκτίαν ἡμῖν ἐπίστασ'
εὐρών.

5 {ΑΛΚ.} εἰέν. τίς εἶπεν "ἀμίδα παῖ" πρῶτος μεταξύ
πίνων;

{B.} Παλαμηδικόν γε τοῦτο τοῦξεύρημα καὶ σοφόν
σου.

386 Asclepius On Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, CAG Vi 2, p.
135.21

μισῶ δὲ καὶ † Σωκράτην,
τὸν πτωχὸν ἀδολέσχην,
ὅς τᾶλλα μὲν πεφρόντικεν,
ὀπόθεν δὲ καταφαγεῖν ἔχοι
5 τούτου κατημέληκεν.

387 *Etymologicum Genuinum A*

αὐτῶν ὁ πέμπτος ὡσπερ εἰς ζήτριον ἐμπεσῶν < >
εἴ τις ἀποτέιλται

388 *Etymologicum Magnum* p. 18.10

ἀλλ' ἀδολεσχέιν αὐτὸν ἐκδίδαξον, ᾧ σοφιστά.

EUPOLIS

385 ALCIBIADES I don't like life Spartan-style; I'd
much rather buy something to grill.

{B.} I expect that many women have been screwed (?).
(ALCIBIADES) . . . I who was the first to invent early
morning drinking.

{B.} Realise that you invented a lot of disgusting behav-
iour for us.

{ALCIBIADES} Okay, who was the first to say in the
middle of drinking, "Slave, a basin"?

{B.} Now that was a clever invention of yours, one wor-
thy of Palamedes.¹ [Dyers, Spongers?]

¹ See S. Beta, *AFLS* 21 (2000) 33–44.

386 I also hate Sokrates, the babbling beggar. He has
thought out everything; but where he might get something
to eat, that he has never considered.¹ [Spongers?]

¹ The metre is iambic dimeter, used in songs in the parabasis
(F 99.1–22), between episodes (*Acharnians* 836–59), and in the
parodos (*Frogs* 417–39) for a sequence of personal insults.

387 If each fifth one of them has had his hair plucked out,
just as when someone lands in a slave prison.

388 Sophist, teach him to talk nonsense. [Spongers?]

389 *Lexicon Vindobonense* cod. Naep. II D 29
 ἄνθρωπον εὐηθέστατον καὶ πράον εἰς ἅπαντα

390 Choeroboscus *On the Canons of Theodosius*, GrGr
 IV I p. 145.25

ταῦτὸν ποιεῖ τό τ' Ἀττικὸν τῷ ζῆλα συγκεραυνύς.

391 *Orion Anthology* 8.10

ἦ πολλά γ' ἐν μακρῷ χρόνῳ γίγνεται μεταλλαγῆ
 <τῶν> πραγμάτων· μένει δὲ χρῆμ' οὐδὲν ἐν ταύτῳ
 ῥυθμῷ.

392 Stobaeus 3.4.32

ἀλλ' ἀκούετ', ὦ θεαταί, τὰμὰ καὶ ξυνίετε
 ῥήματ', εὐθὺ γὰρ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πρῶτον ἀπολογήσομαι.
 ὃ τι μαθόντες τοὺς ξένους μὲν λέγετε ποιητὰς
 σοφούς,
 ἦν δέ τις τῶν ἐνθάδ' αὐτοῦ μηδὲ ἐν χεῖρον φρονῶν
 5 ἐπιτιθῆται τῇ ποιήσει, πάνυ δοκεῖ κακῶς φρονεῖν,
 μαίνεται τε καὶ παραρρεῖ τῶν φρενῶν τῷ σῶ λόγῳ.
 ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ πείθεσθε, πάντως μεταβαλόντες τοὺς
 τρόπους
 μὴ φθονεῖθ' ὅταν τις ἡμῶν μουσικῆ χαίρη νέων.

393 Phrynichus *Sophistic Preparation* p. 75.16

ὠραζομένη καὶ θρυπτομένη

389 A very nice person and gentle in all things.

390 He does the same thing mixing Attic <honey?> with
 Thracian piss.¹

¹ "Piss" translates *zēla*, defined by Choeroboscus (GrGr IV 1 p.
 145.25) as "how wine is called among the Thracians." Platnauer
 (CR 35 [1921] 150) suggests that the beverage is beer. In either
 case *zēla* is meant to be derogatory.

391 Indeed, many things come to be in the long course
 of time through a change of circumstances; nothing stays
 on the same beat.

392 Now listen, spectators, and understand my words,
 for right now I will make my first defence to you.

How come you consider foreign poets good, but if
 someone from around here applies himself to poetry, with
 not a bad idea, he really seems to have got it all wrong, he's
 crazy and completely off his head, in your opinion? But
 listen to me, change your ways completely, and don't get
 upset when one of us youngsters enjoys *mousikē*.¹
 [Autolycus, Nanny-Goats?]

¹ At the end the mention of "youngsters" (*νέων*) seems otiose
 and probably hides a participle to complete "enjoys."

393 Preening herself and playing coy.

394 Photius p. 200.7

ἐξεπλάγη γὰρ ἰδὼν στίλβοντα τὰ λάβδα.

395 Σ Aristophanes *Clouds* 96

δεξάμενος δὲ Σωκράτης τὴν ἐπιδείξι' <ἄδων>
Στησιχόρου πρὸς τὴν λύραν, οἰνοχόην ἔκλειψεν.

396 Hephaestion *On Poetry* 8.2

εἰωθὸς τὸ κομμάτιον τοῦτο

397 Σ Euripides *Medea* 520

ἡ διστυχία τοῦ χοροῦ ἐστὶ. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς χρόνους ἤδη
τὰ τῶν χορῶν ἡμαύρωτο. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχαῖα διὰ τῶν
χορῶν ἐπετελεῖτο. ὅθεν καὶ Εὐπόλις φησι.

† τί χορὸς οὗτος κλαίειν εἴπωμεν πυραυιδ

398 Athenaeus 2d

ὡς τὰ Πινδάρου <ὁ> κωμωδιοποιὸς Εὐπόλις φησιν
ἤδη κατασεσιγασμένα ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν πολλῶν ἀφιλο-
καλίας

399 Athenaeus 667d

ὅτι δὲ ἄθλον προὔκειτο τῷ εἶ προεμένῳ τὸν κότταβον
προείρηκε μὲν καὶ ὁ Ἀντιφάνης· ὥα γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ
πεμμάτια καὶ τραγήματα. ὁμοίως δὲ διεξέρχονται Κη-

394 Seeing the flashing Lambdas he was terrified.¹
¹ Spartans (Lacedaemonians) had a lambda (Λ) emblazoned
on their shields.

395 Socrates received the cup as it went from left to
right, and while singing some Stesichorus to the lyre, stole
a wine decanter.
[Spongers, Nanny-Goats?]

396 This little song is customary.¹

¹ Referring to the first part of the parabasis, the *kommation*.

397 These two lines [*Medea* 520–21] belong to the cho-
rus. At this period the role of the chorus was already di-
minishing. In Old Comedy the chorus was essential to the
plot. And so Eupolis says:
why this chorus to complain, shall we say.¹

¹ The odd word *πυραυιδ* or *πυρωνιδ* might hide a reference to
Pyronides, the main character of *Demes*.

398 As the comic poet Eupolis says that the songs of
Pindar have been consigned to silence because of the de-
cline in popular taste.
[*Helots?*]

399 Antiphanes [F 57] has already been cited that there
was a prize for the winner in *cottabus*, eggs and buns and

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

φισόδωρος ἐν Τροφωνίῳ καὶ Καλλίας ἢ Διοκλῆς ἐν
Κύκλωσι καὶ Εὐπόλις Ἐρμιππός τε ἐν τοῖς Ἰάμβοις.

400 Σ Aristophanes *Peace* 740b

ῥακοφοροῦντας. αἰνίττεται δὲ καὶ εἰς Εὐπολιν.

401 Σ Aristophanes *Knights* 941a

τὸν πεζὸν λόγον. ἔστι δὲ πολλὰ καὶ παρ' Εὐπόλιδι
σεσημειωμένα.

402 Σ Aristophanes *Thesmophoriazusae* 828

συνέχεεν καὶ οὗτος ὡς Εὐπόλις πολλάκις· στρατιὰ μὲν
γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος, στρατεία δὲ ἢ στράτευσις.

403 Choricus 1.4

ἐξ ὁδοῦ τινὰς ἀγείρας εἰς θέατρον

404 Eustathius *On The Iliad* p. 1165.15

ἀγελαιίας ἰσχάδας

405 Photius (b, z) a 810

ἀκούοντα ἄριστα

406 Photius (b, z) a 1801

ἄνεμος καὶ ὄλεθρος ἄνθρωπος

EUPOLIS

cheese. Cephisodorus gives a similar list in *Trophonius* [F 5], also Callias (or Diocles) in *Cyclopes* [F 12], Eupolis, and Hermippos in his *Iambs* [F 7 West]. [Dyers?]

400 "Rag wearers": he is also alluding to Eupolis.

401 Prose speech: there are many passages also in Eupolis so indicated.

402 He too is confused here, as Eupolis is several times: *stratia* is the "army," and *strateia* the "expedition."

403 Gathering some people from the street into the theatre.

404 Common figs.

405 With a very good reputation.

406 A person who is wind and ruin.

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407 Photius (b, z) a 1617

ἀνεπτερώσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν

408 Photius (b, z, Sz) a 1978

ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ὁδοῦ.

409 Phrynichus *Sophistic Preparation* p. 4.11

ἀνωφέλητος ἄνθρωπος

410 Σ Aeschylus *Prometheus* 451a

αὐλὴ πρόσειλος

411 Diogenianus 2.15

γάλα ὀρνίθων

412 Pollux 7.40

γῆν σμηκτρίδα

413 Photius p. 29.11

εὖ ἔχειν στόμα

414 Zonaras p. 917

εὐκτότατον γάμον

EUPOLIS

407 That the soul has taken flight.

408 A person from the street.

409 A person who can't be helped.

410 A courtyard facing the sun.

411 Birds' milk.

412 Fuller's earth.

413 To hold one's tongue.

414 A very desirable marriage.

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415 Pollux 10.92

μακρὸν χαλκίου

416 Hesychius ο 925

ὄνου γνάθος

417 Pollux 2.233

σαρκίνη γυνή

418 Pollux 7.83

σκύτινα χηλεύειν

424 Σ Dionysius Thrax, *GrGr* I 3, p. 149.27

Ἀμφιπτολεμοπηδησίστρατος

444 Hesychius δ 181

Δαμασικόνδυλον

EUPOLIS

415 A long copper vessel [of an oil bottle]. [Spongers?]

416 Ass' Jaw [of a glutton]. [Draft-Dodgers?]

417 A corpulent woman.

418 To stitch leather.

424 Amphiptolemopedesistratos (Double-war-leap-is-tratos)

444 "Damasi-knuckles": Eupolis says this meaning Damasistratus, a Chian wrestler.

Brief fragments: (F 419) "to be radiant," (F 420) "streets," (F 421) "of Adramyttium," (F 422.) "mistakenly," (F 423) "people of Amyrus," (F 425) "he sacrifices," (F 426) "most kidnappingly," (F 427) "blameless," (F 428) "loved in return," (F 429) "exactly," (F 430) "fatherless."

(F 431) "they sleep separately," (F 432) "it must be sheared off," (F 433) "I will cut my nails," (F 434) "she-dyer," (F 435) "Heavy-Getas," (F 436) "large and stupid," (F 437)

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"a strapping lad," (F 438) "cow-eyed," (F 439) "Galepsus," (F 440) "to fence off."

(F 441) "signet ring," (F 442) "tongues" [of an aulos], (F 443) "damarippeus" [a type of fig], (F 445) "stuffing," (F 446) "very painful," (F 447) "to kick out," (F 448) "vomiter" [of a badly spoken man], (F 449) "he wooed," (F 450) "to take out."

(F 451) "women in love," (F 452) "unmixed wine," (F 453) "wide-mouthed jar," (F 454) "you knew," (F 455) "wet nurse," (F 456) "I will talk nonsense," (F 457) "locks of hair," (F 458) "little thief," (F 459) "to adorn oneself," (F 460) "koroneus" [a type of fig].

(F 461) "corn-crake" [of a boaster], (F 462) "dice," (F 463) "throat," (F 464) "I have taken," (F 465) "he eats up," (F 466) "water channels," (F 467) "to need the lash," (F 468) "dark-skinned," (F 469) "to talk of details," (F 470) "small pay."

(F 471) "tail," (F 472) "I would stick tight," (F 473) "rotations" [of a pestle], (F 474) "an extra," (F 475) "Prastillus," (F 476) "wine that has been filtered," (F 477) "having stuffed," (F 478) "rotten," (F 479) "Silens," (F 480) "temple attendant."

(F 481) "umbrella," (F 482) "the scout" [a dance figure], (F 483) "sophist" [of a rhapsode], (F 484) "partners in life," (F 485) "continually," (F 486) "ladle," (F 487) Trageae [city on Naxos], (F 488) "racks," (F 489) "and Eupolis in . . ." [of words beginning in "b"].

EUPOLIS

494 Fortune is of little assistance to wise men; rather the things which are most important and essential are controlled by the judgements of the mind and the heart. Many philosophers have said this, and no less have the poets, who wrote Greek Comedy long ago, expressed these sentiments on the stage in their verses: Eu<polis>, Crates [F 60], Chionides [F 8], Aristophanes [F 924], and especially along with these Alexis.

ΕΥΞΕΝΙΔΗΣ

Testimonium

i *Suda* ε 2766

Ἐπίχαρμος . . . ἦν δὲ πρὸ τῶν Περσικῶν ἔτη ἕξ,
διδάσκων ἐν Συρακούσαις· ἐν δὲ Ἀθήναις Εὐέτης καὶ
Εὐξενίδης καὶ Μύλλος ἐπεδείκνυντο.

EUXENIDES

The sole evidence for the existence of this poet is the testimony of the Suda (T 1), which if trustworthy places Euxenides among the very earliest comic poets, active in the 480s.

Testimonium

i Epicharmus: he was active six years before the Persian Wars [486/5] producing plays in Syracuse. At Athens Euetes and Euxenides and Myllus were putting on plays.

ΗΓΗΜΩΝ

Although Hegemon was best known as a writer of parodies, he was assigned by some to Old Comedy (T 2-4). Athenaeus (T 4) places him chronologically with Cratinus. Polemon (T 4) describes him as the first competitor in parōidia, and since Hermippus, a comic poet from the 430s onward, is also said to have written parōidia (T 4), we should date Hegemon to the 430s and later. The two anecdotes recorded by Chamaeleon (see T 3) associate him with persons and events of the late fifth century, but the details are suspicious and the stories are probably later inventions. The second, how Hegemon was saved from prosecution by the intervention of Alcibiades, is clearly a companion piece to the story, popular with the later critics, of Alcibiades' attack on Eupolis. Hegemon is said to have come from Thasos, an island associated with the early

Testimonia

i Suda η 52

Ἡγήμων, ὁ Θάσιος, ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Φακὴ.

HEGEMON

iambic poet Archilochus, and thus to have been active at Athens at the same time as Cratinus the comic poet was creating comedy strongly influenced by Archilochus, is suggestive.

Athenaeus 699a (T 4), in addition to preserving the one major fragment of his parodic work (twenty-one dactylic hexameters in a low colloquial tone with constant Homeric allusions), cites a comedy, *Philinna*, "in the old style." However, the title suggests rather a hetaera play of the sort familiar from the fourth century, and the one fragment is very much in the culinary style of Middle Comedy. I suspect that we have two Hegemons here: the parodist from the latter half of the fifth century and a comic poet from the fourth. The Suda (η 53) knows a Hegemon from the time of Demosthenes, whose "plays include a *Philinna*."

Testimonia

i Hegemon: of Thasos, the man nicknamed "Bean-soup."

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

ii Athenaeus 5ab

δείπνων ἀναγραφὰς πεποιήνται ἄλλοι . . . καὶ Ἡγήμων ὁ Θάσιος ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Φακῆ, ὃν τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ κωμωδίᾳ τινὲς ἐντάττουσιν.

iii Athenaeus 406e-7c

Χαμαιλέων ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν ἕκτῳ περὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας "Ἡγῆμων" φησὶν, "ὁ Θάσιος ὁ τὰς παρωδίας γράψας Φακῆ ἐπεκαλεῖτο . . . εἰσῆλθε δέ ποτε καὶ εἰς τὸ θέατρον διδάσκων κωμωδίαν λίθων ἔχων πλήρες τὸ ἱμάτιον, οὗς βάλλων εἰς τὴν ὀρχήστραν διαπορεῖν ἐποίησε τοὺς θεατάς. καὶ ὀλίγον διαλιπὼν εἶπε

λίθοι μὲν οἶδε· βαλλέτω δ' εἴ τις θέλει.
ἀγαθὸν δὲ κὰν χειμῶνι κὰν θέρει φακῆ."

iv Athenaeus 698b-99a

Πολέμων δ' ἐν τῷ δωδεκάτῳ τῶν πρὸς Τίμαιον περὶ τῶν τὰς παρωδίας γεγραφότων ἱστορῶν τάδε γράφει; "κέχρηται δὲ καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος ὁ Συρακόσιος ἐν τισὶ τῶν δραμάτων ἐπ' ὀλίγον καὶ Κρατῖνος ὁ τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας ποιητῆς ἐν Εὐνείδαις καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν Ἡγῆμων ὁ Θάσιος, ὃν ἐκάλουσαν Φακῆν . . . πεποίηκε δὲ παρωδίας καὶ Ἑρμιππος ὁ τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας ποιητῆς. τούτων δὲ πρῶτος εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τοὺς ἀγῶνας τοὺς θυμελικοὺς Ἡγῆμων καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίους ἐνίκησεν ἄλλαις τε παρωδίαις καὶ τῇ Γιγαντομαχίᾳ."

HEGEMON

ii Others have written accounts of dinner parties . . . including Hegemon of Thasos, nicknamed "Bean-soup," whom some assign to Old Comedy.

iii Chamaeleon of Pontus in Book 6 of his *On Old Comedy* writes [F 44 Wehrli], "Hegemon of Thasos, the man who wrote parodies, was nicknamed 'Bean-soup' . . . once when he was producing a comedy, he went into the theatre with his cloak full of stones, which he cast into the orchestra and made the spectators wonder. After waiting a bit he said:

These are stones, anyone who wants can throw them.
A good thing both in summer and in winter is bean soup."

Chamaeleon goes on to relate two stories: (1) how Hegemon's "parody," *Battle of the Giants*, was so amusing that spectators remained in the theatre to hear it, even though on the same day came the news of the disaster in Sicily [413], and (2) how Hegemon was supported in a lawsuit at Athens by the "artists of Dionysus" and protected by the personal intervention of Alcibiades.

iv Polemon in Book 12 of his work *On Timaeus* writes as follows about those who have written parodies [F 45 Preller], "Epicharmus of Syracuse also uses <parodies> to some extent in certain of his plays, also Cratinus the poet of Old Comedy in his *Sons of Euneus*, and among those of his time Hegemon of Thasos, whom they call 'Bean-soup' . . . Hermippus, the poet of Old Comedy, also wrote parodies. But of these the first to enter theatrical contests was Hegemon, who was victorious at Athens with other parodies, but especially with *Battle of the Giants*."

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

ΦΙΛΙΝΝΑ

Testimonia

i Athenaeus 699a

γέγραφε δὲ καὶ κωμῶδιαν εἰς τὸν ἀρχαῖον τρόπον, ἣν ἐπιγράφουσιν Φιλίνναν.

ii Suda η 53

Ἡγήμων· Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος. εἰς ἣν τῶν Μακεδονιζόντων καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ δωροδοκία διαβεβλημένων. τῶν δραμάτων αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ Φιλίννα, ὡς Ἀθήναιος ἐν Δειπνοσοφισταῖς.

Fragment

I Athenaeus 108c

μάλα ταχέως αὐτῶν πρίω <μοι> πουλύπουν,
καὶ δὸς καταφαγεῖν κάπὸ τηγάνου γόνον.

HEGEMON

PHILINNA

Testimonia

i He [Hegemon] also wrote a comedy in the old style which they title "Philinna."

ii Hegemon: Demosthenes *In Defence of Ctesiphon*. He was one of those who supported Macedon and accused of taking bribes (PAA 480795). His plays include *Philinna*, according to Athenaeus [108c].

Fragment

I With this <money> very quickly, buy <for me> an octopus and give it to me to eat, and also fingerlings right out of the fry pan.

ΕΡΜΙΠΠΟΣ

A comic poet of the generation previous to Aristophanes, Hermippus' career may be dated from the mid-430s to the early 410s. Secure dates are a victory in 435 (T 3) and his Bakery-Women in 420 or 419. If F 47 is from Fates, then that comedy belongs to 430 or 429, and if F 63 is assigned correctly to Basket-Bearers, we can infer a date of 428–425 for that play. The Suda (T 1a) gives him forty titles, but we know of only ten, and rather than assume that the ancients lost all record of three-quarters of his work, the figure of "forty" should be lowered considerably.

Hermippus seems to have been active in other poetic genres. He wrote iambic poems, cited explicitly, and also parōidia, a much more shadowy genre, for which there may have been public performances, even competitions, in fifth-century Athens. Both genres clearly overlap with comedy: iambic for its vigorous and coarse language, also its essential nature of attacking targets, parōidia in that it turned the form and language of serious epic into something humorous. One must always consider whether a fragment attributed only "to Hermippus" might in fact come from an iamb or a parōidia, and keep the counter-consideration in mind that a man who wrote iambs and parōidia might have written comedies in the same style.

HERMIPPUS

He wrote mythological burlesques, his Birth of Athena anticipating the vogue in "birth plays" by about thirty years, as well as an Agamemnon and a Europa. But a strong political strain can also be detected in his comedy. While not totally centred upon the demagogue Hyperbolus, Bakery-Women to some extent continued the development of the demagogue comedy, pioneered by Aristophanes in Knights, enough to arouse Aristophanes' complaint (T 6), while F 47 is a biting song against Pericles' conduct of the War. Critics are divided whether the story of the accusation against Aspasia (T 3) is an actual historical fact or something that Hermippus said in a comedy.

The plural titles suggest a strong choral presence in the style of Aristophanes and Cratinus. There are a number of places where Dionysus is known or conjectured plausibly to have been a character—F 36, 77 for certain, perhaps also in Soldiers or Basket-Bearers. Silenus might be the speaker of F 44–45.

Recent bibliography: D. Braund, G&R 41 (1994) 41–48; D. Gilula, in Rivals 75–90; B. Zimmermann, in Rivals 273–76; Harvey, in Rivals 280–84; Pellegrino (Utopie) 195–225.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

Testimonia

(a) *Suda* ε 3044

Ἑρμῖππος, Ἀθηναῖος, κωμικὸς τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμῆ-
δίας, ἑτεροφθαλμὸς ἀδελφὸς δὲ Μυρτίλου τοῦ κωμι-
κοῦ, δρᾶματα διδάξας μ'.

(b) *Suda* μ 1460

Μυρτίλος, Ἀθηναῖος, κωμικός, υἱὸς μὲν Λύσιδος,
ἀδελφὸς δὲ τοῦ κωμικοῦ Ἑρμῖππου.

ii *Plutarch Pericles* 32.1

περὶ δὲ τούτων τὸν χρόνον Ἀσπασία δίκην ἔφευγεν
ἀσεβείας Ἑρμῖππου τοῦ κωμωδιοποιοῦ διώκοντος καὶ
πρωκατηγγυροῦντος, ὡς Περικλεῖ γυναῖκας ἐλευθέρων
οἷς τὸ αὐτὸ φοιτῶσας ὑποδέχοιτο.

iii *IG* ii² 2318

Ἴσοκράτης ἐχορήγει
Ἑρμῖππον ἐδίδαισκειν

iv *IG* ii² 2325.57

Ἑρμῖππος

HERMIPPUS

Testimonia

(a) Hermippus: of Athens, poet of Old Comedy, a man
with only one eye, brother of Myrtilus the comic poet. He
produced forty plays.

(b) Myrtilus: of Athens, comic poet, son of Lysis and
brother of Hermippus the comic poet.

ii About this time [at the trial of Phidias] Aspasia was the
defendant on a charge of impiety, the prosecutor being
Hermippus the comic poet, who added the accusation that
she was arranging assignations with Pericles for freeborn
women at her house.

iii [record of the dramatic contests for 435]
Isocrates [was the *chorēgus*]/Hermippus [produced]

iv [list of the victors at the Dionysia]
Herm[ippus]

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

v IG ii² 2325.123

Ἑρμῖππος IIII

vi Aristophanes *Clouds* 557–58

εἶθ' Ἑρμῖππος αὐθις ἐποίησεν εἰς Ὑπέρβολου,
ἄλλοι τ' ἤδη πάντες ἐρείδουσιν εἰς Ὑπέρβολου

vii Σ Aristophanes *Clouds* 541b

τᾶπη τῇ βακτηρίᾳ· ὡς εἰς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος εὐεπίφορον
ὄντα τὸν Ἑρμῖππον σκώπτει.

viii Athenaeus 699a

πεποίηκε δὲ παρωδίας καὶ Ἑρμῖππος ὁ τῆς ἀρχαίας
κωμωδίας ποιητής.

ix Aristophanes F 590.90

ταδ' Ἑρμι[ππο

x Tzetzes *Distinctions among Poets* (Koster XXIa.82–84)

τῆς δευτέρας ἦν ὁ ψόγος κεκρυμμένος,
ἧς ἦν Κρατῖνος, Εὐπόλις, Φερεκράτης,
Ἀριστοφάνης, Ἑρμῖππος τε καὶ Πλάτων.

HERMIPPUS

v [list of the comic victors at the Lenaia]
Hermippus 4

vi Then in his turn Hermippus went after Hyperbolus
and then everyone starts in on Hyperbolus, copying my
metaphor of the eels.

vii "Words with his stick": he is making fun of Hermippus
for being prone to this sort of thing.

viii Hermippus the poet of Old Comedy also wrote paro-
dies.

ix [from a commentary to Aristophanes]
This <is> from Hermi[ppus].

x Indirect insult was characteristic of second <comedy>,
to which belonged Cratinus, Eupolis, Pherecrates, Aris-
tophanes, Hermippus, and Platon.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

Fragments

ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ

1 Orus Orthography fol. 283^r 14

κάτειπε πόθεν εἶ μηδέ < - > ψεύση μάτην.

ΑΘΗΝΑΣ ΓΟΝΑΙ

2 Photius p. 61.22

ὁ Ζεὺς "δίδωμι Παλλάς" ἤσιν "τοῦνομα."

3 *Etymologicum Genuinum* A, s.v. ἀρνός

τὴν μὲν διάλεκτον καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἀμνίου
ἔχειν δοκεῖς, τὰ δ' ἔνδον οὐδὲν διαφέρεις
δράκοντος.

HERMIPPUS

Fragments

ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΟΝ

Both Aeschylus and Ion of Chios wrote tragedies with this title. We should not assume that a play called "Agamemnon" must refer to the story as dramatised in Oresteia. Homer provides other possibilities for a humorous treatment of Agamemnon, e.g., the dispute with Achilles over Briseis, or an encounter during the fighting. Is F 1 from a scene where two potential combatants meet?

1 Tell me where you are from and do not tell a useless lie.

BIRTH OF ATHENA

The heyday of comedies about the birth of gods or heroes seems to lie in the early fourth century—see Nesselrath in Dobrov (BA) 1–27—but we can find earlier examples, such as this comedy by Hermippus, Cratinus' Nemesis (birth of Helen), and Aeschylus' satyr play Net-Haulers (Perseus as an infant). Homer could display the personal life of the gods in a humorous fashion (witness Iliad 14 or Odyssey 8), and the comic birth theme may be traced back to the Homeric Hymn to Hermes and ahead to the sketches by Lucian in the second century AD. The references to weaving (F 4–5) suit this traditional interest of Athena.

2 And Zeus says, "I give <you> the name "Pallas."

3 You seem to have the speech and face of a lamb, but inside you are no different from a serpent.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

4 Photius (z) a 3129, Bachmann's *Lexicon* p. 162.5

ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης τουτονὶ τὸν στήμονα
ἄττεσθ' ἐπινοῶν.

2 ἐπινοῶν *Lexicon*, ἐπὶ νοῶν Photius, ἐπινοῶ Valckenaer

5 Photius (b, S^z) a 1956

καιροσπάθητον ἀνθέων ὕφασμα καινὸν Ὀρῶν.

λεπτοὺς διαψαίρουσα πέπλους ἀνθέων γέμοντας.

6 Σ Plato *Gorgias* 497a

τὸ ἀκκίζεσθαι ἐκ γυναικὸς εἰρῆσθαί φασιν Ἀκκοῦς
καλουμένης, ἣν οὕτως εὐήθη λέγουσιν ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ
ἱστοῦ θοιμάτιον καθελομένην ἡμίεργον ἀμφιέσασθαι,
εἷς τε τὸ κάτοπτρον βλέπουσαν πρὸς τὴν παρ' αὐτῆς
ἐμφασιν εἰς αὐτὸ γιγνομένην ὡς ἑτέρα προσλαλεῖν
γυναικί. μέμνηται ταύτης Ἑρμιππος ἐν Ἀθηνᾶς γο-
ναῖς.

ΑΡΤΟΠΩΛΙΔΕΣ

HERMIPPUS

4 Having in mind <to take> this warp from the table
<and> fit it in place.¹

¹ Valckenaer's reading could make Athena herself the speaker.
5 A close-woven new robe with flowers <woven by> the
Seasons.

Gently caressing [fem.] delicate robes laden with
flowers.

6 "To be an Acco" they say is taken from a woman named
Acco. They record that she was so silly that she took a half-
completed dress from the loom and put it on, and that she
looked at her own reflection in a mirror and had a conver-
sation with it as if it were another woman. Hermippus
mentions her in *Birth of Athena*.

BAKERY-WOMEN

This is one of the comedies about which Aristophanes com-
plains in the revised parabasis of *Clouds* (c.418), that the
idea of the demagogue comedy, which he pioneered in
Knights (424), was then appropriated by other poets and
used against Hyperbolus, first Eupolis with *Maricas* (L-
421), then Hermippus, and "now everyone starts in on
Hyperbolus" (T 6). Thus Hermippus' comedy belongs to
420 or 419. The scholia to *Clouds* 557 tell us that Her-
mippus' comedy was *Bakery-Women*, but that the whole
play was not aimed at Hyperbolus. Only certain parts of
the play were intended to make fun of him. Aristophanes
says that Eupolis in *Maricas* added an old woman to the
comedy, whom the scholiasts identify as Hyperbolus'

7 Σ Αἰσχυρίαιες Birds 155b

+ ἀέβαιε σιγή Πείσανδρος μέγας αὐτός +
 ὥστερ Διονυσίῳ ὑπὶ τῶν ξύλων.
 + εἰαίης ἔρεισιν ὄνον καυθήλιον

8 Πλάτων (b, z) a 163

θέμε νῦν ἀγῆλω τοὺς θεοὺς ἰούσ' ἐγώ,
 καὶ θυμιάσω τοῦ τέκνου σεσωσμένου.

9 Pollux 7.202

ὦ σαπρὰ καὶ πασιπόρνη καὶ κάπραινα.

10 Athenaeus 119c

καὶ τήριχος πίονα

ΔΗΜΟΤΑΙ

note: The feminine forms in F 5-9, plus the word "ἰακίδη" in F 11, perhaps playing on Eupolis' name for *Agonothetes*' mother, *Doko*, suggest that a character in this play also was meant to represent the demagogue's mother. "Bakery-woman" was proverbial in ancient Greek for a woman with a foul tongue (e.g., Frogs 858), like "bitch" in English.

7 The great Peisander himself got up in silence, like the chief usher at the Dionysia . . . pack-ass.¹

¹ The text is very uncertain, but I would prefer ἀναβαίνει or ἀέβαιε in the first line ("go up <to the bema>," "get up to speak". The words "chief usher" translate "the man in charge of the wooden things," the last being taken as "the wooden benches of the theatre," but it is possible that the opening of the third line hides the name "Phales" and that it could mean "like Phales on the poles at the Dionysia."

8 Well now, I [fem.] shall go to praise the gods and offer incense now that my son has been saved.

9 You worn-out sow, whore to all.

10 And a fat salt fish.

Brief fragments: (F 11) "to sell garlic," (F 12) δοκικῶ for δοκῶ ["I think"].

DEMESMEN

An Athenian would regard demesmen as a group close to him. At Clouds 1209 Strepsiades imagines the envy of "my

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

13 Pollux 9.70

οἶμοι, τί δράσω σύμβολον κεκαρμένος;

14 Athenaeus 285e

νῦν δ' οὐδ' ἀφύην κινεῖν δοκεῖς.

15 Pollux 10.165

ἔχοντες ἴσον ἀσπίδιον ὀγκίω.

16 Hesychius ο 1920

οὐ φροντὶς Ἴπποκλείδῃ

ΕΤΡΩΠΗ

HERMIPPUS

friends and demesmen," and at 1322 calls for help from "neighbours, kinsmen, and demesmen." The chorus is presumably composed of demesmen of the main character. Eupolis wrote a comedy called "Friends," Crates a "Neighbours."

13 Oh dear, what shall I do with my hair half-cut [or "my face half-shaved"].

14 But now you don't even seem to be disturbing a minnow.¹

¹ It is possible that we have a *sensus obscenus* here, since Aphye (minnow) is the name of a prostitute (Archippus F 19), and *kinein* (disturb) means also "to have sex with."

15 Having [pl.] a little shield the size of a wicker case.

16 Hippoclidides doesn't care.¹

¹ For the story see Herodotus 6.129.

Brief fragments: (F 17) "pump" [of a woman's shoe], (F 18) "bal" [a shout], (F 19) "a pot with three legs," (F 20) "with a retentive memory," (F 21) "subtle talk," (F 22) "be present."

EUROPA

The title suggests a burlesque of myth, and we can imagine the comic possibilities of Zeus choosing to appear as the great bull of the myth. Lucian knows the story and describes the scene vividly (Dialogues of the Sea-Gods 15).

23 Photius p. 481.13

ρύζων ἅπαντας ἀπέδομαι τοὺς δακτύλους.

ΘΕΟΙ

24 Athenaeus 426f

ἔπειθ' ὅταν πινώμεθ' ἢ διψώμεθα,
 εὐχόμεθα πρὸς τοῦθ' † ὁ οἶνος, ωκαιρας γενου.
 οὐκ ἀστοῦ καὶ πηλουγω † φέρω παίζων ἅμα,
 κωνθεις γεγένηται τοῦτο πέντε καὶ δύο.

The one fragment (F 23) shows someone under considerable stress threatening to gnaw his own fingers. The verb "growling" is used especially of dogs. Are we watching Zeus suffering from his lust for Europa?

23 I [masc.] shall growl as I gnaw away at all my fingers.

GODS

If a plural title indicates the identity of the chorus, did gods form the chorus, and were individual identities revealed? At the end of Birds barbarian gods are juxtaposed with traditional Olympians, while in Lucian's Assembly of the Gods, the point lies in a conflict between traditional deities and more recent additions to the pantheon. Several plays of Old Comedy had as their subject the arrival of a new god: Cotyto in Eupolis' Dyers, Sabazius in Aristophanes' Heroes (or Seasons). F 25 mentions the procession at the Panathenaea, F 32 a celebration at Taenarum, while several fragments suggest that a party was part of the action (F 24, 27, 29, 31, 35).

24 Then whenever we are drinking or whenever we are thirsty, we pray to this †the wine . . . and I carry, joking at the same time that when heated it became the five-and-two.¹

¹ The central section of this fragment is corrupt. "This" [neut.] could be the magic horn of Amalthea, which supplied never-ending food and drink. The "five-and-two" is a standard mixture of water and wine. Is the speaker the errand god Hermes?

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

25 Σ Aristophanes *Birds* 1551

{A.} ὥσπερ αἱ κανηφόροι
λευκοῖσιν ἀλφίτοισιν ἐντετριμμένος.
{B.} ἐγὼ δ' ἐνέκαψα λαυθάνων τὴν διφροφόρον.

26 Photius p. 538.21

ἐξ ἀγορᾶς δ' ἐγὼ
ωνήσομαι λύχνον τιν' ἢ στίλβην.

27 Σ Aristophanes *Wasps* 674

καὶ πρὸς κύβους ἔστηκ' ἔχων <τὸ> κήθιον.

28 Phrynichus *Sophistic Preparation* p. 44.7

ἂ τόθ' ἦσθην, ταῦτα νῦν ἀνήδομαι.

29 Athenaeus 478c

τόν τε κότυλον πρῶτον ἦνεγκ' ἐνέχυρον τῶν
γειτόνων.

30 Herodian *On Singular Vocabulary* II p. 923.5

φήμης ἱερᾶς ἐξοιγνυμένης ὥσπερ πέπονος δοθιῆνος.

31 Athenaeus 636cd

λεπάδας δὲ πετρῶν ἀποκόπτοντες κρεμβαλιάζουσι.

HERMIPPUS

25 (A) Powdered with bleached barley dust, like the basket bearers.
(B) And I [masc.] grabbed the stool bearer without anyone noticing.

26 I shall buy a lamp or a candle from the market.

27 And he stood by the dice tables, box in hand.

28 What I liked then I dislike now.

29 First he took the wine cup from the neighbours as security.

30 Of a sacred tale unfolding like a ripe abscess.

31 Breaking off limpets from the rocks, they use them as castanets.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

32 Stephanus of Byzantium p. 598.13

καὶ σὲ τί χρῆ παραταιναρίζειν.

ΚΕΡΚΩΠΕΣ

36 Athenaeus 551a

ἴνν γὰρ πενόμενοι
ἀνάπηρά σοι θύουσιν ἤδη βούδια,
λεωτροφίδων λεππίτερα καὶ θυμάντιδος.

HERMIPPUS

32 Why must you observe the celebration at Taenarum?

Brief fragments: (F 33) "small tunic," (F 34) "young man,"
(F 35) "to play at five stones."

CERCOPEΣ

In the archaic period the Cercopes were part of the myths about Heracles. They were cunning dwarf-like creatures, who would steal from passersby, and are associated with both central Greece (Herodotus 7.216) and Asia Minor. On sixth-century vases and stone reliefs, a pair of these is shown as captured by Heracles and hanging head-down from a pole. Although two is the usual number in art, several names are known for them, and it is easy to imagine a comic chorus of such humorous creatures. F 38 shows that someone stole a gold cup in the comedy. Is Dionysus (see F 36) relating his experience with these creatures? Did Dionysus summon his half-brother Heracles to assist him? The two kōmōidoumenoi of F 36 belong to the period 424-414, while the Hieroclydes who may lie behind the coinage in F 39, was made fun of by Phrynichus in *Revellers*, a comedy also of the 410s.

36 But now being poor, all they sacrifice to you [Dionysus] are stunted little cows, leaner than even Leotrophides and Thoumantis.¹

¹ Thoumantis (PAA 515550) is known as a hungry person at *Knights* 1268, while Leotrophides (PAA 607070) is described as being as thin as a bird at *Birds* 1406 and as "a featherweight" at *Theopompus* F 25.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

37 Athenaeus 650e

ἤδη τεθέασαι κόκκον ἐν χιόνι ῥόας;

38 Athenaeus 502b

χρυσίδ' οἴνου πανσέληνον ἐκπιὼν ὑφείλετο.

39 Hesychius κ 3309

Κολακοφωροκλείδης

MOIPAI

For the title we may compare Eumenides, both by Aeschylus and Cratinus, Seasons by Aristophanes and Cratinus, Muses by Phrynichus. Traditionally three in number, they may have been increased to provide the requisite twenty-four for the comic chorus, or (more likely) "Fates" may not refer to the chorus at all, but perhaps to some scheme to deceive the Fates, as Apollo got them drunk (Eumenides 727-28). Some, pointing to the theme of war and arming for war in F 46-48, have suggested that the title had nothing to do with the Fates, moirai referring rather to divisions of the Spartan army. But as F 49-50 mention spinning and needles, can we imagine some character, like

HERMIPPUS

37 Have you [sing.] ever seen a pomegranate seed in snow?

38 After drinking down a golden full-moon cup of wine he ran off with it.

39 Suck-up—thieving—clides.¹

¹ A comic coinage based on *kolax* (suck-up) + *phoro* (rob) + *clides* (the end of the name "Hieroclide" according to Hesychius). See Phrynichus F 18.

Brief fragments: (F 40) "well water," (F 41) "have a conversation."

FATES

Trygaeus in Peace, seeking out the Fates in an attempt to stop the War? Does the mention of "humans" in F 46.1 imply that the speaker is a god?

Kōmōidoumenoi in the fragments include the tragic poet Nothippus (F 46) and Diagoras (F 43), the former unknown elsewhere, and the latter probably the sophist. If F 47 does belong to this comedy, then the reference to Pericles' policy of Sitzkrieg dates the play to 430 (or less likely, 429). Some have unconvincingly argued that F 42, 43, and 46 are jokes against Pericles and his conduct of the War. The pair of songs in anapaestic dimeter (F 47-48) remind one of the antiwar sentiments in Acharnians, especially the sympotic context at 976-99.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

42 Athenaeus 418cd

ὁ Ζεὺς δὲ τούτων οὐδὲν ἐνθυμούμενος
μύων ξυνέπλαττε Θετταλικὴν τὴν ἔνθεσιν.

43 Σ Aristophanes *Frogs* 320

μείζων γὰρ ἢ νῦν δὴ ἔστι, καὶ δοκεῖ γ' ἐμοί,
εἰάν τοσοῦτον ἐπιδιδῶ τῆς ἡμέρας,
μείζων ἔσεσθαι Διαγόρου τοῦ Τερθρέως.

44 Athenaeus 476d

οἴσθ' ἄ νῦν ὃ μοι ποιήσον; τήνδε νῦν μή μοι δίδου,
ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κέρατος αὐ μοι δὸς πιεῖν ἅπαξ μόνον,

45 Athenaeus 486a

ἦν ἐγὼ πάθω τι τήνδε τὴν λεπαστὴν ἐκπιῶν,
τῷ Διονίσῳ πάντα τὰμαντοῦ δίδωμι χρήματα.

46 Athenaeus 344c

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

HERMIPPUS

42 Zeus with no thought for any of this shut his eyes and
put together a Thessalian mouthful.

43 Bigger than he is now, and in my opinion, if he grows
as much today, he will be bigger than Diagoras the Quib-
bler's son.

44 Know what you can do for me? Do not give me this
<cup>, but just this once let me drink from the horn.

45 (SILENUS?) If anything happens to me after I down
this punch bowl, I leave all my worldly goods to Dionysus.

46 If the race of men today were to fight in such a way and
a great roasted skate were leading them along with a side
of pork, they could keep the rest in the camp and send
Nothippus as a volunteer—since he by himself could swal-
low down the entire Peloponnese.¹

¹ The first half of Nothippus means "Bastard," but the name is
attested in Attic prosopography for this period. See PAA 720940
and TrGF I nr. 26, p. 144.

47 Plutarch *Pericles* 33.6

βασιλεῦ Σατύρων, τί ποτ' οὐκ ἐθέλεις
 δόρυ βαστάζειν, ἀλλὰ λόγους μὲν
 περὶ τοῦ πολέμου δεινούς παρέχει,
 ψυχὴν δὲ Τέλητος ὑπεστίν;
 5 κάγχειριδίου δ' ἀκόνη σκληρᾶ
 παραθηγομένης βρύχεις κοπίδος,
 δηχθεὶς αἴθωνι Κλέωνι.

48 Athenaeus 668a

χλανίδες δ' οὐλαιοὶ καταβέβληνται,
 θώρακα δ' ἅπασ ἔμπερονᾶται,
 κνημῖς δὲ περὶ σφυρὸν ἀρθροῦται,
 βλαύτης δ' οὐδεὶς ἔτ' ἔρωσ λευκῆς,
 5 ράβδον δ' ὄψει τὴν κοτταβικὴν
 ἐν τοῖς ἀχύροισι κυλινδομένην,
 Μανῆς δ' οὐδὲν λατάγων αἰεὶ,
 τὴν δὲ τάλαιναν πλάστιγγ' ἂν ἴδοις
 παρὰ τὸν στροφέα τῆς κηπαίας
 10 ἐν τοῖσι κορήμασιν οὔσαν.

49 Pollux 10.136

ράμμ' ἐπέκλωσας

47 King of the satyrs, why are you so unwilling to wield the spear? You do deliver fearsome speeches about the war, but inside lurks the heart of a Teles. At the sound of a dagger being sharpened on a hard whetstone you grind your teeth, bitten by fierce Cleon.¹

¹ Plutarch makes it clear that this song is directed against Pericles. For the disquiet over his reluctance to prosecute the war actively, see Thucydides 2.20–22, 59–65. Some have wanted to take “king of the satyrs” as an intertextual reference to the supposed portrayal of Dionysus as Pericles in Cratinus’ *Dionysalexander*, but “king of the satyrs” may just allude to the cowardly nature of satyrs in drama (see *Cyclops* 590–653). This fragment shows Cleon as an active opponent of Pericles c. 430.

48 Woollen cloaks are cast aside, everyone is putting on his breastplate, greaves are being fastened about the shins, no one wants the white slipper any more. You will see the *cottabus* stick rolling among the bran husks, Manes no longer hears the drops of wine, and you might see the sorry basin lying among the sweepings behind the kitchen door.

49 You spun a thread.

Brief fragment: (F 50) “needles.”

ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΑΙ (ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΙΔΗΣ?)

The comedy is cited as "Soldiers" (Stratiōtai) on all but one occasion (F 52), where it is cited as "She-Soldiers" (Stratiōtides). The best explanation of the confusion of titles and of F 54 and 57 is that the chorus is composed of soldiers from Ionia, a region celebrated not just in comedy for its effeminate and luxurious mode of dress and behaviour. Harvey suggests that "that fellow from Abydos" (F 57) could indicate an individuated chorus of men from different Ionian cities. The humour would have turned on the

51 Athenaeus 649c

οἱμοι τάλας, δάκνει, δάκνει,
ἀπεσθίει μου τὴν ἀκοήν.

52 Epimerismi Homericī π 141

{A.} τίς ἐσθ' ὁ πωλῶν τὰνδράποδ'; {B.} ὄδ' ἐγὼ
πάρα.

53 Athenaeus 77a

τῶν φιβάλεων μάλιστ' ἂν ἢ τῶν κοράκεων.

54 Hesychius π 355

{A.} ὦρα τοίνυν μετ' ἐμοῦ χωρεῖν <τὸν> κωπητήρα
λαβόντα
καὶ προσκεφάλαιον, ἵν' ἐς τὴν ναῦν ἐμπεδήσας
ῥοθιάζης.

SOLDIERS (OR SHE-SOLDIERS)

unmilitary appearance and performance of these soldiers (see F 56-58). Here we may compare Cratinus' Poofsters, Eupolis' Draft-Dodgers or Men-Women, or Dionysus in both Frogs and Eupolis' Officers, where at F 272 Dionysus is compared to a "she-soldier (stratiōtis) from Ionia who has just given birth." On the basis of F 52, 54, 55-56, Dionysus may have been a character in the comedy (cf. F 36 of Cercopes and F 77, spoken by him). If so, then F 54 may have been the original of the rowing scenes in Officers and Frogs.

51 Oh no, oh dear, it's [he's/she's] biting, biting, chewing my ear off.

52 (A) Who is it that's selling slaves? (B) Here I am, at your service.

53 Of Philabean figs especially, or of raven-black ones.

54 (A) Well then it is time for you to pick up your oarlock and a cushion and come with me, so that you may leap onto the ship and start rowing.

{B.} ἀλλ' οὐ δέομαι πανικτὸν ἔχων τὸν πρωκτὸν.

55 Athenaeus 480e

Χία δὲ κύλιξ ὑψοῦ κρέμαται
περὶ πασσαλόφιν.

56 Pollux 10.182

νικᾶ δ' ὧα λιθίνην μάκτραν.

57 Athenaeus 524f

{A.} χαῖρ', ὦ διαπόντιον
στράτευμα, τί πράττομεν;
† τὰ μὲν πρὸς ὄψιν μαλακῶς
ἔχειν ἀπὸ σώματος †

5 κόμη τε νεανικῇ
σφρίγει τε βραχιόνων.

{B.} ἦσθου τὸν Ἄβυδον ὡς
ἀνὴρ γεγένηται;

58 Zenobius 1.72

ἀνερίναστος εἶ

{B.} I don't need <a cushion>, my butt's so covered with
boils [?].¹

¹ The meaning of the adjective, *panikton* describing the
speaker's butt, is not clear.

55 A Chian cup hangs high on its peg.

56 A sheepskin beats a stone trough.

57 (A) Greetings, army from across the sea, how are we
doing? Now to look at . . . the body is soft with youthful
hair and plump arms.

(B) Have you [sing.] heard that fellow from Abydos has
become a man?¹

¹ The metre is telesilleans, and likely comes from an exchange
with the chorus leader (B) during the parodos. Zimmermann
follows the earlier (unlikely) identification of "that fellow from
Abydos" with Alcibiades; Harvey prefers it as a straightforward
ethnic.

58 You are uncaprified.¹

¹ Refers to a process described by Theophrastus (*Enquiry into
Plants* 2.3.8) where insects (*erinea*) from wild fig trees are applied
to the fruits of domestic figs in order to make the fruit firm and
ripe. Hesychius ((5086) says that the word is used of a man who is
"effeminate and without offspring."

Brief fragments: (F 59) "rows of pegs," (F 60) "to have had
breakfast."

ΦΟΡΜΟΦΟΡΟΙ

The title suggests a chorus of "baggage bearers," perhaps the ancient equivalent of our "stevedores," and if F 63 does belong to this play and not to a parōidia by Hermippus, then the comedy may have turned on matters of trade, perhaps even with Dionysus as a character (see F 63.2). Most of the sources that cite all or part of F 63 either give no attribution or just "Hermippus." Hesychius (δ 1922) cites Hermippus' Basket-Bearers for "hazel nuts," and Photius (α 1286) and the Antiatticist (p. 82.19) for "almonds" (F 63.20). Are these three references sufficient to tie the whole fragment to this comedy? The metre of F 63 is dactylic hexameter, rare for comedy, but the metre of epic and of parōidia, which Hermippus is alleged to have written also.

61 Pollux 9.70

παρὰ τῶν καπήλων λήψομαι τὸ σύμβολον.

62 Athenaeus 700d

τῆδ' ἐξιόντι † δεξιᾶ, ὦ λυχνίδιον.

63 Athenaeus 27de

ἔσπετε νῦν μοι Μοῦσαι Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι,
ἐξ οὗ ναυκληρεῖ Διόνυσος ἐπ' οἴνοπα πόντον,
ὅσσ' ἀγάθ' ἀνθρώποις δεῦρ' ἤγαγε νηὶ μελαίνῃ.
ἐκ μὲν Κυρήνης καυλὸν καὶ δέρμα βόειον,

BASKET-BEARERS

Given the serious engagement with Homer in F 63, one may wonder if this is really a fragment of parōidia that has got mixed in with comedy. However, the personal mention of Sitalces and Perdiccas (F 63.7-8) and the possibility that a second speaker interjects at lines 7-8 (or just 8) and 10-11 do suggest the mood and the form of comedy.

If F 63 does come from Basket-Bearers, a date before 424 is assured by the mention of Sitalces, who died in 424, and after 431 in view of the "mange for the Spartans," much more likely in wartime, and the situation in Corcyra which blew up into open civil war in 427 (Thucydides 3.80). To this we may add F 64, the mention of Phrynichus the comic poet, whose debut belongs in 429. Thus a date of 428-425 seems reasonable.

61 I shall take the token from the shopkeepers.

62 Little lamp, to the one going out on the right.¹

¹ The text is very uncertain and might read "show the way to one going out."

63 Tell now for me, Muses who have your home on Olympus, all the good things that Dionysus brought for people here, ever since he sailed as a trader over the wine-dark sea in his black ship. From Cyrene stalks of silphium and

- 5 ἐκ δ' Ἑλλησπόντου σκόμβρους καὶ πάντα ταρίχη
 ἐκ δ' αὖ Ἰταλίας χόνδρον καὶ πλευρὰ βόεια·
 καὶ παρὰ Σιτάλκον ψώραν Λακεδαιμονίουσι
 καὶ παρὰ Περδίκκου ψεύδη ναυσὶν πάνυ πολλαῖς,
 αἱ δὲ Συράκουσαι σῦς καὶ τυρὸν παρέχουσι.
 10 καὶ Κερκυραίουσ' ὁ Ποσειδῶν ἐξολέσειεν
 ναυσὶν ἐπὶ γλαφυραῖς, ὅτιή δίχα θυμὸν ἔχουσιν.
 ταῦτα μὲν ἐντεῦθεν. ἐκ δ' Αἰγύπτου τὰ κρεμαστὰ
 ἰστία καὶ βίβλους, ἀπὸ δ' αὖ Συρίας λιβανοτόν.
 ἢ δὲ καλὴ Κρήτη κυπάριστον τοῖσι θεοῖσιν,
 15 ἢ Λιβύη δ' ἐλέφαντα πολὺν παρέχει κατὰ πρᾶσιν·
 ἢ Ῥόδος αἰσταφίδας <τε> καὶ ἰσχάδας ἡδυνεείρους.
 αὐτὰρ ἀπ' Εὐβοίας ἀπίους καὶ ἴφια μῆλα·
 ἀνδράποδ' ἐκ Φρυγίας, ἀπὸ δ' Ἀρκαδίας ἐπικούρους.
 αἱ Παγασαὶ δούλους καὶ στιγματίας παρέχουσι.
 20 τὰς δὲ Διὸς βαλάνους καὶ ἀμύγδαλα σιγαλόεντα
 Παφλαγόνες παρέχουσι τὰ γάρ <τ'> ἀναθήματα
 δαιτός.
 † Φοινίκη δ' αὖ † καρπὸν φοίνικος καὶ σεμίδαλιν·
 Καρχηδῶν δάπιδας καὶ ποικίλα προσκεφάλαια.

6 Ἰταλίας codd., Ἑτταλίας Kock. 9 σῦς . . . παρ-
 ἔχουσαι Athenaeus CE, σῦτον . . . παρέχουσι Eustathius. If the
 participle is to be kept, Kaibel indicated a lacuna after l. 9.

64 Σ Aristophanes *Birds* 749
 τρίτος, Φρύνιχος ὁ κωμικὸς, οὗ μέμνηται Ἑρμιππος

ox hides, from the Hellespont mackerel and salted fish of
 all sorts, from Italy [Thessaly?] grain and sides of beef.
 From Sitalces, mange for the Spartans; from Perdiccas
 many ships full of lies. Syracuse exports pork and cheese,
 and may Poseidon destroy the people of Corcyra with their
 hollow ships, because their hearts are divided. That's from
 those places. From Egypt hanging gear, sails, and papyrus
 cables, from Syria frankincense. The beautiful land of
 Crete exports cypress wood for the gods' statues, Libya
 much ivory for sale, and Rhodes raisins and figs that give
 good dreams. Then from Euboea pears and plump apples,
 slaves from Phrygia, mercenaries from Arcadia. Pagasae
 exports slaves and branded men, the Paphlagonians hazel
 nuts and shiny almonds, the crowning touches to a feast.
 Phoenicia <exports> dates of the palm tree and hard
 wheat, Carthage rugs and multicoloured cushions.

64 There is a third Phrynichus, the comic poet, whom

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

ἐν Φορμοφόροις ὡς ἀλλότρια ὑποβαλλομένου ποιή-
ματα.

65 Pollux 10.122

Ἑρμιππος ἐν Φορμοφόροις τὸν κύαθον καὶ τὴν οἶνο-
χόην καὶ τὸ λύχνιον καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα σκεύη "χαλκίδια
καὶ χαλκία" καλεῖ ὡς ἐκ χαλκοῦ πεποιημένα.

ΑΔΗΛΩΝ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΩΝ

68 Athenaeus 18c

μὰ <τὸν> Δί' οὐ μέντοι μεθύειν τὸν ἄνδρα χρὴ
τὸν ἀγαθὸν οὐδὲ θερμολουτεῖν, ἂ σὺ ποιεῖς.

69 Athenaeus 59c

τὴν κεφαλὴν ὅσῃν ἔχει.
ὅσῃν κολοκύντην.

70 Phrynichus *Sophistic Preparation* p. 12.4

σὺ δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ψάθαλλέ μου.

71 Zonaras p. 1556

ἀλλ' ἐκεῖσε θεῖ

72 Zonaras p. 1556

δεῖ τοῦτον

HERMIPPUS

Hermippus mentions in *Basket-Bearers* for passing other
people's work off as his own.

65 Hermippus in *Basket-Bearers* uses the terms "bronze"
and "bronze-ware" for a cup and a wine ladle and a lamp
stand and such implements since they are made of bronze.

Brief fragments: (F 66) "living abroad," (F 67) "with seven
straps" [of sandals].

UNASSIGNED FRAGMENTS

68 No by Zeus, there is no way that a good man should be
getting drunk and taking hot baths, as you are doing.

69 What a size of head he has—as big as a pumpkin.

70 You [sing.], scratch my head.

71 But run over there.

72 Bind him.

73 Stobaeus 1.8.36

ἐκεῖνός ἐστι στρογγύλος τὴν ὄψιν, ὦ πονηρέ,
 ἐντὸς δ' ἔχων περιέρχεται κύκλῳ τὰ πάντ' ἐν αὐτῷ,
 ἡμᾶς δὲ τίκτει περιτρέχων τὴν γῆν ἀπαξάπασαν·
 ὀνομάζεται δ' Ἐνιαυτός, ὧν δὲ περιφερῆς τελευτὴν
 5 οὐδεμίαν οὐδ' ἀρχὴν <ἔχει>, κυκλῶν δ' αἰεὶ τὸ σῶμα
 οὐ παύσεται δι' ἡμέρας ὅσημέραι τροχάζων.

74 Photius (b, z) a 624

ἐγὼ σου τήμερον
 τύπτων τὸ πρόσωπον <νῆ Δί'> αἰ-
 μορρυγχιᾶν ποιήσω.

75 Athenaeus 45c

ὥστε Μαραθῶνος τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ μεμνημένοι
 πάντες ἐμβάλλουσιν αἰεὶ μάραθον ἐς τὰς ἀλμάδας.

76 Eustathius *On the Odyssey* p. 1828.56

ῶρα μάττειν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ τὴν ῶαν
 περιδείσθαι
 περὶ τὴν ὠτφύν

77 Athenaeus 29e

† Μενδαίῳ μὲν ἐνυροῦσιν καὶ † θεοὶ αὐτοὶ
 στρώμασιν ἐν μαλακοῖς. Μάγνητα δὲ μελιχόδωρον

73 You wretched man, he is spherical in appearance, and having everything inside within himself he runs round in a circle. As he races over the whole earth he gives birth to us.¹ He is called "The Year," and being round he has no beginning nor end, and as he is ever circular in form will never stop going round, all day every day.

¹ The identity of "us" is unclear, but some subdivision of the year might be suggested: days or months or seasons—see F 6, plus the play titles "Seasons" of Cratinus and Aristophanes.

74 Today I am going to hit you and give you a bloody nose <by Zeus>.

75 And so for all time all men honour the name of Marathon by always adding fennel to salted olives.¹

¹ The joke turns on the similar words: Marathón (the battle of 490) and *márathon* (fennel).

76 Now is the time to start kneading <bread> for the sacrifices and to wrap the sheepskin around one's loins.

77 (DIONYSUS) The gods themselves piss Mendaeian <wine> in their soft beds. Now as for the sweet gift from

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

καὶ Θάσιον, τῷ δὴ μήλων ἐπιδέδρομεν ὀσμῇ,
 5 τοῦτον ἐγὼ κρίνω πολὺ πάντων εἶναι ἄριστον.
 τῶν ἄλλων οἴνων, μετ' ἀμύμονα Χίον ἄλυπον.
 ἔστι δέ τις οἶνος, τὸν δὴ σαπρίαν καλέουσι,
 οὗ καὶ ἀπὸ στόματος στάμνων ὑπανοιγομενάων
 ὄζει ἴων, ὄζει δὲ ῥόδων, ὄζει δ' ὑακίνθου
 10 ὀσμῇ θεσπεσία, κατὰ πᾶν δ' ἔχει ὑψερεφές δῶ,
 ἀμβροσία καὶ νέκταρ ὁμοῦ. τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ νέκταρ.
 τούτου χρὴ παρέχειν πίνειν ἐν δαιτὶ θαλείῃ
 τοῖσιν ἐμοῖσι φίλοις, τοῖς δ' ἐχθροῖς ἐκ Πεπαρήθου.

78 Pollux 7.194

προδόσει πίνειν

HERMIPPUS

Magnesia and the wine from Thasos, from which wafts a scent of apples, these two I judge to be much the best of all other wines, after the blameless Chian, destroyer of grief. But there is a wine, which men call "Full Mellow." When the jar is opened, from the mouth drifts the heavenly scent of violets, of roses, and hyacinths, a heavenly bouquet, which fills that high-roofed hall, ambrosia mixed with nectar. This is nectar, and this is what I must serve for my friends to drink at a grand banquet—for my enemies <wine> from Preparethus.¹

¹ The metre is dactylic hexameter, the same as F 63. Critics have wanted to assign this fragment also to *Basket-Bearers*, but the metre and the clear engagement with Homer in a number of places give one pause to consider whether one or both fragments might belong to the *parōidiai* which Hermippos is said to have written. However, Dionysus is a familiar comic character, and it is perhaps safer to retain this fragment for comedy.

78 To drink on one's tab.

Brief fragments: (F 79) "to be a glutton," (F 80) "what must not be done," (F 81) "a pair of women following," (F 82) "first cousin's son," (F 83) "feet of sheepskin," (F 84) "they sent away," (F 85) "having cheated," (F 86) "Lollo," (F 87) "one who speaks insincerely," (F 88) "sour" [of wine], (F 89) "to talk on and on," (F 90) "sales woman," (F 91) "of moths," (F 92) "to keep a lookout for," (F 93) "towel," (F 94) "chill."

ΙΩΝ

Testimonia

i Σ Peace 835

Ἴων ὁ Χίος· διθυράμβων ποιητῆς καὶ τραγωδίας καὶ μελῶν . . . περιβόητος δὲ ἐγένετο. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ κωμωδίας καὶ ἐπιγράμματα καὶ παιᾶνας καὶ ὕμνους καὶ σκολιὰ καὶ ἐγκώμια καὶ ἐλεγεία.

ii Suda δ 1029

διθυραμβοδιδάσκαλοι, περὶ μετεώρων καὶ περὶ τῶν νεφελῶν λέγουσι πολλὰ καὶ συνθέτους δὲ λέξεις ἐποίησεν καὶ ἔλεγον ἐνδιαεριαερινηχέτους· οἷος ἦν Ἴων ὁ Χίος, ὁ ποιητῆς . . . περιβόητος δὲ ἐγένετο. ἔγραψε δὲ κωμωδίας καὶ ἐπιγράμματα.

ION OF CHIOS

Ion was a poet of considerable versatility, credited with having written tragedies, dithyrambs, lyric poetry, philosophy, prose anecdotes, and, according to the Suda and an Aristophanic scholiast (T 1, 2), comedies. This would be unusual, especially in view of Socrates' claim at the end of Plato's Symposium (223d) that a comic poet should be able to write tragedy and vice versa, the implication being that such is not the case. At TrGF 19 T 1, Snell suggests that his satyr plays were mistaken for comedies in the later tradition.

Testimonia

i Ion of Chios: a poet of dithyrambs and tragedies and lyric poems . . . he was celebrated, and also wrote comedies and epigrams and paeans and hymns and drinking songs and praise songs and elegies.

ii "Dithyrambic poets": they write a great deal about things celestial and about clouds, and they would create compound words and say things like "air-haunting-swiftly-soaring"—Ion of Chios was one such poet . . . and was very well-known. He wrote comedies and epigrams.

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iii Aristophanes *Peace* 832-37

{OI.} οὐκ ἦν ἄρ' ἂ λέγουσι, κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα
ὡς ἀστέρες γιγνόμεθ', ὅταν τις ἀποθάνῃ;
{TP.} μάλιστα. {OI.} καὶ τίς ἐστὶν ἀστήρ νῦν ἐκεῖ;
{TP.} Ἴων ὁ Χῖος, ὅσπερ ἐπόησεν πάλαι
ἐνθάδε τὸν Ἀοῖόν ποθ'. ὡς δ' ἦλθ', εὐθέως
Ἀοῖον αὐτὸν πάντες ἐκάλουν ἀστέρα.

ION OF CHIOS

iii (SERVANT) Is it true then what they say, that when
somebody dies, we become stars in the sky?
(TRYGAEUS) Yes indeed.
(SERVANT) Who is a star there now?
(TRYGAEUS) Ion of Chios, who once long ago wrote
"The Dawn Star." So when he arrived, immediately every-
one started calling him "Dawn Star."

ΛΕΥΚΩΝ

Testimonia

i Suda λ 340

Λεύκων· † Ἄγνώς, † γεγονὼς ἐν τοῖς Πελοποννησιακοῖς. τῶν δραμάτων αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ ταῦτα· Ὄνος ἀσκοφόρος, Φράτορες.

ἀγνώς codd., Ἄγωνος Toup, Ἄγνούσιος Wolf.

ii IG ii² 2325.66

Λεύ[κων

iii Hypothesis I Wasps

ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀμεινίου διὰ Φιλωνίδου . . . β' ἦν εἰς Λήναια. καὶ ἐνίκα πρῶτος Φιλωνίδης Προάγωνι. Λεύκων Πρέσβεσι.

LEUCON

One of the lesser figures of Old Comedy, Leucon competed against Aristophanes in 422 (with Envoys) and 421 (with Phratry-Members), finishing third on both occasions. Only Phratry-Members is ever cited; it may have been the only one available to the writers of antiquity. Leucon did win a victory at the Dionysia (T 2), but some years later, c. 410.

Testimonia

i Leucon, son of Hagnon (?) [or "of Hagnous," an Attic deme], lived during the Peloponnesian War. His plays include: *Bag-Bearing Donkey*, *Phratry-Members*.

ii [on the list of victors at the Dionysia, c. 410]

Leu[con

iii [*Wasps*] was produced in the archonship of Ameinias [423/2] through Philonides . . . it was second at the Lenaea. Philonides won first prize with *Preview*, Leucon <was third> with *Envoys*.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

iv Hypothesis III *Peace*

ἐνίκησε δὲ τῷ δράματι ὁ ποιητὴς ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀλ-
καίου ἐν ἄστει. πρῶτος Εὐπόλις Κόλαξι, δεύτερος
Ἀριστοφάνης Εἰρήνη, τρίτος Λεύκων Φράτερων.

ΟΝΟΣ ΑΣΚΟΦΟΡΟΣ

ΠΡΕΣΒΕΙΣ

LEUCON

iv The poet won a prize with his play [*Peace*] at the City Dionysia in the archonship of Alcaeus [422/1]. Eupolis came first with *Spongers*, Aristophanes second with *Peace*, and Leucon third with *Phratry-Members*.

BAG-BEARING DONKEY

Donkeys seem to have been good comic material, witness the parody of *Odyssey 9* in *Wasps* and the opening scene of *Frogs* as well as Archippus' *Donkey's Shadow* and Plautus' later *Asinaria*. The play is known only from the record of the *Suda* (T 1). Boeckh ingeniously recreated the plot of the comedy from an anecdote in *Zenobius* (1.74) about a man named *Leucon*—the tradition has also “the *Laconian*”—whose donkey fell, revealing the contraband he was hiding in askoi (leather bags).

ENVOYS [OR OLD MEN]

The word *presbeis* can mean “old men” or “envoys,” and we cannot tell which meaning applied (presumably) to the chorus. Athenians usually sent out embassies of three or five or ten members, but increasing the number to twenty-four may have made their excesses more pointed. See *Acharnians* 61–128. For the suggestion that a vase depicting *Heracles* pursuing a slave with two cakes belongs to this play, see V 25.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

ΦΡΑΤΕΡΕΣ

For the title, which suggests a chorus of people supporting the principal character, we may compare Eupolis' Friends, Crates' Neighbours, and Hermippus' Demesmen. The ancient Greek institution of the phratria does not correspond easily with any modern institution. It was a mixture of an extended kinship group, neighbours, social club, or fraternity. Membership in one's traditional phratry was essential

Testimonia

i

(a) Hephaestion *Handbook* 32.13

δίμετρον δὲ ἀκατάληκτον τὸ καλούμενον Γλυκόνειον,
αὐτοῦ Γλύκωνος εὐρόντος αὐτό.

(b) Choeroboscus *On Hephaestion* p. 240.12

τὸ καλούμενον Γλυκόνειον—κωμικὸς δὲ ἦν ὁ Γλύκων,
οὗ καὶ δράμα φέρεται κωμικὸν οἱ Φράτορες.

Fragments

1 Hesychius π 2

ἀτάρ, ὦ Μεγάκλεες, οἷσθά που Παάπιδος
Ἵπέρβολος τὰκπώματα κατεδήδοκεν.

LEUCON

PHRATRY-MEMBERS

for Athenian citizen status, and boys were traditionally introduced to their father's phratry at a young age. Jokes in comedy mock those who allegedly lacked membership in a phratry (Birds 764–65, 1669; Frogs 417–18; Eupolis F 99.24). Comedy regularly made fun of demagogues as aliens (xenoi)—see Frogs 416–21 of Archdemus, “who has not yet grown his phratry teeth.” Was Hyperbolus (F 1) made fun of in this way here?

Testimonia

i

(a) There is also the acatalectic dimeter called the “glyconeon,” from Glycon, who invented it.

(b) “Called the glyconeon”: Glycon was a comic poet, whose comedy *Phratry-Members* is preserved.¹

¹ “Leucon” seems at some point to have been corrupted into “Glycon.”

Fragments

1 Megakles, do you know about Paapis' drinking cups which Hyperbolus has devoured?¹

¹ Megakles is a common Athenian name, best known in the family of the Alcmaeonidae, but it could be a suitable name of a character in comedy. Heyschius adds that Paapis “had sent these cups as a gift for the Athenians.” A Paapis (PAA 760730) dedicated a gold vessel in 406/5 (IG ii² 1383).

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

2 P. Oxy. 1087.52 (= Σ Homer *Iliad* 7.76)

δμ[ῶ]ον ἀλλ' οὐκ οἰκέτην

3 Athenaeus 343c

κωμωδοῦσι δ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ὀψοφαγία Λεύκων ἐν Φρά-
τερσιν, Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Εἰρήνῃ, Φερεκράτης ἐν Πε-
τάλῃ. ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ἰχθύσιν Ἄρχιππος τῷ δράματι ὡς
ὀψοφάγον δῆσας παραδίδωσι τοῖς ἰχθύσιν ἀντιβρω-
θησόμενον.

4 Photius p. 587.18

Τίβιοι

5 Photius (z) ε 24 (Tsantsanoglou p. 127)

ἐγγεγορτυνωμένος· οἶον εὐτελής. ἐσκόπουντο γὰρ εἰς
εὐτέλειαν οἱ Κρήτες. κέχρηται δὲ Λεύκων ἐν Φράτορσι
τῷ ὀνόματι.

ΑΔΗΛΩΝ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΩΝ

6 Photius (z) α 2491

ἀποζέσαι τὸν θυμόν

7 Photius (z) α 3139

ἀττικουμένη

LEUCON

2 <Having> a slave but not a house servant.

3 The following make fun of him [Melanthius] for glut-
tony: Leucon in *Phratry-Members*, Aristophanes in *Peace*
[804], Pherecrates in *Petale* [F 148], and in his play *Fishes*
Archippus ties him up as a glutton and hands him over to
the fishes to be eaten in his turn [F 28].

4 The Tibians.

5 "Gortynified": that is "mean," for Cretans were made
fun of for being mean and stingy. Leucon employs the
term in *Phratry-Members*.

UNASSIGNED FRAGMENTS

6 To settle down one's heart.

7 Acting Attic [fem. sing.].

ΛΥΚΙΣ

Testimonia

i IG ii² 2325.65

Λύκ[ις]

ii Aristophanes *Frogs* 12–15

{ΞΑ.} τί δῆτ' ἔδει με ταῦτα τὰ σκεύη φέρειν,
εἴπερ ποιήσω μηδὲν ὦνπερ Φρυνίχος
εἴωθε ποιεῖν καὶ Λύκισ κάμειψίας
σκεύη φέρουσ' ἑκάστοτ' ἐν κωμωδία;

iii Σ Aristophanes *Frogs* 14

Λύκισ· κωμωδίας ποιητής. ὡς ψυχρὸς κωμωδεῖται
λέγει δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Λύκον· οὐδὲν φέρεται.

iv *Suda* λ 808

Λύκισ· λέγεται καὶ Λύκος. κωμωδεῖται δὲ ὡς ψυχρὸς
ποιητής. Ἀριστοφάνης· τί δῆτ' ἔδει με ταῦτα τὰ σκεύη
φέρειν, εἴπερ ποιήσω μηδὲν ὦνπερ Φρύνιχος πεποίηκε
καὶ Λύκισ κάμειψίας. οὗτοι οὖν οἱ τρεῖς κωμικοὶ ὑπό-
ψυχοι.

LYCIS

We know very little about this poet, whom Aristophanes thought worth disparaging in *Frogs* (T 2). He won a victory in the late 410s (T 1) and was active into the next decade. No play titles or fragments have survived.

Testimonia

i [on the list of victors at the Dionysia]

Lyc[is]

ii (XANTHIAS) So why did I have to carry this baggage if I'm not going to be making any of the jokes that Phrynichus is used to doing, and Lycis and Ameipsias, carrying baggage in every comedy?

iii Lycis: a comic poet, made fun of for being frigid. He also calls him "Lycus." Nothing of his is preserved.

iv Lycis: he is also called "Lycus." He is made fun of for being a frigid poet. Aristophanes: "Why did I have to carry this baggage, if I'm not going to be making any of the jokes that Phrynichus does, and Lycis and Ameipsias?" These then are three very frigid comic poets.

ΛΥΣΙΠΠΟΣ

Testimonia

i *Suda* λ 863

Λύσιππος· τῶν δραμάτων αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ Βάκχαι, ὡς Ἀθήναιος λέγει ἐν γ' Δειπνοσοφιστῶν καὶ ἐν τῷ η'. καὶ ἕτερα αὐτοῦ δράματα· Θυρσοκόμος.

ii *IG* ii² 2325.56

Λύ[σιππος

LYSIPPUS

This poet seems to have had a long career with not all that many productions, and only one play (Bacchae) that was available to the ancient scholars (see T 3). If his name is correctly restored on the victors' list at the Dionysia (T 2), then he won his first victory around 440. On the Roman inscription (T 3), he appears with Callias and Aristomenes, whose careers began also around this time. But Mockeries was produced in the archonship of a man whose name ended in -pus, the only possibility being Glaucippus (410/09). The Suda knows of two titles, one through Athenaeus, and with Mockeries we now know of three. The details of Lysippus' career and other plays, clearly more than those we have, were quickly lost.

Testimonia

i Lysippus: his plays include *Bacchae*, as Athenaeus records in Book 3 of his *Learned Banqueters* [124d] and also in Book 8 [344e]. There are other plays by him: *Thyrso-Keeper*.

ii [from the list of victors at the Dionysia—around 440]
Ly[sippus.

iii IG Urb.Rom. 216.7-9

—Λ]ύσιππος ἐνίκα μὲν [—
—ἐπὶ Γλαυκίπ]που Καταχήμεναι
—Βάκχ]αις· αὐταὶ μόναι σῶ[αι

Fragments

ΒΑΚΧΑΙ

1 Athenaeus 124cd

{A.} Ἑρμων. {EPM.} τί ἔστι; {A.} πῶς ἔχομεν;
{EPM.} τί δ' ἄλλο γ' ἢ
ὁ πατήρ ἄνωθεν ἐς τὸ φρέαρ, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν,
ὥσπερ τὸν οἶνον τοῦ θέρουσ καθεῖκέ με.

2 Pollux 7.89

βλαύτη, κοθόρνῳ, Θεσσαλίδι

3 Pollux 10.50

ἀλλὰ τρίμιτός ἐστι πλεκτός.

4 Pollux 7.77

οὐδ' ἀνακνάψας καὶ θειώσας τὰς ἀλλοτρίας ἐπινοίας

¹ The metre is anapaestic tetrameter catalectic, found often in the parabases of Aristophanes. This fragment may come from a parabasis where Lysippus argues that he will not be revamping

iii ... Lysippus won ...
... in the archonship of Glaucip]pus with Mockeries
... with Bacch]ae—this is the only one extant.

Fragments

BACCHAE

A common title in tragedy, Bacchae is the title also of a comedy by Diocles. There is no way of knowing whether the comedy covered the same ground as Euripides' masterpiece. The fragments mention shoes (F 2-3), including the cothurnus familiar as part of Dionysus' attire, but all that might imply is that Dionysus might have been a character in the comedy, along with a chorus of his female followers.

1 (A) Hermon. (HERMON) What is it? (A) How are we doing? (HERMON) Nothing much, except that father's lowered me down into the well, I think, like wine in summer.

2 With a slipper, a high boot, a Thessalian shoe.

3 But it is plaited with triple threads. [of a shoe]

4 Not revamping or retouching someone else's bright ideas.¹

and retouching the comic ideas of others. "Revamping" is brushing clothes to raise the nap, while "retouching" is cleaning used clothing by fumigating with sulphur. Aristophanes twice uses the metaphor of clothing in connection with the creation of comedy (Clouds 554, F 58).

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

5 Pollux 10.154

αὐτοῖς αὐλοῖς ὄρμᾶ καὶ γλωττοκομείῳ.

6

(a) Athenaeus 344e

καὶ Λάμπωνα δὲ τὸν μάντιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις κωμω-
δοῦσι Καλλίας Πεδήταις καὶ Λύσιππος Βάκχαις.

(b) Hesychius α 461

Λύσιππος ἐν Βάκχαις τὸν αὐτὸν ἀγύρτην κωμωδεῖ.

7 P. Oxy. 1611

"[...]ον νῦν γ' ὀραῖ[s] ἡμᾶς δὺ ὄντας, τέτταρ[a]s καὶ
τοὺς κριτάς." δηλῶν οὕτως τέτταρας ὄντας, Λύσιπ-
π[ο]s δ' ἐν Βάκχαις ε', ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Κρατῖνος ἐν
Πλούτοις λέγει.

ΘΥΡΣΟΚΟΜΟΣ

ΚΑΤΑΧΗΝΑΙ

LYSIPPUS

5 He/she rushes off with *auloi* and reed case.

6

(a) Callias in his *Men-in-Chains* [F 20] and Lysippus in *Bacchae* make fun of Lampon for similar reasons [as a glutton].

(b) Lysippus in *Bacchae* makes fun of the same person as a mendicant prophet.

7 "And now you see us two in number, but the judges four" [K.-A. VIII 1033], making it clear that there are four, but Lysippus in *Bacchae* says <there were> five, and Cratinus in *Wealth-Gods* [F 177] says the same.

THYRSUS-KEEPER

This title is known only from the entry in the *Suda* (T 1). Is it an alternative title for *Bacchae*?

MOCKERIES

The word *katachēnē* is used twice in *Aristophanes* (*Wasps* 575, *Ecclesiazusae* 631) in the sense of a "snub" or a "sneer" at the rich and powerful. Kaibel suggested on the basis of *Hesychius* κ 1515 that these might be apotropaic representations (like gargoyles?) on the outside of a building.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

ΑΔΗΛΩΝ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΩΝ

8 Heraclides *On the Greek City* 1.5

εἰ μὴ τεθέασαι τὰς Ἀθήνας, στέλεχος εἶ,
εἰ δὲ τεθέασαι μὴ τεθήρευσαι δ', ὄνος,
εἰ δ' εὐαρεστῶν ἀποτρέχεις, κανθήλιος.

9 Hesychius β 887

κύων δέ τις
ἐβόα δεδεμένος <- υ> ὥσπερ Βούδιος.

LYSIPPUS

UNASSIGNED FRAGMENTS

8 If you have not seen Athens, you're an idiot. If you have seen her and not been captivated, you're a donkey. If you enjoy her charms and then run off, you're a jackass.

9 A tied-up dog was howling just like Boudius.

Brief fragment: (F 10) "rush-mat."

ΜΑΓΝΗΣ

For the early comic poets, the testimonia outweigh the actual remains of both titles and fragments. This is especially unfortunate as Magnes was the first great name in the history of Greek comedy. Aristophanes (T 8) recalls that Magnes "set up the most trophies of victory," a claim which the eleven victories recorded on the victors' list (T 5) and by the anonymous writer on comedy (T 3) supports. But the ancients seem to have had very little of his work to study or to cite. Only eight fragments remain, two each from Lydians and the comedies about Dionysus, and one apiece from *Herb-Woman* and *Pytakides*. Also worrying are the statements by Athenaeus (T 4) about "the works attributed to Magnes" (ad F 1-2, from Dionysus). The scholiast to *Knights* (T 9) lists a number of titles, which are clearly his deductions from what Aristophanes has said in the text; only *Lydians* is known independently. Two sources tell us that *Lydians* was revised—by Magnes or by a later adaptor?

At *Knights* 518-25 (T 8) Aristophanes is ostensibly complimenting Magnes' comedy, but to both bring him down later and criticise the fickle tastes of the Athenian audience. From what he says we get the picture of a creator of plays with animal choruses, with an emphasis on the

MAGNES

visual and the aural ("flapping wings," "making all sorts of sounds"), but whose comedy in the last part of his career was no match for the vigorous and satirical comedy of Cratinus and others. In this regard, the verb *skōptein* at *Knights* 525, in which quality Magnes was lacking, usually means "personal jokes." Is it here that Magnes was seen as especially falling short, especially given the personal and topical comedy that Cratinus and Hermippus were creating in the 430s?

Magnes won a victory at the Dionysia of 472 (T 6), perhaps also in 471 (T 7). Since Aristophanes expects his spectators to remember Magnes' failure as an older poet, he must have been active into the 430s. If his victory in 472 is an early success, then we may place his career from the late 470s to the early 430s; but if he had already won several victories, we may wish to move him back to the late 480s. It has been thought that the two victories recorded by the *Suda* (T 1) could have been at the *Lenaea*, but the list of victors at that festival begins with Xenophilus (c. 440), with no room for Magnes.

Recent bibliography: E. Spyropoulos, *Aristophane* (*Thesalonica* 1988) 177-216.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

Testimonia

i *Suda* μ 20

Μάγνης, Ἰκαρίου πόλεως Ἀττικῆς ἢ Ἀθηναῖος, κωμικός. ἐπιβάλλει δ' Ἐπιχάρμῳ νέος πρεσβύτη. ἐδίδαξε κωμῳδίας θ', νίκας δὲ εἶλε β'. οὗτος ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας ποιητής.

ii Aristotle *Poetics* 1448a33

Ἐπίχαρμος ὁ ποιητής πολλῶ πρότερος ὢν Χιωνίδου καὶ Μάγνητος.

iii Anonymous *On Comedy* (Koster III.9–13, 18–19)

τούτων δέ εἰσιν ἀξιολογώτατοι Ἐπίχαρμος, Μάγνης, Κρατῖνος, Κράτης, Φερεκράτης, Φρύνιχος, Εὐπολις, Ἀριστοφάνης

Μάγνης δὲ Ἀθηναῖος ἀγωνισάμενος Ἀθήνησι νίκας ἔσχεν ια'. τῶν δὲ δραμάτων αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν σώζεται· τὰ δὲ ἐπιφερόμενά ἐστιν ἑννέα.

iv

(a) Athenaeus 367f

ὁ τὰ εἰς Μάγνητα ἀναφερόμενα ποιήσας.

MAGNES

Testimonia

i Magnes: from the Attic town of Icaria, or from Athens; comic poet. In his youth he overlapped with Epicharmus in his old age. He produced nine comedies, and won two victories. He was a poet of Old Comedy.

ii The poet Epicharmus, who was much earlier than Chionides and Magnes.

iii The most noteworthy poets [of Old Comedy] are Epicharmus, Magnes, Cratinus, Crates, Pherecrates, Phrynichus, Eupolis, and Aristophanes.

Magnes the Athenian competed at Athens and won eleven victories. None of his plays has survived, but there are nine attributed to him.

iv

(a) The person who wrote the works attributed to Magnes.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

(b) Athenaeus 646e

Μάγνης <ῆ> ὁ ποιήσας τὰς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναφερομένας
κωμωδίας.

v IG ii2 2325.44

Μάγνη]ς ΔΙ

vi IG ii2 2318.7

Ξ]ενοκλείδης ἐχορήγε(ι)
Μάγνης ἐδίδασκεν

vii IG ii2 2318.17

[κωμωδῶν]

ἐχ]ορήγει
[Μάγνης ἐδίδ]ασκεν

viii *Knights* 518–25

ὑμᾶς τε πάλαι διαγιγνώσκων ἐπετείους τὴν φύσιν
ὄντας
καὶ τοὺς προτέρους τῶν ποιητῶν ἅμα τῷ γήρα
προδιδόντας·
τοῦτο μὲν εἰδὼς ἄπαθε Μάγνης ἅμα ταῖς πολιαῖς
κατιούσαις,
ὅς πλεῖστα χορῶν τῶν ἀντιπάλων νίκης ἔστησε
τροπαῖα·

MAGNES

(b) Magnes mentions this or the man who wrote the comedies attributed to him.

v [from the early part of the list of victors at the Dionysia]
Magne]s 11

vi [the result of the comic competition at the Dionysia of
472]
X]enocides was the *chorēgus*/Magnes the producer.

vii [the result of the comic competition at the Dionysia of
471]
[of the comic poets]/[. . .] was the *chorēgus*/[Magnes]
the producer.¹

¹ We need a short name (of about six letters) at the beginning of the line for the poet.

viii Because he [Aristophanes] recognised long ago how changeable your nature is, how you betray the poets of the past when they reach old age, and because he was well aware of what happened to Magnes, when he grew old and grey. Magnes had put up the most victory trophies over his

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

πάσας δ' ὑμῖν φωνὰς ἰεῖς καὶ ψάλλων καὶ
 πτερυγίζων
 καὶ λυδίζων καὶ ψηνίζων καὶ βαπτόμενος
 βατραχειῶς
 οὐκ ἐξήρκεσεν, ἀλλὰ τελευτῶν ἐπὶ γήρωσ, οὐ γὰρ
 ἐφ' ἤβης.
 ἐξεβλήθη πρεσβύτης ᾧν, ὅτι τοῦ σκώπτειν
 ἀπελείφθη.

ix Σ Knights 522a

ψάλλων· τοὺς Βαρβιτιστὰς ἂν λέγοι· δράμα δέ ἐστι
 τοῦ Μάγνητος. ἡ δὲ βάρβιτος εἶδος ὀργάνου μου-
 σικοῦ. πτερυγίζων δὲ ὅτι καὶ "Ορνιθας ἐποίησε
 δράμα· ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ Λύδους καὶ Ψῆνας καὶ Βατρά-
 χους. ἔστι δὲ χρώματος εἶδος τὸ βατράχειον ἀπὸ
 τούτου καὶ βατραχίς ἱμάτιον. ἐχρίοντο δὲ τῷ βατρα-
 χείῳ τὰ πρόσωπα, πρὶν ἐπινοηθῆναι τὰ προσωπεῖα.
 τὸ ψηνίζων δὲ εἶπεν ὡς πρὸς τοὺς Ψῆνας ἀναφέρων.

x Diomedes *Art of Grammar* (Koster XXIV.46-47)

poetae primi comici fuerunt Susarion, Mullus et Magnes.
 hi veteris disciplinae iocularia quaedam minus scite ac
 venuste pronuntiabant.

xi *The Glossary of Ansileubus* (Koster XXVII.8-13)

sed prior ac vetus comoedia ridicularis extitit; postea civi-
 les vel privates adgressa materias in dictis atque gestu uni-

MAGNES

rivals, making every sort of sound for you, strumming the
 lyre, flapping his wings, playing the Lydian, buzzing like a
 fly, dyed green like a frog, but it wasn't enough, and in the
 end, in his old age, never when he was young, he was
 rejected because he failed in making jokes.

ix "Strumming the lyre": he would be referring to *Lyre-
 Players*; this is a play by Magnes. The *barbitos* is a type
 of musical instrument. "Flapping his wings," because he
 wrote a play called *Birds*. He also wrote *Lydians*, *Fig-
 Wasps*, and *Frogs*. There is a type of colour called "frog-
 green," and from this a garment called "froggy." They
 would smear their faces with frog-green before masks
 were invented. He says "buzz like a fly" alluding to the *Fig-
 Wasps*.

x The first comic poets were Susarion, Myllus, and
 Magnes. They were of the old style and delivered their
 jokes rather less skilfully and elegantly.

xi But Old Comedy first began as something silly, but
 later moved on to public and private themes, and seizing
 upon the shortcomings of everybody in word and deed

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

versorum delicta corripuens in scaenam proferebat, nec vetabatur poetae pessimum quemque describere vel cuiuslibet peccata moresque reprehendere. auctor eius Susarion traditur; sed in fabulas primi eam contulerunt Magnes †† ita, ut non excederent in singulis versus trecentos.

xii *PAmherst* 13, col. I 3

εἰς Μάγνητα

Fragments

ΒΑΡΒΙΤΙΣΤΑΙ

ΒΑΤΡΑΧΟΙ

MAGNES

would bring them on stage as his subjects. A poet was not forbidden to portray anyone in a very bad light or to find fault with the misdeeds or character of anybody he wanted. The founder of this is said to be Susarion, but Magnes <and . . . > were the first <to put it> into dramatic form, such that they did not exceed three hundred lines at a time.

xii [a marginal note to a papyrus of Aristophanes = F 593.3]

at Magnes.

Fragments

LYRE-PLAYERS

A barbitos was a type of lyre, said to have been invented by Terpander (Athenaeus 635d). The title is the scholiast's explanation of "strumming the lyre," and while he may be guessing at some of these titles, the barbitos is not an obvious inference from "strumming" (psallein).

FROGS

Again the title "Frogs" is the scholiast's inference based on Aristophanes' "dyed like a frog." Callias and Aristophanes both wrote plays of this title, and even if Magnes' play was not called "Frogs," we may assume that it had a chorus of (visible) frogs.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

ΔΙΟΝΤΣΟΣ

1 Athenaeus 367f

καὶ ταῦτα μὲν μοι τῶν κακῶν παροψίδες.

2 Athenaeus 646e

ταγηνίας ἤδη τεθέασαι χλιαροὺς
σίζοντας, ὅταν αὐτοῖσιν ἐπιχέης μέλι;

ΛΥΔΟΙ

3 Athenaeus 690c

λούσαντα χρῆ καὶ βακκάριδι κεχρισμένον.

4 Pollux 7.188

ὄνειροκρίταισιν, ἀναλύταις

MAGNES

DIONYSUS

For both the fragments cited, Athenaeus employs the periphrasis "the person who wrote the plays attributed to Magnes" and complicates matters further by referring to a "first Dionysus" (F 1) and a "second Dionysus" (F 2). Dionysus is a common character in Old Comedy, but the two fragments give no hint of the plotline, unless Dionysus is the speaker of F 1, complaining of some misfortunes.

1 And these are just the side dishes to my problems.

2 Have you [sing.] ever seen warm pancakes sizzle, when you pour honey over them?

LYDIANS

Foreigners were always good material for both tragedy and comedy. We have titles such as Thracian Women (Cratinus), Egyptian (Callias), Persians (Pherecrates, as well as Aeschylus' tragedy, whose ending with the wailing Persians was enjoyed by Dionysus—Frogs 1028–29), Babylonians (Aristophanes). The depiction of the Lydians may have been partly aural (one of the "every sort of sound") and partly in dance form.

3 You must bathe and be anointed with asarabaca.

4 Dream interpreters, breakers of spells.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

ΟΡΝΙΘΕΣ

ΠΟΑΣΤΡΙΑ

5 Σ Plato *Theaetetus* 209b

οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδείς, οὐδ' ὁ Μυσῶν ἔσχατος.

ΠΥΤΑΚΙΔΗΣ [ΤΙΤΑΚΙΔΗΣ?]

6 Photius p. 305.9, *Suda* ν 603

εἰπέ μοι νυνδὴ μὲν ὤμνους μὴ γεγονέναι, νῦν δὲ
φῆς;

MAGNES

BIRDS

The scholiast so explains "flapping wings" in Aristophanes' description of Magnes' comedy, perhaps influenced by Aristophanes' more famous title.

LADY GRASS-CUTTER

Ancient writers make it clear that the term poastria is used of a woman cutting grass or herbs or generally working in the fields. Archippus (F 46) conjoins "grass cutters" with donkey drivers and garden diggers as examples of manual labourers. Phrynichus wrote a comedy with the plural title "Lady Grass-Cutters." We may compare such other comic titles as Bread-Women (Hermippus), Wool-Carders (Platon), and Washer-Woman (Philyllius).

5 There is nobody, not even the "last of the Mysians."

PYTACIDES OR THE MAN
FROM TITACIDAE (?)

The manuscripts of Photius and the *Suda*, who cite F 6, read either Pytacides or Pitacisci, neither of which has any apparent meaning. Earlier editions of the fragments accepted Bernhardt's correction to Titacides, "the man from Titacidae," a town near Aphidna in Attica, a deme in the Roman period but not in the fifth century BC.

6 So tell me, just now you swore that this hadn't happened, and now you say it did?

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

ΨΗΝΕΣ

MAGNES

FIG-FLIES

*The title given by the Aristophanic scholiast to explain
"buzzing like a fig fly."*

UNASSIGNED FRAGMENTS

Brief fragments: (F 7) "little jar," (F 8) "with a dull edge."

METAGENΗΣ

We would like to have more than the twenty fragments and four play titles by Metagenes. His comedy appears to be very much in the Aristophanic spirit, with plural titles that suggest an imaginative use of the chorus, jokes against some of the familiar targets of Old Comedy (F 10, 12, 14), a parabolic address to the spectators with the metaphor of comedy as a banquet (F 15), and some instances of engagement with Homer (F 19). He belongs to the last part of the fifth century. If the betrayal of Naupactus (T 10) refers to

Testimonia

i Suda μ 688

Μεταγένης, Ἀθηναῖος, † δούλου παῖς, κωμικός. τῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ δραμάτων ἐστὶ ταῦτα: Αὖραι <ἢ> Μαρμάκθος, Ἐπιμυπέριαι, Φιλότης, Ὀμηρος ἢ Ἀσκηταί.

ii IG II² 2325.128

Μεταγένης II

METAGENES

the capture of that city by the Spartans in the last years of the fifth century (Pausanias 4.26.2), then Homer (or Hostage) belongs to 400 or later. The scandal over Callias' son by Chrysilla (F 14) is also an event of the 400s. On the Lenaeon victors' list (T 2), he appears between Poliochus and Theopompus, who belong to the very end of the century.

Recent bibliography: M. Pellegrino, in Tessere 291–339.

Testimonia

i Metagenes: of Athens, son of . . .]dylus, a comic poet. His plays are: Breezes <or> Blockhead, Thurio-Persians, Sacrifice-Lover, Homer (or Hostage) or Men-in-Training.

ii [from the list of victors at the Lenaea]

Me[tagen]es 2

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

ΑΤΡΑΙ

Fragments

1 Σ Aristophanes *Birds* 872

{A.} τίς ἢ Κολαινὶς Ἄρτεμις;
{B.} ἱερεὺς γὰρ ὦν τετύχηκα τῆς Κολαινίδος.

2 Athenaeus 385b

ἀλλ', ὦγαθέ, δειπνῶμεν < x - >, κάπειτά με πάντ'
ἐπερωτᾶν,
ὅ τι ἂν βούλη· νῦν γὰρ πεινῶν δεινῶς πῶς εἰμ'
ἐπιλήσμων.

3 Athenaeus 355a

ὥσπερ ἐπειδὴν δειπνῶμέν που, τότε πλείστα
λαλοῦμεν ἅπαντες.

4 Athenaeus 571b

ὑμῖν ὀρχηστρίδας εἶπον ἑταίρας
ὠραίας πρότερον, νῦν δ' αὖθ' ὑμῖν ἀγορεύω
ἄρτι χνοαζούσας αὐλητρίδας, αἵ τε τάχιστα
ἀνδρῶν φορτηγῶν ὑπὸ γούνατα μισθοῦ ἔλυσαν.

METAGENES

BREEZES

In the Suda (T 1) Breezes and Blockhead seem to be listed as separate plays. Of the five fragments, three are cited just from Metagenes' Breezes (F 1, 2, 5). F 4, cited by Athenaeus (571b), is attributed to Metagenes' Breezes or Aristagoras' Blockhead, while F 3, again from Athenaeus (355a), is described as "an iamb from Blockhead or Breezes by Metagenes". This in fact turns out to be an anapaestic tetrameter catalectic. Dalechamp's supplement "of Aristagoras" would bring the citation into line with Athenaeus' 571b and lessen the possibility of a Blockhead by Metagenes. For a chorus of natural phenomena we may compare *Clouds and Seasons* by Aristophanes and *Cra-tinus*, also *Hermippus* F 73.

Fragments

1 (A) Who is Artemis Colaenis?
(B) Well, I happen to be the priest of Colaenis.

2 My dear fellow, let us go to dinner . . . and then ask me anything you wish, because being terribly hungry at the moment I rather forget things.

3 It's just like when we go to dinner, we all start talking the most.

4 I told you [pl.] earlier about the lovely dancing prostitutes, now I am informing you of the *aulos* girls, with the early down of womanhood, who for a fee very quickly sap the strength of stevedores.

ΘΟΥΡΙΟΠΕΡΣΑΙ

i Athenaeus 269f

οἶδα δὲ ὅτι καὶ οἱ Θουριοπέρσαι καὶ τὸ τοῦ Νικοφῶντος δράμα ἀδιδακτά ἐστι.

Brief fragment: (F 5) "birdcage."

THURIO-PERSIANS

F 6 is one of the many expressions of Old Comedy of the utopia where food appears "on its own" (automaton—ll. 2, 9), in this case in the land of Thurii in Italy. This city was built on the site of Sybaris, whose name was a byword in antiquity for luxury and the good life. Persia enjoyed a similar reputation—cf. the opening scene of Acharnians—and Metagenes seems to have combined both ethnic entities in a comedy about the good life in a distant land. We cannot determine whether Persia was meant to suggest a barbarian decadence or a luxury to be envied. That the speaker of F 6 is telling another about the delights of that land suggests that the setting of that scene is not Thurii. F 7 refers to "these men" (the chorus?) dancing in barbarian fashion." Thurii was Athens' sole colonial foundation (in the late 440s); in 412 she abandoned her alliance with Athens to side with the Spartans in the War. For this reason some have dated the play to around 411. Athenaeus (T 1) records that this play was never produced. Was the comedy produced in the West and/or was it just missing from the Athenian records?

Recent bibliography: Pellegrino (Utopie) 133–40; Revermann 171–72.

Testimonium

i I know that both *Thurio-Persians* by Metagenes and the play by Nicophon [*Sirens*] were not performed.

Fragments

6 Athenaeus 269f

ὁ μὲν ποταμὸς ὁ Κρᾶθις ἡμῖν καταφέρει
μάζας μεγίστας αὐτόματος μεμαγμένας,
ὁ δ' ἕτερος ὠθεῖ κῦμα ναστῶν καὶ κρεῶν
ἐφθῶν τε βατίδων εἰλυομένων αὐτόσε.
5 τὰ δὲ μικρὰ ταυτὶ ποτάμι' ἐνμεντευθενὶ
ῥεῖ τευθίσιν ὀπταῖς καὶ φάγροις καὶ καράβοις,
ἐντευθενὶ δ' ἀλλᾶσι καὶ περικόμμασι,
τηδὶ δ' ἀφύαισι, τῆδε δ' αὖ ταγηνίαις.
10 εἰς τὸ στόμ' ἄττει, τὰ δὲ παρ' αὐτῶ τῶ πόδε,
ἄμυλοι δὲ περινάουσιν ἡμῖν ἐν κύκλῳ.

7 Photius p. 591.9

τίς τρόπος ἵππων; ὡς δ' ὀρχοῦνται τὸν βαρβαρικὸν
τρόπον οὔτοι.

ΟΜΗΡΟΣ Η ΑΣΚΗΤΑΙ
Η ΣΟΦΙΣΤΑΙ

Fragments

6 The River Crathis carries huge barley loaves, self-kneaded, downstream for us, and the other river [Sybaris] drives a wave of cakes and meats and boiled skates still wriggling along there. The little streams on the far side here teem with roasted squid and sea bream and crawfish, and on this side with sausages and minced meat, over here with minnows, over there with pancakes. Fish slices that barbecue themselves fly from above right into the mouth, others <appear> at our feet, while wheat rolls drift round about us in a circle.

7 What's all this horsing around? These men are dancing in barbarian fashion.

Brief fragments: (F 8) "platter," (F 9) "to beat up" and "I was beaten up."

HOMER (HOSTAGE?) OR MEN-
IN-TRAINING OR SOPHISTS

The exact title of this comedy is in doubt. All three citations of the play agree that one title was Homer, whose name in Greek also means Hostage; as F 19 parodies a line from Homer, it has been attributed to this play and taken to indicate that the title was Homer. F 10, 12 are cited from Homer, F 11 from Homer or Sophists, while the Suda (T 1) knows of a comedy Homer or Sophists, while the Suda (T 1) is complicated somewhat by the fact that Platon wrote a Sophists and Aristomenes a Dionysus in Training. The reference to the fall of Naupactus c. 400 (Diodorus 14.34.2) argues for a date in the early 390s.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

Fragments

10 Σ (Arethas) Plato *Apology* 23e

καὶ Λύκων ἐνταῦθά που
< > προδοῦς Ναύπακτον ἀργύριον λαβὼν
ἀγορᾶς ἄγαλμα ξενικὸν ἐμπορεῖται.

11 Photius ε 662

ἐλοῦσι τοὺς πολέμους

πολέμους cod., πολεμίους Snell.

12 Σ Aristophanes *Birds* 1297

διαβάλλεται δὲ εἷς τε ποιηρίαν, ὡς Πλάτων ἐν Νίκαις,
καὶ κλοπῆς δημοσίων, ὡς Μεταγένης ἐν Ὀμήρῳ, καὶ
συκοφαντία.

ΦΙΛΟΘΥΤΗΣ

METAGENES

Fragments

10 And Lycon, who took a bribe and betrayed Naupactus, the darling of the marketplace, does foreign business there.¹

¹ This Lycon is possibly the accuser of Socrates in 399 (Plato *Apology* 23e), but is not the father of Autolycus. PAA 611820 needs to be broken down into two or three people.

11 They will win the conflicts.¹

¹ Or with Snell's reading: "they will capture the enemy."

12 He [Meidias] is accused of wicked behaviour, so Platon in *Victories* [F 85], and for theft of public funds, so Metagenes in *Homer*, and for being an informer.

SACRIFICE-LOVER

The word *philothytes* means "one who is fond of sacrifices" and is proposed at *Wasps* 82 as one of the possible additions of Philokleon. This may afford a hint of how a generally complimentary term (see *Antiphon* 2.2.12) might be exploited in comedy. In F 14, "Sacae of Mysia" alludes to the tragic poet Acestor, made fun of from the late 430s to at least *Birds*, while "that bastard of Callias" refers to a scandal of the last decade of the century (*Andocides* 1.126-29). A date of c. 400 seems appropriate.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

Fragments

13 Pollux 10.115

δίμυξον ἢ τρίμυξον ὡς ἐγὼ δοκῶ.

14 Σ Aristophanes *Wasps* 1221

ὦ πολῖται, δεινὰ πάσχω. τίς πολίτης δ' ἔστι
πλὴν ἄρ' εἰ Σάκας ὁ Μυσὸς καὶ τὸ Καλλίου νόθον;

15 Athenaeus 459b

κατ' ἐπεισόδιον μεταβάλλω τὸν λόγον, ὡς ἂν
καιναῖσι παροψίσι καὶ πολλαῖς εὐωχῆσω τὸ
θέατρον.

ΑΔΗΛΩΝ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΩΝ

17 Photius (z) α 3277

κραταιὸν αὐχένισμα τοῦμὸν

18 Erotianus *Collection of Hippocratic Terms* π 62

ῥαφανίδος,
ἀμύλου, λεκίθων, καρύων, ζωμοῦ, πολφῶν, οἴνου,
κολοκύντης.

METAGENES

Fragments

13 In my opinion, a lamp with two or three wicks.

14 Citizens, I am in a terrible situation. What citizen is there now except Sacas of Mysia and that bastard of Callias.¹

¹ For Acestor, nicknamed "Sacas," see PAA 116685 and TrGF I 25. For Callias' illegitimate son, see J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families* (Oxford 1971) 264–65.

15 I am changing the plot scene by scene, so that I may feast the audience with many original side dishes.¹

¹ The metre, anapaestic tetrameter, is frequently used by Aristophanes in his parabatic addresses to the spectators. If F 15 comes from a parabasis, Metagenes would be promising the audience a culinary delight of original "dishes." For the image of drama as a food, see Aeschylus "serving slices from the banquet of Homer" (Athenaeus 347e), the light breakfast served by Crates (*Knights* 538–39), and Aristophanes giving the spectators the "first taste" of his new play (*Clouds* 523).

Brief fragment: (F 16) "to eat unobserved."

UNASSIGNED FRAGMENTS

17 My mighty throat grip.

18 Of radish, wheat roll, porridge, nuts, soup, pasta, wine, squash.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

19 Athenaeus 270e

εἰς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ δείπνου.

METAGENES

19 There is only one excellent omen: to fight for one's . . .
dinner.¹

¹ A parody of *Iliad* 12.243: "There is only one excellent omen:
to fight for one's country."

Brief fragment: (F 20) "slave woman."

ΜΥΛΛΟΣ

Testimonia

i *Suda* ε 2766

Ἐπίχαρμος . . . ἦν δὲ πρὸ τῶν Περσικῶν ἔτη ἕξ, διδάσκων ἐν Συρακούσαις· ἐν δὲ Ἀθήναις Εὐέτης καὶ Εὐξενίδης καὶ Μύλλος ἐπεδείκνυντο.

ii *Diomedes Art of Grammar* (Koster XXIV.46–48)

poetae primi comici fuerunt Susarion, Mullus et Magnes. hi veteris disciplinae iocularia quaedam minus scite ac venuste pronuntiabant.

iii

(a) *Hesychius* μ 1858

μύλλον· καμπύλον, σκολιόν, κυλλόν, στρεβλόν . . . ἔστι δὲ καὶ κωμωδιῶν ποιητῆς οὕτως καλούμενος

MYLLUS

A shadowy figure from the very beginning of Old Comedy, Myllus has no titles or fragments extant.

Testimonia

i Epicharmus: he was active six years before the Persian Wars [486/5] producing plays in Syracuse. At Athens Euetes and Euxenides and Myllus were putting on plays.

ii The first comic poets were Susarion, Myllus, and Magnes. They were of the old style and delivered their jokes rather less skilfully and elegantly.

iii

(a) “*Myllon*”: bent, crooked, hooked, twisted . . . and there is a comic poet so called.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

(b) Zenobius *Common Proverbs* 5.14

Μύλλος πάντα ἀκούων· αὕτη τέτακται ἐπὶ τῶν κωφό-
τητα προσποιουμένων καὶ πάντα ἀκουόντων. μέμνη-
ται αὐτῆς Κρατῖνος ἐν Κλεοβουλίναις. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ
κωμωδιῶν ποιητῆς ὁ Μύλλος.

iv

(a) Hesychius λ 1405

Λύλιος ἢ Μύλλος· οὗτος ἐπὶ μωρία ἐκωμωδεῖτο.

(b) Photius p. 236.10

Λυλλος· ποιητῆς ἐπὶ μωρία κωμωδούμενος.

v

(a) Arcadius p. 53.14 Barker

Μύλλος ποιητῆς κωμικός.

(b) Eustathius *On the Odyssey* p. 1885.21

Μύλλος, ὅπερ ἐστὶ κύριον ὑποκριτοῦ τοῦ παλαιοῦ, ὃς
μιλτωτοῖς, φασὶ, προσωπίοις ἐχρήσατο.

MYLLUS

(b) "Myllus hears all": this is said of those who feign deaf-
ness and hear everything. Cratinus refers to it in *Cleo-
boulinas* [F 96]. There is also Myllus, the comic poet.

iv

(a) Lylius or Myllus: this man was made fun of for stupid-
ity.

(b) Lyllus: a poet made fun of for stupidity.

v

(a) Myllus, a comic poet.

(b) Myllus, which is the proper name of the old actor,
who, they say, used masks painted with red ochre [*miltos*].

ΜΥΡΤΙΛΟΣ

Testimonia

i *Suda* μ 1460

Μυρτίλος, Ἀθηναῖος, κωμικός, υἱὸς μὲν Λύσιδος, ἀδελφὸς δὲ τοῦ κωμικοῦ Ἑρμίππου. δράματα αὐτοῦ Τιτανόπανες, Ἔρωτες.

ii *Athenaeus* 566e

καὶ ὁ Κύνουλκος "ταυτὶ καὶ τολμᾶς σὺ λέγειν, οὐ ῥοδοδάκτυλος οὖσα;" κατὰ τὸν Κρατῖνον, ἀλλὰ βολίτινον ἔχων θάτερον σκέλος, ἐκείνου τοῦ ὁμωνύμου σοι ποιητοῦ τὴν κνήμην φορῶν, ὃς ἐν τοῖς καπηλείοις καὶ τοῖς πανδοκείοις αἰεὶ διαιτᾶ."

iii *IG* ii² 2325.125

Μύρτιλος I

MYRTILUS

A minor figure in the history of Old Comedy, Myrtilus was the brother of Hermippus and victor at the Lenaea in 428 or 427 (T 3). The Suda (T 1) gives two titles, but only the second, Titan-Pans, was known in antiquity.

Testimonia

i Myrtilus: of Athens, comic poet, son of Lysis and brother of the comic poet, Hermippus. His plays are *Titan-Pans*, *Love-Gods*.

ii [to a banqueter named Myrtilus] Cynulcus <said>, "In the words of Cratinus [F 351], 'you dare say this,' although you 'are not rosy-fingered,' but with one leg made of cow dung [*Frogs* 295], and with the shin of that poet with the same name as yours, who spends all his time in the pubs and taverns."

iii [from the list of victors at the Lenaea, in the early 420s]
Myrtilus I.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

Fragments

ΕΡΩΤΕΣ

TITANOΠΑΝΕΣ

1 *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* XX p. 186.9
(Heylbut)

σύνηθες ἐν κωμωδία παραπετάσματα δέρρεις ποιεῖν
οὐ πορφυρίδας. Μύρτιλος ἐν Τιτανόπασι.

2 Σ *Aristophanes Birds* 1490

οἱ ἥρωες δὲ δυσόργητοι καὶ χαλεποὶ τοῖς ἐμπελάζουσι
γίνονται . . . διό μοι δοκοῦσι καὶ οἱ τὰ ἡρῶα παριόντες
σιγὴν ἔχειν, ὡς Μυρτίλος ἐν Τιτανόπασί φησίν.

MYRTILUS

Fragments

LOVE-GODS

Although Eros in the singular is the child of Aphrodite and the god of love, vases depicting amorous encounters show scenes with several winged love gods. Hence a chorus of such deities would not be greatly surprising. We know the play only from the mention in the Suda (T 1), which Kaibel considered a gloss explaining a love theme in Titan-Pans.

TITAN-PANS

A splendid calyx crater in the British Museum (ARV² 601.23, c. 460) shows dancers dressed as Pans performing before an aulos player, and there is a possibility that such a chorus might have been substituted on occasion for a satyr chorus. But what were Titan-Pans? Hesychius (τ 971) says that "Titan" is a slang word for "paederast," and elsewhere (π 339) describes Pans as "those very keen on sex," but what sort of chorus are we to imagine and how costumed? Perhaps they were a hybrid race, the result of unions between Pan(s) and female Titans. F 2 might imply that the skēnē represented their shrine.

1 It was customary in comedy to use leather hangings, not purple, so Myrtilus in *Titan-Pans*.

2 Heroes can get angry and upset with people who get too close . . . that is why I think that people who pass by the shrines of heroes keep silence, as Myrtilus says in *Titan-Pans*.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

ΑΔΗΛΩΝ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΩΝ

- 4 Theodosius *On the Declension of Barytone Nouns in -ōn*, p. 21.25 Hilgard.

Φέρωνος ἀρά που ἴστιν ἡ ξυναυλία;

- 5 Phrynichus *Selection 402*

ὡς ὁ μὲν κλέπτῃς, ὁ δ' ἄρπαξ,
ὁ δ' ἀνάπηρος πορνοβοσκὸς
καταφαγᾶς.

MYRTILUS

Brief fragment: (F 3) "a tongue blister."

UNASSIGNED FRAGMENTS

- 4 Is Pheron's *aulos* company anywhere about?

- 5 One man is a thief, another is a bandit, another is a maimed glutton who keeps a brothel.

ΝΙΚΟΧΑΡΗΣ

Nicochares belongs to the last phase of Old Comedy. The one secure date is the production of his Men of Laconia in 388, competing against Aristophanes' Wealth. The one kōmōidoumenos in the fragments, Philonides of Melite (F 4), is made fun of by Aristophanes in that same comedy of 388. If Nicochares' name is to be restored in T 4, then he won a victory at the Lenaea at the same time as other comic poets of the early fourth century. The titles suggest that he wrote mainly mythological burlesques, and while we have no direct parody of tragedy, some of the titles suggest an engagement with the dramatic versions of myth from the

Testimonia

i Suda ν 407

Νικοχάρης, Φιλωνίδου τοῦ κωμικοῦ, Ἀθηναῖος, κωμικός, σύγχρονος Ἀριστοφάνους. τῶν δραμάτων αὐτοῦ Ἀμυμώνη <ἢ> Πέλοψ, Γαλάτεια, Ἡρακλῆς γαμῶν, Ἡρακλῆς χορηγός, Κρήτες, Λάκωνες, Λήμνιοι, Κένταυροι, Χειρογαστορες.

NICOCHARES

fifth century, Lemnian Women, Agamemnon. The last title cited by the Suda, Hand-Bellies, has been confused with the attested comedy of that title by Nicophon.

Perhaps the most striking thing about Nicochares is the indirect connection with Aristophanes. The Suda (T 1) describes him as "the son of Philonides the comic poet," who must be the man whom Aristophanes used on a number of occasions to produce his comedies. T 2 assigns a "Nicochares the comic poet" to the deme of Cydathenaeum, the deme known for Aristophanes and strongly indicated for Philonides (q.v.).

Testimonia

i Nicochares: the son of Philonides the comic poet, of Athens, a comic poet, a contemporary of Aristophanes. His plays are: *Amymone* <or> *Pelops*, *Galateia*, *The Marriage of Heracles*, *Heracles the Producer*, *Cretans*, *Men of Laconia*, *Lemnian Women*, *Centaurs*, *Hand-Bellies*.

ii Stephanus of Byzantium p. 390.1

Κυδαθηναίων, δῆμος τῆς Πανδιονίδος φυλῆς. ὁ δημό-
της Κυδαθηναίου. ἐντεῦθεν ἦν Νικοχάρης ὁ κωμικός.

iii Inscript. Agora I 7168

Ὀνήσιππος Αἰτίο Κηφισιεύς βασιλεὺς ἀνέθηκε[ν].
ο[ἴδ]ε Ὀνησίππο βασιλεύοντος χορηγῶντες ἐνίκων

κωμῶδων

Σωσικράτης ἐχορήγε
χαλκοπώλης

Νικοχάρης ἐδίδασκε

τραγῶδων
Στρατόνικος ἐχορήγε

Στράτωνος
Μεγακλείδης ἐδίδασκε

iv IG ii² 2325.134

Νι[κοχάρης]

v Aristotle *Poetics* 1448a11

οἶον Ὅμηρος μὲν βελτίους, Κλεοφῶν δὲ ὁμοίους,
Ἡγήμων δὲ ὁ Θάσιος <ὁ> τὰς παρωδίας ποιήσας
πρῶτος καὶ Νικοχάρης ὁ τὴν Δειλιάδα χείρους.

ii Cydathenaeum: deme of the tribe of Pandion. The de-
motic is Cydathenaeon. This is where Nicochares the
comic poet was from.

iii [inscription from the end of the fifth century]
Onesippus the son of Aetias of Cephisia, archon basi-
leus, put this up:
These are the victorious *chorēgi* during Onesippus'
term of office

comedy

Sosicrates the bronze seller was producer
Nicochares presented the play.

tragedy

Stratonicus son of Straton was producer
Megaclides presented the play.

iv [from the list of victors at the Lenaea]
Ni[cochares].

v Homer <represented> superior people, Cleophon as
similar to real life, while Hegemon of Thasus, the first to
write *parodia* and Nicochares, the <author of> the
Deiliad, people as worse than they are.¹

¹ Nicochares is not a common name, and it is an attractive
identification to see the comic poet meant here. The title of his
poem could be *Deiliad* (A Coward's Tale) or *Deliad* (A Tale of
Delos), but in light of the association with the parodist Hegemon,
Deiliad (or *Deliad*) is probably not a lost comedy, but another
instance of a *parōidia*, written in the epic metre and style.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ

Fragment

1 Photius (Sz) a 3479

οἶδα δ' ὡς
ἄψευδόμαντις ἦδε καὶ τελεσφόρος

γνώση δὲ τέχνην τὴν ἐμὴν ἐτητύμως
ἄψευδόμαντιν οὔσαν

ΑΜΤΜΩΝΗ

NICOCHARES

ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΟΝ

Hermippus also wrote a play with this title. Nicochares' comedy is not mentioned in the Suda and is cited only by Photius. Changing the citation to "in Amymone" has been suggested, but F 1 refers to a woman who is "no false prophet," very likely to be Cassandra—cf. her use of the words "false prophet" and "true prophet" at Agamemnon 1195, 1241. Thus this comedy appears to have covered humorously the same ground as Aeschylus' great play.

Fragment

1 I know that this woman is no false prophet, and one who brings fulfilment.

You will truly come to know my skill, that I [fem.] am no false prophet.

ΑΜΥΜΟΝΗ <OR> ΠΕΛΟΠΣ

Meineke's insertion of "or" into the Suda's list of plays does preserve the mostly alphabetical listing of the plays. But the two titles suggest two very different stories. Aeschylus' satyr play, Amymone, told the story of one of the daughters of Danaus, who was threatened by a satyr, rescued by Poseidon, to whom she bore a son Nauplius. Pelops, on the other hand, is most famous for the chariot race by which he won the daughter of Oenomaus in marriage. The one fragment that we have is cited from "Amymone" and mentions Pelops' eventual father-in-law by name.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

Fragment

2 Athenaeus 426e

Οἰνόμαος οὗτος χαῖρε· πέντε καὶ δύο,
κἀγὼ τε καὶ σὺ συμπόται γενοίμεθα.

ΓΑΛΑΤΕΙΑ

Fragments

3 Pollux 10.93

σοφαῖσι παλάμαις τεκτόνων εἰργασμένον
<καὶ> πόλλ' ἐν αὐτῷ λέπτ' ἔχον καδίσκια
κυμινοδόκον

4 Σ Aristophanes *Wealth* 179b

τί δῆτ'; ἀπαιδευτότερος εἶ Φιλωνίδου
τοῦ Μελιτέως;

¹ Philonides (PAA 957480), son of Onetor, hence his nickname Onos (ass), was a large, awkward, not very bright, but rich Athenian, said to be the lover of the hetaera Nais. See *Wealth* 179, 303; Platon F 65; Nicochares F 4; Theopompus F 5; and the comedy *Philonides* by the Middle Comic poet Aristophon.

NICOCHARES

Fragment

2 Hey, Oenomaus, hello. Let's you and I become drinking buddies, five-and-two.¹

¹ The joke turns on the fact that the first two syllables of Oenomaus' name form the Greek word for "wine." "Five-and-two" refers to the standard mixture of five parts water to two parts wine.

GALATEA

The sea nymph Galatea is one of the daughters of Nereus in Homer and Hesiod. Douris of Samos (FGrHist 76 F 58) tells the story of how the poet, Philoxenus of Cythera, found a shrine on the slopes of Mount Etna, allegedly constructed by the Cyclops Polyphemus for the nymph Galatea. Unable to ascertain the origin, he made up the story that Polyphemus was in love with Galatea. Philoxenus' dithyramb called "Cyclops or Galatea" was parodied by Aristophanes at *Wealth* 288–321 (388), and if Philoxenus did create the story of Polyphemus and Galatea, then Nicochares' play belongs after the production of that dithyramb, probably in the 380s.

Fragments

3 A spice box, wrought by the skilled hands of craftsmen, containing many small bottles inside it.

4 What is this? Are you even stupider than Philonides of Melite?¹

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

5 Photius (b, Sz) α 1552

τὸν ἀναλφάβητον, τὸν ἄπονον

ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ ΓΑΜΩΝ

ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ ΧΟΡΗΓΟΣ

Fragments

8 Pollux 7.45

φέρει νῦν ταχέως χιτῶνα τόνδ' ἐπενδύτην.

9 Athenaeus 619a

καὶ τῶν πισσοουσῶν ἄλλη τις, ὡς . . . Νικοχάρης ἐν
Ἡρακλεῖ Χορηγῶ.

NICOCHARES

5 An illiterate fellow, and lazy.

Brief fragment: (F 6) "daughters of Nereus."

THE MARRIAGE OF HERACLES

The comedy is listed in the Suda (T 1) as Heracles Marrying (as the groom), while Pollux (F 7) cites the play as Heracles being Married (as the bride). On that basis some have seen a reference to Heracles' service to Omphale as sort of "marriage," in which the hero takes the passive role. A safer course is to regard this comedy and that of the same name by Archippus as dramatising Heracles' marriage to Hebe on Olympus—cf. Epicharmus' comedy, The Marriage of Hebe.

Brief fragment: (F 7) "fuller's earth."

HERACLES THE PRODUCER

Heracles was a favourite of satyr play and Old Comedy. Like Dionysus, the humour would focus on Heracles in an unfamiliar and incongruous situation. At Frogs 105–7 Dionysus and Heracles agree to leave things culinary to Heracles and things dramatic to Dionysus. Nicochares appears to have taken Heracles across that line.

Fragments

8 Quickly now, <put on> this tunic as an overgarment.

9 There was another <song>, that of women winnowing grain, so . . . Nicochares in *Heracles the Producer*.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

KENTATPOΣ

KPHTEΣ

Fragment

12 Pollux 10.141

τοῖς τρυπάνοις ἀντίπαλον † ὄπερ ἀρχίλιον †

ΛΑΚΩΝΕΣ

NICOCHARES

CENTAUR

Aristophanes wrote a comedy with the twin titles, *Plays or Centaur*, which may have been produced at the *Lenaea* of 426 with Euripides as a character. The connection between the two titles may have been a dramatic parody of a play about a centaur (Chiron or Nessus). Cratinus' comedy, Chirons, will have had a chorus of centaurs, and whatever Old Comedy lies behind the Chiron vase (V 9) had a scene in which (a drunken?) Chiron navigates stairs with difficulty. Is this a scene from Nicochares' *Centaur*?

Brief fragments: (F 10) "auction," (F 11) "thrashed."

CRETANS

Apollophanes wrote a comedy with this title, but the most likely parallel would be the tragedy of that name by Euripides, from the earlier part of his career. Enough remains to show that Euripides treated the story of Minos, *Pasiphae*, and the Bull, a tragedy with obvious potential for comedy.

Fragment

12 An awl, a match for a thousand drills.¹

¹ The text is uncertain. Was Daedalus a character in the play?

MEN OF LACONIA

Comedies with this title are recorded for Eupolis (probably incorrectly) and for Platon. It was produced in 388 as one of the rival plays to Aristophanes' *Wealth*.

ΛΗΜΝΙΑΙ

Fragments

14 Athenaeus 328e

τριχίας δὲ καὶ τὰς πρημνάδας {τὰς θυννίδας}
ἐπὶ δείπνον ἠκούσας ὑπερπληθεῖς

15 *Etymologicum Genuinum*

ἐπλέομεν, ὦ κόρη, ἔπι κῶς.

NICOCHARES

Testimonium

i <Wealth> was produced in the archonship of Antipater [389/8], the other entrants being Nicochares with *Men of Laconia*, Aristomenes with *Admetus*, Nicophon with *Adonis*, and Alcaeus with *Pasiphae*.

Brief fragment: (F 13) "the Manes" [target in cottabus].

LEMNIAN WOMEN

"Lemnian women" should refer to the women of Lemnos who murdered their husbands and then enjoyed a liaison with Jason and the Argonauts on their voyage to Colchis. It was a popular subject for drama. Aeschylus may have written a play with this title, while two plays are attributed to Sophocles. Aristophanes wrote a comedy of this name, usually regarded as a parody of Euripides' *Hypsipyle*; the theme lies also beneath the surface of his *Lysistrata*. Strattis wrote a *Lemnomena*, which seems to have combined the stories of *Hypsipyle* and *Andromeda*. The reference to "sailing to Cos" (F 15) makes it likely that we do have here the story of Jason and *Hypsipyle*.

Fragments

14 Sardines and young tunny fish coming to dinner in great numbers.

15 My girl, we were sailing to Cos.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

16 Athenaeus 426ef

οἱ δ' ἐπιτεταμένως χρώμενοι τῷ ποτῷ δύο οἴνου ἔπινον
πρὸς πέντε ὕδατος. Νικοχάρης γοῦν ἐν Ἀμυμώνῃ
πρὸς τοῦνομα παίζων ἔφη . . . τὰ παραπλήσια εἶρηκε
καὶ ἐν Λημνίαις.

ΧΕΙΡΟΓΑΣΤΡΕΣ

ΑΔΗΛΩΝ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΩΝ

18 Athenaeus 34e

εἰς αὔριον <δ' > ἀντὶ ραφάνων ἐψήσομεν
βαλάνιον, ἵνα νῶν ἐξάγη τὴν κραιπάλην.

19 Photius (b, z) a 443

εἰ πεύσομαι <σε κᾶν > τὸν ἀηδόσιον ὕπνον
τῆς νυκτὸς ἀποδαρθόντα, σαυτὸν αἰτιῶ.

20 Photius (b, Sz) a 1643

ῥηγνύς δὲ πολλὰς κυμάτων ἀναρρόας.

21 Photius (Sz) a 3411

λαβὴν ἄφυκτον, ἀδιάγλυπτον.
ἀλλ' εἰλήμεθα

NICOCHARES

16 Those who engaged in hard drinking would consume
two parts of wine to five parts of water. At least Nicochares
says so in jest in *Amymone* [F 2] . . . and much the same
sort of thing in *Lemnian Women*.

Brief fragment: (F 17) "pots with three legs."

HAND-BELLIES

The Suda (or his source) has very probably misassigned
this comedy to Nicochares. A comedy with a very similar
title (with seven secure fragments) is known for Nicophon.

UNASSIGNED FRAGMENTS

18 Tomorrow instead of cabbages we shall boil up an
acorn broth, to get rid of both our hangovers.

19 If I find out that during the night you took even a
nightingale's nap, blame yourself . . .

20 Breaking many back-swells of waves.

21 But we are caught in an unbreakable hold, inescap-
able.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

22 Athenaeus 657a

κνοῦσαν δέλφακα

23 Photius a 898

τὴν ἀλάστορα Σφίγγα

NICOCHARES

22 A pregnant young sow.

23 The avenging Sphinx.

Brief fragments: (F 24) "to say 'ah,'" (F 25) "to mumber"
["number" mispronounced], (F 26) "without pity," (F 27)
"bran seller," (F 28) "childish."

ΝΙΚΟΦΩΝ

Occasionally confused with Nicochares, a comic poet of the same time and a similar style, Nicophon can be firmly dated to the late fifth and early fourth centuries. On the list of victors at the Dionysia (T 3), he comes before Cephisodorus, for whom a victory in 402 is attested, and his Adonis (see below) competed against Aristophanes' Wealth in 388. The Suda (T 1) gives five titles, which do not include Adonis. Thus six plays over a period of at least fifteen years suggest a poet of the second rank. Four titles indicate that burlesques of myth were his principal sort of comedy.

Testimonia

i Suda v 406

Νικόφων Θήρωνος, Ἀθηναῖος, κωμικός, σύγχρονος Ἀριστοφάνους τοῦ κωμικοῦ. τῶν δραμάτων αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῦτα· Ἐξ Ἄιδου ἀνιών, Ἀφροδίτης γοναί, Πανδώρα, Ἐγχειρογαστορες, Σειρήνες.

ii Herodian Singular Vocabulary II p. 915.3

ἀλλ' οὐδὲν εἰς ὧν λήγον περισπώμενον ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβῶν φύσει μακρᾷ παραλήγεται. Ἀντιφῶν, Ξενοφῶν, Εὐρυφῶν Ὁμήρου υἱός, Νικοφῶν ὁ κωμικός.

NICOPHON

There are no *kōmōidoumenoi* among the thirty fragments, nor anything that implies a political theme. Four of the comedies (Adonis, Birth of Aphrodite, Pandora, Sirens) have very alluring and attractive women as main characters or chorus, and Nicophon's comedy may have turned on the potential in beauty for comic rivalry and disaster. The Suda gives his father's name as Theron, a rare name at Athens, with no other instance known for the late fifth century.

Recent bibliography: M. Pellegrino, *AFLB* 49 (2006) 43–97.

Testimonia

i Nicophon: son of Theron, of Athens, comic poet, a contemporary of the comic poet Aristophanes. His plays include: *Back from Hades*, *Birth of Aphrodite*, *Pandora*, *Hands-to-Mouth*, *Sirens*.

ii No word ending in *-ōn* with a circumflex on the last syllable and containing more than two syllables has a penultimate syllable which is long: Antiphon, Xenophon, Euryphton the son of Homer, Nicophon the comic poet.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

iii IG ii² 2325.67

Νικοφῶ[ν]

iv IG ii² 2325.131

Νικοφ[ῶν]

ΑΔΩΝΙΣ

Testimonium

i Hypothesis III *Wealth*

ἔδιδάχθη ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀντιπάτρου, ἀνταγωνιζομένου
αὐτῷ Νικοχάρους μὲν Λάκωσιν, Ἀριστομένους δὲ
Ἀδμήτῳ, Νικοφῶντος δὲ Ἀδώνιδι, Ἀλκαίου δὲ Πασι-
φάη.

ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΣ ΓΟΝΑΙ

*One of the several comedies from the early fourth cen-
tury featuring the birth of gods or heroes, for which see
Nesselrath in Dobrov (BA) 1-27. A less probable explana-
tion of the title is "offspring of Aphrodite." The shorter Ho-
meric Hymn to Aphrodite (Hymn 6) gives a possible comic*

NICOPHON

iii [from the list of victors at the Dionysia, before 402]
Nicopho[n].

iv [from the list of victors at the Lenaea]
Nicoph[on].

ADONIS

*This comedy is known only from the hypothesis to Wealth.
If these plays are being cited in the order of finish, rather
than the order of production, then Adonis finished fourth
in 388. Platon also wrote a comedy called Adonis. A major
festival for women, called the Adonia (see Lysistrata 393,
Pherecrates F 181, and Menander Samian Woman 39), was
held in the summer to mourn the death of Adonis, the
young and beloved companion of Aphrodite or the Great
Mother.*

Testimonium

i [*Wealth*] was produced in the archonship of Antipater
[389/8], the other entrants being Nicochares with *Men of
Laconia*, Aristomenes with *Admetus*, Nicophon with
Adonis, and Alcaeus with *Pasiphae*.

BIRTH OF APHRODITE

*plotline, the birth and arrival of Aphrodite among the
(male) gods at Olympus, each of them wishing to have her
to wife. A good comedy could be made from the eventual
successful suit by Hephaestus, especially if Aphrodite were
less than willing.*

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

Fragments

1 Σ Aristophanes *Birds* 82

ἄπερ ἐσθίει ταυτὶ τὰ πονήρ' ὀρνίθια,
σέρφους ἴσως, σκώληκας, ἀκρίδας, πάρνοπας.

2 Σ Aristophanes *Birds* 1283

οὐκ ἐς κόρακας τὸ χεῖρ' ἀποίσεις ἐκποδῶν
ἀπὸ τοῦ σκυταλίου < > καὶ τῆς διφθέρας;

3 *Suda* α 3750

ἄρ' ἀράχνιον τι φαίνεται ἔμπεφυκέναι;

5 P. Oxy. 3710

α[ἐὰν τρέχης
]ας βλέψεις πάνυ
π[

ΕΓΧΕΙΡΟΓΑΣΤΟΡΕΣ

Fragments

6 Athenaeus 645bc

ἐγὼ μὲν ἄρτους, μᾶζαν, ἀθήρην, ἄλφιτα,
κόλλικας, ὀβελίαν, μελιτοῦτταν, ἐπιχύτους,
πισάνην, πλακοῦντας, δενδαλίδας, ταγηνίας.

NICOPHON

Fragments

1 The sort of things these nasty little birds eat: gnats, I suppose, worms, grasshoppers, locusts.

2 Why don't you [sing.] take your hands off the ["my"?] staff and jacket and go to hell?

3 Does a spider's web seem to be rooted in there?

5 . . . if you [sing.] run . . . you will see very . . .

Brief fragment: (F 4) "baited trap."

HANDS-TO-MOUTH

For the title, the tradition gives both cheirogastores and encheirogastores. The ancient lexicographers usually explain the word as meaning "those who feed themselves by manual labour," while Eustathius (On the *Iliad* p. 286.21) says that it is used to describe the Cyclopes, who built the walls of cities in the Argolid in return for food. The scholiast to Aelius Aristeides (p. 408.25 Dindorf) distinguishes three sorts of Cyclopes, those in Sicily whom Odysseus encountered, these "hands-to-mouth," and the "heavenly ones." A crew of hungry Cyclopes, willing to work for food, could have made a good comic chorus.

Fragments

6 I <have, provide> loaves of bread, barley cake, porridge, barley groats, rolls, bread on a spit, honey cake, cupcakes, barley gruel, flat-cakes, barley cakes, pancakes.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

7 Σ Aristophanes *Birds* 1551

† γεῖνα ὁ αὐτὸς † ὀλίγον ἀνάγαγε
ἀπὸ τῆς διφροφόρου· χρηστὸς εἶ καὶ κόσμιος.

8 Pollux 4.55

ἀλλ' ἴθι προσαύλησον σὺ νῶν ππισμόν τινα.

9 Athenaeus 389a

τοὺς ἐψητοὺς καὶ τοὺς πέρδικας ἐκείνους

10 Athenaeus 126e

5 μεμβραδοπώλαις, ἀνθρακοπώλαις,
ἰσχαδοπώλαις, διφθεροπώλαις,
ἀλφιτοπώλαις, μυστριοπώλαις,
βιβλιοπώλαις, κοσκινοπώλαις,
ἐγκριδοπώλαις, σπερματοπώλαις

11 The *Antiatticist* p. 89.28

δευτερίον οἶνον

ΕΞ ΑΙΔΟΥ ΑΝΙΩΝ

NICOPHON

7 You there, please move a little bit away from the footstool carrier—there's a good and decent fellow.¹

¹ The "footstool carrier" refers to an attendant in the procession at the Panathenaea, who might carry also a parasol for the comfort of the priestess in the parade. Such a scene may be found on the East Frieze of the Parthenon.

8 Now go and play for the two of us a winnowing song.

9 The boiled sprats and those partridges.

10 Sardine sellers, charcoal sellers, fig sellers, leather sellers, barley-groat sellers, spoon sellers, booksellers, sieve sellers, cake sellers, seed sellers.

11 Second-rate vintage.

Brief fragment: (F 12) "raisins."

BACK FROM HADES

We know this comedy only from the list in the *Suda* (T 1). Journeys to and from the world of the dead are a regular part of Greek drama. For tragedy we have the ghosts of Darius (Aeschylus' *Persians*) and Polydorus (Euripides' *Hecuba*), in comedy the return of the four in Eupolis' *Demes* and the ghost of Solon in Cratinus' *Chirons*, in Aeschylus' satyr play *Sisyphus the Runaway*. This last play was very much about a man "back from Hades."

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

ΠΑΝΔΩΡΑ

Fragments

13 Pollux 7.32

ὁ δ' ἐξυφαίνειθ' ἰστός, ὁ δὲ διάζεται.

14 Athenaeus 323b

κέστραι τε καὶ λάβρακες

15 Suda κ 2546

κοιμίσαι τὸν λύχνον

16 The Antiatticist p. 89.14

δεύτερον αὐτόν

17 The Antiatticist p. 115.24

φίλημα δοῦναι

NICOPHON

PANDORA

The myth of Pandora is as old as Hesiod (Theogony 561–616, Works & Days 59–105), and was popular with the dramatists and with vase painters. A representation of the myth of Pandora was said also to have been sculpted on the statue of Athena in the Parthenon. Sophocles wrote a satyr play called Pandora or the Hammerers, and on one vase, satyrs are shown hammering at the earth to release a female figure. Her name "all gifts" can be applied to the earth as mother.

Fragments

13 The beam of the loom begins to weave, and the . . . gets going.

14 Grey mullets and sea bass.

15 To put the lamp to sleep.

16 Himself the second.

17 To give a kiss.

Brief fragments: (F 18) "youngsters," (F 19) "to drink freely."

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

ΣΕΙΡΗΝΕΣ

Testimonium

i Athenaeus 270a

οἶδα δὲ καὶ οἱ Θουριοπέρισται καὶ τὸ τοῦ Νικοφῶντος
δρᾶμα ἀδίδακτά ἐστι, διόπερ καὶ τελευταίων αὐτῶν
ἐμνήσθην.

Fragments

20 Athenaeus 80b

ἐὰν δέ γ' ἡμῶν σὺκά τις μεσημβρίας
τραγῶν καθεύδη χλωρά, πυρετὸς εὐθέως
ἤκει τρέχων, οὐκ ἄξιος τριωβόλου·
καθ' οὗτος ἐπιπεισὼν ἐμείν ποιεῖ χολήν.

21 Athenaeus 269e

νειφέτω μὲν ἀλφίτοις,
ψακαζέτω δ' ἄρτουσιν, ὑέτω δ' ἔτνει,
ζωμὸς διὰ τῶν ὀδῶν κυλινδέιτω κρέα,
πλακοῦς ἑαυτὸν ἐσθίειν κελεύετω.

NICOPHON

SIRENS

According to Athenaeus, this play, like the Thourio-Persians of Metagenes, was never produced, although he is able to quote three times from it and include F 21 as part of his citations on the good life in comedy. Theopompus also wrote a comedy with this title. Nicophon may have created a mythological burlesque along the lines of Cratinus' Odysseus and Company (or Euripides' Cyclops), dramatising the encounter with the Sirens at Odyssey 12.37-58, 153-200). But could Nicophon have increased the traditional three Sirens to make up a comic chorus of twenty-four? F 21 suggests that the temptation of the Sirens is not so much their enchanting song, but the offer of an ideal existence.

Recent bibliography: Pellegrino (Utopie) 127-32.

Testimonium

i I am aware that both *Thurio-Persians* and the play by Nicophon [*Sirens*] were not performed, which is why I mentioned them last.

Fragments

20 If one of us munches green figs at midday and then goes to sleep, a good-for-nothing fever immediately comes running, attacks him, and makes him vomit up bile.

21 Let it snow with barley groats, hail with loaves of bread, pelt down with soup, let gravy roll pieces of meat throughout the streets, let a flat-cake demand to be eaten.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

22 Athenaeus 368b

ἀλλᾶς μαχέσθω περὶ ἔδρας παροψίδι.

ΑΔΗΛΩΝ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΩΝ

23 Pollux 3.18

Ἰννὶ δὲ Κρόνον καὶ Τιθωνοῦ παππεπίπαππος
νενόμισται.

NICOPHON

22 Let a sausage vie with a side dish for precedence.

UNASSIGNED FRAGMENTS

23 Now he is considered the great-great-grandfather of
Cronus and Tithonus.¹

¹ One MS of Pollux names the comic poet as Philonides [F 17]
and not Nicophon.

Brief fragments: (F 24) "silence," (F 25) "saucers," (F 26)
"dancing the cordax," (F 27) "on bell duty," (F 28) "silent,"
(F 29) "the uvula," (F 30) "friend" [vocative used of more
than one person].

ΦΕΡΕΚΡΑΤΗΣ

The loss of Pherecrates' comedies is a considerable one, as a more representative triad for Old Comedy could well be Cratinus, Pherecrates, and Aristophanes. A victory in 437 (T 2) is recorded; he thus belongs to that group of successful comic poets who immediately precede Aristophanes and Eupolis. Dates are difficult to determine for his lost comedies, since there are so few topical allusions. He seems remarkably absent from the records of the 420s, but his *Wild-Men* is firmly dated by Athenaeus (T 1 to that comedy) to the *Lenaea* of 420. I suspect that once comedy returned to five productions after the Peace of 421, Pherecrates, like other poets, got more of a look-in. Certain other comedies (*Kitchen*, *Chiron*) have been plausibly dated to the 410s or even later. A career of c. 440–410 would seem reasonable.

Pherecrates is credited with seventeen (T 1) or eighteen (T 4) comedies. We have nineteen titles, and if *Metics* is actually by Platon and the two *Heracles* plays (*Heracles the Mortal*, *False Heracles*) are the same comedy, that nineteen is nicely reduced to seventeen. The authenticity of three comedies in particular has been disputed, especially by Athenaeus, (*Miners*, *Persians*, *Chiron*), unfortunately so, since they are three of the plays best represented among the remains of Pherecrates. Athenaeus knows of a tradition

PHERECRATES

that attributed *Miners* and *Chiron* to "Nicomachus the rhythmist," and also assigns *Good Men* to "Pherecrates or Strattis." Disputed authorship is nothing unusual for Old Comedy, but it does seem as if Pherecrates' plays were especially susceptible to suspicions about who wrote them. We might consider a number of possibilities: production by someone other than Pherecrates (but the ancients seem to have been able to ferret out the real author), or perhaps revision by a later poet, either of an unfinished play or one actually produced before. Pollux (2.33) does use the verb "revised" of the plays of Pherecrates.

The ancient critics found in the comedy of Crates and Pherecrates something different from the abusive and topical comedy of Aristophanes and Eupolis that came to be seen as stereotypical of Old Comedy. The anonymous writer on comedy (T 2) makes him an actor and follower of Crates in avoiding personal humour and in writing comedy with strong plotlines. The first claim is certainly borne out by the fragments that we have. Of the nearly three hundred fragments, perhaps ten contain any personal jokes, and none is of the politically charged sort that permeates Aristophanes' comedy. We do not have enough of the comedies to justify the second judgement. *Chiron*, the one comedy for which we have any hints about scenes and characters, is confusing in the extreme.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

While one or two plays (Chiron and Ant-Men) seem to be burlesques of myth, the sort which Cratinus and Hermippus were fond of writing in the 430s, Pherecrates' plays have more largely to do with domestic themes and female characters, perhaps anticipating the comedy of Menander and the other poets of New Comedy. There are hints of the theme of women in control in Tyranny, and as many as five plays may have featured a hetaera as a principal character (Corianno, Kitchen or Pannychis, Forgetful Man or Thalassa, Petale, Tyranny). There is also the presentation of Music as a high-class hetaera in Chiron (F 155). Other lost comedies suggest social themes: Good

Testimonia

i Suda φ 212

Φερεκράτης, Ἀθηναῖος, κωμικός· {ὁς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συν-εστράτευσεν.} ἐδίδαξε δράματα ιζ'.

ii Anonymous On Comedy (Koster III.9-13, 29-31)

τούτων δέ εἰσιν ἀξιολογώτατοι Ἐπίχαρμος, Μάγνης, Κρατῖνος, Κράτης, Φερεκράτης, Φρύνιχος, Εὐπολις, Ἀριστοφάνης

Φερεκράτης Ἀθηναῖος. νικᾷ ἐπὶ Θεοδώρου· γενόμενος δὲ ὑποκριτῆς ἐζήλωσε Κράτητα, καὶ αὐτοῦ μὲν λοιδορεῖν ἀπέστη, πράγματα δὲ εἰσηγούμενος καινὰ ἠὲ δοκίμει, γενόμενος εὐρετικὸς μύθων.

θεάτρου cod., Θεοδώρου Dobree.

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Men, Wild-Men, Slave-Trainer, and Accessories. Persians and Miners appear to have contained the popular utopian sentiments of the life free from toil, where things happen "on their own." Perhaps most intriguing is Tiddlers, almost certainly earlier than Frogs, but set in the Underworld with Aeschylus as a speaking character.

Recent bibliography: Conti Bizzarro, MCr 25-28 (1990-1993) 79-121, MCr 23-24 (1988-1989) 259-92; Dobrov and Urios Aparisi, in Dobrov (BA) 139-75; Henderson, in Rivals 135-50; R. Quaglia, Acme 56 (2003) 255-70, AFLB 46 (2003) 253-95, 48 (2005) 99-170.

Testimonia

i Pherecrates: of Athens, comic poet {who served in Alexander's army}. He produced seventeen plays.

ii The most noteworthy of these <poets> are Epicharmus, Magnes, Cratinus, Crates, Pherecrates, Phrynichus, Eupolis, Aristophanes

Pherecrates: of Athens. He won a victory in the archonship of Theodorus [438/7]. He had been an actor and emulated Crates, and also refrained from personal jokes. His success lay in introducing new themes and in inventing plots.

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iii *Canons of the Comic Poets*

κωμωδοποιοὶ ἀρχαίας ζ'. Επιχαρμος, Κρατῖνος, Εὐ-
πολις, Ἀριστοφάνης, Φερεκράτης, Κράτης, Πλάτων.

iv *The Names and Plays of the Poets of Old Comedy*
(Koster VIII.3)

Φερεκράτους δράματα ιη'.

v *Suda π 1708*

Πλάτων, Ἀθηναῖος, κωμικός, γεγονὼς τοῖς χρόνοις
κατὰ Ἀριστοφάνην καὶ Φρύνιχον, Εὐπολιν, Φερε-
κράτην.

vi *IG ii² 2325.56*

Φερ[εκράτης

vii *IG ii² 2325.122*

Φερεκράτης II

viii

(a) *Tzetzes Distinctions among Poets* (Koster XXIa.82-
84)

τῆς δευτέρας ἦν ὁ ψόγος κεκρυμμένος,
ἧς ἦν Κρατῖνος, Εὐπολις, Φερεκράτης,
Ἀριστοφάνης, Ἑρμιππός τε καὶ Πλάτων

PHERECRATES

iii There were seven poets of Old Comedy: Epicharmus,
Cratinus, Eupolis, Aristophanes, Pherecrates, Crates,
Platon.

iv The plays of Pherecrates: 18.

v Platon: of Athens, comic poet, a contemporary of Aris-
tophanes and Phrynichus [T 4], Eupolis [T 8], and Pher-
crates.

vi [list of victors at the Dionysia—from the mid-430s]
Pher[ecrates

vii [list of victors at the Lenaea—from the late 430s]
Pherecrates 2

viii

(a) Indirect insult was characteristic of second <comedy>,
of which there were Cratinus, Eupolis, Pherecrates, Aris-
tophanes, Hermippus, and Platon.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

(b) Tzetzes *Proem* (Koster XIa I.78)

οὕτως ἡ πρώτη κωμῳδία τὸ σκῶμμα εἶχεν ἀπαρα-
κάλυπτον· ἐξήρκεσε δὲ τὸ ἀπαρακαλύπτως οὕτως
κωμῳδεῖν μέχρις Εὐπόλιδος . . . ἀλλὰ ψήφισμα θέν-
τος Ἀλκιβιάδου κωμῳδεῖν ἐσχηματισμένως καὶ μὴ
προδήλως αὐτὸς τε ὁ Εὐπόλις Κρατῖνός τε καὶ Φερε-
κράτης καὶ Πλάτων, οὐχ ὁ φιλόσοφος, Ἀριστοφάνης
τε σὺν ἑτέροις τὰ συμβολικὰ μετεχειρίσαντο σκῶμ-
ματα, καὶ ἡ δευτέρα κωμῳδία τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἀνεσκίρ-
τησεν.

(c) Tzetzes *Prolegomena to Lycophron* (Koster XXIIb.39)

κωμῳδοὶ πραττόμενοί εἰσιν οὗτοι οἴοι Ἀριστοφάνης,
Κρατῖνος, Πλάτων, Εὐπόλις, Φερεκράτης καὶ ἕτεροι.

(d) Tzetzes *Prolegomena to Hesiod*

τῶν ποιητῶν οἱ μὲν εἰσι λυρικοί, οἱ δὲ μονῳδοί, οἱ δὲ
κωμικοί, καὶ ἕτεροι τραγικοί . . . κωμικῶν δὲ ὁ γέλωσ
μετὰ χορευτῶν καὶ προσώπων, οἷος Ἀριστοφάνης,
Εὐπόλις, Φερεκράτης.

ix

(a) Phrynichus F 8

ὁ Φερεκράτης ἀττικώτατος ὢν

PHERECRATES

(b) First comedy had personal jokes that were open and
direct, and this direct humour was accepted until the time
of Eupolis . . . but when Alcibiades passed a law to make
fun of people indirectly and not openly, Eupolis himself
and Cratinus and Pherecrates and Platon (not the philoso-
pher) Aristophanes with the rest fashioned their jokes al-
lusively and so second comedy was at its height.

(c) The comic poets that are studied are those such as
Aristophanes, Cratinus, Platon, Eupolis, Pherecrates, and
others.

(d) There are lyric poets, writers of monody, comic poets,
and tragedians . . . <characteristic> of comic poets is laugh-
ter along with dancers and masks, for example Aristoph-
anes, Eupolis, Pherecrates.

ix

(a) Pherecrates, very much in the Attic style.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

(b) Athenaeus 268e

ὁ ἀπτικώτατος Φερεκράτης

x Hephaestion *Handbook* 10.2

ἑφθημιμερὲς δὲ τὸ καλούμενον Φερεκράτειον

ΑΓΑΘΟΙ

Fragments

1 Athenaeus 415c

{A.} ἐγὼ κατεσθίω μόλις τῆς ἡμέρας
πένθ' ἡμιμέδιμν', εἰάν βιάζωμαι. {B.} μόλις;
ὡς ὀλιγόσιτος ἦσθ' ἄρ', ὅς κατεσθίεις
τῆς ἡμέρας μακρᾶς τριήρους σιτία.

2 Athenaeus 685b

λουσάμενοι δὲ πρὸ λαμπρᾶς ἡμέρας
ἐν τοῖς στεφανώμασιν, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ μύρφῳ
λαλεῖτε περὶ σισυμβρίων κοισμοσανδάλων τε.

PHERECRATES

(b) That most Attic <of poets>, Pherecrates.

x The hephthemimer ["seven-footed"] called "the Pherecratean" [citing F 84].

GOOD MEN

The comedy is cited five times, three times by Athenaeus as the work of "Pherecrates or Strattis," and twice by Pollux as the work of Pherecrates. The Suda (Strattis T 1) cites a title "Good Men or The Money Vanishes," which may give us a clue to the plot: good men becoming rich (in the manner of Aristophanes' *Wealth*—see l. 495) and then quickly going through their newly acquired wealth. The title might suggest the chorus—but what would be distinctive or comic about a group of virtuous men—or the principal characters? The fragments do suggest people enjoying a luxurious way of life.

Fragments

1 (A) If I am forced to, I can eat five half-bushels a day, just.

(B) "Just." You really are a light eater, if you eat in one day the food ration for a warship.

2 Bathed before the light of day, you people are already gossiping, some in the wreath stalls, others in the perfume market, about bergamot mint and larkspur.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

3 Pollux 10.47

δίφροι διωχεῖς

ΑΓΡΟΙΟΙ

PHERECRATES

3 Chariots built for two.

Brief fragment: (F 4) "of fig buyers."

WILD MEN

This comedy is one of several dramas of the 410s on the theme of leaving civilisation for a better life elsewhere. The best-known is *Birds* (D-414), where two Athenians abandon the litigious atmosphere of Athens for a life of freedom among the birds, only to recreate Athens in the sky. The same festival saw Phrynichus' comedy, *The Hermit*, where the title character (Monotropos) "leads the life of Timon," the infamous misanthrope of Athens. The testimony of Plato and Athenaeus (T 1-2) shows that the chorus was made up of "wild men" and that two "misanthropes" (precursors, very likely, of Peithetaerus and Euelpides in *Birds*) have come to the country of the wild men, who have no features of civilisation. T 3 suggests that the wild men do live in a community and are not the solitary and lawless individuals of *Odyssey* 9.

F 5 suggests a confrontation between the visitors and the wise men (also F 12, although how a naval encounter would be worked in is unclear). F 8-10, 13-14 reveal that the simpler life was also a theme, but a larger question remains, whether the newcomers repented of their desire for a less complicated life, when confronted by the reality of the "wild men," or whether, as in *Birds*, they were able to co-opt the inhabitants to their own advantage.

Recent bibliography: P. Ceccarelli, in *Rivals* 455-58; I. Ruffell, in *Rivals* 493-95.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

Testimonia

i Athenaeus 217c

ἐδιδάχθησαν δὲ οἱ ἄγριοι ἐπ' Ἀριστίωνος ἄρχοντος

ii Plato *Protagoras* 327cd

οἷον καὶ νῦν, ὅστις σοι ἀδικώτατος φαίνεται ἄνθρωπος τῶν ἐν νόμοις καὶ ἀνθρώποις τεθραμμένων, δίκαιον αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ δημιουργὸν τούτου τοῦ πράγματος, εἰ δέοι αὐτὸν κρίνεσθαι πρὸς ἀνθρώπους οἷς μήτε παιδεία ἐστὶν μήτε δικαστήρια μήτε νόμοι μηδὲ ἀνάγκη μηδεμία διὰ παντὸς ἀναγκάζουσα ἀρετῆς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' εἶεν ἄγριοί τινες οἰοίπερ οὗς πέρυσιν Φερεκράτης ὁ ποιητῆς ἐδίδαξεν ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ. ἢ σφόδρα ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀνθρώποις γενόμενος, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χορῷ μισάνθρωποι, ἀγαπήσαις ἂν εἰ ἐντύχοις Εὐρυβάτῳ καὶ Φρυνώνδῃ, καὶ ἀνολοφύραι' ἂν ποθῶν τὴν τῶν ἐνθάδε ἀνθρώπων πονηρίαν.

iii Themistius 26 p. 323c

ἐπαινεῖν μὲν τὸν Προμηθεῖα . . . ὅτι οὐκ ἐποίησε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μονήρεις καὶ μονοτρόπους ὥσπερ τοὺς λύκους ἢ τὰς παρδάλεις, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἰλιγγιάν πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος, καθάπερ τοὺς ἄγριους οὗς ἐδίδαξε Φερεκράτης.

PHERECRATES

Testimonia

i *But Wild Men* was produced in the archonship of Aristion [421/0].

ii So consider even now that the person, who seems to be the most wicked of those reared in human company and among laws, is himself a just person and a model of such behaviour, if we should compare him to people who have no system of education, no courts or laws, and no necessity that forces them to care about virtue at all, and if they were wild men, such as those that the poet Pherecrates produced at the Lenaea last year. Indeed if you were to find yourself among such folk, like the misanthropists among that chorus, you would be delighted to encounter Eurybatus or Phrynonidas, and you would be very sorry and actually miss the wickedness of men here.

iii To praise Prometheus . . . because he did not make men solitary individuals like wolves or leopards, but made them coalesce into a group, like the wild men that Pherecrates put on stage.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

Fragments

5 Pollux 10.150

{A.} ἢ μὴν σὺ σαυτὸν μακαριεῖς < > ὅταν
οὐτοί σε κατορύττωσιν. {B.} οὐ δῆτ', ἀλλ' ἐγὼ
τούτους πρότερον, οὐτοὶ δὲ μακαριούσιν με.
καίτοι πόθεν ληνοὺς τοσαύτας λήψομαι;

6 Σ Aristophanes *Birds* 858

{A.} φέρ' ἴδω, κιθαρωδὸς τίς κάκιστος ἐγένετο;
{B.} <ὁ> Πεισίου Μέλῃς. {A.} μετὰ <τὸν> Μέλῃτα
<δ'> ἦν;
{B.} ἔχ' ἀτρέμ', ἐγῶδα, Χαῖρις.

7 Athenaeus 171c

μὴ θαυμάσης·
τῶν γὰρ προτενθῶν ἐσμεν· ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶσθα σύ

8 *Suda* α 3194

πρὶν ἀνακυκῆσαι τὰς ἀπίους ἀρπάζετε.

9 Photius (z) α 2610

{A.} οὐδ' ἀποπροσωπίζεσθε κυάμοις; {B.} πώμαλα.

PHERECRATES

Fragments

5 (A) I suppose you will consider yourself a lucky man,
when these people lay you beneath the ground.
(B) Not at all, I <shall bury> them first, and they will
think me lucky. But where will I get so many coffins?

6 (A) Well then who was the worst lyre singer of all?
(B) Meles, the son of Peisias. (A) And after Meles,
who?
(B) Hold on, I know, Chairis.¹

¹ K.-A. give all of l. 2 to B, and l. 3 to A.

7 Don't you [sing.] be surprised, for we belong to the
Fore-tasters. But you don't know . . .

8 You [pl.] snatch the pears before stirring up.

9 (A) And you people don't wash and wipe your faces with
beans? (B) Not at all.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

10 Athenaeus 263b

οὐ γὰρ ἦν τότε οὔτε Μάνης οὔτε Σηκίς οὐδενὶ
δοῦλος, ἀλλ' αὐτὰς ἔδει μοχθεῖν ἅπαντ' ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ.
εἶτα πρὸς τούτοισιν ἤλουν ὄρθρῳ τὰ σιτία,
ὥστε τὴν κώμην ὑπηχεῖν θιγγανουσῶν τὰς μύλας.

11 Σ Aristophanes *Birds* 1294

οἶμαι δ' αὐτὸν κινδυνεύειν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον < >
† οἶκος λέξεις, ἵνα μὴ συνέχη τοῖσι Λυκούργου
πατριώταις.

12 Σ Aristophanes *Knights* 762a

ὁ δὲ δὴ δελφίς ἐστὶ μολιβδοῦς, δελφινοφόρος τε
κεραία,
ὅς διακόψει τοῦδαφος αὐτῶν ἐμπίπτων καὶ
καταδύων.

13 Photius a 879

καὶ τὰς βαλάνους καὶ τὰς ἀκύλους καὶ τὰς ἀχράδας
περιόντας.

PHERECRATES

10 At that time there was no slave for anyone, no Manes
nor Sekis, but the women had to do all the chores in the
home themselves. Then in addition they would grind the
grain early in the morning, and the village echoed as they
worked the mills.

11 I think that he is in danger . . . to Egypt. . . . so that he
may contend with the forebears of Lycurgus.¹

¹ Line 2 may be spoken by someone else in response to the first
line. Lycurgus (PAA 611320) was an Athenian, probably grand-
father of the 4th- c. orator, and had some connection with Egypt—
see *Birds* 1294, Cratinus F 32.

12 Now this dolphin is made of lead, and the yardarm is a
dolphin bearer, and it will fall and break through their hull
and sink.

13 Going around <after> oak acorns and holm acorns and
wild pears.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

14 Athenaeus 316e

ἐνθρύσκοισι καὶ βρακάνοις
καὶ στραβήλοις ζῆν· ὁπότεν δ'
ἤδη πεινώσι σφόδρα,
ὡσπερὶ τοὺς πουλύποδας

5 < > νύκτωρ περιτρώ-
γειν αὐτῶν τοὺς δακτύλους.

15 Σ Aristophanes Wasps 1502c

καὶ Καρκίνος μὲν τις ἦν ὁ Θωρυκίου υἱός. ἦσαν δὲ
αὐτῷ τρεῖς τινες μικροὶ κομηῆται τότε καὶ νῦν εἰσὶν
μικροὶ καὶ κομηῆται. φίλορχοι τότε παῖδες ἦσαν ὄντες
νῦν φιλαρχικώτεροι. μὰ τὸν Δία οὐ τρεῖς τε ἐκείνοί
εἰσιν οἱ τέσσαρες.

φίλορχοι . . . φιλαρχικώτεροι codd., φίλορχοι . . .
φιλορχικώτεροι Meineke.

16 Bodleian Proverbs 57

Ἄντρώνειος ὄνος

17 Pollux 7.192

βύρσης γλευκαγωγῶ

18 Σ Lucian Anacharsis 32

γέρροις ἀποσταυροῦνται

PHERECRATES

14 To live on chervil and wild herbs and wild olives, when
they get really hungry, like octopus . . . to chew at their
fingers at night.

15 [The scholiast appears to be citing the actual words of
Pherecrates, but the actual reading is in some dispute and
persuasive. The text that I have printed reflects a likely
pun operating on *philarchoi* (fond of power) and *philor-
choi* (fond of dancing), since Carcinus (PAA 564125)
served as a general at Corcyra and he and his sons appear
as dancers at the end of *Wasps*.]

There was a man named Carcinus, the son of Thory-
cion. He had three sons, small with long hair then, and
small and long-haired now. When they were children, they
loved to dance, but now they are even fonder of power. No
by Zeus, these aren't three—there are four of them.

16 An ass from Antron.

17 A leather bottle for carrying new wine.

18 They are being fenced off with wicker stakes.

Brief fragments: (F 19) "with wool on both sides," (F 20)
"being too subtle."

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

ΑΝΘΡΩΦΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ

Fragment

21 Photius (b) α 2064

ὦ Ζεῦ, καλῶς γ' ἀνταποδίδωσ μοι τὴν χάριν

ΑΥΤΟΜΟΛΟΙ

PHERECRATES

HERACLES THE MORTAL

Only one fragment is attested for this comedy, whose title reminds one of Strattis' Orestes the Mortal. There are several other examples of titles composed of two names, but the force of the two parts does not always seem to be consistent, e.g., Dionysalexander (Dionysus as Alexander), but Anthroheracles should mean "Heracles as mortal." See also False Heracles.

Fragment

21 Zeus, this is a fine way to show your thanks to me.

DESERTERS

Given the parallels with Knights 465–67 and Peace 475–77, the mention of the Argives in F 22 suggests a date in the 420s when Argos was playing Athens and Sparta off against each other. In 421/0 Argos would enter into a four-way accord with Athens. This is the only hint of a political theme for Deserters, and the mention of the gods (F 24, 28) and of a journey into the sky might imply a theme like that of Peace, and perhaps a source for the first book of Lucian's "True" Story (?). Are the "deserters" men from Athens (or Greece) who have said "no" to the war—compare titles such as Cratinus' Run-Aways or Eupolis' Draft-Dodgers? F 24 and 28 suggest that gods appeared as characters—is it perhaps the gods who have deserted humanity? The anapaestic tetrameters of F 28 have suggested an agon to some, perhaps an exposition to the chorus like that of Peithetaerus in Birds.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

Fragments

22 Σ Aristophanes *Peace* 477b

οὔτοι γὰρ ἡμῖν οἱ κακῶς ἀπολούμενοι
ἐπαμφοτερίζουσ' ἐμποδῶν καθήμενοι.

23 Photius (z) ε 743

μετέωρον αἴρουσ' αἱ πτέρυγες τὴν ναῦν < >
ἕως ἂν ἐμπέσωσιν ἐς τὸν οὐρανόν.

24 Harpocration p. 168.11

ὁπότεν σχολάζης, νεῖψον, ἵνα τὰ λήια
συγκαρκινωθῇ.

25 Photius p. 541.5

ὕμεις γὰρ αἰεὶ στραγγαλίδας ἐσφίγγετε.

26 Athenaeus 119d

ἡ γυνὴ δ' ἡμῶν ἐκάστῳ λέκιθον ἔψουσ' ἢ φακῆν
ἀναμένει καὶ σμικρὸν ὀπτῶσ' ὀρφανὸν ταρίχιον.

27 Photius (b) α 1638

ἀνὴρ ἀναρριπίζεται.

PHERECRATES

Fragments

22 These damned people [the Argives] are just sitting in
our way and playing both sides against the middle.

23 Their wings lift the ship up into the air . . . until they
plunge into the sky.

24 <to Zeus?> Whenever you have the time, let it snow, so
that the crops may get their roots firmly planted.

25 For you [pl.] always tied knots really tight.

26 Each of our wives is waiting, boiling up some pulse or
lentil soup and roasting a lonely little salt fish.

27 The man is getting heated up again.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

28 Clement of Alexandria *Miscellanies* 7.30.3

ὅ τι τοῖσι θεοῖς θύετε, πρώτιστ' ἀποκρίνετε < >
τὸ νομιζόμενον † ὑμῶν αἰσχύνη· τῶ κατ' εἰπεῖν †
εὖ τῶ μηρῶ περιλέψαντες {κομιδῆ} μέχρι βουβώνων
< >

καὶ τὴν ὄσφυν κομιδῆ ψιλὴν, λοιπὸν τὸν σφόνδουλον
αὐτὸν

5 † ὥσπερ ῥινῆσαντες νέμεθ' ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς κυσὶν
ἡμῖν

εἴτ' ἀλλήλους αἰσχυνόμενοι θυλήμασι κρύπτετε
πολλοῖς.

1 ὅτι cod., ὅτε Sylburg

29 Photius (b, z) a 705

νῆ τὴν Δήμητρ', ἀνιαρὸν <γ> ἦν τὸ κακῶς ἄδοντος
ἀκούειν·

βουλοίμην γὰρ κἂν ἀκαλήφαις τὸν ἴσον χρόνον
ἐστεφανῶσθαι.

30 Athenaeus 648c

ὥσπερ τῶν αἰγιδίων ὄζειν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος
μελικήρας.

31 Photius (z) a 3109

ἀτραπίζοντες τὰς ἀρμονίας διὰ πασῶν.

PHERECRATES

28 What [when?] you [pl.] sacrifice to the gods, sepa-
rate off the customary part <for the priests?>—it is a
shame on you to mention this (?)—cutting off the thigh
meat right up to the groin . . . the bone completely bare,
and the rest of the spine . . . you apportion to us, as if we
were dogs, but being ashamed of one another you hide it
with many offerings.

29 By Demeter, it is tiresome to listen to someone singing
badly. I would prefer to spend the same amount of time
wearing a garland of nettles.

30 Just like smelling honeycombs on the breath of goats.

31 Following the harmonies through all.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

32 Athenaeus 385e

τοῦψάριον τουτὶ παρέθηκε τις ἡμῖν.

33 Athenaeus 396c

οὐ γαλαθηνὸν ἄρ' ὕν θύειν μέλλεις.

34 Photius a 238

πίνειν ἀεὶ καὶ μεθύειν πρὶν ἀγορὰν πεπληθέναι.

35 Pollux 2.33

ἐν χρῶ κουριῶντας

ΓΡΑΕΣ

Fragments

37 Athenaeus 246f

{A.} σὺ δ' οὐδὲ θᾶπτον, Σμικυθίων, ἐπισιτιεῖ;
{B.} τίς δ' οὗτος ὑμῖν ἔστι; {A.} τοῦτον πανταχοῦ
ἄγω λαρυγγικόν τιν' ἐπὶ μισθῶ ξένον.

436

PHERECRATES

32 Someone has put this hors d'oeuvre before us.

33 You are not going to sacrifice a suckling pig then?

34 Always to be drinking and to get drunk before the marketplace is full.

35 Their hair trimmed.

Brief fragment: (F 36) "entirely."

OLD WOMEN

The title implies a chorus of old women, and at *Lysistrata* 177 the older women are entrusted with seizing the *Acropolis* (from which a pigeon could well have been sent with news—F 38). F 39 does sound as if a treaty or some formal negotiation was part of the action. However, old women in *Aristophanes* are usually figures of fun, and a chorus of decrepit hags would have been good comic material. In both *Assemblywomen* and *Wealth*, old women are involved romantically with younger males.

Fragments

37 (A) Smicythion, won't you go quickly and locate some food?

(B) What's this fellow to you people?

(A) I take this fellow everywhere, a guest glutton on retainer.

437

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

38 Athenaeus 395ab

ἀπόπεμψον ἀγγέλλοντα τὸν περιστερόν.

39 Photius (b, z) α 466

Ἀθηναίαις αὐταῖς τε καὶ ταῖς ξυμμάχοις.

40 Bachmann's *Lexicon* p. 9.24

εὐθὺς γὰρ ὡς ἐβαδίζομεν ἐξ Ἄγρας

ΔΟΥΛΟΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΟΣ

PHERECRATES

38 Send off the pigeon with the news.

39 For the Athenian women themselves and the allied women.

40 Straightaway as we were walking out of Agra.¹

¹ A village southeast of Athens in the Ilissus valley, where the Lesser Mysteries of Demeter were celebrated in the month of Anthesterion.

Brief fragments: (F 41) "belt," (F 42) "felt shoe."

SLAVE-TRAINER

The comedy seems to have turned on how slaves need to be taught to be proper slaves. Teaching scenes are always good value in Old Comedy: Strepsiades and Socrates at *Clouds* 627–888, "bringing up father" at *Wasps* 1122–1264, Dionysus undergoing basic training in *Eupolis'* *Officers*, the sophist teaching the countryman how to dance in *Eupolis'* *Goats*. The humour could also have been intensified if one of those being trained was not a slave in the first place. F 44–45, 50–51, 53 could all come from scenes where the slaves are being instructed or where the results of the training are displayed for comic effect. F 46 has a Calleschrus sitting at the Theseum, a precinct near the agora where slaves and others in distress could take refuge. F 43 appears to narrate a dream—cf. those of the slaves in the prologue of *Wasps*—and may have come from the opening scene.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

Testimonia

i Athenaeus 262b

τεθαύμηκα τὸ τῶν δούλων γένος ὡς ἐστὶν ἐγκρατῆς
τοσαύταις ἐγκαλινδούμενον λιχνείαις. ταύτας γὰρ
ὑπερορώσιν οὐ μόνον διὰ φόβον ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ
διδασκλαίαν, οὐ τὴν ἐν Δουλοδιδασκάλῳ Φερεκρά-
τους, ἀλλὰ ἔθισθέντες.

ii Pollux 3.80

εὐδουλος δὲ ὁ τοῖς δούλοις εὖ χρώμενος, παρὰ Φερε-
κράτει, καὶ τὸ δράμα Δουλοδιδάσκαλος.

iii Σ Euripides *Hecuba* 467

οὐ μόνον γὰρ παρθένοι ὑφαινον, ὡς φησὶν Ἀπολλό-
δωρος ἐν τῷ περὶ θεῶν † αὐλῆς †, ἀλλὰ καὶ τέλειαι
γυναῖκες, ὡς Φερεκράτης ἐν Δουλοδιδασκάλῳ.

Fragments

43 Athenaeus 306a

{A.} κίθαρος γεγενῆσθαι κἀγοράζειν κίθαρος ὦν.

{B.} ἀγαθόν γ' ὁ κίθαρος καὶ πρὸς Ἀπόλλωνος
πάνυ.

{A.} ἐκεῖνο θράπτει μ', ὅτι λέγουσιν, ὦ ἄγαθή,
ἔνεστιν ἐν κιθάρῳ τι κακόν.

PHERECRATES

Testimonia

i I have wondered about the race of slaves, how they are
able to restrain themselves even though they are sur-
rounded by so many items of luxury. They ignore them not
only through fear but also through instruction, not the sort
as in Pherecrates' *Slave-Trainer*, but through habit.

ii "Good to his slaves": that is, one who treats his slaves
well, as in Pherecrates [F 244], and there is also a play
Slave-Trainer.

iii Not only girls wove, as Apollodorus says in his *On the
Courtyard (?) of the Gods*, but also grown women as
Pherecrates says in his *Servant-Trainer*.

Fragments

43 (A) <I dreamed that I> turned into a flatfish [*kitharos*]
and was going shopping.

(B) A flatfish is a good omen and has much to do with
Apollo.

(A) But what bothers me, my good woman, is that they
say "There's trouble with a *kitharos*."¹

¹ The joke operates on a pun on *kitharos* (flatfish) and *kithara*
(lyre), the latter providing the connection with Apollo. The prov-
erb was "there's trouble even with the lyre" ("trouble lurks even
when you're happy").

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

44 Athenaeus 699f

ἄνυσόν ποτ' ἐξελθών, σκότος γὰρ γίγνεται,
καὶ τὸν λυχνοῦχον ἔκφερ' ἐνθεὶς τὸν λύχνον.

45 Athenaeus 480b

ἄνυ δ' ἀπονίξε τὴν κύλικα δώσων πιεῖν,
ἔγχει δ' ἐπιθεὶς τὸν ἠθμόν.

46 Etymologicum Genuinum AB

Κάλλαισχρον ἐν τῷ Θησέῳ καθήμενον

47 Bachmann's *Lexicon* p. 128.7

οὐκ ἀπολιβάξεις καὶ τριγώνους καὶ λύρας;

48 Bachmann's *Lexicon* p. 154.20

ἀντ' ἀστραγάλων κονδύλοισι παίζεται.

49 Athenaeus 396c

γαλαθὴν' ἔκλεπτον, οὐ τέλεα.

50 Athenaeus 96b

{A.} † ὡς παρασκευάζεται δεῖπνον πῶς ἂν εἴπαθ'
ἡμῖν.†

{B.} καὶ δῆθ' ὑπάρχει τέμαχος ἐγ-
χέλειον ὑμῖν, τευθίς, ἄρ-

PHERECRATES

44 Hurry up [masc.] and come outside, for it's getting
dark; put a lamp in the lamp stand and bring it out here.

45 Now to give someone a drink, wash out the cup, put
the strainer in place, and pour.

46 Callaeschrus sitting in the Theseum.¹

¹ The Theseum, often misidentified as the prominent temple
of Hephaestus beside the agora, was the precinct where the bones
of Theseus were laid. Callaeschrus could be the father of Critias
the oligarch (PAA 552225), or the member of the Four Hundred
in 411 (552220), or the man whom Lysias defended in his *On
Behalf of Callaeschrus* (552195).

47 Won't you get rid of lutes and lyres?

48 He plays knuckle-bones with real knuckles.

49 I was [they were?] stealing suckling pigs, not full-
grown <hogs>.

50 (A) Tell us how dinner is coming along.

(B) To be sure, you [pl.] have sliced eel, squid, lamb

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

5 *νειον κρέας, φύσκης τόμος,
πὺς ἐφθός, ἦπαρ, πλευρόν, ὀρ-
νίθεια πλήθει πολλά, τυ-
ρὸς ἐν μέλιτι, μερὶς κρεῶν.*

51 Photius (b, z) a 1965

*ταχὺ τῶν ἐρίων καὶ τῶν ἀνθῶν τῶν παντοδαπῶν
κατάγωμεν.*

52 Photius (b, z) a 1733

κἀναψηφίσασθ' ἀποδοῦναι πάλιν τὰ χρυσία.

53 Photius (b) a 1508

ῥαίνειν. ἀνακορεῖν ἀγοράς

ΕΠΙΔΗΣΜΩΝ Η ΘΑΛΑΤΤΑ

Fragments

56 Σ Aristophanes *Wasps* 1034a

*κἂν μὲν σιωπῶ, † φέρεται † πνίγεται,
καὶ φησι "τί σιωπᾶς;" εἰ δέ <γ' > ἀποκριθῶ,
"οἴμοι τάλας", φησὶν, "χαράδρα κατελήλυθεν."*

PHERECRATES

*chop, a slice of sausage, a boiled pig's foot, liver, ribs, all
sorts of birds, cheese in honey, a portion of meat.*

51 Let us draw down some of the wool and the various
colours.

52 To rescind the decision to give back the gold.

53 To wash down, to sweep out marketplaces.

*Brief fragments: (F 54) "spurs," (F 55) "to beat with a
club."*

FORGETFUL MAN OR THALATTA

*On six occasions a comedy by Pherecrates is cited with the
title "Forgetful Man (or Men)," on one occasion Athenaeus
(citing F 57) attributes a "Forgetful Man or Thalatta,"
and Erotianus (citing F 58) mentions only a "Thalatta."
Athenaeus (567c) cites a "Thalatta" by Diocles with the
comment that Thalatta was the name of a prostitute.
The fragments do not allow us to determine much about
the comedy, apart from the references to food and enter-
tainment.*

Fragments

56 And if I keep silent, he . . . and fumes and says, "Why
are you silent?" But if I answer, then he says, "Oh no, woe
is me, a torrent has descended."

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

57 Athenaeus 365a

συσκευασάμενος δείπνον εἰς τὸ σπυρίδιον,
ἐβάδιζεν ὡς †πρὸς ὠφελην†.

58 Eustathius *On the Iliad* p. 707.36

τὸν ἰδρῶτα καὶ τὴν ἄρδαν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ σπόγγισον.

59 Photius ε 910

ἐνεχυριμαῖός ἐστί τις παρά σοι χίτων

60 Σ Aristophanes *Wasps* 968d

ὅστις παρέθηκε κρανί' ἢ <τραχήλια>.

61 Athenaeus 111b

†ὠλεν ὀβελίαν σποδεῖν, ἄρτου δὲ μὴ προτιμᾶν.

62 Athenaeus 308f

τοῖς σοῖσι συνὼν κορακινιδίους
καὶ μαινιδίους.

ΠΗΝΟΣ Η ΠΑΝΝΥΧΙΣ

PHERECRATES

57 He packed his dinner into the picnic basket and started off to . . . (?)¹

¹ Athenaeus' text gives ὠφελην, which might be a garbled form of the documented name "Ophelion," or perhaps of "Ophe-lime" ("beneficial," an appropriate name for a prostitute).

58 Sponge the sweat and dirt off me.

59 There is a tunic at your house as a security.

60 Who served fish heads or <scraps>.

61 . . . to devour an obol loaf, but pay no attention to bread.

62 Getting together with tiny crow fishes and little sprats.

Brief fragment: (F 63) "branch bearers."

KITCHEN OR PANNYCHIS

"Kitchen" suggests a domestically centred comedy, which the allusions to Poulytion's mansion (F 64), blowing on the fire (F 66), and the price of wheat (F 67) would confirm. The play is usually cited as "Kitchen," but twice (T 1 and Athenaeus, citing F 70) it has the double title of "Kitchen or Pannychis," and once (F 72) the Aristophanic scholiast cites only a "Pannychis." Pannychis can mean "all night festival," and some have inferred from this title and the allusion to Poulytion (F 64) that the play had something to do with the parody of the Mysteries held at his house in 415.

Testimonium

i Harpocration p. 160.14

ἰπνός . . . μέρος τι τῆς οἰκίας οὕτω καλεῖται, τὸ λεγόμενον παρ' ἡμῖν μαγειρεῖον· ἔστι γοῦν δράμα Φερεκράτους Ἰπνός ἢ Παννυχίς, ἐν ᾧ δηλοῦται τοῦτο, ὅτι μέρος τῆς οἰκίας ἐστὶ.

Fragments

64 Photius p. 626.9

οὐχ ὀρᾶς τὴν οἰκίαν
τὴν Πουλυτίωνος κειμένην ὑπὸ βολον;

¹ Poulytion (PAA 786265) was the owner of the house where Alcibiades and his friends performed the infamous parody of the Mysteries. His house would become the last word in luxury ([Plat.] *Eryxias* 394b, 400b; Pausanias 1.2.5).

But Pherecrates was known for his nonpolitical and non-personal comedy, and how safe a comic subject would that scandal have been? Given Pherecrates' fondness for domestic and women's themes, an all-night festival is certainly a possibility.

But Pannychis has also been explained as a woman's name, very likely that of a hetaera—Eubulus would write a comedy with this title, and Pannychis is a documented name in Thessaly and Sicily in the fourth century, and the name of a prostitute in both Petronius (*Satyricon* 25) and Lucian (*Dialogues of the Courtesans* 9). Is Pannychis a high-class prostitute who can afford to put on a splendid evening's entertainment?

The mention of Poulytion should help date the comedy, but is the house "under a mortgage" the same as being confiscated and sold by the state, the fate of the possessions of all those implicated in the scandal of the Mysteries? At any rate, a date in the 410s seems indicated.

Testimonium

i "Kitchen" . . . the name given to a part of the house, what we would call "cooking room." In fact there is a play by Pherecrates, *Kitchen* or *Pannychis*, in which this is made clear that <the kitchen> is part of the house.

Fragments

64 Don't you see that the house of Poulytion is under a mortgage?¹

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

65 Photius (z) α 2309

τί οὐκ ἐπανεχώρησα δεῦρο καπέδραν;

66 Eustathius *On the Iliad* p. 898.7

ἀνέπλησα τῶφθαλμῶ πάλης φυσῶν τὸ πῦρ.

67 *Suda* α 2814

ὄδ' ἔστ' ἐφ' οὐ ποτ' ἦν ὁ πυρὸς ἄξιος.

68 Pollux 10.181

ἤδη μὲν ᾧαν λούμενῳ προζώννυτε.

69 Pollux 10.183

σκηνὴ περίερκτος περιβόλοις κάνναισι.

70 Athenaeus 612a

κα̑τα μυροπωλεῖν τί μαθόντ' ἄνδρ' ἐχρῆν καθήμενον
ὑψηλῶς ὑπὸ σκιαδείῳ, κατεσκευασμένον
συνέδριον τοῖς μεираκίοις ἐλλαλεῖν δι' ἡμέρας;

5 αὐτίκ' οὐδεὶς οὐτὲ μαγείραιναι εἶδε πώποτε
οὔτε μὴν οὐδ' ἰχθυοπώλαιναν.

71 Photius (b, z) α 1020

ὑποζυγίοις ἀλοάσαντ' εὐθὺς ἐκποιῆσαι.

PHERECRATES

65 Why didn't I run away and come back here?

66 I filled my eyes with ash from blowing on the fire.

67 This is the man in whose day wheat was cheap.

68 Already you [pl.] are girding the fleece on him as he bathes.

69 A tent surrounded by a wicker fence.

70 Moreover, what's got into a man that he should sit high up beneath an umbrella selling perfume, establishing a meeting place for young men to chatter on all day?

Look, no one has ever seen a woman butcher or a female fish seller, for that matter.

71 To put out <the grain> for the beasts of burden after he has threshed it.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

72 Σ Aristophanes *Peace* 1242b

μέμνηται δὲ καὶ Φερεκράτης ἐν Παννυχίδι τῶν κυμ-
βείων καὶ τοῦ κατακτοῦ κοττάβου.

ΚΟΡΙΑΝΝΩ

Testimonia

i *Suda* κ 2084

Κοριαννοῦ Φερεκράτης κέχρηται.

452

PHERECRATES

72 Pherecrates in *Pannychis* mentions little cups and sinkable cottabus.

CORIANNO

This a comedy about which we would like to know more. Athenaeus cites it at length (F 73-36) and identifies the Corianno of the title as a prostitute. Presumably it is she who is keeping a house of some wealth and comfort and whose visitor and servant we see in F 75-76. The fragments give us an intriguing glimpse of domestic life, at least as comedy would present it. The whole tone is very much more in the style of later comedy or of Theocritus 15, although Aristophanes at *Wealth* 641-770 does give us a domestic scene with Chremylus' wife. The women are shown in the familiar comic stereotype as very fond of wine (F 75-76, perhaps also 81), and we hear about lentils that cause bad breath (F 73), figs as large as pots (F 74), and boiled saltbush (F 80).

F 77 seems to present a young man telling an older one (his father?) that for a young man to be in love is natural, but inappropriate for an old man, while F 78-79 mention first a mad, then a toothless old man. Were they rival visitors at the home of Corianno? F 83 stresses that "every man" was filling a vessel or a basket or a bag—could this have been a looting scene such as that in Eupolis' *Spongers*?

Testimonia

i "For Corianno": Pherecrates has employed <this form>.

453

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

ii Athenaeus 567c

καὶ ἄλλα δὲ πολλὰ . . . δράματα ἀπὸ ἐταιρῶν ἔσχε τὰς ἐπιγραφάς, Θάλαττα Διοκλέους, Φερεκράτους Κοριαννώ, Εὐνίκου ἢ Φιλυλλίου ἼΑντεια, Μενάνδρου δὲ Θαῖς καὶ Φάνιον, Ἀλέξιδος Ὀπώρα, Εὐβούλου Κλεψύδρα.

Fragments

73 Athenaeus 159e

{A.} φέρε δὴ κατακλινῶ· σὺ δὲ τράπεζαν <ἐκ>φέρε, καὶ κύλικα κἀντραγεῖν, ἴν' ἡδίων πίω.

{B.} ἰδοὺ κύλιξ σοι καὶ τράπεζα καὶ φακοί.

{A.} μή μοι φακούς, μὰ τὸν Δί', οὐ γὰρ ἡδομαι·

5 ἦν γὰρ τράγη τις, τοῦ στόματος ὄζει κακόν.

74 Athenaeus 653a

ἀλλ' ἰσχάδας μοι πρόελε τῶν πεφωγμένων

οὐκ ἰσχάδας οἴσεις; τῶν μελαινῶν· μανθάνεις;

ἐν τοῖς Μαρνανδυνοῖς ἐκείνοις βαρβάροις

χύτρας καλοῦσι τὰς μελαίνας ἰσχάδας.

75 Athenaeus 481a

{A.} ἐκ τοῦ βαλανείου γὰρ δῖεφθος ἔρχομαι, ξηρὰν ἔχουσα τὴν φάρυγα. {B.} δώσω πιεῖν.

PHERECRATES

ii Many other plays took their titles from hetaerae: *Thalatta* (Sea) by Diocles, Pherecrates' *Corianno*, *Anteia* by Eunicus or Philyllius, Menander's *Thais* and *Phanion*, *Opora* (Bounty) by Alexis, *Clepsydra* (Water-Clock) of Eubulus.

Fragments

73 (A) Well then, I shall recline. You, bring out a table and a cup and something sweet to eat, so that I may enjoy my drinking more.

(B) Here's a cup for you and a table and some lentils.

(A) Lentils, not for me, no by Zeus, I hate lentils. If you eat them, your breath reeks.

74 Bring out some of those baked figs for me.

Could you bring out some figs? Some of the black ones. Do you understand? Among those barbarians at Marian-dynia they call black figs "pots."

75 (WOMAN) For I am coming from the baths well boiled, with a very parched throat.

(B) I'll give you something to drink.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

{A.} γλίσχρον γέ μουστί τὸ σίαλον νῆ τῶ θεῶ.

{B.} † εἰ λάβω κυρισοι † τὴν κοτυλίσκη; {A.}
μηδαμῶς

- 5 μικράν γε. κινεῖται γὰρ εὐθύς μοι χολή,
ἔξ οὔπερ ἔπιον ἐκ τοιαύτης φάρμακον.
εἰς τὴν ἐμήν νυν ἔγχεον τὴν μείζονα.

76 Athenaeus 430e

{A.} ἄποτος, ὦ Γλύκη.

{ΓΑΤΚΗ.} ὑδαρῆ ἔνεχέν σοι; {A.} παντάπασι μὲν
οὔν ὕδωρ.

{ΓΑΤΚΗ.} τί εἰργάσω; πῶς ὦ κατάρατε <δ' >
ἐνέχεας;

{B.} δὴ ὕδατος, ὦ μάμμη. {ΓΑΤΚΗ.} τί δ' οἴνου;
{B.} τέτταρας.

- 5 {ΓΛΘΚΗ.} ἔρρ' ἐς κόρακας. βατράχοισιν οἰνοχοεῖν
σ' ἔδει.

77 Bachmann's *Lexicon* p. 114.12

ἀπαρτί μὲν οὔν ἐμοὶ μὲν εἰκός ἐστ' ἐρᾶν,
σοὶ δ' οὐκέθ' ὦρα.

78 Photius p. 619.8

ὑοσκυαμᾶς ἀνὴρ γέρων.

79 Photius (b, z) a 2017

ἀνὴρ γέρων ἀνόδοντος ἀλήθει

PHERECRATES

{WOMAN} The spit just sticks in my mouth, by the Two
Goddesses.

{B} If I get . . . the small flask?

{WOMAN} No, it's too little. It has made me sick ever
since I drank some medicine out of it. Now pour <some
wine> into this larger <flask> of mine.

76 {A} Glyce, it's undrinkable.

{GLYCE} Did she pour it out too watery for you?

{A} It's *all* water.

{GLYCE} What have you done? How did you mix it,
you wretched girl?

{B} Two parts water, mum. {GLYCE} And how much
wine? {B} Four parts.

{GLYCE} Go to hell. You should have been a wine
pouder for frogs.¹

¹ The mixture of two parts water to four of wine would make
for a powerful drink. The assignation of the three parts in this frag-
ment is not clear. It is possible that B is Glyce, and Glyce as
printed above is the hostess (Corianno?).

77 On the contrary it is fitting for me to be in love, but
your time is long gone.

78 You're out of your mind, an old man at your age.

79 A toothless old man grinds away.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

80 Photius (b, z) a 387

ἀδράφαξιν ἔψουσ', εἴτ' ὀκλὰξ καθημένη

81 Photius (b, z) a 2152

κατάχεον αὐτῆς κἀνύδρευσαι τὸν κάδον.

82 Photius p. 596.13

πάντως γάρ εἰσι τῶν φίλων ἑνός γε του.

83 Pollux 10.179

πᾶς δ' ἀνὴρ ἔσαπτε τεύχος ἢ κόικ' ἢ κωρύκους.

84 Hephaestion *Handbook* 15.23

ἄνδρες, πρόσχετε τὸν νοῦν
ἔξευρήματι καινῷ,
συμπύκτοις ἀναπαίστοις.

ΚΡΑΠΑΤΑΛΟΙ

PHERECRATES

80 Boiling up [fem.] some saltbush and then sitting hunched down.

81 Draw some water and pour the jar over her.

82 They completely belong to some one of my friends.

83 Every man was stuffing a jar or a palm-leaf basket or leather bags.

84 Spectators, give your attention to my new invention, folded anapaests.

TIDDLERS

The title ("krapataloi") can mean "worthless or foolish things" or "small fish" (hence my title "tiddlers"), but Pollux (T 1) makes it clear that Pherecrates used it as the principal monetary unit in the Underworld, subdividing it into two "crumbs" and thence into eight "pips." This strongly suggests an Underworld setting for the comedy, or at least the appearance of characters from the Underworld, confirmed by F 100, which we are told was spoken by Aeschylus. Unless this is a very late comedy, Tiddlers is thus earlier than *Frogs*, both of which had a descent to Hades and Aeschylus as a speaking character. F 96 has been put by some in the mouth of Joacsta, thus increasing the literary theme of the comedy, but this is not a compelling argument. F 85, like *Frogs* 117-34, may be directions on how to easily get to Hades.

F 98 is in iambic tetrameter, often used in the comic agon in Aristophanes, and we may have a glimpse of some

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

Testimonia

i P^{ollux} 9.53

ἴστανε δὲ νομισμάτων καὶ κραπαταλοὶ, εἴτε ταῖς
εἴτε τριβόλων Φερεκράτης ἰσχυρίζεται ἐν τῷ ἰσοκράτους
δράματι λέγει δὲ τῶν μὲν κραπαταλῶν εἶναι ἐν ἄδιδ
ἴστανε τὴν ἔχει δ' αὐτῶν δύο φωβίας, τὴν δὲ τριβόλων
εἶναι τριβόλων καὶ δένεισθαι ὀκτώ κικκάβους.

ii P^{ollux} p. 164.17

ἰσοκράτους ἰσχυρίζεται τὴν νομισμάτων ἐν ἄδιδ
ἴστανε.

Fragments

55 ~~Fragment 55~~

ὦ ἰσοκράτους πέμπε μηδὲν φροντίσας,
καὶ τῶν φιβαλέων τρώγε σύκων τοῦ θέρου,
καρτεζόμενος κάθησε τῆς μεσημβρίας,
κατὰ πύλλεμα καὶ πέπρητο καὶ βόα.

56 ~~Fragment 56~~

ἀφεί ἐν ἄιδου κραπαταλον (τριβόλον) καὶ
φωβία.

PHERECRATES

is a confrontation between two men, each thinking that
it is ~~some~~ something by the other. F 101-2 show Phere-
crates consciously referring to the dramatic setting, in
the first fragment perhaps inciting the spectators to have
a drink. Athenaeus 464ef. cites Philochorus for wine and
masks being provided throughout the competition. In the
second Pherecrates threatens the judges, not indirectly as
in the Clouds and Birds, but in his own name.

Testimonia

i "Tiddlers" is the name of a currency, to which Phere-
crates has given the name, either in jest or being serious,
in his play of that name. He says that the "tiddler" is a
drachma in Hades, and that it has two "crumbs," the
"crumb" being a three-obol piece and worth eight "pips."

ii "Pip": a made-up name of a type of little coin in Hades.

Fragments

55 Not to worry, my dear fellow, catch a fever, eat some
Phibalean figs in summer; when you are full, sleep until
noon, and then writhe in pain, feel on fire, and scream.

56 In Hades you will get a tiddler and crumbs.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

87 Pollux 10.89

{A.} μάχαιραν ἄρ' ἐνέθηκας; {B.} οὐ. {A.} τί μ' εἴργασαι;

ἀμάχαιρος ἐπὶ βόεια νοστήσω κρέα,
ἀνὴρ γέρων, ἀνόδοντος;

88 Photius (z, Sz) a 3492

ἐβάδιζον δ' ἀπὸ
δείπνου κνέφας δ' ἦν ἄρτι κοῦκ ἄωρία.

89 Athenaeus 366d

τακεροὺς ποιῆσαι τοὺς ἐρεβίνθους αὐτόθι.

90 Athenaeus 700c

{A.} τίς τῶν λυχνείων ἡργασία; {B.} Τυρρηνική.

91 Photius (b, Sz) a 1905

οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐδέχετ' οὐδ' ἀνέωγέ μοι θύραν.

92 Photius (b, z) a 277

ὦ δέσποτ' Ἀγυιεῦ, ταῦτά συμμέμνησό μοι.

93 Pollux 10.45

πρὸς τῇ κεφαλῇ μου λάσσανα καταθεὶς πέρδεται.

PHERECRATES

87 (A) Have you included a knife? (B) No.
(A) What have you done to me? That I, a toothless old
man, should return home to beef without a knife?

88 I was [they were?] walking home from dinner—it was
evening and not too late.

89 To make chickpeas tender on the spot.¹
¹ "Chickpea" (*erebinthos*) at *Ach.* 801 and *Frogs* 545 can be
slang for "penis."

90 (A) What is the craftsmanship of the light-stands?
(B) Etruscan.

91 Nobody welcomed me or opened their door to me.

92 Lord Agyieus, keep this in mind for me.

93 Putting a chamber pot beside my head he farted.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

94 Photius p. 306.26

καὶ νοτοπλήγα μὴ ταχέως διακονεῖν.

95 *Suda* a 3037

ζητῶ περιέρρων αὐτὸν ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ.

96 Choeroboscus on the *Canons* of Theodosius (*GrCr* IV
I p. 303.17)

ὡς ἄτοπόν ἐστι μητέρ' εἶναι καὶ γυνήν.

97 Priscian *Institutes of Grammar* 18.243

ὡς τοι κακὸν ὄζει † ΤΑΝΑΜΗΔΤΝ † ἀλλὰ γλυκύ

98 Bachmann's *Lexicon* p. 114.3

{A.} τί δαί; τί σαυτὸν ἀποτίνειν τῷδ' ἀξιοῖς; φράσον
μοι.

{B.} ἀπαρτὶ δήπου προσλαβεῖν παρὰ τοῦδ' ἔγωγε
μᾶλλον.

99 Athenaeus 645e

ταῦτ' ἔχων ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἀρπαζέτω τὰς ἐγκρίδας.

100 Σ Aristophanes *Peace* 749

ὅστις <γ'> αὐτοῖς παρέδωκα τέχνην μεγάλην
ἐξοικοδομήσας.

PHERECRATES

94 For a whipped slave not to serve quickly.

95 I have been wandering about, looking for him since
dawn.

96 How strange it is to be mother and wife.

97 It does have a bad smell . . . but sweet.

98 (A) Okay, how much do you think it right for you to
recompense him? Tell me.

(B) Just the opposite, I rather . . . to receive something
from him.

99 Holding these let him snatch the honey cakes in the
streets.

100 (AESCHYLUS) I who constructed and handed on to
them a great craft.¹

¹ Cf. *Frogs* 1004 addressed to Aeschylus, "The first of the
Greeks to raise a tower of lofty words."

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

101 Athenaeus 485d

τῶν θεατῶν δ' ὅστις διψῆ λεπαστὴν λαψάμενος με-
στήν ἐκκαρυβδίσαι.

102 Photius p. 647.22

τοῖς δὲ κριταῖς
τοῖς νυνὶ κρίνουσι λέγω,
μὴ ἴπιορκεῖν μηδ' ἀδίκως
κρίνειν, ἢ νῆ τὸν φίλιον
5 μῦθον εἰς ὑμᾶς ἕτερον
Φερεκράτης λέξει πολὺ τού-
του κακηγορίστερον.

6 Φιλοκράτης codd., Φερεκράτης Grotius.

103 Pollux 7.152

σῦκα δὲ τῶν διφόρων

ΛΗΡΟΙ

Fragments

105 Athenaeus 690d

ἔστην δὲ κακέλευον † ἐγχεᾶσθαι νῶν μύρον †
βρένθειον, ἵνα τοῖς εἰσιούσιν ἐγχέη.

ἔστην δὲ καὶ / ἐκέλευον <αὐτὸν> Dobree, del. μύρον
Meineke.

PHERECRATES

101 Whoever of the spectators is thirsty <can> pick up a
limpet cup and gulp it down.¹

¹ The text is uncertain. Various attempts have been made to
render it metrically.

102 I say to the judges who are judging today: do not
break your oaths or judge unfairly, or by the god of friend-
ship Pherecrates will be presenting a very different story, a
far more abusive one than this, aimed at you.

103 Figs of the double-bearing variety.

Brief fragment: (F 104) "to be unsuccessful."

ACCESSORIES

The Greek *lēros* means something that is showy and worth
little, hence "nonsense," and also according to Hesychius
"golden ornaments on women's clothing" (λ 895). This
raises the possibility of a chorus dressed in fancy "accesso-
ries." Certainly F 105-6, 112 have to do with expensive
luxuries and decorations.

Fragments

105 I stopped and ordered <him> to pour out some ex-
pensive perfume, so that he might pour it over those who
entered.¹

¹ Translating the text with the conjectures of Dobree and
Meineke.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

106 Photius p. 366.3

μίτραν ἀλουργῆ, στρόφιον, ὄχθοιβον, κτένα.

107 Athenaeus 95d

ὡς οὐχὶ τουτὶ ρύγχος ἀτεχνῶς ἐσθ' ὑός.

108 Photius (z) ined.

τὸ δ' ὄνομά μοι κάτειπε τί σε χρῆσται καλεῖν.

109 Athenaeus 228e

*ἀπὸ τηγάνου τ' ἔφασκεν
ἀφύας φαγεῖν.*

110 Pollux 10.79

λαβοῦσα μὲν τῆς χοίνικος τὸν πύνδακ' εἰσέκρουσεν.

111 Photius p. 188.20

ἔπειθ' ἕτερα τούτων ποιῶντα πολλὰ κυντερώτερα.

112 Pollux 6.105, Athenaeus 424b

κνάθιον ἀργυροῦν

PHERECRATES

106 A purple headband, a sash, a purple blaze, and a comb.

107 Since this is definitely not the snout of a pig.

108 Tell me the name by which I should call you.

109 He kept saying that he ate sprats out of the frying pan.

110 She took hold of the bushel and knocked the bottom in.

111 Next doing many other things more disgraceful than this.

112 Silver ladle.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

ΜΕΤΑΛΛΗΣ

Both Athenaeus and Eratosthenes had their doubts about the authorship of this play, among others. It has been suggested that Pherecrates' plays were revised by later poets (see Pollux 2.33), and this may account for the debate over authorship.

The comedy clearly had a utopian theme, about a style of life where things happened "on their own" (automatēn—l. 6) and there was no need to work. In comedy such places are either in the past, to be created in the future, or somewhere "out there." In this case the ideal life is to be found in the Underworld, into which one conjec-

Testimonia

i Harpocration p. 203.8

μεταλλεῖς· Λυσίας ἐν τῷ πρὸς Διοχάρη, εἰ γνήσιος. οἱ τὰ μέταλλα ἐργαζόμενοι μεταλλεῖς ὀνομάζονται. ἔστι δὲ καὶ δρᾶμα Φερεκράτους Μεταλλεῖς, ὅπερ Νικόμαχόν φησι πεποιηκέναι Ἐρατοσθένης ἐν ζ' περὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας.

ii Photius p. 32.11

Ἐρατοσθένης καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑποπτεύει τοὺς Μεταλλεῖς

iii Athenaeus 685a

ὁ δὲ πεποιηκῶς τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναφερομένους Μεταλλεῖς

PHERECRATES

MINERS

tures that the miners of the title, presumably the chorus, have broken and have brought back a description. The first speaker of F 113 is a woman, perhaps in keeping with the domestic and female themes elsewhere in Pherecrates.

Athenaeus tells us that Pherecrates' play was produced after Cratinus' Wealth-Gods, Crates' Beasts, and Teleclides' Amphictyons, all of which seem to belong to the 430s. Thus I would date the comedy to the early 420s. Pellegrino prefers a wider range of 427–416.

Recent Bibliography: G. Rehrenboeck, Wiener humanistische Blätter 29 (1987) 14–25; Pellegrino (Utopie) 83–109.

Testimonia

i "Miners": Lysias in his *Against Diochares*, if genuine [F XLIII Carey]. Those who work in mines are called "miners," and there is even a play, *Miners* by Pherecrates, which Eratosthenes in Book 7 of his *On Old Comedy* [F 93] says was written by Nicomachus.

ii For this reason Eratosthenes [F 46] has his doubts about *Miners*.

iii The person who wrote the play *Miners* attributed to him [Pherecrates].

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

iv Athenaeus 268d

ἐχρησάμην τῇ τάξει τῶν δραμάτων ὡς ἐδιδάχθη· καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐνοχλῶ τι ὑμῖν (τῶν γὰρ κυνικῶν φροντὶς οὐδὲ ἡ σμικροτάτη), ἀπομνημονεύσω κατὰ τὴν τάξιν καὶ τὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰρημένα ποιηταῖς· ὧν εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ Ἀττικώτατος Φερεκράτης, ὃς ἐν μὲν τοῖς Μεταλλεῦσί φησιν.

Fragments

113 Athenaeus 268d–69c

{A.} Πλούτῳ δ' ἐκεῖν' ἦν πάντα συμπεφυρμένα,
ἐν πᾶσιν ἀγαθοῖς πάντα τρόπον εἰργασμένα·
ποταμοὶ μὲν ἀθάρης καὶ μέλανος ζωμοῦ πλέω
διὰ τῶν στενωπῶν τονφολυγοῦντες ἔρρεον
5 αὐταῖσι μυστίλαισι, καὶ ναστῶν τρύφη,
ὥστ' εὐμαρῆ γε καὐτομάτην τὴν ἔνθεσιν
χωρεῖν λιπαρὰν κατὰ τοῦ λάρυγγος τοῖς νεκροῖς.
φύσκει δὲ καὶ ζέοντες ἀλλάντων τόμοι
παρὰ τοῖς ποταμοῖς σίζοντ' ἐκέχυντ' ἀντ' ὀστράκων.
10 καὶ μὴν παρῆν τεμάχη μὲν ἐξωπτημένα
καταχυσματίοισι παντοδαποῖσιν εὐτρεπῆ,
τεύτλοισί τ' ἐγχέλεια συγκεκαλυμμένα.
σχελίδες δ' ὀλόκνημοι πλησίον τακερώταται
ἐπὶ πινακίσκοις καὶ δῖεφθ' ἀκροκώλια
15 ἠδιστον ἀτμίζοντα καὶ χόλικες βοῶς
καὶ πλευρὰ δελφάκει' ἐπεξανθισμένα
χναυρότατα παρέκειτ' ἐπ' ἀμύλοις καθήμενα.

PHERECRATES

iv [After citing Cratinus' *Wealth-Gods*, Crates' *Beasts*, and Teleclides' *Amphictyons*]
I have used the order in which the plays were produced, and if I am not boring you too much—for the Cynics I don't have the slightest concern—I shall also re-cite what has been said by other poets in that order, one of which is that most Attic <of poets>, Pherecrates, who says in his *Miners* [F 113].

Fragments

113 (WOMAN) There everything was mixed together by Wealth and made from all good things in every possible way. Rivers full of porridge and black broth with scoops of bread would gurgle and flow through the narrow ways, and delicious flat-cakes as well. So a morsel would slide easily and smoothly by itself down the gullets of the dead. Beside the rivers instead of shells were scattered haggises and steaming slices of sizzling black pudding. Moreover, there were baked fish fillets nicely prepared with every sort of seasoning, and eels smothered in beets. Close by on little platters lay melt-in-your-mouth sides of beef, legs and all, and boiled pig's trotters with the most heavenly smell, beef sausages, and delicious pork ribs browned and resting

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

- παρῆν δὲ χόνδρος γάλατι κατανευμμένος
 ἐν καταχύτλοις λεκάναισι καὶ πύου τόμοι.
 20 {B.} οἴμ' ὡς ἀπολείς μ' ἐνταῦθα διατρίβουσ' ἔτι,
 παρὸν κολυμβᾶν ὡς ἔχει' ἐς τὸν Τάρταρον.
 {A.} τί δῆτα λέξεις, τὰπίλοιπ' ἤνπερ πύθη;
 ὅπται κίχλαι γὰρ εἰς ἀνάβραστ' ἤρτυμένοι
 περὶ τὸ στόμ' ἐπέτοντ' ἀντιβολουῦσαι καταπιεῖν,
 25 ὑπὸ μυρρίναισι κἀνεμώναις κεχυμένοι.
 τὰ δὲ μῆλ' ἐκρέματο τὰ καλὰ τῶν καλῶν ἰδεῖν,
 ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς, ἐξ οὐδενὸς πεφυκότα.
 κόραι δ' ἐν ἀμπεχόναις τριχάπτοις, ἀρτίως
 ἠβυλλιῶσαι καὶ τὰ ρόδα κεκαρμένοι
 30 πλήρεις κύλικας οἴνου μέλανος ἀνθοσμίου
 ἦντλον διαὶ χώνης τοῖσι βουλομένοις πιεῖν.
 καὶ τῶνδ' ἐκάστοτ' εἰ φάγοι τις ἢ πίοι,
 διπλάσι' ἐγίγνετ' εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς πάλιν.

114 Athenaeus 685a

ὑπ' ἀναδενδράδων ἀπαλὰς ἀσπαλάθους πατοῦντες
 ἐν λειμῶνι λωτοφόρῳ κύπειρόν τε δροσώδη,
 κἀνθρύσκου μαλακῶν τ' ἕων λείμακα καὶ τριφύλλου.

METOIKOI

*This comedy is cited only by the second-century AD gram-
 marian Apollonius Dyscolus (On Pronouns p. 113.17-20
 Schneider), who records the unusual form emautos in the*

PHERECRATES

on the finest wheat rolls. There was polenta too, snow-
 covered with milk in colanders as big as tubs and slices of
 beestings.

{B} Woman, you'll kill me if you stay here any longer,
 when you can dive into the Underworld.

{WOMAN} What will you say, when you learn the rest?
 Roast thrushes ready for boiling flew round our mouths,
 begging us to eat them, spread out beneath myrtle trees
 and anemones. Overhead hung apples, the fairest of the
 fair to see, growing from nowhere. And the girls in fine-
 spun shawls, just recently come to womanhood and their
 "roses" shorn, were ladling out cups full of fragrant dark
 wine through a funnel for those who wanted to drink. And
 when someone had eaten or drunk, immediately twice as
 much appeared all over again.

114 In a meadow full of the lotus flower, beneath the tree
 vines, walking on soft buckthorn and dewy galingale and a
 garden of chervil and tender violets and clover.¹

¹ The lyric metre suggests a song by the chorus. At *Frogs* 326ff.
 the initiates in the Underworld also celebrate the meadow in
 which they play.

Brief fragments: (F 115) "only just," (F 116) "straight for
 the Lyceum."

METICS

*nominative from Pherecrates' Metics, but in another pas-
 sage (p. 69.18), he attributes the same rarity to a Metics by
 Platon (F 83). Crates also is credited with a Metics, of*

ΜΤΡΜΗΚΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙ

Fragments

117 *Etymologicum Genuinum* β 308

{A.} τί ληρείς; ἀλλὰ φωνὴν οὐκ ἔχειν
ἰχθύν γε φασὶ τὸ παράπαν. {B.} νῆ τὸ θεῶ,
κοῦκ ἔστιν ἰχθὺς ἄλλος οὐδεὶς ἢ βόαξ.

which one fragment (F 26) remains. The most economical approach is to recognise one comedy with this title, that by Platon.

ANT-MEN

Two myths come together in this comedy. The first is that of Deucalion and the Flood (Pindar Olympian 9), in which Deucalion and his wife survive the great Flood and repopulate the world. The second is a story (Hesiod F 205, Ovid Metamorphoses 7.615–60) of the ant-men (Myrmidons) created when Zeus turned ants into men to replenish the population of Aegina after a plague. We may have here a combination of the burlesque of myth and the theme of the new world.

F 125 makes it clear that Deucalion, and presumably then his wife, Pyrrha (speaker of F 125?), was a character in the comedy. F 118–19 may come from an early scene in the comedy, where Deucalion sees the storm approaching and turns the loom pillar into a makeshift mast. See Cratinus' Odysseus and Crew (F 143, 152) for a storm and boat scene at the start of the comedy. In the traditional myth Deucalion and Pyrrha recreate the human race by casting stones behind them, which miraculously turn into men. In this comedy they perhaps were responsible for, or encountered, a new race of ant-men.

Fragments

117 (A) What nonsense. They say that a fish has no voice at all.

(WOMAN) You're right, by the Two Goddesses, no fish at all, other than the grunt fish.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

118 Photius (b. z) a 525

ἄμα κακοδαίμων, αἰγὶς αἰγὶς ἔρχεται.

119 Pollux 7.73

ἀλλ' ὡς τάχιστα τὸν γέρονθ' ἱστὸν ποίει.

120 Photius p. 573.7

γελάττα καὶ χαίροντα καὶ τεθολωμένον.

121 Photius z. a 27.66

ὑπερῶν ἀράται κάπιθεάζει τῷ πατρί.

122 Photius z. a 29.53

ξέση γυνή γραῦς ἀρτίως ἀφειγμένη.

123 Photius b. z. a 12.65

ἔχω δὲ πάντως ἱματίον ἀμφέξομαι

124 Photius (z) e 1015

καὶ τριβώνιον ποιηρῶν οἶον ἐνρυγισκάνειν

125 Aristophanes 335a

μηδέποτε ἰχθύν, ὦ Δευκαλίων, μηδ' ἦν αἰτῶ
παρολῆς μη.

PHERECRATES

118 Oh no, woe is me, a squall is coming, a squall.

119 Quickly as you can, turn the "old man" into a mast.¹
¹ Pollux tells us that a vertical post, of a loom with the arms of a
berm and the carved face of an old man, from which the fibres
hang down, was called a *gerōn* (old man).

120 Laughing and happy and befuddled with joy.

121 Afterward he curses and prays against his father.

122 An old foreign woman just now arrived.

123 I do indeed have a garment. I shall put it on.

124 A cloak of poor quality, the sort to freeze in.

125 Do not ever serve me any fish, Deucalion, not even if
I ask for some.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

126 Σ Aristophanes *Wasps* 674c

ἄρα ποθ' ὑμεῖς <
> καὶ τῆς ὀροφῆς τὸν χούν
κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς καταμήσονται
λαγαριζόμενοι.

127 Pollux 10.91

ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς κύτας οἱ ἐν ἐμοῖν ἀποβανθ' ἃ μέλλομεν
ἀριστήσιν.

κύτας F, κοίταις Meineke κίσταις Kock; οἱ ἐν ἐμοῖν F, ἐν
ἐμαῖς ἀπόκειθ' Meineke; ἀριστήσιν F, ἀριστήσειν Hemster-
huis.

128 Athenaeus 229a

σὺ δ' ἀποτηγανίζεις.

129 Zenobius 4.23

ἢ τρὶς ἕξ ἢ τρεῖς κύβους

130 Pollux 7.17

Μανία θρεπτή

131 Photius (b, Sz) a 1833

ἀνελεύθερον σῶμα

PHERECRATES

126 Won't you <ant-men?> someday . . . swarming to-
gether bring down a heap of dirt from the roof on <their?>
heads?

127 But in my chests (?) . . . on which we are going to
dine.¹

¹ The text is very uncertain, and is cited by Pollux for *kistē*
(chest) or *koitē* (jar).

128 You are eating out of the fry pan.

129 It's either three sixes or three ones.

130 A maid-servant Mania.

131 A body that is not free.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

ΠΕΡΣΑΙ

Persians is cited ten times, seven times as the work of Pherecrates and three times, all by Athenaeus, as "Pherecrates or whoever wrote the Persians attributed to him" (T 2). The matter is further confused by the fact that on three other occasions Athenaeus cites the play as the work of Pherecrates, calling him at 268e "that most Attic of writers" (T 4).

F 137 suggests that the play was another example of the utopian theme in Old Comedy, where there is no need for work and where the good things of life will happen "on their own" (F 137.3). The stereotype of Persia as a place of luxury and soft living (cf. Acharnians 61–125) may well be at work here. See F 138 and Metagenes' Thurio-Persians.

Athenaeus (T 1) tells us that the comedy was later than

Testimonia

i Athenaeus 268d

ἐχρησάμην τῇ τάξει τῶν δραμάτων ὡς ἐδιδάχθη· καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐνοχλῶ τι ὑμῖν (τῶν γὰρ κυνικῶν φροντὶς οὐδὲ ἡ σμικροτάτη), ἀπομνημονεύσω κατὰ τὴν τάξιν καὶ τὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰρημένα ποιηταῖς· ὧν εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ Ἄττικώτατος Φερεκράτης . . . κὰν Πέρσαις δέ φησιν

ii Athenaeus 78d, 502a, 685a

Φερεκράτης δὲ ἢ ὁ πεποιηκὼς τοὺς Πέρσας

PHERECRATES

PERSIANS

Miners, which I would date to the early 420s. F 141 records that Pherecrates parodied Sophocles' Electra 86, but the date for that comedy is notoriously uncertain, most scholars tending to put it late in Sophocles' career, 413–409. That would push Persians down into the 400s, not at all an impossible date, but it is worth considering whether Pherecrates actually was parodying Electra or whether Sophocles' play might have been earlier than one usually thinks.

Recent bibliography: G. Rehrenboeck, Wiener Studien 101 (1988) 47–57; Pellegrino (Utopie) 111–26; M. A. Melero, SPhV 9 (2006) 131–45; M. Pellegrino, SPhV 9 (2006) 177–207.

Testimonia

i [Having cited Cratinus' Wealth-Gods, Crates' Beasts, Teleclides' Amphictyons, and Pherecrates' Miners]

I have used the order in which the plays were produced, and if I am not boring you too much—for the Cynics I don't have the slightest concern—I shall also cite what has been said by other poets in that order, one of which is that most Attic <of poets>, Pherecrates, who . . . in his Persians he says [F 137].

ii Pherecrates or the person who wrote Persians.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

Fragments

132 Pollux 7.15

τὸ παιδίον
τὸ πολλαγόρασον κάπὸ πολλῶν τηλιῶν.

133 Athenaeus 228e

ἐπὶ τηγάνοις καθίσανθ' ὑφάπτειν τοῦ φλέω.

134 Athenaeus 502a

στεφάνους τε πᾶσι κῶμφαλωτὰς χρυσίδας.

135 Athenaeus 502ab

οὗτος σύ, ποῖ τὴν ἀργυρίδα τηνδὶ φέρεις;

136 Photius (z) a 2533

ἀποκυβιστᾶς τὴν δόσιν

137 Athenaeus 269c

τίς δ' ἔσθ' ἡμῖν τῶν σῶν ἀροτῶν ἢ ζυγοποιῶν ἔτι
χρεία,
ἢ δρεπανουργῶν ἢ χαλκοτύπων ἢ σπέρματος ἢ
χαρακισμοῦ;
αὐτόματοι γὰρ διὰ τῶν τριόδων ποταμοὶ λιπαροῖς
ἐπιπάστοις

PHERECRATES

Fragments

132 The child who shops a lot, and from many stalls.

133 To sit down beside the frying pans and set the tinder
alight.

134 Garlands for all and golden navel cups.

135 Hey you, where are you taking this silver cup?

136 You do not accept the gift.

137 What need have we now of your ploughmen or your
yoke makers, of your sickle makers or coppersmiths, of
seed or stakes? For on their own through the crossroads

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

ζωμού μέλανος καὶ Ἀχιλλείους μάζαις κοχυδοῦντες
ἐπιβλύξ

ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν τῶν τοῦ Πλούτου ρεύσονται, σφῶν
5 ἀρύτεσθαι.

ὁ Ζεὺς δ' ὕων οἶνω καπνίᾳ κατὰ τοῦ κεράμου
βαλανεύσει,

ἀπὸ τῶν δὲ τεγῶν ὀχετῶν βοτρυῶν μετὰ ναυτίσκων
πολυτύκων

ὀχετεύονται θερμῶ σὺν ἔτνει καὶ
λειριπολφανεμώναις.

τὰ δὲ δὴ δένδρη τὰν τοῖς ὄρεσιν χορδαῖς ὀπταῖς
ἐριφείαις

φυλλομηθήσει, καὶ τευθιδίαις ἀπαλόισι κίχλαις τ'
10 ἀναβράσσει.

138 Athenaeus 685a

ὦ μιλάχας μὲν ἔξερῶν, ἀνοσπνέων δ' ὑάκινθον,
καὶ μελιλόπτου λαλῶν καὶ ῥόδα προστειρηρῶς
ὦ φίλων μὲν ἀμάρακον, προσκυῶν δὲ σέλινον,

5 γελῶν δ' ἵπποτέλινα καὶ κοιτραυτάνδαλα βαίνων,
ἔγχει κάπιβίᾳ τρίτον παιῶν, ὡς νόμος ἔστιν.

139 Athenaeus 781

ἦν δ' ἡμῶν σφικόν τις ἴδῃ διὰ χρόνῳ νέον ποτέ,
ταύθηαλμῶ τινὲν περιμάττομεν (τὸν) τῶν παιδίων.

PHEROCRATES

will rush forth rivers of black broth with shiny speckle
cakes and Achilles buns, gurgling from the springs of
Wealth, for us to draw from. Zeus will bathe the roof tiles
by sending down a rain of mellow wine, and from the roof-
tops will flood down streams of grapes as well as cheese
cakes along with pea soup and lily rice pudding. The trees
on the mountains will be shedding roasted sausages, ten-
der baby squid, and broiled thrushes.

138 Your belch is mallow, your breath is hyacinth, your
voice honey clover, your smile roses, your kiss is marjoram,
your touch parsley, your laugh is alexanders and your walk
larkspur; pour the wine and shout out the third paeon, as is
the custom.¹

¹ The person addressed is a male, perhaps being accused of
Persian luxury and effeminacy. See Eupolis F 176 and Cratinus
F 105. The eupolidean metre suggests that this is part of the
parabasis.

139 If after a while one of us spots a young fig, we smear it
on the eyes of our children.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

141 Σ Sophocles *Electra* 86

“ὦ φάος ἀγνὸν καὶ γῆς ἰσόμοιρ’ ἀήρ”. καὶ ταῦτα δὲ
Φερεκράτης παρώδηκεν ἐν Πέρσαις.

ΠΕΤΑΛΗ

Fragments

142 Harpocration p. 181.16

[A.] οὗτος πόθεν ἦλθες; [B.] εἰς Κολωνὸν ἰέμην,
οὐ τὸν ἀγοραῖον, ἀλλὰ τὸν τῶν ἰππέων.

¹ There were two places called Colonus at Athens, the more famous being the town just outside Athens, home of Sophocles, and site of the cult of Poseidon Hippius (“god of horses”). Market Colonus was located in the agora, where men looking to be hired would gather.

HERECRATES

141 “O holy light and air that has an equal share of light”
[Sophocles *Electra* 86]: Pherecrates has parodied this in
Persians.

Brief fragments: (F 140) “forbidden things.”

PETALE

If “Petale” was the name of a hetaera, then this comedy belongs with *Corianno* as another instance of a play with a domestic and perhaps amatory theme. The name might derive from petalon, a poetic word for “leaf,” and the name Petale is very likely the reading on an early fourth-century gravestone (PAA 772915). F 143 is the most interesting of the meagre remains, both for its reference to Cleisthenes, the arch-effeminate of Old Comedy, one of the few personal jokes in *Pherecrates*, but also for the possibility that the *mechanē* was made up like a giant pigeon, like the dung beetle at the start of *Peace*. Pigeons were used in classical times to carry messages (see F 38) and in later antiquity were associated with the goddess of Love. If the speaker is Petale herself, then there is a pun on Petale and petou (fly). The three *kōmōidoumenoi* (Cleisthenes—F 143, Melanthius—F 148, and Megallus—F 149) do not help with dating the comedy, since the first two had long careers in comedy.

Fragments

142 (A) Hey you, where have you come from?
(B) I was heading for Colonus, not Market Colonus but Colonus of the horsemen.¹

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

143 Athenaeus 395bc

ἀλλ' ὦ περιστέριον ὁμοῖον Κλεισθένει,
πέτου, κόμισον δέ μ' εἰς Κύθηρα καὶ Κύπρον.

144 Photius p. 204.20

παίειν με τύπτειν λακπατεῖν ὠθεῖν δάκνειν.

145 Photius (b, z) a 648

πρόσαιρε τὸ κανοῦν, εἰ δὲ βούλει, πρόσφερε.

146 *Etymologicum Geniuinum* (A) λ 180

τί δ' αὐτὸ λίαν ὦδε λιπαρεῖς θεόν;

147 Pollux 7.163

κακ πιθῶνος ἤρυσαν
ἄκρατον.

148 Athenaeus 343c

κωμφοῦσι δ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ὀψοφαγία Λεύκων ἐν Φράτερ-
σιν, Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Εἰρήνῃ, Φερεκράτης ἐν Πετάλῃ.

149 Athenaeus 690f

Μεγάλλειον ὠνομάσθη γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο ἀπὸ Μεγάλλου
τοῦ Σικελιώτου οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖόν φασιν εἶναι τὸν
Μέγαλλον. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτοῦ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν
Τελμησιεῦσι καὶ Φερεκράτης ἐν Πετάλῃ.

PIHERECRATES

143 O my little pigeon, so much like Cleisthenes, fly and
carry me off to Cythera or Cyprus.¹

¹ Cleisthenes (PAA 575540) was the great effeminate of Old
Comedy, mocked by Aristophanes for looking (and thus behaving
sexually) like a woman. Cythera and Cyprus were sites of temples
of Aphrodite.

144 To strike me, hit me, thrash me, push me, bite me.

145 Take up the sacred basket, and if you want, bring it
here.

146 Why do you ask a god so much?

147 And from a jar they drew unmixed wine.

148 Melanthius is made fun of for gluttony by Leucon in
his *Phratry-Members* [F 3], Aristophanes in *Peace* [804],
and by Pherecrates in *Petale*.

149 Perfume of Megallus: this was named for Megallus
of Sicily, but some say that he was an Athenian. Aris-
tophanes mentions him in *Telmessians* [F 549] and
Pherecrates in *Petale*.

ΤΥΡΑΝΝΙΣ

F 152 shows that this play had a theme of male v. female. The metre is trochaic tetrameters catalectic, often used in the epirrhemata of a parabasis. Do we have in this comedy a pair of semichoruses (men and women), each complaining about the other? Compare *Lysistrata* 614–705, where each side has two lyric sections, each followed by trochees.

Fragments

150 Harpocration p. 76.9

κάπειθ' ἵνα μὴ πρὸς τοῖσι βωμοῖς πανταχοῦ
ἀεὶ λοχῶντες βωμολόχοι καλώμεθα,
ἐποίησεν ὁ Ζεὺς καπνοδόκην μεγάλην πάνυ.

151 *Suda* a 3750

ἀρ' ἀράχνι' ὥσπερ ταῖς σιπύαισι ταῖς κεναῖς;

152 *Athenaeus* 481b

εἴτ' ἐκεραμεύσαντο τοῖς μὲν ἀνδράσιν ποτήρια
πλατέα, τοίχους οὐκ ἔχοντ' ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τοῦδαφος
μόνον,

κοῦχί χωροῦντ' οὐδὲ κόγχην, ἐμφερῆ γευστηρίους·
σφίσι δέ <γ> αὐταῖσιν βαθείας κύλικας ὥσπερ
ὀλκάδας

5 οἶναγωγούς, περιφερεῖς, λεπτάς, μέσας γαστρούιδας,
οὐκ ἀβούλως, ἀλλὰ πόρρωθεν κατεσκευασμέναι

TYRANNY

Some have thought that the title implies a theme of "women in power," but all tyrannis means is "tyranny," and the title might be a woman's name, a rather appropriate one for a hetaera. "Tyrannis" is a documented woman's name at Athens, but principally in the Roman period. In F 150 "we" might refer to gods, and if so, there was a divine theme (and characters) in this comedy.

Fragments

150 Then so that we might not be called *bōmolochoi* by always hanging about altars everywhere, Zeus made a very large chimney.¹

¹ The etymology of *bōmolochos* is thus explained as *bōmos* (altar) and *lochan* (lurk).

151 Cobwebs, like those in empty bins?

152 Then for their husbands they had shallow drinking cups made, having no sides but the base alone, holding not even a shell's worth, like little shot glasses. But for themselves <they had made> deep cups, the size of wine freighters, round and thin, bulging out in the middle. This was no accident, but planned long in advance, so that they

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αὐθ', ὅπως ἀνεκλογίστως πλείστος οἶνος ἐκποθῆ.
 εἶθ' ὅταν τὸν οἶνον αὐτὰς αἰτιώμεθ' ἐκπιεῖν,
 λοιδοροῦνται κῶμνύουσι μὴ 'κπιεῖν ἀλλ' ἢ μίαν.
 10 ἢ δὲ κρείττων ἢ μί' ἐστὶ χιλίων ποτηρίων.

153 Photius (b, z) a 1871

ᾧστ' ἀνέρρωγεν τὸ φώνημ' εὐθύς ὄξυ καὶ μέγα

154 Hesychius γ 1004

γυμνῶ φυλακὴν ἐπιτάττειν

ΧΕΙΡΩΝ

This plays presents both one of the longest book fragments of Old Comedy (F 155) and a host of problems for the critic. The play's authorship was disputed in antiquity, principally by Athenaeus, who five times uses the phrase "the person who wrote Chiron attributed to Pherecrates" (vel sim.) and at one point (363f) adds "be it Pherecrates or Nicomachus the rhythmist or whoever." But the Aristophanic scholiast (citing F 159) uses a similar description "in the Chiron attributed to Pherecrates." Because the date has seemed to some too late for Pherecrates (see below), its authenticity has been placed in real doubt.

The title might suggest a burlesque of myth, but F 155 (in iambic trimeters) presents an episode with Music and Justice as characters and a very topical and contemporary context—the mistreatment of Music by modern dithyrambic poets, expressed in sexual double entendres. Female personifications are well documented for Old Comedy,

PHERECRATES

could consume the most wine without counting drinks. Then when we accuse them of drinking up the wine, they get rude and swear to have drunk "only the one." But that "one" was larger than a thousand ordinary cups.

153 And so at once the utterance broke forth loud and clear.

154 To command a naked man to stay awake.

CHIRON

both as speaking roles (Comedy in Cratinus' Wine-Flask or Poetry in Aristophanes' Poetry) and silent (Diallage in Lysistrata or Basileia in Birds), while Justice appeared as a character in the so-called "Dike play" by Aeschylus (F 281a). In this fragment Music is presented as a high-class hetaera, who takes one lover at a time.

The other principal problem with this comedy lies with incorporating all the details suggested by the fragments: the topical scene about musical innovators, the memoirs of an old man with a carefree past (F 156), a parody of Iliad 9.270–71 that suggests Achilles as a character (F 159, also the promise of money in F 161), and finally the dactylic hexameters (F 162) which, we are told, parody both Hesiod and Theognis. Chiron was famous as the wise teacher of heroes, and F 161 could be from a scene of instruction, although the contemporary tone and the first-person plural make the chorus (made of whom?) more likely. Is Chiron

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the addressee of F 156, who "urged me in vain . . . when I was young"? Then who would this sadder but wiser older man be? If "people" refers to the spectators, then F 156 could come from a prologue where the old man is explaining the plot.

We may date the play late in the fifth century, since the last of the four musicians to have assaulted Music is Timotheus (dated roughly 450–360), who was known at Athens by the late 410s. But if the last three lines of F 155 do refer to Philoxenus of Cythera, the comedy would have to be somewhat later, since Philoxenus (b. 435) is more a poet of the fourth century. Is 400 BC too late for a comedy by Pherecrates?

Finally there is the so-called "Chiron vase," an Apulian

Testimonia

- i Nicomachus of Gerasa *Handbook of Harmony* 4, p. 274.5 (Jan)

Τιμόθεος ὁ Μιλήσιος τὴν ἑνδεκάτην (χορδὴν προσκαθῆψε) καὶ ἐφεξῆς ἄλλοι. ἔπειτ' εἰς ὀκτωκαιδεκάτην ἀνήχθη χορδὴν τὸ πλῆθος παρ' αὐτῶν. ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Φερεκράτης ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Χείρωνι καταμεμφόμενος αὐτῶν τῆς περὶ τὰ μέλη ῥαδιουργίας φαίνεται.

- ii [Plutarch] *On Music* (1141c)

ὥς καὶ Φερεκράτη τὸν κωμικὸν εἰσαγαγεῖν τὴν Μουσικὴν ἐν γυναικείῳ σχήματι, ὅλην κατηκισμένην τὸ

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bell krater (V 9—c. 380), showing a comic scene with two men (one named "Xanthias") pushing an aged "Chiron" up some steps. The steps leading to a stage and a door, plus the distinctive comic dress, clearly make this a scene from an Old Comedy. A natural candidate would be Pherecrates' Chiron, in which case we would need to work into the play these two slaves, a pair of "nymphs" depicted in a separate panel (the chorus?), and a young male off to the side, but not wearing the phallus, padding, and grotesque mask of comedy (Achilles?).

Recent bibliography: O. Imperio, in *Tessere* 75, E. Csapo, *ICS* 24/25 (1999/2000) 399–426; J. Henderson, in *Rivals* 135–58; M. de Simone, in *Misc. A.R. Sodano* (2004) 119–37; Olson 156–57, 182–86, 318–20.

Testimonia

- i Timotheus of Miletus <added> the eleventh <string> and others took this up in turn. Finally the number was increased to the eighteenth string by them. So Pherecrates the comic poet in his play entitled "Chiron" openly criticises them for irresponsibility in their lyrics.

- ii So Pherecrates the comic poet brings Music on stage as a woman whose whole body has been badly abused. He

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σῶμα· ποιεῖ τὴν Δικαιοσύνην διαπυθνομένην τὴν
αἰτίαν τῆς λώβης καὶ τὴν Ποίησιν λέγουσαν . . . καὶ
Ἄριστοφάνης ὁ κωμικὸς μνημονεύει Φιλοξένου καὶ
φησιν ὅτι εἰς τοὺς κυκλίους χοροὺς μέλη εἰσηνέγκατο.
ἡ δὲ Μουσικὴ λέγει ταῦτα

Fragments

155 [Plutarch] *On Music* 1141c

{ΜΟΥΣΙΚΗ.} λέξω μὲν οὐκ ἄκουσα, σοί τε γὰρ
κλύειν

ἐμοί τε λέξαι θυμὸς ἡδονὴν ἔχει.

ἐμοί γὰρ ἦρξε τῶν κακῶν Μελανιππίδης,

ἐν τοῖσι πρῶτος ὃς λαβὼν ἀνῆκέ με

5 χαλαρωτέραν τ' ἐποίησε χορδαῖς δώδεκα.

ἀλλ' οὖν ὅμως οὗτος μὲν ἦν ἀποχρῶν ἀνὴρ

ἔμοιγε < > πρὸς τὰ νῦν κακά.

Κινησίας δέ < μ' > ὁ κατάρατος Ἀττικός,

ἐξαρμονίους καμπὰς ποιῶν ἐν ταῖς στροφαῖς

10 ἀπολώλεχ' οὕτως, ὥστε τῆς ποιήσεως

τῶν διθυράμβων, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς ἀσπίσιν,

ἀριστέρ' αὐτοῦ φαίνεται τὰ δεξιὰ.

ἀλλ' οὖν ἀνεκτὸς οὗτος ἦν ὅμως ἐμοί.

¹ Melanippides of Melos, probably active in the middle third of the 5th c., is credited with compositions that did not use the usual strophe + antistrophe construction (Aristotle *Rhetoric* 1409b26–29). See Campbell *GL* V 14–29.

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makes Justice ask her the cause of her ill-treatment and has Poetry [*sic*] say: [F 155.1–25] . . . Aristophanes the comic poet also mentions Philoxenus [F 953] and says that he introduced < > songs into his dithyrambs. Music says the following: [F 155.26–28].

Fragments

155 (MUSIC) I will tell you and gladly. For your heart takes pleasure in hearing and mine in telling. Melanippides was the start of all my troubles, being the first of them to grab me and loosen me up and make me slacker with twelve strings. But still this man was acceptable to me, compared with my current woes.¹ Then Cinesias², that damned Athenian, by inserting off-key modulations in his stanzas, so completely destroyed me that in the creation of his dithyrambs his right seems to be his left, like objects in a mirror.³ But even he was an acceptable man

² Cinesias of Athens (PAA 569985), a frequent target of comedy (*Clouds* 333 + Σ, *Birds* 1372–1409, *Frogs* 152–53, 366 + Σ, 1437, *Assemblywomen* 329–30, F 156; Strattis *Cinesias* F 14–22; Platon F 200) for both his personal habits and his musical (dis)abilities. Campbell *GL* V 40–61.

³ The passage is usually taken as Cinesias' innovations have so perverted the normal dithyramb that everything is in reverse, like the reflection in a mirror (polished shield). Borthwick, *Hermes* 96 (1968) 62–73, argues that it refers to movements in performance—cf. *Frogs* 152–53 for Cinesias' pyrrhic dance—that is, the performers don't know which way to move.

15 Φρῦνις δ' ἴδιον στρόβιλον ἐμβαλὼν τινα,
 κάμπτων με καὶ στρέφων ὄλην διέφθορεν,
 ἐν ἑπτὰ χορδαῖς δώδεχ' ἀρμονίας ἔχων.
 ἀλλ' οὖν ἔμοιγε χούτος ἦν ἀποχρῶν ἀνήρ·
 εἰ γάρ τι κάξήμαρτεν, αὐθις ἀνέλαβεν.
 ὁ δὲ Τιμόθεός μ', ὦ φιλτάτη, κατορώρυχε
 καὶ διακέκναικ' αἰσχιστα. {ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΤΝΗ.} ποῖος
 20 οὔτοσι
 <ὁ> Τιμόθεος; {ΜΟΥΣΙΚΗ.} Μιλήσιός τις πυρρίας
 κακά μοι παρέχεν οὔτος, ἅπαντας οὖς λέγω
 παρελήλυθεν, ἄγων ἐκτραπέλους μυρμηκιάς.
 κἂν ἐντύχη πού μοι βαδιζούση μόνη,
 25 ἀπέδυσσε κἂνέλυσε χορδαῖς δώδεκα.

ἔξαρμονίους ὑπερβολαίους τ' ἀνοσίους
 καὶ νιγλάρους, ὥσπερ τε τὰς ραφάνους ὄλην
 καμπῶν με κατεμέστωσε

156 Stobaeus 4.50b.46

εἰκῆ μ' ἐπήρας ὄντα τηλικουτονὶ
 πολλοῖς ἐμαυτὸν ἐγκυλῖσαι πράγμασιν.
 ἐγὼ γὰρ, ὦνδρες, ἠνίκ' ἦν νεώτερος,
 ἐδόκουν μὲν ἐφρόνου δ' οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ πάντα μοι
 5 κατὰ χειρὸς ἦν τὰ πράγματ' ἐνθυμουμένῳ·
 νῦν δ' ἄρτι μοι τὸ γῆρας ἐντίθησι νοῦν,
 <καὶ> κατὰ μίτον τὰ πράγματ' ἐκλογίζομαι.

for me. Then Phrynus thrust in his own whirlwind and just about killed me, turning and twisting me with his twelve harmonies on five strings.⁴ But still he treated me all right and if he did me wrong, he soon made it up to me. But now, my dear, Timotheus has buried and scraped me most indecently.

(JUSTICE) What's this Timotheus like?⁵

(MUSIC) A certain redhead from Miletus. He has caused me real problems and far outdone those other men I mentioned, leading me along his bizarre ant paths. If he meets me when I am out walking by myself, he has me stripped and undone on twelve strings.

Off-key and unholy superfluous trills, and just like a cabbage he [Philoxenus] has stuffed me full of wrigglers.

⁴ Phrynus of Mytilene won a victory at the Panathenaia "in the archonship of Callias" (406?) and was made fun of by Aristophanes (*Clouds* 969–71 + Σ) for his new musical "twists and turns." He was also a character in Eupolis' *Demes*. Campbell *GL V* 62–69.
⁵ Timotheus of Miletus (c. 450–360) was famous for his musical innovations, considered "too effeminate" by some, and was said to have influenced Euripides in the last years of his career. He was thus active at Athens by 410. A considerable fragment of his *Persians* survives. See J. Horden, *The Fragments of Timotheus of Miletus* (Oxford 2002).

156 In vain you [sing.] urged me at my age to get myself involved in many matters. For when I was young, people, I didn't understand anything at all, although I thought I did, but everything just came ready-made into my mind. But now old age is finally giving me sense, and I work out matters carefully point by point.

157 Athenaeus 368b

νῆ τὸν Δί' ὥσπερ αἱ παροψίδες
τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχουσ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἡδυσμάτων,
† οὓς ὁ καλετας † ἀξιοῖ τοῦ μηδενός.

158 Athenaeus 653e

ἀμυγδάλας καὶ μῆλα καὶ μιμαίκυλα
καὶ μύρτα καὶ σέλινα καὶ οἴνου βότρυς
καὶ μυελόν.

159 Σ Aristophanes *Frogs* 1308

{A.} δώσει δέ σοι γυναῖκας ἑπτὰ Λεσβίδας.
{B.} καλόν γε δῶρον ἔπτ' ἔχειν λαικαστρίας.

160 Athenaeus 388f

ἔξεισιν ἄκων δεῦρο πέρδικος τρόπον.

161 Σ Plato *Sophist* 220a

τοῖς δέκα ταλάντοις προσθήσειν ἔφη,
< > ἄττα πεντήκοντα.

162 Athenaeus 364a-c

μηδὲ σύ γ' ἄνδρα φίλον καλέσας ἐπὶ δαίτα θάλειαν
ἄχθου ὀρῶν παρεόντα· κακὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ τόδε ῥέζει·
ἀλλὰ μάλ' εὐκηλος τέρπου φρένα τέρπε τ' ἐκείνον.

157 By Zeus, just as side dishes get their reputation from
their seasonings, which . . . considers worthless.

158 Almonds and apples and fruits from the strawberry
tree, myrtle berries and celery and grapes from the vine,
and marrow.

159 (A) He will give you seven women from Lesbos.
(B) What a nice present to get, seven sluts.¹

¹ A parody of *Iliad* 9.270, this fragment plays on the reputation
of Lesbian women as experts in fellatio.

160 He will come out unwillingly, like a partridge.

161 He says that in addition to the ten talents he will add
another fifty.

162 When you have invited a friend to a really fine feast,
do not get upset when you see him arrive, for that's how an
inferior man behaves. But relax, put a smile in your heart,
and welcome him.

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5 ἡμῶν δ' ἦν τινά τις καλέσῃ θύων ἐπὶ δεῖπνον,
 ἀχθόμεθ' ἦν ἔλθῃ καὶ ὑποβλέπομεν παρεόντα,
 χῶπτι τάχιστα θύραζ' ἐξελθεῖν βουλόμεθ' αὐτόν.
 εἶτα γνούς πως τοῦθ' ὑποδεῖται, κᾶτά τις εἶπεν
 τῶν ξυμπινόντων, "ἦδη σύ; τί οὐχ ὑποπίνεις;
 οὐχ ὑπολύσεις αὐτόν;" ὁ δ' ἄχθεται αὐτὸς ὁ θύων
 10 τῷ κατακωλύοντι καὶ εὐθὺς ἔλεξ' ἐλεγεία·
 "μηδένα μήτ' ἀέκοντα μένειν κατέρυκε παρ' ἡμῖν
 μήθ' εὐδοντ' ἐπέγειρε, Σιμωνίδη." οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' οἴνοις
 τοιαυτὶ λέγομεν δειπνίζοντες φίλον ἄνδρα;

ΨΕΥΔΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ

Fragments

163 Athenaeus 122c

εἶπα τις ἂν τῶν πάντων ἰοικητιῶν
 ἐγὼ δ' ἂν ἀντείποιμι "μὴ πολυπραγμῶναι,
 ἀλλ' εἰ ἴσκει σοι, πρῶταχε τὸν νοῦν κἀκροῦ."

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But if one of us is holding a sacrifice and invites some-
 one to dinner, we get upset when he arrives and scowl at
 his being there, and we hope he goes back outside as soon
 as possible. Somehow he gets the message and is starting to
 put his sandals back on, when one of the other guests says,
 "Hey you, leaving already? Why aren't you drinking? You,
 take off his sandals?" The man hosting the sacrifice gets
 upset at the person who is interfering and immediately
 rhymes off those elegiacs: "Do not make anyone stay with
 us against his will, Simonides, and do not wake a sleeper
 up."¹ Is this not the sort of thing we say over wine, when we
 entertain a friend?

¹ See Theognis 467-69.

FALSE HERACLES

*This comedy is known only from one citation by Athe-
 naeus. This may be the same play as Heracles the Mortal,
 also attested with only one fragment. Do we have a com-
 edy where a man disguises himself as or pretends to be
 Heracles?*

Fragments

163 <That's what> one of those who think themselves so
 clever might say, but I would reply, "Don't be such a busy-
 body, but if you agree, pay attention and listen."¹

¹ From the prologue where a character is explaining the plot to the audience? For the too-clever spectator see *Peace* 43-49 and Cratinus F 342.

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ΑΔΗΛΩΝ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΩΝ

164 Athenaeus 535b

οὐκ ὦν ἀνὴρ γὰρ Ἀλκιβιάδης, ὡς δοκεῖ,
ἀνὴρ ἀπασῶν τῶν γυναικῶν ἐστι νῦν.

165 [Didymus] *Disputed Readings in Plato* p. 400 Miller

† ὁ δ' Ἀχιλεὺς εὖ πως ἐπὶ κόρρης αὐτὸν
ἐπάταξεν, ὥστε πῦρ ἀπέλαμψ' ἐκ τῶν γνάθων

166 Photius (b, z) a 816

ὦ Ζεῦ πολυτίμητ', ἄρ' ἀκούεις ἃ σε λέγει
ὁ πανοῦργος υἱός;

167 Athenaeus 644f

ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπληστίας
διακόνιον ἐπῆσθεν ἀμφιφῶντ' ἔχων.

168 Photius (b, z) a 273

{A.} τί δ' ἔπαθες;
{B.} ἄγρυκτα κάλεκτ', ἀλλὰ βούλομαι μόνη
αὐτῇ φράσαι σοι.

169 Zonaras p. 1030

σκέψαι δέ μου
τὸ μέτωπον, εἰ θέρμην ἔχουσα τυγχάνω.

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UNASSIGNED FRAGMENTS

164 For Alcibiades, it seems, though not <yet> a man, is
now a man for all women.¹

¹ The joke depends on the double meaning of the word *anēr*
(adult male, husband). See Eupolis F 171.

165 Achilles struck him firmly in the face and fire shone
forth from his mouth. [Chiron?]

166 O much-respected Zeus, do you hear what your
wicked son is saying about you?
[Corianno or Heracles the Mortal or False Heracles?]

167 Because of his insatiable appetite he would start eat-
ing the under-crust, even though he had a cake with can-
dles. [Heracles the Mortal or False Heracles?]

168 (WOMAN) What's wrong with you?
(B) Unutterable and unspeakable things, but I am will-
ing to tell only you.¹

¹ Meineke placed these lines immediately before F 155, A be-
ing Justice and B Music.

169 (WOMAN) Check my forehead and see if I have a
fever.

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170 Athenaeus 55b

τρώγων ἐρεβίνθους ἀπεπνίγη πεφρυγμένους.

171 Heraclides *On the Greek City* 1.25

ἤνπερ φρονῆς εὔ, φεύγε τὴν Βοιωτίαν.

172 Σ Homer *Odyssey* 2.289

τὴν γαστέρ' ἦων καχύρων σεσαγμένους.

173 Photius (b, z) a 782

ὑβριστον ἔργον καὶ κόβαλον ἠργάσω.

174 Photius (z) a 3453

ἢ τῆς ἀχέρδου τῆς ἀκραχολωτάτης

175 *Epimerismi Homeric* π 131

{A.} ποῖ κῆχος; {B.} ἐγγύς, ἡμερῶν γε τεττάρων.

176 Photius ε 46

αἰί ποθ' ἡμῖν ἐγκιλικίζουσ' οἱ θεοί.

177 Photius p. 524.1

ἀρκεῖ μία σκόνυζα καὶ θύμω δύο.

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170 He choked himself while eating roasted chickpeas.

171 If you [sing.] have any sense, avoid Boeotia.

172 Their stomachs crammed with pulse stalks and bran husks.

173 You [sing.] have done an outrageous and knavish deed.

174 Or from the most prickly pear tree.

175 (A) So then, where to? (B) Not far, just four days' travel.

176 The gods are always playing tricks on us.

177 One sprig of fleabane and two of thyme are enough.

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178 Photius (b, z) a 238

ἔωθεν ἦκε πρὶν ἀγορὰν πεπληθέναι

179 Pollux 7.194–95

μηδὲν κοτυλίζειν, ἀλλὰ καταπάττειν χύδην.

180 Σ Aristophanes *Acharnians* 86a

τουτὶ τί ἐστίν; ὡς ἀνεκὰς τὸ κρίβανον.

181 Photius (b, z) a 400

Ἄδωνι ἄγομεν καὶ τὸν Ἄδωνιν κλάομεν.

182 *Suda* δ 121

ὑπέλυσε δήμαρχός τις ἐλθὼν ἐς χορόν.

183 Orus F A 57

δείπνον παρασκεύαζε, σὺ δὲ καθίζανε.

184 Photius (S^z) a 3404

οὐδ' εἰς Ἐταίρας οὐδ' Ἀφροδίτου πώποτε.

185 Photius (b, z) a 1485

πάλιν αὖθις ἀναθυῶσιν αἱ γεραίτεραι

PHERECRATES

178 He was here at dawn before the agora was full.

179 Not to sell by the cupful, but to dole out indiscriminately.

180 What is this? The bread pan is bulging.

181 We are celebrating the Adonia and weeping for Adonis.

182 Some demarch has got into the chorus and has undone.¹

¹ A demarch was the local official in charge of each of the demes and was especially responsible for financial matters involving members of his deme.

183 You, prepare dinner, but you, sit down.

184 Nor ever to the shrine of Hetaera or that of Aphroditus.

185 The older women have got the hots again.
[Old Woman?]

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

186 Photius a 1771

ἀνδροκάπραινα καὶ μεθύση καὶ φαρμακίς.

187 Basil on Gregory Nazianus 15.2

μείξοφρυς
μέλαιν' ἐπιεικῶς κατ' ἐμέ.

188 Athenaeus 67c

ἀνεμολύνθη τὴν ὑπήνην τῷ γάρῳ.

189 Orus F A 17

ὁ λαγὼς με βασκαίνει τεθνηκῶς.

190 Athenaeus 56ef

ῥαφανίς τ' ἄπλυτος ὑπάρχει,
καὶ θερμὰ λουτρὰ καὶ ταρίχη πνικτὰ καὶ † κάρνα.

191 Bachmann's *Lexicon* p. 150.28

οἶον αὖ τὸ πνίγος, ὡς ἀσελγές.

192 Pollux 7.90

καττύομαι τοὺς καρκίνους.

193 Aristophanes *Lysistrata* 158

τὸ τοῦ Φερεκράτους, "κύνα δέρειν δεδαρμένην."

PHERECRATES

186 She's as lewd as a goat, a drunkard, and a witch.
[Corianno?]

187 She's reasonably dark, like me, with eyebrows that meet.

188 He has fish paste smeared all over his moustache.

189 The hare has annoyed me by dying.

190 There is an unwashed radish and hot baths and baked salt fish and nuts.

191 How stifling the heat is, it's brutal.

192 I am stitching up my crabs.¹

¹ "Crabs" being a type of shoe.

193 In the words of Pherecrates: "To skin a skinned dog."¹

¹ This is Lysistrata's reply to the question, "What do we do if the men ignore us?". Her answer plainly refers to women using leather dildos (made from dog skin?) for sexual pleasure (cf. *Lysistrata* 108-10 and F 592). "Dog" was also a slang term for penis.

194 Photius (b, z) a 1665

κάδους ἀνασπῶν

195 Zenobius 5.3

ἀβυρτάκην τρίφαντα καὶ Λυδίαν καρύκην.

196 Orus F A 79

{A.} πότε σὺ < > ἤκουσας αὐτοῦ; {B.}
πρωπέρισιν, ἔτος τρίτον

197 Eustathius *On the Iliad* p. 801.57

νῦν δ' ἐπιχειῖσθαι τὰς κριθὰς δεῖ, πτίπτειν, φρύγειν,
ἀναβράττειν,
ἀνειν, ἀλέσαι, μᾶξαι, <πέψαι>, τὸ τελευταῖον
παραθεῖναι.

198 Photius p. 583.10

ὁ δὲ παῖδα καλεῖ καὶ τευτάζει τούτῳ δεῖπνον
παραθεῖναι.

199 Eustathius *On the Iliad* p. 1369.43

ὁ χορὸς δ' αὐτοῖς εἶχεν δάπιδας ῥυπαρὰς καὶ
στρωματόδεσμα.

200 Eustathius *On the Odyssey* p. 1484.50

ἡγούμεθα τῆς πόλεως εἶναι ταύτας σωτήρας.

194 Drawing up buckets of water.

195 Having mixed up a salad paste and a Lydian blood
sauce.

196 (A) When did you hear from him? (B) The year be-
fore last, two years ago.

197 Now we must have the barley corns poured out, hull
them, parch and boil them, work them, grind them, knead
and <bake> them, and finally put it on the table.
[*Servant-Trainer?*]

198 And he summons a slave and instructs him to serve
this man a meal.

199 Their choruses would have dirty sheets and bed
sacks.¹

¹ Aristophanes F 264 uses very similar language of choruses in
the past, "the chorus would dance wearing sheets and bed sacks."
The metre (anapaestic tetrameter catalectic) is that normally used
in the parabasis proper. Is Pherecrates' chorus addressing the
spectators about comedy?

200 We think that these <women?> are the saviours of
the city. [Tyranny?]

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

201 Eustathius *On the Odyssey* p. 1528.45

κνάμους, ἀφάκην, ζειάς, αἶρας, ἀκεάνους.

202 Pollux 2.27

ὦ ξανθοτάτοις βοτρυχοῖσι κομῶν.

203 Hesychius ε 4973

βριβομένης ἀγαθῶν ἐπίμεστα τραπέζης.

204 Photius (z) α 3413

ἴν' ἀφνυπισθῆτ' οὖν ἀκροᾶσθ'. ἤδη γὰρ καὶ
λέξομεν.

205 Phlegon (S²) α 3397

ὦ Χάριτες, ἀφροδισίων τις ὑμέναιον ὑμνεῖ γαμικόν.

206 Chaetoboeus (GrGr IV 1 p. 307.18)

αὖτ' ὄρω τὰς γυναῖς

207 Eustathius *On the Odyssey* p.1428.60

Ἀθηναῖος δὲ καὶ Ἑρμῖππου τοῦ κωμικοῦ παράγει τὸ
Χία δὲ κύλιξ ὑψηλὴ κρέμνεται περὶ παισταλόφιν. περὶ
ἧς ἵτα κατενοχθῆ ἐκ τοῦ παισταλόφιν παίξει ὁ Φερε-
κράτης ἐπὶ διαβολῇ γυναικῶν.

PHERECRATES

201 Beans, tares, rice-wheat, darnel, hard seeds.

202 Hey you [masc.], showing off your blond curls.

203 Of a table brimming over in full measure with good things.

204 Now listen here so that you [pl.] may wake up, for we shall speak right now.¹

¹ The metre is eupolidean, a metre used in the parabasis (cf. F 34, 102). "You" must be the spectators, but if this is from a parabasis, why would they need to "wake up," unless Pherecrates is being deliberately ironic about his play's merits? See also Eupolis F 205.

205 O Graces, someone is singing a romantic marriage song.

206 I see the women.

207 Athenaeus [480e] quotes from Hermippus the comic poet, "A Chian cup hangs high on its peg" [F 55], about which Pherecrates makes a joke against women, when the cup is brought down from the peg.

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

247 Phrynichus *Sophistic Preparation* p. 74.9

θυμέλη· νῦν μὲν θυμέλην καλοῦμεν τὴν τοῦ θεάτρου
σκηνὴν . . . Φερεκράτης δὲ τὰ θυλήματα, ἅπερ ἔστιν
ἄλφιστα οἴνω καὶ ἐλαίῳ μεμαγμένα, οὕτω καλεῖ “θυ-
μέλην.”

253 Photius p. 219.16

ληκούμεσθ' ὅλην τὴν νύκτα.

266 Photius p. 522.15

Σκιτών· ἀσθενής· οὐδενὸς ἄξιος· οὕτω Φερεκράτης.

Σ Aristophanes *Knights* 634a

Σκίταλοι μὲν οὖν οἱ εὐτελεῖς καὶ πονηροί· ἦν γὰρ
Σκίτων κναφεύς τις εὐτελής, ἐπὶ πονηρία κωμωδού-
μενος.

PHERECRATES

247 *Thymele*: we now call the stage-building in the thea-
tre a *thymele* . . . but Pherecrates also calls the sacrificial
cakes, barley kneaded with wine and oil, *thymele*.

253 When we get screwed all night.

266 Sciton: weak, worthless, so Pherecrates.

“Scitaloi”: those who are vulgar and wicked, for Sciton
was a vulgar fuller, made fun of in comedy for wicked be-
haviour.¹

¹ Sciton is a documented name at Athens (PAA 824360).

Brief fragments: (F 208) “his blood boiled,” (F 209) “beasts
without feet,” (F 210) “unwashed, with unruly hair.”

(F 211) “open wide,” (F 212) “gluttonous” [of horses], (F
213) “of Adonis,” (F 214) “hearing,” (F 215) “fisherman,”
(F 216) “strangely,” (F 217) “in one gulp,” (F 218) “I will
set up,” (F 219) “I will endure,” (F 220) “female slave.”

(F 221) “first cousin’s son,” (F 222) “silliest,” (F 223) “give
back,” (F 224) “he looks straight at,” (F 225) “I decline,” (F
226) “to peel,” (F 227) “to jack off,” (F 228) “old-fash-
ioned,” (F 229) “most unusual” [fem.], (F 230) “growing.”

THE POETS OF OLD COMEDY

(F 231) "more elderly" [*fem.*], (F 232) "to feel," (F 233) "lowing," (F 234) "ring maker," (F 235) "in-between time," (F 236) "teachers [of musicians]," (F 237) "that which keeps one awake, stopper of drowsiness," (F 238) "perianal abrasions," (F 239) "bring out," (F 240) "tutor."

(F 241) "hunting nets," (F 242) "other," (F 243) "sifted," (F 244) "treating slaves well," (F 245) "good condition," (F 246) "be alive," (F 248) "must sit down," (F 249) "to explain in detail," (F 250) "barley grains."

(F 251) "to have a thick head," (F 252) "son of a thief," (F 254) "motherland," (F 255) "donkey's giblets," (F 256) "you don't mean what you say," (F 257) "curly headed," (F 258) "to slap," (F 259) "ringlets" [*of women's hair*], (F 260) "front bencher."

(F 261) "loafers" [*type of shoe*], (F 262) "I abuse," (F 263) "decayed," (F 264) "stolen treats," (F 265) "feast of the Scira," (F 267) "discovery," (F 268) "talkative," (F 269) "woman in command," (F 270) "pivots" [*of the vertebrae*].

(F 271) "swinishness," (F 272) "wasp tails" [*small, pointed pieces of wood*], (F 273) "quickishly," (F 274) "turned the other way" [*to the left*], (F 275) "dry chippings," (F 276) "under-mouthpiece" [*of an aulos*], (F 277) "web," (F 278) "plant," (F 279) "fearful," (F 280) "hare's flesh," (F 281) "to place in a pot" [*of killing infants*], (F 282) "because."