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# ARISTOPHANES ACHARNIANS



*Edited with Introduction and  
Commentary by  
S. Douglas Olson*

ARISTOPHANES  
ACHARNIANS

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INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY  
BY  
S. DOUGLAS OLSON

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## ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

I abbreviate the names of ancient authors as in LSJ, except that I use 'H.' for Homer and 'Bacch.' for Bacchylides. My numbering of fragments follows Bernabé for epic; *PMGF* for Alkman, Stesichoros, and Ibykos; *PMG*'s continuous numbering for other lyric poets; Voigt for Sappho and Alkaios; *IEG*<sup>2</sup> for elegy and iambos except Hipponax, for whom I cite Degani; Maehler for Pindar and Bacchylides; Diels-Kranz<sup>10</sup> for the Presocratic philosophers; *TrGF* for Aeschylus, Sophocles, and minor or unidentified tragic poets; Nauck<sup>2</sup> for Euripides, except where indicated otherwise; Kaibel for Epicharmos, Sophron and Rhinthon; *PCG* for all other comic poets, including fragmenta adespota; Olson-Sens for Arcestratos and Matro; Rose<sup>3</sup> for Aristotle; Wehrli for other representatives of Aristotle's school; Fortenbaugh for Theophrastos; Pfeiffer for Callimachus; Gow for Macho; and *CA* and *SH* for other late classical and Hellenistic poets. For epigrams, I give equivalent numbers in *HE*, *GPh*, or *FGE* wherever possible. I cite Aesop from the edition of Perry; Erotian from Nachmanson; the *Et.Gud.* from Sturz; the *EM* from Gaisford; the *Ep.Hom.* from Dyck; Galen from Kühn; Gregory of Corinth from Schaefer; Harpokration from Keaney; Hippocrates from Littré; Hesychius  $\alpha$ - $\omicron$  from Latte; Hesychius  $\pi$ - $\omega$  from Schmidt; Menander's substantially preserved plays from Sandbach; Moeris from Hansen; Orion from Sturz; Oros from Alpers; the parœmiographers from Leutsch-Schneidewin; Photios  $\alpha$ - $\mu$  from Theodoridis; Photios  $\nu$ - $\omega$  from Porson; Phrynichus' *Ekloge* from Fischer; Phrynichus' *Praeparatio Sophistica* from de Borries; Pollux from Bethe; Stephanos of Byzantion from Meineke; and the *Suda* from Adler. I have Hellenized all but a handful of names, mostly of poets, and thus print 'Kratinos' rather than 'Cratinus' but 'Aeschylus' rather than 'Aischylos'; complete consistency in this regard seems to me unnecessary and perhaps not even desirable.

I refer to editions of *Acharnians* and commentaries on it, as well as to standard commentaries on other ancient texts, by the editor's or

commentator's name only. I have made use of commentaries on *Acharnians* by P. Elmsley (1830), A. Mueller (1863), W. Ribbeck (1864), F. H. M. Blaydes (1887), W. C. Green (1892), W. W. Merry (1901), J. van Leeuwen (1901), C. E. Graves (1905), W. J. M. Starkie (1909), W. Rennie (1909), B. B. Rogers (1910), R. T. Elliott (1914), C. F. Russo (1953), G. Mastromarco (1983), and A. H. Sommerstein (1980).

I abbreviate periodicals as in *L'Année philologique*, except that I use 'AJP' instead of 'AJP<sup>h</sup>', 'CP' instead of 'CPh', 'HSCP' instead of 'HSCP<sup>h</sup>', 'TAPA' instead of 'TAP<sup>h</sup>A', and 'YCS' instead of 'YCS<sup>h</sup>'. I refer to the following books and articles by the author's or editor's last name or abbreviated name only, with a date or abbreviated title added where ambiguity is possible, or simply by an abbreviated title:

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- AAS* C. F. Russo, *Aristophanes: An Author for the Stage* (London, 1994; orig. pub. in Italian in 1962)
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- CA* see Powell
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- CEG* P. A. Hansen (ed.), *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca* (Texte und Kommentare, Band 12: Berlin and New York, 1983)
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Other abbreviations are as in LSJ.

# INTRODUCTION

## I. ARISTOPHANES

Aristophanes son of Philippos of the deme Kydathenaion (*PA* 2090; *PAA* 175685) was born most likely in the early 440s BCE. We know nothing concrete about his background, although *Ach.* 653–4 is most naturally interpreted to mean that he had substantial personal connections to the island of Aigina and inscriptional evidence attests to his service as a member of Athens' Council near the end of his life (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1740. 24 = Ar. test. 9). Forty plays were attributed to him in antiquity, along with four whose authorship was disputed (Ar. test. 1. 59–61). Eleven of these are preserved for us complete; the earliest is *Acharnians*, which took first place at the Lenaia festival in 425 (*Ach.* Hyp. I. 32–3). Aristophanes died not long after 388; three fourth-century comic poets, Araros, Philippos, and Philetairos (or Nikostratos?), were said to have been his sons (Ar. test. 7–8).

The chorus' remarks at *V.* 1017–20 imply that as a very young man Aristophanes read and offered suggestions on dramatic texts being prepared by other poets. This seems to have been normal practice and—not surprisingly—resulted on occasion in barbed remarks and quarrels among collaborators about precisely who was responsible for what.<sup>1</sup> How substantial Aristophanes' contributions were to the plays of others and what he got in return is impossible to tell. He must already, however, have been composing on his own, for the chorus at *Nu.* 528–31 observe that their poet was still quite young when he offered what was presumably a draft of his first play, *Daitales* ('*Banqueters*'), to a group of 'wise men' who were sufficiently impressed to arrange for it to be produced by Kallistratos (*Dait.* test. v; cf. *Ach.* Hyp. I. 32 n.) at one of the dramatic festivals in 427, apparently without the author's name being widely known at first (cf. *Eq.* 512–13). That these backers are to be connected with the members of a Kydathenaion *thiasos* ('religious guild') of Herakles known from *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2343 (c.400) to have included individuals named Amphytheos (cf. *Ach.* 46 with n.),

<sup>1</sup> Halliwell, *GRBS* 30 (1989) 515–28.

Simon (cf. *Eq.* 242), and Philonides (the name of the man who produced *Wasps*, *Amphiaraios*, and *Ploutos*, and probably other Aristophanic comedies as well) is a reasonable if unprovable assumption. If that is the case, the fact that the chorus in *Daitales* consisted of men who had just come from dinner in a temple of Herakles (*Dait. test. iii*) may have been intended as a quiet nod to the supporters who had made staging the play possible, and Aristophanes' frequent use of the figure of Herakles in his early comedies takes on added significance (cf. Section IV.D).<sup>2</sup> The plot of *Daitales* involved an old father (cf. fr. 205. 1, 3) and his two sons, one of whom had been educated in the traditional Athenian manner, while the other was a student of the sophists (*Dait. test. vi. 6-7* =  $\Sigma^{\text{RVEMANp}}$  *Nu.* 529). Although over fifty fragments of the play survive, we know little more about it, except that it took second place (*Dait. test. vi. 11* =  $\Sigma^{\text{REMNP}}$  *Nu.* 532).<sup>3</sup> A few months later, at the beginning of the Athenian year 427/6, the eponymous archon awarded Aristophanes a chorus for *Babylonians*, which was performed at the City Dionysia in 426, having also been produced by Kallistratos (*Bab. test. ii*).<sup>4</sup> That the poet had a Lenaia-play as well in 426 is possible but far from certain (cf. *Ach.* 1154-5 with n.).

The scanty remains of *Babylonians* show that the play was the story of a visit made by Dionysos to Athens (cf. fr. 75) and followed a standard pattern of Dionysiac myth (best known from Euripides' *Bacchantes*) in which the god arrives in a place, encounters resistance from local authorities, and defeats them.<sup>5</sup> Aristophanic comedies with titles in the plural are invariably named after the chorus (in *Frogs*, after a subsidiary chorus) and the cult of Dionysos is elsewhere routinely associated with the exotic East, and Norwood (see n. 5) argued that the god must have appeared in Athens accompanied by a band of Babylonian followers (cf. fr. 81). Be that as it may, the chorus were certainly thrown into a mill to work (Hsch.  $\sigma$  150, citing fr. 71) and thus reduced to slavery of the most painful and degrading sort. The Babylonians

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Welsh, *CQ* NS 33 (1983) 51-5. The likely connection of *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2343 with Aristophanes' career was first pointed out by Dow, *AJA* 73 (1969) 234-5.

<sup>3</sup> For *Daitales*, see A. C. Cassio (ed.), *Aristofane: Banchettanti* (Biblioteca degli Studi Classici e Orientali 8: Pisa, 1977).

<sup>4</sup> Kallistratos also produced *Acharnians*, *Birds*, and *Lysistrata*, and probably other plays as well. Cf. *Ach. Hyp.* I. 32.

<sup>5</sup> For attempts to reconstruct the action in *Babylonians*, Norwood, *CP* 25 (1930) 1-10; Welsh, *GRBS* 24 (1983) 137-50.

also seem to have been tattooed (cf. fr. 90; 99), but an ancient comment on fr. 71 preserved by the lexicographer Hesychius (above) tells us that someone who saw them in the mill was puzzled and astonished, and identified one of them with the people of Samos, who had owls tattooed on their foreheads after an unsuccessful attempt to revolt from the Athenian Empire in 440 (cf. K-A ad loc.). Whether this is merely a silly remark by an ignorant bystander or the chorus represented both a group of Babylonians and the allied states (cf. *Ach.* 642) is impossible to say. Dionysos as well, however, was arrested and taken off for trial, and some of Athens' leading politicians asked him for a pair of drinking cups, presumably as a bribe to buy his freedom (fr. 75; cf. fr. 68). The chorus' remarks at *Ach.* 633-41 imply that ambassadors from other (non-allied) cities spoke at some point, perhaps as accusers of Dionysos but in any case with an eye toward deceiving the Athenian people. In the end the god must have freed himself and the chorus (cf. fr. 77) and taken revenge on his enemies, and Dikaiopolis' approving reference at *Ach.* 5-6 to having seen Kleon son of Kleainetos, the city's leading democratic politician in the mid- to late 420s, 'vomit up' five talents of silver has often been interpreted as a reference to a scene near the end of *Babylonians*. How the play fared in the balloting at the end of the festival is unknown, although Geissler and others thought that it must have taken first (cf. K-A on *Bab.* test. ii). What is certain is that once again at the beginning of 426/5 Aristophanes was awarded a chorus, this time by the *archon basileus* for *Acharnians*, which also took the prize (*Ach.* Hyp. I. 33). Another first followed with *Knights* at the Lenaia in 424 (*Eq.* Hyp. II. 26), and for the rest of his career Aristophanes averaged about one play a year and was remembered, along with Kratinos (*Ach.* Hyp. I. 33 n., 849 n.) and Eupolis (*Ach.* Hyp. I. 33-4 n.)—both of whom he defeated with *Acharnians* (*Ach.* Hyp. I. 33-4)—as one of the greatest Old Comic poets (e.g. anon. *de Com.* II. 14-17; III. 11-13).

At least as Aristophanes himself presents the story, his brilliant early success and the fame it brought (esp. *V.* 1023) came at a considerable personal price. Σ<sup>REF</sup> *Ach.* 378 (= *Bab.* test. iv) tells us that in *Babylonians* Aristophanes abused not only Kleon but Athenian office-holders of all sorts, including those merely chosen by lot; the people appear to have been presented as behaving like fools (fr. 67); and somewhere in the text the origin of the Peloponnesian

War was blamed on local political corruption (fr. 84). Comedy clearly enjoyed rights of free expression much broader than those granted individual citizens; although it was actionable, for example, for one man to say falsely of another in the street that he had thrown away his shield in battle (Lys. 10. 9), slanders of precisely this sort are made routinely about prominent citizens on the comic stage (cf. *Pax* 446 with Olson ad loc.) and seem to have been regarded as a different form of speech when uttered there. All the same, the anonymous essayist conventionally referred to in the English-speaking world as the 'Old Oligarch' (probably writing in the 440s or 430s BCE) insists that the Athenian people do not allow themselves to be mocked collectively on the comic stage ([X.] *Ath.* 2. 18), and a series of allusions at *Ach.* 377–82, 502–3, 515–16, 576–7, 630–1 have been understood since antiquity ( $\Sigma^{\text{RET}}$  378) as implying that Kleon attempted to prosecute Aristophanes for some of what was said about the city on stage in *Babylonians* (cf. Section III).<sup>6</sup> Rosen has argued that these remarks might be an elaborate fiction designed to present Aristophanes (or 'Aristophanes') as a speaker of the truth bold and dangerous enough to have drawn the attention of a leading Athenian political figure—and ultimately to have defeated him.<sup>7</sup> The nature of the evidence is such that it is impossible to prove that this is not true. All the same, the specific and extremely defensive nature of the comments made by Dikaiopolis and the chorus in *Acharnians* (esp. 515–15, 630–1), the bitterly derogatory attitude adopted toward Kleon elsewhere in the play (esp. *Ach.* 5–8, 299–302, 659–64), and Aristophanes' venomous hostility toward the demagogue even after his death (*Pax* 47–8) combine to suggest that there was a real (and perhaps continuing) dispute between the two men somehow sparked by Kleon's hostile reaction to the image of Athens and her government in Aristophanes' comedy of 426.<sup>8</sup> Be that as it may, the larger

<sup>6</sup> That it was actually Kallistratos (as producer) rather than Aristophanes who was attacked by Kleon for what went on in *Babylonians* is possible but unlikely; cf. Olson, *Pax*, pp. xxii–xxiii.

<sup>7</sup> Rosen 63–4; cf. Rosen and Marks 903–6.

<sup>8</sup> For a recent attempt to reconstruct the history of Aristophanes' conflict with Kleon (which *V.* 1284–91 implies continued after the failure of the alleged attempt at prosecution in connection with *Babylonians*), see Storey, *Scholia* 4 (1995) 7–11 (with extensive bibliography). Lind suggests that it may be significant that the demagogue too was from Kydathenaion and that he and Aristophanes (or perhaps Aristophanes and the fellow-demesmen who served as the poet's early backers and friends (cf. above)) may have had other, more parochial disputes.

political analysis put forward in *Acharnians* is no less scathing than that in *Babylonians* seems to have been (above), and detailed consideration of the political and social significance of the play (Section III) requires that it first be set in its historical context.

## II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

According to Aristophanes' slightly older contemporary Thucydides, the Peloponnesian War was the inevitable result of the fear aroused in the Spartans by the rise of Athenian power in the post-Persian War period (i. 23. 6; cf. i. 33. 3, 88, 118. 2). As late as 433, neither state appears to have been eager to put an immediate end to the thirty-year peace concluded between them in 445 (Th. i. 115. 1): the Spartans had taken a passive attitude toward events outside the Peloponnese for most of the previous generation (Th. i. 89-91, 118. 2) and had to be goaded into war by their allies, while the Athenians made elaborate efforts to avoid violating the treaty when they concluded their 'purely defensive' alliance with Kerkyra (Th. i. 44. 1, 45. 3, 53. 4). Indeed, even on the eve of the first Peloponnesian invasion of Attika in 431, there were speakers in the Athenian Assembly who urged that the Megarian Decree (below) be repealed, if peace could still be had that way (Th. i. 139. 4). As Donald Kagan has argued, historical events are never really fated and war between the two greatest Greek powers could almost certainly have been averted, had all parties involved been sufficiently clear-sighted about the likely consequences of their actions and genuinely committed to peace.<sup>9</sup> In this case, however, neither condition applied. In his account of the Assembly that considered Kerkyra's request for military assistance against Epidamnos and Corinth, Thucydides observes that the Athenians thought that war with the Peloponnesians was coming in any case and acted as they did only in order to be able to fight later on the most favourable terms possible (i. 44. 2). So too Thucydides reports that already in late 433 or early 432 the Spartans promised to invade Attika if Potidaia revolted from the empire (i. 58. 1); adds that by mid-432 a majority of the Spartan Assembly believed that war should begin as soon as possible (i. 79. 2); and leaves no doubt that the time that elapsed between the Peloponnesian League's

<sup>9</sup> D. Kagan, *The Outbreak of the Peloponnesian War* (Ithaca and London, 1969)

official decision to open hostilities and the initial invasion of Attika was taken up with military preparations, and that the repeated offers to Athens of terms for putting an end to the conflict were essentially insincere (i. 124. 2–125, 127). Even if war between Sparta and Athens was not, strictly speaking, necessary or inevitable, therefore, neither party obviously blundered or was forced into it. Instead, both sides chose war because it looked like the most effective means of achieving their foreign policy goals, the Spartans calculating that the Athenians could only hold out for a year or two (Th. iv. 85. 2; v. 14. 3; vii. 28. 3), after which they could be forced into substantial concessions, the Athenians judging that acceptance of one Peloponnesian demand would merely lead to others being put forward, and assuming that the resources of their empire were sufficiently vast and reliable to allow them to wait out a war of any conceivable length (esp. Th. i. 140. 5–141. 1, 143; ii. 61. 1, 62. 2).

Although Thucydides insists that Sparta's fear of Athens' power was the 'truest cause' of the war, he observes that it was also the one least mentioned at the time (i. 23. 6). Instead, the origins of the conflict were traced to the sea-battles involving Kerkyra, Corinth, and Athens in 433; to the revolt of Potidaia in early 432 and the Athenian effort to suppress it; and to the attempted capture of the border-town of Plataia by Thebes in 431. Thucydides thus draws a contrast between two very different views of the origin of the clash between Sparta and Athens. To his mind, the conflict had its roots in a pattern of events stretching back several generations and largely determined by fixed general laws of human behaviour; popular opinion, on the other hand, held that the hostilities had been sparked by one or more immediate causes, to which no larger geopolitical significance was necessarily assigned. This second view—which Thucydides implies was the one normally expressed in the street and the Assembly—closely resembles Dikaiopolis' insistence in *Acharnians* that the war is an accident, which ought therefore to be put a stop to as quickly as possible (cf. Section III). Dikaiopolis' view of things also accords with what appears to have been popular opinion about the specific origin of the conflict in his emphasis on the decisive importance of the Megarian Decree.

Megara was a relatively small, resource-poor state and a mid-sized naval power (e.g. Hdt. viii. 1. 1; Th. i. 46. 1) located at the south-east end of the Isthmus of Corinth about midway between

Corinth and Athens. By the middle of the fifth century the Megarians probably imported at least some of their grain; in return, they exported fruit and vegetables, salt, and woollen garments.<sup>10</sup> In 462, Megara, under pressure from Corinth (a considerably larger and more powerful state), deserted the Peloponnesian League and allied herself with Athens, and the Athenians helped the Megarians construct longwalls connecting their city to its port at Nisaia (Th. i. 103. 4). The relationship soon soured, and in 446 the Megarians revolted from Athens just after Euboia did, butchered their Athenian garrison, and rejoined the Peloponnesian League (Th. i. 114. 1). Little love appears to have been lost between the two states thereafter (cf. *Ach.* 738–9 n.).

Thucydides reports that in 432 the Megarians had numerous complaints against the Athenians, although the most serious had to do with the restrictions placed on them by the so-called ‘Megarian Decree’ (Th. i. 67. 4; cf. below). Thucydides leaves the nature of Megara’s other differences with Athens unspecified but does refer at another point to a dispute about alleged Megarian encroachment on borderland, including some land the Athenians claimed was sacred (apparently to the Eleusinian goddesses; cf. Plu. *Per.* 30. 2), and to an Athenian complaint about the Megarians’ willingness to harbour runaway slaves (Th. i. 139. 2). Our only other significant contemporary source for the history of Athens’ pre-war conflict with Megara is *Ach.* 515–29, a text not generally taken seriously by historians, in part because Dikaiopolis’ account of things is self-consciously absurd and seemingly modelled on Herodotus’ tale of the origin of the hostility that led to the Persian Wars in the retaliatory raping of women (cf. Section IV.B), and in part because of the notorious difficulty of making the Aristophanic version of events mesh neatly with Thucydides’.<sup>11</sup> One possible explanation for the discrepancies between the two accounts is that, in his story of the denunciation and sale of Megarian goods at *Ach.* 517–22 in particular, Dikaiopolis has garbled recent history for comic effect, transposing the state of affairs that obtained after the war began (at which point the import and sale of goods from enemy territory must have been forbidden as a matter of course) to the time before hostilities broke out (when there is no other hard evidence for the

<sup>10</sup> For Megara’s location, natural resources, and economy, Legon 22–5.

<sup>11</sup> For the complicated question of the various Athenian decrees concerning Megara and their relationship to Dikaiopolis’ account, *Ach.* 532–4 n.



existence of such a ban,<sup>12</sup> although the movement of the Megarians themselves was restricted (below)). A more straightforward reading of the text is that, at some point before the Megarian Decree was enacted, the Athenians banned the sale of Megarian products in their territory (*Ach.* 517–22) but that Thucydides, who is generally concerned to downplay the significance of the dispute with Megara, fails to mention the fact.<sup>13</sup> Dikaiopolis does not say what justification (if any) was offered for this ban, although the intent will certainly have been to damage the economy of a despised former ally by cutting off her access to Athens' large and wealthy domestic market as well as to the emporium in Piraeus. Even if this pre-war ban on the importation of Megarian goods into Attika did exist, however, Dikaiopolis is careful to insist that it was a small local problem (*Ach.* 523); the Megarian Decree itself was another matter.

The date of the Megarian Decree is unknown, although Dikaiopolis' account of things (not necessarily reliable on points of this sort, but the only evidence we have) implies that it was enacted only shortly before the war broke out, perhaps in late 433 or early 432 (*Ach.* 535–9). Thucydides says of its contents only that it barred the Megarians 'from the Attic agora and the harbours of the Athenian empire' (i. 67. 4, 139. 1; cf. i. 144. 2), and the parody at *Ach.* 532–4 confirms that this is a faithful report of its key clause. De Ste Croix 225–89, argued that the Decree could not have been intended to restrict Megarian trade with Athens and her allies, since the Megarians could have used middlemen to sell their goods abroad and import what they needed from other states. But the services of middlemen come at a price, and if the ban on the import and sale of Megarian goods in Attika referred to at *Ach.* 519–22 was real, there is no reason to think that it was relaxed when the Megarian Decree went into effect. The Megarians will thus have been forced to sell more of their own products (whose value will have been depressed by the fact that they could not be exported to

<sup>12</sup> Although note *Th.* i. 120. 2, where the Corinthians warn the Peloponnesian allies specifically about the Athenians' ability to strangle the export trade of states that cross them, implying that some coastal states have experienced this sort of thing already.

<sup>13</sup> Dikaiopolis' claim at *Ach.* 515–19 that he is not attacking the city but only individuals should not be taken to suggest that the alleged trade-ban was not state policy, but is a pointed response to the specific charges on which Kleon allegedly attempted to prosecute Aristophanes the previous year; cf. Sections I, III.

Attika) to foreign traders at home at local prices, while paying a premium for imports (since the Megarians themselves lacked access to most of the major trading-ports of the eastern Mediterranean).<sup>14</sup> The almost inevitable result will have been a decrease in the amount of grain that Megara was able to obtain from abroad, more or less exactly as Dikaiopolis implies (*Ach.* 535).<sup>15</sup>

Aristophanes twice assigns responsibility for the Megarian Decree to Perikles (*Ach.* 530–4; *Pax* 606–11), and Thucydides as well presents Perikles as aggressively defending the Decree against repeal and treats it as another example of his uncompromising attitude toward the Peloponnesian states (i. 140. 4–141. 1, 144. 2; cf. *Plu. Per.* 30. 1). Unlike the previous ‘small and local’ (*Ach.* 523) disputes between Athens and Megara, the Megarian Decree had serious international consequences. The Megarians insisted to the Spartan Assembly that it violated the treaty of 446 (*Th.* i. 67. 4), presumably because it affected Megara’s relationship with the Greek world generally rather than with Athens alone (as a simple ban on imports into Attika will have done). So too at *Pax* 609, Hermes, in the course of explaining to Trygaios how and why the goddess Peace vanished from the Greek world, stresses the Decree’s extraordinary importance by calling it the ‘spark’ that set off the Peloponnesian War. Indeed, Thucydides says that in late 432 and 431 the Spartans told the Athenians that hostilities could still be avoided, if they would only rescind the Megarian Decree (i. 139. 1), and Dikaiopolis claims that it was the rejection of those demands that led to war (*Ach.* 535–9).

Whatever its specific terms and purposes, therefore, the Megarian Decree came to stand in the Athenian popular mind as a central cause of the war. Athens and various individual members of the Peloponnesian League had numerous, sometimes violent quarrels between 434 and 432. All the same, the Spartans were generally known to have insisted that full-scale conflict between the two alliances could have been avoided, had the Athenians only agreed to rescind the Decree when asked to do so. They refused, according to Thucydides, because Perikles convinced them that

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *Ach.* 899–903, where the idea that traders profit by buying goods where they are produced (and thus plentiful and cheap) and selling them where they are scarce (and thus expensive) is carefully spelled out.

<sup>15</sup> That Dikaiopolis’ claim must be an exaggeration does not affect the basic point. For Athens’ importance as a centre of trade for the whole Mediterranean world, *Th.* ii. 38. 2; [X.] *Ath.* 2. 7; *Hermipp.* fr. 63.

war was inevitable and that giving in even on one seemingly minor point would be perceived as a sign of weakness and lead to other, more intolerable demands (esp. *Th.* i. 140. 5). That may—or may not—have been the case. What matters more is that in retrospect the Megarian Decree could be understood as a disastrous miscalculation, since the Athenians' insistence on maintaining it when they might have let it go as a matter of (arguably) no real consequence led directly to the beginning of a bitter war that soon caught up almost the entire Greek world.

At the meeting of the Peloponnesian League held probably in late summer 432 to decide whether to initiate hostilities against Athens, the Corinthian delegates urged an increase in the size of the Peloponnesian fleet (*Th.* i. 121. 3–4), and on the eve of the war in spring 431 the Spartans set quotas for shipbuilding for their allies in Italy and Sicily (*Th.* ii. 7. 2), although nothing is known to have come of this. Both sides also sought assistance from Persia (*Th.* ii. 7. 1; cf. *Ach.* 61 n.), which for the moment chose to remain neutral. The key point of Peloponnesian strategy, however, was to invade and ravage Attika each summer. If the Athenians came out to fight, they would almost certainly be defeated (*Th.* ii. 20. 2; cf. i. 143. 5); if they stayed within their walls, they would be worn down by the destruction of their crops and farms and by the political strains this destruction would produce (*Th.* ii. 20. 4; cf. ii. 21. 2–22. 1, 59. 1–2, 65. 2). Thucydides reports that the Peloponnesians calculated that their strategy would force the Athenians to capitulate within a year or two (iv. 85. 2; v. 14. 3; cf. vii. 28. 3) and says that the Spartan king Archidamos believed that the mere threat of seeing their land ravaged might drive them to make decisive last-minute concessions (ii. 12. 1, 18. 5). The Athenians for their part were convinced by Perikles to withdraw within the city's walls and allow the enemy a free hand with the countryside, relying instead on their control of the sea and their allies (*Th.* i. 143. 5; ii. 13. 2; cf. ii. 65. 7). Retaliatory raids might be mounted against the Peloponnesian coast and permanent bases perhaps established there (*Th.* i. 142. 4, 143. 4; cf. ii. 23. 2, 25, 30, 56). But the essence of Athenian strategy was to wait the enemy out and eventually leave them no choice but to make a deal that would at the very least preserve the pre-war military and political status quo. Thucydides' Perikles never says how long he expects the war to last, but implies that the resources and organization of the Peloponnesian states are

insufficient to allow them to maintain a sustained military effort for much more than the year or two they were expecting to have to fight (Th. i. 141. 3-142. 1).

During the first invasion of Attika in summer 431, the Peloponnesian forces did not travel widely about the countryside but concentrated their ravaging on the rural deme of Acharnai, which lay north of the city and could be seen from its walls (Th. ii. 19. 2; cf. *Ach.* 177 n.). According to Thucydides, Archidamos calculated that the Acharnians (who made up a substantial portion of the Athenian citizen-body) would respond to the systematic destruction of their houses and fields by attempting to persuade the people to abandon Perikles' essentially passive strategy and come out to confront the enemy (ii. 20. 4). In fact, the sight of Attika being ravaged generated such fierce debate within the city that Perikles was forced to contrive to keep the Assembly from meeting, so as to guard against any rash alteration of public policy (Th. ii. 21. 2-22. 1). But when a plague broke out and another, longer and geographically more wide-ranging invasion took place the next summer (Th. ii. 47. 2, 55. 1, 57. 2), the Assembly followed its own inclinations and sent envoys to Sparta, presumably offering to open talks about a negotiated end to the war (Th. ii. 59. 1-2). This would seem to have been exactly what the Peloponnesians were hoping for. The Athenian ambassadors none the less failed to accomplish anything (Th. ii. 59. 2), which suggests that the Spartans insisted on initial terms the envoys knew would not be accepted by the Assembly, and afterward Perikles was able to convince the people again that giving in to the enemy at this point in the conflict would be a grave mistake (Th. ii. 59. 3-65. 2). The Athenians accordingly sent no more embassies to Sparta, having been persuaded that their individual sufferings would have to be borne for the sake of the common good, although Thucydides notes that rich and poor alike were grieved by what had been done to their farms, fields, and comfortable country estates (ii. 65. 2).

Despite their wavering, therefore, the Athenians did not give in when Attika was ravaged, as the Spartans had expected they would, but neither did the Peloponnesian League's resources and determination prove as limited as Perikles had anticipated. Instead, the war dragged on year after painful year. The Peloponnesians invaded Attika again in 428 and 427 (Th. iii. 1, 26); no invasion took place in 429, since the Peloponnesian forces were

diverted at the last moment to Plataia (Th. ii. 71. 1), and the invasion of 426 was called off when earthquakes apparently taken to signal divine displeasure occurred (Th. iii. 89. 1). The Spartans also instituted a policy of executing any Athenians or Athenian allies caught on board merchant ships attempting to round the Peloponnese (Th. ii. 67. 4); supported the revolt of Mytilene (Th. iii. 15. 1, 25-6) and made attempts to detach or damage other Athenian allies as well (e.g. Th. ii. 66; iii. 100-2, 105-14); and even raided Salamis, having originally intended to strike Piraeus (*Ach.* 918-19 n.). The Athenians for their part continued to cause trouble for the Spartans and their allies wherever and however they could, for example by ravaging Megarian territory twice each year (*Ach.* 761-3 n.); expelling the Aiginetans from their island (*Ach.* 652-4 n.); attempting to blockade Corinth (Th. ii. 69. 1); and intervening in a war in Sicily, ostensibly in hope of cutting off one of the Peloponnesians' main sources of grain (*Ach.* 606 n.). At the same time, they did their best to maintain control of their allies while building new relationships with Sitalkes, king of the Odrysians, and Perdikkas of Macedon in particular (*Ach.* 134-5 n.). But barring some extraordinary turn of events, such as the Athenian capture of 292 Peloponnesian soldiers on the island of Sphakteria in the late summer of 425—an opportunity to make a rapid peace on very favourable terms that the Athenians recklessly threw away (cf. *Pax* 665-6 with Olson on 215-19)—neither side had the ability to break the other and no end to the war was in sight.

*Ach.* 652-3 implies that at some point in the relatively recent past the Spartans had put forward a peace-proposal, one clause of which included a demand that Aigina be returned to its original inhabitants. If this was a serious attempt to bring about a negotiated end to the war rather than a mere propaganda exercise, it must have offered Peloponnesian concessions in return. Thucydides' silence on the point leaves little doubt that neither the radical democratic leadership nor the Assembly generally took the Spartan offer seriously. All the same, by the mid-420s the average Athenian man in the street must occasionally have asked himself what he and his family had got out of the war so far. If he had rowed in the fleet or fought as a hoplite, he had been paid for his time, but not a great deal and certainly not enough to make the petty annoyances of military service—to say nothing of the risk to his life—worth while. He had certainly seen friends and neigh-

bours killed and wounded, and may have been wounded himself; his farm, if he had one, had most likely been damaged; prices were higher than they had been before the war and the range of goods available for purchase more limited; the countryside was dangerous even when the enemy was not there in force; and if he had ever thought he exercised control over his own existence or destiny, he definitely exercised much less such control now. Whatever pleasures might be associated with the war—military commands, ambassadorial appointments with all their perks, and the like—had certainly not come to him and seemed unlikely ever to do so. Doubtless he hated the Spartans and everything they stood for and had done, and had little confidence in their willingness to keep whatever agreements they might make (cf. *Ach.* 307–8 n.). But if he could have whatever he wanted and the public good were not a concern, he—like most of his friends, relatives, and neighbours—would choose peace with the enemy over war. And in his heart of hearts he may have felt no real love for great men like Perikles and Kleon, even if he had repeatedly voted along with them to continue the war and reject all Spartan overtures on the ground that this remained the wise and proper thing to do. As for why the war had begun almost a decade earlier, Thucydides implies that what the average Athenian remembered was a series of relatively minor quarrels with the Peloponnesian League during the late 430s, culminating in the Megarian Decree and the Spartans' repeated insistence that, if it were only repealed, there would be no need for war. In retrospect, Perikles' insistence on forcing a confrontation with the Peloponnesian League over this issue must have seemed monumentally misguided, which is to say that if the people in Assembly had only rejected their leadership's advice, the terrible situation in which they were now trapped might easily have been avoided. None of this was necessarily true; Thucydides says explicitly that the Spartans were eager for war in any case and Perikles may have been right to insist that one Athenian concession would only have led to a demand for others, making war a certainty in any case (as Thucydides also believed). What matters more is that this is all very much like the attitude toward the war adopted by Dikaiopolis in *Acharnians*, and that observation in turn leads to the question of the political argument of the play.

### III. KLEON, *BABYLONIANS*, AND THE POLITICAL ARGUMENT OF THE PLAY

As *Acharnians* begins, Dikaiopolis presents himself as a thoroughly isolated figure, the only citizen who cares enough about public affairs and about what he, at least, takes to be the general good of peace to come to a meeting of the Athenian Assembly on time (esp. 28–32). No one else is willing to abandon the private pleasure of gossiping in the market place until forced to do so (19–22), and when the prytaneis at last appear, hours late, they make their priorities clear by elbowing and shoving their way up to the best seats (40–2; cf. 23–6); bringing about an end to the war concerns them not at all (26–7). Dikaiopolis has none the less not abandoned hope for his city and has therefore come to the Assembly-place resolved to prevent business from proceeding as usual; today he will do whatever is necessary to get the question of peace taken up by the people (37–9). Unfortunately, this proves impossible. When Amphitheos attempts to complain about the prytaneis' failure to grant him travel-funds to go to Sparta to arrange an end to the fighting, he is dragged out of the Pnyx (53–8) and Dikaiopolis' protest against this official high-handedness is met with an order to stay in his seat and keep quiet (59). The first speaker allowed to address the people is instead an Ambassador recently returned from an eleven-year mission to Persia, in the course of which he has—despite his complaints—obviously had a very good time, all the while drawing two drachmas a day from the public treasury (65–78). So too Theoros has spent the winter on a paid assignment to get drunk with Sitalkes, king of the Odrysians, and has been in no hurry to get back home (136–41). Both the Ambassador and Theoros offer the people reasons for continuing the war (102, 108, 148–50) and both are patently *ἀλαζόνες* ('bullshit artists') whose only real interest is in bellying up to the public trough for as long as possible. After the prytaneis invite Pseudartabas to share a publicly subsidized meal, therefore, while average citizens like Dikaiopolis are left out in the cold, the hero makes his 'great and terrible' decision (125–8). As he tells Lamachos later on, what drove him to act was disgust at seeing arrogant youngsters seeking out paid public positions and running about the world on official embassies, while decent, hard-working old men like himself and

the chorus serve in the battle-ranks and get no appointments or privileges whatsoever (599–606). Lamachos' defence of this peculiar state of affairs (the reality of which he never attempts to deny) is that he and his fellow officials have been elected, which is to say that Dikaiopolis' criticisms amount to an assault on democracy (598, 607, 618). The hero will have none of this: if Lamachos and his ilk have been chosen for plum positions over and over again, it is because the Athenian people are idiots (598), and his opponent is devoted not to democracy but to the possibility of earning a wage (619). If everyone else wishes to be made fools of, they may continue to do so (133). But Dikaiopolis has had enough, and despite his original good intentions he severs his ties to Athenian public life by handing Amphitheos the money it will take to arrange a private peace with Sparta (129–32).

The opening scenes of *Acharnians* thus present Dikaiopolis as the sole voice of reason in a society dominated by fools and villains, and the war as nothing but an excuse for a small group of insiders to fatten and enrich themselves at everyone else's expense. All the average citizen has got out of the fighting is misery and impoverishment (esp. 32–4, 71–2, 125–6), and what goes on on stage leaves little doubt that the 'democratic' leadership's insistence that it continue is merely a way of ensuring that they and their friends remain well-fed and on the public payroll. Peace could be achieved immediately (cf. 51–2) if the Assembly would insist on it, and after Dikaiopolis has repeatedly pointed out that the people are being taken systematic advantage of, the only possible explanation for why they do not act in their own best interest is that they have no sense. When the chorus of old Acharnian farmers appear on stage at 204, they express a radically different view of things: the enemy has destroyed their crops, and anyone who fails to see that hostilities should continue indefinitely on that account is the foulest of traitors (e.g. 223–33, 287–92, 307–8; cf. 182–3). Dikaiopolis is thus forced to defend his understanding of the war and its origin, and his response to the chorus' infuriated insistence that the Spartans must be punished as at the root of all Athens' troubles (esp. 309–12) is to prove that they have misunderstood recent political history completely.

Dikaiopolis begins his great speech of self-defence in 497–556 by insisting that nothing he has done ought to be taken to suggest any personal affection for the Spartans, for he too has suffered in their



invasions and wishes them the worst (509–12). All the same, the enemy's behaviour is not the issue; the fault for everything that has happened is to be sought at home, although not with the city as a whole (513–16). Instead, trouble began with a few depraved individuals, who attempted to enrich themselves by denouncing what they claimed were contraband Megarian goods (517–22; cf. 819–21). Nothing might have come of that (523), but then a few young drunks kidnapped a Megarian whore (524–5), and when the Megarians responded by kidnapping two Athenian whores who happened to belong to Perikles' concubine Aspasia (526–7), Perikles enacted the Megarian Decree (530–4). The effect of this was wildly out of proportion to the supposed crime: the Megarians began to starve to death and therefore asked the Spartans to intercede on their behalf with the Athenians (535–7). Only after the Athenians repeatedly refused to repeal 'the decree passed on account of some female cocksuckers' did the war begin (538–9; cf. 528–9). Precisely what real-world events Dikaiopolis is referring to in this section of his speech is difficult to say (cf. Section II). His basic thrust is none the less quite clear and accords precisely with what has been seen on stage up to this point: the war has nothing to do with the needs or aspirations of average citizens, but has been brought about by the self-serving behaviour of a few bad but influential individuals abetted by a general local obtuseness. The Spartans and their allies have only reacted reasonably to an endless series of Athenian provocations (esp. 540–56), and the fact that the annual Peloponnesian invasions of Attika have done average citizens a great deal of painful damage is thus true but beside the point. The war was begun and continues in order to serve the interests of a fast-talking political and social elite, who masquerade as servants and protectors of the Athenian people and have inexplicably managed to take the populace in. Not only has Dikaiopolis not betrayed his city, he has acted as anyone with any sense would; what is surprising is that no one else has done the same.

When Dikaiopolis concludes his private peace with the enemy, therefore, his primary goal is to free himself from the company of fools and the consequences of their thoughtlessness, and his new world represents a systematic reversal of the most unfortunate characteristics of the old. Because he is effectively the only citizen of his new state (or, better put, is himself identical with the state), there is no longer any danger that he will be outvoted by a collec-

tion of 'cuckoo-birds' (598) or taken advantage of by scoundrels, for everything is his and his word is law. Malicious abusers of the legal system can now be beaten and expelled (818–28, 908–58) rather than allowed to bring trouble on everyone else (cf. 515–22), while Lamachos, who used to draw an inflated salary as a military commander without entering the field (cf. 597–622), is forced to stand guard over a mountain pass during a snowstorm at festival-time (1073–7) and wounded in the (ludicrously unheroic) fighting that ensues (1174–88). Whereas Dikaiopolis was once excluded from everything good (esp. 68–72, 124–7), he now has unlimited access to sensual pleasures, and the second half of the play amounts to an extended celebration of the joys of abundant food and wine and an aggressive male sexuality.<sup>16</sup> The closing scenes accordingly draw an extended contrast between the fate of the hero and his chief opponent. Dikaiopolis goes off to a lavish party at the house of the priest of Dionysos (1085–94) and returns drunk and accompanied by a pair of luscious and compliant prostitutes (esp. 1198–1201, 1216–17, 1220–1), while Lamachos is forced to pack for a military campaign while his rival loads up his dinner-basket (1097–1142), and is ultimately brought on stage groaning with pain and carried off to the doctor's (esp. 1190–3, 1204, 1206, 1218–19, 1222–3).

Dikaiopolis thus turns the table on the world at large and gets all the good things from which he was excluded when the play began. Once he has made his private peace, he behaves in an aggressively self-centred fashion, displaying little sympathy for anyone else, including the neighbours who must endure the sounds and smell of his cooking without being offered a share (esp. 1037–9, 1044–6), and instead expecting to be applauded and admired for his success (esp. 1011–12, 1224–31). All the same, what might seem to the modern eye to be the 'dark side' of the hero's behaviour in the second half of the play ought not to be misunderstood.<sup>17</sup> There is no reason, first of all, to think that Dikaiopolis is to be seen as taking improper advantage of the personal troubles of the Megarian, for whose (admittedly unfortunate) situation there is no trace of sympathy anywhere in the text.<sup>18</sup> The Megarian is a buffoon, who is happy to sell his daughters and seems to think he has accom-

<sup>16</sup> See *MM*, pp. 57–62; Bowie 35–6.

<sup>17</sup> Pace Foley 45–6. See the sensible remarks of Carey, *RhM* 136 (1993) 245–63.

<sup>18</sup> Pace Fischer, *G&R* 40 (1993) 31–47; Compton-Engle, *CJ* 94 (1999) 369, 373.

plished something clever by doing so (736–9, 816–17), while the girls themselves are happy to be sold (734–5), and the fact that Dikaiopolis gets a wonderful bargain is to be understood as reason to congratulate rather than to condemn him. So too, if the Boiotian agrees to take a sycophant in exchange for all his trade-goods (904–7, 956–8), that is his business and there is no point in worrying about whether he has been treated ‘fairly’; what matters is that Aristophanes’ hero has come out on the winning end of the deal and has for good measure managed to unload one of contemporary Athens’ allegedly most severe social problems (cf. 829) on a traditional enemy. Nor does the fact that Dikaiopolis refuses the bridegroom the peace that would allow him to stay home and make love to his new wife (1051–5) suggest that his success has made him abandon his status as an ardent advocate of a free and ‘natural’ sexuality (esp. 263–76; contrast e.g. 79). When the Bridesmaid makes what amounts to the same request, after all, Dikaiopolis grants it, pointing out that, as a woman, the bride can scarcely be charged with responsibility for the origin or continuation of the war (1061–2), the obvious implication being that her husband (as an adult male citizen) can and is merely suffering the consequences of his folly (cf. 130–1); the fundamental issue is political. Likewise the utter lack of sympathy with which the hero greets the blind and ruined Derketes’ request for a bit of peace with which to anoint his eyes (1024, 1030, 1032, 1035) is most likely to be explained as a topical joke: there was a real Derketes of Phyle (1028 n.) and the simplest explanation of the passage is that he was an outspoken supporter of the war who gets what he deserves.<sup>19</sup> The real point in any case is that we ought not to be put off by the fact that Dikaiopolis is not what some of us today would call an entirely sympathetic character; he is extraordinarily wily, unrepentantly self-serving, and brilliantly successful, and Aristophanes’ audience was clearly intended (and doubtless overwhelmingly disposed) to admire and envy him on that account.

This is not to suggest that Dikaiopolis and his behaviour represent a political or social ideal; one might easily wish to be him without wanting to have him for a fellow-citizen or a neighbour. That the hero opts for radical self-interest after he has separated himself from the rest of the city cannot, in one sense, be held against him, for the other characters in the play have been acting this way all

<sup>19</sup> See MacDowell, *G&R* 30 (1983) 158–60.

along; why should Dikaiopolis alone be miserable, if everyone else is either having a good time or content to be exploited? It is none the less true that his disgust with his fellow-citizens in the opening scene is driven precisely by his sense that they lack an interest in the common good (esp. 17–27); that he ultimately chooses to go one better by arranging a private peace with Sparta does not make this an ideal course of action.<sup>20</sup> Dikaiopolis' decision to opt out of Athenian public life is thus a clear political and social 'second best', and whatever the audience is to make of his choice, it is not obviously supposed to take him as a model for its own actions or as a simple expression of what the poet takes to be right and good. Nor does the hero's behaviour transfer easily into recommendations for action in the real world in any case. Even if the Athenian people, after all, had come to an immediate understanding with the Peloponnesians as soon as the Lenaia festival of 425 was over, they would have had no hope of getting all the good things Dikaiopolis enjoys, for most of his advantages in his new market place flow directly from the fact that he alone is allowed to trade there, and what he enjoys is really a restored Golden Age (cf. Section IV.A), and so by definition unobtainable. The central interpretative question posed by *Acharnians* is thus what its political point might be for an audience condemned to live in the real world rather than in a fantasy brought to life by means of a few clever words on stage, and in particular how a play that presents the Athenian people as fools and the contemporary democracy as a farce could have been awarded the prize by what must have been an overwhelmingly democratic audience.<sup>21</sup> The answer to that question turns in large part on an accurate assessment of the relationship between the hero and the poet, at least as he chooses to present himself.

Just before he sets off for Euripides' house, having calmed the chorus by threatening one of their beloved charcoal-baskets

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Bowie 38–9.

<sup>21</sup> Significant recent contributions to the perennial question of the political function of Athenian Old Comedy include de Ste Croix 355–76; M. Heath, *Political Comedy in Aristophanes* (Hypomnemata, Heft 87: Göttingen, 1987); Henderson, in J. J. Winkler and F. I. Zeitlin (eds.), *Nothing to Do with Dionysos?: Athenian Drama in its Social Context* (Princeton, 1990) 271–313; in A. H. Sommerstein *et al.* (eds.), *Tragedy, Comedy and the Polis* (Bari, 1993) 307–19; and in G. W. Dobrov (ed.), *The City as Comedy: Society and Representation in Athenian Drama* (Chapel Hill and London, 1997) 135–48; and Sommerstein, in J. A. López Férez (ed.), *La comedia Griega y su influencia en la literatura Española* (Estudios de filología Griega, 3: Madrid, 1998) 43–62 (all with further bibliography).

(331–65), Dikaiopolis unexpectedly announces that he had some trouble with Kleon ‘on account of last year’s comedy’ and notes that he was dragged before the city’s Council, denounced in abusive terms there, and almost ruined (377–82). Up to this point, Aristophanes’ hero has presented himself as an old peasant-farmer who attends theatrical and musical performances but never drops any hint that he produces them (9–16), and it seems that he has for a moment taken on a different persona, that of the author of the play.<sup>22</sup> So too after Dikaiopolis has put on his *Telephos*-disguise and come back to defend himself before the chorus, he abruptly begins to speak to the audience instead (496), notes that he is in the middle of staging a comedy (497), and insists that this time Kleon will not be able to accuse him of slandering Athens in the presence of foreigners, since this is the Lenaia festival, when only permanent residents of Athens are present, rather than the City Dionysia, when official representatives of the allied states and many other foreigners are in attendance (502–8). Once again the hero appears to speak with the voice of the author of the play in which he is a character, and he goes on a few lines later to ask the audience to remember that he is attacking specific individuals rather than the state as a whole when he describes the local origins of the war with Sparta (515–16), the obvious implication being that he does not wish to face the same charges a second time (cf. 503). After the chorus announce that Dikaiopolis has convinced them of the rightness of his decision to make a private peace (626–7), finally, they turn to the audience and say that their poet has decided to speak out on his own behalf, since his enemies have slandered him with the charge of mocking the city and treating the people outrageously (628–32).

These passages are most naturally interpreted as references to a single set of events, and Σ<sup>REΓ</sup> 378 reports that the play to which Dikaiopolis is referring is Aristophanes’ *Babylonians*. Whether this judgement is based on reliable historical information or inferences drawn from the text itself by Hellenistic scholars is a matter of dispute (cf. Section I). But the remarks Dikaiopolis and the chorus make can in any case be very easily combined into a coherent

<sup>22</sup> Since *Babylonians* and *Acharnians* were both produced by Kallistratos, it is not impossible that he was the one attacked by Kleon, although one would expect the poet who wrote the words pronounced on stage to be held legally responsible for them.

narrative according to which Kleon reacted to the previous comedy by 'the poet' also responsible for *Acharnians* by attempting to have him indicted for bringing disgrace on the city in the presence of her subjects (502–3), who ought instead presumably to be taught to fear and respect her (cf. [X.] *Ath.* 1. 18). Dikaiopolis is Aristophanes' creature rather than Aristophanes himself, and the actions and opinions of the two cannot necessarily be identified; indeed, there is no reason why a playwright should not invent a hero whose attitudes and behaviour he abhors. Nor is 'the poet' as he presents himself necessarily to be identified systematically with the historical author of the text. The crucial question is thus how far the series of identifications that Dikaiopolis and the chorus repeatedly hint at ought to be pressed.<sup>23</sup>

That the connection between Dikaiopolis and 'the poet', first of all, is not systematic is suggested most obviously by the chorus' proud claim in the parabasis that the Persian king said that their playwright's advice would make the side he abused more likely to defeat its enemies in war (648–51). Although Dikaiopolis wants an immediate end to the fighting, 'the poet' seemingly does not, and the chorus accordingly decline to urge acceptance of the Spartans' terms on the ground that this will cost Athens his services, which is too high a price to pay (652–5). Perhaps more important, 'the poet' has not yet decided to withdraw from public life, as Dikaiopolis has, for although Kleon's attack gave him (and—assuming all this refers to an actual controversy over *Babylonians*—doubtless the real Aristophanes as well) a considerable scare, in the end no damage was done (cf. 381–2), so that the people as he has experienced them have at least a bit of sense and are not the complete fools Dikaiopolis encounters in the Assembly.

The identification between Dikaiopolis and 'the poet' is thus a limited one, and one important aspect of it expires the moment the hero makes his private peace with Sparta. As was noted at the beginning of this Section, in the opening scene of *Acharnians* Dikaiopolis seems to want the best for his fellow-citizens and attempts to alert them to the outrages going on in Athenian public life (e.g. 75–6, 110–22), although he finally gives up in disgust at the blindness of everyone else (133) and separates himself from the

<sup>23</sup> For the complex relationship between Aristophanes, Dikaiopolis, and 'the poet', see e.g. Bailey; Foley; Hubbard 41–53, 58–9; S. Goldhill, *The Poet's Voice* (Cambridge, 1991) 188–96.

city. So too, according to the chorus in the parabasis, their poet's goal with his comedies is to make the Athenian people happier, better, and more successful, which is to say that his plays have a fundamentally educational purpose (esp. 655–8). The alleged proof of this is that, before his comedies were staged, the Assembly was routinely taken in by foreign ambassadors, whereas now, the implication is, his exposure of their tricks has doomed them to failure (633–40). What makes 'the poet's' benevolent intentions difficult to appreciate is that he works through abuse, rubbing the people's collective nose in their shortcomings in order to make them less likely to repeat their mistakes in the future (649–51). Although Kleon claimed that 'the poet' ought to be prosecuted for his alleged contempt for Athens and her people, therefore, he is in fact the one who is concerned about the city, whereas demagogues offer only flattery and bribes, which amount to nothing more than a temporary illusion of happiness (cf. 657–64). What Athens needs is someone with the nerve to tell the people the ugly truth about their lives, and the paradoxical result of these 'slanders' will be not only that they will become happier and more successful (656), but that the allies will come bearing their tribute with greater alacrity than before, eager to witness what amounts to a political miracle (643–5).

The opening scene in *Acharnians*, in which all the alleged failures of the Athenian democracy are put on public view and mocked in a relentless, brutal fashion, thus amounts to an illustration of what is alleged to be the fundamental nature of 'the poet's' comedy and poses the city a stark but necessary choice. To the extent that Dikaiopolis' new world can be regarded as a good thing, it represents what the city as a whole could have by giving up listening to Kleon, Lamachos, and their fellow-conspirators. More important, the hero's decision to turn his back on his fellow-citizens when he fails to stir the Assembly out of its torpor amounts to a none too subtle threat from 'the poet' himself. Up to this point, he has (like his hero) been a committed citizen, who has run great risks to serve Athens as best he can by alerting the people to what is being done to them under the guise of a democracy. If no one is going to pay him any attention (i.e. if charges of the sort Kleon has made are going to be taken seriously), he may as well stop behaving so recklessly. He has done his best and has got nothing but grief for it, so the rest of the city can go to hell, for all he cares, if

they prefer to be led around by the nose by self-serving professional deceivers; he will concentrate on taking care of himself and will end up both much happier than everyone else and totally unsympathetic to their concerns.<sup>24</sup> The alternative is for the people to show that they understand and appreciate the nature of his comedies and thus his public services, and the best way to do that is to vote for him to take the prize. That is exactly what the judges did for the historical Aristophanes at the Lenaia in 425, and the decision would seem to have been a sensible and straightforward one, if his comedy offered a telling and productive analysis of the day-to-day conduct of Athenian political life. In fact, it does not, and the problem of why *Acharnians* ranked first in the popular balloting at the end of the festival—and thus the larger problem of the relationship between Dikaiopolis, ‘the poet’, and Aristophanes—is more complicated than this.

The basic political argument of *Acharnians* is that everyone in the city with any power is corrupt and that the people could put a stop to this by paying more attention to what is going on around them and acting more responsibly. Beyond that, the drama offers very little in the way of concrete policy proposals, except for what appears to be a suggestion in the parabasis that a recent Spartan offer (perhaps never taken seriously by the Assembly) to make peace if the Athenians would restore the Aiginetans—and doubtless do many other even more painful and unlikely things as well—be rejected (652–5); a vague appeal a little later on to the ‘good old days’ of the Persian Wars (esp. 677, 697–8), which serves primarily to introduce a transparently tongue-in-cheek proposal for the introduction of age-class limitations in the lawcourts (713–18); and the repeated implication (easily dismissed as the result of personal spite) that Kleon is a villain who ought accordingly to be removed from all positions of public responsibility (esp. 662–4). Democracies are inevitably cumbersome things and Athens’ democracy made its share of mistakes in the early years of the Peloponnesian War. It is none the less also true that the city’s political system included elaborate safeguards against the abuse of public power: every citizen who had not for some reason been stripped of his franchise had an unquestioned right to address the Assembly on matters of public concern; public offices were filled

<sup>24</sup> For a similar analysis of *Wasps*, Olson, *TAPA* 126 (1996) 129–50.



by allotment or election for a year at most; all annual magistrates underwent an audit of their personal and political affairs upon leaving office and could be prosecuted for malfeasance by anyone who wished to take up the case; and public decisions were subject to open debate and majority approval and were not simply imposed at an individual speaker's whim (as 530–4 imply the Megarian Decree was by Perikles). The image presented of the Athenian state in *Acharnians* is thus so wildly exaggerated and the poet's call for radical action to address supposedly systemic problems so utterly lacking in specifics that, were one to take the political argument implicit in the text seriously, one would have little choice but to condemn the play as irresponsible and ultimately unconstructive. Although *Acharnians* was awarded the prize by a democratic audience despite taking numerous nasty swipes at the democracy, therefore, the chorus' defence of their poet as a selfless, fearless exposé of the truth (esp. 655) will not do as an explanation of the historical Aristophanes' success, because his play is not what they imply it is. The key to making sense of the positive popular verdict passed on *Acharnians* in 425 (as well as on *Knights* in 424), I suggest, is instead to be found in what we know about the reception of *Babylonians*.

From what one can tell from the admittedly scanty evidence, Kleon argued before the Council that the portrait of Athenian public life presented in *Babylonians* was simultaneously so hostile and so far removed from the truth that staging it at the City Dionysia in the presence of the city's allies amounted to an act of political treachery. That Kleon (who was by this time a seasoned political veteran with impeccable democratic credentials) was entirely wrong about some of the implications of the view of the city put forward in *Babylonians* (which had been written by someone most likely in his early twenties who can have had no substantial political experience whatsoever) is not self-evident. Indeed, the play appears to have been at least as outrageous and incendiary as *Acharnians*, in that it branded everyone who held any sort of office in Athens as corrupt; presented the people once again as idiots; and claimed that the war was first and foremost a result of domestic political manoeuvring. The fact that the Council declined to bring an indictment of Aristophanes none the less suggests that it rejected Kleon's interpretation of the play, and the implication is that *Babylonians* looked very different to different groups of

democrats, depending upon the position they occupied within the city: average citizens had no problem with what they took to be the message of the comedy, whereas the democracy's most important leader loathed it. While we do not know what Kleon thought of *Acharnians*, it requires no great stretch of the historical imagination to think that he was no happier with it than he had been with *Babylonians*.<sup>25</sup> A substantial number of average members of the audience, on the other hand, must have approved of the play, since their representatives voted to award it the prize. *Acharnians* thus most likely evoked the same sort of divided response among Athenian democrats that *Babylonians* did, and the obvious conclusion is that ordinary people were content to watch a comedy in which the state was portrayed as in a terrible mess and in which they themselves were presented as fools, provided that they were simultaneously allowed to affirm, by applauding the action and voting to award the author the prize, that they were victims of their leaders and alleged allies and deserved nothing like the sufferings they had recently endured. Not surprisingly, arguments of this sort outraged politically prominent individuals like Kleon, who faced the difficult task of managing the city's affairs on a day-to-day basis and knew that none of what was being alleged about their personal lack of devotion to the good of the people was true. That outrage and the attempt at indictment it spawned (perhaps also motivated on some level by the fact that Kleon himself seems to have been the object of scathing—and doubtless very funny—criticism in the comedy) then played directly into the hands of the poet, who chose to misrepresent it at a subsequent festival as anger at the fact that a public-minded citizen had dared expose widespread political corruption to the scrutiny of the Athenian people and their allies.

Despite the chorus' claims in the parabasis, therefore, *Acharnians* in its own way panders just as shamelessly to its audience as it accuses Kleon of doing (657–64). According to the Old Oligarch, one basic characteristic of the Athenian democracy was the people's individual readiness to disclaim responsibility for whatever collective decisions turned out badly ([X.] *Ath.* 2. 17; cf. *Ec.*

<sup>25</sup> Indeed, Σ<sup>RET</sup> 378 maintains that Kleon prosecuted Aristophanes again after the performance of *Acharnians*, seemingly with a claim that the poet was not a legitimate Athenian citizen, although this may be nothing more than a deduction from the allusion to the poet's connections with Aigina at 653–4.

193–6, 823–9). The early 420s had not been happy years in Athens (cf. Section II), and *Acharnians* takes the disappointment and anger of ordinary citizens at that fact as its dramatic and rhetorical starting-point. Indeed, the most brilliant literary and social manoeuvre in the play is the way in which it allows an audience made up of average democrats, who collectively exercised absolute authority over the state and individually filled virtually all its offices, to affirm not only that ‘everyone in power is corrupt’ but that they are all personally victims, who bear no responsibility for the troubles they have got in recent years and who would have been much better off had they not been so stupid as to be taken in by those who claimed to be their friends.

#### IV. MYTHOLOGICAL AND LITERARY BACKGROUND

##### A. *The Golden Age*

Like a number of other late fifth- and early fourth-century comedies (e.g. *Telecl.* fr. 1; *Pherecr.* frr. 113; 137), *Acharnians* has been influenced by the myth of effortless living in the Golden Age (first at Hes. *Op.* 109–20; cf. 976 n.; H. *Od.* 9. 108–11), the restoration of which the play confounds with the idea of the recovery of peace and a return to the countryside. As the action begins, Dikaiopolis evokes the traditional image of the Golden Age by complaining that, before the war, his rural deme ‘provided everything by itself’ (36 with n.), whereas now he is trapped in the city and whatever pleasures are available go to other people (esp. 68–76, 124–7). As soon as he makes his separate peace with Sparta, therefore, he heads off to the country to celebrate the Rural Dionysia (201–2), and the content of the cult song he offers in 263–79 makes it clear that what peace means to him is renewed access to the sensual pleasures from which he has been excluded for so long. The explicitly rural aspects of Dikaiopolis’ ideal world of peace are eventually abandoned in favour of the creation of a new Agora, which is none the less distinguished from the urban cash-economy denounced in 33–5 by functioning on a barter basis, and which offers the hero access to a seemingly limitless supply of wonderful things at negligible cost (esp. 812–15 with 813–14 n., 897–907). Paradise has been restored, at least for Dikaiopolis, who returns at the end of the play from a great feast in the house of the

Priest of Dionysos drunk and ready to go off to bed with a pair of naked women (1198–1203). When the chorus sum up the state of blessedness the hero has achieved, therefore, they resort again to Golden Age language, declaring that ‘all good things come to him of their own accord’ (976).

### B. *Herodotus’ Histories*

At *Ach.* 524–9, Dikaiopolis claims that the Peloponnesian War began when a few young Athenians kidnapped a Megarian whore and the Megarians responded by kidnapping two Athenian whores. As commentators and historians have long observed, this passage is almost certainly a parody of Hdt. i. 1–5. 2, where the origins of the ancient hostility between Europe and Asia are traced to a similar series of rapes and the Greeks’ willingness to treat minor disputes of this sort as a *casus belli* is denounced by unnamed learned Persians (i. 4. 2–3).<sup>26</sup> Wells identifies a number of additional points of possible contact between *Acharnians* and the *Histories*, the most substantial of which is the Ambassador’s reference at *Ach.* 85–6 to the Great King roasting whole oxen in ovens, something Dikaiopolis terms ‘a load of bullshit’ (*Ach.* 86–7) but Herodotus identifies as a custom of wealthy Persians on their birthdays (Hdt. i. 133. 1).<sup>27</sup> Wells argues that the reference to the Eye of the King at *Ach.* 91–2 is a second definite parody of Herodotus, who mentions the office at i. 114. 2.<sup>28</sup> The offhand manner, however, in which the historian does so makes it clear that he thought that the Eye and his duties were familiar to his audience, a thesis confirmed by the passing mention of the office a generation earlier at *A. Pers.* 979. Regardless of what one makes of the reference to whole baked oxen at *Ach.* 85–6 (probably comic appropriation of one of a large number of seemingly wild stories about the fantastic luxury of the barbarian East known to the average man in the street in late fifth-century Athens; cf. *Ach.* 81–2 n., 84–7 n.), therefore, Aristophanes’ mention of the Eye of the King a few verses later proves nothing about his degree of acquaintance with the *Histories*. The other possible references to Herodotus listed by Wells in *Acharnians* do not

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Sansone, *ICS* 10 (1985) 1–9, responding to Fornara, *JHS* 91 (1971) 25–34; *Hermes* 109 (1981) 149–56.

<sup>27</sup> J. Wells, *Studies in Herodotus* (Oxford, 1923) 172–7, esp. 174.

<sup>28</sup> Wells (above, n. 27) 174.

amount to anything, as Wells himself concedes,<sup>29</sup> and the most one can say is that Aristophanes may have been acquainted with some portions of Book i, perhaps as a result of recent public readings by Herodotus in Athens.<sup>30</sup> In any case, the *Histories* have had no obvious substantial impact on the form or content of *Acharnians* beyond the brief parody at 524–9.

### C. Euripides' *Telephos*

According to our earliest sources, Telephos was the son of Herakles and a woman later identified as the Arcadian princess Auge (Hes. fr. 165. 8–10; Hecat. *FGrH* 1 F 29 ap. Paus. viii. 4. 9, 47. 4; E. fr. 696. 4–5). Eventually he became king of Mysia, a region in north-west Asia Minor, and when the Achaians attempted to sack his city, having mistaken it for Troy, he drove them away (Hes. fr. 165. 14–15; *Cypr.* arg. 36–7; Pi. *O.* 9. 72–3; E. fr. 696. 15–16; cf. E. fr. 705a Kannicht = *Ach.* 1188). In the course of the fighting, Telephos was wounded by Achilles (*Cypr.* arg. 38; Pi. *I.* 5. 41–2; 8. 54–5); several late sources assign responsibility for the wounding to Dionysos, who tripped up the hero or his horse with a grapevine (Apollod. *Epit.* 3. 17; adesp. ep. fr. 3. 1, p. 76 Powell; Σ Lyc. 206, 213; Eust. p. 46. 40–1; cf. Pi. *I.* 8. 54–5). After the abortive attack on the Mysians, the Achaian forces scattered (*Cypr.* arg. 38–9). In the meantime, Telephos' wound festered and an oracle finally sent him to Argos, where he was healed by Achilles and became the Achaians' guide for their renewed (and ultimately successful) expedition against Troy (*Cypr.* arg. 41–2).

Aeschylus presented a version of this story in his undated *Telephos* (frr. 238–40). Almost nothing is known of the play, but Σ<sup>ET</sup> *Ach.* 332 (perhaps lacunose) claims that 'according to the tragic poet Aeschylus, Telephos seized and held Orestes in order to stay safe among the Greeks', and the scene appears to be illus-

<sup>29</sup> The references to Ekbatana (*Ach.* 64; mentioned at e.g. Hdt. i. 98. 3 but also at *A. Pers.* 16) and the River Kayster (*Ach.* 68; cf. Hdt. v. 100) suggest nothing more than some general knowledge of Asian geography. The phoenix (cf. *Ach.* 89) is discussed at Hdt. ii. 73 but was known to the Greeks from Hesiod (fr. 304. 3–4) and Hekataios (*FGrH* 1 F 324), on whom Herodotus himself was apparently drawing (cf. *Ach.* 88–9 n.), and Persian luxury chariots (*Ach.* 70; cf. Hdt. vii. 41. 1, etc.) are mentioned already at *A. Pers.* 1000–1.

<sup>30</sup> For the Athenians' alleged gift of ten talents to Herodotus (presumably a response to a public reading of a section of the work that glorified their city), Plu. *Mor.* 862b, citing Diyll. *FGrH* 73 F 3.

trated on a pair of mid-fifth-century vase-paintings (*LIMC* i. 2 s. Agamemnon pl. 11).<sup>31</sup> This evidence is generally taken to suggest that the detail of Telephos' use of Orestes to support his supplication of Agamemnon was introduced into the story by Aeschylus, who may have used a contemporary tale about Themistokles' behaviour in the court of the Molossian king Admetos (*Th.* i. 136. 2–7. 1) as a model. Only one word survives of Sophocles' *Telephos* (fr. 580; date uncertain) and it is impossible to say even whether he dealt with the same portion of the myth.<sup>32</sup>

Euripides' *Telephos* was performed at the City Dionysia in 438 BCE, along with *Cretan Women*, *Alkmeon in Psophis*, and the 'pro-satyric' *Alkestis*; Sophocles took first place at the festival, while Euripides took second (*Alc.* Hyp. 16–18; cf. IV.D below). *Telephos* is known from 33 book-fragments (frr. 696–727, plus *Ach.* 1188 = fr. 705a Kannicht; perhaps add *Ach.* 541 = fr. 708a Kannicht and *Ach.* 577a = fr. 712a Kannicht), ten of them preserved in the scholia to *Acharnians*; a papyrus scrap containing fragments of a Hypothesis probably (but not necessarily) to be associated with this tragedy (POxy. xxviii. 2455 fr. 12); three additional papyri, which contain the first sixteen lines of the prologue (PMed. i. 15 (overlaps with fr. 696)) and tattered bits and pieces of several hundred lines from the second half of the play, including 24 relatively well-preserved lines that give the end of a choral song and the beginning of a conversation between Achilles and Odysseus (POxy. xxviii. 2460 + PBerol. 9908 = fr. 727a, c Kannicht);<sup>33</sup> a series of mostly fourth-century vase-paintings that seem to depict the Euripidean Telephos holding Orestes at the altar (*LIMC* vii. 2 s. Telephos pll. 55, 59–63); a few scholia containing scattered bits and pieces of information; ten fragments of the *Telephos* of the Latin poet Ennius and fifteen fragments of a play by the same title

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Csapo, *QUCC* 34 (1990) 41–52.

<sup>32</sup> No positive evidence connects Sophocles' lost *Assembly of the Achaians* (frr. 142–8) with the story of Telephos. In addition to the play by Euripides discussed subsequently, other tragedies entitled *Telephos* were written by Iophon (*TrGF* 22 F 2c (title only)), Agathon (*TrGF* 39 F 4 (a single fragment in which an illiterate man works out the name 'Theseus')), Kleophon (*TrGF* 77 F 11 (title only)), and Moschion (*TrGF* 97 F 2 (a single fragment containing a complaint addressed to the goddess Fate)). Comedies entitled *Telephos* were written by the Doric poets Deinolochos (fr. 6) and Rhinthon (fr. 11).

<sup>33</sup> PRyl. 482 = fr. 727b Kannicht (fragments of a discussion between Odysseus, Telephos, and the chorus about Telephos' eventual service guiding the army to Troy?) is perhaps to be assigned to *Telephos* as well.

by Accius (both authors seemingly drawing on Euripides); and the extended parodies in *Acharnians* and *Thesmophoriazusae* and the brief reference at *Nu.* 921–4. Precisely what went on in Euripides' *Telephos* and when is impossible to say; the Aristophanic evidence is particularly difficult to assess, given the freedom the poet seems to have felt to rework (and thus distort) his source. The broad outlines of the story can none the less be reconstructed with a tolerable degree of certainty and some conclusions drawn about Aristophanes' handling of his tragic exemplar.<sup>34</sup>

*Telephos* began with the hero's arrival before Agamemnon's palace in Argos (fr. 696). The portion of the prologue preserved in the Milan papyrus unfortunately contains little more than Telephos' explanation of his genealogy and name. But he was almost certainly already dressed in beggars' rags (cf. frr. 697–8; *Ach.* 430–70; *Nu.* 921–4) and must have explained his plan and told of the oracle he had received—which, the most likely reconstruction of the end of the play suggests, was cast in riddling language, requiring him to seek healing from 'the one that had wounded' him. The simplest explanation of what can be reconstructed of the hero's behaviour is that he intended to wait in disguise by the palace door until he could obtain an interview with Agamemnon, during the course of which he would reveal his identity, tell of the oracle he had received, and ask the Achaian high commander to encourage Achilles (who, the Berlin papyrus shows, had not yet arrived in Argos) to heal his wound. In return, Telephos would guide the Greeks to Troy. Telephos' chances for success thus turned not only on Agamemnon's response to his petition but on the much more dubious question of whether Achilles would be willing to forget that the two of them were enemies and concern himself with the good of his community. That Telephos encountered Klytemestra before the palace in the second half of the prologue, shared a (perhaps not entirely straightforward (cf. fr. 707)) version of his story with her, and was encouraged by her to take Orestes in his arms when he supplicated Agamemnon, as happened in Aeschylus' play, seems a reasonable if unprovable

<sup>34</sup> Important recent discussions of the Euripidean *Telephos* (all with further bibliography) include E. W. Handley and J. Rea, *The Telephus of Euripides* (BICS Suppl. 5: London, 1957); F. Jouan, *Euripide et les légendes des chants cypriens* (Paris, 1966) 222–55, esp. 222–44; Webster 43–8; Heath, *CQ* NS 37 (1987) 272–80; M. J. Cropp, in Collard, Cropp, and Lee 17–52; C. Preiser, *Euripides: Telephos. Einleitung, Text, Kommentar* (Spudasmata, Band 78: Zurich and New York, 2000), esp. 71–97.

assumption, given the address to an unidentified woman as 'mistress of this business and strategy' in fr. 699.

The chorus of *Telephos* is generally assumed to have been made up of Argive citizens (cf. frr. 712–13), although they might have been Achaian soldiers instead; their reason for appearing is unknown and, given the lack of evidence, not worth speculating about. Precisely what followed the chorus' entrance is unclear, but the fragments preserve traces of what appears to be a quarrel between Agamemnon and Menelaos, in the course of which Agamemnon refused to be pushed around by his brother (fr. 723) and in particular declined to risk his life for the sake of (recovering) Helen (fr. 722). This discussion may have been wrapped up with consideration of a plan to take revenge on the Mysians, for the parodies in *Acharnians* and *Thesmophoriazusae* leave little doubt that the disguised Telephos unexpectedly spoke up (fr. 703), arguing that his people and their king had acted no differently than 'we Greeks' would have if similarly provoked (frr. 708–11). That Telephos (now apparently playing the part of a soldier wounded in the attack on Mysia (fr. 705)) also assailed Agamemnon for profiting from the war while common men got nothing, as Thersites attacks the army's chief commander at *H. Il.* 2. 225–34, is possible, given the content of Dikaiopolis' attack on Lamachos at *Ach.* 595–619. At any rate, Telephos' speech clearly provoked a hostile reaction from part of his audience (frr. 712–13), the offence being traced not just to what he said but to the fact that a beggar said it (fr. 712a Kannicht = *Ach.* 577a). Eventually the hero was found out, perhaps after news had been received that a Mysian spy had infiltrated the city and a systematic examination of everyone present had been instituted (fr. 727a fr. 1; cf. *Th.* 574–687). Why Orestes was on stage at this point is unknown, but it is clear that when Telephos was discovered—and presumably threatened with death (cf. fr. 700)—he seized the child and fled to an altar, threatening to kill him there (cf. fr. 727; *Ach.* 325–51; *Th.* 689–753).<sup>35</sup> The threat to Orestes was apparently a Euripidean innovation and is featured prominently in both Aristophanic parodies, as well as in a number of vase-paintings (above). Telephos must have used the

<sup>35</sup> Webster 47 (followed by Handley in Handley and Rea (above, n. 34) 36–7), speculates that this scene may have taken place off stage and been reported in a messenger speech, but the prominence Ar. and the vase-painters give it make this unlikely.



opportunity for free speech that control of Orestes gave him to explain his situation to Agamemnon, just as he had planned to do (albeit in a more settled atmosphere) from the very first, while still insisting on the validity of the case he made earlier in defence of his people's conduct toward the Achaians (fr. 706). That Telephos' petition was successful and his potential usefulness to the army recognized is put beyond doubt by the fact that the Berlin papyrus begins with a choral song that speaks of his anticipated services as a guide to Troy and stresses the fact that he is Greek by birth rather than Mysian (fr. 727c col. II. 3-10 Kannicht). Achilles' agreement, however, had yet to be obtained, and at the beginning of the next scene he arrived, eager to be off to Troy and puzzled that the rest of the Achaian force was not assembled on the beach at Aulis (fr. 727c col. II. 11-17 Kannicht). Achilles' initial interlocutor, Odysseus, must have urged him to give up his wrath against Telephos and his countrymen (cf. fr. 718), and the Mysian hero presumably added his own pleas as well (fr. 716; cf. Hor. *Ep.* 17. 8-10). Even if Achilles eventually agreed to these requests for mercy, he must have insisted that there was nothing he could do for Telephos, for the climax of the action seems to have been the realization on someone's part (probably Odysseus') that what the oracle meant by 'the one that had wounded' Telephos was not Achilles but Achilles' spear, filings from which would be able to effect a cure (cf. fr. 724; Apollod. *Epit.* 3. 20; Hygin. *fab.* 101. 4). The play most likely ended with an exit to the beach and thus eventually to Troy.

*Acharnians* both begins and ends with references to *Telephos*: Dikaiopolis quotes the play in the eighth line of the prologue (~ E. fr. 720) and at the end Lamachos takes on the part of the wounded hero in the prehistory of the story (cf. IV.D below). The vast majority of the references in *Acharnians* to *Telephos*, however, fall between the chorus's interruption of the hero's Dionysiac procession at 280-302 and the beginning of the parabasis and cast Dikaiopolis as Telephos. The specific points of contact between the two texts include the following:

1. At 317-18, Dik. renders a bit of hypothetical Euripidean language (fr. 706) concrete by offering to speak with his head over a chopping-block.
2. When this offer is rejected, Dikaiopolis takes a charcoal-basket

hostage and threatens to kill it if he is not allowed to defend himself (325–32), just as Telephos does with the baby Orestes; before he appears on stage with the basket, the chorus speculate that he may have seized someone's child (329–30).

3. Once he has been offered the opportunity to speak, Dikaiopolis goes off to Euripides' house, where he borrows Telephos' rags (430–70) on the theory that wearing them will make him both more pitiable (384) and more persuasive (e.g. 447). 384 may be a quotation from *Telephos* (cf. Nauck<sup>2</sup> p. 580), as 430 (~ E. fr. 704), 440–1 (~ E. fr. 698), and 446 (~ E. fr. 707) certainly are.<sup>36</sup>
4. Once he has put on his beggars' rags, Dikaiopolis makes a long speech in defence of the Spartans, which begins and ends with quotations from the Euripidean Telephos' speech in defence of the Mysians (497–8 ~ E. fr. 703; 555–6 ~ E. fr. 710) and contains a number of additional verbal allusions to it (540 = E. fr. 708; 541 ~ E. fr. 708a Kannicht; 543 = E. fr. 709).
5. After he completes this speech, Dikaiopolis is assailed as a slanderer of the city (577 ~ E. fr. 712) and as someone who has no right to say this sort of thing, true or not, about his social superiors (577a ~ E. fr. 712a Kannicht).

Dikaiopolis presents Telephos as the fast-talking Euripidean beggar-king *par excellence* (esp. 428–9), and Aristophanes puts his tragic exemplar to very sophisticated use, not only adapting the arguments made by Euripides' hero in favour of the Mysians to fit the point Dikaiopolis wants to make about the Spartans (497–556) but using Telephos' difficult situation in Argos as a template for constructing his image of Dikaiopolis—and himself as poet—in contemporary Athens.<sup>37</sup>

The Euripidean Telephos' fundamental dilemma is that, despite having something important to say to the Achaian army (or the city of Argos; cf. frs. 712–13), he lacks a generally recognized right to speak; his opponents are important men, whereas he is—or appears to be—a beggar and a barbarian. In fact, he is neither, but the widespread misperception of his status makes it impossible for him to gain a hearing for his arguments, no matter how well-conceived

<sup>36</sup> 435 (= adesp. tr. fr. 43) and 472 (= E. *Oen.* fr. 568 (alternatively assigned in the scholia to *Telephos*)) have sometimes been taken to be quotations from *Telephos* as well.

<sup>37</sup> For the complex relationship between Aristophanes, Dikaiopolis, and Telephos, see Foley, esp. 37–8.

they are (esp. fr. 712a Kannicht; cf. fr. 719). In addition, Telephos has come into conflict with one of the most influential Achaian leaders and has been wounded and branded as a public enemy as a result, and on this count as well he expects a hostile reaction, should he dare to speak his mind. He does so all the same, however, arguing that the truth must be expressed, regardless of personal risk (fr. 706). The irony of all this is that although Telephos has been marginalized on multiple counts, it is only if the Achaians accept him as their guide that they will have any chance of winning the war they have undertaken. Recognition of Telephos' true personal and political status and his right to speak on matters of public interest, acceptance of his unique authority to direct at least one aspect of his people's affairs, and healing of his wound are thus closely related matters.

Like Telephos, Dikaiopolis has something important—if inevitably offensive—to say to his people and he knows that the common good requires that he say it. He is none the less denied first the right to speak to the Assembly (59, 64, 123) and then, after he adopts beggars' rags, signalling his acceptance of his politically and socially marginal status, the right even to be listened to (esp. 557–9, 562, 577a). Dikaiopolis' situation is further complicated by what he claims was a nasty recent confrontation with Kleon; having barely escaped then (381–2), he has no desire to test the Athenian people's savage temper (370–6) a second time. Like Telephos, he has been wounded once and has no great hopes for the future. All the same, his insights are crucial to the people's good, for he alone knows how they are and should be governed, and in the end his arguments win them over to his side (626–7). Dikaiopolis' decision to break with his fellow-citizens as a result of their failure to heed his protests about the conduct of the Assembly early in the play means that they do not benefit from his counsel in the same way the Achaians benefit from Telephos' integration into the expedition against Troy. All the same, Dikaiopolis' situation bears a more than passing resemblance to Telephos', particularly at those points in the text where the comic hero assimilates himself to the author of the play in which he is a character (cf. 377–82, 497–503). Indeed, there can be little doubt that the conflict with Kleon 'belongs' much more to the playwright than to his hero, whose quarrels are with Lamachos. So too Dikaiopolis' insistence as he begins his version of Telephos' great speech of concealed

self-justification that 'comedy also knows what is right' seems patently designed to correct what is at least presented as a general perception that it knows no such thing and has no more right to make negative comments on the state of public affairs than a beggar has to interrogate the first men in the city. Tragic hero, comic hero, and comic playwright are thus collapsed into a single complex figure, and it comes as no surprise when the poet (speaking now through the chorus) takes up very similar themes in the parabasis, noting that the abusive nature of his plays has meant that he too has been cast as a public villain (esp. 630-1). Precisely like Telephos in rags, however, he is not what he appears to be, and the people would be well advised to listen to him rather than to his politically prominent enemies. He alone knows how to make them happy (656-8) and in particular can help them win the war in which they are involved (647-51; cf. 652-4). For that to happen, they must acknowledge that he is a good citizen—perhaps even the best of citizens—and work to correct the harm that has been done him in the past, secure in the knowledge that, by doing so, they will be serving their own best interests as well.

#### D. *Herakles*

Although Dikaiopolis plays Telephos in the first half of *Acharnians*, at the end of the play the part is taken over by Lamachos, who is wounded in the leg (1177, 1179, 1214) by what his Servant describes as a vine-stake (1178) and the general himself refers to as an enemy weapon (1192/3, 1226). According to his Servant (quoting Euripides), this disaster took place as Lamachos 'was driving the raiders off and setting them in motion with his spear' (1188 = E. fr. 705a Kannicht), a line probably drawn from Telephos' description of his own actions just before he was tripped up by a grapevine and wounded in the thigh by Achilles (cf. IV.C above). Dikaiopolis, on the other hand, exits to the accompaniment of the cry *τήνελλα καλλίνικος* (1227-34), which echoes a song attributed to Archilochos in praise of Herakles' victory at Olympia (Archil. fr. spur. 324; cf. 1227n.). Herakles has already been referred to in *Acharnians* in the allusion to the raid on Geryon's cattle at 1082, where Dikaiopolis seems to be cast as the hero while Lamachos plays the monster (cf. n. ad loc.). A much more significant use of the image occurs in the Boiotian scene in 860-958.

Herakles' birthplace is in Thebes already in Homer and his cult was important there in the classical period (cf. 860n.). The Boiotian thus goes a long way toward identifying himself with the first words he speaks on stage: 'By Herakles!' (860; cf. 867 'By Iolaus!'). He and his assistant or slave, Hismenias, have brought a huge load of trade-goods to Dikaiopolis' new market place, and he begins his remarks by complaining that the porter's callus on his shoulder is sore (860) and ends by telling Hismenias to get his own callus under the merchandise they have traded for (954). The Boiotian is sufficiently concerned, in fact, about where and how Hismenias puts things down and picks them up (861) that a reasonable conclusion would seem to be that the two men are working together, holding opposite ends of a long carrying-pole from which the goods they are carrying are suspended. As for the Boiotian's appearance, nothing suggests that he is starving like the miserable Megarian who precedes him on stage. Indeed, since much of what he has brought with him is food (873-8, 880) and since Boiotians are regularly characterized in comedy as gluttons (cf. 872-3 n.), he is most likely well fed, and Dikaiopolis accordingly greets him with the words 'Hail, my roll-eating Boiotian friend!' (872). Nor is the Boiotian (once again, in contrast to the Megarian) characterized as particularly clever, for Dikaiopolis easily talks him out of a Kopaic eel (895-6), which the hero (parodying *E. Alc.* 367-8) addresses as if it were a beautiful young woman (893-4). As for the intrusive sycophant Nikarchos, the Boiotian's comment at 909 shows that he must be played by someone considerably shorter than the three main actors (cf. Section V.A); part of the explanation for this is presumably that his diminutive stature makes it easier for the Boiotian and Hismenias to carry him off stage at the end of the scene. After Dikaiopolis wrestles Nikarchos to the ground, at any rate, he wraps him up and ties him to the Boiotian's carrying-pole. The hero's observation that the sycophant 'wouldn't break, not even if he were hung up head-down from his feet' (943-5) is most naturally taken to mean that this is the position in which Nikarchos is transported off stage a few lines later.

What staging information can be recovered from the text thus suggests that the Boiotian is presented as a figure strikingly reminiscent of the local hero by whom he swears in his initial words on stage: like Herakles, he is well fed, not excessively bright, and trailed by an assistant. It can thus hardly be a coincidence that in

*Alcestis*—the play *Dikaiopolis* parodies at 893–4 and that closed the tetralogy that included *Telephos* (cf. IV.C above)—Herakles does for Admetos exactly what *Dikaiopolis* pretends the Boiotian has done for him, by bringing him a beautiful young woman. But the decisive point in favour of interpreting the scene this way is the treatment accorded *Nikarchos*, whom the Boiotian at one point describes as ‘full of dirty tricks like a monkey’ (907). *κατωκάρα* (‘head-down’), the term used by *Dikaiopolis* for how *Nikarchos* is to be carried off (945), is an exceedingly rare word, found outside of *Aristophanes* (also *Pax* 153) only at *Pindar* fr. 161 οἱ μὲν *κατωκάρα δεσμοῖσι δέδενται* (‘They were bound in bonds head-down’). Nothing is known of the poem to which this fragment belongs, but *Schneidewin* argued that it must refer to the *Kerkopes*, a pair of dwarfish troublemakers whom *Herakles* tied up and carried off on a pole balanced across his shoulders. That this is correct is suggested by the fact that the tiny sycophant *Nikarchos* receives virtually identical treatment from the Boiotian trader, who has already been cast in the role of *Herakles* earlier in the scene. The Boiotian’s triumph effectively foreshadows *Dikaiopolis*’ *Heraklean* victory in the *Choes* drinking contest and so *Aristophanes*’ anticipated victory in the dramatic contest at the *Lenaia* (cf. 1224–5 n.). By extension, it may also foreshadow the continued good fortune of the small *Kydathenaion thiasos* of *Herakles*, whose members had backed the comic playwright from the beginning of his career (cf. Section I) and who could expect, if all went right, to join him in celebrating his victory in the house of the Priest of *Dionysos* at the end of the festival (cf. 1087 n.).

## V. DIVISION OF PARTS, COSTUME AND PROPS, AND STAGING

### A. *Division of Parts*

*Acharnians* can be staged with three actors, provided that (1) a series of extremely rapid costume- and mask-changes (including one into the Ambassador’s elaborate Eastern outfit (64) between 55 and 63 or perhaps 61) are made by either the deuteragonist or the tritagonist in 55–175, allowing him to play *Amphitheos*, the Ambassador, and *Theoros*, while the protagonist plays *Dikaiopolis*

(as throughout the play) and the other actor plays the Herald (as throughout the scene);<sup>38</sup> (2) one of the actors (all three of whom are certainly on stage at this point) pronounces the lines supposedly spoken by Pseudartabas at 100 and 104, allowing that part to be played by a mute; (3) the actor playing either Dikaiopolis or the Megarian pronounces the lines supposedly spoken by the Megarian's Daughters at 735, 780, and 800-3; and (4) the actor playing Nikarchos is spirited off stage somehow during the song at 929-51, allowing him to return as Lamachos' Slave at 959.<sup>39</sup> All of this is so difficult and confusing that the obvious conclusion is that *Acharnians* uses at least one additional actor, as *Frogs*, for example, certainly does.<sup>40</sup> The Herald in the opening scene is therefore presumably played by a fourth actor (sixteen lines or partial lines); most likely the same individual takes the parts of the Herald who announces the Choes festival and the associated drinking contest at 1000-2 (three lines) and the Herald sent to Lamachos by the Board of Generals at 1071-7 (six lines). Pseudartabas (2 lines, one of them gibberish) can then be played either by a fifth actor—although the part requires so little dramatic ability that 'actor' seems too dignified a term for the individual who took it on—or perhaps by a mute, with one of the other actors speaking the words supposedly pronounced by him.<sup>41</sup> The Boiotian's observation that Nikarchos is 'small in stature' (909) is most naturally taken to suggest that the man who played the part (thirteen lines or parts of lines) was noticeably shorter than any of the three main actors and indeed than any adult character who had appeared on stage in the play so far.<sup>42</sup> This need not mean that Nikarchos is played by a sixth actor; perhaps Pseudartabas is also short but the fact is disguised by his costume, or perhaps the fourth actor took the part and 909 has more to do with the real Nikarchos' size than with that of the character who represents him on stage. In any event, assigning the

<sup>38</sup> Cf. 1071-94, where the tritagonist can perhaps play both Messengers, so long as he does not change his mask or costume and the Second Messenger enters from the same wing as that into which the First Messenger exits.

<sup>39</sup> Thus Marshall, *CQ* NS 47 (1997) 78-9.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. MacDowell, *CQ* NS 44 (1994) 325-35; Dover, *Frogs*, pp. 105-6.

<sup>41</sup> The latter possibility gains some modest support from the fact that, after the Ambassador's exit at 110, the Eye of the King falls mute and responds to Dikaiopolis' questions (111-14) only by nodding his head (115 with 113 n. and 114 n.; cf. 98-9 n.).

<sup>42</sup> Thus K. Beer, *Über die Zahl der Schauspieler bei Aristophanes* (Leipzig, 1844) 57-8.

part of Nikarchos to someone other than one of the three main actors has the added benefit of allowing the tritagonist to play Lamachos' Slave at both 959-68 and 1174-89. I thus divide the parts in *Acharnians* in the following fashion, which allows the deuteragonist to play the most richly developed secondary characters, including both dialect-speakers, and leaves the tritagonist shorter and less demanding roles. Other arrangements are possible.<sup>43</sup>

Protagonist: Dikaiopolis (1-203, 241-357, 366-625, 719-28, 750-815, 824-35, 864-970, 1003-1142, 1198-end)

Deuteragonist: the Ambassador (64-110), Theoros (134-73?), Euripides (407-79), Lamachos (572-622, 1072-1142, 1190-1226), the Megarian (729-835), the Boiotian (860-958), Derketes (1018-36)

Tritagonist: Amphitheos (45-55, 129-32, 175-203), Dikaiopolis' Daughter (241-83), Euripides' Slave (395-402, 409-79), the Sycophant (818-28), Lamachos' Slave (959-68, 1174-89), the Best Man (1048-66), the Second Messenger (1084-94)

Fourth Actor: the Herald (43-173, 1000-2, 1071-7), Nikarchos (908-58)?

Fifth Actor (or mute?): Pseudartabas (94-125)

The Megarian's Daughters (729-835; five lines or partial lines, four of them consisting of the word 'oink!' repeated two or three times) are most likely played by the same two boys who represent Dikaiopolis' children on stage at 891-4. Mutes play the second Ambassador (64-110), Pseudartabas' eunuchs (94-125), the Odomantians (155-73), Dikaiopolis' Wife (241-62), Hismenias (860-958), the Bridesmaid (1048-66), Lamachos' companions (1190-1226), Dikaiopolis' whores (1198-end), and the numerous slaves who appear on stage from time to time (e.g. 241-83). A pair of pipers are on stage briefly at 860-4.

### B. *Costume and Props*

No representation of a comic actor contemporary with *Acharnians* survives, but enough information about Aristophanic costuming can be gleaned from the text of the plays themselves and from

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Beer (n. 42 above) 54-60; *AAS* 70-2.



artistic evidence dating to a generation or so later to shed considerable light on this aspect of the comedies.<sup>44</sup> All comic characters (including women) were probably played in this period by men or (for children's parts) boys. The actors and chorus wore masks that covered their entire face and seemed unremarkable to ancient audiences accustomed to this convention. Women and effeminate men were represented with white masks, while adult males were represented with dark masks fitted with beards (which seem to have been detachable; cf. 117–22 n.). Adult male characters were equipped with a long leather phallus, which could be tied up out of the way, allowed to hang loose, or put in an erect position (cf. 1198 n.). The artistic evidence suggests that most characters had an absurdly padded stomach (cf. 1122–3 n.; *Ra.* 200) and buttocks.

Props are routinely carried on and off stage by characters, although prop-men in the guise of mute servants may have been used for this purpose from time to time (Olson on *Pax* 729–31). Aristophanic props are generally quite simple; among the most important in *Acharnians* are Amphitheos' 'libations' (178–9 with 175 n.), Dikaiopolis' charcoal basket (331 with 333–4 n.) and chopping-block (366 with 317–18 n.), the bits and pieces of tragic costume the hero borrows from Euripides (414–70 with nn.), the Boiotian's trade-goods (874–6, 878–80) and especially the Kopaic eel Dikaiopolis claims as a 'market-tax' (882–94), the Boiotian's carrying-pole (860–958 with 860 n.), and the spits, meat, birds, and seasonings used in the cooking scene at 1003–17, 1037–47.<sup>45</sup>

Costuming is used in a careful and apparently consistent fashion in *Acharnians* to distinguish between barbarians and citizens, on the one hand, and between political and social insiders and outsiders, on the other. The former contrast (an important feature of Athenian political rhetoric generally; cf. 704–5 n.) is taken up repeatedly in the prologue, where the Assembly is visited first by Pseudartabas, the Persian 'Eye of the King', whose elaborate outfit seems to include some sort of visual pun on his title (95–7 n.) and who is accompanied by a pair of supposed 'eunuchs' perhaps bear-

<sup>44</sup> The standard treatment of Old Comic costuming is Stone. For the artistic evidence, T. B. L. Webster, *Monuments Illustrating Old and Middle Comedy* (3rd edn., rev. and enl. J. R. Green) (*BICS* Suppl. 39: London, 1978), together with the comments of J. R. Green, *Theatre in Ancient Greek Society* (London, 1994) 27–38.

<sup>45</sup> For Aristophanic props and prop-men, Poe, *RhM* 143 (2000) 283–7, and 274–6, 292–5, respectively.

ing flywhisks or parasols (cf. 94 n.), and then by a band of Thracian mercenaries probably dressed in a stage version of their distinctive local costume (cf. 155 n.). Dikaiopolis' astonished initial reaction to the arrival on stage of the Athenian Ambassadors who have brought Pseudartabas back from Ekbatana or Susa (64) leaves little doubt that they too are dressed in elaborate and expensive Persianizing clothing, which indicates their personal taste for and ready access to luxury goods while simultaneously suggesting that they may well have grown more interested in serving foreign interests than in working for the good of Athens. It is accordingly tempting to think that Theoros as well is dressed in a half-barbarian costume, which in his case reflects the effect of the time he has spent with the Odrysian king Sitalkes in Thrace and thus the extent to which he too has evolved into someone of mixed political loyalties.

The second and more richly developed function of costuming in *Acharnians* is to draw a clear line between wealthy and well-connected bad citizens (who, to the extent that this aspect of the play can be recovered, all seem to be richly dressed) and poor and oppressed good citizens (who wear rough rustic clothes). The chorus are explicitly said to be dressed in *tribones*, as befits their role as poor old countrymen (184 with n.), and Dikaiopolis (also an impoverished peasant-farmer) is most likely dressed in a similar if not necessarily quite so threadbare fashion at the beginning of the play. So too the starving Megarian and his Daughters can be assumed to be dressed in dirty, tattered clothing designed to reflect their utter impoverishment. The rags Dikaiopolis wears during his *Telephos*-speech and the confrontation with Lamachos that follows thus serve to lend visual point to his argument, which is that decent citizens have got nothing good out of the war, whereas the entrenched political class has grown fat and wealthy (esp. 595-619). Throughout the play, in fact, Dikaiopolis' enemies are routinely well dressed: the Ambassadors to Persia have exotically beautiful—if arguably absurd—costumes (above); Lamachos wears an elaborately plumed and crested helmet and probably an expensive scarlet cloak (cf. 572-4 n.); and Dikaiopolis' ability to mock Derketes for wearing white when he ought to be in mourning (1024) suggests that he too is ostentatiously dressed. Lamachos' undoing at the end of the play is accordingly described in large part by means of an account of the ruin of his costume: his great

'boaster-bird' feather escapes from his helmet (1182-3), the gorgon is knocked loose from his shield (1181), and when he is finally carried on, groaning with pain, his fine clothes are most likely tattered and smeared with mud as a result of his fall into an irrigation ditch (1186). Dikaiopolis, on the other hand, arrives on stage at the end of the play dressed in a (doubtless quite beautiful) *himation* (1139 with n.), his rich new dress signalling his complete final triumph over his enemies.<sup>46</sup>

### C. Staging

The archaeological evidence for the Theatre of Dionysos in Aristophanes' time is exceedingly scanty and most of what we know has been inferred from the text of plays that survive from the period.<sup>47</sup> Between the front row of seats and the stage was a dancing area (the *orchestra*), which was accessible via two side-entrances (the *eisodoi* or *parodoi*) and to which the chorus are almost entirely confined. A permanent altar (used for the sacrifice at 244-7) stood in the centre of the *orchestra*.<sup>48</sup> In the 420s the stage probably consisted of a raised wooden platform (perhaps a metre or so high) connected to the *orchestra* by several steps, which allowed actors to move down from the stage (as Dikaiopolis and his household do to perform their Dionysiac ritual at 241-79) or up onto it (cf. 732 with n.), as necessary. A wooden stage-building (the *scaenae frons*) stood along the back of the stage. The roof of this building (the spot from which Dikaiopolis' wife is told to watch his procession at 262) was accessible to the actors by means of interior ladders. The theatrical crane (or *mechane*) was concealed behind the *scaenae frons*; although no use is made of the *mechane* in *Acharnians*, it figures prominently in several other early Aristophanic comedies (*Nu.* 223-38; *Pax* 79-178).<sup>49</sup> In the centre of the *scaenae frons* was a door, out of which a theatrical trolley (the *ekklema*; cf. 408-9 n.) could be rolled to represent interior scenes. The *ekklema* (like the *mechane*) was a favourite tragic

<sup>46</sup> Cf. 845, where one sign of the hero's new blessedness is that he can walk through his market place in a clean white robe with no fear of someone soiling it.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Theatre of Dionysus in Athens* (Oxford, 1946) 1-133, esp. 15-29.

<sup>48</sup> Rehm, *GRBS* 29 (1988) 263-307.

<sup>49</sup> For the *scaenae frons*, the roof and ladders, and the *mechane*, Mastronarde, *CA* 9 (1990) 247-94.

staging device and is accordingly used to bring the tragic playwright Euripides on stage at 409 and to take him off again at 479.<sup>50</sup>

The most difficult staging question for a modern editor or producer of *Acharnians* is the number of additional doors—if any—the play requires. Were this a fundamentally naturalistic form of theatre, one might expect Dikaiopolis to inhabit one house, Euripides another, and Lamachos a third. But as Dale 103–18, pointed out long ago, nothing suggests that late fifth-century Athenian audiences thought of stage action in that way; a door was simply a door, and although one character might use it habitually, it never came to ‘belong’ to him and could change its function abruptly when necessary. A few of Aristophanes’ plays (notably *Peace* and *Ecclesiazusae*) seem to require two or even three doors. As a single-door staging, however, poses no difficulties for *Acharnians*, I present the play in that way in my commentary. I thus assume that the central door (ignored in the opening scenes) functions first as Dikaiopolis’ house (202–366);<sup>51</sup> then as Euripides’ house (394–479); and then as Dikaiopolis’ house again (625–1068). As for Lamachos, nothing suggests that he enters from a door at 572 or exits into one at 622. Indeed, 572–4 are most easily understood as designed to cover his movement across the stage to where Dikaiopolis is standing, and his Slave as well thus most likely enters from a wing at 959 and exits into one at 968. Lamachos’ assertion when he appears on stage at 1072 that the Herald sent by the Board of Generals is shouting in the vicinity of his house (*ἀμφὶ . . . δώματα*) is accordingly best taken not as an indication that he emerges from the *scaenae frons* (scarcely likely, if he exits into a wing at 622) but as a proleptic effort by the poet to give him some limited claim to the central door, which has functioned now for hundreds of lines as Dikaiopolis’ residence. At 1097–1133, therefore, slaves belonging to both Dikaiopolis and Lamachos go in and out of the same door, bringing their masters their possessions. At 1174–89, on the other hand, Lamachos’ Slave treats the door as the entrance to Lamachos’ house, and Dikaiopolis (who enters from the wing a few verses later) makes no

<sup>50</sup> Cf. *Th.* 95–265, where another tragic poet, Agathon, is similarly ‘rolled out’ (*Th.* 96) and ‘rolled in’ (*Th.* 265); Newiger, *Dioniso* 59 (1989) 181–5.

<sup>51</sup> It seems unlikely that the audience worried much about whether this was the hero’s country house (since he uses it as his base to celebrate the Rural Dionysia) or his city house; Dikaiopolis’ house is simply ‘Dikaiopolis’ house’.

further use of it.<sup>52</sup> Other stagings using additional doors are possible, but the point does not affect the larger interpretation of the play and is thus of little real significance.

## VI. DIALECTS

The Megarian (729–835) and the Boiotian (860–954) in *Acharnians*, like the Ionian at *Pax* 45–8 and the Spartans in *Lysistrata*, do not speak Attic but something approximating their own local dialects of Greek. The Persian ambassador Pseudartabas' one-line foray into Greek at 104 is patently intended to be humorous; as a 'barbarian', he stands higher on the linguistic hierarchy of foreignness than do non-Athenian Greeks and he therefore mangles the language in what must have seemed to the original audience very funny ways. The non-Attic dialects spoken by the Megarian and the Boiotian, on the other hand, serve no obvious purpose other than characterization; nothing suggests that the dialects themselves were taken to be inherently ridiculous.<sup>53</sup> Comic poets who brought non-Athenian characters on stage were thus forced to balance what appears to have been a general interest in linguistic accuracy against an overriding concern for intelligibility. Megarians and Boiotians on stage 'ought' to speak something resembling real Megarian and Boiotian, but it was at least equally important that an Attic-speaking audience could understand them. Although the Megarian and Boiotian in *Acharnians* are immediately recognizable as speakers of their own local varieties of Greek, therefore, they also use some distinctly Attic vocabulary and forms, so that the text of the play cannot serve as an entirely reliable guide to either dialect. This problem is compounded by the fact that non-Attic dialect embedded in Attic texts posed particular difficulties for ancient copyists and readers who, the manuscript tradition of *Acharnians* makes clear, frequently added Attic glosses above non-Attic words or forms. Not surprisingly, these more familiar forms occasionally drove out the less familiar forms below them. Like all recent editors of the play, I have attempted to

<sup>52</sup> For further discussion, *AAS* 64–6; C. W. Dearden, *The Stage of Aristophanes* (University of London Classical Studies VII: London, 1976) 20–9, esp. 28–9; Handley, in J. M. Bremer and E. W. Handley, *Aristophane* (Entretiens Hardt XXXVIII: Geneva, 1993) 109–11.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Halliwell 72–4; Colvin 302–6.

steer a middle course in my representation of dialect forms, systematically adopting those non-Attic forms that are preserved at any point in the text but making no effort to expel all Atticisms from what is, after all, an Attic text intended for an Attic-speaking audience.

### A. Megarian

Megarian belongs to the 'less severe' subgroup of Doric ('West Greek'); the influence of Attic-speakers to the north-east is evident in the intrusion of *koine* forms already in the late fourth century, the period of the earliest epigraphic evidence. This evidence can be supplemented with material from Megarian colonies, particularly Selinus. No other literary source for Megarian survives; Theognis' poetry is a composite work and is in any case written in a mixed literary dialect rather than in true Megarian. Cf. Bechtel ii. 163–206; Elliott, *Ach.*, pp. 217–22; A. Thumb, *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte*, i (2nd edn., rev. E. Kieckers) (Heidelberg, 1932) §§ 128–34; Colvin 127–9 (with extensive bibliography). The synopsis that follows lists the features of Aristophanes' Megarian that differ from Attic:

#### 1. Vowels and Vowel Combinations

- (a) Inherited long *a* was retained where Attic substituted *η*: e.g. 729 *Ἀθάναις* and *φίλα*, 730 *ματέρα*, 736 *φαμι*, 741 *ἀγαθᾶς*
- (b) *a + ε > η* (for Attic long *a*): 778 *σιγῆς*, 800 *ἐρώτη*, 834 *πειρήσθε*; cf. similar development in crasis of *καὶ + ε-*: 745 *κῆπειτεν*, 787 *κῆρυθράν*, 790 *κῆκ*
- (c) long *a + o > long a* (for Attic *ω*): 751 *διαπεινώμες*, 772 *θυμιτιδᾶν*, 795 *τᾶνδε τᾶν*, 798 *Ποτειδᾶ*, 810 *αὐτᾶν*
- (d) *ου + αυ > ωυ* (for Attic *αυ*): 790 *τωῦτου*
- (e) Contracted *η* (for Attic *εα*): 795 *κρῆς*

#### 2. Consonants

- (a) Medial *-δδ-* for Attic *-ζ-*: 732 and 835 *μάδδαν*, 734 *χρήδδεν*, 823 *φαντάδδομαι*
- (b) Medial *-σσ-* for Attic *-ττ-*: 755 *ἔπρασσον*, 763 *πάσσακι* and *ἐξορύσσετε*

#### 3. Apocope

- (a) of *ἀνά*: 732 *ἄμβατε*, 766 *ἄντεινον*, 796 *ἄν τὸν ὄδελὸν ἄμπεπαρμένον*
- (b) of *ποτί*: 732 *ποττάν*, 751 *ποττό*, 783 *ποττάν*

4. Inflection
  - (a) Inherited *τοί* for Attic *οί* as definite article: 759
  - (b) Non-ablauting dat. sing. *πόλι* for Attic *πόλει*: 755
  - (c) Personal pronouns: 1st sing. nom. *ἐγών* (736, 748, 754, 764, 810), emphatic dat. *ἐμίν* (733), 2nd sing. nom. *τύ* (775, 777), acc. *τύ* (730, 779), 3rd sing. acc. *νιν* (775), 1st pl. dat. *ἀμίν* (821, 832), acc. *ἀμέ* (759), 2nd pl. nom. *ύμέσ* (760, 761), acc. *ύμέ* (737, 739)
5. Pronominal Adverbs; Constructions of Time, Place, and Manner
  - (a) *-α* for Attic *-η*: 730 and 759 *ἄπερ*, 732 *πα*, 748 *ὄπα*, 785 *πᾶ*
  - (b) *-δις* for Attic *-δε*: 742 and 779 *οἴκαδις*
  - (c) *-κα* for Attic *-τε*: 754 *ὄκα*, 762 *ὄκκα* (= Attic *ὄταν*)
  - (d) *τώς* for Attic *ὡς*: 762
  - (e) Directional adverbs in *ω*: 745 *ὠδε*, 754 *τηνῶθεν*
6. The conditional conjunction is *αι* for Attic *εἰ*: 732, 742, 766, 772, 773, 788, 835
7. The modal particle is *κα* for Attic *ἄν*: 732, 737, 762, 798, 799, 835
8. Verbs
  - (a) 1st pl. act. ending *-μεσ*: 750 *ἴκομεσ*, 751 *διαπεινώμεσ*
  - (b) 3rd sing. athematic ending *-τι*: 771 *φατι*
  - (c) Doric future in *-σε-*: 739 *φασῶ*, 741 *δοξεῖτε*, 742 *ἰξεῖτε*, 743 *πειρασεισθε*, 746 *γρυλιξεῖτε*, 747 *ἠσεῖτε*, 748 *καρυξῶ*, 779 *ἀποισῶ*, 787 *ἔξει*
  - (d) Future in *-ξ-* in verbs in *-ζω*: 746 *γρυλιξεῖτε* and *κοίξετε*
  - (e) Athematic infinitive in *-μεν*: 741, 771, and 775 *εἶμεν*
  - (f) *γίνομαι* for Attic *γίγνομαι*: 795
  - (g) *θάσθε* for Attic *θεᾶσθε*: 770
  - (h) *ἴκω* for Attic *ἦκω*: 742, 750, 820
  - (i) *χρηῆσθα* (2nd sing. for Attic *χρηῆς*): 778
9. Syntax and Usage
  - (a) Anaphoric use of the article: 761 *τῶν* for Attic *αὐτῶν*
  - (b) In oaths, *οὐ* and *ναί* are used without following *μά*: 730, 742, 767, 774, 779, 798
  - (c) Use of *μάν* (Attic *μήν*) as asseverative: 757, 765, 771, 784
  - (d) *λιμός* fem. for Attic masc.: 743
10. Vocabulary
  - (a) *ἄνις* for Attic *ἄνευ*: 798, 834

- (b) ἄτερον for Attic ἕτερον: 813, 814
- (c) γα for Attic γε: 736, 764, 775, etc.
- (d) ἔπειτεν for Attic ἔπειτα: 745
- (e) λέω for Attic ἐθέλω: λῆς (749, 766, 772, 776, 788, 814)
- (f) ὀδελόν for Attic ὀβελόν: 796
- (g) Ποτειδᾶν for Attic Ποσειδῶν: 798
- (h) ποτί for Attic πρὸς: 732, 733, 751, 783
- (i) σά (neut. sing. of τίς) in the phrase σά μάν (Attic τί μήν): 757, 784
- (j) τῆνος for Attic ἐκεῖνος: 754 τῆνώθεν
- (k) τράφειν for Attic τρέφειν: 788
- (l) Harax legomena: 763 πάσσακι (~ Attic παττάλω), 813 τροπαλίδος

#### 11. Accent

Very little is known about the Megarian accentual system and the degree to which it may have participated in the peculiarities of 'Doric' accentuation noted by ancient grammarians. General discussion in Thumb–Kieckers (above) §§ 82–4. I follow most recent editors in printing ἀμίν at 821 and 832, ἐγώνγα at 736 and 764, and ἄμβατε at 732. Cf. Colvin 180–2.

#### B. Boiotian

Boiotian was an Aeolic dialect but also had affinities with North-West Greek. Numerous Boiotian inscriptions are known. The most important literary source other than *Acharnians* is the poetry of Corinna (*PMG* 654–89; cf. adesp. *PMG* 690–5), whose dates are unfortunately obscure. Cf. Bechtel i. 213–311; Elliott, *Ach.*, pp. 222–31; A. Thumb, *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte*, ii (2nd edn., rev. A. Scherer) (Heidelberg, 1959) §§ 227–38; Colvin 129–32 (with extensive bibliography). The synopsis that follows lists the features of Aristophanes' Boiotian that differ from Attic:

##### 1. Vowels and Vowel Combinations

- (a) Inherited long *a* was retained where Attic substituted *η*:  
e.g. 860 τὰν τύλαν, 875 νάσσας, 878 μάν
- (b) *a + ε > ει* (for Attic *α*): 863 φυσεῖτε
- (c) *a + ο > long a* (for Attic *ω*): 868 φυσάντες, 913 ἦρα
- (d) *aī* for Attic diphthong *αι*: 880 Κωπαῖδας
- (e) *ει* for Attic *η* (an inconsistently represented feature): 862 and 911 Θείβαθεν, 867 and 905 νεί, 868 Θείβαθε



- (f) *ι* for Attic *ε* before a back vowel: 870 *ιώ* (for Attic *έγώ*), 898 *ιώγα*
- (g) *ω* for Attic *ου*: 874 *ψιάθως*, 875 *κολοιώς*, 876 *τροχίλως* *κολύμβως*, 878 *λαγώς*, 879 *έχίνως* *αιελούρως*
2. Consonants
- (a) Weakening of *γ* between vowels of which the first is a front vowel: 870 *ιώ* (for Attic *έγώ*), 898 *ιώγα*
- (b) *-δδ-* (initial *δ*) for Attic *-ζ-*: 911 *Δεύς*, 947 *θερίδδειν*
- (c) *-ττ-* for Attic *-σ-*: 867 *έπεχαρίττω*, 884 *έπιχάριτται*
- (d) *-ττ-* for Attic *-στ-*: 860 and 911 *ϊττω*
3. Inflection
- (a) Non-ablauting *ι*-stem acc. pl. in *-ιας*: 880 *ένύδριας* *έγχέλιας*
- (b) 2nd-declension acc. pl. in *-ως*: 874 *ψιάθως*, 875 *κολοιώς*, 876 *τροχίλως* *κολύμβως*, 878 *λαγώς*, 879 *έχίνως* *αιελούρως*
- (c) Disyllabic dat. pl. ending at 900 *Βοιωτοΐσιν* and 913 *όρναπετίοισι*, but monosyllabic at 873 *Βοιωτοΐς*
- (d) Personal pronouns: 1st sing. nom. *ιώ* (870, 898), 2nd sing. nom. *τύ* (861), 1st pl. dat. *άμίν* (903), 2nd pl. nom. *ύμές* (862)
4. Adverbs in *-ᾱ* for Attic *-ῆ*: 895 *πᾱ*, 907 *ᾱπερ*
5. The conditional conjunction is *αι* for Attic *ει*: 870
6. Verbs
- (a) *έντι* as 3rd pl. of *είμί*: 902
- (b) *πρίασο* without loss of *σ* and contraction as 2nd sing. aor. mid. imper. of *\*πρίαμαι* (for Attic *πρίω*): 870
- (c) Athematic conjugation of contract verbs, as in other Aeolic dialects: 914 *άδικεΐμενος* for Attic *άδικούμενος*
7. Syntax and Usage
- (a) Definite article used as relative pronoun: 870 *τῶν* for Attic *ῶν*
- (b) In oaths, *ού* and *ναί* are used without following *μά*: 867, 905
8. Vocabulary
- (a) *γα* for Attic *γε*: 860, 898, 909, 947
- (b) *γλάχων* for Attic *βλήχων*: 861, 869, 874
- (c) *μικκός* for Attic *μικρός*: 909 (cf. N. Hopkinson, *Callimachus: Hymn to Demeter* (Cambridge, 1984) 47)
- (d) *όρτάλιχος* for Attic *άλεκτρυνών*: 871
- (e) Harax legomena: 869 *άπέκιξαν*, 876 *κολύμβως*, 913 *όρναπετίοισι*, 879 *πικτίδας*, 871 *τετραπτερυλλίδων*

## 9. Accent

Next to nothing is known about the Boiotian accentual system, and with all recent editors I accent the words as if they were Attic. Cf. Colvin 182–3.

## VII. THE TEXT

A. *Papyri*

Five papyrus fragments of *Acharnians* survive.<sup>54</sup> They are:

$\Pi_1$  = POxy. lxvi. 4510. Twenty-three fragments of a roll dating probably to the second century CE, containing scraps of 55–60, 165–80, 234–40, 278–83, 291–308, 317–35, 345–6, 380–4, 417–19, 506–9, 539–42, 655–8, 696–704, 821–5 (plus six small, unplaceable fragments). Scanty traces of marginal annotation survive on 278 and 279. This is far and away the oldest papyrus of the play and confirms modern conjectures at 171, 298, 323, and 325. The colometry of the lyric sections (278–83, 291–308, 345–6, 696–702) appears generally to agree with that preserved in the earliest manuscripts and the metrical scholia there.

$\Pi_2$  = PBerol. 21 200 = *BKT* ix. 104. sixth century CE. A small section of vv. 76–8, of interest primarily because the position of the preserved letters supports Morel's emendation of 78. Cf. Luppe, *ArchPF* 41 (1995) 40–1.

$\Pi_3$  = POxy. vi. 856. Two fragments of a limited collection of scholia, dating to the third century CE and containing notes on 108–671. Most of the scholia are very short and appear to represent a different tradition from that preserved in the medieval manuscripts of the play. The lemmata support *πόρνα* ( $\beta$  and some MSS of Plutarch) against *πόρνας* (R and the other witnesses) at 527 and agree with R in error at 652 and with all other witnesses in error at 603.

$\Pi_4$  = PMich. inv. 5607a. A fragment of a leaf from a high-quality fourth-century CE codex, containing scraps of the ends of 446–55 on the recto and somewhat more substantial portions of the beginnings of 474–94 on the verso. The text has been corrected by a second hand ( $I^2$ ) and is of interest chiefly because of the elaborate

<sup>54</sup> I have examined  $\Pi_1$ ,  $\Pi_2$ ,  $\Pi_4$ , and  $\Pi_5$ . I know  $\Pi_3$  only from a photograph.

system used to indicate change of speaker, which includes dicola at the end of the preceding line (I<sup>1</sup>), paragraphoi separating lines (I<sup>2</sup>), and abbreviated names (I<sup>3</sup>). 489/90–90/1 and 494/5 (both lyric) have been inset, although 492–3 (also lyric) have not, and the colometry appears to agree with that of the earliest manuscripts. Cf. Renner, *ZPE* 41 (1981) 1–7.

Π<sub>5</sub> = PBerol. 21 201 frr. 1, 3 + 13 231 A–C = *BKT* ix. 105. Portions of four leaves from a late fifth- or early sixth-century CE codex which may have held all eleven comedies, containing fragments (occasionally substantial) of 593–601, 608–17, 622–5, 631–41, 646–56, 661–3, 686–9, 725–8, 747–58, 762–86, 791–803, 807–29, 904–34, 937, 940–74. The text contains some superlinear corrections and (like Π<sub>4</sub>) uses a system for indicating change of speaker that includes dicola at the end of the preceding line, paragraphoi separating lines, and abbreviated names. Lyric portions of the text are occasionally inset (e.g. 940–51) and the colometry appears to agree with that of the earliest manuscripts. The papyrus confirms a conjecture of the B-editor at 623 and modern conjectures at 636, 775, 816, 912, 928, and 960. Cf. Maehler, *ArchPF* 30 (1984) 5–29.

## B. Manuscripts

*Acharnians* is preserved in sixteen manuscripts, as well as in the Aldine edition of Marcus Musurus. Five of the sixteen manuscripts (Vb1 = Barberinianus I, 45; E2 = Estensis III D 14; M9 = Ambrosianus L 41 sup.; Rm1 = Vallicellianus F 16; and Δ = Laurentianus 31, 16) were eliminated by Cary as copies of Γ, E, E, the Aldine, and B, respectively, and require no further consideration. The eleven remaining manuscripts of *Acharnians* share numerous errors and can thus be seen to descend from a common archetype (hereafter α; = Cary's γ).<sup>55</sup> These errors include:

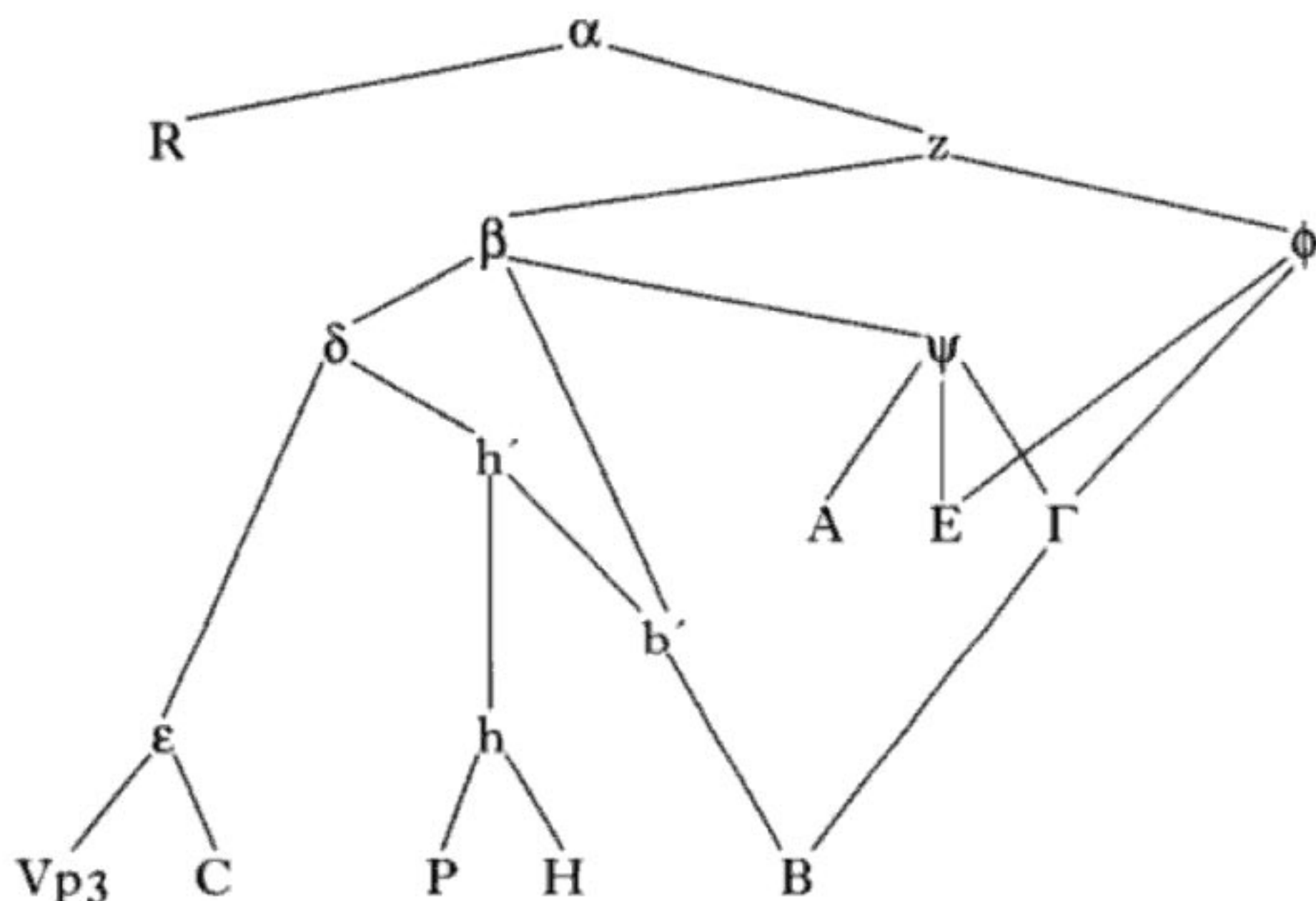
95 ναύφαρκτον Photios] ναύφρακτον	108 ὄδε Bentley] ὀδί
119 ἐξυρημένε Suda] ἐξευρημένε	133 κεχήνετε Herodian, Choeroboscus] κεχήνατε
171 διοσήμια 'στι Π <sub>1</sub> , Elmsley] διοσήμι' ἔστι	
242 προῖτω' 'ς Blaydes] προῖθ' ὡς	256 ἦττους Elmsley] ἦττον
441 ὅσπερ Suda] ὠσπερ	459 κοτυλίσκιον Athenaios] κυλίσκιον

<sup>55</sup> I collated R from the photographic facsimile published by J. van Leeuwen (Leiden, 1904), and the other manuscripts except A (for which I had access only to a xerox copy) from microfilm, and later checked my collations against the manuscripts themselves.

531 ἤστραπτι' Aristodemos, Pliny] ἤστραπτεν 566 ὦ Hermann] ἰὼ  
 615 ὑπ' Bentley] ὑπέρ 636 ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων οἱ πρέσβεις Π<sub>5</sub>,  
 Bentley] ὑμᾶς οἱ πρέσβεις ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων 657 οὐδ' Suda] οὐθ'  
 709 ἠνέσχετ' ἄν EM] ἠνέσχετο 742 αἴπερ Elmsley] εἶπερ 777 τὸ  
 Kuster] σὺ 912 δὲ Π<sub>5</sub>] δαί 960 ἐκέλευε Elmsley] ἐκέλευσε  
 1102 δημοῦ Elmsley] δὴ παῖ

α was copied at least twice, to produce: (1) R (or R's exemplar) and (2) the common ancestor of all other surviving manuscripts of the play and the Aldine (hereafter β; = Cary's d). Cary 192–3, argued that the universal readings ἤττον for ἤττους in 256, ὑπέρ for ὑπ' in 615, and δὴ παῖ for δημοῦ in 1102 all 'clearly presuppose a minuscule archetype'. In fact, ἤττον is almost certainly a deliberate correction of the text by a copyist who failed to understand the construction and altered the word to match the case of μηδέν; ὑπέρ is a simple dittography before ἐράνου; and δὴ παῖ is more easily explained as an intrusive conjecture by someone who mistook majuscule ΔΗΜΟΥ for δὴ μου and was puzzled as to how to construe the genitive.<sup>56</sup>

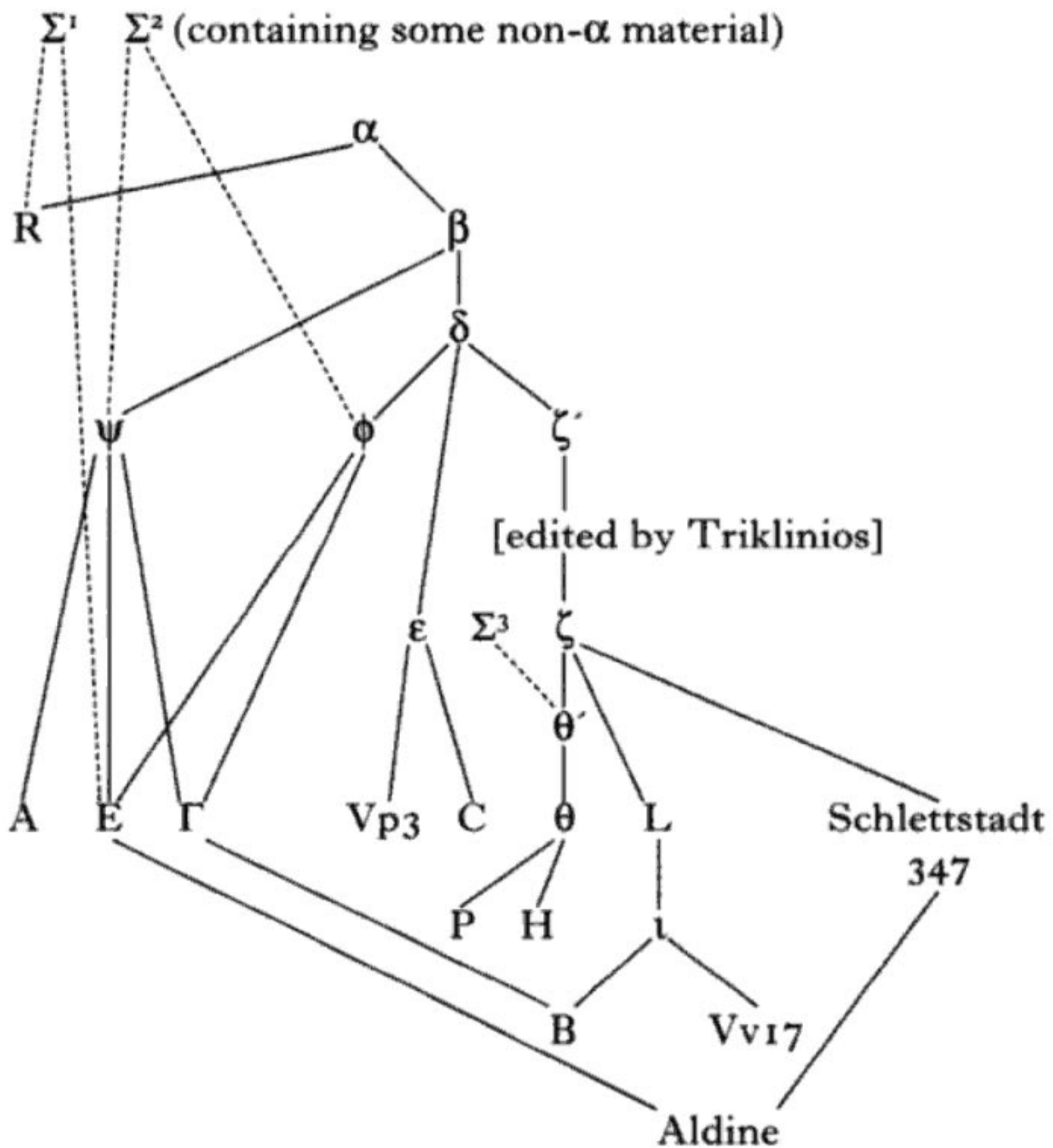
Cary argued that the relationship between the descendants of α can best be understood in the following fashion:<sup>57</sup>



<sup>56</sup> Cary adds 347 πάντες for πάντως (Dobree) and 391 εἴτ' for ἀλλ' (Suda) as less secure examples of minuscule errors. The former variant represents a single letter in a generally corrupt line and proves nothing; the latter is not obviously a minuscule error.

<sup>57</sup> Cary 192 (slightly streamlined and adapted).

Cary lacked access to L and Vv17 and was therefore unable to make adequate sense of some of the later portions of the manuscript stemma; his article also ignored the question of the Aldine. In the discussion that follows, I argue that the manuscript stemma of *Acharnians* is instead most economically represented in the following fashion:



Cary's study is none the less of fundamental importance and the majority of his conclusions are, at least in their broad outlines, correct. Most of what follows can accordingly be understood as an extended commentary on his work.

In my discussion of the relationship between the manuscripts, I use the siglum **d** to refer collectively to all eleven manuscripts of the play or to the consensus of the readings they contain (=the

reading that can be assumed to have stood in  $\alpha$ ); **a** to refer collectively to A,  $\Gamma$ , and E or to the consensus of the readings they contain (=the reading that can be assumed to have stood in  $\psi$ ); **c** to refer collectively to Vp3 and C or to the consensus of the readings they contain (=the reading that can be assumed to have stood in  $\epsilon$ ); **p** to refer collectively to P and H or to the consensus of the readings they contain (=the reading that can be assumed to have stood in  $\theta$ ); **l** to refer collectively to L and Vv17 or to the consensus of the readings they contain (although Vv17 will be eliminated and this siglum is therefore not found in my critical apparatus); and **t** to refer collectively to P, H, and L or to the consensus of the readings they contain (=the reading that can be assumed to have stood in Triklinios' version of the text (hereafter  $\zeta$ )).

The oldest manuscript of *Acharnians* and the unique representative of one of the two major branches of the tradition is:

R=Ravenna, Ravennas 429. Parchment, c.950 (thus Diller in J. L. Heller (ed.), *Serta Turyniana* (Festschrift A. Turyn: Urbana, 1974) 522-3). R contains all eleven extant Aristophanic comedies in the order *Pl.*, *Nu.*, *Ra.*, *Av.*, *Eq.*, *Pax*, *Lys.*, *Ach.*, *V.*, *Th.*, *Ec.*, and preserves the entire text of *Acharnians* except for 192-3 (add. R<sup>3</sup>), 875, most of 876-7, 917, 987 (add. R<sup>3</sup>), 1097 (omitted in all but a few manuscripts and the Aldine (cf. below)), 1141, and 1177. R contains indications of change of speaker that include a mix of paragraphoi, dicola, and abbreviated names. Extensive scholia and the second Hypothesis have been added by a second hand, and some corrections and additions by a third; cf. Eberline 27-8. In addition to the omitted verses noted above, R contains at least 178 unique errors, including:<sup>58</sup>

39 τις om.	70 ἐφ' ἄρμαμαζῶν] ἐφάρμαξῶν	91 ἄγοντες ἤκομεν]
ἤκοντες ἄγομεν	135 εἰσκηρύττεται] εἰσκεκήρυκται	194 σοι add.
195 κατὰ add.	254 ὡς] ὦ	279 κρεμήσεται] κρεμασθήσεται
307 ἄν om.	333 ὅδ' om.	354 φέρον] φέρειν
λέγειν om.	444 αὐτοὺς] αὐτοῖς	429 δεινὸς
512 κεκομμένα] διακεκομμένα	472 με κοιράνους] γε τυράννους	652 τοῦθ'] ταῦθ'
774 ναὶ] νῆ	730 τυ] τοι	801 κοῖ tris] bis
1126 πλατύς] πολὺς	906 λάβοιμι] λάβοι	

<sup>58</sup> Where two readings are given, the first is what I take to be the correct text, the second the reading in R.

R thus contains about twice as many unique errors as the members of the  $\beta$ -family have in common (below), which is to say that  $\beta$  must have been a considerably more careful copy of the common exemplar  $\alpha$ . Although the  $\beta$ -manuscripts collectively have the authority of only one ancient witness to the text (below), therefore, when the two branches of the tradition are divided against one another, R's authority is decidedly inferior. Cf. Cary 159–60, 193.

The remaining ten manuscripts of *Acharnians*, along with the Aldine, agree in error at at least 81 points where R has the correct reading. These errors can be securely assigned to  $\beta$ . Examples include:<sup>59</sup>

202 ἄξω] αὔξω	203 φευξοῦμαι] φεύξομαι	206 μηνύσατε]
μηνύετε	321 οἶον] οἶος	401 σοφῶς] σαφῶς
413 πτωχοῦς]	460 φθείρου] φέρου	671 ἀνακυκῶσι] ἀνακυκλῶσι
749 Δικαιοπόλι] Δικαιοπόλις	755 ταῦτ'] τοῦτ'	761 τῶν] ὧν
762 ἀρουραῖοι] ἀρωραῖοι	771 τάνδε] τόνδε	828 τρέχων] ἰών
833 πολυπραγμοσύνη] πολυπραγμοσύνης	846 σ' om.	911 Δεύς]
Zeús	1175 χυτριδίω] χυτρίω	1190 ἀτταταῖ ἀτταταῖ] ἀτταπαττατά
1228 γ' om.		

A, Γ, E, Vp3, and C, that is, the pre-Triklinian representatives of the two subfamilies of  $\beta$ -manuscripts (below), agree in error at a number of other points where R has the correct reading and an attempt at correction (occasionally successful) has been made in one or more of the Triklinian or post-Triklinian manuscripts or in the Aldine.<sup>60</sup> These errors as well can be securely assigned to  $\beta$ . Examples include:<sup>61</sup>

62 ἄγῳ] γὰρ ὥς	66 φέροντας] φέροντα	159 τίς δύο δραχμάς] τις
δραχμάς δύο	178 ἐγὼ μὲν δεῦρό σοι] ἐγὼ μὲν σοι δεῦρο	298 μοι
om.	418 ἐν om.	502 γε om.
767 μὰ add.	852 κακὸν] κακῶν	887 δέ om.
1196 εἶ] ἄν εἶ		954 ἰών] ὦ

$\beta$  was copied at least twice to produce the ancestors of the two subfamilies of  $\beta$ -manuscripts,  $\psi$  and  $\delta$ .

<sup>59</sup> Where two readings are given, the first is the reading in R and what I take to be the correct text, the second the consensus of the  $\beta$ -manuscripts.

<sup>60</sup> In some cases, a later hand has added similar corrections in Γ or E; cf. below.

<sup>61</sup> Where two readings are given, the first is the reading in R and what I take to be the correct text, the second that found in **a** (or occasionally in **a**<sup>ac</sup>; cf. below).

*Subfamily 1: The descendants of ψ*

The first subfamily of β-manuscripts includes A, Γ, and E. **a<sup>ac</sup>** omit 137, 411, 1097, 1107, 1119, 1135, 1137–8, 1142, and 1220–1; have 414 out of place between 410 and 412, and 1158 out of place between 1160 and 1161; transpose 1083a–b and 1084; and contain at least 95 other errors found nowhere else (except in some cases in the Aldine or B, which had access to E and Γ, respectively; cf. below). Examples of such errors include:<sup>62</sup>

165 οὐ καταβαλεῖτε] οὐκ ἀποβαλεῖτε	219 ἤδη om.	248 σοι om.
275 καταβαλόντα] κάτω λαβόντα	337 ὑμεῖς om.	340 τόδε om.
357 γε om.	414 σ' om.	421 τοῦ om.
630 δ' om.	667 πρινίνων] πυρίνων	681 ἀλλὰ om.
ταράττων om.	739 φασῶ φέρειν] φέρειν φασῶ	859 ἐκάστου om.
869 χαμούς] χαμαί	995 πρῶτα] πρῶτον	1045 τοὺς] τὰς
1139 δέ om.	1160 λαβεῖν αὐτοῦ] αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν	

As the individual members of this subfamily before correction all contain numerous unique errors,<sup>63</sup> it seems considerably less likely that any one of the three served as primary exemplar for the other two than that all three are independent copies of a common exemplar (hereafter ψ; = Cary's a).<sup>64</sup> Of the ψ-manuscripts, A contains very few corrections; lacks scholia, the second Hypothesis, and a list of dramatis personae; and indicates change of speaker with an abbreviated name or title far less often than do ΓΕ, generally relying instead on paragraphoi and the like. ΓΕ, on the other hand, contain an extensive collection of scholia and both Hypotheses; generally indicate change of speaker with an abbreviated name or title rather than with a simple paragraphos or the like,

<sup>62</sup> Where two readings are given, the first is what I take to be the correct text, the second the reading in **a<sup>ac</sup>**.

<sup>63</sup> Thus (e.g.) A has *χερηδόνας* for *χαιρηδόνας* in 4, *ὀψέ* for *ὄτε* in 16, *τοὺς* for *βοῦς* in 87, and *ἐνένευσεν* for *ἐπένευσαν* in 115, and omits *ἡμῖν* in 316; Γ has *καταφυγεῖν* for Α's *καταφαγεῖν* in 78, *ξυνελλέγοντο* for *ξυνελέγοντο* in 184, *ὄπη* for *ὄποι* in 207, and *ἐκπέφευγεν* for *ἐκπέφευγ'* in 208; and E has *ἀνάσχοισθ'* for *ἀνάσχεσθ'* in 296, *ὑμῖν* for *ἡμῖν* in 329, *λαρίκος* for *λάρκος* in 333, and omits 1023–7.

<sup>64</sup> A (which shows no sign of having been checked against any other manuscript) has certainly not been copied from either E<sup>ac</sup> (since it has the verses E omits) or Γ<sup>ac</sup> (which it does not follow e.g. in omitting *Ἀμφίθεος* in 46 or in writing *διδομένων* in 547, *πάγχρυσσον* in 936, or *ἄνθρωπε* in 1108, all errors that would have been relatively difficult to mend by conjecture). The possibility that the text in ΓΕ has been copied from A, with many of A's errors eliminated via comparison with a second manuscript (cf. below), technically remains open but does not simplify the stemma. Cf. Cary 170.



as in A (cf. the more detailed discussion of indications of change of speaker below), and have been heavily corrected, in the case of  $\Gamma$  by a series of three hands.  $\Gamma$  alone contains a list of dramatis personae (added by the third hand).

At the approximately two hundred points where either  $\Gamma$  or E has been corrected, the two agree against A about 55 per cent of the time and the indications of change of speaker they offer but A does not are largely identical, as are their versions of the text of the second Hypothesis. Cary took this evidence to suggest common use by the  $\Gamma$ E-correctors of a second source (hereafter  $\phi$ ; = Cary's e). As far as Cary's reasoning on the question of  $\phi$ 's position in the stemma can be reconstructed, it appears to run as follows: (1) Most of the corrections in  $\Gamma$ E tell us nothing about what manuscript family or subfamily  $\phi$  belonged to: either the corrections are widely shared good readings designed to correct bad readings unique to the  $\psi$ -subfamily (e.g. 340  $\tau\acute{o}\delta\epsilon$  add.  $\Gamma^3E^4$ : 384  $\mu'$   $\Gamma^{pc}E^4$ ), or they are unique bad readings of a sort that can crop up anywhere in a manuscript stemma (e.g. 105  $\mu\omicron\iota$  add.<sup>5</sup>  $\Gamma^{pc}E^4$ : 303  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  add.<sup>5</sup>  $\Gamma^3E^4$ ). (2) There are none the less a few points at which the  $\Gamma$ E-correctors share a good reading with R where the  $\beta$ -manuscripts are in error.<sup>65</sup>  $\phi$  was therefore not a descendant of  $\beta$ . (3) At the same time, the  $\Gamma$ E-correctors often fail to respond to  $\beta$ -family errors at points where R has the right reading, which must be what stood in  $\alpha$ .  $\phi$  and  $\beta$  must therefore have shared an exemplar (which Cary called 'z'); whatever errors the  $\Gamma$ E-correctors fail to correct were z-errors (and thus in their copy of the text as well), while any  $\beta$ -family errors the  $\Gamma$ E-correctors are able to put right must represent errors confined to  $\beta$  alone.<sup>66</sup>

The first and most obvious problem with this thesis is that the fact that  $\phi$  shared some good readings with R but not with the  $\beta$ -manuscripts proves nothing about  $\phi$ 's relationship to R; except in a few, limited circumstances, shared good readings cannot be used to demonstrate affiliations between manuscripts. Second, the fact that the  $\Gamma$ E-correctors neglect some  $\beta$ -family errors does not demonstrate a relationship between  $\beta$  and  $\phi$ , because the  $\Gamma$ E-correctors also fail to address a large number of errors that are

<sup>65</sup> e.g. 62  $\gamma\acute{\omega}$   $R\Gamma^2E^4$ :  $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$   $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$   $A\Gamma^{ac}c$ , cf.  $E^{ac}$ ; 202  $\acute{\alpha}\xi\omega$   $RE^4$ :  $a\acute{\upsilon}\xi\omega$   $A\Gamma ct$ , cf.  $E^{ac}$ ; 324  $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omicron\lambda\omicron\iota\mu\eta\nu$   $R\Gamma^{pc}E^4$ :  $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\mu\eta\nu$   $A\Gamma^{ac}$ :  $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\lambda\omicron\iota\mu\eta\nu$   $Vp3t$ , cf.  $E^{ac}$ :  $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\mu\eta\nu$   $C$ ; 911  $\Delta\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$   $R\Gamma^3E^4$ :  $Z\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$   $A\Gamma^{ac}ct$ , cf.  $E^{ac}$ .

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Cary 186–7 (a very brief discussion of an extremely complicated problem).

unique to **a**, *inter alia* the omission of 137, 411, and 1137–8, the misplacement of 414, and the transposition of 1083a–b and 1084.<sup>67</sup> If the ΓE-correctors were correcting systematically (as Cary's thesis seems to require), therefore, they were not correcting against a manuscript that stood where Cary places  $\phi$  on the stemma; indeed, the relatively large number of points where a correction has been made in either Γ or E but not in the other suggests something fundamentally unsystematic about the entire process (cf. below). Third and perhaps most important, this hypothesis fails to explain how it can be that the ΓE-correctors occasionally have what looks to be the right reading or something very close to it at points where R and the β-manuscripts agree in error,<sup>68</sup> since in these cases the consensus of Rβ must represent the reading in α. Nor can Cary's hypothesis explain why the ΓE-correctors occasionally offer bad readings otherwise confined to a subfamily of β-manuscripts.<sup>69</sup>

On this one point at least, therefore, Cary's manuscript stemma of *Acharnians* fails to hold up to close examination; wherever  $\phi$  belongs, it certainly does not belong where he put it. Any adequate account of  $\phi$ 's position will need to explain not only the ΓE-correctors' obvious deep interest in the manuscript but the relatively large number of errors (including many ψ-subfamily errors) that remain in their copies of the play after correction; the presence in  $\phi$  of what appear to be a few good, non-α readings; and the simultaneous and seemingly contradictory presence in  $\phi$  of some bad readings otherwise attested only in descendants of β not belonging to the ψ-subfamily. The most likely solution to this problem is bound up with the question of the *Acharnians* scholia.

Of the pre-Triklinian manuscripts of *Acharnians* (i.e. Rαc), only R, Γ, and E contain scholia (the so-called *scholia vetera*). In Γ, the scholia added by the original hand (hereafter Γ<sup>1</sup>) have been extensively supplemented with scholia added by two further hands (hereafter Γ<sup>2</sup> and Γ<sup>3</sup>).<sup>70</sup> That the E-scholia are related to the Γ-scholia is shown by the large number of cases where the consensus of ΓE

<sup>67</sup> **a**<sup>ac</sup>-errors are also left uncorrected at e.g. 121, 143, 419, 421, 423, 428, 436, 563, 565, 720, 754, 761, 788, 982, 1049, 1115, 1139.

<sup>68</sup> e.g. 376 ψηφῶ δακεῖν Γ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup>: ψηφοδακεῖν RAΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup>c: ψηφηδακεῖν t (a Triklinian conjecture), 862 Θείβαθεν Γ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup>: Θείαθεν AΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup>c: Θήβαθεν Rt, and 1066 ἀλειφέτω Γ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup>: ἀλειφε RAΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup>c: ἀλειφέ γε t (a Triklinian conjecture).

<sup>69</sup> e.g. 710 κατεπάλαισε μὲν RAΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup>: κατεπάλαισε μὲν ἄν Γ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup>ct, and 873 ἐστὶν RAΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup>: ἔστ' ἄν Γ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup>ct.

<sup>70</sup> Γ<sup>2</sup> and Γ<sup>3</sup> are not easily distinguished, although to my eye the work of the two seems not to have overlapped, which is to say that Γ<sup>2</sup> breaks off where Γ<sup>3</sup> begins.

includes material not found in the R-scholia.<sup>71</sup> The R-scholia, meanwhile, not only contain a considerable quantity of independent material<sup>72</sup> but routinely share material with the E-scholia that does not appear in the  $\Gamma$ -tradition,<sup>73</sup> while the  $\Gamma$ -scholia and the R-scholia share almost no material that does not also appear in E. It thus seems likely that the scholia now mixed together in our manuscripts at one point existed in the form of two overlapping but distinct bodies of material ( $\Sigma^1$  and  $\Sigma^2$ ) and that R drew on  $\Sigma^1$ ,  $\Gamma$  drew on  $\Sigma^2$ , and E drew on both.

$\Gamma^2$  and  $\Gamma^3$  (not necessarily driven by any motive more complex than limitations of space) appear to have taken pains to avoid repeating scholia offered by  $\Gamma^1$ . But at the approximately thirty points where either  $\Gamma^2$  or  $\Gamma^3$  offers a version of material also preserved by  $\Gamma^1$  and where E has a version of the same scholion (as it almost always does), E routinely agrees with the later hands against  $\Gamma^1$ . On the most straightforward reading of the evidence,  $\Gamma^1$  had access to one relatively limited version of  $\Sigma^2$ , while  $\Gamma^2$ ,  $\Gamma^3$  and E had access to a second, more complete version of  $\Sigma^2$ . This thesis can be accommodated without further multiplying sources by assuming that the  $\Gamma^1$ -version of  $\Sigma^2$  was preserved in  $\psi$ , while the  $\Gamma^2/\Gamma^3/E$ -version of  $\Sigma^2$  was preserved in  $\phi$ . That scholia sometimes comment on a version of the text different from the one in the manuscript in which they are preserved is a commonplace, and what is striking about the  $\Gamma E$ -scholia in particular is the amount of seemingly non- $\alpha$  material they preserve. Thus, for example, at 85,  $\Gamma E$  contain an indication of a variant reading  $\delta\lambda\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  (also known to Athenaios and to Triklinios, who—followed by all modern editors—accepted it into his version of the text), where **Rac** have the unmetrical  $\delta\pi\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ , which must have been the reading in  $\alpha$ ; at 376  $\psi\eta\phi\omega$   $\delta\alpha\kappa\epsilon\hat{\iota}\nu$  is preserved not only in  $\Gamma^3 E^4$ 's version of the text but also as a lemma to a scholion; and at 1097 E offers a scholion on a verse omitted from  $\alpha$  and preserved only by  $\Gamma^3$  (which has presumably got it from  $\phi$ ).<sup>74</sup> Indeed, the simplest explanation of the

<sup>71</sup> e.g.  $\Sigma$  3a(i), 10a, 30a, 31a, 43a, 61a, 75a, 95, 96a.

<sup>72</sup> e.g.  $\Sigma$  10b, 30b, 31b, 36, 37a, 42, 61b, 72a, 74a, 95b.

<sup>73</sup> e.g.  $\Sigma$  1c, 3a(ii), 9a, 15a(i), 77a, 97a(ii).

<sup>74</sup> 1097 is also preserved in B (which got it from  $\Gamma$ ; cf. below) and the Aldine (where Musurus must have got it either from an unknown copy of  $\Gamma$  or from his own now-vanished copy of  $\Sigma^2$ ). The E-corrector's failure to add 1097 to his version of the text is surprising but is perhaps to be explained by his mistaking it for a variant of 1098 (from which it differs by only a single word).

presence of a few good non- $\alpha$  readings among the  $\Gamma E$ -corrections is that those readings are to be traced to marginal notes discovered by the  $\Gamma E$ -correctors when they went to  $\phi$ , most likely drawn not so much by the lure of a different version of the text as by a richer collection of scholia than were preserved in  $\psi$ . The existence of scattered non- $\alpha$  readings in  $\Sigma^2$  need not imply a substantial manuscript tradition now lost except for the traces in the  $\Gamma E$ -scholia; the source of the textual variants preserved there, after all, need be no more remote than  $\alpha$ 's exemplar or another copy of it. As for  $\phi$ , the presence among the  $\Gamma E$ -corrections of some variants otherwise preserved only in other  $\beta$ -manuscripts suggests that it was most likely a descendant of  $\delta$  (below).

The relationship between A,  $\Gamma$ , and E is thus most economically explained on the thesis that (1) the A-,  $\Gamma$ -, and E-copyists all drew the original version of their text from  $\psi$  (a copy of  $\beta$ ), which offered the first Hypothesis (present in all three manuscripts) but not the second Hypothesis, a limited set of scholia (which A apparently declined to copy), and a rudimentary set of indications of change of speaker; and that (2) the  $\Gamma E$ -correctors had in addition access to  $\phi$  (another  $\beta$ -manuscript, but from the second subfamily) which offered both Hypotheses (since both  $\Gamma$  and E offer corrections in their text of the first Hypothesis and must have had access to a second version of it), a much more extensive set of marginal notes which included some good non- $\alpha$  material, and a more complex set of indications of change of speaker.

*Individual Manuscripts in Subfamily 1:*

A = Paris, Parisinus Regius Gr. 2712. Parchment, c. 1300. Contains E. *Hec.*, *Or.*, *Ph.*, *Andr.*, *Med.*, *Hipp.*; all seven plays of Sophocles; and Ar. *Pl.*, *Nu.*, *Ra.*, *Eq.*, *Av.*, *Ach.*, and *Ec.* (incomplete), in that order. Cf. Cary 160-1; Eberline 2.

$\Gamma$  = Florence, Laurentianus plut. 31, 15. Paper, fourteenth century. Contains E. *Hipp.*, *Med.*, *Alc.*, and *Andr.*, followed by Ar. *Ach.*, *Ec.* (incomplete), *Eq.*, *Av.* (incomplete), *Pax* (fragmentary), in that order. Leidensis Vossianus Gr. F. 52, which contains *Lys.* (incomplete) along with most of the missing portion of *Av.*, is a fragment of the same manuscript.  $\Gamma$  was apparently known to the B-editor; cf. below. In addition to the three hands discussed above, a fourth hand ( $\Gamma^4$ ) has added a few, generally Triklinian readings to the text (e.g. at 18); most likely these are drawn from B. Cf. Zacher,

*Jahrbücher für classische Philologie* Suppl. 16 (Leipzig, 1888) 549–54; Cary 161–4.

E = Modena, Estensis gr. 127 (α. U. 5. 10). Paper, middle or late fourteenth century. Contains *Pl.*, *Nu.*, *Ra.*, *Eq.*, *Av.* (incomplete), *Ach.*, in that order. A flyleaf inscription shows that E belonged at one point to Marcus Musurus, editor of the Aldine. The (1) text, (2) marginal scholia (brownish ink), and (3) interlinear scholia, marginal indications of change of speaker, and initial capitals (all in reddish ink) appear to have been produced by a single hand. For clarity's sake I none the less refer to these portions of the text as E<sup>1</sup>, E<sup>2</sup>, and E<sup>3</sup>, respectively. This first hand does not differ much from that of the corrector (E<sup>4</sup>), although the latter is sometimes finer and darker. Cf. Cary 164–8; Eberline 17.

*Subfamily 2: The descendants of δ*

The second subfamily of β-manuscripts includes Vp3, C, P, H, L, and Vv17. These manuscripts (frequently joined by B, the Aldine, or both; cf. below) share a set of errors not found in Ra and can thus be identified as descendants of a second copy of β (hereafter δ; = Cary's c'). These errors (all of which can be securely traced to δ) include:<sup>75</sup>

113 ἀποπέμφει] ἀποπέμπει	153 ἔθνος] γένος	520 ἴδοιεν] εἶδεν
647 τὴν om.	672 μάττωσιν] μάττουσιν	710 μὲν] μὲν ἄν
737 πρίατο] ἐπρίατο	788 τράφεν] τρέφεν	873 ἐστὶν] ἔστ' ἄν
911 Θείβαθεν] Θήβαθεν	916 γ' om.	1000 τοὺς] τὰς
1024 τρισκακώδαιμον] τρισκακοδαίμων	1040 σὺ om.	1137 ἐμαντῶ]
ἐμαντὸν	1224 με φέρετε] μ' ἐκφέρετε	

pl (often joined by B and/or the Aldine) contain a number of emendations patently designed to respond to problems in the version of the text preserved in c, and in the majority of these cases c's reading probably represents what the pl-editor (i.e. Triklinios; cf. below) found in δ. Examples include:<sup>76</sup>

98 ἀπέπεμφεν R, ἀπέπεμφε a] ἐπεμφε c, ἔκπεμφε plB	296 πρὶν γ' ἄν
ἀκούσητ' a] πρὶν ἄν ἀκούσητε c, πρὶν ἄν ἀκούσητέ γ' plBAld	340 λαρκίδιον
οὐ προδώσω ποτέ] λαρνακίδιον οὐ προδώσω ποτέ c, λαρνακίδιον προδώσ' οὐδέποτε plBAld	362 πάνυ γὰρ ἐμέ γε πόθος] πόθος γὰρ πάνυ ἐμέ γε

<sup>75</sup> Where two readings are given, the first represents that preserved in Ra, the second that in ct.

<sup>76</sup> Unless otherwise indicated, the first reading represents the text preserved in Ra.

**c**, πόθος γὰρ πάνυ με **plBAld** 405 πώποτ'] ποτ' Vp3, π' C, δήποτ'  
**plBAld** 448 γε] om. **c**, καὶ **plBAld** 1101 δεῦρο παῖ σαπροῦ]  
 παῖ σαπροῦ δεῦρο **c**, σαπροῦ δεῦρό μοι **plBAld** 1102 σὺ δὴ παῖ] δὴ σὺ  
 παῖ **c**, δὲ δὴ σὺ παῖ **plBAld** 1201 κάπιμανδαλωτόν] κάναπιμανδαλωτόν  
**c**, κάναπιμανδαλωτόν ἄν **pl**

**δ** was copied at least twice to produce the common exemplar of **c** (hereafter **ε**; = Cary's **c**) and the copy of the play known to Triklinios (hereafter **ζ'**).

Of the descendants of **δ**, Vp3 and C share a large number of additional errors attested nowhere else. Examples include:<sup>77</sup>

19 ὡς] καὶ	132 παιδίοισι] πεδίοισι	225 ἐσπείσατο] ἐσπείσαντο
277 κραιπάλης] κραιπάλας	346 et 357 γε] σε	412 τὰ om.
612 δαί] δέ	646 τόλμης . . . ἦκει om.	691 τοῦτ'] ταῦτ'
698 ὄτ' ἦμεν] ἐβάλλομεν	738 γὰρ μοι] γ' ἔμοι	804 ὡς om.
970 κιχλᾶν] κιχαᾶν	984 τὰς] τοὺς	1110 λαγῶων] λαγῶ
1125 τυρόνωτον] τυρόνωτα	1211 Χουσί] χρυσί	

C contains a large number of additional unique errors and might easily be taken for an apograph of Vp3 (allowing it to be eliminated), did not Vp3 also contain a separate small set of unique errors?<sup>78</sup> Many of these are trivial mistakes which the C-scribe might easily have corrected by himself, had he been skilled or ambitious enough to do so—as nothing suggests he was. The crucial exception is 605–9, where the presence of the full text in C at a point where Vp3 is missing at least half of every line would seem to prove C's independence. Cary 172 n. 3, maintains that the portions of 605–9 missing from Vp3 might have been added to C from a different source, but concedes that C nowhere else appears to use another manuscript even when its exemplar is patently defective (e.g. at 646 and 648). In addition, Cary 173, points out that the constant confusion in C between  $\rho$  and  $\nu$  in particular cannot be explained by reference to Vp3, which is generally clear where C is in error, although the two letters do resemble one another in Vp3's hand. The fact that Vp3 contains a similar  $\nu$ - $\rho$  mistake at 750 (above), where C has got the text right, suggests that

<sup>77</sup> Where two readings are given, the first represents that preserved in Ra, the second that in **c**.

<sup>78</sup> e.g. 148 βοηθήσειν] βολθήσειν, 281 βάλλε<sup>2</sup>] βάλε, 503 κακῶς] κακακῶς, 750 ἀγοράσοντες Π<sub>5</sub> RaCt] ἀγονάσοντες, 1035 οἴμωζέ] οἴμυζέ, 1125 κύκλον] κύκλα. Unless otherwise indicted, the first reading represents the text preserved in RaCt.

the problem is to be traced instead to  $\epsilon$ , to which the common errors in  $\mathbf{c}$  are all to be assigned and of which  $Vp_3$  and  $C$  must be independent copies.

The remaining members of the  $\delta$ -subfamily,  $\mathbf{pl}$  (frequently followed by  $B$  and/or the Aldine), contain a large number of readings not attested in  $\mathbf{Rac}$ , many of them patently conjectures designed to address difficulties in the text as it appears either in all other manuscripts, or in all other descendants of  $\beta$ , or in  $\mathbf{c}$  and thus presumably in  $\epsilon$  (above). Examples include:

18 κονίας $\mathbf{Rac}$ ] κονίας γε	61 οί πρέσβεις οί παρὰ βασιλέως $\mathbf{Rac}$ ] οί
παρὰ βασιλέως πρέσβεις	144 ἔγραφ' $\mathbf{Rac}$ ] ἔγραφον
158 τις	
δραχμὰς δύο $\mathbf{ac}$ ] δραχμὰς δύο τις	294 ἀκούσομεν $\mathbf{Rac}$ ] ἀκούσομ'
295 σε $\mathbf{Rac}$ ] σ' αὐ	298 σὺ $\mathbf{ac}$ ] δὴ σὺ
338 νῦν $\mathbf{Rac}$ ] γὰρ νῦν	
342 ξίφος $\mathbf{Rac}$ ] βέλος	392 ἀγὼν $\mathbf{ac}$ ] ἄν ἀγὼν
502 νῦν $\mathbf{ac}$ ] καὶ	
νῦν	541 εἰ καὶ $\mathbf{Rac}$ ] εἰ
556 ἡμῖν $\mathbf{Rac}$ ] ὑμῖν	621 ταραξῶ
$\mathbf{Rac}$ ] κατάρξω	731 κόρι' $\mathbf{ac}$ ] κόριά γ'
766 παχεῖα καὶ καλά	
$\mathbf{Rac}$ ] παχεῖαι καὶ καλαί	770 θᾶσθε $\mathbf{Rac}$ ] θᾶσθαι
911 τοίνυν $\mathbf{Rac}$ ] τοίνυν γ'	965 τρεῖς κατασκίους λόφοις $\mathbf{RA}^{\mathbf{ac}}\mathbf{ΓE}^{\mathbf{ac}}\mathbf{c}$ ] τρεῖς κατασκίους
λόφους	1023 πόθεν $\mathbf{Rac}$ ] πόθεν γ'
1194 δ' $\mathbf{Rac}$ ] δ' οὖν	
1203 χοᾶ $\mathbf{Rac}$ ] χοᾶ νῦν	

A note at the beginning of the text of *Acharnians* in  $\mathbf{l}$  assigns responsibility for the brief metrical discussion that follows to the early fourteenth-century scholar Demetrios Triklinios, and there can be little doubt that the conjectures preserved in  $\mathbf{pl}$  represent his attempts to improve his copy of  $\delta$  (i.e.  $\zeta'$ ) to produce his own edition of *Acharnians* (i.e.  $\zeta$ ).<sup>79</sup>

$\mathbf{l}$  (frequently followed by  $B$ , the Aldine, and/or various correctors) shares a few additional readings not found in the other descendants of  $\beta$ , the great majority of which are most naturally interpreted as further Triklinian conjectures designed to address metrical difficulties in  $\beta$ 's version of the text but for some reason omitted in  $\mathbf{p}$ . Examples include:

189 ἀρέσκουσί $\mathbf{RacpAld}$ ] ἀρέσκουσίν $\mathbf{IB}$ (recte)	437 ἐπειδήπερ
$\mathbf{RacpAld}$ ] ἐπειδήπερ γ' $\mathbf{IB}$	642 πόλεσι $\mathbf{RacpAld}$ ] πόλεσιν $\mathbf{IB}$ (recte)

<sup>79</sup> Gonis (the editor of  $\Pi_1$ ) argues that the coincidence of Triklinios' correction of the text in 541 with what appears to have been the reading in the papyrus may suggest that Triklinios had access to a non- $\alpha$  manuscript of the play. This is exceedingly unlikely (as the discussion in this section ought to make clear) and the emendation is in fact a very simple one.

656 φήσεω R: φησι **acp**] φησιν **tAldE**<sup>4</sup> (recte) 1089 ἐστὶ **RacpB**] ἐστὶν **IAld** (recte)

Of the four Triklinian manuscripts of the play, L and Vv17 (followed in one case by B) share a few errors not found in P or H, including:

101 ξυνήκαθ' ὁ vel sim. <b>Racp</b> ] ξυνίκαθ' ὁ	342 πάλιν om. (also B)
374 ἀπεμπολώμενοι] ἀπεμπολλώμενοι	427 οὔτοσι] οὔτωσί
623 Πελοποννησίους] Πελοποννησίους	669 ῥιπίδι] ῥιπίδη
1038 σπονδαῖσιν] σπονδαῖς	

L contains no errors or conjectures not also preserved in Vv17. Vv17, on the other hand, contains all L's errors, no additional good readings not attested in L, and a very large number of unique errors. As in *Peace* and probably elsewhere, therefore, Vv17 can be eliminated, in this case most likely as a careless copy of a descendant of L (hereafter **ι**) rather than of L itself (cf. below).

The other two Triklinian manuscripts, P and H, also share a large number of errors attested nowhere else. Examples include:

14 ἄσόμενος] ἐσόμενος	83 τὸν πρωκτὸν χρόνου] χρόνου τὸν πρωκτὸν		
103 δῆ] δέ	187 vers. om.	195 τε om.	232 ἔτι] ἐπὶ
259 ὀρθὸς] ὀρθῶς	374 et 394 vers. om.	456 ὦν] ὦ	
493 vers. om.	533-4 μήτ' . . . / θαλάττη om.	620 μὲν πᾶσι]	
πᾶσι μὲν	641 αἴτιος ὑμῖν] ὑμῖν αἴτιος	804 πρὸς om.	
873 ἀπλῶς] ἀπλοῖς	963 τὴν om.	1142 τὰ] γὰρ	

In addition, the text in **p** includes intrusive glosses or fragments of scholia (apparently from a tradition not directly related to that preserved in different forms in RΓE) at e.g. 157, 166, 218, 221, 284, 300, 526, 600, 668, 992, 1032, 1226. That neither P nor H is an apograph of the other is apparent from the fact that each contains numerous unique errors, at least some of which would have been difficult or impossible for a scribe to mend by spontaneous conjecture.<sup>80</sup> P and H must therefore be independent copies of a second, rather carelessly produced manuscript (hereafter **θ**) descended

<sup>80</sup> Examples in P include the following (where two readings are given, the first represents the consensus of the other manuscripts): 178 τί] τοι, 210 ἐτῶν] τῶν, 255 σ' om., 435 Ζεῦ om., 568 φυλέτα] φιλέτα, 667 πρινίνων] πρινίων, 722 ἐφ' ᾧ τε] φ' ᾧ, 814 μόνας ἀλῶν] μον ἀλῶν, 1008 τῆς εὐβουλίας] τῆ οὐσ' ἐβουλίας, 1139 δέ om., 1150-1 τὸν<sup>3</sup>] τῶν. Examples in H include: 110 δέ om., 167 ταυτὶ] τουτὶ, 398 μὲν] μὲν οὖν, 471 ἄγαν] ἀγῶν, 516 vers. om., 565 τοῦτον] τουτονὶ, 583-4 παράθες . . . / κείται om., 671 vers. om., 745 ἐσβαίνετε] ἐσβαίνεται, 759 τοῖ] οἱ, 784 ἐστὶν αὐτηγί] ἐστὶ αὐτηγί, 1107 vers. om.



from  $\zeta$ . The fact that the same fragmentary scholia intrude into the text at the same points in  $\mathfrak{p}$  (above) leaves little doubt that these intrusions were present in the text in  $\theta$ .  $\theta$  must thus have been a copy not of  $\zeta$  itself but of a descendant of  $\zeta$  (hereafter  $\theta'$ ), to which a limited set of scholia ( $\Sigma^3$ ) had been added.

*Individual Manuscripts in Subfamily 2:*

a. Pre-Triklinian Manuscripts:

Vp3 = Rome, Palatinus Vaticanus Gr. 128. Paper. Fifteenth century. Contains *Eq.*, *Ach.*, *V.*, in that order. Vp3 includes the first Hypothesis to *Ach.* and a list of dramatis personae.

C = Paris, Parisinus Regius 2717. Paper, Sixteenth century. Contains Triklinian metrical treatises and similar material, followed by *Eq.*, *Ach.*, *V.*, *Pl.*, *Nu.*, *Ra.*, *Av.*, *Pax* (incomplete), *Lys.* (incomplete), in that order. C includes the first Hypothesis to *Ach.* and a list of dramatis personae. Cf. Eberline 23.

b. Triklinian Manuscripts:

L = Oxford, Holkham Gk. 88. Paper, 1400–30. Contains Triklinian metrical treatises and the like, followed by *Pl.*, *Nu.*, *Ra.*, *Eq.*, *Ach.*, *V.*, *Av.*, *Pax* (incomplete), in that order. L includes the first Hypothesis to *Ach.*, a list of dramatis personae, and numerous scholia. At some point after the exemplar of Vv17 was copied from it (below), L was checked and corrected against another late text of the play, most likely the Aldine (=L<sup>2</sup>). Cf. Wilson, *CQ* NS 12 (1962) 32–47; Giannini, *GRBS* 12 (1971) 287–9; Smith, *Maia* 27 (1975) 205; Eberline 21.

Vv17 = Rome, Vaticanus Gr. 2181. Paper, fifteenth century. Contains the same material as L, from which it is descended. Cf. Benardette, *HSCP* 66 (1962) 241–8; Eberline 34.

P = Rome, Palatinus Vaticanus 67. Paper, fifteenth century. Contains *Pl.*, *Nu.*, *Ra.*, *Eq.*, *Ach.*, *V.*, *Av.*, *Pax* (incomplete), *Lys.* (incomplete), in that order. P includes the first Hypothesis to *Ach.* and scattered scholia on the first 200 lines or so of the play. Cf. Eberline 37–8.

H = Copenhagen, Gamle Kongelig Samling 1980. Paper, fifteenth century. Contains Triklinian metrical treatises and similar material, followed by *Pl.* (incomplete), *Nu.*, *Ra.*, *Eq.*, *Ach.*, *V.*, *Av.*, *Pax* (incomplete), *Lys.* (incomplete), the remaining portion of *Pl.*, and

most of the remaining portion of *Lys.*, in that order. C includes the first Hypothesis to *Ach.* and scattered scholia on the first 200 lines or so of the play. Cf. Eberline 5–6.

### *The Post-Triklinian Tradition*

B=Paris, Parisinus Regius 2715. Paper, fifteenth century. Contains *Eq.*, *Ach.*, *Av.*, *V.*, *Lys.* (incomplete), *Ec.* (incomplete), *Pax* (incomplete), in that order. B contains no Hypotheses or scholia and lacks a list of dramatis personae.

As noted above, B contains numerous Triklinian conjectures and, where **p** and L are divided, regularly follows L. Because the B-scribe had access not only to a descendant of ζ but to a ψ-subfamily manuscript as well (below), he was able to eliminate many of the errors that might have helped identify his Triklinian source more precisely. At at least seven points, however, B contains an error otherwise attested only in Vv17:<sup>81</sup>

106 <i>Γάονας</i> ] <i>Γάνας</i>	128 <i>ἐργάσομαι</i> ] <i>ἐργάζομαι</i>	308 <i>οὔτε</i> ']
<i>οὔδὲ</i>	449 <i>τουτὶ</i> ] <i>ταυτὶ</i>	555 <i>οἶδ' ἴοισθ'</i>
<i>ὑπὲρ, νοῦ</i> <sup>s</sup> Vv17, <i>ὑπέρου</i> B	722 <i>τε</i> om.	713 <i>ὑπνοῦ</i> ]

This is less than overwhelming evidence. The simplest explanation is none the less that the B-scribe's Triklinian source was a descendant of L; given that B contains only a few of Vv17's errors, this manuscript was perhaps not Vv17 but Vv17's exemplar, ι, which must have been a considerably better copy of L.

In addition to its Triklinian readings, B contains at least 82 readings not found in any Triklinian manuscript but attested in one or more pre-Triklinian witnesses (and on occasion in the Aldine, which causes no stemmatic difficulties; cf. below). All but eleven of these readings are attested in one or more of the ψ-subfamily manuscripts.<sup>82</sup> Examples include:<sup>83</sup>

<sup>81</sup> Cf. 87, where B's *βοῦς καὶ κριβανίτας* appears to be an attempt to improve either L's *βοῦς καὶ βανίτας* or Vv17's *βοῦς καὶ καὶ βανίτας*, and 447, where Vv17 and B agree on *ἐμπίμπλημι* (recte) but all other manuscripts have *ἐμπίπλημι*.

<sup>82</sup> No pattern emerges among these eleven readings (in 1, 104, 178, 444, 855, 941, 957, 1024, 1026, 1112, 1221), which instead appear to represent common misspellings of difficult words (e.g. 444, 1112), simple mechanical errors that have occurred independently (e.g. 1, 1221), a few conjectures or errors by the B-scribe that happen to coincide with errors or conjectures elsewhere in the tradition (e.g. 174, 957), and the like.

<sup>83</sup> The initial lemma or lemmata give the readings found elsewhere in the tradition; where no siglum is offered, this reading represents the consensus of all MSS

113 ἀποπέμπει <b>ct</b> ] ἀποπέμψει <b>RaAld</b>	154 σαφές] σαφῶς <b>A</b>	198 ὄπη]
ὄποι <b>AG</b>	653 ἀπαιτούσι] ἀπαιτούσιν <b>Π<sub>5</sub> Γ</b>	825 ἐξείργετε
<b>REctAld</b> , ἐξέρξετε <b>A</b> ] ἐξείργετε <b>Γ</b>	865 προσέπτανθ' <b>Rct</b> ] προσέπταν	
<b>aAld</b>	922 ὑδρορρόας] ὑδρορόας <b>Γ<sup>pc</sup></b>	933 τι] τε <b>Γ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>4</sup></b>
988 Χάρισι] ταῖς Χάρισι <b>Γ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup></b>	986 γε <b>tAld</b> : om. <b>c</b> ] δῆ <b>Ra</b>	
997 ὄρχον <b>tAld</b> ] κλάδον <b>RAΓ<sup>3</sup>Ec</b>	998 ἄπαν ἐλαΐδας <b>tAld</b> ] ἐλαΐδας	
ἄπαν <b>RacS</b>	1041 τάθευε <b>AΓ<sup>ac</sup>ct</b> ] στάθευε <b>RΓ<sup>3</sup>EAld</b>	1049 ταυτὶ
κρέα] ταυτὶ τὰ κρέα <b>a</b>	1066 ἄλειφε <b>RAΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup>c</b> : ἄλειφέ γε <b>t</b> ] ἀλειφέτω	
<b>Γ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup>Ald</b>	1097 vers. om.] hab. <b>Γ<sup>3</sup>Ald</b>	1160 λαβεῖν αὐτοῦ]
αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν <b>a</b>	1168 βαλεῖν <b>AEctAld</b> ] λαβεῖν <b>RΓ</b>	

The obvious conclusion is that the B-scribe had access to a  $\psi$ -subfamily manuscript and used it as his primary exemplar (so that, for example, he initially omitted 1135 and 1137–8, but added the verses when comparison to his Triklinian version of the text revealed a problem). That the manuscript in question was  $\Gamma$  is suggested not only by the fact that  $\Gamma$  contains virtually every non-Triklinian reading found in B,<sup>84</sup> but also by the fact that B has 1097, 1107, and 1119, in that order, between 1096 and 1098; omits 1107 from its proper place in the text but adds it (a second time) between 1106 and 1108; and has 1119 where the verse belongs. This combination of errors and corrections is most naturally interpreted as evidence that B was copied directly from  $\Gamma$ , in which 1097, 1107, and 1119 were initially omitted (as in all three  $\psi$ -subfamily manuscripts) but were added at the top of the page by  $\Gamma^3$ , with marks indicating where the verses were to be inserted in the text. The B-scribe added all three verses where only the first was supposed to go; realized his error when he got to 1106 and 1108 and looked over to his Triklinian exemplar, saw that 1107 went between them, and attempted to correct his work; and by the time he got to 1119, knew what he was doing.<sup>85</sup>

B was corrected by (1) the original hand, which adds a number of omitted words and syllables (e.g. at 1016, 1034, 1128); (2) the

not listed in the final lemma. The final lemma gives the reading found in B and lists the other manuscripts or sets of manuscripts that preserve it.

<sup>84</sup> The only exceptions are 154 *σαφές* (also A; *σοφῶς* *rell.*), 180 *στιπτοὶ* (cf. A: *στιπτοὶ* *rell.*), 524 *Σιμαίθαν* (also *REAld Plu. Ath.*: *Σημαίθαν* *rell.*; Wilson's report that  $\lambda\Sigma\Gamma$  has *Σιμαίθαν* is in error), 852 *κακόν* (also *REAld*: *κακῶν* *rell.*), and 879 *πυκτίδας* (also *EAld*: *πικτίδας* *rell.*). 154 is corrected by B<sup>2</sup> (below) and is thus presumably an independent error; three of the four other examples involve a single vowel; and 852 is probably to be explained as a good conjecture.

<sup>85</sup> Thus Cary 176.

hand that added indications of change of speaker ( $B^2$ ; not readily distinguishable from  $B^1$  except by the reddish-brown colour of the ink); (3) a different hand ( $B^3$ ; dark ink and a distinctive, crabbed writing style), which probably also added the numbers on the individual folios throughout the manuscript.  $B^2$ -corrections are found throughout the play but are particularly common after 520.  $B^3$ -corrections end after 757. All but two of the  $B^2$ -corrections attested elsewhere represent readings preserved in the  $\psi$ -subfamily,<sup>86</sup> and at least nine are preserved exclusively there within the  $\beta$ -family (although a few appear also in the Aldine, which depends on another  $\psi$ -subfamily manuscript (below)). These nine readings are:<sup>87</sup>

143 ἀληθής] ἀληθῶς <b>a</b>	522 κάπέπραθ' <b>Rct</b> , κάπέπρατ' <b>E<sup>4</sup>Ald</b> ]
κάπέπραχθ' <b>ΑΓ</b> , cf. <b>E<sup>ac</sup></b>	535 Μεγαρεῖς <b>ΑΓ<sup>ac</sup>EctB<sup>ac</sup>S</b> ]
<b>RΓ<sup>pc</sup>Ald</b>	563 οὐδὲ <b>RctAld</b> ] οὐδὲν <b>a</b>
608 ἀμηγέπου vel	689 κᾶτ'] τοῦτ' <b>Γ<sup>3</sup></b>
ἀμηγέπου <b>RΓ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup>CtAld</b> <b>λΣ<sup>EΓ</sup></b> ]	ἀμηγέπη <b>ΑΓ<sup>ac</sup></b> , cf. <b>E<sup>ac</sup></b>
733 τήν <b>Act</b> ]	759 ᾄπερ] αἴπερ vel αἴπερ <b>Γ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup></b>
τάν <b>RΓEAld</b>	832 ἀλλ' ἀμὴν <b>R</b> : ἀλλὰ μὲν <b>AEctAld</b> , cf. <b>Γ<sup>ac</sup></b> ]
	ἀλλὰ μὴν <b>Γ<sup>3</sup> λΣ<sup>E</sup></b>

In addition,  $B^2$  has marked numerous indications of change of speaker otherwise attested only in  $\Gamma$  or  $E$  and most often in the consensus of the two. Examples include:<sup>88</sup>

77 <b>Kη ΓE</b>	100 <b>Ψε ΓE</b>	104 <b>Ψε ΓE</b>	105 <b>Δι ΓE</b> , et <b>Kη</b>
ante <b>τί Γ</b>	106 <b>Δι ΓE</b>	156 <b>Θε</b> ante <b>Ὀδομάντων ΓE</b>	
165 <b>Θε ΓE</b>	208 <b>ἡμιχ ΓE</b>	618 <b>Λα ΓE</b>	665 <b>μέλος Χοροῦ</b>
<b>ΓE</b>	781 <b>Δι ΓE</b>	809 <b>Με ΓE</b>	956 <b>Δι ΓE</b>
1020, 1031, 1033 <b>Δε ΓE</b>	1101 <b>Λα ΓE</b>		1019,

All the  $B^3$ -corrections attested elsewhere also represent readings preserved in the  $\psi$ -subfamily<sup>89</sup> and at least three are preserved exclusively there:<sup>90</sup>

<sup>86</sup> At 914,  $B^2$  offers a reading (*ἀδικήμενος*) not in **a** but found in **I**, and is presumably drawing on **t**. At 917,  $B^2$ 's *θρυαλλίδας* (for  $\Gamma E B$ 's *θρυλλίδας*) is probably an independent correction but might be drawn from **t** (since **I** have the word spelled correctly). At 520 and 927,  $B^2$  offers readings not attested elsewhere and most easily explained as conjectures.

<sup>87</sup> The final reading is that in  $B^2$ ; the sigla there indicate the manuscripts or manuscript subfamilies that share the reading in question with  $B^2$ .

<sup>88</sup> Note also the omission of indications of speaker in **B** in 253, 259, and 473 where **tAld** have *Mη*, *Δι*, and *Ευ*, respectively.

<sup>89</sup> At 144 and 632,  $B^3$  offers readings not attested elsewhere and most easily explained as conjectures.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. 354 *φέρων* **Γ<sup>pc</sup>** **Ald**, which is also preserved by the *Suda*.

69 ὄδοιπλανοῦντες] ὄδοιπλανῶντες AΓE<sup>ac</sup> 234 Παλλήναδε] Βαλλήναδε  
(γρ.) Σ<sup>EΓ</sup> Ald 346 στροφή] στρόφιγγι Γ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup>

That B<sup>1</sup> and B<sup>2</sup> used the same ψ-subfamily manuscript (i.e. Γ) seems likely, particularly given that what are here conservatively treated as two separate hands probably represent different phases of the work of a single scribe; that B<sup>3</sup> also used Γ is a reasonable if unprovable assumption. B thus represents a creative combination of a ψ-subfamily text and a Triklinian text, with preference generally given where possible to pre-Triklinian readings. The manuscript can accordingly be eliminated, although I occasionally cite its conjectures (e.g. in 20, 294, 454, 623, 946).

Ald. = the *editio princeps* of Aristophanes, edited by Marcus Musurus and published by Aldus in Venice in 1498. Contains *Pl.*, *Nu.*, *Ra.*, *Eq.*, *Ach.*, *V.*, *Av.*, *Pax* (incomplete), and *Ec.*, in that order.

The Aldine offers readings otherwise attested only in Triklinian manuscripts (often followed by B; cf. above) in at least 95 places<sup>91</sup> and is clearly based in the first instance on a Triklinian exemplar. In 1979 Martin Sicherl identified a fragment (*Wealth* only) of a manuscript (Schlettstadt 347) that appears to have served as Musurus' printer's copy of Aristophanes and probably represents a third copy of Triklinios' version of the text.<sup>92</sup> Where the Aldine agrees with one or more Triklinian manuscripts, therefore, it can be regarded as an independent witness to ζ. In at least 70 other places, the Aldine rejects the Triklinian reading and offers a reading otherwise preserved only in one or more pre-Triklinian manuscripts (and occasionally in B, which causes no stemmatic difficulties; cf. above). Examples include:<sup>93</sup>

200 κελεύων RactB] κελεύω γρ. Σ<sup>EΓ</sup> 296 ἀνάσχεσθ' Rct, ἀνάσχοιθ' AΓ]  
ἀνάσχοισθ' E 337 ὑμεῖς om. AΓ<sup>ac</sup>E 423 λακείδας AΓctB]  
λακίδας RE 634 ἡμᾶς tB] ὑμᾶς Rac 733 τὴν ActB<sup>ac</sup>] τὰν  
RΓEB<sup>2</sup> 775 εἶμεναι τίνος Π<sub>5</sub> RAΓE<sup>ac</sup>tB, εἶμεναι τίνα c] ἡμεναι τίνος  
E<sup>pc</sup> 812 πράομαί Ac, cf. Γ<sup>ac</sup>: πρίαμαί p: πρίαομαί LB] πρίαομαί RΓ<sup>3</sup>E  
862 Θείαθεν AΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup>c: Θήβαθεν RtB] Θείβαθεν Γ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup> 879 πικτίδας

<sup>91</sup> e.g. at 61, 144, 218, 293, 359, 401, 462, 569, 637, 738, 769, 819, 911, 973, 1023, 1103, 1194, 1212.

<sup>92</sup> Sicherl, in R. Fuhlrott and B. Haller (eds.), *Das Buch und sein Haus*, i (Wiesbaden, 1979) 189–231, esp. 206–8; cf. Olson, *Pax*, pp. lx–lxii.

<sup>93</sup> The final reading is that found in the Aldine; the sigla that follow represent the other manuscripts or manuscript subfamilies that include that reading.

RAΓct] πυκτίδας EB      1066 ἄλειφε RAΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup>c, ἄλειφέ γε t] ἀλειφέτω  
Γ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup>B      1137 ἐμαντὸν ct] ἐμαντῶ RaB

In addition, in at least a dozen places the Aldine offers indications of change of speaker that do not agree with those in the Triklinian version of the text but are also found in one or more of the pre-Triklinian manuscripts (followed once again in some cases by B). Examples (all in the left margin) include:<sup>94</sup>

77 Kη ΓEB	165 Θε ΓEB	200 Ἀμφ Σ <sup>REG</sup>	201 Δι ΓEc
800 Δι ΓEB	1018 Γε AEcB	1047 Δι ΓEcB	1048 Πα
ΓEB	1098 Λα Γ <sup>ac</sup> E	1100 Δι ΓEB	

All but four of the Aldine's non-Triklinian readings or indications of change of speaker<sup>95</sup> can be explained on the thesis that, in addition to Schlettstadt 347, Musurus had access to E, as an inscription on the manuscript's first page confirms. Where the Aldine's readings agree with E against Triklinios, therefore, they have no independent authority. The Aldine also offers a handful of readings attested nowhere else, which are most economically explained as Musurus' own errors or conjectures (although a few are perhaps to be traced to Schlettstadt 347). Musurus' *Acharnians* is thus simultaneously quite original (in that it combines Triklinios' version of the play with an earlier witness to produce a hybrid text) and extremely conservative (in that Musurus appears to have contributed very few readings of his own). I cite the Aldine only when it supports what appear to be Triklinian conjectures and at a few scattered points where Musurus has successfully emended the text.

### *Indications of Change of Speaker*

All manuscripts of *Acharnians* and over half the papyri indicate change of speaker in some way. Few if any of these marks can probably be traced back to the fifth century BCE, much less to Aristophanes himself,<sup>96</sup> but they deserve some attention and analysis

<sup>94</sup> The sigla represent the other manuscripts or manuscript subfamilies that include this indication of change of speaker.

<sup>95</sup> The exceptions (none of any significance) are: 76 αἰσθάνει (also cL<sup>ac</sup>) and 385 στρέφει (also R, cf. στρέφη a), where Triklinios' variant merely represents his opinion as to how the 2nd-person sing. mid.-pass. ending is to be spelled and does not suggest dependence on another source, 535 Μεγαρήs (also RΓ<sup>pc</sup>B<sup>2</sup>; another disputed form), 1045 κνίσση A (independent misspellings of a difficult word).

<sup>96</sup> Cf. Lowe, *BICS* 9 (1962) 27-42, esp. 35-7; Dover, *G&L* 254-62.

because of the information they preserve about manuscript affiliations and early editorial practices. I have accordingly published a complete catalogue of indications of change of speaker in *Acharnians* in *ICS* 26 (2001) 1–34, to which readers seeking more exact and comprehensive information than that provided below are referred.

Three of the *Acharnians* papyri ( $\Pi_1$ ,  $\Pi_4$ ,  $\Pi_5$ ) contain indications of change of speaker. Change of speaker that coincides with the beginning of a line is indicated in the papyri by means of a dicolon at the end of the preceding line (14 times), a paragraphos above the line (32 times), an abbreviated name or title in the left margin (20 times), or some combination of the above.  $\Pi_5$  marks a change of speaker within a line by means of a dicolon (nine times), an abbreviated name or title in the right margin (five times), or a combination of the two.

Of the manuscripts, R indicates a change of speaker that coincides with the beginning of a line by means of an abbreviated name or title (119 times) or by a paragraphos in the left margin (203 times). R normally indicates a change of speaker within a line by means of a dicolon (78 times) generally followed by a small space or in rare cases a paragraphos (three times); on occasion, R instead indicates a change of speaker within a line by means of an abbreviated name or title (four times), a space (five times), a space followed or preceded by a paragraphos (three times), or an abbreviated name or title in the right margin (three times). R agrees with the  $\beta$ -manuscripts on the placement of 378 indications of change of speaker. At 107 of these points, R and the  $\beta$ -manuscripts agree on the speaker's name or title; at all but six of the other 271 points, R indicates a change of speaker but does not supply an abbreviated name or title, whereas the  $\beta$ -manuscripts do. The indications of change of speaker preserved in R and the  $\beta$ -manuscripts are thus certainly related. The resemblance between the diverse and rather haphazard system in the papyri and the similarly mixed system in R, on the other hand, is most naturally taken to suggest that  $\alpha$  offered only those abbreviated names and titles now preserved in R (plus whatever abbreviated names and titles the R-scribe accidentally omitted), and used paragraphoi, dicola, and the like to indicate change of speaker elsewhere. The additional abbreviated names and titles in the  $\beta$ -manuscripts must therefore be the work of the  $\beta$ -scribe, who made an aggressive effort to improve this

aspect of the text. R omits 75 indications of change of speaker that appear in the consensus of the  $\beta$ -manuscripts and seem to be correct, whereas the consensus of the  $\beta$ -manuscripts omits only two changes of speaker that appear in R and seem to be correct. On this count as well, therefore, R probably represents the less careful copy of  $\alpha$  (cf. above).

Of the  $\beta$ -manuscripts, A indicates a change of speaker that coincides with the beginning of a line by means of an abbreviated name or title 52 times and by means of a paragraphos or the like 211 times. A indicates a change of speaker within a line by means of an abbreviated name or title 8 times; by means of a dicolon followed by a blank space 34 times; by means of a blank space alone 40 times; by means of a pair of asterisks three times; and by means of a combination of a dicolon and a paragraphos twice. In comparison with the other manuscripts of the play, therefore, A is extremely sparing in its use of abbreviated names and titles to indicate change of speaker; indeed, A omits such indications at 63 of the 107 places where R and the consensus of the other  $\beta$ -manuscripts (generally including  $\Gamma E$ ) agree on them, and offers instead only a paragraphos or the like and in some cases nothing at all. That the indications of change of speaker not found in A were missing from  $\psi$  and not simply omitted by the A-scribe is made clear by the situation in the other descendants of  $\psi$  at 386–449, where  $\Gamma$  suddenly offers almost no indications at all and E offers a mix of dicola, blank spaces, and the like that corresponds closely to what is found in the same section of the text in A. This gap in  $\Gamma E$  is most naturally explained as the result of the loss of a single folio in  $\phi$ ,<sup>97</sup> which threw the  $\Gamma E$ -copyists and correctors back on what must have been the much more rudimentary set of indications found in  $\psi$  and otherwise preserved only in A.<sup>98</sup>

At all points other than 386–449 (cf. above),  $\Gamma E$  (like all descendants of  $\beta$  except A) consistently indicate a change of speaker that coincides with the beginning of a line by means of an abbreviated name or title in the left margin, and a change of speaker within a line by means of an abbreviated name or title, often preceded (especially in E) by a dicolon. As noted above, these indications are

<sup>97</sup> This conclusion is supported by the absence of any common alterations of the text by  $\Gamma^3$  and  $E^4$  between 382 and 459. The minimum size of the gap in  $\psi$  is 54 verses (393–446), the maximum 64 verses (386–449), so that each side of the lost folio must have contained between 27 and 32 verses.

<sup>98</sup> This fits with what else we know of the general character of  $\psi$ ; cf. above.



probably derived in the first instance from  $\phi$  and thus from  $\beta$ . In addition,  $\Gamma E$  frequently place a dicolon at the end of the preceding line (169 times in  $\Gamma$ , 327 times in  $E$ ); that these marks continue in  $E$  at 386–447 suggests that they, on the other hand, are to be traced to  $\psi$  (see above). Of the approximately 65 points at which the consensus of  $\Gamma E$  as to a change of speaker diverges from the consensus of the other descendants of  $\beta$ , about one-third involve the use of alternative abbreviated names or titles for the same character, while most of the others are disputes not about whether a change of speaker ought to be marked but about which of two characters on stage ought to be the one to speak. At at least five points, one or more of the  $\beta$ -manuscripts offers two possible identifications for a speaker<sup>99</sup> and the remaining manuscripts adopt one or the other of these identifications. Many of the seeming disagreements between  $\Gamma E$  and the other  $\beta$ -manuscripts are thus most economically explained as a consequence not of  $\Gamma E$ 's access to non- $\alpha$  material in  $\phi$  (see above) but of the  $\beta$ -scribe's attempt to convert  $\alpha$ 's jumble of abbreviated names and titles, paragraphoi, dicola, and the like into a more complete and precise system. In a few cases, a speaker could be identified in several ways or there were conflicting theories as to who the speaker was; the  $\beta$ -scribe gave both possibilities; and the  $\phi$ -copyist and others adopted one alternative or the other and in a few cases preserved both. More significant are a number of points in the text where the consensus of  $\Gamma E$  offers a series of changes of speaker that not only assigns lines or portions of lines differently from the other  $\beta$ -manuscripts, but adds or subtracts one or more changes of speaker. In four of the five extended examples of such divergences (105–10, 618–20, 800–3, 1099–1103), the assignments of speaker in  $\Gamma E$  are clearly superior to those in the other  $\beta$ -manuscripts, while in the fifth (199–203) neither system is wholly satisfactory but that in  $\Gamma E$  is marginally better. The simplest explanation is that at these points the  $\phi$ -scribe actively attempted to improve the indications of change of speaker (preserved for us in **ct**) found in his exemplar, and the  $\Gamma E$ -scribes inherited his innovations.

Of the other descendants of  $\beta$ , **c** offer common errors (less likely deliberate innovations) in their indications of change of speaker at 564, 902, 913, 937–9, 1105, and 1115, and these errors are to be

<sup>99</sup> e.g. 101  $\Gamma E$   $\Pi\rho \tilde{\eta} K\eta$ , 910 **c**  $N\iota \Sigma\nu$ , 1018  $\Gamma c$   $\Gamma\epsilon \Delta\epsilon$ , 1048 **AcL**  $\Theta\epsilon\rho \tilde{\eta} \Pi\alpha$ , 1229  $Vp_3$   $X\omicron \tilde{\eta} \Delta\iota$ .

traced to ε. P, H, and L (generally supported by the Aldine) agree on a number of indications of change of speaker which are not found in any other manuscripts<sup>100</sup> and are presumably to be traced to ζ and thus the editorial work of Triklinios. **p** omit indications found in **cL** (generally supported by R, Γ, E, or A, or some combination thereof) at e.g. 73, 100, 104, 130, 153, 192, 201, 396, 397, 470; these errors are to be traced to θ. For the stemmatic significance of the indications of change of speaker in B and the Aldine, cf. above.

#### *A Note on Line-Numbers*

For convenience's sake, I follow all modern editors in retaining the line-numbers of Brunck's 1783 edition of Aristophanes, except at (1) 976–87 (where Brunck's numbering is disrupted by his transposition of 986–7 to between 974–5 and 976) and (2) 1202–34 (where I add two verses, throwing off the count). Line-numbers such as '214–15' indicate verses that combine what are in Brunck's edition two (or in some cases more) complete consecutive lines. Line-numbers such as '216/17' indicate verses that combine portions of what are in Brunck's edition two (or in some cases more) consecutive lines. Line-numbers such as '837a' and '837b' indicate separate verses that are combined in a single verse in Brunck's edition, except for line 577a (which Brunck omitted).

#### *A Note on the Apparatus*

I cite the readings in the papyri and in R in full, but otherwise generally avoid citing errors in individual manuscripts. Where Triklinios has corrected the text, I signal that fact expressly. Wherever possible, I attribute corrections in Γ and E to particular hands; where I have been unable to do so, I offer the sigla Γ<sup>pc</sup> and E<sup>pc</sup>.

<sup>100</sup> i.e. at 110, 178, 206, 253, 259, and 434. Cf. 409 and 428, where the change of speaker in tAld is also found in R but was presumably lost in β.

## SIGLA

Π <sub>1</sub>	ii	POxy. lxvi. 4510; frustula ex vv. 55-60, 165-80, 234-40, 278-83, 291-308, 317-35, 345-6, 380-4, 417-19, 506-9, 539-42, 655-8, 696-704, 821-5
Π <sub>2</sub>	vi	PBerol. 21 200; frustula ex vv. 76-8 ( <i>BKT</i> ix. 104; Luppe, <i>ArchPF</i> 41 (1995) 40-1)
Π <sub>3</sub>	iii	POxy. vi. 856; fragmenta ex scholiis ad vv. 108-671
Π <sub>4</sub>	iv	PMich. inv. 5607a; fragmenta ex vv. 446-55, 474-94 (Renner, <i>ZPE</i> 41 (1981) 1-7)
Π <sub>5</sub>	v/vi	PBerol. 21 201 frr. 1, 3 + 13 231 A-C; fragmenta ex vv. 593-601, 608-17, 622-5, 631-41, 646-56, 661-3, 686-9, 725-8, 747-58, 762-86, 791-803, 807-29, 904-34, 937, 940-74 ( <i>BKT</i> ix. 105; Maehler, <i>ArchPF</i> 30 (1984) 5-29)
R	x	Ravennas 429
A	xiv	Parisinus Regius 2712
Γ	xiv	Laurentianus plut. 31, 15
E	xiv	Estensis gr. 127 (α. U. 5. 10)
Vp <sub>3</sub>	xv	Palatinus Vaticanus Gr. 128
P	xv	Palatinus Vaticanus Gr. 67
H	xv	Copenhagen, Gamle Kongelig Samling 1980
L	xv	Holkham Gk. 88
Vv <sub>17</sub>	xv	Vaticanus Gr. 2181
B	xvi	Parisinus Regius 2715
C	xvi	Parisinus Regius 2717
Ald	1498	Aldine
S	x	<i>Suda</i> (Adler ed.)
<b>d</b>		consensus codicum omnium, vel codicum omnium praeter B, vel codicum omnium praeter B et Vv <sub>17</sub> , vel codicum omnium praeter B et Ald, vel codicum omnium praeter Ald
<b>a</b>		consensus codicum A, Γ, et E
<b>c</b>		consensus codicum Vp <sub>3</sub> et C
<b>p</b>		consensus codicum P et H

# METRICAL SYMBOLS

1. In abstract description of a metre:

- (1) position occupied by a long syllable
- (2) last position in a verse
- ∪ position occupied by a short syllable
- × position that may be occupied by either a short or a long syllable

2. In scanning a given sequence of words:

- long syllable
- ∪ short syllable
- × syllable that may be scanned as short or long
- ∩ syllable that would be short if the next syllable belonged to the same verse
- | point at which word-end occurs in both strophe and antistrophe
- || point at which hiatus or ∩ occurs
- ||| end of strophe, antistrophe, epode, or any other sung passage

The following abbreviations are used:

arist(o)phanean)	- ∪ ∪ - ∪ - -
cho(riambic)	- ∪ ∪ -
cr(etic)	- ∪ -
do(chmiac)	× - - × -
ia(mbic)	× - ∪ -
p(aean)	- ∪ ∪ ∪
reiz(ianum)	× - ∪ ∪ - -
tr(ochaic)	- ∪ - ×

## ΥΠΟΘΕΣΕΙΣ

### I

ἐκκλησία ὑφέστηκεν Ἀθήνησιν ἐν τῷ φανερῷ, καθ' ἣν πολεμοποιούοντας τοὺς ῥήτορας καὶ προφανῶς τὸν δῆμον ἐξαπατῶντας Δικαιοπόλις τις τῶν αὐτουργῶν ἐξελέγχων παρεισάγεται. τούτου δὲ διὰ τινος Ἀμφιθέου καλουμένου σπείσαμένου κατ' ἰδίαν τοῖς Λάκωσιν, Ἀχαρτικοὶ γέροντες πεπυσμένοι τὸ πρᾶγμα προσέρχονται διώκοντες ἐν χοροῦ σχήματι. καὶ 5 μετὰ ταῦτα θύοντα τὸν Δικαιοπόλιν ὀρῶντες, ὡς ἐσπείσαμένον τοῖς πολεμικωτάτοις καταλεύσειν ὀρμῶσιν. ὁ δὲ ὑποσχόμενος ὑπὲρ ἐπιζήνου τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔχων ἀπολογήσεσθαι ἐφ' ᾧτε, εἰ μὴ πείσῃ τὰ δίκαια λέγων, τὸν τράχηλον ἀποκοπήσεσθαι, ἐλθὼν ὡς Εὐριπίδην αἰτεῖ πτωχικὴν στολὴν. καὶ στολισθεὶς τοῖς Τηλέφου ῥακώμασι παρωδεῖ 10 τὸν ἐκείνου λόγον, οὐκ ἀχαρίτως καθαπτόμενος Περικλέους περὶ τοῦ Μεγαρικοῦ ψηφίσματος. παροξυνθέντων δὲ τινῶν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῷ δοκεῖν συνηγορεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις, εἶτα ἐπιφερομένων, ἐνισταμένων δὲ ἐτέρων ὡς τὰ δίκαια αὐτοῦ εἰρηκότος, ἐπιφανεῖς Λάμαχος θορυβεῖν πειράται. εἶτα γενομένου διελκυσμοῦ, κατενεχθεὶς ὁ χορὸς ἀπολύει τὸν Δικαιο- 15 πόλιν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς δικαστὰς διαλέγεται περὶ τῆς τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἀρετῆς καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν. τοῦ δὲ Δικαιοπόλιδος ἄγοντος καθ' ἑαυτὸν εἰρήνην, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον Μεγαρικός τις παιδία ἑαυτοῦ παρεσκευασμένα εἰς χοιρίδια φέρων ἐν σάκκῳ πράσιμα παραγίνεται. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐκ Βοιωτῶν ἕτερος ἐγγέλεις καὶ παντοδαπῶν ὀρνίθων γόνον ἀνατιθέμενος εἰς τὴν 20 ἀγορὰν. οἷς ἐπιφανέντων τινῶν συκοφαντῶν, συλλαβόμενός τινα ἐξ αὐτῶν ὁ Δικαιοπόλις καὶ βαλὼν εἰς σάκκον, τοῦτον τῷ Βοιωτῷ ἀντίφορτον ἐξάγειν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηναίων παραδίδωσι. καὶ προσαγόντων αὐτῷ πλειόνων καὶ δεομένων μεταδοῦναι τῶν σπονδῶν, καθυπερηφανεῖ. παροικούντος δὲ αὐτῷ Λαμάχου καὶ ἐνεστηκυίας τῆς τῶν Χοῶν ἑορτῆς, 25 τοῦτον μὲν ἄγγελος παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἤκων κελεύει ἐξελθόντα μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων τὰς εἰσβολὰς τηρεῖν. τὸν δὲ Δικαιοπόλιν παρὰ τοῦ Διονύσου τοῦ ἱερέως τις καλῶν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἔρχεται. καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον ὁ μὲν τραυματίας καὶ κακῶς ἀπαλλάττων ἐπανήκει, ὁ δὲ Δικαιοπόλις δεδειπνηκῶς καὶ μεθ' ἑταίρας ἀναλύων. τὸ δὲ δράμα τῶν εὖ σφόδρα πεποιημένων καὶ 30 ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου τὴν εἰρήνην σπουδαζόντων.

ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ Εὐθύνου ἄρχοντος ἐν Ληναίοις διὰ Καλλιστράτου καὶ

πρῶτος ἦν. δεύτερος Κρατῖνος Χειμαζομένοις· οὐ σώζονται. τρίτος  
Εὐπολις Νουμηνίαις.

habent **d**

1 ἐφέστηκεν ΑΓΕ<sup>ac</sup> προπολεμοῦντες Γ<sup>3</sup>Ε<sup>4</sup> 2 ἐξαπατῶντας Brunck: ἐξάπτον-  
τας **d** 4 ἰδίαν] ἰσίαν **c** τοῖς om. **c** 5 πεπεισμένοι **p** 6 Δικαιοπόωλι **p**  
7 πολεμωτάτοις ΑΓ<sup>ac</sup>, cf. πολεμ<sup>\*\*\*\*\*</sup> Ε<sup>ac</sup>: πολεμίους Γ<sup>3</sup>Ε<sup>pc</sup> καταλεύσειν] κατὰ  
κέλευσιν RA ὑποχόμενος **c** ἐπιξύνου **p** 8 ἀπολογήσεσθαι **cL**: ἀπολογήσασθαι  
**Rap** ὥτε] ὅταν **R** 9 αἰτεῖ] αἰτεῖ τε **P**: αἰτεῖται **H** 11 ἀχαρίτως ΑΕ<sup>4</sup>:  
ἀχαρίστως **RGL**, cf. ἀχαρί<sup>\*</sup>τως Ε<sup>ac</sup>: ἀψαρίστως **cp** περὶ **RΓ<sup>3</sup>Ε<sup>4</sup>**: om. ΑΓ<sup>ac</sup>Ε<sup>ac</sup>**ct**  
περὶ τοῦ] τοῦ τε Brunck 12 παρωξυνθέντων **p** τῶ] τὸ **R** 13 ξυνηγορεῖν **p**  
δὲ om. **c** 15 κατενεχθεῖς] κατελεγχθεῖς **Blaydes** 16 δικαστὰς] θεατὰς  
vel ἀκροατὰς **Elmsley** διαλέγονται **c** τῆς et ἀρετῆς om. **p** 18 πρῶτα **c**  
διεσκευασμένα **RAld** χωρίδια **P**: χορίδια **H** 19 παραγινεσται **c** μετὰ δὲ τούτο  
**cp**: μετὰ τούτον **R**: μετὰ δὲ τούτων **A**: μετὰ δὲ τούτον **ΓΕ** 20 τε ante καὶ **Ra**  
γόνον] γόμενον **Blaydes** 21 τινα Ε<sup>pc</sup>: τινας **RAΓct**, cf. τινα<sup>\*</sup> Ε<sup>ac</sup> 22 σάκον  
**A**: τὸν σάκκον **p** τούτον] τούτο Ε<sup>ac</sup>: τούτόν τι Ε<sup>4</sup> τῶ Βοιωτῶ] ὦ Βοιωτῶ **c**  
22-3 ἀντιφόρτων vel ἀντὶ φόρτων **AcL** 23 παραδίδωσι ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηναίων Γ<sup>3</sup>  
Ἀθηνῶν **R** προσαγόντων] προσαποστελλόντων ΑΓ<sup>3</sup>Ε<sup>pc</sup>: προσιόντων **van Leeuwen**  
25 Χοῶν **RAld**: χορῶν **act** 26 μὲν om. ΑΓ<sup>ac</sup>Ε<sup>ac</sup> τὸν στρατηγὸν **R** 27 παρὰ]  
περὶ **R** 27-8 παρὰ <sup>\*\*\*\*\*</sup> τοῦ ἱερέως τις τοῦ Διονύσου Ε<sup>4</sup> 29 ἀπαλλάν-  
των **c** ἐπανήκει **RΓ<sup>3</sup>Ε<sup>4</sup>**: ἐπανήκεν **ct**: om. ΑΓ<sup>ac</sup>Ε<sup>ac</sup> 30 ἐπανήκει<sup>2</sup> post ἀναλύων  
Γ<sup>ac</sup>Ε, cf. ἐπα<sup>\*\*\*</sup>ει Α<sup>ac</sup> 31 τρόπον **c** σπουδαζόντων **Act**: προκαλούμενον **RΓΕ**:  
προκαλουμένων **Kassel** 32 διδάχθη **c** ἐπὶ Εὐθυμένους **RΓ**: ἐπὶ μὲν αἰ (ει<sup>s</sup>)  
Εὐθυμένου **E** ἐν Ἀθηναίοις] Ἀθηναίοις **p** 33 χειμαζόμενος **ΓΕp** σώζεται **Ald**  
33-4 οὐ σώζονται post Νουμηνίαις **transp. Elmsley**

## II

ἐκκλησίας οὔσης παραγίνονται τινες  
πρέσβεις παρὰ Περσῶν καὶ παρὰ Σιτάλκους πάλιν,  
οἱ μὲν στρατιὰν ἄγοντες, οἱ δὲ χρυσίον,  
παρὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τε μετὰ τούτους τινὲς  
σπονδὰς φέροντες, οὓς Ἀχαρνεῖς οὐδαμῶς 5  
εἶασαν ἀλλ' ἔβαλλον· ὧν καθάπτεται  
σκληρῶς ὁ ποιητής. αὐτὸ τὸ ψήφισμά τε  
Μεγαρικὸν ἰκανῶς φησι καὶ τὸν Περικλέα,  
οὐ τοὺς Λάκωνας, τῶνδε πάντων αἴτιον,  
σπονδὰς (τε) λύσιν τε τῶν ἐφεστῶτων κακῶν. 10

habent **R<sup>2</sup>ΓΕAld**

2 παρὰ Περσῶν πρέσβεις **ΓΕ** παρὰ Περσῶν] παρὰ τε βασιλέως **Brunck** πάλιν  
om. **R** 4 τε] καὶ **RE**: δὲ **Brunck** 6 ἔβαλλον **Wagner**: ἐξέβαλλον **R**:  
ἐξέβαλον **ΓΕ** 7-10 (αὐτὸ . . .) om. **R** 9 οὐ τοὺς Λάκωνας **scripsi**: οὐκ τῶν  
Λακῶνων **E**: οὐκ τῶν Λακῶνων **Γ<sup>ac</sup>**: οὐκ ἐκ τῶν Λακῶνων **Γ<sup>4</sup>**: οὐ τὸν Λάκωνα **Nauck**: κοῦ  
τὸν Λάκωνα **Bergk** τῶνδε **Brunck**: τὸν δὲ **ΓΕ** 10 τε **addidi**

# *ΑΧΑΡΝΕΙΣ*

## ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ

Δικαιοπόλις  
Κήρυξ  
Αμφίθεος  
Πρεσβευτής  
Ψευδαρτάβας  
Θέωρος  
Χορός Αχαρνέων  
Θυγάτηρ Δικαιοπόλιδος  
Οικέτης Εὐριπίδου  
Εὐριπίδης  
Λάμαχος  
Μεγαρεύς  
Κόρα Μεγαρέως  
Συκοφάντης  
Βοιωτός  
Νίκαρχος  
Οικέτης Λαμάχου  
Δερκέτης Φυλάσιος  
Οικέτης νυμφίου  
Οικέτης τοῦ τοῦ Διονύσου ἱερέως

κωφὰ πρόσωπα  
Τοξόται  
Πρεσβευτής β'  
Εὐνούχοι δύο  
Θρᾶκες  
Γυνὴ Δικαιοπόλιδος  
Ἴσμηνία, θεράπων Βοιωτοῦ  
Αὐληταὶ Θηβαῖοι  
Παιδιά  
Νυμφεύτρια  
Πόρναι δύο  
Οικέται

habent RΓ<sup>3</sup>cLAld

sic R: Δικαιοπόλις· κήρυξ· Αμφίθεος· χορὸς Αχαρνῶν· ἡμιχορὸς· Λάμαχος· Μεγαρεύς

sic Γ<sup>3</sup>: Δικαιοπόλις· συκοφάντης· κήρυξ· Θηβαῖος· Αμφίθεος· Νίκαρκος· πρέσβεις· ἄγγελος



Λαμάχου· Ψευδαρτάβας· Δερκέτης· Θέωρος· παράνυμφος· χορὸς Ἀχαρνέων· νυμφεύτρια· Λάμαχος· Μεγαρεύς· παιδιά τοῦ Μεγαρέως

sic C: Δικαιοπόλις· κήρυξ· Ἀμφίθεος· πρέσβεις· βασιλέως ὀφθαλμός· Θέωρος· χορὸς Ἀχαρνέων· θυγάτηρ· Κυφισοφῶν· Εὐριπίδης· Λάμαχος· κόραι· Μεγαρεύς· συκοφάντης· Βοιωτός· Νίκαρχος· ἄγγελος Λαμάχου (Λαμάχων C)· γεωργὸς Δερκέτης· Φυλάσιος· θεράπων ἢ παράνυμφος

sic LAld: Δικαιοπόλις· κήρυξ· Ἀμφίθεος· πρέσβεις· βασιλέως ὀφθαλμός· Θέωρος· χορὸς Ἀχαρνέων· μήτηρ· θυγάτηρ· Κυφισοφῶν (L: Κηφισοφῶν Ald)· Εὐριπίδης· Λάμαχος· Μεγαρεύς· κόραι· συκοφάντης· Βοιωτός· Νίκαρχος· συκοφάντης· ἄγγελος Λαμάχου· γεωργὸς Δερκέτης· Φυλάσιος· θεράπων ἢ παράνυμφος

cf. Σ<sup>R</sup> 1018 τὰ πρόσωπα· Δερκέτης· γεωργὸς Φυλάσιος

## ΑΧΑΡΝΕΙΣ

### ΔΙΚΑΙΟΠΟΛΙΣ

ὅσα δὴ δέδηγμαί τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ καρδίαν,  
 ἦσθην δὲ βαιά· πάνυ γε βαιά· τέτταρα.  
 ἄ δ' ὠδυνήθην ψαμμακοσιογάργα.  
 φέρ' ἴδω· τί δ' ἦσθην ἄξιον χαιρηδόνο;  
 ἐγὼ δ' ἐφ' ᾧ γε τὸ κέαρ ἠὺφράνθην ἰδών, 5  
 τοῖς πέντε ταλάντοις οἷς Κλέων ἐξήμεσεν.  
 ταῦθ' ὡς ἐγανώθην, καὶ φιλω τοὺς ἰππέας  
 διὰ τοῦτο τοῦργον· ἄξιον γὰρ Ἑλλάδι.  
 ἀλλ' ὠδυνήθην ἕτερον αὖ τραγωδικόν,  
 ὅτε δὴ 'κεχήνη προσδοκῶν τὸν Αἰσχύλον, 10  
 ὁ δ' ἀνείπεν, "εἴσαγ' ὦ Θεογνι τὸν χορόν".  
 πῶς τοῦτ' ἔσεισέ μου δοκεῖς τὴν καρδίαν;  
 ἀλλ' ἕτερον ἦσθην, ἠνίκ' ἐπὶ Μόσχῳ ποτέ  
 Δεξίθεος εἰσῆλθ' ἄσόμενος Βοιώτιον.  
 τῆτες δ' ἀπέθανον καὶ διεστράφην ἰδών, 15  
 ὅτε δὴ παρέκυψε Χαῖρις ἐπὶ τὸν ὄρθιον.  
 ἀλλ' οὐδεπώποτ' ἐξ ὅτου 'γὼ ρύπτομαι

1 S (1) §§ ο 675 (ὅσα δέδηγμαί τὴν καρδίαν) cf. S (2) §§ π 44 (δέδηγμαί τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ καρδίαν) cf. §§ Jul. Or. 243c (δέδηγμαί τὴν καρδίαν) S (3) §§ δ 142 3 Macrob. Sat. v. 20. 13 (ψαμμακοσιογάργα) §§ Hsch. ψ 59; §§ S ψ 22; § Eust. p. 986. 52-3 4 (χαιρηδόνο) §§ S χ 169 5-6 anon. de Com. XXVIII. 17-19 (=Ar. test. 1. 16-18) 5 (ἐφ' . . . ἠὺφράνθην) § S κ 1213; § Zon. p. 1191. 15-16; § An.Par. iv. 146. 22-3 7 (ἐγανώθην) §§ S ε 44 7-8 (καὶ . . . τοῦργον) Σ<sup>REG</sup> 300 8 (ἄξιον γὰρ Ἑλλάδι) § S π 715 9 (τραγωδικόν) §§ S τ 900 10 Hdn. ii. 326. 24-5; Choer. ii. 118. 37-119. 1; § An.Par. iv. 233. 9-10; An.Ox. iv. 417. 12-14 ('κεχήνη . . .) § EM, p. 386. 32-3 ('κεχήνη) §§ S κ 1465; §§ Phot. κ 641 11 § S α 2384 (ἀνείπεν) §§ Hsch. α 4832; §§ Phot. α 1817; §§ An.Bachm. i. 89. 11 12 (ἔσεισέ μου τὴν καρδίαν) §§ Phryn. PS, p. 72. 7; §§ S ε 3127; §§ Zon. p. 882. 6-7 13 (. . . ἦσθην) §§ Σ<sup>T</sup> H. II. 9. 77 16 Σ<sup>REG</sup> 866 17-19 (. . . νῦν) § S ρ 303 17 (ρύπτομαι) §§ Phot. p. 492. 16

1 δὴ om. Γ<sup>ac</sup>c ἑμαυτοῦ om. S (1) 2 δέ' ] μὲν Γ<sup>pc</sup>E (δέ<sup>s</sup> Γ<sup>2</sup>) γε Elmsley: δέ d: τι Dobree 3 ὠδυνήθην R ψαμμα- AS Macrob. Hsch. Eust.: ψαμμο- RΓ<sup>Ect</sup> 4 δ' del. Elmsley ἄξον R χερηδόνο A: χεροδόνο Γ 5 ἠὺφράνθην anon. de Com.: εὐφράνθην dS: εὐφράνθη Zon. An.Par. 10 κεχήνει R: ἐκεχήνη Hdn. Choer.: ἐκεχήνη An.Ox.: ἐκεχήνη An.Par. 11 ἀνείπ' Γ<sup>ac</sup>EcPS: ἀνείπον H 12 τοῦτο σείσαι Valckenaer 13 ἠνίχ' p μόσχῳ Bentley 14 σόμενος p

οὕτως ἐδήχθην ὑπὸ κονίας τὰς ὀφρῦς  
 ὡς νῦν, ὁπότε οὔσης κυρίας ἐκκλησίας  
 ἐωθινῆς ἔρημος ἢ πνύξ αὐτῆι, 20  
 οἱ δ' ἐν ἀγορᾷ λαλοῦσι κᾶνω καὶ κάτω  
 τὸ σχοινίον φεύγουσι τὸ μεμιλωμένον.  
 οὐδ' οἱ πρυτάνεις ἤκουσιν· ἀλλ' ἄωρίαν  
 ἤκοντες, εἶτα δ' ὡστιοῦνται πῶς δοκεῖς  
 † ἐλθόντες † ἀλλήλοισι περὶ πρώτου ξύλου, 25  
 ἀθρόοι καταρρέοντες. εἰρήνη δ' ὅπως  
 ἔσται προτιμῶσ' οὐδέν. ὦ πόλις πόλις.  
 ἐγὼ δ' αἰεὶ πρώτιστος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν  
 νοστῶν κάθημαι. κᾶτ', ἐπειδὴν ὦ μόνος,  
 στένω κέχηνα σκορδινῶμαι πέρδομαι 30  
 ἀπορῶ γράφω παρατίλλομαι λογιζομαι  
 ἀποβλέπων εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν εἰρήνης ἐρῶν,  
 στυγῶν μὲν ἄστυ, τὸν δ' ἐμὸν δῆμον ποθῶν,  
 ὃς οὐδεπώποτ' εἶπεν "ἄνθρακας πρίω",  
 οὐκ "ὄξος" οὐκ "ἔλαιον", οὐδ' ἦδει "πρίω", 35  
 ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἔφερε πάντα χῶ πρίων ἀπῆν.  
 νῦν οὖν ἀτεχνῶς ἦκω παρεσκευασμένος  
 βοᾶν ὑποκρούειν λοιδορεῖν τοὺς ῥήτορας,  
 εἴαν τις ἄλλο πλὴν περὶ εἰρήνης λέγη.  
 ἀλλ' οἱ πρυτάνεις γὰρ οὐτοὶ μεσημβρινοί. 40  
 οὐκ ἠγόρευον; τοῦτ' ἐκεῖν' οὐγὰρ 'λεγον'  
 εἰς τὴν προεδρίαν πᾶς ἀνὴρ ὡστίζεται.

22 S § μ 564, §§ σ 1810 (σχοινίον τὸ μεμιλωμένον) §§ Hsch. σ 3040 (σχοινίον  
 μεμιλωμένον) §§ Phot. p. 562. 20 23-4 (ἄωρίαν ἤκοντες) §§ Phryn. PS, p. 4. 8  
 23 †§ S a 2854 24-5 (εἶτα . . .) † S ω 247 24 (ὡστιοῦνται) §§ Hsch. ω 461  
 25 Σ<sup>RV</sup> V. 90 (πρώτου ξύλου) §§ Phot. p. 469. 10 30 S σ 667; Phot.  
 p. 524. 22-4; *Mél. Miller*, p. 268. 1-3; Oros B 147a, b (σκορδινῶμαι) Erot. κ 9  
 31-2 (. . . ἀγρὸν) §§ S a 3506 31 (ἀπορῶ γράφω) §§ S γ 441 32-6 †Stob.  
 iv. 15. 8 32 (. . . ἀγρὸν) § S ε 320 34-5 (πρίω) §§ Hsch. π 3296  
 35-6 (οὐδ' . . .) †§ S π 2298 36 (πρίων) §§ Hsch. π 3297 38 (ὑποκρούειν  
 τοὺς ῥήτορας) §§ Phryn. PS, p. 118. 1

18 γε post κονίας Γ<sup>4</sup>tAld 19 ὡς] καὶ c 20 ἔραμος c αὐτῆι] ἠδεί B  
 24 εἶτα δ' ὡστιοῦνται vel sim. d: οἷδ' ὡστιοῦνται S: εἶτα διωστιοῦνται Dobree, e Σ: εἶθ'  
 οἷδ' ὡστιοῦνται Baermann: εἶθ' ὡδ' ὡστιοῦνται Starkie: —εἶποτ'—ὡστιοῦνται Allen  
 25 ἐλθόντες ἀλλήλοισι om. S ἐλθόντες] ἔρροντες Starkie: ἔλκοντες Bachmann  
 ἀλλήλοισι περὶ τοῦ πρώτου ξύλου Meineke (e S περὶ τοῦ πρώτου ξύλου tantum): ἀλλήλοισι  
 περὶ τὸ πρῶτον ξύλον Naber: ἀλλήλοισι περὶ Πρῶτον Ξύλον Starkie 26 καταρρέοντες  
 c 36 ἔφερον R 39 τις om. R πλὴν] πρὶν ΑΓ λέγει cp 41 ὁ γὰρ p  
 λέγων R

ΚΗΡΥΞ

πάριτ' εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν,  
πάριθ', ὡς ἂν ἐντὸς ἦτε τοῦ καθάρματος.

ΑΜΦΙΘΕΟΣ

ἤδη τις εἶπε;

Κη. τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται; 45

Ἀμ. ἐγώ.

Κη. τίς ὢν;

Ἀμ. Ἀμφίθεος.

Κη. οὐκ ἄνθρωπος;

Ἀμ. οὐ,

ἀλλ' ἀθάνατος. ὁ γὰρ Ἀμφίθεος Δῆμητρος ἦν  
καὶ Τριπτολέμου· τούτου δὲ Κελεὸς γίνεταί·  
γαμει δὲ Κελεὸς Φαιναρέτην τήθην ἐμήν,  
ἐξ ἧς Λυκῖνος ἐγένετ' ἐκ τούτου δ' ἐγὼ 50  
ἀθάνατός εἰμ'· ἐμοὶ δ' ἐπέτρεψαν οἱ θεοὶ  
σπονδὰς ποῆσαι πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους μόνω.  
ἀλλ' ἀθάνατος ὢν, ὦνδρες, ἐφόδι' οὐκ ἔχω·  
οὐ γὰρ διδόασιν οἱ πρυτάνεις.

Κη. οἱ τοξόται.

Ἀμ. ὦ Τριπτόλεμε καὶ Κελεέ, περιόψεσθέ με; 55

Δι. ὦνδρες πρυτάνεις, ἀδικεῖτε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν,  
τὸν ἄνδρ' ἀπάγοντες ὅστις ἡμῖν ἤθελε  
σπονδὰς ποῆσαι καὶ κρεμάσαι τὰς ἀσπίδας.

Κη. κάθησο σίγα.

Δι. μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω 'γὼ μὲν οὐ,  
ἦν μὴ περὶ εἰρήνης γε πρυτανεύσητέ μοι. 60

Κη. οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ παρὰ βασιλέως.

Δι. ποίου βασιλέως; ἄχθομαι 'γὼ πρέσβεσι  
καὶ τοῖς ταῶσι τοῖς τ' ἀλαζονεύμασι.

Κη. σίγα.

Δι. βαβαιιάξ· ὠκβάτανα τοῦ σχήματος.

44 Σ<sup>amgVxLS</sup> Aeschin. i. 53b 57 (. . . ἀπάγοντες) §§ S a 2865 57-8 (ὅστις .  
. .) § Phryn. PS, p. 78. 6-7 58 (κρεμάσαι . . .) §§ S κ 2371 62-3 (ἄχθομαι  
τοῖς ταῶσι . . .) § S a 4702 64 (βαβαιιάξ . . .) † §§ S ε 2807

43 πάριθ' p 44 πάριτ' Rct 45 εἶπεν Ra 46 Ἀμφίθεος om. Γ<sup>ac</sup>E  
οὐ] οὐκ B 52 ποῆσαι Elmsley: ποιείσθαι d τοὺς ante Λακεδαιμονίους p  
53 ὦνδρες vel ὠνδρες aCt: ὠνγρες Vp3: ἄνδρες R 58 ποῆσαι] ποιείσθαι R  
60 πρυτα]νευητ[ε Π<sub>1</sub> 61 οἱ παρὰ βασιλέως πρέσβεις tantum tAld 62 'γὼ  
RΓ<sup>2</sup>E<sup>4</sup>: γὰρ ὡς AΓ<sup>ac</sup>c, cf. γα\*\*\* E<sup>ac</sup>: γὰρ t 64 ὦ χ' βάτανα p

## ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΤΗΣ

- ἐπέμψαθ' ἡμᾶς ὡς βασιλέα τὸν μέγαν 65  
μισθὸν φέροντας δύο δραχμὰς τῆς ἡμέρας  
ἐπ' Εὐθυμένους ἄρχοντος.
- Δι. οἶμοι τῶν δραχμῶν.  
Πρ. καὶ δῆτ' ἐτρυχόμεσθα διὰ Καϋστρίων  
πεδίων ὄδοιπλανοῦντες ἐσκηνημένοι  
ἐφ' ἄρμαμαξῶν μαλθακῶς κατακείμενοι, 70  
ἀπολλύμενοι.
- Δι. σφόδρα γὰρ ἐσωζόμεν ἔγώ  
παρὰ τὴν ἔπαλξιν ἐν φορυτῶ κατακείμενος.  
Πρ. ξενιζόμενοι δὲ πρὸς βίαν ἐπίνομεν  
ἐξ ὑαλίνων ἐκπωμάτων καὶ χρυσίδων  
ἄκρατον οἶνον ἠδύν.
- Δι. ὦ Κραναὰ πόλις, 75  
ἄρ' αἰσθάνη τὸν κατάγελων τῶν πρέσβεων;  
Πρ. οἱ βάρβαροι γὰρ ἄνδρας ἠγοῦνται μόνους  
τοὺς πλείστα δυναμένους φαγεῖν τε καὶ πιεῖν.
- Δι. ἡμεῖς δὲ λαικαστάς γε καὶ καταπύγους.  
Πρ. ἔτει τετάρτῳ δ' εἰς τὰ βασίλει' ἦλθομεν· 80  
ἀλλ' εἰς ἀπόπατον ὤχετο στρατιὰν λαβῶν,  
κᾶχεζεν ὀκτῶ μῆνας ἐπὶ χρυσῶν ὀρῶν.
- Δι. πόσου δὲ τὸν πρωκτὸν χρόνου ξυνήγαγεν;  
Πρ. τῇ πανσελήνῳ· κᾶτ' ἀπῆλθεν οἴκαδε.  
εἴτ' ἐξένιζε· παρετίθει δ' ἡμῖν ὄλους 85  
ἐκ κριβάνου βοῦς.
- Δι. καὶ τίς εἶδε πώποτε

65-6 † S φ 222; Phot. p. 644. 19-21 65 (ὡς βασιλέα) §§ Hsch. ω 404  
66 (φέροντας) § Zon. p. 1803. 16-17 73-4 (ἐπίνομεν . . . ἐκπωμάτων) § Poll.  
vi. 100 74 Poll. x. 68; Phot. p. 614. 3-4; *Mél. Miller*, p. 290. 2-4; *An. Bachm.*  
i. 393. 1-3 (ὑαλίνων) §§ Phryn. *PS*, p. 118. 15 79 (λαικαστάς . . .) § S λ 181  
81-4 (εἰς . . . πανσελήνῳ) § S α 3468 83-4 (. . . πανσελήνῳ) † S π 214  
83 † S ξ 137 85-9 *Ath.* 4. 130f-1a 85-7 † § S κ 2413

65 μέγα R 66 φέροντα ΑΓ<sup>ac</sup>Ec 68 ἐτρυχόμεσθα] ἐτρυχόμεθα t διὰ  
[τῶν] Bentley: διὰ τῶν act: παρὰ τῶν R: [διὰ] τῶν Elmsley: περί [τῶν] Meineke  
Καστρίων c 69 ὄδοιπλανῶντες ΑΓΕ<sup>ac</sup> 70 ἐφάρμαξῶν R 71 γ' ἄρ'  
Brunck 74 ἐκπωμάτων RC: ἐκπώματων ΑΓ: ποτηρίων Phot. *Mél. Miller An.*  
*Bachm.* χρυσίνων *Mél. Miller* 76 αἰσθάνει cL<sup>ac</sup> 78 δυναμένους φαγεῖν  
τε Morell: δυναμένους καταφαγεῖν τε Rac: δυναμένους καταφαγεῖν t: δυνατοὺς κατα-  
φαγεῖν τε Elmsley 79 ἡμεῖς] ὑμεῖς ΑΓΕ<sup>ac</sup> γε Elmsley: τε dS καταπύγους  
ΑΕ 80 δ' om. R τὰ om. p 81 ἀπόπατον p 83 χρόνου τὸν  
πρωκτὸν p χρόνου R 85 παρετίθει δ' ἡμῖν ὄλους tAld, cf. ὄλους γ<sup>p</sup>Γ<sup>2</sup> γ<sup>p</sup>Ε<sup>3</sup>:  
παρετίθει θ' ἡμῖν ὄλους *Ath.*: παρετίθει δ' ἡμῖν ὀπτοὺς ac: καὶ παρετίθει' ἡμῖν ὀπτοὺς R

- βοῦς κριβανίτας; τῶν ἀλαζονευμάτων.  
*Πρ.* καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δί' ὄρνιν τριπλάσιον Κλεωνύμου  
παρέθηκεν ἡμῖν· ὄνομα δ' ἦν αὐτῷ φέναξ.  
*Δι.* ταῦτ' ἄρ' ἐφενάκιζες σὺ δύο δραχμὰς φέρων. 90  
*Πρ.* καὶ νῦν ἄγοντες ἤκομεν Ψευδαρτάβαν,  
τὸν βασιλέως ὀφθαλμόν.  
*Δι.* ἐκκόψειέ γε  
κόραξ πατάξας, τόν τε σὸν τοῦ πρέσβεως.  
*Κη.* ὁ βασιλέως ὀφθαλμός.  
*Δι.* ὦναξ Ἡράκλεις.  
πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ἄνθρωπε, ναύφαρκτον βλέπεις; 95  
ἢ περὶ ἄκραν κάμπτων νεώσοικον σκοπεῖς;  
ἄσκωμ' ἔχεις που περὶ τὸν ὀφθαλμόν κάτω.  
*Πρ.* ἄγε δὴ σὺ, βασιλεὺς ἄττα σ' ἀπέπεμψεν φράσον  
λέξοντ' Ἀθηναίοισιν, ὦ Ψευδαρτάβα.
- ΨΕΥΔΑΡΤΑΒΑΣ**  
ἱαρταμανεξαρξαναπισσονασατρα. 100  
*Πρ.* ξυνίεθ' ὃ λέγει;  
*Δι.* μὰ τὸν Απόλλω 'γὼ μὲν οὔ.  
*Πρ.* πέμψειν βασιλέα φησὶν ὑμῖν χρυσίον.  
λέγε δὴ σὺ μείζον καὶ σαφῶς τὸ χρυσίον.  
*Ψε.* οὐ λῆψι χρυσό, χαυνόπρωκτ' Ἰαοναῦ.  
*Δι.* οἴμοι κακοδαίμων, ὡς σαφῶς.  
*Πρ.* τί δαὶ λέγει; 105  
*Δι.* ὃ τι; χαυνοπρώκτους τοὺς Ἰάονας λέγει,  
εἰ προσδοκῶσι χρυσίον ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων.

87 (βοῦς κριβανίτας) Poll. x. 110; cf. § Eust. p. 1286. 19 95 § S v 88; §§  
Phot. p. 290. 14-15 (ναύφαρκτον βλέπεις) §§ App. Prov. iv. 2 (ναύφαρκτον) §§  
Hsch. v 161

87 βοῦς κριβανίτας] τοὺς κριβανίτας A: βοῦς καὶ βανίτας L ἀλαζονευμάτων c  
89 δ' ἦν] δ' A: δι' Γ<sup>ac</sup> 90 ἐφενάκιζες c 91 ἤκοντες ἄγομεν R 93 τε  
A: γε RΓEct 95 πρὸς τῶν θεῶν] τί πρὸς θεῶν van Leeuwen ναύφαρκτον  
Phot.: ναύφρακτον d Hsch. S App. Prov. 96 vers. del. Wilamowitz νεῶς  
κάμπτων οἶκον R 98 ἄττα] ἄττ' ἄν R ἀπέπεμψεν R: ἀπέπεμψε a: ἔπεμψε c:  
ἔκπεμψε t 100 ἱαρταμαν ἐξαρξαν ἀπίσσονα σάτρα vel sim. acL: . . . ἀπίσσον  
σάτρα vel sim. p: . . . ἀπίσσομαι σάτρα B: . . . ἐξαρξας πισόναστρα R 101 ξυνίεθ'  
ὃ Cobet: ξυνήκαθ' ὃ vel ξυνήκαθ' ὃ Rac: ξυνήκα θ' ὃ p: ξυνήκαθ' ὃ L: ξυνήκασθ' ὃ Ald:  
ξυνείθ' ὃ τι anon. ap. Mnem. (1852) 414: ξυνήκας ὃ Lotz 102 ἡμῖν R  
103 δὴ] δὲ p 104 λῆψι tAld: λήψει Rc: λήψη a χρῦσα von Velsen χαυνό-  
πρωκτ' c Ἰαοναῦ p 105 οἴμοι] μοι<sup>s</sup> Γ<sup>p</sup>cE<sup>4</sup> καὶ ante κακοδαίμων c δαὶ  
Elmsley: δ' αὐ RΓ<sup>2</sup>E<sup>4</sup>ct: δ' λαῦ AΓ<sup>ac</sup>, cf. δ\*av E<sup>ac</sup> 107 χρυσόν Elmsley

- Πρ. οὐκ, ἀλλ' ἀχάνας ὄδε γε χρυσίου λέγει.  
 Δι. ποίας ἀχάνας; σὺ μὲν ἀλαζῶν εἶ μέγας.  
 ἀλλ' ἄπιτ'· ἐγὼ δὲ βασανιώ τοῦτον μόνος. 110  
 ἄγε δὴ σὺ, φράσον ἐμοὶ σαφῶς πρὸς τουτονί,  
 ἵνα μὴ σε βάψω βάμμα Σαρδιανικόν·  
 βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας ἡμῖν ἀποπέμψει χρυσίον;  
 ἄλλως ἄρ' ἐξαπατώμεθ' ὑπὸ τῶν πρέσβειων;  
 Ἑλληνικόν γ' ἐπένευσαν ἄνδρες οὐτοί, 115  
 κοῦκ ἐσθ' ὅπως οὐκ εἰσὶν ἐνθένδ' αὐτόθεν.  
 καὶ τοῖν μὲν εὐνούχοι τὸν ἕτερον τουτονὶ  
 ἐγῶδ' ὅς ἐστι, Κλεισθένης ὁ Σιβυρτίου.  
 ὦ θερμόβουλον πρωκτὸν ἐξυρημένε,  
 τοιόνδε γ', ὦ πίθηκε, τὸν πώγων' ἔχων 120  
 εὐνούχος ἡμῖν ἦλθες ἐσκευασμένος;  
 ὁδὶ δὲ τίς ποτ' ἐστίν; οὐ δήπου Στράτων;  
 Κη. σίγα, κάθιζε.  
 τὸν βασιλέως ὀφθαλμὸν ἢ Βουλὴ καλεῖ  
 εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον.  
 Δι. ταῦτα δῆτ' οὐκ ἀγχόνη; 125  
 κᾶπειτ' ἐγὼ δῆτ' ἐνθαδὶ στραγγεύομαι;  
 τοὺς δὲ ξενίζειν οὐδέποτ' ἴσχει γ' ἡ θύρα.  
 ἀλλ' ἐργάσομαί τι δεινὸν ἔργον καὶ μέγα.  
 ἀλλ' Ἀμφίθεός μοι ποῦ 'στιν;  
 Ἀμ. οὔτοσὶ πάρα.  
 Δι. ἐμοὶ σὺ ταυτασὶ λαβῶν ὀκτῶ δραχμὰς 130  
 σπονδὰς ποῆσαι πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους μόνω

108 (ἀχάνας χρυσίου) Poll. x. 164 (ἀχάνας) §§ Hsch. α 8818; § An.Bachm. i. 174.  
 28–9 112 (βάμμα Σαρδιανικόν) §§ Hsch. β 183; cf. §§ Clem.Al. Paed. ii. 108  
 114 § EM, p. 68. 38; # Lex.Vind. α 182 115 § S ε 838; §§ Cyr. ap. An.Par. iv.  
 198. 30; §§ Zon. p. 684. 1 116 S α 4493 119–22 § S κ 1756  
 127 § S ι 717

108 ὄδε Bentley: ὀδί d 110 ἄπιτ' R: ἄπιθ' E<sup>4</sup>cL: ἄπιθι AGP, cf. ἄπιθ\* E<sup>ac</sup>  
 111 φράσεων p τουτουί Reiske 112 Σαρδιανικόν RE<sup>7P</sup> P Clem.Al.: Σαρδανιακόν  
 AGVp3pL Hsch.: Σανδανιακόν C 113 ἡμῖν ὁ μέγας R ἀποπέμπει ct  
 intra 113 et 114 ἀνανεύει d intra 114 et 115 ἐπιπεύει d 115 ἐπένευσεν Γ,  
 cf. ἐπένευσ\*ν E<sup>ac</sup>: ἐνένευσεν A: ἐπνευσεν c: ἐπένευσ' Cyr. ἄνδρες van Leeuwen:  
 ἄνδρες RΓ<sup>3</sup>ctS Cyr. Zon.: ἄνδρ' AE: ἄνδρα Γ<sup>ac</sup> 116 κοῦκ R: οὐκ actS  
 εἰσὶ c 118 ἐγῶδ' ὅς ἐστι A<sup>pc</sup>ΓELAld: ἐγῶδ' ὡς ἐστι A<sup>ac</sup>cp: ἐγὼ δ' ὅστις ἐστι R  
 119 ἐξυρημένε S: ἐξευρημένε d 120 γ', ὦ R: δ', ὦ Ect: θ', ὦ AG: δῆ, S  
 121 ἦλθεν a 122 ποτ' ] που τ' c 123 σίγα R 124 τὸν] τοῦ c  
 126 στραγγεύομαι Kuster: στραγεύομαι R: στρατεύομαι act 127 ξενίξεον a  
 οὐδέποτ' ἴσχει γ' ἡ θύρα S, cf. Σ<sup>EG</sup>: οὐδέποτέ γ' ἴσχ' ἡ θύρα act: οὐδέποτ' ἴσχει θύρα R  
 131 ποῆσαι Γ<sup>ac</sup>P, cf. πο\*ῆσαι E<sup>ac</sup>: πόησαι vel ποίησαι RAΓ<sup>pc</sup>E<sup>pc</sup>cHL: ποίησον Elmsley

καὶ τοῖσι παιδίοισι καὶ τῇ πλάτιδι  
 ὑμεῖς δὲ πρεσβεύεσθε καὶ κεχήνετε.

Κη. προσίτω Θέωρος ὁ παρὰ Σιτάλκους.

ΘΕΩΡΟΣ

ὀδί.

Δι. ἕτερος ἀλαζῶν οὗτος εἰσκηρύττεται. 135

Θε. χρόνον μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἤμεν ἐν Θράκη πολύν, —

Δι. μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἂν, εἰ μισθόν γε μὴ 'φες πολύν.

Θε. εἰ μὴ κατένευσε χιόνι τὴν Θράκην ὅλην  
 καὶ τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἔπηξ'.

Δι. ὑπ' αὐτὸν τὸν χρόνον

ὅτ' ἐνθαδὶ Θεόγνις ἠγωνίζετο. 140

Θε. τοῦτον μετὰ Σιτάλκους ἔπινον τὸν χρόνον.

καὶ δῆτα φιλαθήναιος ἦν ὑπερφυῶς  
 ὑμῶν τ' ἐραστὴς ἦν ἀληθής, ὥστε καὶ  
 ἐν τοῖσι τοίχοις ἔγραφ' "Ἀθηναῖοι καλοί".

ὁ δ' υἱός, ὃν Ἀθηναῖον ἐπεποιήμεθα, 145

ἦρα φαγεῖν ἀλλᾶντας ἐξ Ἀπατουρίων,  
 καὶ τὸν πατέρ' ἠντεβόλει βοηθεῖν τῇ πάτρᾳ.

ὁ δ' ὤμοσε σπένδων βοηθήσειν ἔχων  
 στρατιὰν τοσαύτην ὥστ' Ἀθηναίους ἐρεῖν·  
 "ὅσον τὸ χρήμα παρνόπων προσέρχεται". 150

Δι. κάκιστ' ἀπολοίμην, εἴ τι τούτων πείθομαι  
 ὧν εἶπας ἐνταυθοῖ σὺ πλὴν τῶν παρνόπων.

Θε. καὶ νῦν ὅπερ μαχιμώτατον Θρακῶν ἔθνος  
 ἔπεμψεν ὑμῖν.

Δι. τοῦτο μὲν γ' ἤδη σαφές.

Κη. οἱ Θράκες, ἴτε δεῦρ', οὓς Θέωρος ἤγαγεν. 155

132 S π 1705 (πλάτιδι) §§ Sophronios p. 405. 14 133 # Hdn. ii.  
 793. 12-13; # Choer. ii. 83. 16-17 138-40 S (1) †§§ εἰ 148, (2) †§ ψ 178  
 144 § S κ 265 150 § S π 683

132 πεδίοισι c 133 κεχήνετε Hdn. Choer.: κεχήνατε d 134 παρὰ  
 Σιτάλκους] πασιτάλκους AG<sup>ac</sup>: Σιτάλκους tantum E ὀδί R: ὀδί. Θέωρος a: ὀσί. Θέωρ'  
 c: ὀδε. Θέωρ' tAld: ὀδε tantum B 135 εἰσκεκήρυκται R 136 ἂν ἤμεν]  
 ἔμειν' ἂν Elmsley 137 vers. om. a 138 κατένευσε RctS τῇ ante χιόνι a  
 139 ἔπηξεν AG, cf. ἔπηξ' \*\* E<sup>ac</sup> 140 Θεόγνις c 142 φιλαθήναιος tAld:  
 φιλαθήναιός γ' Rac 143 τ'] γ' p ἦν ἀληθῶς a: ὡς ἀληθῶς Dobree  
 144 ἔγραφον tAldS 145 πεποιήμεθα R: ἐπεπονήμεθα c 147 ἠντεβόλει  
 Cobet: ἠντιβόλει d 149 ὥστ'] ὥσθ' p (τ<sup>o</sup> H) 151 ἀπολούμην p  
 152 ἐνταύθα R: ἐνταυθὶ Elmsley 153 ἔθνος] γένος ct 154 μὲν γ'] μέντ' Rp  
 ἤδη] ἴδη P<sup>ac</sup>H σαφῶς AB (corr. B<sup>2</sup>)



- Δι. τουτί τί ἐστι τὸ κακόν;  
 Θε. Ὀδομάντων στρατός.  
 Δι. ποίων Ὀδομάντων; εἶπέ μοι, τουτί τί ἦν;  
 τίς τῶν Ὀδομάντων τὸ πέος ἀποτεθρίακεν;  
 Θε. τούτοις ἐάν τις δύο δραχμὰς μισθὸν διδῶ,  
 καταπελτάσονται τὴν Βοιωτίαν ὅλην. 160  
 Δι. τοισδὶ δύο δραχμὰς τοῖς ἀπειψωλημένοις;  
 ὑποστένοι μέντ᾽ ὁ θρανίτης λεῶς  
 ὁ σωσίπολις. οἴμοι τάλας· ἀπόλλυμαι  
 ὑπὸ τῶν Ὀδομάντων τὰ σκόροδα πορθούμενος.  
 οὐ καταβαλεῖτε τὰ σκόροδ’;  
 Θε. ὦ μοχθηρὲ σύ, 165  
 οὐ μὴ πρόσει τούτοισιν ἐσκοροδισμένοις.  
 Δι. ταυτί περιείδεθ’ οἱ πρυτάνεις πάσχοντά με  
 ἐν τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ ταῦθ’ ὑπ’ ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων;  
 ἀλλ’ ἀπαγορεύω μὴ ποεῖν ἐκκλησίαν  
 τοῖς Θραξί περι μισθοῦ· λέγω δ’ ὑμῖν ὅτι 170  
 διοσημία ’στὶ καὶ ῥανὶς βέβληκέ με.  
 Κη. τοὺς Θραῆκας ἀπιέναι, παρεῖναι δ’ εἰς ἔνην.  
 οἱ γὰρ πρυτάνεις λύουσι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.  
 Δι. οἴμοι τάλας, μυττωτὸν ὅσον ἀπώλεσα.  
 ἀλλ’ ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος γὰρ Ἀμφίθεος ὀδί. 175  
 χαῖρ’ Ἀμφίθεε.  
 Ἀμ. μήπω γε πρὶν ἄν γε στῶ τρέχων·  
 δεῖ γάρ με φεύγοντ’ ἐκφυγεῖν Ἀχαρνέας.  
 Δι. τί δ’ ἐστιν;  
 Ἀμ. ἐγὼ μὲν δεῦρό σοι σπονδὰς φέρων

158 S (1) § a 3586, (2) § o 44, (3) § π 987; § Zon. p. 272. 13–14 (ἀποτεθρίακεν)  
 §§ Hsch. a 6706; §§ An.Bachm. i. 135. 2 160 (καταπελτάσονται) §§ Hsch.  
 κ 1320; §§ Phot. κ 232 163–4 (ἀπόλλυμαι τὰ σκόροδα πορθούμενος) § S σ 668  
 166 # S ε 3158 (ἐσκοροδισμένοις) Hsch. ε 6249 171–3 § S δ 1205 172 (εἰς  
 ἔνην) §§ Hsch. ε 1116

156 ἐστιν R 157 ἀπεφύλλισε ἀποσεσυρμένα εἶχον Θραῆκες add. ad fin. P, intra  
 157 et 158 H 158 ἀποτεθρίακεν Hsch. S (1–3) Zon. An.Bachm.: ἀποτέθρακεν  
 RAΓ<sup>ac</sup>E: ἀποτέθρακε τίς c: ἀποτέθρακεν ἄν Γ<sup>t</sup>Ald 159 τις δύο δραχμὰς R: τις  
 δραχμὰς δύο ac: δραχμὰς δύο τις tAld 163 σωσίπολις c 165 οὐκ  
 ἀποβαλεῖτε AΓE<sup>ac</sup> σκόροδα AΓcp, cf. σκόροδ\* E<sup>ac</sup> μοχθηρὲ cp: μόχθηρε RaL  
 166 ἐσκοροδισμένοις AΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup> ἐμφορηθεῖσι σκοροδῶν καὶ θυμοῦ πλεισθήσι add. ad fin.  
 P, intra 166 et 167 H 167 περὶ ἴδεθ’ R πρυτάνεις] πρέσβεις c 171 διο-  
 σημία ’στὶ Elmsley, cf. διοσημ[ι]α σ[τι] Π<sub>1</sub>: διοσημί’ ἐστι d: διοσημία ἐστι <sup>ΑΣΕΓ</sup> S  
 175 Ἀμφίθεος] ἀμφίων θεὸς c 176 πρὶν ἄν γε Brunck: πρὶν ἄν d: πρὶν γ’ ἄν Bergk  
 178 τί δ’ ἐστιν Rac: τί δ’ ἐστι HLAld: τοὶ δ’ ἐστι P: τί ἐστ’ Elmsley ἐγὼ μὲν δεῦρό σοι  
 R et, ut vid., Π<sub>1</sub>: ἐγὼ μὲν σοι δεῦρο ac: σοι μὲν δεῦρο ’γὼ PLAld: σοι μὲν δεῦρ’ ἐγὼ HB

- ἔσπευδον· οἱ δ' ὠσφροντο πρεσβῦταί τινες  
 Ἀχαρνικοί, στιπτοὶ γέροντες, πρίνινοι 180  
 ἀτεράμονες Μαραθωνομάχαι σφενδάμνινοι.  
 ἔπειτ' ἀνέκραγον πάντες· “ὦ μιαρώτατε,  
 σπονδὰς φέρεις τῶν ἀμπέλων τετμημένων;”  
 κὰς τοὺς τρίβωνας ξυνελέγοντο τῶν λίθων.  
 ἐγὼ δ' ἔφευγον· οἱ δ' ἐδίωκον κὰβόων. 185
- Δι. οἱ δ' οὖν βοῶντων. ἀλλὰ τὰς σπονδὰς φέρεις;  
 Ἀμ. ἔγωγέ φημι, τρία γε ταυτὶ γεύματα.  
 αὐται μὲν εἰσι πεντέτεϊς· γεῦσαι λαβῶν.  
 Δι. αἰβοῖ.  
 Ἀμ. τί ἐστιν;  
 Δι. οὐκ ἀρέσκουσίν μ', ὅτι  
 ὄζουσι πίττης καὶ παρασκευῆς νεῶν. 190
- Ἀμ. σὺ δ' ἀλλὰ τασδί τὰς δεκέτεις γεῦσαι λαβῶν.  
 Δι. ὄζουσι χαῦται πρέσβειων εἰς τὰς πόλεις  
 ὀξύτατον, ὥσπερ διατριβῆς τῶν ξυμμάχων.  
 Ἀμ. ἀλλ' αὐταὶ σπονδαὶ τριακοντούτιδες  
 κατὰ γῆν τε καὶ θάλατταν.  
 Δι. ὦ Διονύσια· 195  
 αὐται μὲν ὄζουσ' ἀμβροσίας καὶ νέκταρος  
 καὶ μὴ 'πιτηρεῖν “σιτί' ἡμερῶν τριῶν”.  
 κὰν τῷ στόματι λέγουσι “βαῖν' ὄπη 'θέλεις”.  
 ταύτας δέχομαι καὶ σπένδομαι κὰκπίομαι  
 χαίρειν κελεύων πολλὰ τοὺς Ἀχαρνεάς. 200  
 ἐγὼ δὲ πολέμου καὶ κακῶν ἀπαλλαγεῖς  
 ἄξω τὰ κατ' ἀγροὺς εἰσιῶν Διονύσια.  
 Ἀμ. ἐγὼ δὲ φευξοῦμαί γε τοὺς Ἀχαρνεάς.

179 (ὠσφροντο) §§ Hsch. ω 466 180-1 †§ Phryn. PS, p. 11. 4-11  
 (. . . ἀτεράμονες) § EM, p. 163. 11-12 (στιπτοὶ . . .) Erot. σ 16 (πρίνινοι Μαραθωνο-  
 μάχαι σφενδάμνινοι) cf. §§ Jul. Sat. 350d 180 (στίπτοι) § EM, p. 714. 2  
 181 Oros B 53; S a 4343; AB, p. 459. 5-6; An. Bachm. i. 159. 10-12 (σφενδάμνινοι)  
 Poll. x. 35; § Phot. p. 560. 1 195-6 (ὦ . . .) §§ S δ 1168 196 §§ S ο 72

180 στιπτοῖ] στυπτοῖ B, cf. \*\*υπτοῖ A: στριφνοῖ Erot.: στρυφνοῖ Elmsley  
 181 Μαραθωνομάχαι] -μάχοι AΓ<sup>ac</sup> σφενδάμνηνοι p 187 vers. om. p (add.<sup>mg</sup> P<sup>2</sup>)  
 189 ἀρέσκουσίν L: ἀρέσκουσί Ractp 192-3 vers. om. R, add.<sup>mg</sup> R<sup>3</sup>  
 192 χαῦται] γ' αὐται p 193 συμμάχων act 194 αὐταὶ σπονδαὶ] αὐταί σοι  
 σπονδαὶ R: αὐταὶ τοί σοι Bothe: αὐταὶ γάρ σοι Elmsley 195 τε om. p  
 κατὰ post καὶ R 197 et 198 transp. Reiske 197 'πιτηρεῖν P<sup>ac</sup>H  
 198 στόματι p ὄπη] ὄποι AΓ 199 σπένδομαι] σπείσομαι Meineke  
 200 κελεύω (γρ.) ΣΕΓ 201 τε ante καὶ R κακῶν] καλῶν c: καλλῶν AΓ  
 202 ἄξω RE<sup>4</sup>: αὔξω AΓct, cf. α\*ξω E<sup>ac</sup> 203 φευξοῦμαί R: φεύξομαί act

## ΧΟΡΟΣ

τῆδε πᾶς ἔπου, δῖωκε, καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα πυνθάνου	στρ.
τῶν ὀδοιπόρων ἀπάντων· τῆ πόλει γὰρ ἄξιον	205
ξυλλαβεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον. ἀλλά μοι μηνύσατε, εἴ τις οἶδ' ὅποι τέτραπται γῆς ὁ τὰς σπονδὰς φέρων. ἐκπέφυγ' οἴχεται φροῦδος. οἴμοι τάλας τῶν ἐτῶν τῶν ἐμῶν.	208-10
οὐκ ἂν ἐπ' ἐμῆς γε νεότητος, ὅτ' ἐγὼ φέρων ἀνθράκων φορτίον	211-13
ἠκολούθουν Φαῦλλῳ τρέχων, ὦδε φαύλως ἂν ὁ σπονδοφόρος οὗτος ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τότε διωκόμενος	214-15 216/17
ἐξέφυγεν οὐδ' ἂν ἐλαφρῶς ἂν ἀπεπλίξατο.	217/18
νῦν δ' ἐπειδὴ στερρὸν ἤδη τοῦμὸν ἀντικνήμιον	ἀντ.
καὶ παλαιῶ Λακρατείδῃ τὸ σκέλος βαρύνεται, οἴχεται. διωκτέος δέ· μὴ γὰρ ἐγχάνῃ ποτὲ μηδέ περ γέροντας ὄντας ἐκφυγῶν Ἀχαρνέας, ὅστις, ὦ Ζεῦ πάτερ καὶ θεοί, τοῖσιν ἐχθροῖσιν ἐσπείσατο,	220 223-5
οἴσι παρ' ἐμοῦ πόλεμος ἐχθοδοπὸς αὖξεται τῶν ἐμῶν χωρίων·	226-8
κοῦκ ἀνήσω πρὶν ἂν σχοῖνος αὐτοῖσιν ἀντεμπαγῶ (καὶ σκόλοψ) ὄξυς ὀδυνηρὸς ἐπίκωπος, ἵνα μήποτε πατῶσιν ἔτι τὰς ἐμὰς ἀμπέλους.	229-30 231/2 232/3
ἀλλὰ δεῖ ζητεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ βλέπειν Βαλλήναδε καὶ διώκειν γῆν πρὸ γῆς, ἕως ἂν εὐρεθῆ ποτέ.	235

204 (. . . ἔπου) §§ S τ 462      206 (. . . ἄνδρα) §§ S ξ 92      209-18 (οἴμοι . . .) S (1) φ 144      217/18 (οὐδ' . . .) S (2) α 3031; *Mél. Miller*, p. 134. 29-30  
218 (ἂν ἀπεπλίξατο) *EM*, p. 395. 14      220 (παλαιῶ . . .) § S λ 70 (παλαιῶ  
Λακρατείδῃ) § Hsch. λ 217      229-30 (πρὶν . . .) S (1) σ 1813      229-33 (σχοῖνος  
. . .) † §§ S (2) σ 648      234 (βλέπειν Βαλλήναδε) cf. S (3) §§ π 80

204 σπυνθάνου c      206 τὸν om. p      μηνύσατε R: μηνύετε act      214 Φαῦλλῳ  
ΑΓΕ<sup>ac</sup>      215 ὦδε] ὀδέ p      φαύλος ΓΕ      217 διωκόμενος R      ἐξέφυγεν]  
ἐξέφυγεν ἂν R: ἐξέφευγεν p      218 ἂν<sup>1</sup>] φ δ' *Mél. Miller*      ἂν<sup>2</sup>] ὦδ' S (1): om.  
tAld      ἀπεπλήξατο R: ἀνεπλίξατο (om. ἂν) *Mél. Miller*      πλίξ πήδημα ὁμος εἶ γε  
add. ad fin. p      219 ἤδη om. ΑΓ<sup>ac</sup>E      τοῦμὸν] τοῦ μὲν c      ἀντικνήμιον]  
ἀντιπλίσσοντο πόδεσσι p      220 Λακρατείδῃ Bentley: Λακρατίδῃ d Hsch.  
σκέλλος R      221 διωκτέως R      ἐγχάνῃ] ἐγχάνοι Brunck      καταγελάσῃ add. ad  
fin. p      222 ὄντας add. tAld: om. Rac      225 ἐσπείσαντο c      230-1 σχοῖνος  
αὐτοῖσιν ἀντεμπαγῶ καὶ σκόλοψ Hermann: σχοῖνος αὐτοῖσιν ἀντεμπαγῶ RS (1): σχοῖνος  
αὐτοῖσιν ἄτ' ἐμπαγῶ ac: σχοῖνος αὐτοῖσιν ἄτε ἐμπαγῶ t: σκόλοψ αὐτοῖς καὶ σχοῖνος  
ἀντεμπαγῶ S (2)      232 πατῶσιν ἔτι] πατῶσιν ἐπὶ p: μήκετι πατῶσι S: πατῶσι R  
234 Βαλλήναδε (γρ.) ΣΕΓ<sup>2</sup>, cf. S (3): Παλλήναδε d

- ὡς ἐγὼ βάλλων ἐκείνον οὐκ ἂν ἐμπλήμην λίθοις.  
 Δι. εὐφημεῖτε εὐφημεῖτε.  
 Χο. σίγα πᾶς. ἤκούσατ', ἄνδρες, ἄρα τῆς εὐφημίας;  
 οὗτος αὐτός ἐστιν ὃν ζητοῦμεν. ἀλλὰ δεῦρο πᾶς  
 ἐκποδῶν· θύσων γὰρ ἀνὴρ, ὡς ἔοικ', ἐξέρχεται. 240  
 Δι. εὐφημεῖτε εὐφημεῖτε.  
 προῖτω 'ς τὸ πρόσθεν ὀλίγον ἢ κανηφόρος.  
 ὁ Ξανθίας τὸν φαλλὸν ὀρθὸν στησάτω.  
 κατάθου τὸ κανοῦν, ὦ θύγατερ, ἵν' ἀπαρξώμεθα.

## ΘΥΓΑΤΗΡ

- ὦ μήτερ, ἀνάδος δεῦρο τὴν ἐτνήρυσιν 245  
 ἵν' ἔτνος καταχέω τοῦλατῆρος τουτουῖ.  
 Δι. καὶ μὴν καλὸν γ' ἔστ'. ὦ Διόνυσε δέσποτα,  
 κεχαρισμένως σοι τήνδε τὴν πομπὴν ἐμὲ  
 πέμψαντα καὶ θύσαντα μετὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν  
 ἀγαγεῖν τυχηρῶς τὰ κατ' ἀγροὺς Διονύσια 250  
 στρατιᾶς ἀπαλλαχθέντα. τὰς σπονδὰς δέ μοι  
 καλῶς ξυνενεγκεῖν τὰς τριακοντούτιδας.  
 ἄγ', ὦ θύγατερ, ὅπως τὸ κανοῦν καλῆ καλῶς  
 οἴσεις βλέπουσα θυμβροφάγον. ὡς μακάριος  
 ὅστις σ' ὀπύσει κάκποήσεται γαλᾶς 255  
 σοῦ μηδὲν ἤττους βδεῖν, ἐπειδὰν ὀρθρος ἦ.  
 πρόβαινε, κὰν τῶχλω φυλάττεσθαι σφόδρα  
 μή τις λαθῶν σου περιτράγη τὰ χρυσία.  
 ὦ Ξανθία, σφῶν δ' ἐστὶν ὀρθὸς ἐκτέος  
 ὁ φαλλὸς ἐξόπισθε τῆς κανηφόρου. 260  
 ἐγὼ δ' ἀκολουθῶν ἄσομαι τὸ φαλλικόν.

236 (βάλλων . . .) S ε 1025; § Zon. p. 709. 18-19 239-40 (. . . ἐκποδῶν) § S  
 ε 586 245 Phot. ε 2096; EM, p. 387. 5 (ἐτνήρυσιν) §§ Phryn. PS, p. 69. 9  
 248-9 (κεχαρισμένως θύσαντα) §§ Phryn. PS, p. 77. 20 251-2 (σπονδὰς  
 τριακοντούτιδας) § Phot. p. 600. 7-8 254 (βλέπουσα θυμβροφάγον) † §§ Phryn. PS,  
 p. 75. 8 (θυμβροφάγον) §§ Hsch. θ 871; §§ Phot. θ 258 257-8 (κὰν . . .) § S  
 π 1328 261 (φαλλικόν) §§ Hsch. φ 121; §§ Phot. p. 637. 22

236 ἐμπλήμην R<sup>pc</sup>: ἐμπλείμην R<sup>ac</sup>actS Zon. 237 εὐφημεῖτ' εὐφημεῖτε c  
 238 σίγα c: σίγα at: σίγαι R ἄρα] ἄρτι Halbertsma intra 238 et 239 lac. stat.  
 Leo 240 ἀνὴρ Dindorf, ducente Elmsleio: ὠνήρ Brunck: ἀνήρ d 241 εὐ-  
 φημεῖτ' εὐφημεῖτε c 242 προῖτω 'ς Blaydes: προῖθ' ὡς d 243 φαλλὸν]  
 ψαλλὸν p 244 τὸ κανοῦν] τὸ κατὰ νοῦν p ἀρξώμεθα AΓ<sup>ac</sup> 246 τουτονί p  
 248 σοι om. AΓ<sup>ac</sup>E 251 ἀπαλλαγέντα van Leeuwen 253 τὸ κανοῦν] τὸ  
 κατὰ νοῦν p 254 οἴσεις R: οἴσει act ὡς] ὦ R 255 σ' om. RP  
 256 ἤττους Elmsley: ἤττον RΓEct: ἤττο A 257 τῶχλω R: τῷ ὄχλω p  
 259 ὀρθῶς p 260 τῆς] τοῦ AΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup> 261 ἀκολουθῶν R

σὺ δ', ὦ γύναι, θεῶ μ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγουσ. πρόβα.

Φάλης, ἑταίρε Βακχίου,

ξύγκωμε νυκτοπεριπλάνητε μοιχὲ παιδεραστά, 264-5

ἔκτω σ' ἔτει προσεῖπον εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἔλθων ἄσμενος, 266-7

σπονδὰς ποησάμενος ἑμαυτῷ, πραγμάτων τε καὶ μαχῶν 268-9

καὶ Λαμάχων ἀπαλλαγείς. 270

πολλῷ γάρ ἐσθ' ἦδιον, ὦ Φάλης Φάλης,

κλέπτουσαν εὐρόνθ' ὠρικὴν ὑληφόρον,

τὴν Στρυμοδώρου Θράτταν ἐκ τοῦ φελλέως,

μέσσην λαβόντ' ἄρα αντα καταβαλόντα καταγιγαρτίσαι. 274-5

Φάλης Φάλης.

ἐὰν μεθ' ἡμῶν ξυμπίης, ἐκ κραιπάλης

ἔωθεν εἰρήνης ῥοφήσει τρύβλιον·

ἢ δ' ἀσπίς ἐν τῷ φειφάλῳ κρεμήσεται.

Χο. οὗτος αὐτός ἐστιν, οὗτος. 280

βάλλε βάλλε βάλλε βάλλε·

παίε παίε τὸν μιάρον.

οὐ βαλεῖς; οὐ βαλεῖς;

Δι. Ἡράκλεις. τουτὶ τί ἐστι; τὴν χύτραν συντρίψετε. στρ.

Χο. σὲ μὲν οὖν καταλεύσομεν, ὦ μιάρὰ κεφαλῆ. 285

Δι. ἀντὶ ποίας αἰτίας, ὦ χαρνέων γεραίτατοι;

Χο. τοῦτ' ἐρωτᾷς; ἀναίσχυντος εἶ καὶ βδελυρός, 287-8

ὦ προδότα τῆς πατρίδος, ὅστις ἡμῶν μόνος 289-90

σπεισάμενος εἶτα δύνασαι πρὸς ἔμ' ἀποβλέπειν. 291-2

264-5 (νυκτοπεριπλάνητε) § S ν 584 266-7 † Σ<sup>V</sup> Pax 990 (. . . ἔλθων) § S  
δ 452 268-71 (. . . ἦδιον) § S λ 81 269-70 (πραγμάτων . . .) §§ S π 2197  
272-3 (κλέπτουσαν τὴν Στρυμοδώρου . . .) † § S φ 189 272, 274-5 (εὐρόνθ' . . .)  
S (1) § κ 498, (2) § ω 185 273 (Στρυμοδώρου Θράτταν) § S θ 464 275 (κατα-  
γιγαρτίσαι) §§ Phot. κ 231 279 § S φ 240

262 μ'] με A, cf. μ\* Γ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup> 263 Φαλλῆς c Βακχίου Scaliger: Βακχείου d  
264 νηκτο- p 266 ἔτει] ἔτι Γ<sup>ac</sup>E 271 ἐσθ'] ἐστιν tAld 272 ὑλο-  
φόρον R 273 Θάτταν ΑΓ<sup>ac</sup> 274 αἶρα αντα R: ἄρα αντα Vp3: ἄρα αντα C  
275 καταβαλόντα] κάτω λαβόντα ΑΓ, cf. κάτ\*\*α\*όντα E<sup>ac</sup> καταγιγαρτήσαι R:  
καταγιγαρτίσ' tAld: καταγιγαρτάν S (2) 276 Φάλης Φάλης Brunck: ὦ Φαλῆς  
Φαλῆς d 277 κραιπάλας c: κρεπάλας p 278 ῥοφήσει Elmsley: ῥοφήσεις d  
279 κρεμασθήσεται R 281 βαλλε β]αλε βαλλε βαλλε Π, P<sup>c</sup>: βάλλε βάλε βάλε βάλε  
Vp3: βάλλε βάλλε βάλε βάλε C: βάλλε βάλλε βάλλε H 282 παίε<sup>2</sup>] παῖ Burges: πᾶς  
Bergk 283 οὐ βαλεῖς; οὐ] οὐ βαλεῖς ἂν οὐ tAld 284 τῆς κεφαλῆς add. ad  
fin. p 286 ὦ χαρναίων c 288 βδελυρός A: βδελυρός c 291 εἶτα tAld:  
ἔπειτα Π, Rac 292 πρὸς tAld: νῦν πρὸς Rac

- Δι. ἀντὶ δ' ὧν ἐσπείσάμην οὐκ ἴστέ'; ἀλλ' ἀκούσατε.  
 Χο. σοῦ γ' ἀκούσωμεν; ἀπολεῖ. κατὰ σε χύσομεν τοῖς  
 λίθοις. 294-5
- Δι. μηδαμῶς, πρὶν ἂν γ' ἀκούσητ'. ἀλλ' ἀνάσχεσθ', ὦγαθοί.  
 Χο. οὐκ ἀνασχῆσομαι· μηδὲ λέγε μοι σὺ λόγον. 297-8  
 ὡς μεμίσηκά σε Κλέωνος ἔτι μᾶλλον, ὃν ἐ- 299-300  
 γὼ τεμῶ τοῖσιν ἵππεῦσι καττύματα. 301-2
- σοῦ δ' ἐγὼ λόγους λέγοντος οὐκ ἀκούσομαι μακροῦς,  
 ὅστις ἐσπείσω Λάκωσιν, ἀλλὰ τιμωρήσομαι.
- Δι. ὦγαθοί, τοὺς μὲν Λάκωνας ἐκποδῶν ἐάσατε, 305  
 τῶν δ' ἐμῶν σπονδῶν ἀκούσατ', εἰ καλῶς ἐσπείσάμην.
- Χο. πῶς δέ γ' ἂν καλῶς λέγοις ἂν, εἴπερ ἐσπείσω γ' ἅπαξ  
 οἷσιν οὔτε βωμὸς οὔτε πίστις οὔθ' ὄρκος μένει;
- Δι. οἶδ' ἐγὼ καὶ τοὺς Λάκωνας, οἷς ἄγαν ἐγκείμεθα,  
 οὐχ ἀπάντων ὄντας ἡμῖν αἰτίους τῶν πραγμάτων. 310
- Χο. οὐχ ἀπάντων, ὦ πανούργε; ταῦτα δὴ τολμᾶς λέγειν  
 ἐμφανῶς ἤδη πρὸς ἡμᾶς; εἴτ' ἐγὼ σου φείσομαι;
- Δι. οὐχ ἀπάντων, οὐχ ἀπάντων. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ λέγων ὀδὶ  
 πόλλ' ἂν ἀποφῆναιμ' ἐκείνους ἔσθ' ἅ κἀδικουμένους.
- Χο. τοῦτο τοῦπος δεινὸν ἤδη καὶ ταραξικάρδιον, 315  
 εἰ σὺ τολμήσεις ὑπὲρ τῶν πολεμίων ἡμῖν λέγειν.

297 (ἀνασχῆσομαι) § Phot. a 1693 300-2 (ὃν . . .) § S (1) κ 1129  
 301-2 (τεμῶ . . .) §§ S (2) κ 817 303 §§ S μ 81 309-10 † Phot. a 104;  
 AB, pp. 334. 33-335. 2; An.Bachm. i. 19. 20-4 315 §§ S τ 115

293 οὐκ ἴστέ'; Clark, cf. ]ουκ ἴστε[ Π<sub>1</sub> et οὐκ ἴστε· A<sup>pc</sup>: οὐκ ἴστε τε· Γ<sup>ac</sup>E, cf. οὐκ ἴστε \*\*· A<sup>ac</sup>: οὐκ ἴστε· τ' Γ<sup>pc</sup>c: οὐκ ἴστε γ'· tAld: οὐκ ἴσατ' R: οὐκ ἴστ' ἔτ'· Elmsley: οὐκ ἴστε· μ(ή), Meineke: ἠκούσατ'· Kock: alia alii ἠκούσατε c, cf. \*κούσατε E<sup>ac</sup>

294 ἀκούσωμεν Elmsley: ἀκούσομεν Rac, cf. ]εν Π<sub>1</sub>: ἀκούσομ' tAld 295 κῆτα c  
 σε] σ' αὐ t 296 πρὶν ἂν γ' ἀκούσητ' Bentley, cf. ]υσητ' Π<sub>1</sub>: πρὶν ἂν γ' ἀκούσητε  
 Γ<sup>3</sup>: πρὶν γ' ἀκούσητ' R: πρὶν γ' ἂν ἀκούσητε AE, cf. πρὶν γ' \*\* ἀκούσητε Γ<sup>ac</sup>: πρὶν ἂν  
 ἀκούσητε c: πρὶν ἂν ἀκούσητέ γ' tAld ἀνάσχοισθ' AG: ἀνάσχοισθ' E 298 μοι σὺ  
 Hermann, cf. ]ι συ Π<sub>1</sub>: σύ μοι R: σὺ ac: δὴ σὺ tAld 299 μεμεισηκα Π<sub>1</sub>: μεμύσηκά  
 p 300 ἔτι om. p τμήματα δερμάτων add. intra ἐ- et γὼ p 301  
 τεμῶ Elmsley: κατατεμῶ Π<sub>1</sub> d S (1): κατατεμῶ σε S (2) 301-2 τοῖσιν  
 ἵππεῦσι AVp3 λΣΓ: τοῖσι ἵππεῦσι C: τοῖσω ἵππεῦσιν RΓE: τοῖς ἵππεῦσι t: τοῖς ἵππεῦσιν S  
 (1): σε τοῖς ἵππεῦσιν S (2) 302 καττύματα Elmsley, cf. Σ<sup>REG</sup> περιττεύει τὸ ποτε  
 διὰ τὴν μετροποιῖαν: ποτ' ἐς καττύματα RAΓ, cf. ποτ' ἐς καττυ[ Π<sub>1</sub>: ποτ' ἐς κατύμματα  
 E: ποτ' ἐς κατόμματα c: ποτε καττύματα t: εἰς/ἐς καττύματα tantum S: ποθ' ἵππεῦσι  
 καττύματα (del. τοῖσιν et ποτ' ἐς) Herrmann 303 ἀκούσαιμι ΓE<sup>4</sup>, ἂν add.<sup>9</sup> Γ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup>  
 306 ἀκούσατε AΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup> 307 δέ γ' ] δ' ἔτ' Elmsley ἂν om. R 308 οὔτε  
 πίστις οὔτε βωμὸς AΓ<sup>ac</sup>E 309 Λάκωνες R οἷς] οὔς A<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup>c, cf. ο\*<sub>5</sub> Γ<sup>ac</sup>  
 ἐκκείμεθα AΓ<sup>ac</sup>, cf. ἐ\*κείμεθα E<sup>ac</sup> 311 οὐκ PH<sup>ac</sup> 313 ὀδὶ] ὀσὶ c  
 314 πόλλ'] μεγάλ' Hamaker: ἀλλ' Wecklein: ῥῆστ' Blaydes ἂν om. R κῆδικη-  
 μένους Hamaker 316 εἰ] καὶ c λέγειν ἡμῖν E<sup>ac</sup>: ἡμῖν om. A

- Δι. κᾶν γε μὴ λέγω δίκαια μηδὲ τῷ πλήθει δοκῶ,  
ὑπὲρ ἐπιζήνου ἑελήσω τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔχων λέγειν.
- Χο. εἶπέ μοι· τί φειδόμεσθα τῶν λίθων, ὦ δημόται,  
μὴ οὐ καταξάινειν τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον εἰς φοινικίδα; 320
- Δι. οἶον αὖ μέλας τις ὑμῖν θυμάλωψ ἐπέζεσεν.  
οὐκ ἀκούσεσθ'; οὐκ ἀκούσεσθ' ἑτεόν, ὦ χαρνηΐδαι;
- Χο. οὐκ ἀκουσόμεσθα δῆτα.
- Δι. δεινὰ τᾶρα πείσομαι.
- Χο. ἐξολοίμην, ἣν ἀκούσω.
- Δι. μηδαμῶς, ὦ χαρνηκοί.
- Χο. ὡς τεθνήξων ἴσθι νυνί.
- Δι. δῆξομαῖρ' ὑμᾶς ἐγώ· 325  
ἀνταποκτενῶ γὰρ ὑμῶν τῶν φίλων τοὺς φιλτάτους.  
ὡς ἔχω γ' ὑμῶν ὁμήρους οὓς ἀποσφάζω λαβῶν.
- Χο. εἶπέ μοι· τί τοῦτ' ἀπειλεῖ τοῦπος, ἄνδρες δημόται,  
τοῖς Ἀχαρνηκοῖσιν ἡμῖν; μῶν ἔχει του παιδίον  
τῶν παρόντων ἔνδον εἶρξας; ἢ ἔπι τῷ θρασύνεται; 330
- Δι. βάλλετ', εἰ βούλεσθ'. ἐγὼ γὰρ τουτονὶ διαφθερῶ.  
εἴσομαι δ' ὑμῶν τάχ' ὅστις ἀνθράκων τι κήδεται.
- Χο. ὡς ἀπωλόμεσθ'. ὁ λάρκος δημότης ὅδ' ἔστ' ἐμός.  
ἀλλὰ μὴ δράσης ὁ μέλλεις· μηδαμῶς, ὦ μηδαμῶς.
- Δι. ὡς ἀποκτενῶ, κέκραχθ'. ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐκ ἀκούσομαι. ἀντ. 335
- Χο. ἀπολεῖς ἄρ' ὁμήλικα τόνδε φιλανθρακέα;
- Δι. οὐδ' ἐμοῦ λέγοντος ὑμεῖς ἀρτίως ἠκούσατε.

317-18 S (1) †ξ ε 2497, (2) †ξξ υ 265 318 § Zon. p. 794. 2-4; †  
Mél. Miller, p. 122. 14-15; cf. §§ Hsch. ε 5019 (ἐπιζήνου) § EM, p. 362. 22-3  
319-21 (τί . . .) S (1) § κ 682, (2) §§ φ 788 320 (καταξάινειν εἰς φοινικίδα) †ξξ  
Phot. ε 2039 (εἰς φοινικίδα) §§ Hsch. ε 6442 333 (ὁ . . .) §§ S λ 124 (λάρκος)  
Harp. Λ 5; Poll. x. 111

317 λέξω R μηδέ] μήτε R 318 ἔχω AE<sup>ac</sup> 319 φειδόμεθα p ὦ] οἱ S  
(1-2) 320 φοινικίδα c 321 οἶον R: οἶος actS (1-2) τις] ἐφ' R  
ἐπέζησεν p 322 οὐκ' R: οὐδ' act ἀκούσασθ' R οὐκ<sup>2</sup>] οὐδ' p 323 ἀκουσό-  
μεθα cp τᾶρα Π<sub>1</sub>, Elmsley: γ' ἄρα RΓEct: χ' ἄρα A εἰς στίχος add. ad fin. c  
324 ἐξελοίμην AΓ<sup>ac</sup>: ἐξελοίμην Vp3t, cf. ἐξ\*λοίμην E<sup>ac</sup>: ἐξελούμην C Ἀχαρνηκοί p  
325 νυνί RA: νῦν ΓE<sup>c</sup>: νῦν γε tAld δῆξομαῖρ' ὑμᾶς Dindorf (Bentleio ducente), cf.  
δηξομ' ap υμας Π<sub>1</sub>: δείξομ' ὑμᾶς ἄρ' R: δῆξομαι γὰρ ὑμᾶς ac: δῆξομαί γ' ἄρ' ὑμᾶς tAld  
329 πεδίον p 330 ερξας Π<sub>1</sub> τῷ] τίνι A, cf. τ\*\*\* Γ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup> θρασύνεται A, cf.  
\*\*ρσύνεται E<sup>ac</sup> 331 βάλλετ', εἰ] βάλλετε AΓ<sup>ac</sup> βούλεσθε RΓ 332 δ'] θ' Π<sub>1</sub>  
333 ἀπολόμεσθ' t: ἀπολόμεθ' R ὅδ' om. R 334 ὦ ante μηδαμῶς' R  
335 κέκραθ' Π<sub>1</sub> R 336 ἄρ' ὁμήλικα Reisig: ἄρα τὸν ἤλικα d: σὺ τὸν ἤλικα  
Bentley: δὲ τὸν ἤλικα Elmsley: ἄρ' ἀφήλικα Bergk 337 ὑμεῖς] om. AΓ<sup>ac</sup>E: ἡμεῖς c

- Χο. ἀλλὰ νυνὶ λέγ', εἴ σοι δοκεῖ, τὸν τε Λακε- 338  
 δαιμόνιον αὐτὸν † ὅτι τῷ τρόπῳ σουστὶ φίλον. 338/9  
 ὡς τόδε τὸ λαρκίδιον οὐ προδώσω ποτέ. 340
- Δι. τοὺς λίθους νῦν μοι χαμᾶζε πρῶτον ἐξεράσατε.
- Χο. οὐτοί σοι χαμαί. καὶ σὺ κατάθου πάλιν τὸ ξίφος.
- Δι. ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ 'ν τοῖς τρίβωσιν ἐγκάθηνταιί που λίθοι.
- Χο. ἐκσέσεισται χαμᾶζ'. οὐχ ὀρᾶς σειόμενον;  
 ἀλλὰ μή μοι πρόφασιν, ἀλλὰ κατάθου τὸ βέλος· 345  
 ὡς ὅδε γε σειστὸς ἅμα τῇ στροφῇ γίγνεται.
- Δι. ἐμέλλετ' ἄρα πάντως ἀνήσειν <τῆς> βοῆς·  
 ὀλίγου γ' ἀπέθανον ἄνθρακες Παρνήθιοι,  
 καὶ ταῦτα διὰ τὴν ἀτοπίαν τῶν δημοτῶν.  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους δὲ τῆς μαρίλης μοι συχνὴν 350  
 ὁ λάρκος ἐνετίλησεν ὥσπερ σηπία.  
 δεινὸν γὰρ οὕτως ὀμφακίαν πεφυκέναι  
 τὸν θυμὸν ἀνδρῶν ὥστε βάλλειν καὶ βοᾶν  
 ἐθέλειν τ' ἀκοῦσαι μηδὲν ἴσον ἴσῳ φέρον,  
 ἐμοῦ 'θέλοντος ὑπὲρ ἐπιζήνου λέγειν 355  
 ὑπὲρ Λακεδαιμονίων ἅπανθ' ὅσ' ἂν λέγω.  
 καίτοι φιλῶ γε τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν ἐγώ.
- Χο. τί οὖν οὐ λέγεις, ἐπίζηνον ἐξ- στρ. 358/9  
 ενεγκῶν θύραζ', 359  
 ὅ τι ποτ', ὦ σχέτλιε, 360  
 τὸ μέγα τοῦτ' ἔχεις;

338-9 Greg. Cor. p. 129 340 (λαρκίδιον) Poll. x. 111 341 (τοὺς  
 λίθους ἐξεράσατε) §§ S ε 1643; §§ Zon. p. 773. 1 343 (μὴ . . .) §§ S ε 65  
 345 (βέλος) POxy. xv. 1801. 46 348 S π 679 350-1 Erot. μ 24; S (1) §§  
 λ 124, (2) § μ 196 (δέ . . .) †§ S (3) ε 2095 (συχνὴν ἐνετίλησεν) § Zon. p. 830.  
 14-15 352-4 S (1) †§ δ 340, (2) § ο 315 352-3 (ὀμφακίαν . . . θυμὸν)  
 §§ Phryn. PS, p. 94. 9 352 (ὀμφακίαν) §§ Hsch. ο 836

338 νυνὶ Bentley: νῦν Rac: γὰρ νῦν t εἴ] εἴ τι R: ὅ τι Elmsley τε] om. R  
 Greg. Cor.: γε Reisig 339 αὐτὸν ὅτι τῷ] αὐτόθεν ὅτῳ Rennie, Kock: αὐτὸν ὅ τι  
 χῶ Page φίλον act Greg. Cor.: φίλος R 340 τόδε om. AΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup> λαρνακίδιον  
 οὐ προδώσω ποτέ c: λαρνακίδιον προδώσ' οὐδέποτε t 341 λίθους νῦν μοι Γ<sup>3</sup>: νῦν  
 μοι λίθους d 342 πάλιν om. t ξίφος] βέλος t 344 σειόμενον] ἐσεισμένον  
 R: σειομένου p 346 γε] σε c σειστὸς] σειθεστὸς p στροφῇ] στρόφιγγι Γ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup>,  
 cf. Hsch. σ 2037 347 πάντως ἀνήσειν τῆς βοῆς Dobree: πάντες ἀνασειέω βοῆς d  
 348 γ' Elmsley: τ' dS: δ' Meineke Παρνήθιοι Bentley: Παρνάσσιοι RΓE: Παρνάσιοι  
 Act 351 ἐνετίλλησεν p: ἐπετίλλησεν S (1-3) Zon. τοῦ μέλανος ἀφιάσι add.  
 ad fin. p 354 φέρον <sup>3</sup>Γ<sup>pc</sup> S (1-2): φέρειν R: φέρων AΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup> 356 ὑπὲρ]  
 περι Meineke ἐγὼ ante λέγω AE, cf. \*\*\* λέγω Γ<sup>ac</sup> 357 γε] om. AΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup>: σε c  
 ἐμὴν] ἐμαντοῦ AE, cf. ἐμ<sup>\*\*\*\*\*</sup> Γ<sup>ac</sup> 358 οὐ om. RAΓ<sup>pc</sup> ἐπίζηνον] τὸν πίζηνον p:  
 τοῦπίζηνον LAld 359 θύραζ' tAld: θύραζε Rac



- πάνυ γὰρ ἐμέ γε πόθος  
ὅ τι φρονεῖς ἔχει.  
ἀλλ' ἤπερ αὐτὸς τὴν δίκην διωρίσω,  
θεῖς δεῦρο τοῦπίζηνον ἐγχείρει λέγειν. 365
- Δι. ἰδοὺ θεᾶσθε. τὸ μὲν ἐπίζηνον τοδί,  
ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ ὁ λέξων οὔτοσι τυννουτοσί.  
ἀμέλει, μὰ τὸν Δί', οὐκ ἐνασπιδώσομαι,  
λέξω δ' ὑπὲρ Λακεδαιμονίων ἄμοι δοκεῖ.  
καίτοι δέδοικα πολλά. τοὺς τε γὰρ τρόπους 370  
τοὺς τῶν ἀγροίκων οἶδα χαίροντας σφόδρα,  
ἐάν τις αὐτοὺς εὐλογῇ καὶ τὴν πόλιν  
ἀνὴρ ἀλαζῶν καὶ δίκαια κᾶδικα·  
κᾶνταῦθα λανθάνουσ' ἀπεμπολώμενοι.  
τῶν τ' αὖ γερόντων οἶδα τὰς ψυχὰς ὅτι 375  
οὐδὲν βλέπουσιν ἄλλο πλὴν ψήφῳ δάκνειν.  
αὐτὸς τ' ἐμαυτὸν ὑπὸ Κλέωνος ἄπαθον  
ἐπίσταμαι διὰ τὴν πέρυσι κωμωδίαν.  
εἰσελκύσας γάρ μ' εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον  
διέβαλλε καὶ ψευδῆ κατεγλώττιζέ μου 380  
κᾶκυκλοβόρει κᾶπλυνεν, ὥστ' ὀλίγου πάνυ  
ἀπωλόμην μολυνοπραγμονούμενος.  
νῦν οὖν με πρῶτον πρὶν λέγειν ἐάσατε  
ἐνσκευάσασθαι μ' οἶον ἀθλιώτατον.
- Χο. τί ταῦτα στρέφει τεχνάζεις τε καὶ 385/6  
πορίζεις τριβάς; 386  
λαβὲ δ' ἐμοῦ γ' εἵνεκα  
παρ' Ἰερωνύμου

364-5 †§ S η 422 364 § Zon. p. 1002. 20-1 368 (οὐκ ἐνασπιδώσομαι)  
§§ Hsch. ο 1683 377-80 (. . . διέβαλλε) § anon. de Com. XXIXa. 20-4  
377-8 (. . . ἐπίσταμαι) †§ anon. de Com. XXVIII. 30-2 (= Ar. test. 1. 28-9)  
380 (ψευδῆ . . .) S κ 503; Phot. κ 234 (κατεγλώττιζε) §§ Phryn. PS, p. 79. 21; §§  
Hsch. κ 1550 381 (ἔπλυνεν) §§ Poll. vii. 38 387-90 § S a 676

362 πόθος γὰρ πάνυ ἐμέ γε c: πόθος γὰρ πάνυ με tAld 363 ἔχοι AΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup>  
366 θέασαι R 367 οὔτοσσι Γ, cf. οὔτοσ\*\* E<sup>ac</sup> τυννουτοσί cP: τοιουτοσίν H  
368 ἀμέλλει t 371 χαίροντας οἶδα a: οἶδα χαιρόντων Bothe 374 vers. om. p  
λανθάνωσ' R ἀπεμπολλώμενοι t 375 τ' δ' Blaydes 376 ψήφῳ δάκνειν  
scripsi: ψήφῳ δακεῖν Γ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup> ΛΣ<sup>ΕΓ</sup>: ψηφοδακεῖν RAΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup>c: ψηφηδακεῖν t 381 κᾶπλυνεν  
RΓ<sup>pc</sup>E<sup>4</sup>: κᾶπέπλυνεν Act, cf. κᾶ\*\*πλυνεν Γ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup> 382 ἀπωλούμην AΓ<sup>ac</sup>  
384 (=436) del. Valckenaer μ' ] με A, cf. μ\* Γ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup>: γ' Elmsley 385 ταῦτα]  
δητα Elmsley στρέφει R: στρέφη a: στρέφειν c: στρέφεις t τεχνάζει tAld  
386 πορίζει van Herwerden 387 εἵνεκα tAld

σκοτοδασυπυκνότριχά  
τιν' Αἴδος κυνήν.

390

ἀλλ' ἐξάνοιγε μηχανὰς τὰς Σισύφου·  
ὡς σκῆψιν ἀγῶν οὔτος οὐκ ἐνδέξεται.

Δι. ὦρα 'στὶν ἤδη καρτερὰν ψυχὴν λαβεῖν.  
καί μοι βαδιστέ' ἐστὶν ὡς Εὐριπίδην.  
παῖ παῖ.

ΟΙΚΕΤΗΣ ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ

τίς οὔτος;

Δι. ἔνδον ἔστ' Εὐριπίδης;

395

Οἰ. οὐκ ἔνδον ἔνδον ἐστίν, εἰ γνώμην ἔχεις.

Δι. πῶς ἔνδον, εἴτ' οὐκ ἔνδον;

Οἰ. ὀρθῶς, ὦ γέρον.

ὁ νοῦς μὲν ἔξω ξυλλέγων ἐπύλλια  
κοῦκ ἔνδον, αὐτὸς δ' ἔνδον ἀναβάδην ποεῖ  
τραγωδίαν.

Δι. ὦ τρισμακάρι' Εὐριπίδη,  
ᾧθ' ὁ δούλος οὔτωςι σοφῶς ἀπεκρίνατο.  
ἐκκάλεσον αὐτόν.

400

Οἰ. ἀλλ' ἀδύνατον.

Δι. ἀλλ' ὄμως·

οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἀπέλθοιμ'. ἀλλὰ κόψω τὴν θύραν.

Εὐριπίδη, Εὐριπίδιον·

ὑπάκουσον, εἶπερ πώποτ' ἀνθρώπων τινί.

405

Δικαιοπόλις καλεῖ σε Χολλήδης ἐγώ.

391-3 § S σ 490 394-479 cf. Σ<sup>v</sup> V. 61 396-400 (. . . τραγωδίαν)  
§§ S (1) ο 868 397-400 (. . . τραγωδίαν) § S (2) α 1796 398-400 (ὁ νοῦς  
μὲν ἔξω, αὐτὸς . . . τραγωδίαν) § S (3) α 4518 398 (ξυλλέγων ἐπύλλια) †§§ S (4)  
ε 2885; §§ Zon. p. 818. 4 404 (Εὐριπίδιον) anon. de Com. §§ VI. 7; §§ XIb. 74  
405 §§ S εἰ 171 410 (λέλακας) §§ S λ 237

389 -πυκνό-] -πνό- R 390 τιν' Brunck: τὴν dS 391 ἀλλ' S: εἴτ' d: εἴ'  
Dobree του σισυφου Π<sub>3</sub>: τὰς Σισίφου c 392 ἀγῶν van Leeuwen, Bentleio  
ducente: ἀγῶν R: ἀγῶν ac: ἂν ἀγῶν tAld οὐκ ἐνδέξεται scripsi: οὐκ εἰσδέξεται Ra:  
ἐσδέξεται ct: οὐ προσδέξεται S: οὐχὶ δέξεται Cobet 393 ἤδη] ἀρά μοι R: ἀρμοὶ  
Robertson 394 vers. om. p 395 τίς] τί R 396 ἔνδον<sup>2</sup>] ἔνδον τ'  
Dindorf: ἔνδον δ' Invernizzi 398 ξυλλέγων R: ξυλλέγω S (4) Zon.: συλλέγων  
act S (1-2) 399 κοῦκ R: οὐκ act S (1-2) 401 οὔτωςι Vp<sub>3</sub><sup>pc</sup>tAld: οὔτοσι  
RaVp<sub>3</sub><sup>ac</sup>C σοφῶς R: σαφῶς act ὑποκρίνεται R 402 ἀλλ' ante ἐκκάλεσον R  
404 post Εὐριπίδιον add. 407 ἀλλ' οὐ σχολή Bentley 405 πώποτ'] ποτ' Vp<sub>3</sub>S:  
π' C: δήποτ' tAld ἀνθρώπων p 406 καλῶ Cobet σε] σ' ὁ Brunck Χολλήδης  
van Leeuwen: Χολλήδης d: Χολλείδης Elmsley

## ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΗΣ

- ἀλλ' οὐ σχολή.  
 Δι. ἀλλ' ἐκκυκλήθητ'.  
 Εὐ. ἀλλ' ἀδύνατον.  
 Δι. ἀλλ' ὅμως.  
 Εὐ. ἀλλ' ἐκκυκλήσομαι. καταβαίνειν δ' οὐ σχολή.  
 Δι. Εὐριπίδη—  
 Εὐ. τί λέλακας;  
 Δι. ἀναβάδην ποεῖς, 410  
 ἐξὸν καταβάδην; οὐκ ἐτὸς χωλοὺς ποεῖς.  
 ἀτὰρ τί τὰ ῥάκι' ἐκ τραγωδίας ἔχεις,  
 ἐσθῆτ' ἐλεινήν; οὐκ ἐτὸς πτωχοὺς ποεῖς.  
 ἀλλ', ἀντιβολῶ πρὸς τῶν γονάτων σ', Εὐριπίδη,  
 δός μοι ῥάκιόν τι τοῦ παλαιοῦ δράματος· 415  
 δεῖ γάρ με λέξαι τῷ χορῷ ῥῆσιν μακράν.  
 αὕτη δὲ θάνατον, ἣν κακῶς λέξω, φέρει.  
 Εὐ. τὰ ποῖα τρύχη; μῶν ἐν οἷς Οἶνεὺς ὄδι  
 ὁ δύσποτμος γεραιὸς ἠγωνίζετο;  
 Δι. οὐκ Οἰνέως ἦν· ἀλλ' ἔτ' ἀθλιωτέρου. 420  
 Εὐ. τὰ τοῦ τυφλοῦ Φοίνικος;  
 Δι. οὐ Φοίνικος, οὔ.  
 ἀλλ' ἕτερος ἦν Φοίνικος ἀθλιώτερος.  
 Εὐ. ποίας ποθ' ἀνὴρ λακίδας αἰτεῖται πέπλων;  
 ἀλλ' ἡ Φιλοκτήτου τὰ τοῦ πτωχοῦ λέγεις;  
 Δι. οὔκ, ἀλλὰ τούτου πολὺ πολὺ πτωχιστέρου. 425  
 Εὐ. ἀλλ' ἡ τὰ δυσπινῆ θέλεις πεπλώματα  
 ἃ Βελλεροφόντης εἶχ' ὁ χωλὸς οὔτοσί;  
 Δι. οὐ Βελλεροφόντης. ἀλλὰ κάκεῖνος μὲν ἦν

415 (παλαιοῦ) §§ S π 57 423 (λακίδας πέπλων) § S λ 53 425 (πολὺ  
 πτωχιστέρου) § Eust. p. 1441. 26 (πτωχιστέρου) §§ S π 3053; § EM, p. 31. 14  
 426 § S δ 1688; § Zon. p. 582. 13-14

407 vers. om. p: ad 404 add. Bentley 408 vers. del. Dobree ἐκκυκλήθητ'  
 tAld: ἐκκυκλήθητι Rc: ἐκκυκλήσει τι ΓE: ἐγκυκλήσει τι A 409 ἐγκυκλήσομαι AE  
 Σ<sup>R</sup> 408 411 vers. om. aC<sup>ac</sup> κατάβην R οὐκ ἐτὸς χωλοὺς] οὐκετὼς πτοχους R  
 412 τὰ om. c 413 ἐλεινήν Porson: ἐλεείνην vel ἐλεεινήν d πτωχοὺς R: χωλοὺς  
 act 414 intra 410 et 412 (om. 411) a σ' om. a 415 τοῦ] του Bergk  
 417 φέρη a 418 ἐν om. ac ὄδι] ὄσι c 419 ὁ] καὶ a γηραιὸς ΓE<sup>ac</sup>:  
 γαιραιὸς c 420 ἀθλιώτερα c 421 τοῦ om. a 423 ποθ' ἀνὴρ  
 Ribbeck, ducente Bentleio: ποθ' ἀνὴρ RΓc: ποτ' ἀνὴρ AEt λακείδας AΓct  
 πέπλων] πέπλον a: γέρων πέπλων p 425 πολὺ<sup>2</sup> om. a πτωχιστέρου p  
 426 ἦ] ἦδη S Zon. 428 Βελλεροφόντης p χωλὸς post ἦν a

- χωλὸς προσαιτῶν στωμύλος δεινὸς λέγειν.  
**Εὐ.** οἶδ' ἄνδρα, Μυσὸν Τήλεφον.  
**Δι.** ναί, Τήλεφον. 430  
 τούτου δός, ἀντιβολῶ σε, μοι τὰ σπάργανα.  
**Εὐ.** ὦ παῖ, δὸς αὐτῷ Τηλέφου ῥακώματα.  
 κείται δ' ἄνωθεν τῶν Θυεστείων ῥακῶν  
 μεταξὺ τῶν Ἴνους. ἰδοῦ, ταυτὶ λαβέ.  
**Δι.** ὦ Ζεῦ διόπτα καὶ κατόπτα πανταχῆ. 435  
 [ἐνσκευάσασθαί μ' οἶον ἀθλιώτατον]  
 Εὐριπίδη, 'πειδήπερ ἔχαρίσω ταδί,  
 κάκεῖνά μοι δὸς τὰκόλουθα τῶν ῥακῶν,  
 τὸ πιλίδιον περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τὸ Μύσιον.  
 δεῖ γάρ με δόξαι πτωχὸν εἶναι τήμερον, 440  
 εἶναι μὲν ὅσπερ εἰμί, φαίνεσθαι δὲ μὴ  
 τοὺς μὲν θεατὰς εἰδέναι μ' ὅς εἰμ' ἐγώ,  
 τοὺς δ' αὖ χορευτὰς ἡλιθίους παρεστάναι,  
 ὅπως ἂν αὐτοὺς ῥηματίοις σκιμαλίσω.  
**Εὐ.** δώσω· πυκνῆ γὰρ λεπτὰ μηχανᾶ φρενί. 445  
**Δι.** εὐδαιμονοίης· Τηλέφῳ δ' ἀγὼ φρονῶ.  
 εὖ γ' οἶον ἤδη ῥηματίων ἐμπίμπλαμαι.  
 ἀτὰρ δέομαί γε πτωχικοῦ βακτηρίου.  
**Εὐ.** τουτὶ λαβὼν ἄπελθε λαῖνων σταθμῶν.  
**Δι.** ὦ θύμ', ὄρας γὰρ ὡς ἀπωθοῦμαι δόμων 450  
 πολλῶν δεόμενος σκευαρίων, νῦν δὴ γενοῦ  
 γλίσχρος προσαιτῶν λιπαρῶν τ'. Εὐριπίδη,  
 δός μοι σπυρίδιον διακεκαυμένον λύχνῳ.  
**Εὐ.** τί δ', ὦ τάλας, σε τοῦδ' ἔχει πλέκους χρέος;

431 (σπάργανα) §§ Hsch. σ 1411 435-6 Greg. Cor. pp. 132-3  
 435 §§ S δ 1194 438 (τὰκόλουθα) § AB, p. 367. 29; § An. Bachm. i. 57. 16  
 441 S (1) §§ εἰ 158, (2) § φ 172 448 (πτωχικοῦ βακτηρίου) # Poll. x. 173  
 451-2 (γενοῦ . . .) §§ S γ 289 452 §§ S λ 579 (γλίσχρος) §§ Hsch. γ 642  
 453-5 S (1) § δ 571 453 (σπυρίδιον . . . λύχνῳ) §§ S σ 975 (σπυρίδιον) Poll.  
 x. 92 454 S (2) § π 1721, (3) § χ 458 (πλέκους) Poll. x. 92

429 δεινὸς λέγειν om. R 431 τούτου] τοῦτον ΓΕ 433 κείται a  
 436 vers. del. Brunck μ' οἶον] με οἶον a: μείον p 437 'πειδήπερ Bentley:  
 ἐπειδήπερ Ra cp Ald: ἐπειδήπερ γ' L [μοι] ταδί Bentley: μοι ταδί Ra: μοι τασί c  
 441 ὅσπερ S (1-2): ὡσπερ d 442 ὅς tAld: ὅστις Ra: ὅστι c 444 αὐτοῖς  
 R σκιμαλίσω c 445 λεπτᾶ R μηχανᾶ R: μηχανεῖ p 447  
 οἶων R ἐμπίμπλαμαι Vv17B: ἐμπίπλαμαι d 448 ἀτὰρ R γε] om. c: καὶ  
 tAld τοῦ ante πτωχικοῦ p βακτηρίου p 450 ἀποθοῦμαι R 452 προσαιτῶν]  
 πρὸς αὐτῶν p τ'] del. Bentley: σ' Halbertsma Εὐριπίδη R<sup>pc</sup> ct, cf. ]πίδη Π<sub>4</sub>:  
 Εὐριπίδην R<sup>ac</sup> a 454 θάλας p σε B: γε d S (2): om. S (1, 3)

- Δι. χρέος μὲν οὐδέν, βούλομαι δ' ὅμως λαβεῖν. 455  
 Εὐ. λυπηρὸς ἴσθ' ὦν κάποχώρησον δόμων.  
 Δι. φεῦ· 457a  
 εὐδαιμονοίης ὥσπερ ἡ μήτηρ ποτέ. 457b  
 Εὐ. ἄπελθέ νῦν μοι.  
 Δι. μάλλά μοι δὸς ἐν μόνον,  
 κοτυλίσκιον τὸ χεῖλος ἀποκεκρουμένον.  
 Εὐ. φθείρου λαβὼν τόδ' ἴσθ' ὄχληρὸς ὦν δόμοις. 460  
 Δι. οὐπω μὰ Δί' οἴσθ' οἶ' αὐτὸς ἐργάζει κακά.  
 ἀλλ', ὦ γλυκύτατ' Εὐριπίδη, τουτὶ μόνον  
 δὸς μοι, χυτρίδιον σπογγίῳ βεβυσμένον.  
 Εὐ. ἄνθρωπ', ἀφαιρήσει με τὴν τραγωδίαν.  
 ἄπελθε ταυτηνὶ λαβῶν.  
 Δι. ἀπέρχομαι. 465  
 καίτοι τί δράσω; δεῖ γὰρ ἑνός, οὐ μὴ τυχῶν  
 ἀπόλωλ'. ἄκουσον, ὦ γλυκύτατ' Εὐριπίδη·  
 τουτὶ λαβῶν ἄπειμι κοῦ πρόσειμ' ἔτι·  
 εἰς τὸ σφυρίδιον ἰσχνά μοι φυλλεῖα δός.  
 Εὐ. ἀπολείς μ'. ἰδοὺ σοι φρουδά μοι τὰ δράματα. 470  
 Δι. ἀλλ' οὐκέτ', ἀλλ' ἄπειμι. καὶ γὰρ εἰμ' ἄγαν  
 ὄχληρὸς, οὐ δοκῶν με κοιράνους στυγεῖν.  
 οἴμοι κακοδαίμων, ὡς ἀπόλωλ'. ἐπελαθόμην  
 ἐν ᾧπέρ ἐστι πάντα μοι τὰ πράγματα.  
 Εὐριπίδιον (ὦ) γλυκύτατον καὶ φίλτατον, 475  
 κάκιστ' ἀπολοίμην, εἴ τί σ' αἰτήσαιμ' ἔτι  
 πλὴν ἐν μόνον, τουτὶ μόνον, τουτὶ μόνον·  
 σκάνδικά μοι δὸς μητρόθεν δεδεγμένος.

458-9 † S (1) α 3343 (μοι . . .) †§ Zon. p. 264. 2-4 459 Ath. 11.  
 479b; S (2) †§§ κ 2665; AB, p. 429. 9-10; An.Bachm. i. 126. 3-4; § Eust. p. 1282. 59  
 463 § S β 224 (σπογγίῳ βεβυσμένον) § S σ 952 469 § S φ 833 (φυλλεῖα)  
 §§ Hsch. φ 992 475 §§ S φ 453 478 S §§ δ 753, §§ σ 536; cf. § Plin.  
 Nat. 22. 80; §§ Hsch. σ 844; §§ Phot. p. 516. 4-5

456 ὦν] ὦ p 458 μάλλά Bentley: μή, ἀλλά d ἐν] εὐ p 459 κοτυ-  
 λίσκιον Ath. Eust.: κυλίσκιον R<sup>ac</sup>HL S (1) Zon. AB An.Bachm.: κυλίσκον P: κυλίκειον  
 S (2): κυλίχρινον Brunck ἀποκεκρουμένον Ath. S (1) AB An.Bachm.: ἀποκεκρουσ-  
 μένον d S (2) Eust. 460 φθείρου R: φέρου act τόδ' R: ταῦτ' act: τουτ' Bentley  
 ἴσθ' Γ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup>ct: ἴσθι δ' R: om. AΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup> δόμους A, cf. δόμο\*ς Γ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup> 461 οὐπω]  
 οὔτοι Thiersch αὐτοῦ AΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup> ἐργάζη ac 462 τουτὶ μόνον tAld: μόνον  
 τουτὶ Ra: μόνον τοδὶ c 463 σφογγίῳ AΓ<sup>ct</sup>, cf. σ\*ογγίῳ E<sup>ac</sup> 468 κοῦκ p  
 πρόσειμ' c 469 φυλλία AΕ 470 ἀπολείς AΓ<sup>ac</sup> μοι om. R 472 με  
 κοιράνους] γε τυράνους R 475 ὦ ante Εὐριπίδιον S ὦ add. Elmsley: om. Π<sub>4</sub> d  
 καὶ R: ὦ act: om. S φίλτατον Elmsley: φιλάτιον dS 477 μόνον<sup>1</sup>] μονονὶ p

- Εὐ. ἀνὴρ ὑβρίζει. κλῆε πηκτὰ δωμάτων.  
 Δι. ὦ θύμ', ἄνευ σκάνδικος ἐμπορευτέα. 480  
 ἄρ' οἴσθ' ὅσον τὸν ἀγῶν' ἀγωνιεῖ τάχα,  
 μέλλων ὑπὲρ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀνδρῶν λέγειν;  
 πρόβαινέ νυν, ὦ θυμέ. γραμμὴ δ' αὐτῆί.  
 ἔστηκας; οὐκ εἶ καταπιῶν Εὐριπίδην;  
 ἐπήνεσ'. ἄγε νυν, ὦ τάλαινα καρδία, 485  
 ἄπελθ' ἐκεῖσε, κᾶτα τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐκεῖ  
 παράσχες εἰποῦσ' ἄττ' ἂν αὐτῇ σοὶ δοκῆ.  
 τόλμησον ἴθι· χῶρησον. ἄγαμαι καρδίας.
- Χο. τί δράσεις; τί φήσεις; (εὐ) ἴσθι νυν στρ. 489/90  
 ἀναίσχυντος ὢν σιδηροῦς τ' ἀνὴρ, 490/1  
 ὅστις παρασχῶν τῇ πόλει τὸν αὐχένα  
 ἅπασι μέλλεις εἶς λέγειν τάναντία.  
 ἀνὴρ οὐ τρέμει τὸ πρᾶγμ'. εἶά νυν, 494/5  
 ἐπειδήπερ αὐτὸς αἰρεῖ, λέγε. 495/6
- Δι. μή μοι φθονήσητ', ἄνδρες οἱ θεώμενοι,  
 εἰ πτωχὸς ὢν ἔπειτ' ἐν Ἀθηναίοις λέγειν  
 μέλλω περὶ τῆς πόλεως, τρυγωδίαν ποῶν·  
 τὸ γὰρ δίκαιον οἶδε καὶ τρυγωδία. 500  
 ἐγὼ δὲ λέξω δεινὰ μὲν, δίκαια δέ·  
 οὐ γάρ με νῦν γε διαβαλεῖ Κλέων ὅτι  
 ξένων παρόντων τὴν πόλιν κακῶς λέγω·  
 αὐτοὶ γάρ ἐσμεν οὐπὶ Ληναίῳ τ' ἀγῶν,  
 κοῦπω ξένοι πάρεισιν· οὔτε γὰρ φόροι 505

483 § S γ 424; †§ Zon. p. 452. 22-3 488 (ἄγαμαι καρδίας) §§ S a 138; §§ Zon.  
 p. 34. 5 (ἄγαμαι) § Phot. a 115; § An. Bachm. i. 21. 1-2 495/6 †§§ S ai 302  
 500 † anon. de Com. XIXa. 31-3 503 § Plu. Mor. 71d 504 (ἐπὶ  
 Ληναίῳ ἀγῶν) §§ Hsch. ε 4933

479 ἀνὴρ van Leeuwen: ἀνὴρ Ract: ὠνὴρ Brunck ὑβρίζει R κλῆε van  
 Leeuwen: κλειε Π<sub>4</sub> d 480 θυμέ Π<sub>4</sub> εὐπορευτέα A, cf. \*\*πορευτέα Γ<sup>ac</sup> E<sup>ac</sup>:  
 ἐκπορευτέα Bentley 481 ἀγῶνα p ἀγωνιῆ A <sup>s</sup>E<sup>4</sup> 486 ἄπελθ'] πάρελθ'  
 Hamaker: ἄγ' ἔλθ' Meineke 487 εἰποῦσ'] εἰπέ θ' Hamaker: εὐροῦσ' Meineke  
 αὐτῆ] εἰπεῖν Meineke δοκῆ R<sup>pc</sup>E: δοκεῖ R<sup>ac</sup> AΓct 488 τουμησ[ον Π<sub>4</sub> (corr. I<sup>2</sup>)  
 ἄγαμαι, καρδία Porson 490 εὐ add. Meineke: ἀλλ' add. Hermann ἀναίσχυν-  
 τοι c 491 ὢν . . . ἀνὴρ om. p 493 vers. om. p ἅπασω R 494  
 ἀνὴρ van Leeuwen: ἀνὴρ d πρᾶγμα RtAld 495 εἶα d 496 αἰρεῖ, λέγε  
 R: αἰρεῖ λέγειν ΓEtAld: αἰρή λέγειν AcS 497 οἶ] ὦ R 499 τραγωδίαν AE,  
 cf. τρ\*γωδίαν Γ<sup>ac</sup> 500 νόμους δ' ἐτίθετ' Ribbeck 502 νῦν γε R: νῦν ac:  
 καὶ νῦν tAld 504 Λαιναίῳ R 505 κοῦπω] καὶ οὔπω Rc: οὔπω γὰρ p  
 πάρεισιν] παισεῖσεν p

ἤκουσιν οὐτ' ἐκ τῶν πόλεων οἱ ξύμμαχοι,  
 ἀλλ' ἐσμέν αὐτοὶ νῦν γε περιεπτισμένοι·  
 τοὺς γὰρ μετοίκους ἄχυρα τῶν ἀστῶν λέγω.  
 ἐγὼ δὲ μισῶ μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους σφόδρα,  
 καὐτοσίωιν αὐθις οὐπὶ Ταινάρῳ θεὸς 510  
 σείσας ἅπασιν ἐμβάλοι τὰς οἰκίας·  
 κάμοι γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀμπέλια κεκομμένα.  
 ἀτάρ, φίλοι γὰρ οἱ παρόντες ἐν λόγῳ,  
 τί ταῦτα τοὺς Λάκωνας αἰτιώμεθα;  
 ἡμῶν γὰρ ἄνδρες—οὐχὶ τὴν πόλιν λέγω· 515  
 μέμνησθε τοῦθ', ὅτι οὐχὶ τὴν πόλιν λέγω—,  
 ἀλλ' ἀνδράρια μοχθηρὰ παρακεκομμένα,  
 ἄτιμα καὶ παράσημα καὶ παράξενα,  
 ἐσυκοφάντει Μεγαρέων τὰ χλανίσκια.  
 κεῖ που σίκυον ἴδοιεν ἢ λαγώδιον 520  
 ἢ χοιρίδιον ἢ σκόροδον ἢ χονδροὺς ἄλας,  
 ταῦτ' ἦν Μεγαρικὰ κάπέπρατ' αὐθημερόν.  
 καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ σμικρὰ κάπιχώρια,  
 πόρνην δὲ Σιμαίθαν ἰόντες Μεγαράδε  
 νεανίαι κλέπτουσι μεθυσσοκότταβοι. 525  
 κᾶθ' οἱ Μεγαρῆς ὀδύνας πεφυσιγγωμένοι  
 ἀντεξέκλειψαν Ἀσπασίας πόρνα δύο·  
 κἀντεῦθεν ἀρχὴ τοῦ πολέμου κατερράγη

507 Poll. vii. 24; § S π 1121      508 § S μ 820      510–11 § S τ 206  
 512 §§ S π 358      514 cf. §§ Aristid. II. 241. 10–11      517–18 §§ S π 358  
 517 (ἀνδράρια) § Phot. a 1743      520–2 cf. Σ<sup>V</sup> Pax 1001      520 § S σ 400  
 523 § S σ 1330 (ἐπιχώρια) §§ Hsch. ε 5440      524–39 cf. Harp. A 249; Σ<sup>RV</sup>  
 Pax 502      524–33 †§ Aristodem. FGrH 104 F 1. 16. 3      524–9 § Ath. 13.  
 570a–b      524–7 Plu. Per. 30. 4      524 (Σιμαίθαν) §§ Hsch. σ 657; §§ Phot.  
 p. 512. 5      526–7 (. . . Ἀσπασίας) § S π 1434      526 (πεφυσιγγωμένοι) §§  
 Hsch. π 2138; §§ Phot. p. 427. 17

506 οἱ] ἠ c      508 vers. del. Valckenaer      509 τοὺς ante Λακεδαιμονίους Rp  
 510 καὐτοσίωιν αὐθις van Herwerden: καὐτοῖς ὁ Ποσειδῶν RΓ<sup>3</sup>, cf. αὐτοῖς ὁ Ποσειδῶν  
 S: καὐτὸς ὁ Ποσειδῶν AΓ<sup>ac</sup>Ect      512 ἐστὶ τὰμπέλια Meineke διακεκομμένα  
 R: παρακεκομμένα S      515 κούχῃ R      516 vers. om. EH      τοῦτ' RA, cf.  
 τοῦ\* Γ<sup>ac</sup> ὅτι om. AΓ<sup>ac</sup>: ὅτ' PtAld      520 ἴδοιεν] εἶδεν ct      521 χονδροὺς  
 ἄλας Elmsley: χονδρὰς ἄλας R: χονδροὺς vel χόνδρους ἄλός act      522 κάπέπρατ' E<sup>4</sup>:  
 κάπέπραθ' Rct: κάπέπραθ' AΓ, cf. κάπέπρ\*\*\* E<sup>ac</sup>      523 μὲν δὴ] μέντοι p  
 524 δὲ Σιμαίθαν RE <sup>Λ</sup>Σ<sup>EG</sup> Plu. Ath.: δὲ Σημαίθαν AΓct      525 'κλέπτουσι  
 Richards μεθυσσο- RA      526 Μεγαρῆς R Aristodem. Ath.: Μεγαρεῖς actS Plu.  
 σκῶν add. ad fin. p      527 ἀντέκλειψαν Aristodem. Plu<sup>S</sup> πόρνα Π<sub>3</sub> act Plu.<sup>Y</sup>:  
 πόρνας R Aristodem. Plu.<sup>S</sup> Ath.      528 κἀντεῦθεν] κἀκεῖθεν Ath. ἀρχὴ Dobree:  
 ἀρχὴ d      πτολέμου p

Ἕλλησι πάσιν ἐκ τριῶν λαικαστριῶν.  
 ἐντεῦθεν ὄργῃ Περικλέης οὐλύμπιος 530  
 ἤστραπτ' ἐβρόντα, ξυνεκύκα τὴν Ἑλλάδα,  
 ἐτίθει νόμους ὥσπερ σκόλια γεγραμμένους,  
 ὡς χρὴ Μεγαρέας μήτε γῆ μήτ' ἐν ἀγορᾷ  
 μήτ' ἐν θαλάττῃ μήτ' ἐν ἠπείρῳ μένειν.  
 ἐντεῦθεν οἱ Μεγαρήσ, ὅτε δὴ 'πείνων βάδην, 535  
 Λακεδαιμονίων ἐδέοντο τὸ ψήφισμ' ὅπως  
 μεταστραφείη τὸ διὰ τὰς λαικαστρίας.  
 οὐκ ἠθέλομεν δ' ἡμεῖς δεομένων πολλάκις·  
 κἀντεῦθεν ἤδη πάταγος ἦν τῶν ἀσπίδων.  
 ἐρεῖ τις, "οὐ χρῆν". ἀλλὰ τί ἐχρῆν εἶπατε. 540  
 φέρ', εἰ Λακεδαιμονίων τις ἐκπλεύσας σκάφει  
 ἀπέδοτο φήνας κυνίδιον Σεριφίων,  
 καθῆσθ' ἂν ἐν δόμοισιν; ἢ πολλοῦ γε δεῖ.  
 καὶ κάρτα μέντ' ἂν εὐθέως καθείλκετε  
 τριακοσίας ναῦς, ἦν δ' ἂν ἡ πόλις πλέα 545  
 θορύβου στρατιωτῶν, περὶ τριηράρχους βοῆς,  
 μισθοῦ διδομένου, παλλαδίων χρυσομένων,  
 στοᾶς στεναχούσης, σιτίων μετρούμενων,  
 ἀσκῶν τροπωτήρων, κάδους ὠνούμενων,  
 σκορόδων ἐλαῶν, κρομμύων ἐν δικτύοις, 550  
 στεφάνων τριχίδων αὐλητρίδων ὑπωπίων·  
 τὸ νεώριον δ' αὖ κωπέων πλατουμένων,

530-1 (Περικλέης . . .) # Ephor. FGrH 70 F 196 (40. 6) 531 § Cic. Or. 29;  
 §§ Plin. Ep. i. 20. 19 (ἤστραπτ' ἐβρόντα) cf. §§ Plu. Per. 8. 4 (ἤστραπτ') cf. §  
 Quint. Inst. xii. 10. 65 (ξυνεκύκα τὴν Ἑλλάδα) cf. §§ Cic. Ep. 373d-4a  
 532 †§§ S σ 645 533-4 Apostol. xviii. 660 (Μεγαρέας . . .) †§§ S σ 645  
 535-6 (Μεγαρήσ . . . ἐδέοντο) § S β 16 545-6 cf. Σ<sup>AbT</sup> H. II. 2. 153  
 550 (σκορόδων ἐν δικτύοις) cf. §§ S σ 668

530 ὀλύμπιος AΓ<sup>ac</sup>, cf. \*λύμπιος E<sup>ac</sup> 531 ἤστραπτ' Aristodem. Plin.: ἤστραπτεν  
 d Ephor. συνεκύκα Ephor. Aristodem. Plin. τὴν] τ' AΓ<sup>ac</sup>: θ' E 533 μήτε  
 γῆ Bentley: μήτ' ἐν γῆ Racl Apostol.: μήτ' ἐν τῇ H: μήτ' ἐρτῆ P: om. Aristodem.  
 533-4 μήτ' ἐν ἀγορᾷ / μήτ' ἐν θαλάττῃ om. p 534 ἠπείρῳ] οὐρανῶ Schneidewin  
 535 Μεγαρήσ RΓ<sup>pc</sup>: Μεγαρεῖς AΓ<sup>ac</sup>EctS 536 τὸ om. ct 538 οὐκ ἠθέλομεν  
 δ' R: οὐκ ἠθέλομεν aL: οὐκ ἠθέλομεν cp (κ<sup>mg</sup>. P, κη<sup>mg</sup>. H) 540 ἐχρῆν R: χρῆν vel  
 'χρην act, cf. χρ[Π<sub>1</sub> 541 φέρ', εἰ tAld, cf. \*\*\*\*]i Π<sub>1</sub>: φέρ', εἰ καὶ Rac ἐκ-  
 πλεύσας τις AΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup>: ἐσπλεύσάν τις Blaydes 542 ἀπέδοτο] ὑφείλετο van Leeuwen  
 φήνας] κλέφας Mueller: δήσας Hamaker: χῆν' ἢ van Leeuwen Σερυφίων c  
 546 τριηράρχους van Herwerden: τριηράρχου d: τριήραρχον Green 547 διδομένου  
 RA: διδομένων ΓEcPL: δεδομένων H 548 σιτίων] ἀτίων P: ἀρτίων H  
 549 θασκῶν AΓ<sup>ac</sup> 550 κορομμύων Γ<sup>ac</sup>E: κορομμύων Γ<sup>3</sup> 551 τριχίδων]  
 τριχιδωκχθύων p



τύλων ψοφούντων, θαλαμιῶν τροπουμένων,  
 αὐλῶν κελευστῶν νιγλάρων συριγμάτων.  
 ταῦτ' οἶδ' ὅτι ἄν ἐδράτε· τὸν δὲ Τήλεφον  
 οὐκ οἰόμεσθα; νοῦς ἄρ' ἡμῖν οὐκ ἔνι. 555

## ΧΟΡΕΥΤΗΣ α'

ἄληθες, ὠπίτριπτε καὶ μιαρῶτατε;  
 ταυτὶ σὺ τολμᾶς πτωχὸς ὢν ἡμᾶς λέγειν,  
 καὶ συκοφάντης εἴ τις ἦν, ὠνείδισας;

## ΧΟΡΕΥΤΗΣ β'

νῆ τὸν Ποσειδῶ, καὶ λέγει γ' ἄπερ λέγει 560  
 δίκαια πάντα κοῦδὲν αὐτῶν ψεύδεται.

Χο. α' εἴτ' εἰ δίκαια, τοῦτον εἰπεῖν αὐτ' ἐχρήν;  
 ἀλλ' οὐ τι χαίρων ταῦτα τολμήσει λέγειν.

Χο. β' οὔτος σὺ, ποῖ θεῖς; οὐ μενεῖς; ὡς εἰ θενεῖς  
 τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον, αὐτὸς ἀρθήσει τάχα. 565

Χο. α' ἰὼ Λάμαχ' ὦ βλέπων ἀστραπάς, 570  
 βοήθησον, ὦ γοργολόφα, φανείς·  
 ἰὼ Λάμαχ' ὦ φίλ' ὦ φυλέτα.

εἴτε τις ἔστι ταξίαρχος ἢ στρατηγὸς ἢ  
 τειχομάχας ἀνὴρ, βοηθησάτω 570  
 τις ἀνύσας· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔχομαι μέσος.

## ΛΑΜΑΧΟΣ

πόθεν βοῆς ἤκουσα πολεμιστηρίας;  
 ποῖ χρὴ βοηθεῖν; ποῖ κυδοιμὸν ἐμβαλεῖν;  
 τίς γοργόν' ἐξήγειρεν ἐκ τοῦ σάγματος;

Δι. ὦ Λάμαχ' ἦρως, τῶν λόφων καὶ τῶν λόχων. 575

555-6 (τὸν . . . οἰόμεσθα) cf. §§ Aristid. 2. 59 567 (γοργολόφα) §§ Hsch. γ  
 846 571 (ἐγὼ . . .) §§ S μ 669 574 S σ 23 (σάγματος) § Poll. vii. 157;  
 §§ Hsch. σ 32; §§ Phot. p. 495. 26

553 ψοφοάντων p τρυπωμένων Morrison 555 οἶδ' ] οἶδα A, cf. οἶδ\* Γ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup>  
 τὸν δέ] τὸν δὲ τὸν A, cf. τὸν δὲ \*\*\* Γ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup> 556 οἰόμεθα AΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup>cp ὑμῖν tAld  
 557 ὦ ἐπίτριπτε c 559 vers. del. van Leeuwen ὠνείδισας ΓE<sup>+</sup>: ὠνείδησας R:  
 ὠνειδίσας AE<sup>ac</sup>cL: ὠνίδεισας P: ὠνίδισας H 560 Ποσειδῶν c καὶ om. c  
 562 αὐτ' ] ταῦτ' R 563 οὐ τι Bentley: οὐδὲ Rct: οὐδὲν a 565 ἀρθήση a  
 566 Λάμμαχ' p ὦ Hermann: ἰὼ d 567 γοργολόφας A, cf. γοργολόφα\* Γ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup>  
 568 Λάμμαχ' p φίλ' t: φίλε Rac 569 εἴτε τις ἔστι ταξίαρχός τις ἢ  
 [στρατηγὸς ἢ] Elmsley: εἴτ' ἔστι ταξίαρχος ἢ στρατηγὸς ἢ Fritsche εἴτ' ἔστι τις tAld  
 570 τειχομάχας Dobree: τειχομάχος RacL: τευχομάχος p 571 τις] τι Elmsley  
 ἔχομαι] ἰσχομαι tAld 575 vers. del. Hamaker Λάμμαχ' p τῶν πτίλων καὶ  
 τῶν λόφων Thiersch: τῶν λόφων καὶ τῶν πτίλων van Leeuwen

- Χο. α' ὦ Λάμαχ', οὐ γὰρ οὗτος ἄνθρωπος πάλαι  
ἅπασαν ἡμῶν τὴν πόλιν κακορροθεῖ; 577
- Λα. οὗτος σύ, τολμᾶς πτωχὸς ὢν λέγειν τάδε; 577a
- Δι. ὦ Λάμαχ' ἤρως, ἀλλὰ συγγνώμην ἔχε,  
εἰ πτωχὸς ὢν εἶπόν τι κάστωμυλάμην.
- Λα. τί δ' εἶπας ἡμᾶς; οὐκ ἔρεῖς;
- Δι. οὐκ οἶδά πω· 580  
ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους γὰρ τῶν ὄπλων εἰλιγγιῶ.  
ἀλλ', ἀντιβολῶ σ', ἀπένευκέ μου τὴν μορμόνα.
- Λα. ἰδοῦ.
- Δι. παράθες νυν ὑπτίαν αὐτὴν ἐμοί.
- Λα. κείται.
- Δι. φέρε νυν ἀπὸ τοῦ κράνους μοι τὸ πτερόν.
- Λα. τουτὶ πτίλον σοι.
- Δι. τῆς κεφαλῆς νύν μου λαβοῦ 585  
ἴν' ἐξεμέσω· βδελύττομαι γὰρ τοὺς λόφους.
- Λα. οὗτος, τί δράσεις; τῷ πτίλῳ μέλλεις ἐμεῖν;  
πτίλον γὰρ ἔστιν—
- Δι. εἶπέ μοι, τίνος ποτὲ  
ὄρنيθός ἐστιν; ἄρα κομπολακύθου;
- Λα. οἴμ' ὡς τεθνήξεις.
- Δι. μηδαμῶς, ὦ Λάμαχε· 590  
οὐ γὰρ κατ' ἰσχύν ἐστιν. εἰ δ' ἰσχυρὸς εἶ,  
τί μ' οὐκ ἀπεψώλησας; εὖοπλος γὰρ εἶ.
- Λα. ταυτὶ λέγεις σὺ τὸν στρατηγὸν πτωχὸς ὢν;
- Δι. ἐγὼ γὰρ εἶμι πτωχός;
- Λα. ἀλλὰ τίς γὰρ εἶ;
- Δι. ὅστις; πολίτης χρηστός, οὐ σπουδαρχίδης, 595  
ἀλλ' ἐξ ὅτου περ ὁ πόλεμος, στρατωνίδης.

577 § S κ 168 578-9 (συγγνώμην . . .) § S ε 3233 581 (ὑπὸ . . . γὰρ  
εἰλιγγιῶ) §§ S ει 120; §§ Zon. p. 645. 13-14 582 (ἀντιβολῶ . . .) § S μ 1252  
584 (φέρε . . .) §§ S φ 218 590 (. . . τεθνήξεις) §§ S τ 232 595 (σπουδ-  
αρχίδης) §§ Phryn. PS, p. 109. 14; §§ AB, p. 63. 18-19

576 Λάμμαχ' p ἄνθρωπος van Leeuwen: ἄνθρωπος d 577a vers. del.  
Valckenaer λέγει P<sup>ac</sup>H 578 Λάμμαχ' p 580 οἶδά πω] οἶδά. (Λα.)  
πῶς; Bergk: οἶδ' ὅπως Meineke 581 ὢν ante τῶν tAld εἰλιγγιῶ S Zon.:  
ἠλιγγιῶ R: ἰλιγγιῶ acPL: ἰλιγγιῶ H 582 μου] μοι Γ<sup>3</sup>E 583 ἐμοί] (Λα.)  
ἰδοῦ Meineke 584 μοι τὸ] δός μοι Bachmann 590 τεθνήξεις Dawes:  
τεθνήσει Rct: τεθνήση GES: τεθνήξη A Λάμμαχε p 591 ἐστιν] σοῦστιν  
Meineke εἰ δ'] οὐδ' ΑΓΕ<sup>ac</sup> 592 εὖπολος ΑΓ<sup>ac</sup>, cf. εὖ\*\*λος E<sup>ac</sup> 593 vers.  
del. et 577a huc transp. Wilamowitz

- σὺ δ' ἐξ ὅτου περ ὁ πόλεμος, μισθαρχίδης.  
 Λα. ἐχειροτόνησαν γάρ με—  
 Δι. κόκκυγές γε τρεῖς.  
 ταῦτ' οὖν ἐγὼ βδελυττόμενος ἐσπείσάμην,  
 ὄρων πολιοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας ἐν ταῖς τάξεσιν, 600  
 νεανίας δ' οἴους σὺ διαδεδρακότας,  
 τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ Θράκης μισθοφοροῦντας τρεῖς δραχμάς,  
 Τεισαμενοφαινίππους Πανουργιππαρχίδας,  
 ἑτέρους δὲ παρὰ Χάρητι, τοὺς δ' ἐν Χάοσιν,  
 Γερητοθεοδώρους Διομειαλαζόνας, 605  
 τοὺς δ' ἐν Καμαρίνῃ κὰν Γέλα κὰν Καταγέλα.  
 Λα. ἐχειροτονηθήσαν γάρ.  
 Δι. αἴτιον δὲ τί  
 ὑμᾶς μὲν αἰὲ μισθοφορεῖν ἀμηγέπη,  
 τωνδὶ δὲ μηδέν'; ἑτεόν, ὦ Μαριλάδη,  
 ἤδη πεπρέσβευκας σὺ πολιοὺς ὧν μίαν; 610  
 ἀνένευσε. καίτοι γ' ἐστὶ σῶφρων κἀργάτης.  
 τί δαὶ Δράκυλλος κευφορίδης καὶ Πρινίδης;  
 εἶδέν τις ὑμῶν τὰκβάταν' ἢ τοὺς Χάονας;  
 οὐ φασιν. ἀλλ' ὁ Κοισύρας καὶ Λάμαχος,  
 οἷς ὑπ' ἐράνων τε καὶ χρεῶν πρῶην ποτέ, 615  
 ὥσπερ ἀπόνιπτρον ἐκχέοντες ἐσπέρας,  
 ἅπαντες "ἐξίστω" παρήνουν οἱ φίλοι.  
 Λα. ὦ δημοκρατία, ταῦτα δῆτ' ἀνασχετά;

597 (μισθαρχίδης) §§ Hsch. μ 1455; §§ Phot. μ 471 598 (κόκκυγες) §§ Hsch.  
 κ 3294 606 (κὰν Γέλα κὰν Καταγέλα) cf. §§ Plaut. Stich. 630-1; §§ Ath. 7. 314f  
 608 § S a 1575 609 (Μαριλάδη) §§ S μ 195 610 S e 1297 616 § Ath. 9.  
 409f; § S a 3455 (ἀπόνιπτρον) § Poll. vii. 40; § Phryn. Ecl. 165; Eust. p. 1867. 26

597 ὅτου] ὅσου Π<sub>5</sub> Vp<sub>3</sub>C<sup>ac</sup> 598 γάρ om. AΓ<sup>ac</sup>E γε Bentley: τε act: om. R  
 600 ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου καταλόγοις add. ad fin. P, intra 600 et 601 H 601 οἴους  
 σὺ] οἴους σε Holden: οἶος σὺ Bentley 602 δραχμάς τρεῖς AΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup> 603 Τεισ-  
 Hall et Geldart: Τισ- Π<sub>3</sub> d 605 -δόρους p 606 Κατεγέλα AΓL<sup>ac</sup>  
 608 ὑμᾶς] ἡμᾶς t αἰὲ RS: om. aVp<sub>3</sub>: ἤδη Ct μισθοφοροῦντας R: μισθοφορεῖς A  
 ἀμηγέπη AΓ<sup>ac</sup>, cf. ἀμηγέπ\* E<sup>ac</sup>: ἀμηγέπου vel ἀμηγέπου RΓ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup>Ct <sup>Λ</sup>Σ<sup>ΕΓ</sup>: ἀμηγέποι S: om.  
 Vp<sub>3</sub> 609 τωνδὶ] τονδὶ A: τουσδὶ Γ<sup>3</sup> μηθεν' Π<sub>5</sub> 610 μίαν Rennie: ἐν ἢ vel  
 sim. dS: ἐνί Elmsley: ἐνη Hermann: πάλαι van Leeuwen: alia alii 611 καίτοι γ'  
 ἐστὶ] καιτούστί γε Elmsley 612 δαὶ Δράκυλλος] δ' Ἀνθράκυλλος Reiske  
 δαὶ] δὲ c κευφορίδης Bentley: καὶ Εὐφορίδης d, cf. κ[ Π<sub>5</sub>: ἢ Εὐφορίδης Elmsley  
 καὶ<sup>2</sup> Elliott: ἢ d Πρινίδης p 613 εἶδέν B: οἶδέν RaL: οἶδέ cp 615 ὑπ'  
 Bentley: ὑπὲρ Π<sub>5</sub> d ἐράνων Reiske: ἐράνου d, cf. ]ρανου Π<sub>5</sub> πρῶην Mastromarco:  
 πρῶην d παρὰ προσδοκίαν add. ad fin. p 616 ἀπονίπτων p 618 οὐκ  
 post δῆτ' A, cf. δῆτ' \*\*\* Γ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup>

- Δι. οὐ δῆτ', ἐὰν μὴ μισθοφορῇ γε Λάμαχος.  
 Λα. ἀλλ' οὖν ἐγὼ μὲν πᾶσι Πελοποννησίοις 620  
 αἰεὶ πολεμήσω καὶ ταράξω πανταχῇ  
 καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ πεζοῖσι κατὰ τὸ καρτερόν.  
 Δι. ἐγὼ δὲ κηρύττω γε Πελοποννησίοις  
 ἅπασι καὶ Μεγαρεῦσι καὶ Βοιωτίοις  
 πωλεῖν ἀγοράζειν πρὸς ἐμέ, Λαμάχῳ δὲ μῆ. 625  
 Χο. ἀνὴρ νικᾷ τοῖσι λόγοισιν καὶ τὸν δῆμον μεταπίθει  
 περὶ τῶν σπονδῶν. ἀλλ' ἀποδύντες τοῖς ἀναπαίστοις ἐπίωμεν.  
 ἐξ οὗ γε χοροῖσιν ἐφέστηκεν τρυγικοῖς ὁ διδάσκαλος ἡμῶν,  
 οὕτω παρέβη πρὸς τὸ θέατρον λέξων ὡς δεξιὸς ἐστίν.  
 διαβαλλόμενος δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐν Ἀθηναίοις ταχυβούλοις  
 ὡς κωμῶδει τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν καὶ τὸν δῆμον καθυβρίζει, 631  
 ἀποκρίνασθαι δεῖται νυνὶ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους μεταβούλους.  
 φησὶν δ' εἶναι πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος ὑμῖν ὁ ποητῆς  
 παύσας ὑμᾶς ξενικοῖσι λόγοις μὴ λίαν ἐξαπατᾶσθαι,  
 μηδ' ἠδεσθαι θωπευομένους, μηδ' εἶναι χαυνοπολίτας. 635  
 πρότερον δ' ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων οἱ πρέσβεις ἐξαπατῶντες  
 πρῶτον μὲν "ἰοστεφάνους" ἐκάλουν· κάπειδὴ τοῦτό τις εἶποι,  
 εὐθύς διὰ τοὺς στεφάνους ἐπ' ἄκρων τῶν πυγιδίων ἐκάθησθε.  
 εἰ δέ τις ὑμᾶς ὑποθωπεύσας "λιπαρὰς" καλέσειεν "Ἀθήνας",  
 ἠὔρετο πᾶν ἂν διὰ τὰς "λιπαρὰς", ἀφύων τιμὴν περιάψας.  
 ταῦτα ποήσας πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος ὑμῖν γεγένηται, 641

622 § S κ 823      627 (ἀλλ' . . .) § S α 3305      630 (ταχυβούλοις) §§ S τ 202  
 634 § S ξ 35      635 (χαυνοπολίτας) §§ S χ 150      637-8 (κάπειδὴ . . .) †§ S π  
 3111      638 (ἐπ' . . .) †§§ Phryn. PS, p. 70. 9      639-40 S (1) § θ 433, (2)  
 †§ λ 575      640 S (3) †§ α 4660 (ἀφύων τιμὴν) §§ Hsch. α 8804

619 μῆ om. **cp**      620 πᾶσι μὲν **p**      621 ταράξω] κατάρξω **t**  
 622 κρατερόν R: καρτεερόν **c**      623 γε Π<sub>5</sub> B: γε καὶ **d**: καὶ Ald      625 Λάμαχον  
 Graves      626 ἀνὴρ Elmsley: ἀνὴρ **d**: ὠνὴρ Brunck      τοῖσιν R      λόγοισιν LAld:  
 λόγοισι **Racp**      627 τοὺς ἀναπαίστους **tAld**      ἐπίωμεν om. **p**      628 ἐφέστηκεν  
 Γ: ἐφέστηκε **RAEct**      τραγικοῖς A: τρυγικοῖς **p**      629 οὕτω] οὕτω **p**      παρέβην  
 ἸΣ<sup>R</sup>      λέξων R      630 δ' om. AΓE<sup>ac</sup>      631 ὑμῶν Fritzsche      632 μετα-  
 βολους Π<sub>5</sub>      633 φασὶν L: φασὶ **pAld**      αἴτιος Bentley: ἄξιος **d**, cf. αξι| Π<sub>5</sub>      ὑμῖν  
 R: ἡμῖν **act**      634 πείσας Reiske      ἡμᾶς **t**      λόγοις Ald: λόγοισι **dS**      635 μηδ'  
 . . . μηδ' Meineke: μηδ' . . . μήτ' RE**cp**: μήθ' . . . μήτ' AΓL      636 δ'] γὰρ δὲ **p**  
 ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων οἱ πρέσβεις Bentley, cf. ]οι πρεσβεις εξα| Π<sub>5</sub>: ὑμᾶς οἱ πρέσβεις ἀπὸ  
 τῶν πόλεων **d**: ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ὑμᾶς οἱ πρέσβεις Kuster      637 κάπειδαν B      εἶπη  
**tAld**      638 πυγίδων **p**      639 τι post ὑποθωπεύσας R      640 ἠὔρετο  
 Elmsley: εὔρετο vel εὔρε τὸ **d** S (1-3)      641 ταῦτας **p**      αἴτιος ὑμῖν] ὑμῖν αἴτιος  
**p**: ἄξιος ὑμῖν Blaydes

καὶ τοὺς δῆμους ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν δείξας ὡς δημοκρατοῦνται.  
 τοιγάρτοι νῦν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων τὸν φόρον ὑμῖν ἀπάγοντες  
 ἤξουσιν ἰδεῖν ἐπιθυμοῦντες τὸν ποιητὴν τὸν ἄριστον,  
 ὅστις παρεκιδύνευσ' εἰπεῖν ἐν Ἀθηναίοις τὰ δίκαια. 645  
 οὕτω δ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς τόλμης ἤδη πόρρω κλέος ἦκει,  
 ὅτε καὶ βασιλεὺς Λακεδαιμονίων τὴν πρεσβείαν βασανίζων  
 ἠρώτησεν πρῶτα μὲν αὐτοὺς πότεροι ταῖς ναυσὶ κρατοῦσιν,  
 εἶτα δὲ τοῦτον τὸν ποιητὴν ποτέρους εἶποι κακὰ πολλά·  
 τούτους γὰρ ἔφη τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πολὺ βελτίους γεγενῆσθαι  
 καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ πολὺ νικήσειν τοῦτον ξύμβουλον ἔχοντας. 651  
 διὰ τοῦθ' ὑμᾶς Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν εἰρήνην προκαλοῦνται  
 καὶ τὴν Αἴγιναν ἀπαιτοῦσιν· καὶ τῆς νήσου μὲν ἐκείνης  
 οὐ φροντίζουσ', ἀλλ' ἵνα τοῦτον τὸν ποιητὴν ἀφέλωνται.  
 ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς τοι μήποτ' ἀφήσθ' ὡς κωμωδήσει τὰ δίκαια. 655  
 φησὶν δ' ὑμᾶς πολλὰ διδάξειν ἀγάθ', ὥστ' εὐδαίμονας εἶναι,  
 οὐ θωπεύων οὐδ' ὑποτείνων μισθοὺς οὐδ' ἐξαπατύλλων  
 οὐδὲ πανουργῶν οὐδὲ κατάρδων, ἀλλὰ τὰ βέλτιστα διδάσκων.  
 πρὸς ταῦτα Κλέων καὶ παλαμάσθω  
 καὶ πᾶν ἐπ' ἐμοὶ τεκταινέσθω. 660  
 τὸ γὰρ εὖ μετ' ἐμοῦ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον  
 ξύμμαχον ἔσται, κοῦ μή ποθ' ἀλῶ  
 περὶ τὴν πόλιν ὧν ὥσπερ ἐκείνος  
 δειλὸς καὶ λακαταπύγων.

646-9 cf. § anon. *de Com.* XXVIII. 44-6 (= *Ar. test.* 1. 40-2) 657 §§ S v  
 612 658 †§ S κ 750 664 (λακαταπύγων) §§ Phot. λ 42

642 πόλεσιν L: πόλεσι **Racp** 643 ὑμῖν] ἡμῖν Blaydes 645 ὅστις  
 παρεκιδύνευσ' εἰπεῖν ἐν Ἀθηναίοις Hermann: ὅστις παρεκιδύνευσεν Ἀθηναίοις εἰπεῖν **d**:  
 ὅστις γ' εἰπεῖν παρεκιδύνευσ' ἐν Ἀθηναίοις Porson 646 οὕτω δ'] οὕτως Elmsley:  
 οὕτως Richards τόλμης . . . ἦκει om. **c** 647 ὅτε] ὅτι Γ<sup>3</sup> τὴν om. **ct**  
 648 ἠρώτησεν Bentley: ἠρώτησε **d** αὐτοὺς . . . κρατοῦσιν om. **c** 649 ὀποτέρ-  
 οὺς **c** 650 πολὺ] ποτέ **c** γεγενῆσθαι] τε γενέσθ' ἄν Mueller: τε γενέσθαι  
 Blaydes 651 ξύμβουλον ΑΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup> 652 τοῦθ'] ταύθ' R, cf. δια δ(ε)  
 ταυτα Π<sub>3</sub> ('s) τὴν Reiske 653 ἀπαιτοῦσιν Γ, cf. ]ν Π<sub>5</sub>: ἀπαιτοῦσι RA**Ect**  
 655 ἡμεῖς **cH<sup>ac</sup>L** μήποτ' ἀφήσθ' Bergk: μήποτ' ἀφήσετε R: μήποτ' ἀφήσεται A<sup>ac</sup>Γ<sup>act</sup>,  
 cf. μήποτ' ἀφήσε\* E<sup>ac</sup>: μήποτ' ἀφήσεθ' A<sup>pc</sup>Γ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>pc</sup>: μήποτε δείσηθ' **c**: μήποτε φήσητε  
<sup>yp</sup>Vp3: μήποθ' ἀφήσητ' Ald: μήποτ' ἀφήθ' Tyrwhitt ὡς] ὅς Reiske κωμωδεῖ  
 Scaliger 656 φησὶν E<sup>4</sup>L: φησὶ ΑΓE<sup>ac</sup>**cp**: φήσειν R 657 οὐδ' S: οὐθ' **d**  
 ὑποτείνων BS: ὑποτίνων **d** οὐδ' RS: οὐτ' **act** 658 οὐδὲ . . . οὐδὲ R: οὐδὲ . . .  
 οὐτε S: οὐτε . . . οὐτε **act** 659 παλαμάθω **p** 662 κοῦ] καὶ **c**  
 664 λακαταπύγων L Phot.: καταπύγων RE<sup>ac</sup>**p**: λακατταπύγων **Ac**, cf. λακα\*ταπύγων  
 Γ<sup>ac</sup>: λακκοκαταπύγων Γ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup>

δεῦρο, Μοῦσ', ἐλθέ φλεγυρὰ πυρὸς ἔ-  
 χουσα μένος ἔντονος Ἀχαρνική.  
 οἶον ἐξ ἀνθράκων πρινίνων  
 φέψαλος ἀνήλατ' ἔρε-  
 θιζόμενος οὐρία ῥιπίδι,  
 ἤνικ' ἂν ἐπανθρακίδες ὥσι παρακείμεναι,  
 οἱ δὲ Θασίαν ἀνακυκῶσι λιπαράμπυκα,  
 οἱ δὲ μάττωσιν, οὐ-  
 τω σοβαρὸν ἐλθέ μέλος  
 ἔντονον ἀγροικότερον  
 ὡς ἐμὲ λαβοῦσα τὸν δημότην.

στρ. 665

668

668/9

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675

οἱ γέροντες οἱ παλαιοὶ μεμφόμεσθα τῇ πόλει·  
 οὐ γὰρ ἀξίως ἐκείνων ὦν ἐναυμαχήσαμεν  
 γηροβοσκούμεσθ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ δεινὰ πάσχομεν·  
 οἷτινες γέροντας ἄνδρας ἐμβαλόντες εἰς γραφὰς  
 ὑπὸ νεανίσκων ἔατε καταγελαῖσθαι ῥητόρων,  
 οὐδὲν ὄντας, ἀλλὰ κωφοὺς καὶ παρεξηγημένους,  
 οἷς Ποσειδῶν ἀσφάλειός ἐστιν ἡ βακτηρία.  
 τονθορύζοντες δὲ γήρα τῷ λίθῳ προσέσταμεν,  
 οὐχ ὀρώντες οὐδὲν εἰ μὴ τῆς δίκης τὴν ἡλύγην.  
 ὁ δὲ νεανίας ἐπ' αὐτῷ σπουδάσας ξυνηγορεῖν  
 εἰς τάχος παίει ξυνάπτων στρογγύλοις τοῖς ῥήμασιν,  
 κᾶτ' ἀνεκκύσας ἐρωτᾶ σκανδάληθρ' ἰστάς ἐπῶν

680

685

665-6 (. . . μένος) § S φ 530 665 (φλεγυρὰ) §§ Hsch. φ 590 667 (ἀνθράκων  
 πρινίνων) S §§ ο 948, §§ π 2290 668-9 † §§ S ο 948 670 (ἐπανθρακίδες) §§  
 Poll. vi. 55; §§ Hsch. ε 4195 671 (Θασίαν . . .) § S θ 58 680 §§ Erot. ε  
 76 681 § S π 560; § Phot. p. 396. 1-2 (παρεξηγημένους) † § Suet. περι βλ.,  
 p. 423. 7; §§ Hsch. π 836; cf. Did. Lex. Gr. min., p. 269. 5-6 683 § S λ 527  
 684 † S η 270 (ἡλύγην) §§ Hsch. η 390; §§ EM, p. 428. 26 685-6 † S π 874  
 686 § S σ 1209 (εἰς τάχος παίει) §§ S ε 3201 687 S § κ 36, § σ 534  
 (σκανδάληθρ' ἰστάς ἐπῶν) # Phot. p. 516. 1-2 (σκανδάληθρ' ἰστάς) §§ Hsch. σ 841

665 φλεγυρὰ πυρὸς] βδελυρὰ πυρ **p** 667 οἶον **ct**: οἶων **Ra** πρινίνων **AG<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup>**  
 668 σπινθήρ add. intra φέψαλος et ἀνήλατ' **p** ἐνήλατ' **R** 670 ὥσιν παρακείμεναι  
**c**: ὥσιν ἐπικείμεναι van Leeuwen 671 ἀνακυκῶσι **R**: κυκῶσι **S**: ἀνακυκλώσι **act**  
 672 μάττωσιν **ct** 673 ἐλθέτω **AG<sup>ac</sup>E** 674 ἔντονον **A**: εὔτονον **RGEct**  
 ἀγροικότερον **AE**: ἀγροικότονον **RGEct** 676 μεμφόμεθα **cp** 677 ὦν om. **p**  
 678 γηροβοσκούμεσθ' **Γ**: γηρωβοσκούμεσθ' **E**: γηροβοσκούμεθ' **RAct** ἡμῶν **R**  
 681 ἀλλὰ om. **AGE<sup>ac</sup>** παρεξηβλημένους **p** 682 Ποσειδῶν **tAld**: ὁ Ποσειδῶν **Rac**  
 ἀσφάλειός **AGE<sup>ac</sup>** 684 εἰ μὴ] ἀλλ' ἢ **Dobree** τὴν] τιν' **Dobree** 685 νεανίαν  
**Elmsley** ἐπ' αὐτῷ **Kock**: ἐαυτῷ **d**: ἐσάττει **Hamaker**: ἐταίρω **Mueller** συνηγορεῖν  
**a** (ξ<sup>s</sup> Γ<sup>3</sup>) 687 σκανδάληθρ' ἰστάς] σκανδαλιθρίστας **R** ἰστάς ἐπῶν] om. **A**: ἰστάς  
 ἵππων **E**, cf. ἰστάς \*\*πων **Γ<sup>ac</sup>**

ἄνδρα Τιθωνὸν σπαράττων καὶ ταραττων καὶ κυκῶν.  
ὁ δ' ὑπὸ γήρως μασταρύζει, κᾶτ' ὄφλων ἀπέρχεται  
εἶτα λύζει καὶ δακρῦει καὶ λέγει πρὸς τοὺς φίλους 690  
“οὐ μ' ἐχρῆν σορὸν πρίασθαι, τοῦτ' ὄφλων ἀπέρχομαι”.

ταῦτα πῶς εἰκότα, γέροντ' ἀπολέ- 695

σαι πολιὸν ἄνδρα περὶ κλεψύδραν,  
πολλὰ δὴ ξυμπονήσαντα καὶ  
θερμὸν ἀπομορξάμενον 695

ἀνδρικὸν ἰδρῶτα δὴ καὶ πολύν,  
ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν ὄντα Μαραθῶνι περὶ τὴν πόλιν;  
εἶτα Μαραθῶνι μὲν ὅτ' ἤμεν, ἐδιώκομεν,  
νῦν δ' ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν πονη-  
ρῶν σφόδρα διωκόμεθα, 700  
κᾶτα πρὸς ἀλισκόμεθα.  
πρὸς τάδε τίς ἀντερεῖ Μαρψίας;

τῷ γὰρ εἰκὸς ἄνδρα κυφὸν ἠλίκον Θουκυδίδη  
ἐξολέσθαι συμπλακέντα τῇ Σκυθῶν ἐρημία,  
τῷδε τῷ Κηφισοδήμου τῷ λάλω ξυνηγόρω; 705  
ὥστ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἠλέησα κάπεμορξάμην ἰδῶν  
ἄνδρα πρεσβύτην ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς τοξότου κυκῶμενον,  
ὃς μὰ τὴν Δήμητρ', ἐκεῖνος ἠνίκ' ἦν Θουκυδίδης,  
οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὴν τὴν † Ἀχαιῖαν ῥαδίως ἠνέσχετ' ἂν,  
ἀλλὰ κατεπάλαισε μέντ' ἄν πρῶτον Εὐάθλους δέκα, 710

688 S §§ a 2159, § τ 578; § Phot. p. 588. 23-4 (Τιθωνόν) § EM, p. 758. 28-9  
689 (. . . μασταρύζει) § S μ 256 (μασταρύζει) §§ Hsch. μ 351; §§ Phot. μ 125  
690 §§ S λ 789 691 §§ S ο 1019 701 §§ S π 2591 702 § S μ 241  
706-7 S (1) §§ a 3019, (2) §§ ω 243 706 (ἀπεμορξάμην) §§ Hsch. a 5957  
709 † § S a 4679; EM, p. 180. 34-5; AB, p. 473. 29-31; An.Bachtm. i. 174. 24-7  
(Ἀχαιῖαν) § Orion p. 18. 21-2

688 καὶ ταραττων om. AΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup> 689 κᾶτ'] τοῦτ' Γ<sup>3</sup> 690 εἶτ' ἀλύει  
Σ<sup>RΓE</sup>: εἶτ' ἀλύζει Bentley 691 τοῦτ'] ταῦτ' c 692-5 -λέσαι . . . ἀπο-  
om. A 693 περὶ] παρὰ Dobree 694 δὴ] δέ Bothe 695 ἀπομαξά-  
μενον c 696 δὴ om. c 697 Μαραθῶν p 698-701 ut interrogationem  
interpunx. Sommerstein 698 ὅτ' ἤμεν] ἐβάλλομεν c: ὁτῆμ' εἶ p ἐδιώκωμεν p  
700 διωκόμεσθα R 701 πρὸς ἀλισκόμεθα R: προσαλισκόμεθα act 702 τίς]  
τί Elmsley ἀντερεῖ Μαρψίας] ἀντερομαρψίας c 704 ἐξελέσθαι συμπλακέντα p  
705 Κηφισοδήμου Hamaker: Κηφισοδήμω RΓ<sup>3</sup>tAld: Κηφισοδόμω AΓ<sup>ac</sup>E: Κυφισο-  
δήμω c 706 ὥστ'] ὄν γ' Elmsley κάπεμορξάμην AtAld S (2) 709 αὐτὴν  
om. S EM αὐτὴν τὴν Ἀχαιῖαν S An.Bachtm.: αὐτὴν τὴν Ἀχαιῖαν RaVp3t EM: αὐτὴν  
τὴν Ἀχαιρὰν C: αὐτὴν τὴν Ἀγραιῖαν Headlam: αὐτὸν Ἀρταχαιῖαν Borthwick: αὐτὸν τὸν  
Ἀνάχαρσιν Wilson ἠνέσχετ' ἂν EM: ἠνέσχετο d AB An.Bachtm.: κατεδέξατο S  
710 κατεπάλαισε μέντ' ἄν Reiske: κατεπάλαισε μὲν RAΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup>: κατεπάλαισε μὲν ἂν  
Γ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup>ct: κατεπάλαισε μὲν γ' ἂν Bentley: κατεπάλαισεν ἂν μὲν Kuster

κατεβόησε δ' ἄν κεκραγῶς τοξότας τρισχιλίουσ,  
 περιετόξευσεν δ' ἄν αὐτοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς τοὺς συγγενεῖσ.  
 ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τοὺς γέροντας οὐκ ἔαθ' ὕπνου τυχεῖν,  
 ψηφίσασθε χωρὶς εἶναι τὰς γραφάς, ὅπως ἄν ἦ  
 τῷ γέροντι μὲν γέρων καὶ νωδὸς ὁ ξυνήγορος, 715  
 τοῖς νέοισι δ' εὐρύπρωκτος καὶ λάλος χῶ Κλειωίου.  
 κάξελαύνειν χρῆ τὸ λοιπόν, κἄν φύγη τις, ζημιοῦν  
 τὸν γέροντα τῷ γέροντι, τὸν νέον δὲ τῷ νέῳ.

Δι. ὄροι μὲν ἀγορᾶσ εἰσιν οἶδε τῆσ ἐμῆσ·  
 ἐνταῦθ' ἀγοράζειν πᾶσι Πελοποννησίοισι 720  
 ἔξεστι καὶ Μεγαρεῦσι καὶ Βοιωτίοισι,  
 ἐφ' ᾧ τε πωλεῖν πρὸς ἐμέ, Λαμάχῳ δὲ μή.  
 ἀγορανόμοουσ δὲ τῆσ ἀγορᾶσ καθίσταμαι  
 τρεῖσ τοὺσ λαχόντασ τοῦσδ' ἰμάντασ ἐκ Λεπρῶν.  
 ἐνταῦθα μήτε συκοφάντησ εἰσίτω 725  
 μήτ' ἄλλοσ ὅστισ Φασιανὸσ ἐστ' ἀνήρ.  
 ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν στήλην καθ' ἣν ἐσπεισάμην  
 μέτειμ', ἵνα στήσω φανεράν ἐν τᾷ ἀγορᾷ.

ΜΕΓΑΡΕΥΣ

ἀγορὰ 'ν Ἀθήναισ, χαῖρε, Μεγαρεῦσιν φίλα·  
 ἐπόθουν τυ ναὶ τὸν φίλιον ἄπερ ματέρα. 730  
 ἀλλ', ᾧ πόνηρα κορίχι' ἀθλίου πατρός,  
 ἄμβρατε ποττὰν μᾶδδαν, αἶ χ' εὐρητέ πα.  
 ἀκούετε δῆ, ποτέχετ' ἐμὶν τὰν γαστέρα·  
 πότερα πεπρᾶσθαι χρήδδεται ἢ πεινᾶν κακῶσ;

723-4 S a 302

726 (Φασιανός) §§ Phot. p. 642. 4

711 κατεβόησε δ' ἄν] κατεβόησ' ἄν **p** 712 περιετόξευσεν Bentley: περιετόξευσε  
**d**: ὑπερετόξευσεν Blaydes συγγενεῖσ **c** 714 ψηφίσασθαι **AG<sup>ac</sup>** τὰσ  
 γραφὰσ χωρὶς εἶναι **AG<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup>** 715 γέρων] γέρον **R**: ὁ γέρων **AE<sup>ac</sup>**, cf. \*γέρων  
**Γ<sup>ac</sup>** 716 νέοισι **AE** χ' ὁ **t** 717-18 vers. damn. Blaydes 717  
 κάξελαύνει **c** κἄν Elmsley: κῆν **d** 719 τῆσ ἐμῆσ οἶδε **AG<sup>ac</sup>**: ἐμῆσ  
 οἶδε tantum **E<sup>ac</sup>** 720 πᾶσι **R**: om. **a**: εἶπε **c**: τοῖσσι **tAld** 722 vers. damn.  
 Elmsley Λαχάνῳ **AG<sup>ac</sup>**, cf. Λα\*ά\*ῳ **E<sup>ac</sup>**: Λαμμάχῳ **p** 724 τοῦσδ', ἰμάντασ  
 Elmsley 728 τῆ ἀγορᾷ **tAld** 729 Ἀθήνασ **AG**, cf. Ἀθᾶνα\* **E<sup>ac</sup>**:  
 Ἀθήναισ **c** Μεγαρεῦσι **acp** 730 τυ] τοι **R**: τε Elmsley φίλον **AG<sup>ac</sup>cp**  
 μητέρα **p** 731 κορίχι' (post Robertson κουρίχι') scripsi: κόριχ' **R**: κόρι' **ac**:  
 κόριά γ' **tAld**: κώρι' Elmsley: κούρι' Starkie 732 ποττὰν] ποτὰν **AG<sup>ac</sup>E**: ποτὶ τὰν  
**c** 733 ἀκούετε **c**: ἀκούετον **Rat** ποτέχετ' ἐμὶν Brunck (ut ἀκούετον reteneat-  
 tur): ποτέχετον [ἐμὶν] Bentley τὰν] τὴν **Act** 734 πεινᾶν scripsi: πεινῆν **d**



## ΚΟΡΑ

- πεπράσθαι πεπράσθαι. 735
- Με. ἐγώνγα καὐτός φαμι. τίς δ' οὕτως ἄνους  
ὄς ὑμέ κα πρίαίτο φανεράν ζαμίαν;  
ἀλλ' ἔστι γάρ μοι Μεγαρικά τις μαχανά·  
χοίρους γὰρ ὑμέ σκευάσας φασῶ φέρειν.  
περίθεσθε τάσδε τὰς ὀπλάς τῶν χοιρίων. 740  
ὅπως δὲ δοξεῖτ' εἶμεν ἐξ ἀγαθᾶς ὑός·  
ὡς ναὶ τὸν Ἑρμᾶν αἵπερ ἰξεῖτ' οἴκαδις  
ἄπρατα, πειρασεῖσθε τὰς λιμοῦ κακῶς.  
ἀλλ' ἀμφίθεσθε καὶ ταδί τὰ ῥυγχία,  
κῆπειτεν εἰς τὸν σάκκον ὧδ' εἰσβαίνετε. 745  
ὅπως δὲ γρυλιξεῖτε καὶ κοῖξετε  
χῆσειτε φωνὰν χοιρίων μυστηρικῶν.  
ἐγὼν δὲ καρυξῶ Δικαιοπόλιν ὄπα.  
Δικαιοπόλι, ἧ λῆς πρίασθαι χοιρία;  
Δι. τί; ἀνήρ Μεγαρικός;  
Με. ἀγορασοῦντες ἴκομες. 750  
Δι. πῶς ἔχετε;  
Με. διαπεινᾶμες αἰὲ ποττὸ πῦρ.  
Δι. ἀλλ' ἠδύ τοι νῆ τὸν Δί', ἦν αὐλὸς παρῆ.  
τί δ' ἄλλο πράττεθ' οἱ Μεγαρῆς νῦν;  
Με. οἶα δή.

738 S (1) §§ a 1081, (2) §§ μ 385 740 (ὀπλάς) § S o 464 741 †§§ S u  
670 742 (οἴκαδις) §§ Greg.Cor. p. 230 746 (κοῖξετε) §§ Hsch. κ 3228  
751 (διαπεινᾶμες . . .) §§ S δ 694

736 ἐγώνγα καὐτός] ἐγὼν καὐτός A: ἐγὼν γὰρ et spat. c: ἐγώνγ' αὐτός p φημι  
AtAld: spat. et λείπει ζήτει<sup>mg</sup>. c τίς] τί AΓ<sup>ac</sup>E 737 ὑμέ κα πρίαίτο Ald: ὑμέ  
κα πρίαίτο Ra: ὑμᾶς ἐπρίαίτο c: ὑμέων ἐπρίαίτο t ζημίαν AΓE<sup>ac</sup>p<sup>s</sup>L 738 ἀλλ'  
ἔστι γάρ μοι] ἀλλ' ἔστι γ' ἔμοι c: ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἡμῖν S (1-2) μαχανά tAld: μηχανά Rac  
<sup>s</sup>L: μηχανή S (1-2) 739 χοίρ<sup>s</sup> R<sup>ac</sup>: χοίρως Elmsley ὑμ' ἐνσκευάσας Porson  
φέρειν φασῶ AΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup> 741 εἶμεν c: ἦμεν RatS 742 αἵπερ ἰξεῖτ' Elmsley:  
εἵπερ ἰξεῖτ' R: εἵπερ ἰξετ' ΓEct: εἵπερ ἦξετ' A οἴκαδες Greg.Cor. 743 ἄπρατα  
Ahrens: τὰ πρῶτα Rac: τὰ πράτα ΓEt 744 ταδί] ταδῆ (νρ.) Σ<sup>REG</sup> 745 κῆπειτεν  
ἐς Γ<sup>3</sup>ct (ἀν<sup>s</sup> Σ<sup>L</sup>): κῆπειτ' ἐς AΓ<sup>ac</sup>E: κάπειτ' εἰς R: κῆπειτά γ' ἐς Kuster εἰσβαίνετε van  
Leeuwen: ἐσβαίνετε RacPL: ἐσβαίνεται H 746 γρυλιξεῖτε E<sup>ac</sup>c: γλυλιξεῖτε A:  
γρυλλιξεῖτε RΓ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup>Pt: γρυλλιξεῖται H 747 χῆσετε A et fort. Γ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup>: χήσετε <sup>s</sup>ΣΓ  
748 ἐγὼ Π<sub>5</sub> RΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup> καρυξῶ Π<sub>5</sub> R: καρυξῶ γε act: κηρυξῶ γε <sup>s</sup>L: καρυξῶ γα Brunck  
Δικαιοπαλιν ὄπα AΓ<sup>ac</sup>: Δικαιοπόλις δὲ πᾶ; Hamaker: Δικαιοπόλιν γα. πᾶ Elmsley  
749 Δικαιοπόλι R: Δικαιοπόλις act 750 ἀγορασοῦντες ἴκομες Elmsley:  
[ασο[ντες] εικομες Π<sub>5</sub>: ἀγοράσοντες ἴκομεν R: ἀγοράσοντες ἦκομεν aCt: ἀγονάσοντες  
ἦκομεν Vr3: ἀγοράσοντες ἦκομες Ald 751 αἰεὶ tAld ποττὸ] ποττὰ A: πρὸς τὸ S  
752 τοι om. Π<sub>5</sub> 753 Μεγαρῆς Π<sub>5</sub> <sup>s</sup>R <sup>s</sup>E<sup>4</sup> Vr3: Μεγαῆς C: Μεγαρεῖς Rat

- ὄκα μὲν ἐγὼν τηνῶθεν ἐνεπορευόμεν,  
 τῶνδρες πρόβουλοι ταῦτ' ἔπρασον τῆ πόλι,  
 ὅπως τάχιστα καὶ κάκιστ' ἀπολοίμεθα.  
 Δι. αὐτίκ' ἄρ' ἀπαλλάξεσθε πραγμάτων.  
 Με. σά μάν;  
 Δι. τί δ' ἄλλο Μεγαροῖ; πῶς ὁ σίτος ὄνιος;  
 Με. παρ' ἀμέ πολυτίματος ἄπερ τοῖ θεοί.  
 Δι. ἄλας οὖν φέρεις;  
 Με. οὐχ ὑμέσ αὐτᾶν ἄρχετε; 760  
 Δι. οὐδὲ σκόροδα;  
 Με. ποῖα σκόροδ'; ὑμέσ τῶν ἀεί,  
 ὄκκ' εἰσβάλητε, τῶσ ἀρουραῖοι μύεσ  
 πάσσακι τᾶσ ἀγλίθασ ἐξορύσσετε.  
 Δι. τί δαὶ φέρεις;  
 Με. χοίρουσ ἐγώνγα μυστικάσ.  
 Δι. καλῶσ λέγεις· ἐπίδειξον.  
 Με. ἀλλὰ μάν καλαί. 765  
 ἄντεινον, αἰ λῆσ· ὡσ παχεία καὶ καλά.  
 Δι. τουτὶ τί ἦν τὸ πρᾶγμα;  
 Με. χοῖροσ ναὶ Δία.  
 Δι. τί λέγεις σύ; ποδαπή χοῖροσ ἦδε;  
 Με. Μεγαρικά.

757 (σά μάν) §§ Greg. Cor. p. 236 758 (. . . Μεγαροῖ) §§ S τ 560  
 759 (παρ' ἀμέ) §§ Greg. Cor. p. 237 (τοῖ θεοί) §§ Greg. Cor. p. 238 760 (ὑμέσ)  
 §§ Greg. Cor. p. 238 761-3 (ὑμέσ . . .) Greg. Cor. pp. 243-4 762 (ὄκκ'  
 εἰσβάλητε) § S ει 236 (ὄκκ') §§ Greg. Cor. p. 242 762-3 (τῶσ . . . ἀγλίθασ) †§  
 S α 270; †§ An. Par. iv. 88. 20-1 763 (πάσσακι) §§ Greg. Cor. p. 239; cf. §§  
 Phot. p. 401. 11 (ἀγλίθασ) §§ Greg. Cor. p. 243 766 § Greg. Cor. pp. 251-2  
 (αἰ) §§ Greg. Cor. p. 250

754 ὄκα μὲν ἐγὼ τηνῶθεν R, cf. οκα μεν εγω τη[ Π<sub>5</sub>; ὄκα μὲν ἐγὼν τηνόθεν a: ὄκα μὲν  
 τυνόθεν c: ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὄκα μὲν γα τηνόθεν tAld ἐνεπορευόμεν van Leeuwen: ἐμ-  
 πορευόμεν RAΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup>ct: ἐμπορευόμεν Γ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup> 755 τῶνδρες Elmsley: ἄνδρες d ταῦτ'  
 R: τουτ' act ἔπρασον Elmsley: ἔπραττον d τῆ Brunck: τῆ d 757 μάν] μέν  
 c 758 ἄλλοι A, cf. ἄλλο\* Γ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup> 759 παρὰ μέ AΓΗ, cf. παρ\* μέ E<sup>ac</sup>:  
 παρ' ἐμέ E<sup>pc</sup> αἶπερ vel αἶπερ Γ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup> 760 αὐτᾶν scripsi: αὐτῶν d  
 761 σκόροδ'] σκόροδα a: σκόραδα c τῶν R: ὦν act Greg. Cor. 762 ὄκκ']  
 ὄκ' vel ὄκ' cP: οὐκ HS εἰσβάλητε van Leeuwen: εἰσβαλεῖτε S: ἐσβάλητε RAΓ<sup>ac</sup>ct  
 Greg. Cor.: ἐσβαλεῖτε Γ<sup>3</sup>E ἀρουραῖοι RS An. Par., cf. ]ρουρα[ Π<sub>5</sub>: ἀρωραῖοι act  
 Greg. Cor. 763 ἀγλίθασ] γλίθασ R: ἀγχλίθασ A: αιλίθασ p 764 δαὶ] δὲ p  
 Μεγαρεύσ post φέρεις p ἐγωγε c 766 παχείαι καὶ καλαί tAld 767 ναὶ  
 Δία tAld: νῆ Δία R: ναὶ μὰ Δία ac, cf. ναὶ μα [ Π<sub>5</sub> 768 ποδαπή χοῖροσ ἦδε R:  
 ποδαπή χοῖροσ ac: ποδαπή δ' ἐστὶ χοῖροσ p: ποδαπή δ' ἦστι χοῖροσ LAld

- ἢ οὐ χοῖρός ἐσθ' ἄδ';  
 Δι. οὐκ ἔμοιγε φαίνεται.  
 Με. οὐ δεινά; θᾶσθε· τοῦδε τὰς ἀπιστίας· 770  
 οὐ φασι τάνδε χοῖρον εἶμεν. ἀλλὰ μάν,  
 αἰ λῆς, περιίδου μοι περι θυμιτιδᾶν ἀλῶν,  
 αἰ μή 'στιν οὗτος χοῖρος Ἑλλάνων νόμῳ.  
 Δι. ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἀνθρώπου γε.  
 Με. ναὶ τὸν Διοκλέα 775  
 ἐμά γα. τὸ δέ νιν εἶμεν ἐκ τίνος δοκεῖς;  
 ἢ λῆς ἀκούσαι φθεγγομένας;  
 Δι. νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς  
 ἔγωγε.  
 Με. φώνει δὴ τὸ ταχέως, χοιρίον.  
 οὐ χρήσθα; σιγῆς, ὦ κάκιστ' ἀπολουμένα;  
 πάλιν τυ ἀποισῶ ναὶ τὸν Ἑρμᾶν οἴκαδισ.  
 Κο. α' κοῖ κοῖ. 780  
 Με. αὐτὰ 'στὶ χοῖρος;  
 Δι. νῦν γε χοῖρος φαίνεται·  
 ἀτὰρ ἐκτραφεῖς γε κύσθος ἔσται.  
 Με. πέντ' ἐτῶν,  
 σάφ' ἴσθι, ποττὰν ματέρ' εἰκασθήσεται.

770 (θᾶσθε) §§ Greg.Cor. p. 222 771 (φασι) §§ Greg.Cor. p. 247  
 772 § S (1) π 1101 (περίδου . . .) § S (2) θ 566 773 (αἰ μή 'στιν οὗτος χοῖρος)  
 § Greg.Cor. p. 226 775 (νιν) §§ Greg.Cor. p. 228 (εἶμεν) §§ Greg.Cor.  
 p. 227 778 (οὐ χρήσθα; σιγῆς) § Greg.Cor. p. 228 779 (πάλιν τυ ἀποισῶ)  
 §§ Greg.Cor. p. 231 (ἀποισῶ) §§ Greg.Cor. p. 235 780 (κοῖ κοῖ) §§ S κ 1912  
 (κοῖ) § EM, p. 607. 25-6; § Ep.Hom. v 6; § An.Ox. i. 294. 2-3 783 (ποττὰν  
 ματέρ' εἰκασθήσεται) § Greg.Cor. p. 233 784-5 (om. σά . . . ἐστι) § S κ 1952  
 784 (σά μάν) §§ Greg.Cor. p. 236

769 ἄδ' tAld: ἄδε RacL<sup>ac</sup> 770 θᾶσθε· τοῦδε τὰς ἀπιστίας van Leeuwen:  
 θᾶσθε τοῦδε τὰς ἀπιστίας Rac: θᾶσθαι τοῦδε τὰς ἀπιστίας t: θᾶσθε τόνδε· τὰς ἀπιστίας  
 Elmsley 771 φασί R τάνδε R: τόνδε act εἶμεν Dindorf: ἡμεν d  
 772 μοι] μοι νῦν t: νῦν μοι Ald θυμιτιδᾶν Ald: θυμιταν (ιαν<sup>s</sup>) Π<sub>5</sub>: θυμιτίδων S (2):  
 θυμητιδῶν S (1): θυμητιδᾶν vel sim. RG<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup> ΛΣ<sup>E</sup>: θυματιδᾶν Act, cf. E<sup>ac</sup> θυμ\*τιδᾶν  
 774 ναί] νῆ R 775 τὸ Π<sub>5</sub>, Brunck: σὺ d νιν] νι c εἶμεν ἐκ τίνος scripsi:  
 εἶμεναι τίνος Π<sub>5</sub> RAΓE<sup>act</sup>, cf. εἶμεναι Greg.Cor.: εἶμεναι τίνα c: ἡμεναι τίνος E<sup>pc</sup>: εἶμεν  
 οὔτινος Hamaker: εἶμεν αὐ τίνος Ahrens 777 τὸ Kuster: ται Π<sub>5</sub>: σὺ d, cf. σ\* Π<sub>5</sub>  
 χοιρίον Bentley: τὸ χοιρίον R: χοιρίδιον Π<sub>5</sub> act 778 σιγᾶς ΓE: σιγῆν Greg.Cor.:  
 σιγᾶν Σ<sup>R</sup> 779 τυ Blaydes: τύ γ' act Greg.Cor. et, ut vid., Π<sub>5</sub>: τ' R ναὶ τὸν  
 Ἑρμᾶν Π<sub>5</sub> RE: ναὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν AΓ<sup>ac</sup>: ναὶ μὰ τὸν Ἑρμᾶν Γ<sup>3</sup>ct 780 κοῖ fort. septies Π<sub>5</sub>  
 781 αὐτὰ 'στὶ] αὐτάς τοι A: αὐτ' ἐστι H: αὐτῆ 'στι L 782 ἀτὰρ ap γε] τε p  
 κύσθος Γ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup> 783 ποττὰν AΓ<sup>ac</sup> intra 783 et 784 versum instar 792 hab. Π<sub>5</sub><sup>ac</sup>  
 784 οὐδέ] οὐ R: οὐχὶ Dindorf αὐτῆγί AΓcPL, cf. ]ηγί Π<sub>5</sub>: αὐτῆί EH: αὐτῆί R: αὐτῆν  
 S σά μάν Π<sub>5</sub> Ra: ναὶ μάν c: τί μάν t

- Δι. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ θύσιμός ἐστιν αὐτηγί.  
 Με. σά μάν;  
 πᾶ δ' οὐχὶ θύσιμός ἐστι;
- Δι. κέρκον οὐκ ἔχει. 785  
 Με. νέα γάρ ἐστιν. ἀλλὰ δελφακουμένα  
 ἔξει μεγάλην τε καὶ παχείαν κήρυθράν.  
 ἀλλ' αἱ τράφειν λῆς, ἄδε τοι χοῖρος καλά.
- Δι. ὡς ξυγγενῆς ὁ κύσθος αὐτῆς θατέρα.  
 Με. ὁμοματρία γάρ ἐστι κῆκ τῶντου πατρός. 790  
 ἀλλ' ἂν παχυνθῆ κᾶν ἀναχνοανθῆ τριχί,  
 κάλλιστος ἔσται χοῖρος Ἀφροδίτα θύειν.
- Δι. ἀλλ' οὐχὶ χοῖρος τὰφροδίτη θύεται.  
 Με. οὐ χοῖρος Ἀφροδίτα; μόνα γὰρ δαιμόνων.  
 καὶ γίνεται γὰρ τᾶνδε τᾶν χοίρων τὸ κρήσ 795  
 ἄδιστον ἂν τὸν ὀδελὸν ἀμπεπαρμένον.
- Δι. ἦδη δ' ἄνευ τῆς μητρὸς ἐσθίοιεν ἂν;  
 Με. ναὶ τὸν Ποτειδᾶ, καὶ κ' ἄνις γὰρ τοῦ πατρός.  
 Δι. τί δ' ἐσθίει μάλιστα;  
 Με. πάνθ' ἄ κα διδώσ.  
 αὐτὸς δ' ἐρώτη.
- Δι. χοῖρε χοῖρε.  
 Κο. β' κοῖ κοῖ. 800

786-8 Ath. 9. 374f-5a 786-7 †§§ S δ 204 (. . . μεγάλην) Σ<sup>ΕΓ</sup> 739  
 786 (δελφακουμένα) cf. §§ Hsch. δ 600; §§ EM, p. 255. 7-8 790 (κήκ) §§  
 Greg.Cor. p. 234 (τῶντου) §§ Greg.Cor. p. 235 795 (καὶ γίνεται γὰρ) §  
 Greg.Cor. p. 247 (κρήσ) §§ Greg.Cor. p. 235 796 (ὀδελόν) §§ Greg.Cor. p.  
 235 (ἀμπεπαρμένον) §§ Hsch. ε 2435 800-3 (κοῖ κοῖ) §§ S κ 1912 (κοῖ) §  
 EM, p. 607. 25-6; § Ep.Hom. ν 6; § An.Ox. i. 294. 2-3 800-2 (χοῖρε' . . .) †§  
 Eust. p. 1752. 25 800-1 (χοῖρε' . . .) † Σ Clem.Al. Protr. ii. 39. 2

785 πᾶ δ'] παιδ' R 786 νεαρά Σ<sup>ΕΓ</sup> 739 787 μεγάλην Ath. S: μεγάλα Σ<sup>ΕΓ</sup>  
 739 788 αἱ τράφειν Mueller: αἱ τράφεν a: εἰ τράφεν R: αἱ τρέφεν ct: ἔτραφεν Ath.  
 λῆς] ἀλῆς A, cf. \*λῆς Γ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup> χώρος E<sup>+</sup> 789 αὐτῆς] αὐτῆ ct 790  
 ὁμομητρία AE<sup>ac</sup> \*L κάκ p τῶντου a Greg.Cor.: τῶντῶ R: τοῦτου c: ταῦτου tAld  
 791 ἀλλ' ἂν Π<sub>5</sub> R: αἱ δ' ἂν act κᾶν ἀναχνοανθῆ scripsi: κἀναχνοανθῆ Rac, cf. ]οανθη  
 Π<sub>5</sub>: κᾶν χνοανθῆ γ' ἐν t: κἀναχνοανθῆ τῆ Brunck: κἀναχνοανθῆ Elmsley: κἀναχνοανθῆ  
 Bothe 792 ἔσται R, cf. εστα[ Π<sub>5</sub>: ἐστι act 793 τὰφροδίτη Elmsley: τῆ  
 Ἀφροδίτη Ract, cf. ]ηι αφρο[διτ]η Π<sub>5</sub>: τῆ 'φροδίτη Ald 794 αφρ[οδε]ιτα  
 Π<sub>5</sub> γὰ Brunck: γε d 795 γε R τᾶνδε τῶν R: τῶνδε τᾶν E<sup>ac</sup>: τῶνδε τῶν Γ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup>  
 796 ἂν] ἐς Γ<sup>3</sup>, cf. \*\* E<sup>pc</sup> ὀδελόν Π<sub>5</sub> act: ὀβελόν R ἀμπεπαρμένον Elmsley:  
 ἐμπεπαρμένον RAΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup>ct: ἀμπεπαρμένων Γ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup> 798 Ποτειδᾶ vel sim. a: Ποτίδα  
 c et, ut vid., Π<sub>5</sub>: Ποτειδᾶν vel Ποτειδαν t: Ποσειδῶ R καὶ κ' ἄνις γὰ Blaydes,  
 Bentleio ducente: κ' ανε[ Π<sub>5</sub>: κᾶνευ γὰ a (ἂν<sup>8</sup> Γ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup>) c: κᾶνευ γε R: καὶ ἄνευ γὰ t τοῦ  
 Blaydes: τῶ d 799 κα Elmsley: καὶ d et, ut vid., Π<sub>5</sub> 800 ἐρώτα R με  
 post ἐρώτη H κοῖ tris ΓE

- Δι. τρώγοις ἄν ἐρεβίνθους;  
 Κο. β' κοῖ κοῖ κοῖ.  
 Δι. τί δαί; φιβάλεως ἰσχάδας;  
 Κο. β' κοῖ κοῖ.  
 Δι. τί δαί σύ; τρώγοις καὐτὸς ἄν;  
 Με. κοῖ κοῖ.  
 Δι. ὡς ὄξυ πρὸς τὰς ἰσχάδας κεκράγατε.  
 ἐνεγκάτω τις ἔνδοθεν τῶν ἰσχάδων 805  
 τοῖς χοιριδίοισιν. ἄρα τρώξονται; βαβαί·  
 οἶον ῥοθιάζουσ', ὦ πολυτίμηθ' Ἡράκλεις.  
 ποδαπὰ τὰ θηρί'; ὡς Τραγασαῖα φαίνεται.  
 Με. ἀλλ' οὐχὶ πάσας κατέτραγον τὰς ἰσχάδας·  
 ἐγὼν γὰρ αὐτῶν τάνδε μίαν ἀνειλόμαν. 810  
 Δι. νῆ τὸν Δί' ἀστείω γε τὼ βοσκήματε.  
 πόσου πρίωμαί σοι τὰ χοιρίδια; λέγε.  
 Με. τὸ μὲν ἄτερον τοῦτο σκορόδων τροπαλίδος,  
 τὸ δ' ἄτερον, αἰ λῆς, χοίνικος μόνας ἁλῶν.  
 Δι. ὠνήσομαί σοι. περίμεν' αὐτοῦ.  
 Με. ταῦτα δή. 815  
 Ἐρμᾶ ἔμπολαίε, τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν ἐμὴν  
 οὕτω μ' ἀποδόσθαι τὴν τ' ἐμαυτοῦ ματέρα.

## ΣΥΚΟΦΑΝΤΗΣ

ἄνθρωπε, ποδαπός;

Με. χοιροπώλας Μεγαρικός.

802, 804 (om. 803) S φ 287 802 (φιβάλεως ἰσχάδας) §§ Hsch. φ 434; §§ Phot.  
 p. 646. 24; Σ<sup>RVG</sup> Pax 628 805-6 (. . . τρώξονται) § S τ 1085  
 807-8 †§ S ρ 216 808 (Τραγασαῖα) Hdn. i. 131. 32-3; ii. 876. 3-4; St. Byz.  
 p. 630. 4-5 812-14 §§ S π 2117 813 (σκορόδων τροπαλίδος) Zon. p.  
 1748. 2-3

801 κοῖ bis RAld: semel p 802 δαί] δέ S φιβάλεως R: φορβάλεως A:  
 φι\*βάλεως Γ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup> κοῖ tris a 803 vers. om. S: intra 805 et 806 hab. p: del.  
 Bentley δαί] δέ PLald σύ; τρώγοις Elmsley: σύκα vel σύκα τρώγοις Rat: σύ;  
 κατατρώγοις c καὐτὸς ἄν scripsi: αὐτὸς ἄν tAld: ἄν αὐτός Rac κοῖ bis Rct: tris a  
 intra 803 et 804 vers. qui in κοῖ κοῖ finem hab., ut vid., hab. Π<sub>5</sub> 804 ὡς om. c  
 πρὸς om. p 806 τρώξονται R 808 θηρί' scripsi: θηρία Π<sub>5</sub>: χοίρια vel χοίρια  
 Π<sub>5</sub> Rac: χοιρί' tAld 809 οὐχὶ act: οὐ τι R 810 ἐγὼν Elmsley: ἐγὼ d  
 αὐτῶν Elmsley: αὐτῶν d τήνδε c ἀνειλόμαν LAld: ἀνελόμαν R: ἀνειλόμην acp  
 811 ἀστείω c τὼ] τὰ p 812 πρίωμαί Ac, cf. πρ\*ομαί Γ<sup>ac</sup>: πρίαμαί p: πρίωμαί S:  
 πρίαομαί L 813 ἄτερον Brunck: ἔτερον dS τοῦτο Elmsley: τούτων dS  
 τροπαλίδος p Zon. et, ut vid., Π<sub>5</sub>: τροπαλλίδος RacL: τροφαλλίδος S 814 χοίνικας  
 Rc μόνης S: μίας Blaydes 815 ταῦτα] μεταῦτα p 816 Ἐρμᾶ  
 ἔμπολαίε Scaliger, cf. Ἰρμα μπολαίε Π<sub>5</sub>: Ἐρμ' ἔμπολαίε RacL: Ἐρμῆ ἔμπολαίε p: Ἐρμῆ  
 ἔμπολαίε B 817 μητέρα R 818 ἄνθρωπε AcL: ὠνθρωπε RGE: σύ ἄνθρωπε p  
 μεζωχοιροπώλας p

- Συ. τὰ χοιρίδια τοίνυν ἐγὼ φανῶ ταδὶ  
πολέμια καὶ σέ.
- Με. 820  
τοῦτο τῆν' ἴκει πάλιν  
ὄθενπερ ἀρχὰ τῶν κακῶν ἀμὶν γ' ἔφυ.
- Συ. κλαίων μεγαριεῖς. οὐκ ἀφήσεις τὸν σάκον;
- Με. Δικαιοπόλι Δικαιοπόλι, φαντάδδομαι.
- Δι. 825  
ὑπὸ τοῦ; τίς ὁ φαίνων σ' ἐστίν; ἀγορανόμοι,  
τοὺς συκοφάντας οὐ θύραζ' ἐξείρξετε;  
τί δὴ μαθῶν φαίνεις ἄνευ θρυαλλίδος;
- Συ. οὐ γὰρ φανῶ τοὺς πολεμίους;
- Δι. 830  
κλαίων γε σύ,  
εἰ μὴ 'τέρωσε συκοφαντήσεις τρέχων.  
Με. οἶον τὸ κακὸν ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις τοῦτ' ἐνι.  
Δι. θάρρει, Μεγαρίκ'. ἀλλ' ἦς τὰ χοιρί' ἀπεδίδου  
τιμῆς, λαβὲ ταυτὶ τὰ σκόροδα καὶ τοὺς ἄλας,  
καὶ χαῖρε πόλλ'.
- Με. ἀλλ' ἀμὶν οὐκ ἐπιχώριον.
- Δι. πολυπραγμοσύνη νυν εἰς κεφαλὴν τράποιτ' ἐμοί.
- Με. 835  
ὦ χοιρίδια, πειρήσθε κᾶνις τοῦ πατρὸς  
παίειν ἐφ' ἀλὶ τὰν μάδδαν, αἶ κά τις διδῶ.

823 (φαντάδδομαι) §§ Hsch. φ 147; § S φ 82; § Phot. p. 639. 8 835 (παίειν) §§  
Phot. p. 370. 9

819 γ' post τοίνυν tAld φανῶ] φαίνω Blaydes 820 τοῦτο τῆν' van  
Leeuwen: τοῦτ' ἐκείν' Π<sub>5</sub> RΓ<sup>pc</sup>E<sup>4</sup>ct: τοῦτ' ἐκείνης A, cf. τοῦτ' ἐκείν'\* Γ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup> ἴκει  
Π<sub>5</sub>: ἴκει Act: ἦκει RΓE 821 ἀρχὰ van Leeuwen: ἀρχὰ d ἀμὶν γ' Elmsley:  
ἀμὶν Π<sub>5</sub> d 822 κλαίων R: κλάων act μεγαρηεις Π<sub>5</sub> σάκκον RE<sup>ac</sup>p  
823 φαντάδδομαι Valckenaer: φαντάζομαι Π<sub>5</sub> d Hsch. S Phot. 824 ὑπὸ του  
Brunck σ' om. Π<sub>5</sub> ἀγορανόμοι Elmsley: ἀγορανόμοι RΓEct: ἀγορανόμος A: οἱ δ'  
vel οἷδ' ἀγορανόμοι tAld: ὦ ἀγορανόμοι B: ὦ 'γορανόμοι Brunck 825 ἐξέρξετε A:  
ἐξείργετε Γ 826 τί δὴ Brunck: τίη vel τιή d μαθῶν] παθῶν Scaliger  
827 κλαίων R: κλάων act 828 μήτ' ἐτέρωσε R: μή γ' ἐτέρωσε Brunck  
τρέχων R: ἰών act 829 οἶον] ὅσον van Herwerden 830 ἀλλ' tAld: ἀλλά  
Rac τὰ χοιρί' ἀπεδίδου Handley: τὰ χοιρίδι' ἀπέδου RAct: τὰ χοιρίδια ἀπέδου ΓE:  
ἀπέδου τὰ χοιρία Elmsley 831 ταυτὶ] ταύτη AΓ, cf. ταυτ' E<sup>ac</sup> 832 πόλλ'  
Elmsley: πολλά RaVp3: πολὰ C: πολλά γ' LAld: πολλά γε p ἀλλ' ἀμὶν R: ἀλλὰ μὲν  
AEct, cf. ἀλλὰ μ'\* Γ<sup>ac</sup>: ἀλλὰ μὴν Γ<sup>3</sup> λΣE 833 πολυπραγμοσύνη R: πολυπραγ-  
μοσύνης act: πολυπραγμοσύνησιν λΣE νυν Elmsley: νύν d: οὖν Bentley τράποιτ'  
ἐμοί Blaydes: τράποιτό μοι R: τρέποιτ' ἐμοί act 834 πειράσθε R τοῦ A: τῶ  
RΓEct 835 παίειν om. R ἐφ' ἀλὶ] ἐφῶλι A, cf. ἐφ\*λι Γ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup> μάδδαν R:  
μάζαν act

- Χο. εὐδαιμονεῖ γ' ἄνθρωπος. οὐκ ἤκουσας οἱ προβαίνει  
τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦ βουλευματος; καρπώσεται γὰρ ἀνὴρ  
ἐν τὰγορᾷ καθήμενος· κἄν εἰσὶη τις Κτησίας  
ἢ συκοφάντης ἄλλος, οἰμώζων καθεδεῖται. 838-41
- οὐδ' ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων ὑποψωνῶν σε πημανεῖ τι,  
οὐδ' ἐξομόρξεται Πρέπης τὴν εὐρυπρωκτίαν σοι,  
οὐδ' ὥστιεῖ Κλεωνύμω. χλαῖναν δ' ἔχων φανὴν δῖει,  
κοῦ ξυντυχῶν σ' Ὑπέρβολος δικῶν ἀναπλήσει. 844-7
- οὐδ' ἐντυχῶν ἐν τὰγορᾷ πρόσεισί σοι βαδίζων  
Κρατῖνος αἰὲ κεκαρμένος μοιχὸν μιᾷ μαχαίρα,  
ὁ περιπόνηρος Ἀρτέμων, ὁ ταχὺς ἄγαν τὴν μουσικὴν,  
ᾄζων κακὸν τῶν μασχαλῶν πατρὸς Τραγασαίου. 850-3
- οὐδ' αὖθις αὖ σε σκώψεται Παύσων ὁ παμπόνηρος  
Λυσίστρατός τ' ἐν τὰγορᾷ, Χολαργέων ὄνειδος, 855  
ὁ περιαλουργὸς τοῖς κακοῖς, ῥιγῶν τε καὶ πεινῶν αἰεὶ  
πλεῖν ἢ τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας τοῦ μηνὸς ἐκάστου. 856-9

## ΒΟΙΩΤΟΣ

- ἴττω Ἡρακλῆς ἔκαμόν γα τὰν τύλαν κακῶς. 860  
κατάθου τὴν τὰν γλάχων' ἀτρέμας, Ἰσμηνία.  
ὕμεις δ', ὅσοι Θείβαθεν αὐληταὶ πάρα,  
τοῖς ὀστίνοις φυσεῖτε τὸν πρωκτὸν κυνός.

839-41 †§ S π 1519 841 (καθεδεῖται) Zon. p. 1170. 6 = Oros A 55. 5-6  
843 (ἐξομόρξεται . . .) § S ε 1121 (ἐξομόρξεται τὴν . . .) †§ Zon. (1) p. 911. 1-2  
(ἐξομόρξεται) § Zon. (2) p. 741. 7-8 846-7 (οὐ . . .) § S υ 245 849 § S μ  
1360 (κεκαρμένος μιᾷ μαχαίρα) §§ Poll. ii. 32 (μιᾷ μαχαίρα) §§ Hsch. μ 1310; §  
Phot. μ 437; cf. §§ Poll. x. 140 850-3 § S ο 74 853 (Τραγασαίου) Hdn.  
i. 131. 32-3; ii. 876. 3-4; St. Byz. p. 630. 4-5 855 Σ<sup>VI</sup> V. 787  
856-9 (περιαλουργὸς . . .) § S π 1064 860 † S τ 1150 (τύλαν) § Phot. p. 609. 19  
863 S (1) § ο 713, (2) π 2950 (ὀστίνοις) §§ Phryn. PS, p. 94. 17; Phot. p. 353. 11;  
§ AB, p. 110. 27

836 ἄνθρωπος Elmsley: ἄνθρωπος d: ὄνθρωπος Brunck οὐκ] κοῦκ p 837 ἀνὴρ  
Elmsley: ἀνὴρ d: ὄνῆρ Brunck 838 τῆ ἀγορᾷ t: τῆ ἴγορᾷ Ald 839 εἰσὶη R  
842 πημανεῖ τι Dindorf: πημανεῖται d: πημανεῖ S: πημανεῖ τις Elmsley 843 ἐναπο-  
μόρξεται Πρέμης S: ἐναπομόρξεται (om. Πρέπης) Zon. (2): ἐναποψήσεται (om. Πρέπης)  
Zon. (1) σοι] σου RA 844 ὥστει p 846 σ' RS: om. act  
848 ἐντυχὸν R τῆ ἀγορᾷ t: τῆ ἴγορᾷ Ald βαδίζων] κακίζων Meineke 849 αἰεὶ  
κεκαρμένος] ἀνακεκαρμένος Bentley 850 οὐδ' ante ὁ d, cf. οὐδ' ὥσπερ ὁ ποιητὸς  
S: del. Bentley 852 κακῶν AΓct: κάκ S 854 αὖθις] αὖ τις R 855 τ' ἐν  
τὰγορᾷ Γ<sup>ac</sup>c, cf. τ' ἐν \*ἀγορᾷ E<sup>ac</sup>: τ' ἐν τῆ ἀγορᾷ t: ἐν τὰγορᾷ R: τ' ἐν ἀγορᾷ AΓ<sup>pc</sup>E<sup>4</sup>: τε  
ἀναγορᾷ Σ<sup>v</sup> V.: ἐν ἀγορᾷ Σ<sup>v</sup> V. 859 ἐκάστου om. AΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup> 861 τὴ] τοὶ R  
γλάχαν' AΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup> Ἰσμηνία scripsi: Ἰσμηνία d 862 Θείβαθεν Γ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup>: Θείαθεν  
AΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup>c: Θήβαθεν Rt 863 φυσεῖτε R: φυσῆτε act S (1): φυσᾶτε S (2)

- Δι. παῦ' ἐς κόρακας. οἱ σφῆκες οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν θυρῶν;  
 πόθεν προσέπτανθ' οἱ κακῶς ἀπολούμενοι 865  
 ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν μοι Χαιριδῆς βομβαύλιοι;  
 Βο. νεὶ τὸν Ἰόλαον ἐπεχαρίττω γ', ὦ ξένε·  
 Θείβαθε γὰρ φυσαῖντες ἐξόπισθέ μου  
 τᾶνθεια τὰς γλάχωνος ἀπέκιξαν χαμαί.  
 ἀλλ' αἶ τι βούλει, πρίασο τῶν ἰὼ φέρω, 870  
 τῶν ὀρταλίχων ἢ τῶν τετραπτερυλλίδων.  
 Δι. ὦ χαῖρε, κολλικοφάγε Βοιωτίδιον.  
 τί φέρεις;  
 Βο. ὅσ' ἐστὶν ἀγαθὰ Βοιωτοῖς ἀπλῶς·  
 ὀρίγανον γλάχω ψιάθως θρυαλλίδας  
 νάσσας κολοιῶς ἀτταγᾶς φαλαρίδας 875  
 τροχίλως κολύμβως.  
 Δι. ὡσπερεὶ χειμῶν ἄρα  
 ὀρνιθίας εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐλήλυθας.  
 Βο. καὶ μὰν φέρω χᾶνας λαγῶς ἀλώπεκας  
 σκάλοπας ἐχίνως αἰελούρως πικτίδας  
 ἴκτιδας ἐνύδριας ἐγχέλιας Κωπαῖδας. 880  
 Δι. ὦ τερπνότατον σὺ τέμαχος ἀνθρώποις φέρων,  
 δός μοι προσειπεῖν, εἰ φέρεις, τὰς ἐγχέλεις.  
 Βο. πρέσβειρα πεντήκοντα Κωπάδων κορᾶν,

866 (βομβαύλιοι) §§ Hsch. β 788 869 (ἀπέκιξαν) §§ Hsch. α 5925; §§  
*Ap.Bachm.* i. 116. 18 872 Ath. 3. 112f; Hdn. i. 357. 5-6; St.Byz. p. 174. 5-6  
 (. . . κολλικοφάγε) Erot. κ 10 875-6 (. . . κολύμβως) Ath. 9. 395e-f  
 875 (ἀτταγᾶς) Ath. 9. 388b 876-7 (ὡσπερεὶ . . .) § Phryn. PS, p. 96. 11-12; §  
*AB*, p. 55. 29-31; Σ<sup>RV</sup> Pax 1003 (χειμῶν ὀρνιθίας) § S o 612 879 (. . . ἐχίνως)  
*Mél. Miller*, p. 266. 28-9 (σκάλοπας) § EM, p. 715. 28-9 (αἰελούρως) § Phot. a  
 564 880 (ἴκτιδας) § Eust. p. 809. 63-4 883 Σ<sup>RV</sup> Pax 1005

865 προσέπτανθ' Rct: προσέπταν a: προσέπτονθ' Dawes 866 μου R  
 Χαιριδῆς Brunck: Χαιριδεῖς d 867 νεὶ A \*E<sup>4</sup>: νῆ RΓEct ἐπεχαρίττω γ'  
 Blaydes: ἐπιχαρίττω γ' R: ἐπιχαρίτως γ' ac: ἐπιχαρίτως ἄν γ' tAld 868 Θείβαθε  
 Elmsley: Θείβαθι RAΓ \*E<sup>4</sup>c: Θήβαθι Et φυσαῖντες AΓE<sup>ac</sup> 869 τᾶνθεια B:  
 τᾶνθεια Rac: καὶ τὰ ἄνθεια p: καὶ τᾶνθεια LAld: τᾶνθεια Mueller χαμούς AΓ<sup>ac</sup>, cf.  
 χαμ\*\*\* E<sup>ac</sup> 870 αἶ scripsi: εἶ d ἰὼ Elmsley: ἐγὼ d 872 κολλιφάγε  
 Vr3 Erot.: κολλιφέγε C: καλλικοφάγε p: κόλλικα φαγῶν Ath. 873 ἐστὶν RAΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup>:  
 ἔστ' ἄν Γ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup>ct ἀπλοῖς p 874 γλάψω AΓ<sup>ac</sup>E ψιάθως Bentley: ψιάθους d  
 θριαλλίδας t 875 vers. om. R κολοιῶς Bentley: κολοιοῦς act Ath.  
 876 τροχίλως κολύμβως Bentley: τροχίλους κολύμβους d Ath. 876-7 ὡσπερεὶ . . .  
 om. R 876 ἄρα] ἐρᾶ vel ἐρᾶ ct: om. Σ Pax 879 ἐχίνως] ἐτοιμούς (sed  
 ἐχίμους<sup>s</sup>) *Mél. Miller* πικτίδας EB 880 ἴκτιδας ἐνύδριας Elmsley: ἴκτιδας  
 vel ἴκτιδας ἐνύδρους d: ἴκτιδας ἐνύδρους Brunck, Bentleyio ducente ἐγχέλιας Blaydes:  
 ἐγχέλεις d: ἐγχέλεας Elmsley 881 τέμμαχος p 883 Κωπάδων Elmsley:  
 Κωπαῖδων d Σ Pax



- ἐκβαθι τῶδε κήπιχάριτται τῷ ξένῳ.  
 Δι. ὦ φιλτάτη σὺ καὶ πάλαι ποθουμένη, 885  
 ἤλθες ποθεινὴ μὲν τρυγωδικοῖς χοροῖς,  
 φίλη δὲ Μορύχῳ. δμῶες, ἐξενέγκατε  
 τὴν ἐσχάραν μοι δεῦρο καὶ τὴν ῥιπίδα.  
 σκέψασθε, παῖδες, τὴν ἀρίστην ἔγχελυν 890  
 ἤκουσαν ἔκτῳ μόλις ἔτει ποθουμένην.  
 προσείπατ' αὐτήν, ὦ τέκν'· ἄνθρακας δ' ἐγὼ  
 ὑμῖν παρέξω τῆσδε τῆς ξένης χάριν.  
 ἀλλ' ἔκφερ' αὐτήν· μηδὲ γὰρ θανῶν ποτε  
 σοῦ χωρὶς εἶην ἐντετευτλανωμένης.  
 Βο. ἐμοὶ δὲ τιμὰ τᾶσδε πᾶ γενήσεται; 895  
 Δι. ἀγορᾶς τέλος ταύτην γέ που δώσεις ἐμοί.  
 ἀλλ' εἴ τι πωλεῖς τῶνδε τῶν ἄλλων, λέγε.  
 Βο. ἰώγα ταῦτα πάντα.  
 Δι. φέρε πόσου λέγεις;  
 ἢ φορτί' ἕτερ' ἐνθένδ' ἐκεῖσ' ἄξεις ἰών;  
 Βο. ὅ τι γ' ἔστ' Ἀθάνασιν, Βοιωτοῖσιν δὲ μή. 900  
 Δι. ἀφύας ἄρ' ἄξεις πριάμενος Φαληρικὰς  
 ἢ κέραμον.  
 Βο. ἀφύας ἢ κέραμον; ἀλλ' ἐντ' ἐκεῖ.  
 ἀλλ' ὅ τι παρ' ἀμὶν μή 'στι, τᾶδε δ' αὖ πολὺ.  
 Δι. ἐγῶδα τοίνυν συκοφάντην ἔξαγε,  
 ὥσπερ κέραμον ἐνδησάμενος.  
 Βο. νεὶ τῶ σιωῶ 905

885-7 (. . . Μορύχῳ, om. 886) § S μ 1264 887 (φίλη δὲ Μορύχῳ) cf. Σ<sup>RV</sup> Pax  
 1008 888 Poll. x. 94 889 Ath. 7. 299a; §§ Eust. p. 1240. 19; An.Par.  
 iv. 246. 19-21 893-4 (μηδὲ . . .) § S ε 1463; §§ Zon. p. 751. 12-13 (μηδὲ  
 . . . εἶην) † Σ<sup>V</sup> Pax 1007 898 (ἰώγα) §§ Hsch. i 1174

884 ἐμβαθι p τῶδε RΓ<sup>PC</sup>E<sup>4</sup>ct: τῶνδε A, cf. τῷ\*δε Γ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup>: τᾶδε Elmsley: τεῖδε  
 Meineke: τυῖδε Bergk κήπιχάριτται R: κήπιχάριττα vel κήπιχαρίττα Γ<sup>PC</sup>E<sup>4</sup>ct: κήπι-  
 χαραρίττα A, cf. κήπιχα\*\*ρίττα Γ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup>: κήπιχαρίτως B 887 δὲ om. AΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup>c  
 Μωρύχῳ R 888 μοι om. R 889 δὲ post σκέψασθε Γ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup> ἀρίστην]  
 κρατίστην Ath. Eust. An.Par. 890 ποθουμένην ἔτει Γ<sup>3</sup> 891 προσείπέ τ'  
 c: προσείπαθ' p ἐγὼ] ἔχω A, cf. \*\*ω Γ<sup>ac</sup>, ε\*ω E<sup>ac</sup> 893 ἔκφερ' R: ἔσφερ' act  
 894 χωρὶς εἶην] χωρισθείην S Zon. Σ Pax ἐντετευτλιωμένης Blaydes 895 τιμᾶ  
 ταῖσδε R 896 δι' ante ἀγορᾶς p ταύτη AΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup> 898 ἰώγε AΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup>  
 899 ἕτερ'] ἕπερ' c ἐνθένδ' ἐκεῖσ' c: ἐνθένδε κεῖσ' at: ἐντεῦθεν ἐκεῖσ' R ἰών] ἰώ<sup>7p</sup>. Σ<sup>EG</sup>  
 900 ὅτι R ἔσθ' Γ<sup>3</sup>cL Ἀθάνασιν scripsi: Ἀθάναις, ἐν AΓ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup>cHL: Ἀσθάναις, ἐν P:  
 ἐν Ἀθήναις, ἐν R, cf. Ἀθήναις ἌΣΓ: Ἀθάνασ', ἐν Elmsley, cf. Ἀθάνας, ἐν Γ<sup>ac</sup>, Ἀθάν\*\*, ἐν  
 E<sup>ac</sup>, et Ἀθάνας ἌΣ<sup>E</sup> Βοιωτοῖσι acp 903 μή ἔστι p πολὺν R 905 ἐν-  
 δεισάμενος AΓ<sup>ac</sup>: ἐνδυσάμενος <sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup> νεὶ AΓ<sup>ac</sup>: νεὶ Π<sub>5</sub>: νῆ RΓ<sup>PC</sup>Ect θιώ Blaydes

λάβοιμι μέντ' ἀγαγὼν καὶ πολὺ,  
ἄπερ πίθακον ἀλιτρίας πολλᾶς πλέων.

Δι. καὶ μὴν ὁδὶ Νίκαρχος ἔρχεται φανῶν.

Βο. μικκός γα μᾶκος οὗτος.

Δι. ἀλλ' ἅπαν κακόν.

### ΝΙΚΑΡΧΟΣ

ταυτὶ τίνας τὰ φορτί' ἐστί;

Βο. τῶδ' ἐμὰ

910

Θεΐβαθεν, ἴττω Δεὺς.

Νι. ἐγὼ τοίνυν ὁδὶ

φανῶ πολέμια ταῦτα.

Βο. τί δὲ κακὸν παθῶν

ὄρναπετίοισι πόλεμον ἦρα καὶ μάχαν;

Νι. καὶ σέ γε φανῶ πρὸς τοῖσδε.

Βο. τί ἀδικεῖμενος;

Νι. ἐγὼ φράσω σοι τῶν περιεστῶτων χάριν

915

ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων γ' εἰσάγεις θρυαλλίδας.

Δι. ἔπειτα φαίνεις δῆτα διὰ θρυαλλίδα;

Νι. αὕτη γὰρ ἐμπρήσειεν ἂν τὸ νεώριον.

Δι. νεώριον θρυαλλίς;

Νι. οἶμαι.

Δι. τίνι τρόπῳ;

Νι. ἐνθεῖς ἂν εἰς τίφην ἀνὴρ Βοιωτίος

920

ἄψας ἂν εἰσπέμψειεν εἰς τὸ νεώριον

δι' ὑδρορροῆας, βορέαν ἐπιτηρήσας μέγαν

κεῖπερ λάβοιτο τῶν νεῶν τὸ πῦρ ἅπαξ,

907 (ἀλιτρίας) § S α 1262; § Phot. α 974; § An.Bachm. i. 67. 30 908-9 § S  
(1) μ 1052 909 § S (2) φ 81 916 §§ S θ 515 918-22 †§§ S (1) θ 515  
918 (ἐμπρήσειεν . . . νεώριον), 920-1 §§ S (2) ν 234

906 λάβοιμι μέντ' ἀν] λάβοι μέντ' ἀν R: λάβοιμι' ἂν p ἀγαγὼ ΑΓ<sup>ac</sup>: ἀγαγὼ c καὶ  
]γαν Π<sub>5</sub> 908 ἐξέρχεται R 909 μικκός Ap: μικρός S (1-2) γε R S (1-2)  
μῆκος <sup>s</sup>L S (1-2) 910 τῶδ' ἐμὰ] τῶδ'; ἐμὰ Fritzsche 911 Θεΐβαθεν ct  
Θεΐβαθε, Ἰίττω Dover ἴττω ΑΓ<sup>ac</sup>E Δεὺς RΓ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup>: Ζεὺς ΑΓ<sup>ac</sup>ct, cf \*εὺς E<sup>ac</sup> γ'  
post τοίνυν tAld 912 φανῶ B: φαίνω d δὲ Π<sub>5</sub>, Bentley: δαὶ d 913 ἦρα  
ΑΓ<sup>ac</sup>, cf. ἦρ\* E<sup>ac</sup>: ἦρω vel ἦρω vel ἦρω RΓ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup>ct, cf. ]ω Π<sub>5</sub> 914 γε om. R  
ἀδικεῖμενος vel ἀδικειμένος Π<sub>5</sub> a: ἀδικήμενος vel ἀδικημένος Rct: ἀδικούμενος B  
916 γ' om. ctS θρυαλλίδα S 917 vers. om. RL<sup>ac</sup> διὰ om. Ac θρυαλλίδα  
Blaydes: θρυαλλίδας Act: θρυλλίδας ΓE 918 τὸ] τὸν p 919 οἶμαι] οἶμοι  
Elmsley, vers. tot. Dicaeopolidi tribuens 920 εἰς τίφην] ἐτίφην P: τίφην H  
921 ἐμπέμψειεν A: ἐκπέμψειεν E, cf. ἐ\*πέμψειεν Γ<sup>ac</sup> τὸ] τὸν p 922 ὑδρορροῆς  
Elmsley βόρρεαν R

- σελαγοῖντ' ἄν εὐθύς.
- Δι. ὦ κάκιστ' ἀπολούμενε,  
σελαγοῖντ' ἄν ὑπὸ τίφης τε καὶ θρυαλλίδος; 925
- Νι. μαρτύρομαι.
- Δι. ξυλλάμβαν' αὐτοῦ τὸ στόμα.  
δός μοι φορυτόν, ἵν' αὐτὸν ἐνδήσας φέρω  
ὥσπερ κέραμον, ἵνα μὴ καταγῆ φερόμενος.
- Χο. ἐνδησον, ὦ βέλτιστε, τῷ ξένω καλῶς στρ.  
τὴν ἐμπολὴν οὕτως ὅπως ἄν μὴ φέρων κατάξῃ. 929-31
- Δι. ἐμοὶ μελήσει ταῦτ', ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ ψοφεῖ  
λάλον τι καὶ πυρορραγὲς κἄλλως θεοῖσιν ἐχθρόν. 933-4
- Χο. τί χρήσεταιί ποτ' αὐτῷ; 935
- Δι. πάγχρηστον ἄγγος ἔσται  
κρατῆρ κακῶν, τριπτῆρ δικῶν, φαίνειν ὑπευθύνους λυχνου-  
χος καὶ κύλιξ (x-~-) καὶ πράγματ' ἐγκυκᾶσθαι. 937-9
- Χο. πῶς δ' ἄν πεποιοίῃ τις ἀγγείῳ τοιού- ἀντ.  
τῷ χρώμενος κατ' οἰκίαν τοσονδ' αἰεὶ ψοφούντι; 940-2
- Δι. ἰσχυρόν ἐστίν, ὦγαθ', ὥστ' οὐκ ἄν καταγ-  
εῖη ποτ', εἴπερ ἐκ ποδῶν κατωκᾶρα κρέμαιτο. 943-5
- Χο. ἤδη καλῶς ἔχει σοι.
- Βο. μέλλω γὰ τοι θερίδδειν.
- Χο. ἄλλ', ὦ ξένων βέλτιστε, συνθέριζε καὶ τοῦτον λαβῶν  
πρόσβαλλ' ὅποι βούλει φέρων πρὸς πάντα  
συκοφάντην. 948-51
- Δι. μόλις γ' ἐνέδησα τὸν κακῶς ἀπολούμενον. 952

927-8 (927 bis) § S φ 623 929-31 § Moer. ε 51 932-3 (ψοφεῖ . . .  
πυρορραγὲς) Poll. vii. 164; §§ S ψ 127 933 (πυρορραγὲς) §§ Phot. p. 476. 18-19  
938 (φαίνειν . . . λυχνούχος) Poll. x. 116 (λυχνούχος) § Phot. λ 494 944-5 (εἴπερ  
. . .) § S κ 1109 945 (κατωκᾶρα κρέμαιτο) §§ Poll. ii. 41 947 § S θ 238

924 εὐθύς Pierson: αἰ νῆες Rp: αἰ νῆς ALAld: αἰ νῆς vel αἰ νῆς ΓEc: αἰφνης Bothe  
ἀπολούμεναι p 927 ἐνδήσας φέρω] ἐνδήσας φέρη B<sup>2</sup>: ἐνδήσω φέρειν Elmsley:  
ἐνδήσω φέρων Dindorf: ἐνδήσω σφόδρα van Leeuwen 928 vers. del. Bothe  
φερόμενος Π<sub>5</sub>, Brunck: φορούμενος d 929 ὦ βέλτιστε] ὦ λῶστε Σ<sup>EF</sup>: οὖν ὦ λῶστε  
Elmsley 930 οὕτω δ' ὅπως Elmsley 933 ψοφεῖ RΓE<sup>4</sup>, cf. ]φει Π<sub>5</sub>: ψοφή  
Act τι] τε Γ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>4</sup> πυρορραγὲς Poll. 936 πάγχρυσον Γc 937 τριπτῆρ ΑΓ<sup>ac</sup>  
938 ὑπευθύνους Poll. λαχνούχος ΑΓ<sup>ac</sup>: λιχνούχος c κύλιξ (x-~-) Meineke:  
λυχνούχος (οὐκ ἀχρεῖος) tent. Handley 939 καὶ R: τὰ act ἐγκυκᾶσθαι p  
940 πεποιοίῃ ct 941 τοιούτῳ] τούτῳ p χρώμενος κατ' οἰκίαν] κατ' οἰκίαν  
tantum ΑΓ<sup>ac</sup>: κατ' οἰκίαν χρώμενος E<sup>ac</sup> 943 ἐστίν tAld et, ut vid., Π<sub>5</sub>: ἐστ' Rc:  
δ' ἐστ' a 945 γε post κρέμαιτο tAld 946 γε post ἔχει B 947 γὰ  
Blaydes: γέ Π<sub>5</sub> dS: δέ B θερίδδειν R<sup>ac</sup>: θερίζειν S 948 σανθέριζε p  
949 τοῦτον λαβῶν del. Bergk 950 ὅποι Fritzsche: ὅπου d 952 ἐνέδησαν c

- αἴρου λαβῶν τὸν κέραμον, ὦ Βοιώτιε—  
 Βο. ὑπόκυπτε τὰν τύλαν ἰών, Ἰσμήνιχε.  
 Δι. χῶπως κατοίσεις αὐτὸν εὐλαβούμενος. 955  
 πάντως μὲν οἴσεις οὐδὲν ὑγιές, ἀλλ' ὅμως.  
 κἄν τοῦτο κερδάνης ἄγων τὸ φορτίον,  
 εὐδαιμονήσεις συκοφαντῶν γ' οὐνεκα.
- ΟΙΚΕΤΗΣ ΛΑΜΑΧΟΥ**  
 Δικαιόπολι.
- Δι. τί ἐστι; τί με βωστρεῖς;  
 Οἰ. ὅ τι;  
 ἐκέλευε Λάμαχός σε ταυτησὶ δραχμῆς 960  
 εἰς τοὺς Χοᾶς αὐτῷ μεταδοῦναι τῶν κιχλῶν,  
 τριῶν δραχμῶν δ' ἐκέλευε Κωπᾶδ' ἔγχελυν.
- Δι. ὁ ποῖος οὗτος Λάμαχος τὴν ἔγχελυν;  
 Οἰ. ὁ δεινός, ὁ ταλαύρινος, ὃς τὴν γοργόνα  
 πάλλει κραδαίνων τρεῖς κατασκίους λόφους. 965
- Δι. οὐκ ἂν μὰ Δί', εἰ δοίη γέ μοι τὴν ἀσπίδα.  
 ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ταρίχει τοὺς λόφους κραδαινέτω  
 ἦν δ' ἀπολιγαίνη, τοὺς ἀγορανόμους καλῶ.  
 ἐγὼ δ' ἔμαυτῷ τόδε λαβῶν τὸ φορτίον  
 εἴσειμ' ὑπαὶ πτερύγων κιχλᾶν καὶ κοψίχων. 970
- Χο. εἶδες, ὦ πᾶσα πόλι, τὸν φρόνιμον ἄνδρα τὸν ὑπέρσοφον στρ.  
 οἶ' ἔχει σπεισάμενος ἐμπορικὰ χρήματα διεμπολᾶν; 973  
 ὧν τὰ μὲν ἐν οἰκίᾳ χρήσιμα, τὰ δ' αὖ πρέπει χλιαρὰ  
 κατεσθίειν. 974-5

954 (τύλαν) § Phot. p. 609. 19 962 (Κωπᾶδα) §§ Oros A 81. 5  
 964 (ταλαύρινος) §§ S τ 47 968 § S a 3393 (ἀπολιγαίνη) §§ Hsch. a 6447;  
 §§ EM, p. 127. 7-8 971-5 S a 2508 973 (διεμπολᾶν) §§ S δ 916

954 ἰών R: ὦ act: om. et ἴθι δὴ ante ὑπόκυπτε add. B Ἰσμήνιχε scripsi: Ἰσμήνιχε  
 RacL: Ἰσμήνιχε p 955 χῶπος R: χῶσπος p 957 ἄγων] ἄγαν RB:  
 ἀγαγὼν Meineke 959 τί' Elmsley: τίς d ὅ τι; Reiske: ὅτι RG<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup>ct: om.  
 AG<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup> 960 ἐκέλευε Elmsley: ἐκέλευσε d ταυτησὶ δραχμῆς Dobree, cf. ]σι  
 δραχμῆς Π<sub>5</sub>: ταυτησὶ τῆς δραχμῆς R: ταύτης τῆς δραχμῆς act 961 αὐτοῦ p  
 962 ἐκέλευσε p Κωπᾶδ' Elmsley: Κωπαῖδ' d 963 τὴν om. p 964 ὃς]  
 ὃς γε R γοργ]όρα Π<sub>5</sub> 965 τρεῖς κατασκίους λόφους tAld, cf. δυναμένους . . . ἀντὶ  
 τοῦ ἐπιμήκεις, μεγάλους Σ<sup>REG</sup>: τρεῖς κατασκίους λόφοις RAΓ<sup>ac</sup>c, cf. ]λοφοις Π<sub>5</sub>, τρ<sup>\*\*\*</sup>  
 κατασκίους λόφοις E<sup>ac</sup>: τρισὶ κατασκίους λόφοις Γ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup> 966 μοί γε p  
 967 ταρίχει Γ<sup>3</sup> E<sup>4</sup>: ταρίχη RAΓ<sup>ac</sup>Ect 968 ἦν δ'] ἦδ' c 970 εἴσειμ'  
 EtAld<sup>ΛΣ</sup>E, cf. εἴσειμ[ Π<sub>5</sub>: εἴσιμ' RAΓc κιχαᾶν c 971 εἶδες, ὦ S: εἶδες, ὦ, ὡς  
 p: εἶδες, ὦ εἶδες, ὦ RacL πόλις R 973 οἶ' ἔχει / σπεισάμενος Γ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup>, cf. [οἶ'  
 ἔχει] / σπεισ[ Π<sub>5</sub>: οἶον ἔχει σπεισάμενος S: σπεισάμενος οἶ' ἔχει R: σπεισάμενος tantum  
 AG<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup>c: σπεισάμενον tantum tAld

αὐτόματα πάντ' ἀγαθὰ τῷδέ γε πορίζεται.  
 οὐδέποτ' ἐγὼ Πόλεμον οἴκαδ' ὑποδέξομαι,  
 οὐδὲ παρ' ἐμοί ποτε τὸν Ἀρμόδιον ἄσεται  
 ξυγκατακλινεῖς, ὅτι παροινικὸς ἀνὴρ ἔφν  
 ὅστις ἐπὶ πάντ' ἀγάθ' ἔχοντας ἐπικωμάσας 980  
 ἠργάσατο πάντα κακά, κἀνέτρεπε κἀξέχει  
 κἀμάχετο καὶ πρόσετι πολλὰ προκαλουμένου  
 "πῖνε κατάκεισο, λαβὲ τήνδε φιλοτησίαν",  
 τὰς χάρακας ἦπτε πολὺ μᾶλλον ἔτι τῷ πυρὶ  
 ἐξέχει θ' ἡμῶν βία τὸν οἶνον ἐκ τῶν ἀμπέλων. 985

ἐπτέρωται δ' ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἄμα καὶ μεγάλα δὴ φρονεῖ, ἀντ.  
 τοῦ βίου δ' ἐξέβαλε δεῖγμα τάδε τὰ πτερὰ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν.  
 ὦ Κύπριδι τῇ καλῇ καὶ Χάρισι ταῖς φίλαις ξύντροφε  
 Διαλλαγή, 988-9

ὡς καλὸν ἔχουσα τὸ πρόσωπον ἄρ' ἐλάνθανες. 990  
 πῶς ἂν ἐμέ καὶ σέ τις Ἔρως ξυναγάγοι λαβῶν  
 ὡσπερ ὁ γεγραμμένος ἔχων στέφανον ἀνθέμων;  
 ἢ πάνυ γερόντιον ἴσως νενόμικας με σύ·  
 ἀλλὰ σε λαβῶν τρία δοκῶ γ' ἂν ἔτι προσβαλεῖν·  
 πρῶτα μὲν ἂν ἀμπελίδος ὄρχον ἐλάσαι μακρόν, 995  
 εἶτα παρὰ τόνδε νέα μοσχίδια συκίδων,

977-9 S (1) §§ ο 812, (2) § π 737 980 (ἐπικωμάσας) §§ Σ<sup>RF</sup>Bar Lys. 5  
 987 § S δ 300 988-9 S §§ δ 613, †§§ χ 120 991-2 § S α 2492 992 (ἔχων  
 . . .) §§ Zon. p. 194. 13 995-8 express. §§ Ael. Ep. 4 996 (μοσχίδια)  
 §§ Hsch. μ 1712

976 πάντα AΓc, cf. πάντ\* E<sup>ac</sup> 977 οἴκαδ' ] τοῦτον S (1-2) 978 τὸν] τὸ  
 AΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>c</sup> 979 ξυγκατακλινεῖς Γ<sup>3</sup>: ξυγκατακατακλινεῖς R: συγκατακλινεῖς AΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ct</sup>:  
 om. S (1-2) παροινικὸς ἀνὴρ Elmsley: παροίνιος ἀνὴρ d S (1): πάροιτος ἀνὴρ S (2)  
 980 ἀγαθὰ A, cf. ἀγαθ\* Γ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup> 981 ἠργάσατο Rennie: εἰργάσατο d κἀνέτρεπε  
 Elmsley: κἀνέτραπε d 982 προσκαλουμένους a: προσκαλουμένου c 983 πῖνε]  
 πίθι Hamaker 984 τὰς] τοὺς c πολὺ] πολλῶ A E c, cf. πολλ\* Γ<sup>ac</sup>: πολλοῦ Γ<sup>3</sup>  
 ἔτι Hermann: ἐν d: ἐν Bentley 985 ὑμῶν Γ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup> 986 οὐτοσί δ' add. ante  
 ἐπτέρωται Meineke: εἶδες ὡς add. Rogers ἐπτέρωται δ' ἐπὶ <sup>Λ</sup>Σ<sup>E</sup>: ἐπτέρωταί τ' ἐπὶ R<sup>3</sup>,  
 cf. ἐπτέρωται <sup>Λ</sup>Σ<sup>R</sup> et ἐπτερ <sup>MG</sup>Γ<sup>3</sup>: ταί τ' ἐπὶ tantum R<sup>ac</sup>: ταί δ' ἐπὶ Γ<sup>E</sup>: τῷ δ' ἐπὶ A: τάδ'  
 ἐπὶ vel sim. ct θ' ante ἄμα R δὴ] om. c: γε tAld intra 986 et 987 τὰ διὰ  
 μέσου γὰρ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου εἴρηται. ὁ δὲ λόγος δικαί add. H 987 vers. om. R,  
 add. R<sup>3</sup> ἐξέβαλλε R<sup>3</sup>AΓ<sup>ac</sup>S δεῖγμα τάδε τὰ πτερὰ Brunck: δεῖγμα τὰ πτερὰ vel  
 δείγματα πτερὰ d: δεῖγμα πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν πτερὰ S 988 καὶ om. c Χάρισι]  
 ταῖς Χάρισι Γ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup> 990 ἐλαοίθανες p 991 ἐμέ tAldS: ἐμέ τε Rac  
 992 ἀνθέμων] ἀνθέμων ἀνθῶν P: ἀνθέμων ἀνθ' ὦν H 993 ἢ Kuster: ἢ d  
 994 τρία ἂν ἔτι δοκῶ A: τρία ἂν ἔτι δοκῶ γ' Γ: τρία ἂν ἔτι δοκῶ γε E προσλαβεῖν  
 Reiske 995 πρῶτον AΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup> μὲν ἂν om. A: ἂν om. R 996 συκίδων a:  
 συκιδίων R Ael.: συκίων ct

καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἡμερίδος ὤσχον, ὁ γέρων ὀδί,  
καὶ περὶ τὸ χωρίον ἐλάδας ἄπαν ἐν κύκλῳ,  
ὥστ' ἀλείφεσθαι σ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν κἀμὲ ταῖς νομηγίαις.

- Κη.** ἀκούετε λεῶ· κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τοὺς χοᾶς 1000  
πίνειν ὑπὸ τῆς σάλπιγγος· ὅς δ' ἂν ἐκπίῃ  
πρώτιστος, ἀσκὸν Κτησιφῶντος λήψεται.
- Δι.** ὦ παῖδες, ὦ γυναῖκες, οὐκ ἤκούσατε;  
τί δρᾶτε; τοῦ κήρυκος οὐκ ἀκούετε;  
ἀναβράττετ' ἐξοπτᾶτε τρέπετ' ἀφέλκετε 1005  
τὰ λαγῶα ταχέως, τοὺς στεφάνους ἀνείρετε.  
φέρε τοὺς ὀβελίσκους, ἵν' ἀναπείρω τὰς κίχλας.
- Χο.** ζηλῶ σε τῆς εὐβουλίας, μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς εὐωχίας, στρ.  
ἄνθρωπε, τῆς παρούσης. 1008-10
- Δι.** τί δῆτ', ἐπειδὴν τὰς κίχλας ὀπτωμένας ἴδητε; 1011-12
- Χο.** οἶμαί σε καὶ τοῦτ' εὖ λέγειν.
- Δι.** τὸ πῦρ ὑποσκάλευε.
- Χο.** ἤκουσας ὡς μαγειρικῶς, κομφῶς τε καὶ δειπνητικῶς,  
αὐτῷ διακονεῖται; 1015-17

### ΔΕΡΚΕΤΗΣ

- οἶμοι τάλας.
- Δι.** ὦ Ἡράκλεις· τίς οὐτοσί;
- Δε.** ἀνὴρ κακοδαίμων.
- Δι.** κατὰ σεαυτὸν νυν τρέπου.
- Δε.** ὦ φίλτατε, σπονδαὶ γάρ εἰσι σοὶ μόνῳ, 1020  
μέτρησον εἰρήνης τί μοι, κἄν πέντ' ἔτη.

997 (ἡμερίδος) § Phot. η 150    998 (ἐλάδας) §§ S ε 733    999 (ἀλείφεσθαι . . .)  
S †§ (1) α 1166, § (2) ν 516    1000-2 (κατὰ . . .) § S α 4177    1000 Ammon.  
de adfin. voc. diff. 515    1002 (ἀσκὸν λήψεται) §§ Hsch. α 7714    1006 (λαγῶα)  
§§ Phot. λ 22    1007 Poll. x. 95; § S α 2007    (ἵν' . . .) § Zon. p. 204. 11-13  
1008-10 #§ S ζ 63    1014 § S υ 574

997 ὤσχον LSJ, Brunckio ducente: κλάδον RAΓ<sup>3</sup>Ec: κλάδου <sup>λ</sup>Σ<sup>E</sup>: κάδον Γ<sup>ac</sup>: ὄρχον  
tAld: ὄζον Bergk: ἄλλον Blaydes    998 ἐλάδας ἄπαν Elmsley: ἐλαΐδας ἄπαν  
RacS: ἄπαν ἐλαΐδας tAld    1000 λεῶς Ammon.    τὰ om. R    τοὺς] τὰς ct  
1002 Κτησιφώητος R    1003 οὐκ ἤκούσατε] οὐκοῦν ἀνύσετε Dobree  
1005 τρέπετ' ἐφέλκετε R    1006 ἀνήρετε p    1007 ἵν' ἀπείρω p: ἵνα πήξω  
Poll.: ἵν' ἀναπήξω Bentley    1008 τῆς εὐβουλίας] τῆουσεβουλίας P    1017 αὐτῷ]  
αὐτῷ γε vel αὐτῷ γε tAld: αὐτὰ R    1019 γε post κακοδαίμων t    σεαυτὸν νυν  
Brunck: σεαυτὸν νυν a: σαυτὸν νυν Rct    1020 σοὶ] μοὶ p    1021 κἄν] κείς  
Elmsley    πεντετές Bentley

- Δι. τί δ' ἔπαθες;  
 Δε. ἐπετρίβην ἀπολέσας τὸ βόε.  
 Δι. πόθεν;  
 Δε. ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἔλαβον οἱ Βοιωῖται—  
 Δι. ὦ τρισκακόδαιμον, εἶτα λευκὸν ἀμπέχει;  
 Δε. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι νῆ Δί' ὥπερ μ' ἐτρεφέτην 1025  
 ἐν πᾶσι βολίτοις.  
 Δι. εἶτα νυνὶ τοῦ δέει;  
 Δε. ἀπόλωλα τῷφθαλμῷ δακρύων τὸ βόε.  
 ἀλλ' εἴ τι κήδει Δερκέτου Φυλασίου,  
 ὑπάλευσον εἰρήνη με τῷφθαλμῷ ταχύ.  
 Δι. ἀλλ', ὦ πόνηρ', οὐ δημοσιεύων τυγχάνω. 1030  
 Δε. ἴθ', ἀντιβολῶ σ', ἦν πως κομίσωμαι τὸ βόε.  
 Δι. οὐκ ἔστιν· ἀλλὰ κλαίει πρὸς τοὺς Πιττάλου.  
 Δε. σὺ δ' ἀλλά μοι σταλαγμὸν εἰρήνης ἔνα  
 εἰς τὸν καλαμίσκον ἐνστάλαξον τουτονί.  
 Δι. οὐδ' ἂν στριβλικίγξ· ἀλλ' ἀπιὼν οἴμωζέ ποι. 1035  
 Δε. οἴμοι κακοδαίμων τοῖν γεωργοῖν βοιδίῳν.  
 Χο. ἀνὴρ ἀνηύρηκέν τι ταῖς σπονδαῖσιν ἠδύ, κοῦκ ἔοικ- ἀντ.  
 εν οὐδενὶ μεταδώσειν. 1037-9  
 Δι. κατάχει σὺ τῆς χορδῆς τὸ μέλι· τὰς σηπίας στάθευε. 1040-1  
 Χο. ἤκουσας ὀρθιασμάτων;  
 Δι. ὀπτάτε τὰ γχέλια.  
 Χο. ἀποκτενεῖς λιμῶ 'μέ καὶ τοὺς γείτονας κνίσση τε καὶ  
 φωνῇ τοιαῦτα λάσκων. 1044-6

1023 Hdn. i. 320. 16-17; St. Byz. p. 674. 3-4 1024 §§ S a 1652  
 1025-6 (ἐτρεφέτην . . . βολίτοις) § S β 366 1030 § S δ 458; § Zon. p. 503. 10-12  
 1032-4 (κλαίει . . .) †§ S σ 949 1033-4 Poll. x. 168 1033 Phot. p. 534.  
 15-16 1035 (στριβλικίγξ) §§ S ε 2807 1040-1 (τῆς . . .) Phot. p. 534. 6-7  
 1041 § S σ 983; Σ<sup>Γ</sup> Lys. 376 1042 (ὀρθιασμάτων) §§ S ο 573

1022 τί ἔπαθες; Elmsley ἐπετριβόμεν R 1023-7 om. E, 1024-7 add. <sup>mg.</sup>E<sup>z</sup>  
 1023 πόθεν γ'; tAld: πόθεν δ'; Elmsley ἀπὸ Bamberg ἐλάβου p 1024 τρισ-  
 κακοδαίμων ct: κακόδαιμον S ἀμπέχη AS 1025 ὥπερ] ὡσπερ ΑΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>z</sup>:  
 ὡς p: ὅπερ R ἐτραφέτην ΑΓ<sup>ac</sup> 1026 δέη ΑΓ<sup>ac</sup> 1028 κήδη a  
 ὡς ἐνστακτῶ κώριν add. ad fin. p 1029 τὸ ὀφθαλμῷ A, cf. τὸ \*φθαλμῷ E<sup>ac</sup>  
 1030 δημοσιεύω p 1031 κομίσωμεν ct 1032 κλαίει tAld: κλάε Rac  
 τοὺς Πιττάλου ΑΓ<sup>ac</sup>ct, cf. του\* Πιττάλου E<sup>ac</sup> et τοῦ Σπιττάλου S: τοῦ Πιττάλου RΓ<sup>pc</sup>E<sup>4</sup>  
 λατροῦ add. ad fin. p 1035 τριβικιγξ R ποι] μου R<sup>ac</sup>: που R<sup>pc</sup>Γ<sup>pc</sup>E<sup>pc</sup>  
 1036 τοῖν<sup>2</sup> ante βοιδίῳν Γ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup> 1037 ἀνὴρ Elmsley: ἀνὴρ d ἀνηύρηκέν Elmsley:  
 ἀνεύρηκέν RL: ἀνεύρηκέ acp: ἐνηύρηκέν van Leeuwen, Dobreo ducente τι] τις c  
 1040 κατάχει t σὺ om. ct 1041 στάθευε RΓ<sup>3</sup>E: τάθευε ΑΓ<sup>ac</sup>ct: σταθεύσω Σ Lys.  
 1043 τὰ γχέλια R 1044 'μέ Meineke: με d 1045 τοὺς] τὰς ΑΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup>  
 κνήση Rp: κνίσση A

Δι. ὄπτᾱτε ταυτὶ καὶ καλῶς ξανθίζετε.

ΟΙΚΕΤΗΣ ΝΥΜΦΙΟΥ

Δικαιόπολι.

Δι. τίς οὔτοσί; τίς οὔτοσί;

Οἰ. ἔπεμψέ τίς σοι νυμφίος ταυτὶ κρέα  
ἐκ τῶν γάμων.

Δι. καλῶς γε ποιῶν, ὅστις ἦν.

1050

Οἰ. ἐκέλευε δ' ἐγχείαι σε τῶν κρεῶν χάριν,  
ἵνα μὴ στρατεύοιτ' ἀλλὰ βινοίη μένων,  
εἰς τὸν ἀλάβαστον κύαθον εἰρήνης ἕνα.

Δι. ἀπόφερ' ἀπόφερε τὰ κρέα καὶ μὴ μοι δίδου,  
ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐγχείαιμι χιλίων δραχμῶν.  
ἀλλ' αὐτῆϊ τίς ἐστιν;

1055

Οἰ. ἡ νυμφεύτρια  
δεῖται παρὰ τῆς νύμφης τι σοὶ λέξαι μόνω.

Δι. φέρε δῆ, τί σὺ λέγεις; ὡς γέλοιον, ὦ θεοί,  
τὸ δέημα τῆς νύμφης ὃ δεῖταί μου σφόδρα,  
ὅπως ἂν οἰκουρῆ τὸ πέος τοῦ νυμφίου.

1060

φέρε δεῦρο τὰς σπονδάς, ἵν' αὐτῆ δῶ μόνῃ,  
ὅτι ἡ γυνὴ ἔστι τοῦ πολέμου τ' οὐκ ἀξία.  
ὑπεχ' ὦδε δεῦρο τοῦξάλειπτρον, ὦ γύναι.  
οἶσθ' ὡς ποεῖται τοῦτο; τῆ νύμφῃ φράσον,  
ὅταν στρατιώτας καταλέγωσι, τουτωῖ  
νύκτωρ ἀλειφέτω τὸ πέος τοῦ νυμφίου.

1065

ἀπόφερε τὰς σπονδάς. φέρε τὴν οἰνήρυσιν,  
ἵν' οἶνον ἐγχείω λαβὼν εἰς τοὺς χοᾶς.

Χο. καὶ μὴν ὀδί τις τὰς ὀφρῦς ἀνεσπακῶς  
ὥσπερ τι δεινὸν ἀγγελῶν ἐπείγεται.

1070

Κη. ἰὼ πόνοι τε καὶ μάχαι καὶ Λάμαχοι.

1047 (ξανθίζετε) §§ S ξ 4      1053 § S α 1050      1058-9 (ὡς . . .) §§ S δ 168  
1059 (δέημα) §§ Hsch. δ 421      1060 § S π 987      1063 § S ε 1524  
(ἐξάλειπτρον) §§ Hsch. ε 3542; Poll. x. 121; AB, p. 97. 17-18      1067-8 (φέρε . . .  
ἐγχείω) § S οι 117      1067 (οἰνήρυσιν) §§ Phryn. PS, p. 95. 6; §§ Hsch. ο 319; §§  
Phot. p. 320. 19      1069-70 (τὰς . . .) §§ S τ 146

1047 ταυτὸ c      1048 τίς οὔτοσί;¹] Δικαιόπολι Dobree      1049 συμφίος c  
τὰ ante κρέα a      1050 γε om. ct      ὅστιςπερ tAld      1052 στρατεύηται ἀλλ'  
ἵνα A, cf. στρατευ\*τ\*\* ἀλλ\*\*\* Γ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup>      κινοίη R      1053 ἀλάβαστρον Γ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup>p  
1054 ἀπόφερ' Γ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>pc</sup>tAld: ἀπόφερε RAc, cf. ἀπόφερ\* Γ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup>      1055 ἐγχέμμι c  
χιλίων] μυρίων R (χιλιῶν γ<sup>p</sup>Σ<sup>R</sup>)      1061 τὰς] τὰ R      1062 τ'] δ' R      ἀξία]  
αἰτία Blaydes      1064 ποιεῖτε R<sup>ac</sup>B: ποεῖτω Reisig      1066 ἀλειφέτω Γ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup>:  
ἀλειφε RAΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup>c: ἀλειφέ γε t



- Λα. τίς ἀμφὶ χαλκοφάλαρα δώματα κτυπεῖ;  
 Κη. ἰέναι σ' ἐκέλευον οἱ στρατηγοὶ τήμερον  
 ταχέως λαβόντα τοὺς λόχους καὶ τοὺς λόφους.  
 κᾶπειτα τηρεῖν νειφόμενον τὰς εἰσβολὰς· 1075  
 ὑπὸ τοὺς Χοᾶς γὰρ καὶ Χύτρους αὐτοῖσί τις  
 ἤγγειλε ληστὰς ἐμβαλεῖν Βοιωτίους.  
 Λα. ἰὼ στρατηγοὶ πλείονες ἢ βελτίονες·  
 οὐ δεινὰ μὴ 'ξεῖναί με μηδ' ἐορτάσαι;  
 Δι. ἰὼ στράτευμα πολεμολαμαχαϊκόν. 1080  
 Λα. οἴμοι κακοδαίμων· καταγελαῖς ἤδη σύ μου;  
 Δι. βούλει μάχεσθαι, Γηρυόνη, τετραπτίλω;  
 Λα. αἰαῖ· 1083a  
 οἴαν ὁ κῆρυξ ἀγγελίαν ἤγγειλέ μοι. 1083b  
 Δι. αἰαῖ· τίνα δ' αὖ 'μοὶ προστρέχει τις ἀγγελῶν;

## ΟΙΚΕΤΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΥ ΙΕΡΕΩΣ

Δικαιόπολι.

- Δι. τί ἐστίν;  
 Οἰ. ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ταχὺ 1085  
 βάδιζε τὴν κίστην λαβὼν καὶ τὸν χοᾶ·  
 ὁ τοῦ Διονύσου γὰρ σ' ἱερεὺς μεταπέμπεται.  
 ἀλλ' ἐγκόνει· δειπνεῖν κατακωλύεις πάλαι.  
 τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντ' ἐστὶν παρεσκευασμένα,  
 κλῖναι τράπεζαι προσκεφάλαια στρώματα 1090  
 στέφανοι μύρον τραγήμαθ', αἱ πόρνοι πάρα,  
 ἄμυλοι πλακοῦντες σησαμοῦντες ἴτρια  
 ὄρχηστρίδες, τὰ φίλταθ' Ἀρμοδίου, καλαί.  
 ἀλλ' ὡς τάχιστα σπεῦδε.  
 Λα. κακοδαίμων ἐγώ.

1072 §§ S τ 659 1082 S (1) §§ β 432, (2) § γ 254 1085-6 (ἐπὶ . . .  
 λαβὼν) § S χ 362 1088 (ἐγκόνει . . .) †§§ S ε 108 1089-94 (. . . σπεῦδε)  
 †§§ S ι 745 1092 (πλακοῦντες . . .) Ath. 14. 646d 1095 § S ε 2024; §  
 Zon. p. 825. 1-3

1072 τίς] τοὺς E, cf. τ\*\*ς Γ<sup>ac</sup> 1073 ἰέναι] ἰένε R<sup>ac</sup>: ἰέμβι Ac, cf. ἰέμ\*\*\* Γ<sup>ac</sup>,  
 ἰέ\*\*\*\* E<sup>ac</sup> 1075 νειφόμενον Elliott: νιφόμενον d 1077 ἐσβαλεῖν Blaydes  
 1078 πλείονες Bentley 1079 ἐορτάς p 1080 πολεμολαχαϊκόν a (μα<sup>s</sup> Γ<sup>4</sup>)  
 1081 καταγελαῖ R ἤδη] ἀεὶ Elmsley 1082 διαμάχεσθαι S (1-2) Γηρυόνη,  
 τετραπτίλω scripsi: Γηρυόνη τετραπτίλω vel sim. d S (2): Γηρυόνι τετραπτίλω S (1):  
 Γηρυόνη τετράπτιλε van Leeuwen 1083a-b et 1084 transp. a 1083b ἤγγειλ'  
 ἐμοί Brunck 1084 αἰαῖ] αἰ ἔ (γρ.) Σ<sup>EG</sup> 'μοὶ van Leeuwen: μοι d προστρέχει  
 τις] προστρέχεις R 1087 τοῦ γὰρ Διονύσου p 1089 ἐστίν LAld: ἐστὶ  
 RacpS 1091 et 1092 transp. van Leeuwen intra 1094 et 1095 lac. stat.  
 Robertson

- Δι. καὶ γὰρ σὺ μεγάλην ἐπεγράφου τὴν γοργόνα. 1095  
 ξύγκληε, καὶ δεῖπνόν τις ἐνσκευαζέτω.  
 Λα. παῖ παῖ, φέρ' ἔξω δεῦρο τὸν γυλιὸν ἐμοί.  
 Δι. παῖ παῖ, φέρ' ἔξω δεῦρο τὴν κίστην ἐμοί.  
 Λα. ἄλας θυμίτας οἶσε, παῖ, καὶ κρόμνα.  
 Δι. ἐμοὶ δὲ τεμάχη· κρομμύοις γὰρ ἄχθομαι. 1100  
 Λα. θρίον ταρίχους οἶσε δεῦρο, παῖ, σαπροῦ.  
 Δι. κάμοι σὺ δημοῦ θρίον· ὀπτήσω δ' ἐκεῖ.  
 Λα. ἔνευκε δεῦρο τῶ πτερῶ τῶ 'κ τοῦ κράνου.  
 Δι. ἐμοὶ δὲ τὰς φάττας γε φέρε καὶ τὰς κίχλας.  
 Λα. καλόν γε καὶ λευκὸν τὸ τῆς στρουθοῦ πτερόν. 1105  
 Δι. καλόν γε καὶ ξανθὸν τὸ τῆς φάττης κρέας.  
 Λα. ὦνθρωπε, παῦσαι καταγελῶν μου τῶν ὄπλων.  
 Δι. ὦνθρωπε, βούλει μὴ βλέπειν εἰς τὰς κίχλας;  
 Λα. τὸ λοφεῖον ἐξένευκε τῶν τριῶν λόφων.  
 Δι. κάμοι λεκάνιον τῶν λαγῶν δὸς κρεῶν. 1110  
 Λα. ἀλλ' ἢ τριχοβρώτες τοὺς λόφους μου κατέφαγον;  
 Δι. ἀλλ' ἢ πρὸ δεῖπνου τὴν μίμαρκυν κατέδομαι;  
 Λα. ὦνθρωπε, βούλει μὴ προσαγορεύειν ἐμέ;  
 Δι. οὐκ, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ χῶ παῖς ἐρίζομεν πάλαι.  
 βούλει περιδόσθαι κάπιτρέψαι Λαμάχῳ 1115  
 πότερον ἀκρίδες ἢδιὸν ἐστὶν ἢ κίχλαι;  
 Λα. οἴμ' ὡς ὑβρίζεις.  
 Δι. τὰς ἀκρίδας κρίνει πολὺ.  
 Λα. παῖ παῖ, καθελὼν μοι τὸ δόρυ δεῦρ' ἔξω φέρε.

1099 § Σ<sup>REG</sup> 772; § S π 1101 (ἄλας θυμίτας) §§ S a 1078 1100 (κρομμύοις  
 . . .) § S a 4702 1101 § S θ 489 1110 § Poll. vi. 86; †§ S λ 232  
 (λεκάνιον) § Phot. λ 161 1111 †§ Plu. Mor. 853c (τριχοβρώτες) §§ Poll. ii. 24;  
 §§ Hsch. τ 1467; §§ S τ 1040; §§ Phot. p. 606. 6

1096 ξύγκληε, καὶ van Leeuwen: σύγκλειε, καὶ d: σὺ κλά', ἐμοὶ van Herwerden  
 1097 vers. hab. <sup>m</sup>g-Γ<sup>3</sup>L<sup>2</sup>B<sup>1</sup>Ald, cf. τὸν γύλιον <sup>λ</sup>Σ<sup>E</sup>; om. RAΓ<sup>ac</sup>EcpL<sup>ac</sup> intra 1097  
 et 1098 hab. 1107, 1119 B 1099 οἶσε, παῖ] δούς ἐμοὶ Σ<sup>REG</sup> 772 S καὶ] παῖ  
 AΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup>c κρόμνα RS 1100 τεμάχη p 1101 παῖ σαπροῦ δεῦρο c:  
 σαπροῦ δεῦρό μοι (παῖ om.) tAld 1102 καί μοι R σὺ δημοῦ Elmsley: σὺ δὴ  
 παῖ Ra: δὴ σὺ παῖ c: δὲ δὴ σὺ παῖ tAld 1103 τῶ πτερῶ τῶ LAld τῶ 'κ] τὸ R  
 1106 ξανθικὸν Γ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup> 1107-8 intra 1112 et 1113 transp. Boissonade  
 1107 vers. om. AΓ<sup>ac</sup>EH ἄνθρωπε Γ<sup>2</sup>c 1108 ἄνθρωπε Γ<sup>p</sup>c 1109 λόφιον  
 λ et (γρ.)Σ<sup>E</sup> (γρ.)Σ<sup>Γ</sup> 1110 καί μοι R Poll. S λαγῶ c 1111 ἢ . . . ; Hartung:  
 ἢ d τριχοβρώτες A, Elmsley: τριχόβρωτες RΓEct 1112 ἢ . . . ; Bergk: ἢ d  
 μίμαρκυν aL: μίμμακυν Rp: μήμαρκυν c 1113-17 intra 1108 et 1109 transp.  
 Sommerstein 1115 περιδέσθαι a κάποστρέψαι A, cf. κάπ\*\*τρέψαι Γ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup>:  
 κάπιστρέψαι Vr3p: κάπιστέψαι C

- Δι. παῖ παῖ, σὺ δ' ἀφελὼν δεῦρο τὴν χορδὴν φέρε.  
 Λα. φέρε τοῦ δόρατος ἀφελκύσωμαι τοῦλυτρον. 1120  
 ἔχ' ἀντέχου, παῖ.  
 Δι. καὶ σύ, παῖ, τοῦδ' ἀντέχου.  
 Λα. τοὺς κιλλίβαντας οἶσε, παῖ, τῆς ἀσπίδος.  
 Δι. καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς τοὺς κριβανίτας ἔκφερε.  
 Λα. φέρε δεῦρο γοργόνωτον ἀσπίδος κύκλον.  
 Δι. κάμοι πλακοῦντος τυρόνωτον δὸς κύκλον. 1125  
 Λα. ταῦτ' οὐ κατάγελῶς ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις πλατύς;  
 Δι. ταῦτ' οὐ πλακοῦς δῆτ' ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις γλυκὺς;  
 Λα. κατάχει σύ, παῖ, τοῦλαιον. ἐν τῷ χαλκίῳ  
 ἐνορῶ γέροντα δειλίας φευξοῦμενον.  
 Δι. κατάχει σὺ τὸ μέλι. κἀνθάδ' εὐδηλος γέρων 1130  
 κλαίειν κελεύων Λάμαχον τὸν Γοργάσου.  
 Λα. φέρε δεῦρο, παῖ, θώρακα πολεμιστήριον.  
 Δι. ἔξαιρε, παῖ, θώρακα κάμοι τὸν χοᾶ.  
 Λα. ἐν τῷδε πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους θωρήξομαι.  
 Δι. ἐν τῷδε πρὸς τοὺς συμπότας θωρήξομαι. 1135  
 Λα. τὰ στρώματ', ὦ παῖ, δῆσον ἐκ τῆς ἀσπίδος.  
 Δι. τὸ δεῖπνον, ὦ παῖ, δῆσον ἐκ τῆς κιστίδος. 1138  
 Λα. ἐγὼ δ' ἐμαυτῷ τὸν γυλιὸν οἶσω λαβῶν. 1137  
 Δι. ἐγὼ δὲ θοιμάτιον λαβῶν ἐξέρχομαι.  
 Λα. τὴν ἀσπίδ' αἶρου καὶ βάδιζ', ὦ παῖ, λαβῶν. 1140  
 νεῖφει. βαβαιάξ· χειμέρια τὰ πράγματα.  
 Δι. αἶρου τὸ δεῖπνον. συμποτικὰ τὰ πράγματα.

1120 (ἐλυτρον) §§ S ε 924 1122 § Poll. x. 146; § S κ 1604 1124-5 § Plu.  
 Mor. 853c 1124 (γοργόνωτον) §§ S γ 395 1126 §§ S κ 490 1128 Poll.  
 x. 92; †§ S κ 867 1133 †§§ S θ 441 1135 (πρὸς . . .) § EM, p. 460. 37  
 1138 (κιστίδος) Poll. x. 136; § S κ 1680 1141 (νεῖφει) §§ Hsch. ν 595

1119 vers. om. ΑΓ<sup>ac</sup>E, sed cf. λΣ<sup>E</sup> δεῦρο τὴν χορδὴν 1120 ἀφελκύσωμαι R:  
 ἐλκύσαιμι P: ἐλκύσαιμι H 1122 κιλλίβαντας Γ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup> Poll. S: σκιλίβαντας R:  
 κ\*λλίβαντας E<sup>ac</sup>: κυλλίβανται ΑΓ<sup>ac</sup>: κῖται c: κιλλιβῶντας t 1124 γοργόνωτον]  
 γοργόνα τὸν ΑΓ<sup>ac</sup> 1125 τυρόνωτα c: γυρόνωτον Plu. 1126 πλατύς] πολὺς R  
 1127 πλακοῦντος c 1128 χαλκίῳ c 1129 ὀρῶ ΑΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup> 1130 κἀνθένδ'  
 ΑΕ: κἀνθάνδ' Γc ἐνδηλος R: ἐν ὁΓ<sup>3</sup> 1131 κλαίειν Ald: κλάειν d κελεύων  
 RΓ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup>: κελεύω ΑΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup>ct 1132 δεῦρο, παῖ tAld: παῖ, δεῦρο Rac πολεμησ-  
 τήριον R ὁVp3p 1133 vers. om. R<sup>ac</sup> ἐξάειν S 1135 vers. om. a  
 1136 ὦ] αὖ p 1138-1137 in hoc ordine R: in inverso ordine ct: om. a, sed cf.  
 λΣ<sup>E</sup> 1138 ἐκ τῆς κιστίδος 1138 τὸ δεῖπνον] τὸ δῖνον van Herwerden: τὸ δέπας vuv  
 Schütz 1137 ἐμαυτὸν ct τὴν γυλι c 1139 δὲ om. aPL<sup>ac</sup> 1140 βάδιζε c  
 1141 vers. om. et lac. indic. R νεῖφει Hall et Geldart: νίφει act Hsch. χειμέρι c  
 1142 vers. om. a intra δεῖπνον et συμποτικὰ lac. indic. Holden: δεῖπνον [καὶ βάδιζ',  
 ὦ παῖ, λαβῶν. / κνισᾶ. βαβαιάξ] συμποτικὰ tent. Mueller συμπητικὰ c τὰ] γὰρ p

Χο.	ἴτε δὴ χαίροντες ἐπὶ στρατιάν. ὥς δ' ἀνομοίαν ἔρχεσθον ὁδόν· τῷ μὲν πίνειν στεφανωσαμένῳ, σοὶ δὲ ῥιγῶν καὶ προφυλάττειν, τῷ δὲ καθεύδειν μετὰ παιδίσκης ὠραιότητας ἀνατριβομένῳ γε τὸ δεῖνα.	1145 1147 1147/8
Χο.	Ἀντίμαχον τὸν Ψακάδος, † τὸν ξυγγραφήν, τὸν μελέων ποητήν, † ὥς μὲν ἀπλῶ λόγῳ κακῶς ἐξολέσειεν ὁ Ζεὺς· ὅς γ' ἐμέ τὸν τλήμονα Λήναια χορηγῶν ἀπέλυσ' ἄδειπνον· ὄν ἔτ' ἐπίδοιμι τευθίδος δεόμενον, ἧ δ' ὠπτημένη σίζουσα πάραλος ἐπὶ τραπέζῃ κειμένη ὀκέλλοι· κᾶτα μέλλοντος λαβεῖν αὐτοῦ κύων ἀρπάσασα φεύγοι.  τοῦτο μὲν αὐτῷ κακὸν ἔν, κᾶθ' ἕτερον νυκτερινὸν γένοιτο. ἠπιαλῶν γὰρ οἴκαδ' ἐξ ἵππασίας βαδίζων, εἶτα κατάξειέ τις αὐτοῦ μεθύων τῆς κεφαλῆς Ὀρέστης	στρ. 1150-1 1152-3 1154-5 1156-8 1159-61 ἀντ. 1162-3 1164-5 1166-7

1150-61 †§ S (1) τ 424	1150 (Ἀντίμαχον τὸν Ψακάδος) §§ Σ <sup>EM</sup> Nu. 1022; §§
S (2) a 2683; cf. § S (3) ψ 39	1156-62 § S (3) ψ 39
πάραλος κειμένη) §§ S (4) π 387	1157 (ἧ . . . πάραλος) § S (5) σ 387
1159 (ὀκέλλοι) §§ S ο 106	1164-5 § S η 433
688; §§ S η 688	1164 (ἠπιαλῶν) §§ Hsch. η
1166-8 (. . . μαινόμενος) § S ο 537	

1144 δ' addidi: δ' post ἀνομοίαν add. Meineke	1145 γὰρ post μὲν c
στεφανωσαμένην p	1146 ῥιγῶν καὶ] ῥιγοῦν καὶ A <sup>s</sup> Vp3: ῥιον <sup>ov</sup> γῶν καὶ vel sim. C: ῥιγῶντι LAld: ῥυγῶντι p
1149 γε Reiske: τε d	1147 τῷ δέ] ὠδε c: οὐδέ Elmsley
ποητήν om. S (1)	1150 Ψεκάδος Γ <sup>4</sup> S (1-3)
1151 τὸν <sup>3</sup> ] τῶν RP	1150-1 τὸν <sup>2</sup> . . .
1152 δ' post κακῶς AΓc, cf. κακῶς* E <sup>ac</sup>	1153 ἀπολέσειεν
S (1): ὀλέσειεν c: ἂν χ' ὀλέσειεν p: ἂν γ' ὀλέσειεν L	1155 ἀπέλυσ' ἄδειπνον tAld:
ἀπέλυσεν ἄδειπνον AΓ <sup>4</sup> E <sup>4</sup> c: ἄδειπνον ἀπέλυσεν S (2): ἀπέλυσαν ἄδειπνον Γ <sup>ac</sup> , cf. ἀπέλυσ*ν ἄδειπνον E <sup>ac</sup> : ἀπέκλεισε δείπνων R, cf. ἀπέλυσεν ἄδειπνον· ἀπέκλεισε δείπνων Σ <sup>EG</sup> : ἀπ- έκλεισ' ἄδειπνον Elmsley	1156 ὄν] ὄν γ' tAld
ἀπταμένη p	1157 ὀπτωμένη S (5):
τ' Hamaker	1158 intra 1160 et 1161 hab. AΓ <sup>ac</sup> E
1161 ἀρπάσας φάγοι S (1, 3)	1159 παρ' ἀλός Thiersch: λιπαρά
1166 εἶτα] κᾶτα Elmsley	1160 αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν a
actS: τὴν κεφαλὴν R	1162 αὐτὸ c
	1165 βαδίζοι Bentley
	1167 τῆς κεφαλῆς

- μαινόμενος. ὁ δὲ λίθον λαβεῖν βουλόμενος ἐν σκότῳ λάβοι  
 τῇ χειρὶ πέλεθον ἀρτίως κεχεσμένον. 1168—70  
 ἐπάξειεν δ' ἔχων τὸν μάρμαρον· κᾶπειθ' ἀμαρτῶν βάλοι  
 Κρατῖνον. 1171—3
- Οἱ. ὦ δμῶες οἱ κατ' οἶκόν ἐστε Λαμάχου,  
 ὕδωρ ὕδωρ ἐν χυτρινίδιῳ θερμαίνετε. 1175  
 ὀθόνια κηρωτὴν παρασκευάζετε  
 ἔρι' οἰσυπηρά, λαμπάδιον περὶ τὸ σφυρόν.  
 ἀνὴρ τέτρωται χάρακι διαπηδῶν τάφρον  
 καὶ τὸ σφυρόν παλίνορρον ἐξεκόκκισεν  
 καὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς κατέαγε περὶ λίθῳ πεσῶν 1180  
 καὶ γοργόν' ἐξήγειρεν ἐκ τῆς ἀσπίδος.  
 πτίλον δὲ τὸ μέγα κομπολακύθου πεσὸν  
 πρὸς ταῖς πέτραισι, δεινὸν ἐξηύδα μέλος·  
 “ὦ κλεινὸν ὄμμα, νῦν πανύστατόν σ' ἰδὼν  
 λείπω φάος γε τοῦμόν· οὐκέτ' εἰμ' ἐγώ.” 1185  
 τοσαῦτα λέξας εἰς ὑδρορρόαν πεσῶν  
 ἀνίσταται τε καὶ ξυναντᾶ δραπεταῖς  
 ληστὰς ἐλαύνων καὶ κατασπέρχων δορί.  
 ὁδὶ δὲ καὐτός. ἀλλ' ἀνοιγε τὴν θύραν.
- Λα. ἀτταταῖ ἀτταταῖ. 1190  
 στυγερά τάδε γε κρυερά πάθεα. τάλας ἐγώ. 1191/2  
 διόλλυμαι δορὸς ὑπὸ πολεμίου τυπείς. 1192/3

1168—70 (λαβεῖν . . .) § S σ 917; §§ Σ Ec. 595 1176 § Poll. iv. 183  
 1177 (ἔρι' οἰσυπηρά) § Poll. vii. 28; Phot. λ 65; §§ EM, p. 619. 12; §§ Oros B 118  
 (οἰσυπηρά) §§ Phryn. PS, p. 96. 21 1177—8 (λαμπάδιον . . .) § S λ 87  
 1177 (λαμπάδιον) §§ Hsch. λ 255; §§ Poll. x. 149; Phot. λ 65 1179 (τὸ . . .)  
 § S (1) π 103 (παλίνορρον) §§ Hsch. π 219 (ἐξεκόκκισεν) §§ S (2) ε 1609  
 1181 § S γ 392 1188 (κατασπέρχων) §§ Phot. κ 364 1190 §§ S ε 2807

1168 λαβεῖν RG: βαλεῖν AECT: κατέαξαι S Σ Ec. 1170 πέλεθον, πελέθον, vel  
 πελεθὸν tAld: σπέλεθον vel σπελεθὸν RacS Σ Ec. 1171 ἐπάξειεν A: ἐπαῖξειεν  
 RGEtAld: ἐπαῖξειε cp 1174 ἐσταῖ R 1175 χυτρινίδιῳ R: χυτρίῳ act  
 1176 ὀθόνια c παρασκευάζεται Poll. 1177 vers. om. et lac. indic. R ἔρι'  
 οἰσυπηρά Kuster: ἔρια οἰσυπηρά Poll., cf. οἰσυπηρά ἔρια EM: ἔργ' οἰσυπηρά acL: ἔργοις  
 ὑπηρά p τὸ] τὸν a 1178 ἀνὴρ S: ἀνὴρ d τάφρων c 1179 παλίνορρον A:  
 παλίνορον ΓEc: παλίνωρον R Hsch. S (1): παλίνορον t ἐξεκόκκισθ' R: ἐκεκόκκισε c:  
 ἐκεκόκκισεν t 1180 λίθῳ R: λίθον act 1181 ἐξέγειρεν R  
 1182 κομπολακύθου cp πεσῶν R<sup>ac</sup>cp 1185 γε om. R 1186 ὑδρορρόαν  
 R: ὑδρορροήν Elmsley 1188 ληστῆς R 1189 δὲ om. c 1190 ἀτταταῖ  
 ἀτταταῖ R: ἀττατατταταῖ S: ἀτταπαττατά act: ᾧ παπαῖ ᾧ παπαῖ Bergk: ἀταταταταῖ  
 Elmsley 1191 γε τάδε Bergk γε om. Rc

- ἐκεῖνο δ' αἰακτὸν ἄν γένοιτο, 1194-5  
 Δικαιοπόλις εἴ μ' ἴδοι τετρωμένον  
 κᾶτ' ἐγχάνοι ταῖς ἐμαῖς τύχαισιν.  
 Δι. ἄτταταῖ ἄτταταῖ.  
 τῶν τιτθίων, ὡς σκληρὰ καὶ κυδώνια.  
 φιλήσατόν με μαλθακῶς, ὦ χρυσίω, 1200  
 τὸ περιπεταστὸν ἐπιμανδαλωτόν  
 (x-υ---υ-x-υ--·)  
 τὸν γὰρ χοᾶ πρῶτος ἐκπέπωκα.  
 Λα. ὦ συμφορὰ τάλαινα τῶν ἐμῶν κακῶν.  
 (Δι. x-υ-x-υ-x-υ--·) 1205  
 Λα. ἰὼ ἰὼ τραυμάτων ἐπωδύνων.  
 Δι. ἰηῦ ἰηῦ· χαῖρε, Λαμαχίππιον.  
 Λα. στυγερός ἐγώ. μογερός ἐγώ.  
 Δι. τί με σὺ κυνεῖς; τί με σὺ δάκνεις;  
 Λα. τάλας ἐγὼ ξυμβολῆς βαρείας. 1210  
 Δι. τοῖς Χουσί γάρ τις ξυμβολὰς ἐπράττετο;  
 Λα. ἰὼ Παιᾶν Παιᾶν.  
 Δι. ἀλλ' οὐχὶ νυνὶ τήμερον Παιώνια.  
 Λα. λάβεσθέ μου λάβεσθε τοῦ σκέλους, παπαῖ·  
 προσλάβεσθ', ὦ φίλοι. 1215  
 Δι. ἐμοῦ δέ γε σφῶ τοῦ πέους ἄμφω μέσου  
 προσλάβεσθ', ὦ φίλοι.

1197 (ἐγχάνοι) §§ Poll. ii. 97      1198 §§ S ε 2807      1201 (περιπεταστὸν  
 ἐπιμανδαλωτόν) §§ S π 1240      1204, 1206 §§ S (1) σ 1408      1206 §§ S (2) ι  
 454; §§ Zon. p. 1140. 13

1194 δ'] δ\* R<sup>ac</sup>: δ' οὖν tAld      1194-5 αἰακτὸν ἄν Porson: αἰακτὸν οἰμωκτὸν  
 ἄν Rac: αἰακτὸν ἄν οἰμωκτὸν ἄν tAld      1195 γένοιτο Dindorf: γένοιτό μοι d  
 1196 εἴ B: ἄν R: ἄν εἴ ac: γὰρ εἴ tAld      1197 κᾶτ' ἐγχάνοι B: κᾶτ' ἐγχανεῖται R:  
 κατεγχάνοι ac: κατεγχάνοι γε tAld      ἐμαῖς τύχεσιν c: ἐμαῖσιν τύχαις P: ἐμαῖσι τύχαις H:  
 ἐμαῖσιν ἄν τύχαις LAld      1198 ἄτταταῖ ἄτταταῖ R: ἄττατατταταῖ S: ἄτταλαττατά  
 ΑΓct: ἄτταπαττατά E: ἄ παπαῖ ἄ παπαῖ Bergk: ἀταταταταῖ Elmsley      1201 ἐπι-  
 μανδαλωτόν Handley: κάπιμανδαλωτόν RaS: κάναπιμανδαλωτόν c: κάναπιμανδαλωτόν  
 ἄν t      1202 add. Bergk      1203 νῦν post χοᾶ tAld      γε post ἐκπέπωκα tAld  
 1205 add. Bothe      1206 ὦ post ἰὼ<sup>2</sup> t      1207 ἰηῦ ἰηῦ scripsi: ἰῆ ἰῆ d  
 ὦ post ἰηῦ<sup>2</sup> tAld      Λαμαχιππίδιον R      1208-9 Λα. στυγερός ἐγώ. Δι. τί με σὺ  
 κυνεῖς; / Λα. μογερός ἐγώ. Δι. τί με σὺ δάκνεις; Bergk      1208 δ' post μογερός AE,  
 cf. μογερός\* Γ<sup>ac</sup>      1209 κινεῖς aH      1210 sic Bergk: ἐγὼ τῆς ἐν μάχῃ ξυμ-  
 βολῆς Rac: ἐγὼ τῆς ἐν μάχῃ νῦν ξυμβολῆς tAld      1211 Χουσί] χρυσι c      Χουσί  
 τις ξυμβολὰς ἔπραττε Bergk      1212 ἰὼ bis tAld      ἰὼ Παιᾶν ἰὼ Παιᾶν Fritzsche  
 1213 νυνὶ τήμερον] νυνὶ om. A: νῦν γε σήμερον R      1215 προσλάβεσθε ΑΓ, cf.  
 προσλάβεσθ\* E<sup>ac</sup>: προσλάβεσθέ μ' ct      φίλοι R: φίλε c      1216 ἐμοῦ] μου p  
 πέος c      1217 προσλάβεσθε E<sup>ac</sup>: προσλάβεσθέ μ' tAld

- Λα. εἰλιγγιῶ κάρα λίθῳ πεπληγμένος  
καὶ σκοτοδιניῶ.
- Δι. κἀγὼ καθεύδειν βούλομαι καὶ στύομαι 1220  
καὶ σκοτοβινιῶ.
- Λα. θύραζέ μ' ἐξενέγκατ' εἰς τὰ Πιττάλου  
παιωνίαισι χερσίν.
- Δι. ὡς τοὺς κριτάς με φέρετε. ποῦ 'στιν ὁ βασιλεύς;  
ἀπόδοτέ μοι τὸν ἄσκόν. 1225
- Λα. λόγχη τις ἐμπέπηγέ μοι δι' ὀστέων ὀδυρτά.
- Δι. ὀράτε τουτονὶ κενόν. τήνελλα καλλίνικος.
- Χο. τήνελλα δῆτ', εἴπερ καλεῖς γ', ὦ πρέσβυ, καλλίνικος.
- Δι. καὶ πρὸς γ' ἄκρατον ἐγχείας ἄμυστιν ἐξέλαψα.
- Χο. τήνελλά νυν, ὦ γεννάδα. χῶρει λαβῶν τὸν ἄσκόν. 1230
- Δι. ἔπεσθέ νυν ἄδοντες "ὦ τήνελλα καλλίνικος".
- Χο. ἀλλ' ἐψόμεσθα σὴν χάριν "(τήνελλα καλλίνικος,) τήνελλα καλλίνικος" ἄδοντες σὲ καὶ τὸν ἄσκόν. 1233-4

1218-19 (εἰλιγγιῶ σκοτοδιניῶ) §§ S ει 120 1226 § S ο 62 1229 (ἄμυστιν ἐξέλαψα) § S α 1687

1218 εἰλιγγιῶ R: ἰλιγγιῶ **act** 1220-1 vers. om. AΓ<sup>ac</sup>E 1222 εἰς τὰ van Leeuwen: ἐς τοῦ R: ἐς τὸν **act**: ὡς τοὺς Blaydes Πιττάλον **c** 1223 παιωνίαισι AΕ<sup>ac</sup>, cf. παιω\*\*αἰσι Γ<sup>ac</sup>: παιωνίαισιν P 1224 μ' ἐκφέρετε **ct** 1226 ὀδυρτή S ὀδυρμὸν add. ad fin. **p** 1228 γ', ὦ R: ὦ **act**: μ', ὦ Bergk πρέιβυ **c** 1229 ἐγχείας] χέας AΓE<sup>ac</sup> 1230 νυν Elmsley: νῦν **d** 1231 ὦ] οὖν Elmsley 1232 ἐψόμεσθα R: ἐψόμεθα **Ap**: ἐπειψόμεσθα Γ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup> λΣEΓ<sup>3</sup> τήνελλα καλλίνικος add. Elmsley 1233 καλλίνικος AΓ, cf. καλλίνικο\* E<sup>ac</sup>: καλλίνικον RΓ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup>**ct** ἄδοντες om. Γ<sup>3</sup>

# COMMENTARY

## HYPOTHESES

**Hypothesis I** consists of a plodding—and occasionally inaccurate—summary of the action of the play, with a brief didascalical notice attached at the end. The most striking characteristics of the analysis are: (1) the emphasis on the responsibility of the Athenian authorities rather than the populace generally for all the city's troubles; (2) the disproportionate attention paid to the scenes involving the Megarian and the Boiotian; (3) the implicit condemnation of Dikaiopolis for his 'proud' conduct after he makes his peace; and (4) the apparent lack of awareness that the play was intended to be anything other than an earnest (if occasionally witty) plea for peace. Musurus' version of Hyp. I contains numerous minor variants not noted in the apparatus, the general intent of which is patently to improve the style, most often by moving verbal elements to final position in their cola. Similar hypotheses are attached to all other Aristophanic comedies except *Th.*

1 ἐν τῷ φανερώ: 'in the open air'.

2 ἐξαπατώντας: Cf. *Ach.* 114 ἄλλως ἄρ' ἐξαπατώμεθ' ὑπὸ τῶν πρέσβειων;

4 Ἀχαρνικοὶ γέροντες: Cf. *Ach.* 180.

5 πεπυσμένοι τὸ πρᾶγμα: A naturalizing misrepresentation of the text; the Achaeanians actually learn of Dik.'s peace-treaty by smelling the libations as they are carried by (*Ach.* 179–80). προσέρχονται διώκοντες

ἐν χοροῦ σχήματι: Similar language at *Eq.* Hyp. I. 6; *Nu.* Hyp. III. 12–13; *Pax* Hyp. III. 12; *Ra.* Hyp. I. 12.

7 καταλεύσειν ὀρμῶσιν: 'they make haste to stone him'.

7–9 ὁ δὲ . . . ἀποκοπήσεσθαι: Cf. *Ach.* 317–18.

10 πτωχικὴν στολήν: A momentary irruption of poetic language; cf. [E.] *Rh.* 503 πτωχικὴν ἔχων στολήν. τοῖς Τηλέφου ῥακώμασι: Cf. *Ach.* 432 with n.

11 οὐκ ἀχαρίτως: 'in a not unwitty fashion'.

11–12 The focus on Perikles and the Megarian Decree to the exclusion of everything else in Dik.'s *Telephos*-speech reflects Hellenistic scholarship's interest in Ar.'s plays as a source of political biography; cf. *Pax* Hyp. III. 18–19, where the references to Perikles and Pheidias at *Pax* 605–11 are highlighted in a similar fashion.

12–14 παροξυνθέντων . . . εἰρηκότος jumbles together (1) the objection to Dik. speaking on behalf of the Spartans sounded most emphatically by the united chorus at *Ach.* 315–16 with (2) the situation afterward, when the Achaeanians are indeed divided in their reaction and some of them



- are even ready to attack the hero (*Ach.* 557–71) but the question of whether he ought to defend the enemy is never raised.
- 13** ἐπιφερομένων: 'trying to attack him'. ἐνισταμένων: 'making the opposing argument' (LSJ s.v. B. IV. 1).
- 14** τὰ δίκαια αὐτοῦ εἰρηκότος: Cf. *Ach.* 560–1. θορυβεῖν πειράται: Probably a garbled allusion to *Ach.* 573 ποῖ χρῆ βοηθεῖν; ποῖ κυδοιμὸν ἐμβαλεῖν;
- 15** διελκυσμοῦ is not 'a brawl' (LSJ s.v. 3) but 'a bitter dispute'. κατενεχθεῖς: 'after moving down', i.e. toward the audience, as the parabasis begins at *Ach.* 626. ἀπολύει: 'acquits', as if Dik. had been on trial before them.
- 16** πρὸς τοὺς δικαστάς ('to the jurors') reflects the influence of the discussion of the lawcourts at 676–718 (and cf. *Ach.* 364–5 n.). Elmsley's θεατάς ('spectators') eliminates the confusion, but nothing suggests that the author of the Hypothesis has been more consistent and careful here than elsewhere and the paradosis ought probably to be retained.
- 17** καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν: Cf. the similarly dismissive summaries of the contents of parabases at *Pax Hyp.* III. 20–1; *Ra. Hyp.* I. 16–19.
- 19** φέρων ἐν σάκκῳ: In fact, the girls walk on stage and enter the sack only after putting on the piglet-costumes their father offers them (*Ach.* 740–5).
- 20** ἐγγέλεις καὶ παντοδαπῶν ὀρνίθων γόνον: The attention paid the Boiotian's eels and birds to the exclusion of the other goods he brings (*Ach.* 874, 878–80) reflects the fuss Dik. makes about these items in particular (*Ach.* 876–7, 881–94). παντοδαπῶν ὀρνίθων γόνον is an adaptation of a high-style periphrasis; cf. Olson–Sens on *Archestr.* fr. 60. 9–10. ἀνατιθέμενος: 'carrying on his shoulder'.
- 22** βαλὼν εἰς σάκκον: A detail invented by the author of the Hypothesis (cf. *Ach.* 929–51 n.), who apparently imagines that the Megarian leaves behind the sack in which he (allegedly) brought his daughters on stage (*Hyp.* I. 19 with n.).
- 24** καθυπερηφανεί: Presumably a reference in the first instance to Dik.'s high-handed treatment of Derketes (esp. *Ach.* 1030–5) and the bridegroom's request (*Ach.* 1054–5).
- 24–5** παροικοῦντος: Another naturalizing misinterpretation, in this case of 1072. On stage, Dik. and Lam. probably share a single house; cf. Introduction, Section V.C.
- 26–7** κελεύει . . . τηρεῖν: Cf. *Ach.* 1073–5.
- 29** κακῶς ἀπαλλάττων: 'escaping badly', i.e. 'having got the worst of the fight'.
- 30** ἀναλύων: 'going away' (e.g. *Plb.* ii. 32. 3; *Ath.* i. 16b), i.e. from the party at the Priest of Dionysos' house. τὸ δὲ δράμα τῶν εὖ σφόδρα πεποιημένων: A typical judgement (cf. *Eq. Hyp.* I. 28; *Nu. Hyp.* III. 27–8; *Pax Hyp.* III. 28; *Ra. Hyp.* I. 28–9), although precisely what

characteristics of the play the author of the Hypothesis would claim to be assessing is unclear.

- 32 ἐπὶ Εὐθύνου ἄρχοντος:** 'in the year when Euthynos (*PA* 5655; *PAA* 433917) was eponymous archon', i.e. in 426/5 BCE. *RG*'s *Εὐθυμένους* reflects the influence of *Ach.* 67. **διὰ Καλλιστράτου:** 'with Kallistratos (*PA* 8127; *PAA* 561075) as producer'. Kallistratos also produced *Daitales*, *Babylonians*, *Birds*, *Lysistrata*, and probably other Aristophanic comedies as well. Cf. Introduction, Section I.
- 33 δεύτερος Κρατίνος Χειμαζόμενοι:** For Kratinos, one of the greatest comic poets of the previous generation and an important rival of Ar. in his youth (2nd place behind *Eq.* at the Lenaia in 424; 1st place at the City Dionysia in 423, where the original *Nu.* placed poorly), *Ach.* 849n.; Rosen 37–58; Luppe and Rosen, in D. Harvey and J. Wilkins (eds.), *The Rivals of Aristophanes* (London, 2000) 15–20, 23–39, respectively. Nothing else is known of *Χειμαζόμενοι* ('*Storm-tossed*').
- 33–4 τρίτος Εὐπολις Νουμηνίαις:** Eupolis son of Sosipolis (*PA* 5936; *PAA* 442535) was almost an exact contemporary of Ar. (although he died before him sometime during the final decade of the Peloponnesian War) and had almost certainly won at the Lenaia the previous year (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2325. 126). His *Flatterers* took first place ahead of *Peace* at the City Dionysia in 421, and at *Nu.* 553–4 Ar. accuses him of plundering *Knights* for the plot of his *Μαρικᾶς* (Lenaia 421). Cf. Storey, *Phoenix* 44 (1990) 1–30; Nesselrath, in Harvey and Wilkins (above) 233–46. No fragments of *Νουμηνίαις* ('*New Moons*'); cf. *Ach.* 999n.) survive.

**Hypothesis II** combines a careless and confusing summary of the initial scenes of the play (vv. 1–6) with specific references to the *Telephos*-speech (vv. 7–8; cf. *Ach.* 528–39) and Dik.'s initial self-defence (vv. 9–10; cf. *Ach.* 309–10, 313–14). Similar ten-line metrical hypotheses attributed to the Alexandrian scholar Aristophanes of Byzantium (c.257–180 BCE) are attached to all other Aristophanic comedies except *Th.*

- 4–5** In fact, Amphitheos alone brings a peace-treaty/libations from Sparta.
- 6–8 ὧν καθάπτεται κτλ.:** Cf. Hyp. I. 11–12, although the poet is here explicitly identified with his hero.
- 8–10 ἰκανῶς** is to be taken with αἴτιον, while σπονδᾶς (τε) λύσιν τε τῶν ἐφεστῶτων κακῶν is intended as another obj. of φησι, which must be understood as 'describes' *vel sim.*

#### DRAMATIS PERSONAE

The text from which Γ<sup>3</sup>'s list of characters was copied had the names organized in two columns (the first beginning with Δικαιοπόλις, the second with συκοφάντης), which were intended to be read from top to

bottom, one after the other. Γ<sup>3</sup> copied instead from left to right, mixing the contents of the columns together. R preserves only the first column of what must have been a very similar two-column list.

## TEXT

In the centre of the *scaenae frons* is a single large door, which is part of the standard setting for a drama of any sort and has no significance for the audience until it is put to specific use. An anonymous male character, eventually assigned the name Dikaiopolis (406 with n.), enters from a wing. His mask is dark red ('sunburnt') with a gaping mouth and a beard (Stone 22-3, 28-31) and his wig is white (Stone 60-5), all of which marks him from the first as an old man (cf. 397). He is dressed in a *chiton* (Stone 170-2) and, on top of that, a countryman's rough outer robe or *τρίβων* (184-5 n.). Heavy boots or *ἐμβάδες* ('rough shoes') are on his feet (Stone 223-5); that he must eventually ask Euripides for a staff suggests that he does not have one with him now (447-8 n.; cf. 1111-12 n.). Like all male characters in the play, Dik. wears a long theatrical phallus, which for the moment is rolled up and tied at his waist (Stone 72-100). A small sack or basket is in his hand; this plays no part in the action until 162-4. For the larger dramatic significance of the hero's costume, Introduction, Section V.B. Dik. sits down on the ground (25 n., 29), most likely off to one side rather than near the centre of the stage; sets his bag or basket down beside him; and begins to wait, fidgeting and perhaps emitting an occasional anguished groan. The setting is not specified until 19-20 and might initially be taken to be the Theatre of Dionysos itself. The time of day is also unclear; meetings of the Assembly were supposed to begin at dawn (19-20 n.), but the reference at 21 to the Agora being full suggests that it is by then sometime toward mid-morning (cf. Hdt. iv. 181. 3; Pherecr. fr. 178), and at 40 it is said (perhaps as a disgusted joke) to be midday. *Lys.* and *Ec.* begin in a similar fashion, with a solitary figure on stage awaiting the arrival of others who are late for a meeting.

**1-42** Starkie tentatively identified these verses as a parody of the prologue of Euripides' *Telephos* (cf. Introduction, Section IV.C), but E. fr. 696. 8 (= PMed. i. 15. 8) leaves little doubt that the Euripidean hero in fact declined to detail his sufferings (*καὶ πόλλ' ἐμόχθησ', ἀλλὰ συντεμῶ λόγον* ('I had many troubles, but I will cut the story short')). For the mix of stylistic registers and sentence-types (typical of Ar.'s style generally), Dover, *G&G* 224-36.

**1-22** For the priamel structure, which alternates between pleasures (5-8, 13-14) and pains (9-12, 15-16) and culminates in Dik.'s discussion of his most immediate and substantial cause for grief, the absence of anyone else from the Pnyx, Edmunds 26; W. H. Race, *The Classical Priamel*

from Homer to Boethius (*Mnemosyne* Suppl. 74: Leiden, 1982) 36 n. 11; Gordziejew, *Eos* 39 (1983) 328-30 (comparing E. *Cyc.* 1-40).

**1-3** For the idea that troubles almost inevitably outnumber joys in human life, *Mimn.* fr. 2; *Pi. P.* 3. 81-2 ἐν παρ' ἐσθλὸν πῆματα σύνδυο δαίονται βροτοῖς / ἀθάνατοι ('the immortals portion out to men two pains for every good'); *Diph.* fr. 107 ἡ τύχη / ἐν ἀγαθὸν ὑποχέασα τρί' ἐπαντλεῖ κακά ('fortune pours out one good thing and then adds three troubles on top').

**1 ὄσα:** An internal limiting acc. (KG i. 310; cf. 2 βαιά, 4 τί) used as an exclamation, like ὡς in 7 (KG ii. 439). **δή:** GP 212. Despite ἐδήχθην in 18, the reflexive pron. ἐμαυτοῦ makes it clear that δέδηγμαί must be mid. rather than pass.; cf. *V.* 374-5 τοῦτον . . . ποιήσω δακεῖν τὴν καρδίαν ('I will make this fellow bite his heart', i.e. 'I will make him miserable'). Fraenkel (*Beobachtungen* 18-19) argues that the pron. has a humorous effect, since its presence implies that it might be possible to 'bite' the heart of someone else. For δάκνω meaning 'cause grief', 323-5 n., 376. **τὴν . . . καρδίαν:** The heart is the emotional and personal centre of an individual already in Homer (e.g. *Od.* 1. 310) and thus the most painful place to be wounded (esp. *Pl. Smp.* 218a δεδηγμένος . . . τὸ ἀλγεινότατον ὧν ἂν τις δηχθείη, τὴν καρδίαν γὰρ ἢ ψυχὴν ἢ ὅτι δεῖ αὐτὸ ὀνομάσαι ('bitten in the most painful way one can be, in my heart or my soul or whatever one ought to call it')); cf. 12 with n., 483-5 n.; *Lys.* 9-10), and the idea that the worst griefs bite at or consume it, or that one who has such troubles bites or eats his own heart as he ponders them, is traditional (e.g. *H. Il.* 6. 202; *Od.* 9. 75; *Hes. Th.* 567; *Op.* 451, 799 with West ad loc.; *Thgn.* 1323-4; *Simon. PMG* 579. 5; *A. Ag.* 1471; *E. Alc.* 1100; cf. Taillardat § 296; López Eire 152-3). Contrast 5 τὸ κέαρ ἠὺφράνθην.

**2 ἦσθην:** 'I was made happy' (Goodwin § 55). **δέ'** is adversative, despite the omission of μέν (GP 165). **βαιά:** 1 n. Poetic vocabulary (e.g. *Pi. P.* 9. 77; adesp. *PMG* 970; *Parm.* 28 B 8. 45; *A. Ag.* 1574; *S. Tr.* 44; *E.* fr. 825. 1; *Archestr.* fr. 49. 2; in prose at *Democr.* 68 B 119), first attested at *Sol.* fr. 10. 1 and elsewhere in comedy only at *Nu.* 1013; *Polioch.* fr. 2. 4. Here 'few', as regularly in the pl. (e.g. *Anan.* fr. 3. 2; *Pi. Pae.* 2. 74; *A. Pers.* 1023; *S. Ai.* 292; *Polioch.* fr. 2. 4; *Archestr.* fr. 32. 3). For the repetition, López Eire 160. **πάνυ:** Used in a similar fashion at *Pax* 54-5 καινὸν τρόπον, / . . . καινὸν πάνυ. For the function of the word in comedy, Dover, *G&G* 53-7.

**γε** is Elmsley's correction of **δ'**'s δέ; cf. GP 172. Dover, *G&G* 227, suggests that the repetition of the particle may reflect rural usage, but there is no positive evidence to support the thesis. The MS against which ΓΕ were corrected (i.e. φ) dealt with the problem by converting δέ' into μέν. **τέτταρα:** In fact, *Dik.* lists only two pleasures (5-8, 13-14), and Blaydes and Graves suggest that the number 'four' stands here for 'a few' (cf. *V.* 260; *Pherecr.* fr. 175; *Men. Dysk.* 390 with Handley ad loc., 402; Russo,

*SIFC* 26 (1952) 217–18), while Dover, *G&G* 227, argues that this may be another rural colloquialism. The structure of the line suggests that the word is a punchline of some sort and it seems better to assume that the immediate point is that Dik. can easily count up everything good in his life, the grand total being exactly . . . *four*, and that he never completes his catalogue.

- 3 **ὠδυνήθην**: Here of mental grief, as at e.g. 9\*; *V.* 283b; *Lys.* 164; *Men. Dysk.* 125; *Philem.* fr. 108. 5; *S. El.* 804; *E. Hipp.* 247. **ψαμμακοσιογάργαρα**: ‘sand-hundred-heaps’, a typically extravagant Aristophanic coinage; for the formation, cf. *διακοσιόδραχμα* and *τριακοσιόδραχμα* at *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 248. 28–9, 35–7. The numberlessness of the sand was a traditional image (e.g. *Lys.* 1260–1; *H. Il.* 2. 799–801; *Pi. O.* 2. 98; *P.* 9. 46–8; adesp. *PMG* 1007; Delphic oracle Q99. 1 ap. *Hdt.* i. 47. 3; cf. Taillardat § 659), and *ψαμμακόσιος* also appears at *Eup.* fr. 308 (420s BCE). A *γάργαρα* is a limitless quantity (*Alc. Com.* fr. 19. 3; *Aristomen.* fr. 1; adesp. tr. fr. 442; cf. *Hsch.* γ 167, 411), and *γαργαίρω* is accordingly ‘teem’ (fr. 375; *Cratin.* fr. 321; *Sophr.* fr. 30; *Tim. PMG* 791. 96).
- 4 **φέρ’ ἴδω**: ‘All right, let’s see . . .’ *vel sim.*; Dik. racks his brain for a pleasure worth mentioning. Colloquial; always followed by a question in Ar. Cf. Stevens 42; López Eire 98–9. **τί δ’ ἦσθην**: For postponement of the *δέ*-question until after an instigatory imper., *GP* 174–5. Elmsley’s expulsion of *δ’* is unnecessary; cf. *Av.* 812 *φέρ’ ἴδω τί δ’ ἡμῖν ὄνομ’ ἄρ’ ἔσται τῆ πόλει*; For *ἦσθην*, 2 n., 13\*. **χαιρηδόνος**: A hapax legomenon formed by analogy with *μεληδών* (*Simon. PMG* 520. 2), *ἀχθηδών* (*Th.* ii. 37. 2; iv. 40. 2; [A.] *PV* 26; *Pl. Cra.* 419c; *Lg.* 734a), and *ἀλγηδών* (e.g. *Hdt.* v. 18. 4; *S. OC* 514; *E. Med.* 56; *Andr.* 259; *Pl. Phd.* 65c; *X. Mem.* i. 2. 54); presumably intended to sound clever if not side-splittingly funny, although there is some humour in the fact that the coinage describes something good rather than bad. Cf. Weber 1–3 (who argues that the word is borrowed from another poet and perhaps from *E. Tel.*); *Beobachtungen* 15–16; Dover, *G&G* 228.
- 5 **ἐγῶδ(α)** (cf. 118, 904; not found in A.; in S. only at *OC* 452) appears to be colloquial (Stevens 59). For the postponement of *γε*, 60; *GP* 149. **τὸ κέαρ ἠὺφράνθην**: 1 n. For *ἠὺ-* (anon. *de Com.* XXVIII) rather than *εὖ-* (all other witnesses), Threatte ii. 486–7. *κέαρ* is an uncontracted form of the Homeric *κῆρ* and is high poetic vocabulary (e.g. *Pi. P.* 10. 22; *A. Ag.* 11; [A.] *PV* 245 *ἠλγύνθην κέαρ*; *S. OT* 688; *Tr.* 629; *E. Med.* 911); in comedy only here and at *Eup.* fr. 106. 2 (= *E. Med.* 398). Cf. Dover, *G&G* 225.
- 6–8 **Σ<sup>REIT</sup>²**, citing Theopomp. *Hist. FGrH* 115 F 94, reports that the demagogue Kleon son of Kleainetos of the deme Kydathenaion (*PA* 8674; *PAA* 579130) received a bribe of five talents from certain islanders in return for attempting to arrange a reduction in their *εἰσφορά* (by which Σ or its source apparently means ‘tribute payment’; normally a

'special financial contribution') but was forced by the Knights (below) to give the money up. The fact that Kleon remained *προστάτης τοῦ δήμου* ('chief demagogue') until his death in 421 shows that he was not convicted of acting contrary to the interests of the Athenian people (which would have brought a penalty of *ἀτιμία* ('loss of civic rights')), and Luebke, *Observationes Criticae in Historiam Veteris Graecorum Comoediae* (Berlin, 1883) 17-18, followed by Merry and van Leeuwen, argued that Theopompos must be mistaken and Dik. must be referring to a scene in *Babylonians* (cf. *Bab. test. iv*), which would lend some point to the contrast drawn in 9 between this pleasure and a specifically 'tragic' grief. Against this is the fact that there is no other mention of the Knights in connection with *Bab.* and that *Eq.* 507-10 can arguably be taken to imply that a chorus of Knights was not used on stage before 424. Carawan, *CQ NS* 40 (1990) 137-47 (cf. G. R. Bugh, *The Horsemen of Athens* (Princeton, 1988) 107-14), accordingly points to evidence elsewhere of a conflict between Kleon and the Knights in this period (299-302; *Eq. passim*; Σ<sup>VEΓΘΜ</sup> *Eq.* 226 = Theopomp. Hist. *FGrH* 115 F 93) and suggests that the demagogue may in fact have been bribed (perhaps by the Milesians; cf. *Eq.* 361, 930-3) and accused of official misconduct before the Assembly by leading Knights under a procedure known as a *προβολή* (for which, Todd 121). After a trial had been approved but before it occurred, Kleon surrendered the money (doubtless maintaining that he had done nothing wrong) and put an end to the matter, precisely as Aristophon does at D. 21. 218. In that case, there may have been some reference to these events in *Bab.*, so that the two possibilities are not mutually exclusive. But it is very difficult to believe that Ar. would have let the matter slip in *Eq.*, and it seems more likely that Luebke was right and the reference is to *Bab.* For Kleon's alleged confrontation with Ar. over the play and the subsequent hostility between the two men (reflected in Dik.'s expression of pleasure in the demagogue's discomfiture), 299-302 with n., 377-82 n.; Introduction, Sections I, III.

**τοῖς πέντε ταλάντοις:** i.e. of silver; one Athenian talent contained 6,000 drachmas. Allegations of political bribery and corruption involving multiple talents of silver are common in Ar. (*Eq.* 435-6, 438; *Nu.* 1065-6; *V.* 669-71; *Th.* 811-12; cf. Timocl. fr. 4. 1) and probably have some basis in contemporary political reality (esp. *Plu. Per.* 23. 1; cf. Harvey, in P. A. Cartledge and F. D. Harvey (eds.), *Crux* (London, 1985) 76-117).

**οἷς = ᾶ,** via attraction of the rel. pron. (KG ii. 406-8; cf. 152, 677). **ἐξήμεσεν:** Illicit eating and drinking is a regular Aristophanic image for political corruption (e.g. *Eq.* 103, 258, 707, 824-7; cf. 257-8 n.; Taillardat §§ 538, 708-10), and to be forced to give up bribes and the like is accordingly to be made to 'vomit [them] forth' (*Eq.* 404, 1147-9; cf. fr. 625; Taillardat § 711; Davidson, *CQ NS* 43 (1993) 53-66).

**ὤς:** 1 n.

**ἐγανώθην:** Lit. 'I was

made to shine' (cf. Anacr. *PMG* 444 οὐ πόθῳ στιλβῶν . . . οὐδὲ μύρων ἀνάπλεως καὶ γεγανωμένος ('not gleaming with desire . . . and not covered with scented oil and shining')) and thus 'delighted' (A. fr. 78c. 55; Pl. *R.* 411a; cf. *V.* 612; *Ra.* 1320; Pl. *Phdr.* 234d). **τοὺς ἰππέας:** 'the Knights', Athens' liturgical class, whose grown sons made up the city's cavalry (in this period probably 1,000 strong (*Eq.* 225; Philoch. *FGrH* 328 F 39) and supplemented by 200 mounted bowmen). After they retired from service as horsemen, Knights fought as hoplites, and their politics were by and large probably more conservative than those of radical democrats like Kleon. Cf. Bugh (above) 39–78; Spence 9–17, 180–216.

**ἄξιον γὰρ Ἑλλάδι:** 'a worthwhile thing for Greece'; a common use of ἄξιος + dat. in Ar. (e.g. 205; *Eq.* 616; *Nu.* 474 with Dover ad loc., 1074; *Av.* 548) and Euripides (*Alc.* 1060; *Heracl.* 315; *Ion* 1618; *Or.* 1153), but also in Plato (e.g. *Smp.* 185b). Identified by Σ<sup>EF</sup> as borrowed from E. *Tel.* fr. 720 κακῶς ὀλοίατ' ἄξιον γὰρ Ἑλλάδι ('May they perish miserably; for that would be a worthwhile thing for Greece'); note the omission of the def. art. (typical of tragedy). Dover, *G&G* 229, suggests that the phrase ἄξιον γὰρ may have passed into common usage by this time (cf. adesp. com. fr. 1109. 5), meaning that there may be no specific parodic intent. This seems unlikely, given (1) the inclusion of the word Ἑλλάδι; (2) the systematic fashion in which Ar. parodies *Tel.* in *Ach.* (Introduction, Section IV.C); and (3) the fact that the passage from which the half-line comes was most likely a curse on individuals who had done the Greek world great damage (presumably Paris or Helen (cf. Cropp, in Collard, Cropp, and Lee 52)), which would fit Dik.'s (and Ar.'s) view of Kleon exactly. It is none the less the case that no further use is made of *Tel.* until 331–2.

- 9 **ὠδυνήθη:** 3\* n. **ἕτερον αὖ:** '[something] else to balance that'; not 'yet another [trouble]', since this is the first one Dik. has specifically described. Also at e.g. *Nu.* 757; *Pax* 295; *Av.* 844; *Th.* 459. **τραγωδικόν:** 6–8 n.; the ambiguity (both 'fit for a tragedy' and 'connected with tragedy') is deliberate. Exclusively Aristophanic vocabulary (also *Ra.* 769, 1495; *Pl.* 424), although the suffix -ικός enjoyed broad popularity in the late 5th and 4th c. (1015–16 with n.; *Eq.* 1375–81 with Neil on 1378; A. N. Ammann, *-IKOS bei Platon* (Freiburg, 1953), esp. 264–6; Dover, *G&G* 229; *EGPS* 118–19).

- 10–11 Nothing else suggests that in the late 5th c. tragic playwrights paraded into the Theatre with their choruses before performances, and this is thus perhaps a reference to events during the Proagon held a day or two before the dramatic festival began, when each poet in turn, accompanied by his actors and chorus, mounted a temporary platform in the Odeion and announced the subject of his plays (Pl. *Smp.* 194b (a Lenaia play); *DFA* 67–8; Wilson 96–7). Given terms such as χορὸν αἰτεῖν, it is also possible that the original Proagon formula 'Theognis,

- bring on your chorus' (εἶσαγ' . . . τὸν χορόν) eventually came to mean 'Theognis is *didaskalos* of the next play'. ὄτε δὴ: *GP* 219-20. Cf. 16\*, 535. (ἐ)κεχήνη: Here, as often, an expression of empty-headed expectation (e.g. 133; *Eq.* 651, 755, 804; *Nu.* 996); contrast 30 with n. For the ending, Rutherford 234-7. προσδοκῶν τὸν Αἰσχύλον: The anonymous *Vit. Aesch.* 12 (cf. Σ<sup>REG</sup>) reports that at some point after A.'s death (between 457 and 455) the Athenians voted that anyone wanting to restage one of his tragedies would receive a chorus (cf. *Ra.* 868; Quint. x. 1. 55; Philostr. *VA* 6. 11), and this passage and the repeated allusions to the pseudo-Aeschylean *PV* in *Eq.* and *Pax* (cf. Olson on *Pax* 319-20) make it clear that Aeschylean revivals (or what passed for them) were being staged by the mid-420s; cf. Cantarella, *RAL* 362 (1965) 363-81; *DFA* 86; Newiger, *Hermes* 89 (1961) 422-30; Dover, *Frogs*, p. 23. Less likely, the point is simply that Dik. is a befuddled old man thoughtlessly awaiting the brilliant poetry of his youth and abruptly informed that he is going to be seeing . . . *Theognis*. In any case, a taste for Aeschylus marks the hero as an old-fashioned, traditionally minded character; cf. *Nu.* 1364-79. ἀνεῖπον is 'make a public proclamation' (e.g. *V.* 1497; *Pax* 550; *E. Ion* 1167; *Th.* ii. 2. 4; iv. 105. 2; *Pl. R.* 580b), and κήρυξ ('herald') is accordingly to be supplied with ὁ δ' ἀνεῖπεν (Σ<sup>REG</sup>); cf. *Ec.* 684 καὶ κηρύξει τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ βῆτ' ἀκολουθεῖν ('and [the herald] will announce that those from the beta-group are to follow along'). For heralds, 43-5 n. ὦ Θεόγνι: *Theognis* (*PA* 6736; *PAA* 504498; *TrGF* 28) was a tragic poet who is attacked at 138-40 (where see n.) for the alleged 'frigidity' of his verse; the implication of the two passages taken together is that he had a set of plays at a recent *Lenaia* festival. Σ<sup>REG</sup> reports that *Theognis* was nicknamed 'Snow' (*Χιών*) and identifies him (not necessarily correctly) with one of the Thirty Tyrants of 404-403 (cf. *X. HG* ii. 3. 2; *Lys.* 12. 6, 13-15).
- 12 Cf. *Nu.* 1368; *Ra.* 53-4 πόθος / τὴν καρδίαν ἐπάταξε πῶς οἶει σφόδρα ('longing really smote my heart, you can be sure!'). The verse is formally a question, but πῶς . . . δοκεῖς is in fact the colloquial equivalent of a lively adverb or interjection; cf. 24; *Nu.* 881; *Ec.* 399; *Pl.* 742; *Diph.* fr. 96. 1; *E. Hipp.* 446; *Hec.* 1160; *IA* 1590; *Pirith.* 38 Page; *X. Mem.* iv. 2. 23; Pearson on *S.* fr. 373. 5; Dover, *G&G* 230, and on *Ra.* 54; López Eire 108. The jumbled word-order reflects the speaker's agitation; cf. *Beobachtungen* 16-19. ἔσεισέ μου . . . τὴν καρδίαν: σείω ('shake') is here 'throw into confusion, upset'; cf. 315 παραξικάρδιον; Dover, *G&G* 230-1. For the heart as the centre of feelings and emotions, 1 n.; Handley, *RhM* 99 (1956) 208-9.
- 13-14 ἐπί + dat.: 'immediately after' (e.g. *V.* 1046; *H. Il.* 7. 163-7; *E. Cyc.* 483; *Or.* 887, 898; *Hdt.* ii. 22. 3; *Theoc.* 7. 53 with Gow ad loc.). Μόσχῳ . . . Δεξίθεος: We know nothing about Moschos (*PAA* 659715; *Stephanis* # 1748) and Dexitheos (*PAA* 303392; *Stephanis* # 596)



beyond Σ<sup>REG</sup>'s assertion that the former was a bad *κιθαρωδός* ('performer who plays a *kithara* and sings') from Agrigento, whereas the latter was an excellent *κιθαρωδός* who had been victorious at the Pythian games, although some said that he was 'frigid' (138–40n.). Some but not all of this could have been made up on the basis of this passage, and there is no reason to doubt that Moschos is a historical individual and print Bentley's ἐπὶ μόσχῳ, 'with an eye to winning a calf' (nowhere attested as a prize in any of Athens' dramatic or musical contests). There might none the less still be a pun on βούς/*Βοιώτιον* ('cow/Boiotian'); cf. Landfester, *RhM* 113 (1970) 93–4. In any case, the incident in question is supposed to be well known to the audience and this is most easily taken as a reference to the citharoedic competition held in the Odeion during the quadrennial Great Panathenaia (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2311. 4–11; *Plu. Per.* 13. 9–11; cf. *Pl. Grg.* 501e–2a with Dodds on 501e5; [Arist.] *Ath.* 60. 3; Σ<sup>RVEMA</sup> *Nu.* 971; Davison, *JHS* 78 (1958) 33–41; Shapiro, in J. Neils (ed.), *Goddess and Polis* (Hanover, 1992) 57–60, 65–70), in which case the contrast between ποτέ and τήτες in 15 requires a date of 430 at the earliest. εἰσηλθ(ε): 'came on stage' (e.g. *X. An.* vi. 1. 9); of the entrance of dramatic characters at *Pax* 1050; *Pl.* 872. Βοιώτιον: 'a Boiotian [song]' (cf. *Th.* 1175 *Περσικόν* ('a Persian [song]')), i.e. a song set to the *Βοιώτιος νόμος* ('Boiotian tune'), which began slowly but then became more vigorous (*S.* fr. 966 ὅταν τις ᾄδῃ τὸν Βοιώτιον νόμον, / τὰ πρῶτα μὲν σχολαῖον, ἐντείνων δ' αἰεί ('whenever someone sings the Boiotian tune, slowly at first but always making it more intense') ap. *Zenob.* II. 65; *S β* 582), the point perhaps being that the nature of the song reflects the difference between the two performers. The *Βοιώτιος νόμος*, like the ὀρθίος νόμος (16 with n.), was thought to have been invented (or at least named) by Terpander (Heraclid. *Pont.* fr. 157 ap. *Plu. Mor.* 1132c–d; Σ<sup>REG</sup>); cf. *Posidipp.* (PMil.) IX. 25; West, *AGM* 214–17, 333.

15–16 τήτες: 'this year' (*Nu.* 624; *V.* 400; fr. 154; *Lys.* fr. 216 *S.* ap. *Harp. T* 12), i.e., presumably, at the citharoedic contest at the Great Panathenaia in Hekatombaion (roughly August) 426 (cf. 13–14n.). ἀπέθανον καὶ διεστράφην ἰδών: ἀποθνήσκω is sometimes used to mean 'pass out' (*Pax* 700; *Herod.* 1. 60 with Headlam ad loc.; more commonly ἐκθνήσκω (e.g. *Antiph.* fr. 188. 7–8; *Pl. Lg.* 959a)), but here the sense appears to be 'I nearly died and in particular (*GP* 291) was tortured'. For διαστρέφομαι used of torture on the device known as the κλίμαξ (lit. 'ladder'), *adesp. com.* fr. 450; cf. *Eup.* fr. 99. 1–2, 8, 11; contrast *Eq.* 175; *Av.* 177. Precisely how the 'ladder' worked is unknown; perhaps the victim was tied to a series of rungs fastened to a central pole and his body broken as the rungs were twisted in different directions. ὅτε δῆ: 10\*–11n. παρέκυψε . . . ἐπὶ τὸν ὀρθίον: παρακύπτω in *Ag.* is always 'bend over and poke one's head out' *vel sim.* (*V.* 178; *Pax* 982,

985; *Th.* 797, 799; *Ec.* 202, 924; cf. *Theoc.* 3. 7; van Leeuwen noted the verbal contrast with τὸν ὄρθιον), and ἐπί + acc. must mean 'with an eye to performing' (cf. LSJ s.v. C. III. 1). Since 9-14 emphasize the impression created by various figures when they first appeared on stage rather than the quality of their performance, it is more likely the simple fact of Chairis' emergence from the wing than his posture as he sings that disturbs Dik. The ὄρθιος (lit. 'steep, uphill', i.e. 'high-pitched' or 'loud'; cf. 1042n.) νόμος is also mentioned at *Eq.* 1279 and *Hdt.* i. 24. 5 (cf. *A. Ag.* 1153) and, like the Βοιωτίος νόμος (13-14n.), was said to have been invented by Terpander (*Poll.* iv. 65; *S o* 575; cf. *Terp. PMG* 697; *Plu. Mor.* 1140f).

**Χαίρις:** Α καθαρωδός ('performer who plays a *kithara* and sings') (*Stephanis* # 2593; *Koumanoudes* # 2129) also mentioned at *Pax* 950-5; *Av.* 858; *Pherecr.* fr. 6 (420 BCE), and probably to be identified with the αὐλητής ('pipe-player') of the same name (*Stephanis* # 2594) referred to at 866 and *Cratin.* fr. 126 (431 BCE), although Σ<sup>RVEΓ</sup> *Av.* 858 says that this is a different man. The claim of Σ<sup>REF</sup> 866 that Chairis was a Theban may be only an inference from the text (cf. Halliwell, *CQ* NS 34 (1984) 85), although many famous 5th- and 4th-c. pipers were from Thebes (Roesch, in H. Beister and J. Buckler (eds.), *Boiotika* (Münchener Arbeiten zur alten Geschichte, Band 2: Munich, 1989) 203-14; West, *AGM* 366-7; cf. 862-3 with n., 868-9). The name is very rare but appears in a catalogue of Athenian war-dead dating probably from 409 BCE (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 1191. 172; *PA* 15251; cf. *DAA* 177+ = *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 900 (a dedication by the same individual's son, c.410-400)), a date which roughly matches the disappearance of the musician Chairis from the literary record after *Birds* in 414. The phrase *Χαίρις ᾄδων ὄρθιον* ('Chairis singing an uphill [tune]') eventually became a proverbial way of referring to someone with a good voice (*App.Prov.* v. 21).

**17-18 ἀλλ'** introduces an abrupt shift in narrative direction (cf. *GP* 7-8; Basset, in *NAGP* 84-5), as Dik. abandons his catalogue of past pleasures and pains (4-16; cf. 2n.) and turns his attention to his current source of grief, introducing the actual theme of the play. **ἐξ ὅτου ἔγω ῥύπτομαι:** A bathetic equivalent of ἐξ ὅτου τράφην ἐγώ ('since I was a child'; cf. *Av.* 322\*), with the image taken up again at the end of 18. For the vb., Rutherford 239. That the average person bathes on a more or less regular basis, especially before important social occasions, is taken for granted in *Ar.* (e.g. *Eq.* 50; *Pax* 1139; *Av.* 132 with Dunbar ad loc., 140; *Lys.* 1065-6), whereas to be habitually dirty or to stink is treated as disgusting (852-3n.; *Nu.* 837; *Pl.* 84-5) or at least as a sign of unrefined rural manners (*Nu.* 43-4). Cf. Olson on *Pax* 843-4, 1103; Ginouvès *passim*. For bathing children (i.e. before they are old enough to bathe themselves), *Lys.* 19, 880-1; *Men. Sam.* 252-3. **ὑπὸ κόνιας τὰς ὀφρῦς:** In place of the expected ὑπ' ὀδύνης τὴν καρδίαν ('by grief in my heart'; cf.

1 n.) (thus Rogers), picking up on *ρύπτομαι* in 17; further bathos. *κονία* is literally 'wood-ash', which was mixed with water to produce a crude alkali-powder used as soap (*Lys.* 469–70; *Ra.* 710–13; *Pl. R.* 430a–b; cf. 845 n.; *Plin. Nat.* 28. 191; 31. 107). A failure on Triklinios' part to recognize that the *ι* is long led to the addition of *γε* in  $\Gamma^4$ tAld. *ὀφρῦς* ('eyebrow') is used on occasion as a poetic equivalent of 'eye' (*E. Cyc.* 657 (lyric); cf. *A. Ch.* 285 (corrupt); *S. Ant.* 831 (lyric); Gow, *CR* 58 (1944) 38–9), but there is probably also an allusion to the role of the eyebrows in signalling strong emotion (1069–70 n.), here grief and anger.

19–20 *ὀπότ(ε) = ὄτ(ε)*, as at *E. Or.* 812.

**κυρίας ἐκκλησίας:** By

Aristotle's time there were four regular meetings of the Athenian Assembly in every prytany (23–4 n.), and the first of these was referred to as the *κυρία ἐκκλησία* and entrusted with the city's most important business, whereas ambassadors (by which the author of [Arist.] *Ath.* seems to mean 'foreign ambassadors' rather than Athenians returning from official missions abroad) such as the Persian Pseudartabas (91–125) were only allowed to address the third ([Arist.] *Ath.* 43. 3–6 with Rhodes on 43. 3, 6). It is possible that the latter restriction did not exist in 425 or that in Ar.'s time the term *κυρία* was applied indiscriminately to all regular meetings of the Assembly, as opposed to *πρόσκλητοι* or *σύγκλητοι ἐκκλησίαι*, which were called for special occasions, as  $\Sigma^{\text{REF}}$  (cf.  $\Sigma^{\text{amgVxLS}}$  Aeschin. 1. 60 = 1. 138 Dilts; Phot. p. 191. 8–12) would have it (thus Sommerstein). In any case, Ar. is less interested in legal niceties than in the demands of his plot.

**ἑωθινής:** Meetings of the

Assembly began at dawn (*Th.* 375; *Ec.* 20–1, 84–5, 739–41; *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 68. 30; cf. *Av.* 1286–9), as did lawcourt sessions (*V.* 100–4, 215–17, 245, 552) and the working day in general (*Av.* 488–92; *Pl.* 1120–2; *Alex. frr.* 78. 5; 259. 3–5).

**ἔρημος ἢ πνύξ αὐτή:** With a gesture which at last defines the setting of the action (cf. initial n.). Pay for Assembly attendance was only introduced after the democratic restoration in 403 (*Ec.* 183–8, 300–10; [Arist.] *Ath.* 41. 3 with Rhodes ad loc.), and before that many average citizens clearly did not involve themselves in the day-to-day conduct of the city's business unless forced to do so; cf. 21–2 n.; *Th.* viii. 72. 1 with *HCT* ad loc. The Pnyx was located on rising ground west of the Akropolis, with a view out over the Attic countryside (cf. 32), and was the regular meeting-place of the Assembly (*Eq.* 749–51; *V.* 31–2); in this period, it had a capacity of about 6,000. Cf. J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (New York, 1971) 466–76; Thompson, *Hesperia* Suppl. 19 (1982) 134–8; B. Forsén and G. Stanton (eds.), *The Pnyx in the History of Athens* (Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens, vol. 2: Helsinki, 1996). Athenian tardiness was apparently proverbial (*Lys.* 56–7). For *αὐτή* scanned – ∪ – (i.e. with internal correption), 1056. The B-editor dealt with the problem by emending to *ἡδεῖ*.

**21-2** Cf. *Ec.* 300/1-3b, where the chorus complain that in the old days (before payment of a triobol for attendance was instituted) τοὺς ἐξ ἄσπεως ('men from the city') never went to the Assembly but instead καθήντο λαλοῦντες ἐν τοῖς στεφανώμασι ('sat chattering in the garland-market'). οἱ δ': i.e. the other Athenians. ἐν ἀγορᾷ λαλοῦσι: The Agora, located below and to the north-east of the Pnyx, is repeatedly referred to as a place where the city's residents gathered to talk (e.g. *Eq.* 1373-80; *Nu.* 1003; *Th.* 577-8; Phryn. Com. fr. 3. 4; Pl. *Ap.* 17c; Thphr. *Char.* 8. 13; D. 25. 52). As the name of a well-known place, ἀγορά does not require an article; cf. *Eq.* 293; *Nu.* 1005; *V.* 492. For λαλέω as a contemptuous way of characterizing unnecessary or unwanted talk, *Eup.* fr. 116; Dover, *Frogs*, p. 22; cf. 705, 716, 932. κᾶνω καὶ κάτω: Lit. 'both up and down', i.e. 'this way and that, every which way' (*Av.* 3; *Lys.* 709; adesp. com. fr. 1088. 5). τὸ σχοινίον φεύγουσι τὸ μεμιλτωμένον: According to Σ<sup>RET</sup> (cf. Poll. viii. 104), official attempts were made to encourage Assembly-attendance by blocking streets that did not lead to the Pnyx, removing goods for sale from the market place, and stretching out a long ochred cord, manned by bowmen (53-4n.), which was used as a sort of dragnet, with anyone whose clothes were stained by it being subject to a fine. The source of this information is unknown (although cf. D. 18. 169 (an equally vexed passage)), but it may be only late scholarly conjecture, in which case 'the ochred cord' might actually stand via synecdoche for 'the line produced [on the ground] by an ochred cord', i.e. a carpenter's line (Phil. *AP* vi. 103. 5-6 = *GPh* 2753-4; cf. Leon. *AP* vi. 205. 3 = *HE* 1994) used to define the purified area within which the Assembly met (43-5n.); φεύγουσι ('they flee') would then have to be taken metaphorically ('keep their distance from'). μίλτος is red ochre, a mineral pigment whose colour reflects the presence of iron oxide; according to Plin. *Nat.* 35. 31, 33, the best varieties came from Lemnos and Kappadokia. Cf. Amips. fr. 14; Arist. *Mete.* 378<sup>a</sup>20-3. μίλτος was also used to dye wood (*H. Il.* 2. 637; *Od.* 9. 125; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1672. 12-13) and as a cosmetic (*Eub.* fr. 97. 5-6; cf. Pl. Com. fr. 82). Cf. Blümner iv. 478-83; Forbes iii. 215-16; Photos-Jones *et al.*, *ABSA* 92 (1997) 359-71. To be distinguished from κιννάβαρα (bisulphate of mercury), from which vermilion was produced. For σχοινίον ('rope, cord'), Olson on *Pax* 35-7.

**23-4** οὐδ' οἱ πρυτάνεις ἤκουσιν: For the use of οὐδέ to connect a negative clause to a preceding positive one (common in poetry but very rare in Attic prose), *GP* 192; Dover, *G&G* 233. Athens' Βουλή or Council was made up of 500 citizens over age 30, 50 from each tribe, and was chosen annually by lot. The representatives of each individual tribe served as a group, in an order again determined by lot, as prytaneis for a period of 35 or 36 days in a normal year. In this capacity they had charge of the city's day-to-day affairs, set the agenda for the Council as a whole and

the Assembly and ran the meetings of both (cf. 53-4n., 59-60n., 173), and ate together in the Tholos. Cf. [Arist.] *Ath.* 43. 2-4; D. 18. 169-70; *Boule* 1-48, esp. 16-25. Nothing suggests that there was a quorum for any form of Assembly in this period (Hansen (1983) 7-10), but the presence of the prytaneis was obviously crucial. **ἀλλ' ἄωρίαν ἤκοντες:** In sharp verbal contrast to οὐδ' . . . ἤκουσι (23). ἄωρίαν is 'untimely', i.e. 'late', as opposed to ἐν ᾠρᾷ, 'on time' (e.g. *V.* 242; *Pax* 122). Adverbial acc.; cf. Dodds on E. *Ba.* 723. **εἶτα δ' ὥστιοῦνται:** The late 5th- and 4th-c. comic and tragic poets routinely use a construction in which a nom. participle is followed by a finite vb. introduced by εἶτα (e.g. *Nu.* 386; Anaxandr. fr. 16. 2-3; [A.] *PV* 777; S. *El.* 51-3; E. *El.* 921-2) or, less often, ἔπειτα (498; Eub. fr. 72. 3-4; Timocl. fr. 23. 2-3; E. *Ion* 1523-5); cf. KG ii. 83; Dover, *G&G* 233-4. Elsewhere Ar. occasionally uses κᾶτα (*Eq.* 391-2; *Nu.* 409) and κᾶπειτα (*Nu.* 624-5) in a similar way, but not δ's εἶτα δ(έ), which serves to introduce the next item in a list of objects or actions (649; *Eq.* 25, 377, 604; *V.* 1087; *Av.* 712; *Lys.* 1287). Dobree accordingly proposed emending to εἶτα διωστιοῦνται (cf. Σ<sup>REF</sup> ὥστιοῦνται διωθήσονται), while Starkie, citing the version of the text preserved in the *Suda* (which he reports as εἶθ' οἷδ' ὥστιοῦνται) and the fact that 'Ar. does not use εἶτα δέ . . . after a participle except when another participle immediately follows', prints εἶθ' ᾧδ' ὥστιοῦνται (with ᾧδε = δεῦρο; cf. 745 with n.). In response to Dobree, it must be said that διωστίζομαι would be a hapax and that the prefix in Σ's gloss is merely an intensifier designed to signal that ὥστίζομαι is a frequentative form of ὠθέομαι (cf. below), while *pace* Starkie (1) the *Suda* has only οἷδ' (itself most likely a crude attempt to give the vb. a subject rather than evidence for a textual variant) and (2) Ar. uses εἶτα δέ after a participle at only one other place (*Eq.* 377), and a single example cannot be taken to define a rule which is then used to emend a second text. With Sommerstein and Henderson, therefore, I print the paradosis and take εἶτα to mark a disgusted recognition of the contrast between the actions defined by the participle (having come late) and the finite vb. (none the less trying to get a good seat); 'then—can you believe it?—'. Cf. 291, 1024 (where ἀπολέσας must be supplied from 1022); *Eq.* 281; *Pax* 284; Barrett on E. *Hipp.* 702-3. For an aggressive attempt to get a good seat in the Assembly despite having arrived late, *Ec.* 95-7. For jostling in other public places, 257-8 with n. (in the street), 843-4 (in the market place); *Pax* 1006-9 (at the fish-stalls in the market place); *Lys.* 330 (women about a fountain); *Pl.* 330 (at the entrance to the Pnyx in a time of paid attendance); Thphr. *Char.* 15. 6 (seemingly in a street); Theoc. 15. 65-77 (a crowd of sightseers trying to enter a palace); Herod. 4. 54 (a crowd in a temple); cf. Telecl. fr. 1. 13 (25 n.). ὥστίζομαι (frequentative of ὠθέομαι ('push') and thus lit. 'bump into someone repeatedly') is exclusively comic vocabulary; also with dat. at 844; *Lys.* 330. **πῶς δοκεῖς:** 12 n.

**25** A troubled verse: ἐλθόντες seems pointless after ἤκοντες in 24, if required to stand alone, while **d** (although not the *Suda*) lacks a def. art. before πρώτου ξύλου, which has struck most editors as odd. Naber proposed ἀλλήλοις περὶ τὸ πρῶτον ξύλον (cf. Telecl. fr. 1. 13 τῶν δὲ πλακούντων ὠστιζομένων περὶ τὴν γνάθον ἣν ἀλαλητός), although this creates medial caesura, whereas Starkie prints ἀλλήλοισι περὶ Πρῶτον Ξύλον and argues that 'the first bench' may have been a well known—if otherwise unattested—place-name, which thus requires no article (21-2n.). More likely, περὶ πρώτου ξύλου defines the prize for which the prytaneis are contending (772 with n.; *Eq.* 791; Poultney 184), 'a seat in the very front' (cf. below; Poll. iv. 121; viii. 133; Hsch. ξ 101; LSJ s. πρότερος B. I. 1), and the problem is with ἐλθόντες. Bachmann suggested ἔλκοντες ('tugging' *vel sim.*, which adds nothing to ὠστιοῦνται in 24), while Starkie prints ἔρροντες (not particularly happy before καταρρέοντες in 26); the word may instead be an intrusive variant for ἤκοντες in the line above, in which case it is impossible to know what it has driven out, and I print it with obels. Assembly-speakers properly stood before the crowd, whereas everyone else sat (29, 59, 123, 638; *Eq.* 749-50, 783; *Ec.* 86, 152, 165, 296-7), normally on the bare rock (esp. *Eq.* 783-5). This passage suggests that wooden benches were set up near the front of the Pnyx for use by the prytaneis in their capacity as presiding officers (23-4n.; cf. *Ec.* 86-7 and Din. 2. 13, both of which, however, refer to arrangements after the rebuilding of 404/3) and presumably for visiting dignitaries as well, although the presence of such benches is not otherwise attested and ξύλον ('wood' and thus by extension 'wooden [bench]'; cf. *V.* 90 (below)) might simply have the transferred sense 'seat' (thus Ribbeck). In any case, Dik.'s point is that the prytaneis display extraordinary gall by arriving late but none the less insisting on having the best seats. Cf. the behaviour of the litigious maniac Philokleon, who στένει / ἦν μὴ 'πὶ τοῦ πρώτου καθίζηται ξύλου ('groans if he doesn't sit on the front bench', i.e. in the courtroom) (*V.* 89-90), although he at least has the good grace to come far earlier than anyone else to secure his place (*V.* 100-5).

**26-7** ἀθρόοι: Cf. *Ec.* 383-4 (of would-be Assemblymen) ὄχλος, / ὅσος οὐδεπώποτ' ἦλθ' ἀθρόος ἐς τὴν πύκνα ('a crowd larger than any that ever came in a single mass to the Pnyx').

**καταρρέοντες:** As if the prytaneis were a stream of water rushing uncontrollably from the entrance to the Pnyx to the area before the speaker's stand (thus Σ<sup>RET</sup>, citing H. *Il.* 11. 724 τὰ δ' ἐπέρρεον ἔθνεα πεζῶν ('the infantry came streaming on and on'; Wilson's 'A 724' for 'A 724' is a classic example of a majuscule error); cf. Taillardat § 678, citing *Lys.* 170 and Hdt. iii. 81. 2 (of a mob) ὠθέει . . . ἄνευ νόου, χειμάρρῳ ποταμῶ ἵκελος ('it pushes on mindlessly, like a torrent-stream')).

**εἰρήνη δ' ὅπως κτλ.:** The first explicit indication of the larger theme of the play (cf. 17-18n.),

which is not just the self-centred folly of Athens' citizens generally (19–22) and the individuals in authority in particular (23–6), but the way in which such behaviour baffles the hero's desire for peace. Note the emphatic position of *εἰρήνη* both at the head of the clause and immediately after the hepthemimeral caesura. For *ὅπως* + fut. indic., regular in an object clause dependent on a vb. of striving, caring, or the like, KG ii. 372–4; Goodwin § 339. For the war and the political background to the action generally, Introduction, Section II.

**προτιμῶσ' οὐδέν:** *προτιμάω* is 'honour before [something else]', i.e. 'attach importance to, feel concern about'; for forms of the vb. with adverbial *οὐδέν*, *Ra.* 655; *Pl.* 883. Starkie claims that *προτιμάω* is used in comedy only with a negation (supposedly implied at *Ra.* 638), but cf. *Alex.* fr. 16. 3. **ὦ πόλις πόλις:** A spontaneous cry of woe; probably paratragic (cf. *Eup.* fr. 219. 2\*) although not necessarily a specific allusion to S. *OT* 629\* (cf. Dawe ad loc.). Cf. 75 *ὦ Κραναὰ πόλις\** with n.

**28 ἐγὼ δ':** In emphatic contrast to the other Athenians and especially the prytaneis. **πρώτιστος:** 'the very first'. Almost exclusively poetic vocabulary (e.g. *H. Il.* 2. 702; *Pi. P.* 2. 32; *Parm.* 28 B 13; *S. Tr.* 1181; *Astydam.* II *TrGF* 60 F 3. 1; adesp. *SH* 1168. 2), frequently adverbial; particularly common in Ar. and the other comic poets (e.g. 1002; *Nu.* 553, 1039; *Pherecr.* fr. 28. 1; *Antiph.* fr. 98. 3; *Alex.* fr. 46. 4; 193. 2).

**29 νοστῶν:** Here simply 'making my way' (not 'coming home'), as at *Pherecr.* fr. 87. 2; *E. Hel.* 428, 474, 891; cf. *περινοστέω* in the sense 'wander about' at e.g. *Pax* 762; *Alex.* fr. 28. 3; *νόστος* in the sense 'journey' at *S. Ph.* 43 with Jebb ad loc.; *E. IA* 966, 1261. **κάθημαι:** 25 n.

**30–1 στένω:** 'I groan', i.e. in misery (*V.* 89, 180; *Th.* 73; *Ec.* 462, cf. 464), but the point throughout these verses is not so much that the hero is upset at the political situation in the city as that he is exquisitely bored. **κέχηνα:** Lit. 'I have my mouth wide open' (e.g. *V.* 617; *Av.* 20; *Lys.* 629; cf. 10–11 n.), i.e. 'I yawn'. **σκορδινῶμαι:** Elsewhere in Ar. a sign of intense agitation (*V.* 642; *Ra.* 922) and thus more likely 'I twitch, fidget' ( $\Sigma^{\text{EΓ}}$ ) than 'I stretch myself' ( $\Sigma^{\text{REG}}$ ; *Poll.* v. 168; *Hsch.* σ 1106; *Moer.* σ 11; *EM*, p. 719. 10–11).

**πέρδομαι:** Farting indicates a wide range of emotions in Ar. (MacDowell on *V.* 394; *MM* §§ 422–34) but is here only another outward manifestation of Dik.'s inner turmoil (cf. *σκορδινῶμαι*; *V.* 1177 *ὡς ἡ Λάμι' ἀλοῦσ' ἐπέρδετο* ('how Lamia farted when she was caught'); *Ra.* 1006 with Dover on 844) as well as of his rusticity (cf. below), although the word is thrown into the catalogue in part simply because it can be expected to fetch a laugh. Cf. 255–6 with n. **ἀπορώ:**

'I am at a loss [as to how to deal effectively with the situation]' (e.g. *V.* 590; *Av.* 474; *Ra.* 1007), as a result of which the hero engages in the idle activities described in the rest of the verse. **γράφω:** 'I draw' (992 n.), i.e. on the ground with a finger or a stick; writing words or even individual letters is not necessarily at issue.

**παρατίλλομαι:** Dik. does

not say from where on his body these hairs are plucked;  $\Sigma^{\text{REF}}$  suggests from his nose or his armpits. Elsewhere the vb. in the mid.-pass. always refers to extracting pubic hair (*Lys.* 89, 151; *Ra.* 516; *Pl.* 168; cf. *Pl. Com.* fr. 188. 14; *Men.* fr. 264. 5 is obscure but consistent with this translation), but more likely *Dik.* is plucking stray hairs from his head or beard (cf. *Lys.* 279 with  $\Sigma^{\text{RFBar}}$  and Henderson ad loc.). This is in any case only another sign of boredom and intended to pass the time (cf. above), and *Pax* 546 (where a crestmaker is seen *τίλλονθ' ἑαυτόν* ('pulling hair from his head') in grief at the sight of peace), cited by Starkie as a parallel, is irrelevant. **λογίζομαι:** Probably 'I do my accounts' (cf. *Eriph.* fr. 2. 5; *Men. Epittr.* 140; Arnott on *Alex.* fr. 191. 1), an idea that leads naturally to the complaints about the cash expenditures required by city life in 33–6, esp. 34–5.

- 32 ἀποβλέπων:** Cf. 19–20 n. *ἀποβλέπω* is lit. 'look away from [other things]' so as to focus on one thing in particular (cf. 291–2 with n.), and thus 'look attentively at, pay attention to' (e.g. *Nu.* 91; *Philem.* fr. 77. 4–5; *S.* fr. 879a. 1–2; *E. Hel.* 267), or 'stare [at]' (e.g. *Ec.* 726; *E. Andr.* 246; *Thphr. Char.* 2. 2; *Men.* fr. 296. 5–6) or 'stare off [at]', as here. **τὸν ἀγρὸν:** Lit. 'my plot', i.e. 'my farm' (*Pax* 1320; *Men. Dysk.* 5; *Philem.* fr. 100. 1; *adesp. com.* fr. 895. 1); not 'the countryside', in which sense the noun seems not to take the def. art. (thus Starkie; cf. fr. 402. 2 *οἰκεῖν μὲν ἐν ἀγρῷ τοῦτον ἐν τῷ γηδίῳ* ('that this man live in the country on his own plot of land')). For the association of life in the countryside with peace, *Eq.* 805, 1388–95; *Pax* 1320–1 with Olson on 552; *frr.* 109. 1 *ἐξ ἄσπεως νῦν εἰς ἀγρὸν χωρῶμεν* ('let us go from the city to the countryside') with Bergk ad loc.; 111; 305. **εἰρήνης ἐρῶν:** 'longing for peace'; in sharp contrast to the attitude of the prytaneis (26–7). A banal metaphor (*pace* Starkie; cf. 146; *Nu.* 1303; fr. 292; Taillardat § 304), although the root-sense is reinforced by *ποθῶν* in 33.
- 33 στυγέω** is high poetic vocabulary (e.g. *H. Il.* 20. 65; *Od.* 10. 113; *Simon. PMG* 587; *Thgn.* 278; *Pi.* fr. 203. 2–3; *A. Ag.* 138; *S. Ai.* 133; *E. Alc.* 338–9 *στυγῶν μὲν ἢ μ' ἔτικτεν, ἐχθαίρων δ' ἐμὸν / πατέρα* ('loathing the one who bore me and hating my father'); *Med.* 463), in comedy elsewhere only at 472 (paratragic); *Th.* 1144 (lyric); *Diph.* fr. 74. 4–5 (of Euripides' attitude toward women) *οὐχ ὀρᾶς / ἐν ταῖς τραγωδίαισιν ὡς στυγεῖ* ('Don't you see how he loathes them in his tragedies?'); cf. 1191/2 with n., 1208. As  $\Sigma^{\text{E}}$  (cf. Rutherford 40) notes, therefore, this verse (= *adesp. tr.* fr. 41) is probably borrowed or adapted from a lost tragedy; Wecklein suggested that the original had *δόμον*, for which *Ar.* substituted the non-tragic *δήμον*, in which case the line must have sounded rather funny (*τὸν δ' ἐμὸν δόμον*), perhaps inspiring the parody. **στυγῶν μὲν ἄστυ:** The fundamental hostility between city (*ἄστυ*, not *πόλις*) and country is a comic trope (*Nu.* 43–55; *Pax* 1185–6; *Ec.* 300/1–4, 431–3), but is here put to special use to define *Dik.*'s plight.



τὸν δ' ἐμὸν δῆμον ποθῶν: As a result of the reforms of Kleisthenes in the late 6th c., Attika was divided into a large number of local administrative districts or 'demes' (139 in the 4th c., the first time sufficient evidence survives for a reliable count), and Athenian citizenship was based on membership in one of these units rather than in the city *per se*. By the late 5th c., many Athenians no longer lived in their home deme (Traill 73-4), but they none the less routinely identified themselves to one another by demotics (406 with n.) and many probably felt at least as strong a sense of loyalty to their fellow-demesmen, whom they often knew on a personal basis, as to the state as a whole. Cf. 319-20n.; Rhodes on [Arist.] *Ath.* 21. 4; R. Osborne, *Demos: The Discovery of Classical Attika* (Cambridge, New York, and Melbourne, 1985), esp. 64-92; Whitehead 223-34; Jones 51-150. Dik. eventually claims to be from the deme Cholleidai (406 with n.), but what matters for the moment is that he—like most Aristophanic heroes (Olson on *Pax* 190)—is from the countryside. πόνθος is a yearning specifically after that which is absent (*Pl. Cra.* 420a; Weiss, *HSCP* 98 (1998) 32-4; cf. 730), and although the participle might be felt to have a modestly erotic tone after ἐρῶν in 32 (cf. 143-4n., 885, 890), the primary point is the speaker's sense of loss and the contrast with στρυγῶν.

- 34-5** Perhaps best taken as a reference not to market-vendors (since no one in the oil-merchants' quarter is likely to have called out 'Oil!') but to itinerant street-traders, who will naturally have advertised their goods, as at *Pl.* 426-8. For Dik.'s general hostility to the urban cash-economy, 813-14n. **ἄνθρακας:** 'charcoal', wood or other organic matter that has been 'carbonized' or 'pyrolized' via burning in an oxygen-restricted environment such as an earthen kiln or pit (cf. *Thphr. HP* v. 9. 4; ix. 3. 1-3). Charcoal produces a steady, intense, and easily controlled heat, and was accordingly the household and industrial fuel of choice in classical Athens (e.g. 891-2; *Eq.* 780; fr. 67. 2), as it is in many developing countries today. Precisely as Dik. implies, most individual peasant-farmers could probably have gathered enough cuttings from their own farms and common lands to meet their need for firewood and produce a bit of charcoal if they wished, whereas city-dwellers will have had little choice but to rely on the cash-market. Charcoal for the urban market was accordingly produced in the countryside by private entrepreneurs (or their slaves) and carried into town (211-14 with 211-13n., 333-4n.), where it was sold in bulk to retail merchants (*ἀνθρακοπῶλαι*; cf. *Philyll.* fr. 13), who offered it in smaller quantities—and presumably at a considerable mark-up—to individual consumers. Cf. Olson (1991a). As Starkie notes, *Ach.* was produced in midwinter, when average consumers will have had to purchase the greatest amount of fuel, a fact that helps explain why charcoal heads the list of commodities Dik. says he resents paying for. Charcoal is also given prominence because it

was a typical product of Acharnai; cf. 180-1 n. **πρίω:** 2nd aor. mid. imper. 2nd pers. sing. <\*πρίαμαι, 'buy'; \* in 35, to good rhetorical effect. For the vb., 811-12 n.; Immerwahr, *James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science* 46 (1964) 19-20. **ὄξος:** 'vinegar', wine in which the alcohol has been converted into acetic acid via exposure to the air and thus bacteria (esp. Antiph. fr. 250); a typical rural product. The word is occasionally used as a colloquial form of abuse for bad ('sour') wine (e.g. Eub. fr. 65. 2-4; Alex. fr. 286 with Arnott on 286. 3; cf. 191-3 n.), but (*pace* LSJ s.v.) there is no reason to think that that sense is active here. Vinegar is frequently included in catalogues of seasonings and the like (e.g. Antiph. fr. 140. 3; Anaxandr. fr. 42. 58) and was used both alone and in combination with salt, garlic, and other condiments as a dip to lend flavour to individual bites of food (e.g. fr. 158. 2), as well as in cooking sauces (e.g. *Av.* 534); cf. Olson-Sens on Archestr. fr. 23. 5-6. **ἔλαιον:** Olive oil was an important ingredient in many recipes and probably a significant source of daily calories for the average person (e.g. *Av.* 533; Archestr. fr. 11. 9 with Olson-Sens ad loc.), but was also burnt in lamps to produce light (e.g. *Nu.* 56; *V.* 251-2) and used to anoint oneself (999 n.). For olive-trees (a mainstay of Athenian agriculture), 182-3 n., 998 n.

- 36 ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἔφερε πάντα:** αὐτὸς is 'of its own accord, spontaneously' (*Th.* 66; *S. OT* 341; *Theoc.* 11. 12); more often αὐτόματος (976 with n.). Behind this image is the traditional idea of the lost Golden Age, when the earth freely produced every good thing for men (*Hes. Op.* 117-18; *Telecl.* fr. 1. 3; cf. *H. Od.* 9. 108-11; *Cratin.* fr. 363; [*Arist.*] *Ath.* 16. 7 with Rhodes ad loc.; Introduction, Section IV.A). **χὼ πρίων**  
**ἀπῆν:** Clearly a pun of some sort (thus Σ<sup>R</sup>), but the point is obscure. Lotz (followed by Sommerstein) suggested that ὁ Πρίων is an invented proper name, 'Mr. "Buy-buy!"', which is possible but not particularly funny. Alternatively, there may be a pun on the vb. πρίω ('saw') or the noun πρίων ('saw' or 'sawyer'; *Phot.* p. 448. 19-21, citing *Cratin.* fr. 482)—although the ι there is long—and (a) the joke is that these merchants produce the same cry over and over again, just as a saw does (thus LSJ s. πρίων (seemingly rejected in the Supplement)); (b) there is an allusion to the word κυμινοπρίστης, 'cumin-sawyer', i.e. 'skinflint' (cf. *V.* 1357; Gow on *Theoc.* 10. 55; Arnott on *Alex.* fr. 253. 3), and *Dik.* means 'and there was no need to live so frugally' (thus Merry, followed by Starkie)—although in that case the crucial word (κύμινον ('cumin')) is omitted; (c) the imagery in the first half of the verse continues and the reference is to the sawing of ships' timbers, since the advent of sailing was a traditional sign of the end of the Golden Age (e.g. *Hes. Op.* 236-7 with West ad loc.; *Pi. O.* 2. 63-5; *Arat.* 110-11; cf. *H. Od.* 9. 125-9); or (d) the word is used metaphorically of someone who 'grinds another down', i.e. destroys him little by little (cf. Taillardat §§ 617-18).

**37-9** *νῦν οὖν* breaks off the speaker's somewhat wandering exposition and marks a transition to his main point (e.g. 383\*; *Eq.* 71\*, 1394\*; *Nu.* 75\*, 439 / *νῦν οὖν ἀτεχνῶς*). **ἀτεχνῶς**: 'simply put'. Virtually restricted to Old Comedy and Pl. (e.g. *Phdr.* 230c; *Phd.* 82e) and thus presumably colloquial; cf. Dover, *G&G* 232-3. **βοᾶν ὑποκρούειν λοιδορεῖν**: In theory, the citizens attending the Assembly sat in silence under the watchful eye of the prytaneis (23-4n.), κήρυξ (43-5n.), and bowmen (53-4n.), and listened to a series of self-contained speeches. In fact, spontaneous cheering, heckling, shouted questions, laughter, and the like appear to have been common behaviour, which is to say that Dik. at this point is not planning anything particularly outrageous. Cf. 53-4n., 59-60 with n.; *Ec.* 248-57, 399-407, 431-3; Th. iv. 28; Pl. *Prt.* 319c; Hansen (1987) 69-72 (with extensive citation of 4th-c. sources). To the extent that there is a real difference among these terms, βοᾶν is to make a comment intended in the first instance for the rest of the audience rather than the speaker (e.g. 75-6; cf. *Pl.* 476-7), ὑποκρούειν is to address a hostile comment or question to him (e.g. 86-7; cf. *Ec.* 595-6), and λοιδορεῖν is to insult him (e.g. 90; cf. Olson on *Pax* 56-7). **τοὺς ῥήτορας**: Any citizen who voluntarily addressed a public decision-making body could be referred to as a ῥήτωρ (cognate with ἔρω ('speak')); cf. *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 46. 25; Hansen (1987) 50-1), although already in this period debate in the Assembly seems to have been dominated by a group of regular speakers (*Pax* 635 with Olson ad loc.). **περὶ εἰρήνης**: An allowable hiatus (e.g. 60, 96; *Nu.* 97; *V.* 191; *Lys.* 858; cf. KB i. 197).

**40-2** A Herald (43-5n.) enters from one wing, trailed by a pair of mute Skythian Bowmen (53-4n.); most likely the prytaneis do not appear on stage and their behaviour must be imagined on the basis of Dik.'s description. The Herald is presumably dressed like any other adult male in the play (cf. initial n.), although as a political 'insider' he perhaps wears somewhat richer clothing than Dik.; cf. Introduction, Section V.B. The Skythians wear their wildly patterned native jackets and pants, and have soft caps with dangling side-flaps on their heads and scimitars hanging from their belts; their bows and quivers are slung over their shoulders (cf. Vos; Stone 288-9 and fig. 36). **ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ** marks the appearance of a new character on stage, as also at 175 (*GP* 103), and indicates that what has preceded (Dik.'s long catalogue of complaints and everything connected with them) is at least momentarily less important than what will follow (*GP* 101). **οἱ πρυτάνεις**: 23\* with n. **οὔτοι**: With a gesture toward the Herald and Bowmen and the individuals supposedly following them. **μεσημβρινοί**: i.e. many hours late (19-20n., 23-4 *ἀωρίαν* / *ἤκοντες*) and—not incidentally—about the time that business in the market place broke up (Hdt. iii. 104. 2). In any case, the point is probably not that it is actually noon but that the prytaneis are so late that it might as well be. **οὐκ**

**ἡγόρευον**; Expressing indignation; cf. *Pl.* 102\*; fr. 311. 1\*; *S. OC* 838\*. Compounds of *ἀγορεύω* are used routinely to furnish imperfectives for vbs. in which the aor. is formed with *-ειπεῖν*; the simplex is much less common but is used in the Assembly-formula *τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται*; ('Who wishes to speak?'; cf. 45 with n.) and occasionally in other formal public speech or parody thereof (e.g. *Th.* 306; *Ra.* 628). This may thus be a slightly odd and old-fashioned word, preserved here in a fixed expression (thus Dover, *G&G* 235), although note *Nu.* 1456 and *Metag.* fr. 4. 2, neither of which has any obvious colouring. **τοῦτ' ἐκεῖν' οὐγὼ ἄλεγον**: 'this is what I was talking about', i.e. in 24-6. A colloquialism (Dover, *G&G* 235-6; Stevens 31-2; López Eire 113-14), also in *E.* (e.g. *Hel.* 622), *Pl.* (e.g. *Smp.* 223a), and *Amphis* (fr. 9. 2), and found in *Ar.* in various forms at 820; *Pax* 289, 516; *Av.* 354, 507; *Lys.* 240\*; *Ra.* 318, 1342. **εἰς τὴν προεδρίαν**: 25 n. *προεδρία* is more often used in the abstract sense 'right to sit in front' (e.g. *Eq.* 575; *Th.* 834; *Pl. Lg.* 946e), but cf. *Hdt.* iv. 88. 1 *Δαρείον ἐν προεδρίῃ κατήμενον* ('Dareios sitting in a front-row seat', namely as he reviews his troops passing over the Hellespont bridge); *Din.* 2. 13 *εἰς τὴν προεδρίαν τῶν πρυτάνεων ἐκάθιζεν* ('he sat in the front-row section assigned to the prytaneis'). **ὥστίζεται**: 23-4 n.

**43-203** For the staging, Introduction, Section V.A.

**43-5** Cf. *Ec.* 128-30 (Praxagora playing the part of the women's Heraldess) 'Let the *peristiarch* carry the weasel about the perimeter! Come forward! Aripgrades, stop chattering! Step forward and sit down! Who wishes to speak?' Actual meetings of the Assembly began with a ritual known as the *περίστια*, in which a piglet was sacrificed and its body carried about the perimeter of the auditorium by the *περιστάρχος* to render the area ritually clean (*Ec.* 128 (above) with Σ; *Aeschin.* 1. 23 with Σ<sup>amgVxLS</sup> 1. 53b Dilts; *D.* 54. 39; *Istros FGvH* 334 F 16; cf. *Miasma* 21-2). The Herald then read a prayer (*Aeschin.* 1. 23; *Din.* 2. 14; cf. *Th.* 295-311) and a curse on traitors and other enemies of the state (*D.* 19. 70; 23. 97; *Lycurg.* 1. 31; *Din.* 2. 16; cf. *Th.* 331-51; *D.* 20. 107). In the meantime, offerings of some sort were made and the results communicated to the people by one of the prytaneis ([*D.*] *Proem.* 54; *Thphr. Char.* 21. 11; cf. *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 674. 4-8). The proposals being put forward by the Council for the Assembly's consideration (*τὰ προβουλεύματα*, known collectively as *τὸ πρόγραμμα*) were then read and voted on individually by a show of hands (*προχειροτονία*); any *προβούλευμα* that received unanimous support at this point was most likely not debated further but considered to have been approved by the people (Hansen (1983) 123-30). The Herald opened debate on the remaining items on the agenda by reading the Council's first proposal again (*D.* 19. 35; cf. *Th.* 372-9) and asking *τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται τῶν ὑπὲρ πενήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων*; ('Who of those over 50 years old wishes to speak?'; cf. *Aeschin.* 1. 23; 3.

4). After the elders spoke, the Herald threw the question open to general debate with the formula *τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται*; ('Who wishes to speak?'; cf. 45 with n.). Cf. *Boule* 36–8; Hansen (1987) 88–93. This passage thus offers a radically abbreviated version of a real Assembly; note in particular that it is taken for granted that the question of the war is already on the floor. The Herald of the Council and the Assembly was an elected, paid state official (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 145. 8–10; *Boule* 84–5). For other state heralds, 1000–2 n.

**43–4** Addressed to the assemblymen, who are to be imagined as having come in more or less simultaneously with the prytaneis (40–2 n.). At some point during the course of these verses, Amphitheos (45 n., 46 n.) enters on the run from one of the wings and makes his way over to Dik. 43 is extrametrical and probably represents an actual formula pronounced by the Assembly herald (also at *Ec.* 129; cf. *Eq.* 751; Horn 108). *εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν*: For this use of the adv. (typical of 5th- and 4th-c. style), e.g. 242; *Eq.* 751; *Th.* 645; Hdt. viii. 89. 2; *S. Ai.* 1249; *E. Hipp.* 1228; *Hel.* 1579; *Pl. Prt.* 339d; *Alex. fr.* 103. 15. *ὡς ἄν* + subjunc. is in this period an almost exclusively poetic construction (e.g. *Av.* 1454–6 with Dunbar ad loc.; *A. Supp.* 518; *E. Hipp.* 1314; cf. *S. Ai.* 625–6; *KG* ii. 377), lending 44 (which may preserve a metrical version of an actual Assembly-formula) a formal, somewhat elevated tone. *ἐντὸς . . . τοῦ καθάρματος*: Lit. 'within the purification', i.e. the area whose boundaries have been defined by the movement of the sacrificial piglet (43–5 n.).

**45** Although initially anonymous, Amphitheos is quickly identified by name (46 with n.), in accord with Ar.'s usual practice when representing contemporary Athenians on stage (Olson (1992) 316–17; cf. 404, 566, 908; contrast 1028 with n.); use of a portrait-mask is unlikely (Dover, *G&G* 267–78; Olson (1992) 317–18, and *CQ* NS 39 (1999) 320–1). Nothing specific can be said about Amphith.'s costume; most likely he is dressed much like Dik. *ἤδη τις εἶπε*: Addressed to Dik. The point of the question is not that Amphith. is worried about having missed something important, but that his own situation is so relevant to the question of the war (51–4) that it ought to be the first matter debated. For *ἤδη τις* + aor., fr. 198 (also line-initial). *τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται*: The actual Assembly-formula for initiating general debate on a specific proposal (*Th.* 379\*; *Ec.* 130\*; Aeschin. 1. 27; D. 18. 170, 191; Alc. *Soph.* 11; cf. *Ec.* 147; *E. Or.* 885 (the Argive Assembly); Aeschin. 1. 23; cf. 40–2 n.), whose content reflects the fundamental right of any adult male citizen not suffering *ἀτιμία* ('loss of civic rights'; cf. Aeschin. 1. 27–32; D. 22. 33; Din. 2. 12) to address the people on a matter of public interest (e.g. *E. Supp.* 438–41; Aeschin. 1. 27; cf. 366–9 with n.; Moschio *TrGF* 97 F 4).

**46** *τίς ὧν*: A special committee of the Council checked the identity of

those attempting to enter the Assembly just outside the Pnyx, in order to exclude non-Athenians and ἄτιμοι ('those deprived of civic rights'; cf. *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1749. 75–6; Poll. viii. 104; Hansen (1987) 88–9), and other evidence makes it clear that individuals were neither expected nor required to give their names before speaking (*Ec.* 427–9; Ephipp. fr. 14; cf. *E. Or.* 902–6, 917–22 (the Argive Assembly)), although those who entered the debate on a regular basis must quickly have become well known (37–9 n.). This must therefore be a hostile—and inappropriate—question ('And just who do you think *you* are?'; cf. *Nu.* 893), which also serves to allow the poet to introduce an extended joke about Amphith.'s ancestry.

**Ἀμφίθεος:** Lit. 'A god on both sides [of my family]', like ἀμφίδουλος ('a slave on both sides [of the family]') at Eub. fr. 85, which leads the Herald to treat the name as if it were merely an adjective. (*Pace* Starkie, the lexicographers' glosses as well as the likely context of A. fr. 73b. 4 make it clear that ἀμφιμήτορες there means not 'having two mothers [and no father]' but 'having different mothers [but the same father]'; cf. Radt's apparatus.) Amphitheos is an exceedingly rare name, otherwise attested in Athens only in an inscription discussed below and at *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1534A. 107 (274/3 BCE; *PAA* 125435, the father of a man called Θεοφάνης), and neither the character's repeated announcement of his own alleged immortality (47, 51, 53) nor the details of the Eleusinian genealogy that support his claim (47–50) advances the action in any way. It thus seems clear that this passage has been introduced for the sake of an allusion to a real contemporary individual, whose identity has been hotly debated. Müller-Strübing 697–9 (followed by van Leeuwen; Weber, *Philologus* NS 17 (1904) 224–46; and Griffith, *Hermes* 102 (1974) 368–9), offered the ingenious suggestion that Amphitheos was a code name for Hermogenes, the (most likely illegitimate) son of Hipponikos II of the deme Alopeke (*PA* 5123; *PAA* 420340) and brother of Kallias II (*PA* 7826; *PAA* 554500; cf. 61 n., 702 n.; *Av.* 283–4 with Dunbar on 284; Pl. *Cra.* 384b), whose socially and politically prominent family (Davies 254–70) belonged to the Eleusinian *genos* of the Kerukes (for which, Richardson, *Hymn to Demeter*, p. 8, with bibliography; *Athenian Religion* 300–2), whose ancestry, Müller-Strübing suggested, is traced back to Triptolemos by Kallias III at X. *HG* vi. 3. 6 and who were hereditary *proxenoi* of Sparta (X. *HG* vi. 3. 4). Hermogenes was also a student of Socrates (Pl. *Phd.* 59b; *Cra. passim*; X. *Mem.* iv. 8. 4–11), and Müller-Strübing argues that the identification here (and thus the humour) turns on the fact that Phainarete (49) was the name of Socrates' mother (*PA* 13971), which would allow Λυκίνοσ (50) to be taken as a reference to the philosopher's habit of frequenting the gymnasium in the Lykeion (Pl. *Euthphr.* 2a with Burnet ad loc.; thus van Leeuwen and Weber (above) 230–1). (Griffith (above) 368, observes in addition that Hermogenes was eventually quite poor (X. *Mem.* ii. 10.

3–6), lending point to Amphith.'s complaint about the prytaneis' failure to advance him his travel-expenses (53–4), but this seems more likely to reflect the situation after Kallias II's death c.422 (cf. Pl. *Cra.* 391c; Davies 262) than before it.) The supposed allusion is exceedingly obscure (cf. Méautis, *REA* 34 (1932) 241–2), however, and Müller-Strübing's arguments are seriously undercut by the fact that (a) at X. *HG* vi. 3. 6 Triptolemos is clearly presented as the ancestor of the Athenians generally rather than of the Kerukes in particular (thus Starkie; *pace* Griffith (above) 368) and (b) despite their Eleusinian connections, the Kerukes traced their ancestry not to Demeter but to Hermes (Paus. i. 38. 3), hence presumably Hermogenes' own name (lit. 'Born of Hermes'). A more compelling explanation of Amphitheos' presence in *Ach.* was put forward by Dow, *AJA* 73 (1969) 234–5, who noted that *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2343, a list of the members of a cult of Herakles located in Ar.'s own home deme Kydathenaion, mentions not only a certain Amphitheos (v. 3; = *PAA* 125420) but also a number of other men plausibly connected with Ar.'s career or named characters in his comedies (Introduction, Section I). Dow's hypothesis and Müller-Strübing's are not necessarily mutually exclusive, since the poet might conceivably have chosen to honour a friend or benefactor by using his name on stage to refer covertly to someone else. The identification of the character Amphith. (*PAA* 125425) with the historical Hermogenes is none the less so difficult and adds so little to our understanding of the play that the point is best dropped. Nothing is known of the family of the historical Amphith. except that he may have had a brother named Antitheos (lit. 'A match for a god'; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2343. 3 = *PAA* 132995; cf. *Th.* 898), and the family's repeated nominal claim to semi-divine status is presumably gently mocked here. In any case, much of the point of identifying the character Amphith. with Eleusis is that the cult was fundamentally concerned with agricultural fertility, the recovery of which for the Attic countryside is a central concern of *Ach.* as a whole (thus Méautis (above) 242–4). Σ<sup>RET</sup> (followed by *Beobachtungen* 19–21) suggests that 47–51 represents a parody of the typical Euripidean genealogical prologue (e.g. *Ph.* 5–58; fr. 819), but even if the allusion exists it is at best incidental to the humour. For a catalogue of puns on names in 5th-c. literature, Platnauer on E. *IT* 32. Griffith (above) 368–9 (followed by Mastromarco), argues that ἄνθρωπος ought to be capitalized and taken as a humorous reference to the man by that (once again, exceedingly rare) name who was an Olympic victor in boxing in 456 BCE (POxy. ii. 222. II. 3 with Grenfell and Hunt ad loc.; Arist. *EN* 1147<sup>b</sup>35–1148<sup>a</sup>1; Moretti # 272). Since the Herald's misunderstanding of Amphith.'s name is already funny, and since the alleged allusion is irrelevant to the context and is not pursued in what follows, the suggestion can be discarded.

47–8 ἀλλ' ἀθάνατος: \* at 53, where the speaker at last takes up his main point. ὁ . . . Ἀμφίθεος: This Amphitheos (the supposed great-grandfather and namesake of the character on stage) is mentioned nowhere else in Eleusinian mythology. Δήμητρος: Demeter (apparently mentioned already in a Linear B tablet (Py En 609. 1)) was the Greek goddess of grain from earliest times (H. *Il.* 5. 500–1; Hes. *Op.* 465–6; *h.Cer.* 302–9, 470–3) and was widely worshipped in Attika, above all else in the Greater Mysteries celebrated mostly in Eleusis on Boedromion (approx. Sept.) 15–23 (745–7n.; Olson on *Pax* 420); cf. A. C. Bromfield, *The Attic Festivals of Demeter and their Relation to the Agricultural Year* (New York, 1981). For the gens. here and throughout this passage (except τούτου in 50), Poultney 23. Τριπτολέμου: At *h.Cer.* 153 (c.600 BCE?) Triptolemos is simply one of a number of βασιλῆες ('kings, nobles') resident in Eleusis when Demeter arrives. By the mid-6th c., however, he is portrayed as a culture-hero, who was given the secret of agriculture by the goddess as a reward for furnishing information about the abduction of her daughter and who spread this knowledge throughout the world (Orph. fr. 51 ap. Paus. i. 14. 3; S. fr. 598, from a play entitled *Triptolemos*; X. *HG* vi. 3. 6; Aristid. i. 36, 199), and in the classical period the Athenians used this myth to claim offerings of first-fruits from the other Greek states (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 78; II<sup>2</sup> 140; *SIG* 704E. 16–18; cf. Isoc. 4. 31). For his temple in the City Eleusinion, M. Miles, *Agora xxxi* (Princeton, 1998) 35–87. Triptolemos received sacrifice at the Eleusinian games (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 5. 4; cf. Paus. i. 38. 6) and shared with Demeter and Kore in sacrifices from the first-fruits at Athens (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 78. 38; II<sup>2</sup> 140. 21–2), and in the late classical period is referred to as a lawgiver and early vegetarian (Xenocr. fr. 98 Heinze) and a judge of the dead in the Underworld (Pl. *Ap.* 41a). In early sources he has a wide variety of genealogies (Musae. 2 F B 10; Pherecyd. *FGrH* 3 F 53; Choeril. Trag. *TrGF* 2 F 1; Panyas. fr. 13; Orph. fr. 51) and is only later on referred to as a son of the Eleusinian king Keleos (see below) and his wife Metaneira (Paus. i. 14. 2; Apollod. i. 5. 1–2; Σ Nic. *Th.* 484). Demeter had at least one mortal lover, called Iasion/Iason at H. *Od.* 5. 125–7 and Hes. *Th.* 969–71, and Eetion at Hes. fr. 177. 8–12 (cf. Σ E. *Ph.* 1129; Σ A.R. 1. 916–18), but Triptolemos is nowhere else referred to as such and part of the humour here may lie in Amphith.'s arguably garbled genealogical claims. Cf. Raubitschek, *Hesperia* Suppl. 20 (1982) 109–17 = *The School of Hellas* (New York and Oxford, 1991) 229–38; Richardson, *Hymn to Demeter*, pp. 81–2, and on 153; T. Hayashi, *Be-deutung und Wandel des Triptolemosbildes vom 6.–4. Jh. v. Chr.* (Beiträge zur Archäologie 20: Würzburg, 1992), esp. 11–29, 68–70; K. Clinton, *Myth and Cult: The Iconography of the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae, Series in 8°, XI: Stockholm, 1992) 100–2, and in *AAAD* 163–70; *LIMC* viii. 1. 56–7. τούτου . . .



**γίγνεται:** As in 50, the line of descent is traced back through the last person mentioned.

**Κελεός:** In the *h.Cer.* Keleos (nowhere else attested as a personal name) is the son of Eleusinos (105), husband of Metaneira (161), and father of four girls (105–10) and one son, Demophon (164–5, 233–4), and is the Eleusinian βασιλεύς ('king, noble') whose house Demeter visits. For the references to him in late sources as 'Triptolemos' father, see above. In the classical period, Keleos is very rarely referred to, but he did receive sacrifice at the Eleusinia along with other local heroes (*LSCG* Suppl. 10. 72). Cf. Richardson on *h.Cer.* 96, 97; *LIMC* v. 1. 981–2.

**49–51** Athenian men were extremely circumspect about pronouncing the names of respectable living citizen women in public (Schaps, *CQ* NS 27 (1977) 323–30; cf. 244, 262, 526–7 n., 614 n.), and Amphith. accordingly names his grandmother (who can reasonably be assumed to be dead) but not his mother (who might well still be alive). Cf. Sommerstein, *QS* 11 (1980) 393–418, esp. 410 n. 6.

**Φαιναρέτην:** A relatively common personal name in Athens (17 additional exx. in *LGN* ii).

**τήθην:** 'grandmother'. A reduplicated *Lallwort* (\*θήθη) with dissimilation of the initial aspirate (Grassmann's Law); cf. Risch, *MH* 1 (1944) 119. First attested here; subsequently at *Lys.* 549.

**ἐξ ἧς:** For the use of the preposition, 741, 775; Poultney 159.

**Λυκίνοσ:** Another relatively common name in Athens (32 additional exx. in *LGN* ii).

**ἐκ τούτου . . . εἰμ':** Resuming ἀλλ' ἀθάνατος in 47 and marking the end of the extended genealogical digression in 47–50. ἐκ τούτου is 'for this reason, on account of this' (cf. 529; Poultney 164–5) rather than 'as son of the latter' (Sommerstein; cf. Henderson 'being his son').

**51–2 ἐμοὶ δ' ἐπέτρεψαν οἱ θεοί:** The implication is that (1) the gods are at least ideally sovereign over the world, although they sometimes choose human agents (ἐπίτροποι; cf. Olson on *Pax* 685–7) to carry out their will; and (2) they want peace between Athens and Sparta. As 53–9 make clear, however, the divine will is so easily baffled by men that the Olympians lack real control over mortal affairs. Cf. *Pax* 204–12; Olson, *Peace*, pp. xxxix–xli. For ἐπιτρέπω + dat. used of turning a dispute between two parties over to an independent arbitrator, 1115–16 with n. δ' is virtually equivalent to οὖν (*GP* 170), since Amphith.'s point is that his unique status as an immortal human led to the gods' decision to elect him as their agent.

As Elmsley saw, δ' σπονδὰς ποιείσθαι is used only of the parties who themselves enter into a treaty (e.g. 268; *Av.* 1599; *Lys.* 154, 951, 1006; *Th.* 1161), whereas σπονδὰς ποιῆσαι (printed by all modern editors except Hall and Geldart, Elliott, and Henderson) is used of someone who arranges a peace for others (e.g. 58\*, 131 σπονδὰς ποιῆσαι . . . μόνω\* (Dik.'s creative reworking of Amphith.'s description of his commission); *Pax* 212; cf. *Pax* 1199; Rijksbaron 146). For the error, cf. R at 58. σπονδαί are literally 'libations', which are poured when

a solemn promise or agreement is made already in Homer (*Il.* 2. 341 = 4. 159; 3. 295-301; *Od.* 19. 288; cf. 148 ὤμοσε σπένδων ('he swore as he poured libation')), and Ar. plays on the root sense of the word at 178-99 (cf. 178-9n.) and then repeatedly throughout the play. **Λακεδαι-**

**μονίους:** Always found without the def. art. in Ar. except at 338-9 (corrupt) and *Pax* 282 (disputed), and regularly in prose (*Th.* i. 6. 4, 10. 2) and documents (e.g. *Th.* v. 237); cf. 131, 356, etc. **μόνω** is

rendered emphatic by its position at line-end, as also at 131, 1020, 1057.

**53-4** Amphith. addresses the Assembly generally rather than the Herald in particular (as in 45-52). **ἀλλ' ἀθάνατος:** 47\*-8n. Either

R's ἄνδρες or β's ὄνδρες might be correct (Dickey 199-206), but when the two branches of the tradition are divided against one another, β's authority is (all other things being equal) to be preferred; cf. Introduction, Section VII. **ἐφόδι(α):** 'travel-money' (somewhat misleadingly referred to as a μισθός at 66, 137, and probably 602), intended

to cover the cost of an ambassador's transport, food, lodging, and the like, and perhaps to offer in addition some very modest compensation for his time; cf. 65-7n. Also awarded in advance at 130-2. **οὐ γὰρ**

**διδόασιν οἱ πρυτάνεις:** The prytaneis (23-4n.) had no independent power to authorize expenditures of public funds (a right reserved for the people as a whole), and the point of Amphith.'s complaint must therefore be that they have declined to put the question of his expenses on the Assembly's agenda (thus *Boule* 22), effectively rendering achievement of an armistice impossible. The imperfective aspect of the vb. expresses an attitude that is maintained: 'they aren't offering me any . . . !'

**οἱ τοξόται:** Best taken as a voc. demonstrative, 'Hey, Bowmen!'; cf. 61, 94, 824, 864. Sc. ἴτε δεῦρο (cf. 155), as again at 61. Sometime around 450 BCE the Athenian state purchased 300 Skythian bowmen (*And.* 3. 5; *Aeschin.* 2. 173), who were used by the prytaneis (for whom the Herald speaks) to maintain control over meetings of the Council and the Assembly by removing disruptive individuals (*Eq.* 665; *Ec.* 143, 258-9; *Pl. Prt.* 319c) and to enforce their will elsewhere (*Th.* 930-4; cf. *Lys.* 433-62 (a troop of τοξόται under the control of a proboulos in 411); *Eup.* fr. 273). Cf. Hunter 145-9. For Skythian bowmen generally, 706-7n. The Bowmen step forward, seize Amphith., and drag him off into one of the wings. For the timing of his return on stage, 128n. No mention is made of the Bowmen's return, and the same supernumerary actors probably appear at 155 as Theoros' Thracian mercenaries.

**55** ὦ Τριπτόλεμε καὶ Κελεέ: 47-8n. For similar (equally ineffective) prayers to minor divinities, *V.* 438-40 (to Kekrops); *Ec.* 369-71 (to Eileithuia).

**περιόψεσθέ με:** Sc. ταῦτα πάσχοντα (cf. 167), as at *Men. Per.* 6. περιοράω is 'watch something [bad] happen and do nothing about it', i.e. 'allow'.

**56-8** Dik. leaps to his feet to protest against the decision to remove

Amphith. For spontaneous interruptions of the proceedings by individual members of the audience as typical Assembly behaviour, 37–9n. For the seemingly pleonastic use of ὄνδρες with πρυτάνεις, KG i. 271–2. ἀδικεῖτε: ‘you’re wronging’, with no particular implication of specific illegality. ἀπάγοντες: Simply ‘by removing [from the Pnyx]’ (cf. *Ec.* 143 ἐκφέρουσ’ οἱ τοξόται (‘the bowmen remove him’)) rather than ‘by leading off [to prison]’ (LSJ s.v. IV. 3), since disruptive speakers are elsewhere subject to nothing more dire than expulsion and fines (*lex ap.* Aeschin. 1. 35) and Amphith. is back at 129. The indef. rel. pron. ὅστις stands for the def. ὅς (of a particular individual), as often (e.g. 290, 304; cf. KG ii. 400). σπονδὰς ποῆσαι: 51–2\* n. κρεμάσαι τὰς ἀσπίδας: i.e. ‘let us retire from fighting’; cf. 279. Already in Homer, shields and spears are hung up on the wall in a room with a fire when out of use (*Od.* 16. 288–90 = 19. 7–9), presumably in order to keep them not just out from under foot but dry and out of the reach of rats, mice, and wood-boring insects (which can often fly but do not like smoke); cf. 1072n., 1118 with n.; *Av.* 434–6 with Dunbar on 436; Hes. *Op.* 45 with West ad loc.; Alc. fr. 140; Hdt. i. 34. 3; Olson–Sens on Archestr. fr. 14. 6. For wall-pegs, *V.* 807–8; Olson–Sens on Matro fr. 6. 1. For the hoplite shield, 1122–3n. For the shield as a symbol of military service, *Pax* 336, 438; *Lys.* 52; adesp. com. fr. 697; *E. Supp.* 902; fr. 369. 3–7; cf. 366–9n., 539.

**59–60 κάθησο σίγα:** Various forms of this remark seem to have been pronounced on a regular basis in the Assembly, law courts, and the like; cf. 64, 123; *V.* 905. κάθησο is pf. mid.-pass. imper. and thus ‘Sit down and stay there!, Be seated!’ (Goodwin § 107), as opposed to κάθιζε, ‘Sit down!’ (123). σίγα (‘Be quiet!’) is metrically required in 64 and possible here, but adverbial σίγα (cf. 238) is to be preferred; contrast 123. **μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω ἔγω μὲν οὐ:** Cf. 37–9. A standard formula of emphatic denial (always \*) in the early plays (*Io.* 14, 1041; *Nu.* 732; *Pax* 16; *Av.* 263, 438), variously adapted at *V.* 1366; *Lys.* 917, 938, 942; *Th.* 748; *Pl.* 987 (all μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω – ~ – /), and *Av.* 1497; *Ec.* 553; *Pl.* 359, 444 (all μὰ Δί’, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐ /). μέν-solitarium; ‘I won’t [keep silent]’, i.e. ‘even if everyone else does!’ (*GP* 381); cf. 109, 117, 196, etc. **γε:** 5n. **πρυτανεύσητε:** ‘prytanize’, i.e. ‘pose a question for the Assembly’s consideration’ (23–4n., 43–5n.). A somewhat bold, comic use of the vb. (attested first at *h.Ap.* 68), which elsewhere in the classical period either has the technical sense ‘serve as prytanis’ (e.g. *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 54. 12–13; 75. 3; *D.* 21. 87) or means ‘be foremost, take the initiative’ and thus occasionally ‘organize’ (*Alex.* fr. 115. 4; *D.* 9. 60; 15. 3; *Isoc.* 4. 121).

**61–125, 134–72** Two roughly parallel incidents, which offer additional graphic evidence of what is wrong with Athens. (1) Ambassadors recently returned from a visit to an important barbarian power are called forward to address the Assembly (61, 134), and offer an account of their

mission with emphasis on the difficult (read 'wonderful') time they had (esp. 65-78, 85-9, 141) and the alleged eagerness of their host to lend Athens aid in the war (102-3, 145-50, 153-4). (2) During this report, Dik. offers a series of cynical remarks (see below) and in particular insists that the ambassadors' real interest has been to draw as much public money as possible (67, 90, 137). (3) Exotic visitors brought by the ambassadors as proof of their host's eagerness to assist the Athenians are called forward (94, 155). (4) In a direct confrontation with Dik., these visitors (and thus the promises they represent) are shown to be of no actual use to the city (110-14, 163-8). (5) What Dik. has found out is ignored by the Herald (standing in for official Athens), who acts as if nothing unusual has happened (124-5, 172).

In accord with regular Aristophanic stage-convention (Bain 87-94), the vast majority of Dik.'s remarks in these scenes are ignored by the other characters (67, 71-2, 75-6, 79, 86-7, 90, 92-3, 94-7, 135, 137, 139-40, 151-2, 154, 157-8). 83 and 156, on the other hand, elicit a response (84, 156) and are thus real questions, and both scenes close with the hero attempting to enter into dialogue with other characters, real or imaginary, on stage (111-22, 165, 167-71), before being cut off by the Herald (123, 172-3).

**61** Extrametrical. οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ παρὰ βασιλέως: 53-4n. For this use of *παρὰ* + gen., 134; Poultney 178. The βασιλεύς or μέγας βασιλεύς ('King' or 'Great King'; e.g. 65, 98, 113) is the Persian king, at this time Artaxerxes I (reigned 465-424 BCE). The first Athenian ambassador to Persia was probably Kallias son of Hipponikos (46n.), who travelled to Susa sometime in the middle of the 5th c. (Hdt. vii. 151), and sporadic contacts doubtless continued throughout the pre-war years (cf. 62-3n.). Thucydides reports that on the eve of the war in 431 both Sparta and Athens determined to send ambassadors to Persia in hope of getting aid from the King (ii. 7. 1), and the next year a group of Peloponnesian envoys were arrested in Thrace on their way to Persia to ask for money (cf. 102-8, 145-6n.) and were brought back to Athens and summarily executed there (Hdt. vii. 137. 3; Th. ii. 67). 647-51 and Th. iv. 50. 1-2 leave little doubt that Spartan ambassadors travelled repeatedly to Persia in the early- to mid-420s (Miller 23-8, 109-12), but this passage is the only explicit reference to any similar Athenian embassy during the Peloponnesian War years before 424 (Th. iv. 50. 3; *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 227 = M-L 70). Σ<sup>ΕΓ</sup> identifies Ar.'s Ambassadors with οἱ περὶ τὸν Μόρυχον ('Morychos and his associates'), a remark whose source and significance are both obscure (but cf. 885-6n.), and there seems little point in attempting to identify the characters on stage with any particular group of real Athenian envoys. There is none the less little reason to doubt that Athenian diplomatic missions went back and forth to Susa repeatedly during the late 430s and early 420s, and this passage implies that the hope of eventual massive financial assistance from the King was used

in the mid-420s by some of Athens' democratic politicians to keep up popular enthusiasm for the war.

- 62-3** At least two Ambassadors and perhaps several more, all but one of them mutes, enter from a wing, dressed in comically elaborate Persian (or Persianizing) clothing ( $\Sigma^{\text{REG}}$ ; cf. Stone 287; Miller 153-87; Introduction, Section V.B), and make their way to centre stage. Dik. does not notice their presence until 64. **ποίου βασιλέως**; Not a serious question about the identity of the king just mentioned but a colloquial way of quoting the previous speaker's words with indignation or contempt ("King" indeed!); cf. 109, 157; Stevens 38-9; López Eire 114. **ἄχθομαι** + dat.: 'I'm grieved by', i.e. 'I've had quite enough of' (e.g. 1100; *Pax* 119; *Ec.* 1010). **τοῖς ταῶσι**: For the 'augmentative plurals', used when the speaker is angry, Handley on Men. *Dysk.* 440. Peafowl (*Pavo cristatus*) are originally from India and the first ones in Athens belonged to Ppyrilampes son of Antiphon (*PA* 12493; *PAA* 795965), who apparently acquired them sometime in the late 440s and exhibited them to all comers on the first day of the month (Antiphon fr. 57; adesp. com. fr. 702 ap. Plu. *Per.* 13. 15; MacDowell on *V.* 98; Davies 329-30). Ppyrilampes travelled several times as an ambassador to the Great King and other eastern powers (Pl. *Chrm.* 158a) and probably got his peafowl as a gift from Artaxerxes, as the mention of them here in connection with embassies to Persia may hint (cf. 117-18n.). Van Leeuwen (following Menodot. *FGrH* 541 F 2) suggested that the birds came instead from Hera's temple on Samos (cf. Antiph. fr. 173. 3-5) when the island was taken by Perikles sometime around 440. For tame peafowl used for ostentatious social display, Stratt. fr. 28 πολλῶν φλυᾶρων καὶ ταῶν ἀντάξια, / οὓς βόσκειθ' ὑμεῖς ἔνεκα τῶν ὠκυπτέρων ('worth as much as all this nonsense and peacocks, which you raise for the sake of their quill-feathers'); cf. Arist. *HA* 488<sup>b</sup>23-4. Peafowl remained rare and expensive in Athens throughout the classical period (Anaxandr. fr. 29; Eub. fr. 113; Alex. fr. 128. 2-3 with Arnott on v. 3), although their numbers may have increased in the first half of the 4th c. (Antiph. fr. 203. 1-2). Not only the beauty of their plumage (Antiph. fr. 173. 4-5; Alex. fr. 115. 14) but also their obnoxious screaming (Eup. fr. 41; Anaxil. fr. 24) is repeatedly referred to. The origin of the name is obscure; presumably an Eastern loanword. Cf. Trypho fr. 5 (ap. Ath. 9. 397e-8b) on the word itself; Thompson, *Birds* 277-81; Dunbar on *Av.* 102; Miller 189-92. **τοῖς τ' ἀλαζονεύμασι**: An ἀλαζών (109, 135, 373) is a 'charlatan' or 'bullshit artist' (O. Ribbeck, *Alazon* (Leipzig, 1882), esp. 1-51; MacDowell, in E. M. Craik (ed.), *Owls to Athens* (Festschrift K. J. Dover: Oxford, 1990) 287-94), and ἀλαζονεύματα (first attested here and at 87) is thus 'empty talk, quackery, bullshit'; cf. 102-3n. The repetition of the def. art. indicates loathing and contempt (Fraenkel, *Glotta* 41 (1963) 285-6); 'their peafowl and all that crap'.

- 64 σίγα:** 59-60n. **βαβαιάξ:** An intensified form of *βαβαί* (806 with n.) and thus a colloquial expression of shock and surprise (1141\*; *Pax* 248\*; *Lys.* 312; *Ra.* 63\* (sudden, baffled longing); Pl. Com. fr. 46. 9), rather like the modern 'Shit!' or 'Jesus Christ!' (although without any overtones of obscenity or blasphemy). Cf. López Eire 90; Labiano Ilundain 105-10. For the suffix, cf. *ιατταταιάξ* (*Eq.* 1 with Neil ad loc.); *παππάξ* (*Nu.* 390-1 with Dover ad loc.); *παπαιάξ* (*V.* 235); Dover on *Ra.* 209-67. **ἠκβάτανα:** Ekbatana (near what is today the city of Hamadan in north-west Iran) was the capital of the satrapy of Media and the summer residence of the Persian king (*X. An.* iii. 5. 15; *Cyr.* viii. 6. 22; cf. 613). The name thus offers a 'spur-of-the-moment expletive' allowing Dik. to express his amazement at the Ambassadors' clothing (Sommerstein ad loc.). **τοῦ σχήματος:** Lit. 'what an appearance!' (ablatival gen. of exclamation; cf. 87, 575; Poultney 125-6; Stevens 61-2; López Eire 75-6), i.e. 'what an outfit!' (cf. *Eq.* 1331). For the cultural significance of 'Persian' costume in late 5th-c. Athens, Miller 153-87.
- 65-123** In accord with normal Athenian prejudices, Persia is characterized as a larger-than-life place of profoundly luxurious effeminacy (Hall 79-84, 126-9), and the Ambassadors therefore insist that the Great King will send money (102) but make no mention of men; contrast 148-66.
- 65-7** Like all the rest of the Amb.'s speech, addressed to the Assembly as a whole. **ὡς βασιλέα τὸν μέγαν:** i.e. to Susa, the capital where the Persian king (61n.) received embassies. The prep. *ὡς* is properly restricted to use with persons (KG i. 471-2); cf. 394, 675; *Pax* 104 *ὡς τὸν Δί' εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν*. **μισθὸν φέροντας:** A *μισθός* is the 'wage' paid for any hired service, including that of jurymen (e.g. *V.* 606), rowers in the fleet (161-2n., 547 with n.), mercenary soldiers (159), and agricultural day-labourers (*V.* 712), but the word is only marginally appropriate of *ἐφόδια* ('travel-money'), which were probably intended primarily to cover exceptional expenses associated with travelling on state business (53-4n.). Although these words are placed in the Amb.'s mouth, therefore, they represent a highly tendentious view of his situation, which is effectively assimilated to that of average citizens drawing daily pay from the state or other sources—but probably not often 2 drachmas a day, at least for such pleasant service (68-78, 85-9). Cf. 137, 597 with n., 602, 608, 619. For *φέρω* with the sense 'draw [a wage]', 137; *V.* 691; Theopomp. Com. fr. 56. 2; Archipp. fr. 16. 2; Th. iii. 17. 4; cf. *μισθοφορέω* (e.g. 602). The β-scribe became confused about the subj. of the participle and emended to *φέροντα* (ΑΓ<sup>ac</sup>ΕC) to agree with *βασιλέα τὸν μέγαν*. **δύο δραχμάς τῆς ἡμέρας:** Real Athenian ambassadors in the classical period seem normally to have received *ἐφόδια* ('travel-money') of about 1½ drachmas a day at most (Westermann, *CP* 5 (1910) 203-16; Mosley 74-7), but the inflated figure is consistent with the

general tendency of the scene (see above, and note the even more wildly exaggerated 3 drachmas a day allegedly paid ambassadors to Thrace at 602). Rowers in the fleet in this period probably received about 1 drachma a day; cf. 159–62 with nn. **ἐπ' Εὐθυμένους ἄρχοντος**: 'in the year when Euthymenes (*PA* 5640; *PAA* 433700) was eponymous archon', i.e. in 437/6 BCE (D.S. xii. 32. 1), eleven years before *Ach.* was performed; cf. Hyp. I. 32 (where the error in RGE reflects the influence of this verse). For the use of ἐπί + gen., 211; Poultney 171. On foot, the journey from the coast of Asia Minor to Susa took only three months (Hdt. v. 53–4). One might be kept waiting for a considerable period of time first in Sardis for permission to travel inland and then again in Susa for a royal audience (80–5 with 81–2 n.), and not everyone might travel so rapidly (cf. 68–70). But the Amb. have clearly taken an extraordinarily long time for their trip (Miller 116–17), and the date of their dispatch is accordingly held back to serve as a punchline. For a similar, roughly contemporary charge of dawdling over public business so as to draw as much pay as possible, Lys. 30. 2 (of Nikomachos' service as *nomothetes*): 'For when he was assigned to write up the laws of Solon within four months, he made the job last six years instead of four months and drew money every day'. Nothing else is known about Euthymenes except that a law passed in 440/39 that somehow restricted the rights of comic poets (τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ περὶ τοῦ μὴ κωμῶδειν) was repealed during his archonship (Σ<sup>REG</sup> ~ S ε 3509). **οἴμοι τῶν δραχμῶν**: Exclamatory gen. (1199, 1205; Poultney 125); lit. 'Alas! the drachmas!' (cf. Labiano Ilundain 251–70, esp. 266–8, whose '¡Ay de mi!' neatly captures the sense of οἴμοι), i.e. 'That's a lot of money wasted!'

**68–70** For the mixture of a tone of (utterly insincere) complaint with one of happy reminiscence of the pleasures of the trip to Susa, Dover, *G&G* 288. **καὶ δῆτ(α)**: A lively colloquial connective (*GP* 278); cf. 142. **ἐτρυχόμεσθα**: Rare, generally poetic vocabulary (e.g. *Pax* 989; H. *Od.* 1. 288; Thgn. 752; Sol. fr. 4. 22), found occasionally in S. (e.g. *OT* 666) and E. (e.g. *Hel.* 521; cf. adesp. tr. fr. 626. 49) but also here and there in contemporary prose (e.g. Th. i. 126. 8; vii. 28. 3). Although the Amb. is clearly attempting to evoke some pathos, therefore, his speech is not obviously paratragic (*pace* Starkie), especially given the frequent resolution throughout. 68 after the hepthemimeral caesura is a notorious textual crux. (1) R has *παρὰ τῶν Καυστρίων* (which makes no sense), whereas β had *διὰ τῶν Καυστρίων*; and (2) regardless of which preposition one prints, the line is unmetrical. The second problem is most easily traced to an early editor's belief that *Καῦσ-* in *Καῦστρίων* was a single syllable, and the question then becomes whether the prep. or the def. art. ought to be expelled as his metricizing addition to the text. Like Starkie and Sommerstein, I follow Bentley in printing **διὰ Καῦστρίων**

and assume that R's παρά is a pedestrian error. Coulon and Henderson (cf. Weber 15) print Elmsley's τῶν Κανστρίων and follow Klotz in making the gen. dependent on ὄδοιπλανοῦντες in 69, a Homeric construction (cf. P. Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique*, ii: *Syntaxe* (Paris, 1952) 58-9) in a line that lacks any other obvious epic colouring. Triklinios dealt with the problem by writing ἐτρυχόμεθα for ἐτρυχόμεσθα. Journeys to Susa (65-7n.) in this period generally began at Ephesos (e.g. Th. iv. 50. 3), and the traveller then moved inland along the course of the River Kayster and over the Tmolos range to Sardis (Hdt. v. 100), where one of the Royal Roads began (Hdt. v. 52-3; cf. 73-5n.).

**ὄδοιπλανοῦντες:** 'making our wandering way', i.e. with plenty of time for side-trips, entertainment, and the like; most likely an Aristophanic coinage (elsewhere only at Nic. Th. 267 οἶμον ὄδοιπλανέων) on analogy with ὄδοιπορέω.

**ἐσκηνημένοι ἐφ' ἄρμαμαξῶν . . . κατακείμενοι:** Cf. the treatment of the Persian noblewoman Panthea when she departs from her husband at X. Cyr. vi. 4. 11: 'they led her off to the luxury carriage, had her lie down there, and concealed her behind the curtain'. The ἄρμάμαξα was a four-wheeled Persian carriage, which could be closed to outside view and the sun by means of a curtain or awning (σκηνή; Plu. Them. 26. 4; Charito v. 2. 9; cf. A. Pers. 1000-1; D.S. xx. 25. 4-26. 2) and was used by wealthy easterners (especially Persians) and their women (also Hdt. vii. 41. 1, 83. 2; ix. 76. 1; X. An. i. 2. 16; Cyr. iii. 1. 40).

**μαλθακῶς:** i.e. ἐν μαλακοῖς στρώμασιν ('in soft bed-clothes'; cf. 1090 with n.), as at Theopomp. Com. fr. 65. 2; Eub. frr. 89. 1; 107. 1; Antiph. fr. 185. 6; X. Mem. ii. 1. 24, and thus by extension 'in wanton luxury'. μαλθακός is a primarily poetic equivalent of μαλακός (e.g. V. 714; Eur. fr. 344; H. Il. 17. 588; Alcm. PMGF 4 fr. 1. 5; Thgn. 470, E. Med. 1075), used here (as at 1200\*) *metri gratia*.

**71-2 ἀπολλύμενοι:** The Amb.'s use of ἀπόλλυμαι (lit. 'perish') in its extended sense ('having a terrible time, dying'; e.g. Nu. 709; Lys. 1136) determines Dik.'s witty choice of the polar opposite of the vb., ἐσωζόμην ('I was safe and sound'), in his response (thus Σ<sup>REG</sup>). For σφόδρα + vb. (very rare in high poetry but common in the comic poets and prose, and thus presumably colloquial), e.g. 257, 371; cf. Thesleff §§ 119-29; Dover, *G&G* 57-9.

For γάρ in an ironic response ('[Right]—for . . .'), Nu. 1366; Ec. 773-6; S. El. 393; GP 76.

**παρὰ τὴν ἔπαλξιν . . . κατακείμενος:** ἔπαλξις is a collective sing. (KG i. 13-14; cf. 102-3n.), used here of all Athens' various fortification walls, as at Th. ii. 13. 6; vii. 28. 2. It is unclear whether Dik. is referring to his service on the walls as one of the home-guard (appropriate for an old man; cf. Th. ii. 13. 6 'those stationed along the wall' contrasted with hoplites on active service; Lycurg. 1. 39-40) or to being forced to live in a tower or a shanty built up against one of the Long Walls as a refugee from the countryside (Eq. 792-3; Th. ii. 17. 3; cf. 32-6), although the former



provides a more effective contrast with the Ambassadors' alleged service to their country. *κατακείμενος* is a mocking echo of *κατακείμενοι*\* in 70. *ἐν φορυτῶ*: Σ<sup>R</sup> glosses *φορυτός* as a rough mat or pallet stuffed with straw, and at 927 the word seems to mean 'dried grass' or the like (thus Σ<sup>REG</sup>; Hsch. φ 801; *EM*, p. 799. 9–10). Elsewhere, *φορυτός* is 'rubbish' or 'shit' (adesp. com. fr. 661; Democr. 68 B 147; Thphr. *Sign.* 49; Arat. 1123 with Σ; Call. fr. 295) and thus, by a natural extension of meaning, 'a place full of rubbish or shit' (*AB*, p. 71. 1), which seems likely to be the sense intended here.

**73–5 ξενιζόμενοι:** Travel along the Persian Royal Roads was facilitated by a series of official post-stations (*σταθμοί*) located a day's journey apart from one another (Hdt. v. 52; cf. Hdt. vi. 119. 2; viii. 98; Plu. *Art.* 25). In cities, ambassadors and the like probably stayed with the local satrap or another lesser official, and it is presumably to the more lavish hospitality available on such occasions that the Amb. is here referring. Cf. Calder, *CR* 39 (1925) 7–11; Miller 115.

**πρὸς βίαν:** 'perforce, under compulsion' (e.g. *V.* 1080; *Lys.* 163; Alc. fr. 332. 1; S. *OT* 805; E. *Med.* 1216; Pl. *Phdr.* 236d).

For the items mentioned in 74, cf. Pl. Com. fr. 127 and Herodotus' description of some of the Persian spoils at Plataia: 'gold mixing-bowls and libation bowls and other drinking-vessels' (ix. 80. 1).

**ὑαλίνων:** Probably 'made of glass' rather than 'of rock crystal' (*pace* Vickers, *JRA* 9 (1996) 54–5). Glass (also mentioned at *Nu.* 766–8 (treated as a curiosity); Corinna *PMG* 689 (corrupt and obscure); and in temple inventories at *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1373. 15 (403/2 BCE); 1377. 21 (the same item as the preceding); 1388. 85–6, 90 (398/7 BCE); 1425. 117 (368/7 BCE)), was in the late 5th c. still an exotic and expensive material, and fragments of elaborate drinking-vessels made of it have in fact been recovered from the Achaemenid palace at Persepolis. Cf. M. L. Trowbridge, *Philological Studies in Ancient Glass* (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, vol. 13. 3–4: Urbana, 1930) 22–53; Miller 75 n. 80; Stern, *JRA* 10 (1997) 192–206, esp. 204–5.

**χρυσίδων:** According to Ath. 11. 502a (cf. *CGFPR* 342. 15; Hsch. χ 791; S χ 570), *χρυσίς* (also at *Pax* 425; Cratin. fr. 132; Hermipp. fr. 38; Pherecr. fr. 134) is an Athenian term reserved for a *φιάλη* (a shallow libation- and drinking-bowl) made of gold; archaeological evidence suggests that the form was well known to the Persian elite (Miller 136–9).

**ἄκρατον οἶνον ἡδύν:** The Greeks normally drank their wine mixed with water (352–6 n.), and taking it neat is occasionally referred to as barbarian behaviour (Hdt. vi. 84; Pl. *Lg.* 637d–e; cf. Anacr. *PMG* 356b. 3). The attractions of undiluted wine were well known (Olson on *Pax* 300), however, and avoidance of it was clearly not universal (e.g. 1229; Pl. Com. fr. 205. 3–4) and seems to have had more to do with fear of a hangover (Alex. frr. 9; 257; Clearch. fr. 3. 1–3) or of growing outrageously drunk too fast (Alex. fr. 246; adesp. com. fr. 101.

13; cf. Anaxandr. fr. 3) than with any broad cultural taboo. The point is thus not so much that the Ambs. have adopted outrageous foreign habits as that they have been having a far better time than anyone at home (cf. 75-6n.).

- 75-6 ὦ Κραναὰ πόλις:** Cf. 27 ὦ πόλις πόλις\*; Men. *Sam.* 325 ὦ πόλισμα Κεκροπίας χθονός ('O city of the land of Kekrops!'; a fragment of a line from E. *Oedipus* unknown to Nauck). κραναός ('rugged, craggy'; cf. fr. 572. 3 καὶ τὰς κραναὰς ἀκαλήφας ('and rough nettles')) is originally a generic epithet of places (in Homer always of Ithaca (e.g. *Il.* 3. 201; *Od.* 1. 247) except at *Il.* 3. 445 (of the island where Helen and Paris first made love; not to be capitalized); of Eleusis at *h.Cer.* 356; of Delos at *h.Ap.* 16, 26; *Pi. I.* 1. 3). In the 5th c. the word comes to be closely associated with Athens in particular: Pindar three times refers to the city as κρανααί (*O.* 7. 82; 13. 38; *N.* 8. 11); Hdt. claims that the Athenians were originally called οἱ Κραναοί (viii. 44. 2; cf. E. *Supp.* 713 as emended by Musgrave; *Str.* 9. 397; *pace* Droysen (cited with implicit approval by K-A ad loc.) the Κραναοί referred to at Ephipp. fr. 5. 8 are not the Athenians but inhabitants of a city in Karia (Plin. *Nat.* 5. 108; cf. Bürchner, *RE* xi (1922) 1569; *LIMC* vi. 1. 109)); a king Kranaos (first attested at A. *Eu.* 1011 παῖδες Κραναοῦ; cf. Marm. Par. *FGrH* 239 F A. 4; Paus. i. 2. 6, 31. 3; Apollod. iii. 14. 1, 5-6; Hsch. χ 190; *LIMC* vi. 1. 108-9) was invented to explain the name; and Ar. elsewhere refers to Athens and the Akropolis, respectively, as simply αἱ Κρανααί (*Av.* 123) and ἡ Κραναά (*Lys.* 480-1). Σ<sup>ET</sup> reports that Aeschylus (fr. 371) and Sophocles (fr. 883) also used the word, although not necessarily the entire phrase ὦ Κραναὰ πόλις. The reason for using the name here is in any case a pun on κεράννυμι ('mix'): while the Ambassadors have been happily drinking their wine neat, the rest of the Athenians have been dutifully diluting theirs (thus Starkie). ἄρ(α) κτλ.: An indignant question (*GP* 46-7); cf. 481 with n. I print αἰσθάνη (*Rat*) rather than αἰσθάνει (*cL<sup>ac</sup>*); certain evidence for the proper form of the 2nd pers. sing. mid.-pass. ending is lacking for this period (Threatte ii. 451-2). τὸν κατάγελων τῶν πρέσβεων: i.e. 'how the Ambassadors are mocking you'. κατάγελως (for the accent, *KB* i. 321) is 'hostile laughter' (cf. *LSJ* s. κατά E. III) and thus by extension 'mockery, derision', as at 1126; *Eq.* 319. Cf. 606 (money-grubbing ambassadors passing time ἐν Καμαρίνῃ καὶ Γέλα καὶ Καταγέλα ('in Kamarina and Gela and Katagela'), 680, 1081; Halliwell, *CQ* NS 41 (1991) 279-96, esp. 286-7. At A. *Ag.* 1264 and Men. fr. 188. 7 the acc. sing. is instead καταγέλωτα. For the gen. of the individual responsible for a sound, 546; Poultney 31.
- 77-8 οἱ βάρβαροι:** In this case the Persians in particular, as also at 107; *Pax* 411 with Olson on 409-13; *Lys.* 1133 with Henderson ad loc. γάρ: Marking this as an explanation of why the Ambassadors drank πρὸς βίαν ('perforce'; 73), since the speaker ignores Dik.'s interjection in 75-6

(61–125 (etc.) n.). **ἄνδρας**: '[real] men'; cf. Hdt. vii. 210. 2; viii. 68. a. 1; X. *HG* vii. 1. 24. **ἡγούνται**: Sc. *εἶναι*; a common ellipse (e.g. 993; *V.* 675). In 78, the earliest descendants of α have *δυναμένους καταφαγεῖν τε καὶ πιεῖν* (**Rac**), which is one short syllable too long. Triklinios accordingly removed *τε* and wrote *δυναμένους καταφαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν* (accepted by Henderson), while Elmsley proposed *δυνατοῦς καταφαγεῖν τε καὶ πιεῖν*, which both mends the metre and eliminates the medial caesura. As van Leeuwen (comparing Pherecr. fr. 113. 32 and Theophil. fr. 3. 2) observed, however, the unmarked simplex *φαγεῖν* ('eat', completing the doublet with *πιεῖν*) rather than the marked compound *καταφαγεῖν* ('consume, eat up', frequently with overtones of gluttony; cf. 975 with n.) is wanted and, even more to the point, Π<sub>2</sub> preserves the letters ]*φαγειν*[ precisely where they ought to stand in the line if *κατα-* was not there. With van Leeuwen, Starkie, and Sommerstein, therefore, I print Morel's **δυναμένους φαγεῖν τε καὶ πιεῖν**. For the Ambassadors' overeating and Persian gluttony more generally, 85–6 with 84–7 n., 88–9; cf. Diogen. vi. 37 'A Median table: with reference to those that are expensive and luxurious'; Schmitt Pantel 430–5.

**79** **λαικαστάς γε καὶ καταπύγους**: A *λαικαστής* is a 'cocksucker' (Jocelyn, *PCPS* NS 30 (1980) 12–66; Bain, *CQ* NS 41 (1991) 74–7; elsewhere only in the fem. *λαικάστρια* (529 with n., 537; Pherecr. fr. 159. 2; Men. *Pk.* 485; *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 1402. 4–5; Agora graffito C 34 Lang)), while a *καταπύγων* (lit. a 'down'—we would say 'up'—'the arse[-hole] . . .'; cf. Fraenkel, *Glotta* 34 (1954) 42–5) is someone who likes being fucked up the arse (e.g. *Eq.* 639; *Nu.* 909; *V.* 84; Milne and von Bothmer, *Hesperia* 22 (1953) 215–24 (seven mostly 5th-c. graffiti from Athens); Agora graffiti C 5, 18, 22, 24–7 Lang; *SEG* 46 (1996) 80; cf. 664 *λακαταπύγων*; *MM* § 462). The two words together are thus a crude colloquial equivalent of 'passive homosexuals' (cf. Catull. 16. 1 *pedicabo ego vos et irrumabo*), and Dik.'s point is that it is precisely men like these whom Athens chooses for her politicians in general (118–19, 662–4, 716; *Eq.* 423–8; *Nu.* 1093–4; *Ec.* 112–13; cf. Eup. fr. 104; Pl. Com. fr. 202. 5; Archedic. fr. 4; Pl. *Smp.* 191e–2a) and her ambassadors in particular.

**80–4** Cassio, *Eikasmos* 2 (1991) 137–41, compares Ktesias' description of Indian mountains said to be rich in gold (*FGrH* 688 F 45h) and suggests that both passages may be based on a well-known tale about the exotic east.

**80** **ἔτει τετάρτῳ**: Cf. 65–7 n. For the position of δ', Dover, *G&G* 59–60. **εἰς τὰ βασιλεί(α) ἦλθομεν**: Miller 118–21, offers a summary of the archaeological evidence for the Achaemenid palace at Susa and especially the massive hypostyle Apadana (audience hall) where embassies would have encountered the King. The King's gold throne is described at Heraclid. Cum. *FGrH* 689 F 1. 13–14 (4th c. BCE).

**81–2** Real embassies may frequently have encountered considerable

delays in obtaining an audience with the King even after they reached Susa, both because he spent much of the year elsewhere and because he must often have been occupied with other, more pressing business (as allegedly here) and may sometimes have seen political or military advantage in delay. Cf. Epicrat. fr. 3. 13 εἶδες δ' ἂν αὐτῆς Φαρνάβαζον θάττον ἂν ('you would have seen Pharnabazos'—who was merely a satrap—'sooner than her'); Miller 125-6.

Although the Amb.'s report is not intended by him as satire, his account none the less begins with the Great King in a ridiculous and humiliating position (cf. *Ec.* 311-71, esp. 371) patently designed to appeal to the audience in the Theatre.

**εἰς ἀπόπατον ὄχετο:** (ὁ) βασιλεύς ('[the] King') is to be supplied as the subj. of the vb. from τὰ βασίλεια in 80 (KG i. 34-5). ἀπόπατος (originally a euphemism, 'a stepping away') is here, on at least one level of the joke, 'a dunghill', i.e. a place to shit, like ἄφοδος (lit. 'a departure') at *Ec.* 1059-60 εἰς ἄφοδον . . . / ἐλθόντα ('going to take a shit'); Antiph. fr. 42. 5 εἰς ἄφοδον ἐλθών ('going to take a shit'). The idea is introduced in part simply because it can be expected to fetch a laugh (cf. *MM* § 396), but Σ<sup>REG</sup> argues that there is in addition a *para prosdokian* joke, with ἐπὶ πόλεμον ('to war') expected, while Starkie notes that the noun more naturally suggests πάτος or περίπατος ('a walk'). The line is perhaps funnier if ἀπόπατον originally masquerades as the name of an exotic Eastern city or region ('Crappadocia' *vel sim.*) against which the Great King has mounted an expedition, with the fact that he has merely gone off to defecate made explicit at the beginning of 82.

**στρατιάν:** Here 'expeditionary force', as also at e.g. 149; *Pax* 747; *Lys.* 1141; contrast 251 with n.

**(ἔ)χεζεν:** χέζω ('shit'; also at 1170) is coarse colloquial comic vocabulary (*MM* § 399).

**ὀκτῶ μῆνας:** The Great King's shitting (like everything else in the Amb.'s account of his experiences in Persia; cf. 65-123 n.) is on a grand scale (cf. *MM* § 407), and eight is merely a metrically convenient, conventionally large number, as also at *Eq.* 70 ὀκταπλάσιον χέζομεν ('we shit eightfold'); Ephipp. fr. 5. 15 (part of a description of how the King's meals are prepared); Axionic. fr. 6. 5-6; Men. fr. 409. 4.

**ἐπὶ χρυσῶν ὀρῶν:** In the popular imagination, the Persian empire was a land of almost limitless gold (cf. 102-3, 108; *Pl.* 170), and Plaut. *Stichus* 24-5 refers specifically to *Persarum | montis, qui esse aurei perhibentur* ('Persian mountains, which are said to be of gold'; perhaps an echo of this line). The joke here turns, however, on the fact that, in a society where very little meat is eaten, faeces are normally a brownish yellow-orange (a colour generally referred to as πυρρός (*Eq.* 896-900; *Ra.* 308; *Ec.* 329, 1061); for the precise meaning of the word, *Pl. Ti.* 68c; Olson-Sens on *Archestr.* fr. 32. 4), the point being that the King's 'golden mountains' are actually large piles of human shit. For the specific comparison of faeces to gold, *Pax* 1176-7 with Olson ad loc.; *Ra.* 483 ὦ χρυσοὶ θεοί ('O golden gods!');

Xanthias' reaction when Dionysos shits his pants). Σ<sup>REF</sup> argues that ὄρος ('mountain') is another word for ἀμῖς ('piss-pot') but is merely making a wild guess in an attempt to explain the joke.

**83** 'How long has it been since he brought his arsehole together?', i.e. 'When did he finally stop shitting?' For this use of the gen. (more often with a neg.), Eup. fr. 193. 1; KG i. 387. The obvious implication of Dik.'s question (although the point is of course ignored by the Amb.) is that the King's arsehole is a gaping one, which is to say that he is ready and presumably willing to be fucked anally (thus *MM*, p. 59; cf. 104 with n.).

τὸν πρωκτὸν . . . ξυνήγαγεν: Despite Σ<sup>L</sup> (i.e. Triklinios; followed by Starkie), συνάγω is not used regularly in the classical period of 'assembling' an army, and πρωκτός ('arsehole') is thus not obviously *para prosdokian* for στρατός ('army'). Instead, the noun (also at 119 and 863, and common throughout the comedies) is sufficiently crude that it can be expected to fetch a laugh in its own right (*MM* § 449), and the vb. most likely means simply 'contract', as regularly in Ar. (e.g. *Nu.* 582; *Pl.* 756).

**84-7** Elmsley (followed by most 20th-c. editors) assigned τῇ πανσελήνῳ to Dik. rather than the Amb., who on that division of the line ignores the hero's interruption and resumes his report where he left off (at the end of 82). Although Dik. repeatedly begins speaking at mid-line elsewhere in this scene (67, 71, 75, 86, 92, 94), however, the Amb. never does so, and one of the hero's questions is similarly acknowledged by Theoros at 156 after another string of unacknowledged wisecracks (135, 137, 139-40, 151-2, 154). I therefore follow the MSS in placing the change of speaker at the head of the line.

τῇ πανσελήνῳ: '[He did this] at the time of the full moon.' The humour depends on the resemblance between a full moon and a bare arse seen from the rear (also a whitish globe with a prominent dimple in the middle); cf. Hermipp. fr. 38 χρυσίδ' . . . πανσέληνον ('a gold libation bowl . . . shaped like a full moon') and the colloquial American 'moon' (point one's naked arse at someone by way of insult). Σ<sup>REF</sup> (followed by Starkie) suggests an allusion to the Spartans' failure to arrive on time at the Battle of Marathon because they were waiting for a full moon (Hdt. vi. 106. 3-107. 1), the point being that the Persians too are perpetually tardy; this is much too obscure to be funny.

κα(ὶ ε)ἶτ(α): When used in a temporal sense (as here), perhaps colloquial (López Eire 206-9; Dover, *EGPS* 76-7).

ἐξένιζε: Inchoative, 'he began to entertain us'.

παρετίθει κτλ.: The theme of Persian gustatory excess is taken up again (cf. 77-8). παρατίθημι (lit. 'set beside', since the Greeks lay down on their left side to eat) is the *vox propria* for serving food, especially the main course in a meal (e.g. 89; *Eq.* 778; Philox. Leuc. *PMG* 836(b). 29; 'Philoxenos' ap. *Pl. Com.* fr. 189. 16; Pherecr. fr. 125); cf. Neil on *Eq.* 1215; Arnott on *Alex.* fr. 98. 2; Olson-Sens on *Archestr.* fr. 13. 4. The impf. marks this

as habitual action ('he regularly served us'); contrast 89. The connective **δ'** was lost in some early copies of the play, and R offers the (unmetrical) double emendation *καὶ παρετίθετ'*, while Athenaios has *παρετίθει θ'*. **ὄλους . . . βοῦς**: Cf. Hdt. i. 133. 1 (a passage to which Ar. has sometimes been thought to be alluding; cf. Introduction, Section IV.B) (of the birthday feasts given by wealthy Persians) 'they serve an ox, a horse, a camel, and a donkey, roasted whole in kilns'; Antiph. fr. 170. 4-8 (probably a Persian speaking) 'in our ancestors' time they used to roast whole oxen, pigs, deer, and sheep, and last of all a cook, after roasting the beast whole, served the King a hot camel'; Ephipp. fr. 5 (a wildly exaggerated account of how huge fish are prepared for the Great King's table). For other creatures or substantial parts of creatures roasted whole, generally in contexts involving gustatory excess or exaggeration, e.g. *Ra.* 506 *βοῦν ἀπηνθράκιζ' ὄλον* ('he began roasting a whole ox on the coals'; part of a meal being prepared for Herakles); Mnesim. fr. 4. 33; Arcestr. fr. 13. 4 with Olson-Sens ad loc.; Diph. fr. 90. 1-3; Luc. *Lex.* 6. Cattle were quite expensive (specific figures at V. Rosivach, *The System of Public Sacrifice in Fourth-Century Athens* (American Classical Studies 34: Atlanta, 1994) 95-6) and in Athens, at least, were generally sacrificed only by the state on great public occasions (cf. *Eq.* 654-9); that the Persian King can afford to serve them at his private table is further proof of his extraordinary wealth. Cattle were in fact usually cut up and the individual portions of the animal cooked separately, often by stewing, so as to produce both broth and meat; cf. Olson on *Pax* 715-17. The earliest MSS (Rac) have *ὀπτούς* (unmetrical), but Triklinios' *ὄλους* is confirmed by Athenaios' citation of the line and by a notice of a variant reading preserved in the correctors' hands in ΓΕ. **ἐκ κριβάνου**: A *κρίβανος* was a baking shell pierced by a number of holes near the bottom. It was placed over an item of food, and hot ashes were swept around it or a fire kindled about its periphery; the holes conducted the heat within. Cf. Blümner i. 81-3; Cubberley, Lloyd, and Roberts, *PBSR* 56 (1988) 98-119; Cubberley, in *Food* 55-68. *κρίβανοι* are most often associated with baking bread (1123 with n.; fr. 1. 2; Antiph. fr. 174. 5; Ephipp. fr. 1. 2; Arcestr. fr. 5. 17) but are used on occasion to prepare meat (A. fr. 309. 1-2; Hipparch. *SH* 496. 2), fish (Arcestr. fr. 14. 6; Arr. *Ind.* 28. 1), and other food (Hdt. ii. 92. 5); this one is clearly far bigger than normal if it can accommodate whole oxen.

**86-7** For **καί** introducing a contemptuous question that includes an echo of the previous speech, *GP* 309-10. **πώποτε**: Also in questions anticipating a negative response at e.g. *Nu.* 1061-2; Eup. fr. 329. 1; Amphis fr. 27. 4; Nausicr. fr. 2. 1. **τῶν ἀλαζονευμάτων**: 'What bullshit!' (62-3 n., 64 n.).

**88-9** **ναὶ μὰ Δί'**: A banal colloquial oath; cf. 137, 368, 461; KG ii. 148. For

oaths as a mark of colloquial style, Dover, *EGPS* 62–3. **τριπλάσιον**: First attested here and at *Eq.* 285, 718; subsequently restricted to Attic prose. Probably colloquial, like the cognate adjs. *διπλάσιος* (first attested in Hdt. (e.g. iv. 68. 3) and at *Av.* 55; common in comedy (e.g. Pherecr. fr. 113. 33; Antiph. fr. 240. 4; Anaxil. fr. 22. 14) and Attic prose, but in tragedy only at adesp. fr. 166. 2 (probably late)) and *τετραπλάσιος* (confined to prose). **Κλεωνύμου**: Kleonymos (*PA* i. 580, where for '8880' read '8680'; *PAA* 579410; also referred to at 844) is first mentioned here and as the proposer of three decrees dating to 426/5 BCE (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 61. 34 = M–L 65. 34 (the second Methonian decree); 68. 5 = M–L 68. 5 (a major piece of legislation designed to tighten up collection of the tribute); 69. 3–4 (an honorary decree passed at the same session as the preceding)); M–L p. 188 suggest on this basis that he may have been a member of the Boule for this year. Ar. attacks him repeatedly for his size and alleged gluttony (844 with n.; *Eq.* 956–8, 1290–9; *Av.* 288–9), his supposed abandonment of his hoplite equipment in battle (perhaps a distorted reference to the disorderly Athenian retreat from Delion in 424) and general eagerness to avoid military service (*Eq.* 1369–72; *Nu.* 353–4; *V.* 15–27, 592, 821–3; *Av.* 290, 1473–81; cf. Eup. fr. 352), his political duplicity (*Nu.* 399–400; *V.* 592–3), and (apparently) his sexual failings (*Nu.* 672–6 with Dover on 675–6). None of this proves anything except that Kleonymos was physically large, politically prominent, and served at least once in the mid-420s as a hoplite, and *V.* 592–3 leaves little doubt that he was a radical democratic leader of Kleon's stripe; cf. 134–5 n. Nothing is heard of the man himself after 415, when he moved a decree offering 1,000 drachmas as a reward for information about the profanation of the Mysteries (*And.* 1. 27), although there is a mention of his wife (widow?) at *Th.* 605; perhaps he died in Sicily. Cf. Storey, *RhM* 132 (1989) 247–61; Olson on *Pax* 446. **παρέθηκεν**: 84–7 n. The aor. makes it clear that the *φέναξ* was served only once, unlike oven-baked oxen, which were a regular feature of the Great King's table (85–6). **ὄνομα δ' ἦν αὐτῷ**: KG i. 45. **φέναξ**: Lit. 'cheat, deceiver' (which provides the basis for Dik.'s bitter response in 90), with an allusion to the *φοῖνιξ* ('phoenix'); 'robin' preserves the pun but not the ornithology. The phoenix, first mentioned at Hes. fr. 304. 3–4 as extraordinarily long-lived, is described by Hdt. (ii. 73; apparently drawing on Hekataios (*FGrH* 1 F 324)) as an Arabian bird that visits Egypt once every 500 years bearing its dead father in an artificial egg made of incense, and is said by him to be about the size of an eagle; its general association with the exotic East makes it not out of place on a Persian table. Cf. Antiph. fr. 173. 1–2; Plin. *Nat.* 10. 3–5; Thompson, *Birds* 306–9; Lloyd on Hdt. ii. 73 (with extensive references to later sources and modern bibliography).

90 **ταῦτ(α)** is an internal acc. (KG i. 310–11), and **ἄρ(α)** + impf. marks

the speaker's sudden recognition of a fact that has been and continues to be true (*GP* 36-7; cf. 990; *Eq.* 125; *Nu.* 319; *Pax* 414-15; Moorhouse 192-3); 'so that's why . . . !' ἐφενάκιζες: 88-9 n. δύο δραχμὰς φέρων: 65-7 with n.

**91-122** The only Persian known to have visited Greece as an official representative of the Great King (as opposed to the occasional defector (*Hdt.* iii. 160. 2; *Plu. Cim.* 10. 8)) in the post-Persian War years was a certain Artaphernes, who was captured by the Athenians at Eion on his way to Sparta in 425/4 and sent home accompanied by a group of Athenian ambassadors about a year later (*Th.* iv. 50). Although this scene arguably requires some rudimentary knowledge of Persian manners on the audience's part and can perhaps be taken to imply that at least one Persian emissary had come to Athens within living memory (possibly in connection with negotiations over the Peace of Kallias in the mid-440s (thus Miller 90)), therefore, there can be little doubt that the Greeks, as the less significant power, did most of the diplomatic shuttling back and forth. Polyæn. iii. 9. 59 describes an incident involving the Athenian mercenary general Iphikrates (*fl.* 393-356) which, whether historical or not, seems to be modelled on this scene: 'At a time when money was short and the soldiers were in an uproar and demanding a general assembly, he ordered some men acquainted with the Persian language to put on Persian clothing and appear as the assembly-place was filling up, and to come forward and say in the barbarian tongue "The men who are bringing the money are near by, and we were sent ahead to tell you this".'

**91-2 ἄγοντες ἤκομεν:** As regularly with simple vbs. meaning 'come' or 'go', the leading idea is contained in the participle rather than the finite vb. (e.g. fr. 469. 2; *S. Tr.* 400; *E. Heracl.* 929; *Hel.* 485-6; *IA* 415 (all variations of ἄγων ἤκω); cf. *KG* ii. 60-1; Goodwin § 895). **Ψευδαρτάβαν:** 'False-measure' *vel sim.* According to *Hdt.* i. 192. 3, the *artabe* was a Persian dry measure equivalent to one Attic *medimnos* plus three *choinikes* (813-14 n.), or 51 *choinikes*, about 1½ American bushels (cf. *LXX Is.* 5. 10; the lexicographers (e.g. *Hsch.* α 7471; *S* α 4020) simply offer the rough formula 'one *artabe* = one *medimnos*'). Cf. *Cambridge History of Iran* xii (Cambridge, 1985) 631-2. *Artabes* is the personal name of a Baktrian commander at *A. Pers.* 317, but *Ar.* is here probably attempting to evoke real Persian names in which the first element is *arta* ('truth, cosmic order'), such as *Artaxerxes* (61 n.; cf. 100 n.), *Artaphrenes* (*A. Pers.* 21; *Hdt.* v. 25. 1), and *Artabazos* (*Th.* i. 129. 1) (thus Σ<sup>REI</sup>). τὸν βασιλέως ὀφθαλμόν: Cf. 94 ὁ βασιλέως ὀφθαλμός\*, 124\*. The Great King had a number of officers referred to as his 'brothers', 'sons', 'ears', or 'eyes'. According to *X. Cyr.* viii. 6. 16 these men were given an army and sent out on annual tours of inspection of various satrapies with authority to correct any administrative problems



or abuses they discovered; any troubles they could not deal with were reported to the King on their return so that he could take action himself. The 'eyes' and 'ears' of the King are also referred to at *A. Pers.* 979; *Hdt.* i. 114. 2; *X. Cyr.* viii. 2. 10; *Poll.* ii. 84; cf. *Hdt.* i. 100. 2; *Arist. Pol.* 1287<sup>b</sup>29-30; *Hsch.* β 281; ο 1960; *AB*, p. 225. 22-3. A reflex of the institution can be seen in the claim that Mithras has 1,000 ears, 10,000 eyes, and 10,000 spies throughout the land watching for insubordination (*Yt* 10. 7, 24, 45).

**92-3** ἐκκόψειέ γε κόραξ: The κόραξ is the raven (*Corvus corax*), an aggressive scavenger known for feeding on dead bodies in particular (*Th.* 941-2, 1027-8; *A. Ag.* 1472-3; Thompson, *Birds* 159-64; *Crows* 124-30; Olson on *Pax* 19), and 'to the ravens!' is thus a nasty colloquial imprecation (864n.). Ravens sometimes focus their initial assault on their victims' eyes (cf. *Av.* 342, 1294 (where 'a raven without an eye' is perhaps an echo of a proverb resembling 'without two pennies to rub together'), 1613), and Dunbar on *Av.* 582-4 argues that the idea that they might do the same to a healthy adult animal 'seems based on fear, not on experience', which is to say that anyone who had seen a raven pecking out the eyes of a corpse might easily have imagined the same thing being done to a living creature, as *Dik.* does in his curse. For γε with the opt. of wish, *Pax* 446; *Pl.* 180; *Pl. Com. fr.* 189. 22; *GP* 126, 137-8.

τὸν . . . σὸν τοῦ πρέσβως: For the apposition of the possessive pron. and the gen., 910; *Nu.* 1202; *Pl.* 33; *KG* i. 282-3. The normal word for 'ambassador' in the sing. is πρεσβευτής, and the nom. πρέσβυς (common in poetry in the sense 'old man') is nowhere else secure with this sense before the Byzantine period (conjectural at *A. Supp.* 727); cf. Thraette ii. 223-5. Here it is used on analogy with the standard pl. form πρέσβεις to echo βασιλέως in 92.

With all modern editors except Elliott and Henderson (presumably a typographical error in the latter, since he translates 'and yours too'), I print A's τε for α's impossibly awkward γε. A simple majuscule error (*T* read *Γ*); cf. 154, 307-8n., 323-5n.

**94** ὁ βασιλέως ὀφθαλμός: 53-4n., 91-2n. Pseud. enters from a wing and makes his way to the Amb.'s side. He is dressed in elaborate Persian robes and a mask that grossly exaggerates the size of his eyes (95-7n.), rendering the image in his title concrete; cf. 178-9n., 317-18n.; Newiger 123; Introduction, Section V.A. 94-7 cover Pseud.'s passage across the stage, which is slow and stately and involves turning his head repeatedly from side to side (95-6 with nn.). A pair of mute attendants, also dressed in Persian clothing and perhaps carrying flywhisks (*Men. fr.* 395. 2; Miller 206-9) or parasols (Miller 193-8), follow Pseud. on stage and stand slightly to one side of him. All three characters most likely have full, bushy beards (117-22n.).

ὦναξ Ἡράκλεις: A regular Aristophanic expression (more often simply *Ἡράκλεις* (284, 807

with n., 1018); used only by men) of shock, surprise, or horror at an unexpected sight or revelation (*Pax* 180; *Av.* 277; *Lys.* 296; *Ra.* 298 with Dover ad loc.; cf. Antiph. fr. 27. 1).

- 95-7** Addressed to Pseud. All three of Dik.'s remarks compare Pseud. to a ship and refer to eyes or attempts to see, and it seems clear that the Persian emissary's mask features a huge eye or pair of eyes resembling those painted on the prows of Greek ships in all periods and presumably intended to help them find their way through the sea (e.g. Morrison and Williams pll. 20d; 21e; A. *Supp.* 716). 'La prima domanda esprime l'incertezza, la seconda con ἦ la congettura del richiedente' (Russo ad loc., citing *Nu.* 248-9; *Lys.* 987-8; KG ii. 532-3). **πρὸς τῶν θεῶν:** Used only in entreaties (e.g. *Nu.* 1103; *V.* 484; *Lys.* 850\*; *Men. Dysk.* 956) and urgent questions, which amount to a request for an immediate answer (e.g. *Nu.* 200\*; *V.* 1218; *Av.* 69; *Men. Dysk.* 411); cf. Barrett on E. *Hipp.* 219 πρὸς θεῶν. Formally, therefore, 95 (like 96) must be a question, although Dik. is not really expecting an answer. **ἄνθρωπε:** At least moderately hostile in tone, as also at 464, 818. Cf. 1107-8 (openly hostile); Halliwell, in F. de Martino and A. H. Sommerstein (eds.), *Lo spettacolo delle voci* ii (Bari, 1995) 102; Dickey 150-4; contrast 1010 (seemingly respectful). **ναύφαρκτον βλέπεις;** 'Are you giving me a hostile nautical look?' A colloquial use of βλέπω; cf. 254 with n., 566 with n.; *Ra.* 562 ἔβλεψεν . . . δριμύ ('he gave me a bitter look'). The adj. (lit. 'ship-fenced') is attested first in tragedy (A. *Pers.* 951, 1029; cf. E. *IA* 1259) and appears at *Eq.* 567 in an arguably elevated passage. Its presence in an Attic inscription dating to 432/1 (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 365. 30 τῆι ναυφ[άρκτ]οι στρατιᾶι), however, shows that it is not exclusively poetic, and *pace* Starkie there is no reason to think that this is a fragment of a lost tragedy, especially given the colloquialism. Here and elsewhere the MSS have -φρα-, but Photios' -φαρ- is the proper 5th-c. form (Barrett on E. *Hipp.* 657; Thraette i. 477), as Dindorf was the first to see. **περὶ ἄκραν κάμπτων:** 'as you round a cape', i.e. to enter a harbour like one of the three in the Piraeus (cf. below). The implication is that Pseud. has by now made his way across most of the stage from the wing and is turning to face the audience. **νεώσοικον:** 'a shipshed' (not 'dock', as LSJ s.v.). Athens' dockyards in this period contained several hundred shipsheds (also referred to at Cratin. fr. 210. 1) built sometime in the pre-war years (And. 3. 7). Excavations carried out by Dragatzes and Dörpfeld in 1885 showed that the sheds were partially cut into the bedrock and partially built up out of local stone, and were roofed in pairs; a continuous rear wall provided a defensive perimeter for the complex as a whole. Cf. 544-5 with n., 552-4 with 552n., 920-2n. When individual ships were out of service, they were pulled up into a shed (presumably by means of pulleys or winches) so that their hulls could dry out and any necessary repairs

could be effected. Cf. Morrison and Williams 181–92; R. Garland, *The Piraeus from the fifth to the first century B.C.* (London, 1987) 95–7; K.-V. von Eickstedt, *Beiträge zur Topographie des antiken Piraeus* (*Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας* 118: Athens, 1991) 69–71, 73–7, 147–9. **σκοπεῖς**: Here ‘keep an eye out for, look for’ (LSJ s.v. I. 3), as at *Av.* 450; *Lys.* 427; *Th.* 599; *Men. Mon.* 98, 255. **ἄσχωμ' ἔχεις . . . περὶ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν κάτω**: An obscure and difficult verse. According to Σ<sup>VMEΘBarb</sup> *Ra.* 364 (~ S a 4183; cf. *Poll.* i. 88; *Hsch.* a 7724; *EM*, p. 155. 16–19), an *ἄσχωμα* (cognate with *ἄσχος*, ‘skin, skin bag’) was a leather sleeve for an oarport of the sort used by the lowest (‘thalamian’) bank of rowers in a trireme (161–2n., 553n.). *Dik.*’s remark has traditionally been taken as a further reference to the ship’s eye or eyes painted on *Pseud.*’s mask (above), which must then be fitted (for no apparent reason) with a leather flap. Several 4th-c. naval inscriptions, however, refer to warships with broken or missing *ὀφθαλμοί* (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1604. 68, 75; 1607. 24)—the former in particular an unlikely way of referring to a painted hull-device—and Morrison and Williams 283–4, suggest that in these passages the word means ‘porthole’ (cf. Σ<sup>EΓ</sup>), since a porthole could have not yet been cut or have had its fittings damaged. *Pseud.*’s ‘lower eye’ might thus perhaps be his mouth, which is surrounded by a huge, bushy beard. Alternatively, the point may be that the Eye of the King is wearing trousers, which were a basic element of Persian costume as the Greeks understood it (*Hdt.* i. 71. 2 *σκυτίνας* . . . *ἀναξυρίδας* ‘trousers made of leather’); v. 49. 3; vii. 61. 1; X. *An.* i. 5. 8) and are referred to disparagingly as *θύλακοι* ‘sacks’) at *V.* 1087; *E. Cyc.* 182. In that case, his ‘lower eye’ will be his arsehole (which is certainly funnier). **που**: ‘I suppose’ (*GP* 491).

**98–9** Addressed to *Pseud.*, who is now standing next to the *Amb.* and facing the audience. Here and at 103 *Pseud.* is ordered to speak rather than doing so spontaneously, and if he is played by a mute (cf. Introduction, Section V.A), the practical point is perhaps to inform the audience that the voice they hear next is to be understood as his, regardless of its apparent actual source. **ἄγε δὴ σύ**: ‘Come on now!’ A regular line-opening formula (e.g. 111 (perhaps a deliberate echo of this verse); *Eq.* 155; *Pax* 431; *Av.* 434). For *δὴ* with imper., 103, 733, 777; *GP* 216–17. The pron. merely marks a shift of addressee (cf. 103, 111, 777, etc.) and is best left untranslated. **ἀπέπεμψεν**: *τ’*’s *ἔκπεμψε* is a Triklinian conjecture designed to correct the metrical deficiency in the line after the prefix *ἀπ-* (present in *Ra*) was lost via haplography (c). **ὦ Ψευδαρτάβα**: The Eye of the King’s name (91 with n.) is repeated for anyone who missed the joke the first time.

**100** Numerous attempts have been made to extract sense from this line, be it in garbled Greek (but cf. 104 with n.) or some Near Eastern language (most recently Dover, *G&G* 289–90; Brandenstein, *WKZSO* 8

(1964) 43-58; West, *CR NS* 18 (1968) 5-7; Francis, *AJP* 113 (1992) 337-40; Aveline, *Hermes* 128 (2000) 500-1). West suggests that (1) the line up to the hepthemimeral caesura consists of fragments of a conjectural Persian-language formula with which the Great King regularly introduced himself to the Athenian Assembly in his letters as 'Artaxerxes son of Xerxes', with (2) the rest of the line made up of the beginning of the name Pissouthnes (a Persian satrap who had recently been meddling in Greek affairs in western Asia Minor (*Th.* iii. 31. 1, 34. 2)) and the first two syllables of *σατράπης* ('satrap'), all filled out with nonsense syllables echoing (1). Be that as it may, the more important point is that, despite the Amb.'s claim to be able to understand what Pseud. is saying (102-3 with n.), Dik.'s reaction in 101 leaves little doubt that this is gibberish and intended to be recognized as such. Cf. the Triballian's unintelligible words at *Av.* 1615, 1628-9, followed by something approximating Greek in 1678-9. Not surprisingly, the line is garbled in the MSS; I print it as it appears in **acL**, except that I have made no attempt to divide the letters into individual words.

**101** All manuscripts except L agree on *ξυνήκαθ'* *vel sim.*, but pl. forms of the aor. act. of *ἴημι* in -κ- are not secure elsewhere before the mid-4th c. (*Threatte* ii. 604). I print pres. **ξυνιέθ'** (Cobet) rather than aor. *ξυνεῖθ'* (with *ὁ τι*) on the basis of the parallels at *Av.* 946; *Pl.* 45; the aor. also requires a slightly more violent emendation. (*ὕμῃν* in 102 makes it clear that the Amb.'s remark is addressed to the Assembly as a whole rather than to Dik. in particular, so that Lotz's *ξυνήκας*, although palaeographically simple, is unlikely to be right.) A careless error by an early copyist, who replaced an old form with a metrically equivalent contemporary one. **ὁ λέγει:** 'what it is he's saying'; cf. 442; *KG* ii. 438. **μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω,** 'γὼ μὲν οὖ': 59\*-60n. Dik.'s remark confirms for the audience that the problem is not with their ears and that Pseud. is in fact speaking gibberish.

**102-3** 61n.; since Pseud.'s remark in 100 is patently incomprehensible (cf. 101n.), this is a classic example of *ἀλαζονεία* ('bullshitting'; cf. 62-3n.). **χρυσίον:** 'gold [coin]' (e.g. *Eq.* 472; *Pax* 645; *Ra.* 720; cf. 257-8n.), i.e. Persian darics; all Athenian money in this period was made of silver. Cf. 81-2n. A collective sing. (71-2n.). 103 is addressed to Pseud. **δή:** 98-9n. **μείζον:** 'louder'; cf. *Pax* 1081 with Olson on 660; *Men. Sic.* 202. **τὸ χρυσίον:** 'the word "gold"'. *τό* is an anaphoric art. (*KG* i. 597); cf. 104 *Ἰαοναῦ* and 106 *τοὺς Ἰάονας*, 637-40, 801-3.

**104 οὐ λῆψι χρυσό:** For Pseud.'s mangled Greek, cf. the Skythian archer in *Th.*, who also uses -ι (metrically necessary here and therefore restored by Triklinios (**tAld**) for the early MSS's -ει (**Rc**) or -η (**a**)) for the verbal ending -ει (e.g. *Th.* 1001, 1102, 1104), and -ο for -ον (e.g. *Th.* 1005, 1114). Pseud.'s message is none the less now quite clear (contrast 100-1)

and the irony is that the Amb. is unable to understand it (105; contrast 102). **χαυνόπρωκτ'**: Lit. 'loose-arsed', i.e. 'accustomed to and available for buggery'; cf. 83 n., 716 *εὐρύπρωκτος* ('wide-arsed') with n.; *MM* § 464. Sommerstein argues that the reference is instead to anal incontinence, the point being that the very old are often both unable to control their bowels and (like the Athenians, allegedly, here) imbecilic. This is much less obvious and thus unlikely to be correct, particularly since words denoting a predilection for being sodomized are routinely used as terms of abuse (e.g. 79, 664, 716; *Nu.* 1330), although the implication is certainly that only a fool allows others to fuck him up the arse at will. Cf. 143-4 with n. **Ἴαοναῦ**: The Old Persian term for the Greeks generally was in fact *Yauna* (cf. *A. Pers.* 178 *Ἰαόνων γῆν* ('the land of the Yauna'; in the mouth of the Persian queen Atossa)), and according to *Hdt.* i. 143. 3 not only the Athenians but many of the other Ionians disliked being called by the name. *Ar.*, at any rate, uses 'Ionian' elsewhere only of a non-Athenian (*Pax* 46), and the word and its cognates seem to have strong overtones of cowardice, effeminacy, and the like in 5th- and 4th-c. literature (Olson on *Pax* 932-3), which would fit the context here precisely.

**105 οἴμοι κακοδαίμων, ὡς σαφῶς**: *Sc. λέγει. οἴμοι κακοδαίμων* is lit. 'Alas unfortunate [me]!', i.e. 'Worse luck for me!'; here little more than a colloquial expression of annoyance ('Shoot!' *vel sim.*), as also at 473\*. Cf. Stevens 14-15, 17. **τί δαί λέγει;**; *δαί* (Elmsley's suggestion for the MSS's *δ' αὖ* and variants thereof) adds emphasis to the question (*KG* ii. 134; *GP* 262-3); 'What in the world is he saying?' Colloquial (Stevens 45-6; López Eire 122); cf. 764, 802. Note the repetition of *λέγει\** in *Dik.*'s response in 106 and again in the Amb.'s attempt at retranslation in 108.

**106-7 ὁ τι;** *KG* ii. 517. **χαυνοπρώκτους κτλ.:** A relatively faithful report of the contents of 104 except for the addition of the politically loaded term **βαρβάρων** ('barbarians'; reserved for final position in 107 to increase the impact of the word, like *Ἴαοναῦ* ('Ionian') in 104) for the Persians. **τοὺς Ἴάονας:** For the anaphoric art., 102-3 n.

**108-80, 368-671** Π<sub>3</sub> contains fragments of a brief commentary on these verses which seems largely independent of the tradition preserved in different forms in *RGE*.

**108 ἀχάνας . . . λέγει:** i.e. rather than *χαυνο-* (104). According to Σ<sup>REF</sup> (citing *Arist. fr.* 566), an *ἀχάνη* was a Persian measure equivalent to 45 Attic *medimnoi* (~ 60 American bushels). *Poll.* x. 165 also cites Aristotle for the capacity of the *ἀχάνη* but identifies the source of this information specifically as the *Constitution of the Orchomenians* and says that this is an Orchomenian measure, which suggests that Σ<sup>REF</sup> has garbled its source, assuming a Persian connection on the basis of the context. At *Plu. Arat.* 6. 3 (the only other occurrence of the word in classical liter-

ature) an ἀχάνη is a storage container of some sort which is used to transport disassembled scaling-ladders on a wagon, and Σ<sup>RET</sup>, Poll. x. 164, and Hsch. a 8818 (citing the 4th-c. historian Phanodem. *FGrH* 325 F 19) agree that an alternative explanation of the word is that it refers to a κίστη ('storage-box') in which travellers kept their food. Presumably ἀχάνη was in fact used both of a large dry measure and of a vessel of roughly that capacity, but the word is here only a phonetically convenient way of saying 'vast quantities'. ὄδε γε: γε has a pronounced tendency to attach itself to pronouns even where it appears to be otiose (e.g. 346, 1191; cf. *GP* 122-3). 109 shows that the penult in ἀχάνη is long and Bentley accordingly corrected **d**'s unmetrical ὀδί to ὄδε.

**109** ποίας ἀχάνας;: 62-3n. σὺ μὲν ἀλαζῶν εἶ μέγας: Confirming Dik.'s original characterization of ambassadors generally (62-3)—now supported by the audience's own eyes and ears—and making this an effective exit line (110 with n.). For μὲν-*solitarium*, 59-60n. For ἀλαζῶν ('bullshit artist'), 62-3n.

**110** Cf. *Th.* 626 ἄπελθ' ἐγὼ γὰρ βασανιῶ ταύτην καλῶς ('Move away; I'll test her properly'). Starkie suggested an allusion to a lost line of E., perhaps from *Tel.*, but the repeated resolution counts against the likelihood that this is paratragedy and *Tel.* in particular is not otherwise alluded to before 331 except at 8. ἀλλ' ἄπιτ': Nothing is said of the Amb. at 124-5, where Pseud.'s exit is explained by an invitation to enter the Prytaneion. As Dover, *G&G* 290, notes, they most likely exit now into one of the wings, doubtless urged on by threatening gestures from Dik. (cf. 111-12n.), allowing the deuteragonist time to change costume and return as Theoros by 129. Cf. 43-203n.; Introduction, Section V.A. I accordingly print R's ἄπιτ(ε) (the *lectio difficilior* after the 2nd pers. sing. in 109) rather than β's ἄπιθ' (E<sup>4</sup>cL: ἄπιθι ΑΓρ, cf. E<sup>ac</sup>); either would do metrically. βασανιῶ: 'I shall examine closely' (cf. 647), but given that the topic under discussion is whether the Great King will send the Athenians gold, there is probably a deliberate reference to the βάσανος ('touchstone'), also known as the Λυδῆ or Λυδία λίθος ('Lydian stone'). Touchstones were bits of black slate or the like, which were used to assay gold by rubbing it on the touchstone and examining the mark produced, presumably via comparison with the mark made by a sample of known quality. Cf. *Thgn.* 417-18 ~ 1105-6, 449-50; *Bacch.* fr. 14. 1-2; *Pi. P.* 10. 67; fr. 122. 16; *Hdt.* vii. 10. a. 1; Gow on *Theoc.* 12. 36-7; *Thphr. Lap.* 45-7 with Caley-Richards and Eichholz ad loc.; Eichholz, *CR* 59 (1945) 52.

**111-12** Dik. steps over to Pseud. and shakes a fist beneath his nose (cf. below). ἄγε δὴ σύ: 98-9n. πρὸς τουτονί: An odd and puzzling phrase. Σ<sup>RET</sup> suggests that it means πρὸς ἑμαυτόν, which is impossibly awkward after ἐμοί. More likely κόνδυλον is to be supplied

and Dik. means 'in the presence of my [knuckle] here', i.e. 'with my fist as witness' (LSJ s. *πρός* C. 7; cf. *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 68. 46–7; for the extended sense of *κόνδυλος*, Olson on *Pax* 122–3). Henderson translates 'in the face of this [stick]', but *βακτήριον* is neut. and would require Robertson's *τουτογί*; the alternative is to follow Dover, *G&G* 291, in assuming the existence of an otherwise unknown masc. word for 'staff', which is to explain *obscurum per obscurius*.

**βάψω βάμμα Σαρδιανικόν:** Cf. *Pax* 1176 *βέβαπται βάμμα Κυζικηνικόν* ('he has been stained with Kyzikene dye'); Chadwick 59–62, esp. 61–2. Sardis was the old capital of Lydia and at this time the seat of a Persian satrapy, hence in part Dik.'s reference to it. The colour in question is a deep, rich reddish-purple (*φοῖνιξ* or *πορφύρεος*) occasionally compared to blood, as implicitly here; cf. 319–20n.; *H. Il.* 4. 141–7; *A. Pers.* 316. For purple Lydian cloth, presumably imported into Athens via one of the Ionian cities, *Pax* 1173–4 with Olson ad loc.; *Pl. Com. fr.* 230. 2; cf. Miller 75–81; Blum, esp. 42–67.

**113** A very slightly adapted version of what the Amb. originally claimed Pseud. was saying (102); Pseud. (and perhaps the Eunuchs as well) respond to the question by nodding their heads back in the gesture that for the Greeks meant (and means) 'No' (611; *Lys.* 126; *H. Od.* 21. 129 with Fernández-Galiano ad loc.). An intrusive stage-direction (*παρεπιγραφή*) to this effect is preserved in **d** between 113 and 114, and another appears between 114 and 115. For similar intrusions, *Av.* 222–3; *Ra.* 311–12, 1263–4; *Th.* 1187b; D. Page, *Actors' Interpolations in Greek Tragedy* (Oxford, 1934) 113–15; Taplin, *PCPhS* 203 (1977) 121–32.

**114** Essentially a summary of what the action on stage in 65–108 has made clear. 115 leaves no doubt that Pseud. and the Eunuchs all respond to this question by nodding their heads forward to signal 'Yes' (cf. *Th.* 1020; *Ec.* 72). **ἄλλως:** 'merely', as at *Nu.* 1203. Colloquial; cf. Jebb on *S. Ph.* 947; Stevens 52. **ἄρ(α)** expresses the surprise attendant upon disillusionment (*GP* 35–6).

**115–16 Ἑλληνικόν γ' ἐπένευσαν:** *Sc.* *ἐπίνευμα*; a cognate internal acc. The common exemplar of **a** attempted instead to supply an external object by converting *ἄνδρες* into *ἄνδρ'* (AE (unmetrical): *ἄνδρα Γ<sup>acc</sup>*). *γε* is exclamatory, 'in Greek!' (*GP* 126–7); cf. 909. **οὐκ ἐσθ' ὅπως** is a common line-opening formula in *Ar.*, frequently followed by a form of *οὐκ*, as here (e.g. *Eq.* 238; *Nu.* 802; *Av.* 52; *Lys.* 1092). Cf. López Eire 65.

**ἐνθένδ' αὐτόθεν:** 'from right here' (i.e. Athens); cf. *ἐνθάδ' αὐτοῦ*, 'right here' (*V.* 765–6; *Pl.* 1187; *Eup. fr.* 392. 4); *αὐτοῦ ταύτη*, 'right on the spot' (*Hdt.* iv. 80. 5).

**117–22** Eunuchs ought to have no facial hair and Pseud.'s attendants (on stage since 94) are accordingly not identified as such until just before Dik. rips a false beard off first one (118) and then the other (122). Dover, *G&G* 291–2, suggests that the attendants are beardless and have the

lower half of their faces swathed in clothing, which Dik. pulls away, but cf. 120-1n. For removable stage-beards, *Th.* 221-32; *Ec.* 118-21, 493-4, 501-2.

- 117-18** Dik. steps away from Pseud. and toward his attendants, and mid-way through 118 tears off the first attendant's beard, revealing a pair of smooth cheeks. **τοῖν . . . εὐνούχοιν:** The extensive use of eunuchs (first mentioned in Greek sources at Hippon. fr. 36. 3 and frequently referred to with contempt, as here) as servants in the barbarian East is a commonplace of 5th- and 4th-c. literature (Phryn. Trag. *TrGF* 3 F 8; S. fr. 619-20; Hdt. i. 117. 5; iii. 4. 2, 77. 2, 92. 1, 130. 4; vii. 187. 1; viii. 105-6, esp. 105. 2; Pl. *Lg.* 695a; [Pl.] *Alc.I* 121d; X. *Cyr.* vii. 3. 5, 5. 60-5, esp. 61; cf. E. *Or.* 1528). According to Pl. *Prt.* 314c, Kallias had a eunuch doorkeeper, and it is tempting to see this as another example of a prestige-gift conferred by the Persian King (cf. 62-3n.). **μέν-*solitarium*;** not to be taken with δέ in 122. **τὸν ἕτερον . . . / ἐγῶδ' ὅς ἐστι:** Prolepsis (KG ii. 577-9), much more common in quasi-spoken language such as this than in more deliberately literary texts; cf. 375, 377, 442 (etc.); Slings, *CP* 87 (1992) 105-8. τὸν ἕτερον is simply 'the one [of two]', not 'the other'; cf. *Ra.* 1415 with Dover ad loc. For ἐγῶδ(α), 5\*n. For ὅς in place of the expected ὅστις (the latter a careless, unmetrical error in R), 442 (where Triklinios has corrected α's unmetrical ὅστις); KG ii. 438. **Κλεισθένης:** Ar. repeatedly ridicules Kleisthenes (*PA* 8525; *PAA* 575540 ~ 575545) for his beardlessness (*Eq.* 1373-4; *Th.* 235, 574-5, 582-3; cf. 119-20; *Nu.* 355; *Av.* 829-31; Cratin. fr. 208. 2-3 (corrupt)) and insists that it represents a deliberate attempt to make himself more boyish and thus more attractive to male lovers (119; cf. *Lys.* 1092; *Ra.* 57, 422-4; Pherecr. fr. 143; Arnott on *Alex.* fr. 266; Tarán, *JHS* 105 (1985) 90-107); more likely it was the result of an endocrine disorder (thus Dover on *Nu.* 355). *V.* 1187 implies that Kleisthenes served on a sacred embassy at some point; *Lys.* 620-4 offers the tongue-in-cheek suggestion that Spartan emissaries may have met with the dissident Athenian women in his house; and *Ra.* 48 mentions his supposed service as a trierarch. These references, combined with the constant mentions in comedy, leave little doubt that Kleisthenes was politically and socially prominent in the final quarter of the 5th c., and he may thus be the same man as the Kleisthenes described at *Lys.* 25. 25 as having been at the forefront of the political purge-trials that followed the short-lived oligarchic coup of 411. According to Antipho fr. 66 (418-417 BCE?) ap. Plu. *Alc.* 3, Siburtios (cf. *PA* 12646) owned a wrestling-school, and the identification of Kleisthenes as ὁ Σιβυρτίου ('the [son] of Siburtios') is most likely not a simple patronymic but either a nasty joke mocking someone whose physical appearance suggested anything but a genetic association with traditional manly vigour or an assertion that Kleisthenes was Siburtios'



passive sexual partner (cf. *Ra.* 422). For other mocking uses of the patronymic, 1131, 1150; *V.* 325, 459, 1267. In that case, if Ar.'s Kleisthenes is not the son of Siburtios, he is probably to be identified with Kleisthenes son of Autokrates of the tribe Erechtheis (*PA* 8524; *PAA* 575550), who was sufficiently wealthy to have served as *choregos* sometime during 430–405 (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 965) and may thus have played an important part in Athenian politics.

**119** Identified by Σ<sup>RET</sup> as a parody of E. fr. 858 ὦ θερμόβουλον σπλάγχνον ('O hot-counselled heart!'; wrongly assigned by Σ to *Medea*); Mueller suggested adding ἐξευρημένε (**d**'s reading here) to complete the line. **θερμόβουλον:** θερμός ('hot') frequently has the extended sense 'rash' (e.g. *V.* 918; *Pl.* 415; *Amphis* fr. 33. 10; *A. Th.* 603; *S. Ant.* 88; cf. *Eq.* 382; Dover, *EGPS* 111–12; Eng. 'hot-headed') but (unlike American 'hot', as in 'a hot babe') lacks any sexual overtones. This word is thus merely quoted from Euripides and the joke comes in what follows. **πρωκτόν:** 83n. It is Kleisthenes' face rather than his arse that has (allegedly) been shaved, but only in order to make the latter more appealing (117–18n.), and Ar. accordingly collapses the two ideas together. Cf. *Ra.* 422–4 'I hear that among the graves Kleisthenes' arse-hole plucks itself and tears its cheeks'. **ἐξευρημένε:** Razors (ξυρά; mentioned already at *H. Il.* 10. 173; cf. Gow and Sens on *Theoc.* 22. 6) were normally used to shave the head for mourning (*E. El.* 241; *Ph.* 372) or by women to remove unwanted body-hair (*Ec.* 65–7; cf. *Th.* 218–19 (part of the effeminate Agathon's equipment); fr. 332. 1). An alternative method was to use a plaster of pitch (for which, 188–90n.) to rip the hairs out, as in modern 'waxing'. *Adesp. com.* fr. 137. 4–5 accordingly refers to κιναίδους . . . / . . . πεπιττοκοπημένους ('pitch-smearing pervers'); cf. *Alex.* fr. 266. 1; *Luc. Merc. Cond.* 33.

**120–1** Identified by Σ<sup>E</sup> as a parody of Archil. fr. 187 τοιγύνδε δ', ὦ πίθηκε, τὴν πυγὴν ἔχων ('with such an arse, O monkey'), part of a story about a fox and a monkey (cf. Archil. frr. 185–6) preserved more fully at *Aesop. fab.* 81. A monkey was elected king of the animals and a jealous fox, who had recently seen a piece of meat serving as bait in a trap, convinced the monkey that she had saved this as a portion of honour due his newly exalted station. When the monkey was caught and complained to the fox of her behaviour, she replied ὦ πίθηκε, σὺ δὲ τοιαύτην πυγὴν (thus West: τύχην MSS: ψυχὴν Schneider) ἔχων τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων βασιλεύεις; ('O monkey, are you, with such an arse, king of the brute animals?'; the last four words come from *Aesop* and are not attested for Archilochos). It is unclear whether the fox's point is (a) that the monkey's tail is much less impressive than her own, which is to say that—in her view, at least—he has overstepped himself, despite the popular acclaim he has received, just as Kleisthenes has done by taking a prominent role in democratic politics; or (b) that the monkey's arse is merely grotesque and ridicu-

lous, perhaps because it is brightly coloured, like the hindquarters of (e.g.) baboons. The reference to Kleisthenes' πρωκτός ('arsehole') in 119 provides the bridge to the passage from Archil., although Archil.'s πυγήν ('arse') has been replaced by Ar.'s πώγων ('beard'). Cf. Rosen 17-18; Kugelmeier 172-4. For monkeys as nasty creatures full of dirty tricks, 907 with n. For comparison of a contemporary politician to a monkey, *Ra.* 708-9; Phryn. Com. fr. 21. 1-2. **τοιόνδε . . . τὸν πώγων'**: Archil. apparently had *τοιήνδε δ'* (above), but what Dik.—doubtless holding up the offending object for the audience's inspection—is asking is 'Did you come with a beard like *this*, when masquerading as a eunuch?' (*GP* 130), and I print R's γ' rather than β's δ'. **εὐνοῦχος . . . ἐσκευασμένος**: 'dressed up like a eunuch', i.e. in elaborate Persian robes. For the vb., 739; *Th.* 591; cf. 384. For the part. with a vb. meaning 'come' or 'go', 91-2 n.

**122** Cf. *Av.* 269 *τίς ποτ' ἐστίν; οὐ δήπου ταῶς;* / with Dunbar ad loc.; *Ec.* 327 *τίς ἔστιν; οὐ δήπου Βλέπυρος ὁ γειτνιῶν;* Dik. steps over to the second attendant and tears off his beard as well. **ποτ(ε)** intensifies the question. **οὐ δήπου** marks this as a nominally incredulous question ('it can't be, can it?') to which a positive answer is none the less expected (*GP* 267-8). **Στράτων**: Straton (*PA* 12964), another beardless Athenian (cf. 117-18 n.), is mocked repeatedly on that account by Ar. in the mid-420s (also *Eq.* 1373-4 (together with Kleisthenes); fr. 422 (from *Ὀλκάδες*)) and is never heard of again.

**123** Extrametrical. β's σίγα is metrically guaranteed in a similar context at *V.* 905 / *σίγα, κάθιζε* and (with all modern editors) I print it rather than R's σίγα (cf. 59 with n.), although either is possible.

**124-6 τὸν βασιλέως ὀφθαλμὸν κτλ.**: The Prytaneion was located somewhere along the north slope of the Akropolis (Paus. i. 18. 3) and housed the city's sacred hearth; cf. R. E. Wycherley, *Agora* iii (Princeton, 1957) 166-74; H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *Agora* xiv (Princeton, 1972) 46-7; S. G. Miller, *The Prytaneion* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1978) 4-66. Foreign ambassadors were routinely invited to dine there on the day after they appeared in the Assembly (D. 19. 31, 234) and the Herald's remark is a variation on the standard late 5th-c. inscriptional formula *καλέσαι δὲ τὸν δεῖνα ἐπὶ ξένια ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἐς αὔριον* ('to summon so-and-so to hospitality in the Prytaneion for tomorrow'; e.g. *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 63. 7-9; 106. 23-4; 110. 24-6). Cf. Osborne, *ZPE* 41 (1981) 153-70, esp. 155-6; A. S. Henry, *Antichthon* 15 (1981) 100-10, esp. 104-10, and *Honours and Privileges in Athenian Decrees* (Subsidia Epigraphica X: Hildesheim, Zurich, and New York, 1983) 262-75; Schmitt Pantel 145-77. In fact, the Assembly as a whole rather than the Council issued such invitations, but the misrepresentation is consistent with the insistence throughout this scene that the city's affairs are run in an essentially antidemocratic fashion by a small group

of high-handed insiders. Cf. Olson (1991a) 200–1. Pseud. and his attendants exit into one of the wings.

**δητ(α)**<sup>1</sup> injects a note of surprised indignation into the question (*GP* 272), as again in 618, 917. **ἀγχόνη**: Lit. 'strangling', i.e. 'enough to make one choke [with anger]'; cf. *Nu.* 988; *V.* 686; Pherecr. fr. 56. 1; Aeschin. 2. 38 *τοῦτο δὲ ἦν ἀγχόνη καὶ λύπη τούτῳ* ('this was a cause of indignation and grief for him'). Presumably colloquial; cf. Stevens 10; Wilkins on *E. Heracl.* 246. **καῖπειτ(α)** ('And so . . .?') adds a further and even more emphatic note of injured indignation to **δητ(α)**<sup>2</sup> (cf. 917; van Leeuwen on *Nu.* 226; *Av.* 1217 with Dunbar on 123; *Lys.* 985; Stevens 47), making it clear that this 'is absolutely the last straw for Dik.' (Starkie). Cf. 24 with n., 312 with n.; *GP* 272–3, 311; *KG* ii. 281.

**στραγγεύομαι** is 'dawdle, hang about', but the word is very rare and is routinely displaced by forms of the much more familiar *στρατεύω*, as in β here; cf. S at *Nu.* 131; MSS at *Pl. R.* 472a; MS A at Macho 317 ap. *Ath.* 13. 580e.

**127** Dik. is upset not about his inability to invite others to dinner but about his personal exclusion from what seems likely to be a very good time, and **τούς** must therefore be the obj. of **ξενίζειν** ('to entertain these people', namely, Pseud. and his like) rather than its subj. ('that these people'—namely, the members of the Council—'entertain'). *τὴν Βουλὴν* should therefore be supplied as subj. from 124. For the complaint, cf. 599–619, where Dik. explains that he decided to make his separate peace with Sparta when he realized that old men like him were doing the fighting while worthless young aristocrats wandered the world on a huge *per diem*. Blaydes suggested punctuating at the penthemimeral caesura, making the first half of the line an exclamatory infin. ('Entertaining these people!' (e.g. *Nu.* 819; *V.* 835; *A. Eu.* 837–8; *KG* ii. 23)), but **τούς** would then inevitably be taken (wrongly) as the subj. β's **ἴσχυ' ἢ θύρα** would automatically be explained as an etacizing error for R's **ἴσχει θύρα**, did not the *Suda* have **ἴσχει γ' ἢ θύρα**, of which the other two readings must be independent corruptions. **οὐδέποτ'** (RS) rather than β's **οὐδέποτε γ'** is then necessary to complete the line. The open door of hospitality (a natural image) was apparently proverbial (thus Σ<sup>ΕΓ</sup>, citing *Pi. N.* 9. 2; *Eup.* fr. 286 *νῆ τὸν Ποσειδῶ † οὐδέποτ' ἴσχει † ἢ θύρα* ('By Poseidon, the door † never prevents †')); *Call* fr. 231). **μὴ οὐ** (or simply **μὴ**) is expected with the infin. dependent on a vb. of hindering (Goodwin § 807), but cf. *Nu.* 1448–51; *KG* ii. 214–15.

**128–33** Having grown too disgusted with the current state of affairs—and in particular with the apparent obtuseness of his fellow-citizens (133)—to think any longer of insisting on collective action to bring about an end to the war (contrast 37–9), Dik. abruptly settles on the wild and improbable scheme that (as regularly in Aristophanic comedy) determines the course of the rest of the play.

**128** This line amounts to little more than a specific announcement to the

audience that what will follow will be of decisive importance to the story and thus requires their close attention.

**ἀλλ(ά):** 'The speaker breaks off his reflections, and announces his plan of action' (*GP* 8). **δεινὸν ἔργον καὶ μέγα:** Cf. *πράγμα δεινὸν καὶ μέγα* \* at *Pax* 403 (of an alleged plot by the Sun and Moon to appropriate sacrifices belonging to the Olympian gods); *Th.* 581 (of Euripides' attempt to infiltrate the disguised In-law into the Thesmophoria). Either in the course of this verse or slightly earlier (although cf. 110n.), Amphith. enters from the wing into which he was dragged by the Bowmen at 54-5.

**129** The question is virtually equivalent to a jussive imper. ('Let Amphitheos come here, please!'), and **ἀλλ(ά)** is thus 'Come now!' *vel sim.* (*GP* 14-15).

**μοι:** Ethical dat. (*KG* i. 423); cf. 341, 458. **οὔτοσι πάρα:** Lit. 'Here he is right here!', i.e. 'Here I am!' For the 3rd pers. pron. *οὔτος* in place of *ἐγώ* (a primarily poetic usage), *KG* i. 643; cf. 134 *ὀδί*. For the demonstrative affix *-ί* as a mark of colloquial style, Martín de Lucas 161-3; Dover, *EGPS* 63-4. Amphith. steps over next to Dik.

**130-1** A clever adaptation of Amphith.'s assertion of his god-given authority to make peace at 51-2, with **ἐμοί** now the ind. obj. of the vb. rather than the subj.

Athenian clothing had no pockets (cf. 184-5n.) and money was therefore normally carried in a small pouch (*βαλλάντιον*; esp. *Av.* 1107-8; cf. *Eq.* 1197; *Av.* 157; *Lys.* 1051-4; fr. 557. 2; *Crito Com.* fr. 3. 1) closed with a drawstring (*Pl. Smp.* 190e; cf. *Stesich. PMGF* 206; *Antiph.* fr. 52), although small change might be stored temporarily in one's mouth (*V.* 609, 791; *Av.* 502-3; *Ec.* 818; fr. 3; 48; *Alex.* fr. 133. 7; *Thphr. Char.* 6. 9). Cut-purses (*βαλλαντιστόμοι*) are therefore sometimes included in catalogues of street-thugs (*Ra.* 772; *Pl. R.* 552d, 575b; *X. Mem.* i. 2. 62; cf. *Ecphantid.* fr. 5; *Telecl.* fr. 16; *Pl. Grg.* 508d); cf. 257-8n. Since counting out a handful of change would be exceedingly awkward on stage, Dik. most likely hands Amphith. a money-pouch, verbally identifying its contents for the audience as he does so.

**ταυτασι λαβὼν ὀκτὼ δραχμάς:** In 490 BCE the long-distance runner Philippides (or Pheidippides) took only two days to travel the approximately 150 miles from Athens to Sparta (cf. *Isoc.* 4. 87) with an emergency request for assistance against a Persian invasion (*Hdt.* vi. 106. 1). Since the Amb. claims to have received expense-money of two drachmas a day (66), and since Amphith. eventually enters on the run (176; cf. 178-9), van Leeuwen suggested that Dik.'s eight drachmas are intended to cover the cost of a four-day round-trip journey to Sparta. Be that as it may, the hero now furnishes the *ἐφόδια* ('travel-money') the prytaneis refused (53-4), albeit in pursuit of a private rather than a public peace, and Amphith. is back at 175. For the omission of the def. art. with the deictic, 187, 908, 960, etc.; van Leeuwen on *Nu.* 60; *KG* i. 629-30.

An active vb. is wanted

(51–2n.), and α's aor. mid. imper. *πό-/ποίησαι* will therefore not do. Elmsley conjectured the act. imper. *ποιήσον*, but (as Green saw) it is far easier to print infin. *ποῆσαι* (Γ<sup>ac</sup>P) for imper. (KG ii. 20–1; Goodwin § 784. 1; Bers 168–81; cf. 172 with n., 257 with n.), especially given *ποῆσαι* (admittedly conjectural) in 52 (cf. above).

**132** Perhaps intended as an echo of official language, in which honours and privileges are commonly extended to an individual's descendants (e.g. *IG I<sup>3</sup> 65. 22–3*), in which case Dik.'s mention of his wife comes as a surprise. This line serves to set up 247–62, where Dik.'s entire household helps celebrate the Rural Dionysia (thus *AAS 73*); otherwise, the theme of peace for Dik.'s family is never of much significance for the plot.

*τῇ πλάτιδι*: 'my companioness' (fem. of *πλατίς* ~ *πελάτης*), i.e. 'my wife'. Obscure poetic vocabulary, attested elsewhere only at A. fr. dub. 4511. 26; Lyc. 821, 1294. Cf. Björck 343. Amphith. takes the money and runs off into one of the wings on his way to Sparta.

**133** Addressed to the audience. The pres. imper. *πρεσβεύεσθε* has imperfective force, 'keep on sending off embassies!' *κεχῆνετε*: 10–11n. Non-periphrastic 2nd pers. pl. perf. imperatives are extremely rare, and the grammarians' *-ετε* rather than *δ*'s *-ατε* is printed by all modern editors except Henderson as the *lectio difficilior*. Cf. *V. 415* (where Triklinios wrote *-ετε*); Handley on Men. *Dysk. 173*. Presumably an otherwise unattested form (mistaken for an odd form of the indic. by Herodian and Choeroboscus, who cite this line out of context).

**134–5** *Θέωρος*: Ar. associates Theoros (*PA 7223*; *PAA 513680*) with both Kleon (6–8n.) and Kleonymos (88–9n.) and denounces him repeatedly as a *κόλαξ* ('flatterer') of the people and of anyone in authority and a perjurer (*Nu. 399–400*; *V. 42–51, 418–19, 599–600, 1236–42*; cf. *V. 1219–20*), all of which proves only that he was a prominent democratic politician; cf. *Eq. 608* with Sommerstein ad loc. There is no mention of him after *Wasps*, and it accordingly seems unlikely that he is to be identified with the naval commander whose death c.409 is recorded at *SEG 21* (1965) 131. 11–13 (pace Bradeen, *Hesperia 33* (1964) 48–50). Nothing else is known of his mission to Sitalkes, but diplomatic travel to the north went on constantly (cf. 601–2; Th. ii. 67. 2, 95. 3) and there is no reason why the embassy referred to here should not be (*in nuce*) historical.

*ὁ παρὰ Σιτάλκου*: Sitalkes, king of the Odrysians, controlled a large number of Thracian tribes in the Thracian Chersonese (which was the Odrysian homeland; cf. Plin. *Nat. 4. 40*) and in what is today Bulgaria, and extracted tribute from many of the Greek cities that lay along the coasts of the northern Aegean and the Euxine Sea up to the mouth of the Danube (Th. ii. 29. 2, 96–7). According to Th. ii. 97. 3–5, his successor Seuthes received an annual tribute of 400 talents of coined money plus an additional 400 talents worth of 'gifts', and the kingdom was at that time the richest in the area although militarily inferior to

the Skythians; cf. Hdt. v. 3. 1. In summer 431, the Athenians made Nymphodoros of Abdera (who was married to Sitalkes' sister and had considerable influence with him) their *πρόξενος* ('representative') and through him formed alliances with both Sitalkes and the notoriously volatile Macedonian king Perdikkas (Th. ii. 29. 1, 4-7). In addition, Nymphodoros promised to convince Sitalkes to send the Athenians an unspecified number of Thracian horsemen and peltasts (Th. ii. 29. 5; cf. 148-50, 153-4, 159-60n.). In winter 429/8 Sitalkes mounted a huge expedition against Perdikkas (who was now at odds again with Athens as well) but eventually withdrew when the Athenian support he had been promised failed to materialize (Th. ii. 95-6, 98-101). He was killed in a battle against the Triballi in winter 424/3 (Th. iv. 101. 5). Cf. 145-6n.; Hermipp. fr. 63. 7; Archibald, *CAH* vi<sup>2</sup>. 444-57; B. Isaac, *The Greek Settlements in Thrace until the Macedonian Conquest* (Studies of the Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society, vol. x: Leiden, 1986) 96-104; Z. H. Archibald, *The Odryian Kingdom of Thrace* (Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology: Oxford, 1998) 93-150. Theoros enters from one of the wings. Nothing specific can be said of his costume, although he is most likely conspicuously well dressed; cf. Introduction, Section V.B. 135 covers his movement across the stage and simultaneously prepares the audience for what they are going to see. **ὄδι:** 'Here I am' (KG i. 642-3; Martín de Lucas 164-5 n. 26, 169). **Θέωρος**<sup>os</sup> (an explanatory gloss identifying the speaker) must have stood in the right margin of β's exemplar, from where it made its way into the text (**Θέωρος a**; **Θέωρ' ct**). The scribe who created the common exemplar of **ct** then inserted a change of speaker giving **Θέωρ'** to the Herald, and Triklinios emended **ὄδι** to **ὄδε** in an unsuccessful attempt to mend the metre (finally put right via the expulsion of **Θέωρ'** and the change of speaker that preceded it in B, albeit still with **ὄδε** rather than **ὄδι**). **εἰσκηρύττεται:** Elsewhere in the classical period only at S. *El.* 690.

**136-41** Cf. 65-7, the chief difference between the two passages being that Theoros apologizes for the length of his absence. Travel to Thrace (first by sea to one of the Greek coastal cities and then inland on foot) and back should normally have taken only a few weeks.

**136-7 χρόνον . . . πολύν:** The hyperbaton adds emphasis; 'for such a *long time*' (KG ii. 600-1). Note Dik.'s echo of *πολύν\** in 137, and cf. 141. Inceptive **μέν** is a rhetorical commonplace (*GP* 383). **οὐκ ἄν ἤμεν:** In the succeeding verses both Dik. (137) and Theoros (141) use sing. vbs. to refer to the latter's behaviour in Thrace, and Elmsley accordingly suggested **οὐκ ἔμειν' ἄν** ('I would not have remained'). But the echo of **οὐκ ἄν** in 137 ought to be preserved, and either this is a 'modest pl.' (KG i. 83-4) or (more likely) the standard assumption is that an Ambassador travels with an escort (thus Ribbeck). **μὰ Δί':** 88-9n. **οὐκ ἄν:** Sc. *ἦσθα*; cf. 966; *Nu.* 5; *V.* 297; *Pax* 907; KG i. 243-4.

- μισθὸν . . . 'φέρεις: 65–7 n. γει: *GP* 129. The homoioteleuton of the two verses was responsible for the omission of 137 in the common ancestor of **a**.
- 138–40** κατένειψε . . . ἔπηξ(ε): Both *νείφω* and its compounds and *ῥώ* are used impersonally in this period (e.g. 1141; *Nu.* 965; *V.* 774), and although specific parallels are lacking, there is no reason why *πήγνυμι* (a considerably rarer vb. in meteorological contexts) should not have been as well. The alternative is to supply *ὁ θεός vel sim.* with both vbs. (cf. *Nu.* 1279–80; *V.* 261; *A. Pers.* 495–7 *θεός / . . . πήγνυσιν δὲ πᾶν / ῥέεθρον ἀγνοῦ Στρυμόνος* ('a god froze up the entire stream of the holy Strymon') with Broadhead ad loc.). χιόνι τὴν Θράκην ὅλην: Thrace was notorious for its snow and harsh winters (*H. Il.* 14. 227; *E. Alc.* 67; *Andr.* 215; *Hec.* 81; *Arist. HA* 606<sup>b</sup>3–5; *Stratonic.* ap. *Ath.* 8. 351c) and was accordingly conceived of as the home of the cold north wind, Boreas (*Hes. Op.* 506–8, 553; *Tyrt.* fr. 12. 4; *Ibyc. PMGF* 286. 9). τοὺς ποταμούς: The principal rivers on the Aegean coast of Thrace were, from west to east, the Strymon, the Nestos, and the Hebros; the Ister (i.e. the Danube) formed the northern boundary of the region and emptied into the Euxine Sea. For explicit mention of Thracian rivers freezing over, *A. Pers.* 495–7; *Hor. Ep.* i. 3. 3. Despite Elliott's objections (which amount to little more than an appeal to the MSS's—non-existent—authority in such matters), Nauck was right to give the second half of 139 and all of 140 to Dik. ὑπ' αὐτὸν τὸν χρόνον: 'at the same time' (e.g. 1076; *Damox.* fr. 2. 20; *Th.* ii. 26. 1; iv. 129. 2; *X. Mem.* ii. 8. 1). ὄτ' ἐνθαδὶ Θεόγνις ἠγωνίζετο: 10–11 n. The point of Dik.'s remark is that Theognis' style is *ψυχρός* ('frigid'), a failing described by Aristotle (in reference to rhetoric) as the result of excessive use of compound words, odd vocabulary, peculiar epithets, and strained metaphors (*Rh.* 1405<sup>b</sup>34–1406<sup>b</sup>14; cf. *Theophil.* fr. 4. 4), although the adj. is sometimes applied to strained individual jokes (*Eup.* fr. 261; *Timocl.* fr. 19. 3–6; *X. Smp.* 6. 7). Cf. *Th.* 170 ὁ δ' αὖ Θεόγνις ψυχρὸς ὦν ψυχρῶς ποεῖ ('and Theognis, since he's frigid, writes frigidly'); *Thgn. Trag. TrGF* 28 F 1 φόρμιγξ ἄχορδος ('a lyre lacking strings'; of a bow), which is one of only two surviving fragments of Theognis' poetry (the other consisting of a single word); Dover, *Frogs*, p. 21. For other charges of poetic frigidity, 13–14 n.; *Th.* 848 (Euripides' *Palamedes*); *Alex.* fr. 184. 3 (Araros) with Arnott ad loc.; *Macho* 258–84 (Diphilos); cf. *Av.* 935 with Dunbar ad loc.; *Th.* 67–9. **c**'s Θεόγνις reflects the influence of Θεώπος in 134. For the verb, 419\*; *V.* 1479\*.
- 141** Cf. 73–8, where the theme is developed at much greater length; *Ter. Eun.* 407. For drinking by the fire in cold weather as an image of an ideal existence, 751–2 with n.; *Alc.* fr. 338; *Xenoph.* 21 B 22. 1–3; Olson on *Pax* 1131–58, 1131–2/3. The Rogozen treasure (145–6 n.) in fact consists almost exclusively of phialai and wine-jugs, and there seems no

reason to doubt that the Thracians drank with great enthusiasm; cf. [E.] *Rh.* 418-19; *Pl. Lg.* 637d-e; Hall 133-4.

**142** καὶ δῆτα: 68-70 n. φιλαθῆναιος: Always of friendly foreigners rather than patriotic Athenians (*V.* 282 with MacDowell ad loc., to whose references add *Isoc. Ep.* 5. 2). Alexis (fr. 250-1) and Philippides (fr. 19) both wrote plays entitled *Φιλαθῆναιος*. Triklinios rightly removed *Rac*'s γ' in order to mend the metre. ὑπερφυῶς: 'extraordinarily'; cf. *Pax* 229; *Ec.* 386; *Pl.* 734. ὑπερφυῆς and its cognates are absent from high poetry but common in Plato (e.g. *Smp.* 173c) and Demosthenes (e.g. 23. 188) and are thus presumably colloquial, often with the negative sense 'monstrous' (e.g. *Ra.* 611).

**143-4** ὑμῶν τ' ἐραστής ἦν ἀληθής: That aspiring demagogues ought to behave like ἐρασταί ('admirers'; cf. Olson on *Pax* 988-90) of the Athenian people by vying with one another to do their beloved favours was apparently a rhetorical commonplace (esp. *Eq.* 1340-2; cf. 656-8; *Eq.* 732-3, 1162-3; *Pl. Grg.* 481d; [*Pl.*] *Alc.I* 132a); cf. the Thucydidean Perikles' insistence that the people themselves be ἐρασταί of the city (ii. 43. 1; cf. *Av.* 1279; *A. Eu.* 852). Here the image is developed in a pederastic direction, with the Athenians cast as ἐρώμενοι ('male love-objects') whom, it is implied, Sitalkes would like to bugger; cf. 104 with n. For pederasty, 264-5 n. α's ἀληθής ('true', as in ἀληθής . . . φίλος (e.g. *E. Hipp.* 927)) is unobjectionable and there is no need for Dobree's ὡς ἀληθῶς (adapted from α's ἦν ἀληθῶς). ὥστε καί: Cf. *Av.* 1290\*

(also providing concrete evidence in support of a preceding general characterization). ἐν τοῖσι τοίχοις ἔγραψ': 'he used to scratch on the walls'.

For amatory graffiti, *V.* 97-9; *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 1402-6; *Arat. AP* xii. 129. 1-4 = *HE* 760-3; anon. *AP* xii. 130. 1-4 = *HE* 3762-5. For the text in tAldS, see below.

Ἀθηναῖοι καλοί: A variation on the standard pederastic amatory formula ὁ δεῖνα καλός ('So-and-so is handsome') known from epigraphic and literary evidence (cf. above) and exceedingly common in inscriptions on both black- and red-figure vases (Dover, *GH* 111-24 (with extensive references to primary material)). Triklinios failed to see that Ἀθηναῖοι καλοί was to be placed within quotation marks, and therefore emended to ἔγραφον to match what he took to be the 3rd pers. pl. subj.

**145-6** ὁ δ' υἱός, ὃν Ἀθηναῖον ἐπεποιήμεθα: When the Athenians formed their alliance with Sitalkes in 431 (134-5 n.), they extended citizenship to his son Sadokos (*PAA* 811260) (*Th.* ii. 29. 5), much as they did in the case of the Molossian boy-king Tharyps sometime probably in the mid-420s (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 226. 1-5). On Thucydides' account of things this grant of citizenship paid the Athenians an almost immediate dividend, for one year later Sadokos discreetly betrayed to them six Peloponnesian ambassadors who were on their way to Persia and had stopped at the Odrysian court in hopes of convincing Sitalkes to shift allegiances and



help break the Athenian siege of Potidaia (Th. ii. 67. 1-3); cf. 61 n. According to Herodotos, on the other hand, Sitalkes and Nymphodoros were themselves responsible for the betrayal (vii. 137. 3; cf. How and Wells ad loc.). Sadokos is never mentioned again and did not succeed Sitalkes in 424/3; presumably he was either dead by then or was assassinated before he could lay hold of the throne. His name is inscribed on two vessels from a horde of fine Thracian silver vessels discovered in modern Bulgaria in 1986 (A. Fol (ed.), *The Rogozen Treasure* (Sofia, 1989) 47-9 (Cat. # 27, 118)). For grants of citizenship to non-Athenians (of which this is one of the earliest known examples), M. J. Osborne, *Naturalization in Athens* (3 vols.: Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren, Nr. 98, 101, 109: Brussels, 1981, 1982, 1983). ἤρα: 'had a passion, longed'; cf. 33; *Av.* 76, 1635; *Pl.* 1009. ἀλλάντας: 'sausages', produced by washing the small intestines of an animal (*Eq.* 160-1; *Pl.* 1168-9 (cf. *Pl.* 819-21, 893-4)) and stuffing them with a mixture of chopped meat, blood, fat, and spices (*Eq.* 208, 213-16); cf. 1040-1 n. Sausages are common in banquet-catalogues and the like and are generally said to be served and eaten by the slice (Crates Com. fr. 19. 4; Pherecr. fr. 113. 8; Metag. fr. 6. 7; Eub. fr. 14. 7; 63. 7; Antiph. fr. 72; Axionic. fr. 8. 4; Mnesim. fr. 4. 14; cf. Antiph. fr. 248. 2). ἐξ Ἀπατουρίων: The Apatouria was a festival common to all Ionians except the Ephesians and Kolophonians (Hdt. i. 147. 2), which was celebrated in Athens over the course of three days sometime in Pyanepsion (September-October) and was organized by the (typically Ionian) kinship-groups known as 'phratries' rather than by the state as a whole. The first day of the festival (Δορπία) featured a common meal; the second day (Ἀνάρρυστις) a sacrifice to Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria; and the third day (Κουρεῶτις) the presentation of male children born within the last few years for registration in the phratry (cf. *Ra.* 416-18) and of boys who had reached puberty for admission to full membership (cf. *Av.* 1668-70), accompanied by additional sacrifices (the μείον and the κουρεῖον, respectively), whence presumably the raw materials for the sausages Sadokos is said to crave. Cf. *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1237, esp. 28-9, 59-64, 116-25; Deubner 232-4; Parke 88-92; S. D. Lambert, *The Phratries of Attica* (Michigan Monographs in Classical Antiquity: Ann Arbor, 1993) 143-89, esp. 143-78. Sadokos is therefore presented as eager to participate in the ceremonies that would confirm his status as an Athenian citizen (for the intimate connection between phratry-membership and citizenship, Lambert (above) 31-43), but the Apatouria is mentioned in large part because the name suggests ἀπάτη ('deception'; thus Σ<sup>REG</sup>), a folk-etymology current already in the 5th c. (Hellanic. *FGrH* 4 F 125; cf. Ephor. *FGrH* 70 F 22). Note also the echo of the word in πατέρ' and πάτρα in 147. For the use of ἐκ, cf. 1050; *Th.* 558.

- 147 πατέρ'**: 145-6n. **ἤντεβόλει** (Cobet) is probably to be restored for **δ'**'s **ἤντιβόλει**, as also at *Eq.* 667; fr. 556. 2. For the double augmentation, cf. fr. 39; Phot. η 200 with Theodoridis ad loc.; Rutherford 83-7, esp. 83-4. **βοηθεῖν**: Echoed by **βοηθήσειν** (also beginning after medial caesura) in 148. **τῇ πάτρα**: 145-6n. **πάτρα** is absent from Attic prose but common in tragedy (e.g. *A. Pers.* 186; *S. OT* 193; *E. HF* 18; adesp. tr. fr. 644. 31) and is thus high poetic vocabulary; the comic poets use it only in paratragedy (*Th.* 136; *Ra.* 1163, 1427) and for puns, as here and at *Alex.* fr. 198. Part of the humour also consists in the deliberate ambiguity: the fatherland Sadokos is aiding ought now to be Athens but may none the less still be Thrace.
- 148-50 ὁ δ'**: i.e. Sitalkes. **ῶμοσε σπένδων**: 51-2n.; *V.* 1046 **σπένδων** . . . ὄμνυσιν. **βοηθήσειν**: 147n. **στρατιάν τοσαύτην κτλ.**: The Thracians were notoriously numerous (*Hdt.* v. 3. 1) and *Th.* reports that the force Sitalkes led against Perdikkas in 429 (134-5n.) was said to have totalled 150,000 men (*ii.* 98. 3), a fact that probably lies in the background here. For **στρατιάν**, 81-2n. **ὄσον τὸ χρῆμα παρνόπων**: 'what a vast number of locusts!' **ὄσον τὸ χρῆμα** is colloquial; cf. *Nu.* 2; *Pax* 1192; *Th.* 281; *Ra.* 1278; Bergson, *Eranos* 65 (1967) 79-117, esp. 96-9; Stevens 21. For exclamatory **ὄσον**, 174; *KG* ii. 439. The locust (*Locusta migratoria*; seemingly referred to already at *H. Il.* 21. 12-14, where the term used is **ἀκρίς** (1115-16n.)) was known to the ancients above all else for its unpredictable mass invasions and the agricultural devastation it left behind (*Paus.* i. 24. 8; *Plin. Nat.* 11. 105-6; *Q.S.* 2. 196-201 (compared to an army); cf. *Av.* 588 with Dunbar ad loc.); cf. Davies and Kithirithamby 138-41; Beavis 62-77, esp. 64, 73-5. Although Sitalkes means to imply that the troops he sends will be almost beyond number, therefore, the fact is that they will eat everything in sight, as 163-5, 174 make clear.
- 151-2 κάκιστ' ἀπολοίμην**: When combined with an *εἰ*-clause, a colloquial form of rejection; lit. 'might I perish most miserably, if . . . !', i.e. 'I'll be damned, if . . . !' (cf. 324, 476\* with n.; *V.* 630; *Lys.* 933; *Eub.* fr. 115. 7; Handley on *Men. Dysk.* 94-5, and add *Dis Ex.* 22-3 (where the vb. is left unexpressed); López Eire 76). **ῶν** = **ᾶ**; cf. 6-8n. **ἐνταυθοῖ**: 'here, in this place' (*pace* LSJ s.v.); cf. Dover on *Nu.* 814 and *Ra.* 273 (where for '*Nu.* 833' read '*Nu.* 843'). Elmsley's **ἐνταυθί** is unnecessary. **πλὴν τῶν παρνόπων**: 'except [the part about] the locusts', which is to say that *Dik.* is willing to believe that Sitalkes' troops will resemble the insects in appetite, if not in number (148-50n.).
- 153-4 ὅπερ μαχιμώτατον Θρακῶν ἔθνος**: Peisistratos used Thracian mercenaries already in the mid-6th c. ([*Arist.*] *Ath.* 15. 2) and the Athenians hired them repeatedly in the course of the Peloponnesian War (*Th.* iv. 129. 2; v. 6. 2; vii. 27. 1-2; cf. 159-60n.). *Th.* iv. 29. 4 comments on what he takes (apparently with some justification) to be the 'typically

barbarian' bloodthirstiness of the people as a whole; cf. the depiction of the Thracian king Polymestor in *E. Hec.*; Hall 103–10. For the omission of the def. art. with the proper name of a people, KG i. 598–9; contrast the anaphoric article in 158. ἔθνος (Ra) was most likely deliberately emended to γένος (ct) by someone who failed to recognize that θν does not make position in Ar. μέν γ' concentrates 'attention momentarily on the μέν clause, with a deliberate temporary exclusion of the δέ clause' (here omitted entirely) (*GP* 159). R's μέντ' is a majuscule error (*T* for *Γ*); cf. 92–3 n. The same variant appears in p, where it is merely a product of scribal carelessness. σαφές: Lit. 'clear', i.e. 'concrete and thus verifiable', unlike the grand but dubious assertions made by Theoros in 142–50 and denounced by Dik. in 151–2.

**155** In response to the Herald's summons (cf. 53–4 n.), at least two and perhaps several more Thracian soldiers enter from a wing and make their way to Theoros' side. 156–8 cover their passage across the stage. The Thracians wear pointed caps with side-flaps, heavy robes with geometric designs (ζειραί), and boots (Stone 288 and pl. 35), and carry javelins (ἀκόντια; cf. Olson on *Pax* 553) and light shields shaped like a crescent moon (πέλται); cf. 159–60 n.; *Lys.* 563 Θράξ πέλτην σείων κάκόντιον ('a Thracian brandishing a light shield and a javelin'); *X. Mem.* iii. 9. 2. For the position and appearance of their stage-phalluses, 157–61 n., 157–8 n., 161–2 n. οἱ Θράκες: 153–4 n.

**156** τουτί τί ἐστὶ τὸ κακόν;: 'What the hell is this?' A surprised question conveying a strong tone of displeasure; presumably colloquial. Cf. 157, 284, 767; *V.* 1136 τουτί τὸ κακὸν τί ἐστὶ;\*; *Pax* 181; *Av.* 1207 τί ποτ' ἐστὶ τουτί τὸ κακόν;\*; *Pherecr.* fr. 180; *Men. Dysk.* 464. Ὀδομάντων στρατός: Despite the implication that the Odomantoi were subject to Sitalkes' authority (cf. 134–5 n.), they were in fact an autonomous Thracian tribe, who lived on the east side of the lower Strymon River (*Th.* ii. 101. 3; cf. *Plin. Nat.* 4. 40) and according to *Hdt.* vii. 112 mined gold and silver on Mt. Pangaion. In summer 422 Kleon sent messengers to the Odomantian king Polles seeking mercenaries to help him take Amphipolis from Brasidas (*Th.* v. 6. 2). στρατός is very rare in comedy (elsewhere only at *Eq.* 567, where Neil observes that 'the colour . . . is tragic or serious') but is widely distributed in poetry (e.g. *H. Il.* 1. 10; *Hes. Op.* 246; *Archil.* fr. 88; *Alcm. PMGF* 3. 73; *Thgn.* 775) and found occasionally in prose as well (e.g. *Hdt.* i. 53. 1; *Th.* i. 50. 3), so that Starkie ('a tragic word, used comically here') slightly misrepresents the situation.

**157–61** The tips of the Odomantians' penises are certainly visible (apparently a comic trope; cf. *Nu.* 538–9), but whether they are supposed to be circumcized or are merely in a state of sexual excitement (cf. 1198 n.; apparently not associated in all instances with retraction of the foreskin) is unclear. 161 (where see n.) may in any case be an attempt to

smear the invaders with the malicious implication that their physical appearance is due to their indulgence in what the Greeks regarded as an innately humorous (if somewhat disturbing) form of self-mutilation. Cf. Stone 102-5; Dover, *G&G* 293-4 (arguing that circumcision is in question).

**157-8** εἶπέ μοι, τουτὶ τί ἦν; \* at *Ra.* 39. εἶπέ μοι (lit. 'Say to me!, Tell me!') functions as an interjection ('Hey!') rather than as a true imperative demanding information; cf. 319, 328; López Eire 100-1. For τουτὶ τί ἦν ('what's this?'), 156n. For the idiomatic use of the impf., e.g. 767; *V.* 183; *Av.* 859; *Pl.* 1097.

The additional words in **p** represent fragments of an intrusive marginal note (cf. Σ<sup>REG</sup>), as again in 166, 218-19, 221, 300, 351, etc.

τὸ πέος: 'the dick(s)'; sing. for pl., as often of body parts in poetry (KG i. 15). πέος (also at 1060, 1066, 1216) is coarse colloquial vocabulary (*MM* § 1: 'the vulgar *vox propria*'). ἀποτεθρίακεν: θρία are 'fig leaves' (e.g. *Thphr. CP* v. 1. 8, 2. 2), but the word is used more often by extension of pastries that were wrapped and cooked in them (1101-2 with n.). Here the reference is to the loose skin that surrounds the tip of an uncircumcized penis (just as a fig-leaf wrapper surrounds the contents of the pastry) and is permanently removed when it is circumcized. Nothing suggests that real Odomantians were circumcized; cf. *Hdt.* ii. 104. 2. α had ἀποτέθρακεν (corrupted via assimilation to Θράκες), and attempts to mend the metre were made both by an anonymous editor working on the common ancestor of **c** (ἀποτέθρακε τίς) and by Triklinios (ἀποτέθρακεν ἄν Γ<sup>t</sup>Ald).

**159-60** β had τις δραχμὰς δύο (unmetrical), and although Triklinios' δραχμὰς δύο τις mends the metre, R's τις δύο δραχμὰς is certainly correct. 'Two drachmas' must be the daily rate and a grossly inflated figure, given (1) *Dik.*'s hostile reaction (161-3); (2) the fact that the Ambassadors to Persia received the same rate (66 with n.); and (3) *Th.*'s passing observation at iii. 17. 4 that the hoplites besieging Potidaia in summer 428 were paid two drachmas a day but that this was also intended to cover the expenses associated with keeping a servant. The Thracian mercenaries who arrived in Athens too late in summer 413 to accompany the Sicilian Expedition were receiving only one drachma a day and even that was apparently regarded as high, at least for service in Attika (*Th.* vii. 27. 2). μισθόν: 65-7n. καταπελάσσονται: Lit. 'they will peltast unto destruction' (LSJ s. κατά E. VII; cf. 319-20n., 377-82n.), but given what appears to be the Thracians' aggressively phallic character and the fact that Boiotia is fem., the vb. may be intended to suggest 'rape' (thus *MM* §§ 65, 316 (both entries somewhat confused)). The peltast was called after the πέλτη, a light shield (esp. *Arist.* fr. 498) consistently—although far from exclusively—associated with Thracians (e.g. *Lys.* 563; *E. Alc.* 498; fr. 369. 4; [E.] *Rh.* 305; *Hdt.* vii. 75. 1; *Th.* ii. 29. 5; cf. 155n.); when Thracians are shown carrying πέλται in

vase-paintings, the shields generally have a distinctive crescent shape. Peltasts occupied an intermediary position between heavy-armed hoplites, on the one hand, and slingers and archers and the like, on the other (esp. Arr. *Tact.* 3. 1-4), and were used e.g. for ambushes, surprise attacks, reconnaissance, and ravaging enemy territory (as here). Cf. Anderson 111-40; J. G. P. Best, *Thracian Peltasts and their Influence on Greek Warfare* (Studies of the Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society, vol. 1: Groningen, 1969), esp. 17-35. τὴν Βοιωτίαν ὄλην:

The Boiotian cities belonged to a league (described in its late 5th-c. form by Hell. Oxy. *FGrH* 66 F 1. XI) which was dominated by Thebes and allied with Sparta; cf. Olson on *Pax* 464-6. For Boiotian hostility, 920-4 (a hypothetical plot to set fire to the Piraeus shipyards), 1023 (a raiding party from Phyle), 1076-7 (rumours of cross-border raids). Once Dik. has arranged his private peace, therefore, he specifically declares himself ready to trade with Boiotians (623-5, 720-2), and his second visitor is in fact from Thebes (862, 868).

**161-2** Somewhere in the course of these lines the Odomantians grab Dik.'s bag or basket (initial n.), pull several heads of garlic out of it, and begin to gnaw on them (163-6). Cf. 148-50n. τοιοῦδι . . . τοῖς ἀπειψωλημένοις:

Cf. *MM* § 4. Even if the Odomantians are not circumcised, the claim that they are is insulting (esp. *Pl.* 267; cf. *Eq.* 964; *Diph.* fr. 38). For ἀποψωλέω in the sense 'draw back someone's foreskin' (by exciting him sexually) with a punning allusion to circumcision, 592.

ὑποστένοι: 'moan', in anguished complaint, as at *S. El.* 79; cf. *S. Ai.* 322 ὑπεστέναζε; *A.R.* 2. 741. It is unclear exactly how much rowers in the fleet were paid in this period, but one drachma a day drawn from state funds (at times supplemented with additional money furnished by the trierarch out of his own pocket) seems to have been something approaching a standard wage; cf. *V.* 1188-9 with MacDowell ad loc.; *HCT* on *Th.* vi. 31. 3; Gabrielsen 110-14, 118-25. For grumbling below decks (doubtless a real and common phenomenon), *Ra.* 1071-3. μέντ(οι) expresses indignation (*GP* 402); cf. 544, 906. ὁ θρανίτης

λεώς: Of the three banks of oarsmen in a trireme, those lowest down in the ship were called the θαλαμίται (95-7n., 553n.); the middle rank were the ζυγίται; and those highest up were the θρανίται, who were called after the beam (θρᾶνος) running the length of the ship on which they sat and who rowed through an outrigger. In summer 415 the θρανίται recruited for the Sicilian Expedition were offered special supplementary pay, apparently on the calculation that their work was the hardest or the most skilled or the most dangerous (*Th.* vi. 31. 3 with *HCT* ad loc.). Cf. Σ<sup>VEΘ</sup>Barb *Ra.* 1074; Morrison and Williams 169-76, 268-71; Jordan, *AC* 69 (2000) 84-8, esp. 85-6. For θρανίτης used adjectivally, cf. *Eq.* 224 ὁ . . . πένης . . . λεώς; *Pax* 632 ὁ (ἐ)ργάτης λεώς with Olson ad loc.; *S.* fr. 844. 1 ὁ χειρῶναξ λεώς; *E. IA* 294-5 ναυβάταν / . . . λεών. λαός/λεώς is

poetic vocabulary (Björck 320–2) and Starkie, noting the lack of resolution, argued that 162 is paratragic.

**163–4 σωσίπολις:** Attested elsewhere in the classical period only as a personal name (e.g. *IG II<sup>2</sup> 2344. 5, 12*) and as the name of one of Athens' warships in the 4th c. (first at *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1604. 70 (377/6)*); for the formation, cf. *Σώσιππος* and *Σωσίστρατος* at *IG II<sup>2</sup> 2344. 5, 15*. *σωσίπολις* ('city-saving') is used as a divine title in late sources at Paus. vi. 20. 2 (an anonymous Elean divinity); Str. 14. 648 (Zeus in Magnesia); cf. *ῥυσίπολις* ('city-delivering'; of Athena) at *A. Th. 129*; *πολίσσοος* ('city-saving'; of Ares) at *h.Hom. 8. 2*. **οἶμοι τάλας:** Lit. 'alas, miserable [me]!', i.e. 'woe is me!, horrors!' A stereotypical expression of lamentation and despair (e.g. 174, 1018), in Attic occasionally with a gen. of cause (e.g. 208–10, 1210; *KG i. 388–9*; Poultney 124–5). For the adj., Dedoussi, *Hellenika* 18 (1964) 1–6; Chadwick 262–6; contrast 454 ('wretch'). **τὰ σκόροδα πορθούμενος:** Individuals attending the Assembly occasionally brought a bit of simple food with them (*Ec. 306–8* (wine, bread, two onions, and three olives)), and garlic cloves were sometimes eaten as a snack or appetizer (*Lys. 692*; Nicostr. Com. fr. 1. 2; *Lync. fr. 1. 7*; cf. *Th. 494*; *Ra. 555*). As 174 (where see n.) makes clear, however, Dik.'s garlic was intended for his dinner at home. For garlic (*Allium sativum*) and garlic cultivation, 520–2 n. The construction *πορθούσι με τὰ σκόροδα* ('they are plundering me of my garlic'; cf. *KG i. 324*) is in the background and helps explain the use of the retained acc. (necessary in any case to avoid confusion after *τῶν Ὀδομάντων*). *πορθέω* is common in tragedy (e.g. *A. Ag. 278*; *Ch. 691*; *S. Ant. 297*; *E. Andr. 633*; *Supp. 1214*; *Ion Trag. TrGF 19 F 53e*), but is also found in comedy (*Eup. fr. 162. 2*; *Men. Asp. 31*) and Plato (*Lg. 806b*) and appears repeatedly in the historians (e.g. *Hdt. i. 84. 5*; *Th. ii. 93. 4*). Although the choice of vb. is a bit peculiar, therefore, *pace* Starkie this is not obviously paratragedy. But *πορθέω* does fit neatly in the context of a discussion about hiring Thracian mercenaries and in particular puts the lie to Theoros' claim that the troops he has brought are going to ravage *Boiotia* (160).

**165–6 οὐ καταβαλεῖτε:** Equivalent to an imper. (*KG i. 176–7*); cf. 283, 564, 822, etc. **α's οὐκ ἀποβαλεῖτε** originated as a majuscule error (*OYKAT* read or written *OYKAIT*). **ὦ μοχθηρὲ σύ:** \* at *Ra. 1175*, although the adj. is there probably proparoxytone (cf. Dover ad loc. and below); *Pl. 391*. Some ancient grammarians distinguished between a more sympathetic *μόχθηρος* (e.g. *Av. 493*) and an unambiguously hostile *μοχθηρός* (*Hdn. i. 197. 19–21*; cf. *πόνηρος* vs. *πονηρός*), and even if this is only a late scholarly convention, little is gained by abandoning it. Here the word seems intended purely as abuse (lit. 'bad one' (cf. 517; Neil, *Knights*, pp. 206–7) and thus in context 'arsehole' *vel sim.*, as at *Pl. Com. fr. 180*), and I print it oxytone. **οὐ μὴ πρόσει:** Strong prohibition; Elmsley's

question mark at the end of the line is unnecessary (Goodwin § 297, 300). **έσκοροδισμένοις:** As Σ<sup>REF</sup>, citing *Eq.* 494 (where the Sausage-seller is given garlic cloves to eat *ἴν' ἄμεινον . . . έσκοροδισμένος μάχη* ('in order that you may fight better, having been garlicked up')) notes, the joke turns on the fact that fighting-cocks were fed garlic in hope of increasing their combativeness (*X. Smp.* iv. 9). Cf. 526–7n.; *Eq.* 946 *μ' έσκοροδίσας* ('you've made me fighting mad'); Taillardat § 378. The additional words in **p** represent a marginal note (~ Σ<sup>L</sup>) that made its way into the text; cf. 157–8n.

**167–8** Cf. *V.* 438–9 *ὦ Κέκροψ ἦρωσ ἄναξ . . . / περιορᾶς οὕτω μ' ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων χειρούμενον;* ('O Kekrops, hero, king, do you ignore my being thus worsted by barbarians?'). **περιείδεθ':** 55n. For the aor. used colloquially of a sudden action just taking place or a feeling just now sensed, e.g. 860; *Nu.* 174; *Pax* 970; *Av.* 540; cf. KG i. 164–5; Goodwin § 60; Barrett on *E. Hipp.* 614; Moorhouse 195–6; Rijksbaron 29; López Eire 61. **οἱ πρυτάνεις:** KG i. 46–7. **καὶ ταῦ(τα):** 'and . . . at that!'; marking the addition of important information to the preceding description of a situation (e.g. 349, 1025; *V.* 551, 1184; *Pax* 477). For the seemingly pleonastic use of ἀνδρῶν with βαρβάρων, KG i. 271–2; cf. 373, 491, 570, 707; *V.* 439 (above); Neil on *Eq.* 255–7 ('with a word of unfavourable meaning, ἀνήρ deepens the dislike implied').

**169–71** Assemblies could apparently be cancelled or adjourned in response to any supposed display of divine displeasure; thus at *Th.* v. 45. 4 an Assembly is adjourned after an earth tremor, while at *Nu.* 581–7 the Clouds imply that the meeting that chose Kleon as general ought to have been cancelled when (*inter alia*) they thundered and lightened at the prospect of his election. In the case of rain, practical concerns were involved as well, since the Assembly met in the open air. Cf. [Arist.] *Ath.* 44. 4. Authority for dissolving the Assembly presumably rested with the prytaneis, as this passage implies (cf. 173); the *έξηγηταί* ('sacred expounders') said at *Poll.* viii. 124 to have 'given instruction about signs from Zeus and other religious matters' (cf. *Pl. Euthphr.* 4c; *Lg.* 958d; *D.* 47. 68–71; *Is.* 8. 39; *Thphr. Char.* 16. 6) seem to be a largely 4th-c. phenomenon (Garland, *ABSA* 79 (1984) 114–15). **ἀπαγορεύω μή:** KG ii. 207–9. **ποεῖν έκκλησίαν:** 'to go on holding an Assembly' (cf. *Th.* 375; parallel constructions at e.g. *Pax* 894; *Ra.* 779; *Pl.* 1163); to be distinguished from *ποῆσαι έκκλησίαν*, 'to summon an Assembly' (*Eq.* 746 with Neil ad loc.). **τοῖς Θραξί:** Dat. of interest (KG i. 417–20), to be taken with *περὶ μισθοῦ*; 'about the Thracians' pay'. Note the relentlessly economic character of Dik.'s analysis of the situation: what the Assembly is debating is simply who is to get money from the state's coffers, not how to obtain allies or do damage to the enemy or the like. The final syllable in *διοσημία* is long, and what is wanted is therefore Π<sub>1</sub>'s *διοσημία* 'στί (e.g. *V.* 682; *Pax* 873; *Av.* 639; cf.

Platnauer, *CQ* NS 10 (1960) 140-1, 143-4) rather than **d**'s *διοσημί' ἐστί. ῥανίς*: Euripidean vocabulary (*Andr.* 227; *IT* 645; *Ion* 106; *IA* 1515; fr. 856. 4; cf. *Ra.* 1312 (parody of E.)); subsequently at Choeril. *SH* 330 and in Aristotle (*Mete.* 349<sup>b</sup>31, 374<sup>a</sup>9).

**172-3 ἀπιέναι, παρείναι**: Jussive infins., here highly formal in the context of announcing an official decision (e.g. 1000-1; *Pax* 551; *Av.* 448-50; cf. Goodwin § 784. 2; Bers 181-2). **εἰς ἔνθη**: 'on the day after tomorrow' (*Ec.* 796; Hes. *Op.* 410; Antipho 6. 21; Theoc. 18. 14; Hsch. ε 1116, 2996). For the use of *εἰς*, *Pax* 366-7 with Olson ad loc. Under normal circumstances, 5 days' notice had to be given before an Assembly could be held (Phot. p. 456. 23-6; *AB*, p. 296. 8-11; cf. *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 85. 10-11; Th. vi. 8. 3), but a special exception may have been made when meetings interrupted by rain or other bad omens (169-71 n.) were reconvened. **λύουσι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν**: *λύω* appears to be the standard vb. for 'dissolving' Assemblies and the like (LSJ s.v. II. 1), whereas *ἀφήμι* is used of the Council (*Eq.* 674) and of law courts (*V.* 595). The Herald, Theoros, and the Odomantians exit into one of the wings. There is no other indication of a change of dramatic setting until 202 and the audience must therefore assume that Dik. is alone again on the Pnyx, as when the scene began (19-29).

**174 οἶμοι τάλας**: 163-4 n. **μυττωτόν**: A spicy sauce or paste (*τρίμμα*) sometimes eaten as a side dish with fish (Anan. fr. 5. 7-8; Hippon. fr. 36. 2-3). The main ingredient was crushed raw garlic (*Pax* 246-9; Thphr. *HP* vii. 4. 11; Erot. μ 4), although cheese, leeks, honey, eggs, olive oil, and vinegar could all be added as well ( $\Sigma^{\text{REG}}$ ;  $\Sigma^{\text{VEΓ}^3\text{ΘM}}$  *Eq.* 771;  $\Sigma^{\text{V}}$  *V.* 62; cf. *Pax* 227-52). *μυττωτός* was produced by grinding with a mortar and pestle (Call. fr. 605-6; cf. *Pax* 259; Hsch. μ 1965), and *μυττωτεύω* ('make into *μυττωτός*') is thus figuratively 'beat to a pulp' (*V.* 63; *Pax* 247; Eup. fr. 191; Taillardat § 598) **ῥσον**: 148-50 n. **ἀπώλεσα**: 'I lost' (LSJ s.v. A. II).

**175** Amphith. enters on the run from the wing into which he exited at 132. The *σπονδαί* he has with him (178) can be passed quickly back and forth and sniffed or tasted without difficulty (188-98 with nn.), and I assume that they are represented not by wineskins (which would have to be laboriously untied, tied back up, etc.) but by three small libation-bowls, which are most likely contained in a basket (*κίστη*; cf. 1085-6 n.; *Pax* 666 (of Peace) *σπονδῶν φέρουσα τῇ πόλει κίστην πλέαν* ('bearing a basket full of peace-treaties/libations for the city')) or the like. Because Amphith. has only been off stage for a few minutes (in extradramatic terms), the fact that he has already made his way to Sparta and back must be specified for the audience (**ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος**). **ἀλλ(ὰ) . . . γάρ**: 40-2 n.

**176 μήπω γε**: Sc. *χαίρειν λέγε*; cf. *Eq.* 110; *Nu.* 196, 267. For similar, generally somewhat embittered puns on *χαίρει* (lit. 'Rejoice!'), 832,



1143; Eup. fr. 331; Men. *Dysk.* 512-13; Philem. fr. 6. 3-4; E. *Hec.* 426-7; *El.* 1357-9; *Ba.* 1379-80; Sens on Theoc. 22. 54-5. If *στῶ* is sound (cf. below), the line is metrically deficient, and I print Brunck's *πρὶν ἄν γε* (cf. 296; *Eq.* 961; *V.* 920; *Ec.* 770), although Bergk's *πρὶν γ' ἄν* (*Av.* 585; *Ra.* 78, 845; *Ec.* 857) would also do. The second *γε* was presumably removed by an editor or copyist offended by the repetition (thus Elliott). Alternatively, *δ*'s *στῶ* might be emended to Robertson's *στῶ γῶ* or van Herwerden's *σωθῶ*. **στῶ τρέχων:** Lit. 'come into a standing position in the course of running', i.e. 'stop running'; an odd expression (although cf. D. 10. 10 οὐ στήσεται πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀδικῶν ('he will not stop wronging all humanity'); Goodwin § 879), but probably used for the sake of the oxymoron and not to be emended away.

**177** Cf. 185 (the final verse of Amphith.'s digression on the circumstances that have brought him here on the run), 203 (Amphith.'s exit line). **φεύγοντ' ἐκφυγεῖν:** Cf. *Nu.* 167; *V.* 579; E. *Ph.* 1216 *φεύγων ἐκφύγης* with Mastronarde ad loc.: 'the coupling . . . is not merely a matter of paronomasia (KG ii. 99-100) . . . but for this vb. plays upon the conative aspect of the present'—(i.e. 'trying to get away')—'and the complexive aspect of the aorist reinforced by the addition of the preposition ('get away', 'succeed in escaping')'. **Ἀχαρνέας:** Reserved for final position in the line as a surprise. The deme (33 n.) of Acharnai was located north of Athens among the foothills of Mt. Parnes (347-9 n.). Literary and epigraphic evidence suggests that the deme centre lay near the modern village of Menidi (the find spot of e.g. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1207, 5787, 5797, 5809, 5817), but no other physical trace of the settlement has been discovered. Acharnai was far and away the largest Attic deme: it had a bouleutic quota of 22 and by itself made up the entire inland trittys of the tribe of Oeneis, and according to Th. ii. 20. 4 it furnished 3,000 hoplites, a figure that must be at least 50% too high, although the text has never been convincingly emended; cf. Hornblower ad loc. Acharnai was the site of a cult of Ares and Athena Areia (*SEG* 21 (1965) 519 = Tod # 204), and Pi. N. 2. 16-17 claims that the Acharnians had a long-standing reputation for valour (*Ἀχάρναι δὲ παλαίφατον / εὐάνορες*), although this is presumably at least in part simply flattery of the poet's patron. Cf. 180-1 n.; Traill 50; Ober 184-5; J. Travlos, *Bildlexicon zur Topographie des antiken Attika* (Tübingen, 1988) 1-5; Whitehead 397-400. When the Spartan king Archidamas invaded Attika in summer 431, he settled down in Acharnai and systematically ravaged the countryside there (Th. ii. 19. 2), and the Acharnians were outspoken in their eagerness to march out and confront the enemy (Th. ii. 21. 3). Cf. Introduction, Section II. Ar. accordingly presents them as bitter partisans of the war, who loathe the very idea of peace, given the damage that has been done to their farms (183, 226-8; cf. 512). For Parnes (and thus Acharnai) as a centre of charcoal production, 347-9 n.

**178–9** τί δ' ἐστίν; Cf. Kaibel ap. Austin, *Dodone* 16. 2 (1987) 72. Bentley proposed a wholesale purge of divided anapaests from the text of Ar. and this one could easily be eliminated by printing ἐστ', but there is no other reason to emend. Note especially Elliott's (somewhat overheated) comments, and cf. 6, 800; *Nu.* 214; *Pax* 187 (where my text is in error); Dunbar on *Av.* 90. ἐγὼ μὲν δεῦρό σοι is the reading in R (seemingly supported by Π<sub>1</sub>) and is certainly correct. β transposed the final two words, producing the unmetrical ἐγὼ μὲν σοι δεῦρο (ac), and

Triklinios (1) emended to σοι μὲν δεῦρο ἔγω and (2) converted ἐστίν to ἐστι. σπονδὰς φέρων: Cf. 186 σπονδὰς φέρεις\*, where the subject of the libations/peace-treaty is at last taken up again. At 130–2 Amphith. was commissioned by Dik. to make σπονδὰς ('a treaty') for him in Sparta, but in what follows the word is taken in the literal sense 'libations', i.e. 'draughts of wine', as ὠσφροντο helps make clear, and the confusion of the two ideas is put to productive use throughout the play. Cf.

51–2 n., 182–3, 186–7 n.; Newiger 104–5; Whitman 62–3; Edmunds 5–6. οἱ δ': In apposition to the long string of nouns and adjectives in 179–81. ὠσφροντο: 'got a whiff'. For the bouquet of the various wines Amphith. has brought, 189–90 with 188–90 n., 192–3, 196–7. πρεσβῦται:

The chorus' advanced age is an important aspect of their character (cf. 375–6, 610, 676) and is emphasized repeatedly in the detailed description that follows (180 γέροντες ('old men'), 181 Μαραθωνομάχαι ('Marathon-veterans') with n.) and again in the parodos (211–22).

**180–1** Given Μεγαρικός for Μεγαρεύς in 830 and Λακωνικός for Λακεδαιμόνιος at e.g. *Nu.* 186; *Pax* 212; *Lys.* 1226, Ἀχαρνικοί is probably to be taken as a colloquial substantive equivalent to the formal Ἀχαρνεῖς, as again in 324. If the word is instead understood as an adj., what follows shows that what makes the chorus [typically] Acharnian' is not their martial valour or the like (cf. 177 n.) but the fact that they are as tough and unyielding as the hardwood from which residents of their deme produced charcoal (cf. 177 n., 211–14, 321–2 n., 333, 347–9 n.). Cf. Taillardat § 371. στιπτοί: 'compressed' (*S. Ph.* 33 with Jebb ad loc.), like the hottest burning charcoal (*Thphr. Ign.* 37), and thus in context 'tough' *vel sim.* Cf. Taillardat § 372. γέροντες: 178–9 n.

πρίνινοι: 'made of holm oak' (πρίνος), *Quercus ilex*, an evergreen oak which (like σφένδαμνος (below)) was known for its dense, hard wood (*Hes. Op.* 427–31; *Thphr. HP* i. 6. 1; v. 4. 8; cf. *V.* 383, 877 (both metaphorical of the difficult character of angry old men)) and was thus ideal for producing high-quality charcoal (*Thphr. HP* v. 9. 1). Cf. 612 Πρωίδης (the name of one member of the chorus), 667 ἀνθράκων πρινίνων ('of holm oak charcoal'; in the chorus' summons to the Acharnian Muse); adesp. com. fr. 498 Δρυαχαρνεῦ ('Oak-Acharnian'), glossed by Phot. = EM = S ἐκωμωδοῦντο γὰρ οἱ Ἀχαρνεῖς ὡς ἄγριοι καὶ σκληροί ('for the Acharnians were mocked in comedy as savage and harsh')

and by Hsch. *δοκούσι γὰρ οἱ Ἀχαρνεῖς σκληροὶ τὴν γνώμην εἶναι καὶ ἄτεγκτοι* ('for the Acharnians seems to be harsh-natured and relentless'). **ἀτεράμονες**: 'hard, harsh'. First here and at *V.* 730 (parallel to *ἀτενής* ('stubborn'), of a difficult old man); cf. Eub. fr. 22. 2 (parallel to *ἰσχυρὸς σφόδρα* ('very severe')).

**Μαραθωνομάχαι**: Cf. 677 with n. (the chorus as Persian War veterans), 692–702. Actual veterans of the Battle of Marathon (fought in 490 BCE; cf. Hdt. vi. 109–17) would have been in their eighties at least at the time *Ach.* was performed and probably few if any were alive. Other Aristophanic choruses also claim to have fought in the Persian Wars or even earlier conflicts (*V.* 1075–90; *Lys.* 273–82, 667–9; cf. *Eq.* 781), and the basic point is once again that the Acharnians are extraordinarily old men. In addition, Ar.—like other contemporary authors and orators (esp. Th. i. 73. 2–5; Theopomp. Hist. *FGrH* 115 F 153; cf. Hermipp. fr. 75; Eup. frr. 106; 233; Hdt. ix. 27. 5; Crit. fr. B 2. 14; Pl. *Lg.* 707c)—refers repeatedly to Marathon as the archetypal great deed of the past that entitles the Athenian people to the Empire and the goods that ought (at least theoretically) to flow from it (esp. *Eq.* 781–5, 1334; *V.* 706–11; cf. *Nu.* 985–6; fr. 429). The identification of the chorus specifically as Marathon veterans thus fits into the larger ideological structure of the play by presenting them, despite their foibles and momentary blindness, as a symbol of the deserving *δῆμος* ('people') and by implicitly suggesting that the real external threat to Athens comes not from Sparta but the barbarian east. *-μάχαι* rather than *-μάχοι* (ΑΓ<sup>ac</sup>; a very easy error in the case of a rare 1st-declension masc. noun) is almost certainly correct, as also at *Nu.* 986. For similar formations, 570 *τειχομάχας* (**d** *-μάχος*); Pi. *O.* 7. 15 *εὐθυμάχαν* (*-μαχον* A); 12. 14 *ἐνδομάχας*; Pl. *Euthd.* 299c *ὄπλομάχην*. **σφενδάμνινοι**: The wood of the maple tree (*σφένδαμνος*), *Acer monspessulanum*, was known for its *πυκνότης* ('density' (Thphr. *HP* v. 3. 3)) and was therefore well suited to producing high-quality charcoal (Thphr. *HP* v. 9. 1) as well as fine furniture (Cratin. fr. 334. 2; Thphr. *HP* v. 7. 6).

**182–3 ἀνέκραγον**: The vb. (first attested at H. *Od.* 14. 467; Pi. *N.* 7. 76) is common in Ar. (e.g. *Eq.* 670; *V.* 1311) and the other comic poets (e.g. Sannyr. fr. 8. 4; Alex. fr. 208. 2), but is otherwise restricted in the classical period to prose (e.g. X. *An.* iv. 4. 20; *Cyr.* ii. 3. 20; D. 19. 287) and is thus presumably colloquial. For the remark that follows, cf. 223–33. **μιαρώτατε**: 'most brazen/shameless one'; cf. 282, 285 (both of Dik., on whom the chorus' wrath has by then settled). A very strong term of abuse; cf. *Miasma* 4–5; Dickey 167.

**σπονδάς φέρεις τῶν ἀμπέλων τετμημένων**: Invading armies routinely attempted to destroy the enemy's crops and farms (cf. 177n., 1178n.), and although grapevines are difficult to kill (Hanson (1998) 68–71, 143–7, 223–4), they could be badly damaged by being cut down or trampled; cf. 232–3, 512, 984–5. Grapevines were sufficiently important to the Athenian rural economy to be

one of the five crops (along with wheat, barley, olives, and figs) by which 4th-c. ephebes swore to defend the land (*SEG* 21 (1965) 629. 19-20 = *Tod* # 204. 19-20); cf. 995-8 with nn. The root sense of *σπονδάς* ('libations') helps explain the Acharnians' particular attention to the damage done their vines; cf. 178-9n.

**184-5** *κάς τοὺς τρίβωνας*: A *τρίβων* is a poor man's outer garment (part of an ascetic's outfit at Aristopho fr. 9. 3; 12. 9) and is to be distinguished from the better-quality *himation* (1139n.) and the even more luxurious *χλαίνα* (esp. *V.* 1131-56; *Ec.* 848-50; cf. *V.* 33, 116; *Eup.* fr. 280. 3; *Lys.* 32. 16); cf. Stone 162-3; Introduction, Section V.B. Since Athenian clothing lacked pockets (130-1n.), the idea must be that the Acharnians take hold of the front hems of their robes, producing crude pouches in which to carry stones; cf. 341 with n. *τῶν λίθων*: '[some] of the stones', i.e. some of those that were lying about on the ground. Gen. of the whole; cf. 805, 870, 961; *KG* i. 345; Poultney 80. The addition of this detail serves to establish the chorus' intention of stoning to death anyone they catch making peace with Sparta (236 with n., 280-3, 295) well in advance of their entrance at 204, but the matter is then dropped (186) until the wine-tasting scene (187-202) is over.

**186-7** *οἱ δ' οὖν βοῶντων*: Contemptuous; a common use of *δ' οὖν* in dramatic dialogue (e.g. *Nu.* 39; *A. Eu.* 226; *S. OC* 1205; *E. Andr.* 258) but never found in prose dialogue (*GP* 466-7). Note the echo of the sentiment in 200, which brings the wine-tasting scene to an end. *ἀλλά* marks 'a break-off in the thought' (*GP* 8). *σπονδάς φέρεις*: Cf. 178 *σπονδάς φέρων\** with n. *ἔγωγέ φημι*: 'I do indeed!' Both *ἔγωγε* (e.g. 777; *Nu.* 769; *V.* 1176) and *φημί* (e.g. *Ra.* 1205; *Pl.* 395) can stand alone as a positive response to a question, and this is thus a particularly strong affirmative, like *ἐγώνγα καὐτός φαμι* ('I very much agree!') at 736 and *φήμ' ἐγώ* ('I agree!') at *Av.* 1446; *Ec.* 457, 717; *Pl.* 143. Nothing is gained by following Brunck in printing a comma between the words. *τρία . . . ταυτὶ γεύματα*: Amphith. holds up the basket containing the 'libations', finally making the pun on the two senses of *σπονδαί* (178-9n.) explicit. Wine-vendors routinely offered potential customers a taste (*γεῦμα*) of their wares (*Antiph.* fr. 83. 1; *Ephipp.* fr. 18; *Diph.* fr. 3. 3; *E. Cyc.* 149; Engelmann, *ZPE* 63 (1986) 107-8) and the expression *γεῦμα τὴν ὠνήν καλεῖ* ('a taste provokes the sale') was most likely proverbial (*E. Cyc.* 150 with Seaford ad loc.). *γε* 'adds detail to an assent already expressed' (*GP* 136).

**188-200** The Greeks were well aware of the virtues of old wine (e.g. *Eub.* fr. 122. 1-2; *Alex.* fr. 280. 3; *Pi. O.* 9. 48; *Archestr.* fr. 59. 1-4, 15-16; *X. An.* iv. 4. 9 *οἶνους παλαιούς εὐώδεις* ('old wines with a fine bouquet'); *Men. Dysk.* 946-7), although wine that was very old by their standards was probably not so by ours, the greatest suggested age in the extensive material on the subject preserved by Athenaios being sixteen years

(Lync. ap. Ath. 13. 584b-c). The five- and ten-year libations/peace-treaties are disposed of in three verses apiece (188-90, 191-3) and the real attention is reserved for Amphith.'s much more appealing third sample (194-200).

**188-90** Amphith. hands one of the libation-bowls to Dik., who lifts it to his nose and abruptly returns it. **πεντέτεις**: The standard duration for peace-accords expected to be real and lasting was in this period thirty years (194 with n.) or even 'forever' (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 53. 15 = M-L 63. 15* (conjectural)). A five-year truce like the one agreed to by Athens and Sparta sometime in the 450s (*Th. i. 112. 1*), on the other hand, arguably represented little more than a chance for the two sides to re-arm and dispose of other outstanding military and political business before clashing again, as Dik.'s reaction in 189-90 (cf. 1021 with n.) makes clear. **γεύσαι λαβών**: \* in 191, as Amphith. offers Dik. his second sample. **αἰβοῖ**: A spontaneous cry, here of disgust, as at *V. 37* (cf. MacDowell ad loc.); *Pax 1291*; *Av. 1055*; cf. *Eq. 891*; López Eire 87-8; Labiano Ilundain 79-81. **τί ἐστίν**: For the hiatus, *KB i. 196-7*. **οὐκ ἀρέσκουσίν μ'**: ἀρέσκω takes either the dat. (e.g. *V. 818*; *Ec. 710*; *Alex. fr. 212. 4*; *E. Heracl. 371-2*) or the acc. (e.g. *V. 1339*; *Th. 406*; *Antiph. fr. 222*; *E. Hipp. 106*), as here. **ὄξουσι πίττης**: Pitch (πίττα) was produced either by boiling resin (properly ῥητίνη, but occasionally πίττα ὠμή) that had been tapped from pine-trees in particular (e.g. *Thphr. HP iii. 9. 2*) or by burning the wood of pines, firs, and the like in a pitch-kiln, gathering the liquid that flowed out, and then if necessary reducing it via boiling (*Thphr. HP ix. 3*). Pitch was routinely applied to the interior of wine-jars in order to render them waterproof (e.g. *fr. 280*; *IG I<sup>3</sup> 422. 157*; *II<sup>2</sup> 1648. 27*; *Columella xii. 18. 5-7*), and resin and pitch were sometimes added directly to wine to lend it body and improve its bouquet (*Plin. Nat. 14. 124-5*; *Plu. Mor. 676b-c*). For the importance of a wine's bouquet to the Greeks, Olson-Sens on *Archestr. fr. 59. 8-10*. Pitch was also used, however, to protect wood from water-damage (e.g. *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1672. 13-14, 69, 170-1*) and especially to seal the hulls of ships (*Ra. 364*; *Tod # 111. 9 (c.393 BCE)*; *Thphr. HP v. 4. 5*; *Bianor AP xi. 248 = GPh 1755-60*; *Ath. 5. 206f*). Cf. André, *AC 33* (1964) 86-97, esp. 86-7; Morrison and Williams 279-80; R. Meiggs, *Trees and Timber in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Oxford, 1982) 467-71. The joke is thus that Dik. at first appears to be complaining that the first libations have been too heavily resinated, but **καὶ παρασκευῆς νεῶν** makes it clear that what he really means is that so short a peace would serve only as an opportunity for Athens to build up her fleet in anticipation of another war.

**191-3** Amphith. removes a second bowl from his basket and hands it to Dik., who smells it, reacts once again with disgust, and immediately returns it. **δ' ἀλλά**: 'Well, then'; offering an alternative sugges-

tion, as at 1033; *Nu.* 1369 (*GP* 10; cf. Basset, in *NAGP* 88–9); cf. 194. **τασδί:** As again in 194–6, the demonstrative in *-ί* is used to introduce a new object; cf. Martín de Lucas 167–8.

**δεκέτεις:** Ten years is an otherwise unattested duration for a peace-treaty and is introduced simply as the next ‘round’ number after five; cf. 710n.

**ὄζουσι χαῦται κτλ.:** Cf. *Pax* 525–6 οἶον δὲ πνεῖς, . . . / γλυκύτεατον, ὥσπερ ἀστρατείας καὶ μύρον (‘How you smell! Most sweet, like exemption from military service and perfumed oil!’). In contrast to 190, the word order places primary emphasis on the metaphorical sense of σπονδαί as ‘peace-treaties’.

**πρέσβων εἰς τὰς πόλεις:** πρέσβεις and its cognates are not normally used of officials exchanged between Athens and her subject-allies except when the allies are in revolt or contemplating it (e.g. *Th.* iii. 3. 1), and ‘the cities’ here are therefore presumably those of the Greek world generally, who are going to be asked to take sides for the next round of fighting. Contrast 506 with n.

**ὀξύτατον:** For the combination of an adverbial acc. with a gen. of the specific odour, 852–3; *Pax* 525–6 (above); *Th.* 254; Crates Com. fr. 2. When used of wine, ὀξύς is ‘acidic, vinegary’; cf. Alex. fr. 145. 12; Apollod. Car. fr. 30. 1–2; *Diph.* fr. 18. 1 with 34–5n.; Chadwick 214.

The ὥσπερ-clause is somewhat awkward but adds another reason why Dik. finds the smell of the ten-year truce so unpleasant: the allies will be pressed ever harder to build up Athens’ financial and military resources. Normally χρόνου is to be supplied with διατριβή (e.g. *Nu.* 1055; *E. Ph.* 751), but here the word takes a different obj. and διατριβῆς τῶν συμμάχων must mean simply ‘a wearing down’, i.e. ‘a gradual destruction of the allies’ (a sense omitted by LSJ s.v., although cf. s. διατρίβω I).

**194–6** Amphith. takes a third libation-bowl from his basket and hands it to Dik., who again puts it to his nose but this time reacts with delight. R has σοι (unmetrical) after αὐταί (for which, 191–3n.), and Elmsley (followed in whole or part by most 19th-c. editors, as well as by van Leeuwen and Starkie) expelled σπονδαί as an intrusive gloss and proposed αὐταὶ γὰρ σοι or αὐταὶ δὴ σοι (better Bothe’s αὐταί τοί σοι (printed by van Leeuwen and Starkie)). R’s minor errors are so numerous, however, that they need not all be taken seriously as evidence for the text of its archetype (thus Elliott; cf. Introduction, Section VII), and since an explicit use of the noun is welcome at the climax of the scene (contrast 188, 191–2), I print the text as preserved in β.

**σπονδαὶ τριακοντούτιδες:** Thirty years (explained at *Hdt.* vii. 149. 1 as sufficient time for a generation of children to grow to adulthood) appears to have been the standard duration for peace-treaties between major Greek powers in the first three-quarters of the 5th c. (cf. below; *Hdt.* vii. 149. 1; *Th.* v. 14. 4). But here (as also at *Eq.* 1388–9) there is probably a specific reminiscence of the thirty-year peace that was made between Sparta and Athens in 446 in the aftermath of the Athenian capture of Euboia and that broke

down when the Peloponnesian War began (Th. i. 23. 4, 115. 1). The (ultimately short-lived) peace of 421 was actually for the unprecedented term of fifty years (Th. v. 18. 3).

κατὰ γῆν τε καὶ θάλατταν:

Echoed in the text of the peace-treaties between Athens and Sparta in 421 (Th. v. 18. 3 καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ('by both land and sea')) and between Athens, Argos, Mantinea, and Elis in 420 (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 83. 3-4), as well as in numerous 4th-c. inscriptions (e.g. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 14. 5; 15. 7-8; 43A. 48-9), and thus apparently a standard formula.

ὦ Διονύσια:

*Διονύσια* is a general term for the various Dionysiac festivals, including the Rural Dionysia (201-2n.) and the Anthesteria (960-1n.; Th. ii. 15. 4), both of which Dik. eventually celebrates (in bold defiance of the calendar); cf. Olson on *Pax* 530. The hero's words are thus not only an appropriate invocation for someone who has just tasted excellent wine, but serve to introduce an important theme in the play.

196 is

an echo of H. *Od.* 9. 359, where Polyphemos describes Odysseus' wine as ἀμβροσίης καὶ νέκταρος . . . ἀπορρώξ ('a distillation of nectar and ambrosia'), i.e. as fit for the gods themselves. For ambrosia and nectar as extraordinarily sweet or delicious substances, Hermipp. fr. 77. 7-10 (also of wine); H. *Od.* 4. 445-6; *Cypr.* fr. 4. 4-6; Ibyc. *PMGF* 325; Philox. Leuc. *PMG* 836(b). 43; Archestr. fr. 16. 4 with Olson-Sens ad loc.; Matro fr. 1. 71; cf. Olson on *Pax* 723-4.

**197** καὶ μὴ (ἐ)πιτηρεῖν κτλ.: 'and not to keep an eye out for "three days' provisions"', i.e. for a notice-board bearing those words. Despite the lack of the def. art. τοῦ, the infin. is clearly dependent on ὄζουσ' in 196, which is to say that the writing is somewhat loose, although Reiske's transposition of 197 and 198 need not be considered; for the construction, cf. *KG* ii. 5-6. Throughout the second half of the 5th c., individual Athenian hoplites were informed that they had been drafted for particular expeditions by notices written on whitened boards and set up by their tribe's taxiarch (569-71n.) next to the statue of the tribe's eponymous hero in the Agora; cf. Olson on *Pax* 1179-81. Soldiers were expected to feed themselves out of their daily pay and whatever they could steal from the enemy (cf. 761-3), and orders to have three days' rations with one when one left the city were apparently standard (*Pax* 312 with Olson ad loc.; Eub. fr. 19. 3; cf. *V.* 243; *Pax* 1182-4 (where a man whose name has been arbitrarily added to the list at the last minute is thrown into a panic, since he has no food to take with him on campaign); Th. i. 48. 1). Cf. 1097-1101 with nn.; *War* i. 30-49.

**198** Dik. raises the third bowl to his mouth and drinks a bit of wine. βαῖν' ὄπη θέλεις: Cf. *Pax* 341-2 (from a catalogue of possibilities opened up by the return of peace) πλεῖν . . . / εἰς πανηγύρεις θεωρεῖν ('to sail, to travel as a spectator to festivals'); *pace* Starkie, there is no echo of any well-known manumission formula. Travel within Greece was profoundly disrupted by the war, and a guarantee of the right of free

passage to common sanctuaries was accordingly the first article of the Peace of Nikias (Th. v. 18. 2). The average Athenian, however, had much more immediate concerns, for although the full-scale Peloponnesian invasions of Attika lasted for only a few weeks every summer, small bands of raiders probably made their way into and out of the country more or less constantly (cf. 1022-3, 1076-7). To travel to or pass any time at an individual farmstead in particular was thus potentially quite dangerous (esp. *Pax* 551-4), and once he has made his private peace, Dik. is accordingly able to celebrate the Rural Dionysia on his own land for the first time in many years (266-7). ὄπη is 'in which [direction], by which [road]', as opposed to ὄποι (ΑΓ), 'to where'. ἐθέλω/θέλω is trisyllabic in Attic until the 3rd c., except in the phrase ἀνθεὸς θέλη and variants thereof (e.g. *Pax* 939; *Ra.* 533; *Pl.* 347) and in tragedy (*metri gratia*) and paratragedy (426; *Th.* 908). Cf. 318, 355; Rutherford 415-16; van Leeuwen on *V.* 493; Gomme-Sandbach on *Men. Dysk.* 269; Threatte ii. 637-8.

**199-200 δέχομαι:** Used routinely in accepting an offer or proposal of any sort (e.g. *Pl.* 63; fr. 102. 3; *Men. Per.* 1007; cf. 832-3 n.). **σπένδομαι:** Dik. holds the libation-bowl out in front of him and pours (i.e. pretends to pour) a bit of wine on the ground, formally making peace with Sparta and her allies.

**(ἐ)κπίομαι:** Note the fut. tense; Dik. never drinks any wine beyond his initial sip (198) until the end of the play (cf. 1203), by which time the hostility between him and the chorus has subsided.

**χαίρειν κελεύων πολλά:** To say 'χαίρειν . . . πολλά' (lit. 'rejoice greatly!', i.e. 'farewell'; cf. 832) is to wish someone a very good day, and 'to wish someone a very good day, is to want to have no more to do with them' (Barrett on *E. Hipp.* 113). Colloquial (e.g. *Th.* 64; *Pl.* 1186-7; *E.* fr. 1025. 3; *Pl. Phdr.* 272e; cf. *Men. Dysk.* 520); cf. Stevens 26. For the sentiment, cf. 186 with n.

**201-2** Echoed in Dik.'s words at 250-1, after he returns on stage with the other participants in his procession.

**ἐγὼ δέ:** In emphatic contrast to the Acharnians (and implicitly all other Athenians), who are still stuck with the war and the troubles that accompany it.

**πολέμου καὶ κακῶν ἀπαλλαγείς:** 'released from war and my troubles generally' (223-5 n.); cf. 198, 250-2 n., 268-70, 757; *Pax* 293, 303, 1128-9; *Pl.* 263; *Theopomp. Com.* fr. 8; *Lys.* 25. 12; *D.* 1. 8. β had καλῶν (c; καλλῶν ΑΓ); corrected by Triklinios (but already in RE).

**ἄξω . . . εἰσιών ~ εἰσέρχομαι ἄξων;** cf. 828; *Pax* 49; *Men. Pk.* 295-6; contrast 91 with n. For ἄγω in the sense 'celebrate', e.g. 250; *Pax* 418; *Hdt.* i. 147. 2; West on *Hes. Op.* 768.

**τὰ κατ' ἀγροῦς . . . Διονύσια:** The Rural Dionysia was a deme- rather than a city-festival and was celebrated in Poseidion (approx. December), with the exact date most likely varying from deme to deme (cf. *Pl. R.* 475d). Little is known of the Rural Dionysia except that there was a πομπή ('procession'), for the details of



which 241–79 are our only significant source, and that the celebration in some (but not necessarily all) demes featured musical and dramatic contests (e.g. *IG I<sup>3</sup> 254*). Cf. Deubner 134–8; *DFA* 42–54; Parke 100–3; Habash 560–1. For the time of year at which the action is set, 504n., 960–1n. Dik. exits into the door in the *scaenae frons*, transforming it momentarily into his own house and making it clear to the audience (as an exit into and subsequent entry from a wing would not) that the setting is no longer the Pnyx but the Attic countryside; cf. Introduction, Section V.C.

**203** Cf. 177 with n. **ἐγὼ δέ** echoes 201; ‘But as for *me*, . . .’. **δέ** . . . **γ**ε is common in Ar. in retorts and lively rejoinders (*GP* 153; cf. 623, 1104, 1216). R has **φευξοῦμαι** (a contracted, ‘Doric’ fut.; cf. 1129; *Nu.* 443; *Av.* 932), whereas β had **φεύξομαι** (e.g. *V.* 157; *Ec.* 625). Both forms are acceptable in Attic and either would do metrically, but R’s reading is to be preferred as the more obscure (in Attic, primarily Euripidean) form, as at *E. Hipp.* 1093 (where see Barrett’s n.). Amphith., having entered from one wing at 175, now runs off into the other, leaving the stage momentarily empty.

**204–36** An elaborate ring-composition, which lends detail to Amphith.’s description of the Acharnians and their reaction to the smell of peace at 179–85 but does not go much beyond it: (A) We must track down this fellow (204–6) (B) who has made peace (207). (C) Unfortunately, he has escaped (208–9) (D) because I am so old (210). (E) When I was younger, he would not have escaped (211–18), but (D) because I am so old (219–20) (C) he has escaped (221). (B) None the less, he has made peace (223–33) and (A) we must track him down (234–6).

**204–18 ~ 219–33** The parodos, i.e. the chorus’ entrance song. Trochaic tetrameters catalectic (204–7 ~ 219–22) and creto-paeonics (208–18 ~ 223–33), followed by some additional trochaic tetrameters catalectic (234–6, 238–40; 237 is extrametrical). Trochaic tetrameters are ‘adapted to rapid movement and . . . therefore frequently employed when the chorus enters in haste in the parode, sometimes on the run’ (White § 245; cf. Arist. *Rh.* 1409<sup>a</sup>1), as also at *Eq.* 242–83; *Pax* 299–338; *Av.* 268–304, 307–9 (etc.), and convey a sense of agitation and excitement (Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 1649ff.; Drew-Bear, *AJP* 89 (1968) 385–405; Parker 35–40). The creto-paeonics are sung and are more emotional; cf. Parker 45–6. Cf. White § 449; Prato 2–5; Zimmermann i. 34–8; iii. 1; Parker 124–5.

Metrical Analysis:

(1)	204	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	4tr <sup>^</sup>
	~ 219	-	-			
(2)	205	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	4tr <sup>^</sup>
	~ 220	-				

(3)	206	- - -   - - - -   - - - - - - ^	4tr^
	~ 221		
(4)	207	- - - - - - -   - - - - - - -	4tr^
	~ 222		
(5)	208-10	- - - - - - -   - - - - - - - - - - -	6cr
	~ 223-5		
(6)	211-13	- - - - - - - - - - - - -   - - - - - - ^	3p 3cr
	~ 226-8		
(7)	214-18	- - - - -   - - - - - - -   - - - - - - -   - -   - - -	
	~ 229-33	- -	5cr 7p cr ~ 6cr 5p 2cr

(7) Triklinios removed the final *āv* from the strophe (*ἐλαφρῶς ἀπεπλίξατο tAld*), which would convert 218 into 2cr and thus match 233 precisely if *πλ* made position in comedy (as it does not).

**204-5** The chorus of Acharnians, 24 in number and preceded by a piper, and behaving exactly as advertised (185), enter the orchestra from the *eisodos* opposite the wing into which Amphith. has just fled. Like Dik., they have white hair and beards, and wear *τρίβωνες* (184 with n.) and rough shoes or boots on their feet. Despite their haste and agitation (perhaps expressed by waving arms, shaking heads, and the like), they move painfully and slowly; cf. the entry of the old jurymen at *V.* 230-47 and of the old farmers at *Pl.* 253-60. For similar exhortations at the beginning of the *parados*, *V.* 230; *Pax* 301; *Lys.* 254; *Ra.* 372. **τῆδε:** 'here' (Bers 95). For *πᾶς* with the imper., e.g. *Pax* 458, 512; *Ra.* 372. **τὸν ἄνδρα πυνθάνου τῶν ὁδοιπόρων ἀπάντων:** For the strategy, cf. Apollo at *h.Merc.* 185-200 and Demeter at *h.Cer.* 62-73. For the construction ('ask someone (gen.) about something (acc)'), e.g. *Av.* 1120; *Ra.* 1417; *Alex.* fr. 259. 6-7; [A.] *PV* 617; *E. Or.* 1359; *Hdt.* i. 122. 2. *ὁδοιπόρος* is a relatively rare word in the classical period (in tragedy at *A. Ag.* 901; *S. OT* 292), but *pace* Starkie it (1) is also found in comedy at *Stratt.* fr. 64. 1, and (2) does not appear in Xenophon (although *συνοδοιπόρος* does (*Mem.* ii. 2. 12)). **τῇ πόλει γὰρ ἄξιον:** 6-8n. Like almost everyone in the play, the chorus argue that their point of view is (or ought to be) identical with that of the city as a whole. The article coheres so closely with its noun that *γάρ* is not really felt to be postponed (*GP* 95-6; cf. Dover, *G<sup>2</sup>G* 61-3).

**206-7 ξυλλαβεῖν:** 'to lay hands on, capture' (e.g. *E. Or.* 1189 *ξυλλάβεθ' ὄμηρον τήνδ'* ('seize this woman as a hostage')); cf. *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 40. 7-8 (although the Acharnians are interested not in a trial or imprisonment for the malefactor but in summary vigilante justice). **ἀλλά μοι μηνύσατε κτλ.:** Addressed to the audience. For *ἀλλά* with the imper., 345, 744; cf. 239; *GP* 14. β had *μηνύετε* (metrical), but the imperfective sense is not wanted and R's *μηνύσατε* is correct. **εἴ τις οἶδ' κτλ.:**

The point of the question is that the chorus have lost Amphith.'s trail, and the lack of any helpful response leads to the despair in 210–21. **ὅποι . . . γῆς:** KG i. 340–1; Poultney 60–1. **ὁ τὰς σπονδὰς φέρων:** So long as the chorus were speaking only to themselves, they could refer simply to τὸν ἄνδρα ('the man'; 204) and τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ('this man'; 206). Now that they are attempting to interrogate someone else, they are forced to be more specific about who it is they want.

**208–10 ἐκπέφευγ' οἴχεται φροῦδος:** Three different ways of saying the same thing, lending the point maximum emphasis. *φροῦδος* is late 5th-c. poetic vocabulary, absent from prose except at Antipho 5. 29 and from Aeschylus except at *Supp.* 863 (corrupt), but common in Sophocles (e.g. *Ant.* 15; *Ai.* 735), Euripides (e.g. *Med.* 492; *Andr.* 73), and Ar., who (*pace* Starkie and despite 470, where see n.) does not confine his use of the word to obviously paratragic contexts (e.g. *Nu.* 718–19 with Dover ad loc.; *Ec.* 311, 950; fr. 394; cf. *Men. Dysk.* 776). **οἶμοι κτλ.:** 65–7 n., 163–4 n. For the infirmity of old men as a dramatic trope, Bond on E. *HF* 107–37; cf. Headlam on Herod. 2. 71.

**211–13 ἐπ' ἐμῆς γε νεότητος:** 'in my youth, when I was young' (65–7 n.). **ὄτ' ἐγὼ κτλ.:** Despite the mention at 181 of the chorus' service at Marathon (where aggressive pursuit of a fleeing enemy was also at issue; cf. 698), the great deed of the past they recall here is merely their exemplary work as charcoal-bearers. They are thus effectively stripped for the moment of their guise as patriotic defenders of Attika and presented as vaguely ridiculous figures; cf. Philokleon's recollection of his own (equally pedestrian) youthful 'great deeds' at *V.* 1200–7, and contrast 698–700 (where the tone is pathetic). **φέρων ἀνθράκων φορτίον:** Cf. 180–1 n., 347–9 n., and note that at 612 a member of the chorus is called *Εὐφορίδης* ('Son of Good-carrier'). As a concentrated, secondary product, charcoal (34–5 n.) could be profitably transported in smaller loads than wood and was therefore sometimes brought into the city by human bearers using baskets (*λάρκοι* (333 with n.)) and perhaps carrying-yokes (cf. 860 n.). The chorus say nothing about producing the charcoal they carried, and transporting charcoal for others was in fact most likely typical short-term wage-labour for peasant-farmers, who used the money they earned to buy goods they could not produce themselves. Cf. Olson (1991b) 414–19.

**214–18 ἠκολούθουν:** 'I followed', i.e. 'kept up with'. **Φαῦλλω:** Given that this anecdote is set in the chorus' youth in the time of the Persian Wars, there can be little doubt that this is a reference to Phaullos of Kroton, who won three victories at Delphi (two in the pentathlon and one in the stade-race) and is also mentioned as a famous runner of a generation or two earlier at *V.* 1206–7, and who commanded the only ship sent to Salamis by the Greeks of southern Italy. Cf. Hdt. viii. 47; *CEG* 265 (fragments of the base of a marble statue that preserve

part of Phaullos' name and the words νικων τρις / ]Πυθοῖ ('victorious three times at Delphi'; c.480–470 BCE); Paus. x. 9. 2; Σ<sup>REG</sup> (seemingly badly confused), citing an anonymous late epigram πέντ' ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα πόδας πήδησε Φαῦλλος, / δίσκευσεν δ' ἑκατὸν πέντ' ἀπολειπομένων ('Phaullos jumped 55 feet and threw the discus 95'; *Anth. App.* 3. 28 = *FGE* 1496–7; cf. Gardiner, *JHS* 24 (1904) 70–80, esp. 77–80); Plu. *Alex.* 34; H. A. Harris, *Greek Athletes and Athletics* (London, 1964) 113–15, with the cautions and corrections of D. C. Young, *The Olympic Myth of Greek Amateur Athletics* (Chicago, 1984) 12–14; *Potter and Patron* 56 (with references to a number of red-figure vases on which an athlete is given the name Phaullos).

**φαύλως**: 'easily, without a second thought' (e.g. *Lys.* 566; *Th.* 710; *Ec.* 666), with a pun on Φαῦλλω. For the repetition of ἄν (also at the head of the colon in 211), cf. 217–18 (where Triklinios expelled ἄν<sup>2</sup>), 307 (where R omits the word the second time, spoiling the metre), 709 (preserved only in *EM*); *Beobachtungen* 90; *KG* i. 246–8; *Slings*, *CP* 87 (1992) 102–5. **ἐλαφρῶς**: 'lightly', i.e. 'easily, effortlessly', as at Anacr. *PMG* 390 καλλίκομοι κοῦραι Διὸς ὠρχήσαντ' ἐλαφρῶς ('fair-haired daughters of Zeus danced lightly'). *πλίσσομαι* and its compounds and cognates are rare, exclusively poetic vocabulary (fr. 205. 3–4; *Stratt.* fr. 65. 2; *H. Od.* 6. 318; *Archil.* fr. 114. 1; *S.* fr. 596; cf. Gow on *Theoc.* 18. 8), and ἀπεπλίξατο ('wended off' *vel sim.*) thus lends a bit of (utterly inappropriate) grandeur to the chorus' language.

The additional words in **p** are intrusive fragments (apparently the left-hand side of a narrow marginal column) of something resembling Σ<sup>L</sup>; another piece of the scholion is preserved in the same manuscripts at the end of 219. Cf. 157–8n.

**219–20** Cf. *Eq.* 906–7, where one of the Sausage-seller's gifts to the aged Demos is 'medicine to anoint the sores on your shins'. **στερρόν**: 'stiff' with old age. **τούμὸν ἀντικνήμιον**: Properly, the portion of the leg between the knee and the ankle is the *κνήμη* (e.g. *Pl.* 275), the back of it the *γαστροκνημία* ('calf'), and the front of it the *ἀντικνήμιον* ('shin') (*Arist. HA* 494<sup>a</sup>4–10). **Λακρατείδης**: Constructed from the intensifying prefix *λα-* (cf. 270 with n., 664, 1071) + *κράτος* ('strength, power') + a patronymic ending, and thus literally 'Son of Great Strength' and so ironic (or pathetic) when applied to an old man whose physical powers are failing. Bentley's *-ειδ-* rather than the *paradosis* *-ιδ-* is the proper form of the name; cf. *LGPN* ii s.v. According to *Philoch. FGrH* 328 F 202 ap. Σ<sup>REG</sup> (cf. *Phot.* λ 55), a man named Lakrateides (*PA* 8967; *PAA* 600840) was eponymous archon sometime during the reign of the Persian king Darius I (d. 486, where there is a gap in our list of archon's names, the first gap earlier than this falling in 498/7; cf. R. Develin, *Athenian Officials 684–321 B.C.* (Cambridge, 1989) 51–7). Given that the chorus have already been identified as Marathon veterans (181), this may be an allusion to him, particularly

since Philochoros reports that his name was remembered on account of the incredible snowfall during his year. For names of other members of the chorus, 609, 612. **βαρύνεται:** Lit. 'is heavy', i.e. 'slow' with old age generally (cf. S. *OT* 17 *σὺν γήρᾳ βαρεῖς* ('heavy with age'); E. *HF* 119–20) rather than with some momentary weakness (esp. Pl. *Phd.* 117e); cf. the adj. *βαρυσκελής* ('heavy-legged') (adesp. tr. fr. 250).

**221–2 μή . . . ἐγχάνη:** For the independent subjunc. with *μή* used to describe something feared, KG i. 224; Goodwin § 264. Brunck's *ἐγχάνοι* is unnecessary. *ἐγχάσκω* is to laugh in another person's face (cf. 1197), generally because one has got away with something (e.g. *Eq.* 1313; *Nu.* 1436; *V.* 721 with MacDowell ad loc.), and is in the classical period exclusively Aristophanic vocabulary (conjectural at S. fr. 314. 353 (satyr-play)). *καταγελάση* at the end of 221 in **p** is an intrusive scholion (= Σ<sup>L</sup>).

**ὄντας** (om. **Rac**) was lost from the text via haplography after **γέροντας** and was added as a conjecture by Triklinios.

**223–5 ὅστις . . . τοῖσιν ἐχθροῖσιν ἐσπείσατο:** In contrast to 207, 215, the chorus now express anger not at the man who has transported the *σπονδαί* ('libations/peace-treaties') but at the one who received them and has made peace for himself, a crucial (if tacit) progression of thought which allows them to fix immediately on Dik. as the object of their wrath at 239–40. **ὦ Ζεῦ πάτερ καὶ θεοί:** 'O father Zeus and the gods generally!', as at *Pl.* 1, 898; cf. 201, 623–4; Nicostr. Com. fr. 5. 3; *A. Supp.* 236–7; *GP* 291–2; Verdenius, *Mnemosyne* IV. 7 (1954) 38. The oath adds solemnity to what follows and emphasizes the magnitude of the wrong the chorus believe has been done.

**226–31** Cf. Th. ii. 21. 3 'the Acharnians . . . since it was their land being ravaged, were the most insistent that an expedition be mounted', and note Lamachos' similarly indiscriminate bellicose remarks at 620–2.

**226–8 παρ' ἐμοῦ:** i.e. 'in so far as I have anything to do about it' (Poultney 180). **ἐχθοδοπός:** 'hostile'. Rare, almost exclusively poetic vocabulary (Pl. Com. fr. 220; S. *Ai.* 931 (lyric); *Ph.* 1137 (lyric); *A.R.* 4. 1669; *Opp. H.* 4. 663; 5. 365; Philod. *Scaph.* 99, p. 168 Powell (conjectural); cf. *H. Il.* 1. 518 *ἐχθοδοπήσαι*), in prose only at Pl. *Lg.* 810d (a work full of poetic words). **τῶν ἐμῶν χωρίων:** 'on account of my fields', i.e. 'my farm' (e.g. 998; *Nu.* 1123); *metri gratia* for *τοῦ ἐμοῦ χωρίου*. Gen. of cause dependent on **πόλεμος** (Poultney 51).

**229–33** The text of these verses as preserved (with minor variations) in **d** is one metron shorter than 213–18. As Parker 124–5, points out, the hiatus (indicating verse-end) between *ἀντεμπαγῶ* and *ὀξύς* in 230–1 would require a corresponding verse-end between the def. art. *ὁ* and the substantive *σπονδοφόρος* in 214–15, which is impossible. The disparity cannot therefore be dismissed as an example of Aristophanic 'free responsion' (thus A. M. Dale, *The Lyric Metres of Greek Drama* (Cambridge, 1948) 197, followed by Mastromarco), and something must

be inserted into the text. The simplest solution is to adopt Hermann's <καὶ σκόλοψ> (found, albeit in a different position, in the quotation of these lines in the *Suda*). **κούκ ἀνήσω**: Sc. τοῦ πολέμου. **σχοῖνος** . . . (<καὶ σκόλοψ>): 'like a reed and a stake'; for *σχοῖνος* with this sense (rather than 'rush'), Pl. Com. fr. 225 (used to spit meat); *Batr.* 253 (employed as a javelin by a frog). Obscure but, given what follows, most easily taken as a reference to some standard agricultural technique. (1) Poll. x. 131 reports that brambles, thorns, and the like were used to construct rough fences to protect crops from passers-by, but the chorus clearly envision themselves as offensive rather than defensive weapons, so this seems unlikely to be the point. (2) S σ 648, in a gloss on these lines, claims that sharpened sticks were buried in vineyards to injure invaders who stepped on them; this might be true but is more easily explained as a creative attempt to explain the chorus' meaning (perhaps picking up on *πατώσιν* ('they trample') in 232–3), particularly since the practice is otherwise unattested. (3) The simplest explanation is that the chorus imagine themselves as vineprops (properly *χάρακες* (984 with n.); for vineprops made of reeds, Thphr. *HP* iv. 11. 1) that have been converted into weapons, a possibility that gains support from the fact that it is precisely a *χάραξ* that wounds Lamachos at the end of the play (1186). **ἀντεμπαγῶ**: Aor. pass. subjunc. <ἀντεμπήγνυμι (only here), 'stick into in revenge'. The string of adjs. follows the course of the weapon, as it pierces the skin (*ὀξύς*), makes its painful way through the flesh (*ὀδυνηρός*), and finally stops, having gone as far as it can (*ἐπίκωπος*). *ἐπίκωπος* is literally 'up to the hilt', as if the object in question were a sword. **ἵνα κτλ.**: 182–3 n. **μήποτε . . . ἔτι**: 'never again'; cf. *Pax* 221, 1084; *Av.* 628; *Pl.* 1000.

- 234–6** The chorus return to their initial point in 204–6, adding an explicit statement of the fact (implicit at 184, where see n.) that they plan to stone the villain if they catch him. **ἀλλά**: *GP* 15. Σ<sup>ΕΓ</sup>'s **Βαλλήναδε** adapts the name of the deme of Pallene to produce alliteration with *βλέπειν* and word-play with *βάλλων* (236), and is thus to be preferred to *δ*'s *Παλλήναδε*. Pallene was located north-east of Athens near the modern village of Stavros and commanded a pass between Mt. Pentelikon and Mt. Hymettos on the way to Marathon (cf. Hdt. i. 62. 3; [Arist.] *Ath.* 15. 3 with Rhodes ad loc.); it made up part of the inland trittys of the tribe of Antiochis and had a bouleutic quota of six. Acharnai, Pallene, Gargettos, and Paiania all belonged to a small league of Athena Pallenis, an inscription from which has fixed the location of the deme-centre; cf. Peek, *MDAI(A)* 67 (1942) 24–9; Traill 54. For word-play involving deme-names, Whitehead 334–6. **γῆν πρὸ γῆς**: Lit. 'to a land in place of another land' (for this use of the acc., KG i. 311–12), i.e. 'from one land to the next' (KG i. 455), as at [A.] *PV* 682 *μάστιγι θείᾳ γῆν πρὸ γῆς ἐλαύνομαι* ('I am driven from one land to the

next by a divine scourge'). Cf. Headlam on Herod. 5. 85; West on Hes. *Th.* 742. **ποτε:** 'eventually, at last' (LSJ s.v. III. 2). **βάλλων . . . λίθοις:** Stoning is repeatedly referred to as a form of spontaneous collective punishment of an individual perceived to have wronged the community as a whole; cf. Pease, *TAPA* 38 (1907) 5–18; Hirzel, *ASGW* 27 (1909) 223–66; Sommerstein on A. *Eu.* 189, to whose references add *Il. Pers.* arg. 16–17; Hippon. fr. 128; S. *OC* 435; E. *Heracl.* 60; *Tr.* 1039; *Ion* 1240; *Or.* 50, 442; *Ba.* 356–7 with Dodds ad loc.; *IA* 1350; Hdt. ix. 120. 4; *Th.* v. 60. 6; Pl. *Lg.* 873b; X. *An.* i. 3. 1–2; vi. 6. 7; Lycurg. 71; Aeschin. 1. 163. **ἐμπλήμην:** *Pace* LSJ s.v. III, aor. mid. (not pass.) opt.; to be taken with *βάλλων*. For mid. and pass. forms of *πίμπλημι* + part., *V.* 603; Eub. fr. 38. 2; E. *Hipp.* 664; fr. 687. 1–2; *pace* Starkie, at E. *Ion* 925 *ἐπιπλάμαι* takes the gen. *οἴκτου*.

**237–79** For Dik.'s procession and the songs that accompany it, cf. Semos of Delos *FGrH* 396 F 24 ap. Ath. 14. 622a–d, who describes theatrical performances by (1) Dionysiac *ithyphalloi*, who march into the orchestra in silence, turn to the audience, and say 'Make way! Make room for the god! For the god wishes to pass through your midst upright and in full vigour' (carm. pop. *PMG* 851. a); and (2) *phallophoroi*, who march into the theatre singing a song to Bakchos (carm. pop. *PMG* 851. b) and preceded by a man bearing a phallus.

**237** Extrametrical; spoken from within the house. Repeated at 241 (by which time Dik. is on stage). **εὐφημεῖτε:** Lit. 'Use words of good omen only!', in practice 'Keep silence!' *εὐφημία* is routinely requested before any solemn or significant speech or activity (e.g. *Nu.* 263; *V.* 868; *Pax* 434 with Olson on 96–7; *Th.* 295; A. fr. 87 = *Ra.* 1273/4; E. *Ba.* 68–70 with Dodds ad loc.; *IA* 1564), here Dik.'s Dionysiac procession. For doubling of words as typical of ritual language, Norden on Verg. *Aen.* 6. 46; cf. 271.

**238** This verse seems at first only to indicate the chorus' willingness to grant the requested silence (237 with n.), an impression quickly belied by 239–40.

**σίγα πάς:** Sc. *ἔχε* or *ἴσθι*, 'Everyone be still!' (59–60n.). *Pace* Starkie, scarcely paratragic. **ἠκούσατ' . . . τῆς εὐφημίας:** 'Did you hear the [request for] *εὐφημία*?' For *ἀκούω* + gen. of the thing heard, e.g. 572; *Pax* 61 with Olson ad loc.; S. *Ph.* 225; E. *Hec.* 967; KG i. 358. **ἄρα:** Here, as often, implicitly expecting a positive answer (*GP* 46–7). For interrogative *ἄρα* not in first position in its sentence, *GP* 48–9.

**239–40 οὗτος αὐτός ἐστιν:** 'this is the very man'; cf. 223–5n., 280. Were *Ach.* a strictly naturalistic drama, this would be a wild and unlikely surmise (hence Leo's suggestion that a lacuna be marked after 238). But since the audience already know what Dik. has done, the poet gains nothing by having the chorus work the matter out for themselves and he instead simply allows them to guess the truth. Cf. *AAS* 47–8.

**ἀλλὰ δεῦρο πᾶς ἐκποδών:** Cf. *Lys.* 848; *Th.* 293. *δεῦρο* has quasi-verbal force, as often (e.g. *Pax* 881; *Ec.* 695; Theopomp. Com. fr. 33. 6; *E. Heracl.* 48; cf. Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 22), and *ἐκποδών* ('out of the way') tells the individuals addressed where to go (cf. *Pax* 1331; *Ec.* 695), so that (*pace* LSJ s. *ἐκποδών*) there is no reason to add a stop after *πᾶς* ('[come] here! [Get] out of the way!' (cf. *V.* 1340)). For *ἀλλά* with imper., 234-6n. For the eavesdropping motif, *Th.* 36-7; *Ra.* 312-15; *Beobachtungen* 22-6; Garvie on *A. Ch.* 20-1. **θύσων γὰρ κτλ.:**

Strictly speaking, the chorus ought once again not to know this (cf. above), hence the qualification *ὡς ἔοικ(ε)*, but their remark serves to alert the audience in advance about exactly what will happen on stage after *Dik.* enters; cf. *Th.* 38. The chorus withdraw into one of the *eisodoi*, leaving the orchestra open for the hero's sacrifice and procession (241 n.).

**241-79** For this scene, which briefly interrupts the forward movement of the action to offer a vision of life in an ideal world of peace, Horn 63-71, esp. 67-71.

**241** *Dik.* enters from the central door and walks down into the orchestra and up to the permanent altar located there (Introduction, Section V.C). He is followed on stage by: (1) his Daughter (242, 244-6, 253-8), who wears a white ('female') mask (Stone 22-7), an undergarment (*chiton*), and a robe (*himation*), both perhaps dyed bright colours (*Lys.* 1188-94; Stone 155-60, 172-5), and a gold necklace (perhaps a string of coins or the like) about her neck (257-8n.), and who carries a ritual basket or *κανοῦν* (242 n., 244 n., 253-4), probably balanced on her head; on the *κανοῦν* are a cake (245-6 n.), a dipping- or pouring-vessel of some sort (245-6 n.), and a cooking-pot (284 n.) that contains bean-stew (245-6 n.). (2) A pair of mute male slaves (243, 259-60), who most likely have short hair (to cut down on lice) and wear *τρίβωνες* (184-5 n.), perhaps without *chitons*, and *ἐμβάδες* ('rough shoes') or no shoes at all; one of the slaves carries a crude wooden model of an erect penis, the other two long poles (243 n.). (3) His Wife (245, 262), who is dressed like the Daughter although she may not wear a necklace. The verses that follow are accompanied by a great burst of activity on stage, as sacrifice is made and the procession arranged and set under way. For the supposed connection between such processions and the origin of comedy, *DTC*<sup>2</sup> 132-62. **εὐφημεῖτε εὐφημεῖτε:** 237 n.

**242 προῖτω 'ς:** For the 3rd pers. imper., cf. 243. *d*'s *προῖθ' ὡς* is the result of mistaken word-division (*ΠΡΟΙΤΩΣ* taken to represent *προῖτ' ὡς*, with *τ* accordingly corrected to *θ*). **(ἐ)ς τὸ πρόσθεν ὀλίγον:** 'forward a bit' (43-4 n.; *ὀλίγον* is adverbial), i.e. up next to the altar. 243 covers the Daughter's movement from in front of the house down into the orchestra.

**ἡ κανηφόρος:** 'the girl who carries the *κανοῦν*' (244 n.). The *κανηφόρος* referred to most frequently in our sources is the one who



took part in the Panathenaic procession (e.g. *Av.* 1550–1; *Lys.* 646 with Henderson ad loc. (but cancel the reference to ‘E. *Hkld.* 777’); *Ec.* 730–3; Hermipp. fr. 25. 1–2; Men. *Epitr.* 438–9; [Arist.] *Ath.* 18. 2), but many if not most processions must have included one or more (esp. Philoch. *FGrH* 328 F 8; cf. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 668. 32; 3457; Theoc. 2. 66; Mittelhaus, *RE* 10 (1919) 1862–6; *Miasma* 79–80).

**243** Cf. 259–60. **ὁ Ξανθίας:** A very common slave-name in Ar. (*Nu.* 1485; *V.* 1, etc.; *Av.* 656; *Ra.* 271, etc.; cf. Cephisid. fr. 3. 2; Ath. 8. 336e, citing [Alex.] fr. 25; *CGFPR* 106. 118). Lit. ‘Blond One’, which suggests that the individual in question is to be imagined as a Thracian or Skythian (cf. 704–5 n.), as many real Athenian slaves were (Skythians: 53–4 n.; *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 421. 42; 422. 199; 427. 7–8; Thracians: 272–5 n.); cf. Ehrenberg 172–3. Slaves generally have individual names in Ar. only when they are mutes, as Xanthias is here; cf. 861; Olson (1992) 309–12.

**τὸν φαλλὸν ὀρθὸν στησάτω:** Oversize models of an erect penis balanced on a pair of wooden carrying-poles were a standard feature of Dionysiac processions (Hermipp. fr. 7. 2 ὡσπερ Διονυσίοισιν οὐπὶ τῶν ξύλων (‘just like the [penis] on the carrying-poles at the Dionysia’); Hdt. ii. 49. 1; *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 46. 16–17; Arist. *Po.* 1449<sup>a</sup>10–13; Philomnest. *FGrH* 527 F 2; Plu. *Mor.* 527d; Deubner pl. 22; cf. 237–79 n.; Trypho fr. 109), and the point of Dik.’s order is presumably that the second slave is to place his poles on the ground and Xanthias is to balance the phallus on them.

**244 κατάθου:** i.e. on the ground next to the altar (245–6 n.). **τὸ κανοῦν:** ‘the basket’, a basic ritual implement, one or more of which were used to convey the objects necessary for a sacrifice to the altar (e.g. *Pax* 948; *Av.* 850; Pl. Com. fr. 98; H. *Od.* 3. 441–2; E. *HF* 926–7). The *κανοῦν* is routinely depicted in vase-paintings as having a flat bottom and a vertical rim projecting up into three ‘handles’, which are never actually used for carrying it. Cf. Sparkes (1962) 131; J. Schelp, *Das Kanoun: Der griechische Opferkorb* (Beiträge zur Archäologie 8: Würzburg, 1975); van Straten 10–11, 162–4. **ὦ θύγατερ:** 49–51 n. **ἀπαρξώμεθα:** ‘we may begin the ceremony’. One would normally expect the offering to follow a procession rather than precede it (e.g. *Av.* 848–9), and Hamaker and Bachmann accordingly moved 244–52 to after 276 and 279, respectively. Since Dik.’s Wife (whom the Daughter asks to hand her the pouring-vessel at 245) is on the roof by then (262), this will not do, and it seems better to assume that the poet was simply more interested in the phallic procession and song than in the sacrifice that went along with it, and therefore put the latter first, albeit at the price of disrupting the logical order of events.

**245–6** As one of the sacrificial implements, the *ἐτνήρυσις* must have been brought up to the altar in the *κανοῦν* (244 n.), and the simplest explanation of the staging is that the Daughter (1) sets the *κανοῦν* on the ground

next to the altar rather than directly on the altar itself (244), and (2) removes the pot of stew from it and sets the pot on the altar. She then (3) takes the cake out of the *κανοῦν* and—since her hands are occupied with it (note the deictic *τουτουί*)—asks her mother to help her by fetching the pouring-vessel. Respectable maidens very rarely speak on stage in Old Comedy; cf. *Pax* 114-48 (paratragedy). **ἀνάδος**: 'hand me up!' (cf. *Pi. I.* 6. 39) from the basket on the ground. **ἐτνήρυσιν** (< ἔτνος + ἀρύω; cf. *Antiph.* fr. 243. 3 ζωμήρυσιν) occurs only here and at fr. 822 (obscure) and seems less likely to be a ladle (normally *κύαθος* (e.g. *Crates Com.* fr. 16. 7)) than a simple dipping- or pouring-vessel resembling an *ἀρύταινα* (*Eq.* 1091; fr. 450; *Antiph.* fr. 26. 3) or *ἀρύστιχος* (*V.* 855 with MacDowell ad loc.); cf. 1067 οἰνήρυσιν with n.; *AB*, pp. 39. 15-17; 55. 7-8. **ἔτνος** is soup made (wherever ingredients are specified) of peas, beans, or other legumes (*Eq.* 1171 ἔτνος . . . πίσινον ('pea soup'); *Antiph.* fr. 181. 7 ἔτνος . . . πίσινον ('pea soup'); *Henioch.* fr. 4. 7 ἔτνος κυάμινον ('bean soup'); *Hp. Acut. (Sp.)* ii. 500. 9 φάκινον ἔτνος ('lentil soup'); *S* ε 3326 τὸ ὄσπριον ('mixed bean [soup]'); cf. *Ath.* 3. 111b, 114b). Simple, unsophisticated food (esp. *Call. Com.* fr. 26, where ἐλατῆρες (below) are also mentioned), also in *Ar.* at e.g. *Av.* 78; *Lys.* 1061; *Ra.* 62-3, 505-6; *Ec.* 845; fr. 419; 514. **τοῦ (ἐ)λατῆρος**: According to Σ<sup>ΕΓ</sup> and *Hsch.* ε 1888 (cf. *Hsch.* ε 1894; *S* ε 750), an ἐλατήρ (elsewhere only at *Eq.* 1182; *Call. Com.* fr. 26) is a broad, flat cake called after the fact that it was pounded (ἐλαύνω) into shape.

**247-52** For the prayer formula (*da quia dedi*), 263-79n.; Olson on *Pax* 385-8.

**247-9 καὶ μὴν**: 'Behold!, Indeed!' (*GP* 356-7; cf. 878, 908 with n.; Wakker, in *NAGP* 227-8). **καλόν γ' ἔστ'**: *Sc.* τὸ ἔτνος or simply τὸ πρᾶγμα, '[the soup]' or '[the affair] is propitious' (for this sense of *καλός*, e.g. *Phryn. Com.* fr. 9. 1; *E. Ph.* 1202; *Men. Kol.* fr. 1. 2-3), the point being that the liquid has flowed smoothly, or covered the proper portion of the cake, or the like. **ὦ Διόνυσε δέσποτα**: *Dik.* turns one or both palms up and looks to the sky in the standard ancient gesture for prayer (e.g. *Pax* 56-7; *Av.* 622-3 with Dunbar ad loc.; *E. Hel.* 1095-6). *δέσποτα* ('master') is a humble form of address (Barrett on *E. Hipp.* 88-9), appropriate for use by an eager petitioner (e.g. *V.* 389; *Pax* 389; *Lys.* 940). **κεχαρισμένως** ('in an acceptable, pleasing fashion') and its cognates are standard religious vocabulary (e.g. *Pax* 386 with Olson ad loc.; *H. Od.* 16. 184; *Anacr. PMG* 357. 7; *Pl. Euthphr.* 14b; *Phdr.* 273e; *X. Eq. Mag.* 1. 1). *Pace* Starkie, the adv. appears elsewhere not only at *Pl. Phdr.* 273e but also at *D.S.* xvii. 47. 2; *Plu. Mor.* 6b. **τήνδε τὴν πομπὴν . . . / πέμψαντα**: For the importance of processions in Athenian religious life, Olson on *Pax* 396-9. **μετὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν**: 'with the members of my household' (*A. Ag.* 733 with Fraenkel ad loc.) rather than 'with my slaves' (e.g. *Nu.* 7), but with particular attention to

the hero's wife and child, who are standing with him beside the altar and whom he specifically requested at 132 be included in his peace-treaty.

**250-2** A specific wish followed by a more general one. For 250-1, 201-2 with n.

**ἀγαγεῖν . . . ξυνευκεῖν:** Optative infins., which typically appear after an invocation of a divinity (as here) and express a wish for the future (e.g. 816-17; *V.* 879-84; *Ra.* 387-8 (where Dover's edition omits discussion of the construction, despite 886-7 n.), 886-7; cf. KG ii. 22-3; Goodwin § 785; Bers 182-3). For the sense of ἄγω, 201-2 n. **τυχηρῶς** = εὐτυχῶς. *τυχηρός* is attested before Aristotle only here and at *Th.* 305 (in the prayer that begins the women's mock Assembly) and *A. Ag.* 464, and is perhaps specifically religious language (thus Fraenkel ad loc.). For the man in the street's view of the role of *τύχη* in human affairs in this period, *Th.* i. 140. 1; J. D. Mikalson, *Athenian Popular Religion* (Chapel Hill and London, 1983) 59-62.

**στρατιᾶς ἀπαλλαχθέντα:** 201 with n. *στρατιά* is here 'military service, campaigning', with no necessary implication of 'combat' (e.g. 1143 with n.; *Eq.* 587 ἐν στρατιαῖς τε καὶ μάχαις ('in campaigns and battles'); *V.* 354 with van Leeuwen ad loc.); contrast 81 with n. Where forms of the 1st aor. ἀπηλλάχθην will not do metrically, Ar. uses the 2nd aor. ἀπηλλάγην (e.g. 201; *Pax* 293; *Pl.* 263; fr. 402. 3). Where either would do, the MSS routinely offer the 1st aor. (*V.* 504; *Pl.* 66; cf. Theopomp. Com. fr. 8. 1), as here, and there is no compelling reason to adopt van Leeuwen's ἀπαλλαγέντα. The

adv. **καλῶς** simply makes the sense of ξυνευκεῖν ('turn out [well]') explicit; cf. *Nu.* 594; *Ec.* 475; *A. Supp.* 753; *S. Ph.* 627; *X. An.* vii. 8. 4.

**253-62** With the sacrifice (244-7) and prayer (247-52) complete, Dik. sets his procession under way.

**253-4 ὅπως + fut.:** A colloquial equivalent of an imper., '[See to it] that you . . .!'; very common in Ar. (e.g. 741, 746; *Nu.* 489 with van Leeuwen ad loc.; cf. 343; KG ii. 376-7; Goodwin §§ 271, 273; Stevens 29-30; López Eire 192).

**τὸ κανοῦν:** 244 n. **καλή καλῶς:** Also of a *κανηφόρος* at *Ec.* 730\*. An Aristophanic adaptation of the far more common colloquialism *κακὸς κακῶς et sim.* (e.g. *Eq.* 189; *Nu.* 554; *Pl.* 65, 418; *Eub.* fr. 115. 1-2; *Men. Dysk.* 220-1; cf. R. Renehan, *Studies in Greek Texts* (Hypomnemata, Heft 43: Göttingen, 1976) 114-15; López Eire 162-3). The effect of the jingle is increased by the alliteration with *κανοῦν*.

**βλέπουσα θυμβροφάγον:** *θύμβρα* is 'savory' (*Satureia thymbra*), a sharp-flavoured herb resembling thyme (*Thphr. CP* iii. 1. 4; *HP* i. 12. 2; Andrews, *Osiris* 13 (1958) 152-3). A 'savory-eating' look is thus one in which the lips are pursed up as if in anger or hostility (cf. *Nu.* 421 (of an extremely austere way of life) *θυμβρεπιδείπνου* ('dining on savory'); for similar expressions, 95 with n., 566; *Eq.* 631; *V.* 455; *Pax* 1184; *Ra.* 603a; *Ec.* 292b; adesp. com. fr. 633 (352-6 n.); cf. Taillardat § 385), so as to create a proleptic appearance of profound hostility to verbal or physical advances of any sort; contrast 990 (a lovely face makes

a woman appealing). Cf. 254-6 (where Dik.'s seemingly encouraging remarks about the good fortune of the man who will marry his Daughter and get her pregnant abruptly veer off into mock-praise of her farting), 1056-7n.

**254-6** **ὡς μακάριος**: Sc. *ἔσται*. Exclamatory *ὡς*, 'how blessed!'; cf. 333, 473, 990; KG ii. 439. *μακάριος* and *μάκαρ* ('blessed, fortunate') are routinely used as congratulatory forms of address for a bride or groom (*Pax* 1336; *Av.* 1760, cf. 1721-2; Hes. fr. 211. 7; *E. Med.* 957 (sarcastic); *Tr.* 311-12; *Hel.* 375, cf. 1434; *Phaëth.* 240 with Diggle ad loc.; Men. *Sik.* 400). **ὅστις σ' ὀπύσει**: The indef. rel. pron. + fut. indic. is equivalent to the def. *ὅς* + subjunc. + *ἄν*, as at *Eq.* 1107; *Pax* 1267; *Th.* 917 (Goodwin § 530). *σ'* was omitted from RP via haplography after *ὅστις*. *ὀπύω* is archaic language, attested elsewhere before the late classical period only in high poetry (e.g. *H. Il.* 13. 379; *Od.* 2. 207; Hes. *Th.* 819; *Pi. I.* 4. 66; cf. fr. 233. 4 (a word cited from H.); Theoc. 22. 161), in a marriage law of Solon (ap. *Plu. Sol.* 20. 2), and repeatedly in the Gortyn law code (*IC* iv. 72. col. vii. 1, 16, 20-1, etc.). **(ἐ)κποήσεται**: 'shall produce, beget'; as at *Pax* 708 (a parodic betrothal scene). **γαλάς / σοῦ μηδὲν ἤττους βδεῖν**: 253-4n.; cf. *Pl.* 693 *ὑπὸ τοῦ δέου βδέουσα δριμύτερον γαλήης* ('out of terror farting more pungent than a weasel'). The enthusiastic mousing of the weasel made it a welcome guest (if not exactly a pet) in Greek houses (*Arist. HA* 609<sup>b</sup>28-30; cf. Gow on Theoc. 15. 27-8; Benton, *CR* NS 19 (1969) 260-3; Olson on *Pax* 792-5). Here the word appears *para prosdokian* for *θυγατέρας* ('daughters'), but *pace MM* § 427 (1) nothing else suggests that *γαλή* 'was a slang term for girls' and (2) *V.* 1185 is irrelevant. For *ἤττους* (Elmsley's correction of α's *ἤττον*, altered to match the case of *μηδὲν* by a copyist who failed to understand the construction) + epexegetic infin., cf. *V.* 232 *κρείττων . . . σου . . . βαδίζειν*; *Av.* 610 *κρείττους . . . τοῦ Διὸς . . . βασιλεύειν*. For *βδεῖν*, see below. **ὄρθρος** is not 'dawn' but the time shortly before dawn (e.g. *Av.* 495-6; *Ec.* 740-1; Men. fr. 265. 2-5; cf. Burnet on *Pl. Cri.* 43a1; Gow on Theoc. 18. 14; Wallace, *TAPA* 119 (1989) 201-7), which Ar. elsewhere treats as a typical occasion for having sex (*Lys.* 966, 1089 with Henderson on 59-60; *Ec.* 525-7 with Ussher on 526). Henderson (*MM* § 427) accordingly argues that *βδεῖν* ('to fart'; coarse, colloquial vocabulary, also at e.g. *Eq.* 898; *Pax* 151; *Pl.* 703) appears here *para prosdokian* for *βινεῖν* ('to fuck' (1051-3n.)), i.e. *βινεῖσθαι* (*MM* § 207). Be that as it may, farting is mentioned in large part simply because Ar.'s audience found public discussion of it funny; cf. 30-1n.

**257-8** The procession has not yet got under way, and Dik. accordingly uses the imperfective imper. **πρόβαινε** ('lead the way!'), whereas at 262 he uses the aor. **πρόβα** ('Forward march!'); cf. Rijksbaron 43-4. **κὰν τῶχλω**: Cf. the charge made against Inlaw at *Th.* 893-4 *οὗτος*

πανουργῶν δεῦρ' ἀνήλθεν . . . / ὡς τὰς γυναῖκας ἐπὶ κλοπῇ τοῦ χρυσίου ('this fellow came up here to where the women are with bad intent to steal our gold') and more generally E. *Heracl.* 43–4 νέας γὰρ παρθένους αἰδούμεθα / ὄχλω πελάζειν ('shame bars us from exposing young unmarried women to a crowd'); *Or.* 108 ἐς ὄχλον ἔρπειν παρθένοισιν οὐ καλόν ('to enter a crowd is not good for young unmarried women'). τῷ (ὄ)χλω is to be taken as a reference first to the other individuals imagined standing in the street (cf. 262 n.) but also to the audience in the Theatre, which can be assumed (on normal comic logic) to include a very high percentage of malefactors of all sorts (cf. *Nu.* 1096–1100; *Ra.* 274–6; *Ec.* 435–40). Athens lacked any effective police force (Hunter 120–53, esp. 120–4, 134–9) and street-crime was apparently common. The individual referred to here is a κλέπτης ('thief'), who relies on guile—in this case using the ordinary jostling of the crowd (23–4 n.) as a cover for his actions, much as pickpockets do today—rather than a ἄρπαξ ('robber') or λωποδύτης ('mugger'), both of whom normally work at night, use force or the threat of force, and try to catch their victims alone. Cf. 130–1 n., 524–5 n. Common criminals caught ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ ('red-handed') could be brought before the Eleven and, if they confessed, summarily executed (Aeschin. 1. 91; [Arist.] *Ath.* 52. 1; cf. D. 24. 113; 35. 47; 54. 1, 24; Lys. 10. 10; Lipsius 320 n. 15; Harrison ii. 17–18), although the victim could presumably exact some less dramatic punishment if he wished; cf. 272–5 with n. For the distinction between thievery and robbery (apparently enshrined in Athenian law), *Pl.* 372; Myrtil. fr. 5. 1; Antipho 5. 9; *Pl. R.* 575b; Isoc. 15. 90. **φυλάττεσθαι:** A jussive infin., for which the imper. πρόβαινε serves as a sort of condition ('Go forward, and [if you do,] be on guard!'); here probably colloquial (Bers 180–1), cf. 131 with n. **σφόδρα:** 71–2 n. **σου:** To be taken with τὰ χρυσία **περιτράγη:** τρώγω is 'nibble' (801–3 n.), and περιτρώγω is thus 'nibble around' the edge or outside of a thing (*V.* 672; *Pax* 415, *Ra.* 988; cf. *V.* 596) and so (assuming the process continues) 'bite off' (Pherecr. fr. 14. 5–6; the vb. is attested elsewhere before the Roman period only at Hippon. fr. 88. 3 (obscure)). Dik.'s warning is thus most naturally taken as a reference to the danger of someone snipping off ornaments or coins that dangle from a necklace resembling those illustrated by R. Higgins, *Greek and Roman Jewellery*<sup>2</sup> (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1980) pl. 26–7. Cf. 6–8 n.; Taillardat § 538. **τὰ χρυσία:** Greek women of all ages wore fine clothes and gold jewellery at festivals (*Th.* 893–4 (above); Stone 244–5), but mention is most often made in such contexts of unmarried girls (*Lys.* 1189–94; E. *El.* 176–7, 190–2; cf. *Ar.* 670; Alex. fr. 100 (obscure); H. *Il.* 2. 872; E. *Hec.* 151–2; Lycophronid. *PMG* 843. 1–2), who presumably used this *inter alia* as a means of advertising the likely size of their dowry (cf. D. 41. 27), despite the fact that elements of the costume were sometimes borrowed from

others (*Lys.* 1189-94; *Ec.* 446-8; *E. El.* 190-2; *Theoc.* 2. 72-4 with Gow on 74).

**259-60** σφῶν δ' ἐστὶν . . . ἐκτέος / ὁ φαλλός: An Attic construction (KG i. 447; Goodwin §§ 921-2). σφῶν is the two slaves. ἐξόπισθε: An Attic form (e.g. 868; *Ra.* 286; Axionic. fr. 1. 3; S. fr. 598. 1; Pl. *Lg.* 947d; Arist. *HA* 512<sup>b</sup>14) of the epic ἐξόπιθε (e.g. *H. Il.* 17. 521; Hes. *Sc.* 130). τῆς κανηφόρου: 242 n.

**261** Dik. takes his place behind the phallus-bearers, perhaps carrying the pot that contained the sacrificial ἔτνος ('soup'; cf. 245-6 n., 284). τὸ φαλλικόν: For other specific references to singing as part of phallic processions, *carm. pop. PMG* 851. a-b (237-79 n.); *Philomnest. FGrH* 527 F 2.

**262** ὦ γυναῖ: 'Wife'; cf. 49-51 n.; Dickey 86-8, 243-5; contrast 1063 ('Woman'). θεῶ μ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγους: Greek roofs were tiled (e.g. *Nu.* 1126-7; *Th.* iv. 48. 2; *Herod.* 3. 44; cf. fr. 363. 2; *Pherecr.* fr. 137. 6) and people seem not to have gone up onto them except under extraordinary circumstances. Despite most modern commentators, however, roofs are unlikely to have been entirely flat, although the incline must have been relatively gentle, so that one could if necessary sit, stand, lie down, or even dance (doubtless very cautiously) on top of them (e.g. *Nu.* 1502-3; *V.* 68; *Lys.* 389, 395; *Men. Sam.* 45-6; *A. Ag.* 2-3; *Lys.* 3. 11; *Herod.* 3. 40-1). Here the idea is that the imaginary crowd lining the street (cf. 257-8) is so large that Dik.'s Wife must get on the roof to have a good view of the procession, as at *Call. h.* 6. 4-5. For use of the roof in 5th-c. drama, Mastronarde, *CA* 9 (1990) 254-68, esp. 258-62. The Wife exits into Dik.'s house and perhaps climbs an interior ladder and emerges on the roof a few lines later. As she plays no further part in the action, however, it seems more likely that she simply disappears and the point of the order is to get her off stage. πρόβα: Addressed to the Daughter, who takes up the κανοῦν again (cf. 245-6 n.) and begins to walk in a circle around the orchestra (cf. 257-8) followed first by the slaves carrying the phallus (259-60) and then by Dik. For the form of the vb. (colloquial), Stevens 63.

**263-79** Iambs, analysed by metr. Σ<sup>ΕΓ</sup> 263 and metr. Σ<sup>ΕΓ</sup> 274, probably drawing on Heliodoros (cf. White §§ 830-60, esp. 832; Holwerda, *Mnemosyne* IV. 17 (1964) 113-39; IV. 20 (1967) 247-72; Parker 95-7) and followed by all MSS except **a**, as: eight dimeters (263-70), the third (265) catalectic; three trimeters (271-3); two dimeters (274-5); a metron (276); and three trimeters (277-9). This places numerous divisions within words, or between prepositions and their objects, or after elision, or the like, and will not do. There are no firm indications of colon-end other than the hiatus at the end of 265 and the *brevis in longo* at the end of 278. I follow Parker 126-9, in attempting to preserve the natural punctuation of the song wherever possible, and thus print it as a mix of

dimeters (263, 270), trimeters (271–3, 277–9), tetrameters (264–5 (catalectic), 266–9, 274–5), and one metron (276). Cf. White § 90; Prato 6–7; Zimmermann ii. 41–2; iii. 1–2. Dik.'s song amounts to an explicit acknowledgement that the troubles described in 32–3 have been corrected, and falls into three parts, each introduced by an invocation of the god (263, 271, 276): (1) an extended initial invocation of *Φαλῆς* (cf. 263 n.), followed by a description of the circumstances under which the speaker is addressing him (263–70); (2) an explanation of why the speaker has concluded the peace that has made this celebration possible, cast in terms that recall the god's own area of interest and thus equivalent to a request that he eventually allow the events described to take place in consideration of the honour being paid him now (271–5; cf. 247–52 n.); (3) an explicit invitation to the god to join the celebration (276–9).

- 263 Φάλης:** 'Penis' (cf. 271, 276), i.e. the personification of the large wooden phallus (*φάλης* or *φαλῆς* (the accent is disputed); *Lys.* 771; adesp. com. fr. 154; S. fr. 314. 151 (satyr-play); *Theoc. e.* 4. 3; cf. 835 with n.; *Av.* 565; and the title *Τριφάλης*) carried in the procession (243 n.). **ἑταῖρε Βακχίου:** The fundamental point is that wine and sex go naturally together ( $\Sigma^{\text{ET}}$ , citing *H. Il.* 9. 2 for the metaphorical use of *ἑταῖρος* ('comrade'); cf. *H. Il.* 4. 440–1), but the adjs. that follow make it clear that the image is of a wild revelling-band wandering the streets at night in search of sexual opportunity. *Βακχίου* (Scaliger's correction of *δ*'s unmetrical *Βακχείου*, a very common error (e.g. *Lys.* 1283/4; *S. Ant.* 154; *Tr.* 219); cf. Dodds on *E. Ba.* 126–9) is literally 'the Bacchic one'; also a periphrasis for 'Dionysos' at e.g. *E. Ba.* 67; cf. *Lys.* 1283/4; *Th.* 988; *Ra.* 1259.
- 264–5 ξύγκωμε:** 'fellow-reveller', i.e. of the speaker rather than of Dionysos (263); the idea is taken up again in 277–8. The word is attested before the Hellenistic period only in dramatic lyric (*A. fr.* 355. 3; *E. Ba.* 1172; cf. Leon. *AP* v. 206. 6 = *HE* 2236; Mel. *AP* xii. 83. 3 = *HE* 4344). For the *κῶμος* and the associated idea of wandering about drunk at night, 980 n. **νυκτοπεριπλάνητε:** A hapax legomenon and probably an Aristophanic coinage. **μοιχέ:** *μοιχεία* ('seduction', not just of another man's wife but of any free woman) is a constant source of fear and fantasy for Ar.'s male characters (e.g. *Pax* 979–85 with Olson on 978–80 (with bibliography, to which add Todd 276–9; A. C. Scafuro, *The Forensic Stage* (Cambridge, 1997) 474–8; C. B. Patterson, *The Family in Greek History* (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1998) 107–79); *Av.* 793–6; fr. 191; cf. 849 with n.). If caught, a real *μοιχός* ('seducer') might be killed on the spot by the woman's husband or father (*Lys.* 1. 25–7, 49; *lex ap. D.* 23. 53), subjected to physical abuse (*Nu.* 1079–84; *Pl.* 168; *X. Mem.* ii. 1. 5), or made to pay monetary compensation with the demand enforced by the threat of imprisonment (*Lys.* 1. 25; *D.* 59. 65–6); cf. Lipsius 429–34; *Law* 124–5; N. R. E. Fisher,

*Hybris* (Warminster, 1992) 104-7.

**παιδεραστά:** Aristophanic

characters treat a desire to have sex with attractive boys as no more or less normal than a desire to have sex with other people's women (i.e. to engage in *μοιχεία*; cf. above) (*Eq.* 1384-6; *Av.* 137-42; *Ra.* 56; cf. *V.* 578; Dover, *GH* 60-8). Real Athenian fathers, on the other hand, seem to have done their best to frustrate such relationships (Pl. *Smp.* 183c-d; Dover, *GH* 82-3; cf. *Av.* 137-42), which is to say that pederasty (here obviously not a purely 'Platonic' form of love) is another type of essentially illicit sex and thus additional good material for fantasy. Hubbard, *Arion* III. 6 (1998) 48-78, deals with pederasty at great length, arguing that the average Athenian disapproved of it, but fails to explain this passage or *Eq.* 1384-6 (where one of the Sausage-seller's gifts to Demos (the Athenian people personified) is a slave-boy to bugger).

**266-70 ἔκτω . . . ἔτει:** The first Spartan invasion of Attika took place in summer 431 (Th. ii. 19) and small-scale raids on the countryside probably occurred more or less constantly after that (1023 n.). The last Rural Dionysia (201-2 n.) celebrated freely in the countryside will thus have been in late 432, on inclusive reckoning in the seventh rather than the sixth year before *Ach.* was performed; cf. *Eq.* 793 ἔτος ὄγδοον ('the eighth year'), where the count is correct. Given the existence of a similar problem in 890, this must be evidence either of a somewhat casual attitude toward chronology on the poet's part (cf. *Pax* 990 with Olson ad loc.) or of the Greeks' occasional readiness to count exclusively. **προσείπον:** 'address in greeting', as at e.g. 882, 891; *Pax* 557; *Ra.* 1145; *Pl.* 786. For the 'polite' aor., Lloyd 34-5.

**τὸν δῆμον:** 33 n.

**ἄσμενος:** Elsewhere in Ar. only in *Pax*, where the word is used repeatedly to describe reactions to the recovery of peace (540, 557, 582, 600; cf. 1286).

**σπονδὰς ποησάμενος:** 51-2 n.

**πραγμάτων . . . /**

**. . . ἀπαλλαγείς:** 201-2 n. *πράγματα* are here 'troubles' generally; cf. 310, 757, 939 with n.

**Λαμάχων:** A reference to Lamachos son of Xenophanes (*PA* 8981; *PAA* 601230), probably of the deme Oe (568 n.), represented on stage at 572-622, 1072-1141, 1190-1226 by a character who serves as the principal individual villain of the play. The pl. indicates venomous contempt, as at 603, 605; *Av.* 484 (where Dunbar, however, retains the MSS's singular), 1701 *Γοργίαι τε καὶ Φίλιπποι*; cf. Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 1439. Ar. also mentions Lam. unfavourably at *Pax* 304, 473-4, 1290-3. Plutarch (doubtless drawing on some lost comedy) reports that the historical Lam. was too poor even to buy his own boots when sent off on campaign (*Nic.* 15. 1; cf. *Alc.* 21), an obviously exaggerated picture which shows only that he was known not to be wealthy. Lam. served as a military commander during an ill-attested expedition into the Black Sea region led by Perikles sometime probably in the mid-430s (Plu. *Per.* 20. 1 with Stadter ad loc.) and was a general in 425/4, when he lost ten ships while raising funds in the same area



(Th. iv. 75 with Hornblower ad loc.). That he was also a general in 426/5 is possible (569–71 n., 593, 1073–5 n.), and Ar. implies in any case that he held numerous official appointments during the early Peloponnesian War years (esp. 597, 613–14) and leaves little doubt that he favoured vigorous prosecution of the war (cf. 620–2). Lamachos swore to the peace-accords with Sparta and her allies in 421 (Th. v. 19. 2, 24. 1), although that tells us nothing of his personal political sympathies (*HCT* on iv. 119. 2), and was one of the original commanders of the expedition to Sicily (Th. vi. 8. 2; And. 1. 11; *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 370. 52, 54, 56; cf. Th. vi. 49. 1), where he died fighting bravely in 414 (Th. vi. 101. 6; cf. 1178 n.). After his death, Ar. speaks of him in a more appreciative way (*Th.* 839–41; *Ra.* 1039 (although cf. Halliwell, *LCM* 7 (1982) 154)). The name is probably constructed from the intensifying prefix λα- (219–20 n.) + μάχη ('battle'; for the word-play on μαχῶν, cf. 1071), and is thus uniquely appropriate here; cf. Larsen, *CP* 41 (1946) 92–4.

**271** πολλῶ . . . ἐσθ' ἡδιον: 'it is far more pleasant', i.e. than putting up with the troubles and obnoxious individuals referred to in 268–70. Triklinios' unmetrical ἐστὶν reflects his failure to realize that the ι in ἡδιον is long. ὦ Φάλης Φάλης: 263 n.; cf. 276. For the doubling of the name, 237 n.

**272–5** What is described here is beyond any doubt a rape; contrast 264–5, where the sexual relationships alluded to are presumably consensual. The fact that the victim has been caught red-handed stealing is none the less intended to excuse the attack (cf. 257–8 n.; Dover, *G&G* 294–5, who notes that Priapos treats anyone he catches pillaging a garden in the same way), and the crucial word κλέπτουσαν ('stealing') therefore stands at the very beginning of the description of the scene. Under normal conditions, the rape of another man's slave was an act of *hybris* (cf. 479 n.), which could be prosecuted by means of a *graphe* brought before the Eliaia (*lex ap. D.* 21. 47; cf. Lipsius 426–8; Harrison i. 168–9; *Law* 129–32).

**272–3** κλέπτουσαν εὐρόνθ': For εὐρίσκω + part. with the sense 'catch someone doing something', e.g. *V.* 449; *Pax* 372; Cratin. fr. 53; Stratt. fr. 3. 2. The obvious implication of the specification that the slave-girl is charged with collecting and carrying wood (ύληφόρον; see below) is that this is what she is caught stealing (cf. *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1362). ὠρικὴν: Like the much more common ὠραῖος (1148 with n.), ὠρικός (also at *Pl.* 963; fr. 245; Crates Com. fr. 43. 1) is used to describe a thing that is caught at the perfect time (ὦρα) and is thus particularly desirable. ύληφόρον: Cutting and carrying wood was rough, heavy work and therefore probably a task normally assigned to slaves (*Men. Her.* 52; contrast *Men. Dysk.* 30–2); cf. Olson (1991b) 415–16. τὴν Στρυμοδώρου Θράτταν: Θράττα (actually an ethnic) is the most common female slave-name in Ar. (*V.* 828; *Pax* 1138; *Th.* 279–94; cf. *Pl. Com.* fr. 61), presump-

ably reflecting what seems to have been a high percentage of Thracians among real Athenian servants (one-third of those identified by ethnicity in *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 421–30; cf. *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 1037. 35; Pl. *Th.* 174a, c; Eup. fr. 262; Archipp. fr. 27); cf. 243 n. For ethnics used as slave-names, cf. Φρύξ (*V.* 433); Σύρα (*Pax* 1146); Str. 7. 304; Headlam on Herod. 1. 1. The name Strymodoros (also borne by Aristophanic characters at *V.* 233; *Lys.* 259; by historical individuals at D. 36. 29 (an Aiginetan) and perhaps *SEG* 16 (1959) 129. 1 = Agora inv. I. 3060 Στρυμ . . . . (4th c.)) must represent an allusion to the enormous wealth in gold, silver, and timber produced by the area drained by the River Strymon (*Th.* iv. 108. 1 with Hornblower ad loc.; cf. 134–5 n.), which formed the border between Macedon and Thrace (whence the slave-girl in question here) in this period and on which the important Athenian colony of Amphipolis lay. **ἐκ**

**τοῦ φελλέως:** Modifying τὴν . . . Θράτταν; for the omission of the second τὴν, *KG* i. 615–16. φελλεύς is poor, rocky land, useful only for marginal purposes such as grazing goats (Σ<sup>REG</sup>; *Nu.* 71 ὅταν [sc. ἐλαύνης] . . . τὰς αἶγας ἐκ τοῦ φελλέως ('whenever [you drive] the goats in from the φελλεύς') with Dover ad loc.; Pl. *Crit.* 111c (contrasted with πεδία πλήρη γῆς πιείρας ('plains full of fertile land')); *Is.* 8. 42 as emended by Reiske; *Harp.* Φ 10, citing Cratin. fr. 297), which (if this is her master's only holding) may help explain why this slave is stealing from someone else's property, although there is in addition a pun on Φαλῆς/φαλλός ('Phales/phallus').

**274–5 μέσῃν λαβόντ' ἄραντα καταβαλόντα:** The language is drawn from the palaestra (cf. 710 n.), where a standard winning move was to get in under an opponent's guard, seize him firmly about the waist, lift him off the ground (ἀείρω, Attic αἶρω; cf. 565 with n.), and throw him down (*Ec.* 259–61 with Ussher ad loc.; M. B. Poliakoff, *Combat Sports in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (New Haven and London, 1987) 23–53, esp. 23–5). To be 'held about the middle' (ἔχομαι μέσος) is thus to be trapped and in desperate need of assistance (571; *Eq.* 388; *Nu.* 1047; *Ra.* 469; *Pi. N.* 4. 36–7; cf. *Lys.* 437; Aristoph. fr. 5. 3; Poliakoff 40–6). At the same time, a second sense of ἄραντα, 'raising [her legs]', so as to facilitate intercourse (cf. *Pax* 889; *Ar.* 1253–6; *Lys.* 229; *Thphr. Char.* 28. 3; *MM* § 317), is also heard. Seemingly adapted at *Ael. Epist.* 9. γίγαρτα are 'grape-stones' (*Pax* 634 with Olson ad loc.) and καταγιγαρτίσαι (a hapax) is obviously used metaphorically to mean 'fuck'. It is none the less unclear whether the intended sense is (a) 'remove her seed', i.e. 'deflower her' (thus Starkie, followed by *MM* § 285); (b) 'press her like a grape' (thus van Leeuwen); or (c) 'stick my grape-stone/penis into her' (thus Σ<sup>REG</sup>3; cf. the use of κατα- in καταπύγων (79 n.) and of ἐρέβινθος (lit. 'chick-pea') to mean 'penis' at *Ra.* 545). **ac** have καταγιγαρτίσαι ᾧ (unmetrical; -ῆσαι ᾧ R), and Triklinios accordingly emended to καταγιγαρτίσ' ᾧ. As all modern editors except Hall and

Geldart and Rogers have seen, it is better to follow Elmsley in placing a full stop after the infin. and expelling  $\hat{\omega}$  (presumably added under the influence of 271).

**276-8 Φάλης Φάλης:** 271 n.

**ἐὰν μεθ' ἡμῶν ξυμπίης:** 264-5 n.

**ἐκ κραιπάλης:** A κραιπάλη is either an all-night drinking-party (*V.* 1255 with MacDowell ad loc.; Alex. fr. 9. 8; Phryn. *PS* p. 78. 12-13 ἡ ἀφ' ἑσπέρας ἄχρι εἰς ὄρθρον πόσις ('drinking that lasts from evening until just before dawn')) or, by extension, the hangover that results from such a party (e.g. *Pl.* 298; Nicoch. fr. 18. 2; Eub. fr. 124. 2; Alex. fr. 257. 1). Given (1) the fact that this is supposed to be an enticing invitation and (2) the specification **ἔωθεν** in 278, the former sense is more likely here. For ἐκ meaning 'after', 1164-5; *V.* 1255; Alex. fr. 9. 8 (the latter two both ἐκ κραιπάλης); Poultney 164.

**εἰρήνης ῥοφήσει τρύβλιον:** Cf. *Eq.* 905 μισθοῦ τρύβλιον ῥοφήσαι ('to slurp up a bowl of wages'). ῥοφέω is the *vox propria* for ingesting thick liquids such as lentil porridge (*V.* 811-14) or gruel (fr. 208); *pace Beobachtungen* 27-8, there is no specific allusion to technical medical vocabulary. The deponent fut. mid. ῥοφήσομαι is metrically guaranteed at *V.* 814 and **d**'s ῥοφήσει should probably be corrected to Elmsley's ῥοφήσει, as also at *Eq.* 360; *Pax* 716. A τρύβλιον is a flat bowl, common in kitchen-catalogues and the like (e.g. *V.* 937; Eub. fr. 37. 1; Axionic. fr. 7. 1) and used elsewhere for mixing and mashing (*Pl.* 1108), storing small fish (*Eq.* 649-50; *Av.* 77), and serving and consuming thick, semiliquid substances (Crates Com. fr. 11; Alex. fr. 146. 2-3 with Arnott ad loc.; Diph. fr. 64. 2 (where the word is misaccented in K-A); cf. above).

**279 56-8 n.**

**ἐν τῷ φεψάλῳ:** 'in the spark(s)' (cf. 668; *V.* 227; *Lys.* 107); a collective sing. (KG i. 13)

**κρεμήσεται:** Fut. mid. with pass. sense (KG i. 114-16; cf. *V.* 808); R has the pass. κρεμασθήσεται (unmetrical), a careless error by someone concentrating on the sense of the passage rather than on the text itself.

**280-3** Paeano-trochaic metre; cf. White § 234; Prato 8-9; Zimmermann i. 39; iii 2; Parker 128-9.

Metrical Analysis:

(1)	280	- - - -	- - - -	2tr
(2)	281	- - - -	- - - -	2tr
(3)	282	- - - -	- - - -	tr p
(4)	283	- - -	- - -	2cr

(3) Bergk's παῖε πᾶς (cf. 204-5 n.; [E.] *Rh.* 685 (corrupt)) for **d**'s παῖε παῖε converts this line into cr p and thus produces a neater division between trochees (281-2) and paeano-cretics (283), but emendation is unnecessary.

(4) Triklinios added ἄν after βαλεῖς<sup>1</sup>, converting 283 into tr cr so as to match 282 more closely.

With Dik.'s sacrifice and procession and the temporary interruption of the action they represent (241-79n.) complete, the chorus repeat their original conclusion that this must be the man they seek (280; cf. 239) and accordingly prepare to stone him (281-3; cf. 236 with n.). As they speak these lines, they rush out of the *eisodos* in which they have been hiding (239-40n.) and let loose a wild volley of stones (perhaps represented by bits of leather or the like). Dik.'s Daughter and the slaves respond by fleeing into the other *eisodos*; if the Wife is on the roof (cf. 262n.), she too disappears. οὗτος αὐτός ἐστιν: 239-40n.

βάλλε βάλλε βάλλε βάλλε / παίε παίε: For similar strings of imperatives, with the repetition serving to mark the speaker's agitation, *Eq.* 247; *Nu.* 1508; *V.* 456; *Pax* 1119; *A. Eu.* 130; [*E.*] *Rh.* 675b; *X. An.* v. 7. 21, 28; cf. Arnott on *Alex.* fr. 207. 1. For *παίω* used of an attack with missiles, *Ar.* 1187 with Dunbar ad loc. τὸν μιαρὸν: 182-3n. οὐ βαλεῖς: 165-6n.

**284-302 ~ 335-46** Trochaic tetrameters catalectic (spoken by Dik.), interspersed with paeano-cretics (spoken by the chorus). 284-302 and 335-46 are strophe and antistrophe, respectively, although metr. Σ<sup>ΕΓ</sup> (corrupt or confused, and perhaps both), followed by R and (in the strophe only) β, analyses them as a pair of 'monostrophic dyads', i.e. two matching songs each containing its own pair of ten-colon strophes and antistrophes. Cf. White § 452; Prato 10-11; Zimmermann i. 39-41; iii. 2-3; Parker 128-33. The traditional numbering of the lines follows the β-tradition and in particular the Aldine, which alone prints 294-5 as two separate verses.

Metrical Analysis:

(1) 284	-υ--- - υ--υ ---υ--- -υ~	4tr <sup>^</sup>
~ 335	υ	
(2) 285	υυ- υυ- υυ - υυ- υυ-	
~ 336	υ	
(3) 286	-υ--- -υ--- -υ- υ -υ-	4tr <sup>^</sup>
~ 337	υ	
(4) 287-92	-υ- - υ- -υ-  -υυυ -υυυ	
~ 338-40	-υυυ -υ- - υ- -υυυ -υυυ	
	-υυυ -υ-	3cr 3p 2cr 3p cr
	υ	~ 3cr 3p cr 3p 2cr
(5) 293	-υ---  -υ--- -υ--υ -υ~	4tr <sup>^</sup>
~ 341	υ	
(6) 294-5	-υ- -υυυ -υυυ -υ-  -υ-	cr 2p 2cr ~
~ 342	υ	2cr p 2cr
(7) 296 ~	-υ-υ -υ--- -υ--- -υ-	4tr <sup>^</sup>
~ 343	υ	

(8) 297-302	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -		
~ 344-6	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -		
	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	2cr 2p cr 3p 4cr	
							~ 3cr p cr 5p 2cr

(2) Metrically *sui generis*; Parker 129, tentatively suggests that the verse might be identified as an acephalic dactylic pentameter (better hexameter?) catalectic.

(6) Elmsley's ἀκούσωμεν (deliberative subjunc.) for **Rac's** ἀκούσομεν (unmetrical) in 294 is obviously correct. Triklinios' ἀκούσομ' . . . σ' αὐ̄ produces tr an 2cr and will not do.

**284 Ἡράκλεις:** 94 n.      **τοῦτι τί ἐστι;** 'What's this?' (156 n.), i.e. 'What's going on here?'      **τὴν χύτραν συντρίψετε:** 261 n. A χύτρα is a

common earthenware cookpot, used elsewhere e.g. to heat water (1175), stew meat (fr. 606; Antiph. fr. 55. 6), or boil vegetables (Alc. Com. fr. 24), and here presumably to cook the beans (cf. Timocl. fr. 23. 3-4; Hippon. fr. 118; Epich. fr. 33) used to produce the stew poured out at 245-6. Cf. 463; Amyx 211-12; Sparkes (1962) 130; Olson on *Pax* 201-2. For χύτραι in other ritual contexts, 1076 with n.; *Pax* 923-4; *Av.* 43 with Dunbar ad loc.; *Pl.* 1197-1207; fr. 256. συντρίβω is used of smashing ceramic vessels also at Cratin. fr. 199. 3; Eub. fr. 62. 2.

**285 σέ μὲν οὖν καταλεύσομεν:** 'On the contrary, it's *you*'—rather than the pot—'we mean to stone!' For this use of μὲν οὖν, *GP* 475.      **ὦ μισαρά**

**κεφαλή:** Used by Demosthenes as a form of abuse at 18. 153; 19. 313; 21. 117, 135, 194; for connections between comic and Demosthenic invective, Dover, *GPM* 30-3; Heath 232-6. Cf. Hdt. iii. 29. 2 ὦ κακαὶ κεφαλαί (lit. 'O evil heads!'). The κεφαλή ('head') stands for the person as a whole, as often (e.g. 833 with n.; *Eq.* 791 ('my life'); *H. II.* 8. 281; 23. 94; [E.] *Rh.* 226; cf. *Lfgre* s.v. L, B. 11); cf. Barrett on *E. Hipp.* 651-2.

**286 ἀντὶ ποίας αἰτίας;** Lit. 'because of what accusation?' (Poultney 144), i.e. 'on what charge?'      **γεραίτατοι:** 'most reverend' (*Lfgre* s. γεραιός B. 1); a very deferential form of address, designed to demonstrate the speaker's lack of interest in offending his interlocutors, despite the seemingly provocative nature of his actions and the hostility it has provoked. For the positive form, 418-19 n.

**287-8 τοῦτ' ἐρωτᾷς;** 'Are you [really] asking [me] this?', i.e. 'Is this a serious question?'; cf. *Lys.* 493; Crobyl. fr. 5. 2.      **ἀναίσχυντος εἶ και**

**βδελυρός:** Virtually a gloss on μισαρά κεφαλή in 285; for the conjunction of terms, *Pax* 182 ὦ μισαρέ και τολμηρέ κἀναίσχυντε σύ ('O foul and reckless and shameless one!'); *Ra.* 465-6 ὦ βδελυρέ κἀναίσχυντε και τολμηρέ σὺ / και μισαρέ ('O loathsome and shameless and reckless and foul one!'). The adjs. complement one another: the man who is ἀναίσχυντος ('shame-

less'; also of Dik. at 490/1) lacks the social sense that ought to restrain him from outrageous actions (cf. 289-92), and as a result he becomes βδελυρός ('loathsome, disgusting') to others. Cf. 311-12 with n.; *Eq.* 193 ἀμαθῆ καὶ βδελυρόν ('boorish and loathsome'; cf. Olson on *Pax* 1231), 304-5 ὦ μιὰρὲ καὶ βδελυρέ . . . τοῦ σοῦ θράσους / πᾶσα μὲν γῆ πλέα ('O foul and loathsome one, the whole land is full of your boldness!'); *Miasma* 4-5.

**289-92** The chorus have no intention of ever making peace with the Spartans (esp. 182-3, 226-33), whom they regard as fundamentally untrustworthy (307-8). Their point in characterizing Dik. as ἡμῶν μόνος σπεισάμενος is thus not that he has erred by making peace for himself only and failing to include them (Σ<sup>REG</sup> χωρὶς ἡμῶν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ('apart from us Athenians')) but that he is a villain for having broken ranks with his fellow-citizens and treated with the enemy at all. ὅστις: 56-8n.

εἶτα κτλ.: 23-4n. Triklinios successfully emended the text, converting the paradosis ἔπειτα into εἶτα and expelling νῦν. δύνασαι πρὸς ἔμ' ἀποβλέπειν: 'are able to look me in the eye' (cf. 32n.), a mark of shamelessness (e.g. *Eq.* 1239; *Ra.* 1474; *S. OT* 1371-4; *E. Med.* 469-72; *Hipp.* 415-16; contrast *Theoc.* 2. 112 with Gow ad loc.).

**293** Cf. 306 with n. ἀντὶ δ' ὧν ἐσπεισάμην: Lit. '[the things] in return for which I made peace', i.e. '[the outrages] that drove me to make peace' (cf. 125-33, 599-617; Poultney 144) not '[the goods] I got in return for making peace'. δέ is a strong adversative (*GP* 166-7). οὐκ ἴστέ'; ἀλλ': This is Clark's rearticulation (also printed by Elliott and Henderson) of A<sup>PC</sup>'s οὐκ ἴστε· ἀλλ'. β appears to have had either οὐκ ἴστε τε (a<sup>ac</sup>) or οὐκ ἴστε τ' (Γ<sup>PC</sup>c, emended to οὐκ ἴστε γ' by Triklinios); in origin a dittography. R has the non-form ἴσατ' (presumably a desperate attempt to make sense of a corrupt exemplar). Of the various other suggestions, (a) Elmsley's οὐκ ἴστ' ἔτ' ought to mean 'you no longer know' and will therefore not do; (b) Meineke's οὐκ ἴστε· μᾶλλ' (printed by Hall and Geldart) is difficult, since μ(ή), ἀλλά normally falls at the beginning of a speech and contradicts something just said by the other party (*GP* 4-5; cf. 458-9n.); and (c) Kock's ἠκούσατ'; ἀλλ' (printed by Sommerstein) and (d) Hamaker's ἀκούσατ'! ἀλλ' (printed by van Leeuwen; cf. Starkie) are palaeographically more difficult and impossibly awkward before ἀκούσατε at the end of the line.

**294-5** σοῦ γ' ἀκούσωμεν; amounts to a bitter rejection of Dik.'s request; 'We should listen to you?' Cf. *Lys.* 530; *Ra.* 1134; *Cephisid.* fr. 3. 4-5; *KG* i. 222; Anderson, *TAPA* 44 (1913) 43-8. κατά σε χώσομεν:

For 'tmesis' of preverb and vb. in 5th-c. poetry (typically after a pause and with the elements separated by an enclitic (as here) or semi-enclitic), Barrett on *E. Hipp.* 256-7; Henderson on *Lys.* 262; Dover on *Ra.* 1046-8; Dunbar on *Av.* 1506. τοῖς λίθοις: i.e. the stones they already picked up (184; cf. 319, 341), hence the def. art. (contrast 236).

The chorus must make some threatening movement or gesture as they speak these words, for in the next verse Dik. begs them to restrain themselves.

**296** πρὶν ἄν γ' ἀκούσητ': Thus Bentley. ἄν apparently survived in α only as a superlinear note and was omitted in R and inserted in the wrong place in β (πρὶν γ' ἄν ἀκούσητε AΓ<sup>ac</sup>E (unmetrical)). γ' was then lost in the common ancestor of ct, and Triklinios' clumsy πρὶν ἄν ἀκούσητέ γ' (designed to eliminate hiatus, but without regard for metre) simply made matters worse.

**ἀνάσχεσθ'**: 'hold on!, contain yourselves!' (cf. *Lys.* 765 ἀλλ' ἀνάσχεσθ', ὦγαθαί ('but hold on, my good women!'); *H. Il.* 1. 586 ~ 5. 382; 23. 587), and thus in context 'wait a bit [before throwing any more stones]!'

Like the sing. ὦγαθέ (943-5), ὦγαθοί ('good sirs') is frequently used in expostulations (e.g. 305; *Eq.* 843; *Nu.* 726; *Pax* 478; *Th.* 1077; *Metag.* fr. 2. 1; *Pl. Grg.* 471d) and is presumably colloquial, and has neither friendly nor unfriendly connotations (Dickey 119, 139).

**297-8** The simplest explanation of the confusion in the MSS is that (1) μοι dropped out of α but was added above the line; (2) R (or R's exemplar) inserted the word in the wrong place (σύ μοι), while (3) β (or β's exemplar) mistook it for a variant reading and left it out (σύ tantum ac); and (4) Triklinios eventually corrected the metre by writing δὴ σύ.

Hermann's correction is confirmed by Π<sub>1</sub>. **μηδὲ λέγε μοι σὺ λόγον:** 'Don't try to make a speech to me!', i.e. 'Save your breath!' Cf. 303.

**299-302** The chorus—who up to this point have spoken like typical radical democrats—slip momentarily 'out of character' and adopt the poet's own voice; cf. 377-82, 497-556n., 659-64. The mention of the Knights in the threat in 300-2 would most naturally be taken by the original audience as a renewed allusion to the incident referred to at 6-8 (thus Σ<sup>REG</sup>). Perhaps also a proleptic reference to the plot of Ar.'s *Lenaia* comedy of 424 and thus interesting evidence for how far in advance he began to plan his plays.

**ὥς:** 'since'. **μεμίσηκα** is an intensive perf. with pres. sense, 'I am full of hatred for' + acc. (KG i. 148-9); cf. *λέλακας* (410 with n.), *νενόμικας* (993).

**Κλέωνος:** Cf. below; 6-8n. 300-2 is a profoundly troubled passage; the evidence of the papyrus shows that the main elements of the paradosis were in place already in the 2nd c. CE. (1) RΓE agree on ἵππεῦσιν πότ' ἐς καττύματα (κατύμματα E: cf. ἵππεῦσι κτλ. in AVp3 <sup>λ</sup>ΣΓ and, most likely, Π<sub>1</sub>), while the *Suda* has ἵππεῦσιν ἐς/εἰς καττύματα (more likely an instance of a seemingly unnecessary word dropped from a passage quoted in isolation than evidence of a genuine textual variant). The reading in RΓE would be metrical, were the υ in καττύματα short (as Triklinios thought it was, but it is not), and πότ' ἐς/εἰς should probably be expelled from the text as an addition by someone who scanned the line incorrectly and attempted to correct it, and Dindorf's ἵππεῦσι καττύματα printed; cf. Σ<sup>REG</sup> 300

περιττεύει τὸ ποτέ διὰ τὴν μετροποιίαν ('the word ποτέ is to be deleted for the sake of the metre'). (2) Either ἐγὼ or κατα- must be expelled from 300-1 (where all witnesses agree on κατατεμῶ), and since no obvious metrical difficulty (or perceived difficulty) is addressed by the paradosis (contrast above), this is most likely a pedestrian error. ἐγὼ effectively marks the abrupt shift to the poet's own voice (cf. above), whereas κατατεμῶ is easily explained as reflecting the influence of καττύματα at the end of the line. I therefore follow van Leeuwen and Sommerstein in printing Elmsley's ἐγὼ τεμῶ. Triklinios emended the end of the line to ἵππεῦσί ποτε καττύματα but otherwise seems to have thrown up his hands in despair. The omission of ἔτι from **p** is merely a simple error in what appears to have been a very sloppy exemplar; note again (cf. 157-8n.) the inclusion of an intrusive marginal gloss at the end of 300 as part of the text.

**ὄν ἐγὼ τεμῶ . . . καττύματα:** 'whom I will cut up into soles', i.e. 'flay'. The internal acc. expresses the result of the vb.'s action; cf. *Eq.* 370 δερῶ σε θύλακον, 768; *Nu.* 440-2 τό γ' ἐμὸν σῶμ' . . . ἄσκον δείρειν; *Ar.* 365; *Ephipp.* fr. 22. 2; *Alex.* fr. 192. 4; *Euphro* fr. 10. 7; *KG* i. 323. The joke turns on the fact that Kleon had inherited a tannery from his father ( $\Sigma^{\text{RVEΓΘM}}$  *Eq.* 44), a fact of which *Ar.* never tires of reminding his audience (e.g. *Eq.* 136, 315-21, 892; *Nu.* 581; *V.* 38; *Pax* 647-8). Cf. Lind 33-85. A κάττυμα is nowhere explicitly anything more than an undifferentiated piece of shoe-leather (*Eq.* 315-18, 868-70; *Hr. Epid.* v. 234. 4; cf. fr. 297 ap. *Poll.* x. 166 (used to shim a tool-handle)). But καττύειν and νευρορραφεῖν ('stitch') are treated as two separate elements of the leatherworker's art at *Pl. Euthd.* 294b, and *Nic.* fr. 85. 5-6 (cf. *Herod.* 7. 116 with *Headlam* ad loc.) and *adesp. com.* fr. 599 ap. *Phryn. PS*, p. 69. 14 combine to leave little doubt that the former means 'attach soles'; cf. *Eq.* 314 οἶδ' ἐγὼ τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦθ' ὅθεν . . . καττύεται ('I know whence this business is being soled', i.e. 'whence comes its main support'); *Pherecr.* fr. 192. For leatherworking generally and shoemaking in particular, *Blümner* i. 273-92.

**303-34** Trochaic tetrameters catalectic.

**303-4** A summary restatement of the three main points the chorus made in the song: (1) I'm not going to listen to you (cf. 294-5, 297-8), (2) because you made peace with Sparta (cf. 289-92), and (3) in fact I intend to punish you (cf. 285, 294-5, 299-302).

**σοῦ . . . λόγους λέγοντος . . . μακρούς:** 297-8n. The addition of the adj. marks not so much the chorus' fear that *Dik.* intends to go on at excessive length as their general exasperation with him: 'I'm not going to listen to any long speeches' really means 'I'm not going to listen to any speeches at all' (since any speech he makes will be, almost by definition, '[too] long').

**Λάκωσιν:** Used by *Dik.* (in the acc.) in the same position in the line in his response in 305 and again in 309, each time to good rhetorical effect.

**305-6 ὠγαθοί:** 296n. **τοὺς . . . Λάκωνας ἐκποδῶν ἔασατε:** 'leave the



Spartans out of it', as the chorus, with their very different view of the war and its causes, refuse to do (307–8, 311–12, 315–16), forcing Dik. to defend the enemy in 509–56. For the sentiment, cf. 514. For *Λάκωνας* (here, as in 309, with the anaphoric art.), 303–4n. τῶν δ' ἐμῶν

σπονδῶν κτλ.: 'pay attention to my treaty (KG i. 359), [to learn] whether [or not (KG ii. 533–4)] I did well to make it'.

307–8 Elmsley's δ' ἔτ' for d's δέ γ' is almost no change at all (majuscule *ΔΕΤ* read *ΔΕΓ*; cf. 92–3n.) but alters the sense to 'How could you any longer say you've done well [to make peace], once you've made peace with people who lack any scruples?', as if Dik. might have made a convincing case for himself, were the Spartans only a bit less treacherous or had he picked a different enemy with whom to reach an understanding. As that is not the point (esp. 290–2), I retain the paradosis. For δέ γε in lively rejoinders, *GP* 153. For εἶπερ . . . γ', 1228 (where no note of hesitation or doubt is to be heard); Jebb on *S. Tr.* 27; *GP* 477–8. For εἰ ἄπαξ *et sim.* (common in comedy, Plato, and Xenophon, and thus presumably colloquial), e.g. 923; *V.* 898; *Amphis* fr. 8. 2; *Alex.* fr. 160. 4; *Men. Dysk.* 392; *Pl. R.* 424a; *X. An.* iii. 2. 25. οἴσιν . . . μένει: For μένω + dat. of the person for whom a thing remains in existence (here more precisely 'holds good', i.e. 'remains unviolated'), *E. Med.* 440; *KG* i. 410; cf. *E. Andr.* 1000; *IT* 959. Solemn agreements (including peace-treaties, the matter most in question here) were routinely sealed with a sacrifice (here βωμός ('altar') via synecdoche), an oath (ὄρκος), and mutual assurances of personal good faith (πίστις) symbolized by the joining of right hands (e.g. *S. Tr.* 1181; *OC* 1632; *E. Med.* 21–2; cf. the modern use of a handshake to mark final, firm commitment to a deal). Cf. *Lys.* 1185 ὄρκους . . . καὶ πίστιν ἀλλήλοις δότε ('give oaths and mutual assurance to one another'; of an anticipated peace-treaty between Sparta and Athens); *H. Il.* 4. 158–9 ὄρκιον αἱμά τε ἀρνῶν / σπονδαί τ' ἄκρητοι καὶ δεξιαί, ἧς ἐπέπιθμεν ('an oath and the blood of sheep and libations of unmixed wine and clasped right hands, in which we put our confidence'; of the truce leading to the duel between Menelaos and Paris); *E. IA* 58–60 ὄρκους συνάψαι δεξιάς τε συμβαλεῖν / . . . καὶ δι' ἐμπύρων / σπονδὰς καθεῖναι ('to enter into oaths and join right hands and make treaties by means of burnt offerings'; of the pledge of mutual co-operation among Helen's suitors); [*Arist.*] *Ath.* 18. 6. For the clasping of right hands as a more general token of personal goodwill, e.g. *Nu.* 81; *V.* 1237; *Ra.* 754, 789; *Diph.* fr. 42. 24. The chorus' point is thus that the Spartans are utterly untrustworthy, a common Athenian charge during the Peloponnesian War years (e.g. *Pax* 217 with Olson ad loc.; *E. Andr.* 445–52; *Th.* iv. 22. 2). Cf. *Arist. Rh.* 1375<sup>a</sup>8–11, where a claim that one's opponent has abrogated 'oaths, pledges made with the right hand, and [the obligations deriving from] relationships by marriage' is characterized as a way of heaping evil upon evils in an abusive description of him.

**309-10, 313-14** The first explicit articulation of Dik.'s argument in favour of peace; taken up and expanded in 513-56.

**309-10 οἶδ' ἐγὼ καὶ τοὺς Λάκωνας:** 'I know that the *Spartans* . . .'; καί merely adds emphasis to what follows (*GP* 320). οἷς ἄγαν ἐγκείμεθα: 'whom we assault too vigorously' (cf. 471, 851; Björck 151-2; Thesleff §§ 198-9; American 'lay into'), i.e. with words (cf. Th. ii. 59. 2), as in 308. The abrupt shift to 1st pers. pl. is a rhetorical ploy, designed to suggest that the speaker and his audience are ultimately on the same side even as he disagrees with them; cf. 509-12. β had οὔς (a<sup>ac</sup>c), corrected by Triklinios to οἷς (thus already R). οὐχ ἀπάντων: Echoed first in the chorus' response in 311\* and then again by Dik. in 313\*. For αἰτίους + gen. of the thing produced + dat. of the person for whom produced, e.g. 641; *Nu.* 85, 1454; *Av.* 339; Poultney 105-6. τῶν πραγμάτων: 266-70n.

**311-12** Cf. 558 with 557-9n. One might more naturally have expected the Achaeanians to respond by insisting that, even if the Spartans are not responsible for all their troubles, they are certainly responsible for a very large portion of them. By allowing the chorus to take an extreme position on the matter, however, the poet opens up rhetorical room for his hero to identify other guilty parties (cf. 313-14) and thus press a different view of the war. The chorus call Dik. πανούργε (lit. 'someone willing to do anything', i.e. 'villain, scoundrel') precisely because he ventures (τολμᾶς) to say things no ordinary person would (cf. 316, 558, 563, 577a), thus proving—as they insisted already at 287-8, where see n.—that he lacks a sense of αἰσχύνη ('shame'). ταῦτα δῆ: Contemptuous (*GP* 208-9). ἤδη simply intensifies the adv. (KG ii. 122-3); cf. 646, and note the similar use with an adj. in 315. εἴτ' ἐγὼ σου φείσομαι: Formally a positive question addressed by the speaker to his interlocutor, but actually a negative exhortation addressed to himself ('Let me not spare you!', i.e. 'I have no intention of sparing you!'). Cf. 319-20; KG i. 177. Initial εἴτ(α) adds a note of indignation ('and after that, . . .?'); cf. 24 with n.; Men. *Dysk.* 153.

**313-14 οὐχ ἀπάντων, οὐχ ἀπάντων:** Desperately emphatic; 'Not all of them! Not all of them!' ὀδί: 'here and now' (cf. 911), i.e. 'without any need to stop and rack my brain'. If ἔσθ' ᾧ is understood to be equivalent to ἔνια ('some'; KG ii. 403-4) and taken as acc. of respect with ἀδικουμένους, πολλ(ά) will not do and one must emend, e.g. to a different adj. (Hamaker, Wecklein) or an adv. (Blaydes). It seems better to assume that 314 represents an awkward amalgam of (1) πολλὰ ἔσθ' ᾧ ἀποφῆναιμι ἂν ἐκείνους κἀδικουμένους and (2) ἀποφῆναιμι ἂν ἐκείνους κἀδικουμένους πολλά. Translate 'I could show that there are many matters in which they have actually been done wrong'. κ(αί) intensifies ἀδικουμένους ('actually' (*GP* 320-1)). The sense of the pres. participle approaches that of a perf. (Goodwin § 27), as also

in 914, and Hamaker's κήδικημένους (cf. *Nu.* 576; *Pl.* 428) is unnecessary.

**315-16** 'This is a truly terrible and disturbing thing you've said (in 313-14), if you [actually] intend to venture to speak . . .' (Goodwin § 407). (ἔ)πος in the sense 'word, remark' is high poetic style; cf. 328 (paratragic); Rau 28; Dunbar on *Av.* 174. δεινὸν ἤδη: 'really dreadful'; cf. 311-12n.; *V.* 426\*; *Ec.* 645; *Men. Sam.* 456. παραξικάρδιον: 1n., 12n. An Aristophanic coinage, found only here; for the form, Dover on *Ra.* 711-13. For παράσσω ('disturb'), 621 with n. **τολμήσεις:** 311-12n. ἡμῖν is perhaps emphatic, the point being that the chorus are the *last* people in the world to whom Dik. should be saying this sort of thing. The pron. was apparently omitted from the common exemplar of **a** and was later added either above the line or in the margin, with a mark indicating where it was to be inserted. Γ restored the word to the proper place in the line; E<sup>ac</sup> put it after λέγειν; and A left it out.

**317-18** An allusion to E. fr. 706 (from *Tel.*) Ἀγάμεμνον, οὐδ' εἰ πέλεκυν ἐν χεροῖν ἔχων / μέλλοι τις εἰς τράχηλον ἐμβαλεῖν ἐμόν, / σιγήσομαι δίκαιά γ' ἀντειπεῖν ἔχων ('Agamemnon, not even if someone holding an ax were about to drive it into my neck will I be silent when I have just things to say in response'), although Dik. takes the idea literally (cf. 94n., 178-9n.), whereas in the mouth of his tragic counterpart it is a rhetorical exaggeration; cf. Newiger 123-4; Rau 27. Decapitation was not a normal Greek means of capital punishment and was instead associated with the Persians and other barbarians; cf. A. *Eu.* 186-7 with Sommerstein on 186-90. For the *Telephos*-parody (taken up explicitly at 331), 6-8n.; Introduction, Section IV.C; Rau 26-42. Dik.'s proposal is an awkward conflation of two separate offers ('If I don't make a convincing case, [you can cut off my head]' and 'I'm willing to speak with my head over a chopping-block, [and if I don't make a convincing case, you can cut it off]'), whose convoluted structure allows him to avoid articulating what will be done if his great speech fails. Cf. 334 with n., 486-7 with n.; *Eq.* 790-1. 'The effect of γε . . . is to stress the addition made by κ(αί)' (*GP* 157); '[Yes, I'll speak on behalf of our enemies,] and on top of that . ..'. Cf. 560, 798. Given **d**'s pres. subjunc. δοκῶ at the end of the line, β's λέγω ought to be printed rather than R's λέξω. **δίκαια:** Here virtually 'the truth'; cf. 560-1, where λέγει δίκαια ('he says just things') and οὐδὲν ψεύδεται ('he tells no lie') are treated as synonymous. τὸ δίκαιον ('what is just, true') is a central theme in the play; cf. 370-3n., 405-6n., 500-1 with 500n., 561, 645, 655, 661. **τῷ πλήθει:** 'the majority' or 'the mass', i.e. the Athenian people generally (e.g. *V.* 593, 667; *Pl.* 570), as if Dik. were on trial before a jury (cf. 364 with n., 497-9 (Dik.'s speech in defence of his behaviour addressed to the audience rather than the chorus)). **δοκῶ:** Sc. λέγειν δίκαια. For

318, cf. 355. **ὑπέρ:** Not 'on top of' but 'over', so that his head can be pressed down on the block immediately and cut off, if necessary. **ἐπιξήνου:** 'a butcher's block' (A. *Ag.* 1277 with Fraenkel ad loc.; Poll. vi. 90; x. 101 (both catalogues of kitchen equipment); Σ<sup>REG</sup> ~ Hsch. ε 5018 ~ S ε 2497; Sparkes (1975) 132, with pl. XVI. a-b; cf. S ξ 60 ξηνός· ὁ κορμός), also known as an ἐλεόν (*Eq.* 152, where the object in question is part of the Sausage-seller's equipment and obviously portable) or ἐπικόπανον (Men. fr. 231. 2). **'θελήσω:** The fut. is needed to complete the fut. more vivid condition, but scarcely differs in meaning from the pres. (KG i. 172-3). For the trisyllabic form of the vb. (requiring a mark of elision here), 198n. For the dactyl in τὴν κεφαλὴν (a metrical anomaly, but not to be emended away), Handley, *Dyskolos*, p. 71; Gomme-Sandbach on Men. *Dysk.* 774.

**319-20 εἶπέ μοι:** Used colloquially without regard for the number of persons addressed, as at 328; *V.* 403; *Pax* 383; *Av.* 366; Pl. *Euthd.* 283b; *Prt.* 311d; cf. KG i. 84-5; López Eire 100-1. **τί φειδόμεσθα κτλ.:** φείδομαι here takes both a gen. of the thing spared and an infin. of the action in which the subject declines to participate. Because a negation is implied (cf. 311-12n.), μὴ οὐ rather than μὴ alone is required (Goodwin § 815. 2). **ὦ δημόται:** Demesmen (cf. 33n.) were—at least ideally—expected to assist one another whenever possible (cf. 328-40, 665-75; *Nu.* 1322-3; *Lys.* 685/6; *Pl.* 253-6, 322-7; Whitehead 223-52), and this form of address thus amounts to an implicit appeal for collective action against someone who has (allegedly) wronged the entire community (cf. 234-6n.). **μὴ οὐ** is to be scanned as a single long syllable (synizesis); cf. 860; KG i. 228-9. **καταξάινειν:** Before raw wool (ἔρια οἰσπηρά (1177) or πρόκος) was spun into yarn, it was first washed and picked clean, and then carded (πέκω or ξάινω) to separate the fibres (*Lys.* 574-86, esp. 577-80; Blümner i. 106-20; Page on E. *Med.* 1030). The compound καταξάινω is accordingly used metaphorically to mean both 'tear to shreds' (as here) and 'reduce in bulk, waste' (as individual clumps of wool were reduced in size as they were broken up; for the prefix with this sense, 159-60n.) (e.g. A. *Ag.* 197; E. *HF* 285); cf. Barrett on E. *Hipp.* 274; Taillardat § 587. For the vb. used specifically of stoning, A. fr. 132c. 2; S. *Ai.* 728; E. *Supp.* 503; cf. E. *Ph.* 1145; Rau 28. Here the image of wool-working is taken up by εἰς φοινικίδα, 'into a crimson robe' of a sort worn generally by individuals concerned to make a lively visual impression and thus on occasion by military officers (*Pax* 303, 1172-4 with Olson ad locc.; Blum 32-4, 158-75; cf. 572-4n., 856n.; H. *Il.* 3. 57), although the chorus' basic point is simply that Dik. will be reduced to a bloody (φοίνιος) mess; cf. 111-12n. For the use of εἰς, LSJ s.v. A. V.

**321-2 οἶον:** Exclamatory ('How . . .!'), as also in 447, 807. β had οἶος via attraction into the case of μέλας . . . θυμάλωψ. μέλας . . . θυμάλωψ

**ἐπέζεσεν:** A complex—and strikingly mixed—bundle of images, perhaps paratragic (thus Rutherford 17). (1) A *θυμάλωψ* is a half-burnt piece of charcoal (*Th.* 729; Stratt. fr. 58. 2 ap. Poll. x. 101, cf. vii. 110; Hsch. θ 862), which recalls the chorus' occasional service as charcoal-burners (thus Σ<sup>REG</sup>; cf. 211–13 with n.; Edmunds 7). A 'black *θυμάλωψ*' must then be one that is momentarily quiescent but that can easily (and perhaps unexpectedly) be made to burst into flame (cf. 1024). (2) *θυμάλωψ* is also a pun on *θυμός* ('wrath'), in which context *μέλας* ('black') means 'baneful' *vel sim.* (e.g. *E. Ph.* 950). (3) Anger and the like are routinely said to 'boil' or 'boil over' (e.g. *Th.* 468; Anaxipp. fr. 2. 1–2; [A.] *PV* 370; *S. OC* 434; *E. Hec.* 1055; *IT* 987; *Pl. Ti.* 70b; cf. *A. Th.* 708; *E. Hec.* 583; *Hdt.* vii. 13. 2; *Pl. R.* 440c; Taillardat § 352; Arnott on *Alex.* fr. 46. 3–4), as the chorus' wrath has done here. R's unmetrical

ἐφ' in place of β's τις reflects the influence of ἐπέζεσεν. ὑμῖν: 'in you'.

Adverbial ἐτεόν ('really, in fact') regularly begins or ends a question in Ar. and can express bewilderment (e.g. here; *Eq.* 733; *V.* 836), indignation (e.g. 609; *Nu.* 1502), or a combination of the two (*Nu.* 35 with Dover ad loc. (where for 'Nu. 120' read 'Nu. 820')). (A)χαρνηῖδαι: 'sons of Acharneus', an otherwise unknown figure (although cf. *St. Byz.* p. 151. 13–15 *Ἀχαρναί . . . μήποτε δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀχαρνεὺς ἢ παραγωγή* ('Acharnai . . . but perhaps the derivation is from "Acharneus"')) perhaps invented by Ar. to lend a tone of respectful heroic dignity to Dik.'s plea. For deme-heroes, Whitehead 208–11; Kearns 92–102.

- 323–5 Distichs (305–22) yield abruptly to lines divided between the chorus and Dik., probably reflecting some sudden threatening motion on the Acharnians' part (cf. below). οὐκ ἀκουσόμεσθα δῆτα: 'That's right—we won't listen!' (*GP* 276). δεινὰ τᾶρα πείσομαι: 'I'm going to suffer outrageous things' (cf. 770n.), i.e. 'I'm going to be treated as I don't deserve'; cf. 678; *Nu.* 610; *Av.* 1225; *Lys.* 608; *Pl.* 967. I print Elmsley's τᾶρα (cf. *Ra.* 252 *δεινὰ τᾶρα πεισόμεσθα*; *GP* 35–6, 542, 555; contrast Lowe, *Glotta* 51 (1973) 34–64, esp. 36–48), confirmed by Π<sub>1</sub>, in place of d's γ' ᾶρα; a very simple error (92–3 n.). εἰς στίχος at the end of 323 in c is an intrusive marginal note intended to signal that, although the words are divided between two speakers, they ought to occupy a single manuscript line. ἐξολοίμην: i.e. 'I'll be damned!'; cf. 151–2 n. β had ἐξελοίμην, as if from ἐξαιρέω ('do away with, destroy'). ἦν ἀκούσω: For the subjunc. rather than the expected opt., Goodwin § 178; van Leeuwen on *Eq.* 694–5. μηδαμῶς: Less likely 'Don't [say that]!' (Rogers, Sommerstein, and Henderson), in reply to the immediately preceding words, than 'Don't [do this]!', i.e. 'No! no!', in response to the chorus' increasingly threatening posture (cf. 325), which Dik. obviously takes seriously (contrast 590–2). ὠχαρνηκοί: 180–1 n. ὡς τεθνήξων ἴσθι: ὡς 'points to the mental attitude which the subject of

[the imper.] is to assume' (Jebb on S. *OT* 848); 'Know that you may take it for granted you'll be stone dead!' For the construction, S. *Ant.* 1063; *Ph.* 253 with Webster ad loc.; Rau 28; contrast 456, 460. *τεθνήξω* is an alternative fut. of *θνήσκω* (normally *θανοῦμαι*) derived from the perfective stem. The act. (referred to as an Atticism at Luc. *Sol.* 7) is metrically guaranteed here and at A. *Ag.* 1279 (in the MSS in prose at Pl. *Grg.* 469d) and ought probably to be restored at 590 as well as at Nu. 1436 (where 'Luc. *Pseudol.* 7' in Dover's otherwise helpful n. should be corrected to 'Luc. *Sol.* 7' (cf. above)); V. 654.

(unmetrical), emended to *νῦν γε* by Triklinios.

νυνί: β had *νῦν*

δήξομ(αι) ἄρ'

ύμᾶς: For the crasis, cf. *Ra.* 509 with Dover ad loc. Peaceful entreaties (293-324) having failed, Dik. turns to threats of violence; cf. 535-40. *δάκνω* (lit. 'bite') is common in the poets in the sense 'cause grief to' (e.g. *Eq.* 1372; V. 253; H. *Il.* 5. 493; Thgn. 910; Pi. *P.* 8. 87; A. *Pers.* 846; S. *Ai.* 1119; E. *Med.* 1370; *Ba.* 351; adesp. tr. fr. 110. 1; cf. 1 n., 376; Archipp. fr. 37. 1; Alex. fr. 280. 4; Men. *Dysk.* 467-8). ἄρ(α) is 'in that case' (*GP* 40-1). This is Bentley's version of the text, slightly adapted by Dindorf and confirmed by Π<sub>1</sub>. R reversed ἄρ' and ύμᾶς. β's *δήξομαι γάρ* (rearticulated as *δήξομαί γ' ἄρ'* by Triklinios) represents a clumsy attempt to eliminate hiatus after the vb. was written in *scriptio plena*.

326-7 ἀνταποκτενῶ: 'kill in return', i.e. 'in revenge' (A. *Ch.* 121, 274; E. *Hec.* 262; *Or.* 509, 515; Hdt. vii. 136. 2; X. *HG* ii. 4. 27). The threat is a bit illogical (since Dik. cannot properly take vengeance on the Acharnians unless they kill him first), but everything that follows is deliberately ridiculous in any case.

τῶν φίλων τοὺς φιλτάτους:

Cf. *Pax* 184 ὦ μιαιῶν μιαιώτατε ('O foulest of the foul!'); KG i. 21. ὡς ('for') . . . γ' 'seems to become almost a stereotyped idiom, in which γε often retains little force' (*GP* 143); also at 346.

ύμῶν ὁμήρους:

Larger powers frequently demanded hostages (often children; cf. 329-30) from politically unreliable smaller powers as a guarantee of their future good behaviour (e.g. Th. i. 56. 2, 108. 3, 115. 3; ii. 26. 2; iii. 90. 4; cf. *Lys.* 244, where the heroine's ability to extract hostages from the Spartan women without their protesting is a tacit indication of who is in control), and executed them if the promises the hostages' presence guaranteed were broken (e.g. Th. vi. 61. 3), just as Dik. proposes doing here.

ἀποσφάξω: Not just 'slay' (LSJ s.v.) but 'execute' (e.g. Th. 750; Hdt. iv. 62. 3, 84. 2; Th. iii. 32. 1; vii. 86. 2; Men. *Perik.* 281). Dik. exits into the house. Σ<sup>RET</sup> (perhaps thinking of Th. 690-1 or even the original *Tel.* (331-2n.)) argues that the hero simply snatches a charcoal-basket from one of the Acharnians, but (1) no mention has been made of any such baskets on stage, and the chorus' hands are otherwise occupied (cf. 341-2), and (2) 328-30 work better as puzzled discussion among the Acharnians, designed to cover Dik.'s exit and return on stage.

- 328–30** εἶπέ μοι: 319–20 n. τί τοῦτ' ἀπειλεῖ κτλ.: Dik.'s threat represents an unexpected plot-twist and the chorus' expression of puzzlement gives voice to what the audience in the Theatre is thinking.
- (ἔ)πος: 315–16 n. ἄνδρες δημόται lays the intellectual and emotional groundwork for 333–4. μῶν marks this as a suspicious question open to a positive answer; 'It couldn't be the case, could it, that . . . ?' (cf. 418). παιδίον: 326–7 n.; setting up the *Telephos*-parody that follows. (ἐ)πὶ τῷ θρασύνεται; Pace LSJ s. *θρασύνω*, not 'why is he over-confident?' but simply 'why is he [so] confident?' The vb. is found elsewhere in comedy only at *Nu.* 1349 (lyric) and *Ra.* 846 ('Aeschylus') and is probably paratragic (e.g. *A. Ag.* 1188; *S. Ph.* 1387; *E. Hec.* 1183); cf. *Rau* 28. For ἐπὶ τῷ; (lit. 'on account of what?'), e.g. *V.* 1317; *Av.* 803.
- 331–2** Dik. enters from his house, holding a λάρκος ('transport basket' (333–4 n.)) and a sword (342). What follows is a parody of the climactic scene in Euripides' *Tel.*, in which the hero seized the infant Orestes (cf. 329–30), fled with him to an altar, and threatened to kill him if the Achaians would not listen to him. Cf. Σ<sup>ΕΓ</sup>; *Th.* 689–761 (where the same scene is parodied); Introduction, Section IV.C. τουτονί: Dik. holds the basket out in front of himself so that the chorus (and the audience in the Theatre) can see it clearly. εἴσομαι . . . τάχ(α): Cf. *Nu.* 1144; *Lys.* 1114. εἴσομαι is 'I will find out' (e.g. *V.* 1224; *Lys.* 750; *Antiph.* fr. 57. 10). τι is adverbial, 'at all'; cf. 842, 932, 1028 εἴ τι κήδει.
- 333–4** ὡς ἀπωλόμεσθ(α): 'What big trouble we're in!, We're dead!'; cf. 467 with n., 590. Perhaps paratragic (thus Dunbar on *Av.* 338); cf. 473; *E. Cyc.* 665; *Andr.* 71; *Hel.* 862. ὡς is exclamatory (254–6 n.); contrast 335 with n. ὁ λάρκος: A transport basket, used to carry charcoal (also *Alex.* fr. 211. 2–3 λάρκον . . . / τῶν ἀνθρακηρῶν ('one of the transport baskets used for charcoal')); *Poll.* vii. 110; x. 111; cf. 211–13 n.), wood (*E.* fr. 283), figs (*Hsch.* λ 337), and doubtless other commodities as well (*Hsch.* λ 337; Σ<sup>REG</sup> ~ S λ 124; cf. *D.C.* 52. 25). δημότης . . . ἐμός: 180–1 n., 347–9 n. For the informal obligation of demesmen to assist one another, 319–20 n. 334 is a desperate plea; cf. *Pax* 385; *E. Or.* 1598 ἂ ἂ μηδαμῶς δράσης τάδε ('Ah! ah! in no way do these things!'). The shoe is abruptly on the other foot, and 'the chorus now sing the same song that Dik. did [in 324]' (Green). ὁ μέλλεις: A periphrasis that allows the chorus to avoid articulating precisely what they fear Dik. will do; contrast his forthrightness in 335.
- 335** ὡς ἀποκτενῶ: Sc. ἴσθι *vel sim.*, '[Be assured] that I will kill him!' (e.g. *Nu.* 209; *V.* 416; *Lys.* 32). κέκραχθ(ι): 'Shout [as loud as you want]!'; cf. *V.* 198; *Th.* 692; *Men. Sam.* 580. κράζω (here perf. with pres. sense, as routinely in *Ar.* (e.g. *Eq.* 274; *V.* 415; *Th.* 222)) can function as a vb. of speaking (e.g. *Nu.* 1386–7) but refers primarily to the volume of sound produced; cf. 711, 804.

**336** Despite 333 *ὡς ἀπωλόμεσθ'*, it is unclear (1) whether the Acharnians mean that it is they or the *λάρκος* ('transport basket') who are in danger of being ruined/destroyed, and thus (2) whether they are asserting that they are as old as Dik. or are claiming that the *λάρκος* is as old as they are. A plea of this sort is almost by definition dependent on an allegation of some common interest or experience between petitioner and petitioned, and it thus seems more likely that what the chorus say is that they and Dik. are (more or less) age-mates (cf. 397) and that he ought to show them mercy and spare their demesman. Dik. accordingly rejects their plea in 337 by noting that *they* paid no attention to *his* requests earlier.

*ἄρ' ὀμήλικα* is Reisig's emendation of  $\alpha$ 's unmetrical *ἄρα τὸν ἤλικα*, which is most easily explained as a result of (1) correction or corruption of *OM* to *TON* under the influence of *τόνδε*, a change that in turn required (2) the insertion of the final syllable in *ἄρ'* before a consonant. Bentley's *σὺ τὸν ἤλικα*, Elmsley's *δὲ τὸν ἤλικα*, and Bergk's *ἄρ' ἀφήλικα* yield no better sense and are palaeographically more difficult. *ὀμηλιξ* is almost exclusively high poetic vocabulary (e.g. *H. Il.* 9. 54; *Hes. Op.* 444; 'Alcm.' *PMGF* 162 fr. I. (a). col. i. 1; *Thgn.* 1063; *E. Hipp.* 1098; *Tr.* 1183; *adesp. tr.* fr. 667. 2; in prose at *Hdt.* i. 99. 2); nowhere else in comedy. *φιλανθρακία* appears *para prosdokian* for *φιλόανθρωπον* ('humane').

**337** *ἀρτίως*: 'just now', i.e. 'just a moment ago' (esp. 294–5, 322–4); cf. 1170.

**338–9** Although the general sense of these verses is clear ('Go ahead and say what you want about the Spartans!'), there are numerous specific problems of meaning, syntax, and metre. The text preserved in the earliest representatives of the  $\beta$ -family (and, with a few minor variants—easily explained as careless pedestrian errors—in R as well) is none the less almost entirely metrical, and the obvious conclusion is that either (a) this is what Ar. wrote and the problem is that we do not understand it, or (b) the text became corrupt relatively early on and what we have is metricizing patchwork by an anonymous (Hellenistic?) editor. (a) seems unlikely, but if (b) is the case, large-scale emendation (as in the text printed by Sommerstein and taken over from him by Henderson) is likely only to take us further away from the original reading. I therefore print a very slightly emended version of the *paradosis* with a crux at the most troublesome point; precisely what Ar. wrote and how and where the text became corrupt is impossible to say. *ἀλλὰ νυνί* is Bentley's correction of  $\alpha$ 's unmetrical *ἀλλὰ νῦν*. Triklinios wrote *ἀλλὰ γὰρ νῦν*, which mends the metre but has nothing else in its favour. *εἴ σοι δοκεῖ* expresses acquiescence to a desire of the other party but not necessarily enthusiasm or even approval; cf. *Th.* 216; Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 944; Barrett on *E. Hipp.* 507–8.  $\beta$ 's *τε* is metrically necessary and suggests that Dik. was originally encouraged to



speak as well about someone or something else (now vanished from or garbled in the text). R's ὅτι τῷ τρόπῳ σοῦσσι φίλος looks like a crude attempt to make the text mean 'that he is in some some way your friend'), and I print β's φίλον on the general principle that in dubious cases its readings are to be preferred (Introduction, Section VII).

**340 τόδε τὸ λαρκίδιον:** 'this dear little transport basket' (333-4n.). Hypocoristic diminutives in -ιον are not normally used to refer to inanimate objects (Petersen 178) and the exception 'is due altogether to the humorous personification' of the λάρκος ('transport basket') (Petersen 240). The text inherited by Triklinios had λαρνακίδιον, and he accordingly emended οὐ προδώσω ποτέ το προδώσ' οὐδέποτε to convert the verse into 2p cr p.

**341-2 μοι . . . σοι:** 129n. **χαμᾶζε:** Almost exclusively poetic vocabulary (e.g. *H. Il.* 5. 835; 8. 134; *Od.* 16. 191; adesp. *SH* 903A. 5 (conjectural)), elsewhere in the 5th c. at 344; *V.* 1012; *E. Ba.* 633. χαμαί is far more common (e.g. 869; *Pax* 886; *Lys.* 637; *E. Med.* 1170). **ἐξεράσατε:** 'pour out' (*V.* 993; Crates Com. fr. 16. 8; Dover on *Ra.* 957) from their robes (184-5n.), although the chorus apparently respond simply by dropping the stones they have in their hands, prompting the suspicious reply in 343. **οὔτοι:** 'Here they are!' (LSJ s. οὔτος C. I. 5). **πάλιν:** 'in turn', as at e.g. *Av.* 1357; *Pl.* 248; *S. El.* 371; *E. Ph.* 1046; fr. 330. 7. Triklinios expelled the word and wrote βέλος (cf. 345) in place of ξίφος to convert 342 into 2cr 2p. **τὸ ξίφος:** A short, straight, two-edged sword, intended for cutting and thrusting rather than slashing (*X. Eq.* 12. 11), and carried by both hoplites and light-armed men as a secondary weapon. Cf. Snodgrass 84-5; Hanson (1989) 165; Anderson, in Hanson (1991) 25-7.

**343 ὅπως μή** (normally with fut.; cf. 253-4n.) appears only here with the pres. and expresses 'a suspicion and apprehension concerning a present ground of fear' (Goodwin § 282; cf. KG ii. 376-7). **ἐγκάθηνται:** Lit. 'sit among', i.e. 'lurk' (*V.* 1114) or 'lie in wait' (Aeschin. 3. 206 ἐγκαθήμενοι καὶ ἐνεδρεύοντες ('lurking and waiting in ambush')); *S* ε 67; cf. Hsch. ε 2854). LSJ s.v. cites *Th.* 600 as a parallel, and Starkie compares *Th.* 184 and *Ec.* 98 (cf. *Ec.* 23), but there the vb. has its literal sense and the idea of stealthiness is imported by an adj.; *Th.* 688 is better.

**344-6** The chorus execute a series of wild, twirling (346) dance-steps. **ἐκσέσεισται χαμᾶζ'**: *Sc.* ὁ τρίβων; lit. '[My robe] has been shaken out to the ground', i.e. '[so hard that anything inside it has fallen] to the ground'. For χαμᾶζε, 341-2n. **μή μοι πρόφασιν:** *Sc.* πάρεχε *vel sim.* For similar ellipses, *S. Ant.* 577; *Alex.* fr. 132. 1 with Arnott ad loc. (to whose catalogue of examples of the very similar expression 'don't [mention] X' (e.g. *Nu.* 84) add *S. El.* 369; *E. Ion* 1331; and *Archestr.* fr. 35. 4, showing that the idiom is not restricted to comedy); KG i. 329-30. For the noun, the sense of which ranges in comedy from

'excuse' to 'pretext' to 'cause', Pearson, *TAPA* 82 (1952) 205–23; *TAPA* 103 (1972) 381–94; Arnott on Alex. fr. 132. 1 (with further bibliography).

**τὸ βέλος:** Properly a missile, although the word is used of a sword at E. *El.* 1217 (cf. S. *Ai.* 658) and of an ax at E. *El.* 1159–60. **ὡς . . . γε:** 108n., 326–7n. **ἄμα τῇ στροφῇ:** 'together with my turning', i.e. 'as I turn about'. For twirling dance-steps, *V.* 1516–37 with MacDowell ad loc.; cf. *Pax* 864.

**347–9 ἐμέλλετ' ἄρα** + fut. indic. denotes 'that the predestination of an event is realised *ex post facto*' (*GP* 36), and the tone is thus triumphant: 'You really had no choice but to . . .'. Cf. *Nu.* 1301; *V.* 460; *Ra.* 268; *Pl.* 102–3. **δ'** *ἀνασείειν* ('shake up [and down]', as if the chorus' shouts were weapons brandished angrily; cf. Gomme–Sandbach on Men. *Epitr.* 458), which also requires the acc., will therefore not do, and with most modern editors I print Dobree's πάντως ἀνήσειν (τῆς) βοῆς ('*emendatio palmaris*' van Leeuwen). The paradosis reflects the influence of ἐκσέσσεισται, σειόμενον, and σειστός in the immediately preceding lines. Cf. Dover, *G&G* 295 (σειστός in 346 means 'pendant' and refers to the way the chorus' robes come to hang in front of them); Borthwick, *Mnemosyne* IV. 20 (1967) 409–11 (an allusion to the vocabulary of dicing); Gil, *MCr* 18 (1983) 78–80 (ὄδε in 346 is a reference to the theatrical phallus); A. L. Boegehold, *When a Gesture was Expected* (Princeton, 1999) 76–7 (the shaking is equivalent to a curse). For ἀνίημι + gen. meaning 'leave off, let go of', e.g. *V.* 574; *Pax* 318 τῆς βοῆς ἀνήσετε ('leave off your shouting!'); *Ra.* 700; contrast the use of the vb. + acc. to mean 'send up' *et sim.* (e.g. *Ra.* 1462; fr. 676; Cratin. fr. 172). πάντως simply intensifies the vb.; 'at all events, whatever happens' (e.g. 956; *Nu.* 1352 with Dover ad loc.; *V.* 603; *Ra.* 262).

**ὀλίγου:** 'nearly'; cf. 381; *KG* i. 204. If a stop is placed at the end of 347 (as seems necessary), τ' (**δS**) will not do, and I print Elmsley's γ' (*GP* 127).

**ἄνθρακες Παρνήθιοι:** Parnes is the mountain range north of Athens that divides Attika from Boiotia; Acharnai (177n.) lay among its foothills. For charcoal produced on Mt. Parnes, Euphan. fr. 2 (from Πύραυνος ('*Pan of Coals*')) with K–A ad loc. RGE's Παρνάσσιοι reflects an early scribe's confusion with Delphi's much more famous Mt. Parnassos and requires emendation. Dover, *G&G* 295–6, defends Act's Παρνάσιοι (not the expected form of the adj.; cf. St. Byz. p. 506. 19) by comparing the equally unexpected Φυλάσιος from Φυλή at 1028, arguing that Ar. may have wanted to coin a comic demotic for the personified λάρκος ('transport basket'). As the humour throughout the scene (and in 349 in particular) depends on the basket being an *Acharnian*, this seems unlikely, and I print Bentley's regularizing Παρνήθιοι. For Παρνάσιος as a variant for Παρνάσσιος, e.g. *Nu.* 603; *Ra.* 1057 (where Bentley not implausibly suggested Παρνήθων) with Dover ad loc.; Mastronarde on E. *Ph.* 207. The inscriptional evidence is ambiguous (Threatte i. 525). **καὶ ταῦτα:** 'and . . . at

that! (167–8n.). τὴν ἀτοπίαν: 'the perversity', in refusing to listen to reason. Cf. Arnott, *Phoenix* 18 (1964) 119–22; Gomme–Sandbach on Men. *Dysk.* 288.

**350–1** ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους . . . μοι . . . / . . . ἐνετίλησεν: τιλάω is not merely 'shit' but more precisely 'have a loose, diarrhoeic discharge' (*Av.* 1117 (of birds); *Ra.* 366 with Dover ad loc.; *Ec.* 330; Hippon. fr. 73. 3 ὠμειζε δ' αἷμα καὶ χολὴν ἐτίλησεν ('he pissed blood and ran bile from his arse'); cf. *Nu.* 411 τῶφθαλμῷ μου προσετίλησεν ('it splattered juice into my eyes'); *Av.* 1054; Hippon. fr. 88. 2), lending more point to the comparison to squid-ink. Defecating from terror is a common Aristophanic motif (*Nu.* 293–5; *V.* 625–7; *Pax* 173–6, 241, 1175–6; *Av.* 65–8; *Ra.* 308, 479–85; *Ec.* 1060–2). For ὑπό + gen. designating an emotion felt by the agent that causes him to act in some way, 581 ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους\*; Poultney 195. For the postponement of δέ after a combination of prep., art., and substantive, *GP* 186. τῆς μαρίλης . . . συχνήν: 'a lot of charcoal dust'; in Attic the quantitative adj. takes on the gender and number of the substantive that modifies it (KG i. 279–80). μαρίλη must here be 'charcoal dust' (Σ<sup>REG</sup>; Hippon. fr. 61. 1; Hsch. μ 284; S μ 196, citing Cratin. fr. 277; Pearson on S. fr. 1067; cf. 609 with n.; Hippon. fr. 78. 9; 184; Poll. x. 111), although the word could apparently also be used of one portion of the residue left when charcoal was burned for fuel (Σ<sup>REG</sup>; Hp. *Mul.* viii. 284. 18–19, where a distinction is drawn between τῶν ἀνθράκων οἱ ἀδροί ('chunk charcoal'), on the one hand, and σποδιά ('ash') and μαρίλη, on the other; cf. S. fr. 314. 40 (conjectural)). σηπία: The cuttlefish (*Sepia officinalis*) discharges dark ink (θόλος) when threatened in order to confuse its enemy and escape (cf. Arist. *HA* 621<sup>b</sup>28–622<sup>a</sup>1; Opp. *H.* 3. 156–65), just as the λάρκος ('transport basket') has allegedly done with its black charcoal dust here, and the Boiotians supposedly called the creature ὀπιστοτίλα ('backward-squirter' *vel sim.*) (Stratt. fr. 49. 2–3). Cf. 1040–1n.; Keller ii. 513–16; Thompson, *Fish* 231–2; Davidson 209–10.

**352–6** A generalizing (note ὥστε + infin. (KG ii. 501)) gnomic explanation (γάρ) of how it is that the chorus' behaviour can be described as 'perverse' (cf. 349), supported by specific contrast with Dik.'s utterly equitable willingness to make his speech standing over a butcher's block (cf. 317–18). ὀμφακίαν: Lit. 'unripe' (normally of fruit, especially grapes (e.g. Epich. fr. 239)) and so by extension 'harsh, sour' (thus Hsch. ο 836); cf. *V.* 1082 θυμὸν ὀξίνην ('vinegary wrath'); Pl. Com. fr. 31 καὶ τὰς ὀφρῦς σχάσασθε καὶ τὰς ὀμφακας ('Relax your brows and your sour looks!') ap. Σ<sup>REG</sup>; adesp. com. fr. 633 ὀμφακας βλέπειν ('to give a sour look' (cf. 253–4n.)). θυμόν: Here probably 'wrath' (contrast 450 with n.), as regularly in Ar. (e.g. *Nu.* 1369; *V.* 383), the hero's point being that, although a certain amount of anger is understandable and expected in a situation such as this, utterly unreasonable anger is not.

**βάλλειν καὶ βοᾶν κτλ.:** A tricolon crescendo, which by its structure places particular emphasis on its third (key) element, the chorus' absolute refusal to listen to Dik.'s arguments. Note the imperfective infinitives, 'to keep on throwing stones and shouting and refusing to listen'.

**μηδὲν ἴσον ἴσῳ φέρον:** Lit. 'nothing bearing equal with equal', i.e. 'nothing mixed half-and-half' and so by extension 'balanced, equitable'. The image is borrowed from the symposium, where wine was routinely mixed with an equal amount of water (*Pl.* 1132; Cratin. frr. 196; 299. 2; Archipp. fr. 2; Stratt. frr. 23. 2; 64. 2; Philetaer. fr. 1. 1; Aristopho fr. 13. 3; Alex. frr. 59; 232. 2; 246. 4; Sophil. fr. 4. 1; Xenarch. fr. 9; Timocl. fr. 22. 1; adesp. com. fr. 101. 12; cf. 73-5 n.), although the exact proportions might vary depending on the strength of the wine and how drunk one wanted to get (e.g. *Eq.* 1187-8; Pherecr. fr. 76; Ephipp. fr. 11; Alc. fr. 346. 4). For φέρω used of the ability of wine to 'support' various admixtures of water, *Eq.* 1188; Cratin. frr. 195. 3; 196.

355 ~ 318 ὑπὲρ ἐπιξήνου 'θελήσω τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔχων λέγειν (where see n.), although the word-order now emphasizes Dik.'s readiness to cooperate and compromise (ἐμοῦ 'θέλοντος) rather than the precise terms of his offer.

ὑπὲρ Λακεδαιμονίων is to be taken with ὅσ' ἂν λέγω. The repetition of ὑπὲρ is awkward, but Meineke's *περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων* will not do, for Dik. is proposing to speak not just 'about the Spartans' (cf. *Eq.* 1008) but on their behalf (esp. 316, 369, 482).

**357** Not obviously paratragic, although the absence of any resolution or colloquial vocabulary is striking, as is the fact that the verse lacks any organic connection to what precedes it. καίτοι . . . γε: *GP* 150, 564; cf. 611; Slings and Jacquiod, in *NAGP* 122-5, 131-49, respectively.

**358-65 ~ 385-92** Dochmiacs (which (1) regularly signal high emotion, in this case impatient anger (Parker 65-9); cf. 489-96; and (2) are typical of tragedy), followed by iambic trimeters. Cf. metr. Σ<sup>ΕΓ</sup>; White § 467; Prato 12-13; Zimmermann ii. 111-12; iii. 3-4; Parker 132-4.

Metrical Analysis:

(1)	358-63	υ--υ-  υ--υ - υ-- υ- υυ-υυ	
	~ 385-90	υυ-υ-  υυυυυ  υυ- υ-	7do
(2)	364	--υ- - υ-  υ-υ-	3ia
	~ 391	υ -	
(3)	365 ~ 392	--υ - --υ - --υ-	3ia

(1) metr. Σ<sup>ΕΓ</sup> analyses this as two dochmiac dimeters followed by three metra, but this divides words and must be incorrect. The traditional division into six verses reflects **d**'s division of metr. Σ's second dimeter between two manuscript lines (359-60), with the same scheme artificially imposed on 385-90. LAld's *τοῦπιξήνον* in 358 represents an attempt to create precise responsion by Triklinios, who mistakenly scanned the

first syllable in τεχνάζεις in 385 as long. (τὸν πίξηνον in **p** is a misguided correction by a scribe who took the reading in his exemplar for the seemingly nonsensical τοῦ πίξηνον.) So too Triklinios' εἵνεκα for **Rac**'s εἵνεκα in 387 reflects his belief that τλ creates position in σχέτλιε in 360. The order of the words in 362 was garbled in the common ancestor of **ct** (πόθος γὰρ πάνυ ἐμέ γε **c** (unmetrical)), and Triklinios emended to πόθος γὰρ πάνυ με.

**358–65** A simple ring-structure: (A) Bring your butcher's block out and make your speech (359–61), (B) for I'm eager to hear it (362–3); (A) so just as you proposed, bring your butcher's block out and make your speech (364–5). Somewhere in the course of these lines **Dik.** exits into the house, taking the sword and transport basket with him.

**358–63** τί οὖν οὐ (or simply τί οὐ) + pres. indic. is equivalent to an imper., 'why then don't you . . .?', i.e. 'please do . . .!' (e.g. *Eq.* 1207; *Av.* 149; *Lys.* 1103; *Pl. Com. fr.* 71. 2; cf. 592 with n.; *KG* 1. 165–6; *Rijksbaron* 32–3). **θύραξ'** is Triklinios' correction of **Rac**'s unmetrical θύραζε. A poetic form (e.g. 825, 1222; *Nu.* 1384; *V.* 117; *Eup. fr.* 172. 13, 15; *H. Il.* 18. 416; *Od.* 16. 276; *Hes. Op.* 97; *Thgn.* 468; *E. Or.* 604), first in prose in Aristotle. ὅ τι ποτ' . . . τὸ μέγα τοῦτ' ἔχεις: 'whatever this great thing [is that] you have got', i.e. 'this great argument you have, whatever it may be'; internal acc. with λέγεις. ὦ σχέτλιε: Abusive ('you bastard!'), as at *Ra.* 116, 1049, 1476. πάνυ γὰρ κτλ.: 'a great longing possesses me [to know] what you intend [to say]'. πάνυ does not normally modify substantives, but ἐμέ γε πόθος . . . ἔχει is equivalent to ἐγὼ ποθῶ (*Thesleff* § 74).

**364–5** ἣπερ: 'in which [way]'; cf. 730. τὴν δίκην: 'your trial'; cf. 317–18n. The image is picked up in the reference to jurymen in 375–6 and the description of the poet's clash with Kleon before the Council in 377–82. διωρίσω: 'fix, prescribe'. ἐγχείρει λέγειν: *LSJ* s.v. implies that ἐγχειρέω + infin. (here 'set about . . . -ing') is attested first in 4th-c. prose, but this is the standard construction of the vb. in *Ar.* (also *Nu.* 476; *Th.* 807; *Pl.* 717; with dat. at *Th.* 777).

**366–9** Cf. 481–8 with 370–480 n. **Dik.** emerges from his house carrying a butcher's block, which he sets down before his door. ἰδού: 'there!' (colloquial), signalling compliance with a request or order (434, 470, 583; *Stevens* 35; *López Eire* 184–6), in this case the chorus' insistence that **Dik.** bring out his butcher's block before speaking (364–5). The word in this sense retains so little connection with ὀράω ('see') that when the point is that the person addressed should look and see what is being done, θεᾶσθε *vel sim.* is needed, as at *Eq.* 997 ἰδὸν θεάσαι\*; *V.* 1170; *S. Tr.* 1079; *E. HF* 1131 with *Wilamowitz ad loc.*; *Ion* 190. I print the text as it was preserved in **β**; **R**'s θεάσαι is a careless error under the influence of ἰδού (originally a 2nd pers. sing. imper., ἰδοῦ). For the

right of every citizen to offer advice to the people, 45 n. **οὔτοσί**  
**τυννουτοσί:** Cf. *Lys.* 1087 οὔτοιὶ τοιουτοί\*. *τυννουτοσί* is 'as small as this,  
 so small'; exclusively Aristophanic vocabulary (also *Eq.* 1220; *Nu.* 392,  
 878; *Th.* 745; *Ra.* 139), although *τυννός* ('small') appears at *Theoc.* 24.  
 139; *Call.* fr. 471. **ἀμέλει:** 'rest assured, don't worry'. Colloquial  
 (López Eire 104-5); also followed by fut. indic. at e.g. *Nu.* 1111\*; *Lys.*  
 842\*, 935\*; *Ec.* 800\*; *Eup.* fr. 222. 1. Triklinios' ἀμέλλει is unmetrical  
 and must represent a simple slip of the pen. **οὐκ ἐνασπιδώσομαι:**  
 'I will not shelter myself behind a shield', i.e. 'I will not simply try  
 to save my own skin' (for the hoplite shield and its use, 1122-3 n.), al-  
 though the joke also depends on the fact that *Dik.* will argue specifically  
 against the war (cf. 56-8 n.).

**370-480** *Dik.*'s remarks in 366-9 leave little doubt that he is about to  
 begin his great speech in defence of the Spartans, and his sudden hesita-  
 tion (370-82) and decision to dress himself up as miserably as possible  
 (383-4), followed by his even more abrupt announcement that he must  
 visit Euripides (394), represent a series of narrative twists that un-  
 expectedly interrupt the forward movement of the plot. When the hero  
 is at last outfitted with a beggar's costume and ready to speak, therefore,  
 his words echo what he has just finished saying here (481-7, cf. 366-9),  
 formally marking the end of the digression.

**370-6** The lack of any resolution in these lines is striking and is presum-  
 ably intended to mark their particular solemnity and thoughtfulness.

**370-3** **καίτοι:** 'Used by a speaker in pulling himself up abruptly: the  
 sharper "but" is sometimes perhaps a better translation here than the  
 quieter "yet"' (*GP* 557); cf. 466. **πολλά** is adverbial, 'greatly'.

**τούς τε γὰρ τρόπους κτλ.:** What concerns *Dik.* is not so much that  
 countrymen like the chorus enjoy being flattered but what follows from  
 that, namely, that they hate being told painful truths. At the same time,  
 the implication is that city-men (who probably made up a majority of  
 the external audience of the play) can be expected to be more sophisti-  
 cated consumers of political rhetoric. For the contrast and conflict  
 between urban and rural manners (generally to the direct and immedi-  
 ate disadvantage of representatives of the latter), e.g. *Eq.* 316-18;  
*Nu.* 43-55, 60-74; *Pax* 1185-6. *τρόποι* are 'manners, ways, the typical  
 pattern of behaviour'. *τε* is correlative with *τ'* in 375; 'an exceptionally  
 wide interval' (*GP* 503). For an alleged Athenian love of being flattered,  
 636-40, 657-8; *Eq.* 1115-20; cf. [X.] *Ath.* 1. 18.

**οἶδα:** Echoed in 375 τῶν τ' αὖ γερόντων οἶδα\*. **χαίροντας** modifies  
 not τούς . . . τρόπους but τῶν ἀγροίκων (hence Bothe's unnecessary  
*χαιρόντων*), having been attracted into the case of αὐτούς in 372. Cf.  
 375-6.

**ἐάν τις αὐτούς εὐλογῇ καὶ τὴν πόλιν:** Glowing remarks  
 about Athens and her people were doubtless a routine part of speeches  
 by those who wished to capture the Assembly's favour; cf. 636-40.

Here, however, the point is not so much to criticize the behaviour of other individuals as to insist that Dik./‘the poet’ (cf. 377–82 with n.) is, by contrast, devoted only to telling the truth as a way of improving his city and will therefore offer more criticism than praise (cf. 649–51), as Kleon in particular—despite his posture of aggressively good citizenship—is allegedly unwilling to do. Cf. 656–64 with nn.; Th. ii. 65. 8–9 (praise of Perikles as someone uniquely able to criticize the people). For attacks on the city as a whole as one of the alleged features of *Bab.* (the play whose reception is generally taken to be in question here), 502–3, 515–16, 630–1; Introduction, Sections I, III.

**ἀνὴρ ἀλαζών:** 167–8 n. **καὶ δίκαια κᾶδिका:** i.e. ‘whether justly or not’; internal acc. with εὐλόγη, like κακὰ πολλά with εἶποι in 649. Cf. 317–18 n.; *Eq.* 256, where Kleon/the Paphlagonian describes the city’s jurymen as those οὓς ἐγὼ βόσκω κεκραγῶς καὶ δίκαια κᾶδिका (‘whom I keep fed by screaming things just and unjust’); *Nu.* 99\*.

**374 κἀνταῦθα:** Temporal (‘and then’) rather than locative (‘and here’), as at e.g. *Nu.* 1368; *S. OT* 802; *E. Hipp.* 38; *Ph.* 422. **ἀπεμπολώμενοι:** ‘being sold off’, i.e. ‘betrayed’; cf. *Pax* 633 (of the rural populace of Attika at the hands of demagogues) πωλούμενος . . . οὐκ ἐμάνθανεν (‘[the people] did not notice that they were being sold out’). The image is common in tragedy (e.g. *A. Ch.* 132; *S. Ant.* 1036; *Ph.* 978; fr. 583. 7; *E. Tr.* 973; *Ion* 1371) and gains considerable point from the fact that human beings were routinely bought and sold in the ancient Mediterranean world. For the vb., Mastronarde on *E. Ph.* 1228.

**375–6 τῶν τ’ αὖ γερόντων οἶδα:** 370–3 n. The judgement of disputes was traditionally entrusted to the community’s elders (e.g. *H. Il.* 18. 503–8), and in Athens this tendency was reinforced by the practice of paying jurors three obols per day or fraction of a day (e.g. *Eq.* 51, 255, 800; *V.* 609, 690; for a full day’s pay for a partial day’s service, *Eq.* 50; *V.* 594–5). This was a relatively small sum for an able-bodied man but enough to attract the old, who had no military obligations to take up their time (600–1 n.) and who were therefore disproportionately represented on juries (cf. *Eq.* 255, 977–9; *V. passim*).

**οἶδα τὰς ψυχὰς ὄτι:** 117–18 n.

**βλέπουσιν + infin.:** ‘have their eyes on’, i.e. ‘are intent upon’, as at *V.* 847 τιμᾶν βλέπω; *Alex.* fr. 102. 1–2 ὀρχεῖσθαι μόνον / βλέποντες; *Men. Epit.* 398 ἀρπάζειν βλέπει; *Mis.* 801 Arnott ἀρπάσαι βλέπων; cf. *Epicr.* fr. 3. 2 ὀρώσα πίνειν κᾶσθίειν.

**α** had ψηφοδακεῖν, which is unmetrical and was emended by Triklinios to ψηφήδακεῖν. <sup>ΑΣΕΤ</sup> Γ<sup>3</sup>Ε<sup>4</sup>’s ψήφω δακεῖν (‘to injure with a pebble’, i.e. ‘with a voting-token’; cf. MacDowell on *V.* 94) preserves a better version of the text, but as the idiom seems to require the pres. rather than the aor. infin. (above), I print ψήφω δάκνειν. For δάκνω, 1 n., 323–5 n.; cf. *V.* 778 (also of jurymen), 943; *Pax* 607.

**377–82** Dik. slips abruptly ‘out of character’ and speaks as if he were him-

self the author of the play in which he is appearing, as again at 496-508; cf. 299-302 with n., 416, 442-4 with n.; *Pax* 173-6; Pl. Com. fr. 115; Edmunds 9-12; Introduction, Sections I, III. **ἑμαυτόν** is proleptic. **ὑπὸ Κλέωνος**: 'at Kleon's hands' (KG i. 522). **τὴν πέρυσι κωμωδίαν**: Most naturally taken as a reference to Aristophanes' *Babylonians*, performed at the City Dionysia in 426; cf. Introduction, Sections I, III. **εἰσελεύσας**: For ἔλκω as a semi-technical term meaning 'bring forcibly into court', *Eq.* 710-11; *Nu.* 1004, 1218; *Ec.* 1056; cf. 687; *V.* 694; *Ec.* 1020, 1037. Here the procedure in question is apparently an εἰσαγγελία ('impeachment') for ἄγραφα δημόσια ἀδικήματα ('sundry crimes against the people'); cf. 502-3 n.; *Boule* 162-71. **τὸ βουλευτήριον**: The regular meeting-place for Athens' Council in this period was the Old Bouleuterion, a late 6th-c. structure located north of the Acropolis; sometime around the end of the 5th c., a New Bouleuterion was constructed near by and the old building converted into a records office and a shrine of the Mother of the Gods. The Old Bouleuterion probably featured banks of seats for the Council members around three sides; benches for the prytaneis along the fourth side; a speaker's stand or βῆμα; and a sacred hearth. A barrier known as the κυκλῖς blocked the door and kept onlookers out (*Eq.* 640-3). Cf. Thompson, *Hesperia* 6 (1937) 115-217, esp. 127-35; H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *Agora* xiv (Princeton, 1972) 29-38; W. A. McDonald, *The Political Meeting Places of the Greeks* (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology, No. 34: Baltimore, 1943) 131-40, 159-65; J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (New York, 1971) 191-5; *Boule* 30-5. **διέβαλλε**: A quite straightforward vb. (for which, Chadwick 87-94, esp. 90-1), which sets the context and can thus be followed by a series of more extravagant images. The imperfectives stress the extended and relentless nature of Kleon's attacks: 'he made one slanderous charge after another, and kept on . . .'; cf. 385-6. For Kleon as slanderer, 502; *Eq.* 64-5, 288, 486-7; *Th.* iii. 42. 2-3; cf. 630. **ψευδῆ κατεγλώττιζέ μου**: 'he tongued his lies all over me.' The basic point of referring to Kleon's γλώττα is that he has engaged in shameless and deceptive rhetoric (e.g. *Eq.* 637-8; *Nu.* 424, 1058-9; *Ra.* 892; Denniston, *CQ* 21 (1927) 120), and one sense of καταγλωττίζω may have been 'overwhelm verbally' (cf. 160 with n., 711 κατεβόησε). But at *Nu.* 51 and *Th.* 131 καταγλωττίζω and καταγλώττισμα refer to French-kissing (cf. 1201 with n.; *Eq.* 352 (of Athens' treatment at Kleon's hands) ὑπὸ σοῦ . . . καταγλωττισμένην ('French-kissed by you'); *MM* § 369), and use of the vb. simultaneously calls up the image of an unwanted advance by a disgusting homosexual predator. **(ἐ)κυκλοβόρει**: 'he matched the din of the Kykloboros', a torrent stream located somewhere near Athens, which when full produced a deafening roar; cf. *Eq.* 137 (of Kleon) *Κυκλοβόρου φωνὴν ἔχων* ('with a voice like Kykloboros'); *V.* 1034



~ *Pax* 757 (of the Kleon-monster) φωνήν δ' εἶχεν χαράδρας ὄλεθρον τετοκυίας ('and it had the voice of a torrent stream bearing destruction'); fr. 644 (probably of an orator) ὤμην δ' ἔγωγε τὸν Κυκλοβόρον κατιέναι ('I thought the Kykloboros was coming down'); Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Hermes* 17 (1882) 647–8, citing Demon *FGrH* 327 F 8 in an attempt to explain the name. For Kleon's loud voice—an occupational necessity for an Athenian demagogue (cf. 711)—*Eq.* 273–4, 286, 312 (etc.); *V.* 36, 596, 1228; *Pax* 314; O'Sullivan 115–24; cf. Halliwell 76. (ἔ)πλυεν:

Lit. 'he gave me a washing', i.e. 'he abused me verbally' (fr. 207; Diocl. Com. fr. 2; Men. fr. 433. 2; adesp. com. fr. 413; D. 39. 11; 58. 40; cf. *Pl.* 1061; Taillardat § 590). ὥστ(ε): Sc. οὕτως, '[so much] that . . .'. ὀλίγου πάνυ / ἀπωλόμην:

The implication is that the poet escaped conviction by a very narrow margin of votes, although whether this is really the case or is comic exaggeration is impossible to say; cf. 630–1 n. ὀλίγου πάνυ is 'very nearly'; cf. 2 n., 347–9 n. μολυνοπραγμονούμενος:

μολύνω is 'make dirty, foul' (*Eq.* 1286; Arist. *HA* 571<sup>b</sup>18; cf. *Pl.* 310 ('degrade')), and μολυνοπραγμονέομαι (a hapax and probably an Aristophanic coinage) is thus 'get mixed up in filth'. For Kleon as producer or stirrer-up of muck and filth, *Eq.* 308–10, 864–7; *Pax* 753 ἀπειλὰς βορβοροθύμους ('muck-minded threats').

**383–4** For the repetition of με after the πρίν-clause, Jebb on *S. OC* 1278–9; KG i. 660; Handley on Men. *Dysk.* 805–6. πρῶτον πρίν λέγειν:

For the construction (presumably colloquial), cf. *Eq.* 542, 761; *Th.* 380; *Pl. Phd.* 104c. Note the imperfective infin.; 'before I begin speaking'. 384 is identical to 436, where the verse is most likely intrusive. ἐνσκευάσασθαι μ' οἶον ἀθλιώτατον: Cf. Phryn. Com. fr. 39. 1 δουλικῶς ἐνσκευάσαι. οἶον ἀθλιώτατον is 'as the most wretched man possible' (in apposition to μ'), i.e. 'so that I look as wretched as I can'. For forms of οἶος + superlative (a primarily poetic usage), e.g. *Eq.* 978; *Pl. Ap.* 23a; *X. An.* iv. 8. 2; cf. KG i. 27–8.

**385–6** The progressive presents reflect the chorus' impatience with Dik.'s behaviour: 'Why do you go on . . .?' ταῦτα is an internal acc. with both στρέφει and τεχνάζεις and is best translated adverbially, 'thus'; cf. *Nu.* 131; KG i. 309–10. στρέφει: 'twist yourself about', i.e. 'look for a cunning way out', like a wrestler trying to escape his opponent's grasp (e.g. *Pl. Ion* 541e; *La.* 196b; *Euthd.* 302b; cf. *Nu.* 434 στρεψοδικῆσαι ('twist justice'); Poliakoff 140–1). The common ancestor of **ct** apparently converted the word into an infin. dependent on τεχνάζεις (**c**), and Triklinios, seeing that the position of τε made this impossible, emended to τί ταῦτα στρέφεις τεχνάζει τε ('why do you turn these [plans] about and devise them for yourself?'). Van Herwerden's πορίζει (cf. *Ra.* 880–1) for **d**'s πορίζεις is unnecessary (*V.* 365, 1113; *E. IA* 745; *Pl. Lg.* 740d).

**387–90** ἐμοῦ γ' ἔνεκα: 'so far as I'm concerned, for all I care' (e.g. 958; *Nu.* 422; *Ec.* 367; Alex. fr. 115. 7; Men. *Dysk.* 564; *S. OT* 857–8; *Pl. Phd.*

85b; X. *Cyr.* iii. 2. 30). **Ἱερωνύμου:** Identified by Σ<sup>REF</sup> and Σ<sup>REM</sup> *Nu.* 349 as Hieronymos son of Xenophantes (*PAA* 533985; *TrGF* 31), a dithyrambic (cf. below) and tragic poet also mocked at *Nu.* 348-9 for the hairiness of his body and his pederastic behaviour. The *Ἱερώνυμος* [*Ξεν*]οφάν[του] (*PA* 7556; *PAA* 533980) mentioned at *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1642. 16 (mid-4th c.) is doubtless his descendant.

**σκοτοδασυπυκνότηριχα:** A deliberately absurd compound in dithyrambic style (*Pl. Cra.* 409c; *Arist. Rh.* 1406<sup>b</sup>1-2; *Po.* 1459<sup>a</sup>8-9; cf. *Nu.* 332-3; *Pax* 831; *Av.* 1385; *Th.* 324), and thus presumably intended as mockery not only of Hieronymos' appearance (above) but of his poetry.

**τιν' Ἄϊδος κυνῆν:** Hades' helmet (according to *Apollod.* i. 2. 1, given to him by the Cyclopes at the same time as they presented Zeus with thunder and lightning and Poseidon with his trident) made whoever wore it invisible, allowing him to escape his enemies (*H. Il.* 5. 844-5 with Kirk ad loc.; *Hes. Sc.* 226-7; *Pherecyd. FGrH* 3 F 11; *Apollod.* i. 6. 2; ii. 4. 2-3; cf. *Pl. R.* 612b). Brunck's τιν' restores exact responsion with 363 and makes better sense than the paradosis τήν, since the point is not that Hieronymos owns the actual helmet of Hades but that he has something else (extraordinarily abundant facial hair or the like) that will conceal a man just as effectively; cf. Dover, *EGPS* 126. *Ἄϊδος κυνῆν* is an echo of the epic *Ἄϊδος κυνέην* (*H. Il.* 5. 845; cf. *Hes. Sc.* 227).

**391-2 ἐξάνοιγε:** 'lay open', i.e. 'reveal'; cf. *A. Supp.* 322; *S. OC* 515; *E. Ion* 1563; *Men.* fr. 861. 1.

**μηχανὰς τὰς Σίσυφου:** 'your Sisyphian devices'. Sisyphos king of Ephyra is referred to already at *H. Il.* 6. 153 as κέρδιστος . . . ἀνδρῶν ('most cunning of men'; cf. *Hes.* fr. 10. 2; *Alc.* fr. 38a. 5-6 *Σίσυφος* . . . / ἀνδρῶν πλείστα νοησάμενος ('Sisyphos, by far the most clever of men'), 7 πολυίδρις ('much-knowing'); *Pi. O.* 13. 52 πυκνότατον παλάμαις ὡς θεόν ('as shrewd in cleverness as a god'), and *Thgn.* 702-12 reports that he talked his way out of the Underworld and thus temporarily escaped death (cf. *Alc.* fr. 38a; *Pherecyd. FGrH* 3 F 119; *S. Ph.* 624-5; and note the Aeschylean satyr-play title *Σίσυφος δραπέτης* ('Sisyphos the Runaway')), precisely as *Dik.* hopes to do by means of his speech (cf. 317-18, 416-17). Sisyphos is accordingly often referred to in 5th-c. sources as the actual father of Odysseus the arch-liar and -deceiver (*A.* fr. 175; *S. Ai.* 189; *Ph.* 417; fr. 567; *E. Cyc.* 104; *IA* 524, 1362; cf. *S. Ph.* 625, 1311). Cf. 426-7n.; *H. Od.* 11. 593-600 (Sisyphos punished in the Underworld for an unspecified crime, but apparently not imagined as Laertes' rival); *Aeschin.* 2. 42 ('Sisyphos' = 'deceiver'); *LIMC* vii. 1. 781-2.

392 is an adaptation of a proverb, also preserved in slightly different forms at fr. 349; *Ibyc. PMGF* 344; *A.* fr. 37; *Pl. Cra.* 421d; *Lg.* 751d; cf. *E. Heracl.* 722-3, the general sense of which appears to be 'a crisis will not brook delay' (thus Σ<sup>bT</sup> *Pl. Cra.* 421d, citing most of the passages listed above).

**σκήψιν:** A σκήψις is in general a 'ground for excuse' (*Cratin.* fr. 253; *A. Ag.* 886 with

Fraenkel ad loc.; S. *El.* 584; E. *Med.* 744; *El.* 29; *Ion* 721 with Wilamowitz ad loc.; *Hel.* 1064), although the technical Athenian sense 'plea of exemption' (from a legal obligation (*Ec.* 1027; *Pl.* 904; [Arist.] *Ath.* 56. 3; cf. Lipsius 589–90; Harrison ii. 232–6)) is perhaps to the fore, given the juridical character of the scene as a whole.

**ἀγών οὔτος:** For ἀγών with the specific sense 'crucial encounter' *vel sim.*, e.g. *Pax* 276 with Olson ad loc.; Cratin. fr. 165; A. *Pers.* 405. β's ἀγών (R omits the breathing mark) is unmetrical, and the rough breathing (added by van Leeuwen, following Bentley) is needed in any case with the demonstrative pronoun. Triklinios responded to the problem with the desperate (and ungrammatical) ἄν ἀγών.

δ have εἶσ/ἐσδέξεται, but the vb. is not normally used of 'admitting' abstract objs. The *Suda*'s προσδέξεται suggests dispute already in antiquity about the prefix and I print ἐνδέξεται (otherwise a prosaic sense of the word). Cobet's οὐχὶ δέξεται is possible but a more violent emendation.

**393–4 ὥρα:** More often in this sense without (ἐ)στίν (e.g. *Ec.* 30; E. *Heracl.* 288; *Pl. Ap.* 42a), but cf. *Av.* 639; *Th.* 1189, 1228; *Ec.* 285, 352; *Philyll.* fr. 3. 2; *Herod.* 6. 97–8.

R has ἀρά μοι (nonsensical and unmetrical, although ἄρα μοι would do), and Robertson (followed independently by Lloyd-Jones, *CR* NS 8 (1958) 14) proposed emending to ἀρμοῖ ('right now' *vel sim.*; cf. *Pherecr.* fr. 115; *Pi.* fr. 10; [A.] *PV* 615; *Theoc.* 4. 51; *Call. frr.* 274. 1; 383. 4; *Lyc.* 106; A.R. 1. 972 (v. l.); Persson, *Eranos* 20 (1921–2) 82–90), with β's ἦδη (also the reading in the *Suda*) to be explained as a superlinear gloss that ousted the much less common word below it. The emendation has the virtue of raising the tone just before it is deflated with βαδιστέα (below), but R's reading instead might be editorial patchwork after a word dropped out of the text and ἦδη is unobjectionable. Cf. *Philyll.* fr. 3. 2; S. *Al.* 245; *Pl. Prt.* 361e; *Beobachtungen* 28–9. Handley tentatively suggests ὥρα τιν' ἀρα καρτερὰν κτλ.

**καρτερᾶν:** 'stout, valiant'; cf. 622 with n.; Homeric καρτερόθυμος (e.g. *Il.* 5. 277; 13. 350; *Od.* 21. 25).

**βαδιστέ(α):** βαδίζω is exceedingly common in comedy (e.g. 848, 1086; *Pherecr.* fr. 57. 2; *Eub.* fr. 14. 2; *Alex.* fr. 205. 4; *Men. Epitir.* 376) and is also used in related genres (*Euclides* fr. 1; *Hermipp.* iamb. fr. 4. 1; *carm. pop. PMG* 851(a). 4), as well as by Plato (e.g. *Prt.* 310e), Xenophon (e.g. *Mem.* ii. 1. 11), and the orators (e.g. *Is.* 3. 62; *D.* 19. 124). The vb. is very rare in tragedy and other serious poetry (only at *h. Merc.* 210, 320; S. *El.* 1502; E. *Ph.* 544; *Chaerem. TrGF* 71 F 20; *adesp. tr.* fr. 177. 1), and is thus presumably colloquial.

**ὡς Εὐριπίδην:** 370–480n. For ὡς as a preposition, 65–7n.

**395–403** Doorkeeper scenes are an Aristophanic stock-in-trade, with the doorkeeper routinely reflecting the character or habits of the master in some way (Olson on *Pax* 180; cf. Σ<sup>REF</sup> 396), in this case by making use of a 'typically Euripidean' riddling paradox (396 with n.).

- 395-6** παῖ παῖ. τίς οὗτος;: \* at *Ra.* 464. The door swings open and an anonymous Slave (cf. Olson (1992) 310-11; for the Slave's costume, 241 n.) steps out. Σ<sup>R</sup> and the common ancestor of **ct** identified this character as Kephisophon (*PAA* 569015), who is referred to at *Ra.* 944, 1452-3 (cf. 1408), and fr. 596 (undated) as a poetic collaborator of Euripides and is said at *anon. vita Eur.* 6. 2 ~ Satyrus, *Vita Eur.*, POxy. ix. 1176 fr. 39 cols. xii. 24-xiii. 17 to have been a household slave who seduced Euripides' wife and to whom Euripides ultimately gave her. Euripides was apparently widely believed to have had trouble with his wife (*Ra.* 1045-8) and the real Kephisophon may well have contributed somehow to his later dramas (for similar phenomena among late 5th-c. comic poets, Ecphantid. test. 6; Halliwell, *GRBS* 30 (1989) 515-28). That Kephisophon was the source of the disruption in Euripides' marriage is nowhere even hinted at in the 5th-c. sources, however, and identification of a (probably free) man first mentioned twenty years later with the anonymous character who comes on stage here is a patent scholastic fantasy. Cf. Halliwell, *CQ* NS 34 (1984) 85; Kovacs, *ZPE* 84 (1990) 15-18; Dover, *Frogs*, pp. 53-4; Olson (1992) 316-18. Elite Athenian households regularly had a slave among whose duties was to watch the door (*Pl. Phlb.* 62c; *Prt.* 314c-e; *X. Smp.* 1. 11; *D.* 47. 35; *Thphr. Char.* 4. 9; cf. *E. Tr.* 492-3), and παῖ παῖ ('Slave! slave!') is apparently precisely what one shouted to get his or her attention (*Nu.* 132, 1145; *Av.* 57; *Ra.* 37, 464; *Men. Epitr.* 1076; *A. Ch.* 653-4). The same phrase is used to summon one's own slave out of the house at 1097-8, 1118-19; *V.* 1251; *Pax* 255; *Av.* 850; cf. *V.* 1307; Scott, *AJP* 26 (1905) 40. For questions (routinely ignored, as here, or evaded in some other way) after the visitor's identity, *Nu.* 133; *Pax* 185-9; *Av.* 60; *Ra.* 464; *Men. Epitr.* 1078; *A. Ch.* 657. For 396, cf. *Pl. Com.* fr. 182. 3 ἀτὰρ οὐ λαχὼν ὁμῶς ἔλαχες, ἣν νοῦν ἔχῃς ('But although the lot didn't fall to you, none the less it did, if you take my meaning'). οὐκ ἔνδον ἔνδον: '(simultaneously) not within and within', a typical Euripidean conundrum (e.g. *Alc.* 521; *Hec.* 566; *Tr.* 1223; *IT* 512; *Ion* 1444; *Hel.* 138; *Ph.* 272, 357; cf. *Ra.* 1082, 1477; *E. Or.* 819 with Willink ad loc.; Rau 29-30). γνώμη: 'native wit', as at e.g. *Nu.* 317, 361; *V.* 650; *Lys.* 1125 οὐ κακῶς γνώμης ἔχω ('I am not lacking in wit').
- 397** πῶς ἔνδον, εἴτ' οὐκ ἔνδον;: *Sc.* ὦν, . . . ἐστὶ. 'What do you mean, "Although he's within, he's simultaneously not within"?' For πῶς used thus, with the previous speaker's words quoted back to him in astonishment or contempt, e.g. *Eq.* 82; *Av.* 595; *Lys.* 496. ὀρθῶς: *Sc.* λέγεις, '[You speak] quite precisely' (esp. *Pl.* 1033; cf. *Nu.* 679; *V.* 46; *Lys.* 521, 1038, 1228; *Ra.* 672; *Men. Asp.* 387), i.e. 'That's absolutely right!' ὦ γέρον: A more or less neutral form of address (also at *Nu.* 746\*; *V.* 1417\*; *Pax* 860; *Th.* 63\*), neither ostentatiously respectful ('aged sir') nor necessarily abusive ('geezer'); cf. Dickey 82-4.

**398–400** For the idea that poets ‘assemble’ material from outside sources as a basic part of the compositional process, *Pax* 827–31 (dithyramb); *Ra.* 841 (Euripides), 849 (Euripides), 1296–7 (Aeschylus). The *voûs* (like Engl. ‘mind’ or ‘attention’) is routinely conceived as a thing that can wander or be sent off in various directions (e.g. *V.* 93; *Pax* 669 with Olson ad loc.; *Ec.* 156; Timocl. Com. fr. 6. 5–7; Alex. fr. 279. 4; S. *Ant.* 561–2; E. *Ion* 251; *Ph.* 1418; Simon. *PMG* 525; cf. 556; Totaro, *AFLB* 37–38 (1994–5) 289–94). **ἐπύλλια:** A disparaging comic diminutive form of *ἔπος*, ‘little passages of verse’; cf. 656–8n.; Neil on *Eq.* 222–4; Leumann, *Glotta* 32 (1952) 214–16. Attested elsewhere in the classical period only at *Pax* 532; *Ra.* 942 (both also of Euripidean poetry); cf. 444 *ῥηματίοις* (of Dik.’s *Telephos*-speech); Denniston, *CQ* 21 (1927) 116. **ἀναβάδην** (cf. 410 *ἀναβάδην ποεῖς*\*) is attested elsewhere before the 1st/2nd c. CE only at *Pl.* 1123 *νυνὶ δὲ πεινῶν ἀναβάδην ἀναπαύομαι*, where it clearly means ‘with my feet up’; Sommerstein’s assertion that ‘elsewhere (e.g. *Pl.* 1123) *ἀναβάδην* always means’ this is thus somewhat misleading. Σ<sup>R</sup> 399 ~ S a 1796 appears uncertain as to whether the sense here is ‘with his feet up’ or ‘upstairs’ (as Σ<sup>EF</sup> 398 (cf. Hsch. a 4185) believes). *Pace* LSJ s.v., Poll. iii. 90 (cf. vi. 175) simply cites the phrase *ἀναβάδην καθήμενος/καθίζειν* (‘sitting/to sit *ἀναβάδην*’) without offering a gloss. *καταβάδην* in 411 is a hapax legomenon, which (once again, *pace* LSJ s.v.) does not prove that it is an Aristophanic coinage. Eur.’s words at 407–9 might conceivably be spoken from a window (i.e. an ‘upper floor’; cf. *V.* 379–80; *Ec.* 962–3), in which case *καταβαίνειν* in 409 will have to mean ‘to come downstairs’ and the point of Dik.’s remark about the tragic poet’s telling fondness for beggars must be that people who habitually climb ladders run a risk of falling down (cf. Lys. 1. 9) and shattering their legs (cf. 427 with n.), thus becoming *χωλός* (‘crippled’; cf. *Pax* 146–8). The use of *ἀναβάδην* at *Pl.* 1123, however, combined with the parallel scene with the tragic playwright Agathon at *Th.* 95–265, leaves little doubt that Eur. enters at 410 reclining on a couch ‘with his feet up’. **τραγωδίαν:** The earliest attestation of the word.

**400–1** Addressed to the world at large. **τρισμακάρι:** ‘Three times’ is ‘utterly’ (cf. 1024 *τρισκακόδαιμον*; *Ec.* 1129 *τρισόλβιε*), doubtless with some ritual or magical background (cf. A. *Th.* 745–9); here the tone is sarcastic. *τρισμακάριος* (a *metri gratia* variant of the epic *τρίσμακαρ*; cf. *τρισμακαρίτης* at Antiph. fr. 166. 8) is common in Ar. (*Nu.* 166; *V.* 1293; *Av.* 1273, 1707) but attested elsewhere in the classical period only at Philem. fr. 96. 1. **ὄ(τε):** Causal, ‘seeing that’ (e.g. 535; *Eq.* 1112; *Nu.* 7; *V.* 121; cf. 647; LSJ s.v. B; López Eire 198). **οὕτως** is Triklinios’ correction of α’s *οὕτοσί* and is obviously correct. R has *σοφῶς ὑποκρίνεται*, whereas β had *σαφῶς ἀπεκρίνατο*. Either would do, and the question is whether Dik. is referring to the Slave’s initial reply (in which case *σοφῶς* (‘wisely’) followed by a form of *ἀποκρίνομαι*

(‘answer’) is wanted) or to his glossing of that remark in 398–400 (in which case *σαφῶς* (‘clearly’) followed by a form of *ὑποκρίνομαι* (‘interpret’; cf. *V.* 53) is wanted). The former possibility is to be preferred, since on the Aristophanic view of things *σοφία* (‘wisdom’) is what a poet strives after (Dover, *Frogs*, pp. 12–14; Olson on *Pax* 700–1; cf. 445 with n.) and the larger point is that the Slave is aping his master’s manners—or at least his aspirations; cf. 395–403n. I therefore print **σοφῶς ἀπεκρίνατο**.

**402–3 ἐκκάλεσον αὐτόν:** Addressed to the Slave (contrast 400–1); the asyndeton marks abrupt movement to an entirely new thought (KG ii. 346). The intrusive *ἀλλ’* before *ἐκκάλεσον* in R reflects the influence of the repetition of the word in the rest of the line. **ἀλλ’ ἀδύνατον.**

**ἀλλ’ ὁμως:** \* at 408. *ἀλλ’ ὁμως* is ‘But none the less [it must be done]’; cf. 408, 956\*; *Lys.* 144; *E. Med.* 501; *Hec.* 843; *Ba.* 1027; *Pl. Prm.* 137a. The move from potential opt. (‘I wouldn’t go away, [even if you did refuse to call him out]’) to fut. indic. (‘I’m going to knock on the door’) marks the point at which the Slave steps inside the house and shuts the door in Dik.’s face, throwing the hero back on his own resources. Dik. steps up to the door and pounds on it with his fist.

**404** Iambic dimeter. Bentley (followed by van Leeuwen, who also accepted Dobree’s expulsion of 408) proposed using 407 (iambic monometer) to fill out the line, but the added words would sit oddly here and no change is called for. For a partial line in a similar context, *Nu.* 222. **Εὐριπίδιον:** A wheedling diminutive, ‘my dear Euripides’; cf. 475; *Eq.* 726; *Nu.* 80, 222–3; *Pax* 382; Petersen 174–6; López Eire 138–9. Similar forms (but with a different tone) at 872, 1036, 1207.

**405–6 ὑπάκουσον, εἴπερ πώποτ’ ἀνθρώπων τινί:** A parody of a typical prayer-formula, in which the speaker asks the divinity to heed (*ὑπακούω*) his words ‘if ever’ he or she has done so in the past; cf. *Eq.* 591–4; *Nu.* 356–7; *Th.* 1157–8; Kleinknecht 79–80; S. Pulleyn, *Prayer in Greek Religion* (Oxford Classical Monographs: Oxford, 1997) 31–8, 65–6. Here the joke is that Dik. intends the vb. to mean ‘answer the door’ (e.g. *Pl. Cri.* 43a). The common ancestor of **ct** apparently had *ποτ’* (unmetrical) in place of **Ra**’s *πώποτ’*, and Triklinios emended to *δήποτ’*. Dik.

(anonymous up to this point; cf. Olson (1992) 306–9) identifies himself by two of the three tokens normally used by a male Athenian: his own name, his father’s name (omitted here), and his demotic; cf. *Nu.* 134; *Pax* 185–7; [Arist.] *Ath.* 21. 4 with Rhodes ad loc. The word

**Δικαιόπολις** is attested outside this play only at *Pi. P.* 8. 22, where it is an adj. describing Aigina and seems to mean ‘well-governed’. Bailey 236–8, accordingly argued that the hero’s name is an allusion to Ar.’s own place of residence (652–4 with n.), a brilliant if generally unappreciated suggestion undercut neither by the poet’s membership in the deme Kydathenaion (Introduction, Section I; for individuals residing

outside their deme, a common phenomenon, Traill 73–4) rather than Cholleidai (below), nor by the fact that much of the original audience may have missed the point. Bowie, *JHS* 108 (1988) 183–5 (followed by Sidwell, *C&M* 45 (1994) 71–115, whose arguments I am unable to understand), proposed instead that the name ‘Dikaiopolis’ is intended to make the audience think of the comic poet Eupolis who, he posits, may also have had trouble with Kleon on account of a play performed at the City Dionysia in 426 (cf. 377–82). This final—crucial—point is pure speculation, as is much of the rest of Bowie’s argument (cf. Parker, *JHS* 111 (1991) 203–8), which is in addition badly damaged by the fact that the intrusive ‘I’ that breaks into the text for the first time at 299–302 is beyond any doubt the voice of the author of the present play rather than of one of his rivals. Indeed, if any echo of ‘Eupolis’ is intended, the name ‘Dikaiopolis’ must be designed to suggest ‘someone like Eupolis, but whose particular interest is in proclaiming τὸ δίκαιον’ (317–18n.), i.e. once again ‘Ar.’ (645, 655, 661–2). **Χολλήδης:** The deme of Cholleidai belonged to the tribe of Leontis and—despite 32–3 and 266–7, which leave little doubt that Dik. is from the country—appears from inscriptional evidence to have belonged to its city trittys (B. D. Meritt and J. S. Traill, *Agora* xv (Princeton, 1974) no. 13. 39 = *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1742. 39; Pantou, *AE* (1973) 180–5; Traill, *Hesperia* 47 (1978) 99–100 (who dissents, but whose reading of the Aristophanic evidence is somewhat garbled)). The name must thus be chosen for a deliberate reason and Σ<sup>REG</sup> suggests that it is a pun on χωλός, ‘lame’, although Eur.’s alleged fondness for crippled characters (411, 427, 429) has not yet been explicitly referred to; perhaps an awareness of it could be taken for granted. For the spelling (probably the correct form for this period; δ’s Χολλίδης is an itacism), Threatte i. 374; ii. 740.

**407** Iambic monometer. Eur. speaks from backstage (as again in 408, 409). **ἀλλ’ οὐ σχολή:** Sc. μοι, ‘But I’m busy’ (409; *Nu.* 221; E. fr. 563. 1; Pl. *Phdr.* 227b, 229e; *Prt.* 314d).

**408–9 ἐκκυκλήθητ’ . . . / . . . ἐκκυκλήσομαι:** This passage and *Th.* 96, 265 (the entrance and exit of another tragic poet, Agathon) are the strongest direct evidence for the use of an *ekuklema* (‘theatrical trolley’) to represent interior scenes in late 5th-c. tragedy (at e.g. *S. Ai.* 344–53; *E. Hipp.* 808–10 with Barrett on 811; *HF* 1029–38; cf. *Eq.* 1249; Olson, *Peace*, pp. xlv–xlvi). α had the *scriptio plena* ἐκκυκλήθητι (RC; cf. ἐκκυκλήσει τι ΓΕ; ἐγκυκλήσει τι A); corrected by Triklinios. **ἀλλ’ ἀδύνατον. ἀλλ’ ὁμως:** 402\*–3 n. **ἀλλ’** at the beginning of 409 marks grudging assent; ‘Well, all right . . .’ (*GP* 16; contrast the very different tone at 1232). **καταβαίνειν δ’ οὐ σχολή:** 398–400 n., 407 n.

**410–79** Throughout this scene, Eur. speaks in tragic style and uses tragic vocabulary, as (at least on the logic of comedy) befits a tragic poet. Cf. Rau 30–6.

**410-15** The omission of 411 in **a**, with 414 inserted in its place, is most economically explained on the thesis that (1) the eye of the scribe of the exemplar leapt from *ποιεῖς* at the end of 410 to the same word at the end of 413, so that he omitted 411-13; (2) he attempted to correct the error by adding the verses he had left out in the margin, but omitted 411 as a result of the homoioteleuton of that verse and 410, and also failed to mark effectively where 412-13 were to be inserted; (3) and subsequent copyists therefore inserted 412-13 after 414 rather than before it, so that the lines stand in the order 410, 414, 412-13, 415.

**410-11** The door swings open and Eur. is pushed out on the *ekkuklema* (408-9n.). He is dressed in rags (412-13) and surrounded by a jumble of stage-props (438-9, 448, 453, 458-9, 462-5, 469), including several heaps of tattered, dirty clothes (418-19 with n., 431-3); cf. Macleod, *ZPE* 15 (1974) 221-2 (who offers the fanciful suggestion that the rags are actually rolled up in bundles resembling scrolls). A mute slave follows him on stage (432). **λέλακας**: *λάσκω* (cf. Björck 280-5) is common in tragedy (e.g. *A. Ag.* 865; *S. Tr.* 824; *E. Andr.* 671; [A.] *PV* 406) but occurs in Ar. only in paratragedy (as here; *Ra.* 97 (where the reference is to a tragic poet); *Pl.* 39 = adesp. tr. fr. 61a) and lyric (1046), and in the exchange between Hermes and Trygaeos at *Pax* 381-4 (a complicated joke, most likely with obscene undertones). **ἀναβάδην . . . / . . . καταβάδην**: 398-400n. **ἐξόν**: Sc. σοι τοῦτο ποιεῖν. For the acc. absolute, 1182-3 with 1182-5n.; *KG* ii. 87-8. **οὐκ ἐτός χωλοῦς ποεῖς**: Cf. 413 οὐκ ἐτός πτωχοῦς ποεῖς\*. οὐκ ἐτός is 'it's no wonder that . . .'; elsewhere only in comedy (e.g. *Av.* 915; *Lys.* 138; *Pl.* 404; Philetaer. fr. 5. 2; Anaxil. fr. 29. 1) and Plato (*R.* 414e, 568a), and thus presumably colloquial. For Eur.'s alleged overfondness for crippled characters, 406n., 426-9; *Pax* 146-8; *Ra.* 846 χωλοποιόν ('cripple-maker'); cf. 1190n.; *Th.* 22-4 with Austin, *Dodone* 19. 2 (1990) 12. *LSJ* s. ποιέω A. I. 4. b ought to include a reference to this passage (no other uses of the vb. + acc. in this sense cited before Plato).

**412-13** For Euripides' tendency to dress heroic characters in rags as a means of evoking pathos (cf. *S. Ph.* 273-4), *Ra.* 842 πτωχοποιεῖ καὶ ῥακιοσυρραπτάδην ('beggar-maker and rag-stitcher'), 1063-4, and cf. among the later plays *E. El.* 184-5; *Hel.* 420-4, with the parody at *Th.* 910. For the idea that a poet's personal style has a direct influence on what he writes, *Th.* 148-70 with Sommerstein on 149-50 (arguing that the theory was popular). There is no reason to think that the historical Euripides actually dressed 'below his station', especially given the lack of any reference to this in *Th.* For 'rags' as the clothing of the poor, *Pax* 740 with Olson ad loc.; *Ra.* 1066; *Pl.* 540, 842-6. **ἀτάρ** marks a break in the thought or a sudden change of topic; probably colloquial in tone (*GP* 51-3; Stevens 44-5; López Eire 131; cf. 44, 448, 513, 782). **τὰ ῥάκι**: Petersen 95-6. For the use of diminutives throughout the



begging scene, Petersen 163; Dover on *Nu.* 92. The elided tribrach in the thesis of the third-foot anapaest (i.e. in *ράκι*) can be defended only by reference to *Pax* 185, but no compelling alternative to the paradosis has been proposed.

**ἔχεις:** 'have [on], wear' (cf. 427, 845; LSJ s.v. A. II. 3).

**ἐσθῆτ' ἐλεινήν:** In apposition to *τὰ ράκι' ἐκ τραγωδίας*. Perhaps an allusion to a well-known tragic line; note the lack of resolution. **δ**'s *ἐλεινός* (the epic form of the adj. (e.g. *H. Il.* 23. 110) and ubiquitous in MSS) scans but ought almost certainly to be emended (with Porson) to a form of the Attic *ἐλεινός* (metrically guaranteed at *Ra.* 1063; *S. Ph.* 1130; cf. *Eur.* fr. 27), as also at e.g. *S. OT* 672; *E. Hel.* 992; *Men. Sam.* 371.

**οὐκ ἐτὸς πτωχοῦς ποεῖς:** Cf. 411 with n.

**414-79** For a very similar (although considerably shorter) scene, *Th.* 218-20, 249-65.

**414-15 ἀλλ' ἀντιβολῶ . . . σ':** Cf. 582 (line-initial). *ἀντιβολῶ* in the sense 'beseech, implore' occurs only in comedy (e.g. 431; *V.* 571; *Pl. Com.* fr. 189. 3; *Mnesim.* fr. 3. 1; *Men. Mis.* 295) and late 5th- and 4th-c. prose (e.g. [*X.*] *Ath.* 1. 18; *Lys.* 6. 55; [*Pl.*] *Erx.* 398e; *Is.* 2. 2; *D.* 21. 206), and must be colloquial; cf. López Eire 58-9.

**πρὸς τῶν γονάτων:** In the traditional act of *ἵκετεία*, the suppliant knelt before the person from whom protection or a favour was being sought and touched his or her knees (e.g. *H. Od.* 7. 142; cf. *E. Ph.* 1622; *Or.* 1414-15), but *Dik.* merely pronounces the usual verbal formula without actually abasing himself (cf. *Eq.* 1298; *Pax* 1113). Cf. Gould, *JHS* 93 (1973) 74-103, esp. 75-7. **ράκιόν τι τοῦ παλαιοῦ δράματος:** *Dik.* knows exactly which play he is referring to, although he is momentarily unable to recall the hero's name (420-31), and Bergk's *του* ('from some old play of yours') will therefore not do. Despite the repeated glancing allusions to *Tel.* in the preceding scene (esp. 317-18, 329-32), on the other hand, nothing said so far has made it unequivocally clear to the external audience precisely whose rags *Dik.* is after. The exchange that follows thus aggressively manipulates their expectations (cf. *V.* 71-88), while reminding them of just how many loquacious, ragged heroes *Eur.* has put on stage over the last few decades. Of the plays referred to in 418-30, *Cretan Women* (432-4n) and *Tel.* are known to have been performed in 438 BCE, *Philoktetes* (424-5n.) in 431. Neither date is particularly early in *Eur.*'s career (which began in 455), and *παλαιός* is presumably not intended to draw a distinction between the tragedian's earlier and later work, but means something like 'performed at a previous festival' (cf. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2318. 202, 317; 2320. 2 (where either sense of the word would do)).

**416** As already at 377-82 and again at 442-4 (where see n.), the actor speaks momentarily 'out of character' and refers to the Acharnians as 'the chorus'.

**δεῖ γάρ με λέξαι:** Cf. 440 *δεῖ γάρ με δόξαι\**. The 1st aor. of *λέγω* (in the sense 'say') is primarily poetic (e.g. 1057; *Eq.* 1301; *Anacr. PMG* 402(c). 2; *A. Eu.* 310); cf. Thraette ii. 529-30.

**ῥῆσιν**

**μακράν:** 'a long speech' (Dover on *Nu.* 1371), referring forward to 497-556; despite  $\Sigma^{EF}$  (followed by modern commentators), not obviously intended as an oblique reference to the allegedly consistent longwindedness of Euripidean characters.

**417** A pres. general condition, which serves to clarify the situation for someone unacquainted with it rather than to express concern about what is actually likely to happen (cf. 443-4), as a fut. more vivid condition (which would require a fut. in the apodosis) would have done. **αὐτή:** i.e. the  $\rho\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$  (416). **κακῶς:** i.e. unpersuasively; contrast 503. **φέρει:** a have  $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta$  via assimilation to the mood of  $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omega$ .

**418-19 τὰ ποῖα τρύχη;** 'Which tatters in particular?' (cf. 963 with n.; *Nu.* 1233 with Dover on *Ra.* 529; *Ec.* 646).  $\tau\rho\acute{\upsilon}\chi\omicron\varsigma$  is a very rare word, attested elsewhere before Arist. *Mete.* 371<sup>a</sup>28 only in tragedy (S. fr. 777; E. *El.* 185, 501; *Ph.* 325; cf. E. *Tr.* 496), although Hippokrates has  $\tau\rho\acute{\upsilon}\chi\iota\omicron\nu$  (*Art.* iv. 206. 20; *Mul.* viii. 90. 7). **μῶν:** 328-30 n. **Οἶνεὺς κτλ.:** Oineus was king of Kalydon and father (by Althaia) of Meleager and (by Periboia) of Tydeus. Tydeus murdered a member of the family and was driven into exile in Thebes, where he married a daughter of King Adrastos and ultimately joined Polyneikes' ill-fated expedition against Thebes. In his absence, Oineus was deposed from the kingship by the sons of his brother Agrios. Eur.'s play (frr. 558-70; undated except for the *terminus ante quem* provided by the reference to it here) began with the return of Tydeus' son Diomedes to Kalydon after he and the other Epigoni had destroyed Thebes (E. frr. 558-9). Diomedes first learned at second hand of the humiliations Oineus had suffered (E. fr. 562) and then met the old man himself (E. fr. 565), and ultimately contrived to drive out Agrios and either restored his grandfather to the throne or took him off into exile. Cf. Webster 113. Ar. quotes a line from the *Oineus* at *Ra.* 72 (= E. fr. 565. 2; cf. 471-2 n.) and the play apparently served as the model for Pacuvius' *Periboia* and Accius' *Diomedes*. For the extensive cycle of stories associated with Oineus and his family, H. *Il.* 2. 641-2; 6. 216-23; 9. 533-99; 14. 113-25 with Janko on 14. 115-20; Hes. fr. 10a; Asius fr. 7; Pherecyd. *FGrH* 3 F 122; adesp. tr. fr. 625; Apollodor. i. 7. 10-8. 6; *LIMC* viii. i. 915. Philokles (*TrGF* 24 ante F 1), Ion (*TrGF* 19 F 36-41b), and perhaps Sophocles (fr. 470 = adesp. tr. fr. 327c) also wrote plays entitled *Oineus*. For Oineus as the archetypal unfortunate old man in tragedy, Timocl. fr. 6. 16. **ὀδί:** Eur. makes a gesture, more likely toward one of the heaps of rags that surround him than toward a theatrical mask ( $\Sigma^L$ ); cf. 427 *Βελλεροφόντης* . . . οὐτοσί ('Bellerophon here'). **δύσποτμος γεραιός:** The use of a series of adjs. in asyndeton is a poetic mannerism (KG ii. 341-2; Hopkinson on Call. *Cer.* 67).  $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\pi\omicron\tau\mu\omicron\varsigma$  is elsewhere in the classical period exclusively tragic vocabulary (e.g. A. *Supp.* 306; S. *OT* 1068; E. *HF* 451; *Tr.* 290 (corrupt); [A.] *PV* 119; adesp. tr. fr. 325. 2).  $\gamma\epsilon\rho\alpha\iota\acute{o}\varsigma$  is

poetic vocabulary (e.g. *H. Il.* 1. 35; *Od.* 3. 373; *Tyrt.* fr. 10. 20; *Pi. N.* 4. 89; *Timoth. PMG* 791. 214), particularly common in the tragedians (e.g. *A. Supp.* 480; *S. OT* 9; *E. Tr.* 528; *adesp. tr.* fr. 653. 58). For the superlative (like the comparative, found occasionally in prose), 286 with n.

**ἠγωνίζετο:** As if the character himself rather than the poet (cf. 140\*) had competed in the festival; cf. *Th.* 1059–61.

**420–2 ἦν:** The impf. is used idiomatically (commonly with *ἄρα*) of a fact just now recognized as such, in this case that the rags *Dik.* wants are not those of *Oineus*. Cf. *Av.* 280, 507; *Goodwin* § 39.

**τὰ τοῦ τυφλοῦ Φοίνικος:** According to the version of his story preserved at *H. Il.* 9. 447–95, esp. 448–56, *Phoinix* left his homeland under a curse after he followed his jealous mother's bidding and seduced a concubine belonging to his father, *King Amyntor* of *Ormenion*. *Σ<sup>A</sup> Il.* 9. 453, however, reports that *Eur.* (frr. 804–18; the play is undated beyond the *terminus ante quem* established by the reference to it here) presented *Phoinix* as guiltless (*ἀναμάρτητον*), and his version of the story appears to have resembled the *Hippolytos*, with the son falsely accused of sexual misconduct by a woman who originally intended to seduce him (cf. *E.* fr. 808); disbelieved by his father (cf. *E.* frr. 809–12); and in this case blinded as punishment (*E.* frr. 815–16; cf. *Men. Sam.* 498–500 with *Gomme-Sandbach* on 498). At the end of the play, *Peleus* led *Phoinix*—now apparently clad in rags—off to the centaur *Chiron* for healing (*E.* fr. 817) and ultimately made him king of the *Dolopians* and protector of his own son, *Achilleus*. Cf. *Apollod.* iii. 13. 8; *Webster* 84–5; *LIMC* viii. 1. 984–5. *Ion* (*TrGF* 19 F 36–43) and *Astydamas II* (*TrGF* 60 F 5d) also wrote plays entitled *Phoinix*.

**οὐ . . . οὐ:** Vehement denial (*Ra.* 1308 with *Dover* ad loc.; *KG* ii. 204–5). **Φοίνικος ἀθλιώτερος** simultaneously echoes 421 *Φοίνικος\** and 420 *ἀθλιωτέρου\**.

**423** A question addressed to the world at large (contrast 424), which interrupts what might otherwise be the monotony of a series of four unsuccessful suggestions in 418–29.

**λακίδας . . . πέπλων:** Lit. 'rents of garments', i.e. 'rent garments'; a typical poetic periphrasis (*KG* i. 264; e.g. *E. El.* 501 *τρύχει τῶδ' ἐμῶν πέπλων* (lit. 'in this tatter of my garments', i.e. 'in these tattered garments of mine')). *λακίς* is poetic vocabulary (first at *Alc.* fr. 208a. 8); very common in *Aeschylus* (*Supp.* 120, 131, 904; *Pers.* 124, 835–6 *λακίδες . . . / . . . ἐσθημάτων* (lit. 'rents of clothing'); *Ch.* 28–9 *ὑφασμάτων / λακίδες* (lit. 'rents of woven things'); cf. *adesp. tr.* fr. 228) but not found in either *Sophocles* or *Euripides* (although cf. *E. Tr.* 496–7 *τρυχηρὰ . . . / πέπλων λακίσματα* ('ragged tatters of robes')). β's *λακείδας* may represent an early attempt to mend the metre after *ποτ' ἀνήρ* (— — —) was written for *ποθ' ἀνήρ* (— — —). *πέπλος* (cf. 426 *πεπλώματα*; elsewhere in *Ar.* only of the sacred robe offered to *Athena* at the *Panathenaia* festival (*Eq.* 566, 1180; *Av.* 827; cf. *Stratt.* fr. 31 and probably *Hermipp.* fr. 5. 2)) is extremely common in tragedy in

the generic sense 'garment' (e.g. A. *Ag.* 233 with Fraenkel ad loc.; S. *Tr.* 602; E. *HF* 1204; adesp. tr. fr. 91).

- 424-5** ἀλλ' ἦ: 'Well . . .?' (cf. 426\*; *GP* 27-8; Colvin 239); his first two suggestions having been rejected (418-22), Eur. ventures yet another. **Φιλοκτήτου . . . τοῦ πτωχοῦ**: Philoktetes son of Poias, king of the Malians, possessed the famous bow and arrows of Herakles and was one of the original commanders of the Achaian expedition to Troy. In the course of the voyage there, he was struck on the foot by a viper on the island of Tenedos and abandoned on Lemnos after his wound failed to heal (H. *Il.* 2. 718-24; *Cypr.* arg. 50-1; S. *Ph.* 4-11; cf. Pi. *P.* 1. 55; S. fr. 699). After the deaths of Achilleus and Aias, Odysseus and/or Diomedes (in Sophocles' play of 409 BCE, Odysseus and Neoptolemos) were sent to fetch Philoktetes to Troy (*Il. Parv.* arg. 6-7; Pi. *P.* 1. 52-3; S. *Ph.* 54-69; Apollod. *Epit.* 5. 8; D.Chr. *Or.* 52. 14; cf. H. *Il.* 2. 724-5; Bacch. fr. 7), and after he was healed he killed Paris (*Il. Parv.* arg. 7-8; S. *Ph.* 1329-34, 1423-7) and ultimately returned to Greece (H. *Od.* 3. 190; S. *Ph.* 1428-30). Cf. Fiehn, *RE* xix (1938) 2500-9; *LIMC* vii. 1. 376-7. Eur.'s *Philoktetes* was performed in 431 along with *Medea*, *Diktys*, and the satyr-play *Reapers*; Eur. took third place, behind Euphorion son of Aeschylus, and Sophocles (E. *Med.* Hyp. II. 40-3). Much of the action of Eur.'s play (frr. 787-803) can be reconstructed with the help of *Orations* 52 and 59 of Dio Chrysostom, who (*inter alia*) implies that the hero appeared on stage dressed in the skins of animals he had killed with his bow (*Or.* 59. 5; cf. *Or.* 59. 10), having seemingly been reduced to extreme poverty by his long years of exile; cf. Olson, *Hesperia* 60 (1991) 269-83; C. W. Müller, *RhM* 135 (1992) 104-34; *Philoktet: Beiträge zur Wiedergewinnung einer Tragödie des Euripides aus der Geschichte ihrer Rezeption* (Beiträge zur Altertumskunde, Band 100: Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1997), esp. 11-42. Tragedies on the theme of the recovery of Philoktetes from Lemnos were also written by Aeschylus (frr. 249-57 (undated)) and perhaps Philokles (*TrGF* 24 F 1), and Timocl. fr. 6. 15 refers to him as an archetypal tragic cripple. Comedies entitled *Philoktetes* were written by Epicharmos (frr. 132-4), Strattis (frr. 44-5), and Antiphanes (fr. 218), and a fragment of an unattributed satyr play (adesp. tr. fr. 10) refers to him as well. **πολὺ πολὺ**: 'much much'; cf. *Av.* 539 πολὺ δὴ πολὺ δὴ χαλεπωτάτους λόγους; E. *Alc.* 442; Archestr. fr. 35. 9; López Eire 160. **πτωχιστέρου**: πτωχοτέρου (Timocl. fr. 6. 10; metrically unsuitable here) is the expected form. For degrees of comparison in -ιστ-, e.g. *V.* 923 μονοφαγίστατον; *Pax* 662 μισοπορπακιστάτη; *Ra.* 91 λαλίστερα; Esphant. fr. 6 κακηγορίστατος; Pl. Com. fr. 58 ἀρπαγιστάτου; E. *Cyc.* 315 λαλίστατος; X. *Mem.* iii. 13. 4 ὀψοφαγίστατος; cf. KB i. 563-4; K-A on fr. 684 (with additional examples).
- 426-7** ἀλλ' ἦ: 424\*-5 n. **δυσπινῆ . . . πεπλώματα**: δυσπινῆς ('filthy') is attested elsewhere before the imperial period only at S. *OC* 1597

δυσπινεῖς στολάς ('filthy robes'), while πέπλωμα is otherwise exclusively tragic vocabulary (A. *Th.* 1039; *Supp.* 720; S. *Tr.* 613; E. *Supp.* 97; cf. Long 18–20, 35–46), and Nauck accordingly identified these words as adesp. tr. fr. 42. As this is paratragedy, θέλεις rather than 'θέλεις should be printed (198n.). **Βελλεροφόντης . . . ὁ χωλός:** Bellerophon of Ephyre, the grandson of Sisyphos (391–2n.), who with the aid of the gods and the winged horse Pegasus defeated the Chimaera and a host of other enemies (H. *Il.* 6. 155–99; Pi. *O.* 13. 60–92b); cf. *LIMC* vii. 1. 214–15. Euripides' play (frr. 285–312; undated except for the *terminus ante quem* established by the reference to it here) apparently began with Bellerophon already humbled and impoverished (E. fr. 285. 15–20; cf. H. *Il.* 6. 200–2). After what seems to have been extended debate (e.g. E. frr. 291–2; 301; cf. *Ach.* 429 δεινὸς λέγειν ('a clever speaker')), he decided to fly to Heaven on Pegasus' back to confront the gods with their mismanagement of the world (esp. E. fr. 286. 5–12), but was thrown and ultimately brought on stage with his legs shattered, and carried into his house to die (cf. E. fr. 310). Cf. Pi. *I.* 7. 43–7; Collard, in Collard, Cropp, and Lee 98–120 (with extensive bibliography); Olson, *Peace*, pp. xxxii–xxxiv. The beginning of *Pax* (esp. 75–156) includes an elaborate parody of the play. Astydamas II also wrote a Bellerophon (*TrGF* 60 F 1g). **οὔτοσί:** Cf. 418 ὀδί with n.

**428–9 οὐ Βελλεροφόντης** echoes ἄ Βελλεροφόντης\* in 427. Strictly speaking, Dik. ought to say οὐ Βελλεροφόντου (cf. 420, 421, 425), but the name has been attracted into the case in which it appears in the rel. clause that closes Eur.'s question; cf. *Τηλέφον* (properly *Τηλέφου*) in Dik.'s response in 430.

**ἀλλὰ . . . μὲν** marks a contrast not with what follows but with what precedes (*GP* 377–8).

**ἐκεῖνος** is 'the man I'm thinking of', as opposed to *Βελλεροφόντης . . . οὔτοσί* ('Bellerophon here'; 427).

**προσαιτῶν:** Lit. 'begging' (cf. 452 προσαιτῶν\* λιπαρῶν τ').

**στωμύλος:** 'chattering, jabbering'; cf. *Ra.* 841, 1069, 1071, 1160, 1310 (all of Eur. or his poetry or those who pay attention to it); [Pl.] *Erx.* 397d. The cognate vb. στωμύλλω/στωμύλλομαι is not attested in the classical period outside of Ar., but is very common there (e.g. 579; *Eq.* 1376; *Pax* 994/5; *Ra.* 1071; *Th.* 1073–4; always with negative connotations) and thus presumably colloquial. Cf. O'Sullivan 131–2. **δεινὸς λέγειν:** 'a clever speaker' (KG ii. 9–10).

**430–79** After he discovers whose rags Dik. wants (430), Eur. is initially quite cooperative (432–4) and in fact expresses approval of his visitor's behaviour (445). As the scene progresses, his mood gradually sours and he tells Dik. to leave in increasingly pointed terms (449, 456, 458, 460), questions his motives (454), and calls him a pest (456, 460). Dik. responds by insisting repeatedly—and thus almost by necessity in increasingly wheedling terms—that he wants 'only one more thing' (458, 462, 468, 476–7). Only at 464, 470 does Eur. reveal that what troubles

him is not just Dik.'s dogged persistence in borrowing stage-props but the fact that he is being gradually stripped of his art, which turns out to consist of ragged clothes and little else.

**430-1 οἶδ' ἄνδρα, Μυσὸν Τήλεφον:** Cf. E. *Cyc.* 104 (of Odysseus) οἶδ' ἄνδρα, κρόταλον δριμύ, Σισύφου γένος. Olympiodoros on Pl. *Grg.* 521b identified the words *Μυσὸν Τήλεφον* as a quotation from *Tel.* (E. fr. 704. 1), and *Nu.* 921-4 (of the Unjust Argument, who is richly dressed) 'and yet previously you were a beggar, saying you were "Mysian Telephos", munching on Pandeletaian opinions from a little pouch' suggests that the hero himself said the words, presumably at the moment he revealed his identity. The rest of Nauck's fr. 704 is a scholarly fantasy cobbled together from the two opening words of this verse and what Olympiodoros goes on to say. Ironically, in the 4th c. Telephos seems to have been remembered primarily for his silence (i.e. in Aeschylus' play); cf. *Amphis* fr. 30. 6-8; *Alex.* fr. 183. 3-4; *Arist. Po.* 1460<sup>a</sup>32. For E. *Tel.* and other Telephos-plays, Introduction, Section IV.C. Blaydes proposed punctuating οἶδ' ἄνδρα Μυσόν, Τήλεφον, but the allusion to *Tel.* and the parallel at E. *Cyc.* 104 (above) count against this. **ναί,**

**Τήλεφον:** 428-9n. **τούτου** is lent emphasis by its position at the head of the line; 'this man's σπάργανα'.

**ἀντιβολῶ σε:** 414-15n. **μοι:** In poetry, postpositives are normally allowed to stand directly after sense-pause only when the preceding word(s) is/are (a) a vocative (e.g. 454; *Lys.* 79; *Th.* 508; *S. OC* 1272; *E. Ba.* 1120) or (b) a parenthetical interjection (e.g. *Eq.* 461; *Pax* 20), as here.

**τὰ σπάργανα:** Lit. 'the swaddling clothes', strips of cloth in which new-born infants were wrapped (e.g. *Diph.* fr. 73. 3; *A. Ag.* 1606; *Ch.* 755; *E. Ion* 31-2); here by extension the tattered garments worn by Eur.'s *Tel.* (*pace* LSJ s.v.; cf. Jebb on *S. OT* 1035). Poetic vocabulary (e.g. *h. Merc.* 237; *Pi. Pae.* 20. 12; *A. Ch.* 529; *S. OT* 1035; *E. HF* 1267; *Men. Pk.* 135).

**432-4 ῥακώματα:** A paratragic coinage; cf. Long 18-20, 35-6. **τῶν**

**Θυεστείων ῥακῶν:** Thyestes son of Pelops was seduced by Aerope, the wife of his brother Atreus. Aerope gave Thyestes Atreus' golden fleece (cf. *Anaxandr.* fr. 35. 10), which Thyestes used to seize the throne of Mycenae, although he lost power when Atreus was able to exhibit an even greater wonder by causing the sun to reverse its course (*Alcmaeonis* fr. 6; *Oinopides TrGF* 41 F 10; *S.* fr. 738 with Pearson ad loc.; *E. Or.* 996-1006 with Willink on 1001-2; *Pl. Plt.* 268e-9a; cf. *E.* fr. 861; a different version of the myth implicit at *E. El.* 737-42). Atreus then banished Thyestes (reducing him to rags?), but later summoned him to a banquet and served him the flesh of his own children (*A. Ag.* 1217-22, 1583-1602; *S. Ai.* 1293-4; *E. Or.* 812-15, 1007-10). These events were most likely the subject of Eur.'s *Cretan Women* (frr. 460-70; cf. Webster 37-9), which must have ended with Thyestes fleeing Mycenae in grief and horror. *Cretan Women* was performed in 438 BCE as part of the

tetralogy that included *Tel.* (E. *Alc.* Hyp. II. 16–18), a fact Valckenaer suggested might explain why the two sets of rags are piled together here. As Σ<sup>EF</sup> notes, the reference may just as well be to Euripides' *Thyestes* (frr. 391–7 (otherwise undated)), the plot of which is largely obscure although it may have provided the model for Ennius' *Thyestes*, in which the hero seems to have appeared on stage already polluted and disgraced and thus doubtless ill-dressed; cf. Webster 113–15; *LIMC* viii. 1. 20–1. Ar. parodies one of Eur.'s *Thyestes*-plays at fr. 478 (cf. fr. 477). Sophocles wrote at least two plays about Atreus and Thyestes (Pearson on *Atreus* or *Mycenean Women*); cf. Agatho *TrGF* 39 F 3. μεταξὺ τῶν Ἰνοῦς: 'between those belonging to Ino [and here]', i.e. 'on this side of those belonging to Ino'. For the brachylogy, S. *OC* 290–1; Th. iii. 51. 3; Arcestr. fr. 17. 1; cf. *Av.* 187 ἐν μέσῳ . . . γῆς ('between earth [and there]'). Ino (mentioned first at H. *Od.* 5. 333–5; cf. Hes. fr. 91; Pi. *P.* 11. 1–2b) was a daughter of Kadmos, and the wife of the Boiotian king Athamas and mother of two sons by him. In Eur.'s play (frr. 398–423 (also referred to at *V.* 1413–14 but otherwise undated)), the outlines of which are preserved in Hyg. *Fab.* 4, Ino disappeared while playing the bacchant on Mt. Parnassos. Athamas then married Themisto and had two sons by her. When Athamas discovered that Ino was still alive, he brought her home disguised as a captive and Themisto confided to the stranger her intention of murdering Ino's children. Ino arranged for Themisto to kill her own children instead; Themisto then committed suicide; Athamas went insane and killed one of Ino's sons; and Ino leapt into the sea with her other son and was transformed into a goddess. Cf. Webster 98–101; *LIMC* v. 1. 657–8. ἰδοῦ, ταυτὶ λαβέ: The slave picks up one of the ragged garments lying on the *ekklema* and hands it to Dik. δ mark a change of speaker before ἰδοῦ ('Here you go!'), but Beer gave the words to Eur. Since the Slave could be the same man as the character (played by the tritagonist) who speaks at 395–402, the MSS might be right, and it arguably makes slightly better sense for the individual who hands Dik. the rags to say ἰδοῦ (366–9n.). As the slave never speaks again, however, and as there is no obvious dramatic benefit in having him do so here, I follow Beer in his (non-)division of the line (thus also Ribbeck, van Leeuwen, and Starkie).

- 435–6** Dik. holds up the rags he has been handed for the audience's inspection, and then puts them on. Zeus is occasionally referred to as παντόπτης ('all-seeing'; A. *Supp.* 139; *Eu.* 1045; S. *OC* 1085–6; *Achae.* *TrGF* 20 F 53; adesp. tr. fr. 43 with Snell ad loc.) and said to 'look down' (καθοράω) on human affairs (e.g. H. *Il.* 11. 337; cf. Pearson on S. fr. 12; West on Hes. *Op.* 267). Here, however, Dik. invokes the god as διόπτα καὶ κατόπτα πανταχῇ because anyone who looks at the rags he has put on will easily be able to 'see through' the holes in them. For a similar joke, *Pl.* 713–15. Cf. Kleinknecht 80. 436 is identical to

384 (where it is needed). Were the line particularly striking, one might justify the repetition by arguing that the words are borrowed from a well-known tragedy (thus Ribbeck), and supply *ποιήσον vel sim.* (Σ<sup>REF</sup>). As it is, the verse ought probably to be expelled (thus Brunck) as a clumsy addition by someone who failed to recognize that 435 could stand on its own and who therefore attempted to give the prayer some content; cf. *Av.* 192 = 1218; *Pl.* 260 = 281.

- 437-9** 437 as it appears in *Раср*Ald is unmetrical, and Triklinios apparently intended to correct it by writing *ἐπειδή γ' ἐχαρίσω*, with the initial ε in *ἐπειδή* to be taken in synizesis with **Εὐριπίδη** (Σ<sup>L</sup>). Rather than striking out *-περ*, however, he wrote γ' over it, and **p** (careless as always) accordingly omit the emendation, while L has the metrical monstrosity *ἐπειδήπερ γ'*. I follow Bentley and all recent editors in expelling **d**'s *μοι* instead, as an intrusive superlinear gloss originally intended to provide an indirect object for the vb., and printing *'πειδήπερ. ἐχαρίσω* is virtually equivalent to a perf., as at *Eq.* 1368 (although here the vb. means 'give' rather than 'gratify', as there); cf. Goodwin § 58. **κακείνα . . . τ(ὰ) ἀκόλουθα**: In apposition to 439, but pl. because Dik. intends to request a long list of items, of which the felt cap is only the first. For *ἀκόλουθος* + gen. meaning 'consequent upon', e.g. *Pl. Lg.* 728c; *X. Oec.* 3. 2; *D.* 59. 58. **τὸ πιλίδιον περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν**: Felting is a primitive fabric-making technology in which flocks of wool or other animal hair are pressed until the fibres mat together; cf. Blümner i. 222-4; Forbes iv. 90-3. *πίλος* ('felt') is referred to at *H. Il.* 10. 265 as a helmet-liner and at *Hes. Op.* 542 as a means of insulating boots in winter (cf. *Cratin.* fr. 107; *Pl. Smp.* 220b). In the classical period the word is also used by extension to mean 'hat, helmet' (*Lys.* 562; *Antiph.* fr. 108. 2; *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1672. 70-1; cf. *Theod. AP* vi. 282. 1-2 = *HE* 3590-1; Anderson 29-35), as in the wheedling diminutive (cf. 448, 453, 459, 463) here. Mastrocinque, *SIFC* III. 2 (1984) 25-34, esp. 30-4, compares the *πιλίδιον* Solon is supposed to have adopted when he urged the Athenians to make war against Megara over Salamis (*D.* 19. 255; *Plu. Sol.* 8. 1-2). **τὸ Μύσιον**: 'Mysia' is here the coastal region of Asia Minor that lay between Phrygia to the north and Lydia to the south where the River Kaikos emptied into the sea (*Str.* 12. 571; 13. 615-16; cf. *A. Supp.* 547-55; *frr.* 143-4; *E.* fr. 476; *Verg. G.* 4. 370).
- 440-1** Identified by Triklinios (on what authority we do not know) as borrowed from *Tel.* (~ *E.* fr. 698; presumably from the prologue), although the violation of Porson's Law (M. L. West, *Greek Metre* (Oxford, 1982) 84-5) at the end of 440 means that the final two words of that verse, at least, have been altered. Cf. *POxy.* xxvii. 2460 = *E.* fr. 727a fr. 6. 1 *πτω]χὸς ὧν οὐ πτω[χ-*; 1188 with n. 441 is little more than an explanatory gloss on 440. **δεῖ γάρ με δόξαι**: Cf. 416 *δεῖ γάρ με λέξαι*.\*



- 442-4** state explicitly (and in typically crude comic fashion) a point already implicit in the tragic quotation in 440-1, namely, that the external audience has access to information about the hero's 'true identity' (see below) that the other characters lack. Once again (cf. 416 with n.) the actor speaks momentarily 'out of character', not *in propria persona* (since the real identity of the individual playing Dik. is of no particular interest), however, but as 'the poet' and probably quite specifically as 'Ar.' (cf. 377-82, 497-516), as the emphatic **ἐγώ** (cf. 300-1 with n.) seems designed to signal. The clear implication of 443-4 is that the individual referred to as 'I' in 442 (cf. above) has no desire to be seen as endorsing all the wild charges made in the *Telephos*-speech at 497-556 (esp. 524-9), although he does have a pointed and very clear message for the external audience. Cf. 497-556 n.; Introduction, Section III. **τοὺς δ' αὖ χορευτὰς ἡλιθίους παρεστάναι: Σ<sup>ΕΓ</sup>** (referring specifically to *Phoinissai* (c.411-409 BCE)) takes this as oblique criticism of the relative lack of involvement of some of Euripides' own choruses in the action of their plays (cf. Arist. *Po.* 1456<sup>a</sup>25-8). As this is much more characteristic of the poet's later tragedies than of those of the mid-420s and earlier, however, the suggestion can be rejected. **ἡλιθίους:** 'like simpletons, fools' (e.g. *Av.* 1604-5; *Th.* 290; *Ra.* 916-21). **ῥηματίσις:** A pejorative diminutive. Exclusively Aristophanic vocabulary in the classical period; also of Euripidean language at 447 **ῥηματίων\***; *Pax* 534; of deceptive forensic or political oratory at *Eq.* 216; *Nu.* 943; *V.* 668. **σκιμαλίω:** 'give the finger to' *vel sim.* (*Pax* 549 with Olson ad loc., to whose references add Phot. p. 520. 11; Jocelyn, *Arca* 3 (1981) 281-2) and thus by extension 'fuck up the arse, take complete and systematic advantage of'.
- 445 δώσω:** Eur. orders the slave to hand over Tel.'s clothing at 432-4 but does not speak to him again until 479, and one obvious explanation of this is that the tragic poet himself gives Dik. the cap, the staff (448-9), the basket (453-7), the cup (458-60), and the greens (469-70), and that these are in fact all part of the 'tragic costume' he himself is wearing (412-13) and of which he is gradually stripped (esp. 464) as the scene proceeds. The juxtaposition of **πυκνῆ** (lit. 'thick') and **λεπτὰ** (lit. 'thin') (also at Amphis fr. 33. 5) is an example of mock-Euripidean verbal subtlety. **πυκνός** (lit. 'close, compact'; contrast 635 with n.) in the sense 'shrewd' is poetic (LSJ s.v. A. V; cf. *Eq.* 1132; *Av.* 429; *Th.* 438; *Ec.* 571) but is not found in tragedy before the very end of the 5th c. (*S. Ph.* 854; E. *IA* 67). **λεπτός** in the sense 'refined, subtle' occurs first at E. *Med.* 529, 1081; elsewhere in tragedy only at E. fr. 924. 1, but common in comedy (e.g. *Nu.* 153 and *Ra.* 828 with Dover ad locc.; Alex. fr. 223. 8 with Arnott ad loc.). Cf. Denniston, *CQ* NS 21 (1927) 119; O'Sullivan 137-8. **φρενί:** Very common in tragedy, although Starkie's claim that forms of the word appear in comedy only in parody

and paratragedy is incorrect (e.g. *Nu.* 153). Eur. hands the Telephos-cap to Dik., who most likely inspects it dubiously before putting it on.

**446** A parody of E. fr. 707 *καλῶς ἔχοι μοι* (*vel σοι?*; cf. *Ath.* 5. 186c). *Τηλέφω δ' ἀγὼ φρονῶ* ('May it go well for me—and for Telephos in accord with what I am thinking'; doubtless said by the disguised Tel. himself as a covert wish for good fortune; contrast below). **εὐδαιμονοίης**: An expression of heartfelt thanks (*Ra.* 1417\*; *E. Alc.* 1137\*; *El.* 231\*; *Ph.* 1086\*; *Hyps.* fr. 64. 69\*–70\* with Bond ad loc.), here tongue-in-cheek, as again in 457b\* (where the root sense of the vb. is also felt). **Τηλέφω δ' ἀγὼ φρονῶ**: i.e. 'and Tel. can go to hell!', although Eur. is intended to hear something very different (cf. above). For the use of the dat. (syntactically appropriate in the Euripidean line, but not obviously so here), Dover, *GCSG* 296–7.

**447–8** **εὖ γ'**: 'Well [said]!' (e.g. *Eq.* 470, 941; *Ra.* 1166; *Ec.* 213, 241). **οἶον κτλ.**: Tel.'s clothing brings with it an automatic and immediate (ἤδη) gift of Euripidean verbal agility. For exclamatory *οἶον*, 321–2 n. R has *οἶων* via assimilation to the noun that follows. **ῥηματίων ἐμπίμπλαμαι**: For the image, 484; Taillardat § 770. For *ῥημάτια*, 442–4 n. **ἀτάρ . . . γε**: 412–13 n.; *GP* 119. **πτωχικοῦ βακτηρίου**: Along with the *πήρα* ('food pouch'; cf. 453 n.), the token of the itinerant beggar already in Homer (*Od.* 13. 437; 17. 194–9; 18. 103–9 with Russo on 108–9). Pollux attributes these words to the *Γῆρας* (fr. 141); cf. K–A ad loc. For the wheedling diminutive, 437–9 n.

**449** Eur. picks up a staff from the litter that surrounds him and hands it to Dik. **τουτὶ λαβὼν ἄπελθε**: Cf. 465, 468 *τουτὶ λαβὼν ἄπειμι\**. *λαῖνος* (in comedy elsewhere only at Telecl. fr. 45. 2; adesp. com. fr. 1146. 47) is very common in Eur. (e.g. *El.* 1150; *Tr.* 1141; *HF* 1037) but is not found in the other tragedians except at S. *OC* 1596, while *σταθμός* in the sense 'doorpost' is poetic (e.g. *H. Il.* 14. 167; *Od.* 22. 181; *S. El.* 1331; *E. HF* 999; Chadwick 257–8). Austin accordingly identified **ἄπελθε λαῖνων σταθμῶν** (= adesp. tr. fr. 44) as a fragment of Eur. (fr. \*\*141 Austin), which is possible but (barring the discovery of a new papyrus) incapable of proof.

**450–2** **ὦ θύμ'**: An address to one's own heart is a general poetic mannerism (*Eq.* 1194; Archil. fr. 128. 1; Ibyc. *PMGF* 317(b); Thgn. 695, 877, 1029; Neophr. *TrGF* 15 F 2. 1; Philet. fr. 7. 2, p. 92 Powell; cf. *H. Od.* 5. 298; Rau 37–8; Dickey 187), but the repeated resort to it in this scene (also 480\*, 483; cf. 485) suggests a specific allusion of some sort, if not to *Tel.* then presumably to *E. Med.* 1056 (the dramatic high point of the play and the only address to the speaker's own *θυμός* in tragedy except the passage from Neophron (from a seemingly very similar scene in his *Medea*) cited above). Cf. J. de Romilly, '*Patience, mon cœur*' (Paris, 1984), esp. 98–102; H. Pelliccia, *Mind, Body, and Speech in Homer and*

*Pindar* (Hypomnemata, Heft 107: Göttingen, 1995) 115–354. **γάρ** is anticipatory, ‘since’ (*GP* 68–70). **ἀπωθοῦμαι**: A common vb. in Sophocles (e.g. *OT* 641, 670) and Euripides (e.g. *Alc.* 823; *Med.* 1402; *Heracl.* 47, 431); attested elsewhere in comedy only at *Pax* 776 (lyric); adesp. com. fr. 208. **δόμων**: Forms of *δόμος* are extremely common in tragedy but appear in Ar. only in lyric (e.g. *Nu.* 303, 1161), tragic parody (e.g. 543; *Av.* 1247), and paratragedy (e.g. 456\*, 460 -οις\*; *Av.* 1708, 1710; *Lys.* 707; *Ec.* 11), as here; cf. Bers 58. **πολλῶν δεόμενος σκευαρίων**: The repeated resolution and the use of *σκευάριον* (exclusively comic vocabulary in the late 5th and early 4th c. (*Ra.* 172; *Pl.* 809, 1139; Crates Com. fr. 16. 5; Pl. Com. fr. 129; Alc. Com. fr. 27)) mark a sharp drop in stylistic level from 450. Dik.’s beggar-outfit is now seemingly complete, and his sudden insistence that he still lacks numerous crucial items, with the identification of the first of these put off until 453, represents a deliberate attempt by the playwright to tantalize his audience. Cf. 466–9, 473–8, where the strategy is repeated at ever greater length. **γλίσχρος**: ‘glutinous, sticky’ (Pherecr. fr. 75. 3; Archestr. fr. 46. 18) and thus by extension ‘unrelentingly grasping, importunate’ (Euphro fr. 9. 16; Pl. *Cri.* 53e; cf. *Pax* 193, 482); to be taken with the participles that follow (‘importunate in . . .’). **προσαιτῶν**: 428–9 n. **λιπαρῶν**: Found not only in tragedy ([A.] *PV* 520, 1004; S. *OT* 1435; *OC* 776, 1201; not in E.), but in prose (e.g. Hdt. iii. 51. 1; Pl. *Ion* 541e) and comedy (Telecl. fr. 40. 1 (corrupt); Men. *Epitru.* 271), and thus not obviously paratragic (*pace* Starkie). **Εὐριπίδη**: R<sup>ac</sup>a have *Εὐριπίδην*, as if the word were the object of *προσαιτῶν λιπαρῶν τ’*, but the voc. is needed to mark the shift to a new addressee in 453.

**453 σπυρίδιον**: ‘a little basket’, to be used in place of the beggar’s traditional leather pouch (cf. 469; *Nu.* 921–4 (430–1 n.); Diph. fr. 60. 5–6; H. *Od.* 13. 437–8; 17. 411–12; Plu. *Mor.* 294a καταλαβὼν ῥάκια καὶ πήραν, καὶ προσαίτης ὦν (‘taking up rags and a pouch, in the guise of a beggar’); Gow on Theoc. 1. 49). For the tragic Tel.’s *σπυρίδιον*, Antisthenes *FGrH* 508 F 8; that the basket has been ‘burnt through by a lamp’ (*διακεκαυμένον λύχνῳ*) presumably means that it was used as a windshade (cf. Σ<sup>REG</sup> ~ S σ 975) and, after it was damaged and discarded, was taken up by Tel. for his own purposes.

**454** Identified by Σ<sup>REG</sup> as a parody of E. *Tel.* fr. 717 τί δ’, ὦ τάλας; σὺ τῷδε πείθεσθαι μέλλεις; (‘What, wretch? Are you about to heed this fellow?’). In tragedy, τί . . . χρέος; means little more than τί (e.g. S. *OT* 156; E. *HF* 530), but here the words are to be taken ‘what need?’; cf. Dover on *Nu.* 30. **σε**: All manuscripts except B have γε, which is obviously wrong and perhaps a metricizing addition to the text after a short syllable was lost after *τάλας*, as in two of the three citations of this verse in the *Suda* (thus Elliott). With all modern editors, I print the reading in B, although this is certainly a conjecture. **τοῦδ’ . . . πλέκους**: Eur.

picks up a ruined basket and hands it to Dik. *πλέκος* is 'woven thing'; elsewhere only in a parody of another verse from *Tel.* at *Pax* 528 ~ E. fr. 727.

**455-6** 455 is a bit of typical Euripidean verbal quibbling (thus Σ<sup>REF</sup>) by the increasingly Euripidized Dik. (cf. 447 with n.). **δόμων:** 450-2n. Nothing else about 456 (= E. fr. \*\*142 Austin) except the lack of resolution is specifically paratragic, although *λυπηρός* (common in Thucydides and Plato) does occur occasionally in Sophocles (e.g. *El.* 557) and Euripides (e.g. *Med.* 1245; *Hipp.* 796; *HF* 1292).

**457a-b** **φεῦ:** 'Ah!, Wow!'; an inarticulate expression, here not of grief (e.g. *Nu.* 41a) but of surprised pleasure (e.g. *Av.* 162a; *Ra.* 141a; *S. Ph.* 234; *Pl. Phdr.* 263d; cf. López Eire 89; Labiano Ilundain 307-8) at the sight of the basket, the decrepitude of which exceeds Dik.'s expectations. **εὐδαιμονοίης:** 446\* n. **ὥσπερ ἡ μήτηρ ποτέ:** Dik. intends Eur. to hear '[when she bore you]' *vel sim.*, and the tragedian therefore fails to react (contrast 479), although what the hero actually means is '[when she walked the streets hawking vegetables]', as 478 (where see n.) makes clear.

**458-9** **μ(ή,) ἀλλά:** 'don't [say that], but [rather] . . .' (*GP* 4-5; Dover on *Ra.* 103; cf. 1114); colloquial (López Eire 188-9). For the synizesis, cf. 769; KB i. 228-9. **ἐν μόνον:** 'one thing [more]'. Athenaios (followed by Eustathios) has *κοτυλίσκιον* (diminutive of *κοτύλη*, 'cup'), whereas **d** and the other testimonia have *κυλίσκιον* or minor variants thereof. *κυλίσκιον* is attested elsewhere only at Poll. vi. 98 (probably a reference to this verse), while *κυλίκιον* is the expected form of the diminutive of *κύλιξ* ('drinking cup'; e.g. *Thphr. HP* v. 9. 8; *Lyc. TrGF* 100 F 2. 6) but is unmetrical. Ar. most likely wrote *κοτυλίσκιον*, and after *οτ* was lost (leaving *κυλίσκιον*) in an early copy of the play, some of its descendants were 'corrected' to *κυλίκιον et sim.* In any case, now that he has the wretched little basket in which Tel. carried his food (453-6), Dik. asks for the equally wretched cup from which he drank. **d** and some testimonia have *ἀποκεκρουσμένον*, but Athenaios, one passage from the *Suda*, *AB*, and *An.Bachm.* agree on *ἀποκεκρουμένον*, which the inscriptional evidence shows must be correct (Threatte ii. 576; cf. Rutherford 99-102, esp. 101-2).

**460** Eur. hands Dik. a broken cup. **φθείρου λαβὼν τόδ':** 'Take this and be damned!' (Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 1267; Denniston on E. *El.* 234; Handley on Men. *Dysk.* 99ff.; Stevens 17-18; cf. *Eq.* 892; *Nu.* 789; *Pax* 72; *Pl.* 598, 610; fr. 686). The use of *φθείρομαι* is colloquial but relatively common in Eur. (*Heracl.* 284; *Andr.* 708, 715; *HF* 1290; fr. 610). The idiom apparently puzzled the β-scribe, who wrote *φέρου*. **ἴσθ':** R's *ἴσθι δ'* represents a deliberate correction designed to avoid hiatus after the vb. was written in *scriptio plena*. **ὄχληρός:** Taken up by Dik. in 472 (a parody of a line perhaps from *Tel.*). The adj. occurs several

times in Eur. (*Alc.* 540; *Hel.* 452 ὄχληρός ἴσθ' ὦν ('know that you are troublesome!')) but nowhere else in comedy before Menander, and is thus presumably paratragic here.

**461** The superficial point is that Eur. himself (note the emphatic αὐτός) is equally ὄχληρός in his grudging treatment of Dik. But what the hero really means—and the audience is expected to hear, at least as an undertone—is either that the tragedian's plays promote vicious behaviour and do incalculable damage to the city (cf. *Ra.* 1008–12, 1043–98 with Dover, *Frogs*, pp. 12–18; Olson on *Pax* 532–4) or (perhaps less likely) that his long-winded prologues or constant reuse of the same themes makes his work tiresome (thus Coulon, *REG* 50 (1937) 15–30, and Sommerstein ad loc., respectively; cf. Σ<sup>ΕΓ</sup>). See also Gil, *MCr* 18 (1983) 81–2; Kovacs, *MCr* 29 (1994) 171–2. οὐπω ('not yet') implies that Eur. will eventually realize how troublesome he and his poetry are; perhaps an anticipation of the insult at 478.

**462–3** Nowhere else in this part of this scene (450–78) does Dik. point to an object that is already fully visible and ask Eur. for it, and part of the fun in fact consists of the way in which one miserable stage-prop after another is brought forth and held up for the audience's inspection (cf. 435, 457). τούτι therefore does not qualify χυτρίδιον (thus Hall and Geldart, followed by Sommerstein and Henderson), but gives notice of what is to come (cf. 477–8). One must therefore either place a half-stop or the like at the end of 462 and assume an ellipse of αἰτῶ σε *vel sim.* (thus Reisig, followed by van Leeuwen, Starkie, and Rogers), or put a comma after μοι. The first possibility is awkward and unlikely, and I adopt the second, which finds a close analogy in 458–9. α had the words in reverse (unmetrical) order (*Ra*; cf. *c* μόνον τοδί); corrected by Triklinios. Only now, after Eur. has begun to express annoyance with his visitor (456, 460), does Dik. address him as γλυκύτατ' Εὐριπίδη (cf. 467, 475; contrast 437, 452). For the wheedling tone of the adj. (more often used of women, e.g. *Lys.* 79, 872; *Ec.* 124), Arnott on Alex. fr. 164. 1–3. χυτρίδιον σπογγίῳ βεβυσμένον: 'a little pot (284 n., 1174–5 n.) plugged with a little sponge'. Presumably the reference is to the vessel in which the Euripidean Tel. carried salve (cf. 1176–7 n.) for his wound (thus van Leeuwen; cf. *Eq.* 906–7), with the sponge serving both to seal the top (corks being a Roman era innovation; cf. Mayerson, *ZPE* 136 (2001) 217–20) and apply the medicine.

**464–5** ἄνθρωπ': 95–7 n. At 470, after Dik. has extracted one final item from him, Eur. complains that all his dramas are now gone. ἀφαιρήσει με τὴν τραγωδίαν is thus most economically explained as a resentful prediction of what in fact takes place a few verses later, and τὴν τραγωδίαν should be translated 'the art of tragedy' (cf. *Ra.* 95, 798) rather than 'my tragedy' (i.e. *Tel.*). For the middle of ἀφαιρέω with a double acc., e.g. *S. Ph.* 376; *E. Alc.* 44; *Andr.* 613. Eur. hands

Dik. a small pot. **ἄπελθε ταυτηνὶ λαβών:** Sc. τὴν χύτραν (Σ<sup>REG</sup>). Cf. 449; *Av.* 948 ἄπελθε τουτονὶ λαβών\*. Oddly polite, so soon after the outburst in 460; 'Said, perhaps, with great weariness?' (Dover). 466 and the first word in 467 are addressed by Dik. to himself (and the external audience in the Theatre), whereas the rest of 467-9 are spoken directly to Eur. It thus seems likely that Dik. turns away from the door as he says ἀπέρχομαι, but stops when he realizes that he has not yet got everything he wants and goes back in the second half of 467 to make another request. Cf. 471-8 with 471-2 n.

**466-9** 450-2 n. For the staging, 464-5 n. **καίτοι τί δράσω:** Variants of the phrase are \* at *Nu.* 844; *Pax* 1252; *Th.* 1128; *Ec.* 358. For καίτοι, 370-3 n. **ἀπόλωλ':** 'I'm ruined, I've had it' (e.g. 473; *Nu.* 1077; *Pax* 364; cf. 71-2 n., 333 with n.; Goodwin § 51). **ὦ γλυκύτατ' Εὐριπίδη:** 462-3 n. **τουτὶ λαβών κτλ.:** Much of the humour consists in the fact that Dik. breaks this promise almost immediately (475-8). For τουτὶ λαβών ἄπειμι, cf. 449 with n. **οὐ . . . ἔτι = οὐκέτι.** **πρόσειμ(ι):** Sc. σοι; 'will approach [you]', i.e. to ask for additional items. **εἰς τὸ σπυρίδιον:** '[to put] into my basket'; cf. KG i. 543-4. For the basket, 453 n. **ἰσχνὰ . . . φυλλεῖα:** LSJ s. φυλλεῖον (following Gal. xix. 153. 12-13 and Hsch. φ 992) takes this as a reference to the small herbs sometimes given to someone who purchased a more expensive item of food in the market place (*V.* 496). As Σ<sup>REG</sup>, citing *Pl.* 543-4 (of the life of a pauper) σιτεῖσθαι . . . / . . . ἀντὶ δὲ μάζης φυλλεῖ' ἰσχνῶν ῥαφανίδων ('to eat withered radish greens rather than barley-cake'), insists, however, these must actually be old vegetable greens, trimmings of a sort that anyone who can afford to do so discards and beggars pick up to eat.

**470 ἀπολείς μ':** A colloquial expression of exasperation with the behaviour of another character; 'You will be the death of me!', i.e. 'Damn you!' (e.g. *Th.* 1073; *Pherecr.* fr. 113. 20; *Antiph.* fr. 221. 8; *Alex.* fr. 177. 15; *Agatho TrGF* 39 F 13. 1). **ἰδοῦ σοι:** Cf. *Pherecr.* fr. 73. 3. Eur. hands Dik. a handful of withered greens and the hero puts them in his basket. **φροῦδα** (208-10 n.) could be but is not necessarily paratragic, especially given the colloquial tone of the rest of the line.

**471-2** Dik. turns away from Eur.'s door and takes a step or two toward his own house before stopping once again; cf. 464-5 n. **ἀλλ' οὐκέτ':** Sc. ἀπολω̄ σε. Apparently a well-known Euripidean line-opening formula (\* at *Cyc.* 688; *El.* 577; *Hel.* 1231; *Or.* 1109), hence Dik.'s paratragic use of it. **καὶ γάρ:** 'for in fact' (*GP* 108-9). **ἄγαν:** 'overly, too'; cf. 309-10 n. Σ<sup>EG</sup> identifies 472 as a parody of a line from Euripides' *Oineus* (= fr. 568, where Nauck's apparatus requires both supplementation and correction) but notes that the commentator Symmachos (fl. c. 100 CE) καὶ ἐκ Τηλέφου φησὶν αὐτό ('says that this line is also from *Tel.*'). The context favours an allusion to *Tel.*, as does the

fact that what we know of the plot of the *Oineus* (418–19n.) does not suggest any obvious occasion when one individual could complain of the unexpected hostility of a group of leaders, whereas the disguised Tel. can easily be imagined saying this about the Achaian commanders (Introduction, Section IV.C). It is none the less possible that some version of the line appeared in both plays (which is the most natural interpretation of Symmachos' remark) or that Symmachos leapt to conclusions on the basis of the context here. **ὄχληρός:** 460n.

**κοιράνους:** Poetic vocabulary (e.g. *H. Il.* 2. 204; Hes. fr. 43a. 90; *h.Cer.* 87; *Pi. N.* 3. 62; *A. Ag.* 549; *S. OC* 1759; [A.] *PV* 958; adesp. lyr. *PMG* 996), particularly common in Eur. (e.g. *Alc.* 507; *Med.* 936; *HF* 139) but attested nowhere else in comedy. R's trivializing and unmetrical *τυράννους* (similar errors at *A. Ag.* 549; *E. Med.* 875, 1299; *Ph.* 1643; [A.] *PV* 958) is probably a superlinear gloss that drove out the less familiar word below it, but might be a deliberate correction after *κυ-* was written for *κοι-* (iotacism). **στυγείν:** 33n.

473–8 450–2n.

473–4 οἴμοι κακοδαίμων: 105 n. **ὡς ἀπόλωλ':** 333–4n., 466–9n. **ἐν ᾧπερ . . . τὰ πράγματα:** '[the thing] upon which all my affairs'—i.e. 'all my plans'—'depend'. Perhaps paratragic (thus Dunbar on *Av.* 1677; cf. *E. Alc.* 278; *Med.* 228; *Andr.* 676; *Ion* 697 (corrupt)), although cf. *Lys.* 32; *Th. i.* 74. 1; *Pl. Prt.* 313a.

475–7 Dik. turns back toward Eur.'s door.

**Εὐριπίδιον:** 404n.

ὦ apparently fell out of the text in α and was inserted in the wrong place (displacing καί) in β. For the position of the word, e.g. *Eq.* 726 (where there is a similar error); *Pax* 1198; *Av.* 1271–3. **φιλτάτιον (dS)** is metrical but attested nowhere else, and (with Elmsley and most modern editors) I print **φίλτατον** (cf. 1020 with n.; *Eq.* 726; *Nu.* 746). The paradosis reflects the influence of the diminutive suffix at the end of *Εὐριπίδιον*. **κάκιστ' ἀπολοίμην:** Lit. 'might I perish most miserably!' (151\*–2n.), here 'might I rot in Hell!' *vel sim.* (cf. *Eq.* 768; *Ra.* 579\*, 588\*). **τουτὶ μόνον, τουτὶ μόνον:** 462–3n. For the repetition, 313–14n.

478 σκάνδικα: A wild herb, perhaps chervil (*Thphr. HP* vii. 7. 1; cf. Σ<sup>REG</sup>); normally eaten only by the rural poor or in times of general desperation (*And.* fr. 4; *Plin. Nat.* 22. 80; cf. *Luc. Lex.* 2; *Alciph.* iii. 13; T. W. Gallant, *Risk and Survival in Ancient Greece* (Stanford, 1991) 115–19). **μητρόθεν δεδεγμένος:** Perhaps a parody of *A. Ch.* 750 (of Orestes) ὃν ἐξέθρεψα μητρόθεν δεδεγμένη ('whom I brought up, having got him from his mother'). Euripides was obviously well educated (which implies that his family was well-to-do) and according to *Philoch. FGrH* 328 F 218 his mother was in fact τῶν σφόδρα εὐγενῶν ('from one of the very best families'); cf. *Thphr.* fr. 576 ap. *Ath.* 10. 424e–f. Ar., however, routinely refers to her as a vegetable-vendor (esp. *Th.* 387; cf. *Eq.* 19;

*Th.* 456; *Ra.* 840), and although the precise origin and point of the slander are obscure (Dover on *Ra.* 840), the general implication is that she was (1) of a very low socio-economic status and (2) as a result of her occupation exposed (and perhaps open) to sexual advances; cf. Brock, *CQ* NS 44 (1994) 336-46; Borthwick, *Phoenix* 48 (1994) 37-41 (who suggests that a young stepmother is in question). For similar attacks on the mothers of socially prominent individuals, 614 with n., 704-5 n.; *Nu.* 552; *Eup.* fr. 262; *D.* 18. 129-30; Hunter 111-16; cf. *D.* 57. 34-5. The insult is reserved for the end of the line and Eur. reacts immediately when he hears it (479).

**479** Addressed to the slave. **ἀνὴρ ὑβρίζει:** ὑβρις is outrageously hostile behaviour designed not so much to injure as to humiliate its victim; cf. 631, 1117; *Arist. Rh.* 1378<sup>b</sup>23-6; MacDowell, *G&R* 23 (1976) 14-31; N. R. E. Fisher, *Hybris* (Warminster, 1992), esp. 86-150; Todd 270-1; Chadwick 292-7. **κλῆε πηκτὰ δωμάτων:** Lit. 'Bar the close joinings of the house!', i.e. '[Shut] the doors of the house and bar them tight!' πηκτός is a rare poetic word (e.g. *H. Od.* 13. 32; adesp. lyr. *PMG* 1037. 2; *S. Ai.* 907; *E. Ph.* 489) and δώματα is paratragic (cf. 1072; *Nu.* 1159; *Pax* 115; *Th.* 871; Bers 43, 58), and Eur.'s words are thus perhaps a parody of *E.* fr. 1003 λῦε πηκτὰ δωμάτων (lit. 'loose the close joinings of the house!') or something similar. Cf. adesp. com. fr. 1146. 47 τεράμνων κλείε λαῖνων μοχλοῦς ('lock the bars of the stone chambers!'). κλῆε (van Leeuwen) rather than κλείε (Π<sub>4</sub> d) is the proper spelling for this period (Barrett on *E. Hipp.* 498-9; Thraette i. 370). Eur. is drawn back inside the *scaenae frons* on the *ekklema* and the slave follows him off, closing the door behind him.

**480-2** *Pace* Starkie, nothing suggests that 480 is a parody of a line specifically from *Tel.* **ὦ θυμ':** 450\*-2 n. **σκάνδικος:** 478 n. **ἐμπορευτέα:** For the vb. with the sense 'travel, go' (poetic but not exclusively tragic usage), e.g. 754; *Epich.* fr. 53. 2; *Metag.* fr. 10. 3; *S.* fr. 873. 1 ~ *Zeno Stoic. SH* 852A. 1. Perhaps intended as a final mocking allusion to Eur.'s mother's alleged work as an itinerant herb-cutter and vegetable-vendor (478 n.). **ἄρ' οἴσθ(α) κτλ.:** ἄρ(α) marks this as a puzzled or indignant question (75-6 n.; cf. *Nu.* 1329; *V.* 4; *Pax* 371; *Av.* 1246; *S. Ant.* 2), which suggests that *Dik.* already feels his θυμός ('heart') hesitating (cf. 483-4). **ὅσον τὸν ἀγών(α):** 'how great', i.e. 'how serious [is] the contest [which]'; cf. 392, 483 (where the metaphor of sport is taken up again). For ἀγών with this sense, e.g. 504; *Nu.* 958; *V.* 533/4-5. In fact, no one ever offers a systematic response to *Dik.*'s arguments, although *Lamachos* does object (ineffectively) in 577a-618 to his right to make them. Cf. 557-63 n. 482, 486-7 echo 366-9 and thus formally mark an end to the Euripides digression (370-480 with n.).

**483-5** **πρόβαινέ νυν:** Perhaps an echo of language used in the stadium



when contestants were called to the starting-line at the beginning of a race (cf. below). A **γραμμή** is literally a 'scratch' in the dirt (Pl. Com. fr. 168. 1-3) used as a starting- or finish-line in a footrace (cf. 480-2n.) or, in the case of the **δίαυλος** ('back-and-forth') race, as both (esp. E. *El.* 955-6; cf. fr. 630; H. *Od.* 8. 121 with Hainsworth ad loc.; Pi. *P.* 9. 118; E. fr. 169); cf. the use of **βαλβίδες** to mean both 'starting-gates' (*Eq.* 1159-61 with Neil ad loc.; *V.* 548; E. *HF* 867) and 'goal' (S. *Ant.* 131; cf. Page on E. *Med.* 1245). Sommerstein, 'Notes' 383, argues that **γραμμή** must mean 'finish-line' here, but the text makes it clear that Dik.'s heart must first be coaxed up to the 'line' (481-4) and then, once that has been accomplished (485), be convinced to make its way 'over there', where it will make a speech and finally place its head (*sic*) over the chopping-block (486-7). The correct translation is thus certainly 'starting-line'. Cf. Taillardat § 580.

**ἔστηκας**;: 'Are you standing about?', i.e. 'refusing to move [despite having been told to do so]?'; cf. *Pax* 256\*.

**οὐκ εἶ**;: The interrogative fut. (< εἶμι, *ibo*) with a neg. is equivalent to an urgent imper. (e.g. 564; *Av.* 354, 1055; *Th.* 689; *Pl.* 440; cf. KG i. 176-7).

**καταπιὼν Εὐριπίδην**: The vb. is consistently used of 'gulping down' both liquid and solid food (e.g. *Ra.* 1466; Amips. fr. 18. 2; Antiph. fr. 138. 5; Archestr. fr. 23. 7 with Olson-Sens ad loc.). For the image, 447-8n. *Pace* Sommerstein, there is no obvious metonymic relationship between 'Euripides' and 'garlic' and thus no reason to detect an allusion to the practice of feeding garlic cloves to fighting cocks (165-6n.), particularly since Dik.'s heart is preparing for a race (above) rather than for combat.

**ἐπήνεσ(α)**: 'I approve [of your behaviour]!, Well done!' (e.g. S. fr. 282. 1; E. *HF* 1235; *IA* 440); cf. Lloyd 40. Dik.'s heart has now made its way to the starting-line.

**ὦ τάλαινα καρδία**: 450-2n. Probably intended as parody of Euripides; cf. E. *Alc.* 837; *Med.* 1242; *IT* 344; *Or.* 466.

**486-7** 480-2n. **ἐκεῖσε, ἐκεῖ**: i.e. to the chopping-block (366 with n.).

**τὴν κεφαλὴν . . . / παράσχεις**: By lowering it onto the block after the speech is complete (**εἰποῦσ'**). The idea of the heart supplying its head (to be cut off, although Dik. avoids saying this, so as not to discourage his **καρδία** ('heart') from acting; cf. 317-18n.), is deliberately absurd.

**488 τόλμησον**: 'Get your courage up!, Be bold!'; cf. 311-12n., 646. The command is given more specific content in **ἴθι· χώρησον**. Dik.

steps over to the chopping block and stands behind it. **ἄγαμαι**

**καρδίας**: 'I'm in awe of my heart!', i.e. 'Bravo, heart!'; cf. Lloyd 38. **ἄγαμαι** + gen. is absent from high poetry except at [E.] *Rh.* 243-4 and (despite LSJ s.v. I. 3) is also rare in comedy (elsewhere only at *Av.* 1744a; Phryn. Com. fr. 10. 1; Eup. fr. 349).

**489-95/6 ~ 566-71** Dochmiacs and iambs. Although there is considerable difference between the metrical structure of the central sections of these passages (3-4), there can be little doubt that they are intended to

respond. Cf. metr. Σ<sup>EF</sup> 490; White § 468; Prato 14-15; Zimmermann ii. 112-13; iii. 4; Parker 132-7.

## Metrical Analysis:

(1) 489/90	υ---υ- ---υ-	2do
~ 566	υ	
(2) 490/1	υ---υ - υ---υ-	2do
~ 567	--υ	
(3) 492	---υ- ---υ- υ-υ^	3ia
568	υ---υ- υ---υ^	2do
(4) 493	υ-υ- ---υ- ---υ^	3ia
569	--υ-υ- υ-υ- υ-υ-	1do 2ia
(5) 494/5	---υ-  υ---υ-	2do
~ 570	υ	
(6) 495/6	υ---υ- υ - - υ^	2do
~ 571	υ υ -	

(1) A long syllable is missing before *ἴσθι* in 489/90, and Meineke's <εῦ> (e.g. *Pax* 373; *Th.* 12; *Pl.* 183) is almost certainly correct. **d**'s unmetrical *ἰώ* for *ῶ* (Hermann; \* in 568) in 566 reflects the influence of the word at the head of the line.

(2, 4) The portions of 491 and 493 missing in **p** are set off as separate cola on the right-hand side of the page in L. Most likely this is where they stood in Triklinios' version of the text and the **p**-scribe either failed to see them or mistook them for scholia.

(4-6) Triklinios was obviously uncomfortable with 569-71 as they appeared in his copy of the play and therefore emended them (without any reference to 493-6 and apparently assuming that the initial *a* in *ἀνύσας* was long) to 569 ia 2tr; 570 2ia ^ia; 571 3ia.

**489-96** (A) What do you have to say for yourself? (489/90); (B) What you intend to do is outrageous! (490/1-3); (C) (to themselves) This doesn't bother him! (494/5); (B) Well, if that's what you intend to do (494-6), (A) say whatever you can for yourself (496). For the general sentiment, cf. 358-65, 385-92.

**489-93** *ἴσθι*: López Eire 105-6. *ἀναίσχυντος*: 287-8n. *σιδηροῦς*: '[hard as] iron', i.e. incapable of being moved by the opinions or feelings of others (e.g. *H. Il.* 22. 357; *Od.* 5. 190-1; *Hes. Th.* 764-5; *A. Th.* 52; *E. Med.* 1279-80; [A.] *PV* 242; cf. Taillardat § 370; Sens on Theoc. 22. 47), as is shown by Dik.'s willingness to expose himself to public wrath (492) while voicing extremely unpopular opinions (493), a characterization that in turn amounts to an implicit charge of a lack of social sense (*ἀναισχυντία* ('shamelessness'; cf. above); cf. 497-9n.). For the use of *ἀνὴρ*, 370-3n. *παρασχών*: 'offering'. For the rhetorical trope of the contrast between the one (*εἷς*) and the many

- (ἄπανσι), Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 1455; cf. Barrett on E. *Hipp.* 441–2. ἄπανσι is to be taken with τάναντία rather than as ind. obj. of λέγειν.
- 494–6** τρέμει: ‘dread, shrink before’ (e.g. *Eq.* 265; S. *OT* 947; E. *Andr.* 808). τὸ πρᾶγμ(α): The situation described in 492–3. εἶα: ‘Come on!’ (e.g. *Lys.* 1303; *Th.* 659; *Ra.* 394; Labiano Ilundain 143–8, esp. 143–5). Colloquial (Stevens 33). For the rough breathing, Σ<sup>A</sup> H. II. 262a; Mastronarde on E. *Ph.* 970 (citing Radt on the Sophocles papyri). ἐπειδήπερ αὐτὸς αἰρεῖ: Sc. λέξαι. β supplied the infin. by converting λέγε (R) into λέγειν.
- 497–556** A parody of the great speech (cf. 416) in which the disguised Tel. argued to the Argive commanders that the Mysians and their king, by aggressively repelling invaders, had done nothing more than the Greeks themselves would have in the face of similar—or even less substantial—provocation. Cf. 514 with n., 540–3 with 541–2 n.; Rau 38–40; Introduction, Section IV.C. Here the intended audience is not the assembled leaders of the Greek expedition against Troy or even the chorus of Acharnians—although some wild comic slander is thrown in for their benefit (esp. 524–9; cf. 442–4 n.)—but the audience in the Theatre (esp. 497, 504; cf. 317 with n.), and it rapidly becomes clear that Dik. is speaking with the voice of ‘the poet himself’ (esp. 499, 502–3; cf. 299–302 with n.). 497–8 (~ E. fr. 703) are probably adapted from Tel.’s opening words, 555–6 (~ E. fr. 710) from his summation, and the two quotations thus neatly frame the speech.
- 497–501** Cf. the chorus’ divided reaction to the *Telephos*-speech at 557–63: what Dik. has said is true but outrageous, at least when coming from a beggar.
- 497–9** 497–8 are a parody of E. *Tel.* fr. 703 μὴ μοι φθονήσητ’, ἄνδρες Ἑλλήνων ἄκροι, / εἰ πτωχὸς ὢν τέτληκ’ ἐν ἐσθλοῖσιν λέγειν (‘Bear me no ill-will, foremost men of the Greeks, if, although a beggar, I have dared to speak up in the company of nobles’), the first verse of which is also reused at Alex. fr. 63. 7 (where see Arnott’s n.). μὴ μοι φθονήσητ’: ‘bear me no ill-will’, φθόνος being the hostility felt toward anyone perceived to have risen (or to have attempted to rise) above his station and thus implicitly to have shown contempt for others (e.g. *Lys.* 649). Cf. 490/1 with n., 558, 562, 577a, 593. Starkie argued that Dik. himself and others call the hero a πτωχός so often and so pointedly in this section of the play (cf. 558, 577a, 579, 593–4) that it is tempting to think that Kleon referred to Ar. that way in some public setting; but this seems a very odd form of attack for an arch-populist. ἔπειτ(α): ‘none the less’ (23–4 n.). ἐν: ‘in the presence of’ (630; LSJ s.v. A. I. 5. b). περὶ τῆς πόλεως: To be taken with λέγειν. τρυγωδίαν: ‘a comedy’; < τρυγάω, ‘harvest’, or τρύξ, ‘new wine’ but also ‘lees’ (Olson on *Pax* 916), with a pun on τραγωδία (‘tragedy’). Almost exclusively Aristophanic vocabulary (elsewhere only at Eup. fr. 99. 29), generally

used when some contrast with tragedy is intended (500 with n.; *V.* 650, 1537; fr. 156. 9; cf. 886; *Nu.* 296; Taplin (500n.); Edwards 157–63; also at fr. 347. 1 and in adjectival form at 628, 886). **ποῶν**: ‘composing’, as at 399–400, and thus a reference to the activity of the author rather than the actor.

**500** Perhaps a parody of a line from a lost tragedy, with **τρυγωδία** (497–9n.) appearing *para prosdokian* at the end of the verse for the original **πένης ἀνὴρ** (‘a pauper’; cf. *E. Supp.* 863\*) *vel sim.* Taplin, *CQ NS* 33 (1983) 331–3, argues that Dik.’s insistence that ‘comedy too knows what is right’ implies that contemporary tragedy had a serious and self-conscious ethical agenda. In fact, the hero’s remark shows only that comedy likes to present tragedy—or at least ‘good tragedy’ (461 with n.)—as having such a purpose (cf. *Ra. passim*, with Dover, *Frogs*, pp. 14–18), which is a different matter. For a thoughtful discussion of this and related issues, Mastronarde, *ICS* 24–25 (1999–2000) 23–39, esp. 24–6. For the idea that comedy provides instruction (not just outrageous entertainment) to the city, 630–3 with 633–58n., 656; Introduction, Section III. **τὸ . . . δίκαιον**: 317–18n. Presumably intended to remind the audience of the hero’s name (406), especially after *περὶ τῆς πόλεως* (‘about the πόλις’) in 499.

**501** Cf. 315–17 (the chorus call Dik.’s argument *δεινὸν . . . καὶ παραξικάρδιον* (‘terrible and heart-rending’), whereas he insists that he will say *δίκαια* (‘just things’, i.e. ‘the truth’)).

**502–21** Kleon’s charge in connection with ‘last year’s comedy’ (cf. 377–8) seems to have been that the playwright for whom Dik. stands in (1) spoke ill of the city (2) in the presence of non-Athenians (503), thus (like Socrates or the city’s generals at Arginousai) ‘wronging the people’. Dik. accordingly takes pains to show that, in the case of the current play, at least, he will not be open to attack on either count (513–19 and 504–8, respectively).

**502–3** **γάρ** marks this as an explanation of how the remarks that follow are *δίκαια* (501), the fundamental point being that Kleon lacks grounds for renewing his charge of defaming the city in the presence of non-Athenians (cf. 377–82 with n., 515–16, 631). **νῦν γε**: Cf. 507. **γε** (R) fell out of **β** (*νῦν tantum ac*), and Triklinios mended the metre by adding *καί* before *νῦν*. **διαβαλεῖ**: 380 with n. **ὅτι**: ‘[with the charge] that’; cf. 630–1 *διαβαλλόμενος . . . ὡς*. **ξένων παρόντων**: Gen. abs.; a reference not to foreigners generally but to Athens’ allies in particular, as 505–6 (where see n.; cf. 633–40 with nn.; *Pax* 644; *Av.* 1431, 1454, 1458) make clear. The implication is perhaps that the political significance of a comedy may escape someone who lacks intimate knowledge of Athenian ways (cf. the Ionian at *Pax* 43–8) and who may thus (e.g.) take biting satire as a straightforward depiction of social reality; the presence of metics (508) is therefore less of a concern, since

they should understand the local political and dramatic 'code'. The problem of misunderstanding by outsiders will naturally have been most serious when a play took up the question of relations with the allies; cf. 642 with n. **κακῶς λέγω:** 'speak badly of, abuse' (e.g. 649; *Th.* 85, 182; Antiph. fr. 94. 3-4; Eub. fr. 115. 6-7; A. *Eu.* 413; E. *Hec.* 1178; Pl. *Euthd.* 294e).

**504-7** A self-contained argument in ring-structure: (A) We are alone (504) (B) and no foreigners are here (505), for (C) the tribute payments have not come in (505-6) nor (B) are our allies from other cities here (506), and thus (A) we are alone (507). Cf. 507-8n.

**504** Probably a parody of a line from *Tel.*, given the echo in a very similar scene at *Th.* 472 αὐταὶ γὰρ ἐσμεν, κοῦδεμί' ἔκφορος λόγου ('for we are alone, and nothing of our discussion leaves here') (thus Sommerstein ad loc.); cf. 509-12 n., 555-6n. **αὐτοὶ . . . ἐσμεν:** 'we are alone, by ourselves' (e.g. 507; *V.* 255; *Th.* 472 (above); Pl. *Lg.* 836b; Theoc. 2. 89; Herod. 6. 70 with Headlam ad loc.; cf. KG i. 652-3). The absence of the allies from the Lenaia festival reflects not a formal prohibition (cf. *Th.* ii. 39. 1) but the difficulty of travelling by sea during the winter; cf. 505-6n.

**ὁ (ἐ)πὶ Ἀθηναίῳ τ' ἀγών:** 'and [the] contest [is] the one at the Lenaion'; cf. KG i. 592. For the postponement of τε, *GP* 516. The Lenaia festival was celebrated in Gamelion (approx. January) under the supervision of the *archon basileus* and (at least in the 4th c.) the *epimeletai* of the Mysteries of Demeter and Kore ([Arist.] *Ath.* 57. 1); most likely it began on the twelfth day of the month (J. D. Mikalson, *The Sacred and Civil Calendar of the Athenian Year* (Princeton, 1975) 109-10). The dramatic date has thus slipped forward from Poseidonion (approx. December) in 202; cf. 960-1 n. Beginning around 440 BCE, five comedies and two sets of tragedies (each set consisting of two tragedies without satyr-plays) were performed as part of the festivities (cf. *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 2319. 70-83; Luppe, *Philologus* 116 (1972) 53-75); little else is known about the Lenaia except that there was a procession (*lex ap. D.* 21. 10) and a sacrifice (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1672. 182), as one might have suspected in any case. The precinct of the Lenaion was sacred to Dionysos and almost certainly lay within the city's walls (despite Σ<sup>EF</sup> 202 and Σ<sup>REI</sup> 504, which have confounded the Lenaia and the Rural Dionysia), although its location is uncertain; cf. Wycherley, *Hesperia* 34 (1965) 72-6 ('the evidence is confused and baffling, to say the least' (74)). *Pace AAS* 1-5 (taking up a suggestion of Anti), there is no reason to believe in the existence at this date of a separate Lenaion theatre, and the phrase ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίῳ (also at Pl. *Prt.* 327d; *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1496. 74, 105) is almost certainly a fossilized remnant of an earlier period when less formal dramatic competitions were held in the precinct itself (cf. Hsch. ε 4933; Phot. λ 273). Cf. Deubner 123-34; *DFA* 25-42; Parke 104-6; MacDowell on D. 21. 10.

**505-6** κ(αί) is 'and actually, and in fact' (*GP* 316-17), but is almost equi-

valent to γάρ ('for'), hence what must be the intrusive superlinear gloss in p. οὐπω: 'not yet.' ξένοι: 502-3 n. οὔτε γὰρ φόροι: When combined with 643-4, this passage makes it clear that Athens' subject-allies were required to pay their annual tribute at the time of the City Dionysia in late March, when the sailing season opened (Thphr. *Char.* 3. 3; cf. 504 n.), as Eupolis is reported to have said explicitly (fr. 254 ap. Σ<sup>EF</sup> 504; cf. adesp. com. fr. 348; Raubitschek, *TAPA* 72 (1941) 356-62; Goldhill, in J. J. Winkler and F. I. Zeitlin (eds.), *Nothing to Do with Dionysos?* (Princeton, 1990) 97-129, esp. 101-2). Isoc. 8. 82 appears to support this conclusion, although there are problems with the text there and it is unclear whether it was only the annual tribute or Athens' entire cash-surplus that was put on display in the Theatre at Dionysia-time. φόροι are the tribute payments of individual cities (cf. *Eq.* 313; *Pax* 621); contrast the collective sing. φόρος (e.g. 643; *V.* 657, 707). For foreigners present at the dramatic festivals at the City Dionysia, 643-4; *Nu.* 609; *Pax* 45-8; Aeschin. 3. 41, 43; D. 21. 217; Isoc. 8. 82; Thphr. *Char.* 9. 5; cf. Th. v. 23. 4; Pl. *Lg.* 953a; *DFA* 58-9. τῶν πόλεων: 'the allied cities' (as also in 642; contrast 192 with n.), as the context makes clear. οἱ ξύμμαχοι: Not 'allied troops' (cf. Sommerstein), who would scarcely have been summoned to Athens many months before the campaigning season began in early summer, but simply 'allies' (including but not necessarily limited to the individuals entrusted with their city's tribute payment), as regularly in Ar. (e.g. 193; *Eq.* 839; *Nu.* 609; *V.* 673; *Lys.* 1177-9).

**507-8** A notorious crux; Valckenaer dealt with the problem by expelling 508. Pace LSJ s.vv., πτίσσω and περιπτίσσω mean 'hull, husk' (esp. Hdt. ii. 92. 2; Arist. *HA* 595<sup>b</sup>10; Thphr. *HP* ix. 16. 9) rather than 'winnow'. ἄχυρα (a generic term for what is left over or removed when grain is processed; cf. Chadwick 56-9) must therefore here be not 'straw' or 'chaff' (e.g. Pherecr. fr. 172; Hdt. iv. 72. 2; X. *Oec.* 18. 2, 7; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1672. 73; cf. Chadwick 56-9) but 'bran' (e.g. *V.* 1310; Antiph. fr. 225. 1-2; Philem. fr. 158; Thphr. *HP* viii. 4. 1; properly *κυρήβια*), the rough but edible outer husks of barley-grains, which were sifted out after hulling (Olson-Sens on Archestr. fr. 5. 4). 504-7 νῦν γε is a self-contained argument (cf. n. ad loc.), and περιεπτισμένοι moves on to a new image (rather than implying that the ξένοι ('foreigners') are bran, of which the audience/barley has been sifted clean): the 'we' referred to here thus consists of a mix of two substances, both of them valuable, although one (the metics/bran) is inferior to the other (the citizens/barley grains). Cf. Taillardat § 683. For milling and sifting of grain generally, L. A. Moritz, *Grain-Mills and Flour in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford, 1958), esp. 159-63. ἐσμὲν αὐτοί: 504 n. νῦν γε: Cf. 502. τοὺς . . . μετοίκους: Aliens who had taken up permanent residence in Athens and registered themselves with the polemarch under the sponsorship of a

citizen *προστάτης* ('patron'; thus Harp. *A* 218; *II* 105; cf. [Arist.] *Ath.* 58. 2–3 with Rhodes ad loc.) and been attached to a deme (Rhodes on [Arist.] *Ath.* 42. 1). Athens had a substantial number of metics (Th. ii. 31. 2 (three metic hoplites for every ten citizen hoplites in 431); Duncan-Jones, *Chiron* 10 (1980) 101–9), and by and large they were loyal to their adopted city; cf. D. Whitehead, *The Ideology of the Athenian Metic* (Cambridge Philological Society, Suppl. vol. 4: Cambridge, 1977), esp. 69–108. For Ar.'s favourable attitude toward metics generally, *Pax* 297 with Olson ad loc.; *Lys.* 580–1.

**509–12** Intended as a *captatio benevolentiae*, as 512 makes clear; cf. 513 with n.; In-law's equally outspoken denunciation of Euripides at *Th.* 469–70 (*καὐτὴ γὰρ ἔγωγ' . . . / μισῶ τὸν ἄνδρ' ἐκείνον* ('for I myself detest that man')) at the beginning of a speech probably also modelled on *Telephos*' (cf. 504n., 555–6n.).

**509** *ἐγὼ δέ* 'marks the transition from the introduction . . . to the opening of the speech proper' (*GP* 170–1). *μέν*: Balanced by *ἀτάρ* in 513.

**510–11** Tainaros (modern Cape Matapan) is located at the extreme southern tip of the Mani peninsula. Poseidon was worshipped in a temple there (Th. i. 128. 1, 133; Paus. iii. 25. 4; Str. 8. 363; cf. E. *Cyc.* 290–2; Woodward, *ABSA* 13 (1906–7) 249–52; Waterhouse and Hope Simpson, *ABSA* 56 (1961) 123–4) as *Ἀσφάλειος* or 'Safeguard' (cf. 682 with n.) not only from shipwreck but from earthquakes, one of his traditional spheres of power (e.g. *Nu.* 566–8; *H. Il.* 20. 57–8; *h.Hom.* 22. 2; *Pi. I.* 1. 52; 4. 21; *Hdt.* vii. 129. 4; *S. Tr.* 502; [A.] *PV* 924–5; *X. HG* iv. 7. 4). Sometime around 466 the Spartans removed a number of helot suppliants from the temple and executed them, and the massive earthquake that followed, which destroyed numerous buildings and caused great loss of life, was blamed on Poseidon's wrath (esp. Th. i. 128. 1; Paus. iv. 24. 5–6; cf. *Lys.* 1142 with Henderson on 1137–48; Th. i. 101. 2; *D.S.* xi. 63. 1–2; *Plu. Cim.* 16. 4–5). The period just before *Ach.* was performed was a time of intense seismic activity in Greece (Th. iii. 87. 4, 89), and *Dik.*'s point is that Poseidon should once again feel free to treat the (implicitly treacherous and impious) Spartans as he had a generation earlier. While one might reasonably specify which local cult of Poseidon was in question by writing *ὁ Ποσειδῶν οὐπὶ Ταινάρῳ* (**d**), **θεός** is then exceedingly awkward (since what else could Poseidon be?). With most recent editors, therefore, I adopt van Herwerden's *καὐτο(ῖσιν αὐθ)ῖς οὐπὶ Ταινάρῳ*, with *ὁ Ποσειδῶν* to be expelled as a superlinear gloss that made its way into the text after the material in angle brackets was lost via haplography; parallel errors at *Lys.* 1262, 1298; *Ra.* 1358. **σεισας**: Also used absolutely at *Lys.* 1142; *X. HG* iv. 7. 4; cf. Th. iv. 52. 1. **ἅπασιν ἐμβάλοι τὰς οἰκίας**: 'bring their houses down on top of them all'; cf. *Nu.* 1489 *αὐτοῖς ἐμβάλης τὴν οἰκίαν /*.

**512** 'I too have vines that have been cut', although Meineke's *ἔστι*

τάμπελια ('My vines too have been cut', with ἐστι . . . κεκομμένα taken as a pass. periphrastic) is tempting. κα(ὶ ἐ)μοί: i.e. in addition to the

chorus (183) and—much more important—the audience in the Theatre, for whom damaged vineyards represent all the deprivations and destruction of the war (cf. 977-85 with n.). ἐστὶν ἀμπέλια

κεκομμένα: 182-3 n. ἀμπέλια is a hypocoristic diminutive, 'beloved vines' (pace Petersen 162). R's διακεκομμένα is a majuscule dittography (ΑΜΠΕΛΙΑΔΙΑ), while the prefix in the *Suda*'s παρακεκομμένα is most likely an intrusion from 517.

**513** Cf. 504-8. For the anticipatory γάρ-clause (a second, very abbreviated *captatio benevolentiae*; cf. 509-12 with n.), GP 68. οἱ παρόντες ἐν λόγῳ: 'those present at the argument' (esp. [E.] *Rh.* 149; cf. *A. Supp.* 200; *Ch.* 679; *S. El.* 891), i.e. 'all of us here', including the audience in the Theatre; cf. *Av.* 30; *X. Oec.* 3. 12 (introducing a plea for candour).

**514** Cf. 305 τοὺς μὲν Λάκωνας ἐκποδῶν ἐάσατε ('Leave the Spartans out of it!'). The close resemblance to *Th.* 473 τί ταῦτ' ἔχουσαι 'κείνον αἰτιώμεθα ('why do we go on blaming these things on him?'; from the beginning of Inlaw's speech in defence of Euripides) suggests that both lines are modelled on a verse from Telephos' speech. ταῦτα: i.e. all the outrages referred to obliquely in 512; an internal acc. (= ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας).

**515-22** A notorious historical crux. The decree barring the Megarians from the Athenian Agora and harbours throughout the Empire (532-4 n.) is referred to by Dik. only at 530-4, as a response to events that clearly post-date those mentioned here; cf. 819-21, where the Megarian's insistence that his people's troubles began when Athenian sycophants denounced Megarian goods and traders would seem to count decisively against the possibility that Dik. has simply scrambled his history. The goods listed in 519-21 can scarcely have been denounced and sold in accord with a law that had not yet been passed, and either Megarians were notorious evaders of market taxes and customs duties (for which, *V.* 658-9; fr. 472), so that Megarian goods in particular were constantly being confiscated and sold; or (more likely) another, earlier decree barred Megarians and Megarian goods from the Agora—perhaps in formal response to the Megarians' alleged infringement on sacred land (cf. 725-6 n.; *Th.* i. 139. 2; *Plu. Per.* 30. 2)—and that decree, with its essentially local implications (523), was expanded as relations between the two states continued to deteriorate. Cf. de Ste Croix 383-6 (who avoids this conclusion only by relying on what he admits are a priori arguments); Hornblower on *Th.* i. 67. 4; Introduction, Section II.

**515-16** ἡμῶν . . . ἄνδρες: 'some of us'. αἰτιοί εἰσι is expected after αἰτιώμεθα in 514, but after the parenthetical remark that follows and the long description of these individuals in 517-18, the sentence heads off in a



slightly different direction (519). οὐχὶ τὴν πόλιν λέγω: 'I don't mean the city' (LSJ s. λέγω III. 9; cf. *Eq.* 1375; *Av.* 443; *Ra.* 171), repeated \* for emphasis in 516 (hence the omission of the verse in EH via homoioteleuton). β's asyndetic οὐχὶ is better than R's κοῦχί, which reduces the liveliness of the interjection. μέμνησθε τοῦθ': i.e. against the possibility that Kleon might try to prosecute him again on much the same charge as before; cf. 502-3 with 502-21 n. ὅτι οὐχὶ is an allowable hiatus in comedy (e.g. *Eq.* 101; *Lys.* 611; cf. KB i. 197). Triklinios none the less emended to ὄτ' οὐχί (PtAld; vers. om. H), despite the fact that ὄτι is never elided in Attic and ὄτε makes little sense.

**517-18 ἀνδράρια:** A pejorative diminutive; 'little half-men' (Petersen 265). μοχθηρά: A very general adj. (165-6 n.), which can mean both 'morally bad' and 'of bad quality' (e.g. *Th.* 781; Cratin. fr. 222. 2; Alex. fr. 133. 4). The description that follows is generally read in light of *Ra.* 718-35, where the comparison between bad men and bad coins (already at Thgn. 117, 965; cf. *Pl.* 862, 957; Taillardat § 682; L. Kurke, *Coins, Bodies, Games, and Gold* (Princeton, 1999), esp. 299-331) is explicit and developed at great length. Here the metaphor (if that is what it is) remains implicit; none of the language is regularly and unambiguously associated with coinage except παράσημος, which is already used in a similar sense in Aeschylus (cf. below); and the image is dropped at the end of 518. κόπτω is 'strike' and thus 'mint [coins]' (e.g. *Ra.* 723, 726), but elsewhere in the classical period παρακόπτω always means 'knock aside' and so by extension 'infatuate, madden' (*E. Hipp.* 238; cf. *Th.* 680; *A. Ag.* 223; [A.] *PV* 581; *E. Ba.* 33, 1000) or 'swindle, cheat' (*Eq.* 807, 859; *Nu.* 640); LSJ s.v. (following Σ<sup>REF</sup>) is misleading. When παρακεκομμένα is first pronounced, therefore, its apparent sense is 'crazed', although after the metaphor of coinage has (arguably) emerged more openly in 518, the word may in retrospect be taken in the sense 'ill-stamped' (as if the flan were mis-centred on the die). ἄτιμα: 'deprived of civic rights' (*Av.* 766; *Ra.* 692), e.g. because they had defaulted on a debt owed the state or run away in battle or been convicted of corruption in office (cf. *And.* 1. 73-5; Harrison i. 169-76; Rhodes on [Arist.] *Ath.* 8. 5), although the adj. might also be taken to mean 'valueless', like counterfeit coins (cf. below). παράσημα: 'falsely marked'. Properly of coins produced from flans with a copper or lead core (cf. *Agora* xvi. 1066. 10-11; D. 24. 214; Bywater, *CR* 54 (1940) 11) and stamped with something resembling an official minting-die; by extension of anything that is not what it seems (*A. Ag.* 780; *E. Hipp.* 1115), including human beings (D. 18. 242 with Wankel ad loc.). παράξενα appears nowhere else in the classical period (Palaeph. 52. 2 is a Byzantine addition to the text) and is most likely an Aristophanic coinage modelled on παράσημα and designed to be taken 'illegitimately foreign' (cf. LSJ s. παρά G. IV. 1;

LSJ s.v. 'half-foreign, counterfeit' is misleading (although see below), i.e. 'foreign and illegitimate'. At least by the early 4th c., Athenian coinage was widely imitated and this imitation was not regarded by the Athenians as criminal, so long as the silver was pure, as in some cases (such as those referred to obliquely here) it undoubtedly was not; cf. Stroud, *Hesperia* 43 (1974) 168-78. The point is that, despite appearances, the individuals in question are not real Athenians but outsiders who have made their way onto the citizen roll; cf. 704 with n. The central irony of what follows is that harmless cucumbers, heads of garlic, and the like are denounced as dangerous intruders by men who themselves have no right to remain in Athens and are a much more significant threat to the state.

**519** **ἔσυκοφάντει:** The sycophant (lit. 'fig-denouncer' (cf. 541-2 n., 725-6 n.)), although the origin of the term is obscure) is a malicious, self-interested abuser of the legal system who—despite his citizen status—is regularly presented in both comedy and oratory as a hated and polluted outsider and a virtual anti-Athenian. The vb. thus picks up on the characterization of these individuals in 517-18. Cf. 725, 818-29, 904-58. For the social and literary use of the term 'sycophant' (first attested at fr. 228. 1 (427 BCE), although cf. Cratin. fr. 70), Dunbar on *Av.* 1410-69; Olson on *Pax* 191 (with additional bibliography); Todd 92-4; M. R. Christ, *The Litigious Athenian* (Baltimore and London, 1998) 48-71. What makes these denunciations self-serving is that the sycophant took a portion (probably half) of the proceedings from the sale of the confiscated goods (cf. 522); cf. *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 412. 7-9; D. 58. 13; Lipsius 310; MacDowell, in M. Gagarin (ed.), *Symposion 1990: Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte* (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna, 1991) 194-5.

**Μεγαρέων τὰ χλανίσκια:** *χλανίσκιον* is a diminutive < *χλανίς*, a fine woollen outer-garment worn by both sexes (e.g. *Av.* 1116; *Lys.* 1189; *Ec.* 848; Hermipp. fr. 48. 1; Ephipp. fr. 14. 10; Anaxil. fr. 18. 2; cf. Handley on Men. *Dysk.* 257; Stone 163-4). The diminutive serves to bring out both the absurdity of treating such items as a threat to state security and the pettiness of the sycophants' behaviour; cf. *λαγώδιον* and *χοιρίδιον* in 520-1. For Megara, Introduction, Section II. For the Megarian garment-making industry, *Pax* 1002; X. *Mem.* ii. 7. 6; *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1672. 102-3; 1673. 45-6; D.L. 6. 41. For pre-war trade with Megara, 729 n.

**520-2** Cf. 818-20. Megarian cloaks (519) could perhaps be recognized by their workmanship, but the provenance of the items listed here would have been far less obvious and the implication is that the sycophants' initial success with *χλανίσκια* led them to denounce other goods as well, with little regard to whether those goods were Megarian. **που:** 'perchance'. **σίκυον:** Cucumbers are also said to be produced in Megara at *Pax* 1001; Thphr. *HP* ii. 7. 5; *CP* iii. 16. 3. For buying

them in the market place, fr. 581. 1; Cratin. fr. 147. 2. For eating them, Olson–Sens on Matro fr. 4. **ἴδοιεν**: As if the subj. were now *ἄνδρες* (515–16) rather than *ἀνδράρια* (517). **εἶδεν** (unmetrical) reflects not just a corrector's concern about the number but a mistaken conviction that the *υ* in *σίκνον* is long. **λαγώδιον**: The European hare (*Lepus europaeus*), nowhere else referred to as regularly imported into Attica from Megara, but included in the Boi.'s catalogue of goods at 878. A delicacy (e.g. 1110; *Eq.* 1192–3; *V.* 709; *Pax* 1196; Eup. fr. 174. 2; Archestr. fr. 57 with Olson–Sens on 57. 1–2; Diph. fr. 31. 24; Euangel. fr. 1. 6); for cooking it, 1005–6 with n. **χοιρίδιον** serves *inter alia* to set up 731–835. Piglets were common sacrificial animals (792–3 n.), whose flesh was—and is—a delicacy (794–6 n.). Nothing is said elsewhere of the import of Megarian piglets into Athens, but 764 strongly suggests that farmers and traders in nearby areas attempted to meet the needs of the Attic market place, particularly in times of peak demand (and top prices). **σκόροδον**: Garlic was not only eaten raw (163–4 n.) and converted into *μυττωτός* ('garlic-paste'; cf. 174 n.), but used as seasoning in sauces (e.g. *Eq.* 1095; Cratin. fr. 150. 3–4; Diph. fr. 17. 13). For the garlic-market, Eup. fr. 327. 2. For garlic as a typical Megarian product, 761–3; *Pax* 246–7 with Olson ad loc., 500–2, 1000. **χονδρούς ἄλας**: Salt was purchased by the consumer in small chunks (*χόνδροι*; cf. Hdt. iv. 181. 2; Hsch. χ 629), which were ground in a mortar to produce *λεπτοὶ ἄλας* ('fine salt'; Alex. fr. 192. 5; adesp. com. fr. 1146. 24; Archestr. fr. 37. 8); cf. Arist. *Mete.* 359<sup>a</sup>32–3; Phoen. fr. 2. 5, p. 233 Powell; Gow–Page on *HE* 1175. For ancient production methods, Forbes iii. 164–81. For salt as a Megarian product, 760; Plin. *Nat.* 31. 87. For the culinary use of salt, 1005–6 n., 1156–8 n.; Olson–Sens on Archestr. fr. 14. 7. **ἦν**: 'were [alleged to be].' **κα(ὶ ἐ)πέπρατ(ο)**: i.e. at public auction, presumably under the supervision of the *ἀγορανόμοι* ('market officials'; cf. 723–4 n.). For the plpf. used to describe an action that occurs immediately after and in close connection with another action (here the denunciation of these goods as Megarian), KG i. 152–3. **αὐθημερόν**: i.e. with no time allowed for appeal or even careful inquiry into the matter. A *φάσις* ('denunciation') required a written declaration and a trial before a jury (Lipsius 309–16; Harrison ii. 218–21), which one would think would require at least a few days. But perhaps the point is that Megarians got less justice than other people. For the implicit charge of Athenian judicial hastiness in response to slanderous accusations, 630 with n.

**523 καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ κτλ.**: Summing up in preparation for moving on to a new subject; cf. *Pl.* 8; *Pl. Com.* fr. 189. 11; Posidipp. fr. 2. 1; *GP* 258–9. Sansone, *ICS* 10 (1985) 6–7, suggests that *μὲν δὴ* represents deliberate use of a 'characteristically and recognizably Herodotean idiom' and thus clear evidence of a connection between *Ach.* and Book i of the

*Histories*; cf. Introduction, Section IV.B. **σμικρά** is no better metrically than the ordinary comic form **μικρά** and is thus perhaps paratragic (cf. Radermacher, *RhM* 85 (1936) 6-7; J. Diggle, *Euripidea* (Oxford, 1994) 145-6). **(ἐ)πιχώρια**: 'local', i.e. 'confined to Attic soil', in contrast to the events described in 524-39.

**524-34** Cf. Hermes' explanation of the origin of the Megarian Decree and thus the war in Perikles' fear of becoming involved in the sculptor Pheidias' legal problems at *Pax* 605-11.

**524-9** Seemingly (1) a parody of Hdt. i. 1-5. 2, where the origin of the ancient hostility between Europe and Asia is traced to a series of rapes (cf. Introduction, Section IV.B), mixed up with (2) a typical comic claim that Perikles began the war for personal reasons (530-4 with nn.) and (3) an echo of real Athenian charges that the Megarians were guilty of harbouring runaway slaves (Th. i. 139. 2).

**524-5** **πόρνην . . . Σιμαίθαν**: **Σ<sup>REG</sup>** reports that Alkibiades was in love with Simaitha, and on that basis offers the wild suggestion that he organized her kidnapping. The source of **Σ**'s (historically dubious) information seems likely to be a lost comedy via a work of Hellenistic scholarship such as Aristophanes of Byzantium's *On Courtesans*, but it raises the possibility that Simaitha was a real person. For Alkibiades' alleged relationships with prostitutes and other anecdotes about his sexual conduct (a literary and rhetorical topos), Ath. 13. 597d-e (citing Lys. fr. 346); Littman, *TAPA* 101 (1970) 263-76, esp. 265-70; D. Gribble, *Alcibiades and Athens* (Oxford Classical Monographs: Oxford, 1999) 73-7. The name Simaitha (< **σιμός** ('snub-nosed') + the suffix **-αίθα**; cf. Gow on Theoc. 2. 101) is found elsewhere at *AD* 18 (1965) 35; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 12603 (both 4th c.); *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1611. 395; Agora i. 7316 col. III. 50 (a trireme's name); Theoc. 2. 101, 114 (probably a courtesan); cf. **Σίμη** at Herod. 1. 89 (a prostitute). For Megarian whores, Call. Com. fr. 28; Stratt. fr. 27. **κλέπτουσι**: 'stole off with' (historical pres.), relying on guile rather than force (257-8n.), as at *V*. 1369 (cf. *V*. 1345); Pi. *P*. 4. 250. **μεθυσκοόταβοι**: 'drunk from playing *kottabos*'; a typically extravagant comic coinage. *Kottabos* was a symposium-game that involved tossing small quantities of wine from one's drinking cup at a target; cf. Olson on *Pax* 343/4 (with detailed discussion and bibliography). Elsewhere, *kottabos* is routinely used as a positive symbol of peace and sensual pleasure (e.g. *Nu*. 1073; Hermipp. fr. 48. 5-10), and Scaife, *GRBS* 33 (1992) 25-35, argues that the treatment here is unusual, in that the game is identified as a root cause of the war. In fact, the mention of *kottabos* is consistent with the general tendency of Dik.'s speech, which is to minimize the significance of these events—the woman was only a whore and those who carried her off were young (and thus naturally wild and incontinent) men, who had in addition just left a drinking-party—as a way of emphasizing the absurd disproportion of everything that ensued (cf.

528–9). For the trope that drinking too much leads to ill-considered and outrageous behaviour, e.g. *V.* 1253–4; Eub. fr. 93. 6–10 with Hunter ad loc.; D. 54. 3–4, 7–9; cf. 982–7 with nn.

**526–7** For the spelling **Μεγαρής**, Threatte ii. 239–40. **πεφουσιγγωμένοι**: A *φύσιγξ* is part of a garlic plant, perhaps its shoot (thus Stephanus; cf. Hipp. *Fist.* vi. 448. 14–15; Hsch. π 2138; φ 1048; Σ<sup>REG</sup> ('the outer husk'); conjectural at Thphr. *HP* vii. 4. 12). There must therefore be an allusion to Megarian garlic-production (520–2 n.); that there is also a reference to the practice of feeding fighting-cocks garlic to increase their combativeness (165–6 n.) is possible but (*pace* Bergler, followed by most modern commentators) less obvious. Σ<sup>REG</sup> suggests a pun on *πεφουσημένοι*, 'puffed up', i.e. 'emboldened'. *σκῶν* at the end of 526 in **p** is an intrusive remnant of a marginal note that included the word *ἀσκῶν* (cf. Σ<sup>L</sup>). **Ἀσπασίας**: To be taken with *ἀντεξέκλειψαν* (e.g. *Eq.* 109–10, 435–6; *V.* 238; cf. Poultney 121) rather than with *πόρνα δύο*. Aspasia (*PAA* 222330; *FRA* 4040) was a free Milesian woman, who began to live with Perikles (530–1 n.) as his *παλλακή* ('concubine'; cf. Cratin. fr. 259; Harrison i. 13–15) sometime in the 440s, after he and his wife divorced (Plu. *Per.* 24. 8; cf. Davies 458–9); Perikles II (*PA* 11812; *PAA* 772650) was probably her son. Since Aspasia was not an Athenian citizen, the willingness of Ar. and other authors (e.g. Cratin. fr. 259) to name her proves nothing about her social status (cf. 49–51 n.), and that she was originally a high-class *hetaira* is possible but unprovable (cf. Eup. fr. 110. 2 (Aspasia as a *πόρνη* ('whore'))); Plu. *Per.* 32. 1 with Stadter ad loc.), as is Dik.'s claim that she kept whores even after her relationship with Perikles began. Theophrastos (fr. 627) and Duris of Samos (*FGrH* 76 F 65), followed by Plu. *Per.* 24. 2; 25. 1, report that Perikles began the war against Samos on her account, a charge that must go back to a lost comedy, and Eup. called her 'Helen', implying that a war was fought for her sake (fr. 267; cf. Cratin. *Dionysalexandros* test. i). The comic poets also call her 'Hera' (Cratin. fr. 259; cf. 530–1 n.), as well as 'Omphale' and 'Deianeira' (Eup. fr. 294; adesp. com. fr. 704), implicitly casting Perikles (= Herakles) as her victim. She is in addition credited with great rhetorical skill and mockingly said to have trained Perikles himself (Call. Com. fr. 21; Pl. *Menex.* 235e–6c; cf. Aeschin. *Socr. Aspasia*). That she exercised any real influence over Perikles' political decisions (or that anyone else could have known about it, if she did) seems unlikely, but the historical truth about her is almost entirely impossible to recover. After Perikles' death in 429, she was (perhaps only briefly) associated with the demagogue Lysikles. Cf. Plu. *Per.* 24. 2–10 with Stadter ad loc.; M. M. Henry, *Prisoner of History: Aspasia of Miletus and Her Biographical Tradition* (New York and Oxford, 1995), esp. 9–56. **πόρνα δύο**: A significant escalation of the—still essentially trivial—conflict, since the Athenians stole only *one* Megarian

whore (524-5). *πόρνας* (R and some testimonia) is a misguided correction driven by a failure either to recognize the dual or to realize that the ultima in *πόρνα* is long. A seemingly pleonastic use of *δύο* with the dual is common in Ar. (e.g. *Eq.* 133, 1350; *Av.* 320; *Ra.* 134). For prostitutes and brothels (a common feature of everyday life), Ehrenberg 178-80; Olson on *Pax* 164-5, 848-9.

**528-9** (ἐ)ντεῦθεν: Lit. 'from there', as a result of the events described in 524-7; in apposition to ἐκ τριῶν λαικαστριῶν. Cf. López Eire 209; contrast 530, 535 ('thereupon').

**ἀρχὴ τοῦ πολέμου κατερράγη:** A slightly awkward combination of ἀρχὴ τοῦ πολέμου ἦν and ὁ πόλεμος κατερράγη. For the image (war 'breaking out' like a storm), *Eq.* 644; Th. i. 66; Taillardat § 635.

The rhetorical effect of 529 depends on the contrast between Ἕλλησι πᾶσιν and τριῶν λαικαστριῶν.

**ἐκ τριῶν λαικαστριῶν:** 'because of three female cocksuckers' (Poultney 164-5); cf. 79n. Fellatio was a service regularly provided by prostitutes (*V.* 1346 with Pherecr. fr. 159; *Pax* 855 with 847-9; cf. Agora graffito C 33 Lang Θειοδοσία λαικάδε[ι] εὔ ('Theiodosia gives good head'); M. F. Kilmer, *Greek Erotica on Attic Red-Figure Vases* (London, 1993) 71-2, 114-17). Precisely who the three cocksuckers are is left unspecified. They might be Simaitha (524) and Aspasia's two anonymous whores (527), but Dik.'s phrasing is—doubtless deliberately—ambiguous enough that the reference might be instead to Aspasia and the women who belonged to her.

**530-1** ἐντεῦθεν: 528-9n. ὄργῃ = ὄργισθείς, as at *Lys.* 550. **Περικλῆς**

ὁ (Ὁ)λύμπιος is Perikles son of Xanthippos of the deme Cholargos (*PA* 11811; *PAA* 772645), the dominant political figure in Athens from the late 440s (cf. 703n.) until his death in 429. For Perikles as Zeus (a common comic image), Cratin. frr. 73. 1-2; 118; 258; Telecl. fr. 18; cf. 526-7n.; Taillardat § 698. For a systematic study of the treatment of Perikles in comedy, J. Schwarze, *Die Beurteilung des Perikles durch die attische Komödie und ihre historische und historiographische Bedeutung* (Zetemata, Heft 51: Munich, 1971). The implication here is that his power amounted to a tyranny, as Cratin. fr. 258. 3 asserts outright; cf. adesp. com. fr. 703; Th. ii. 65. 8-9 (for his unique authority in the city). For the form *Περικλῆς*, Cratin. fr. 73. 2; Dover on *Nu.* 70.

**531** is adapted in the anonymous passage quoted at S σ 56 (of Salmoneus) ὃς ἀσεβῆς γεγονὼς διὰ μηχανῆς ἤστραπτεν, ἐβρόντα, συνεκύκα τὰς τῶν ὑπηκόων ψυχάς ('who, since he was impious, made lightning and thunder with a mechanical device, and disturbed the souls of those who heard him'). **ἤστραπτ(ε) ἐβρόντα:** Lightning and thunder (the primary weapons of the storm-god Zeus) are also used as symbols of political and rhetorical power at *Eq.* 626; *V.* 671; adesp. com. frr. 288; 701 (of Perikles) δεινὸν δὲ κεραυνὸν ἐν γλώσση φέρειν ('he bore a terrible lightning-bolt in his tongue' (unmetrical)); Herod. 7. 65 with Headlam ad loc.; Luc.

*Dem. Enc.* 20 (of Perikles); cf. *V.* 620–7; fr. 46 (perhaps a description of an orator); Taillardat § 698; Dover, *G&G* 297; O’Sullivan 107–14. **ξυνεκύνει τὴν Ἑλλάδα:** For *κυκάνω* (properly a culinary term, ‘mix, stir’; cf. 671) and its compounds and cognates used metaphorically of the production of political disturbance or disorder, 937; *Eq.* 363; *Pax* 270, 654; *Lys.* 489–91; *Eup.* fr. 192. 96; cf. 620–2 n., 688, 707; *Eq.* 692; Taillardat §§ 702, 707; Newiger 27–33.

**532–4** A reference to the decree, also mentioned at *Pax* 609; *Th.* i. 67. 4, 139. 1, 144. 2, and in effect by 432 at the latest, that barred the Megarians from Athens’ Agora and from harbours throughout the Empire, and that was recognized as an important cause of the war. If Wilamowitz’s *Χαρίνου* for the paradosis *χάριν τοῦ* is right at *Σ<sup>V</sup> Pax* 246 (as seems likely to be the case), this decree was proposed not by Perikles—although it may have been inspired and supported by him (thus *Plu. Mor.* 812d)—but by the man (*PA* 15434) said at *Plu. Per.* 30. 3 to have proposed another decree around the same time that *inter alia* barred Megarians from Attika on pain of death and mandated an invasion of their territory twice a year. For further discussion, de Ste Croix 225–89; Dover, *G&L* 181–6; Legon 210–25; Stadter, *GRBS* 25 (1984) 351–72, and on *Plu. Per.* 30. 2–3; Lewis, *CAH<sup>2</sup>* v. 376–8; Introduction, Section II. **νόμους:** The Megarian Decree is elsewhere consistently referred to as a *ψήφισμα* (536; *Pax* 609; *Th.* i. 139. 1, 140. 3–4; *Ephor. FGrH* 70 F 196 (39. 4)), but there appears to be little difference between the two terms in this period (F. Quass, *Nomos und Psephisma* (Zetemata, Heft 55: Munich, 1971) 2–5, 14–30; Hansen (1983) 162–3). Here the pl. refers to the multiple clauses (533–4) allegedly contained in the motion. **σκόλια** are songs—generally moralizing or patriotic—like the one about Harmodios referred to at 978–9 (where see n.), that were sung in turn by the guests at a symposium as they held a branch of bay or laurel (esp. *V.* 1222–49; cf. *Eq.* 529–30; *Nu.* 1364–5 with Dover ad loc.; *Ec.* 938–41 with Ussher ad loc.; fr. 444; *Antiph.* fr. 85. 2–5; *Thphr. Char.* 15. 10). For other *skolia* (most preserved at *Ath.* 15. 694c–6a), *carm. conv. PMG* 884–917. For the theme of the corrupted symposium, 977–85. 533–4 are a parody of Timocr. *PMG* 731 ὄφελέν σ’ ὦ τυφλὲ Πλούτε μήτε γῆ [μήτ’ ἐν γῆ MSS] μήτ’ ἐν θαλάσση / μήτ’ ἐν ἠπείρῳ φανῆμεν, ἀλλὰ Τάρταρόν τε ναίειν / κἄχέροντα· διὰ σὲ γὰρ πάντ’ αἰὲν ἀνθρώποις κακά (‘Blind Wealth, it would have been better had you appeared neither on land nor in the sea nor on the mainland, but had inhabited Tartaros and Acheron; for on your account men always have troubles of every sort’; cf. *Eq.* 609–10, probably a reference to the same passage), with **μήτ’ ἐν ἀγορᾷ** added to suit the context. Ar. also alludes to Timocreon’s poetry at *V.* 1060–70 (= *PMG* 733). Cf. de Ste Croix 392; Kugelmeier 68–72. **μήτε γῆ:** The preposition (provided, against the metre, in *d* *Apostol.*) is to be taken ἀπὸ κοινοῦ from what follows, as at *Eq.* 610

(where the MSS have the same error); *Az.* 740 with Dunbar ad loc.; and commonly in high poetic style. Cf. 900n.; KG i. 550; Wilamowitz on E. *HF* 237; G. Kiefner, *Die Versparung* (Wiesbaden, 1964), esp. 27-9.

**535-7 ὄτε δὴ (ἐ)πείνων βάδην:** Cf. the starving (734, 751, 758-9, 797-810) Megarian and his Daughters, who come on stage at 729; Introduction, Section II. *βάδην* is 'on foot', i.e. 'at a slow but steady pace, gradually' (A. *Pers.* 19; *Supp.* 887), although Σ<sup>REG</sup> takes it to mean 'at a gradually increasing pace'. **τὸ ψήφισμ':** 532-4n. The omission of *τό* in **ct** represents haplography after *ἐδέοντο*. For the vb. of asking with an object clause with *ὅπως*, Goodwin § 355. **μεταστραφείη:** Lit. 'be turned about' (*Ra.* 539a), i.e. 'reversed' (E. *Ba.* 1329; Pl. *Smp.* 190e) or 'changed' (H. *Il.* 15. 203; Pl. *Cra.* 418c). Thucydidean usage would require *καθαιρεθείη* ('be taken down', i.e. 'repealed' (e.g. i. 139. 1, 140. 3)), and J. J. Hartman, in *Études archéologiques, linguistiques et historiques dédiées à C. Leemans* (Leiden, 1885) 205-6, suggested an allusion to a story preserved at Plu. *Per.* 30. 1 about a Spartan embassy that came to Athens to request repeal of the Megarian Decree. When Perikles informed the envoys that it was forbidden to take down the board on which the law was written, one of them told him to turn its face to the wall (*στρέψον εἴσω τὸ πινάκιον*), since nothing forbade *that*. **τὸ διὰ τὰς λαικαστρίας:** A dismissive characterization, designed to underline the absurdity of the Athenian refusal to cooperate (538).

**538-9 οὐκ ἠθέλομεν δ':** For the postponement of *δέ* (lost in β) after a neg., *GP* 186-7. **δεομένων πολλάκις:** Sc. *τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων* (Goodwin § 848; Poultney 137-9). Th. i. 139. 1-3 refers specifically to only one Spartan embassy demanding repeal of the Megarian Decree, but the use of the impf. throughout the passage suggests that there were others, as Dik. implies. **ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη:** 'immediately thereafter' (311-12n., 528-9n.), as if Athenian intransigence on this point was the sole and direct cause of the war. **πάταγος . . . τῶν ἀσπίδων:** A reference not just to the overwhelming general din of battle but to the crucial initial moment when the two lines of soldiers collided and the chaotic pushing and killing of hoplite combat began. Cf. E. *Heracl.* 832; Tyrt. fr. 11. 31-4; 19. 14-15; *War* iv. 54-73, esp. 72-3; Hanson (1989) 152-9; Luginbill, *Phoenix* 48 (1994) 51-61. In keeping with the overall tone of the speech, the Spartans are not blamed expressly for the outbreak of hostilities, which is instead described as an abstract, impersonal event.

**540 ἐρεῖ τις, "οὐ χρῆν":** Identified by Σ<sup>EG</sup> as borrowed from *Tel.* (~ E. fr. 708, although Nauck treats the entire verse as Euripidean); presumably the beginning of the hero's response to what he knows will be his opponents' claim that the Mysians overreacted to the Achaians' incursion. Procatalepsis, i.e. anticipation of an objection (Arist. *Rh.Al.* 1432<sup>b</sup>11-14, 1433<sup>a</sup>31-8; cf. Eub. fr. 115. 10, 12; E. *Supp.* 314 with Collard on 184-5; *Or.* 665; *Ba.* 204; X. *Cyr.* iv. 3. 10). *ἐρεῖ* is equivalent to *εἶποι ἄν*;



cf. 702; van Leeuwen on *Eq.* 1183; Headlam on Herod. 4. 56.  $\chi\rho$  does not make position in Ar. (e.g. *Nu.* 718; *Av.* 1434), and R's  $\epsilon\chi\rho\eta\nu$  rather than  $\beta$ 's  $\chi\rho\eta\nu$  or  $\prime\chi\rho\eta\nu$  (an easy error after  $\chi\rho\eta\nu$  in the first half of the line) must be correct.

**541-2** A difficult passage, frequently (but never convincingly) emended. If the analogy with the auction of Megarian goods in Athens (519-22) is to be exact, the Seriphian puppy-dog ought to be confiscated and sold in Lakonia rather than abroad, as  $\epsilon\kappa\pi\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  implies. As Wilamowitz saw,  $\sigma\acute{\kappa}\alpha\phi\epsilon\iota$  is almost exclusively tragic (e.g. *A. Ag.* 661; *S. Tr.* 803; *E. Alc.* 252; *Andr.* 863) and paratragic (*Lys.* 139; *Th.* 877; *Ra.* 1382 = *E. Med.* 1; cf. *V.* 29) vocabulary, and the peculiarity of Dik.'s scenario might perhaps be explained as parody of a Euripidean line (a description of a hypothetical Mysian raid on Achaian territory from *Tel.*? (= E. fr. 708a Kannicht)). More likely, the analogy is simply somewhat loose: because the Athenians (a sea-power) impeded imports from a land-based ally of Sparta, Sparta (a land-power) must impede imports from a sea-based ally of Athens. At the same time, the Spartans' treatment of the Seriphian puppy-dog functions as an analogy for the rape of Simaitha, which took place in the territory of one of Sparta's allies and drew an angry and disproportionate—but wholly understandable—response (524-7).

$\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho(\epsilon)$ : 'Look here!, Come now!' (e.g. 898, 1058; *Nu.* 218, 769; cf. López Eire 98). Like  $\epsilon\iota\pi\acute{\epsilon}$  (319-20n.), used colloquially without regard to the number of persons addressed (Goodwin § 251).

$\epsilon\iota$   $\Lambda\alpha\kappa\epsilon\delta\alpha\iota\mu\omicron\nu\iota\omega\nu$ :  $\alpha$ 's  $\epsilon\iota$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\Lambda\alpha\kappa\epsilon\delta\alpha\iota\mu\omicron\nu\iota\omega\nu$  (**Rac**) was successfully corrected by Triklinios (seemingly supported by  $\Pi_1$ ).

$\phi\eta\nu\alpha\varsigma$ : For  $\phi\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$  in the technical Athenian legal sense 'denounce', e.g. 819, 912; *Eq.* 300; cf. 519n.; Lipsius 309-16; Harrison ii. 218-21.

$\Sigma\epsilon\rho\iota\phi\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ : 'belonging to the Seriphians'. Seriphos (one of the Cyclades and the place where Perseus and Danae came ashore after Akrisios set them adrift in a box (Str. 10. 487; Apollod. ii. 4. 1)) is a small, rocky island routinely treated (as here) as a place of no significance whatsoever (Pl. *R.* 329e-30a; Stratonikos ap. Plu. *Mor.* 602a; cf. fr. 884; *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 281 col. II. 49 (annual tribute of only 100 drachmas in 430/29)).

**543**  $\kappa\alpha\theta\eta\sigma\theta(\epsilon)$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ : 'would you have sat [idle]?' (e.g. *Nu.* 1201; *Lys.* 1217; *Ra.* 1103).  $\Sigma\text{E}\Gamma^3$  identifies  $\eta\acute{\nu}$   $\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon$   $\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}$  ('Far from it!'; perhaps colloquial (Stevens 19)) as from *Tel.*, and since  $\delta\acute{o}\mu\omicron\iota\sigma\iota\nu$  is certainly tragic or paratragic (450-2n.), the entire verse may be borrowed more or less direct from Euripides' play (= fr. 709).

**544-5**  $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ : Adverbial (*GP* 317).  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\alpha$  is common in Herodotos and other Ionic prose and in tragedy, but is attested elsewhere in comedy only at *Av.* 342; Amips. fr. 21. 5 (= carm. conv. *PMG* 913. 2) and in Attic prose only at Pl. *Ti.* 25d; here paratragic. Cf. Rutherford 8-9; Thesleff §§ 89-113; Dover, *EGPS* 81-2.

$\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau(\omicron\iota)$ : 161-2n.  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  . . .  $\kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\lambda\kappa\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ : 'you would have dragged down' from their sheds

(95-7n.) into the sea, i.e. 'launched' (e.g. *Ec.* 197; *Th.* ii. 94. 2; *D.* 3. 4; 50. 4; *Isoc.* 4. 118; cf. *Eq.* 1315). **τριακοσίας ναῦς**: '300 ships' (i.e. 300 triremes; cf. 546n.) was the total size of the Athenian fleet on the eve of the war in 431 (*Th.* ii. 13. 8; cf. *Th.* iii. 17. 1-2 with *HCT* ad loc.), while the most ships ever launched for any individual expedition was 100 (*Th.* ii. 23. 2, 56. 1; vi. 31. 2) and 250 was an extraordinarily large number to have at sea at any one time even divided among a number of expeditions (*Th.* iii. 17. 1-2). This is thus a ridiculously large number, equivalent to 'every ship you have'.

**545-54 ἦν δ' ἄν κτλ.**: An extraordinarily evocative description of the launching of a war-fleet as seen through the eyes of an ordinary sailor, who makes his way through the city, already full of groups of men preparing for the expedition (545-6); gets his wages or provision-money from his trierarch (546-7); buys his rations and collects his gear (548-50); has a final party (551); and the next day goes down to the dockyards, where last-minute preparations are under way (552-3); gets into his ship and takes his seat (553); and finally puts out to sea (554). 'As Clark notes, the indiscriminate enumeration is designed to express the general confusion' (Graves). For similar catalogues (a favourite comic device), e.g. 874-80; *Nu.* 50-2; *Pax* 530-2, 535-8; *Pl.* 190-2.

**546-51** The pace of the description gradually accelerates, from two items per line (546-8), to three (549-50), to four (551). Cf. 552-4 with n.

**546 θορύβου στρατιωτῶν**: In addition to the trierarch (below), petty officers (554n.), and 170 oarsmen (cf. 161-2n.), triremes normally carried 10 hoplite *ἐπιβάται* ('marines') and four archers, whose job was to defend the ship and its crew during battles at sea. Triremes could also serve, albeit at a considerable sacrifice of speed, as troop transport vessels (e.g. *Th.* i. 116. 1; *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 21. 10; cf. Morrison and Williams 246-8), and since a punitive raid on Lakonia is in question, it is probably to such troops that *Dik.* is referring. In *Ar.*, *θύρυβος* ('hubbub') and its cognates always refer to a confused noise produced by the human mouth (e.g. *Eq.* 666; *Lys.* 328/9; *Ra.* 757). **περὶ τριηράρχους βοῆς**: 'shouting round about the trierarchs', not only by sailors eager to get the advance portion of their wages (547n.) but by other members of the crew tending to the thousand and one details involved in outfitting and launching a war-ship. *d*'s *τριηράρχου* is an early error under the influence of the other gens. in the line; Green's *τριήραρχον* would do grammatically, but since preparations by the entire fleet rather than any individual ship are in question, the pl. is better. At the beginning of every year, 400 trierarchs were appointed from Athens' wealthiest ('liturgical') class ([X.] *Ath.* 3. 4), although some of these men managed to obtain exemptions from service. The remaining trierarchs were assigned ships by lot and made responsible for manning, outfitting, and maintaining them. Some trierarchs clearly attempted to make a great public show by outfitting their

ship as beautifully as they could (547 n.) and recruiting a first-rate crew by supplementing the wages paid by the state with money out of their own pockets (cf. 161–2 n.). Appointments to trierarchies of ships not on active duty remained nominal until the ship was called into service, and a decision by the Assembly to put a fleet to sea will therefore have produced a sudden flurry of improvements and repairs, precisely as 547, 552–3 imply. Cf. *Eq.* 912–18; Morrison and Williams 260–3; Gabrielsen 43–169.

**547 μισθοῦ διδομένου:** It is unclear whether this is a reference to provision-money or to the rowers' wages (161–2 n.) *per se*, and the terms *μισθός* and *τροφή* do not seem to be sharply distinguished in this period; cf. *War* i. 3–6. Only a portion of the rowers' wages was paid in advance, with the rest held back until the end of the voyage to prevent desertions, and arrears were common; cf. *Eq.* 1366–7; Gabrielsen 122–4. **παλλαδίων χρυσομένων:** *παλλάδια* were small statues of Athena, which were placed in the stern of Athenian warships and served both to identify the vessel to others on the same side and, presumably, to encourage the goddess to offer it her protection; cf. *E. IA* 239–41, 249–52. The gilding is an example of ostentatious display designed to increase the beauty of the ship and thus the individual glory of its trierarch; cf. 546 n.; *Th.* vi. 31. 3; *D.* 50. 7; Gabrielsen 48–50.

**548 στοᾶς στεναχούσης:** Taken by Σ<sup>ΕΓ</sup> (obviously influenced by the words that follow) as a reference to the *στοὰ ἀλφιτόπωλις* ('the portico where barley groats are sold'; cf. *Ec.* 686), which the scholion says was located in the Piraeus (cf. Σ<sup>RV</sup> *Pax* 145) and built by Perikles, and which is most likely to be identified with the *μακρὰ στοά* ('long portico') of *D.* 34. 37; *Paus.* i. 1. 3; cf. *Th.* viii. 90. 5; R. Garland, *The Piraeus from the fifth to the first century B.C.* (London, 1987) 152–3. *στενάχω* (lit. 'moan, groan') is almost exclusively epic and tragic vocabulary (e.g. *H. Il.* 1. 364; *Od.* 4. 516; *Callin.* fr. 1. 17; *S. El.* 1076; *E. Tr.* 106; [A.] *PV* 99) and here means 'echo, resound', i.e. with the noise of the crowd doing its marketing (Σ<sup>ΕΓ</sup>). **σιτίων μετρομένων:** *σιτία* are 'provisions' generally (e.g. 197; *Pax* 138; *Th.* i. 48. 1), but the mention of measuring suggests grain (cf. above), most likely *ἄλφιτα* ('barley groats'; cf. above), which were a standard part of the rations on which Greek armies lived; cf. 550 n. For Athenian grain-measures, Lang, *Agora* x (Princeton, 1964) 39–55. *Eq.* 599–603, where the chorus describe how their mounts leapt into horse-transport ships and began to row *πριάμενοι κώθωνας, οἱ δὲ καὶ σκόροδα καὶ κρόμμνα* ('after buying soldiers' cups, and others garlic and onions'), leaves little doubt that Athenian sailors purchased their own food (probably out of an allowance provided by the state, although the trierarch must often have contributed additional funds to their upkeep); cf. *Th.* vi. 34. 4; *D.* 50. 10; Gabrielsen 110–11, 119–21.

**549 ἄσκῶν:** 'skin bags' to be filled with wine (e.g. 1002; *Th.* 733; *Alex.* fr.

88. 4; E. *Cyc.* 145). **τροπωτήρων:** ‘oar-thongs’, the leather loops used to attach the oar to the hook-shaped tholepin (*σκαλμός*); cf. Hermipp. fr. 54; Eub. fr. 51; A. *Pers.* 375–6; Th. ii. 93. 2; H. *Od.* 8. 37, 53; Poll. i. 87; Hsch. τ 1503; Bergson, *Eranos* 55 (1957) 120–6; Morrison and Williams 268–9. **κάδους:** ‘jars’ (Amyx 186–90; Sparkes (1975) 127–8), although whether for water (which rowers must have consumed at a tremendous rate), wine (cf. Archil. fr. 4. 6–8), or items such as olives (550), is left unspecified.

**550** Cf. X. *An.* vii. 1. 37, where Koiratadas, having promised to bring provisions for the army (vii. 1. 35), returns with an immense quantity of barley groats (548n.) and wine, as well as olives, garlic, and onions. The items listed here, like hard cheese and salt, hold up well against heat and rough handling and were relatively cheap, and were therefore routinely purchased as provisions by Athenian soldiers and sailors; cf. 1099, 1101; Eup. fr. 275; Olson on *Pax* 368. **ἐλαῶν:** For olives and how they were processed and eaten, Olson–Sens on Archestr. fr. 8. **κρομμύων:** For onions as soldiers’ provisions, 1099; *Eq.* 600 (548n.); *Pax* 1129. **δικτύοις:** ‘nets’ and thus by extension ‘mesh[-bags]’, an otherwise unattested but unsurprising use of the word.

**551** An allusive and highly condensed description of a final, wild party before the fleet puts to sea ( $\Sigma^{\text{REF}}$ ). **στεφάνων:** Garlands of ivy and flowers were routinely worn at drinking parties; cf. 1006, 1091; Olson–Sens on Archestr. fr. 60. 1, 2. **τριχίδων:** Small, inexpensive clupeoid fish of all sorts, including sardines, sprats, and anchovies, named after their tiny hair-like (cf. *θρίξ*, *τριχός*) bones; identified with *ἀφύαι* (‘small fry’) at *Eq.* 645, 662, 666, 672 (cf. Arist. *HA* 569<sup>b</sup>24–5; Mnesith. ap. Ath. 8. 357e). Also mentioned (never with approbation) at *Ec.* 56; fr. 426; Eup. fr. 156. 2; Alex. frr. 18. 2; 159. 3. Cf. Thompson, *Fish* 268–70; Davidson 41–8. **π**’s *τριχιδωκχθύων* is the result of the intrusion of a superlinear gloss *ἰχθύων*. **αὐλητρίδων:** Descriptions of symposia, catalogues of symposium goods, and the like make frequent mention of pipe-girls (e.g. *V.* 1368–9; *Ra.* 513–14; Metag. fr. 4; Antiph. frr. 224. 1; 233. 3; Pl. *Smp.* 176e) and other female entertainers; cf. 751–2 with n., 980n., 1091 with n., 1093; Thphr. *Char.* 20. 10. For the *αὐλός* (‘pipe’), 862–3n. **ὕπωπίων:** ‘black eyes’, dispensed among the company as the symposium descends into a brawl or obtained in fights with others after the party moves into the street; cf. 524–5 with n., 980n.; *V.* 1322–3; *Ec.* 663–4; Eub. fr. 93. 8; Alex. fr. 160. 6; E. *Cyc.* 534. An unexpected and deliberately funny word, which brings this section of the catalogue (546–51) to a close.

**552–4** The pace of the description (like the chorus of sounds it represents) accelerates rapidly, from one item in 552, to two in 553, to four in 554. Cf. 546–51 with n.

**552** τὸ νεώριον: Sc. ἄν ἦν πλέων. For the dockyards and their function as

symbol and source of Athens' military and political power, 95–7n., 918–24 with 918–19n.; *Av.* 1540; adesp. com. fr. 155. 2; *Lys.* 12. 99; *D.* 22. 76; 23. 207. **κωπέων:** 'spars', ideally of silver fir (*Thphr. HP* v. 1. 7) and generally imported from Macedon or the Thracian coast (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 89. 31; 117. 30 = *M-L* 91. 30; 182. 6–9; *And.* 2. 11; cf. 602n.; *Lys.* 421–2; R. Meiggs, *Trees and Timber in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Oxford, 1982) 116–30). Oars—170 of which (one per rower), plus spares, were needed for each trireme—were manufactured by planing down spars (*Thphr. HP* v. 1. 7) and fitting them with blades (*πλάται*; e.g. *Th.* 770–5), which seems likely to be the sense of **πλατουμένων** (omitted by LSJ).

**553 τύλων ψοφούντων:** *τύλοι* are 'tree nails', wooden pins or spikes which were pounded into holes bored in ships' timbers (making the *ψόφος* ('noise') referred to here) and which expanded when wet to produce an even tighter joint; cf. *H. Od.* 5. 247–8, where the term used is *γόμφος* (LSJ's 'bolt' is misleading). Given the context, these are most likely intended to be understood as last-minute repairs, as a large group of ships (some of which may not have sailed for months) are abruptly readied for service. *ψοφέω* refers to making an inarticulate noise of any sort; cf. 776–7n., 932–4; Mooney 29–30. If **d**'s **τροπουμένων** is right, *κωπῶν* must be supplied with **θαλαμιῶν** (for which 95–7n., 161–2n.) and the participle must mean 'being attached to the tholepins with oar-thongs' (cf. 549n.). Sommerstein argues that attaching oar-thongs—unlike the other activities described in 552–4—is not a noisy business, and therefore follows Mastromarco in printing Morrison's *τρυπωμένων* ('being augured out'), which requires that *ὀπῶν* ('oarholes'; cf. *Pax* 1232 with Olson ad loc.) be supplied with *θαλαμιῶν*. Nothing in the text, however, requires that every item in the list be noisy; cf. the even more eccentric mix of activities and objects in 546–51. Instead, the images combine to depict the hustle and bustle that accompanies the final stage of launching a fleet: missing equipment is assembled and last-minute repairs made; the crew comes on board and settles itself; and finally the rowing begins in time to the pipe and the boatswain's commands, and the ship puts out to sea.

**554 αὐλῶν κελευστῶν:** A trireme's petty officers included a *κελευστής* ('boatswain'), who shouted orders to the crew (e.g. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1951. 96; *E. Hel.* 1575–6, 1595–6; *Th.* ii. 84. 3; vii. 70. 6–7; *X. Oec.* 21. 3; *Arr. An.* vi. 3. 3; cf. [*X.*] *Ath.* 1. 2), while the *αὐλητής* ('piper') played music to which they rowed and thus helped set and maintain their pace (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1951. 100; *D.* 18. 129; *Plu. Alc.* 32. 2; *Nic.* 21. 1; cf. *E. El.* 435–7). Cf. *Ra.* 207–13, where Charon plays the boatswain and the chorus (accompanied by a pipe) supply the music as Dionysos rows; Morrison and Williams 196, 266–8. **νιγλάρων:** A term for musical sounds of an unknown sort ( $\Sigma^{\text{RET}}$ ; *Eup.* fr. 121 with K–A ad loc.; *Pherecr.* fr. 155.

27), although whether the reference is to tunes produced by the pipe or some part of the departure ceremonies (cf. below) is unclear. **συριγμάτων:** There is no other evidence for the use of the *σύριγξ* ('Pan-pipe') on board ship except at E. *IT* 1123-7, which is part of an elaborate fantasy of divine assistance and proves little about actual seafaring practices. This is thus most likely a reference to music played on the dock as the voyage begins (cf. above; *Th.* vi. 32. 2) or perhaps to whistled signals used by the boatswain or other officers.

**555-6** A closing allusion to *Tel.* (= E. fr. 710), although how much of these lines comes direct from Euripides and how much is Aristophanic paraphrase or invention is difficult to tell;  $\Sigma^E$  says cryptically *καὶ ταῦτα ἐκ Τηλέφου Εὐριπίδου* ('these things also are from Euripides' *Telephos*') and *Aristid.* 2. 59 *τὸν δὲ Τηλέφον οὐκ οἶει τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα* ('do you not think that Telephos [will say] these same things?') is at least as likely to be a reference to the text of *Ach.* as to its tragic exemplar. Presumably borrowed from the very end of Telephos' great self-defence speech; cf. *Th.* 517-19 (Inlaw sums up his case) *ταῦτ' οὐ ποιοῦμεν τὰ κακά; νῆ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν / ἡμεῖς γε. κᾶτ' Εὐριπίδῃ θυμούμεθα, / οὐδὲν παθοῦσαι μείζον ἢ δεδράκαμεν;* ('Do we not commit these awful deeds? By Artemis, we do! And are we then angry at Euripides, when we suffer nothing more than we have done?'), which  $\Sigma^R$  identifies as an adaptation of E. fr. 711 *εἶτα δὴ θυμούμεθα, / παθόντες οὐδὲν μείζον ἢ δεδρακότες;* ('Are we then angry, having suffered nothing more than we have done?'). **νοῦς . . . ἡμῖν οὐκ ἔνι:** 'We have no sense' (*Lys.* 572, 1124; *Ec.* 856; cf. 398-400n.).

**557-77**  $\Sigma^{REG}$  (followed by modern editors) argues that the chorus divides abruptly in half, with one hemichorus actively hostile to Dik. (557-9, 562-3, 566-71, 576-7), the other ready to defend him (560-1, 564-5). The text offers positive support only for a somewhat less elaborate staging, in which (1) one member of the chorus (probably the coryphaeus, who thus seems at first to speak for the group as a whole) denounces Dik.; (2) another member of the chorus defends him; and (3) the two men grapple briefly, leading the first to summon Lamachos. Cf. the parodos in *Lys.*, where there are two hostile hemichoruses but (despite Henderson's nn.) the climactic confrontation at 362-86 appears to take place between only two individuals.

**557-63** In a neat rhetorical trick by the playwright, the first speaker ignores the question of the truth of Dik.'s (actually quite wild and misleading) charges and disputes only his right to say such things, a matter which is much easier to address and is taken up in detail in 575-619, esp. 594-6.

**557-9** **ἄληθες;** 'Is that so?' An ironic colloquial expression of indignation and surprise, also followed by a voc. at e.g. *Av.* 174 (cf. Dunbar ad loc.); *Lys.* 433; *Ra.* 840; *Pl.* 123; cf. Stevens 23. **(ἐ)πίτριπτε:** Lit. 'one who deserves to be crushed' (*EM*, p. 367. 1-2; cf. *Av.* 1530; *Th.* 557; *Ec.*

776) and thus bitterly abusive, as also at e.g. *Pl.* 619; *Sannyr.* fr. 11; *S. Ai.* 103; *And.* 1. 99. 558 echoes 311–12, with the crucial addition that the speaker now protests not so much about what *Dik.* has said as about the fact that a beggar has said it; cf. 497–9n., 577a (verbally very similar to this verse), 593. **ταυτί:** Since the problem of sycophancy (515–22) is treated as a separate matter in 559, this must be a reference to the charge of political folly and general pigheadedness implicit in 535–56, esp. 555–6.

**συκοφάντης . . . ἦν** is the obj. of **ὠνειδίσας**; ‘Do you make it a matter of reproach that some people may have been sycophants?’ For sycophants, 515–22 with 519n. For the aor., Lloyd 41–2. The β-scribe was confused by the 2nd pers. vb. and emended to the participle *ὠνειδίσας* (AE<sup>4c</sup>L; cf. Goodwin § 830).

**560–1** amount to an acknowledgement that *Dik.* has accomplished his goal of saying ‘things that are terrible but true’ (501). **νῆ τὸν Ποσειδῶ** is the standard Aristophanic oath when the space to be filled extends from the head of the line to the penthemimeral caesura (e.g. *Eq.* 1035; *Nu.* 665; *Ar.* 1614; *Lys.* 403; *Ra.* 183; cf. 798; *Eup.* fr. 286; *Epich.* fr. 81), and there is accordingly no reason to believe that it reflects the speaker’s conservative politics (*pace* Starkie, following Neil on *Eq.* 144, 551). For Poseidon-cult in Attica, 681–2n. **γ(ε)** stresses the addition made by **καί**; ‘[this is indeed what he says,] and what is more, he tells the truth’ (*GP* 157; cf. 317–18n.). Although **λέγει . . . ἄπερ λέγει / δίκαια πάντα** is somewhat awkward, therefore, *Dik.* is retained as subj. of the vb. (cf. below) so as to make this a direct and emphatic response to 558–9. **ψεύδεται:** Probably mid. with *Dik.* as subj. (cf. above; *Pl.* 571), rather than pass. with **οὐδέν** as subj.

**562–3** Technically, every adult male citizen had the right to offer the Athenian people advice, but official ideology aside, this verse (cf. 577a, 593) suggests that at least one strand of public opinion held that the voices of the rich and powerful deserved more respect than those of the poor and socially insignificant. Cf. 37–9n. **εἴτ(α)** indicates logical consequence and is to be taken with the apodosis; ‘[Even] if [what he says is] true, was it therefore necessary . . .?’ **τοῦτον** is in emphatic position; ‘this man’, i.e. ‘this beggar’ (cf. 558). **οὐ τι χαίρων . . . τολμήσει:** i.e. *οὐ τι χαιρήσει . . . τολμῶν*; cf. Barrett on *E. Hipp.* 1416–22. For *οὐ τι χαίρων* (Bentley’s emendation of α’s *οὐδὲ χαίρων* (*οὐδέν χαίρων* a)), ‘not with impunity’, *Ra.* 843\*; *S. OT* 363\*; *Ph.* 1299\*; *E. Med.* 395–8 (parodied at *Eup.* fr. 106); *Or.* 1593\*; *Pl. Grg.* 510d; cf. *V.* 186; Moorhouse 255. The speaker advances toward *Dik.* in a threatening fashion.

**564–5 οὗτος σύ, ποῖ θεῖς;:** Cf. *V.* 854\*; *Lys.* 728 *αὕτη κτλ.\**; *Th.* 224\*. *οὗτος σύ* is ‘You there!’ (also at e.g. 577a; *E. Hec.* 1280; *Or.* 1567; cf. 587; *V.* 1); a brusque, colloquial way of calling attention to an indignant question (Stevens 37–8; Moorhouse 31; López Eire 112). **οὐ**

**μενεῖς**; 165-6n.; cf. *Eq.* 240\*. **εἰ κτλ.**: A fut. emotional condition, here articulating a threat, as at e.g. *Eq.* 68; *Nu.* 1277-8; *V.* 190; cf. 828; Goodwin § 447. **θενεῖς**: Poetic vocabulary (e.g. *V.* 1384; *Av.* 54; *H. Il.* 1. 588; *Od.* 9. 459; *Pi. O.* 7. 28; *A. Pers.* 418; *E. HF* 949; cf. Rutherford 10; Dover on *Ra.* 855). **ἀρθήσει**: 'you will be raised', i.e. after being seized about the waist (571), like a wrestler about to be thrown to the ground; cf. 274-5n.; *H. Il.* 23. 725; *Pi. fr.* 111. 3; Poliakoff 168. The second speaker steps over to the first speaker and takes hold of him (571), arresting his progress toward *Dik.* (cf. 562-3n.) and forcing him to call for an ally (566-71).

**566-7** Probably to be taken as a parody of an appeal for divine assistance (thus Graves; cf. Kleinknecht 77-9; Rau 40-1; Horn 23); cf. below. **ἰὼ Λάμαχ' ὦ**: Cf. 568\*. The exclamation *ἰὼ* (in the classical period confined to drama) is used at moments of high emotion (Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 503), generally in reference to something terrible or heartwrenching (e.g. 1071, 1078) or as part of a call for attention and assistance (often from a god), as here (cf. 1212; *Lys.* 716; *Ra.* 1341-2; Labiano *Ilundain* 231-41, esp. 234-5). For Lamachos, 266-70n., 568n., 569-71n. **βλέπων ἀστραπάς**: 'whose eyes flash lightning' (for the idiom, 95-7n., 253-4n.) and thus metonymically 'irresistible fury' (Taillardat §§ 348-52; cf. 321-2 with n.), although there is an echo of the image of demagogue as thunder-god in 530-1. **γοργολόφα**, used as an epithet of Athena at *Eq.* 1181, is properly 'terribly crested', i.e. 'whose crest inspires terror' (cf. 575n.; Olson on *Pax* 564-5), but also a proleptic allusion to the elaborate crest and the shield with gorgon device that Lamachos brings on stage at 572. Cf. 1124 *γοργόνωτον* ('gorgon-backed'), as well as the use of *γοργωπός* to mean both 'fierce-eyed' (of Athena at *S. Ai.* 450; fr. 844. 2) and 'with a gorgon on its face' (of Athena's shield at *E. El.* 1257; *Ion* 210; cf. Björck 157, 274-5). **φανείς**: Forms of the aor. pass. of *φαίνω* are used in requests for divine epiphanies at e.g. *Eq.* 591; *Th.* 1143; *S. Ai.* 697; *E. Alc.* 92; *Ba.* 1017, although the sense of the vb. is not always so specific (*E. Hipp.* 675-7). Cf. Kleinknecht 23.

**568 ἰὼ Λάμαχ' ὦ**: 566\*-7n. **φυλέτα**: Lamachos is a relatively rare name (8 other exx. in *LGNP* ii, all classical or early Hellenistic), and Ar.'s Lamachos is most likely the great-grandfather of the Tydeus son of Lamachos of the deme Oe (*PA* 13885) mentioned at *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1556. 30. In that case, he was in fact a fellow-tribesman of the Acharnians and almost certainly father of the Tydeus (*PA* 13884) who was general in 405/4 (*X. HG* ii. 1. 16, 26; Paus. x. 9. 11) and perhaps served as a commander at a lower rank in Sicily in 413 (*Lys.* 20. 26).

**569-71** It is impossible to be certain whether the historical Lamachos was a general or a taxiarch in 426/5, although he was certainly general in 425/4 and perhaps earlier as well (266-70n.). The mention of *λόγων* in



575 (cf. 1074) proves nothing, and van Leeuwen's insistence that Lam.'s triple crest (cf. 572-4n.) shows that he was a taxiarch (cf. *Pax* 1172-3) represents a misunderstanding of the informal character of Athenian military costume. As the character Lam. identifies himself as a general at 593 (cf. 620-2n.), however, the most natural interpretation is that the real Lam. also held that office in 426/5. In that case, εἶτε τις must have the sense 'and whoever [else]' (thus van Leeuwen; cf. 207), and οἱ στρατηγοί in 1073 (where see n.) must mean 'the [other] generals'. **ταξίαρχος ἢ στρατηγός:** Beginning in 501/0, the Athenian Assembly every year elected ten στρατηγοί ('general military commanders'), originally one per Kleisthenic tribe ([Arist.] *Ath.* 22. 2; 44. 4; 61. 1; cf. [X.] *Ath.* 1. 3; C. W. Fornara, *The Athenian Board of Generals from 501 to 404* (*Historia Einzelschriften*, Heft 16: Wiesbaden, 1971) 1-39). Ten taxiarchs ('tribal hoplite commanders') were also elected, and they in turn appointed λοχαγοί ('company-commanders'; cf. 575n.) for their tribes ([Arist.] *Ath.* 61. 3). Taxiarchs and generals are routinely mentioned together (e.g. *Th.* 833; *Th.* vii. 60. 2; *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 334. 13-14). **τειχομάχας ἀνήρ:** Assaults on walls were extremely dangerous and required tremendous courage from the individual soldiers involved (Ober, in Hanson (1991) 180-6; cf. *Th.* iv. 116. 2; Anderson 138-40). As the other individuals the chorus summon are commanders, however, they must be calling in their perplexity (571) for a siege-engineer, an individual who specialized in developing novel machinery and strategies for capturing fortified towns (*Nu.* 479-81, where Dover compares *Th.* ii. 58. 1; cf. 850n.; X. *HG* ii. 4. 27; P. B. Kern, *Ancient Siege Warfare* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1999) 89-134). For the form τειχομάχας (Dobree's correction of d's unmetrical -μάχος), 180-1n. **τις ἀνύσας:** d's τις is somewhat awkward after τις in 569, and Elmsley suggested τι ἀνύσας. Elsewhere in Ar., however, τι always follows participial forms of ἀνύω rather than preceding them (e.g. *Eq.* 119; *Nu.* 506) and the paradosis ought probably to be retained. For ἀνύσας without τι, e.g. *Nu.* 181; *V.* 398; *Th.* 255. **ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔχομαι μέσος:** 274-5n.

**572-4** Lamachos (identified proleptically at 566, 568, and again after he is on stage at 575, 576; cf. Olson (1992) 316-18) enters from one of the wings. He carries a shield with a prominent gorgon device (574, 582, 964-5, 1181) and wears an elaborately decorated helmet (cf. below) and most likely a brilliant purple-red robe of a type affected by stylish officers (319-20n.). Lam.'s helmet is clearly decorated in an ostentatious fashion. The repeated references to it can most easily be reconciled on the thesis that it features both a triple crest of horsehair (esp. 965, 1109; cf. 575n., 586) and a pair of feathers, one of which is exceptionally large and glamorous (esp. 1103, 1105, 1182; cf. 584), although this scene actually requires only a single large plume. Dik.'s mention of Lam.'s λόχοι in 575 was taken by Mueller (followed by Sommerstein and

Henderson) as evidence that he is accompanied on stage by a number of soldiers, like the Proboulos with his slaves and archers at *Lys.* 387. As these extras are never put to dramatic use or even mentioned again, this seems unlikely (hence the emendation of *λόχων* to *πτίλων* by Thiersch). These verses consist of four bombastic questions, the first and the last of which, like the second and the third, are roughly equivalent in sense (chiasmus). For Lam.'s bellicosity (which ultimately brings him to a bad end), cf. 620-2, 964-5.

**πόθεν βοῆς ἤκουσα:** i.e. *πόθεν ἐστὶ ἡ βοή ἧς ἤκουσα*, via inverse attraction of the nom. into the case of the rel. pron. (KG ii. 413-14).

**πολεμιστηρίας:** Forms of the word \* at 1132; *Nu.* 28; *Pax* 235; otherwise prosaic. With the exception of this word, Lam.'s speeches are entirely lacking in resolution until 598, 607 (also 618, 620, 622), and on this level as well he plays a straight man victimized by the comic clown Dik. (whose words are repeatedly resolved, e.g. in 581-6).

**ποῑ κυδοιμὸν ἐμβαλεῖν:** Sc. *χρή;* 'where must I [go and] . . .' (Dodds on *E. Ba.* 184). *κυδοιμός* is the 'confusion' or 'tumult' of battle (e.g. *H. Il.* 11. 52, 164, 538; 18. 218; cf. Hanson (1989) 185-93; Lazenby, in Hanson (1991) 94-5; Sens on *Theoc.* 22. 72), and thus the name of War's servant at *Pax* 255-88 (cf. *H. Il.* 5. 593; 18. 535; *Hes. Sc.* 156; *Emped.* 31 B 128. 1). For *ἐμβάλλω* used of 'injecting' an emotion or intellectual state into a person or place (as here), e.g. *H. Il.* 10. 366; *A. Th.* 315-16; *E. Tr.* 635; *Or.* 1355.

For 574, cf. 1181; both lines are perhaps based on a common tragic exemplar.

**γοργόν:** Given the repeated references in *Ach.* (964-5, 1124; cf. 582 with n.) and at *Pax* 473-4, there can be little doubt that the historical Lam. used a gorgon as his shield-device (cf. *Pax* 561; *Lys.* 560; *H. Il.* 11. 36-7; Chase, *HSCP* 13 (1902) 106-8), presumably as a means of advertising his ferocity and intimidating his enemies (cf. 580-2).

**ἐκ τοῦ σάγματος:** Like other expensive military equipment (1109, 1120-1), shields were kept in storage cases (*σάγματα*) when not in use (cf. *V.* 1142 (obscure); *E. Andr.* 617; Sparkes (1975) 129-30 with pl. XIII f), and Xenophon considers it worth noting when soldiers on parade carry theirs 'uncovered' (*ἐκκεκαλυμμένας*; *An.* i. 2. 16).

**575 ὦ Λάμαχ' ἦρω:** 'Dik. is not so much addressing Lam. (contrast 578) as uttering a reverent exclamation at the sudden appearance of an almost supernatural being' (Dover on *Nu.* 219), the resemblance to a hero being suggested not only by Lam.'s armour but by his readiness to take angry revenge on wrongdoers (esp. fr. 322; cf. Dunbar on *Av.* 1490-3); cf. 566-7 with n. The tone is none the less intensely sarcastic and the remark is ignored by everyone else on stage. For Lam. as hero, *Ra.* 1039. For saviour-heroes, Kearns 44-63.

**τῶν λόφων καὶ τῶν λόχων:** Cf. 1074 *τοὺς λόχους καὶ τοὺς λόφους\**; Whitman 72-3; similar jingles at e.g. 688; *Ra.* 463. *λόφοι* are '[helmet-]crests', probably intended in the first instance to intimidate the enemy (cf. 581-4, 964-5, 1128-9n.);

A. *Th.* 384–6, 397–9; Tyrt. fr. 11. 26) but (in Ar., at least) also worn as a form of competitive personal display (*Pax* 1172–4). Crests were separate pieces attached to the helmet by a strap (1109; *Ra.* 1038; cf. Hdt. i. 171. 4) and seem generally to have been made of horsehair (e.g. H. *Il.* 6. 469; Alc. fr. 140. 5; A. *Th.* 384–5); feathers could be added for additional effect and were more easily lost or removed (584–5, 1182–3). Cf. 572–4n. Each of Athens' hoplite τάξεις ('tribal units') was divided into a number of λόχοι ('companies'), about which almost nothing is known except that the tribe's taxiarch assigned their commanders (λοχαγοί); cf. 569–71n.; Anderson 97.

**576–7** 577 is identified by Σ<sup>REF</sup> as borrowed from *Tel.* (= E. fr. 712), and van Leeuwen suggested that 576 might be adapted from that play as well. οὐ γὰρ κτλ.: The question 'gives, in rhetorically interrogative fashion, the answer to the preceding question', i.e. 572–4, 'and γὰρ denotes that the question need never have been put, had not the questioner overlooked an answer rhetorically presented as obvious' (*GP* 79; cf. 827). For πάλαι ('for a very long time now') + forms of the pres. used of actions that began in the past but have continued into the present, 885, 1088; KG i. 134–5. ἄπασαν . . . τὴν πόλιν: 502–21n., 515–16 with n. κακορροθεῖ: 'abuse verbally'; elsewhere only at *Th.* 896 (paratragic); E. *Alc.* 707; *Hipp.* 340.

**577a** Valckenaer (followed by most early editors) expelled this verse (hence its lack of a proper line-number) because of (1) its close resemblance to 558 and 593, and (2) the fact that Dik. has not yet addressed Lam., allegedly depriving τὰδε of any referent. The verbal repetition, however, is clearly deliberate, while 'these things' are the abuse of the city mentioned in 576–7 (thus Mueller), and the line (= E. fr. 712a Kannicht) should be printed.

**578–9** ὦ Λάμαχ' ἦρωσ: Dik. addresses Lam. directly for the first time; cf. 575\* n. ἀλλὰ συγγνώμην ἔχει: '[Do not punish me,] but instead forgive me' (*GP* 13); \* at *Nu.* 1479; *Pax* 668. For the postponement of the particle (normally in first position) after the apostrophe, *GP* 22–3. τι: 'anything [offensive]'; cf. Jebb on S. *Ant.* 757. (ἐ)στωμυλάμην: 'chattered, prattled on'; cf. 428–9n.

**580–1** οὐκ ἐρεῖς: An impatient interjection, indicating Lam.'s annoyance with Dik.'s slowness to respond; cf. *Pax* 185\*; *Av.* 67; Pl. *Com.* fr. 204. 1. οὐκ οἶδά πω: Lit. 'I don't know yet', i.e. 'I'm momentarily unable to remember'; emendation is unnecessary. ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους: 350\*–1n. For the postponement of γὰρ, *GP* 97; cf. 1076, 1087. εἰλιγγιώ: For the spelling (preserved here in the lexicographers only), R at 1218; Pl. *Phd.* 79c; *Tht.* 175d (etc.). Verbs in -άω frequently denote bodily states (e.g. σκοτοδινιάω (1219), οὐρητιάω (*V.* 807), μελαγχολάω (*Av.* 14), βουλιμιάω (*Pl.* 873), σπληνιάω (fr. 322. 8)); cf. Rutherford 152–6.

**582–6** A series of four requests, with the first three of which (all seemingly innocent) Lam. complies (582–5) before belatedly realizing that he has been taken in (585–7).

**582–4** ἀλλ', ἀντιβολῶ σ': Cf. 414–15 n., 1031 ἴθ', ἀντιβολῶ σ'\* with n.; *Av.* 207\*. τὴν μορμόνα: Mormo was a female shape-changing monster who was said to hate children and was invoked to terrify them (e.g. *X. HG* iv. 4. 17; *Erinna SH* 401. 25; cf. *Eq.* 693), just as Lam.'s weapons supposedly terrify Dik. The word appears *para prosdokian* for γοργόνα ('gorgon'; cf. 572–4 n.), as at *Pax* 474 (cf. Olson ad loc.). ἰδοῦ: Lam. lowers his shield, removes his arm from the strap (Olson on *Pax* 662), and rests the rim on the ground. ὑπτίαν: As if to conceal the gorgon on its face (but cf. 585–6). κείται: i.e. 'I have done as you requested'; Lam. sets his shield down on its back between himself and Dik. Pace Starkie, there is no discernible difference between φέρε and οἴσε (allegedly 'hand me' and 'fetch me', respectively) except that the words have different metrical values; cf. 1099–1100 n. ἀπὸ τοῦ κράνου: For helmets, Snodgrass 50–2; Hanson (1989) 71–5. τὸ πτερόν: 'that feather', i.e. the more ostentatious of the two that decorate Lam.'s helmet. Bachmann suggested that the def. art. might instead be a metricizing addition to the text after δός was lost before μοι (in which case φέρε must be 'come on!' (541–2 n.)).

**585–6** τουτὶ πτίλον σοι: Lam. removes a feather from his helmet (cf. 572–4 n., 575 n.) and Dik. takes it from him. Although πτερόν (cf. 584) would do just as well metrically as πτίλον (as also in 587–8, 1182), *Hsch.* π 4226 defines πτίλα as πτερὰ ἀπαλά ('soft feathers'; cf. *Alcm. PMGF* 3. 68 (conjectural)) and elsewhere in the classical period the word is used of the type of feathers with which pillows were stuffed (*Pl. Com.* fr. 104; *Eub.* fr. 4; note that *adesp. tr.* fr. 619. 3 (= *S.* fr. 1026. 3 N<sup>2</sup>), where the word is simply a poetic equivalent of πτερόν, is probably post-classical), hence Dik.'s supposed puzzlement (586–7). At least one of Lam.'s feathers is from an ostrich (1105) and thus not only large but very soft and downy, and his ostentatious readiness to point this out is probably the reason for his choice of vocabulary. Cf. 1082 with n. μου is dependent on τῆς κεφαλῆς ('take hold of my head') rather than the vb. ('take hold of me by the head'); cf. 1214, 1216; *Poultney* 84. For a visual representation of a second party holding the head of someone who is vomiting (apparently common behaviour), e.g. *Brygos, ARV* 372. 32. ἴν' ἐξεμέσω: For vomiting (normally into a basin or λεκάνη, for which Lam.'s inverted shield stands in (cf. *Lys.* 185–9, with an allusion to *A. Th.* 42–3)) induced by irritating the throat with a feather, *Cratin.* fr. 271; *Pl. Com.* fr. 201; *Nic. Alex.* 361–2; cf. *Nu.* 907; *Theopomp. Com.* fr. 41. 1. βδελύττομαι . . . τοὺς λόφους: 'your crest-feathers turn my stomach' (*Pax* 395; *Av.* 1501; *Cratin.* fr. 271; *X. Mem.* iii. 11. 13; cf. 599). Dik. leans over the shield and begins to shove the feather into his mouth.

**587 οὔτος:** 564–5 n. For the use of the fut. δράσεις and the periphrasis μέλλεις ἐμείν to describe a present intention, Goodwin §§ 71, 73. Lam. does not realize that he is being mocked by Dik. until 590, and his indignant questions not only gloss the stage action for the audience but cast him for the first time as the hero's befuddled victim. τῷ πτίλω:

585–6 n.

**588–9 γάρ:** '[You mustn't,] for . . .' (GP 62). ποτε intensifies the question, as if Dik.—who must have removed the feather from his mouth and begun examining it with feigned interest—were suddenly struck for the first time by its size and beauty, and genuinely puzzled as to its origin; 'whatever bird . . .?' ἄρα: Ostensibly leaving the question open; 'perhaps . . .?' (GP 46). κομπολακύθου: A κόμπος is 'a boast, big talk', while ληκυθίζω means 'speak loudly' or 'bombastically' (Call. fr. 215; Poll. iv. 114; Σ<sup>ΕΓ</sup>; cf. LSJ s. λήκυθος I. 2), and Choroiboscus (in *Hephaest.*, p. 230. 18–21) reports that tragic actors or poets were sometimes called κομπολήκυθοι. -λακ- (also 1182) rather than -ληκ- suggests an allusion to κομπολακέω, 'burst out into extravagant language' (*Ra.* 961; cf. Hsch. κ 3474) as well. Cf. Björck 280–4; O'Sullivan 109–10, 125, 138–9. In any case, this is 'a big-mouthed boaster-bird' *vel sim.*; cf. 1182 with n.; Taillardat § 488 n. 7.

**590** Lam. snatches the feather back. οἴμ' ὡς τεθνήξεις: 323–5 n., 333–4 n.; doubtless accompanied by an angry gesture (placing his hand on his sword?) that justifies Dik.'s response. οἴμ(οι) is here an inarticulate cry of angry exasperation, as at e.g. 1081, 1117 οἴμ' ὡς ὑβρίζεις\*; *Eq.* 340; *Nu.* 1238 οἴμ' ὡς καταγελάς; *V.* 1449; *Pherecr.* fr. 113. 20; cf. Labiano Hundain 265–6; contrast e.g. 67, 163. Colloquial (Stevens 17). μηδαμῶς: 'Don't [do that]!'; cf. 324 with n.

**591–2 οὐ . . . κατ' ἰσχύν ἐστιν:** Lit. 'it is not in accord with force' (cf. Chadwick 165–9), i.e. 'this is not a matter to be decided by force [but by argument]'. For κατ' ἰσχύν, [A.] *PV* 212\*. With τί . . . οὐκ, the aor. ἀπεψώλησας is used like a fut. 'expressing surprise that something is not already done, and implying an exhortation to do it' (Goodwin § 62; cf. *V.* 213; *Lys.* 181–2; fr. 482; *KG* i. 166). The joke turns on the double sense of both ἀποψωλέω and εὐοπλος, Dik.'s point being that Lam. is sufficiently 'well-equipped' either to circumcise him (with his sword) or excite him sexually (with his penis). For ἀποψωλέω, 161–2 n. For the pun on ὄπλα ('equipment'), cf. *V.* 27.

**593** Cf. 558, 577a. τὸν στρατηγόν: 569–71 n.

**594 γάρ** marks this as an incredulous question that echoes the previous speaker's words with indignation or contempt; 'What! Am I a beggar?' (GP 77). It is unclear whether Dik. now suddenly throws off his rags (van Leeuwen) or keeps them on for the rest of the scene (Segal, *AJP* 86 (1965) 308), but as no mention is made of his stripping and as the continuing contrast with Lam.'s gorgeous clothing is dramatically quite

effective (cf. Introduction, Section V.B; Olson (1991a) 201-2), the latter seems more likely.

**ἀλλὰ τίς γάρ εἶ;** 'Well, who are you?' (*GP* 108). Lam., very much on the physical and verbal offensive up to this point, is abruptly thrown back on the defensive and manages only five more words before 618.

**595-619** Formally an argument between Dik. and Lam., but the hero's words are also intended for the ears of the chorus, who ultimately declare themselves convinced (626-7) and take up very similar complaints in 676-718.

**595-7 πολίτης χρηστός:** 'a decent citizen'. *χρηστός* is a very general term of commendation ('good'); cf. *Pax* 909-10 *χρηστός ἀνὴρ πολίτης* ('a decent citizen') with Olson ad loc.; *Pl.* 900 *χρηστός ὦν καὶ φιλόπολις* ('decent and devoted to my city'); *D.* 21. 83; Dover, *GPM* 296-9; *G&L* 10-11; and on *Ra.* 178-9; Casevitz, in Thiery and Menu 445-55. **σπουδαρχίδης** occurs also at *Eup.* fr. 248 (422 BCE) and is probably colloquial; subsequently at *Lib. Ep.* 391. 14. The adj. is of a sort used to characterize individuals (cf. 596-7, 603; *Ra.* 841-2 with Dover on 841; *adesp. com. frr.* 437; 930 *ἀρχογλυπτάδης* ('office-hunter')) and provides the model for the coinages that follow. Most Athenian public offices were filled by lot (cf. 723-4), but the generalship and a few other key positions for which individual ability was of overriding importance were elective (esp. [X.] *Ath.* 1. 2-3; [Arist.] *Ath.* 61) and some men aggressively sought office (cf. 685 *σπουδάσας ξυνηγορεῖν* ('making vigorous efforts to serve as advocate') with 685-8n.; *Lys.* 490; *X. Smp.* 1. 4), often with the aid of associations known as *ἐταιρεῖαι* (esp. *Pl. Tht.* 173d; cf. *Lys.* 577-8; *Eup.* fr. 99. 28; *HCT* on viii. 54. 4; Jones 223-7). **ἐξ ὅτου περ ὁ πόλεμος:** Echoed \* to good rhetorical effect in 597. **στρατωνίδης:** 'the type of man who serves as a foot-soldier', although the personal name Stratonides is attested for Athens in the classical and Hellenistic periods (10 exx. in *LGPN* ii). For the implicit contrast with the (allegedly) quiet time before the war, which also provides a model for Dik.'s ideal new world of peace, e.g. 32-6, 977-85, 1071-1149. **μισθαρχίδης:** 'the sort of man who holds paid public office'. Like common foot-soldiers and rowers in the fleet (65-7n., 161-2n.), taxiarchs and generals were probably paid for every day spent in the field (Larsen, *CP* 41 (1946) 91-8). They did not, however, receive a continuing salary otherwise (cf. [X.] *Ath.* 1. 3), and 601-8 suggest that the charge that Lam. has drawn public money since the war began (repeated in 619) is intended primarily as a reference to his receipt of *ἐφόδια* ('travel-funds') for occasional service as an ambassador. Cf. 65-7n.

**598 ἐχειροτόνησάν . . . με:** Voting by show of hands was the rule in the Assembly, as opposed to the lawcourts, where tokens (*ψηφοί*) were used; cf. Hansen (1983) 103-21. *ψηφίζομαι* is none the less used of casting votes in the Assembly (714; *Lys.* 951) and a decree enacted there could

be called a ψήφισμα (cf. 532–4 n.). γάρ: '[Yes,] because . . .' (GP 75); cf. 918. κόκκυγές γε τρεῖς: Probably to be taken to mean 'three fools' (Σ<sup>REG</sup>; cf. Pl. Com. fr. 65. 3 (ἀβελτερο)κόκκυξ ἡλίθιος ('a silly brainlesscuckoo')); Phryn. PS, p. 48. 11–12; Dunbar on Av. 819; modern Engl. 'cuckoo'), the point being that the Assemblymen in attendance that day were not only dimwitted but few in number, no prescribed quorum being in effect in this period. D. 18. 149 (of the election of Aeschines as ambassador to the Amphiktyonians) offers a similar complaint: τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων χειροτονησάντων αὐτὸν ἀνερρήθη ('although only three or four people held up their hands, he was said to be elected'). For the cuckoo (*Cuculus canorus*), which spends the winter elsewhere and whose song heralds the beginning of spring, Av. 504–6; Hes. Op. 486–7; Thompson, *Birds* 151–3. γε marks this as a malicious interruption by Dik. (GP 137).

599–619 Cf. 125–33.

599 ταῦτ(α) stands in apposition to everything that follows in 600–6 (KG i. 658). βδελυττόμενος: 'disgusted by' + acc. (cf. 586; Pax 395; Pl. 700).

600–1 Men of hoplite status became liable for military service at age 18 and ceased to be liable (except in dire emergencies) at age 60 (cf. [Arist.] Ath. 53. 4). In the late 5th c. hoplites were called up for service not by age-class (as in much of the 4th) but on a rotating basis out of their tribe's hoplite-register (1065 n.). Even under normal circumstances and taking into account the cumulative effect of casualties, therefore, a solid majority will usually have been over 30, and a general absence of the youngest men due to diplomatic missions (as allegedly here) would increase the percentage of grey heads even more. Cf. And. 4. 22 (where a very similar complaint is registered); Hanson (1989) 89–95. πολιοῦς: Poetic vocabulary (e.g. 610, 693; Lys. 595; H. Od. 24. 499; Alc. fr. 359. 1; Pi. P. 4. 98; A. Supp. 673; E. Supp. 166). ταῖς τάξεσιν: 'the battle-ranks', as at Pax 303; Ra. 1036. The additional material in **p** represents an intrusive scholion (~ Σ<sup>REG3</sup>). νεανίας δ' οἶους σού: If the historical Lam. served as general in the mid-430s (266–70 n.), he was almost certainly at least 40 in 425 (cf. Plu. Alc. 18. 1). He would none the less still have been quite young in comparison to the chorus and Dik., and the character who bears his name on stage simultaneously represents the generation of 'younger' politicians who had by now almost entirely replaced men of the 'older generation' such as Thucydides son of Melesias (703–12 with nn.; cf. 679–80). For the failure of σού to be attracted into the acc. along with οἶους (properly οἶος), KG ii. 413; emendation to produce a superficially easier text is unwarranted. διαδεδρακότας: 'running off', i.e. to avoid more dangerous service; cf. Lys. 719; Ra. 1014 (where Aeschylus describes the men he passed on to Euripides as μὴ διαδρασιπολίτας ('not duty-shirking-citizens')).

- 602** ἐπὶ Θράκης: 'Thraceward', i.e. to not only the Odrysians (134–5 n.) but the Greek cities scattered throughout the northern Aegean, where the Athenians had numerous allies and vital trade connections (552 n.). For diplomatic traffic to the north, 134–5 n. μισθοφοροῦντας τρεῖς δραχμάς: A grossly inflated figure, designed to fuel outrage; cf. 65–7 n., 595–7 with n.
- 603** A pair of invented compound names intended to suggest 'a combination of noble birth and little worth' (Rogers), at least in part via reference to well-known figures in Athenian history. For the contemptuous pls., 266–70 n. For the -ἵππος element in both names, 1206–7 n. Τεισαμενοφαινίππους: The Teisamenos referred to here cannot be identified, although Σ<sup>REG</sup> claims that he was mocked in comedy ὡς ξένος καὶ μαστιγίας ('as a foreigner and a rogue'). One man who bore the name (*PA* 13447) was ταμίης of Athena Polias in 414/13, and another (*PA* 13443) was among those entrusted with restoring the city's laws at the end of the century. For Hall and Geldart's Τεισ- (Τισ- Π<sub>3</sub> d), Threatte ii. 536–8. Phainippos (*PA* 13975) was the name of the great-grandfather of the Kallias who served as ambassador to Persia in mid-century (61 n.), and since the family was prominent and the name may have been common in it (cf. Davies 269), a reference to him or one of his namesakes is possible. Σ<sup>REG</sup> claims that a man named Phainippos was attacked in comedy ὡς σνώδης καὶ ἡταιρηκῶς ('as swinish and buggered'), and Sommerstein suggests a reference to Phainippos son of Phrynichos (*PA* 13979), who was Secretary of the Council during one prytany in 424/3. Πανουργιππαρχίδας: A combination of (1) πανούργος (311–12 n.); (2) a form of the name Ἰππαρχος, presumably a reference either to an otherwise unknown contemporary or to the son of the tyrant Peisistratos murdered by Harmodios and Aristogeiton in 514 (978–9 n.) or his cousin Hipparchos II (*PA* 7600; *PAA* 537705), who led the pro-tyrant faction in the city after a democracy was instituted, and was ostracized in 488/7 ([*Arist.*] *Ath.* 22. 4; cf. Davies 451); and (3) the ending -ίδης (595–7 n.).
- 604** Χάρητι: Unidentified, although Σ<sup>REG</sup> 603 claims that ἐπὶ ἀμαθίᾳ διεβάλλετο ('he was attacked for boorishness'). Σ<sup>VEΓ<sup>3</sup>M</sup> *Eq.* 834 reports that the general who put down the Mytilenean Revolt in 428 was named Chares, and Handley speculates that he stayed on as a cleruch. More likely, the Chares referred to here was a minor king with whom the Athenians were negotiating. In any case, the name is introduced primarily for the sake of assonance with Χάοσιν. Χάοσιν: A barbarian people (also referred to in 613) who inhabited the Pindos mountains and were regarded as the fiercest of the Epirote tribes (*Th.* ii. 81. 4; cf. Theopomp. *Hist. FGrH* 115 F 382). The Chaonians were involved in hostilities with the Athenians and their allies, the Akarnanians, in 429 (*Th.* ii. 80–2) and *Ar.* refers obliquely to diplomatic contacts with them again at *Eq.* 78\*. For Athenian interest in Epiros in this period, 145–6 n.; *Th.* iii.



94. 3; N. G. L. Hammond, *Epirus* (Oxford, 1967) 503–8 (whose report of the Aristophanic evidence is garbled). Mueller (followed by Sommerstein) suggested a pun on χάσκω ('gape'; cf. 10–11 n.).

**605 Γερητοθεόδωρους:** Geres (*PAA* 273680; the name is otherwise attested for Attica only at *Ec.* 932 (probably not a real person)) and Theodoros (an exceedingly common name; 308 other examples in *LGN* ii) are unidentified, although Σ<sup>EF</sup> 603 (cf. Σ *Ec.* 932) calls Geres 'the baldhead'; Σ<sup>REF</sup> reports that both men were attacked as descended from slaves and εἰς μαλακίαν ('for effeminacy'), which suggests that they were prominent politicians; and Hesychios preserves several comic references to an otherwise unidentified Theodoros whom the comic poets called πρωκτός ('arsehole') (adesp. com. frr. 283; 351). **Διομειαλαζόνας:** 'bullshit artists from Diomeia'; cf. 109 (one of the Ambassadors to Persia) σὺ μὲν ἀλαζῶν εἶ μέγας ('you are a great bullshit artist'). Sommerstein suggests a reference to Philoxenos of Diomeia (*PA* 14707; cf. Storey, *JHS* 115 (1995) 182–4), the only politically active member of the deme attested for this period, although little is known of him except that his masculinity could be publicly assailed (*Nu.* 686–7 with Dover on 686; *V.* 81–4).

**606** Athens had been involved in a war in Sicily since summer 427 (*Th.* iii. 86), when Gorgias is said to have led an embassy from Leontini in search of aid (*D.S.* xii. 53; [*Pl.*] *Hp.Ma.* 282b; cf. 634–5 n.), and diplomatic exchanges with her allies there probably went on constantly (cf. *Th.* iii. 115. 3).

**Καμαρίνη:** Located on the southern coast of Sicily, about 20 miles east of Gela; a Dorian city which none the less sided with Leontini and her Ionian allies against Syracuse (*Th.* iii. 86. 2).

**Γέλα:** One of the most important Greek cities in Sicily, located on the southern coast between Kamarina and Agrigento, and allied with Syracuse; the name is introduced primarily to set up the joke that follows.

**Καταγέλα:** Cf. fr. 629 ὑπὸ γέλωτος εἰς Γέλαν ἀφίξομαι ('I will come to Gela on gales of laughter'). Mueller suggests an allusion to Katane, another Sicilian city, although this adds little to the humour and distracts from the pun on καταγέλαω (for which, 75–6 n.).

**607 ἐχειροτονήθησαν γάρ:** Cf. 598 ἐχειροτόνησαν γάρ με\* with nn.

**608–9** β apparently omitted αἰ in 608 and left what could be taken as a space indicating a change of speaker before ἐτεόν in 609 (thus E). Since ἐτεόν κτλ. are obviously spoken by Dik., the common ancestor of **ct** responded by (1) adding his name to indicate change of speaker there (**Ct:** lac. Vp3); (2) assigning 608–9 μηδέν' to Lam. via a marginal indication of change of speaker (**ct**); and (3) filling the gap in 608 with ἤδη (**Ct:** lac. Vp3). Triklinios further 'improved' the text by converting α's ὑμᾶς to ἡμᾶς to better suit Lam. as speaker. **ἀμηγέπη:** 'somehow', i.e. 'in one way or another' (*S a* 1575); attested elsewhere in the classical period only in Plato (e.g. *Sph.* 259d; *Plt.* 278d), although Luc. *Rh.pr.* 16 and Moer. *a* 103 identify the word as an Atticism. **τωνδί:** With a

gesture toward the chorus. **ἔτερόν κτλ.:** Addressed to an individual member of the chorus (most likely the coryphaeus), who at the end of the question signals 'No' (611 with n.). For adverbial *ἔτερόν* (here indignant), 321-2 n. **Μαριλάδη:** 'Charcoal-dusty' *vel sim.* (350-1 n., 595-7 n.), a name (like those of at least two other chorus members in 612) that suits the Acharnians' occupation (211-13 with n.).

**610-11** The fact that ambassadors (like generals and taxiarchs) were elected rather than chosen by lot shows that the job was not conceived of as one that the average citizen could carry out successfully (cf. [X.] *Ath.* 1. 2-3). Instead, ambassadors were chosen because of their personal connections in a place or (failing that) their social prominence, which must have been taken as evidence that they would be able to interact effectively with political elites elsewhere (evidence collected at Mosley 43-9, 55-62; cf. Miller 113-14); what was known of their views on the business the Assembly wished to see accomplished was doubtless taken into account as well. Although this policy favoured the wealthy and well-educated over average labourers, therefore, it must have been seen as serving the people's interests in the long run, and Dik.'s argument amounts to using democratic pretensions to attack democracy. **ἦδη πεπρέσβευκας;** 'Sollemnis in hoc interrogationis genere est usus perfecti' (van Leeuwen on *Nu.* 766, citing *Nu.* 730; *Th.* 32-3; Hermipp. fr. 37; Amphis fr. 27. 4; Alex. fr. 275. 1). **πολιός ὤν:** i.e. 'old as you are', the point being that Marilades ought to have been an ambassador *sometime* in all these years, were there not something rotten in the system. For *πολιός*, 600-1 n. **Σ<sup>ΕΓ</sup>** (~ S ε 1297) argues that the MSS's *ἔνη* (*sic*; variously articulated in **d**) is equivalent to *ἐκ πολλοῦ* (sc. *χρόνου*) and is to be taken with *πολιός ὤν* ('grey for a long time'), but notes that some commentators thought that there was an ellipse of *δύο* ('once or [twice]' *vel sim.*). Neither explanation is likely to be anything other than a wild guess and the text has never been convincingly emended. If *ἔνη* is intrusive, it is impossible to know what has been driven out and conjecture is called for. I print Rennie's *μία*ν (sc. *πρεσβείαν*; cf. *Din.* 1. 16), with the paradosis to be explained as a metricized superlinear query (*ἦ ἔν;*) written by someone confused as to what the 'one thing' referred to was. **ἀνένευσε:** 113 n. **d's καίτοι γ'** (with *γε* lending emphasis to the adjs. that follow) is a rare combination of particles securely attested nowhere else in Ar. (Dover on *Nu.* 876 (although his claim that *καίτοι γ'* is 'certain' here is overstated); *Lys.* 1035 (the universal reading of the MSS, but unmetrical)), and might be explained as an early editor's attempt to mend the metre and eliminate hiatus after *καίτοι ἐστίν γ'* was written in *scriptio plena* for Elmsley's *καιτοῦστίν γ'*. As *καίτοι γε* appears elsewhere in Attic (although never metrically guaranteed) (*GP* 564; cf. Neil, *Knights*, p. 194) and as emendation does not improve the sense, I retain the paradosis. **σώφρων**

**κα(ι ἐ)ργάτης:** 'sensible and a hard worker', the intended contrast being with the extravagance and systematic avoidance of unpleasant duties practised by Lam. and his peers (601, 615–17). For *σωφροσύνη*, a very positive term for which the standard antonym is *ἀκολασία* ('licentiousness'; e.g. Arist. *Rh.* 1366<sup>b</sup>13–15) and which (unlike Engl. 'prudence' *et sim.*) lacks any implication of passivity, H. North, *Sophrosyne: Self-Knowledge and Self-Restraint in Greek Literature* (Cornell Studies in Classical Philology, vol. XXXV: Ithaca, 1966), esp. 98–100.

**612–13** The other names assigned individual members of the chorus contain punning references to their work as charcoal-bearers (cf. 609 with n.), and Reiske accordingly proposed *τί δ' Ἀνθράκυλλος* (< *ἄνθραξ* ('charcoal')) in place of α's *τί δαί Δράκυλλος*. As one member of the chorus is called *Δράκης* at *Lys.* 254; *Ec.* 293b, and as colloquial *τί δαί* effectively marks the transition to a new point (*GP* 263), I retain the paradosis. For the form of the name, Leumann, *Glotta* 32 (1952) 216–19. **d** have *καὶ . . . ἦ*, and *ἦ . . . ἦ* (Elmsley) might be right (for the synizesis, 319–20n.; *Nu.* 1084; *Ra.* 169 with Dover ad loc.). Π<sub>5</sub>, however, offers ]λλος κ[, which might mean only that the error preserved in the MSS is an old one (cf. 615 with n.) but none the less tips the scales in favour of Brunck's *κ(αὶ) . . . καί*. **Εὐφορίδης:** Cf. 211–12 (the chorus' description of their youth) *φέρων ἀνθράκων φορτίον* ('carrying a load of charcoal'). For the lack of an interrogative in the second question, Dover on *Nu.* 249. **Πρινίδης:** Cf. 180 (of the chorus) *πρίνιοι* ('of holm oak') with n. **τὰ (Ἐ)κβάταν' ἦ τοὺς Χάονας:** 64n., 604n. As both destinations are already under discussion (the Chaonians explicitly (604), Ekbatana implicitly as the archetypal spot to which feather-bedding diplomatic missions are sent (cf. 61–125)), they take the def. art. (*KG* i. 598–9); cf. 651 with n. In response to the question, three additional members of the chorus nod back their heads (cf. 611).

**614 οὐ φασιν:** 'They deny it'. **ὁ Κοισύρας:** Σ<sup>REG</sup> identifies this as a reference to a certain Megakles, while Σ<sup>EΘN</sup> *Nu.* 46 claims that the first Megakles mentioned there was the son of a woman named Koisyra (cf. *Nu.* 48 (of Megakles' niece) *ἐγκεκοισυρωμένην* ('Koisyrazed'), 800) and Σ<sup>R</sup> *Nu.* 46 identifies the same Megakles as an Alkmeonid. Nothing else is known of Koisyra herself, except that Σ<sup>REΘ</sup> *Nu.* 46 says that she was from Eretria (cf. Σ<sup>RMMat</sup> *Nu.* 48) and Σ<sup>RMat</sup> *Nu.* 48 claims that she was married to Peisistratos. But the fact that her connection with the Alkmeonids is not simply a late scholarly fantasy is shown by several ostraka (including *SEG* 46 (1996) 83; discussed and illustrated by Brenne, in *AAAD* 15–16) that refer to Megakles son of Hippokrates (*PA* 9695; *PAA* 636455; ostracized 486 BCE) as 'the son of Koisyra'. It is none the less unclear whether the allusion here is to Megakles son of Megakles (*PA* 9697; *PAA* 636465), who won a victory with a four-horse chariot at Olympia in 436 (Σ *Pi. P.* 7; Moretti # 320), served as secre-

tary to the Treasurers of Athena in 428/7 (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 297. 15; 298. 27; 299. 42-3*), and is perhaps mentioned in fr. 108, or to some other member of the family (presumably Alkibiades (716 with n.)). Cf. Shear, *Phoenix* 17 (1963) 99-112; Dover on *Nu.* 48; Davies 380-1; Lavallo, *GRBS* 30 (1989) 503-13. What is clear is that reference to the individual in question as the son of his mother rather than his father is intended as an insult; cf. 478-9 with 478n., 741. The name Koisyra is attested elsewhere in Athens on a 4th-c. funerary monument (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 11885*).

**615** ὑπ' ἐράνων τε καὶ χρεῶν: An ἔρανος is a cash loan put together for a man by his friends on the expectation that he will eventually pay them back and return the favour if necessary (e.g. *Lys.* 651; *Antiph.* fr. 122. 8-10; *Alex.* fr. 145. 5; *Thphr. Char.* 15. 7; 17. 9; cf. MacDowell on *D.* 21. 101), whereas a χρέος is an ordinary debt owed to a professional moneylender or (perhaps more often) a friend or acquaintance (cf. 617 with n.; *Nu.* 1214-19) and which required repayment of both principal and interest. For ὑπό + gen. used to designate a cause that helps bring about an action but is external to the agent, Poultney 196-7. Π<sub>5</sub> d's ὑπέρ is a dittography (ΥΠΕΡΕΡΑΝΩΝ). πρῶην ποτέ: 'just the other day' (*Aeschin.* 1. 26; 3. 242). For πρῶην, Dover on *Nu.* 169.

**616-17** ὡς περ ἀπονιπτρον ἐκχέοντες: ἀπονιπτρον is 'washing water', normally that used to clean banqueters' hands before the drinking-party that followed dinner (e.g. *V.* 1217; *Dromo* fr. 2. 3; *Alex.* fr. 252. 2; cf. *Ar. Byz.* fr. 368 with Slater ad. loc.; *Poll.* vi. 92), hence the fact that the action is set in the evening (ἑσπέρας). Not surprisingly, the word and its cognates are occasionally used to refer to washing hands and feet before dinner instead (*V.* 608; *Pl. Smp.* 175a; cf. *Eq.* 357). Cf. Ginouvès 151-4. Dirty water of all sorts was routinely dumped before one's house (cf. fr. 319), and Athens' streets (filthy in any case; cf. 986-7n., 1168-70n.) were accordingly full of mud even when it had not been raining (*V.* 256-7, 260-1). ἐξίστω: 'Keep your distance!' (*Ra.* 354), the point being that their friends, having already lent them money and expecting to be asked for more (615 with n.), wanted nothing further to do with them. Σ<sup>REG</sup> suggests an allusion to the technical term ἐκστῆναι τῶν ὄντων ('surrender one's property [to satisfy one's debts]'; e.g. *D.* 37. 49), but this is difficult without the gen. and unnecessary to make sense of the passage.

**618-19** ὦ δημοκρατία: \* at *Av.* 1570 (Poseidon's disgusted complaint about the election of the Triballian as ambassador and—indirectly—Laispodias as general). ταῦτα δῆτ' ἀνασχετά:; \* at *S. Ph.* 987, but not obviously paratragic. For the note of injured indignation, 124-6n. β lacked an indication of change of speaker in the left margin and the common ancestor of **a**, taking these words as an assertion of fact rather than a question, added οὐκ before ἀνασχετά in a (metrically impossible) attempt to improve the sense. Γ<sup>3</sup>Ε<sup>4</sup> added the change of speaker from

the manuscript against which they were checking the text, and simultaneously removed the now superfluous οὐκ.

Lam.'s question requires a neg. answer, and Dik. accordingly responds οὐ δῆτ(α) (*GP* 274–5) but immediately turns the tables on his opponent with the εἰν-  
clause. εἰν . . . γε: *GP* 141–2. μισθοφορῆ . . . Λάμαχος: 595–7 n.

**620–2** A very emphatic promise (πάσι, ἀεί, πανταχῆ, καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ πεζοῖσι ('to all, always, everywhere, with ships and foot-soldiers')), fulfilled—ironically to Lam.'s great discomfort—at 1073–5, 1178–88. ἀλλ' οὖν:

Dismissing the taunt (619); 'Well, anyway, however that may be . . .' (*GP* 443). ἐγὼ μὲν: i.e. 'regardless of what others do'; cf.

706. ἐγὼ often serves to mark a new initiative (e.g. 748) and therefore occurs frequently in exit-lines (e.g. 623, 727, 969; *Eq.* 154; *Nu.* 1245; *Pl.* 318). πᾶσι Πελοποννησίοις: i.e. 'the Spartans and all their allies'.

Echoed in Dik.'s response in 623–4 Πελοποννησίοις / ἅπασι and again in 720\*.

For ταραξῶ ('disturb', i.e. 'cause trouble for'), cf. 688; *Eq.* 692; Taillardat § 597; Newiger 27–30; L. Edmunds, *Cleon, Knights, and Aristophanes' Politics* (Lanham, New York, and London, 1987) 1–16; Heath 234–6. Triklinios emended (unnecessarily) to κατάρξω, 'lead the way'.

καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ πεζοῖσι: i.e. 'with every sort of force at my disposal'. More appropriately said by a general than a taxiarch (cf. 569–71 n.), since generals routinely commanded both naval and hoplite forces, although raiding parties (which will have included taxiarchs) were sometimes transported by ship (546 n.). The adj. πεζός is used substantively ('foot-soldier') already in Homer (e.g. *Il.* 4. 298). κατὰ τὸ καρτερόν: 'in open battle', i.e. with no resort to ambushes or cowardly treachery (cf. *Hdt.* i. 212. 2; iii. 65. 6; [A.] *PV* 212–13; *Pl. Smp.* 217c with Dover ad loc.).

Lam. exits into a wing.

**623–5** Echoed in 720–2, where see n. ἐγὼ δέ: In pointed response to Lam.'s ἐγὼ μὲν (620).

κηρύττω: 'make a public proclamation', as if Dik. were a state herald announcing a newly adopted policy (1000–2 with n.; *Ec.* 821–2). Π<sub>5</sub> has γε, which is right; α's unmetrical γε καί (corrected in B) reflects the influence of καὶ Μεγαρεῦσι καὶ Βοιωτίοις in 624. For δέ . . . γε, 203 n.

Πελοποννησίοις / ἅπασι: Cf. 620 with n. καὶ Μεγαρεῦσι καὶ Βοιωτίοις: 'and to the Megarians and Boiotians in particular' (cf. 223–5 n.).

The Boiotian cities, whose territory bordered Attika to the north, cf. 159–60 n., 1023 with n.; Olson on *Pax* 464–6. πωλεῖν ἀγοράζειν: For the asyndeton (natural when two opposed ideas are set side by side), *Ra.* 857 with Dover ad loc.; KG ii. 346.

πωλέω is properly 'offer for sale' (cf. 897) rather than 'sell' (ἀποδίδομαι (817)); cf. Neil on *Eq.* 160–1. Pace Starkie (cf. Rutherford 214), ἀγοράζω routinely means 'buy' (rather than simply 'spend time in the Agora') in the 5th and 4th c. (e.g. 750; *V.* 557; *Pl.* 984; fr. 2. 1; Anaxandr. fr. 29. 2; Nicostr. Com. fr. 4. 1; Amphis fr. 26. 1); cf. Chadwick 34–9. πρὸς ἐμέ, Λαμάχῳ δὲ μή: Cf. 722\*. The varia-

Λαμάχω δὲ μή: Cf. 722\*. The variation in construction is *metri gratia* and emendation (e.g. to Graves's *Λάμαχον*, a *lectio facilior*) need not be considered; cf. E. *IT* 525 εἰς Ἑλληνας, οὐκ ἐμοὶ μόνῃ ('unto all the Greeks, not to me alone'); Theoc. 5. 136-7. Dik. enters the house, leaving the stage empty; either he takes the chopping-block off with him or prop-men remove it during the parabasis.

**626-718** The parabasis (< παραβαίνω; cf. 629), consisting of (1) a κομμάτιον, which serves as a bridge between the preceding scene and the parabasis proper (626-7); (2) the μακρόν or 'anapaests' (628-58); (3) the πνίγος (lit. 'strangling', since it was supposed to be pronounced with a single breath) (659-64); (4) the ode (665-75); (5) the epirrhema (676-91); (6) the antode (692-702); (7) the antepirrhema (703-18). For the form and its history, Sifakis 33-70; Hubbard 16-33. metr. Σ<sup>EF</sup> 626 counts 32 verses in (2), but the paradosis contains only 31, hence Triklinios' correction of the number (Σ<sup>L</sup>). Although numerals are notoriously subject to corruption, it is quite possible that a line has fallen out, perhaps between 634 and 635 (with the missing verse also beginning μηδέ and omitted as a result of the homoioarchon) or before or after 642 (where the argument is so condensed that it is tempting to think that something is missing), particularly since epirrhematic structures routinely consist of lines in multiples of four. For the complex connections between Dik. and the poet as he presents himself in the parabasis, Bowie, esp. 29-35; Hubbard 47-56.

**626-7** Anapaestic tetrameters. At the end of the *Telephos*-speech the chorus' opinions were divided (557-71); now they not only declare themselves unanimously won over by Dik.'s arguments (599-619) but assert that in this regard they speak for the Athenian people as a whole. νικᾷ τοῖσι λόγοισιν καὶ τὸν δῆμον μεταπίθει: 'prevails with his arguments and changes the people's mind'; the language is drawn from the Assembly (*Nu.* 432; *V.* 594; cf. *Plu. Per.* 8. 5; *LSJ* s. νικάω I. 3; *Headlam* on *Herod.* 1. 51). For the idea that popular opinion can easily be swayed by a convincing speaker, 632. α's unmetrical λόγοισι was corrected by Triklinios.

**ἀποδύντες:** If the chorus actually 'strip', what they take off is presumably their τρίβωνες (184 with n.); cf. *Pax* 729-30, where at the beginning of the parabasis the chorus put down the tools they used to rescue Peace. Σ<sup>REF</sup> offers two explanations for this stripping, one of which is that by removing part of their costume, the chorus are able to dance vigorously; as they have already done so while fully clothed (e.g. at 344-6), this can be dismissed. Nor does removing their robes abruptly convert the chorus from ancient Acharnian charcoal-bearers into generic Athenian citizens (*pace* van Leeuwen), since they speak as Acharnians at 665-75 and as old men at 676-718 (esp. 676). Either the stripping is an atavistic practice which recalls the historical origin of the parabasis as the epilogue to a comedy (thus T. Zielinski,

*Die Gliederung der altattischen Komödie* (Leipzig, 1885)), therefore, or (less likely) the chorus are using a metaphor drawn from the palaestra or the stadium ( $\Sigma^{\text{REG}}$ ), the sense of which is equivalent to 'rolling up our sleeves'. Cf. Dale 289–90; Sifakis 103–8; Ketterer, *GRBS* 21 (1980) 217–21. τοῖς ἀναπαίστοις = 628–58; also used by Ar. as a technical term for the parabasis proper at *Eq.* 504; *Pax* 735; *Av.* 684; cf. Hsch. a 4475. Triklinios emended (unnecessarily) to the acc.

**628–58** Anapaestic tetrameters. The poet's defence against the charges brought by his enemies (left anonymous until 659, where the bantering tone yields abruptly to bitter invective).

**628–9** ἐξ οὗ: 'from [the time] when' (e.g. *Eq.* 4\*, 644\*; *Lys.* 108\*). γε introduces a statement forecast in the preceding words; cf. 916; *GP* 145.

ἐφέστηκεν: 'took charge of, assumed authority over' (e.g. *V.* 955; *Pax* 429 with Olson ad loc.; *E. Andr.* 547 with Stevens ad loc.; *Pl. Lg.* 713c).

ὁ διδάσκαλος ἡμῶν: Properly the trainer of the chorus but here the poet himself, as 633 (cf. 644, 649, 654) makes clear; cf. *Eq.* 507–9; *Pax* 734–8; *Av.* 912; *Th.* 88. The noun is echoed twice in the vbs. in the promise with which this section of the parabasis concludes (656, 658).

οὐπω παρέβη κτλ.: Aristophanic parabases frequently contain self-serving claims whose patent falsity is part of the humour (cf. 646–54), and this verse cannot be taken as straightforward evidence that *Daitales* and *Bab.* lacked material of the sort described here. Cf. the (patently tongue-in-cheek) remarks about the tastelessness of poetic self-praise at *Eq.* 507–11; *Pax* 734–5. For the trope of the speaker who is reluctant to come forward but, under the current circumstances, feels he has no choice but to do so, *Th.* 383–8; *Ec.* 151–5; *Beobachtungen* 138–40.

πρὸς τὸ θέατρον: 'to the audience' (e.g. *Eq.* 233, 508; *Pax* 735 with Olson ad loc.; *Amphis* fr. 14. 3; *Pl. Criti.* 108b); to be taken with both παρέβη and λέξων (cf. *Eq.* 508; *Pax* 735).

δεξιός: Not just 'intelligent' (e.g. *Eq.* 233) but 'clever, creative, brilliant'; cf. Dover, *Frogs*, pp. 13–14.

**630–1** Cf. 377–82, 502–5, and 515–16 with 502–21 n.; Introduction, Section III.

ἐν Ἀθηναίοις ταχυβούλοις: Cf. 632 πρὸς Ἀθηναίους μεταβούλους\*. For the use of ἐν, 497–9 n. The volatility of Athenian political opinion is a literary and rhetorical trope (e.g. *Eq.* 624–82; *Ec.* 193–6, 797–8, 812–29; *Th.* ii. 65. 3–4; iii. 38. 5; *Isoc.* 15. 19; cf. *V.* 919–21). The specific reference is probably not just to the Assembly's recent mishandling of the Mytilenian affair (*Th.* iii. 36. 2–5, 49 (thus commentators)) but to the poet's own experience before the Council (which, *Dik.* implies at 381–2, nearly indicted him) and, even more important, in the court of public opinion generally (cf. 632). ταχύβουλος and μετάβουλος (632) are hapax legomena, although not necessarily Aristophanic coinages.

ὤς: 502–3 n.

κωμῶδεῖ κτλ.: 'he

mocks our city and insults the people (479 n.)'. πόλιν ('city') and δῆμον

('people') are similarly distinguished at *Eq.* 273, 810-12 with van Leeuwen on 812; *Pl.* 568. But the charges are in fact identical (hendiadys, for which cf. 913; Sansone, *Glotta* 62 (1984) 16-25). For the use of *κωμωδέω*, *V.* 1026; *Pax* 751; *Ra.* 368.

**632 ἀποκρίνασθαι:** 'to offer a response', i.e. 'a defence' (*Eup.* fr. 228 ap. *Harp.* A 189; cf. *V.* 951; *Th.* 186; *LSJ* s.v. IV. 2). **δείται:** A very polite formulation ('begs permission' *vel sim.*), perhaps tinged with (nominal) desperation; cf. 1057. **πρὸς Ἀθηναίους μεταβούλους:** Cf. 630 ἐν Ἀθηναίοις ταχυβούλοις\* with n.; if the Athenians made up their minds too quickly before, the possibility remains that they will change them after having heard the speech to come.

**633-58** The point of the poet's defence is not that he did not say the outrageous things his opponents claim, but that everything he said was intended to educate the people, so that his abuse was actually a benefit conferred upon them; cf. Introduction, Section III.

**633 πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος ὑμῖν:** \* in 641, marking the transition to a new section of the argument. **δ'**'s *ἄξιος* makes this not an introduction to an extended catalogue of benefits bestowed on the Athenian people (cf. 634-40), in pointed response to the claim by the poet's enemies that he has done the city harm (630-1), but a cheeky insistence on being rewarded for his services similar to Socrates' request for free meals in the Prytaneion at the end of Plato's version of his *Apology* (36d-e). As the request for a reward is not taken up again (although cf. 676-8; contrast *Eq.* 509-50; *V.* 1016-22, 1051-9; *Pax* 738, 765-74) and the point of what follows is instead that the poet has been and will continue to be the source of so much good for Athens (esp. 656), I print Bentley's *αἴτιος*. Triklinios, misled by **β'**'s *ἡμῖν*, converted *ὑμᾶς* in 634 to *ἡμᾶς*. His *φασίν* (L: *φασί* pAld) for **α'**'s *φησίν*, on the other hand, is explicable only as a slip of the pen.

**634-5** A general statement of the first point in the argument, explained in more detail in 636-40. For the idea, *Eq.* 1115-19 (of Demos): 'You are easily led astray; you enjoy being flattered and deceived, always looking vacantly at whoever is speaking'. **παύσας . . . ἐξαπατάσθαι:** 'by putting a stop to your being so much deceived by alien words', i.e. in the future (*KG* ii. 75; Goodwin § 903. 5), as so often in the past (636-40). Identified by Bergk as a reference to the 'novel language' used by Gorgias when he allegedly led the Leontinian embassy to Athens in 427 (*τῷ ξενίζοντι τῆς λέξεως* ('by the novelty of his speech'); *D.S.* xii. 53. 3; cf. 606 n., 1130-1 n.; *Arist. Po.* 1458<sup>a</sup>22 with Lucas ad loc.; O'Sullivan 126-9). For *ἐξαπατάσθαι*, cf. 636 *ἐξαπατῶντες\**, 657 *ἐξαπατούλλων\**. **ὑμᾶς:** 633 n. The audience in the Theatre is taken to be identical to the people in Assembly (cf. 714) and indeed to the Athenian *δῆμος* as a whole (e.g. 652). Juries are often addressed in a similar fashion (e.g. *D.* 21. 171, 174). **λόγοις** is Musurus' correction of **α'**'s unmetrical



λόγοισι. **λίαν:** Cf. Thesleff § 197 ('commonly used with words of bad sense, to which it adds a shade of subjective disapproval'). *ξενικοῖσι λόγοις ἐξαπατᾶσθαι, ἦδεσθαι θωπευομένους*, and *εἶναι χαυνοπολίτας* are three ways of saying the same thing, and I therefore print Meineke's **μηδ' . . . μηδ'** rather than AG's **μήθ' . . . μήτ'** (*μηδ' . . . μήτ'* RECP). **ἦδεσθαι θωπευομένους:** Cf. 657 with n.; *Eq.* 1116–17. **χαυνοπολίτας:** A hapax legomenon and probably an Aristophanic coinage; for the formation, cf. *μικροπολίτης* (*Eq.* 817); *διαδρασιπολίτης* (*Ra.* 1014). The man who is *χαῦνος* ('loose[-minded]' *vel sim.*; contrast 445 n.) fails to see things as they are and prefers fine words and self-serving illusions (esp. *Sol. frr.* 11. 6–8; 34. 1–4; *Arist. EN* 1123<sup>b</sup>8–9).

**636–8 ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων οἱ πρέσβεις:** 191–3 n. Thus Bentley (followed by all modern editors), whose conjecture (confirmed by both the letters preserved in Π<sub>5</sub> and their position relative to the lines above and below) in place of **d**'s *οἱ πρέσβεις ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων* eliminates both diaeresis between prep. and art. and the dactyl in the fourth foot; cf. White §§ 308, 316. For the omission of the def. art. *οἱ* before *ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων*, *KG* i. 615–16; cf. *Nu.* 1055 *ἐν ἀγορᾷ τὴν διατριβήν*. **ἰοστεφάνους:** Like *λιπαράς* in 639, a reference to *Pi.* fr. 76 *ὦ ταῖ λιπαραὶ καὶ ἰοστέφανοι καὶ ἀοίδιμοι, / Ἑλλάδος ἔρεισμα, κλειναὶ Ἀθᾶναι, δαιμόνιον πτολίεθρον* ('O sleek and violet-crowned and celebrated in song, bulwark of Greece, famous Athens, divine city'), from a poem, apparently celebrating Athens' role in the Persian Wars (cf. 180–1 n., 676–8 n.; *Pi.* fr. 77), for which the Athenians rewarded the poet by making him their *πρόξενος* and giving him 10,000 drachmas (*Isoc.* 15. 166). The point of the epithet is not that Attika was uniquely rich in violets but that the flower is sweet-smelling and was used in garlands of a sort befitting a happy and victorious personified city. Cf. Cook, *JHS* 20 (1900) 1–10; Kugelmeier 102–7, esp. 102–4. Triklinios' *εἶπη* for *αἱ*'s *εἶποι* is inexplicable as a deliberate emendation and must represent a careless error. **διὰ τοὺς στεφάνους:** For the anaphoric article marking the word as a quotation, 102–3 n., 640, 804. **ἐπ' ἄκρων τῶν πυγιδίων:** 'on the tips of your buttocks' (*MM* § 450; not particularly vulgar; cf. *S. Ai.* 1230 with Jebb ad loc.), i.e. 'on the edge of your seats' in anticipation and excitement.

**639–40 ὑμᾶς ὑποθωπέουσας:** 'flattering you discreetly' (*F.* 610). **λιπαράς . . . Ἀθήνας:** In apposition to *ὑμᾶς*, which is the obj. of both *ὑποθωπέουσας* and *καλέσειεν*. Another reference to *Pi.* fr. 76 (636–8 n.), although *λιπαρός* ('sleek, rich'; applied by Pindar not only to Athens (also *N.* 4. 18–19; *I.* 2. 20) but to many other places (e.g. *O.* 13. 110; 14. 3–4; *P.* 2. 3; 4. 88)) was—or became—a standard epithet of the city (*Nu.* 299/300; fr. 112. 2; oracle ap. *Hdt.* viii. 77. 1; *E. Alc.* 452; *Tr.* 803; *IT* 1130–1). Cf. 670–2 n.; Magnelli on *Alex. Aet.* fr. 25. 3. For the augmentation of *ἠῦρετο*, Threatte ii. 482–3. **ἀφύων τιμὴν περιάψας:** *ἀφύαι* are 'small-fry', tiny fish of a variety of species, which were caught

in seine-nets (Opp. *H.* 4. 491-506) and are frequently included in banquet catalogues and the like (e.g. Anaxandr. fr. 42. 41; Nicostr. Com. fr. 11; Arcestr. fr. 11 with Olson-Sens ad loc.; Matro fr. 1. 22); cf. 551 n., 901-2 n. The point of the adj. (also applied to ἀφύαι at fr. 520. 3) is more likely that small-fry were flash-fried in oil (Arcestr. fr. dub. 61 = Clearch. fr. 81) and served dripping with it (thus Hsch. *a* 8804) than that they have an oily sheen when fresh, a fact that does not distinguish them from any other fish. Cf. Taillardat § 567.

**641** πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος ὑμῖν: Cf. 633\* (where **d** have ἄξιος, hence Blaydes's emendation here) with n.

**642** τοὺς δήμους . . . ὡς δημοκρατοῦνται: Prolepsis (KG ii. 577-9); cf. 649. The citizens of the allied states are supposed to take the poet's words as an obvious expression of the truth and be delighted by them (643-5). This is therefore far more likely a reference to how badly the allies are allegedly treated by the Athenian Assembly than to how corrupt their local democracies are (since abuse of this sort, no matter how 'improving', could only be expected to spark a hostile reception (cf. 630-1)). The abruptness of the observation perhaps reflects the loss of a line from the text; cf. 626-718 n. ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν: 505-6 n. It is unclear whether πόλεσιν (L) is Triklinios' correction of α's unmetrical πόλεσι or a fortuitous slip of the pen by the L-scribe (and therefore omitted in pAld).

**643-5** A reference to events at the City Dionysia, when tribute payments were due and comedies were performed (cf. 505-6 n.), and a direct response to Kleon's claim that the poet's previous comedy had damaged the city's reputation in the eyes of her subject-allies (502-3, 630-1): if anything, talk of his work could be expected to *increase* the allies' willingness to pay their assessments, since attending the festival—naturally cash in hand—would offer them an opportunity to see him (and his plays). τοιγάρτοι: Marking this as a very emphatic assertion (GP 566-7; López Eire 133). τὸν φόρον ὑμῖν ἀπάγοντες: Cf. *V.* 707 τὸν φόρον ἡμῖν ἀπάγουσιν ('they bring their tribute to us'). The vb. and its cognates are used of the payment of tribute and similar obligations at Hdt. i. 6. 2; ii. 182. 2; Th. v. 53. 1; X. *Cyr.* ii. 4. 12; iii. 1. 10; *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 282. col. II. 52. For the importance of the tribute to Athens' financial affairs and thus the conduct of the war, Th. ii. 13. 2. For a broad overview of Athens' finances in this period, L. J. Samons II, *Empire of the Owl: Athenian Imperial Finance* (*Historia Einzelschriften* 142: Stuttgart, 2000), esp. 173-211. For the term φόρος ('tribute') and its implications, Whitehead, *Hermes* 126 (1998) 173-81. τὸν ποιητὴν τὸν ἄριστον: Implicitly a demand to be awarded first place in the contest; cf. 1224-34 with 1224-5 n. παρεκιδύνευσ' εἰπεῖν ἐν Ἀθηναίοις τὰ δίκαια: Cf. *Eq.* 510 (also of the poet) τολμᾶ τε λέγειν τὰ δίκαια ('and dares to speak the truth'). παρακιδυνεύω denotes not just bravery but a recklessness

verging on folly (*Eq.* 1054; *V.* 6; *Ra.* 99; *Th.* iv. 26. 6; *Pl. Tht.* 204b; cf. 646 with n.; LSJ s. *παρά* G. IV. 1). Diaeresis after the second metron, a regular feature in Ar.'s anapaestic tetrameters, is lacking in **d**'s *παρ-εκινδύνευσεν Ἀθηναίοις εἴπειν*, and although correction is not absolutely necessary (White § 316), the ease with which the line can be normalized via a simple transposition and redivision of words strongly suggests that the poet would not have written it as it stands in the MSS. With all 20th-c. editors except Elliott, therefore, I print the text as emended by Hermann.

**646–7** The fact that news of the poet has reached the allies (643–5) scarcely justifies the breathless tone of 646, and the only question is whether **οὕτω δ'** is to be taken (a) by itself ('and so' (referring back generally to 633–42)), with the **ὄτε**-clause a further explanation of the remark ('seeing that . . .'; cf. 400–1 n.); or (b) with *πόρρω* and as correlative with **ὄτε** ('so far has word of his daring spread, that even the Persian king . . .'; cf. 736–7). Either solution involves linguistic abnormality but the former seems more likely, given that the rumour the king has heard is simply that the poet dispenses improving abuse (649–51), a characterization more appropriate as a summary of 633–40 than of 642–5. **αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς τόλμης**: 'about his daring'; cf. 311–12 n., 488, 643–5 n. **ἤδη πόρρω**: 311–12 n. **κλέος**: 'verbal report, talk'; poetic and especially epic vocabulary (e.g. *Nu.* 460/1; *Ra.* 1035; *H. Il.* 7. 91; *Hes.* fr. 70. 7; *Tyrt.* fr. 12. 31; *A.* fr. 315. 2) designed to suggest the heroic character of the poet's accomplishments (for which, cf. *Pax* 751–60 with Olson ad loc.). **Λακεδαιμονίων τὴν πρεσβείαν**: Perhaps a reference to a specific recent Spartan embassy known to have returned empty-handed from Persia (cf. 61 n.), although the claim that the work of an individual Attic comic playwright was an important topic of conversation with the King is (despite anon. *de Com.* XXVIII. 44–6 = *Ar.* test. 1. 40–2) a patent fantasy. **βασανίζων**: i.e. as a way of determining whether the request for support that had been put to him was worth considering. For the vb., 110 n.

**648–9** The Persian King is presented as fundamentally ignorant of Greek affairs, so that he must ask whether Sparta or Athens is the more significant naval power and—to compare great things to small—which people it is that this famous Athenian poet abuses. The mere content of the King's question, however, leaves little doubt that the advantage in the war lies entirely with Athens and explains why he grants the Spartans nothing. For **πρῶτα μὲν . . . εἶτα**, e.g. 995–6; *Nu.* 609–10; *Pax* 605–6; *Av.* 709–12; cf. *GP* 377. **ταῖς ναυσὶ κρατούσιν**: Not 'prevail with their ships' in naval battle (LSJ s. *κρατέω* II. 1. a), but 'have the advantage in ships' in terms of number, quality, etc. (cf. LSJ s. *κρατέω* II. 1. b). **τοῦτον τὸν ποιητὴν κτλ.**: For the prolepsis, 642 n. **εἴποι κακὰ πολλά**: 370–3 n., 502–3 n.

**650-4** An explicit statement of the idea developed at length but obliquely in 630-45: the poet's abuse of the city is an aggressive form of political counsel. Cf. 655-8.

**650-1** *πολὺ βελτίους γεγενῆσθαι*: i.e. by having been taught not to be such fools (cf. 634-40). Cf. the Aristophanic Euripides' characterization of good poets at *Ra.* 1009-10: *βελτίους . . . ποιούμεν / τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν* ('we make the people in our cities better'). *τῷ πολέμῳ*: 'the war [under discussion]' (612-13 n.). *πολὺ νικήσειν*: 'they would prevail greatly', i.e. 'unambiguously' (*Nu.* 1335; *Th.* vii. 34. 7), as had so far not been the case (Introduction, Section II). *ξύμβουλον*: 'as an adviser'; cf. 661-2.

**652-4** *διὰ τοῦ(το)*: Referring back specifically to 649-51, as 654 makes clear, rather than to 633-51 generally (in which case R's *ταύθ'* would be better). *ὑμᾶς . . . τὴν εἰρήνην προκαλοῦνται*: For the construction, *X. Cyr.* i. 4. 4; *D.* 48. 4; cf. 982; *Eq.* 796. *τὴν Αἴγινα ἀπαιτοῦσιν*: Sometime around 459 the Athenians entered into hostilities with Aigina, at that point a flourishing independent state, and a few years later forced the Aiginetans to surrender their fleet, tear down their walls, and pay an annual tribute of 30 talents (*Th.* i. 105. 2-3, 108. 4; *D.S.* xi. 78. 4; *Plu. Per.* 8. 7; *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 270 col. V. 37; 1147. 3; cf. *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 38). But at some point the Aiginetans were (or had been) also promised 'autonomy', and on the eve of the Peloponnesian War they secretly complained to the Spartans of being deprived of it (*Th.* i. 67. 2; *Plu. Per.* 29. 5) and the Spartans told Athens to restore the Aiginetans' proper status if she wanted to avoid a complete breakdown of the peace (*Th.* i. 139. 1, 140. 3). The Athenians rejected the demand and in summer 431 emptied the island of its inhabitants (*Th.* ii. 27. 1; cf. *Hdt.* vi. 91. 1), replacing them with their own citizens, whom Thucydides calls *ἐποικοὶ* or *οἰκῆτορες* ('settlers' or 'colonists') (ii. 27. 1; viii. 69. 3) but later authors identify as cleruchs (*D.S.* xii. 44. 2; Theogenes *FGrH* 300 F 2; *D.L.* 3. 3; Σ<sup>ΕΓ</sup>; cf. *Plu. Per.* 34. 2; T. J. Figueira, *Athens and Aigina in the Age of Imperial Colonization* (Baltimore and London, 1991), esp. 7-73). The Aiginetans were settled in Thyrea (a fertile plain on the east coast of the Peloponnese) by the Spartans (*Th.* ii. 27. 2; iv. 56. 2) and restored to their homeland by Lysander in 405 (*X. HG* ii. 2. 9). The reference here is perhaps to the demands Sparta issued Athens on the eve of the war; if not, we know nothing more of the embassy or embassies to which these verses refer. Cf. Introduction, Section II. *ἀλλ(ά)*: Sc. *τοῦτο ποιούσιν*. *ἵνα τοῦτον τὸν ποιητὴν ἀφέλωνται*: i.e. not only to prevent him from benefiting the Athenians any more but in order that he might abuse (and thereby improve) the Spartans instead. That the poet will go along with the island is a flight of comic fantasy, but it is unclear whether the point is that (a) one branch of Ar.'s family was of Aiginetan origin, perhaps being descended from the rebels settled in Sounion sometime around

480 (Hdt. vi. 90); (b) his father got land on Aigina in 431, although he must not have given up his Athenian citizenship if he did so ( $\Sigma^{\text{EF}}$ ; Theogenes *FGrH* 300 F 2); or (c) Ar. himself resided there for some other reason. Cf. 405–6n., 703n.; Figueira (above) 79–93.

**655** τοι: *GP* 545.  $\alpha$  had ἀφήσετε (R, cf.  $\gamma^{\text{p}}$  Vp3 φήσετε) or perhaps ἀφήσετ' ( $\mathbf{a}^{\text{act}}$ : ἀφήσεθ'  $\mathbf{a}^{\text{pc}}$ ) (both unmetrical), which is most economically explained as a misguided correction of Bergk's ἀφήσθ' (prohibitive aor. mid. subjunc.) to fut. act. indic. under the influence of κωμωδήσει. ὡς: 'since'. τὰ δίκαια is internal acc. with κωμωδήσει.

**656–8** φησίν: 'he affirms', i.e. 'he promises'. διδάξειν: Cf. 628–9n., 658. εὐδαίμονας: Not just 'happy' but 'fortunate', i.e. wealthy, powerful, and the like; cf. 643–4, 836–8, 957–8; Dover, *GPM* 174.

οὐ κτλ.: i.e. in contrast to the behaviour of other political figures and Kleon in particular, as 659–64 make clear. θωπεύων: Cf. 370–3, 634–40; *Eq.* 48, 788–9, 1116–17 (634–5n.).

$\mathbf{d}$ 's οὐθ' for οὐδ' (preserved only in S) in 657 reflects an original misreading of majuscule ΟΥΘΩΠΕΥΩΝ as οὐθ' ὠπεύων and must have been the reading in  $\alpha$ .  $\beta$  corrected to οὐ . . . οὐθ' . . . οὐτ'.

ὑποτείνων μισθούς: 'dangling the hope of wages before you'. Most naturally taken as a reference to jurors' pay, raised from the traditional two obols a day to three obols by some time before Lenaia 424 (e.g. *Eq.* 51, 255), according to  $\Sigma^{\text{R}}$  V. 88 (cf. *Eq.* 800;  $\Sigma^{\text{V}}$  V. 300) on the motion of Kleon at a time when he was serving as general, i.e. in summer 425, during the Pylos campaign, although this passage implies that he had been arguing for the increase since at least the beginning of the year. For the use of offers of wages to influence public debate, *Eq.* 1350–7.

ἔξαπατύλλων: A contemptuous colloquial form of ἔξαπατάω attested elsewhere only at *Eq.* 1144 (also of the Athenian people being taken in by demagogues); cf. 398–400n.; Cerc. POxy. viii. 1082 fr. 39. 7 ἀ]πά[τ]υλλα.

πανουργῶν: πανούργος (lit. 'willing to do anything', i.e. 'wretch') and its cognates are favourite Aristophanic terms for describing Kleon and his behaviour (e.g. *Eq.* 45, 247–50, 450; V. 1227; *Pax* 652).

κατάρδων: 'sprinkling [you]' with praise, an image borrowed from lyric poetry (e.g. *Pi. P.* 8. 57; *I.* 6. 21, 63–4; cf. Taillardat § 748).

τὰ βέλτιστα διδάσκων: Cf. 628–9n., 656.

**659–64** The pnygos, consisting of six anapaestic dimeters, the last catalectic. The entire passage is a parody of E. fr. 918 (unattributed but assigned to *Tel.* by Bergk), the most significant changes being the substitution of (1) ταῦτα Κλέων (659) for E.'s ταῦθ' ὅτι χρή, and (2) περὶ τὴν πόλιν κτλ. (663–4) for E.'s κακὰ πράσων.

πρὸς ταῦτα: 'therefore'; frequently with an imper. (e.g. *Nu.* 990; V. 927; *Pax* 765 (also at the beginning of the pnygos); S. *Ai.* 971 with Jebb ad loc.; E. *Med.* 1358), as here.

καὶ παλαμάσθω / καὶ . . . τεκταινέσθω: Taillardat §§ 417–18; Dover on *Nu.* 176.

τὸ . . . εὔ: Cf. Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 121. ἔσται is

to be supplied from 662. **μετ' ἐμοῦ:** 'on my side' (e.g. *Pax* 765; *Av.* 1672; cf. Poultney 177). **τὸ δίκαιον / ξύμμαχον ἔσται:** Cf. *Lys.* 2. 10 (of the Athenians who fought to force the burial of the Seven against Thebes) τὸ δὲ δίκαιον ἔχοντες σύμμαχον ἐνίκων ('they were victorious, since they had what is right as an ally'). **κοῦ μή ποθ' ἀλώ:** A very emphatic denial; 'there is no way I will ever . . .' (e.g. *Pax* 1304; cf. *KG* ii. 221-2; Goodwin §§ 294-5). **περὶ τὴν πόλιν ὦν:** An echo of official language (normally of commendation rather than criticism); cf. 697 with n.; *Pl.* 568. **ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος κτλ.:** The tone, consistently defensive since 630, shifts abruptly to bitter invective culminating in a climactic obscenity followed by a change of subject (cf. 1066 with n.; K. J. Dover, *Aristophanic Comedy* (London, 1972) 38-41). **δειλός:** i.e. the sort of man who avoids military service if possible (picking up on the theme of 595-606) and then, if forced to participate, runs away from battle (*Nu.* 353-4; *Ec.* 679); cf. 1129 with n. Perhaps an allusion to the fact that Kleon, despite his political prominence, had at this point never served as general. **λακαταπύγων:** 79 n., 219-20 n.; cf. *λακατάρατος* (Phot. λ 42). The text against which ΓΕ were corrected confounded the word with *λακκόπρωκτος* (*Nu.* 1330; Agora graffito C 23 Lang), the sense of which is similar.

**665-75 Ode ~ 692-702** Antode; creto-paeonic. Cf. White § 453; Prato 16-17; Zimmermann ii. 206-7; iii. 4-5; Parker 136-9.

(1) 665-6 ~ 692-3	-υ - -υυυ -υυυ -υυυ  -υυυ	
	-υ-	cr 4p cr
(2) 667-9 ~ 694-6	-υ- -υ- -υ- -υυυ -υυυ -υυυ	
	-υ-  -υ^	3cr 3p 2cr
(3) 670	-υυυυ -υυυυ -υ υυ -υ-	3p cr
~ 697		^
(4) 671 ~ 698	-υυυυ -υυυυ -υ υυ -υ-	3p cr
(5) 672-5 ~ 699-702	-υ- -υ- -υυυυ -υυυυ  -υυυ υ	
	-υυυυ  -υυυ υ -υ- -υ-	2cr 5p 2cr

**665-75** Ring-composition: (A) 'Hither (B) come (ἐλθέ), Muse, (C) like an intense (ἐντονος) fire' (665-6). (D) An extended description of a lively cooking fire and the preparations for a meal (667-72). (C) 'With an intense (ἐντονον) song like that, (B) come (ἐλθέ) (A) to me' (672-5). For the ode as an invocation of the iambic tradition of abuse poetry, Rosen and Marks 906.

**665-6 δεῦρο, Μοῦσ', ἐλθέ:** Appeals to divinities to join the chorus' dance or to offer poetic inspiration (as here) appear routinely at the beginning of lyric sections of Ar.'s parabases (*Eq.* 551-64; *Nu.* 563-74, 595-606; *Pax* 775-81 with Olson on 775-7; *Av.* 737-51; *Ra.* 674-85; cf. Cratin. fr. 237); cf. Barrett on E. *Hipp.* 528-9; Horn 14-19, esp. 15-16; Kugelmeier 111. Here the song has a unique twist befitting the general comic

fascination with food and feasting: the goddess is to bring a song that will match the sparks that rise from a charcoal cooking fire. **φλεγυρά:** A very rare word, first attested here and at Cratin. fr. 62. 2 (lyric). Glossed first with the poetic *πυρὸς ἔχουσα μένος*; then with the less elevated but more abstract *ἔντονος*; and finally with the extended concrete image of the cooking fire in 667–9. For poetry as fire, e.g. Pi. *O.* 9. 21–2; Bacch. fr. 4. 80; cf. Taillardat § 736; Whitman 70–1. **μέμος:** Poetic and especially epic vocabulary (e.g. *V.* 424 ('anger'); H. *Il.* 16. 529; 17. 565 *πυρὸς αἰνὸν ἔχει μέμος* ('he has the terrible might of fire'); Hes. *Th.* 688; Simon. *PMG* 581. 4; A. *Supp.* 560; E. *Heracl.* 428; cf. Chadwick 189–95, esp. 194). **ἔντονος:** 'intense, high-strung' (S. fr. 842; 966. 2 with Pearson ad loc.; E. *Hipp.* 118; fr. 291. 1; Th. v. 70), and thus 'vehement' (cf. 668–9 *ἐρεθιζόμενος*, 676), as at 674 (where see n.). For the image, Pratin. *TrGF* 4 F 6. 1–3 *μήτε σύντονον δίωκε / μήτε τὰν ἀνειμένην / μούσαν* ('pursue neither the high-strung nor the relaxed muse'). **Ἀχαρνική:** 177n., 347–9n.

**667–9 οἶον:** 'just as'; correlative with *οὕτω* in 672–3. α had *οἶων* (Ra (unmetrical)) via attraction to the case of the words that follow; corrected in the common ancestor of **ct**. Asyndeton is normal when a detailed explanation is offered of a preceding general statement (KG ii. 345). **ἐξ ἀνθράκων πρινίνων:** 180–1n. For **φέψαλος**, 279n. *σπινθήρ* in **p** is an intrusive gloss (~ Σ<sup>RL</sup>) on the word. **ἀνήλατ(ο):** Gnomic aor. (Goodwin § 155). For the image, *V.* 227; Taillardat § 791. **ἐρεθιζόμενος:** 'provoked' (cf. *V.* 1104); imperfective because the fire leaps up only so long as the fanning continues. **ρίπιδι:** A fan of wickerwork or feathers used to raise a flame in a fire (888; Eub. fr. 75. 7; Aristo *AP* vi. 306. 3 = *HE* 778; Hsch. ρ 360; cf. *Ra.* 360; *Ec.* 842; Stratt. fr. 59; Sparkes (1962) 129; (1975) 134 with pl. XVIIId), hence the primarily poetic (e.g. *Eq.* 433; Archil. fr. 106. 3; A. *Ch.* 814; S. *Ph.* 780; E. *Hel.* 406) adj. **οὐρία** (lit. 'accompanied by a favourable wind', in context 'producing winds that favour cooking').

**670–2 ἐπανθρακίδες:** Small fish roasted directly on the coals (Σ<sup>REG</sup>; cf. *V.* 1127; Philyll. fr. 12. 3 (corrupt); S a 2523) and dipped in a brine sauce (671). **ὥσι παρακείμεναι:** Since the charcoal is just now being coaxed into flame (667–9) and the dipping sauce and *μάζαι* ('barley-cakes') are being prepared (671–2), the fish cannot already have been cooked and served (for *παρακείμαι* as the functional passive of *παρατίθημι*, e.g. Pherecr. fr. 113. 17; Telecl. fr. 1. 7; Eub. fr. 111. 3) but must simply be 'lying near by', ready to be roasted once the coals are hot and everything else is in order. **οἱ δέ:** Sc. *παῖδες*; cf. 1003–7.

**Θασίαν:** Sc. *ἄλμην*. A sauce into which individual bits of food were dipped (Σ<sup>EF3</sup>; Ath. 7. 329b, citing Ar. fr. 426; Olson–Sens on Arcestr. fr. 23. 5–6; cf. 1156–8 n.; *V.* 328–31, 1515 (below); Cratin. fr. 6. 1; 150; Hsch. θ 119); it apparently included oil as well as salt (below).

**ἀνακυκῶσι:** Cf. *V.* 1515 (of preparations for cooking crabs) ἄλμην κύκα τούτοισιν ('Mix up some brine for these!').

**λιπαράμπυκα:** A high-style adj., the immediate point of which is that the sauce contains oil and can thus be called λιπαρός ('sleek, rich'; cf. 639-40 with n.). Attested elsewhere only at *Pi. N.* 7. 15 (of Mnemosyne); similar epithets (always of goddesses) at e.g. *Pi. P.* 3. 89; *Bacch.* 17. 9.

**μάττωσιν:** Sc. μάζας ('barley-cakes'); cf. 732 with n.; *Pax* 1-28; *Eup.* fr. 370 μάττει γὰρ ἤδη καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐκκάεται ('for he's kneading cakes already and the fire is lit'); *Men. Dysk.* 549.

**672-5 οὕτω σοβαρόν:** 667-9 n. σοβαρός and its cognates are used by Ar. of anything full of brisk vigour (*Nu.* 406; *Pax* 83, 943/4; *Pl.* 872; cf. *Aristopho* fr. 11. 5; *Phot.* p. 527. 24-5), here with reference not just to the fire itself (667-9) but to all the hustle and bustle that accompanies preparation of the meal (670-2). μέλος is to be taken with λαβούσα, and ὡς ἐμὲ . . . τὸν δημότην (for which, 319-20 n.) with ἐλθέ (chiasmus). ἔντονος and εὔτονος ('active, vigorous') are routinely confused in MSS (e.g. at *S.* fr. 842; *E. Hipp.* 118), but A's ἔντονον (which echoes 666) is a better summary of the description in 667-72 (esp. 667-9) and is probably correct.

**ἀγροικότερον:** Modelled on the Homeric ἀγρότερος ('of the countryside [rather than the town]'). For the implicit anti-urban sentiment, 32-3. ἀγροικότονον (all MSS except AE) reflects the influence of ἔντονον.

**676-718** The theme of hostility between young and old (anticipated in 600-17) ties together the epirrhema, antode, and antepirrhema. For the complaint against the city by the chorus, speaking in character, beginning in the epirrhema, cf. *Nu.* 575-94, 607-26. Athenians of all ages must have been ruined by lawsuits from time to time (not always undeservedly), but nothing else suggests a sudden rush of prosecutions of feeble old men in the mid-420s, and the chorus' complaint is probably based entirely on the individual case of Thucydides son of Melesias (703-12 with 703 n.).

**676-91** Epirrhema; 16 trochaic tetrameters catalectic. The chorus turn to their own concerns, which none the less echo those of the poet (377-82 with n., 630-2).

**676-8 οὐ γὰρ ἀξίως κτλ.:** For the idea, cf. 692-702 (where the focus is on Marathon); *Eq.* 1334; *V.* 711. ἐκείνων ὧν (= ἄ (6-8 n.))

**ἐναυμαχήσαμεν:** A reference to the battles of Artemision—where the Athenians were in fact rather roughly handled—and especially Salamis (cf. *Eq.* 785; *V.* 684-5; *Ra.* 1026-7) in 480; cf. 180-1 n.; *Hdt.* viii. 9-18, 78-95; *Th.* i. 73. 4-5.

**γηροβοσκούμεσθ(α):** An allusion to the traditional obligation (enforced by law in Athens) for sons to support their aged parents (*E. Alc.* 662-4; *Med.* 1032-4; [*Arist.*] *Ath.* 56. 6 with *Rhodes* ad loc.; cf. *Lipsius* 505; *Harrison* i. 77-8; *Dunbar* on *Av.* 1353-7), on analogy with which the state as a whole is allegedly obliged to



honour and care for those who helped establish its power and passed it on to the next generation (cf. *Eq.* 565–8). For the theme, cf. *Eq.* 518–40. **δεινὰ πάσχομεν:** 323–5 n.

**679–80 οἴτινες:** Dependent on *ὑμῶν* in 678. **ἐμβαλόντες εἰς γραφάς:**

For similar expressions, e.g. *Nu.* 1460; Antipho 3. 4. 10; Pl. *R.* 487e, 615b; cf. Taillardat § 558. ‘Cf. Hdt. iv. 72. [4] etc.’ in LSJ s. *ἐμβάλλω* I. 1 (seemingly cited as a parallel for this phrase) belongs under I. 2. *γραφαί* are ‘bills of indictment’ (e.g. *V.* 894; Eub. fr. 74. 6) and by extension the prosecutions that result from them (cf. 714; LSJ s.v. III misleadingly cites no use of the word in this sense earlier than Lysias and Antipho).

**ὑπὸ νεανίσκων . . . ῥητόρων:** 37–9 n., 600–1 n.; cf. *V.* 687–91. **καταγελαῖσθαι:** 75–6 n.

**681–91** An extraordinarily pathetic view of the old, who are barely able to talk (683, 689; cf. 711), half-blind (684), crippled (682; cf. 703, 708–10), easily baffled (687–8; cf. 707), and merely waiting to die (691). They are thus defenceless against the well-organized (685), rapid, and brutal (686–7) attack of their young adversaries, who assault them and lead them into snares (687–8) and leave them for as good as dead (689–91). According to Pl. *Phdr.* 267c, the evocation of pity for old age and poverty was a speciality of the orator Thrasymachos of Chalcedon, to whom Ar. had alluded already in *Daitales* (fr. 205. 8–9).

**681–2 οὐδὲν ὄντας:** ‘useless’ (*V.* 1504; *Ec.* 144; Eup. fr. 237; E. *HF* 314; Moorhouse, *CQ* NS 15 (1965) 31–4 (but without reference to this passage)); cf. 698 n., 1185. **κωφούς:** Probably ‘mute’ (contrast *Eq.*

312; Cratin. fr. 6. 3), given (1) the image that follows and (2) the fact that the one disability from which the chorus do *not* claim to suffer is deafness.

**παρεξηυλημένους:** Lit. ‘having been played like a pipe (*αὐλέω*; cf. 862–3 n.) to its natural end (cf. LSJ s. *ἐκ* C. 2) and beyond (cf. LSJ s. *παρά* G. III)’; attested elsewhere only in the lexicographers and Leo Diakonos (10th c.). For the image (which Zenob. v. 65 asserts became proverbial), cf. *Eq.* 532–3 (of the aged Kratinos) *ἐκπιπτουσῶν τῶν ἡλέκτρων καὶ τοῦ τόνου οὐκέτ’ ἐνόητος τῶν θ’ ἀρμονιῶν διαχασκουσῶν* (‘although his pegs are falling out and he no longer maintains his pitch and his joints gape’).

**ἀσφάλειος** is said by Pausanias to be a standard epithet of Poseidon (vii. 21. 7; cf. 510–11 n.; *IG* IV 1063. 4–5; *V* (2) 454. 1; Plu. *Thes.* 36. 4; Opp. *H.* 5. 679–80; Heliod. 6. 7) but is attested for Attika only in the Decree of Themistokles (*SEG* 22 (1967) 274. 39–40 = *M–L* 23. 39–40), which outlines Athenian military strategy on the eve of the Battle of Artemision (cf. 677 with n.). The joke is that the only security (*ἀσφάλεια*) the old men have any longer against stumbling (*ἀ*-privative + *σφάλλομαι*) is their walking-sticks; Σ<sup>REF</sup> suggests that **Ποσειδῶν** contains a further pun on *ποσί* (‘feet’). α’s unmetrical *ὁ Ποσειδῶν* was corrected by Triklinios.

**ἡ βακτηρία:** For the walking-stick as part of an old man’s costume, *Nu.* 541; *V.* 1296; *Pl.*

272; *A. Ag.* 74–5; *E. Andr.* 588; *HF* 108–9; *Ion* 743; *Call. e.* 1. 7; *Herod.* 8. 60; cf. *Stone* 246–7.

**683–9** A simple ring-structure: (A) the muttering helplessness to which the defendant has been reduced by old age (683–4); (B) the prosecutor's behaviour (685–8); (A) the muttering helplessness to which the defendant has been reduced by old age and the prosecutor's cleverness (689). For the idea, cf. *V.* 946–8, where Thucydides son of Melesias is said to have been unable to speak when put on trial after his return from exile probably sometime in his 70s (703 n.).

**683–4** For the ease with which old men can be confused by clever rhetoric, *Eq.* 269–70. **τονθορούζοντες:** 'mumbling, muttering' (*V.* 614; *Ra.* 747; *Herod.* 7. 77); onomatopoeic. **τῷ λίθῳ προσέσταμεν:** Wachsmuth (followed by Sommerstein) identified this as a reference to the stone on which jurors' voting-pebbles were counted (*V.* 332–3), in which case the detail is a proleptic reminder of the judgement to come (cf. 689–91). More likely 'the stone' is the speaker's stand or βῆμα (e.g. *Ec.* 677; *Pl.* 382; thus Σ<sup>REF3</sup>), onto which the defendant will be called in a moment to answer the prosecutor's questions (687–8 with 687 n.), and the usage is borrowed from the Assembly (thus Lipsius 173 A. 31; cf. Olson on *Pax* 679–80). **Ar.** generally qualifies negations with ἀλλ' ἢ (e.g. *Eq.* 1397; *V.* 984; *Pax* 476; cf. *GP* 24–7) rather than **d**'s εἰ μή, hence Dobree's (unnecessary) emendation. **τῆς δίκης τὴν ἠλύγην:** Probably a play on the tragic image of 'the light of justice' (*A. Ag.* 773; *E. Supp.* 564; adesp. tr. fr. 500), but with δίκη to be taken in the sense 'lawsuit'; the word that reverses the image is reserved for final position in the line. ἠλύγη ('shadow, obscurity') is attested only here and in the lexicographers (cf. cit. app.), but cf. ἐπῆλυξ (*E. Cyc.* 680) and ἐπηλυγάζω (e.g. *Th.* vi. 36. 2).

**685–8** The term ξυνήγορος ('advocate'; cf. 705, 715) was used of anyone who spoke in court on behalf of another person or the state; cf. MacDowell on *V.* 482–3; Todd 94–5; L. Rubinstein, *Litigation and Cooperation: Supporting Speakers in the Courts of Classical Athens* (*Historia Einzelschriften* 147; Stuttgart, 2000). MacDowell argues that this passage refers to one of the ten ξυνήγοροι who according to [Arist.] *Ath.* 54. 2 were chosen by lot to oversee the examination of magistrates' accounts (937–9 n.). The individual in question, however, canvassed for his appointment and must be one of the state advocates elected or chosen by some extraordinary means on an occasional basis to prosecute grave crimes against the state (Andron's decree (411 BCE) ap. *Plu. Mor.* 833e–f; *Din.* 1. 51; 2. 6; *Hyp.* 5. 38; *Plu. Per.* 10. 6); cf. 705, 715; *Eq.* 1358–61; *Nu.* 1089; *V.* 482–3, 687–91 (none of which, *pace* MacDowell, need refer to a different type of ξυνήγορος)); Carawan, *GRBS* 28 (1987) 167–208, esp. 179–81.

**685** A troubled verse. α's εαυτῷ . . . ξυνηγορεῖν ('that he might be his own

ξυνήγορος') might be taken to mean that the young man not only brought the original complaint but was eager to prosecute it as well. This is difficult sense, and Elmsley proposed printing νεανίαν as acc. subj. of ξυνηγορεῖν ('that a youngster be his advocate'), although 686–7 would then describe the behaviour not of the young advocate but of the man who urged his election, which garbles the thrust of the passage as a whole (esp. 680, 714–18). I follow Starkie, Sommerstein, and Henderson in printing Kock's ἐπ' αὐτῷ ('to serve as a ξυνήγορος against him'). Abrupt shifts from pl. to sing. in descriptions of a particular example of a recurrent behaviour are typical of Ar.'s style; cf. KG i. 87; Olson on *Pax* 639–40. The pl. resumes at 698. **σπουδάσας:** For the vb. and its cognates used of attempts to achieve political ends by underhanded means, 595 with n.; *Eq.* 925–6, 1369–70 with Neil on 896–8; E. *IA* 337–42 (a detailed catalogue of ways a candidate can curry favour with voters).

**686 εἰς τάχος** = ταχέως (e.g. X. *Eq. Mag.* 3. 2, 4). The term τάχος ('speed') was used commonly to characterize vigorous, fluent speech in the Imperial period (e.g. D.H. *Th.* 48, 53; Plu. *Dem.* 2. 3) and occasionally earlier (e.g. Eup. fr. 102. 4 (of Perikles)); cf. O'Sullivan 113–14. **παίει . . . στρογγύλοις τοῖς ῥήμασιν:** As if with slingballs or stones, as in a battle (*War* v. 1–67; cf. 1218–19) or a street-fight (1168–70n.); the close combat begins in 687. Cf. Taillardat § 502. στρογγύλος ('round', and thus by extension 'neatly conceived, terse') appears to be a semi-technical rhetorical term already in this period (fr. 488. 1; Pl. *Phdr.* 234e; cf. Arist. *Rh.* 1394<sup>b</sup>33; O'Sullivan 139); here the point is that the prosecutor has polished the individual phrases (ῥήματα; not simply 'words') in his speech carefully in advance (cf. *Eq.* 347–9) and is thus prepared to set verbal traps for his opponent (687). For words as mock-heroic weapons, *Ra.* 902–4. **ξυνάπτων:** Sc. μάχην *vel sim.* (LSJ s. συνάπτω II. b), 'as they come to blows'.

**687 ἀνελκύσας:** 'after dragging him up', i.e. on to the βῆμα ('speaker's stand') to answer questions; cf. 379, 683–4n.; *V.* 568 (of a defendant trying to capture the jury's sympathy) τὰ παιδάρι' . . . ἀνέλκει ('he drags his children up'), 963; Lys. 20. 29; Is. 11. 4 with Wyse ad loc.; Aeschin. 2. 143; D. 19. 120; Lipsius 876–7; Boegehold 201–5. **σκανδάληθρ' ἰστάς ἐπῶν:** Attributed to Kratinos (= fr. 457 K.; rejected by K–A) by Photios, almost certainly in error. A σκανδάλη or σκανδάληθρον is the trigger-piece to which the bait is attached in a dead-fall trap; when touched, it collapses and allows a heavy log or the like (ρόπτρον) to fall and crush the animal. Cf. E. *Hipp.* 1172 with Barrett ad loc.; Alciph. ii. 19 (iii. 22); Σ<sup>REF</sup>; Poll. vii. 114; x. 156. The old man is thus led on by his interrogator's questions and blunders repeatedly (note pl. σκανδάληθρα, and cf. on 688) into sudden ruin. For ἴστημι used of setting animal-traps, *Ar.* 526–8 with Dunbar on 527–8.

- 688** ἄνδρα Τιθωνόν: 'a Tithonos' (KG i. 272), i.e. 'a man as old as Tithonos'; cf. Call. fr. 194. 53 and the very similar use of 'Kronos' and 'Iapetos' (*Nu.* 998, 1070 with Dover on 398; *Av.* 469; Nicopho fr. 23 = Philonid. fr. dub. 17; adesp. com. fr. 751 with K-A ad loc.; Pl. *Euthd.* 287b). Tithonos, a son of King Laomedon of Troy, was carried off by Dawn on account of his extraordinary beauty (*H. Il.* 20. 236-8; *h.Ven.* 218-19; *Ibyc. PMGF* 289(a); *Tyrt.* fr. 12. 5; *E. Tr.* 853-7; cf. *H. Il.* 11. 1 = *Od.* 5. 1; *Hes. Th.* 984-5). When he began to age, the goddess asked Zeus to grant her lover eternal life; unfortunately, she failed to ask for eternal youth as well and Tithonos grew ever older and weaker (*h.Ven.* 220-40; *Mimn.* fr. 4. 1; *Hellanic. FGrH* 4 F 140). Cf. *LIMC* viii. 1. 34. **σπαράττων καὶ ταραάττων καὶ κυκῶν:** A description not of destruction via a single, sudden rhetorical or legal blow (cf. on 687) but of relentless hostile worrying, as the interrogation drags on and on. For *σπαράττω*, Pl. *R.* 539b; Headlam on *Herod.* 5. 57; Taillardat § 618; of hostile jurors at *Pax* 641. For the jingle *σπαράττων καὶ ταραάττων* (which led to the omission of *καὶ ταραάττων* in **a<sup>ac</sup>** via haplography), cf. 575 n. For *ταράττω*, 620-2 n. For *κυκάω* (here 'throwing into confusion', as also at 707), 530-1 n. For *κυκάω* and *ταράττω* and their cognates together in comedy, Olson on *Pax* 319-20, to whose examples add *Eq.* 692; *Pax* 654.
- 689** ὑπὸ γήρωσ: 'because he is so old' (Poultney 195-6) and thus unable to defend himself effectively. **μασταρύζει:** 'purses up his lips' (thus  $\Sigma^{\text{REG}}$ , cf. *Hsch.*  $\mu$  351; *LSJ* s.v. 'mumble' reflects the influence of 683 and requires correction), i.e. in terror and chagrin. Elsewhere only in late grammarians and lexicographers. **καῖτ' ὀφλῶν ἀπέρχεται:** i.e. having lost his suit and been fined. Cf. 691 *τουτ' ὀφλῶν ἀπέρχομαι\** (whence the error in  $\Gamma^3$ ).
- 690-1** λύζει: Lit. 'he hiccoughs' (< *λύγξ* (onomatopoeic)) and thus perhaps by extension 'he sobs gaspingly', but in any case a sign of intense emotion ([*Arist.*] *Pr.* 962<sup>b</sup>32-3; *Antip. Sid. AP* vii. 218. 12 = *HE* 331; *Luc. Peregr.* 6);  $\Sigma^{\text{REG}}$ 's *εἶτ' ἀλύει* (accepted by Elmsley; for the vb. ('be beside oneself' *vel sim.*), *Arnott* on *Alex.* fr. 121. 13) is unnecessary. **τοὺς φίλους:** i.e. the presumed community of other (potentially equally vulnerable) old men. **οὐ . . . πρίασθαι:** In apposition to *τουτ(ο)*. For the gen. of price, 812, 898, 1055; Poultney 103-4. **σορόν:** A box or coffin, normally of wood (note *Nu.* 846 *σοροπηγοῖς* ('coffin-joiners'), and cf. the *λάρνακες κυπαρίσσινας* ('cypress-wood coffers') in which the bones of Athens' war-casualties are buried at *Th.* ii. 34. 3), in which the dead were buried. The speaker may mean nothing more than that his estate was only large enough to pay for his funeral, but *Nu.* 846 (cf. *Lys.* 600) implies that the *σορός* was sometimes ordered in advance. The pathetic image of the man too poor even to be buried (cf. *Ec.* 592; *Pl.* 556) marks the emotional climax of the epirrhema narrative (an effect reinforced by the move to direct quotation of his words) and sets

the stage for the indignant denunciation in 692–702. **τοῦτ' ὀφλῶν ἀπέρχομαι:** 689n.

**692–702** Antode ~ 665–75 Ode. The chorus resume the complaint begun in the epirrhema, now with attention to their past accomplishments (cf. 677–8) rather than their current weakness.

**692–3 ταῦτα πῶς εἰκότα;:** Cf. 703 τῷ γὰρ εἰκός;. ταῦτα both sums up the ugly situation described in 676–91 and stands in apposition to the expansion of the complaint that follows (KG i. 646). The eye of the A-scribe leapt from ἀπο-λέσαι to ἀπο-μορξάμενον in 695 and he omitted everything in between. **περὶ κλειψύδραν:** i.e. 'in court'.

The κλειψύδρα was an open bowl pierced just below the rim with a drain-hole (to limit its capacity) and at the base with a small, stoppable bronze tube. Speakers in the lawcourts were given a fixed amount of water, depending on the size and type of case; when the water ran out, their time was up ([Arist.] *Ath.* 67. 2 with Rhodes ad loc.; Lipsius 915–16; Boegehold 226–30). As the object of most immediate interest to prosecutor and defendant, the water-clock stands via synecdoche for the court as a whole, as at *V.* 93; *Av.* 1694–5. Also mentioned in comedy at *V.* 857–8; Eub. fr. 74. 6; cf. Epinic. fr. 2. 2. For a late 5th-c. κλειψύδρα from the Agora, Young, *Hesperia* 8 (1939) 274–84; Lang, in Boegehold 77–8.

**694–6** An initially vague recommendation, given a specific point only in 697. **πολλὰ δὴ ξυμπονήσαντα:** Sc. ὑμῖν. Cf. *V.* 684–5, where

Philokleon (= the Athenian people) is said to have acquired the Empire and thus the tribute it produces πολλὰ πονήσας ('by accomplishing many labours'). For the use of δὴ with an adj. expressing indefinite quantity or number, *GP* 205; cf. 986. **ἀπομορξάμενον:** Poetic and especially epic vocabulary (e.g. *H. Il.* 23. 739; *Od.* 18. 200; cf. below; A.R. 2. 86; Mosch. 2. 96); attested elsewhere before the 4th c. (Arist. *Phgn.* 810<sup>b</sup>3) outside of epic only at 706; *V.* 560; E. fr. 694. 1. Cf. 843n. **ἀνδρικόν:**

A colloquial alternative (here *metri gratia*) for the more elevated ἀνδρείος; cf. Neil on *Eq.* 80–1. For ἀνδρεία ('manliness', i.e. 'courage') as a fundamental social value, Dover, *GPM* 164–7; cf. *V.* 1077 (of Athenian character as revealed by the Persian Wars) ἀνδρικώτατον γένος ('a most manly race'). **ἰδρῶτα:** A natural image of hard work, already at Hes. *Op.* 289; cf. *Ec.* 750; Simon. *PMG* 579. 5 (evidence of ἀνδρεία); Taillardat § 528. ἀπομόργνυμι is most often used of wiping away tears (706 with n.; *H. Il.* 2. 269; *Od.* 17. 304; E. fr. 694), and after the ambiguous θερμόν (e.g. *H. Il.* 7. 426; *Od.* 4. 523; 19. 362 (all 'hot tears')), δὴ adds stress to the fact that the obj. of the vb. is instead 'manly sweat'. καί adds emphasis to πολύν, 'and a lot of it!'; cf. 906; *GP* 290.

**697 ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν ὄντα . . . περὶ τὴν πόλιν:** An echo of official language of public commendation (e.g. *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 17. 7–9; 65. 10–11; 73. 6–7; 92. 7–9 ἀν|ήρ ἀγαθὸς περὶ τὴμ πόλιν τὴν Ἀθ|ηναίων ('a good man in regard to the

city of Athens'); II<sup>2</sup> 7. 6–8); cf. 663 with n. For the locative dat. **Μαραθῶνι**, 698; *Eq.* 781. The absence of ἐν with this and similar place-names is normal Attic usage (Threatte ii. 379–83) and (as Elmsley, following Bentley, argued) the prep. ought probably to be expelled at *Eq.* 1334; *V.* 711; fr. 429. For the Battle of Marathon and the likely age of Marathon-veterans in 425, 180–1 n., 698 n.

**698** The chorus return to the general 1st-person complaint with which they began at 676–84 (contrast 685–97 with 685 n.). **εἶτα**: Connective, 'So . . .'; cf. *V.* 1291; *Pax* 625; *Av.* 503. Sommerstein punctuates 698–701 as a question ('Is this how things stand, that . . .?'), but 702 requires a preceding assertion. **ὄτ' ἡμεν** is arguably pleonastic with the locative **Μαραθῶνι** (697 n.) and Brunck, Elmsley, and Starkie set the words off with commas and take them to mean 'when we were [young and vigorous]' (esp. *E.* fr. 311. 1; cf. 681–2 n.; *Lys.* 669 (with εἶτι, which makes the sense much clearer)). But 'when we were at Marathon' effectively brings out the contrast with νῦν δ' in 699 and I retain the traditional punctuation. **ε**'s ἐβάλλομεν is so peculiar that it most likely represents a scribe's attempt to generate a word parallel to ἐδιώκομεν to fill a gap in the text produced by a blot on the page or the like. **ἐδιώκομεν**: 699–701 n.

**699–701** **πονηρῶν**: An antonym of ἀγαθός (697); cf. Neil, *Knights*, pp. 206–8; Dover, *GPM* 64–5. For the accent, 731 n. **σφόδρα**: To be taken with **πονηρῶν**; also following the adj. it modifies at e.g. fr. 110. 3; Antiph. fr. 58. 1; 157. 1; Philisc. Com. fr. 3. **διωκόμεθα**: A pun on two senses of the vb., 'pursue' (698) and 'prosecute', hence the pass. **διωκόμεθα** in place of the expected **φεύγομεν**; cf. *Eq.* 967–9; *V.* 1202–7; and perhaps *V.* 952. The Battle of Marathon did in fact end with the Athenians chasing the Persians down to the sea (*Hdt.* vi. 113. 2; cf. *V.* 1087–8 (from a composite description of Persian War battles)). **πρός**: Adverbial, 'in addition, on top of that' (e.g. *Eq.* 578; *Pax* 19; *Pl.* 1001). **άλισκόμεθα**: Both 'we are caught' and 'we are convicted' (*LSJ* s.v. II. 2); cf. 698 n. on **διώκω**.

**702** **πρός τὰδε**: 'in response to these [arguments]' (contrast 659); for emphatic ὅδε, *KG* i. 644. For **τίς** ('what man like X?'), cf. 839–41 n. **ἀντερεῖ**: As if this were a debate in the Assembly or a case in the lawcourts (e.g. *Nu.* 1079; *Ec.* 249). For the use of the fut. rather than the subjunc. in a dubious question, 933; Goodwin § 68; van Leeuwen on *Eq.* 1183. **Μαρψίας** (*PAA* 635505) is also mentioned at *Eup.* fr. 179 (421 BCE), where he and Orestes (cf. 1166–8 n.) are said to be among the hangers-on of Kallias (46 n., 61 n.). The name (lit. 'Snatcher') is otherwise attested only at *Alciph.* ii. 5 (i. 25) (a fictional moneylender) and *CIG* 4. 8185a (a dog; cf. 1159–61 n.). Perhaps this is the nickname of some minor political figure known (at least in comedy) for his eagerness to accept bribes; Müller-Strübing 326, suggests that the man in

question is the (metrically equivalent but equally obscure) *Κτησίας* (839 with n.).

**703-18** Antepirrhema; 16 trochaic tetrameters catalectic. A specific example of the problem described in general terms in 676-702.

**703** τῷ γὰρ εἰκός;: Sc. τεκμηρίῳ and ἐστί, 'by what [token]', i.e. 'how [is it] reasonable?', as at *Th.* 839; cf. 692; *Nu.* 385; *Av.* 704 with Dunbar ad loc.; *Pl.* 48.      κυφόν: Also of old men at *Pl.* 266; *H. Od.* 2. 16; *D.L.* 6. 92; cf. Crates Theb. *SH* 366. 1.      ἡλικὸν Θουκυδίδην: 'as old as Thucydides' (*KG* ii. 410-12), to the details of whose story the narrative that follows hews closely. Thucydides son of Melesias of the deme Alopeke (*PA* 7268; *PAA* 515450) emerged as an important political opponent of Perikles after the death of Kimon (to whom he was somehow related by marriage) in the late 450s. Little is known about his career except that he was ostracized probably in the late 440s or early 430s; cf. Krentz, *Historia* 33 (1984) 499-504. 64 ostraka bearing his name have been recovered (M. Lang, *Agora* xxv (Princeton, 1990) 132-3, Cat. # 1050-1 (with further bibliography)). This passage and *V.* 946-8 make it clear that he eventually returned to Athens, was prosecuted (on what charge we do not know), failed to defend himself effectively, and (assuming 689-91 are a proleptic reference to his case) was assessed a heavy fine, which must have had the—doubtless intended—effect of removing him permanently from Athenian public life. In a brilliant piece of literary and historical detective work, Wade-Gery, *JHS* 52 (1932) 208-10, explained the wrestling metaphors at 704, 710, and *Plu. Per.* 8. 5; 11. 1, by arguing that Thucydides' father must be the Melesias mentioned at *Pi. O.* 8. 54-9 as a pankratiast and Nemean victor in boys' wrestling, and at *O.* 8. 59-66 (cf. *N.* 4. 93-4; 6. 64-6) as an immensely successful trainer; cf. *Pl. Men.* 94c, where Thucydides' sons are said to have been the best wrestlers in Athens. All Melesias' students whose nationalities are known are Aiginetan and Thucydides himself is said to have withdrawn to the island when ostracized (anon. *vit. Th.* 7 (where Thucydides son of Melesias and Thucydides the historian are confused)), and given the chorus' sympathy for him, it is tempting to see some connection with their implication at 652-4 that their poet is from Aigina as well. Cf. Raubitschek, *Phoenix* 14 (1960) 81-95 = *The School of Hellas* (New York and Oxford, 1991) 306-19; Davies 230-3; Andrewes, *JHS* 98 (1978) 1-8; Rhodes on [*Arist.*] *Ath.* 28. 2 (pp. 349-51); Stadter on *Plu. Per.* 11. 1.

**704-5** συμπλακέντα: 'come to grips with'; a technical term borrowed from wrestling, as also at *Men. Epit.* 236; *S. fr.* 618. 2; *E. Ba.* 800; *Aeschin.* 2. 153; *Plu. Per.* 11. 1 (all but *S. fr.* 618 of rhetorical rather than physical combat); cf. *Eub. fr.* 8. 1; *Pi. N.* 4. 94 ῥήματα πλέκων ('entwining words'); Poliakoff 75-87.      τῇ Σκυθῶν ἐρημία: Skythia had no cities (*Hdt.* iv. 46. 3) and is routinely presented as a cold, barren, empty

wasteland (Antiph. fr. 58; [A.] *PV* 1-2; Hp. *Aër.* ii. 68. 6-7; Hsch. σ 1161; cf. Macar. vii. 66; *App.Prov.* iv. 75), while its nomadic inhabitants (e.g. *Av.* 941) serve as a convenient cultural 'other' (e.g. Antiph. fr. 157. 1-6; cf. F. Hartog, *The Mirror of Herodotus* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1988) 12-206). Here the place stands for the man whose ancestry is to be traced there, i.e. (if Hamaker's conjecture in 705 is right) Euathlos (710 with n.) son of Kephisodemos; cf. Taillardat § 428. The implication of these verses and 712 is then that Kephisodemos' mother was a Skythian, which is, strictly speaking, possible, since before Perikles' law of 451/0 a boy needed only to be the product of an Athenian father and his lawfully wedded wife to be entitled to Athenian citizenship, and a number of prominent early 5th-c. statesmen (including Themistokles and Kimon) were in fact μητρόξενοι ('born of a non-Athenian mother') (Rhodes on [Arist.] *Ath.* 26. 4). Much more likely, Kephisodemos' mother was merely from somewhere in the north or had blond hair and was thus, on the slanderous logic of Old Comic invective, necessarily 'a Skythian'; cf. Aeschin. 3. 172, where a similar charge is laid against Demosthenes' grandmother. Kratinos called Hipponikos son of Kallias (*PA* 7658; *PAA* 538910) Σκυθικός ('Skythian'), apparently because he was blond (fr. 492; cf. Eup. fr. 20). For other comic charges of foreign birth lodged against socially or politically prominent individuals, 517-18, 852-3 n.; *V.* 1221 with MacDowell ad loc.; *Av.* 10-11, 31-2, 1293 with Dunbar ad loc.; *Ra.* 416-18, 678-82, 730-3; Pl. Com. fr. 185; Polyzel. fr. 5. For attacks on a man's mother, 478 n.

The demonstrative τῷδε shows only that this individual has been brought up in the discussion previously, i.e. in the oblique reference in 704 (KG i. 647), not that he is necessarily conspicuous in the audience (thus Sommerstein), which would require a deictic.

If α's *Κηφισοδήμω* is correct, not only was Thucydides prosecuted by two different men but both men are accused of being of Skythian ancestry (cf. 710-12). The latter in particular seems so unlikely that it is better to emend to Hamaker's *Κηφισοδήμου* and assume that Euathlos was Kephisodemos' son; an easy error in a line otherwise consisting entirely of datives. Nothing else is known of Kephisodemos (*PA* 8306; *PAA* 567455); the name is rare but is borne by three Athenians in the 4th and 3rd c. (*LGN* ii. 258-9, where entries 1 and 5 both refer to this passage). **λάλω:** Along with its cognate vb. λαλέω, a favourite Aristophanic term for someone overfull of words (e.g. 716 (Alkibiades), 933 (a sycophant); *Pax* 653 (Kleon); *Ra.* 1069 (Euripides)); cf. 21-2 n.; O'Sullivan 132-4. **ξυνηγόρω:** 685-8 n.; cf. fr. 424. 1 (706-7 n.; also of Euathlos).

**706-7** For the collocation of ideas in 706, cf. H. *Od.* 11. 55 (etc.) τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ δάκρυσσα ἰδὼν ἐλέησά τε θυμῷ ('I wept for him and pitied him in my heart when I saw him'). **ὥστ(ε):** Lit. 'and so', i.e. 'given that the situation just described (703-5) is manifestly unreasonable'.



**ἠλέησα:** Despite LSJ s.v., also used absolutely at e.g. *H. Il.* 24. 357; *S. Ph.* 967. **ἀπεμορξάμην:** *Sc.* δάκρυ; cf. 694–6n. **ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς τοξότου:** 'cum contemptu dictum' (Mueller). The Skythians fought with bows rather than with spears and shields (e.g. *Hdt.* iv. 46. 3; *Pl. Lg.* 795a; *X. Mem.* iii. 9. 2; cf. *Vos* 48–50 and pll. ix, xv–xvii), another mark of their (largely unattractive) 'otherness' (704–5n.; cf. 711–12; *V.* 1081–4 (the Persian Wars remembered as Greek hoplites facing barbarian archers); *Av.* 1185–7 (bows as slaves' weapons; cf. Dunbar ad loc.); *Ra.* 1356a–b (Euripidean Cretan archers); *S. Ai.* 1120–2 with Jebb ad loc.; *E. HF* 160–4 (archers as cowards) with Bond on 161). The mention of Skythian archers also calls to mind Athens' domestic security force (53–4n.), obliquely suggesting that Euathlos is not just a foreigner but a slave. Cf. fr. 424 (of Euathlos) ἔστι τις πονηρὸς ἡμῖν τοξότης συνήγορος / ὡσπερ Εὐαθλος παρ' ὑμῖν τοῖς νέοις ('among us there is a certain wretched bowman prosecutor just like Euathlos among you young men').

**708 μὰ τὴν Δήμητρ(α):** Only men swear simply by Demeter in comedy (e.g. *Eq.* 833; *Nu.* 455; *Ra.* 42; cf. K–A on adesp. com. fr. 128. 1); women add the adj. φίλην (*Antiph.* fr. 26. 2; *Men. Epit.* 955; *Philippid.* fr. 5. 4–5). **ἐκεῖνος ἦν ἱκ' ἦν Θουκυδίδης:** 'when he was the Thucydides we knew', i.e. 'in his prime'. For ἐκεῖνος used to mean 'the well-known', *Nu.* 534; *Th.* 161; *KG* i. 460.

**709** A troubled verse. The MSS and testimonia offer αὐτὴν τὴν Ἀχαιάν or Ἀχαιάν, and numerous scattered references survive to Demeter's cult-title Ἀχαιά, etymologized already in antiquity as (among other, less likely alternatives) an allusion to the goddess's ἄχος ('grief') after the abduction of her daughter Persephone/Kore (*Hdt.* v. 61. 2; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 5117; 5153 (a cult in Athens, according to *Hdt.* restricted to the Gephyraioi; cf. 978–9n.); *Nic. Th.* 484–5 with Σ 485 and Gow–Scholfield on 483 ff.; *Plu. Mor.* 378e; *Hsch.* α 8806; Stamatakis, *MDAI(A)* 4 (1879) 191–2; cf. [*Arist.*] *Mir.* 840<sup>b</sup>1–4 (a cult of Athena Ἀχαιά in Daunia); Σ<sup>REG</sup> ~ S α 4679; *Orion* p. 18. 21–2 ~ *EM*, p. 180. 34–41). This is obscure and it is difficult to see what quality Demeter Achaia could have had that Thucydides would not have put up with when he was younger and stronger. Borthwick, *BICS* 17 (1970) 107–10 (followed by Mastromarco and Henderson), accordingly conjectured αὐτὸν Ἀρταχαιάν, in reference to the giant, stentorian-voiced (cf. 711) Persian who accompanied Xerxes in 480 and died at Akanthos, where he had a hero-cult (*Hdt.* vii. 117; cf. *Ael. NA* 13. 20), with the paradosis to be explained as a misguided correction after -ρτα- dropped out, leaving the unmetrical and seemingly confused αὐτὸν Ἀχαιάν. But ἠνέσχετ(ο) makes it clear that the behaviour of the person in question was offensive and nothing suggests that Artachaias was remembered for having treated the Athenians (or anyone else) badly. In addition, the name of a specifically *Skythian* boor seems called for (cf. 706–7), and N. Wilson very tentatively suggests

αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀνάχαρσιν (a Skythian king who criticized all Greeks except the Spartans (Hdt. iv. 77. 1)). This is palaeographically more difficult than Borthwick's conjecture, and it seems more likely that the text originally contained an allusion to someone well known to Ar.'s original audience but obscure to us today. οὐδ' . . . ῥαδίως: 'scarcely' (e.g. *V.* 461; Antiph. fr. 118. 2).

ἄν<sup>2</sup> is colloquial (214–18 n.) but grammatically unnecessary and was therefore more likely lost from α than added in the version of the text cited in *EM*; cf. Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 1375.

**710 κατεπάλαισε:** 'thrown for a fall', i.e. 'defeated' (cf. 274–5 n., 703 n.; *E. IA* 1013; Taillardat § 579), with a pun on the accuser's name (below). The line is metrically deficient and the absence of ἄν in RAΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup> leaves no doubt that μὲν ἄν in the common ancestor of **ct** is a scribal conjecture; that the same reading appeared in the non-α MS against which ΓΕ were checked does not count decisively against this thesis (cf. Introduction, Section VII). The particle is none the less needed for the sense (cf. 711–12), and I print Reiske's κατεπάλαισε μέντ᾿αν (for ἀλλὰ . . . μέντοι, *GP* 410–11) rather than Kuster's κατεπάλαισεν ἄν μὲν on the grounds that (1) no contrast is wanted between 710 and the δέ-clauses that follow (cf. 544; *GP* 410–11) and (2) the combination ἄν μὲν is not attested in Ar. **πρῶτον:** Adverbial; 'for starters'. **Εὐάθλους δέκα:** Euathlos (lit. 'Successful in Contests'; *PA* 5238; *PAA* 425665) is also mentioned at *V.* 592 (a demagogue); fr. 424 (706–7 n.; from *Merchant-Ships* (Lenaia 423?)); Cratin. fr. 82 (c.430); Pl. Com. fr. 109. Arist. fr. 67 ap. D.L. ix. 54 claims that he prosecuted Protagoras, whom later sources identify as his teacher (Gell. *NA* 5. 10; Quint. iii. 1. 10). Nothing else is known of him except what can be deduced from this verse and 704–5 (where see n.); the name is borne by only two other known Athenians, Euathlos of the tribe Aigeis, who fought at Phyle (*PAA* 425670), and Euathlos of the deme Kerameis (*PA* 5239; *PAA* 425675), one of the treasurers of Athena in 397/6 (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1388. 10–11; 1392. 11). 'Ten' is a nominal ('round') number, like the English 'dozen'; cf. 191–3 n.; *Pl.* 737; *Eup.* fr. 102. 3; Aristopho fr. 9. 10; Headlam on Herod. 3. 23.

**711–12 κατεβόησε δ' ἄν κεκραγῶς:** Cf. 377–82 n.; *Eq.* 286–7 *Πα.* καταβοήσομαι βοῶν σε. / Ἄλ. κατακεκράξομαί σε κράζων (Paph. 'I will shout you into submission with my shouting'. Sausage-seller 'I will shriek you into submission with my shrieking'), 1020; Dodds on *E. Ba.* 286. For κράζω, 335 n. **τοξότας:** 706–7 n. **τρισηιλίους:** An impressively large and—even more important—metrically tractable number, as at Philetaer. fr. 9. 1; cf. *Pl.* 1083; Philem. fr. 93. 7; Men. *Dysk.* 564. **περιετόξευσεν:** Perhaps 'outshoot', like περιβάλλω at *H. Il.* 23. 276; *Od.* 15. 17 (both metaphorical), but more naturally taken 'shoot at from all sides [and kill]'; attested nowhere else before the 2nd c. CE. For the image, Taillardat § 582. **αὐτοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς τοὺς ξυγγενεῖς:** 'his (i.e. Euathlos') father's relatives', the Skythians (704–5 n.).

**713-18** A quick summary of the chorus' complaint (713), followed by an—utterly impractical—final demand (714-18).

**713-16 ὕπνου:** Metaphorically 'peace, rest'. For the image, cf. *V.* 1040-2; adesp. com. fr. 707. 2-3. **ψηφίσασθε:** 598 n., 634-5 n. **χωρὶς**

**εἶναι τὰς γραφάς:** Glossed in ὅπως ἄν κτλ. (probably an echo of official language; cf. Dunbar on *Av.* 1454-6). For *γραφαί*, 679-80 n. **τῷ**

**γέροντι μὲν γέρων:** Cf. 718 / τὸν γέροντα τῷ γέροντι. **νωδός:** First

attested here; subsequently at e.g. *Pl.* 266; *Eub.* fr. 144; *Phryn. Com.* fr.

85; *Phoen.* fr. 5. 3, p. 235 Powell; *Arist. Cat.* 12<sup>a</sup>31-4. For toothlessness

as a mark of old age, *V.* 165; *Pl.* 266, 1057-9; *Pherecr.* frr. 79 ~ 87. 3;

adesp. com. fr. 751; cf. *Alex.* fr. 172. 4-5; *Anacr. PMG* 395. 4. Having

all one's teeth as an adult was probably exceptional; cf. *Pl. Euthd.* 294c.

**εὐρύπρωκτος:** Lit. 'wide-arsed', i.e. as a result of having been buggered

so frequently (e.g. *Nu.* 1083-98; *Th.* 200; *Eub.* fr. 118. 4-8); cf. 104 with

n.; *MM* § 460. Also of politically active young men at *V.* 1070; cf. 843

with n. **λάλος:** 704-5 n. **χῶ Κλεινίου:** Alkibiades son of

Kleinias of the deme Skambonidai (*PA* 600; *PAA* 121630), 'vir in re

publica Atheniensium gerenda celeberrimus' (Kirchner); born probably

in 451/0 and referred to already in 427 as a pathic (fr. 244) and a word-

smith (fr. 205. 5-6), despite his lisp (*V.* 44-5). Cf. Davies 9-22, esp. 18.

Ar. otherwise ignores Alkibiades (although cf. 614 n.; the fantasies of

M. Vickers, *Pericles on Stage* (Austin, 1997), e.g. 24-6, 110-13, 139-70,

require neither serious consideration nor refutation) except at *Ra.* 1422-

34, where Aeschylus and Euripides are asked what to do about him. He

is mentioned elsewhere in comedy at *Eup. Baptai* test. iii-iv, vi; fr. 171;

*Pherecr.* fr. 164. The name is reserved for the end of the line as a

climactic joke; cf. 717-18 n.

**717-18** Little more than a restatement of the demand in 714-16 (note especially the echo of 715 in 718), hence Blaydes's misguided suggestion that the verses be expelled; but the joke at the end of 716 disrupts the argument and emphatic repetition of the main point is rhetorically effective. The interwoven word-order makes the passage difficult,

but ἄν φύγη τις is presumably to be taken with both infins.; cf. Conway,

*CR* 14 (1900) 359. **(ἐ)ξελαύνειν . . . τὸν γέροντα κτλ.:** An allusion

to a proverb according to which like can only be driven out by like (esp.

*Antiph.* fr. 293; *Plu. Mor.* 127f; cf. *Arist. Pol.* 1314<sup>a</sup>4-5; *Luc. Laps.* 7;

*Poll.* ix. 120; *Diogen.* v. 16; Engl. 'fight fire with fire'). For a similar

device at the end of the parabasis, *Ra.* 736 with Dover's n. For personal

agents as instrumental dats., *Antiph.* fr. 293. 2 τῷ κήρυκι τὸν βοῶντα

('[to drive out] him who shouts with a herald'), 6 γυναικὶ τὴν γυναῖκα ('[to

drive out] the woman with a woman'). Note the imperfective infins.

('try to . . .'). **τὸ λοιπόν:** Adverbial, 'in the future' (e.g. *Nu.* 677;

*V.* 299).

**719** *Dik.* emerges from the house, holding several objects (small wine-

jugs?) that serve to represent boundary-markers in one hand, and a whip (723-4 with n.) in the other. He is no longer dressed in his *Telephos*-disguise (cf. 594n.) and, given that he puts on a *himation* at 1139, is probably wearing only a *chiton*. As he speaks 719-22, he sets the boundary-markers, whatever they may be, to the left and right of his door to mark the limits of his new market place. ὄροι . . . ἀγορᾶς

είσιν οἷδε: Boundary-markers inscribed *hóros eímì tēs ágorās* (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 1087-90) 'stood at key points, at corners and where streets entered [the Agora]; here they would say clearly to any disqualified person (cf. 725-6 with n.) "Thus far and no farther"' (H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *Agora* xiv (Princeton, 1972) 117-19).

τῆς ἐμῆς: In emphatic position at the end of the line.

720-2 are a slightly adapted version of 623-5 (623-4 *Πελοποννησίοις / ἅπασιν* ~ 720 *πάσιν Πελοποννησίοις /*; 624 *καὶ Μεγαρεῦσι καὶ Βοιωτίοις* = 721\*; 625 *ἀγοράζειν* = 720\*; 625 *πρὸς ἐμέ, Λαμάχῳ δὲ μή* = 722\*), marking the resumption of the action precisely where it broke off before the parabasis.

ἐνταῦθα(α): i.e. within the boundaries established by the stones (719). β omitted *πάσιν* (α; an easy error before another word containing a series of πs); c's *εἶπε* (metrical but nonsensical) is an early editor's supplement, for which Triklinios instead wrote *τοῖσι*.

καὶ Μεγαρεῦσι κτλ.: A foreshadowing of what is to come: a Megarian (729-835) and a Boiotian (860-958) appear in Dik.'s market and trade with him, but Lam.'s servant is turned out on his ear (959-68).

ἐφ' ᾧ τε + infin.: 'on the condition that'; cf. *Th.* 1162; *Pl.* 1000, 1141; *Cratin.* fr. 311; *Men.* fr. 602. 2; *GP* 528.

πρὸς ἐμέ, Λαμάχῳ δὲ μή: 623-5\* n.

723-4 ἀγορανόμους: Athens' ἀγορανόμοι ('market officials') were charged

(*inter alia*) with maintaining order in the market place (968; *V.* 1406-7; *Alex.* fr. 249), keeping excluded persons out (725-6n.; *Pl. Lg.* 936c (824-5 n.)), collecting market-taxes (cf. 896n.), and ensuring that the goods sold were of decent quality (e.g. *Lys.* 22. 16; *Thphr.* fr. 651); by Aristotle's time, there were five in the Agora and five in the Piraeus. Cf. [*Arist.*] *Ath.* 51. 1 with Rhodes ad loc.; Lipsius 93-5; MacDowell on *V.* 1407.

τῆς ἀγορᾶς: 'of this market place'. καθίσταμαι: For the mid. ('with an eye to my own interests'), cf. *V.* 502. τρεῖς . . .

τούσδ' ἰμάντας: A ἰμάς is a leather thong, but what Dik. wants is a single weapon to beat intruders with (cf. 827-8 with n., 968) and he must have a total of three thongs because they have been braided into a whip. For whips used to maintain public order in Athens, *Th.* 933-4; *Ec.* 863; cf. *Poll.* x. 177 (citing *Cratin.* fr. 123).

τούς λαχόντας: 595-7n.; [*Arist.*] *Ath.* 51. 1. ἐκ Λεπρῶν: Obscure but best taken as a form of the adj. *λεπρός* ('rough') treated as if *Λεπροί* were an Attic place-name ('Roughville' *vel sim.*, i.e. the kind of place one would expect a particularly nasty whip to hail from); Σ<sup>RET</sup> notes that some commentators

argued for a pun on λέπω, 'beat, flay' (cf. Pl. Com. fr. 12). Σ<sup>REF</sup>'s preferred explanation, that Leproi was 'a place outside the city . . . where the tanneries were', is unsupported by other evidence and most likely a guess; an allusion to the city of Λέπρειον in Elis (e.g. *Av.* 149; *Hdt.* iv. 148. 4; *Th.* v. 31. 1-4; *Str.* 8. 344-5; said by Σ<sup>REF</sup> to be an explanation put forward by some commentators) seems unlikely.

**725-6** Addressed to the world at large but for the specific consideration of the ἀγορανόμοι ('market officials'), whose duty it is to enforce market regulations (723-4n.). Dik.'s regulations are on analogy with those of the real Agora, from which anyone accused of homicide or convicted (*inter alia*) of abusing his parents, evading military service, or deserting the ranks was excluded (e.g. *D.* 23. 80; 24. 60; *Aeschin.* 3. 175-6; [*Arist.*] *Ath.* 57. 4). Cf. 515-22n., 719n.; de Ste Croix 397-8. **ἐνταῦθα**

**μήτε συκοφάντης εἰσίτω:** Another foreshadowing of what is to come (cf. 720-2n.): scarcely has Dik.'s market been established than it is repeatedly invaded by sycophants, whom Dik. and his ἀγορανόμοι aggressively drive out (823-8, 926-58). After *συκοφάντης* ('sycophant') in 725,

**Φασιανός** is easily taken as a pun on φάσις ('denunciation'); cf. *Av.* 1694-9; fr. 443; *Hsch.* φ 201 = *adesp. com. fr.* 436. Phasis was the easternmost city on the southern coast of the Black Sea (*Str.* 11. 498; cf. *E. Andr.* 650-1 with Stevens ad loc.) and the source of the brilliantly coloured Φασιανοί ('pheasants') apparently introduced in Athens around this time (*Nu.* 109 with Dover ad loc.; cf. *Av.* 68; Thompson, *Birds* 298-300). For the exclusion of whole peoples from the Agora, 532-4 with n.

**727-8** Since no further mention is made of the mission Dik. announces here, it may be nothing more than a convenient excuse to clear the stage for the arrival of the Megarian; cf. 750n. **ἐγὼ δέ:** In implicit antithesis to the ἀγορανόμοι ('market officials'), who (in the form of the whip) are left behind on guard in the market place (cf. 723-4n., 725-6n., 824-5n.) when Dik. exits.

**τὴν στήλην καθ' ἣν:** 'the stele in accord with [the terms inscribed upon] which'. Copies (or summaries) of important public documents were routinely inscribed on stone and set up for public view (for treaties, e.g. *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 11. 11-12; 12. 4-6; cf. *Av.* 1049-50; *Lys.* 513; *Th.* v. 23. 5, 47. 11; J. P. Sickinger, *Public Records and Archives in Classical Athens* (Chapel Hill, 1999) 64-72), although normally on the Acropolis rather than in the Agora. **μέτειμ(ι):** 'I will go after', i.e. 'fetch'; cf. *Eq.* 605; *Nu.* 801; *Pax* 274; *Alex.* fr. 168. 4; *Men. Sam.* 159.

**φανεράν:** 'for everyone to see'. Dik. exits into the house.

**729-835, 860-958** Parallel scenes: (1) a man from a nearby city allied with Sparta appears before Dik.'s house, speaking his own local dialect of Greek and eager to trade in the new market place; (2) after extended examination of the merchandise and some haggling, a deal (seemingly very much to Dik.'s advantage) is struck; (3) an Athenian sycophant

enters and attempts to denounce the visitor and his goods; (4) Dik. intervenes, argues with the sycophant, and physically abuses him; (5) the visitor departs, leaving what he brought behind and taking something else in exchange.

**729** A man carrying a large, rough sack (745; cf. 740n., 744n.) enters the orchestra from a wing, identifies himself as a Megarian (cf. Olson (1992) 312-13), and makes his way over to and up on to the stage. The Megarian's costume probably resembles Dik.'s (initial n.), although it may be much more ragged, given the stress on his impoverishment (e.g. 731, 751, 755-9). Two girls, quickly identified as the Megarian's Daughters (731), follow him on. They wear *chitons* and white ('female') masks (cf. 241n.); if their father's clothes are tattered (above), theirs doubtless are as well.

For the Megarian dialect, Introduction, Section VI.A.

**ἀγορὰ 'ν Ἀθάναις, χαίρει:** Similar greetings to beloved places (generally the speaker's ancestral homeland) at fr. 112; Men. fr. 1; A. *Ag.* 503-8 with Fraenkel on 503; S. fr. 911 with Pearson's nn.; E. frr. 558. 1-2; 696. 1-2 (the prologue of *Tel.*); cf. *Pl.* 771-3. The distinction between the old Agora (from which Peloponnesian allies are excluded) and his own is of vital importance to Dik. (719-22), but to the Megarian any place to trade in the city is simply 'the agora in Athens'. **Μεγαρεῦσιν φίλα:** Megara is only about 20 miles away by land from Athens as the crow flies and a very short sail, and pre-war trade between the two cities must have been substantial enough that Perikles thought it worth restricting (532-4n., 535-7n.; cf. Legon 217-22; Introduction, Section II). For Megarian commodities, 519n., 520-2n.; *Pax* 999-1002 with Olson ad loc. The *v-ephelekustikon* is apparently not a feature of true Megarian; cf. Bechtel ii. 180-1; Colvin 221.

**730 ἐπόθουν:** 33n. **τυ** = Attic **σε**; cf. 779; *Eq.* 1225 (where R again has **τοι**); Colvin 193. **ναὶ τὸν φίλιον:** Sc. *Δία* (Diod. Com. fr. 2. 5; Men. fr. 53; *Pl. Phdr.* 234e; *Min.* 321c; cf. Pherecr. fr. 102. 4; *Pl. Grg.* 500b); the choice of divinity reflects the speaker's warm feelings for the place he is seeing again after so long. Megarian **ναί** (also 742, 767, etc.) is equivalent to Attic **ναὶ μά** (e.g. 88; cf. Colvin 230), hence the error in **Π<sub>5</sub> ac** at 767 and in **Γ<sup>3</sup>ct** at 779. **ἄπερ ματέρα:** Pathos; contrast 816-17, where the Meg., having sold his Daughters to Dik., expresses his eagerness to sell his wife and mother as well. For **ἄπερ**, 364 with n.

**731** Further pathos (cf. 730); van Leeuwen, comparing E. *Ph.* 1701 ὦ φίλα πεσήματ' ἄθλι' ἀθλίου πατρός ('O hapless fallen sons of a hapless father!'), suggested that the tone is paratragic. **πόνηρα:** For the accent, distinguishing **πόνηρος** ('pitiable'; cf. 1030) from **πονηρός** ('bad'; cf. 699-700), Dover on *Ra.* 852; a useful orthographic convention if nothing else. R's **κόριχ'** and **β's κόρι'** (**ac**) are metrically deficient and tAld's **κόριά γ'** is a crude Triklinian conjecture. A short **ο** is expected (Colvin 177), which counts against Elmsley's **κώρι'**, Starkie's **κούρι'** (accepted by

Mastromarco), and Robertson's *κουρίχι'* (accepted by Sommerstein and Henderson; cf. Palumbo Stracca, *Helikon* 29–30 (1989–90) 385–6), and I print *κορίχι'*. **ἀθλίου:** For the form (probably but not necessarily correct), cf. 743, 790, 817; Colvin 151–2.

**732** ἄμβρατε = Attic ἀνάβητε (Colvin 134–5, 182, 206), 'come up', i.e. on to the stage; cf. 729n. For similar directions to characters in the orchestra, *Eq.* 149; *V.* 1341 with MacDowell ad loc.; cf. *V.* 1514; *Ec.* 1152 (where Ussher's attempt to argue away the evidence founders on his failure to cite this passage).

**ποττὰν μᾶδδαν** = Attic πρὸς τὴν μᾶζαν; cf. 733, 751, 783, 835; Colvin 133–4, 206. μᾶδδα/μᾶζα (cognate with μάσσω and Lat. *massa*) is unbaked barley-cake, a staple food often (but not invariably) presented as the simple, coarse food of the poor; cf. 672; Olson on *Pax* 1; Olson–Sens on *Matro* fr. 1. 91–2. Here perhaps *para prosdokian* for *θύραν vel sim.*

**αἶ χ'** (i.e. αἶ κα) = Attic εἰάν (Colvin 232, 242), 'to see if, in the hope that' (KG ii. 534–5; cf. 1031).

**πᾶ** = Attic πῆ, 'anywhere'; cf. 785, 895. The girls step up on to the stage next to their father.

**733** Cf. *Eq.* 1014 (the Paphlagonian preparing to read an oracle to Demos) ἄκουε δὴ νῦν καὶ πρόσεχε τὸν νοῦν ἐμοί ('Listen up now and give me your attention!').

**ἀκούετε δὴ:** 'Listen up!'; as if the speaker were addressing a large public audience (cf. 1000 with n.). α's ἀκούετον is unmetrical, and since the *Meg.* elsewhere always uses the pl. to address his Daughters (e.g. 734, 740–3), the reading in **c** (a fortunate error) should be printed.

**ποτέχετ(ε)** = Attic προσέχετε; cf. 732 with n. **ἐμίν** = Attic ἡμῖν (Colvin 189).

**τὰν γαστέρα** ('your stomach') is *para prosdokian* for τὸν νοῦν ('your attention'; e.g. *Eq.* 1014 (above); *Nu.* 575; *V.* 1015; *Pax* 174).

**734** **χρήδδεται(ε)** = Attic χρήζετε(ε); cf. 732, 823; Colvin 164–5.

**πεινᾶν κακῶς:** **d'**s *πεινῆν* is the Attic form of the infin. (e.g. *Nu.* 441; *Antiph.* fr. 226. 7; *Philem.* fr. 88. 2); cf. Colvin 141. *κακῶς* merely intensifies the neg. sense of the vb. ('be terribly hungry', i.e. 'starve to death'), as often (e.g. 743, 860; *Eq.* 1273; *Epicr.* fr. 3. 8 *πεινῶντες κακῶς*; cf. 1047 with n.).

**735** Extrametrical. The repetition reflects the girls' excitement.

**736–7** ἐγώνγα καὶ τὸς φαμι: 186–7n. ἐγώνγα = Attic ἔγωγε (Colvin 182, 188, 235).

**ἄνους:** Attested elsewhere before Plato only at *H. Il.* 21. 441 and in tragedy (*S. Ant.* 99, 281; fr. 1015; [A.] *PV* 987); *Ar.* generally uses ἀνόητος (e.g. *Eq.* 1349; *Nu.* 898).

For **ὄς** + opt. + ἄν (here **κα**; cf. 732 with n.) in place of the expected ὥστε + infin. after οὕτως, cf. *Th.* 592–3 οὕτως . . . ὅστις; *adesp. com.* fr. 142. 1–2 with **K–A** ad loc.; *E. Alc.* 194–5; **KG** ii. 430–1, 441; Jebb on *S. Ant.* 220ff. **ὕμέ κα πρίατο:** α had *πρίατο* (**Ra**), a very simple error. The editor of the common ancestor of **ct** added an augment to the vb., removed the seemingly superfluous **κα**, and replaced West Greek ὕμέ (Colvin 195) with Attic ὕμᾶς (in origin probably a superlinear dialect gloss); Triklinios

emended to *ὑμέων ἐπρίατο* (metrical but nonsensical); and Musurus finally restored the proper reading. **φανερὰν ζημίαν**: 'a patent loss'. Although this scene is fantasy, there can be little doubt that female children were often valued less than males; cf. *Th.* 564-5; *Ec.* 549; M. Golden, *Children and Childhood in Classical Athens* (Baltimore and London, 1990) 94-5. For the colloquial appositive use of *ζημία* (which serves routinely as an antonym of *κέρδος* ('profit'; e.g. *Pl. Hipparch.* 226e; *Lg.* 835b; *Isoc.* 3. 50; *Arist. EE* 1221<sup>a</sup>4; cf. *Pax* 1226; *Pl.* 1124)), *Antiph.* fr. 265. 2; *Alex.* fr. 57. 6; *X. Mem.* ii. 3. 2; *Oec.* 1. 7. For the sense of *φανερός*, cf. *Lys.* 261 *ἐμφανές κακόν*; *Archil.* fr. 195; *Pi. N.* 9. 21.

**738-47** Preparation for 764-81: the Meg. will claim to have piglets for sale (739, cf. 764); his Daughters will be inspected for their physical resemblance to the creatures (740 and 744, cf. 765-9); to prove their identity they will need to make the same sound as piglets (746-7, cf. 776-81); and they will be reluctant to do what they are supposed to and will have to be motivated by a threat of being taken home again (741-3, cf. 778-9 (also accompanied by an oath by Hermes)).

**738-9 ἀλλ(ὰ) . . . γάρ**: Breaking off; 'But [never mind about that], for . . .'  
(*GP* 102-3).

**Σ<sup>REG</sup>** claims that the Megarians were known as clever deceivers (*διεβάλλοντο . . . ἐπὶ πονηρίᾳ*) who said one thing and did another (cf. 822n.), and what the Meg. means by calling his plan **Μεγαρικά τις μαχανά** is probably that it will be a typically clever local trick. At the same time, the Megarians claimed to have invented comedy (*Arist. Po.* 1448<sup>a</sup>31-4; cf. *DTC*<sup>2</sup> 178-83), while Athenian authors routinely dismiss their humour as coarse and tasteless (*V.* 57 with MacDowell ad loc.; *Ecphantid.* fr. 3; *Eup.* fr. 261; cf. *Arist. EN* 1123<sup>a</sup>24), so that by putting these words in his character's mouth the poet implicitly concedes that the Meg.'s plan is crude and ridiculous (cf. 768)—a concession that does not deter him from building an entire scene around it. **χοίρους** (Colvin 153) both stands in apposition to *ὑμέ* (for which, 736-7 n.) as the obj. of *σκευάσας* and is the obj. of *φέρειν*. *χοῖρος* (lit. 'piglet'; cf. 786-7 n.) is used routinely in *Ar.* as a slang term for the female genitalia (*V.* 573, 1353, 1364; *Th.* 289, 538; *Ec.* 724; cf. *Epich.* fr. 238; *Varro, RR* ii. 4. 10; Gow on *Macho* 332; *MM* § 110-11 (but exclude fr. 589 and probably *Pl.* 308, and note that the primary evidence offers no explicit support for the claim that the word refers specifically to 'the pink, hairless cunt of young girls')); here the obscene sense of the word remains implicit until 770-3 (where it is still only hinted at) and 782-3 (where ambiguity is abandoned and the vulgar *κύσθος* ('cunt') is used). **σκευάσας**: 120-1 n. **φασῶ** = Attic *φήσω*; for the Doric fut. in -σε- (hence the contraction marked by a circumflex on the ultima), e.g. 741-2; cf. Colvin 216-17. **φέρειν**: For the vb. with the sense 'bring for sale', e.g. 760, 764, 870; *Pax* 1003; *Antiph.* frr. 69. 7; 188. 18; 274. 1; contrast *ἄγω* ('take for sale, export' (899)).



- 740** The Meg. removes a set of props that resemble pigs' feet (cf. below) from his sack and hands them to his Daughters. **περίθεσθε:** The choice of vb. suggests that the item of costume the girls are given is either to be tied on with a strap (cf. 744 ἀμφίθεσθε . . . ταδὶ τὰ ῥυγχία ('put these snouts about [your faces]')) or, more likely, resembles a pair of gloves to be slipped 'around' their hands (or feet?). **τὰς ὀπλάς:** A generic term for the hooves of horses (e.g. *Eq.* 605; *H. Il.* 11. 536), oxen (*Hes. Op.* 489; *Pi. P.* 4. 226), sheep and goats (*Arist.* fr. 253. 14), and pigs (also *Semon.* fr. 28; *Dionys. Trag. TrGF* 76 F 1. 3).
- 741-3** cover the time it takes the Meg.'s Daughters to put on their 'pigs' feet' (740n.). **ὄπως κτλ.:** i.e. 'Be brave!' (cf. 697), although ὄως is bathetic. For ὄπως + fut. indic. for imper., 253-4 n. For the Doric fut. **δοξείτ(ε)**, 738-9n. Inscriptional evidence shows that εἶμεν (C; a fortunate error) rather than hyper-Doric ἤμεν (RatS) is correct; cf. 771, 775; Colvin 144-5. **ναὶ τὸν Ἑρμᾶν:** 730n. It is unclear whether the Meg. invokes Hermes as god of trickery (cf. *Th.* 1202; *Pl.* 1157; Olson on *Pax* 402) or trade (esp. *Pl.* 1155-6; *D.S.* v. 75. 2; cf. 816 with n.), but the two concepts do not appear to be much different in his mind in any case; cf. 779. Elmsley's αἶπερ = d's Attic εἶπερ (e.g. 732, 766; cf. Colvin 232). **ἰξείτ(ε)** = Attic ἤξετε (cf. 750; Colvin 240-1). **οἴκαδις** (also 779) = Attic οἴκαδε; cf. Colvin 176-7, 202-3. **πειράω** takes the gen., and adverbial τὰ πρᾶτα (= Attic τὰ πρῶτα) makes no sense, and with most editors since Blaydes I print Ahrens's palmary ἄπρατα; the paradosis presumably represents a misguided correction by a scribe or editor confused by an unfamiliar word. RAC have τὰ πρῶτα, ΓEt τὰ πρᾶτα, and α (followed by β) thus most likely preserved one of the two as an alternative reading in the margin or above the line. **τὰς λιμοῦ:** Commonly fem. (as here) in dialects other than Attic. λιμός is not just 'hunger' but something closer to 'ravening hunger, starvation' (e.g. 1044; *Pax* 483; *Pl.* 562, 1174). **κακῶς:** 734n.
- 744** The Meg. removes a pair of pig-snouts, equipped with leather straps that allow them to be tied in place (note ἀμφίθεσθε) over a mask (cf. 740n.), from his sack and hands them to his Daughters. **ἀλλ(ά):** 206-7n. **τὰ ῥυγχία:** Occasionally included in banquet catalogues and the like (*Anaxil.* fr. 19. 4; *Alex.* fr. 115. 15; *Theophil.* fr. 8. 2; *Axionic.* fr. 8. 5; *Philox. Leuc. PMG* 836(b). 31; cf. *Pherecr.* fr. 107).
- 745-7** cover the time it takes the Meg.'s Daughters to put on their snouts and get in the sack. Γ<sup>3</sup>ct's (ἔ)πειτεν is probably correct (cf. Colvin 238), although it is unclear whether this is an editor's conjecture in place of α's (ἔ)πειτ' ἐς/εἰς (Ra<sup>ac</sup>, with -εν probably having been mistaken for ἐν and expelled) or a variant reading preserved above the line and returned to the text in only one branch of the tradition (as in 743). For the contraction of καί + ἐ- to produce η, cf. 787, 790; Colvin 135. **εἰς . . . εἰσβαίνετε:** Cf. 762 εἰσβάλητε; Colvin 207-8. **τὸν σάκκον:**

σάκκος (= Attic σάκος (822; cf. Poll. vii. 191; Colvin 249); cognate with Hebrew *sq*) is properly rough, dark (Isa. 50. 3; Rev. 6. 12) cloth produced from goat hair or the like; by extension, anything made of such material, most often clothing or bags (*Lys.* 1211; Hdt. ix. 80. 2; *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1672. 73, 108; cf. Gen. 42. 25; Josh. 9. 4), whence Engl. 'sack' and 'sackcloth'. Cf. E. Masson, *Recherches sur les plus anciens emprunts sémitiques en grec* (Études et Commentaires LXVII: Paris, 1967) 24-5. ὠδ(ε):

'hither', as at *Av.* 229 (where Dunbar, seemingly misled by LSJ, wrongly claims that the word appears with this sense nowhere else in Ar.); fr. 362. 2; cf. 1063 ὠδε δεῦρο ('over this way').

γρυλιξείτε: 'grunt' (also of piglets at *Pl.* 307); onomatopoeic. For the spelling, Phryn. *Ecl.* 72; *AB*, p. 33. 1-2. κοῖξετε: 'oink' (cf. 780, 800-3); onomatopoeic.

A non-Doric fut. (contrast γρυλιξείτε and ἤσειτε) but metrically guaranteed. ἤσειτε = Attic ἤσετε (fut. act. indic. of ἴημι). φωνάν:

776-7n. χοιρίων μυστηρικῶν: Cf. 764 χοίρους . . . μυστικάς. An allusion to events on the second day of the Greater Mysteries of Demeter and Kore, when initiands took a piglet down to the sea, washed it and themselves there, and most likely sacrificed it upon their return to the city. Cf. 47-8n.; *Ra.* 338; G. E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton, 1961) 249-50; Olson on *Pax* 374-5 (with primary references). For piglets as sacrificial animals, 792-3 with n.

748-9 καρυξῶ Δικαιοπόλιν ὄπα: Lit. 'I will proclaim Dik., where [he is]', i.e. 'I will call out Dik.'s name (= 749; cf. Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 48ff.) and find out where he is'. For the use of ὄπα (sc. ἐστὶ), cf. *Ec.* 1125-6; *S. Ai.* 103 with Jebb ad loc. For the form, Colvin 201-2. β's γε (γα Brunck) after the vb. is not wanted. 749 is addressed to the house; most likely the Meg. pounds on the door with his fist as he shouts (Mooney 19).

λήης: West Greek vocab. (~ Attic ἐθέλεις); cf. 766, 772, etc.; *Lys.* 95, etc.; Crates Com. fr. 46; Brause, *Glotta* 2 (1910) 214-18; Colvin 244.

πρίασθαι χοιρία: An explicit statement of the purpose of the Meg.'s visit but ignored by Dik., who quizzes the stranger about the trade-goods he has brought (760-4). 764 could easily follow 750, and 751-63 are thus a digression, which once again (cf. 729-43) takes up the—apparently highly amusing—question of how miserable the Megarians must be without access to Athens' markets and as a result of the damage done their land in the war (761-3n.).

750 Dik. emerges from the house in response to the Meg.'s summons. No mention is made of the stele he went off to fetch (727-8 with n.), but if the errand was not simply an excuse to clear the stage for the Megarian's arrival, the stele is perhaps represented by a sign Dik. hangs up on the doorposts during his preliminary chat with his visitor. τί; ἀνὴρ

Μεγαρικός;: 'What's this? A Megarian?' Thus Brunck, followed by most modern editors; the MSS have τί ἀνὴρ Μεγαρικός; ('What's a Megarian [doing here]?'). The visitor's accent is sufficiently distinctive that Dik.

knows his nationality immediately. ἀγορασοῦντες: 623–5 n.

ἴκομες = Attic ἤκομεν (cf. 742 with n.; Colvin 210–11).

751–63 748–9 n.

751–2 πῶς ἔχετε;: ‘How are you doing [in Megara]?’ Colloquial; cf. *Eq.* 7; *Lys.* 1002; *Anaxil.* fr. 16. 1; *Men. Dysk.* 893; Stevens 57. Drinking

by a fire is a regular image of felicity (982–4; *Pax* 1131–7; *Alc.* fr. 338; *Xenoph.* 21 B 22. 1–3; *Pl. R.* 372b–d, 420e; *X. Oec.* 5. 9; *Theoc.* 7. 63–70;

cf. 136–41, 984 with n.), and *Dik.* therefore pretends to hear διαπίνομεν

ἀεί (‘spend all our time drinking’ *vel sim.* (e.g. *Anaxandr.* fr. 58. 2))

rather than διαπεινᾶμεν ἀεί (‘spend all our time being hungry’). The vb.

is a hapax legomenon and doubtless a coinage; for the form, Colvin 149,

210. tAld’s αεί reflects Triklinios’ failure to realize that the variable first

syllable in ἀεί is long here (short at e.g. 28, 761). 760–3 combine to make

it clear that the Megarians are starving not just because of their exclu-

sion from Athens’ market place (cf. 729–30) but because of the effects of

the loss of their harbour and Athenian ravaging of their territory.

ποττὸ πῦρ: Cf. 732 n.; Gow on *Macho* 94–5. ἀλλ(ά) . . . τοι: *GP*

548–9. αὐλός: i.e. by extension an αὐλητρίς (‘pipe-girl’; cf. 551 n.).

753 τί δ’ ἄλλο πράττεθ’ οἱ Μεγαρήσι;: ‘How are you Megarians doing

otherwise?’, i.e. ‘in general?’ Colloquial; cf. *Pax* 695; *Pl.* 341; *Hermipp.*

fr. 57. 2; *E. Or.* 732; *E. Fraenkel, Zu den Phoenissen des Euripides*

(Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische

Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 1963, Heft 1: Munich, 1963) 22–3; Stevens 41.

Echoed in 758. οἶα δή: Obscure, but πράττομεν is probably to be

supplied and ‘[We’re doing] just as [we’re doing]’ taken as a euphemism

for ‘We’re doing very badly’; cf. *E. Med.* 889; *Heracl.* 632; *Tr.* 630; *P. Monteil, La Phrase relative en Grec ancien* (Études et Commentaires

XLVII: Paris, 1963) 194.

754–6 β had τῆνόςθεν; the common ancestor of *ct* omitted ἐγών; and

Triklinios restored the metre by adding ἀλλὰ γάρ at the head of the line

and inserting γα after μέν. ὄκα = Attic ὄτε (Colvin 203).

τῆνόςθεν = Attic ἐκεῖθεν (Colvin 197). ἐνεπορευόμεν: 480–2 n.

τῶνδρες πρόβουλοι: According to *Arist. Pol.* 1323<sup>a</sup>6–9 (cf. 1298<sup>b</sup>28–34,

1299<sup>b</sup>30–8), probouloi played the same role in an oligarchic form of

government as a city council did in a democracy, and the appointment

of a board of ten probouloi in Athens in summer 413 (*Th.* viii. 1. 3 with

*HCT* ad loc.; [*Arist.*] *Ath.* 29. 2; cf. *Lys.* 421, 467; *Th.* 808–9) was thus

a distinctly conservative political move. For the institution of *probouleu-*

*sis* generally, P. J. Rhodes with D. M. Lewis, *The Decrees of the Greek*

*States* (Oxford, 1997) 475–81, 484–91. Attic ἄνδρες (properly ἄνδρες) has

ousted its Megarian equivalent in the MSS, just as Attic ἔπραττον and τῆ

have ousted Megarian ἔπρασσον and τᾶ. I print R’s ταῦτ(α) (sc. τὰ

πράγματα; internal obj. of ἔπρασσον) rather than β’s less idiomatic

τούτ(ο). ἔπρασσον: Echoing πράττεθ’ in 753 but with the sense

'acting' (LSJ s.v. III. 6); for the construction with ὅπως (in apposition to ταῦτ'), KG ii. 372-4. The root is picked up again in πραγμάτων in 757. τάχιστα καὶ κάκιστ' ἀπολοίμεθα: A cynical *para prosdokian* in place of the expected τάχιστα καὶ ἄριστα σωθείημεν ('we might be saved in the best and most rapid fashion possible') *vel sim.*; despite superficial differences (above), Megara's system of government resembles Athens' in the only respect that matters (e.g. 51-9).

**757** A nominally encouraging but in fact utterly unsympathetic response. ἀπαλλάξεσθε πραγμάτων: 201-2n., 266-70n., 754-6n.; also of the release from troubles that comes with death at Pl. *Ap.* 41d; *R.* 406e; cf. *E. Tr.* 271. ἀπαλλάξεσθε is fut. mid. with pass. sense. σά μάν (also 784\*) = Attic τί μήν; (Colvin 198, 229-30), 'What else?', i.e. 'Of course!' (*GP* 333).

**758** τί δ' ἄλλο Μεγαροῖ;: Sc. πράττετε *vel sim.* For locative Μεγαροῖ, *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 1147. 3; *Threatte* ii. 367-8. πῶς ὁ σίτος ὤνιος;: πῶς; is 'at what price?', as at *Eq.* 480 πῶς οὖν ὁ τυρὸς ἐν Βοιωτοῖς ὤνιος; ('What's the price of cheese in Boiotia?'); *Stratt. fr.* 14. 1; *Men. Phasm.* 26; *Macho* 307; cf. 817 οὔτω. σίτος is a generic term for wheat and barley (e.g. *Th.* vi. 22; *Agora* I 7557. 8-10 (etc.) with R. Stroud, *The Athenian Grain Tax Law of 374/3 B.C.* (*Hesperia* suppl. 29: Princeton, 1998) 16; cf. Moritz, *CQ* NS 5 (1955) 135-41); for Megarian grain, *Antiph. fr.* 36. 1-2; *Legon* 23-4. ὤνιος ἐστι frequently serves in Attic as the passive of πωλέω; cf. *Alex. fr.* 76. 7; *Rutherford* 213; *Neil* on *Eq.* 1246-7.

**759** παρ(ά) + acc. is normal with vbs. of motion to express movement toward a person or place, but is also found in Attic and other dialects in the local sense familiarly expressed by the dat., as at *fr.* 466. 5; *Alex. fr.* 250 with *Arnott* ad loc. ἀμέ = Attic ἡμᾶς (Colvin 190-1). πολυτίματος ἔπερ τοῖ θεοῖ;: τιμή commonly means 'price', and πολυτίμητος is occasionally 'very expensive' (cf. *fr.* 402. 9; *Epich. fr.* 71. 1) but also a common epithet of gods and heroes in the sense 'much-honoured' (e.g. 807; *Eq.* 1390; *V.* 1001; *Antiph. fr.* 143. 2; *Eub. fr.* 115. 6; *Men. Dysk.* 202; *adesp. tr. fr.* 328d), whence the word-play.

**760** ἄλας οὖν φέρεις;: The participle marks this as an inference from 759, i.e. '[If you don't have any grain to trade], then . . . ?' For Megarian salt, 520-2n. For φέρω meaning 'bring to sell', 738-9n. οὐχ ὑμῆς αὐτᾶν ἄρχετε;: A pun on ἡ ἄλας ('seawater, sea') and an allusion not just to the power of Athens' fleet (Σ<sup>REF</sup>) but to Nikias' capture in summer 427 of the island of Minoa, which lies just off of Megara's harbour at Nisaia and which Nikias fortified with an eye to cutting the city off from trade by sea (*Th.* iii. 51). Σ<sup>EF</sup> suggests that the point is instead that the Athenians got control of Megara's salt-pans when they seized Nisaia, which not only ruins the word-play but will not work historically, since Nisaia was taken only in summer 424 (*Th.* iv. 69). ὑμῆς = Attic ὑμεῖς (cf. 761; *Colvin* 194).

- 761–3 οὐδὲ σκόροδα;** 520–2 n. τῶν must = Attic αὐτῶν (cf. Colvin 227). ὄκκ(α) εἰσβάλητε: The Athenians invaded and ravaged Megarian territory twice a year until 424 (Th. ii. 31. 3; iv. 66. 1; Plu. *Per.* 30. 3) and must have done considerable short-term—although not necessarily much long-term—damage (cf. Hanson (1998)). ὄκκα = Attic ὄταν (Colvin 203; cf. 754). τῶς ἀρουραῖοι μύες: μῦς is a generic term for small rodents, but the adj. makes it clear that field-mice are in question; cf. Keller i. 193–203. A neat analogy: Aristotle describes how just before the harvest vast numbers of ἀρουραῖοι μύες sometimes appear in grain-fields (just as the Athenian forces appeared in the Megarian countryside at crucial moments) and ruined the harvest (just as the Athenians did), and goes on to tell how farmers attempt to dig or smoke them out, or put pigs in the field to root up their holes (*HA* 580<sup>b</sup>14–29). τῶς = Attic ὡς (Moorhouse 305; Colvin 196). ἀρουραῖοι (Π<sub>5</sub> RS *An.Par.*) is correct (Colvin 151); β's ἀρωραῖοι is a hyperdoricism introduced by an over-industrious scribe or editor. πάσσακι: Attested elsewhere only at Greg. Cor. p. 239 (almost certainly a reference to this passage) but most likely the Megarian equivalent of Attic πάταλος, 'pin, peg' (thus Greg. Cor.; Σ<sup>REG</sup>; cf. Hsch. π 1066 with Schmidt ad loc.; Phot. p. 401. 11); for the suffix, 'quod dictioni familiari rusticae doricae proprium . . . est', van Leeuwen on *Eq.* 361. Real raiders will normally not have wasted their time digging up individual heads of garlic. Σ<sup>REG</sup> argues that the point is the painstaking care with which the Athenians ravaged Megara's crops, but it is unclear why one would use a peg or pin to do this and the reference is more likely to individual soldiers foraging for their dinner (cf. 550 n.) with the butt-ends of their spears (properly στύραξ; cf. Taillardat, in *Recueil Plassart* (Paris, 1976) 169–71) or perhaps simply their tent-pegs. τὰς ἀγλίθας: 'the heads', although an ἀγλίς is properly an individual clove, as apparently at *V.* 680.
- 764 δαί:** 105 n. χοίρους ἐγώνγα μυστικάς: 739 with 738–47 n., 745–7 n.
- 765–6 καλῶς λέγεις:** Normally an expression of emphatic agreement with another character's suggestion (cf. *Lys.* 184; *Ra.* 169; *Pl.* 481), but used in response to good news ('I'm happy to hear that' *vel sim.*) also at *Lys.* 1182. ἐπίδειξον: 'Put [them] on display!' (cf. *Nu.* 748), i.e. 'Let's have a look!' ἀλλὰ μὰν καλαί: 'Yes indeed, they're lovely!' (*GP* 343). Although the Meg. uses the pl. in general praise of his merchandise, 766–83 are all a discussion of a single 'piglet', and the second Daughter presumably remains in the sack until 784. Triklinios, disturbed by the abrupt shift from pl. to sing., emended 766 to παχεῖαι καὶ καλαί. ἄντεινον: Sc. τὴν χεῖρα, 'Stretch out [your hand]', i.e. to touch the girl and see how 'nice and fat' she is. In fact, she ought to be desperately thin and her father's wildly exaggerated ὡς παχεῖα καὶ καλά is part of the humour. For the need for a piglet to be as fat as possible,

791; A. fr. 309; cf. Call. fr. 1. 23-4. For growing fat as a positive development in a world where calories were perpetually short for all but the very wealthy, cf. *Pax* 1170-1. For *καλός* ('fair, lovely') used merely to supplement the force of another adj., e.g. 1105 ('nice and white'), 1106 ('nice and brown'); cf. 734n., 1047. **λῆς:** 748-9n.

**767-8** *τουτί τί ἦν τὸ πρᾶγμα;*: 156n., 157-8n.; fr. 129. 1\*. Dik. reacts to his first sight of the 'piglet'. **ναὶ Δία:** 730n. R's *νῆ Δία* (cf. 774) and Π<sub>5</sub> β's *ναὶ μὰ Δία* (corrected by Triklinios) are both Atticizing errors. **ποδαπή χοῖρος ἦδε;**: Asking where an animal is from (the most common sense of the adj. in Attic; cf. 818 with n.) is not any different from asking what variety of that animal it is (e.g. Arist. *HA* 605<sup>b</sup>22-43; cf. 808) and thus whether it is an example of the animal in question at all; Arnott's attempt (on Alex. fr. 94. 1; following Rutherford 128-30) to draw a sharp distinction between the two senses of *ποδαπός* ('from what place?' and 'of what sort?') is misguided; cf. Pearson on S. fr. 453 (whose conclusions do not coincide with Arnott's as neatly as the latter implies). Dik. intends the latter question, but the Meg. initially responds as if he had been asked what local variety of pig this was, and only faces up to the real question in 769. Cf. 808. β omitted ἦδε (**ac**) and Triklinios attempted to mend the text by conjecturing either *ποδαπή* <δ' ἐστι> (**p**) or *ποδαπή* <δή 'στι> (cf. LAld). **Μεγαρικά:** 738-9n.

**769** Echoed in 781, where the Meg. asks a very similar question and Dik. withdraws his objection. 770-80 are a sort of parenthetic interjection, which does not advance the dialogue but offers Ar. an opportunity to play with the obscene sense of *χοῖρος* (esp. 773) before acknowledging it explicitly in 782.

**770-98** The girl's identity is confused on two counts: she is both a piglet and the Meg.'s Daughter, and she is both a 'piglet' and a 'pussy'. Both ambiguities are crucial to the scene and Ar. alternates between them (774-5, 782-3, 789-90, 797-8, and 773, 781-2, 784-7, 791-6, respectively).

**770-1** A frustrated remark, addressed to the world at large and thus (because this is a play) to the audience; cf. Bain 94-6. **οὐ δεινά;**: '[Is this] not outrageous, incredible?'; cf. 1079 with n.; *V.* 417; *Av.* 1033\*. For the adj., Willink on E. *Or.* 1-3; for the pl., KG i. 66-7. Ar. shows no fondness for non-colloquial, 'poetic' pls. outside of tragic quotation and paratragedy (Bers 57-9), and **d**'s *τὰς ἀπιστίας* is thus suspect. Elmsley printed *θάσθε τόνδε* (sc. τὸν χοῖρον)· *τὰς ἀπιστίας* (exclamatory gen.), but *χοῖρος* has so far been treated exclusively as fem. (764-6, 768; cf. 771, where β's *τόνδε* has been attracted into the gender of the word that follows it; contrast 782 with n., 792). Starkie suggested supplying *τὸν ἄνδρα* instead, but *θεάομαι* can be used absolutely in the imper. (e.g. 366) and van Leeuwen's **θάσθε· τοῦδε τὰς ἀπιστίας** (printed by all recent editors) is easier. For the form of the vb., Colvin 239. Triklinios'

οὐ δεινὰ θᾶσθαι τοῦδε τὰς ἀπιστίας; would mean that what is condemned is not Dik.'s distrustfulness but any consideration of it. φατί = Attic φησί (Colvin 211), hence R's φασί. εἶμεν: 741-3 n. ἀλλὰ μάν: Adversative, 'But come now!' (GP 341-2).

**772-3** **περίδου μοι:** 'make a bet with me'. The αἰ μή-clause represents a thesis the speaker favours, whereas an αἰ- (Attic εἰ-)clause would represent a thesis he rejects; περί + gen. (in Homer a bare gen.) defines the proposed stakes. Cf. 25 with n., 1115-16 (with πότερον . . . ἦ); Eq. 790-1; Nu. 644-5; H. Il. 23. 485; Od. 23. 78; Phot. p. 416. 9-10, citing Diph. fr. 131. That the Meg. has no salt to lose (760) but offers no other stake of his own (thus Rennie) is beside the point, for he is certain he is right and will win the bet. **θυμιτιδᾶν ἁλῶν:** Cf. 1099 ἄλας θυμίτας. For salt ground together with herbs (here probably *Thymbra capitata*, Cretan thyme or headed savory; cf. Andrews, *Osiris* 13 (1958) 150-1; Olson on *Pax* 1169-71) to increase its flavour, Archestr. fr. 14. 7 ἁλοῖ κυμινοτρίβοις ('salt ground together with thyme'); Ath. 9. 366b; Plin. *Nat.* 31. 87. Ironically, salt is one of the few commodities Megara ought to be able to produce in quantity for itself; cf. 760, 813-14 n. The jumble in the MSS is best explained on the thesis that (1) Ar. wrote θυμιτιδᾶν (Musurus' reading in the Aldine; for the ending, Colvin 149-50); (2) Π<sub>5</sub> substituted Attic θυμιταν (cf. 1099; 'corrected' above the line to θυμιτιναν); (3) the textual tradition represented by the *Suda* Atticized to θυμιτίδων (thus MS A at θ 566; θυμίτων rell. via a simple error) and one entry was further corrupted via an etacism to θυμητιδῶν; (4) the tradition represented by α and the lost MS against which Γ and Ε were checked had θυμητιδᾶν via the same etacism (RΓ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>+</sup> λΣ<sup>E</sup>); (5) β Doricized to θυματιδᾶν; (6) Triklinios added νῦν after μοι to mend the metre. Cf. Taillardat, in *Actes du colloque international 'Les phytonymes grecs et latins' tenu à Nice les 14, 15 et 16 mai 1992* (Centre de Recherches Comparatives sur les Langues de la Méditerranée Ancienne, Université de Nice-Sophia Antipolis: Nice, 1993) 285-9. The Meg.'s use of the masc. οὗτος (contrast 771 with n.) is the first—still tacit—acknowledgement of the fact that χοῖρος in this scene means not just '[female] piglet' but 'pussy'; cf. 782 with n. **Ἑλλάνων νόμῳ:** 'by the common custom of the Greeks', i.e. 'in the eyes of anyone who speaks Greek'. Cf. A. *Supp.* 220 Ἑρμῆς ὄδ' ἄλλος τοῖσιν Ἑλλήνων νόμοις ('This other is Hermes according to Greek standards').

**774-5** **ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἀνθρώπου γε:** 'But it's [the offspring] of a *human being*' (GP 119); Dik. remains puzzled. **ναὶ τὸν Διοκλέα:** Diokles was a legendary king of Eleusis, who was driven out by either Theseus (Plu. *Thes.* 10) or Eumolpos (Σ Theoc. 12. 27-33) to Megara. He died in battle there defending his lover (Σ Theoc. 12. 27-33) and was worshipped as a hero (*LSCG* suppl. no. 10. 71) with a kissing-contest for boys in early spring (Theoc. 12. 27-33) and apparently athletic contests (Σ Pi. O. 13.

156). Cf. *h.Cer.* 153 with Richardson ad loc., 474. τύ (Π<sub>5</sub>, Brunck) = Attic σύ (d); cf. 777 (where all witnesses are in error); Colvin 192-3. At 741 and 771 the Meg. uses εἶμεν as the infin. of εἶμί, and the paradosis εἶμεναι (a non-form; cf. Dover, *G&G* 299; Colvin 213) here is most easily explained as the result of the intrusion into the text of a superlinear Attic dialect gloss ναι. αὖ comes too late in the line in Ahrens's impatient εἶμεν αὖ τίνος (e.g. [A.] *PV* 67); Hamaker's εἶμεν οὔτινος would do but seems a weak response to Dik.'s objection in 774; and I print εἶμεν ἐκ τίνος (cf. 49-51 n., 741). Presumably εἶμεναι ἐκ was first converted into εἶμεναι 'κ and the metrically unnecessary 'κ was then lost.

**776-7 φθεγγομένας:** φθέγγομαι and its cognates refer not just to human speech but to any potentially significant sound, including those produced by animals (e.g. *E. IT* 293; *Hel.* 747; *Alcm. PMGF* 1. 100-1; adesp. lyr. fr. *PMG* 965. 3), musical instruments (e.g. *Av.* 223 (a pipe representing bird-song); *Stesich. PMGF* 278. 2), or even a door when the sound of knocking signals the presence of a visitor (*Pl.* 1099). φωνέω and its cognates (below) are similar; contrast ψόφος, which is merely empty noise even when produced by a human mouth (932 with 553 n., 942). νῆ τοὺς θεούς: A bland oath, routinely \* (e.g. *Eq.* 195; *Av.* 1026; *Pl.* 234). νῆ τὸν Δία (e.g. *Nu.* 483\*; *Pax* 331\*; *Av.* 81\*) would fit the line as well, but the Meg. has sworn by Zeus in 767 and variation is presumably desirable. ἔγωγε: 186-7 n. φώνει . . . ταχέως: 'hurry up and make a sound!'; cf. 1005-6, 1029 ταχύ, 1073-4. For φωνέω and its cognates used of sounds produced by animals, e.g. 747; *V.* 36, 572; *Pax* 800. τύ: 774-5 n. Mueller reports σν in superscript in Π<sub>5</sub>, but I can make out nothing more than what might (or might not) be a σ followed by traces of another letter. Π<sub>5</sub><sup>ac</sup>'s δη ται is a corruption of δῆτα (metrical and easily explained as a misguided correction of ΔΗΤΥ by someone who failed to recognize the Doric form). Π<sub>5</sub> β's χοιρίδιον involves an impermissible sixth-foot anapaest (White § 113 n. 1) and Ar. must have written R's χοιρίον, which is in any case the Meg.'s preferred diminutive of χοῖρος (also 740, 747, 749; contrast 834 (*metri gratia*)), whereas Attic-speakers tend to use χοιρίδιον (521, 806, 812, 819; *Pax* 374, 387a; χοιρίον at 808 (if the MSS are right), 830 (conjectural), and *V.* 1353\* (where metrical considerations are again to the fore)). The def. art. was added in R by someone who mistook χοιρίον for the dir. obj. of φώνει.

**778-9** Cf. 742-3 with 738-47 n. χρῆσθα: Apparently to be taken as the Megarian 2nd-person sing. of the obscure vb. χρῆν (elsewhere only at *Cratin.* fr. 134. 2; *S. Ai.* 1373; *El.* 606; *Ant.* 887; perhaps *E.* fr. 918. 1) and thus as roughly equivalent to Attic χρῆζεις (e.g. *Nu.* 359); cf. Rutherford 133-4; Colvin 211, 252-3. ὦ κάκιστ' ἀπολουμένα: Lit. 'doomed to be destroyed most miserably' but really equivalent to a



vague general curse ('Damn you!'); cf. 1152-3; Stevens 15. Variants of the phrase appear routinely \* in Ar. (865, 924; *Av.* 1467; *Ec.* 1076; *Pl.* 713) and other comic poets (Pherecr. fr. 22. 1; Antiph. frr. 159. 5; 190. 2; Amphis fr. 20. 1; Alex. fr. 16. 5; Men. *Dysk.* 208). **τυ:** 730n.

Concern about the hiatus (also after Doric *τυ* at *Eq.* 1225) motivated the emendations *τ'* in R and *τύ γ'* in β (and probably Π<sub>5</sub>). **ναὶ τὸν Ἑρμῶν:** 741-3n. For **ct's** *ναὶ μά*, 730n.

**780** Extrametrical. **κοῖ κοῖ:** 'Oink! oink!' (onomatopoeic); cf. 800-3. Π<sub>5</sub> has added a number of additional 'oinks' in an unnecessary attempt to fill out the line; cf. Dover, *ICS* 2 (1977) 148 = *G&L* 209. The threat in 779 proves effective.

**781-3** For 781, cf. 769 with n. **νῦν γε:** 'for the moment'; contrast 782. **ἀτὰρ ἐκτραφεῖς γε κύσθος ἔσται:** The first explicit acknowledgement (although cf. 773 with n.) of the pun on which the entire scene depends; note the use of the masc. part. to modify the implied *χοῖρος*. The joke is developed further in 784-7, 791-6. *κύσθος* ('cunt') is a primary obscenity; cf. *MM* § 107. **πέντ' ἐτῶν:** 'within five years'; cf. *V.* 490; *Lys.* 280; Poultney 108. **σάφ(α) ἴσθι:** 'know clearly!', i.e. 'I assure you'; a common Aristophanic interjection (*Pax* 875\*; *Av.* 604; *Ra.* 296\*, 918; *Pl.* 889).

**784-5** The question of sacrifice enters the dialogue rather abruptly and someone therefore added a verse seemingly identical to 792 between 783 and 784 in an early copy of the play (Π<sub>5</sub>). A sacrificial animal had to be without blemish (e.g. Arist. fr. 101; Plu. *Mor.* 437a-b) and the presence or absence of the tail was particularly important, since it was burned as part of the god's portion of the sacrifice; cf. *Pax* 1054-5 with Olson ad loc.; Eub. fr. 127; van Straten 119-30. Only one girl is discussed and examined in 766-83, but the two are compared in 789-90 (cf. the plurals in 795, 797); **ἀλλ' οὐδέ** ought to mark movement 'to a new item in a series' (*GP* 22); and **αὐτηγί** ('this one here') must therefore be the second Daughter, who has at last emerged from the sack and becomes the centre of attention in 785-92. **σά μάν:** 'Of course [she is]!' (757n.). The common ancestor of **ct** probably had *ναί* (**c**) in place of Π<sub>5</sub> α's *σά*, and Triklinios emended to Attic *τί*. **πᾶ:** 'In which way?, How?' (Colvin 201-2; cf. 732, 895). **οὐχὶ θύσιμός ἐστι:** An aggrieved echo of 784 *οὐδὲ θύσιμός ἐστι\**. **κέρκον:** Both 'tail' (above) and a colloquial term for a penis (*Th.* 239; Eub. fr. 127; Herod. 5. 45; Hsch. κ 2333; cf. S. fr. 1078; *Hesperia* Suppl. 7 (1943) 159 # 114 (a small vase with a penis in relief on one side and *κέρκιον* written next to it); *MM* § 92, but note that *κέρκον* in Hippon. fr. 20. 3 is merely Hoffmann's conjecture for the paradosis *ἄρτον* and that Stratt. fr. 71. 4 is not necessarily obscene), whence the joke in 786-7.

**786-7** Cf. 784-5n. Σ<sup>EF</sup> 739's *νεαρά* (printed by Hall and Geldart and Henderson) is high poetic vocabulary (e.g. H. *Il.* 2. 289; Hes. fr.

357. 2; *Pi. I.* 8. 52; *A. Ag.* 76; *S. Ant.* 157; *E. Hipp.* 1343; *Tr.* 835) and appears elsewhere in comedy only at fr. 483 (paratragic). As nothing else about the passage is elevated and as Athenaios and the *Suda* agree with **d**, I assume that the variant is a casual error and print **véa**. **δελφακουμένα**: A hapax legomenon modelled on *ἀνδρόομαι* (e.g. *Eq.* 1241). According to *Ar. Byz.* fr. 170–1, a *δέλφαξ* is a mature pig, a *χοῖρος* a piglet; cf. *H. Od.* 14. 80–1; *Ath.* 9. 374d–5e (citing numerous poetic fragments including Cratin. fr. 4 ἤδη δέλφακες, χοῖροι δὲ τοῖσιν ἄλλοις ('already full-grown pigs, but "piglets" in others' eyes'; most likely sexual humour)); Schaps, *JHS* 116 (1996) 169–71. Despite *MM* § 113, there is little evidence that *δέλφαξ* had the colloquial sense 'cunt': *Lys.* 1061/2 is irrelevant; the primary significance of *Th.* 237 must be that pigs were 'singed' before being cooked to remove the bristles (e.g. *A.* fr. 310); and *Hsch.* δ 599 cites only the diminutive *δελφάκιον*, which is much more easily explained as equivalent to *χοῖρος*. **έξει**: An echo of *έχει* in 785, but here (as part of the double-entendre) with the sense 'hold, accommodate'.

**μεγάλαν τε καὶ παχείαν κ(αὶ έ)ρυθράν**: The standard Aristophanic description of a penis (cf. *Nu.* 539; *Pax* 1359; *Lys.* 23–4; *Ec.* 1048), although the adjs. could also be applied to a pig (cf. 766; *Pax* 927) and thus by extension its tail.

**788** Another attempt at salesmanship; cf. 765–6, 791–2, 795–6. **τράφειν**: 'to keep' (e.g. *Nu.* 109), i.e. for 'slaughter' once it is big enough (791–2). Athenaios' nonsensical *έτραφεν* is merely a further corruption of R's *εί τράφεν* (*pace* Colvin 145) and does not help explain how *-εν* (**d** Ath.) replaced *-ειν* (Mueller). For the position of **τοι** relatively late in the sentence, *GP* 547–8.

**789–90** The Meg.'s recommendation (788) leads *Dik.* to bend over and inspect the crucial portion of the girl's anatomy more closely. *Dik.* intends **ξυγγενής** in the sense 'similar', but the Meg. explains the situation by resort to the root-meaning 'related by birth'. Similar word-play at *Eq.* 1280; *Pax* 618 with Olson on 615–16; cf. 988–9 with n. **ό κύσθος**: 781–3 n. **θατέρα**: i.e. *τῷ κύσθῳ θατέρας*, via attraction to the gender of **αὐτῆς** (corrupted to *αὐτή* in the common ancestor of **ct** and inexplicably retained by Triklinios).

For 790, cf. *S. Ant.* 513 *ὄμαιμος ἐκ μιᾶς τε καὶ ταύτου πατρός* ('Of kindred blood from a single mother and the same father'); *E. IT* 800 *ὦ συγκασιγνήτη τε καὶ ταύτου πατρός* ('O my own sister and from the same father!'). **β's τῷτου** (**a** *Greg. Cor.*: *τῷτῷ* R; cf. Colvin 137, 152) was altered in the common ancestor of **ct** to *τῷτου* (**c**), which Triklinios corrected to Attic *ταύτου*.

**791** A troubled verse. (1) Π<sub>5</sub> and R have **ἀλλ' ἄν**, whereas β had *αὶ δ' ἄν* (in origin a majuscule error (*ΑΛΛΑΝ* written *ΑΛΔΑΝ* and then corrected—or further corrupted—to *ΑΙΔΑΝ*)). (2) Π<sub>5</sub> α's *κἀναχνοανθῆ τριχί* is metrically deficient, hence Triklinios' *κᾶν χνοανθῆ γ' ἐν τριχί*. The simplex of the vb. is elsewhere *χνοάω* or *χνοάζω*, which counts against

Elmsley's *κἀναχνωανθῆ* and Bothe's *κἀναχνοϊανθῆ* (printed by all recent editors). Brunck suggested instead adding *τᾶ* before *τριχί*, but the def. art. is not wanted, and I print *κᾶν ἀναχνοανθῆ τριχί*. In real Megarian, apocope of *ἀνα-* would be expected (cf. 732, 766, 796; Colvin 206). For *χνόη* ('down') used of pubic hair, *Nu.* 978 (despite Dover's n.); *Metag.* fr. 4. 3. Were a real pig in question, the reference would be to its bristles (*Pl. Com.* fr. 27. 3-4). For the Meg.'s continuing effort to tout his wares, 788 n.

**792-3** Piglets were common minor sacrificial victims (cf. 745-7 n.; Olson on *Pax* 374-5 (with primary references)) but were not normally offered to Aphrodite (*Antiph.* fr. 124. 1-2; *Call.* fr. 200a ap. *Str.* 9. 437-8; *IG XII* (2) 73. 4-7 = *LSCG* no. 126. 4-7 (instructions on an altar of Aphrodite and Hermes from Mytilene) *θυέτω* | [vacat] | *ὅττι κε θέλη καὶ* | *ἔρσεν καὶ θῆλυ πλ[ὰ]γ χοί[ρω]* ('let him sacrifice whatever he wishes, male or female, except a piglet'); cf. *Paus.* 11. 10. 5), according to Σ<sup>EF</sup> because a boar killed her lover Adonis. The Meg., however, is using the goddess's name metonymically for the realm of human behaviour over which she presides, as 795-6 make clear. **θύειν:** The *v* is normally long in imperfective forms of the vb. in Attic (e.g. 793; an exception at *Strato Com.* fr. 1. 19-20 (corrupt?)) but often short elsewhere (e.g. *Thgn.* 1146; *Pi.* fr. 78. 2; *Bacch.* fr. 16. 18; *Timoth.* *PMG* 791. 29; *Theoc.* 4. 21).

**794-6** *μόνα γα:* 'to her in particular' (Barrett on *E. Hipp.* 1280-2). *γίνεται* = Attic *γίγνεται*; cf. Colvin 237. *τὸ κρῆς* (= Attic *τὸ κρέας* (Colvin 243-4)), 'the flesh', is deliberately ambiguous. Pork is common in banquet catalogues and the like (e.g. *Archipp.* fr. 10. 1-2; *Eub.* fr. 6. 9-10; *Epicr.* fr. 6. 4-5; *Mnesim.* fr. 4. 47; *Alex.* fr. 194. 1-3; *Euang.* fr. 1. 6), and *Pl. Com.* fr. 27. 2-3 (cf. *Ra.* 338) observes of pigs that *τὰ . . . κρέα / ἥδιστ' ἔχουσιν* ('they have the tastiest flesh'). *ἂν τὸν ὀδελὸν ἀμπεπαρμένον* = Attic *ἀνὰ τὸν ὀβελὸν ἀναπεπαρμένον* (Tod, *NC* vi. 7 (1947) 4-5; Colvin 206, 245). Meat is cut into pieces and roasted on a spit already in Homer (e.g. *Il.* 1. 465 = 2. 428; cf. Olson-Sens on *Archestr.* fr. 34. 4) and there are occasional references later to preparing birds (1007), fish (*Sotad.* fr. 1. 10; *Archestr.* fr. 34. 4), hare (1005-6 with n.), sausage (*Euphro* fr. 1. 32; *adesp. com.* fr. 1073. 7), and even bread (fr. 105; *Pherecr.* fr. 61; *Nicopho* fr. 6. 2) in the same way. Π<sub>5</sub> α's *ἐμπεπαρμένον* is a correction by someone puzzled by the apocope of the prefix (791 n.); the MS against which ΓΕ were corrected retained the prefix but assimilated the word to the case of *τᾶν χοίρων*.

**797-8** *Dik.* means 'Can they really be taken and raised (cf. 788) or are they still sucklings?', but the Meg. takes *ἄνευ τῆς μητρός* in the more general sense 'without their mother's involvement, assistance' (cf. *Nu.* 370; *Ar.* 847; *Ra.* 79; *Poultney* 198) and observes that the girls can eat without help from either of their parents. Cf. 834-5. *ναὶ τὸν*

**Ποτειδά:** Cf. 560 *ναὶ τὸν Ποσειδῶ\** with n. For the Megarian form of the god's name (preserved in **a**, with various accents; cf. **c** and seemingly Π<sub>5</sub>), Colvin 144, 173, 255; R has the Attic form. The MSS readings are most easily explained on the thesis that Ar. wrote **καὶ κ' ἄνις** (Blaydes, following Bentley; cf. 834; Colvin 207) but that (1) the dialect gloss *ἄν ἄνευ* was added above the line; (2) a subsequent copyist wrote **καὶ κᾶνευ** and retained *ἄν* as a superlinear gloss (as in the MS against which ΓΕ were checked); and (3) someone who mistook *κᾶνευ* for *κ(αὶ) ἄνευ* removed the seemingly superfluous **καὶ** (thus **α** and seemingly Π<sub>5</sub>);

(4) Triklinios corrected to **καὶ ἄνευ**. **γα:** 317–18n.

**799–800 τί . . . μάλιστα:** 'what exactly?'; cf. *Pl.* 966; *Antiph.* fr. 200. 3; *Alex.* fr. 140. 8.

**ἔσθίει:** In 801–2 *Dik.* is clearly speaking to only one girl (presumably the one discussed in 784–92), to whom his attention implicitly turns now.

The common ancestor of **ct** assigned **αὐτὸς δ' ἐρώτη** to *Dik.* and **χοῖρε χοῖρε** (along with the first speaker's part in 801–3) to the Meg.; the intrusive *με* in **H** represents an indication of change of speaker mistaken by the copyist for part of the text, as again in **p** at 815 and 818. **ἐρώτη (β)** = Attic *ἐρώτα* (cf. **R**); cf. Colvin 135.

**κοῖ κοῖ:** 780n.

**801–3** Cf. *Arist. HA* 603<sup>b</sup>27–8: 'Chickpeas and figs are the best foods for fattening and nourishing [swine]'. **τρώγοις:** In contrast to the

general vb. *ἔσθίω, τρώγω* is most often used of human beings and refers to consuming dainties such as grapes, beans, olives, and cakes (e.g. *Eq.* 1077; *Lys.* 537; *Antiph.* fr. 138. 4; *Anaxil.* fr. 18. 3; *Anaxandr.* fr. 20; cf. *Taillardat* § 132; *Chadwick* 287–90).

**ἑρέβινθους:** Boiled or roasted chickpeas (*Cicer arietinum*) are repeatedly referred to as symposium snacks (*τραγήματα*; cf. 1091n.) but are sometimes treated instead as coarse, common food (esp. *Alex.* fr. 167. 13; *Crobyl.* fr. 9); cf. *Pl. R.* 372c–d, where Glaukos characterizes Socrates' simple city, in which men will dine *inter alia* on roasted chickpeas, as a 'city of pigs'; Flint–Hamilton, *Hesperia* 68 (1999) 371–85, esp. 377–8. *ἑρέβινθος* is also a slang term for a penis (*Ra.* 545; cf. *Sophil.* fr. 9; *MM* § 42 (but exclude *Pax* 1136 and *Ec.* 45)), which is probably part of the humour. **κοῖ**

**κοῖ κοῖ:** Accompanied by vigorous gestures of enthusiasm, as again in 802–3. The MSS are in disarray over how many times *κοῖ* is said in all these lines, which is to be expected with repeated exclamations (e.g. *Pax* 518–19) but complicates the textual problem in 803 (below). **τί**

**δαί:** 'What about [this]?'; moving on to the next point. Cf. 105n.; *Eq.* 171; *Nu.* 1091; *Pax* 700.

**φιβάλεως ἰσχάδας:** *Sc. τρώγοις ἄν.* Dried figs, like chickpeas (above), appear occasionally in catalogues of symposium snacks (Olson–Sens on *Archestr.* fr. 60. 15) but are here in the first instance another simple, common food (cf. 996 with n.; *Pax* 634; *Lys.* 564; *Pl.* 191; *Alex.* fr. 167. 15; 201. 1; *Timocl.* fr. 38. 1; *Diph.* fr. 89. 4). *MM* § 34 argues that *ἰσχάδας* cannot have a second sense,

'penises', because 'ἰσχάς always indicates the female member'. In fact, it does so only in one very obscure passage (Hippon. fr. 123); the word-play in 801 is sufficiently obscure that it arguably requires a similar joke in the verse that follows to be effective; and a relatively small, limp penis could be compared to a dried fig at least as easily as to a chickpea (above). Henderson tacitly withdraws the argument in his Loeb (n. 99). Cf. the use of σῦκον ('fig') to refer to the genitals of both sexes at *Pax* 1359–60. The Attic 2nd declension is often used for variety-names of figs and vines (Olson on *Pax* 628–9). Hermipp. fr. 53 also refers to Phibalian figs and Apolloph. fr. 5. 4 (corrupt) mentions Phibalian myrtle, but the name is otherwise obscure; Σ<sup>ΕΓ</sup>'s claim that it refers to a place in Megara or Athens is scholarly guesswork. 803 poses

serious problems. α's τί δαί; σῦκα τρώγοις ἄν αὐτός; κοῖ κοῖ κοῖ (Ra) is unmetrical and missing from the *Suda*'s citation of the passage, and Bentley expelled the verse, apparently regarding it as a clumsy patchwork made up out of shattered bits and pieces of 801 and 802 and the scholia thereon (thus Bothe). The omission, however, is easily explained as resulting from the homoioteleuton with 802 (cf. p, in which the verse was initially left out and then added to the text in the wrong place, between 805 and 806), and an address to and response by someone other than the first girl is needed to explain the shift to pl. κεκράγατε in 804. Dik.'s renewed reference to ἰσχάδας in 804 (cf. 802), on the other hand, shows that σῦκα will not do, and the fact that α had κοῖ three times proves little about what Ar. wrote (above). αὐτός is difficult to explain as an intrusion (which counts against Elliott's τί δέ; σῦκα τρώγοις ἄν; κοῖ κοῖ κοῖ), and Dover, *ICS* 2 (1977) 149–50 = *G&L* 209–10 (following Douglass Parker), argues that Dik. is addressing the Meg. rather than one of his Daughters, and suggests τί δαί σύ; τρώγοις αὐτός ἄν; Με. κοῖ κοῖ, a combination of emendations by Triklinios and Elmsley that sets up 809–10. This leaves the second half of σῦκα unexplained, and I print instead τί δαί σύ; τρώγοις καὐτός ἄν; Με. κοῖ κοῖ, and assume that κ fell out of the text and that κ (or κα) was written above the line and eventually inserted in the wrong place. To add to the confusion, Π<sub>5</sub> appears either to have contained an extra verse ending in κοῖ κοῖ between 803 and 804 or to have offered four κοῖs rather than α's two in 803, with the third and fourth awkwardly—and unnecessarily—written beneath the line. Lauciani, *QUCC* 55 (1987) 49–53, suggests that Dik. addresses his phallus (for which he then speaks), and proposes τί δέ; σῦκα τρώγοις ἄν. κοῖ κοῖ.

**804** ὀξύ: 'shrilly', in context 'excitedly'; cf. Chadwick 213, 216.

πρὸς τὰς ἰσχάδας: 'in response to the word "figs"' (102–3n.).

**805–6** For τις + 3rd-person imper. used to give orders to household slaves, e.g. 1096; *Nu.* 1490; *V.* 529; Cratin. fr. 271. 2. τῶν ἰσχάδων: '[some] of our figs' (e.g. *V.* 239; *Pax* 960; *Ra.* 1263; cf. 184–5n.).

A mute slave emerges from the house holding a basket of figs, a few of which he throws to the girls and perhaps their father (809-10 with n.; cf. 801-3 n. on 803) before tossing the rest to the audience (cf. *V.* 58-9; *Pax* 961-2 with Olson on 960; *Pl.* 797-9). **βαβαί:** 'Damn!' *vel sim.*; a colloquial expression of shock or astonishment (e.g. *Av.* 272; *Lys.* 1078; fr. 415. 1; Timocl. fr. 24. 2; *E. Cyc.* 156; *Pl. Sph.* 249d; *Lys.* 218c; cf. 64n.; Petron. *Satyr.* 35. 9).

**807-8** Addressed to the world at large and thus the audience. **ροθιάζουσ(ι):** 'What a clamour they're making!' as they gobble down the figs (and perhaps fight over them); the point is not that the girls actually make any noise but that vigorous eating is conventionally very loud (esp. *Epich.* fr. 21). The vb. and its cognates are used of any (generally chaotic) movement accompanied by (generally incoherent) noise, most often of the 'chop' or 'roar' of water (e.g. frr. 85-6; *Cratin.* fr. 332; *Hermipp.* fr. 54. 2; *A. Pers.* 396; *S. Ph.* 688; *E. Cyc.* 17; *Hipp.* 1205; [A.] *PV* 1048; *Th.* iv. 10. 5); of sounds produced by the human mouth at e.g. *Pi. Pae.* 6. 128-9; 12. 16; *A. Pers.* 406. Cf. Diggle on *E. Phaëth.* 80 (without reference to the Aristophanic evidence). **ὦ πολυτίμηθ' Ἡράκλεις:** 94n., 759n.; the larger point of the oath is that Herakles was the archetypal glutton (e.g. *Av.* 567; *Ra.* 549-60; *Epich.* fr. 21; cf. Arnott on *Alex.* fr. 88. 3-5; Olson on *Pax* 741). **ποδαπὰ τὰ θηρί(α):** 767-8n. α's *χοιρία* (corrected to *χοιρί'* by Triklinios *metri causa*) is more easily explained as a pedestrian superlinear gloss (cf. Π<sub>5</sub>, where the word appears to have been elevated to the status of a variant) that has driven out the poet's *θηρί(α)* (cf. *Nu.* 184; *Av.* 93) than vice versa. **ὡς Τραγασαία φαίνεται:** *Tragasai* was a place in the Troad with a famous salt-pan (*Hellanic. FGrH* 4 F 34; *Phylarch. FGrH* 81 F 65; *Str.* 13. 605; *Plin. Nat.* 31. 85; *Poll.* vi. 63), but *Dik.* is punning on *τραγεῖν*, 'nibble' *vel sim.* (used as aor. of *τρώγω*; cf. 801-3 n., 809). Contrast 853, where 'Tragasaian' is a pun on *τράγος*, 'he-goat'.

**809-10** Addressed to the audience and accordingly ignored by *Dik.* **κατέτραγον:** Cf. 807-8n. **τάνδε μίαν:** The *Meg.* holds up a fig he was tossed (or grabbed from his Daughters?) at 805-6. **ἀνειλόμαν:** The vb. is also used of covert 'snatching' of food intended for others at *Nu.* 981.

**811-12** **νή τὸν Δί':** Routinely \* (e.g. *V.* 146; *Pax* 19; *Av.* 954; *Lys.* 609; *Th.* 20). **ἀστείω:** 'lovely, charming' (e.g. *Nu.* 204 with Dover ad loc., 1064; *Antiph.* fr. 6; *Alex.* fr. 60. 3; *Sotad. Com.* fr. 1. 15; *Pl. Grg.* 447a). For **γε** following the oath, *GP* 128; cf. 860, 867. **βοσκήματε:** Lit. 'fed things' (e.g. *E. Hipp.* 1356; *Ba.* 677), i.e. 'animals suitable for fattening' (cf. 788, 791). The 'piglets'' behaviour in 801-8 has convinced *Dik.* that they are indeed past the suckling stage (cf. 797-8 with n.) and he is now finally ready to make a deal to purchase them (812-15). **πόσου;:** 'for what price?' (690-1 n., 898). **πρίωμαί**

**σοι:** For the dat. used of the person from whom one purchases a thing, 815; *Pax* 1261; *Ra.* 1229; Phryn. Com. fr. 53; *S. Ant.* 1171; *Anacreont.* 11. 4–5. LSJ treat \*πρίαμαι as a presumed pres. tense, although the vb. has no pres. indic., impf., or fut. forms, all of which are supplied by ὠνέομαι (815; properly ‘make an offer’); cf. Rutherford 210–13. **λέγε:** After impatient questions also at e.g. *Eq.* 131\*; *Nu.* 786\*; *Pl.* 222\*; *Pl. Com. fr.* 204. 1; *Strato Com. fr.* 1. 6\*; cf. 897\*.

**813–14** Ironically, the Meg. offers to trade his Daughters for the very commodities his city once produced in abundance (520–2n., 760–1), demonstrating again the depth of Megara’s impoverishment (thus Σ<sup>REF</sup>; cf. 772 with n.).

Despite the occasional talk of ‘buying’ and ‘selling’ in this section of the play (812, 815, 895, 897–8, 901), Dik. and his visitors engage exclusively in barter (cf. 899–905), so that the hero’s new market place includes an implicit rejection of the cash-economy denounced so pointedly in 34–6. Cf. Olson (1991a) 202–3. ἄτερον (Brunck) = Attic ἕτερον (dS), as again in 814; cf. Colvin 233. **τούτο:** Partitive τούτων (dS) is impossibly awkward before σκορόδων, and the pron. has clearly been attracted into the case of the word that follows, perhaps with τούτον as an intermediary corruption. Phot.

p. 606. 13 = *EM*, p. 769. 1–2 (cf. Σ<sup>REF</sup>; Hsch. τ 1407, 1449) defines a τροπηλῖς (nowhere else in classical literature) as a bunch of garlic (cognate with τρέπω, ‘twist’, in reference to how the stems are braided together; cf. *Alex. fr.* 122. 2, where—despite Arnott ad loc.—there can be little doubt that θύμον δέσμαι are braids of a garlic-like bulb), hence Elmsley’s τροπαλίδος (which seems to match the length of the lacuna in Π<sub>5</sub>; omitted by Colvin) for RacL’s τροπαλλίδος (a metricizing correction by someone who failed to recognize that the α is long; p Zon. have spelled the word right, but only by accident). αἱ λῆς marks what follows as a hesitant suggestion which the speaker recognizes may well be rejected, hence his addition of the adj. μόνας (‘only a choenix of salt’); cf. 816–17n.

**χοίνικος:** A choenix is a standard measure equivalent to four dry κοτύλαι or 1.094 litres (cf. Broneer, *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 222–4; Lang, in M. Lang and M. Crosby, *Agora* x (Princeton, 1964) 39–48). Rc’s χοίνικας is the product of a confused conviction that μόνας is acc.

**815 ὠνήσομαί σοι:** 811–12n. **ταῦτα δή:** Sc. δράσω. Probably colloquial (*Beobachtungen* 80–9; Stevens 30; López Eire 182–4); cf. *Eq.* 111; *V.* 142, 851, 1008; *Pax* 275. For p’s μεταῦτα, 799–800n.

**816–17** The point of giving this remark to the Meg. is not to bring out his desperation by showing him ready to abandon even the most basic social relations if that will help him buy food (Sommerstein), a matter that requires no further belabouring, but to illustrate his ludicrous delight in what he takes to be the brilliant bargain he has driven for worthless merchandise (cf. 736–7). For spontaneous personal prayers, Horn 60–1. **Ἐρμᾶ (ἐ)μπολαίε:** 741–3n.; an appropriate oath to introduce a dis-

cussion of terms of sale. Hermes claims the epithet ἐμπολαῖος ('god of trade, traffic') at *Pl.* 1155 (cf. Hsch. ε 2491 ἐμπολαῖος ὁ κερδῶος Ἑρμῆς ('*empolaios*: Hermes as god of profit')) and a bronze statue of ἀγοραῖος Ἑρμῆς ('Market place Hermes') stood in the Agora in Athens (*Eq.* 297 with Σ<sup>VEΓΘΜ</sup>; Philoch. *FGrH* 328 F 31; Plu. *Mor.* 844b; Paus. i. 15. 1; Luc. *ἸTr.* 33; *AB*, p. 339. 1-2; S a 308; Wycherley 102-3) and other cities as well (Paus. iii. 11. 11; vii. 22. 2; ix. 17. 2). οὔτω: 'at this price'; cf. 758n.

μ(ε) ἀποδόσθαι: For the optative infin. after an invocation of a deity, 250-2n.

**818-20** Cf. 910-12. An anonymous man, quickly identified by his behaviour as a sycophant (cf. Olson (1992) 312-13), enters from a wing and confronts the Meg. For σύ and μεζωχοιροπόλας in **p**, 799-800n. ποδαπός;: 'from what country?', as commonly in Attic (e.g. *V.* 185; *Lys.* 85; *Th.* 136; *Amphis* fr. 36. 1; *Alex.* fr. 232. 3 (where Arnott rightly notes that Dindorf's correction of A's ποταπός should be printed)); cf. 767-8n., 808. τοίνυν: 'well then' (cf. 904, 911; *GP* 569-70).

Triklinios' τοίνυν γ' is a misguided metricizing correction driven by a failure to recognize that the υ is long; cf. 911. φανῶ: 541-2n.

Blaydes's φαίνω (printed by van Leeuwen, Starkie, Coulon, Mastro-marco, and Sommerstein) is an exceedingly small change, but the paradosis is the *lectio difficilior*; the fut. is metrically guaranteed in very similar contexts at 914 and (most likely) *Eq.* 300, and probably reflects the need to have the proper officials in attendance at the actual denunciation, as at *Eq.* 300-2; the imperfectives in 823-6 prove only that the entire process initiated by the Syc. here can be termed a φάσις ('denunciation'); and if the text is to be emended anywhere, it ought to be at 912 (where see n.).

**820-1** τοῦτο τῆν': 'Here we go again!' (40-2n.). Elsewhere the Meg. generally speaks his own local dialect and Π<sub>5</sub> α's Attic τοῦτ' ἐκεῖν' is particularly awkward before 822, which draws attention to his non-Athenian status. The paradosis is presumably to be explained as an intrusive superlinear gloss of a sort common in this section of the text (e.g. 775, 798). ἴκει πάλιν κτλ.: Cf. 517-22, as well as the Spartan Melesippos' words as he left Attika in 431 after his last-minute bid to avoid war had failed: ἦδε ἡ ἡμέρα τοῖς Ἕλλησι μεγάλων κακῶν ἄρξει ('This day will be the beginning of great troubles for the Greeks'; *Th.* ii. 12. 3).

ἔφου: Pace Starkie, φύω is neither rare in comedy nor mostly restricted to paratragedy (e.g. 979; *Av.* 471; *Lys.* 1030; *Ra.* 1247), although the lack of resolution and the resemblance to E. *Hipp.* 272 οὐδ' ἦτις ἀρχὴ τῶνδε πημάτων ἔφου; ('Not even what the origin of these troubles is?'), taken together, do lend 821 as a whole a tragic tone.

**822** κλαίων: Equivalent to κλαύσει, εἰάν (cf. *Nu.* 933), 'you'll be sorry, if . . .' + fut. Colloquial; cf. 827, 841 (οἰμώζων used in the same way); Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 1148; Stevens 15-16; Wilkins on E. *Heracl.* 270



(arguing that the designation 'colloquial' perhaps oversimplifies the situation). As the remark that follows makes clear, what the Syc. objects to is not the Meg.'s accent (and thus the simple fact that he is a Megarian in Athens) but his failure to cooperate immediately when told that he is about to be denounced (819–21). **μεγαριεῖς** (cf. ἀπικίζω, λακωνίζω, λυδίζω, μηδίζω; Dover on *Ra.* 1308) must therefore be 'play the Megarian', i.e. 'try to pull a fast one' by talking his way out of the situation (cf. 738–9 n.; Σ<sup>REF</sup>). **τὸν σάκον:** 745–7 n.

**823 Δικαιοπόλι Δικαιοπόλι:** The repetition reflects the urgency of the appeal. The Meg. uses **φαντάδδομαι** (lit. 'I am being revealed' (e.g. *E. Ion* 1444; *Pl. Sph.* 265a)) as the equivalent of **φαίνομαι** in the technical sense 'I am being denounced' (pass. at *D.* 58. 13), which sets up the pun in 826, although whether this is supposed to be legitimate Megarian usage or a comic solecism is unclear. In any case, given **μάδδαν** in 732 and 835, and **χρήδδερ** in 734, Valckenaer's -δδ- for the Atticizing paradosis -ζ- is certainly correct. Cf. Colvin 164–5.

**824–5** Dik. emerges from the house and picks up his whip (below, 827–8 n.), which suggests that he has his hands free. The scene is thus most easily staged on the assumption that the garlic and salt the hero offers the Meg. at 831 are brought on by a mute slave (cf. 805–6 with n.), who follows his master out. **β** (1) took the first two words in 824 to be **ὑπό του** ('by someone'; thus Brunck) and gave them to the Meg. as a continuation of 823 (**acp**; thus also R); (2) assigned **τίς . . . ἐστίν** to Dik. (**acp**); (3) placed an additional change of speaker before **ἀγορανόμοι** (*Me. ct*: spat. AE: cf. R), converting this (absurdly) into a denunciation of the market officials rather than the Syc. The common ancestor of **ct** attempted to improve the sense by giving 825 to Dik. (**cHL**: om. P), and Triklinios moved the first indication of change of speaker in 824 to the left margin (LAld, cf. H) but retained the second and therefore the change in 825 as well. **ἀγορανόμοι κτλ.:** Addressed to the whip, which was left on stage at 728 and charged specifically with keeping sycophants out of Dik.'s market place (725–6 with n.). Triklinios' **οἱ δ' ἀγορανόμοι** represents a clumsy attempt to correct α's metrically deficient **ἀγορανόμοι**, and Elmsley's **ἀγορανόμοι** (cf. 54 **οἱ τοξόται** with n.) is certain. **θύραζ(ε):** 358–63 n.; here 'away from my house' (cf. 1222 with n.) and thus by extension 'my market place'. **ἐξείρξετε:** Drawn from the language of civic administration (esp. *Pl. Lg.* 936c **ἐκ μὲν ἀγορᾶς ἀγορανόμοι ἐξειργόντων αὐτόν** ('let the market officials bar him from the market place')); cf. *E. Heracl.* 20; *Andr.* 176; *Th.* iii. 70. 6; *Pl. Lg.* 935e; *Aeschin.* 3. 176; *D.* 21. 178–9).

**826** To the Syc. **τί . . . μαθών;** 'What has put it into your head?' (Dover on *Nu.* 402) and thus equivalent to a reproachful 'Why?' Colloquial; cf. *V.* 251; *Pl.* 908; *Pherecr.* fr. 70. 1; *Eup.* frr. 193. 4; 392. 3; *Nicol. Com.* fr. 1. 17; *Men. Dysk.* 110; Burnett on *Pl. Ap.* 36b5. To

be distinguished from *τί παθών* (to which Scaliger wished to emend), 'What has come over you, that . . .' (cf. 912 with n.). **φαίνεις ἄνευ**

**θρυαλλίδος**: A pun on two senses of *φαίνω*, 'bring to light' (e.g. with a lamp, which would require a wick) and 'denounce' ( $\Sigma^{\text{REI}}$ ); cf. 917 (where the joke is turned on its head), 937-8. *θρυαλλίς* is properly a flowering plant of some sort (Thphr. *HP* vii. 11. 2; Nic. *Th.* 899) and thus by extension the lampwicks produced from it (874, 916-24; *Nu.* 59; *V.* 251; Philyll. fr. 25; cf. *Nu.* 585).

**827-8 οὐ γὰρ φανῶ τοὺς πολεμίους**;: Implying 'Doing this is my responsibility!' (576-7n.; cf. *Pl.* 907-12, esp. 911-12 (another anonymous sycophant's attempt at self-justification)). **κλαίων γε σύ**: Sc. *φανείς*; cf. 822 n.; *Ec.* 1027\*. For *γε* used to denote 'that the main clause is only valid in so far as the participial clause is valid', *GP* 143. Dik. brandishes his whip at the Syc., who retreats hastily into the wing from which he came; cf. the very similar treatment of an anonymous sycophant by Peisetairos at *Av.* 1462-8. R's *μήτ' ἐτέρωσε* is the result of a dittography of *TE*. **συκοφαντήσεις τρέχων**: 201-2n.; cf. *Av.* 991, 1260-1; Dover on *Nu.* 780 ('Logic might be thought to demand the aor. *δραμών*, but usage does not').  $\beta$ 's *ίών* probably represents *τρέχ* with *ων* written above the *χ*, with *ών* then misunderstood as a superlinear variant *ίών*. In any case, *ίών* spoils the point, which is that the Syc. should exit on the run.

**829** 'What a [bad] thing, this problem you have in Athens!'

**830-1 θάρρει**: i.e. because, whatever problems there may be in Athens generally (829), this particular deal is not in any jeopardy, as what follows makes clear. **Μεγαρίκ(ε)**: 180-1n. **ἀλλ' ἤς κτλ.**: Cf. 813-14 with n.  $\alpha$ 's *τὰ χοιρίδι' ἀπέδου* would be metrically anomalous (White §§ 103, 106), and most recent editors print Elmsley's *ἀπέδου τὰ χοιρία*. The aor. seems odd (cf. *E. Cyc.* 257) and I print instead **τὰ χοιρί' ἀπεδίδου** and assume that *δι* dropped out and was added above the line, and was later inserted in the wrong place (thus Page 121-2, although he inexplicably suggests act. *ἀπεδίδους*). For *χοιρίον* vs. *χοιρίδιον*, 776-7n. **τιμῆς** (properly acc., in apposition to **ταυτὶ τὰ σκόροδα καὶ τοὺς ἄλας**) has been drawn into the case of the rel. pron. *τιμῆ* is 'compensation' (LSJ s.v. III) rather than 'price' (LSJ s.v. II), as again in 895.

**832-3 χαῖρε πόλλ(α)**: Dik. means 'farewell!' (199-200n.), to which the proper response would be either *καὶ σύ γε* ('And you!'; e.g. *Ra.* 164-5; *Ec.* 477) or *δέχομαι* (lit. 'I accept!'; e.g. *Av.* 645-6; *Eup.* fr. 131. 2; cf. 199-200n.). The Meg., however, takes the words in the literal sense 'be very happy!' and objects that this is not the 'local manner' (cf. *Nu.* 1173; *Pl.* 47, 342; *Alex.* fr. 224. 2) where he comes from. Cf. 176n., 751-63. 833 is superficially a gracious attempt by Dik. to spare the Meg. from having to live up to his thoughtless order in 832 but really a way of appropriating the remark for himself in the sense his interlocutor gave

it; cf. Dover, *G&G* 299–300. **πολυπραγμοσύνη**: ‘meddlesomeness’; cf. *Ra.* 749 with Dover on 228 (where for ‘*Pax* 1028’ read ‘1058’); *Pl.* 913; Dover, *GPM* 188–9; Dunbar on *Av.* 44. **νυν**: ‘in that case’, as again in 1019; cf. Dover, *G&G* 299. **εἰς κεφαλὴν τράποιτ’ ἐμοί**: Cf. *Lys.* 915 (Kinesias accepts the guilt attached to Myrrhine’s potential violation of her vow of temporary chastity) *εἰς ἐμέ τράποιτο* (‘Might it be averted to me!’). Curses, debts, and troubles of all sorts are routinely said to settle on the head (e.g. *Nu.* 39–40; *Pax* 1063; *Pl.* 526), presumably as representative of the person as a whole; cf. 285n.; Chadwick 178–80. The Meg.’s Daughters, the slave, and Dik. (carrying his whip; cf. 864n.) go into the house; 834–5 cover their exit.

**834–5** R’s *πειράσθε* and α’s *τῶ* are hyperdoricisms introduced by overly energetic scribes or editors. **κᾶνις τοῦ πατρός**: Cf. 798 with n. **παίειν ἐφ’ ἀλί τὰν μᾶδδαν**: Lit. ‘to keep striking your barley-cake on salt’; a crux. (1) Vbs. with the basic sense ‘pound’, ‘grind’, and the like are sometimes used to describe aggressive eating (esp. *Pax* 1306/7 with Olson ad loc., 1309/10; cf. Hsch. π 83), although here *παίειν* might just as well refer to the vigorous kneading (elsewhere *μάσσω* or *τρίβω* (*Pax* 8, 12; Eub. fr. 111. 3–4)) used to produce barley-cake (732 with n.). (2) ‘Salt’ is normally pl. *ἄλες* (e.g. 760, 831) in Attic (although cf. 1158 with n.; K–A on Crates Com. fr. 16. 10), while *ἐπί* + dat. is used not of a sauce, seasoning, or side-dish (*ὄψον*; cf. Olson–Sens on Archestr. fr. 9. 2) such as brine or salt (670–2n., 1156–8n.) but of the staple food (normally a cereal product) to which it was intended to add a bit of interest (esp. X. *Mem.* iii. 14. 2–3; cf. 966–7n.; V. 495; *Pax* 123). Henderson, *CP* 68 (1973) 289–90 (cf. *MM* § 12), explains the remark as sexual humour: violent vbs. like *παίω* are often used colloquially to mean ‘fuck’ (esp. *Pax* 874, 898; cf. *MM* §§ 298–316) and *ἐφ’ ἀλί* is a pun on *φαλλός/φάλης* (‘phallus’), so that the Meg.’s parting words to his Daughters can be taken as an order to make themselves sexually available to Dik. (or anyone else who might be interested). **αἱ κά τις διδῶ**: Cf. 732 with n.; Colvin 229. The Meg. takes his salt, garlic, and sack, and exits into the wing from which he came.

**836–41 ~ 842–7 ~ 848–53 ~ 854–9** Ostensibly a discussion of the delights of Dik.’s new market place but really an iambic abuse-song (cf. *Ra.* 416–30; Eup. frr. 99. 1–22; 386) which describes the sort of people the man who controls the place will be able to avoid. For other Aristophanic abuse-songs, 1150–73 (iambo-choriambic); *Eq.* 1264–1315; V. 1265–83; *Av.* 1470–93, 1553–64, 1694–1705. Various articulated by editors and commentators (metr. Σ<sup>EF</sup>; White § 582; Prato 18–19; Zimmermann ii. 153–4; iii. 5; Parker 138–41); there are only three certain divisions:

- |                                    |          |
|------------------------------------|----------|
| (1) 836 ~ 842 ~ 848 ~ 854          | 3ia ia^  |
| (2) 837 ~ 843 ~ 849 ~ 855          | 3ia ia^  |
| (3) 838–41 ~ 844–7 ~ 850–3 ~ 856–9 | 6ia reiz |

- 836-7** εὐδαιμονεῖ γ' ἄνθρωπος: What follows is praise not so much of the hero as of his good fortune; contrast 1008-17, 1037-46. οὐκ ἤκουσας: As with ἤκουσας in 1015 and 1042, and εἶδες in 971-2 (cf. 842 with n.), the addressee is not precisely defined and might just as well be the individual members of the audience as the other members of the chorus. Cf. M. Kaimio, *The Chorus of Greek Drama within the Light of the Person and Number Used* (Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 46: Helsinki, 1970) 141-3. The neg. adds urgency to the question, as in 1003-4. τὸ πράγμα τοῦ βουλεύματος: Scarcely to be distinguished from τὸ βούλευμα. τὸ χρῆμα + defining gen. is expected in colloquial Attic (148-50n.), but cf. Alex. fr. 184. 2-3 πράγμα . . . μέγα / φρέατος (where Arnott misses the parallel here and concludes that the passage may be corrupt).
- 837-59** The chorus begin their catalogue of the delights of Dik.'s new market place with an imaginary scene modelled on what has just gone on on stage in 818-28 (a business-deal involving the hero is interrupted by the arrival of a sycophant, who is promptly driven out), and buying or selling disrupted by someone who wants to keep the addressee from getting what he wants is again in question in 842 (where see n.). 843-59, on the other hand, refer only to strolling about or through the market place and consist of a long list of individuals whose disgusting personal eccentricities (none of them specifically economic) Dik. (or whoever is being addressed) need no longer tolerate.
- 837-8** καρπώσεται: 'he will reap the fruit [of his plan]'. A banal metaphor (e.g. *V.* 520; Antiph. fr. 226. 4; Pi. fr. 209; A. *Eu.* 831; E. *Hipp.* 432; *Andr.* 935; Th. ii. 38. 2; Pl. *Smp.* 183a) taken up again in 947 with n., 949. Cf. Taillardat § 716. καθήμενος: The standard posture of a market-vendor (Pherecr. fr. 70. 1; Alex. fr. 131. 5-6; Men. *Pk.* 284; Pl. *R.* 371c-d); contrast 841.
- 839-41** τις Κτησίας: For τις in the sense 'someone like', 1166-7; Anaxandr. fr. 33. 3; LSJ s.v. A. II. 6. b; cf. 702. Ktesias (*PAA* 586600) is otherwise unknown (but cf. 702n.); the name is common in Athens (44 other examples in *LGN* ii) and must have been chosen in part because it suggests 'Acquirer' (< κτάομαι), which is appropriate for a generic informer. οἰμώζων καθεδεῖται: 'he'll be sorry if he sits down' (cf. 822n.; *Ec.* 942; fr. 17. 2), i.e. 'if he tries to linger'. Athenian shops, especially those near the Agora, attracted idlers who sat about in them killing time and gossiping (*Eq.* 1375-6; *Pl.* 337-9; *Lys.* 24. 19-20), as the anonymous sycophant is imagined attempting (unsuccessfully) to do in the vicinity of Dik.'s stand.
- 842** ὑποψωνῶν: A hapax legomenon. Dik. seems to be described as vendor rather than buyer in 837-8 (cf. 973; contrast 749, 812-17, etc.), but ὀψωνέω is normally 'buy ὄψον' (e.g. *Pax* 1007; Stratt. fr. 45. 2; Antiph. fr. 190. 1; Amphis fr. 30. 14; cf. 834-5n.) and the prefix presumably

suggests stealthy action (LSJ s. *ὑπό* F. III), i.e. buying up everything good before other people have a chance, as the Sausage-seller does with coriander at *Eq.* 676–9 (cf. *Pax* 1009–15). Although *Dik.* is off stage and referred to in the 3rd person at 836–8, *σε* is most naturally taken as direct address of him, as throughout the song. If this is not the case, the ‘you’ in question is presumably the same as in 836, i.e. the individual members of the chorus or the audience, who are addressed (1) as if *Dik.*’s new market place were to be theirs rather than his to enjoy and (2) in the sing., since the fantasy depends on the notion that no one else will be allowed in. *δ*’s *πημανεῖται* is metrical, but the medio-passive of the vb. nowhere else stands for the act. and Dindorf’s *πημανεῖ τι* (cf. *S.*, where the text unfortunately is garbled) is clearly correct. For the construction, *Av.* 1253; *Lys.* 656; *Pl.* 22 (all with *λυπέω*); *S. Ai.* 1314; *OC* 837; *Pl. Lg.* 862a. *πημαίνω* is primarily poetic vocabulary; elsewhere at *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 38. 8; *Hdt.* ix. 13. 1; *Pl. R.* 364c; and several times in the *Laws* (which is full of poetic words).

**843** *ἔξομόρξεταί . . . σοι*: As if the foulness of *Prepis*’ personal behaviour could infect anyone who came into physical contact with him; cf. 846–7 with n., 1019 with n.; *Eq.* 1288–9; *Nu.* 1022–3 *τῆς Ἀντιμάχου / καταπυγοσύνης ἀναπλήσει* (‘you will be infected with *Antimachos*’ faggotry’); *E. Ba.* 344 *μῆδ’ ἔξομόρξη μωρίαν τὴν σὴν ἐμοί* (‘and do not smear your folly on me’; scarcely ‘parodied’ here, despite LSJ s.v.); *Miasma* 98–100, 219. Unlike *ἀπομόργνυμι* (694–6 n.), *ἔξομόργνυμι* (first attested here) is used not only of wiping a person or object (normally in the gen., hence *RA*’s impossible *σου*) clean (*E. Hipp.* 653; *El.* 502; *Or.* 219; *Phaëth.* 219) but of transmitting a stain, with no implication that anything is purified thereby, as here (cf. *E. HF* 1399; *Ba.* 344; *Pl. Grg.* 525a). *Kirchner* suggested that *Πρέπις* (a very rare name) was to be identified with *Prepis* son of *Eupheros* (*PA* 12184; *PAA* 788085), Secretary of the Council during the first prytany of 422/1 (*IG I<sup>3</sup>* 79. 1; 391. 7). *Prepis* of the deme *Xypete* (*PAA* 788090), whose wife made a dedication on the acropolis c.430–420 (*IG I<sup>3</sup>* 894 = *DAA* 194+), is probably the same man, in which case his wealth helps explain his political prominence (below) and thus the mention of him here. The *Prepis* included in the mid-century casualty-list at *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 1150. 23 (*PAA* 788080) must be a relative from the previous generation. *τὴν εὐρυπρωκτίαν*: Best taken as evidence only that *Prepis* (like the other men referred to in 844–7) was active in Athenian politics; cf. 713–16 n.

**844** *οὐδ’ ὥστιεῖ*: 23–4 n. *Κλεωνύμω*: 88–9 n.; mentioned on account of both his alleged gluttony (which makes it likely one will encounter him pushing and shoving around the market stalls) and his girth (which makes it more difficult to avoid physical contact with him).

**845** *χλαῖναν*: A warm (*V.* 1151–6) woollen (*V.* 1146–9; *Av.* 493; *Lys.* 584–6) outer garment of a type worn by men in winter (*Av.* 712, 714–15,

1089-90; *Ec.* 415-17; *H. Od.* 14. 529; cf. *V.* 1055-9), and thus a detail appropriate to Lenaia-time (cf. 857-9 n., 875-7 n.). Cf. 184-5 n.; *Poll.* x. 123-4, citing Theopomp. *Com.* fr. 11; *Stone* 160-2. **φανήν:** 'shining', i.e. 'fresh from the fuller's shop', as at *Ec.* 347 (Ussher's claim at *Ec.* 415-17 that fullers must have manufactured or at least dealt in clothes misses the point, which is that their shops would generally have contained a large number of garments, which were there for cleaning). For fulling (which involved treading on the garment in a basin containing water and an alkaline agent such as carbonate of soda (*λίτρον*; cf. *Pritchett* 311-12; *Arnott on Alex.* fr. 1. 2) or urine (*Ath.* 11. 484a) (cf. 17-18 n.); beating it with rods (*Cratin.* fr. 303); rinsing it clean; drying it; brushing it to raise the nap; bleaching it with sulphur; and pressing), *Poll.* vii. 37-41; *Blümner* i. 170-90; *Forbes* iv. 82-90, 93-5, esp. 84-6. The point is not just that the addressee's garment will be clean when he begins his promenade across the Agora but that it will remain so, since he will not be forced into contact with the likes of Prepis, Kleonymos, and Hyperbolos.

**846-7** σ(ε) is governed by ἀναπλήσει. **Υπέρβολος:** This is the first datable reference to Hyperbolos son of Antiphanes of the deme Perithoidai (*PA* 13910), a wealthy lampmaker active in the late 420s in the lawcourts (also *Nu.* 874-6; *V.* 1007; cf. *Eq.* 1358-63), the Assembly (*Eq.* 1303-4; *Cratin.* fr. 283; *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 82. 5; 85. 6), and Athenian politics generally (*Eq.* 736-40; *Nu.* 623-5; *Pl. Com.* fr. 182. 7). After Kleon's death in 422, Hyperbolos became the city's leading demagogue (*Pax* 679-84) and the comic poets attacked him (and his mother; cf. 478 n., 704-5 n.) relentlessly (esp. *Nu.* 551-9; *Eup. Μαρικᾶς*). Sometime around 416 (Lewis on *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 85) he was ostracized through the combined efforts of Nikias and Alkibiades (*Th.* viii. 73. 3; *Plu. Nic.* 11; *Alc.* 13. 3-5; cf. M. Lang, *Agora* xxv (Princeton, 1990) # 307-9) and retired to Samos, where he was murdered by oligarchs in 411 (*Th.* viii. 73. 3). Cf. Olson on *Pax* 681 (with further primary and secondary references). **ἀναπλήσει:** 'infect with' + gen. (e.g. *Nu.* 1023 with Dover on 995; *Theognet.* fr. 1. 1-2; *Pl. Phd.* 67a; *Aeschin.* 2. 88; *X. Cyr.* ii. 2. 27); cf. 843 n.

**848** πρόσσεισί σοι βαδίζων: 'will make his way up close to you' (i.e. rather than simply passing you by) and by this unwanted invasion subject you to his stench (852-3; cf. 1150 with n. for the problem of having one's personal space invaded by others). σοι is to be taken with both πρόσσεισι and ἐντυχών (*pace* LSJ s. ἐντυχάνω I. 3). For βαδίζω, 393-4 n.

**849** Note the alliteration, first of κ/κρ and then even more emphatically of μ and χ. **Κρατίνος:** Despite Σ<sup>REF</sup> ('a melic poet' (otherwise unknown)), certainly a reference to Kratinos son of Kallimedes (*PA* 8755; *PAA* 584355), the greatest comic poet of the previous generation and one of the other competitors at the Lenaia in 425 (*Hyp.* I. 33 with n.), and thus an inviting target for abuse on several counts. Ar. mocks

Kratinos again at 1173; *Eq.* 400, 526–36; *Pax* 700–3; contrast the post-humous praise at *Ra.* 357. **κεκαρμένος μοιχὸν μιᾷ μαχαίρα:** μοιχὸν is an adverbial internal acc. ('in adulterer style'; cf. *Av.* 806; *Th.* 838; *Hermipp.* fr. 13; *S.* fr. 473), but it is unclear whether the point is that Kratinos' haircut (*a*) is supposed to represent a pathetic attempt to resemble a stylish young man (cf. *Ephipp.* fr. 14. 6 (of a dandy) εὖ μὲν μαχαίρα ξύστ' ἔχων τριχώματα ('with hair neatly trimmed with a razor')), in which case there may be some point to the fact that he is imagined wandering about the city's streets late at night (1173); or (*b*) is simply so bad that it makes him look like someone whose head has been shaved by way of insult after he was caught in bed with another man's wife (cf. *Nu.* 1083 with Dover ad loc.; *Pl.* 168) and is thus another example of his general carelessness about the personal image he presents to the world (cf. 851–3). Cf. *Anacr. PMG* 388. 8–9, where the poet says of ὁ πονηρὸς Ἀρτέμων ('wretched Artemon'; cf. 850n.) before he became rich that he was *inter alia* κόμην / πώγωνά γ' ἐκτετιλμένος ('plucked as to his hair and beard'). Pollux (followed by Photios) glosses μία μάχαιρα as ψαλῖς (a razor of some sort; cf. fr. 332. 1; Gow–Page on *HE* 3014; the pl. means 'scissors, shears' (*Cratin.* fr. 39)). Cf. Nicolson, *HSCP* 2 (1891) 53–6, who argues that a type of shears made of a single piece of metal is in question. For haircuts and their names, *Poll.* ii. 29–30; Nicolson (above) 45–51.

**850 ὁ περιπόνηρος Ἀρτέμων:** οὐδ' (expelled by Bentley) was added to the head of the line by someone who failed to see that these words are to be taken in apposition to *Κρατῖνος* (849). *Anacr. PMG* 372 refers to ὁ περιφόρητος Ἀρτέμων ('notorious Artemon'; see below) as an object of (sexual) concern to 'blonde Eurypyle', while *Anacr. PMG* 388 (from a different poem) insists that, before he grew rich, ὁ πονηρὸς Ἀρτέμων ('wretched Artemon') dressed in rough, dirty clothing; passed his time in the company of street-vendors and male prostitutes; and was repeatedly scourged and tortured like a slave. Either image might be in question here (849n.). *PMG* 372 is alluded to at *Diph.* fr. 35 and must have been well known in late 5th-c. Athens, since *Ephoros FGtH* 70 F 194 (ap. *Plu. Per.* 27. 3, where see Stadter's n.) reports that the nickname περιφόρητος was given to another Artemon, the lame military engineer from Klazomenai who worked for Perikles (cf. *D.S.* xii. 28. 3) and who had to be 'carried about' on a litter. This explanation of the epithet was projected back onto the text of Anacreon (*Heraclid.* *Pont.* fr. 60; *Chamael.* fr. 36), where it more likely means something like 'bruided about', i.e. 'notorious'. Cf. Kugelmeier 100–2.

**851 ὁ ταχύς κτλ.** is not necessarily anything more than generic slander of a rival (namely, for putting hastily written, ill-conceived rubbish on stage), although *Platon. de Com.* II. 1–8 reports that a fundamental difference between the poetry of Ar. and Kratinos was that the latter's

plots were more loosely constructed and his invective less nuanced. Cf. Neil on *Eq.* 527. **τὴν μουσικὴν**: Not just 'his music' but 'his poetry' (the pre-eminent art presided over by the Muses) generally, as at *Ra.* 797; *Eup.* fr. 392. 8; *Antiph.* fr. 207. 6; cf. *Eq.* 188-93.

**852-3 ὄζων κτλ.**: For the double gen. (denoting the odour and its source), cf. *V.* 1058-9; *Pax* 529; *Ec.* 524. For the adverbial acc. **κακόν** (attracted in β into the case of the words that follow), 191-3 n.; *Pherecr.* fr. 73. 5. **πατὸς Τραγασαίου**: A pun on *τράγος*, 'he-goat' (thus Σ<sup>REF</sup>). For human beings infected with the nasty smell of goats, e.g. *Pax* 812 *τραγομάσχαλοι*; *Theoc.* 5. 51-2; *Plaut. Pseud.* 738-9; *Catull.* 69. 5-6; *Hor. Epist.* i. 5. 29; *Ath.* 9. 402c-d; cf. *Pl.* 294; *Pherecr.* fr. 30. That *Kratinos*' father is allegedly from *Tragasai* (for which, 807-8 n.) also amounts to an oblique claim that he is not a real Athenian; cf. 704-5 n.

**854 αὐθις αὐ**: A common pleonasm in Attic poetry (e.g. *Nu.* 1379; *Av.* 59; *Cratin.* fr. 357; *S. Ph.* 952; *E. Ion* 1513; *Hel.* 932; cf. *D.* 19. 17, 121). **σκώψεται**: 'make hostile jokes, jeer', as always with an obj. (e.g. *Pax* 740; *Cephisod.* fr. 1; *Antiph.* fr. 142. 9; *Eub.* fr. 25. 2-3). Cf. Halliwell, *CQ* NS 41 (1991) 279-96, esp. 284-7; Edwards 168-78. **Παύσων** (*PAA* 770370) was a painter who relied on baffling visual effects and a strong sense of humour (*Henioch.* fr. 4. 2-9; *Arist. Metaph.* 1050<sup>a</sup>19-21; *Plu. Mor.* 396e ~ *Luc. Dem. Enc.* 24 ~ *Ael. VH* 14. 15) and is said by Aristotle to have made men appear worse than they really are (*Po.* 1448<sup>a</sup>5-6; cf. *Pol.* 1340<sup>a</sup>35-8), all of which lends some point to *σκώψεται* (above). More important, the comic poets repeatedly characterize Pauson as hungry (*Th.* 948-52; *Pl.* 602; *Eup.* fr. 99. 5-8; cf. *Henioch.* fr. 4. 9-10; *Apostol.* xiv. 2)—which doubtless means only that he made a conspicuously poorer living than e.g. *Polygnotos* (cf. Halliwell, *LCM* 7 (1982) 153)—so that the more substantial advantage of the new market place will be that he (like *Lysistratos* (855-9)) will still be miserable but 'you' will have the best of him, for 'you' will not. The pejorative adj. **παμπόνηρος** 'was specially used with contempt of the social or intellectual upstart' (Neil on *Eq.* 415-16, to whose references add *Eq.* 1283; *Ra.* 921); cf. above.

**855 Λυσίστρατος . . . , Χολαργέων ὄνειδος** (*PA* 9630; *PAA* 618290) is certainly the same man as *Lysistratos ὁ σκωπτόλης* ('the joker'; *V.* 787-8; cf. *V.* 1308-10), a prominent orator (fr. 205. 2 (427 BCE)) and politician (*V.* 1302), who the chorus at *Eq.* 1267-73 imply was mocked routinely in comedy and whom they associate with the 'starving' *Thoumantis* (for whom, *Hermipp.* fr. 36). The name is very common in Athens (95 other examples in *LGNP* ii) and whether this *Lysistratos* is also to be identified with (a) the man referred to in passing at *Lys.* 1105; (b) the friend of the orator *Andocides* (*And.* 1. 122; = *PA* 9595; *PAA* 617770); (c) the *Hermocopid* (*And.* 1. 52-3, 67-8; = *PA* 9596; *PAA* 617775); (d) the individual charged with homicide by *Philinos* (*Antipho* 6. 36; = *PAA*



617720), is (despite MacDowell on *V.* 787) impossible to say. Cf. P. Totaro, *Le seconde parabasi di Aristofane* (Beiträge zum antiken Drama und seiner Rezeption, Beiheft 9: Stuttgart, 1999) 38 (on *Eq.* 1267). Cholargos was a city-deme of the tribe Akamantis and lay to the north-west of the city on the road to Phyle probably somewhere near the modern Kato Lioria; its bouleutic quota was four (*Men. Dysk.* 33 with Handley ad loc.; Traill 47). τ' ἐν τ(ῆ) ἀγορᾷ: τ(ε) appears in place of the expected οὐδέ. It is unclear whether the copyists of R and the MS against which Γ and E were checked (a) interpreted the paradosis as τ(ε) ἐν τ(ε) ἀγορᾷ and deliberately emended to ἐν τᾶγορᾷ and τ' ἐν ἀγορᾷ, respectively; or (b) simply muddled the text in slightly different ways. That Pauson and Lysistratos are found in the Agora is perhaps intended to suggest that they hang about there hoping to latch on to someone doing his marketing so as to cadge a dinner, like the typical Middle Comic parasite (esp. *Eup.* fr. 172. 6–12; cf. *Anaxandr.* fr. 35. 7; Olson-Sens on *Matro* fr. 1. 8 (with further references and bibliography)). For the use of ὄνειδος, cf. *Aeschin.* 3. 241 ἄνθρωπος αἰσχύνῃ τῆς πόλεως γεγωνώς ('an individual who has become the city's shame').

**856 περιαιουργός:** Lit. 'exceedingly sea-wrought' (cf. LSJ s. περί F. IV; a hapax legomenon), in reference to the colouring of cloth with dye produced from purple shellfish (Blümner i. 233–48, esp. 234 n. 2; Olson-Sens, *Archestratos*, on *Enn. SH* 193. 11; Blum 25–8; cf. 319–20 n.; *Eq.* 967–8; *Pherecr.* fr. 106; *Anaxandr.* fr. 42. 7; *A. Ag.* 946), and thus 'deep-dyed' *vel sim.* For the image, Taillardat § 526.

**857–9 ῥιγῶν:** 'shivering' (< ῥιγέω), i.e. because his clothing is inadequate (cf. *Av.* 712) and thus another image appropriate to Lenaia-time (cf. 845 n., 875–7 n.). πλεῖν ἢ κτλ.: 'a full thirty days a month' (thus U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Kleine Schriften* III (Berlin, 1969) 208–9; cf. Dover on *Ra.* 18).

**860** An anonymous man, accompanied by a mute slave and at least two pipers, enters from a wing and sets down the load he is carrying (below). A visit by a Boiotian is expected after the appearance of the Meg. (720–2 n.) and the stranger's identity is quickly confirmed by his accent, the oath he offers (860), the fact that he has brought pennyroyal (861 with n.), the name of his slave (861 with n.), and—last and most obviously, for the benefit of anyone in the audience who has not yet grasped the point—his repeated observation that the pipers have followed him all the way from Thebes (862, 868); cf. Olson (1992) 312–13. Unlike the Meg., who appears to be a simple man interested only in getting something for his Daughters and himself to eat, the Boi. is a professional trader in search of a profit (esp. 895–900, 906). For connections between this scene and the story of Herakles and the Kerkopes, Introduction, Section IV.D. At 874–6, 878–80, the Boi. offers an extended catalogue of the goods he has brought to trade. The pennyroyal and

lampwicks (cf. 916-22 with nn.)—and thus most likely all the plants and plant-products mentioned in 874, none of which would have been particularly difficult or expensive to obtain—are certainly visible. Of all the other things the Boi. claims to have, however, only the eel is explicitly put on display and then only after it has been extracted from a container (cf. 880 n., 884 with n.). The obvious conclusion is that the rest of the Boi.'s merchandise remains out of sight in his bag(s?) or basket(s?), which is to say that the *choregos* is spared the expense of buying so many exotic birds and animals.

The Boi. and his slave seem to work together carrying his merchandise (also 953-4), and although they might simply have one large sack apiece or each man might have his own carrying-yoke (*ἀνάφορον* (*Ra.* 8; *Ec.* 833; fr. 571; Phryn. *PS*, p. 15. 9-10) or *ἄσιλλα* ('Simon.' *FGE* 853; Alciphr. i. 1. 4 (Hemsterhuys))), the need to carry Nikarchos off at the end of the scene makes it much more likely that each supports one end of a single carrying-pole from which all their trade-goods are suspended.

For Ar.'s use of the Boiotian dialect, Introduction, Section VI.B. **ἴττω Ἡρακλῆς:** 'May Herakles know!', i.e. 'As Herakles is my witness!'. *ἴττω* (in the form *ἴστω*; cf. Colvin 168) is used in a similar fashion in Homer (e.g. *Il.* 7. 411; *Od.* 5. 184) and tragedy (e.g. *S. Ant.* 184; *E. Ion* 1478; *Ph.* 1677) but not in colloquial Attic, where using *ἴττω* in an oath is treated as a marker of Boiotian dialect; cf. 911 with n. For the synizesis, 319-20 n. Although Herakles is closely associated with the Argolid and his cult may have originated there, his birthplace is Thebes already in Homer (*Il.* 14. 323-4; 19. 98-9) and Hesiod (*Th.* 530) and his cult was important in Boiotia (Schachter ii. 1-36), hence the oath by him. **ἔκαμον . . . κακῶς:** 167-8 n., 734 n.

**τὰν τύλαν:** A *τύλη* is a 'pillow, cushion' (e.g. *Eup.* fr. 170; *Sapph.* fr. 46. 2; *S.* fr. 468 with Pearson ad loc.) and so, by a simple extension of the idea, a 'callus' (cf. *X. Eq.* 6. 9; *Theoc.* 16. 32; *Hsch.* τ 1625), here on the Boi.'s shoulder. Cf. 954; Rutherford 256-7.

**861 γλάχων** (= Attic *βλήχων*; cf. *Greg. Cor.* p. 40) is 'pennyroyal', a species of mint (probably *Mentha pulegium*; cf. Andrews, *Osiris* 13 (1958) 141-3) apparently associated with Boiotia (*Lys.* 86-9); in a catalogue of edible wild plants *et sim.* at Aristopho fr. 15. 1. **ἀτρέμας:**

'without shaking', i.e. 'gently', the plant being allegedly quite delicate (869). Cf. Sandbach on *Men. Dysk.* 534. **Ἰσμηνία:** Cf. 243 n., 954

with n. For the rough breathing, Mastronarde on *E. Ph.* 101. The Boi.'s slave—like e.g. the previously anonymous Theban wife at *Lys.* 697; Antigone's sister; a 4th-c. Theban factional leader (Koumanoudes # 1006; e.g. *Pl. Men.* 90a); and a famous 4th-c. pipe-player (Koumanoudes # 1008; *Plu. Per.* 1. 5 with Stadter ad loc.)—is called after the Hismenos, one of Thebes' two rivers (really torrent-streams), the other being the Dirke (e.g. *A. Th.* 273; *E. Ba.* 5; *Paus.* ix. 10. 2).

Over the course of the next few lines Hismenias unties the Boi.'s trade-goods from the

carrying-pole, which is accordingly free to take Nikarchos back to Thebes at 953–4 (cf. 929–51 n.).

**862–3** ὑμέσ = Attic ὑμεῖς (Colvin 194). **Θείβαθεν** = Attic Θήβαθεν (Rt; cf. Colvin 141). Ar. appears to use Boiotian εἰ in this scene only (1) in forms of the proper name 'Thebes' (also 868, 911; an obvious point at which to imitate the dialect spoken in the place); (2) in the word νεῖ (867, 905) = Attic νῆ (probably connected with the repeated use of 'local' oaths to mark nationality (cf. 860, 905)); and (3) at points where Boiotian εἰ is not equivalent to Attic η (863 φυσεῖτε, 914 ἀδικεῖμενος); cf. Colvin 142–3. For Theban pipers, 15–16 n.; Plu. *Alc.* 2. 5; *Pel.* 19. 1; Polyæn. 1. 10; Juba *FGrH* 275 F 82; Max. Tyr. xvii. IIa/b. **τοῖς ὀστίνοις** (sc. αὐλοῖς) **φυσεῖτε**: For the vb., see above and below. The αὐλός ('pipe') had a cylindrical bore (like the modern clarinet) and most likely a double reed (like the modern oboe; for pipe-reeds, Thphr. *HP* iv. 11. 2–9; Str. 9. 411); two were generally played at once with the assistance of a halter or φορβειά (e.g. *V.* 582), hence the pl. The main pipe could be made not only of bone (cf. Hdt. iv. 2. 1; Juba *FGrH* 275 F 82) but of reed, ivory, wood, or metal. Cf. West, *AGM* 81–107, esp. 86, 97–8. Bergler (followed by van Leeuwen) thought the reference was to inflating a bagpipe-sack by blowing air in through the aperture provided by the anus of the animal—in this case, supposedly, a dog (cf. below)—whose skin it was made of, but the earliest firm evidence for the bagpipe is late Hellenistic. (The nature of the pipes in question at *Lys.* 1242–5 is unclear, but Hdt. iv. 2 (cited by Henderson in support of the translation 'bagpipe') is irrelevant.) Cf. West, *AGM* 107–9, pl. 28. **τὸν προκτὸν κυνός** is most naturally taken as the title of a song the Boi. is requesting (cf. 978; perhaps a parody of a well-known first line or title), but 867–9 leaves little doubt that he dislikes the pipers' music (van Leeuwen's thesis, that this is a false front put on by the Boi. only after he realizes that Dik. is offended by the noise, requires a depth of characterization not otherwise apparent in the scene) and elsewhere in Ar. the simplex φυσάω ('blow') is never used in a complimentary way of pipe-playing (cf. 868; *Pax* 954; *Av.* 859). The Boi.'s nominal request for a tune must therefore really be an insult intended to quiet the pipers, who have been following him for miles and damaging his wares (868–9). At *Ec.* 255, Praxagora announces that, if the bleary-eyed Neokleides provokes her, she will tell him 'to look up the arsehole of a dog', which Σ explains as an allusion to a thing children said to people with bad vision, 'Look up the arseholes of a dog and three foxes!' (i.e. 'and you'll see just as much as you do now'? (thus Sommerstein ad loc.)), while at the end of Lucian's *Ass* the narrator declares that he has got away safely 'not from the proverbial arsehole of a dog but from the curiosity of an ass' (*Asin.* 56). 'The dog's arse' is thus a dark place where an unwanted or inconvenient individual or object can be made to disappear and the

Boi. must mean something like 'For your next number, how about "Stick It Where the Sun Never Shines"?'

**864** Dik. emerges from his house, probably still armed with his whip (832-3n.), and scatters the pipers, who flee into the wing from which they came. For a similarly hostile reaction to an intrusive piper, *Av.* 859-61. **παῦ(ε)**: The act. form of the pres. imper. is regular in the sense 'Stop [that]!, Cut [it] out!' (e.g. *Eq.* 821; *V.* 1194; *Pax* 648; *Ra.* 843); pl. *παύετε* seems never to occur in this sense. **ἐς κόρακας**: Lit. 'to the ravens!' (92-3n.), i.e. 'Goddamn it!' (e.g. *Nu.* 646; *V.* 852, 982; *Av.* 889 *παῦ' ἐς κόρακας\**). **οἱ σφήκες**: 'wasps' or 'hornets'; notoriously nasty—and from an ecologically unenlightened point of view utterly worthless—creatures (e.g. *V.* 223-7, 1102-5; *Lys.* 475; *H. Il.* 16. 259-65; [Pl.] *Eryx.* 392b-c), whose occasional attempts to transfer their nest to a new place (*Thphr. Sign.* 47; *Arat.* 1064-7; *Liv.* xxxv. 9. 4) require vigorous resistance (*V.* 457-9, 1078-80; *E. Cyc.* 475; *Lyc.* 181-2). Cf. Davies and Kithirithamby 75-9; Beavis 187-95. For the comparison of the noise produced by the pipers to the drone of wasps, cf. *Th.* 1176 (*βόμβος* used of the sound produced by pipes); *βόμβυξ* (a type of pipe at *A. fr.* 57. 3; *Arist. Aud.* 800<sup>b</sup>25; the lowest note produced by a pipe at *Arist. Metaph.* 1093<sup>b</sup>3); *σφηκισμός* (a style of piping at *Hsch.* σ 2886). **οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν θυρῶν**: *Sc.* ἄπιτε (cf. *Eq.* 728); for the ellipse, e.g. *Nu.* 871; *Ra.* 1279; *S. OT* 430; *Pl. Phdr.* 227a.

**865-6 προσέπτανθ'**: Tragedy (generally without dissent among the MSS) uses *ἐπτάμηνη* as the aor. of *πέτομαι* (e.g. *S. Ai.* 693; *E. Med.* 1; *Hipp.* 760; [A.] *PV* 115; *πτέσθαι* (*πτάσθαι* Elmsley) at *S. OT* 17 has a Homeric precedent (Jebb on *S. Ai.* 282-3)), whereas the MSS of *Ar.* and *Plato* occasionally offer forms of *ἐπτόμηνη* instead (e.g. *Av.* 35; *Pl. Phdr.* 249d). Dawes accordingly proposed *προσέπτονθ'* here as most likely the colloquial form of the vb. As we have no way of knowing exactly when the forms in -ο- came into use (the MSS are of no assistance on this point) and as the two forms may have coexisted for many years, it is impossible to say what *Ar.* wrote and I retain the paradosis. Cf. *Beobachtungen* 98 n. 1; Dunbar on *Av.* 48. **οἱ κακῶς ἀπολούμενοι**: 'these god-damned . . .' (778-9n.). **Χαιριδῆς**: 'offspring of Chairis' (for whom, 15-16n.); for the ending, 526 with n. For the formation, cf. *ἀλωπεκιδεύς* (*Pax* 1067), *γαλιδεύς* (*Cratin.* fr. 291), *κορωνιδεύς* (*Cratin.* fr. 190), *πελαργιδεύς* (*Av.* 1356); *Ar. Byz.* frr. 210-19. **βομβαύλιοι**: A pun on *βομβύλιος* ('bumblebee' *vel sim.*; cf. *V.* 107-8 (confounded with the honeybee); *Arist. HA* 629<sup>a</sup>29-31; Gil Fernandez 132-3; Davies and Kithirithamby 73; Beavis 197-8) and *αὐλός* ('pipe').

**867-8 νεί** (also 905) = Attic *νή* (*Colvin* 141). **τὸν Ἴόλαον**: Herakles' nephew and charioteer (e.g. *Hes. Sc.* 323-4; fr. 230; *Pi. I.* 1. 16-17; for the Thebans' reputation for chariotry, Bond on *E. HF* 467), famous especially for his assistance in the fight against the Hydra (e.g. *Hes. Th.*

316–18). Cf. *LIMC* v. 1. 686–7. For the cult of Iolaos in Boiotia, Pi. O. 9. 98–9; *P.* 9. 79–80; *I.* 5. 32–3; Arist. fr. 97; Paus. ix. 23. 1; Schachter i. 30–1; ii. 17–18, 25–7, 64–5.

**ἐπεχαρίττω:** Aor. mid. indic. 2nd-person sing. < = ἐπιχαρίζομαι, ‘you did me a favour’; cf. 884. α must have had ἐπιχαρίττω (R), an easy corruption of a puzzling form, which the β-scribe attempted to convert into an adv. (ἐπιχαρίτως; cf. B at 884); the addition of ἄν in tAld represents a clumsy Triklinian attempt to mend the metre.

**ὦ ξένε:** Unlike the Meg. (748–9), the Boi. seems not to know Dik.’s name.

For Elmsley’s **Θείβαθε** (in place of α’s **Θείβαθι**; ‘corrected’ by Triklinios to Attic **Θήβαθι**), Dover, *G&G* 300. **φυσᾶντες:** 862–3 n.

**869** B’s **τᾶνθεια** (τᾶνθεα Rac) is a conjecture designed to mend the metre but seems likely to be right, although the form is difficult to explain (Colvin 158). Triklinios ventured καὶ τᾶνθεα. **τᾶς γλάχωνος:** 861 n.

**ἀπέκιξαν:** Glossed ἀπετίναξαν (‘they shook off’) by Σ<sup>R</sup> and ἀποπεσεῖν ἐποίησαν (‘they caused to fall off’) by Hsch. a 5925 (both clearly guesses, although not unreasonable ones), and apparently a compound of κίκω, which seems to mean ‘take’ *vel sim.* at Simias *AP* xv. 27. 4 (cf. Hsch. κ 2760 κίξατο· εὔρεν. ἔλαβεν. ἤνεγκεν).

**870–1** **πρίασο** = Attic **πρίω** (cf. 34–5; Colvin 218). **τῶν:** Equivalent to Attic ὧν (Colvin 225–7) and thus (via attraction of the rel. pron.) to [τούτων] ᾶ. Given **ιώγα** (= Attic ἔγωγε; cf. Colvin 163, 188) in 898, Elmsley’s **ιώ** is clearly preferable to **δ**’s **ἔγώ** (a superlinear dialect gloss that ousted the unfamiliar word below it).

**τῶν ὀρταλίχων:** ὀρτάλιχος (dimin. of ὀρταλῖς (‘bird’); cf. 954 n.) usually means ‘nestling’ (*A. Ag.* 54 with Fraenkel ad loc.; *Theoc.* 13. 12; *Ar. Byz.* fr. 207; *Arch. AP* ix. 346. 3; *Agath. AP* v. 292. 4; ix. 766. 2; cf. *Eq.* 1344 with Σ<sup>VEΓ’ΘΜ</sup>; *S.* fr. 793. 3 (‘kid’)) but is identified at *Stratt.* fr. 49. 4 (corrupt and not necessarily a reliable guide to the exact local sense of the word in any case) as Boiotian for ‘chicken’ (ἀλεκτρυών; cf. *Nic. Al.* 165, 294; Hsch. ο 1335 (where κρεμάστραι must be literally ‘roosters’); *Poll.* x. 156; Σ<sup>R</sup> *Nu.* 226). Here the word seems to function as a generic term for ‘bird’ (cf. 875–7).

If the first thing the Boi. claims to have brought is ‘birds’ (above), the second thing ought to be ‘beasts’ (cf. 878–9), but rather than **τετραπόδων** (‘four-footed creatures’ (e.g. *Nu.* 659)) he says **τετραπτερυλλίδων** (a hapax legomenon but certainly ‘four-winged creatures’; cf. 1082 (also obscure)). If the Boi. talked like anyone else, this would have to be a reference to locusts or the like, which is technically possible (1115–16 n.) but out of place as part of a summary description of a collection of imported delicacies. Instead, the word must be intended as another bit of comically odd Boiotian vocabulary (cf. 912–14 n.; *Stratt.* fr. 49; perhaps an Aristophanic coinage), the meaning of which is none the less obvious from context.

**872–96** do not advance the action but are an amusing digression, in the

course of which the Boi. offers an over-the-top catalogue of the goods he has brought (873-6, 878-80) and he and Dik. wax paratragic about the eel (881-94 with nn.). At 897, therefore, Dik. asks a question that essentially requires the visitor to repeat the offer made in 870-1.

**872-3** Dik. (who has been busy driving the pipers away (864 n.)) notices the Boi. for the first time. **κολλικοφάγε Βοιωτίδιον:** A κόλλιξ is a baked barley-loaf of some sort; associated with Thessaly at Ephipp. fr. 1; Arcestr. fr. 5. 11-13 (cf. Olson-Sens ad loc.), and also mentioned at Nicopho fr. 6. 2; Hippon. fr. 36. 6. Boiotians are routinely characterized in comedy as gluttons (e.g. Eub. frr. 11; 33; 38; 52. 1-4; 66; Alex. fr. 239 with Arnott ad loc.; Demonic. fr. 1. 1-2; Diph. fr. 22), which may be part of the point (cf. 878 n.). The antepenult of *Βοιωτίδιον* is long, as in e.g. *οικίδιον* (*Nu.* 92) and *δικαστηρίδιον* (*V.* 803). **ὅσ' ἐστὶν κτλ.:** Boiotia (unlike Attika) was exceedingly well watered (cf. Str. 9. 406-8), as the items listed in 874-5, 878-80 make clear. For a similar (if briefer) catalogue of Boiotian goods also culminating in Kopaic eels, *Pax* 1003-5. For the Boi.'s trading strategy, 897-903 with 900 n. **ὅσ(α) . . . ἀπλῶς:** 'absolutely everything that . . .', as at *V.* 538 (cf. Hermipp. fr. 63. 3; Diph. fr. 87. 5). Fraenkel, *RFIC* 97 (1969) 272, suggests instead placing a half-stop after **Βοιωτοῖς** and translating *ἀπλῶς* 'simplicemente, sommariamente', the joke being that the catalogue that follows is anything but simple or summary.

**874** Plants and simple products manufactured directly from plants, a category of goods not mentioned by the Boi. in his offer in 870-1 but implicit in his repeated reference to his pennyroyal (861, 869). **ὀρίγανον:** Probably common marjoram (*Origanum vulgare*), which appears routinely in catalogues of kitchen supplies and the like (e.g. fr. 128. 2; Antiph. fr. 140. 2). Cf. Andrews, *CP* 56 (1961) 73-82; Arnott on Alex. fr. 132. 7; Olson-Sens on Arcestr. fr. 36. 6. **ψιάθως:** Mats woven of rushes or reeds (both of which must have been abundant in Boiotia's lakes, marshes, and streams) or the like (cf. Thphr. *HP* iv. 8. 4 (papyrus stalks); ix. 4. 4 (palm fronds)) and most often used to lie down on to drink (*Ra.* 567; Arist. *HA* 559<sup>b</sup>2-4) or sleep (cf. *Lys.* 921-5; Philem. fr. 26. 1). Given the survival of *ἐχίνως αἰελούρως* in **d** at 879, there can be little doubt that Bentley was right to restore *-ως* as the masc. acc. pl. ending throughout 874-6 in place of the Atticizing *paradosis -ους*; cf. Elliott on 880. **θρυαλλίδας:** 'lampwicks' (826 n.; cf. 916-22), as the use of the pl. (contrast *ὀρίγανον γλάχω*) makes clear.

**875-7** Six birds (cf. 871), all but the second associated with fresh water (cf. 872-3 n.). **νάσσα:** 'ducks' (also in catalogues of food and the like at Anaxandr. fr. 42. 64; Antiph. frr. 273. 1; 295. 2; Nicostr. Com. fr. 4. 3; Mnesim. fr. 4. 48; Matro fr. 1. 95; in a list of Boiotian imports into Attika at *Pax* 1004). The term is used of any of a number of species seasonally indigenous to Greece; cf. Thompson, *Birds* 205-6; Dunbar

on *Av.* 566. Not a Boiotian form, but -ττ- apparently seemed too obviously Attic to be retained in an imitation of another dialect; cf. Colvin 167.

**κολοιῶς:** 'jackdaws' (*Corvus monedula*; cf. Thompson, *Birds* 155-8; *Crows* 73-6), which were sometimes kept as pets (*V.* 129-30; *Thphr. Char.* 21. 6; cf. *Av.* 1-18) but are nowhere else mentioned as food and are not normally thought of as water-birds (although cf. Thompson, *Birds* 158).

**ἀτταγᾶς:** 'black francolins' (*Francolinus francolinus*), whose 'favourite habitats are marshy places, river-banks and partly dry river-beds' (Dunbar on *Av.* 249; cf. *V.* 257; Thompson, *Birds* 59-61). For the bird's status as a delicacy, fr. 448 with K-A ad loc.; Phoenicid. fr. 2. 4-5; Hippon. fr. 37. 1. For the ending in -ᾶς, Björck 63, 272.

**φαλαρίδας:** 'coots' (*Fulica atra*; cf. Thompson, *Birds* 298; Dunbar on *Av.* 565-6), which Aristotle notes are found 'around rivers and marshes' (*HA* 593<sup>b</sup>15-17). For eating coots, Kleomenes of Naukratis ap. *Ath.* 9. 393c.

**τροχίλως:** Obscure but probably a plover or the like; cf. *Pax* 1004 (in a list of Boiotian delicacies imported into Athens); Thompson, *Birds* 287-9, esp. 289; Dunbar on *Av.* 79.

**κολύμβως:** Perhaps the Little Grebe or Dabchick; cf. *Arist. HA* 593<sup>b</sup>15-17; *Alex. Mynd.* ap. *Ath.* 9. 395d; Thompson, *Birds* 158; Dunbar on *Av.* 304.

**ὡσπερὶ χειμῶν . . . / ὀρνιθίας:** A punning reference to the 'bird-winds' (ὀρνιθίαι), which began to blow around the middle of March, apparently from the north (*Arist. Meteor.* 362<sup>a</sup>22-31; cf. [*Arist.*] *Mu.* 395<sup>a</sup>3-5), although the name suggests a south wind that brings migratory birds back from North Africa. In either case, another detail appropriate to Lenaia-time, as a sign of the anticipated end of winter; cf. 845 n., 857-9 n. For the image of the storm (uncharacteristically positive), Arnott on *Alex.* fr. 47. 4. Names of winds frequently end in -ίας (e.g. ἀπαρκτίας, Ἐλλησποντίας, ἐτησίας, Θρασκίας, καικίας, Ὀλυμπίας, Στρυμονίας, Φοινικίας; cf. *Eq.* 437 συκοφαντίας). ἄρα denotes 'surprise occasioned by enlightenment' (*GP* 35); cf. 901.

**878 καὶ μάν:** 247-9 n. **χᾶνας:** 'geese' (Thompson, *Birds* 325-30; Dunbar on *Av.* 704-7); a final item in the Boi.'s long list of birds (cf. 875-7), after which he moves on to other—mostly four-footed (cf. 871 with n.)—creatures. Geese appear in banquet catalogues and the like at *Antiph.* fr. 295. 2; *Anaxandr.* fr. 42. 64; *Mnesim.* fr. 4. 47; cf. *Archestr.* fr. 58; and in a list of delicacies imported into Athens from Boiotia at *Pax* 1004.

**λαγῶς:** 'hares', whose meat is frequently included in banquet catalogues and the like and characterized as a delicacy (520-2 n., 1105-6), but whose pelts were doubtless also valued (cf. below). **ἄλώπεκας:** *Diphilos* of Siphnos ap. *Ath.* 8. 356c refers to the taste of fox-meat, but nothing else suggests that foxes—or any of the other animals listed in 879-80 except eels—were commonly eaten or regarded as a delicacy. Either the joke is that (a) despite the Boi.'s apparent enthusiasm, some of the creatures he has brought are revoltingly inedible,

demonstrating the incurable gluttony of the Thebans (cf. 872–3 n.), in which case there may be considerable stage-business, as Dik. reacts with exaggerated delight or disgust to each item in the list; or (b) what the Boi. has brought are instead simply pelts from which hats, gloves, collars, and the like might be manufactured.

**879 σκάλοπας:** Apparently ‘mole rats’ (*Talpa cacca*), more commonly known as *σπάλακες* (e.g. Arist. *de An.* 425<sup>a</sup>10–11), but in any case common in Boiotia (Arist. *HA* 605<sup>b</sup>31–6<sup>a</sup>1); cf. Cratin. fr. 100; Keller i. 20–4; Alpers, *ZPE* 44 (1981) 167–8; Colvin 250. For moleskin as a luxury item, Plin. *Nat.* 8. 226. **ἐχίνως:** ‘hedgehogs’ (Keller i. 17–20). For hunting hedgehogs for their spines (and thus their pelts), Plin. *Nat.* 8. 133–4. **αἰελούρως:** For skinning cats, Anaxandr. fr. 40. 12–13. For ancient cats generally, Keller i. 67–81; D. Engels, *Classical Cats* (London and New York, 1999), esp. 48–87. **πικτίδας:** Obscure but presumably another animal with an attractive or exotic coat; the traditional translation ‘badgers’ is only a guess. LSJ Supplement s. *πυκτίς* implicitly endorses adopting the reading in EB and offers the unlikely suggestion that the word be taken as an ‘example of *πυκτίς* (A)’—I. ‘picture’; II. ‘parchment codex’—‘inserted for word-play with following *ἰκτίδας*’, although *πυκτίς* (A) is not attested before the 1st c. CE and makes no sense (even as comic relief) in the Boi.’s catalogue, and although the jingle *πικτίδας/ἰκτίδας* exists in any case. For further discussion, Morenilla-Talens, *Glotta* 64 (1986) 216–21; Hansen, *Philologus* 134 (1990) 158–9.

**880 d’s ἰκτίδας/ἰκτίδας ἐνύδρους** (‘aquatic martens’) is metrically deficient, and although Brunck’s *ἰκτίδας ἐνύδρως* scans and the ending seems to be correct (874 n.), the second *ι* in *ἰκτίς* is nowhere certainly long in any dialect and is guaranteed short at Nic. *Th.* 196. With all recent editors, I print Elmsley’s *ἰκτίδας ἐνύδριαις* (‘martens [and] otters’), which for consistency’s sake would seem in turn to require Blaydes’s *ἐγγέλιαις* (cf. Σ<sup>E</sup> 889 *Ἀττικῶς τὴν ἔγγελιν, Βοιωτοὶ ἔγγελιν*, implying familiarity with the Boiotian form of the word and thus arguably—although far from necessarily—its presence in the text here) for d’s *ἐγγέλεις*. Cf. Colvin 186–7. Neither *ἐνύδρους* nor *ἐγγέλεις* is easy to explain on straightforward palaeographic grounds and these must instead be superlinear glosses (the first confused) that have driven out the obscure word or form below them. **ἰκτίδας:** Probably ‘martens’ (cf. Arist. *HA* 612<sup>b</sup>10–17; Keller i. 160–3). For marten-skins used in clothing, H. *Il.* 10. 335, 458. **ἐνύδριαις:** Similar to but different from beavers (cf. Hdt. iv. 109. 2, where they are hunted for their testicles as well as their skins) and thus perhaps ‘otters’; cf. Arist. *HA* 594<sup>b</sup>28–5<sup>a</sup>4; Keller i. 172–3. **ἐγγέλιαις Κωπαΐδας:** Eels from Lake Kopais are routinely referred to as a delicacy by 5th- and 4th-c. authors (e.g. *Pax* 1005 (the culmination of a list of Boiotian dainties imported into Athens); *Lys.* 35–6; *Stratt.* fr.



45. 3-4; Antiph. fr. 191. 1; 216. 2; Eub. fr. 36. 3; Ephipp. fr. 15. 6-7; Arcestr. fr. 10. 5-7 with Olson-Sens on vv. 1-2, 6 (with additional primary references)). At *Pax* 1005 Kopaic eels are brought to market in *σπυρίδες* ('transport-baskets'), as presumably here; cf. 860n.

**881-94** are full of tragic parody (883, 893-4) and paratragic language (Rau 144-7) and contain relatively few resolutions (only 881, 884, 887 (a proper name), 890). For the confusion of sexual and gastronomic desire, cf. *Pax* 885-93; *Ra.* 55-65.

**881** For similarly extravagant praise of eels, Antiph. fr. 145; Anaxandr. fr. 40. 5-6; Philetaer. fr. 13; Arcestr. fr. 10. **τέμαχος** ('slice, slab'; cognate with *τέμνω*) is properly used only of fish (e.g. *Nu.* 339; Axionic. fr. 6. 14; Antiph. fr. 221. 6; Amphis fr. 35. 2-3; Arcestr. fr. 38. 5 with Olson-Sens ad loc.), whereas *τόμος* ('piece, cut') is correct for meat, cakes, vegetables, and the like (e.g. *Eq.* 1179, 1190; Pherecr. fr. 113. 8; Telecl. fr. 1. 14; Alex. fr. 92; cf. 1040-1n.); cf. 1100; *Pl.* 894; Phryn. *Ecl.* 12. For *τεμάχη* of eels, Stratt. fr. 45. 3; Pherecr. fr. 50. 2-3.

**882** For *δός μοι* + infin. ('grant that I may . . .'), cf. *Pax* 709; *Lys.* 923; *Ra.* 755; *S. Ai.* 538 *δός μοι προσειπεῖν αὐτὸν ἐμφανῆ τ' ἰδεῖν* ('grant that I may address him and see him face-to-face'); *E. Med.* 1402-3; *Hec.* 540-1; *IA* 471. **προσειπεῖν**: 266-70n.

**883** Identified by Σ<sup>REG</sup> as a parody of A. fr. 174 (from *The Judgment of the Arms*) *δέσποινα πενήκοντα Νηρηίδων κορᾶν* (vel *κορῶν?* (cf. Colvin 150); 'Mistress of fifty daughters of Nereus'; addressed to Thetis, who is called forth from the sea to help decide who will receive the dead Achilles' armour). For the eel as a beautiful young woman, cf. *Pax* 1009-14; *Lys.* 701-2; Eub. fr. 34; 36. 2-4; 64; Matro fr. 1. 38-9. For Kopaic eels, 880n. Unlike at *Lys.* 86, where *πρέσβειρα* (used by a Spartan of a Boiotian) appears to function as the fem. equivalent of *πρεσβευτής* (although with word-play on *νεάνις* in 85), the point is simply that the eldest of fifty eels is likely also to be the biggest, and the bigger the eel, the better (e.g. Antiph. fr. 104. 3; Arcestr. fr. 10. 6-7; Matro fr. 1. 40-5). Poetic vocabulary; elsewhere at *h. Ven.* 32; *E. IT* 963 (where the sense is ambiguous); anon. *SH* 953. 9; Opp. *H.* 2. 665; cf. Colvin 146.

**884** Cf. *Av.* 666 (to Prokne, and also sexually highly charged, as the lines that follow make clear) *ἐκβαῖνε καὶ σαυτὴν ἐπιδείκνυ τοῖς ξένοις* ('Come out and show yourself to our guests!'). α's **τῶδε** is best taken 'hence', i.e. 'from this [basket]' (KG ii. 306). What is really wanted is a word that means 'hither' and Bergk's *τυῖδε* (Bechtel i. 292; West on Hes. *Op.* 635) ought perhaps to be considered, with the paradosis to be explained as a scribe's clumsy attempt to eliminate an obscure Boiotian form by converting it into something that could be taken with **τῶ ξένῳ**. (ἐ)πιχάριται (R; β had (ἐ)πιχαρίττα vel sim., which Σ<sup>EG</sup> takes as adverbial) = Attic ἐπιχάρισαι (aor. mid. imper.; for -ττ-, cf. Sapph. fr. 27. 7

A mute slave emerges from the house holding a basket of figs, a few of which he throws to the girls and perhaps their father (809-10 with n.; cf. 801-3 n. on 803) before tossing the rest to the audience (cf. *V.* 58-9; *Pax* 961-2 with Olson on 960; *Pl.* 797-9). **βαβαί:** 'Damn!' *vel sim.*; a colloquial expression of shock or astonishment (e.g. *Av.* 272; *Lys.* 1078; fr. 415. 1; Timocl. fr. 24. 2; *E. Cyc.* 156; *Pl. Sph.* 249d; *Lys.* 218c; cf. 64n.; Petron. *Satyr.* 35. 9).

**807-8** Addressed to the world at large and thus the audience. **ροθιάζουσ(ι):** 'What a clamour they're making!' as they gobble down the figs (and perhaps fight over them); the point is not that the girls actually make any noise but that vigorous eating is conventionally very loud (esp. *Epich.* fr. 21). The vb. and its cognates are used of any (generally chaotic) movement accompanied by (generally incoherent) noise, most often of the 'chop' or 'roar' of water (e.g. frr. 85-6; *Cratin.* fr. 332; *Hermipp.* fr. 54. 2; *A. Pers.* 396; *S. Ph.* 688; *E. Cyc.* 17; *Hipp.* 1205; [A.] *PV* 1048; *Th.* iv. 10. 5); of sounds produced by the human mouth at e.g. *Pi. Pae.* 6. 128-9; 12. 16; *A. Pers.* 406. Cf. Diggle on *E. Phaëth.* 80 (without reference to the Aristophanic evidence). **ὦ πολυτίμηθ' Ἡράκλεις:** 94n., 759n.; the larger point of the oath is that Herakles was the archetypal glutton (e.g. *Av.* 567; *Ra.* 549-60; *Epich.* fr. 21; cf. Arnott on *Alex.* fr. 88. 3-5; Olson on *Pax* 741). **ποδαπὰ τὰ θηρί(α):** 767-8n. α's *χοιρία* (corrected to *χοιρί'* by Triklinios *metri causa*) is more easily explained as a pedestrian superlinear gloss (cf. Π<sub>5</sub>, where the word appears to have been elevated to the status of a variant) that has driven out the poet's *θηρί(α)* (cf. *Nu.* 184; *Av.* 93) than vice versa. **ὥς Τραγασαία φαίνεται:** *Tragasai* was a place in the Troad with a famous salt-pan (*Hellanic. FGrH* 4 F 34; *Phylarch. FGrH* 81 F 65; *Str.* 13. 605; *Plin. Nat.* 31. 85; *Poll.* vi. 63), but *Dik.* is punning on *τραγεῖν*, 'nibble' *vel sim.* (used as aor. of *τρώγω*; cf. 801-3 n., 809). Contrast 853, where 'Tragasaian' is a pun on *τράγος*, 'he-goat'.

**809-10** Addressed to the audience and accordingly ignored by *Dik.* **κατέτραγον:** Cf. 807-8n. **τάνδε μίαν:** The *Meg.* holds up a fig he was tossed (or grabbed from his Daughters?) at 805-6. **ἀνειλόμαν:** The vb. is also used of covert 'snatching' of food intended for others at *Nu.* 981.

**811-12** **νή τὸν Δί':** Routinely \* (e.g. *V.* 146; *Pax* 19; *Av.* 954; *Lys.* 609; *Th.* 20). **ἀστείω:** 'lovely, charming' (e.g. *Nu.* 204 with Dover ad loc., 1064; *Antiph.* fr. 6; *Alex.* fr. 60. 3; *Sotad. Com.* fr. 1. 15; *Pl. Grg.* 447a). For **γε** following the oath, *GP* 128; cf. 860, 867. **βοσκήματε:** Lit. 'fed things' (e.g. *E. Hipp.* 1356; *Ba.* 677), i.e. 'animals suitable for fattening' (cf. 788, 791). The 'piglets'' behaviour in 801-8 has convinced *Dik.* that they are indeed past the suckling stage (cf. 797-8 with n.) and he is now finally ready to make a deal to purchase them (812-15). **πόσου;:** 'for what price?' (690-1 n., 898). **πρίωμαί**

psychologizing explanation, arguing that the hero initially plans to cook his purchase in full public view but changes his mind when he realizes that other people may try to get hold of some of it (cf. *Pax* 950–5). There is no hint of this in the text and more likely the poet has his hero order that the brazier be brought out now in order that a fire can be kindled in it for the cooking scene that begins at 1003 (esp. 1040–1, 1047). The eel will presumably serve other, extradramatic purposes (884n.) and is therefore taken off at 894; if a naturalistic explanation for this need be sought, one can simply assume that it must be gutted and cleaned before cooking. One slave exits with the eel at 894 and (depending on how many enter here) at least one remains on stage to assist in packing up Nikarchos (926 with n.).

**889–92 παῖδες . . . τέκν(α):** *παῖς* (primarily an age term) is used routinely to mean ‘slave’ (e.g. 395, 1003), but *τέκνον* (primarily a kinship term) never is; cf. Dickey 65–72, esp. 70–1 (without reference to this passage). 889–95 must therefore be addressed to several children (presumably played by the same supernumerary actors who play the Meg.’s Daughters at 729–835), who appear on stage along with the slaves who bring out the cooking equipment and exit with the eel at 894. These verses are perhaps a parody of a specific tragic scene, in which a group of children gather joyfully about a beloved friend who has appeared at their house after a long absence. **ἔγγελον:** *Para prosdokian* for *παρθένον* (‘unmarried girl’) *vel sim.* and therefore reserved for the end of the line; cf. 894, 909, 950, 985. **ἔκτω . . . ἔτει:** 266–70n. **μόλις:** ‘barely’, i.e. ‘with considerable difficulty’, as regularly in Ar. (e.g. 952; *Nu.* 1363; *V.* 718; *Lys.* 328; *Pl.* 492); to be taken with *ἤκουσαν* (cf. Arnott on *Alex. fr.* 125. 1–2). **ποθουμένην:** Concessive; ‘although longed for’. **ἄνθρακας κτλ.:** Superficially the idea is that Dik.’s children will be given a gift to celebrate the stranger’s arrival (‘for her sake’), but the real point is that they will need charcoal for a fire (cf. 888) over which their father can cook her and the rest of his dinner.

**893–4 ἀλλ’ ἔκφερ’ αὐτήν:** Cf. 887–8n. Borthwick, *Mnemosyne* iv. 20 (1967) 411–12, convincingly defends R’s *ἔκφερ’* (the *lectio difficilior*; *ἔσφερ’ act*) as funerary language (cf. what follows) and perhaps as a specific reference to E. *Alc.* 609–10 *ὕμεις δὲ τὴν θανοῦσαν, ὡς νομίζεται, / προσείπατ’ ἐξιούσαν ὑστάτην ὁδόν* (‘and you, as is considered proper, address the dead woman as she goes off on this final journey!’). **μηδὲ γὰρ κτλ.** is a parody of E. *Alc.* 367–8 *μηδὲ γὰρ θανών ποτε / σοῦ χωρὶς εἶην τῆς μόνης πιστῆς ἐμοί* (‘Not even when I am dead may I be apart from you, who have alone proved worthy of my trust!’). Ar. also quotes or echoes *Alc.* at *Eq.* 1251–2 ~ *Alc.* 181–2; *Nu.* 1415 ~ *Alc.* 691; *Av.* 1244 ~ *Alc.* 675; *Th.* 194 = *Alc.* 691. **ἐντετευτλανωμένης:** Like *ἔγγελον* in 889, a surprise and therefore reserved for the end of the line. Eel was regularly served wrapped in beet-greens (or perhaps shaved

beet-root); cf. *Pax* 1014; Pherecr. fr. 113. 12; Eub. fr. 34. 1; 36. 3-4. ἐντευτλανόω (a hapax legomenon) seems an impossible formation from τεῦτλον or τεύτλιον, hence Blaydes's ἐντετευτλιωμένης (not attested elsewhere), but Taillardat, in *Recueil Plassart* (Paris, 1976) 171-4, plausibly defends the word as constructed on analogy with στεγανόω or σπαργανόω (of a culinary wrapping at Sotad. Com. fr. 1. 28). Dik. hands the eel to the children (889-92 n.), who carry it into the house; cf. 887-8 n.

895 τιμά: 830-1 n. πᾶ: 784-5 n.

896 A bit of very sharp dealing, although the Boi. registers no objection. ἀγορᾶς τέλος: A reference to the special tax (τέλος) paid by vendors in the Agora, apparently at a higher rate for non-Athenians (D. 57. 34). Athens had a sales tax (ἐπώνιον) assessed in the case of public sales, at least, at the rate of one obol on sales of 1 to 29 obols; three obols on sales of 5 to 50 drachmas; one drachma on sales of 50 to 100 drachmas; and so forth (Pritchett, *Hesperia* 22 (1953) 226-30), but (1) it is impossible to believe that every one-obol transaction in the Agora was taxed at 100% (or that if it was, many people would have paid it); and (2) were this tax in question, Dik. rather than the Boi. would have to pay it. For other (mostly passing and obscure) references to market and sales taxes, V. 659; X. *Vect.* 4. 49; Arist. *Oec.* 1345<sup>b</sup>28-31, 1346<sup>a</sup>1-2, 7-8. δι' before ἀγορᾶς in **p** is a marginal indication of change of speaker mistaken for part of the text. που ('I suppose') is used 'ironically, with assumed diffidence, by a speaker who is quite sure of his ground' (GP 491).

897 872-96 n. πωλείς: 623-5 n. τῶνδε τῶν ἄλλων: i.e. everything else listed in 873-5, 878-80. λέγει: 811-12\* n.

898-9 ἰώγα: 870-1 n.; sc. πωλώ. ταῦτα is an Attic form; Boiotian would have οὔτα (metrically impossible). Cf. Colvin 198. φέρε: 541-2 n. Either R's ἐντεῦθεν or β's ἐνθένδ' would do metrically, but in Ar. the former either marks logical or temporal consequence (e.g. 528, 530, 535) or means 'from this point' (e.g. *Pax* 504; *Av.* 11; *Lys.* 429), whereas the latter often has the more general sense 'from this place, from here' (e.g. *Pax* 626; *Lys.* 1011; *Pl.* 434), which is wanted in this verse. ἐκεῖσ': To Boiotia. ἄξις: 738-9 n. Although ἰών is commonly used with other verbal forms to mean 'go and . . .' (e.g. *Eq.* 154; *Ec.* 671; cf. 828, 954; LSJ s.v. VII), that sense is exceedingly awkward here and the participle is better understood as loosely connected with ἐνθένδ'. ἰώ (~ ἐγώ) preceded by a change of speaker (reported as a variant reading by Σ<sup>EF</sup>, adopted thence by B, and printed by Elmsley, Mueller, Rennie, Rogers, and—in modified form—Blaydes and van Leeuwen) is unnecessary.

900 Cf. 903 (a restatement of the Boi.'s position after he rejects Dik.'s initial suggestion for things he might export from Attika). Sc. ἄξω; γ' adds 'something to the bare affirmation, which is not expressed but implied' (GP 133-4). R's ἐν Ἀθήναις is not classical usage

(Threatte ii. 376), while β's *Ἀθάναις* requires that the prep. be supplied from what follows, which would be high style (532–4n.) and is thus problematic on an additional count. Elmsley conjectured *Ἀθάνασ'* (cf. Γ<sup>ac</sup>Ε<sup>ac</sup> λΣ<sup>E</sup>), the Boiotian equivalent of the 5th-c. Attic locative (Threatte ii. 374–5), but the elision is impossible. I print instead *Ἀθάνασιν* (for the medial caesura, e.g. 861, 899) and assume that (1) *Βοιωτοῖσιν* is to be taken as dat. of possession; (2) the paradosis ἐν is a corruption of -ιν under the influence of the word that follows; (3) that corruption in turn led a scribe or corrector to write *Ἀθάναις* (on the model of *Βοιωτοῖσι*) for the now incomprehensible *Ἀθάνας* in β or its exemplar; and (4) R's ἐν *Ἀθήναις* represents an intrusive superlinear gloss that provided the standard Roman-period equivalent of the locative (Threatte ii. 376). *ν-ephelkustikon* (like the bisyllabic ending; cf. 912–14n.) is probably not a feature of real Boiotian (Colvin 220) and appears here *metri gratia*. The goods the Boi. has brought are all common (and thus inexpensive) in his own country but rare in Athens, and were he behaving in an economically rational manner, he would sell or trade them to Dik. for an appropriately high price; acquire things that are common in Athens but rare (and expensive) in Boiotia to carry home, as he says in this verse (cf. 903); and take a profit at both ends. Instead, he gives up all his exotic commodities for something that is worthless in Athens (and will prove equally worthless in Boiotia; cf. 957–8) and all the profit from the transaction flows—not surprisingly—to Dik. Cf. 906–7n. For the elision of any mention of the cash-economy in favour of an exclusive focus on barter, 813–14n.

**901–2 ἀφύας . . . Φαληρικάς:** 639–40n. ἀφύαι ('small fry') caught in the Bay of Phaleron were regarded as a local delicacy (Archestr. fr. 11. 1–4; Lynk. ap. Ath. 7. 285e; Poll. vi. 63; cf. *Ar.* 76; fr. 521; Eub. fr. 75. 4; Sotad. Com. fr. 1. 30; Matro fr. 1. 22; Macho 36). ἄρ(α): 'in that case' (875–7n.). ἄξεις is virtually equivalent to an imper. (Goodwin § 69), 'you will no doubt be taking . . .'. κέραμον: 'pottery'; a collective sing., as at Alex. fr. 259. 3 (cf. Arnott ad loc.); Men. *Sam.* 290. Attic black-glaze and painted pottery (the latter much less significant in economic terms than the former) dominated the Mediterranean market in this period (Camp 135–8; for a detailed treatment of the black-glaze material, B. A. Sparkes and L. Talcott, *Agora* xii (2 vols.: Princeton, 1970)), but the mention of pottery also serves to set up the joke introduced in 904–5 and developed at great length in 927–45, cf. 953. ἀλλ' ἐντ' ἐκεῖ: Thebes had a substantial pottery industry, although the material remains largely unpublished. As for Boiotian small fry, we can only guess. ἐντ(ι) = Attic εἶσι; apparently a West/North-west Greek rather than a Boiotian form (Colvin 211–12, 223).

**903** Cf. 900 with n. ἀμίν: Colvin 182–3, 192. δ' αὖ: 'on the other hand'.

- 904–5** τοίνυν: 818–20 n. ὥσπερ κέραμον ἐνδησάμενος: A seemingly odd suggestion, intended to set up 926–53. 5th-c. Athenian pots were not designed to ‘nest’ neatly in one another to reduce breakage during shipping (an innovation of the 2nd c. BCE), and this passage and 927–8 make it clear that export pottery was instead wrapped in straw or the like, like the Spanish pottery from the 1970s in the photographs by Vossen in S. E. van der Leeuw and A. C. Pritchard (eds.), *The Many Dimensions of Pottery* (Amsterdam, 1984) 381, 386, 388–9. τὼ σιῶ (= Attic τὼ θεῶ): In a Theban context, Amphion and Zethos, mythical founders of Thebes (H. *Od.* 11. 262–5; E. *Ph.* 114–16; Pherecyd. *FGrH* 3 F 124; F. Vian, *Les Origines de Thèbes: Cadmos et les Spartes* (Études et commentaires 48: Paris, 1963) 69–75); cf. E. *HF* 29–30 with Wilamowitz and Bond ad loc.; *Ph.* 606 with Mastronarde ad loc.; *Antiope* fr. 223. 98 Kannicht; *LIMC* i. 1. 718–19. For their cult in Boiotia, A. *Th.* 528; E. *Ph.* 145; Paus. ix. 16. 7; x. 32. 10–11; Schachter i. 28–9.
- 906–7** μέντ(οι) marks the Boi.’s response to Dik.’s latest proposal (904–5) as ironic rather than overtly enthusiastic (cf. 161–2 n.). This might be part of the bargaining process (cf. 909), although he ends up taking what is offered with no attempt at further negotiation; cf. 900 n. ἄν is Atticizing; real Boiotian used κα (Colvin 241–2). καὶ πολὺ: 694–6 n. πίθακον ἀλιτρίας πολλᾶς πλέων: Monkeys are used routinely as symbols of treachery and deceit (120–1; *Eq.* 887; *V.* 1290–1; *Pax* 1064–5 with Olson ad loc.; *Th.* 1133; *Ra.* 708, 1085–6; Eub. fr. 114. 4; cf. fr. 409; Apollod. fr. 1. 3–4; Pi. *P.* 2. 72–5; Keller i. 3–11; Taillardat § 406; Demont, in Thiery and Menu 457–79). ἀλιτρία (‘evil, wickedness’; attested elsewhere only at S. fr. 48) and its cognates are very strong words which belong to the vocabulary of religious pollution and thus describe behaviour that poses a danger to the community as a whole; cf. Neil on *Eq.* 445–6; Hatch, *HSCP* 19 (1908) 157–65.
- 908–9** A man immediately identified as Nikarchos (cf. Olson (1992) 316–18, esp. n. 43) enters from a wing and walks over to where the other characters are standing; these verses cover his passage across the stage. 908 not only tells the audience who the new character is (above) but provides advance information about what will go on in the scene to come (ἔρχεται φανῶν). For καὶ μὲν used to mark the entrance of a character, 1069; *GP* 356. Νίκαρχος (*PA* 10718; *PAA* 709870) is otherwise unknown. The name is not particularly common (18 other examples in *LGN* ii) and there must have been no doubt about who was being represented on stage, especially after the specification in 909 that the individual in question is short (cf. 929–51 n.). μικρός = Attic μικρός (Colvin 244). For exclamatory γὰ, 115–16 n. μάκος: ‘as regards length’, i.e. ‘height’, generally treated as a positive characteristic in a person (e.g. H. *Od.* 6. 229–30). For shortness bringing

mockery on a man, *Pax* 790–1 with Olson on 782–4; *Ra.* 709 with Dover ad loc.; Anaxandr. fr. 35. 3; cf. Alex. fr. 248. 2 with Arnott ad loc. **ἄπαν κακόν:** ‘entirely bad, all bad’, via assimilation of the adj. (properly *ἄπας*) to the gender of the substantive; cf. *S. Ph.* 927 with Jebb ad loc.; *Theoc.* 15. 148. *Pace* van Leeuwen, *Th.* 787 *πάν ἐσμεν κακόν* is not comparable. For the sentiment, cf. 956. A reversal of the normal claim that a thing is small (*vel sim.*) but good (*καλόν*), with the *para prosdokian* word reserved for the end of the line; cf. 889 with n.

**910–12 ταυτὶ κτλ.:** Addressed to everyone on stage. **τῶδ’ ἐμά:** ‘They belong to me here’; cf. 92–3n. **ἴττω Δεὺς:** Apparently thought of as the archetypal Boiotian oath (*Pl. Phd.* 62a; *Ep.* 7 345a); cf. 860n. For the cult of Zeus in Boiotia, Schachter iii. 93–155. **ἐγὼ τοίνυν κτλ.:** Cf. 819–20. *ἐγὼ . . . ὀδί* (‘I here’) is a pointed response to *τῶδ’ ἐμά* (‘mine here’) in 910. I print B’s **φανῶ** (a conjecture probably modelled on 819) in place of α’s *φαίνω*; cf. 818–20n., 914.

**912–14** The Meg. (whose people have run afoul of Athenian informers repeatedly in the past (517–22)) recognizes immediately what is going on when the Syc. says he intends to denounce him (819–21), whereas the Boi. at least plays dumb. **τί . . . κακόν παθών:** ‘What’s the matter with you, that . . .?’; cf. 826n., 1022. Colloquial; cf. *Nu.* 340 with Dover on 402; *V.* 1; *Pax* 322; *Av.* 1044; Stevens 41. **ὄρναπετίοισι:** A hapax legomenon loosely constructed from *ὄρνις/ὄρνεον* (‘bird’) + *πετεινός* (‘winged’) + diminutive ending, and most likely intended as another bit of ‘colourful’—if perhaps fanciful—‘Boiotian vocabulary’ (cf. 871 with n.; Colvin 246). For the disyllabic ending (probably literary licence rather than a dialect marker), Colvin 184–5. **πόλεμον ἦρα καὶ μάχαν:** As if what Nik. said in 911–12 was not ‘I intend to denounce these goods as contraband’ but ‘I intend to make it clear that these goods are our enemies in war’. For the expression *πόλεμον αἴρομαι* (lit. ‘raise war’), *Av.* 1188–9 with Dunbar ad loc., to whose references add *Pl. Com.* fr. 115; *E.* fr. 50. 2. α (and most likely Π<sub>5</sub> as well) had *ἦρω* (the Attic 2nd-person sing. aor. mid. indic. < *αἴρω*) *vel sim.*; whether this represents an intrusive superlinear gloss or (less likely) carelessness on the poet’s part is impossible to say. *ἦρα* may not be the correct Boiotian form (Colvin 218) and is in any case confined to AΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup>; with most editors except Sommerstein, I none the less print it *faute de mieux*. The high-poetic hendiadys (630–1n.) *πόλεμον . . . καὶ μάχαν* (‘war and battle’) stands in direct stylistic contrast with the (supposed) dialect word with which the line begins. **ἀδικεῖμενος:** An athematic conjugation equivalent to Attic *ἀδικούμενος*; cf. 862–3n.; Colvin 219–20. *τί ἠδικημένος* would produce an unparalleled split anapaest (White § 121. ii) and the pres. has a sense approaching the pf. in any case (313–14n.).

**915–16 ἐγὼ φράσω σοι:** \* at *Eq.* 1211; *Th.* 189. **τῶν περιεστώτων:** i.e.

Dik. and the other characters on stage, along with the chorus, but also and more importantly the audience in the Theatre. The mention of 'those standing about' is appropriate to the lawcourts, as if the Boi. were already on trial; for references to courtroom spectators in the orators, e.g. And. 1. 105; Lys. 12. 35; Antipho 6. 14; Hyp. 5. 22; Aeschin. 1. 77; D. 18. 196; Din. 1. 30; cf. Lanni, *JHS* 117 (1997) 183–9. For 916, cf. 874 with 860n. S has *θρυαλλίδα* in 916, whereas α most likely had *θρυαλλίδας* in both 916 and 917 (which led to the omission of 917 in R and L<sup>ac</sup>, as the scribe's eye leapt from the end of one line to the next). The final letter in both verses in Π<sub>5</sub> might just as well be σ as α, although the original editor reports *θρυαλλιδ]α* twice. *αὔτη* in 918 (cf. *θρυαλλίς* in 919) makes it clear that *θρυαλλίδα* is wanted in 917, and the various errors are most easily explained on the thesis that Ar. wrote pl. *θρυαλλίδας* (cf. 874\*) here and sing. *θρυαλλίδα* there, and that one form tended to drive out the other.

**917** Cf. 826 with n. *ἔπειτα . . .*; KG ii. 528. *δῆτα*: 124–6n.

The combination of this verse and the (otherwise not very funny) remarks at *Nu.* 58–9 and *V.* 251–8 suggests that *διὰ θρυαλλίδα* (lit. 'on account of a lampwick') was a colloquial way of saying 'on account of nothing at all'. For similar images of valuelessness, Olson on *Pax* 1221–3. The absence of *διά* from AC is most naturally taken to suggest that the word was omitted from β (a simple mechanical error after *δῆτα*) but was present in the MS against which ΓE were checked and restored independently by Triklinios.

**918–19** *γάρ*: 598n. *τὸ νεώριον*: i.e. the shipsheds and thus the triremes on which Athens' military power depended; cf. 95–7n., 552n. Memories will still have been fresh of the abortive raid mounted on the Piraeus in winter 429/8 by the Spartan commanders Knemon and Brasidas, which Thucydides reports caused greater consternation in the city than anything else that happened in the (Archidamian) war and which caused a much better watch to be kept over the harbour (ii. 93–4). For other references to attempts to burn the dockyards, Pl. *Grg.* 469e; D. 18. 132; Alciphr. iv. 5. 3 (i. 32). *νεώριον θρυαλλίς*; Sc. *ἐμπρήσειεν ἄν*; an appropriately flabbergasted response. Elmsley proposed emending to an indignant *οἴμοι* (cf. 590n.) and assigning all of 919 to Dik., but *δ*'s *οἴμαι* ('I believe [it could]!') (e.g. *Pax* 863) fits Nik.'s tone of smug self-confidence precisely. *τίτι τρόπω*; A very dubious 'How [could this happen]?'; cf. *Pax* 689; *Pl.* 335.

**920–2** A parody of the wild charges of political conspiracy put forward from time to time during the Peloponnesian War years (e.g. *Eq.* 475–9 (including alleged Boiotian plotting); *Pax* 403–15 with Olson ad loc.). The humour depends on Nik.'s deliberate confusion of two meanings of *τίφην*: (1) 'cockroach' (also *σίλφη*; cf. Ael. *NA* 8. 13; Poll. vii. 19; Σ<sup>REF</sup>; Phryn. *Ecl.* 267; S τ 698; Beavis 80–5, esp. 81–2; Gil Fernandez 239),



the sort of creature one would expect to see disappear into a drain (922) although not something into which fire could be inserted (920); (2) 'a small boat' (a meaning attested for *σίλφη* and *κάνθαρος* (lit. 'beetle') by  $\Sigma^V$  *Pax* 143 ~ *S*  $\sigma$  421, although not explicitly for *τίφη*) of the type that might be loaded with combustible material, set fire to, and—provided the wind was right—used to destroy enemy ships (920–1; cf. *Th.* vii. 53. 4), although not by sending it down a drain (922). (The plant called *τίφη* was not a reed or the like, in which the hypothetical Boiotian might conceal fire as Prometheus did in a narthex stem (thus Elmsley, followed by van Leeuwen), but resembled wheat (e.g. *Thphr. HP* viii. 4. 1) and is irrelevant to this passage. *τύφη* (associated with Boiotia at *Thphr. HP* iv. 10. 1) is a 'bulrush' (cf. *Thphr. HP* iv. 10. 5–7) and will also not do.)  $\epsilon\nu\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma \dots \epsilon\iota\varsigma$  + acc.: *KG* i. 543–4; cf. 1034, 1051–3, 1068.  $\acute{\upsilon}\delta\rho\rho\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ : 'a drain-hole' of the sort that ran under or through walls (*V.* 126 with  $\Sigma^V$ ; *Plb.* iv. 57. 8; *Polyaen.* i. 37; cf. *Eub. fr.* 97. 4 with *Hunter ad loc.*; *Alciph.* iii. 11. 3 (iii. 47); *Poll.* ix. 46), in this case the defensive perimeter wall that restricted access to the shipsheds (95–7n.). Contrast 1186, where the word means 'irrigation ditch'. *Moer.* v 14 claims that the proper Attic spelling and accentuation is  $\acute{\upsilon}\delta\rho\rho\rho\acute{\alpha}\eta$ , but the cognate nouns *διαρροή*, *έκροή*, and *έπιρροή* all have the accent on the ultima and Elmsley conjectured  $\acute{\upsilon}\delta\rho\rho\rho\eta\varsigma$ .  $\beta\rho\rho\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\tau\eta\rho\acute{\eta}\varsigma\alpha\varsigma \mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha\nu$ : i.e. in order that the wind might fan the flames, although it is unclear whether the point of waiting specifically for a north wind is (a) that in the main harbour the naval zone lay along the southern shore, so that the wind will drive the cockroach/boat in the right direction (thus Mueller), or (more likely) (b) that the north wind was simply notoriously powerful and dangerous (esp. *Arist. Meteor.* 364<sup>b</sup>3–6; *Thphr. Vent.* 50; cf. *Hes. Th.* 379; *Tyrt. fr.* 12. 3–4; *A. fr.* 195; *Critias TrGF* 43 F 5. 17–18) and thus likely to produce a large fire.

**923–5**  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\epsilon\rho \dots \acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\acute{\xi}$ : 307–8n.  $\sigma\epsilon\lambda\alpha\gamma\omicron\iota\nu\tau' \acute{\alpha}\nu$ : *σελαγέω* is a very rare vb. first attested here; otherwise confined to lyric (*Nu.* 285/6, 604; *E. El.* 714) and poetry of the Roman period (e.g. [*Opp.*] *C.* 3. 352). Because ships were not only made of wood but had their timbers caulked and probably coated with pitch (188–90n.), they were extremely flammable and burning is the preferred mode of destroying them on shore already in Homer (e.g. *Il.* 16. 122–3). Neither *Rp*'s Attic  $\alpha\acute{\iota} \nu\eta\epsilon\varsigma$  nor *ALAld*'s epic  $\alpha\acute{\iota} \nu\eta\upsilon\varsigma$  will scan, while  $\alpha\acute{\iota} \nu\eta\varsigma$  ( $\Gamma\epsilon\epsilon$ ) is metrical but an otherwise unattested form of  $\nu\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ ; any use of the word is awkward after  $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu \nu\epsilon\acute{\omega}\nu$  in 923; and  $\Sigma^E$  (below) makes it clear that the phrase 'the ships' was absent from the text the commentator had before him. No convincing emendation of the transmitted letters has been proposed—*Bothe*'s  $\alpha\acute{\iota}\phi\upsilon\eta\varsigma$  gives the right sense (as  $\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ , the most obvious conjecture, does not) but is not 5th-c. vocabulary—and the words are better treated as an intrusive superlinear gloss intended to serve the same purpose as  $\Sigma^E$  924

σελαγοῖντ' ἄν' αἱ ναῦς δηλονότι. With all recent editors, I print Pierson's adverbial εὐθύς, which finds support in Σ<sup>ΕΓ</sup> 923 εἰς ἄψηται, φησί, μόνον, εὐθύς καίονται; cf. Alex. fr. 160. 4-5 ἄν' δ' εἴπης ἄπαξ, / εὐθύς ἀντήκουσας. ὦ κάκιστ' ἀπολούμενε κτλ.: Nik.'s reaction in 926 leaves little doubt that Dik. assaults him physically as he makes this remark, although it seems more likely that the hero simply seizes hold of his unwelcome visitor so as to begin the packing process (cf. 926-7) than that he strikes him with his hand or even the whip, as Σ<sup>REG</sup> 926 suggests. Either action would qualify as battery (αἰκεία) and be actionable (esp. D. 47. 7, 40; cf. D. 23. 50; Lipsius 643-5; *Law* 123-4).

**926 μαρτύρομαι:** 'I call on [anyone standing about] to be a witness', i.e. to the violence being done, in anticipation of a lawsuit; cf. *Nu.* 1297; *Av.* 1031; *Pl.* 932; Todd 96-7. Addressed to the chorus (or the world at large), since slaves (the only characters on stage besides Dik. and the Boi.; cf. 887-8n.) could not bear witness in Athenian courts except in exceptional circumstances (Lipsius 872-5), although they might be tortured to produce evidence. **ξυλλάμβαν' αὐτοῦ τὸ στόμα:** 'Close up his mouth!' (*Pl. Phd.* 118a; Arist. *HA* 623<sup>b</sup>2), i.e. 'Get a hand over his mouth!' Probably addressed to one of the slaves, since the Boi. and Hism. otherwise appear to take no part in wrapping up their 'purchase', except for handing Dik. packing material (927-8 with n.).

**927-8** Probably addressed to the Boi. The series of two *ἵνα*-clauses is arguably somewhat awkward, but there seems little reason to follow Bothe in expelling 928. **φέρω** is 'bring [and turn over to another], give' (LSJ s.v. IV; cf. 738-9n.), i.e. to the Boi., who will actually carry the 'merchandise' off stage; the vb. is used at least in part for the sake of word-play on φορυτόν. For <sup>2</sup>υυυ <sup>3</sup>υυ- in 928 (a combination of trisyllabic feet condemned by Dawes; cf. White § 125), e.g. *Nu.* 663. **φορυτόν:** 71-2n. **ἐνδήσας . . . / ὥσπερ κέραμον** echoes 905 ὥσπερ κέραμον ἐνδησάμενος. **ἵνα μὴ καταγῆ φερόμενος:** Cf. 904-5n., 930. α's φορούμενος is a metricizing correction by someone who failed to realize that the second *a* in καταγῆ is long, as again in 944 (where emendation is unnecessary) and perhaps *V.* 1428; cf. KB ii. 345-6.

**929-37 ~ 938-50** Iambs. Cf. metr. Σ<sup>ΕΓ</sup> 929; metr. Σ<sup>REG</sup> 946; metr. Σ<sup>ΕΓ</sup> 948; White § 86; Prato 20-1; Zimmermann i. 214-17; iii. 5-6; Parker 140-3.

(1) 929-31 ~ 940-2	6ia ia^
(2) 932-4 ~ 943-5	6ia ia^
(3) 935 ~ 946	ia ia^
(4) 936 ~ 947	ia ia^
(5) 937-9 ~ 948-51	6ia ia^

(5) 937-9 is one iambic metron shorter than 948-51 and the alternatives are (a) to follow Bergk in expelling τοῦτον λαβών from 949 (in which case

an obj. for *πρόσβαλλ'* must be supplied—somewhat awkwardly—from the context); or (b) to mark a lacuna, e.g. after *λυχνούχος* (thus Handley, who suggests < οὐκ ἀχρεῖος >) or after *κύλιξ* in 938 (thus Meineke). The def. art. is not wanted in β's *καὶ κύλιξ τὰ πράγματ' ἐγκυκᾶσθαι*, which looks like an attempt to mend the syntax of R's *καὶ κύλιξ καὶ πράγματ' ἐγκυκᾶσθαι*, and R must thus preserve the reading in α, where another infin. or a word or two describing something to be mixed with *πράγματα* must have fallen out of the text.

**929–51** The text does not make clear how Nik. is tied up, but the scene is most naturally taken as an allusion to the story of the capture of the Kerkopes (mentioned by Kratinos (fr. 13) and probably Archilochos (fr. 178) and Pindar (fr. 161), and the subject of plays by Hermippos and Eubulus), a pair of dwarfish troublemakers (cf. 909), by Herakles (cf. 860n.), who carried them off, tied up and suspended head-down from a carrying-pole (cf. 943–5n.); cf. Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 115; *LIMC* vi. 1. 32, 2. 16–18; Introduction, Section IV.D. Dik. and his slave thus most likely throw Nik. to the ground; wrap him up with straps and packing material furnished by the Boi.; throw in a few kicks and punches for good measure (cf. 932–4 with n., 943–5n.); and suspend him by his feet from the visitors' carrying-pole (cf. 861n., 953–4). Meanwhile Nik. struggles and shouts (932–4, 942) ineffectually, while the Boi. and Hism. untie the trade-goods they have brought and set them down in front of Dik.'s door (cf. 969–70 with n.). For aggressive physical abuse of a sycophant, 827–8 with n.; *Pl.* 926–57. The conversation proceeds in a well-organized if not particularly logical fashion: (A) Dik. (addressed as ὦ βέλτιστε) is encouraged to wrap up the sycophant/pot for the Boi. (τῷ ξένῳ) carefully (929–30), given (B) the danger of breaking him/it (931–2), as suggested by (C) the noise he/it produces (932–4); this raises (D) the problem of the use to which he/it can be put (935), to which (E) Dik. responds with a wide range of suggestions (936–9), although the chorus then ask (D) what use the sycophant/pot could be put to (940–1), given (C) the noise he/it makes (942), although (B) Dik. presents this as evidence of the impossibility of breaking him/it (943–5), which leads the chorus to (A) offer encouragement to the Boi. (addressed as ὦ ξένων βέλτιστε) to take his goods and go (946–51). The chorus' remarks throughout are bland and serve primarily to set up Dik.'s witticisms. Van Leeuwen on 929ff. argues that the actor playing Nik. must get off stage in the course of this scene without the audience noticing, allowing him to return as Lam.'s Slave at 959–68, but offers no explanation of how this extraordinary illusion is to be accomplished. Russo, *AAS* 74–6, suggests that Dik. drags Nik. into the house at some point and returns with a wrapped package which is supposed to contain him but in fact does not. Nothing in the text sup-

ports this staging: Dik. maintains a constant banter with the chorus; the repeated references to the nasty noise the 'merchandise' produces (931-2, 940) strongly suggest that it is alive; and it seems more likely that Nikarchos is played by a fourth actor. Cf. Introduction, Section V.A.

**929-31** merely urge Dik. to do what he is already doing. **βέλτιστε:** A respectful form of address, used here with approval; cf. 948; *Eq.* 622; *V.* 387; *Pl.* 631 (ironic), 1172; Handley on *Men. Dysk.* 144; Dickey 119. **τὴν ἐμπολήν:** 'his purchase, merchandise'. Attic usage, according to Moer. ε 51 (citing this passage); to the references in LSJ s.v., add *E. Cyc.* 254; fr. 932.

**932-4** **ἐμοὶ μελήσει ταῦτ':** 'I'll take care of that'; a standard Aristophanic response to an unsolicited or unnecessary order or suggestion (*Pax* 149, 1041, 1313; *Th.* 240, 1064, 1207; *Pl.* 229). **ἐπεὶ τοι καί:** 'since in fact'; marking what follows as an explanation of why Dik. will wrap up Nik. so carefully (e.g. *Ra.* 509; *E. Med.* 677; *Andr.* 89; cf. *GP* 545-6). **ψοφεῖ κτλ.:** As if Nik. were actually a pot and his shouts and screams as he is roughed up the sound produced when it is tested by tapping with a finger to see whether it 'rings true' or has cracked during firing; cf. *Pl. Tht.* 179d; *Phlb.* 55c; *Plu. Mor.* 64e; *Luc. Par.* 4; *Pers. Sat.* 3. 21-3. For the vb., 553n., 776-7n. The first and third adjs. in 933-4 (all internal to the vb.) are appropriate to a human being, the second to a pot. **πυρορραγές:** For pottery breaking during firing, *Cratin.* fr. 273 ap. *S π* 3231 (cf. *Phot.* p. 476. 18-19), [*Hdt.*] *Vit. Hom.* 446-61 (Allen pp. 212-13; an elaborate curse on the entire process); cf. Blümner ii. 43-6. **καῶλως:** 'and on top of that . . .', as at *V.* 1357; *Ra.* 80, 1060; cf. *S. OT* 1114; *E. Alc.* 333. **θεοῖσιν ἐχθρόν:** 'a very familiar phrase of contemptuous dislike' (Neil on *Eq.* 33-4); cf. *Pax* 1172 with Olson ad loc., and add *Nu.* 581; *Lys.* 283, 371, 635; *Men. Pk.* 268, 294; cf. *V.* 418; *Archipp.* fr. 37. 3; *D.* 22. 59.

**935-6** **τί χρήσεται . . . αὐτῷ:** 'What use could he be?' (702n.; cf. *Eq.* 1183-4; *Pax* 230, 1257; *Pl.* 941). **πάγχρηστον** (first attested here) picks up *χρήσεται* in the chorus' question. **ἄγγος** ('vessel') is confined to poetry in Attic (e.g. fr. 525; *S. El.* 1118; *Tr.* 622; *E. El.* 55; *IT* 960; note that [*Arist.*] *Mu.* 398<sup>b</sup>27-8 need not be taken into account); cf. Rutherford 23. The colloquial Attic equivalent is *ἀγγεῖον* (e.g. 939; *Th.* iv. 4. 2; *Pl. R.* 404c).

**937-9** A striking line, rich in assonance, alliteration, and internal rhyme. **κρατήρ κακῶν:** Cf. *A. Ag.* 1397. The image perhaps harks back to *H. Il.* 24. 527-33. The *κρατήρ* ('mixing-bowl') was the focus of the Greek symposium from Homeric times until the end of the classical period (Olson-Sens on *Matro* fr. 1. 109-10), and the point is not that the sycophant dilutes troubles (as a mixing-bowl does with wine) but that he concocts them for everyone. **τριπτήρ:** Lit. 'a mortar', as at *Thphr.*

*Lap.* 56 (*pace* LSJ s.v., following Stephanus), but with an allusion to the use of cognates of *τρίβω* ('wear smooth') to mean 'practised, experienced [in]' (e.g. *Nu.* 260, 447 *περίτριμμα δικῶν* with Dover ad loc.; *Av.* 430; adesp. com. fr. 652; cf. Taillardat § 410; Stevens 50–1). **φαίνειν**

... **λυχνούχος**: 826 n. A *λυχνούχος* was a lantern made of horn into which one placed a lamp (*λύχνος*) when going outside (frr. 8. 1–2; 290; Pherecr. fr. 44; *Alex.* fr. 107. 1 with Arnott ad loc.; *Lys.* fr. 83; *Ath.* 15. 699f; *Phryn.* *PS*, p. 87. 1–3; Phot. λ 494). **ὑπευθύνους**: 'individuals undergoing *εὔθυναί*', a process under which Athenian magistrates, at the end of their term of service, were held to public account not only for their handling of state funds but for their official conduct generally; cf.

[*Arist.*] *Ath.* 48. 3–5; 54. 2 with Rhodes ad locc.; MacDowell on *V.* 102; Olson on *Pax* 1187. For bribes allegedly extracted from individuals undergoing *εὔθυναί*, *Eq.* 259; *V.* 102. **κύλιξ**: A common term for a drinking-bowl (e.g. *Lys.* 195; Pherecr. fr. 73. 2–3; *Pl. Com.* fr. 205. 2; *Ephipp.* fr. 3. 11; *Alex.* fr. 88. 2; *Pi.* fr. 124a. 4; *Ath.* 11. 480b–1d).

**πράγματ' ἐγκυκᾶσθαι**: 530–1 n.; Taillardat §§ 707, 898. *πράγματα* are here specifically 'political troubles, legal entanglements', as at *Pax* 191 (cf. Olson ad loc.); *Hdt.* v. 124. 1 *ἐγκερασάμενος πρήγματα μεγάλα* ('after stirring up great troubles'); contrast 269–70 with n.

**940–2 ἀγγεῖω τοιούτω** is to be taken with both **πεποιθοίη** and **χρώμενος**. For *ἀγγεῖον*, 935–6 n. *χρώμενος* was omitted in the common exemplar of **a** and added in the right margin by a corrector. The A- and Γ-scribes failed to note the correction; the E-scribe added the word at the end of the line after *οἰκίαν*; and Γ<sup>3</sup> and E<sup>4</sup> made the necessary corrections.

**943–5 ἰσχυρόν ἐστιν . . . ὥστ(ε) κτλ.**: 'he is [so] *ἰσχυρός*, that . . .'; probably accompanied by a solid blow to *Nik.*, designed to demonstrate the impossibility of damaging him. For *ἰσχυρός* meaning 'resistant to breakage', Chadwick 168. *ἐστιν* is *Triklinios*' correction (seemingly confirmed by Π<sub>5</sub>) of α's unmetrical *ἐστ'* (**Rac**). **ῶγαθ(έ)**: 296 n. **καταγείη**: 927–8 n.

**εἴπερ κτλ.**: i.e. as pots and other fragile items were hung from wall-pegs (e.g. *V.* 807–8; *Hermipp.* fr. 55; cf. Olson–Sens on *Matro* fr. 6. 1), although the real point is that this will be how *Nik.* is carried off stage (929–51 n.). **ἐκ ποδῶν**: Cf. *KG* i. 544; *Poultney* 168.

**κατωκάρα**: 'head down'; cf. *Pax* 153; *Pi.* fr. 161 (probably of the *Kerkopes*) *οἱ μὲν κατωκάρα δεσμοῖσι δέδενται* ('they were bound head-down'); *Hsch.* κ 1878; *Greg. Cor.* pp. 124–6; Σ<sup>REG</sup>; *S* κ 1109. *Triklinios*' *κρέμαιτό γε* represents a misguided attempt to convert catalectic  $\cup - \times$  into  $\cup - \cup \times$ .

**946** 'Now everything is ready for you'; addressed to the *Boi*. The addition of *γε* after *ἔχει* in **B** is intended to convert the line into *zīa*.

**947 γὰ τοι**: 'Giving a reason, valid so far as it goes, for accepting a proposal; a colloquial idiom' (*GP* 550). **θερίδδειν**: 837–8 n. Given that *Nik.* has been wrapped in straw (927), part of the point may be that he

resembles a sheaf of wheat (Merry, following Σ<sup>REG</sup>). A hybrid form; Boiotian would actually have *θερίδδεμεν* (Colvin 165, 213-14).

**948-51 βέλτιστε:** 929-31 n. **συνθέριζε:** A hapax legomenon probably to be taken as an emphatic form of the simplex (cf. LSJ s. *σύν* D. I. 2). For the image, 837-8 n. **πρόσβαλλ' κτλ.:** 'take him and throw him where you wish, for every purpose—a sycophant!', with *χρήσιμον* (cf. 936) *vel sim.* expected in place of *συκοφάντην* and the crucial word reserved (as often; cf. 889 with n.) for the end of the line. For *πρὸς πάντα*, e.g. X. *Mem.* iv. 6. 9.

**952-3** announce the completion of the project defined in 929-31 and could just as easily have been spoken immediately after 926-8 after a bit of silent wrestling on stage (instead covered by the song in 929-51). **μόλις:** 889-92 n. **αἴρου:** 'lift up [and carry away]'; cf. 1142.

**954 ὑπόκυπτε τὰν τύλαν:** 'bend your callus'—i.e. 'your shoulder'—'beneath [your end of the carrying-stick]'; cf. 860 with n. *ὑποκύπτω* is elsewhere intransitive (e.g. V. 555). **ἰών:** 'get over here and . . . ' (898-9 n.). β had ω (unmetrical, with the corruption to be traced to the influence of ω *Βοιώτιε* in 953), and the editor of B expelled the word and added ἴθι δῆ at the head of the line in an attempt to mend the metre. **Ἰσμήνιχε:** A diminutive form of *Ἰσμήνιος* (861 with n.; cf. 871; Headlam on Herod. 1. 6 (p. 14)) of a type common in Boiotian names (Bechtel i. 264). The Boi. and Hism. lift Nik. up and carry him off into the wing from which they entered. 955-8 cover their exit.

**955-6 κατοίσεις:** 'take back home'; cf. LSJ s. *κατά* E. IV. **εὐλαβούμενος:** Attic vocabulary (in Ar. at e.g. *Eq.* 253; V. 1013; *Lys.* 1215), although the cognate noun *εὐλάβεια/εὐλαβίη* appears at *Thgn.* 118; adesp. el. fr. 23. 2. (Pace LSJ s.v. I. 1, *εὐλαβεῖσθαι* is not part of the text at *Cydias PMG* 714.) **πάντως:** 347-9 n. **οὐδὲν ὑγιές:** 'nothing sound', i.e. 'nothing good'. Colloquial (e.g. *Th.* 394; *Ec.* 325; *Pl.* 50; *Men. Sik.* 152-3; *S. Ph.* 1006; *E. Andr.* 448 with Stevens ad loc.; *Th.* iii. 75. 4; *Pl. Phd.* 90c); cf. Stevens 25-6. **ἀλλ' ὅμως:** 402\*-3 n.

**957-8 κερδάνης ἄγων:** Cf. 906 *λάβοιμι . . . κέρδος ἀγαγὼν καὶ πολὺ. εὐδαιμονήσεις κτλ.:* 'you'll be a lucky man—as far as sycophants are concerned' (cf. 387-90 n.), a thoroughly ambiguous promise; cf. the even more obviously self-serving remark with which Dik. says goodbye to the Meg. at 833. Perhaps the point is simply that there is an endless supply of this wonderful new commodity available in Athens.

**959-68** Cf. 722 with n.

**959** An initially anonymous Slave emerges from a wing holding a coin (960). His mention of his master's name in 960 identifies him as belonging to Lam.; perhaps his costume includes a bit of military gear as well. **τί ἐστι; τί με βωστρεῖς;:** Cf. 1085; *Eq.* 150 *τί ἐστι; τί με καλεῖτε;* Thus Elmsley; *δ's τίς ἐστι;* is presumably the result of a misguided desire to remove an allowable hiatus, and the first question is accordingly ignored

in the Slave's response in 960–2. *βωστρέω* (an intensified form of *βοάω*, like *έλαστρέω* from *έλάω*) is a rare poetic word; also at *Pax* 1146; *Av.* 274; *Lys.* 685/6.

**960–1** Ar. routinely uses the impf. rather than the aor. of *κελεύω* to describe an order that was issued in the past but remains valid (e.g. 962, 1051, 1073; *Eq.* 514 with Neil ad loc.; *Ra.* 199; *Ec.* 1137; *Pl.* 42; cf. KG i. 143–4; Rijksbaron 18–19). The only exceptions are *Eq.* 903 and *Pax* 693, both of which are open to emendation; the orders referred to at *Ec.* 335 and fr. 482 were never given. With all modern editors except Elliott, therefore, I print Elmsley's *έκέλευε* in place of *δ*'s *έκέλευσε* (a common variant (e.g. *p* in 962; *Ra.* 199; *Pl.* 42)). **ταυτησι δραχμης:** We know very little about how much game-birds cost: at *Av.* 1079 seven chaffinches are sold for an obol; at Phryn. Com. fr. 53 a pigeon costs 3 obols; and at *AP* xi. 96. 1–3 (1st c. CE?) ten thrushes cost a drachma. **εις τους Χοᾱς:** 'for the Choes festival', celebrated in honour of Dionysos on Anthesterion 12 (around the end of February or beginning of March), most likely on the same day as Chutroi ('the Festival of Cooking Pots'; cf. 284n., 1076 with n.) and perhaps Pithoigia ('the Festival of Opening the Wine-Jars') as well; by the 2nd c. BCE (and quite possibly earlier), the Choes, Chutroi, and Pithoigia festivals were known collectively as the Anthesteria. The dramatic date has thus slipped forward again from January (504 with n.). *Ach.* is our best source for the Choes festival, which seems to have involved private feasting throughout the city and drinking wine from jugs that gave the celebration its name (1000–2 with n., 1085–6n., 1211n.); cf. E. *IT* 947–60; *DFA* 10–12; Deubner 93–122; Hamilton 10–33; Habash 567–74. For the *chous* (the vessel after which the festival was named), 1000–2n. **των κίχλων:** *κίχλαι* are 'thrushes' of all sorts (*Turdus* spp.; cf. Thompson, *Birds* 148–50; Arnott on Alex. fr. 168. 5), which appear frequently in banquet catalogues and the like (e.g. *Nu.* 339; *Pax* 531; fr. 402. 7; Telecl. fr. 1. 12; Pherecr. fr. 113. 23; Eub. fr. dub. 148. 5; cf. Matro fr. 1. 78 with Olson–Sens ad loc.) but are not mentioned among the birds the Boi. brings Dik. (875–6, 878).

**962 τριών δραχμών:** Eels were proverbially expensive (Antiph. fr. 145. 5–6 (12 drachmas for just a sniff); Timocl. fr. 11. 5–9), but whether this is a reasonable price or insultingly low is impossible to say. **έκέλευε:** Sc. *δοῦναι*. For the colloquial use of the impf., 960–1n. **Κωπᾶδ' ἔγγελον:** 880n.

**963 ὁ ποῖος οὗτος Λάμαχος:** 'Which Lamachos is this, [who . . .]?' (418–19n.; cf. *Th.* 30; Pherecr. fr. 155. 20–1; Timocl. fr. 12. 4; Aeschin. 1. 130; Headlam on Herod. 6. 48), as if Dik. needed to be reminded of the petitioner's identity ( $\Sigma^{\text{REF}^1}$ ) and thus of the fact that he is forbidden from trading here (625, 722; cf. 966–8). **τήν ἔγγελον:** Sc. *έκέλευε δοῦναι*; a colloquial omission of words easily supplied from context.

**964-5** **ὁ δεινός, ὁ ταλαύρινος:** \* at *Pax* 241 (of War). *δεινός* is 'frightening, fear-inspiring' (cf. below). *ταλαύρινος* ('shield-bearing'; cf. Kirk on *H. Il.* 7. 238-9) is an epithet of Ares at *H. Il.* 5. 289 = 20. 78 = 22. 267, and is accordingly applied to the relentlessly belligerent (esp. 572-4, 620-2) Lam. **τὴν γοργόνα:** 572-4n. **πάλλει:** Primarily poetic (and especially Homeric) vocabulary, although the object wielded is more often a weapon (e.g. *H. Il.* 3. 18-19; 5. 302-4; *Pi. N.* 3. 45; *E. Andr.* 697; *IT* 823-4) than a shield (*E. Ba.* 783; cf. *Lys.* 563). The vb. appears elsewhere in comedy only in the mock-heroic description of the victorious Peisetairos at *Av.* 1714 *πάλλων κεραυνόν* ('brandishing a lightning-bolt') and (in a different sense) in lyric (*Lys.* 1304; *Th.* 985; *Ra.* 345, 1317 (all of dancing)). **κραδαίνων τρεῖς κατασκίους λόφους:** A parody of *A. Th.* 384-5 *τρεῖς κατασκίους λόφους / σείει* ('he shakes three o'ershadowing crests'), perhaps inspired in part by the fact that the historical Lam.'s son was named Tydeus (thus 'Notes' 383; cf. 568n.). This is Triklinios' correction of α's impossible *τρεῖς κατασκίους λόφοις* (cf. Π<sub>5</sub>; *τρισι* in Γ<sup>3</sup>Ε<sup>4</sup> merely compounds the error) and finds support in 967, the text of Aeschylus, and the use of the acc. in Σ<sup>REG</sup> *δυναμένους σκιάν τιμι ποιῆσαι, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπιμήκεις, μεγάλους. κραδαίνω* (also 967) is a rare word, exclusively poetic before the 4th c. (*H. Il.* 13. 504; 17. 524; Xenoph. 21 B 25; [A.] *PV* 1047; *E. HF* 1003). For crests generally, 575n. For triple crests in particular, 1109; *Pax* 1173 with Olson ad loc.; Plu. *Arat.* 32.

**966-7** **οὐκ ἄν:** For the ellipse of the vb., cf. 1035; KG i. 243. **εἴ . . . γε** is 'even if' (*GP* 126), as at *Nu.* 108; *V.* 298; *Pl.* 924. **τὴν ἀσπίδα:** i.e. as something approaching his personal symbol (cf. 1095 with n.) and thus as that which is most valuable to him. Nothing is known about the price of shields except that at *IG XII. 5 647. 31* (= *SIG<sup>3</sup>* 958. 31; Keos, early 3rd c.) a shield used as a victory prize is valued at 20 drachmas; doubtless they were quite expensive, particularly when lavishly decorated, as Lam.'s shield is. **ἐπὶ ταρίχει τοὺς λόφους κραδαινέτω:** 'let him shake his crests with an eye to getting salt-fish!' (LSJ s. *ἐπί* B. III. 2), i.e. 'the most he'll get from me is salt-fish, no matter how elaborate his costume'; an anticipation of the action at 1097-1142, esp. 1101. Holden argued that *ἐπί* is to be taken 'as a sauce for' and that *κραδαινέτω* is *para prosdokian* for *φαγέτω* ('let him eat!'), but this garbles the idiom (834-5n.) and is too obscure to be funny. The second objection also applies to Sommerstein's suggestion that what Dik. means is that Lam. should use his plumes to frighten a salt-fish-vendor in the Agora into abandoning his goods in the same way that a Thracian peltast terrifies a fig-vendor at *Lys.* 563-4. *τάριχος* is fish that has been preserved by salting, smoking, or the like; cf. Olson-Sens on Archestr. fr. 39, esp. 39. 1-2. It was proverbially cheap (*V.* 491; cf. Chion. fr. 5; Pl. Com. fr. 211) but appears often enough in banquet catalogues and the like (e.g. Crates Com. fr. 19. 2; Pherecr. fr. 190. 2; Antiph. fr. 140.



4; Anaxandr. fr. 51. 2) to show that it was regarded as *cibus vilissimus* (thus Mueller, followed by most commentators) only in contrast to the sort of delicacies Dik. intends to enjoy. For *κραδαίνω*, 964–5 n.

**968 ἀπολιγαίνη:** An otherwise unattested compound of epic *λιγαίνω*, 'sound shrill' (H. *Il.* 11. 685; also at A. *Th.* 874 (a suspect passage) and in the Hellenistic poets as a Homeric rarity (e.g. Arat. 1007; A.R. 1. 740; Mosch. 3. 81; Mel. *AP* ix. 363. 7)); perhaps 'refuses in an outspoken fashion' (cf. LSJ s. *ἀπό* D. 6). **τούς ἀγορανόμους:** 723–4 with n.

**969–70 ἐγὼ δ':** 'but as for me, I'll . . .'. **ἐμαυτῶ:** 'for myself', i.e. and no one else (cf. 1017, 1037–9, 1054–5). **τόδε . . . τὸ φορτίον:** i.e.

the trade-goods the Boi. brought, which remain piled before Dik.'s door (929–51 n.).

The presence of Doric *κιχλᾶν* (cf. 960–1 n.) and the exclusively poetic (e.g. H. *Il.* 2. 824; 10. 376; A. *Ag.* 892; S. *Ant.* 1035; Pratin. *PMG* 708. 13) *ὑπαί* (= *ὑπό*, here 'accompanied by' (LSJ s.v. A. II. 5; cf. KG i. 523)) leaves little doubt that this is an allusion to a well-known song (cf. Σ<sup>EF3</sup>) seemingly echoed again at *Ar.* 1426 *ὑπαὶ πτερύγων* ('accompanied by wings').

**κοψίχων:** 'blackbirds' (*Turdus merula*), called *κόσσυφοι* outside of Attika and included in catalogues of food and the like at *Ar.* 1081; Antiph. fr. 295. 3; Nicostr. Com. fr. 4. 4; cf. Rhian. fr. 73, p. 20 Powell. Cf. Thompson, *Birds* 174–6. Dik. and his slave or slaves gather up his property (above) and exit into the house.

**971–85 ~ 986–99** Creto-paeonic, with one final trochaic tetrameter catalectic; correspondence is almost exact. Cf. metr. Σ<sup>EF3</sup> 971; White § 456; Prato 22–3; Zimmermann ii. 154; iii. 7; Parker 142–7. The chorus' recognition that Dik.'s decision to make peace has given him access to pleasures of all sorts (971–6, 986–7) provides the intellectual motivation for their decision to refuse to associate any longer with War (977–9), who brings only trouble (980–5), as well as for their longing for peace (988–99).

(1) 971–2	- - - - - 0000 - 0000   - 0000 - 00 -    cr 3p cr	
~ 986		-
(2) 973 ~ 987	- - - - - 0000   - 0000 - 0000   0 - 00 -   cr 3p cr	
(3) 974–5 ~ 988–9	- 0000 - 00 -   - 0000 - 00 -	
	- 0000   0 - 00 -	p cr p cr p cr
(4) 976 ~ 990	- 0000 - 0000 - 0000 - 00 -	3p cr
(5) 977 ~ 991	- 0000 - 0000 - 0000 - 00 -	3p cr
(6) 978 ~ 992	- 0000 - 0000   0 - 0000   - 00 -	3p cr
(7) 979 ~ 993	- 0000 - 0000 - 0000 - 00 -	3p cr
(8) 980 ~ 994	- 0000 - 0000 - 0000   00 - 00 -	3p cr
(9) 981	- 0000   - 0000   - 0000 - 00 -	3p cr
~ 995		^
(10) 982 ~ 996	- 0000 - 0000   - 0000 - 00 -	3p cr
(11) 983 ~ 997	- 0000 - 0000   - 0000 - 00 -	3p cr

(12) 984	- - - - - - - - - - - -   - - - - - - - - - - - -	3p cr
~ 998	-	
(13) 985	- - - - - - - - - - - -   - - - - - - - - - - - -	4tr^
~ 999	-	

(1-2) The first metron in all these verses was apparently written on a separate line and indented (as *εἶδες ὦ* (971) and probably *οἶ' ἔχει* (973) were in Π<sub>5</sub>, and as *εἶδες ὦ εἶδες ὦ* (971) is in R, and as metr. Σ<sup>ET</sup> assumes) in α or its exemplar, and the text of 971-3 and 986 has been garbled in the MSS as a result. *οἶ' ἔχει* in 973 was lost in β; became attached to the end of 972 (perhaps from the right margin, where it was placed by a copyist who took it for a textual variant or correction (below)) in the lost MS against which ΓE were checked; and was added after *σπεισάμενος* in R, a scribe having mistaken the indented line for a superlinear note supplying material to be inserted into the text. So too in 986, *ἐπτέρω-* was lost in all descendants of α (and thus almost certainly in α itself), although the letters were added by a second hand in R (presumably from <sup>λ</sup>Σ) and are preserved in <sup>λ</sup>Σ<sup>E</sup> and a marginal note by Γ<sup>3</sup> as well. The repetition of *εἶδες ὦ* in 971 in α (cf. below) is doubtless to be traced to a combination of similar errors.

(1) 971-2 as preserved in RacL is one metron longer than 986 even after *ἐπτέρω-* has been added to the text, and the two obvious options are to print *εἶδες ὦ* only once in the strophe or to assume that something else has been lost in the antistrophe. The shift from War as subj. of the vb. in 985 to Dik. as subj. in 986 is less awkward if something like Meineke's (οὔτοι δ') is added before *ἐπτέρωται*. But as the repetition of *εἶδες ὦ* adds nothing to the sense and as metr. Σ<sup>ET</sup> clearly knew a version of the text in which these lines consisted of five rather than six metra, I follow the *Suda* and van Leeuwen and assume that the repetition in 971 is to be traced to a mechanical error of some sort (cf. above on cola 1-2).

**971-3 εἶδες:** For the sing., cf. 836-7 with 842 n.; the juxtaposition with *ὦ πᾶσα πόλι* (which in context must mean 'every one of you citizens') is striking. **τὸν . . . ἄνδρα . . . / οἶ' ἔχει:** Prolepsis (KG ii. 577-9). **φρόνιμον:** 5th-c. vocabulary (first attested here and at S. *Ai.* 259; the use of the word at Heraclit. 22 B 64 ought almost certainly to be regarded as paraphrase), elsewhere in comedy at e.g. *Av.* 427; *Lys.* 42; *Telecl.* fr. 39. 1; rare in tragedy (also S. *El.* 1058; *OT* 691; E. fr. 52. 9) but common in Plato (e.g. *Phdr.* 235e; *Plt.* 309e) and Xenophon (e.g. *Cyr.* i. 6. 15, 21), and thus presumably colloquial Attic. **ὑπέροφον:** 'exceedingly wise'; cf. *Eq.* 158 *ὑπέροφως* (nowhere else in the classical period). First attested here; subsequently at Pl. *Euthd.* 289e; cf. Phryn. Com. fr. 74. 2 *ὑπεροφιστής*.

**973-6** Ironically (cf. 33-6 with nn.), Dik. has now become a Golden Age

figure to whom all good things come 'of their own accord' (976 with 36n.), as well as the most well-connected retail dealer in the market place (973-5; cf. 837-8).

**973-5 ἐμπορικὰ χρήματα:** 'trade-goods'; 'imported goods' (LSJ s. ἐμπορικός I. 2) is overprecise. **διεμπολᾶν:** 'to sell in various directions' (LSJ s. διά D. II), i.e. 'to sell to other people'. First attested here; subsequently at S. *Ph.* 579; fr. 583. 7 with Pearson ad loc.; E. *Ba.* 512. τὰ μὲν are the herbs, rush-mats, wicks (874), and (probably) animal-pelts (878-80 with 878n.), while τὰ δ' αὖ are the birds (875-6, 878), hares (878), and eels (880). **ἐν οἰκίᾳ:** 'in one's house' (not 'in his house', which would require the def. art.). **χλιαρά:** i.e. 'straight from the fire' (e.g. fr. 520. 7-8; Cratin. fr. 150. 4). For the importance of serving roast meat hot, Olson-Sens on Archestr. fr. 34. 3. **κατεσθίειν:** 'to gulp down'. An undignified vb., common in comedy (e.g. 78, 1111; *Eq.* 496; *V.* 956; *Pl.* 1024; Ecphantid. fr. 1; Hegemon fr. 1. 2; cf. *carm. conv. PMG* 913. 2); used elsewhere only of the greedy 'gobbling' of animals, monsters, and depraved human beings (*H. Il.* 2. 314; 3. 25; 21. 24; *Od.* 1. 8-9; 12. 256; Semon. fr. 7. 56; Hippon. fr. 36. 4; E. *Cyc.* 341).

**976 αὐτόματα πάντα ἀγαθὰ . . . πορίζεται:** A standard image of the Golden Age (36 with n.; *Pl.* 1190; Cratin. fr. 172; 363; Crates Com. fr. 17. 7; Pherecr. fr. 137. 3-5; Telecl. fr. 1. 3; Metag. fr. 6. 1-2, 9-10; Hes. *Op.* 117-18; cf. Cratin. fr. 182 with K-A ad loc.; Eup. fr. 315; Diph. fr. 14. 1; Baldry, *G&R* 22 (1953) 49-60; Introduction, Section IV.A). For πάντα ἀγαθὰ ('all good things') used specifically of banquet goods, e.g. 980; Pherecr. fr. 113. 2; Amphis fr. 28. 2; Mnesim. fr. 4. 65; Anacr. *PMG* 435; cf. 1025-6n.

**977-85** The rejection of the company of War, who has proven himself an impossible guest above all else by disrupting viticulture and wine-making (984-5), is balanced in 991-9 by the expression of a desire to settle down with Reconciliation, whose charms have inexplicably been overlooked (990), to plant vines and fruit trees (995-8).

**977 οὐδέποτε . . . οἴκαδ' ὑποδέξομαι:** i.e. willingly, War having allegedly entered the house/country uninvited on his previous visit (982n.), which amounts to a quite self-serving view of recent political history (contrast 535-56). **Πόλεμον:** Already personified at Heraclit. 22 B 53; Pi. fr. 78. 1; and perhaps in the remark attributed to Perikles at Plu. *Per.* 8. 7 ('he said he saw War approaching from the Peloponnese'), and put on stage at *Pax* 236-88 as the brutal destroyer of Greece. For what follows, cf. the image of Ares as destructive reveller at E. *Ph.* 784-5.

**978-9 παρ' ἐμοὶ . . . ξυγκατακλινεῖς:** i.e. on the same couch at a symposium (cf. 983), like a pair of particularly good friends (e.g. Pl. *Smp.* 213b-c). **τὸν Ἀρμόδιον ᾄσεται:** A reference to a well-known skolion (cf. 532-4n.), mentioned again at 1093 (where see n.), sung in honour of

Harmodios of Aphidnai (*PA* 2232; *PAA* 203425), who along with Aristogeiton son of Theotimos of Aphidnai (*PA* 1777; *PAA* 168195) assassinated Hipparchos son of Peisistratos (*PA* 7598; *PAA* 537615) in 514 BCE. Harmodios and Aristogeiton (both members of the wealthy and politically important *genos* of the Gephyraioi; cf. Davies 473-4; *Athenian Religion* 288-9) were honoured with statues in the Agora (D. 20. 70; Paus. i. 8. 5; the inscription is partially preserved at *SEG* 10 (1949) 320 ~ 'Simon.' *FGE* 684-7) and with a grant for their descendants of perpetual maintenance in the Prytaneion, front-row seats in the Theatre, and exemption from certain taxes and duties (Is. 5. 47; Din. 1. 101; D. 20. 29), and were recalled in the popular imagination as having freed Athens from the tyrants and established a democracy (esp. *Eq.* 786-7; *carm. conv. PMG* 893; 896; cf. *SEG* 10 (1949) 320. 2). Thucydides aggressively attacks this version of events (i. 20. 2; vi. 53. 3-59), arguing that the plotters were driven by personal rather than political motives and had intended to assassinate Hippias, who was Peisistratos' eldest son and the actual tyrant, but killed Hipparchos in a panic when their plan appeared to be unravelling. He also suggests that the net effect of the deed was to render a lenient and accessible ruler more brutal and suspicious (thus also Hdt. v. 55; cf. [Pl.] *Hipparch.* 229b; [Arist.] *Ath.* 16. 7 with Rhodes ad loc.; Idomeneus *FGrH* 338 F 3) and suppresses the story (preserved at [Arist.] *Ath.* 18. 4-5) of how Aristogeiton, when tortured, falsely accused supporters of the tyranny of involvement in the plot. Th.'s interpretation (which makes the expulsion of Hippias in 510 the crucial event in the fall of the tyranny) smacks of pro-Alkmeonid bias, and his own account of the assassination leaves no doubt that the conspiracy was broader than Harmodios and Aristogeiton alone; was intended to spark a popular uprising against the Peisistratids; and was perceived by them as a serious blow to their dynasty and a sign of widespread political dissent, as the erection of statues of the tyrannicides in the Agora (in place by 480) shortly after the democracy was established also suggests. Cf. [Arist.] *Ath.* 18-19. 1 with Rhodes's nn.; D.S. x. 17. 1-2; Wycherley 93-8; Davies 446-8; Henderson on *Lys.* 1149-58; Worthington on Din. 1. 101 (with further references and bibliography, to which add Shapiro, in *AAAD* 123-9; Raaflaub, in P. Flensten-Jensen, T. Nielsen, and L. Rubinstein (eds.), *Polis and Politics* (Festschrift M. H. Hansen: Copenhagen, 2000) 261-5). For other comic references to Harmodios skolia, *V.* 1225-6; *Lys.* 631-2 (cf. *carm. conv. PMG* 893. 1-2 = 895. 1-2); fr. 444. 2; Antiph. fr. 3. 1; 85. 5. **dS** (1)'s *παροίνιος* means 'fit for a drinking-party' and is not attested elsewhere in the classical period. **S** (2)—which garbles the passage as a whole—has *πάροινος ἀνὴρ* (metrical; printed by Coulon and Mastro-marco), but this renders ἔφθυ intolerably weak, and *παροινέω* and its cognates regularly refer to drunkenness in a negative way (e.g. *Ec.* 143;

Amphis fr. 29; Alex. fr. 160. 6), which can scarcely be the point in a song celebrating Harmodios as heroic banqueter (cf. 1093 n.). With Hall and Geldart, Sommerstein, and Henderson, therefore, I print Elmsley's *παροιικός* (cf. *V.* 1300).

**980** The antecedent of *ὄστις* is not *παροιικός ἀνὴρ* (979) but *Πόλεμον* (977), and 979 is better punctuated with a half-stop (Sommerstein) than a comma at the end of the line. *πάντ' ἀγάθ'*: 976 n.; contrasted

with *πάντα κακά* (981). The larger reference is to the good things that the Attic countryside (32–6, esp. 36) and trade with other cities near by furnished before the war.

*ἐπικωμάσας*: After everyone at an Athenian dinner-party was drunk, the guests sometimes left the house as a revelling-band (*κῶμος*); wandered the streets, wearing garlands, carrying torches, and accompanied by a pipe-girl (551 n.), and occasionally getting in fights with other, similar groups or with passers-by (cf. 551 n., 1164–7 with nn.); and eventually made their way either home or to the house of a friend or lover of one of the group, where they pounded on the door, demanded to be let in, and (if admitted) continued their celebration (e.g. *V.* 1253–4, 1322–3; Antiph. fr. 197. 1–3; Eub. fr. 93. 8–10; Alex. frr. 112; 246; Men. *Dysk.* 230–2 ~ *Epitr.* 169–71; E. *Cyc.* 445–6, 507–9, 537; Pl. *Smp.* 212c–13a; cf. E. *Ion* 1196–7; *Ph.* 352–3; Pl. *Th.* 184a; Headlam on Herod. 2. 34–7), just as War (who proves to be a raucous and ungovernable guest) is imagined doing in the speaker's house (~ Attika).

**981** *ἠργάσατο*: *d*'s *εἶργ-* would do only for the pf. (Threatte ii. 472).

*πάντα κακά*: 980 n. *κάνετρεπε κάξέχει*: 'and he kept turning over [the tables]'—on which the *τραγήματα* (801–3 n.) were set—'and pouring out [the wine from the mixing bowl]', as at Luc. *D.Meretr.* 15. 1. The image is expanded in 984–5. *κάνετρεπε* is Elmsley's correction of *d*'s *κάνετραπε*, which is aor. where an impf. is wanted (cf. *ἐξέχει*, *ἐμάχετο*) and is not an Attic form in any case. For *ἔχει* as impf. of *χέω*, Rutherford 298–301.

**982** (*ἐ*)*μάχετο*: 'he kept starting fights', i.e. battles. *καὶ πρόσσει*

*κτλ.*: Probably an oblique (and somewhat self-serving) reference to the rejected Athenian overtures to Sparta in summer 430 (*Th.* ii. 59. 2).

*πολλά* is adverbial; 'repeatedly'. *προκαλουμένου*: Sc. *ἐμοῦ* (KG ii. 81).

**983** is a tricolon crescendo. *d*'s imperfective *πίνε* ('Spend time

drinking with us!') rather than Hamaker's aor. *πίθι* ('Drink up!' (e.g. *V.* 1489; Cratin. fr. 145; Alex. fr. 234. 5; Diph. fr. 20. 2)) is exactly right; cf. Rijksbaron 42–5.

*λαβὲ τήνδε φιλοτησίαν*: Sc. *κύλικα* (Alex. fr. 293 with Arnott on frr. 59. 1; 116. 1). The 'cup of friendship' was used in one common style of symposium drinking, in which a single wine-bowl was passed from left to right about the circle of guests and each man praised the next, drank his health, and passed him the cup (*Theo-*

pomp. Com. fr. 33. 9–11; Anaxandr. fr. 1; Alex. fr. 59; Dionys. eleg. fr. 1; Pl. *Smp.* 222e; D. 19. 128; cf. Thgn. 489; Clearch. fr. 1; Critias fr. B 6. 1–7, and ap. Ath. 11. 463e–f; Agora graffito C 6 Lang).

**984–5** An expansion of ἀνέτρεπε καξέχει in 981, with concrete images of ruined vineyards mixed in. τὰς χάρακας: ‘my vine-props’ (1178; Olson on *Pax* 1262–3), in reference to the ravaging of the Attic countryside and especially its vineyards by the Peloponnesians during their annual incursions (177n., 183 with n., 512), although what one would really expect to be destroyed at a symposium gone wrong is the host’s furniture. With all recent editors, I print Hermann’s ἔτι τῷ πυρί (cf. *Eq.* 617 πολὺ δ’ ἀμείνον’ ἔτι), which restores exact responsion, in place of **d**’s ἐν τῷ πυρί. The def. art. is used because the reference is to a specific fire, namely, that about which the company is imagined as gathered (751–2n.) and which War uses perversely to destroy his host’s possessions. ἀμπέλων is *para prosdokian* for ἀμφορέων (‘amphorae’; thus Elmsley) or perhaps κρατήρων or κυλίκων (‘mixing bowls’ or ‘drinking vessels’; thus van Leeuwen) or the like, and is accordingly reserved for final position (cf. 889–92n.).

**986–7** Dik. emerges from the house, dumps a load of feathers and other trimmings from the birds he is preparing for his dinner (cf. 970, 1007, 1011–12; *Av.* 1309–11 (where the wings Manes is ordered to bring out of the house must belong to the rebellious birds Peisetairos roasts at 1583–5)) beside the door, and goes back in. For dumping household waste in the street, 616–17n. ἐπτέρωται . . . ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον: Both ‘He has flown’—i.e. ‘raced’—‘off to his dinner’ and ‘He is in a flutter about his dinner’ (Taillardat § 228; Dunbar on *Av.* 432–3), anticipating the reference to πτερά (‘wings’) in 987. The variant readings in the descendants of β represent a series of desperate attempts to make sense of a lacunose text. ἄμα: ‘simultaneously’; linking the two clauses. μεγάλα . . . φρονεῖ: In tragedy, to ‘think’ or ‘talk big’ (i.e. ‘be proud’) is generally presented as a miscalculation (e.g. *S. OT* 1078; *Ant.* 478–9; *E. Hipp.* 6; *Andr.* 1008; fr. 140. 2; cf. *Ra.* 835; LSJ s. φρονέω II. 2. b), but comic heroes are subject to different rules and this remark does not amount to censure; cf. the hero’s unabashed response to the chorus’ praise at 1008–10. For the pl. μεγάλα in place of the more common sing., cf. *Ra.* 835; *E. Heracl.* 258, 933; *Hipp.* 641. δῆ: 694–6n. Omitted in the common ancestor of **ct**; Triklinios’ γε implies a mistaken conviction that φρ makes position. The additional material between 986 and 987 in H represents a fragment of a scholion (~ Σ<sup>REG</sup>) mistaken for part of the text. For Dik.’s behaviour in 987, cf. Thphr. *Char.* 21. 7, where the man of petty dignity nails up the head and horns of a sacrificial victim before his door ‘so that those who come in can see that he sacrificed an ox’. τοῦ βίου . . . δεῖγμα: ‘as evidence for his luxurious way of life’; LSJ’s ‘immaterial example’ (Suppl. s. δεῖγμα) is

wrong. For *βίος* with this sense, e.g. *Eq.* 1101; *V.* 706; *Av.* 586 (wrongly emended by Dunbar). 987 is metrically deficient and Brunck's *τά(δε τὰ) πτερὰ* is clearly correct; a simple haplography, as the scribe's eye leapt from *τά-* to *τὰ*.

**988-9 Κύπριδι:** Common in serious poetry as a name of Aphrodite (e.g. *H. Il.* 5. 422; *Stesich. PMGF* 223. 3; *Ibyc. PMGF* 288. 2; *A. Eu.* 215) and apparently regarded as high style by Ar., who uses it in this sense only in lyric (also *Lys.* 1290; *Ec.* 966, 973a; contrast *Anaxandr. fr.* 58. 4; *Eub. fr.* 13. 4; *Xenarch. fr.* 4. 22 (paratragic)). Contrast the widespread poetic use of the word as a euphemism for (generally illicit) sex (e.g. *Th.* 205; *Ec.* 722; *Eub. fr.* 67. 8; [A.] *PV* 650; *E. Hipp.* 465). For 'beautiful Aphrodite', Barrett on *E. Hipp.* 72. **Χάρισι:** The Graces are attendants and servants of Aphrodite from Homer on; cf. Olson on *Pax* 41-2.

**ξύντροφε** + dat.: 'brought up together with' and thus likely to be related to or at least to share many characteristics with; cf. 789 with n.

**Διαλλαγή:** Brought on stage as a beautiful young woman at *Lys.* 1114; cf. *Eq.* 1388-91 (a thirty-year peace represented by sexually available young women); *Pax* 523-6 (Harvest and Holiday, the attendants of the goddess Peace, represented by attractive women, one of whom the hero marries); Newiger 106-8. For the connection between joyous heterosexual sex and peace, 263-76, 1198-1221; *Lys. passim*; *MM*, pp. 57-62.

**990** Cf. 254 with n.; *Pax* 524 οἶον δ' ἔχεις τὸ πρόσωπον, ὦ Θεωρία ('What a face you have, Holiday!'). ὡς . . . ἄρ(α) + impf.: 90n.; cf. *Eq.* 1170; *Nu.* 1476; *Pax* 819. **ἐλάνθανες:** Sc. με.

**991** πῶς ἄν + opt. expresses a hopeless wish (KG i. 235). α's unmetrical ἐμέ τε (**Rac**) was corrected to ἐμέ by Triklinios. \***Ἔρως** is an attendant of Aphrodite already at *Hes. Th.* 201 (cf. *Tim. Com. fr.* 2. 1-2; *Alcm. PMGF* 59. 1; *Ibyc. PMGF* 6. 1-4; etc.). He is regularly referred to as winged (e.g. *Av.* 574, 696-7, 1757-8; *Eub. fr.* 40. 1-2; *Alex. fr.* 20 with Arnott ad loc.; *Alcm. PMGF* 58; *Pl. Phdr.* 252b-c); the first mention of his bow (presumably an extension of the traditional idea of the 'bolts of desire' (e.g. *A. Supp.* 1004-5; [A.] *PV* 649; *E. Tr.* 255)) in literature is at *E. Hipp.* 1274-5; *IA* 548-9, although it is represented already on an Attic lekythos by Brygos dated about 490 (*LIMC* iii. 2. s. Eros pl. 332). Cf. F. Lasserre, *La Figure d'Éros dans la poésie Grecque* (Lausanne, 1946), esp. 63-129; *LIMC* iii. 1. 850-2. **ξυναγάγοι:** i.e. in marriage, as at *Pl. R.* 459e.

**992** ὡσπερ ὁ γεγραμμένος: Identified by Σ<sup>REF</sup> as a reference to a wall-painting in a temple of Aphrodite in Athens by Zeuxis (*PAA* 460190), whose artistic *floruit* more or less matches Ar.'s (*Pl. Prt.* 318b (called 'Zeuxippos'); *Grg.* 453c; *X. Mem.* 1. 4. 3; *Quint.* xii. 10. 4; *Ael. VH* 14. 17). For other literary references to wall-paintings, *Lys.* 678-9; *Pl.* 384-5; cf. *Eub. fr.* 40. 1-3; *Alex. frr.* 20. 4-5; 247. 3-5 (all paintings of Eros); *A. Eu.* 50-1. For the sense of γράφω, Chadwick 80-2.

**στέφανον ἀνθέμων:** ‘a garland made of flowers’ (Poultney 82–3; cf. 996; *Ra.* 430 with Dover ad loc.). *ἄνθεμος* is poetic vocabulary (e.g. Cratin. fr. 105. 1; Sapph. fr. 132. 1; Pi. *N.* 7. 79). *ἀνθών/ἀνθ’ ὦν* at the end of the line in **p** is an intrusive gloss.

**993 ἦ πάνυ γερόντιον:** ‘a thoroughly contemptible old man’ (Petersen 120–1, 123–4; cf. *Eq.* 42; *Nu.* 790), i.e. one unable either to do hard physical work in the fields or to get enough of a hard-on to satisfy a young woman (994–9 with nn.; cf. *Av.* 1255–6). Unlike English ‘perhaps’, *ἴσως* is not normally used in interrogative sentences, hence Kuster’s affirmative *ἦ* (*GP* 280) for **d**’s *ἦ . . .*; **νενομίκας:** 299–302 n.

**994 τρία . . . προσβαλεῖν** is to be taken both (1) ‘strike against’—i.e. ‘fuck’—‘you three times’ (thus Σ<sup>REG</sup> 993; cf. *MM* § 301 (where this verse is mischaracterized as a description of a ‘predicted gang-rape’); Poliakoff 126 n. 6; for the number, *Av.* 1256; *MM* § 49), with *τρία* taken as an internal acc.; and (2) ‘add three things [to my farm]’, with *τρία* taken as dir. obj. of the infin. **δοκῶ + ἄν + aor. infin.:** ‘I think I could’, i.e. ‘I would be willing to’ (*Eq.* 620–1; *Av.* 671; *Lys.* 115–16). **ἔτι:** ‘still’, i.e. ‘despite my advanced age’ (993, cf. 997). *ἄν ἔτι* fell out of the text in the common ancestor of **a** or its exemplar and was added above the line and then inserted in the wrong place. The **Γ**-scribe retained the exemplar’s *γ’ προσβαλεῖν*; the **Ε**-scribe corrected to *γε προσβαλεῖν*; and the **Α**-scribe dropped the particle.

**995–8** are adapted at Ael. *Ep.* 4 *ἐγὼ γὰρ ἀμπελίδος ὄρχον ἐλάσας, εἶτα μοσχίδια συκιδίων παραφυτεύσας ἀπαλά, καὶ ἐν κύκλῳ περὶ τὸ αὐλιον κατέπηξα ἐλαίας* (‘For I, after putting in a row of vines and then planting tender fig-slips alongside them, set in olive trees in a circle about my cottage’). A description not just of general domestic improvements designed to please a new bride (the plantings symbolizing the establishment of a household and provision for its future) but of all the labour required to repair Attika’s farms after the damage done by invaders over the previous six years (Th. ii. 19. 2, 47. 2; iii. 1. 2, 26. 3; iv. 2. 1). For the combination of crops, cf. *Nu.* 1124 (olives and vines); H. *Od.* 7. 112–21 (fruit-trees including figs, olives, and vines, all seemingly part of a border around a threshing-floor); D. 53. 15 (fruit-trees and vines, with olive-shoots planted about the perimeter); *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 422. 82–4, 87–9 (figs, grapes, and olives); II<sup>2</sup> 1241. 19–25 (fruit-trees and vines); 2493. 26–8 (figs and vines); Ehrenberg 73–4.

**995–6 πρῶτα μὲν . . . / εἶτα:** 648–9 n. **ἀμπελίδος:** Elsewhere only at Ael. *Ep.* 4 (995–8 n.). The primary sense of *ἐλάσαι* here is ‘plough a furrow [so as to plant]’ (Hes. *Op.* 443; Pi. *P.* 4. 227–8), but after 994 ‘fuck’ (*Ec.* 39; Pl. Com. fr. 3. 4; *MM* §§ 260–1) is also heard. Henderson accordingly suggests that *ὄρχον* (‘row’) is intended as a pun on *ὄρχις* (‘testicle’) (*MM* § 75). For the propagation of vines and figs (both nor-



- mally from cuttings), *X.Oec.* 19. 1–12; *Thphr. HP* ii. 1. 2–3, 5. 3–6, 6. 12. **νέα μοσχίδια συκίδων**: ‘fresh shoots consisting of fig-slips’ (fr. 390 ap. *Poll.* vii. 152; *Hsch.* μ 1712; *S μ* 1276); for the use of the gen., 992 n. For the importance of figs to the Athenian rural economy, 182–3 n.; cf. 801–3 n. Many trees must have been damaged during the war (*Pax* 628–9). *σῦκον* means ‘genitals’ at *Pax* 1359–60, and given the sexual imagery in 994–5, there may be another double-entendre here (*MM* § 32).
- 997 ἡμερίδος**: A grapevine of some sort at *H. Od.* 5. 69 (cf. *Hsch.* η 464), whence *Ar.*—like Apollonios Rhodios (3. 220), the epigrammatists (e.g. ‘Simon.’ *AP* vii. 24. 1 = *FGE* 956; Macedon. *AP* xi. 58. 6 (cf. *Hsch.* η 465), 63. 2; Cometas *AP* ix. 586. 2), and pseudo-Oppian (*C.* 3. 458)—has got the word. α’s κλάδον is unmetrical and presumably represents a superlinear gloss that has ousted the more obscure synonym below it. Triklinios’ ὄρχον (clumsy after 995\* in any case) is therefore less likely than Bergk’s ὄζον (cf. *V.* 1377) or Brunck’s ὄσχον (better ὠσχον; cf. *LSJ* s.v. with Supplement; *EM*, p. 619. 32 οἰσχός· κλῆμα βότρυος φέρον ὀργῶντας καὶ γενναίους. ὁ γέρων ὀδί: i.e. ‘old man though I be’. An echo of γερόντιον (993) which marks the end of the catalogue of ‘three additions’ (994); the olive trees described in 998–9 are a sort of bonus.
- 998 τὸ χωρίον**: 226–8 n. Bentley’s ἐλάδας (ἐλαΐδας dS (unmetrical)) is an otherwise unattested form of the word for ‘olive tree’ (cf. *Threatte* i. 278; *LSJ* s. ἐλαΐς cites *IG* II 836<sup>ab</sup>. 29 = *II*<sup>2</sup> 1534. 169, where the reading is in fact ἐλαι ΔΔ); cf. 995–6 n. Triklinios’ ἄπαν ἐλαΐδας might be the product of (1) a conviction that the ultima in ἄπαν is long, combined with (2) a failed intention to expel ἐν (cf. Bentley’s ἄπαν ἐλάδας κύκλω), but is more likely a careless transposition. For olive trees and olive oil, 34–5 n., 182–3 n. Many olive trees must have been damaged—although not necessarily destroyed (*Hanson* (1998) 55–68, 143–7, 221–3)—during the war.
- 999 ὣστ’ ἀλείφεισθαι**: i.e. after bathing (*Pl.* 615–16; *Crates Com.* fr. 17. 6), the proper preparation for a feast (e.g. *Av.* 131–2; *Ec.* 652; *Pl. Smp.* 174a; cf. below). ἀπ’ αὐτῶν: i.e. ‘with the oil they produce’ (*Poultney* 150). As in 33–6, the emphasis is on rural autarky; cf. 1017 with n. ταῖς νομηνίαις: The first day of the month (lit. ‘new moon day’) was a holiday (esp. *Plu. Mor.* 270a; 828a; cf. *Hdt.* vi. 57. 2; *Antipho* fr. 57) and thus a market day (*Eq.* 43–4; *V.* 169–71) and an occasion for public rites on the Acropolis (*Hdt.* viii. 41. 2; *D.* 25. 99) and private rites and feasting (*V.* 95–6; *Theopomp. Com.* fr. 48; *Lys.* fr. 53; *Luc. Lex.* 6; cf. *Pi. N.* 4. 35). Cf. *Mikalson, HTR* 65 (1972) 291–6. For the use of the dat., *KG* i. 445.
- 1000–2** The Herald enters from a wing. Official state heralds were attached not only to the Council and the Assembly (43–5 n.) but to courts (*V.* 754; [*Arist.*] *Ath.* 64. 3), the Board of Generals (1071–7; cf.

*Pax* 311-12; *Ec.* 711-13), and (at least in the 4th c.) the archons ([Arist.] *Ath.* 62. 2). Their main duty was to make public announcements, especially in the Agora (*Ec.* 684-6, 821-2; Antiph. fr. 247. 3), and the primary qualification for the job was accordingly a strong voice (D. 19. 338; cf. Antiph. fr. 293. 2; Poll. iv. 94). This passage (with Σ<sup>RET</sup> ~ S a 4177, which appears to be derived directly from the text of Ar. and whose interpretations and arguments thus command no credence) and Phanodem. *FGrH* 325 F 11 are our only evidence for a public drinking contest at the Choes festival (for which, 960-1 n.): the other testimonia speak of private dinners and contests (Timae. *FGrH* 566 F 158; Call. fr. 178. 3-5; D.L. 4. 8; cf. 1211 n., and note that the foundation myth at E. *IT* 947-60 also focuses on individual households); Lam. and Dik. appear to be planning private celebrations in their own houses (960-2, 1003-7 with n., 1067-8 with n.); and Dik. ultimately takes his χοῦς and goes off not to a public arena but to the house of the Priest of Dionysos (1085-7). As Hamilton 12-13, notes, therefore, the drinking contest was probably only a small (if significant) part of the festival, most of which involved private celebrations.

**1000 ἀκούετε λεῶ:** 'oyez! oyez!' Apparently a traditional formula used to introduce public proclamations; also attested at *Pax* 551\*; *Av.* 448\* (both followed by jussive infins.); Sus. fr. 1. 1\*; cf. 773 with n.; Björck 322.

**κατὰ τὰ πάτρια:** Sc. ἔθνη, 'in accord with our ancestral [customs]'; an official set phrase (Th. ii. 2. 4; *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 78. 4, 11, 25-6; II<sup>2</sup> 659. 12; 682. 55; etc.). R's κατὰ πάτρια represents a haplography of τα. τοὺς χοῦς: A *chous* (cognate with χέω ('pour')) is (1) a liquid measure containing 12 κοτύλαι or 72 κύαθοι and equivalent to approximately 3.2 litres (Young, *Hesperia* 8 (1939) 278-80) and (2) a squat, flat-bottomed, trefoil-lipped pitcher, most often presumably of about this same capacity. Hall and Geldart print τοὺς Χοῦς (for the construction, KG i. 306), but cf. 1203 τὸν . . . χοῦά πρώτος ἐκπέπωκα ('I am the first to have drained my *chous*'). The common ancestor of **ct** had τᾶς, an easy error (undetected by Triklinios) before χοῦς; cf. **a** at 1045.

**1001 πίνειν:** Inchoative; 'begin drinking'. For the jussive infin., 172-3 n. ὑπὸ τῆς σάλπιγγος: 'in response to the trumpet' (cf. Poultney 196-7), which will signal the moment the contest is to begin; scarcely 'to the accompaniment of the trumpet', which was not, strictly speaking, a musical instrument but only a way of producing a very loud sound. The σάλπιγξ ('trumpet') consisted of a long, straight tube ending in a tulip-shaped bell; it was used in particular for military signals (e.g. *Ra.* 1041-2; Men. *Asp.* 104 with Gomme-Sandbach ad loc.; A. *Pers.* 395; Achae. *TrGF* 20 F 37. 3; Th. vi. 69. 2; X. *Eq.Mag.* 3. 11-12) but sounds the beginning of a contest also at S. *El.* 710-11; cf. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1635. 69. Cf. Krentz, in Hanson (1991) 110-20; West, *AGM* 118-21; Olson on *Pax* 1240-1. **ἐκπίη:** Sc. τὸν χοῦά; cf. 1203.

- 1002** **πρώτιστος:** 28n. **ἄσκον Κτησιφώντος:** 'a wine-sack (549n.) full of Ktesiphon'. The name appears *para prosdokian* for that of some good regional wine, such as Chian, Lesbian, or Thasian (Olson-Sens on *Archestr.* fr. 59. 4, 15, 17); for the figure, cf. 484. For Dik.'s receipt of the prize, 1225. According to Phanodem. *FGrH* 325 F 11, the prize—at least in the time of the legendary King Demophon—was actually a cake. Ktesiphon (*PAA* 587550) is otherwise unknown but must have been famous for his thirst and perhaps his discriminating taste; the name is relatively uncommon (20 examples in *LGN* ii (without reference to this passage)). Heavy drinkers were themselves sometimes called 'wine-skins', particularly if they had pot-bellies (*Antiph.* fr. 20; *Alex.* fr. 88. 3–5 (the image cited as a proverb); cf. Σ<sup>REF</sup>; *Nu.* 1237–8).
- 1003–7** Dik.'s orders are most naturally interpreted as reflecting his intention of holding a feast in his own house (cf. 1000–2n.), although his plans change when an invitation arrives from the Priest of Dionysos (1085–94).
- 1003** The Herald exits into the wing from which he came. It is unclear whether Dik. emerges from the house only now or has already come out during 1000–2. In any case, a number of mute slaves now follow him on stage, bringing spits, fish, meat, birds, and seasonings (1005–7, 1040–1), and busy themselves about the brazier (887–8n.). Much of the food prepared in this scene is put to use again at 1097–1142, as Dik. prepares for the party at the house of the Priest of Dionysos (1104, 1108 thrushes; 1110, cf. 1112 hare; 1119 sausage). Since **παῖδες** can serve as a generic term for slaves of both sexes (889–92n.), **γυναῖκες** is most naturally taken as a reference to Dik.'s Wife and Daughter (cf. 241–79 with 241n.).
- 1004** **τί δράτε;** An expression of exasperation; cf. *Pax* 164; *Pl.* 439. **οὐκ ἀκούετε;** + gen.: 'Aren't you paying attention to?'; contrast 1003 ('Didn't you hear [the announcement]?').
- 1005–6** **ἀναβράττετ(ε):** 'boil!' (e.g. *Pherecr.* fr. 197. 1) and thus 'stew!' (more often **ἔψω**); a standard way of cooking birds and other meat (*Pax* 1197; *Ra.* 509–10, 553; *Pherecr.* fr. 113. 23; 137. 10), although less common than roasting, frying, or broiling (**ὀπτάω**). For the contrast between wet and dry cooking (a fundamental Greek culinary opposition), Olson-Sens, *Archestratos*, pp. lii–liii, and on fr. 11. 8–9. **ἔξοπτᾶτε:** 'roast to perfection' (cf. *Eq.* 954; *Pherecr.* fr. 113. 10; *Telecl.* fr. 1. 7; *Eub.* fr. 14. 8); LSJ's gastronomically unappealing 'bake thoroughly' misses the point. **τρέπετ(ε)** could mean either 'rotate!' (cf. *Lys.* 839 **ὀπτᾶν καὶ στρέφειν** ('to roast and turn')) or 'flip!' (cf. *Crates Com.* fr. 16. 9–10; *Antiph.* fr. 216. 10), although the repeated references to spitting and spits in what follows make the former more likely. **ἀφέλκετε:** Sc. **τῶν ὀβελῶν**. For roasting hare on a spit, *Ec.* 843; *Archestr.* fr. 57. 4 (where the addressee is urged to serve it sprinkled with salt and

slightly on the rare side, while juice is still running from the meat).  
**τὰ λαγῶα:** Sc. κρέα, as at *V.* 709; *Pax* 1150; cf. 1043, 1110. For hare, 520-2n. **ταχέως:** 776-7n. **τοὺς στεφάνους ἀνείρετε:** Lit. 'string the garlands' (for the vb., e.g. Pl. Com. fr. 225), which are more often described as woven (e.g. *Th.* 458; *Ec.* 844; Alex. fr. 54). For symposium garlands, 551n.; according to Phanod. *FGrH* 325 F 11, garlands worn at Choes feasts were dedicated in the sanctuary of Dionysos ἐν Λίμναις ('in the Marshes'; cf. Dover on *Ra.* 216-17).

**1007 φέρε:** Addressed to one slave in particular, hence the sing. (contrast 1003-6). **τοὺς ὀβελίσκους:** 794-6n. **ἴν' ἀναπείρω:** πείρω and its compounds are rare, primarily poetic vocabulary (e.g. *H. Il.* 1. 465; 2. 426; *h.Ap.* 92; *E. Ph.* 26; [E.] *Rh.* 514; *Hdt.* iv. 103. 3), hence Bentley's ἀναπήξω (adapted from Photios; cf. *Ec.* 843 λαγῶ' ἀναπηγνύασι), but emendation is unwarranted; cf. 796; Mastronarde on *E. Ph.* 26. **π's** ἴν' ἀπείρω represents haplography of να.

**1008-17 ~ 1037-46** Iambs; cf. metr. Σ<sup>EG</sup> 1008, 1037 (whose division of the lines matches that preserved in the MSS); White § 83; Prato 24-5; Zimmermann i. 175-7; iii. 7-8; Parker 146-9. The song picks up on themes established in 971-6, 986-7, although Dik.'s good fortune is now even more directly before the chorus' eyes than it was earlier (esp. 1009-10 τῆς εὐωχίας . . . τῆς παρούσης ('your present feasting')). For the encomium of the hero, cf. *Eq.* 836-40; *V.* 1450-73; *Pax* 856-67, 909-21 (very similar in content, tone, and structure); fr. 505. 2-3 with K-A ad loc.

(1) 1008-10	--υ-- --υ-- --υ - --υ-- --υ-- υ--	5ia ia <sup>^</sup>
~ 1037-9	υ	
(2) 1011-12	υ--υ-- --υ- - --υ- - υ--^	3ia ia <sup>^</sup>
~ 1040-1	υ	3ia ia <sup>^</sup>
(3) 1013	--υ - --υ- -	2 ia
~ 1042	υ	
(4) 1014	υ--υ-- υ--^	ia ia <sup>^</sup>
~ 1043		
(5) 1015-17	--υ-- υ--υ-- --υ-- --υ-- -- υ-- υ--	5ia ia <sup>^</sup>
~ 1044-6	υ	

**1008-10 ζηλῶ σε + gen.:** A favourite Aristophanic construction (*Eq.* 837 with Neil ad loc.; *V.* 1450; *Th.* 175; cf. *S. El.* 1027; fr. 584; *E. IA* 677; Poultney 124). **τῆς εὐβουλίας** is echoed in **τῆς εὐωχίας**, and the jingle lends verbal point to the contrast. **π's** τῆσοῦσεβουλίας represents the intrusion of σου from a superlinear gloss closely resembling Σ<sup>REG</sup>. **ἄνθρωπε:** 95-7n.

**1011-12** Cf. *Pax* 859 τί δῆτ', ἐπειδὴν νυμφίον μ' ὀράτε λαμπρὸν ὄντα; ('What [will you say] when you see me as a brilliant bridegroom?'), 863 ('Trygaios' response to very similar praise from the chorus). **τί**

**δῆτ(α):** Sc. *ἐρείτε* (*Nu.* 1087, 1101; cf. *Pherecr.* fr. 113. 22). A common Aristophanic ellipse (e.g. *Nu.* 154; *Pax* 916; *Lys.* 399). **τὰς κίχλας**

**ὀπτωμένας ἴδητε:** Cf. 1007; doubtless *Dik.* is busy spitting thrushes and putting them on the fire (cf. 1014) as he and the chorus sing this song.

**1013** 'I think you're right about this as well'; a brief return to the theme of *εὐβουλία* (1008), although only as preface to further praise of *Dik.*'s cooking and its likely happy consequences (1015–17).

**1014 τὸ πῦρ ὑποσκάλευε:** 'Stir up the fire!'; addressed to one of the slaves. Cf. *Pax* 440 with Olson ad loc.; *Av.* 1580 (a very similar scene); *Men. Dysk.* 547; fr. 71. The compound is attested nowhere else but is not obviously an Aristophanic coinage; *pace MM* § 293, there is no hint of an obscene pun.

**1015–17 ἤκουσας;: 836–7n. μαγειρικῶς:** Exclusively Aristophanic vocabulary (also *Eq.* 376; *Pax* 1017–18) until the Roman period. A *μάγειρος* is a professional handler of meat, be he a butcher (*Eq.* 418; cf. *Pax* 1017) or a cook hired to prepare a private dinner (*Av.* 1637; *Ra.* 517–18); cf. H. Dohm, *Mageiros* (*Zetemata*, Heft 32: Munich, 1964), esp. 1–10, 67–84; Arnott on *Alex.* fr. 24; Olson–Sens on *Matro* fr. 1. 11 (both with further references and bibliography). **κομψῶς τε καὶ**

**δειπνητικῶς** is best taken as an expansion of *μαγειρικῶς* (thus *GP* 501) and set off with commas. Verbal elegance is a hallmark of Middle Comic cooks in particular (e.g. *Antiph.* fr. 55; *Strato Com.* fr. 1). *δειπνητικῶς* is a hapax legomenon (the adj. is attested at *Anaxipp.* fr. 1. 36; cf. *Eup.* fr. 99. 13–14 ἀ[ρ]ιστητικώτεροι) and most likely a deliberately ridiculous coinage of a typically late 5th-c. Athenian sort (cf. 9n.). **αὐτῷ**

**διακονεῖται:** The point is not just that *Dik.* (like *Trygaios* at *Pax* 1032) is self-sufficient (cf. 973–6n., 976n., 999n.; *Crates Com.* fr. 16. 1–2 (a sceptical objection to a most likely very similar proposal)) but that he will not share the good things he has got with anyone, a point made repeatedly in 1018–55.

**1018–36, 1048–68** A pair of scenes that draw a stark contrast between *Dik.*'s blessedness and the misery of other Athenians, for whom the war continues. The hero shows sympathy only for the bride, who amuses him and who, as a woman, bears no responsibility for the state of public affairs (1058–62); everyone else can go to hell, for all he cares (cf. 133). Cf. Introduction, Section III.

**1018** An anonymous man eventually identified as *Derketes* of *Phyle* (1028 with n.) enters from a wing. He is dressed in white (1024) and carries a bit of reed in one hand (1034 with n.). Since he is supposed to be blind, he may hold out a stick with the other hand (cf. *S. OT* 454–6) or be led by a slave (cf. *S. OT* 444). *Dik.* is deeply involved with his cooking (1008–17) and refuses to pay him much attention, especially at first (1018–19).

**1019** = *Nu.* 1263, where *Strepsiades* offers an equally hardhearted

response to the groans of an injured creditor. Cf. *Av.* 12 with Dunbar ad loc.; *Ra.* 301 with Dover ad loc. The idea appears to be that bad luck is catching; cf. 843 n.; Dover, *GPM* 201, citing *E. Supp.* 223-8; *Miasma* 219.

**κακοδαίμων:** Cf. Barrett on *E. Hipp.* 1362-3 ('a term of pity shading over through contempt to abuse'). Triklinios' *κακοδαίμων γε* represents a feeble attempt to mend the metre after *σαυτόν* (**Rct**) was written for *σεαυτόν* in either  $\alpha$  (in which case **a**'s *σεαυτόν* must be an independent—probably accidental—correction) or the common ancestor of **ct** (in which case the R-scribe has made the same error).  
**νυν:** 832-3 n.

**1020-1** The first of three requests for ever smaller quantities of peace; cf. 1029 (enough to anoint Derk.'s eyes), 1033-4 (a single drop). **ὦ φίλτατε:** A wheedling use of what is normally in *Ar.* a genuinely affectionate form of address (e.g. 885; *Eq.* 1335; *Pax* 1198; *Th.* 210; *Ra.* 503; cf. Dickey 119), as at 475; *Pl.* 967, 1034. **σπονδαί . . . εἰσι σοὶ μόνῳ:** An echo of 130-1, which serves to revive the image of peace as libations (left dormant since 178-202 but central to this scene and the next). Anticipatory **γάρ** gives a reason both for addressing the person in question and for the request that follows (*GP* 69). **μέτρησον:** Lit. 'measure out', i.e. in expectation of being given back at least as much at some later date; cf. *Av.* 580; Theopomp. Com. fr. 27; Hes. *Op.* 349 with West ad loc. **κἄν πέντ' ἔτη:** 'even if [you lend me only enough peace] to last five years'; ἔτη ('years') is *para prosdokian* for *κοτύλας* ('measures') *vel sim.* For the ellipse of the vb., Goodwin § 228. For a five-year peace (the least desirable variety, but peace none the less), 188-90 n.

**1022-7** Although Derk. originally appears pitiable (1018-23), his complaints rapidly descend into bathetic absurdity, as he weeps for his oxen as if they were kidnapped children and expresses regret for all the cowdung he has lost.

**1022 τί δ' ἔπαθες;:** 'What happened to you?'; cf. 912; *Pax* 825\*. **ἐπετρίβην:** A regular Aristophanic metaphor for complete ruin (e.g. *Nu.* 1407; *Ra.* 571; *Pl.* 1119; cf. Taillardat § 64). **τῷ βόε:** Bathetic (cf. 1022-7 n.). Derk. had a pair of oxen (cf. 1025, 1027\*, 1031\*, 1036) because two are needed to plough efficiently (e.g. *Av.* 582-5; *H. Il.* 13. 703-4; *Od.* 13. 31-2; 18. 371-4; Hes. *Op.* 436-40; *X. Oec.* 16. 11; cf. Alc. Com. fr. 14), and this becomes a standard item in the Aristophanic vision of the ideal life of peace in the countryside (frr. 111. 1; 402. 4). For the dual as a feature of colloquial Attic (therefore avoided in tragedy), Bers 59.

**1023** Small-scale border raids of the sort referred to here are ignored in Thucydides' account of the war but must have been a constant source of worry (cf. 1073-7) and (despite *Th.* vii. 27. 4) of damage and instability in the Attic countryside; cf. 266-70 n. **πόθεν;:** The division of

the tribrach between two speakers is very awkward (cf. White §§ 105–6). Neither Triklinios' *πόθεν γ'* nor Elmsley's *πόθεν δ'* is anything more than a crude stopgap, and although Christ's suggestion that the change of speaker allows *πόθεν* to be scanned  $\cup -$  is arguably special pleading, I have with some hesitation printed the paradosis. **ἀπὸ Φυλῆς:**

The deme of Phyle was part of the coastal trittys of the tribe of Oineis and had a bouleutic quota of two (Traill 50, 68). It was located beyond Acharnai (177n.) in extreme north-west Attika and commanded a pass over Mt. Parnes on the most direct road from Athens to Thebes (cf. 1073–5n.); its territory was therefore particularly accessible to Boiotian raiders. It also provides the setting for Menander's *Dyskolos*. Phyle was seized by Thrasyboulos and the democratic insurgents in 404 and served as their base in the war against the Thirty Tyrants (X. *HG* ii. 4. 2–7, 10; [Arist.] *Ath.* 37. 1; 38. 1; cf. *Pl.* 1146), although the limited archaeological evidence suggests that the fortress there was only constructed in the first third of the 4th c. Cf. Chandler, *JHS* 46 (1926) 4–7; Ober 145–7, 185–6; Whitehead 403; J. Travlos, *Bildlexicon zur Topographie des antiken Attika* (Tübingen, 1988) 319–24.

**1024** A bomolochic interjection, ignored by Derk. (cf. 61–125, etc. n.). For the hostile question about the visitor's appearance, cf. *Av.* 911. **τρισκακόδαιμον:** 400–1n. **εἶτα:** 23–4n. **λευκὸν ἀμπέχει:** 'are you wearing white?', i.e. rather than black, the colour of mourning (e.g. *A. Ch.* 10–12; *E. Alc.* 215–17, 426–7; *Hel.* 1088; *Ph.* 371–3; *Lys.* 13. 40; X. *HG* i. 7. 8; *Plu. Per.* 38. 4; cf. *A. Pers.* 115 with Broadhead ad loc.); van Leeuwen suggests that the joke is instead that Derk. is not dressed in white at all but is extraordinarily dirty (cf. 1025–6). *ἀμπέχομαι* in this sense is common in Ar. (e.g. *Av.* 1567; *Pl.* 897) and is also found in Euripides (e.g. *IA* 1438) and Plato (e.g. *Phd.* 87b), and is presumably colloquial.

**1025–6 μέντοι νῆ Δί':** A common combination of asseveratives in Ar. (e.g. *Pax* 1290; *Av.* 661) and Plato (e.g. *Phd.* 65d); cf. *GP* 401–2. **ἐν πᾶσι βολίτοις** is a bathetic surprise for *ἐν πᾶσι ἀγαθοῖς* ('in all good things'; Pherecr. fr. 113. 2); cf. 976n.; *V.* 709 *ἐν πᾶσι λαγώοις* ('in all hare-meat'; also *para prosdokian*). Dung was in fact valuable as fertilizer (esp. *Thphr. CP* iii. 9; cf. Olson on *Pax* 4, 9–10). **εἶτα νυνὶ τοῦ δέει:** Cf. *Pl.* 827 (also addressed to a visitor to the hero's house) *ἔπειτα τοῦ δέει*;

**1027 ἀπόλωλα τῷφθαλμῷ:** i.e. 'I am suffering from *ὀφθαλμία*', a catch-all term for various infections of the eyes and the resulting blindness; to be distinguished from other types of blindness in that *ophthalmia* is a disease that comes upon a person, often abruptly (e.g. *Ra.* 192 (Xanthias' excuse for not fighting at Arginusai) *ἔτυχον ὀφθαλμιῶν* ('I had eye-trouble'); *Hp. Epid.* ii. 616. 8–11; *Pl. Phdr.* 255d; *D. Chr. Or.* 36. 11), and that can—at least in principle—be cured (esp. *Pl.* 114–16; fr. 132; *Pl.*

- Grg.* 496a; X. *HG* ii. 1. 3; cf. 1029 with n.; Antiph. fr. 246; Timocl. fr. 6. 13 (contrasted with a permanent condition)). **δακρύων τὸ βόε:** Transitive *δακρύω* is attested elsewhere in the 5th c. only in tragedy (e.g. *A. Ag.* 1490; fr. 78c. 41; *S. Ph.* 360; *OC* 1254-5; *E. HF* 528; *Ba.* 1373).
- 1028** ἀλλ' εἴ τι κήδει + gen.: Cf. *Nu.* 106\*; *S. OT* 1060-1; *Pl. Grg.* 462a. **Δερκέτου Φυλασίου:** 'Derketes' is literally 'he who sees' and is thus ironic, given the visitor's problem (1027). Derketes/Derketos is a very rare name (4 other examples in *LGN* ii) and there can be little doubt that this is intended as a reference to the Derketes (or Derketos) of Phyle (*PA* 3245; *PAA* 303905) whose name is preserved at *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 109. 7 = *II<sup>2</sup>* 75. 7; *II<sup>2</sup>* 1698. 5-6, and who must have been an outspoken supporter of the war. Release of the name is none the less reserved for the middle of the scene (contrary to normal Aristophanic practice with historical individuals represented on stage (45 n.)) for the sake of the play on its meaning. For the form *Φυλάσιος*, 347-9 n. The additional material at the end of the line in **p** is a fragment of an intrusive scholion.
- 1029** ὑπάλειψον εἰρήνη με τῷφθαλμῷ: 1020-1 n. For anointing with medicinal substances as a means of curing *ὀφθαλμία* (1027 n.), *Ec.* 398-407; *Pl.* 716-22 (both ironic prescriptions actually intended to cause greater misery); fr. 132; cf. *Eq.* 909. For the acc. of the whole and the part, *KG* i. 289-90.
- 1030** πόνηρ': 731 n. **οὐ δημοσιέων τυγχάνω:** 'I happen not to be a public employee' (below), but also a reference to Dik.'s status as an emphatically private individual with no obligations to or concern for anyone else (cf. 1037-47). Already by the late 6th c., Athens (along with some other Greek states) employed public physicians (*Hdt.* iii. 131. 2), although the stipend provided by the state may have been intended only to guarantee their presence in the city and they may still have charged for their services. By Ar.'s time the position was filled by the Assembly and applicants were required to make a speech in which they described their training and experience (*X. Mem.* iv. 2. 5); cf. 1032 with n., 1222-3; *Pl. Plt.* 259a; *Grg.* 455b, 514d-e; *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 164; *II<sup>2</sup>* 373-4; 483; 772; Dunbar on *Av.* 584; L. Cohn-Haft, *The Public Physicians of Ancient Greece* (Smith College Studies in History, vol. 42: Northampton, 1956), esp. 32-61.
- 1031** ἴθ', ἀντιβολῶ σ': A regular line-opening formula (*Nu.* 110; *V.* 162, 975; *Pax* 400; cf. 582), elsewhere followed by an imper., which in this case must be supplied from 1029. ἦν: 732 n. **κομίσωμαι:** 'get back, recover', as at e.g. *Nu.* 1111; *Av.* 549; *Th.* 1166.
- 1032** Cf. 1035, another blunt refusal constructed out of the same three elements: '(1) I won't do it, so (2) go away and (3) do your crying elsewhere'. **οὐκ ἔστιν:** Sc. ὅπως τοῦτο ποιήσω, 'There is no [way that I will do this]'. Triklinios' *κλαῖε* probably reflects only a failure to recognize that the *a* in *Rac*'s *κλάε* is long, but none the less seems to



be the proper 5th-c. form (cf. Rutherford 112; Threatte ii. 503). **τοὺς Πιττάλου:** 'to Pittalos' people', i.e. his students and assistants (cf. *Pl.* 701-3, 730-2; *X. Mem.* iv. 2. 5); Pittalos (*PAA* 774420; also mentioned at 1222; *V.* 1432) was apparently a state physician (cf. 1030n.). **τοῦ Πιττάλου** (sc. τὸν οἶκον) in  $\text{R}\Gamma^{\text{pc}}\text{E}^4$  is impossible (*πρός* never suffers ellipse of the acc. obj.) but an easy error via assimilation of the art. to the case of the word that follows. **ἰατροῦ** at the end of the line in **p** is an intrusive gloss.

**1033-4** A final desperate suggestion (191-3n., 1020-1n.). **Derk.** holds out his reed (note deictic **τουτονί**). **σταλαγμόν:** 'drop', as at *Anaxandr.* fr. 35. 3; *Men. Mon.* 333 = *Diog. Sinop. TrGF* 88 F 2. 1. **εἰς τὸν καλαμίσκον ἐνστάλαξον:** For the use of a reed to transport medicine, *X. HG* ii. 1. 3 (also for a patient suffering from *ophthalmia*).

**1035** Cf. 1032n. **οὐδ' ἄν στριβλικίγξ:** Sc. ἐνσταλάξαιμι; cf. 966-7n.  $\Sigma^{\text{REF}}$  glosses *στριβλικίγξ* (a hapax legomenon) as *ράνιδα* ('a drop') but explains the word as derived from *στρίβος* ('a thin, shrill cry'; also a hapax) and *λικίγξ* ('a very faint sound produced by a bird'; another hapax), i.e. 'a peep' (more often *γρῦ*; cf. Olson on *Pax* 96-7 (where the word is misaccented)). **ποι** (the *lectio difficilior*) is to be taken with **ἀπιών**; cf. *Av.* 1020.

**1036 οἶμοι κακοδαίμων:** An echo of **Derk.**'s opening words (1018-19) and thus an index of how little he has accomplished. **βοιδίον:** A hypocoristic diminutive ('my dear pair of oxen'). **Derk.** exits into the wing from which he entered.

**1037-46** Throughout the song, **Dik.** bustles about supervising the cooking and perhaps doing some of it himself.

**1037-9** Both a comment on 1018-36 (cf. 959-68) and somewhat misleading preparation for 1048-68. **ἀνηύρηκεν:** **Dobree** conjectured *ἐνεύρηκεν* on the ground that **d**'s *ἀνεύρηκεν* cannot stand with the bare dat. **ταῖς σπονδαῖσιν** to mean 'discovered in his peace-treaties'. But *ἐνευρίσκω* is not attested elsewhere before the Roman period (conjectural at *S. Ai.* 1144) and the dat. is better taken as instrumental. **-εύ-** (**d**) is a common variant (e.g. *Nu.* 137, 764; *Pax* 129) for **-ήν-** (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 11169. 1 (mid-4th c.)); cf. Threatte ii. 482-3.

**1040-1** Addressed to a slave. The items mentioned in this verse are not among those specifically said to have been brought by the **Βοί.**; contrast 1043. **κατάχει . . . τὸ μέλι:** i.e. as a roasting sauce, since the sausage is finally removed from the fire only at 1119. For honey and its culinary uses, 1130 (poured over a cake most likely hot from the fire) with n.; *Pl. Com.* fr. 188. 8-9 (thrushes served with honey); Olson-Sens on *Archestr.* fr. 60. 16-18. For the distinction between different sorts of sauces, **Dunbar** on *Av.* 535; Olson-Sens on *Archestr.* fr. 14. 5-8. **τ**'s *κατάχειε* (~~~~) represents **Triklinios**' attempt to mend the metre after **σύ** was lost in the common ancestor of **ct.** **τῆς χορδῆς:** Sausages

(also ἀλλάντες (145-6 n.), φύσκαι (e.g. Pherecr. fr. 50. 4; Anaxandr. fr. 42. 40), and χόλικες (Olson on *Pax* 715-17)) appear frequently in banquet catalogues and the like (e.g. fr. 702; Eub. fr. 63. 3; Pherecr. fr. 137. 9; Mnesim. fr. 4. 15; Axionic. fr. 8. 4) and are frequently served in slices (τόμοι; cf. 881 n.). This one is cooked on a spit (cf. 1121 with n.), like the hero's thrushes (1007 with n.). τὰς σηπίας: Cuttlefish (350-1 n.)

appear frequently in catalogues of seafood and the like (e.g. frr. 258. 2; 333. 1; Ephipp. fr. 12. 7; Alex. fr. 159. 3) and are fried or broiled also at *Ec.* 126-7; Nicostr. Com. fr. 6. 2; Alex. fr. 192. 4-6; Sotad. Com. fr. 1. 16. Cf. Olson-Sens on Archestr. fr. 56. στάθει: 'broil', i.e. 'cook directly on the grill' without a pan; cf. [A.] *PV* 22-3. β's τάθει, the result of haplography of σ after σηπίας, is metrical if nonsensical and was left uncorrected by Triklinios.

**1042** ἤκουσας; 836-7 n. ὄρθιος is often 'loud' (e.g. *S. El.* 683 ὀρθίων γηρυμάτων ('loud cries'); *Ant.* 1206; *E. Heracl.* 830; *Tr.* 1266; *IA* 94; cf. 15-16 n.), and ὀρθιασμάτων (a hapax legomenon) is thus 'his loud cries'.

**1043** Addressed to a group of slaves (contrast 1040-1). ὀπτᾶτε: 1005-6 n. τὰ (ἐ)γγέλεια: *Sc.* κρέα; cf. 1005-6 n.

**1044-6** A prefigurement of the action in 1096-1142. Cf. adesp. com. fr. 866 τὸ κνίσος ὀπτῶν ὀλλύεις τοὺς γείτονας ('You are killing your neighbours by roasting fat'). Antiph. fr. 216. 5-7; Ephipp. fr. 3. 3-4; and Hegesipp. Com. fr. 1. 22-7 allude to the same theme. λιμῶ . . . κνίση τε καὶ φωνῆ: i.e. 'by the pangs of hunger, sharpened by the smell of dinner and by the lordly commands which Dik. keeps on issuing' (Rogers). Elmsley added a comma after 'μέ and argued that the speaker alone is tortured by hunger, whereas Dik.'s neighbours are tortured by the smell of his cooking and his shouts; as subsequent editors have seen, this adds nothing to the passage and can be rejected. For λιμός, 741-3 n. For κνίση ('the smell of roasting fat'; primarily poetic vocabulary), Olson on *Pax* 1050-1; Olson-Sens on *Matro* fr. 1. 82. λάσκων: 410-11 n.

**1047** A final summarizing command (accompanied by a gesture), as the hero steps away from the brazier and turns the rest of the cooking over to his assistants; addressed to the whole group of slaves. καλῶς ξανθίζετε: 'get them nice and brown!'; cf. 734 n., 765-6 n. For ξανθός in this sense, 1106; Pherecr. fr. 113. 16; Xenoph. fr. B. 1. 9; Philox. *Leuc. PMG* 836(b). 16; cf. Edgeworth, *Glotta* 61 (1983) 32-3.

**1048** An anonymous Slave (alternatively identified in β—for no good reason except to make his identity balance that of the bridesmaid—as a παράνυμφος, the man (also called the πάροχος) who rode with the bride and groom from her father's house to his (Poll. iii. 40; x. 33; Oakley and Sinos 27; Dunbar on *Av.* 1738-40)) enters from a wing. He carries a trencher of meat in his hands (1049-50). A mute female character, identified at 1056 as a νυμφεύτρια or bridesmaid and carrying an oil-flask

(1053), follows him on. The repetition of *τίς οὔτοσί;* ought to signal heightened emotion (e.g. 281–3, 313, 334), perhaps Dik.'s annoyance at being interrupted as he is about to go into the house (cf. 1047 with n.) or his surprise at the appearance of yet another unexpected and unknown visitor. Dobree suggested expelling the first *τίς οὔτοσί;* and printing *Δικαιοπόλι* twice, transferring the excitement to the visitor.

**1049–50** For sending portions of a sacrificial animal to friends or others one wishes to honour or influence, Ehipp. fr. 15. 11; Men. *Sam.* 403–4; Thphr. *Char.* 15. 5; 17. 2; cf. *Pax* 192; *Th.* 558; *Pl.* 995–1000. *ἐκ τῶν γάμων:* 'from the wedding celebration' (145–6 n.; Bers 29–32). For wedding feasts, e.g. *Pax* 1192–6; Anaxandr. fr. 42; Antiph. fr. 204; Alex. fr. 233; Diph. fr. 17; Oakley and Sinos 22–4. *καλῶς γε ποιῶν:* 'Very kind of him to do so!' (e.g. *Pax* 271; *Pl.* 863; *Pl. Cra.* 431a; *R.* 351d); probably colloquial. Cf. Page on *E. Med.* 472; Quincey, *JHS* 86 (1966) 143–4; Stevens 54. Contrast the hero's reaction in 1054–5, when he realizes that the gift comes with a string attached (1051–3). For the use of *γε*, *GP* 136–7. Triklinios' *ὄστισπερ* for *α*'s *ὄστις* (Rac) represents an attempt to fill out the line after *γε* was lost in the common ancestor of *ct*.

**1051–3** Cf. the request made by Lam.'s Slave at 960–2. *ἵνα μὴ στρατεύοιτ'*: i.e. 'in order that he not be drafted'; cf. 1065 with n. *βινοίη:* 'might fuck'; an unambiguously crude vb. (cf. 1221; *MM* § 205 (but note that this passage disproves the claim that the 'connotation is always of violent and/or illicit intercourse'), 207–9; Bain, *CQ* NS 41 (1991) 54–62; Chadwick 73–5) which introduces a comic note. R's *κινοίη* (a simple minuscule error) is less vulgar (*MM* § 206; Bain (above) 63–7; Chadwick 187) and thus less funny. *μένων:* For the vb. with the sense 'stay [home from war]', *V.* 1115; *Pax* 341 (a collocation of ideas similar to this passage); Cratin. Jun. fr. 4; *H. Il.* 9. 318; 16. 838; *E. Heracl.* 701. *τὸν ἀλάβαστον:* A slender, cylindrical vessel normally used to store and dispense perfumed oil (*Lys.* 947; Crates Com. fr. 17. 6; Eub. fr. 98; Alex. fr. 63. 1; Hdt. iii. 20. 1; cf. 1091 with n.) and frequently associated with sex (e.g. *Ec.* 522–6) and thus with marriage (*Pax* 860–2 with Olson ad loc.). *ἀλάβαστρον* (Γ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup>ρ) is a slightly later form of the word (Tischler, *Glotta* 56 (1978) 54–8; Threatte i. 482; Arnott on Alex. fr. 63. 1). Cf. Amyx 213–17. *κύαθον . . . ἔνα:* 1000 n.; for perfumed oil (above) sold by liquid measure, Hipparch. Com. fr. 4; Men. fr. 243.

**1054–5** The extraordinary run of short syllables in 1054 marks Dik.'s agitation when he realizes what he is being asked to give up in return for the meat; cf. 1191–3; *Pax* 1221 / *ἀπόφερ' ἀπόφερ'*; *Av.* 1244. Triklinios' *ἀπόφερ'* for *α*'s *ἀπόφερε* (Rac, cf. Γ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup>) was also preserved in the MS against which Γ and E were checked. *μὴ μοι δίδου:* 'don't try to give it to me!, don't offer it to me!' (cf. 54, 159). *χιλίῳν*

**δραχμῶν** (gen. of price; \* at *Pax* 1237, in a similar verse) = one-sixth of a talent, a considerable amount of money. The accent on *χιλίων* is disputed; perhaps *χιλιῶν*.

**1056-7** **αὐτῆϊ**: Accompanied by a gesture. **ἡ νυμφεύτρια**: A woman sent along with the bride by her parents to the groom's house (Paus. ix. 3. 7; Hsch. ν 715 = S ν 592 = Phot. p. 304. 9-10) and charged with preparing her for the wedding night (Plu. *Lyc.* 15; Poll. iii. 41; Oakley and Sinos 16, 32-6). **δεῖται**: 632 n. **σοὶ λέξαι μόνω**: i.e. out of concern for the bride's reputation, since the request betrays a sexual forwardness that a respectable Athenian woman ought not to exhibit in public; cf. 253-4 with n. The insistence on secrecy is merely an attempt by the playwright to tantalize his audience, since Dik. quickly reveals what has been said to him (1060) after a few additional teasing preliminary remarks (1058-9).

**1058-60** 1056-7 n. The Bridesmaid steps over to Dik. and whispers something in his ear; for similar scenes, *Nu.* 1478-85; *Pax* 660-3. **ὡς γέλοιον κτλ.**: Addressed to the world at large. *γέλοιον* is 'funny' (not 'ridiculous'). For the accentuation (disputed since antiquity), Arnott on *Alex.* fr. 188. 2. **ὦ θεοί**: A bland oath, \* at *Ec.* 1122; cf. *Eq.* 1309. **δέημα**: Attested elsewhere only at Hsch. δ 421 (perhaps a gloss on this passage); Σ<sup>M</sup> A. *Eu.* 92-3. For **ὄπως ἄν** + subjunc. in an object clause, Goodwin § 348. **οἰκουρῆ**: 'might stay at home', i.e. rather than going off to war (cf. *V.* 970; Hermipp. fr. 46. 3; Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 809). **τὸ πέος τοῦ νυμφίου**: An obscene surprise (cf. 157-8 n., 1066\*; *MM* § 1 (of πέος) 'Evidently its usefulness lay in its shock value') for **ὁ νυμφίος** ('the bridegroom'). The tremendous pleasure women take in being fucked is an Aristophanic trope (esp. *Lys.* 122-35; cf. *Th.* 203-5; *Ec.* 228).

**1061-2** **φέρε δεῦρο τὰς σπονδάς**: Addressed to one of the slaves, who exits into the house and returns a moment later carrying a small jug. **ὀπιή** is attested only in Old Comedy (e.g. *Eq.* 29; *Nu.* 755; Hermipp. fr. 63. 11; *Eup.* fr. 328. 2; Aristomen. fr. 3) and satyr play (A. fr. 281a. 9; *E. Cyc.* 643) and is presumably a short-lived colloquialism. Cf. epic *τή* (otherwise similarly restricted to comedy). **τοῦ πολέμου τ' οὐκ ἀξία**: 'and undeserving of the war' (LSJ s. *ἄξιος* II. 2), because she had no say in public policy decisions and thus no opportunity to argue in favour of peace (esp. *Lys.* 507-16); cf. Dover, *G&G* 301-2. Blaydes's *αἰτία* ('responsible for') is no improvement. For the postponement of **τε**, *GP* 516.

**1063-6** To the Bridesmaid.

**1063** **ὑπεχ(ε)**: 'hold beneath!', i.e. so as to catch something dropped or poured from above; cf. *Pax* 431; *Th.* 756; *Ec.* 820; Men. *Leucad.* fr. 2 (= fr. 255 Kö.). **ὦδε δεῦρο**: Cf. 745-7 n. **(ἐ)ξάλειπτρον**: Another name for an *ἀλάβαστος* (1053 with n.); cf. Antiph. fr. 206. 3; Poll. vi. 106;

x. 121; Hsch. ε 3542; Σ<sup>REG</sup> ~ S ε 1524; *AB*, p. 97. 17–18. ὦ γύναι: 262 n.

**1064** The Bridesmaid holds out the vessel and Dik. pours a bit of wine into it. οἴσθ' ὡς ποεῖται τοῦτο;: 'Do you know how this is done?' (cf. Aristomen. fr. 11; Antiph. fr. 75. 11). R<sup>ac</sup>B's ποιεῖτε will not do, since the instructions are to be carried out by the bride alone, while Reisig's ποεῖτω (better with punctuation after τοῦτο (as in α and here) than after the vb. (as in B)) assumes that -ται is a metrical stopgap added after -τω was lost (for the error, cf. α's ἄλειφε for ἀλειφέτω in 1066); a possible (cf. οἴσθ' ὁ δρᾶσον (*Pax* 1061 with Olson ad loc.)) but complicated construction.

**1065** ὅταν στρατιώτας καταλέγωσι: On the simplest reading of the text, the activity in question occurs at frequent but unpredictable intervals, and the reference is thus more likely to levies of hoplites for individual military expeditions via lists of names posted in the Agora (cf. 600–1 n., 1128–9 n.; *Pax* 1179–84 with Olson on 1179–81) than to the permanent tribal hoplite-registers, which contained the names of everyone subject to call-up and were presumably revised on an annual basis (cf. *Eq.* 1369–71 with Neil ad loc.; A. H. M. Jones, *Athenian Democracy* (Baltimore, 1957) 163; M. H. Hansen, *Demography and Democracy: The Number of Athenian Citizens in the Fourth Century B.C.* (Herming, 1985) 83–5; Christ, *CQ* NS 51 (2001) 398–422). τουτωῖ: i.e. the wine he is in the process of pouring out.

**1066** νύκτωρ: A good time for stealthy action of all sorts (e.g. *Eq.* 856, 1034; *Nu.* 750; *V.* 1039; *Av.* 1491; cf. 1162–8), as well as for sex; cf. below. ἀλειφέτω τὸ πέος τοῦ νυμφίου: If the point of the bride's action is to remove the groom from the list of men chosen for service (1065 n.), one would expect her to sneak down to the Agora by night; pour the wine Dik. has given her over the roster-board; and rub out (ἐξαλείφω) her husband's name. (For a similar scheme, *Nu.* 766–72.) Instead, she is to use the cover of darkness to smear the magic liquid over . . . his dick (a climactic obscenity (659–64 n.)). For women's use of love charms and spells, C. A. Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic* (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1999) 96–131. -τω was lost before τό in α (RAΓ<sup>ac</sup>E<sup>ac</sup>c), and Triklinios wrote ἄλειφέ γε in an attempt to mend the metre. The Slave and the Bridesmaid exit into the wing from which they entered.

**1067–8** Addressed to a single slave, who takes the wineskin, exits into the house, and returns carrying a wine-dipper (below). οἰνήρουσιν: A dipping vessel of some sort, although not necessarily a ladle (245–6 n.; Σ<sup>REG</sup>³; Poll. vi. 19; x. 75; Hsch. ο 319; Phot. p. 320. 19; S oi 117; *AB*, pp. 39. 15–17; 55. 7–8). ἴν' οἶνον κτλ.: Since the peace-libations are taken into the house as the first stage of the errand that concludes with the dipper being brought out, the dipper must be intended for transfer-

ring wine not from the wineskin into Dik.'s *chous* (a silly way of doing this in any case) but from some larger vessel such as a *pithos* (one of the individual festivals incorporated into the Anthesteria, after all, being Pithoigia (960-1 n.)) into the vessels (εἰς τοὺς χοῦς) to be used for the hero's private Choes celebration (1000-2 n.). Whatever plans Dik. may have are interrupted by the arrival of an invitation from the Priest of Dionysos (1085-94), and wine is conspicuously absent from the list of goods his host is supplying (1089-93). I therefore assume that the dipper is brought on stage at this point, full of wine, and (regardless of the hero's intentions when he asks for it) used to fill the *χοῦς* brought out at 1133 and carried off to the party by Dik. (or his slave) at 1142.

**1069-83, 1084-95** Parallel scenes (the arrival of a messenger is announced; he issues a summons; Lam. complains and is mocked by Dik.), which set up the elaborate contrast between the fates of Lam. and Dik. in 1096-1142, 1190-1227.

**1069-72** Paratragic (Rau 137-8); note the lack of resolution in 1069-71.

**1069-70** The Herald enters from a wing. For the tragic trope of the entrance of a grim-faced messenger bearing disturbing news, e.g. *E. Med.* 1118-20; *Hipp.* 1151-2; *Tr.* 707-8; *Ph.* 1332-4. For heralds at the disposal of the Board of Generals, 1000-2 n. καὶ μήν: 908-9 n.

ὁδί τις: 'this man here, whoever he may be'; for the combination of a deictic and an indef. pron., e.g. *Eq.* 1196; *Lys.* 65; cf. Moorhouse 159-60. τὰς ὀφρῦς ἀνεσπακῶς: A sign of arrogant self-importance (*Eq.* 631; *Cratin.* fr. 348; *Alex.* fr. 16 with Arnott on 16. 1-2; 121. 5-7; *Amphis* fr. 13; *Men. Sik.* 160 with Gomme-Sandbach ad loc.; fr. 37; 349. 1-2; *Bato* fr. 5. 13; *X. Smp.* 3. 10; *Hegesand.* ap. *Ath.* 4. 162a; cf. Pearson on *S.* fr. 902).

**1071** ἰὼ πόνοι: 566-7 n.; cf. *A. Supp.* 125; *Ag.* 1167; *S. Ai.* 1197; Rau 138; Labiano Ilundain 236-40. μάχαι καὶ Λάμαχοι: For the word-play (very much to the point, since Lam. is being called off to battle), cf. 219-20 n., 268-70.

**1072** Cf. *E. IT* 1307 (in response to a messenger who announces himself as a bearer of bad news) τίς ἀμφὶ δῶμα θεᾶς τόδ' ἴστησιν βοήν; ('Who raises a cry about this house of the goddess?'). Lam. enters from a wing, this time (contrast 572-5) without any military equipment except his helmet (still lacking crests or feathers; cf. 584-5) and perhaps his greaves or ankle-guards (Snodgrass 52-3, 92-3; Anderson 24; Hanson (1989) 75-6), which he otherwise does not put on. ἀμφί is exceedingly common in tragedy (e.g. *A. Th.* 151; *S. Ai.* 1064; *E. Alc.* 90; *HF* 688) but attested elsewhere in comedy only in lyric (*Nu.* 595; *Lys.* 1257; *Th.* 995; *Ra.* 215; *Axionic.* fr. 4. 16), and marks this as elevated style. χαλκοφάλαρα δῶματα: Lit. 'bronze cheek-pieced house' *vel sim.* (for *φάλαρα* used of metal trimmings attached to a horse-bridle, *Ra.* 963; *S. OC* 1069 (corrupt); *E. Supp.* 586 (corrupt); *Tr.* 520

χρυσεοφάλαρον ('with gold φάλαρα'); Hdt. i. 215. 2; X. *HG* iv. 1. 39; S φ 42); a bit of paratragic bombast which—if it has any larger significance at all—presumably refers to the arms and armour that cover the interior walls of the warlike Lam.'s house, be this his own gear (56–8 n.) or spoils captured from the enemy (*War* iii. 240–95). Cf. Introduction, Section V.C. For δώματα as paratragic, 479 n. **κτυπεῖ**: Poetic vocabulary (e.g. H. *Il.* 7. 479; *h.Merc.* 149; S. *Tr.* 787; E. *El.* 802; *Hel.* 859); first attested in prose at Pl. *R.* 396b.

**1073–5** At 593 Lam. claims to be a general (cf. 569–71 n.), and Dunbar, *CR NS* 20 (1970) 269–70, points out that οἱ στρατηγοί can be translated 'the [other] generals' (cf. the Proboulos at *Lys.* 609–10 τοῖς προβούλοις . . . / ἐμαυτὸν ἐπιδείξω ('I will show myself to the [other] probouloi')) and that ἐκέλευον properly means something more like 'urge' (cf. 960, 1051) than 'order'. Lam. none the less clearly feels that he has no choice about what he does, and implies that he is a victim of the tyranny of the majority (1078–9). Generals were normally appointed to the command of particular expeditions by the Assembly (cf. Hamel 14–23), but this passage suggests that in emergencies (1076–7) the Board had the authority to meet and choose one of its members to deal with the situation. (For the substantial independent authority of the generals in the second half of the 5th c., *Boule* 43–6.) In any case, the happy irony—from Dik.'s point of view—is that the archetypal shirker of unpleasant tasks and combat service in particular (600–17) has finally had the tables turned on him. **τοὺς λόχους καὶ τοὺς λόφους**: Cf. 575 (where the crests are of more immediate interest and thus take first position) τῶν λόφων καὶ τῶν λόχων\* with n. **νειφόμενον**: Cf. 1141. Snow was a real possibility at Anthesteria time (960–1 n.), especially in the mountains. For a sudden snowstorm in Phyle, X. *HG* ii. 4. 3. **τὰς εἰσβολάς**: Of the numerous passes into Attika from the north, the most important were the roads by Dekeleia (Hdt. ix. 15. 1; Th. vii. 28. 1) and past Phyle (1023 n.); cf. Ober 111–21.

**1076–7** 1022–3 suggests that this information has come (or at least been acted on) too late, although Lam. does eventually meet up with a band of raiders in the mountains (1188). **ὑπὸ τοὺς Χοᾶς . . . καὶ Χύτρους**: Choes and Chutroi (which involved offerings of boiled seeds to Chthonic Hermes and public performances of some sort; cf. Hamilton 33–42) were most likely originally independent festivals celebrated on the same day (12 Anthesterion (960–1 n.)); cf. Hamilton 42–50. In any case, the general relaxation associated with a festival—especially one involving a considerable amount of drinking—makes it a good time to mount a surprise attack; cf. Th. vii. 73. 2 (the Syracusan rank and file take to drinking during a festival of Herakles and cannot be counted on to follow orders to move into the field); Aen. *Tact.* 22. 17. For the use of ὑπό + acc., 138–40 n. **αὐτοῖσι**: i.e. in the στρατήγιον ('Generals'

Building' (e.g. *IG I<sup>3</sup> 131. 19*)), which may have stood just south-west of the Tholos (Wycherley 174-7; Camp 117-18). For *ληστάς*, Olson on *Pax* 449. *ἐμβαλεῖν*: Also used in the sense 'invade' (contrast 573 with n.) at e.g. *Pax* 701; *X. Eq. Mag.* 7. 2; *Lycurg.* 85. The Herald exits into the wing from which he entered.

**1078-81** R gives 1078 and 1080 to one speaker (presumably Dik.), and 1079 and 1081 to another (presumably Lam.), which is at least plausible, whereas β gave 1078 to Lam., 1079-80 to Dik. (impossible), and 1081 to Lam. I follow all recent editors in adopting Elmsley's assignment of the lines.

**1078-9** *πλείονες ἢ βελτίονες*: i.e. 'greater in number than in courage'; cf. 1073-5 n. For the use of two comparatives linked by ἢ, *Th.* i. 21. 1; iii. 42. 3; *Lys.* 19. 15; *Pl. Th.* 144a; *R.* 409d; *Isoc.* 6. 24; *Aeschin.* 3. 69; *KG* ii. 312-13; Moorhouse 173. Elmsley suggested that 1078 might be borrowed or adapted from *Tel.*, but nothing beyond the generally paratragic tone of this section of the text (1069-72 with nn.) supports the hypothesis, and Bentley's *πλέονες* (which eliminates the divided 4th-foot anapaest) is accordingly unnecessary. *οὐ δεινὰ κτλ.*: '[Is this] not outrageous, that . . .?'; cf. 770-1 n.; *V.* 1368; *Ec.* 400; *Eup. fr.* 111. 1; 287. 1; *Antiph. fr.* 217. 1. For Lam.'s desire to celebrate the festival, 960-2. *με μηδ' ἑορτάσαι*: For the seemingly pleonastic use of forms of *μή* with the infin. after vbs. of hindering and the like, *KG* ii. 207.

**1080** *ἰὼ στράτευμα*: A mocking echo of 1078 *ἰὼ στρατηγοί\**, hence Lam.'s interpretation of the remark as an insult (1081). *πολεμολα-*

*μαχαϊκόν*: An extravagant comic coinage, constructed out of *πόλεμος* ('war') and *Λάμαχος* ('Lamachos', which in turn suggests *μάχη* ('battle')).

**1081** *οἶμοι κακοδαίμων*: 590 n. *καταγελάς ἤδη σύ μου*: 'Are you now *mocking* me?', i.e. on top of refusing to sell him any dainties (959-68). Cf. 1107, 1126.

**1082** A puzzling verse. Geryon was a triple-bodied monster whom Herakles killed in the course of stealing his cattle (*Hes. Th.* 287-94, 979-83; *Stesich. PMGF* 184; *Ibyc. PMGF S* 176. 18-19; *S* 8-87; *Pi. fr.* 169a. 6-8; *A. Ag.* 870; *fr.* 74; *E. HF* 423-4; cf. *LIMC* iv. 1. 186-7; v. 1. 81-5). According to Stesichoros, Geryon had six hands, six feet, and wings (*fr.* *S* 87), but a winged Geryon appears elsewhere only on two late 6th-c. Chalcidian vases (*LIMC* v. 2 s. Herakles pl. 2464 (~ iv. 2 s. Geryoneus pl. 16), 2479). That idea is thus unlikely to be in the background, and Weyland's suggestion, that Dik. picks up four of the wings lying before his door (986-7 with n.) and holds them to his own shoulders, can safely be set aside, as can Bergk's proposal, that Dik. holds up a locust (cf. 1115-16 with n.)—particularly since there is no reason to think that there are any locusts on stage and since the audience would be hard pressed to identify so small an object in any case. The



feathers in question must therefore be helmet decorations (572–4 n., 585–6 n.), and Σ<sup>REF</sup> suggests that the point is that Geryon had three bodies (and thus three helmets and presumably three crest-feathers (cf. A. fr. 74. 9)) and gave Herakles considerable trouble, so that anyone with four feathers (and thus four helmets and four bodies) would be invincible. This would seem to be on the right track, except that Lam. ought to be cast not as the man who steals cows (~ Herakles) but as the man who defends them from raiders (cf. 1022–3 with 1073–7). I therefore print van Leeuwen's voc. Γηρυόνη in place of the usual dat. Γηρυόνη, but retain τετραπτίλω and assume that the line is a threat by Herakles against Geryon borrowed or adapted from some lost tragedy (note the lack of resolution except in the personal name, as well as the generally paratragic atmosphere (1069–72 n., 1069–70 n., 1083a–b n.)), the basic sense of which is 'Do you propose to fight with someone even more powerful than yourself?' Gibert compares A. Ag. 870–2 and suggests instead Γηρυόνης, 'a [mere] Geryon'. In either case, Lam. is placed in the role of the heavily-armed, cattle-guarding Geryon—who is, of course, ruined in the end. Ehippos' *Geryoneus* also appears to have included the theme of the interrupted festival (fr. 3), which may be part of a standard late 5th-c. version of the story. For the theme of the triumph of Herakles, 929–51 n., 1227 n.; Introduction, Section IV.D.

**1083a–b** Addressed to the world at large. 1083a is extrametrical. α had 1083a–b on the same line, and the verse fell out of the text in the common ancestor of a or its exemplar as a result of the homoioarchon with 1084 (cf. 1097–8 n., 1107, 1119) and was put back in the wrong place. αίαί is common in tragic lamentation (e.g. A. Pers. 257; S. Ant. 1306; E. Med. 1008; Hipp. 208; cf. Labiano Ilundain 71–6) and is here paratragic, as at Th. 885, 1042, 1128.

**1084** An anonymous Slave enters on the run from a wing. αίαί . . .  
'μοι . . . ἀγγελῶν: Echoes of 1083a–b. τίνα: Sc. ἀγγελίαν.

**1085–94** For similar invitations accompanied by catalogues of the good things that will be available at the meal, Ra. 503–18; Ec. 834–52; Mnesim. fr. 4.

**1085–6** Δικαιοπόλι. τί ἐστίν; Cf. 959. ἐπὶ δεῖπνον κτλ.: Cf. Pherecr. fr. 57 συσκευασάμενος δεῖπνον ἐς τὸ σπυρίδιον / ἐβάδιζεν ὡς † πρὸς ὠφελὴν † ('after packing up his dinner in a basket, he went off (corrupt)'). Some banquets were paid for by the host alone, while for others the guests agreed in advance to bear a fixed share of the cost (cf. 1211 n.). What follows is a description of a third type (which may often have been combined with one of the other two; cf. X. Mem. iii. 14. 1): the host supplies the room and everything needed for the symposium, but the guests bring their dinners. Cf. Ath. 8. 365a, citing Pherecr. fr. 57 (above). ταχύ: For the need for haste (a central theme in this speech), 1088, 1094. βάδιζε: 848 n. τὴν κίστην: A covered basket used to store or

transport supplies, especially food (1098, 1138; *Eq.* 1211-20; *Pax* 666 with Olson ad loc.; *Lys.* 1184; *Th.* 284-5; *H. Od.* 6. 76; cf. *V.* 529; fr. 28; Theopomp. Com. fr. 3; Stone 250-1; Brümmer, *JDAI* 100 (1985) 16-22).

**1087** ὁ τοῦ Διονύσου . . . ἱερεὺς: The real priest of Dionysos Eleuthereus sat in a place of honour in the centre of the front row of seats in the Theatre and probably entertained the victorious actors and playwright at the end of the festival; cf. *Eq.* 536; *Ra.* 297 with Σ<sup>VMEΘ</sup>Barb and Dover ad loc. For what is known of the priesthood, Garland, *ABSA* 79 (1984) 104-5.

**1088** ἐγκόνει: 1085-6n. Poetic vocabulary (e.g. *V.* 240; *Pl.* 255; *H. Il.* 24. 648; *S. Tr.* 1255; *E. Pir.* 17; Critias *TrGF* 43 F 1. 2; cf. *Pi. N.* 3. 36). δειπνεῖν κατακωλύεις πάλαι: i.e., presumably, because—as a peacemaker and thus the saviour of vines and vineyards (cf. 182-3n.), and as an advocate of the Dionysiac generally (esp. 201-2, 247-79)—he is the guest of honour. κατακωλύω is late 5th- and 4th-c. vocabulary; first attested here and at Pherocr. fr. 162. 10.

**1089** τὰ δ' ἄλλα: i.e. everything except the dinner and the wine (1086 with 1067-8n.). ἐστίν is Triklinios' correction of α's unmetrical ἐστί (thus also S).

**1090-3** The catalogue falls into three parts: (1) furniture and related goods (1090); (2) symposium incidentals, including prostitutes (1091) and cakes (1092); and (3) dancing girls (1093).

**1090** At dinner-parties and symposia, Athenians reclined on wooden couches (κλίνας), which were covered with bedclothes (στρώματα) and carpets (δάπιδες) and provided with cushions and pillows (προσκεφάλαια or κνέφαλλα), and ate off light, low tables (τράπεζαι; e.g. *Ec.* 838-40; *Pl. Com.* fr. 230; *Eub.* fr. 119; *Diod. Com.* fr. 2. 9-11, 14-15; cf. 1158; Olson on *Pax* 769-70). For symposium furniture generally, G. M. A. Richter, *The Furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans* (London, 1966) 52-72, 117-19; Boardman, in O. Murray (ed.), *Symptica* (Oxford and New York, 1990) 122-31. For couches, bed-clothes, and pillows, C. L. Ransom, *Couches and Beds of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans* (Studies in Ancient Furniture: Chicago, 1905), esp. 24-8, 39-54, 66-71; Pritchett 226-33 (esp. 226-9), 244-50, 253-4. For tables, Pritchett 241-4.

**1091** στέφανοι μύρον: For garlands (551n.) and scented oil (1051-3n.) mentioned together as symposium paraphernalia, e.g. *Ec.* 841-4; *Alex.* fr. 252. 3; further references and discussion at Olson-Sens on *Archestr.* fr. 60. 1, 3. τραγήμα(τα): A generic term for symposium dainties such as eggs, cakes, roasted birds, and nuts, which were served along with the wine on the 'second tables' (e.g. *Ra.* 510-11; *Ec.* 844; *Nicostr. Com.* fr. 27; *Alex.* fr. 190; cf. Olson on *Pax* 771-2). For individual τραγήματα, e.g. 801-3n.; *Philox. Leuc. PMG* 836(e). 4-23; *Ephipp.* fr.

13; Arcestr. fr. 60. 6–10, 14–16; Matro fr. 1. 111–18. αἱ πόρναι πάρα: Prostitutes (cf. 1198–1201), who in addition often provided entertainment by dancing (cf. 1093 with n.; *Ra.* 514–15; *Th.* 1177–8; Metag. fr. 4. 1–2), playing instruments (551 n.), and doing tumbling tricks and the like, were a standard feature of the symposium; cf. Olson–Sens on Matro fr. 1. 121; 6. 2 (with detailed discussion and primary references). Van Leeuwen—who, despite his suspicions, printed the verses in their traditional order—may have been right to assume that either 1091 or 1092 fell out of the text (an easy error in a catalogue of this sort) and was inserted in the wrong place.

**1092 ἄμυλοι:** Cakes made of wheat paste, cheese, milk, and honey (Philox. Leuc. *PMG* 836(e). 18; Hsch. α 3843; Σ Theoc. 9. 20/21), occasionally included in banquet catalogues (e.g. fr. 405; Pherecr. fr. 113. 17; Telecl. fr. 34. 2) and generally treated as a delicacy; cf. Olson on *Pax* 1195–6; Olson–Sens on Matro fr. 1. 4–5. πλακοῦντες: A generic term for unleavened baked cakes; included in catalogues of food at e.g. Theopomp. Com. fr. 12; Nicopho fr. 6. 3; 21. 4; Antiph. fr. 181. 2; Diph. fr. 80. 1; Philippid. fr. 20. 1). Cf. Olson on *Pax* 868–70; Olson–Sens on Arcestr. fr. 60. 15 and Matro fr. 1. 116–17. σησαμοῦντες: Cakes made of sesame seeds (also *Th.* 570), according to S σ 341 to be distinguished from σησαμαῖ and σησαμίδες; cf. Olson on *Pax* 868–70 (where the accent ought to be corrected). ἴτρια: A crisp wafer-bread (Anacr. *PMG* 373. 1; Headlam on Herod. 3. 44; also mentioned at Ephipp. fr. 8. 3 (a symposium dainty); Archipp. fr. 11; Sol. fr. 38. 1 (eaten while drinking); S. fr. 199; cf. Hsch. ι 1095), according to Ath. 14. 646d made of honey and sesame seeds.

**1093 ὄρχηστρίδες:** Not all dancing-girls were necessarily prostitutes, but the two categories clearly overlapped to some extent (1091 n.). τὰ φίλταθ' Ἄρμοδιου ('what Harmodios loved best') plays on the opening line of one of the Harmodios skolia (978–9 n.), φίλταθ' Ἀρμόδι', οὐ τί πω τέθνηκας ('Dearest Harmodios, you are not dead at all') (carm. conv. *PMG* 894. 1; thus first Rogers). Sommerstein argues that the fact that Harmodios was known to have been Aristogeiton's lover and the object of Hipparchos' lust (*Th.* vi. 54. 1–4) means that he is unlikely 'to have been remembered as having been fond of dancing-girls', and suggests that these words are to be taken as a mocking reference to someone else, perhaps Harmodios' descendant Harmodios II (*PAA* 203430). But nothing beyond his name is known of Harmodios II, so that this hypothesis offers no assistance in making sense of the text, and in fact (1) *Nu.* 996–7 makes it clear that boys of the right age to be regarded as attractive by older men (cf. *Nu.* 973–80) were also regarded as potentially interested in sexual adventures with dancing-girls (not much of a surprise); and (2) Ath. 13. 596f mentions a prostitute named Leaina who was loved by Harmodios and—in a tale obviously modelled on the story

of Aristogeiton's death ([Arist.] *Ath.* 18. 4-6; cf. Th. vi. 57. 4)—kept silent under torture by Hippias' henchmen, all of which suggests a deliberate, ideologically driven attempt (visible also in this passage and in the treatment of Harmodios as arch-symposiast at 978-9) to transform the younger tyrannicide from an aristocratic late-Archaic ἐρώμενος ('male love-object') into someone more closely resembling the average late 5th-c. Athenian man in the street. καλαί: 'lovely ones'; cf. *Beobachtungen* 31.

**1094** ὡς τάχιστα σπεύδε: 1085-6n. κακοδαίμων ἐγώ: Best taken not as a simple continuation of the complaints in 1083a-b (cf. 1078-9, 1081) but as an anguished response to the good news Dik. has received, which serves to bring out by contrast the wretchedness of Lam.'s situation (esp. 1079), a theme developed in detail in 1095-1142, 1190-1227. The Slave exits into the wing from which he entered.

**1095** Robertson posited a lacuna before this verse, but the passage is perfectly comprehensible without it (*pace* 'Notes' 383-5). καὶ γάρ: 'In fact, [you are κακοδαίμων,] for . . .' (*GP* 108-9). μεγάλην ἐπεγράφου τὴν γοργόνα: A pun on two senses of ἐπιγράφομαι: (1) 'you drew the gorgon large upon your shield', i.e. 'you made an ill-advised public claim to be a mighty warrior' (cf. 574 with n.) and so brought this trouble on your own head; and (2) 'you chose the Gorgon'—from whom any reasonable person would expect only trouble—'as your great protector', in the same way that metics were required to 'enlist' an Athenian προστάτης to watch out for their interests (Olson on *Pax* 296-8, 683-4).

**1096** To an individual slave (presumably the one who took the wineskin off and returned with the dipper at 1067-8), who exits into the house in response to the order and returns at 1098. Dik.'s orders are *hysteron-proteron*, since his dinner must be got ready and brought outside before the doors of the house can be locked. This logical disjuncture is a symptom of a larger structural question in this section of the text, for the playwright could easily have had Dik. (who has repeatedly been urged to hurry (1085-6, 1088, 1094)) simply get his dinner-basket and juglet and go (cf. 1085-6), while Lam. could have come on stage fully armed at 1072. Whereas the hero's first command is a suitably abrupt response to the peremptory summons in 1085-94, therefore, the second serves to introduce the elaborate contrast between the preparations of Lam. and Dik. that follows in 1097-1142 and which has been somewhat artificially tacked on to what would otherwise be the end of the scene. The action in 719ff. is most economically understood as taking place before Dik.'s house rather than inside it, and *pace* Starkie (followed by Rogers and Sommerstein, 'Notes' 385-90), nothing other than the vague echo of 479 κλῆε πηκτὰ δωμάτων (Eur. as he is pushed back into his house) suggests that ξύγκληε is a reference to the *ekklema*. For Meineke's -κλῆε (adapted by van Leeuwen) in place of **κ**'s -κλειε, 479n.

**δειπνόν τις ἐνσκευάζετω:** Cf. *V.* 1251 τὸ δειπνον . . . συσκευάζε; Pherecr. fr. 57. 1 (1085–6n.). The prefix ἐν- emphasizes the idea of packing individual items of food *into* the basket, as opposed to bringing them *together* from different places in the house (as with συσκευάζω). For τις + 3rd-person imper., 805–6n.

**1097–1142** As Lam. assembles his military supplies and equipment, everything he says is mocked and ridiculed by Dik., who is getting his dinner together. Cf. Harriott, *BICS* 26 (1979) 95–8; Pellegrino, *Aufidus* 19 (1993) 43–61. Meanwhile slaves run in and out of the house, bringing whatever has been called for; cf. Introduction, Section V.C. The scene is constructed out of four regularly recurring elements: (1) calls for items to be brought out of the house (1097–1104 (an initial flurry of vigorous action), 1109–10, 1118–19, 1122–5, 1132–3); (2) remarks addressed to the world at large, all but one meditations on the objects that have been fetched (1105–6, 1111–12, 1126–7, 1134–5); (3) (in the first half of the scene only) hostile exchanges between Lam. and Dik. (1107–8, 1113–17); (4) (in the second half of the scene only) additional orders for assistance with the items that have been brought on stage (1120–1, 1128–31, 1136–42). Dik.'s remarks all respond in one way or another to Lam.'s, although the nature of the parody ranges from precise echoes in which only one crucial word is changed (1097–8, 1134–5); to less precise echoes in which most of the line remains intact but two or three words are altered (1105–6, 1126–7, 1136 ~ 1138); to the reuse of only a word or two, generally \* and at the beginning or end of the line (1107–8, 1111–12, 1118–19, 1128–31, 1132–3, 1137 and 1139, 1140–2); to 'capping' remarks, which echo or reuse one important word (not necessarily in the same case, tense, or position in the line) or theme and which sometimes require that the vb. be supplied from what precedes (1099–1100, 1101–2, 1103–4, 1120–1, 1122–3, 1124–5). Cf. Palumbo Stracca, *SIFC* III. 14 (1996) 35–48, esp. 37–9.

**1097–1135** Lam. prepares for battle by (1) loading his backpack (1097–1101); (2) attaching the feathers and crests (or what is left of them) to his helmet (1103–11); (3) unpacking his spear and shining his shield (1118–29); and (4) putting on his breastplate (1132–4). In the meantime, Dik. loads more and more food into his dinner-basket.

**1097–8** 1097 is preserved only by the third hand in Γ (from which the B-editor has got it) and in the Aldine (from which the L-corrector has got it). Most likely the non-α text originally glossed by Σ<sup>ΕΓ</sup> included it and E<sup>4</sup> mistook the verse for a variant for 1098 and failed to include it (just as he failed to add 1107 and 1119, presumably for similar reasons). 1098 would be awkward immediately after 1096, and 1097 was presumably omitted in α as a result of the homoiarchon and homoioteleuton with 1098, just as 1107 and 1119 were omitted in the common ancestor of α as a result of the homoiarchon with 1108 and 1118, respectively.

**παῖ παῖ:** 395-6n. **τὸν γυλιόν:** A soldier's fieldpack, made of wicker and used for carrying food in particular ( $\Sigma^{EF^1}$ ; *Pax* 527-9; *Alex. fr.* 120. 3; cf. *Critias* 88 B 34; *Harp.* Γ 20; *Hsch.* γ 988-9; *S* γ 476; *AB*, p. 228. 29-31), and thus a neat match for *Dik.*'s **κίστην** (1085-6n.). The accent is disputed.

**1099-1100 ἄλας θυμίτας:** 772-3n. The imper. **οἶσε** ('bring!'; also 1101\*, 1122\*) is found in epic (e.g. *H. Il.* 3. 103 (pl.); *Od.* 22. 106) and thus in Hellenistic poetry (e.g. *Call. Lav.Pal.* 17 with Bulloch ad loc.), as well as in comedy (also *Ra.* 482; *Alex. fr.* 125. 3; *Anaxipp. fr.* 6. 1), but is absent from tragedy and prose. Cf. 582-4n.; Arnott on *Alex. fr.* 125. 3 (who suggests that the form is colloquial). **κρόμμουα:** 550n.

**τεμάχη:** 881n. **κρομμύοις . . . ἄχθομαι:** 62-3n. For peace conceived as freedom from onions (i.e. from having to eat soldiers' rations), *Pax* 1127-9.

**1101-2 θρίον ταρίχους:** Cf. 966-7n. Fig-leaves were sometimes wrapped around food that was to be baked in coals in order to keep it from drying out or burning (*Sotad. Com. fr.* 1. 26-9; *Anan. fr.* 5. 2; *Archestr. fr.* 36. 6-9), and the word *θρίον* can stand via synecdoche for a pastry prepared this way (e.g. *fr.* 128. 2; *Nicostr. Com. fr.* 16. 2; *Dionys. Com. fr.* 2. 39; *Men. fr.* 409. 11; cf. below). But *Lam.* may want his salt-fish wrapped up simply to keep it from being damaged as he carries it about.

**οἶσε:** 1099-1100n. **δεύρο** fell out of the text in the common ancestor of **ct**; was added in the right margin by a corrector; and from there became attached to the end of the verse (**c**). *Triklinios* removed **παῖ** from the text and added *μοι* after *δεύρο* in an unsuccessful attempt to mend the metre. *σαπρός* (cognate with *σήπομαι*) sometimes means 'old' rather than 'rotten', as properly (*Olson on Pax* 554), but the joke in either case is that *Lam.* asks for the most unappealing food possible (cf. 1114-17), and *σαπροῦ* is accordingly reserved for the end of the line.

**δημοῦ θρίον:** Cf. *Eq.* 954 *δημοῦ βοείου θρίον ἐξωπτημένον* (the inspiration for *Elmsley's* palmary emendation of  $\alpha$ 's *δὴ παῖ θρίον* (**Ra**); the error is probably to be traced to a deliberate conjecture by someone puzzled by the majuscule letters he mistook for *δὴ μου*). Beef-fat is not regularly referred to as a dainty in and of itself (although cf. *V.* 39-40 (sold in the market place); *Anaxandr. fr.* 42. 39 (in a banquet catalogue); *Alex. fr.* 84. 1 (where *Schweighauser's* *δημός* for *A's* *δήμος* is almost certainly correct); *Hes. Th.* 538-41 (treated as extremely appealing)), but must (like cheese; cf. *Olson-Sens on Archestr. fr.* 37. 3) have been used on occasion in baked dishes to add richness (cf. *Alex. fr.* 84. 3-4; *Chrysippos of Tyana ap. Ath.* 14. 647e), which may be the point here ('a fig-leaf pastry full of beef-fat [and other simple ingredients]'). The common ancestor of **ct** transposed two words and thus had *δὴ σὺ παῖ* (**c**) for  $\alpha$ 's *σὺ δὴ παῖ*, and *Triklinios* wrote *δὲ δὴ σὺ παῖ* in an attempt to correct the metre. **ἐκεῖ:** i.e. at the party.

**1103-4** τὼ πτερῶ τὼ 'κ τοῦ κράνουσ: Lit. 'the two feathers from my helmet' (cf. 572-4n.), i.e. 'that belong on my helmet but are not at the moment attached to it' (Poultney 162). If 1104 is not intended simply to set up the contrast in 1105-6, the point must be that ring doves and thrushes also have feathers, at least before they have been prepared for cooking. τὰς φάττας: 'my ring doves' (*Columba palumbus*), also referred to as a delicacy at *Pax* 1004; Eub. fr. dub. 148. 5. Cf. Thompson, *Birds* 300-2; Dunbar on *Av.* 303.

**1105-6** Lam. inspects one of the feathers his slave has brought him, while Dik. admires a trencher of roast birds. τὸ τῆς στρουθοῦ πτερόν: *Av.* 874 and Hdt. iv. 175. 1, 192. 2 refer to the ostrich (*Struthio camelus*) in a sufficiently offhand way to suggest that the average Athenian was familiar with the bird, whose anatomy Aristotle describes in some detail at *PA* 697<sup>b</sup>13-26 (cf. Thphr. *HP* iv. 4. 5). Ostrich feathers must have been a luxury import from North Africa; for ways of catching the creature, D.S. ii. 50. 5-6 (where the idea that it hides its head when in danger is already treated as a commonplace); Ael. *NA* 14. 7; [Opp.] *C.* 3. 482-9. Cf. Thompson, *Birds* 270-3. The word στρουθός was originally and properly used of the sparrow (e.g. *V.* 207; *H. Il.* 2. 311) but was transferred to the ostrich via the same style of understated Ionian humour that called a huge Egyptian reptile a 'wall lizard' (κροκόδειλος; cf. Hdt. ii. 69. 3; Olson-Sens on *Archestr.* fr. 47. 2-3), the massive stone tombs of the Pharaohs 'buns' (πυραμίδες), and their huge stone stelae 'skewers' (ὀβελίσκοι). For καλὸν . . . καί in the sense 'nice and . . .', 765-6n. γε: Exclamatory (*GP* 126-7). ξανθόν: 1047n. τῆς φάττης: 1103-4n.

**1107, 1119** The common ancestor of **a** omitted these lines as the result of a pair of simple mechanical errors (1097-8n.), although Γ<sup>3</sup> eventually added them (along with 1097) from the MS against which it was checked.

**1107-8** ὦνθρωπε: 95-7n. καταγελῶν: Cf. 1081, 1126. βούλει μὴ βλέπειν: 'do you mind not looking?' (cf. 1113), the point being that Lam. is (at least allegedly) gazing longingly at the delicious food he cannot have (cf. 960-8) and that Dik. finds his behaviour annoying.

**1109-10** τὸ λοφεῖον: Cf. 572-4n.; *Nu.* 751, where a crest-case is said to be 'round' (στρογγύλον), which would make one a neat visual match for Dik.'s basin of hare-pudding (below); Hsch. λ 1288. Lam.'s slave carries the crest-case off the next time he exits. A λεκάνη is a 'basin' of a sort normally used for liquids or semi-liquids (e.g. *Nu.* 907; fr. 402. 6; *Pherecr.* fr. 113. 19; *Alex.* fr. 129. 5). λεκάνιον seems less likely to be a true diminutive ('bowl') than to mean 'a basin-like vessel' (cf. 1175 with n.; Polyzel. fr. 4. 1 (corrupt but the only other secure appearance of the word in the classical period)), and the point must be that Dik. has got an enormous quantity of hare-pudding (1111-12n.) to eat. Cf. fr. 843

(the ancient lexicographers' comments on *λεκάνη* and its cognates); Theopomp. Com. fr. 83. 9 *ὄρνιθειών λεκάνην* ('a basin full of bird-meat'); Poultney 81-2. **λαγῶων:** c's *λαγῶ* represents a misreading of the standard ligature for *-ων* as a circumflex accent.

**1111-12** d's *ἀλλ' ἦ* is generally printed *ἀλλ' ἦ . . .*; ('Why, . . .?') and made to introduce a question that appeals for a negative answer (cf. 424, 726-7; *Eq.* 953 with Neil ad loc.; *Lys.* 928; *GP* 27-8), but is perhaps only a stunned (and essential untranslatable) call for attention ('Hey!'; cf. Chadwick 129). **τριχοβρώτες:** Clothes-moths, more often called *σῆτες* (*Lys.* 730; Men. fr. 761. 5; adesp. com. fr. 1084. 25; Arist. *HA* 557<sup>b</sup>1-6); cf. Gil Fernandez 104-5; Beavis 136-40. The word is attested only here and in lexicographical notes (all of which probably originated as glosses on this passage), and the accentuation is disputed.

**κατέφαγον:** 973-5 n. **τὴν μίμαρκυν:** Defined by Σ<sup>REG</sup> and the lexicographers as a dish made from the blood and entrails of a hare (Poll. vi. 56; Hsch. μ 1371; S μ 1073; Phot. μ 457; cf. Pherecr. fr. 255; Diph. fr. 1. 2).

**1113** Boissonade argued that 1112 appears to be addressed to the world at large rather than to Lam. in particular, and therefore moved 1107-8 to between 1112 and 1113 (an easy displacement, if the scribe's eye leapt from *ὦνθρωπε* in 1107 to the same word in 1113, and the two omitted verses were added at the head of the page above 1109 and later copied into the text at the wrong point). If this is right, *ὦνθρωπε, βούλει μή* + infin. is a pointed response to the same words in 1108. Sommerstein, *MCr* 25-28 (1990-93) 139-44 (followed by Henderson), is attracted to the argument that 1106-7, 1113 belong together, and notes in addition that Dik. refers to his ring doves and thrushes in 1104, 1106, 1108; moves on to his hare in 1110, 1112; but returns to his thrushes in 1116. This peculiarity could be eliminated, Sommerstein argues, by moving either 1109-12 to between 1102 and 1103, or 1113-17 to between 1108 and 1109, and the second alternative is to be preferred, since (1) hare normally comes near the end of Aristophanic catalogues of foodstuffs and represents 'something of a climax' (e.g. *Eq.* 1199; *Pax* 1150-3; *Ec.* 1174), and (2) the first displacement would be difficult to explain on palaeographic grounds, whereas the second might have occurred if a copyist's eye leapt from *κίχλας* at the end of 1108 to *κίχλαι* at the end of 1116; the omitted verses were added at the bottom of the page after 1112 and eventually copied into the text there; and an alert corrector saw that 1117 was out of place between 1108 and 1109 and moved it to after 1116. This is a very complicated (and thus inherently unlikely) thesis, and in addition (1) as van Leeuwen saw, 1112 can easily be addressed to Lam., and even if it is not, the remark is intended for him to hear and it makes perfect sense that in the next verse he tells Dik. to leave him alone; (2) thrushes receive just as prominent treatment in Aristophanic catalogues as hare (cf. the passages cited in 960-1 n., and note that at 1006-7



- thrushes are the climactic element); and (3) placing 1113 immediately after 1108 allows the elsewhere verbally flat-footed Lam. to cap Dik.'s witty response to him in 1107 and is thus to be avoided. Probably the text is sound and Dik.'s renewed reference to his thrushes is a reflection of the stage-business: after determining that his birds are done (1106), the hero spends 1109–12 pulling them off their spits (cf. 1007 and the action at 1119, 1121 with nn., and note the lack of any mention of Dik. handling the hare) and is only putting them into his basket at 1114–17.
- 1114 οὐκ** (sc. *προσαγορεύω σε*), **ἀλλ(ά)**: '[I'm] not [talking to you], but [rather] . . .'; cf. 458–9n.
- 1115–16** Nominally addressed to Dik.'s slave. **περιδόσθαι . . . / πότερον . . . ἤ**: 772–3n. **(ἐ)πιτρέψαι**: For turning over a dispute to a third party to arbitrate, *V.* 521; *Ra.* 810–11; *Men. Epit.* 219–23; *D.* 27. 1; 59. 45–7; A. C. Scafuro, *The Forensic Stage* (Cambridge, 1997) 117–41; cf. 51–2; *Hdt.* i. 96. 3. β must have had *κάπιστρέψαι* (Vp3p), which was corrupted to *κάπιστέψαι* in C and to *κάποστρέψαι* in the common ancestor of a, and was eventually corrected by Triklinios. **ἀκρίδες** is a generic term for a number of members of the order *Orthoptera*, including grasshoppers, crickets, and locusts; cf. Gow, *CQ* 29 (1935) 67; Gil Fernandez 123–4; Davies and Kithirithamby 134–42, esp. 135–8; Beavis 62–78. Cicadas were eaten occasionally and may even have been regarded as a delicacy (*fr.* 53. 1; *Alex. fr.* 167. 13 with Arnott ad loc.; *Arist. HA* 556<sup>b</sup>7–14; Beavis 102). But similar references to *ἀκρίδες* are few and far between (Beavis 76), and Dik.'s point is that only someone in dire straits (such as a hungry soldier in the field) would resort to them as food. **ἥδιον**: 'a tastier thing' (*KG* i. 58–9), with the vb. attracted into the sing. by the predicate adj.
- 1117 οἶμ' ὡς ὑβρίζεις**: 479n., 590n. **τὰς ἀκρίδας κτλ.**: To the slave. Lam. has said nothing of the sort, but Dik.'s mocking point is that this must be the reason he is (allegedly) so eager to be off to war: he prefers the nasty food he can get on campaign (esp. 1101) to the dainties available at a symposium. **κρίνει**: Sc. *ἥδιον εἶναι*; **πολύ** is adverbial and is to be taken with the adj., as at *Diph. fr.* 103. 1.
- 1118–19 καθελών**: i.e. from the wall-pegs (cf. 943–5n.) by which it is hanging in its case (1120). **τὸ δόρυ**: The Athenian hoplite spear was six to eight feet long and intended for thrusting rather than throwing; cf. Snodgrass 57–8, 96–7; Anderson 37; Hanson (1989) 83–8; Anderson, in Hanson (1991) 22–4. **ἀφελών**: 'after taking it off [the fire]', as at *Ra.* 518; *Alex. fr.* 191. 10. **τὴν χορδήν**: 1040–1n.
- 1120–1** For **φέρε** (541–2n.) + 1st-person subjunc., e.g. *Eq.* 113; *Nu.* 731; *V.* 54; cf. Goodwin § 257. **δόρατος**: A prosaic form; tragedy would have *δορός* (e.g. *A. Ag.* 1618; *S. Ant.* 670; *E. Andr.* 14; cf. 1192/3 (paratragic)). **(ἔ)λυτρον**: A generic word for a case or covering (*Hsch.* ε 2237; *S* ε 924; Pearson on *S. fr.* 1043); cf. 572–4n. **ἔχ(ε)**:

‘Here!’; used to attract attention when the speaker is handing something to another character (e.g. *V.* 1135, 1149; *Lys.* 533). **ἀντέχου:** Sc.

τοῦ δόρατος. The slave removes the spear from the case (which Lam. is holding), sets it aside, and carries the case off the next time he exits.

**τοῦδ(ε):** i.e. the spit (1040–1 n.), which Dik.’s slave pulls out of the sausage in the same way that Lam.’s slave pulls the spear out of its case.

**1122–3 τοὺς κιλλίβαντας . . . τῆς ἀσπίδος:** κιλλίβαντες are defined by Σ<sup>REG</sup>

~ S κ 1604 as a 3-legged stand on which a shield could be set (cf. Moschio *Par. ap. Ath.* 5. 208c (a heavy brace within a ship’s hull); Poll.

x. 148 (a painter’s easel); Hsch. κ 2686 (a table-base or a 3-legged table)); five illustrations are preserved on mid-5th-c. vases (Sparkes

(1975) 129 with pl. XIIIe). The Greek hoplite shield was about three feet in diameter and made of wood with a bronze facing (cf. *V.* 17–18

with MacDowell ad loc.)—which is what Lam. polishes at 1128–9—and (at least by literary convention) a central boss (ὄμφαλός; cf. below; *Pax*

1274). Shields were heavy (about 16 lbs.?), and soldiers therefore rested them on their shoulder during battle; threw them away during forced

retreats; had slaves to carry them on the march (cf. 1136 with 1140–1 n.); and used a stand to support them for polishing and the like (as here). Cf.

Snodgrass 53–5, 95–6; Anderson 14–17; Hanson (1989) 65–71, and in Hanson (1991) 67–71. **οἶσε:** 1099–1100 n. **τῆς ἐμῆς:** Sc.

γαστρός (Σ<sup>EG</sup>), the point of the comparison being that a comic character’s belly too is round and protrudent (cf. Introduction, Section V.B); has a

central ‘button’ (above); and is ‘supported’ by the object in question.

**κριβανίτας** are loaves of bread baked in a κρίβανος (84–7 n.); cf. *Pl.* 765; *fr.* 129; *Epich. fr.* 52; *Sophr. fr.* 27. 1; *Amips. fr.* 5. For the pun on

κιλλίβαντας, cf. *Nu.* 394 with Dover ad loc.

**1124–5 γοργόνωτον:** 566–7 n.; like τυρόνωτον (below), coined on analogy

with Euripidean compounds such as χαλκόνωτος (*Tr.* 1136, 1193), σιδηρόνωτος (*Ph.* 1130), and χρυσεόνωτος (*fr.* 159). **ἀσπίδος κύκλον:**

A poetic trope; cf. Aristopho *fr.* 13. 2; *A. Th.* 489; *E. El.* 455; *Archestr. fr.* 14. 3; Rau 138; Mastronarde on *E. Ph.* 1130. Lam.’s slave brings

out an oil flask along with the shield (1128). **πλακοῦντος:** 1092 n.

**τυρόνωτον:** Cheese (for which generally, Olson on *Pax* 368) is a regular ingredient in cakes (e.g. Hegemon *ap. Ath.* 15. 698f; Philox. *Leuc. PMG* 836(e). 18–20; Theodorid. *AP* vi. 155. 3–4 = *HE* 3508–9; Chry-

ippos of Tyana *ap. Ath.* 14. 647c–f; *Ath.* 14. 645d, 646b–c). Plutarch’s flat γυρόνωτον (‘round-backed’) is a majuscule error (*T* read *Γ*).

**1126–7** Addressed to the world at large (although 1127 is really intended primarily for Lam.’s ears). **ταῦτ’ οὐ κατάγελώς ἐστίν;** Cf. *E. Ion*

528 ταῦτ’ οὐν οὐ γέλωσ κλύειν ἐμοί; **ἀνθρώποις:** Dat. of interest; ‘as far as human beings are concerned’, i.e. ‘by any normal standard’.

**πλατύς:** Lit. ‘broad’, i.e. ‘patent, open’; cf. *Pax* 815 with Olson ad loc. R’s πολύς (the *lectio facillior*; cf. *Eq.* 319–20; *Ec.* 378–9) represents an

uninspired attempt to emend a difficult text; cf. Arnould, in Thiery and Menu 103–5. Dik. has only one cake and pl. ταῦτ(α) in 1127 is justified only as a mocking echo of 1126.

**1128–9** For polishing armour before battle (another way of making oneself appear more fearsome; cf. 575 n.), Achae. *TrGF* 20 F 4. 4–5, where Capps's κάσπιδων (ignored by Snell) for the corrupt καὶ πόδων is certainly correct; H. *Il.* 13. 342; X. *HG* vii. 5. 20; *Lac.* 11. 3; 13. 8; *Plb.* x. 20. 2. For a polished shield serving as a mirror, Pherecr. fr. 155. 11–12; Apollod. ii. 4. 2 (Perseus beheading Medusa). τῷ χαλκίῳ: 'the thing made of bronze' (Petersen 65–6), i.e. the bronze facing of Lam.'s shield (1122–3 n.). Σ<sup>REF</sup> (followed by Ribbeck and Starkie) fancifully suggests a reference to divination by means of a mirror. γέροντα is used like the menacing τις ('someone [whose name I need not mention for my point to be clear]') of e.g. *Ra.* 552, 554; *Pl.* 382; *S. Ai.* 1138; *Ant.* 751; *E. Andr.* 577. δειλίας φευξοῦμενον: 'likely to be prosecuted for cowardice'. For the 'Doric' fut., 203 n. A law attributed to Solon at Aeschin. 3. 175–6 lists δειλία ('cowardice') along with λιποταξία ('desertion of one's post') and ἀστρατεία ('failure to report for service when summoned' (cf. 1065 n.)) as crimes punishable by a loss of civic rights (ἀτιμία). Precisely what δειλία is is nowhere said, and it probably functioned as an umbrella term under which dubious behaviour of a wide variety of sorts could be prosecuted. Cf. *Eq.* 368; *Lys.* 14. 5, 7 (a good example of the potential flexibility of the charge); *And.* 1. 74 with MacDowell ad loc.; Lipsius 452–4, esp. 453–4 n. 6.

**1130–1** κατάχει . . . τὸ μέλι: Cf. 1040–1 with n. Honey is also poured over a cake hot from the fire at Magnes fr. 2. κἀνθάδ' κτλ.: 'Here as well (i.e. in the honey now covering his cake) an old man is plainly visible—telling Lam. to go to hell!'; addressed to the world at large. R's ἔνδηλος was an ancient variant for εὐδηλος, and a misplaced superlinear εν or ν preserving the reading in β (cf. Γ<sup>3</sup>) was the source of κἀνθάνδ' (ΓC) and κἀνθένδ' (AE). εὐδηλος is found in comedy also at *Alex.* fr. 140. 11; *Men. Dysk.* 94; *Her.* 3; *Mis.* 282. ἔνδηλος appears in comedy only at *Eq.* 1277, in the sense 'well known'. κλαίειν κελεύων: Colloquial; cf. *Eq.* 433; *V.* 584; *Av.* 692; *Pl.* 62; *Eup.* fr. 397 (corrupt); *Pl. Com.* fr. 189. 19; *Archil.* fr. 86. 18; *Archestr.* fr. 39. 3; Stevens 15–16. For κλαίω, 1032 n. β's κελεύω is a correction by someone who believed that a stop was to be placed at the end of 1130. Λάμαχον τὸν Γοργάσου: The historical Lam. was the son of Xenophanes (*Th.* vi. 8. 2; cf. 266–70 n.), and 'son of Gorgasos' is a joke (cf. 117–18 n.) that plays on 'Gorgon' and γοργός (cf. 1124 with 566–7 n., 572–4 n.) via a rare personal name (a Messenian hero at *Paus.* iv. 3. 10, 30. 3). Mueller suggested an oblique reference to the sophist Gorgias (cf. 606 n.; *Pl. Smp.* 198c), although it is hard to see what the point would be, especially given the Aristophanic Lam.'s lack of any particular verbal agility.

- 1132-3** δεῦρο, παῖ: Transposed in α (Rac) and successfully emended by Triklinios. **θώρακα πολεμιστήριον**: Corslets were made of bronze or of leather or linen with bronze plates or scales attached, and were heavy (30-40 lbs.?) and cumbersome enough that a hoplite needed help putting one on (which must be what goes on on stage at 1134); cf. Snodgrass 90-2; Anderson 20-8; Hanson (1989) 76-83. For the adj., 572\*-4n. Now that Lam.'s shield has been polished, he no longer needs his shield-stand, and the slave probably takes it off stage when he exits to get his master's corslet. **ἔξαιρε** = ἔκφερε, 'bring forth [from the house]' (*pace* LSJ s.v. I. 1. a 'take out [of its case]'); cf. Pherecr. fr. 145 *πρόσαιρε τὸ κανοῦν, εἰ δὲ βούλει, πρόσφερε* ('bring the basket here; or if you prefer, fetch it here!'). **θώρακα κάμοι τὸν χοᾶ**: 'a corslet for me as well—by which I mean my juglet'; setting up the pun in 1135.
- 1134-5** Lam. says 'I will arm myself in this [breastplate] against my enemies', but Dik. uses both ἐν and πρὸς in a different way and says 'I will get drunk by means of this [juglet] (KG i. 464-5) in the presence of my fellow-revellers (cf. LSJ s. πρὸς C. I. 7)'. For **θωρήξομαι** meaning 'get drunk', e.g. *Pax* 1286 (a similar joke); *Thgn.* 413, 470; *Pi.* fr. 72. 1; *Matro* fr. 1. 66; cf. *Diph.* fr. 45. 2 with K-A ad loc. Dik.'s slave fills his *chous* from the dipping vessel brought on stage at 1067-8 (where see n.). 1135 was omitted by the common ancestor of α as a result of the homoiarchon and homoioteleuton with 1134.
- 1136** τὰ στρώματ(α): For bedding (intended to make the rough field-beds in which men on campaign slept (Olson on *Pax* 346-7b) modestly more comfortable) as a basic part of a soldier's equipment, *Alex.* fr. 120. 2-3; *Apollod. Gel.* fr. 5; *Men. Kol.* 29-31; *X. Cyr.* vi. 2. 30; cf. *Diph.* fr. 55. 2. **ἐκ τῆς ἀσπίδος**: 'on my shield, to my shield' (LSJ s. ἐκ I. 6; Poultney 168).
- 1138, 1137** Thus R; β had 1137 before 1138 (ct; the common ancestor of α omitted both verses when the scribe's eye jumped from the beginning of 1137 to the beginning of 1139). Either R or β has got a verse out of place, and omission of either 1137 after 1136, or 1138 after 1137 is difficult to explain, whereas 1138 could easily have fallen out after 1136, or 1137 before 1139. I therefore assume that the order of the verses in R is correct.
- 1138** Although Dik.'s dinner-basket must perhaps be tied shut to keep his dinner from falling out, the dinner is scarcely to be tied to the basket (cf. 1136n.), hence the emendations of van Herwerden and Schütz. But logical precision is less important to the hero (and the poet) than mimicking Lam.'s words as closely as possible. **κιστίδος** < *κιστίς* (1085-6n.), diminutive of *κίσπη* ('basket'), used for the sake of word-play on *ἀσπίδος*\*.
- 1137** Lam. is now pointedly ignoring Dik. (contrast 1128-9), and ἐγὼ δ' draws a contrast not between the speaker's own behaviour and that of

his rival but between the speaker's behaviour and his slave's (1136). **ἐμαυτῷ** was assimilated to the case of **τὸν γυλιόν** in the common ancestor of **ct.** **τὸν γυλιόν**: 1097–8 n. **γυλι** in **c** represents a misreading of the standard ligature for **-ον** as a grave accent.

**1139** amounts to an oblique order to Dik.'s slave to fetch his master's robe once the dinner-basket is tied shut (1138). **δέ** must have been omitted in **β** and added above the line or in the margin by a corrector. **c** take account of the correction; **a** do not; and Triklinios apparently treated the particle as a variant (despite the fact that the text is unmetrical without it), since **HAld** include it but **PL<sup>ac</sup>** do not. **(τ)ὸ ἱμάτιον**: A woollen outer robe of better quality than a **τρίβων** (184–5 n.), worn by both men and women outside the house (e.g. *Ec.* 314–18), at least during the winter (*V.* 1056–9 with MacDowell on 1058; cf. *Philem.* fr. 134; Stone 155–60).

**1140–1** **νεῖφει**: 138–40 n., 1075 with n. **βαβαιάξ**: 64 n. **χειμέρια τὰ πράγματα**: 'this is wintry'—i.e. not only 'cold and snowy' but 'thoroughly unpleasant'—'business'. For the adj., fr. 46; Rutherford 125. Lam.'s slave picks up the shield and bedding (cf. 1136 with 1122–3 n.) and exits into a wing. Lam. puts on his backpack (1137) and follows him off; as 1146 is addressed to him, he must linger on stage at least that long. For hoplites' regular use of slave attendants to carry weapons and the like, *X. HG* iv. 8. 39; *War* i. 49–51.

**1142** Omitted by the common ancestor of **a** as a result of the homoioteleuton with 1141. Dik.'s remarks are generally modelled more or less precisely on what Lam. has just said (1097–1142 n.), and Holden accordingly marked a lacuna equivalent to one full verse between **δείπνον** and **συμποτικά**. But the sense is complete; a quick parting shot by Dik. is dramatically more effective than having him linger on stage for two full lines; and cf. 1120–1. Dik.'s slave picks up the dinner-basket and exits into the wing opposite that into which Lam.'s slave exited. Dik. follows him off, wearing his (doubtless very showy) *himation* (1139 with n.); the chorus' repeated references to him in the anapaests that follow as 'this man' suggest that he is not fully off stage until 1147 or perhaps 1149.

**1143–9** Anapaests, conventionally set out as dimeters (the last catalectic, = a paroemiac) and one monometer (1147), but cf. West, *BICS* 24 (1977) 89–94. Non-antistrophic. Cf. metr.  $\Sigma^{EF}$  1143; White § 299; Prato 26–7.

**1143** **ἴτε . . . χαίροντες**: 'farewell', but with considerable irony, since Lam. at least is utterly unhappy about the journey he is undertaking; cf. 176 n. Used elsewhere in *Ar.* at the very beginning of the parabasis, as the actors are exiting the stage (*Eq.* 498; *Nu.* 510; *V.* 1009; *Pax* 729). **ἐπὶ στρατιάν** continues the style of mockery employed by Dik. throughout 1097–1142 (cf. above) by pretending that he too is leaving on a

military expedition (cf. 250-2n.), when in fact he is going off to drink and have sex. Although 1143-4 are nominally addressed to both men, therefore, σοί in 1146 makes it clear that everything the chorus say is really intended for Lam., and the pleasures Dik. will be enjoying are accordingly described in detail in 1145, 1147-9.

**1144** 'But how dissimilar the paths you two are taking!' A banal metaphor (e.g. *Eq.* 72; *Pl.* 506), lent some point by the fact that Dik. and Lam. exit in opposite directions. This remark is most naturally interpreted as drawing a contrast with 1143: although both characters are (allegedly) going off 'on an expedition', they are really heading for very different fates. Following Meineke's lead, therefore, I have inserted δ' after exclamatory ὦς; a majuscule error (Δ omitted before Α).

**1145** τῷ μὲν πίνειν: Sc. ἐστὶ οἱ πάρα (cf. Σ<sup>REF</sup>), as again in 1146 and 1147.

**1146** 1145n. σοί: 1143n. ῥιγῶν: 'to be cold' (< ῥιγόω); an irregular 'Doric' infin. (e.g. *Nu.* 416; *V.* 446). β apparently offered the expected ending -οῦν as a superlinear gloss (Vp3, cf. AC). Triklinios dropped καί and wrote ῥιγῶντι (LAld, cf. ῥυγῶντι p). προφυλάττειν: 'to stand guard', in this case before the entire land of Attika (1075) rather than an army in the field (e.g. *Th.* iii. 112. 4; *X. An.* ii. 4. 15). The average foot-soldier's dislike of picket-duty, which meant staying awake in an advance position while other men (and especially officers) were sleeping (cf. 1147) in relative safety, is none the less in the background, and the idea that someone as important as Lam. might be forced to stand watch all night in the snow once again represents a delightful turning of the social and political tables (cf. 1073-5n.).

**1147-9** 1145n. A prefigurement of Dik.'s final appearance on stage (esp. 1216-17). καθεύδειν: 'to lie down in bed' (e.g. 1220; *H. II.* 1. 611) or 'spend the night' (e.g. *Ec.* 700, 894), since going to sleep is not in question. μετὰ παιδίσκης ὠραιότητας: 1091n. The adj. ὠραίος can be applied to anything that is at its prime, including perfectly ripe fruit (*Praxill. PMG* 747. 3), fish caught at peak season (*Alex. fr.* 191. 5 with Arnott ad loc.), and lovely boys (e.g. *Av.* 138; *Anaxandr. fr.* 34. 12), as well as attractive young women (e.g. *Ra.* 290-1; *Ec.* 696; *Metag. fr.* 4. 2 with Pellegrino ad loc.; cf. 272 with n.); cf. Olson-Sens on *Matro fr.* 1. 105-6. ἀνατριβομένω γε τὸ δεῖνα: 'getting his you-know-what rubbed up'; cf. 1216-17; *V.* 739 πόρνην, ἥτις τὸ πέος τρίψει ('a whore, who will massage his dick'), 1341-4. The use of a euphemism (colloquial (e.g. *Pax* 268; *Lys.* 921; *Th.* 620-2; *Ra.* 918 with Dover ad loc.)) as a sort of closing riddle reflects the mocking tone of the anapaests as a whole (1143n.).

**1150-61 ~ 1162-73** Iambo-choriambic; cf. metr. Σ<sup>E</sup> 1150; White § 565; Prato 28-9; Zimmermann ii. 172-4; iii. 8-9; Parker 148-51. For abuse-songs, 836-41 ~ 842-7 (etc.)n.



verses', with word-play on μέλεος and μέλος, as at Antiph. fr. 207. 8-9. Something has gone wrong with the text, but I lack Elmsley's confidence that it can be restored, and I therefore follow van Leeuwen in obelizing all of 1151.

**1152-3** ὡς μὲν ἀπλῶ λόγῳ: Sc. εἰπεῖν, 'to put it simply', i.e. 'to mince no words'. Cf. [A.] *PV* 46 with Griffith ad loc. κακῶς ἐξολέσειεν ὁ Ζεὺς: 'might Zeus ruin him miserably', i.e. 'so that he is miserable'; cf. 778-9n.; *Ec.* 776; *Pl.* 592. The β-scribe added δ' (removed by Triklinios) after κακῶς in a misguided effort to balance the μὲν-clause; in fact, 1156-73 offer a complete version of the curse of which this is a brief summary account (above). The common ancestor of **ct** had ὀλέσειεν in place of α's ἐξολέσειεν, and Triklinios responded by emending to ἄν γ' ὀλέσειεν (L; cf. ἄν χ' ὀλέσειεν **p**).

**1154-5** ὅς γ' ἐμὲ κτλ.: It is unclear whether this complaint is to be understood as issued by (a) Aristophanes himself (cf. 659-64), who might then be referring to events associated with *Daitales* (427; festival unknown) or—less likely—an otherwise unattested Lenaia play of 427 or 426 (since *Bab.* was a City Dionysia play); or (b) the chorus, whether speaking for their poet's choruses collectively or temporarily identified with every comic chorus at every festival (thus Dover, *G&G* 303), Antimachos having proved so cheap when he served as *choregos* (cf. below) for another comic poet (Kratinos (cf. 1171-3n.) or Eupolis (victorious at the Lenaia in 426; cf. Hyp. I. 33-4n.)?) that his behaviour seemed to Ar. to call for public comment on behalf of everyone working in the genre (but cf. 1171-3n.). For a similar complaint, Eup. fr. 329 (conceivably (cf. above) a reference to the same person). For ὅς γε ('a man who . . .'), *GP* 141-2. τὸν τλήμονα: A touch of deliberately absurd paratragic pathos (cf. *Pax* 723; *Th.* 1072; *Ra.* 85, 1355; *Pl.* 603). Λήναια χορηγῶν: Cf. D. 21. 64 χορηγοῦντα . . . Διονύσια; *KG* i. 305-6. One of the first duties of the archon basileus every year was to select a number of extremely wealthy men to serve as *choregoi* (lit. 'chorus-leaders') for the Lenaia festival; cf. 1224-5n.; [Arist.] *Ath.* 56. 3; *DFA* 86-90; Wilson 51-7. A *choregos*'s most important duty was to pay for the training and costuming of a chorus, but he was apparently also expected to furnish a celebratory meal for the chorus and perhaps everyone involved in the production; cf. *Nu.* 338-9 with Dover ad loc. (although the reference there might be to feasting during training (cf. Plu. *Mor.* 349a) rather than after the festival); fr. 448; *Pl. Smp.* 173a, 174a (where it is unclear who has paid for the meal); *Potter and Patron* 46-8, 71-3, 90-7; Wilson 102-3. R's ἀποκλήω is a common Aristophanic vb. (e.g. *V.* 334, 601; *Av.* 1262; *Lys.* 487; for the spelling, 479n.), but the jumble in the MSS at the end of 1155 is most economically explained on the thesis that Aristophanes wrote ἀπέλυσ' ἄδειπνον ('he dismissed me [from my service in the chorus] without offering me a dinner'); that α had the



unmetrical ἀπέλυσεν ἄδειπνον (**ac**, cf. S) via *scriptio plena*; that Triklinios corrected the reading; and that the R-copyist mistook a superlinear gloss ἀπέκλεισε δείπνων (metrical; cf. Σ<sup>EF</sup> ἀπέλυσεν ἄδειπνον ἀπέκλεισε δείπνων) for a variant reading and accepted it into the text.

**1156–61** Cf. *Eq.* 929–40. The curse neatly matches the crime it is intended to avenge: just as the speaker had a delicious, much-anticipated meal snatched out from under his nose by a shameless creature (1154–5), so too shall Antimachos. Rosen 72–3 (following E. Fraenkel), suggests an allusion to Hippon. fr. 194. 11–15.

**1156–8** For ἔτ(ι) in a threat, e.g. *Pax* 1187; *Eup.* fr. 99. 108; *A. Ag.* 1429; *S. El.* 66; *Tr.* 257; *E. El.* 485; [A.] *PV* 167; *Hdt.* ix. 58. 3. **ἐπίδοιμι**: Cf. *S. Tr.* 1038–40 τὰν ὦδ' ἐπίδοιμι πεσοῦσαν / αὐτῶς . . . ὡς μ' ὤλεσεν ('Might I see her fall in the same way that she destroyed me!'); *Men. Mis.* fr. 7. 1 Sandbach εἰ γὰρ ἐπίδοιμι τοῦτο ('if only I could behold this!'). **τευθίδος**: Squid (*Loligo* spp.; cf. Thompson, *Fish* 260–1; Davidson 211–12) appear frequently in banquet catalogues and the like (e.g. *Epich.* fr. 61. 1; *Pherecr.* fr. 50. 3; *Ephipp.* fr. 3. 9; *Philox. Leuc. PMG* 836(b). 12, 16; *Matro* fr. 1. 50 with Olson–Sens ad loc.) and are fried (ὠπτημένη) also at *Eq.* 929–30; fr. 333. 3; *Metag.* fr. 6. 6; *Eub.* frr. 14. 8; 75. 4–8; *Antiph.* fr. 216. 20–1; *Anaxandr.* fr. 42. 46. **δεόμενον**: 'longing for', a common sense of the vb. in the mid. (e.g. *Av.* 27, 47; *Lys.* 875–6, 1164) but omitted by LSJ. **σίζουσα**: 'sizzling' (onomatopoeic), i.e. fresh from the fire in the pan in which it was cooked (cf. *Eq.* 929–30; *Alex.* fr. 192. 6; Olson–Sens on *Matro* fr. 1. 82). **πάραλος**, properly 'beside the sea' (< ἄλς (B)), where the freshest seafood is to be found, is an elaborate pun, first on ἄλς (A) (cf. 834–5 n.), in reference to the salt or brine in which the fried squid is to be dipped (cf. 670–2 n.; fr. 158. 2; *Cratin.* fr. 150. 3–4; *Arched.* fr. 2. 9–10; *Archestr.* fr. 38. 5), and then (after ὀκέλλοι in 1159) on the name of one of the Athenian state triremes (cf. *Av.* 1204; *Ra.* 1071; *Th.* iii. 33. 1–2; viii. 73. 5 with *HCT* ad loc.; *D.* 21. 171–4 with MacDowell on 171; Rhodes on [Arist.] *Ath.* 61. 7). *Av.* 144–7, where the words παρὰ θάλατταν remind Euelpides of Πάραλος and thus of the Salaminia, is similar. **ἐπὶ τραπέζῃ**: 1090 n.

**1159–61** ὀκέλλοι: 'might it be beached' (cf. 1156–8 n.), i.e. brought to the place that marks the end of the journey that ought to culminate in being eaten by Antimachos. For the image of the fish as a ship, cf. *Eub.* frr. 36. 1; 76; *Archestr.* fr. 40. 1; Taillardat § 217. For beaching ships, Morrison and Williams 311; L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (Baltimore and London, 1971) 89–90; Harrison, *JHS* 119 (1999) 168–71, esp. 170. **μέλλοντος λαβεῖν αὐτοῦ**: Gen. abs. In Attic, μέλλω normally takes a pres. or fut. infin. (e.g. 482, 493, 498–9, 587), but the aor. appears also in *Ar.* at *Av.* 366–7 (*Lys.* 118 is Laconian) and commonly in Euripides (e.g. *Heracl.* 709–10; *Ion* 80, 760; fr. 706. 2

- (317-18n.)). Cf. Rutherford 420-5; Jebb on S. *OT* 967. **κύων ἀρπάσσα φεύγοι**: For dogs stealing food (a comic trope), *Eq.* 1033-4; *V.* 835-8; Anaxandr. fr. 40. 8-9; cf. 702n. For ἀρπάζω used of the greedy 'snatching' of food belonging to others, e.g. *Pax* 1118; *Av.* 892; *Ec.* 866; Olson-Sens on Archestr. fr. 22. 1-2.
- 1162-3 τοῦτο μὲν κτλ.**: For a possible connection between the second curse and the misbehaviour that occasioned and is echoed in the first (1156-61n.), 1171-3n. **ἕτερον νυκτερινόν**: 'a second one, this time by night'; cf. Hes. *Op.* 102 with West ad loc.; Wilamowitz on E. *HF* 635. The adj. (first attested here and at *Eq.* 477; for the form, Rutherford 125) adds an air of menace to what follows, and the trouble described in 1164-8 is in fact far worse than that in 1156-61.
- 1164-5 ἠπιαλῶν**: An ἠπίαλος is the shivering fit that precedes a fever (*πυρετός*); cf. *V.* 1038; fr. 346. **γάρ** marks this as an explanation (*GP* 59) of how Antimachos' second trouble will be specifically *νυκτερινόν* (1163). **ἐξ ἵππασίας**: 'after taking a ride on his horse' (for the use of ἐκ, 276-8n.), a detail that both reminds the audience again of Antimachos' wealth (cf. 1154-5 with 1150-1n.; Spence 183, 191-3, 272-86, esp. 274-7; Pomeroy on X. *Oec.* 1. 8) and (because horses are exercised in the countryside, requiring a long walk home afterward) explains why he does something so reckless as to wander about Athens' streets alone at night (cf. 980n.; *Av.* 494-8 (Euelpides tells how he was mugged when he misjudged the time and set out on a journey into the countryside just after dark)). The anacolouthon between 1165 and 1166 is striking but scarcely unparalleled (e.g. *Pax* 1242-4; *Ra.* 1437-8 with Dover on 1438), and emendation of **δ**'s βαδίζων to Bentley's βαδίζοι is unnecessary.
- 1166-8 κατάξειε . . . αὐτοῦ . . . τῆς κεφαλῆς**: For the construction, 1180; *V.* 1428; Eup. fr. 348; Pl. *Grg.* 469d; cf. *Pax* 71. The use of the partitive gen. signals that only one part of Antimachos' anatomy is affected by the assault (Poultney 77-8). **τις . . . μεθύων . . . Ὀρέστης / μαινόμενος**: 'some drunk resembling the mad Orestes' (839-41n.), i.e. 'some drunk lunatic Orestes', the archetypal madman (e.g. E. *IT* 281-91; *Or.* 83-7; Hyp. *Lyc.* 7); no specific individual named (or nicknamed) Orestes is in question. For assaults on passers-by by drunken komasts, 980n.; *V.* 1322-31, 1389-91; *Ec.* 663-4; Pratin. *TrGF* 4 F 3. 7-9; D. 54. 7-9; cf. E. *Cyc.* 534; Men. *Dysk.* 230-2 with Handley ad loc. For drunks as madmen, e.g. *V.* 1476-86, 1496; Eub. fr. 93. 10; adesp. com. fr. 101. 12; H. *Od.* 21. 293-8. For the name Orestes used for an anonymous mugger, *Av.* 712 (where Dunbar's attempt to determine which historical Orestes is in question only confuses the issue), 1490-3; cf. Is. 8. 3. For the name as an indication of the bearer's wild and savage nature, Pl. *Cra.* 394e. For other nicknames drawn from myth, Anaxandr. fr. 35. 10-11; cf. Aristopho fr. 5. 3-7.

- 1168–70** **ὁ δέ:** i.e. Antimachos, the literal meaning of whose name ('the one who fights back') is quietly played on in what follows. **λίθον λαβεῖν βουλόμενος:** For the use of stones in streetfights, *V.* 228–9, 1253–4, 1422; *Eub.* fr. 93. 10; *Alex.* fr. 112. 3–5; *Lys.* 3. 8, 18; *D.* 54. 18; cf. *Ra.* 572–3; *D.* 23. 76. That the action is set at night has already been specified in 1163, but **ἐν σκότῳ** is added at the crucial moment in the narrative to remind the audience of how a fresh lump of shit could be in the middle of the street (below) and how Antimachos could mistake it for a stone. **πέλεθρον ἀρτίως κεχεσμένον:** *πέλεθος* (also *Ec.* 595–6; cf. app. crit. at *S.* fr. 314. 452; *Poll.* v. 91) is apparently a specific term for human shit; *Moer.* π 35 identifies α's *σπέλεθος* (also *S* and *Σ Ec.*; unmetrical and corrected by *Triklinios*) as the common (non-Attic) form of the word. For *χέζω*, 81–2n. Shitting in the street under cover of darkness seems to have been common practice (cf. *Ec.* 313–26; *Thphr. Char.* 14. 5).
- 1171–3** A parody of a standard Homeric scene, in which a fighter misses the man he is aiming for but hits another (e.g. *Il.* 4. 491–2; 15. 430–4 *τοῦ μὲν ἄμαρθ' . . . , τὸν ῥ' ἔβαλεν* ('he missed him, but struck another')) (thus Borthwick, *Mnemosyne* iv. 20 (1967) 412–13; cf. B. Fenik, *Typical Battle Scenes in the Iliad* (*Hermes Einzelschriften*, Heft 21: Wiesbaden, 1968) 136–9; Janko on *Il.* 13. 183–4). **ἐπάξειεν:** Homeric (esp. Iliadic) vocabulary (e.g. *Il.* 3. 369; 5. 98, 235; 10. 345, 369). **τὸν μάρμαρον:** Homeric vocabulary and usage (*Il.* 12. 380; 16. 735; *Od.* 9. 499; cf. *Alcm. PMGF* 1. 31; *E. Ph.* 663 (lyric), 1401; *Sens* on *Theoc.* 22. 211). **Κρατῖνον:** *Hyp.* I. 33n.; 849n. If the chorus Antimachos cheated out of a meal belonged to *Kratinos* (cf. 1154–5n.), hitting him with a lump of shit recapitulates the insult, while the presence of the detail as the culminating element in the curse frees *Ar.* of the charge of showing any kindness to a poetic rival.
- 1174–89** A parody of a regular type of Euripidean messenger-speech, in which a servant offers a detailed account of a disaster that has befallen his master before the master himself is brought on stage, dead or badly injured (e.g. *Hipp.* 1153–1264; *Ba.* 1043–1152). Cf. *Rau* 139–42.
- 1174–5** An anonymous Slave enters on the run from the wing into which *Lam.* exited at the end of the previous scene, and bangs on the door of the house. **δμῶες:** 887–8n. **κατ' οἶκον:** 'within the house' (e.g. *S. El.* 929; *E. Ba.* 1290). **ὔδωρ ὔδωρ . . . θερμαίνετε:** Cf. *Hp. Fract.* iii. 452. 5–6: 'in the case of all joint injuries'—cf. 1179—'anoint with a great deal of [warm] water'. The repetition indicates the speaker's agitation. *Fraenkel* (*Beobachtungen* 31–2) argues that the Slave at first appears to be calling for water . . . to put out a fire (cf. *Th.* 241); this is possible but adds little to the humour. **χυτριδίω:** 'a vessel of the *χυτρίς* type' (*Petersen* 91–3; cf. 1110 *λεκάνιον* with n.), i.e. 'a cooking-pot or something'; scarcely to be distinguished from a *χύτρα* (284n.; contrast 463 (probably a true diminutive)).

- 1176-7** Cf. Hp. *Fract.* iii. 440. 4-8, 452. 18-20, 486. 9-10: κηρωτήν is 'salve', to be applied to the wound (Pritchett 311); ἔρι(α) οἰσυπηρά is 'unwashed wool' (cf. 319-20n.), which will serve as a pad or compress over it; and ὀθόνια are 'bandages', with which the injured bone or joint (once dressed) will be wrapped to keep it stable. λαμπάδιον περὶ τὸ σφυρόν: In apposition to what precedes: 'to serve as a wrapping about his ankle'. For the meaning of λαμπάδιον, Hsch. λ 255; Σ<sup>ΕΓ</sup> (where κειρίαν ('bandage') has been corrupted to the nonsensical χειρίδιον ('glove') in Γ and χοιρίδιον ('piglet') in E); D.C. 68. 8 'when bandages ran out, he is said not even to have spared his own clothing but to have cut it up for λαμπάδια'. LSJ s.v. ('lint') is in error.
- 1178-88** (A) Lam. falls into a ditch (1178-9), (B) cracks his head on a rock (1180), and (C) drops his shield (1181). (B) As the feather from his helmet falls to the rocks (1182-3 with n.), he makes a speech about leaving the light (1184-5 with n.) and (A) leaps out of the ditch (1186-8).
- 1178-81** trace the disaster that befalls Lam. in a precise, step-by-step fashion: he leaps across a ditch and is wounded by a stake when he lands on the other side (1178); as a result of his wound, he stumbles and twists his ankle (1179); as he collapses to the ground, his head strikes a stone (1180) and he drops his shield (1181 with n.). At least ideally, generals in this period fought beside their men and were expected to make a conspicuous display of personal bravery on the battlefield, and casualties among them were accordingly quite high; cf. Hanson (1989) 107-8; Wheeler, in Hanson (1991) 136-54; Hamel 204-9.
- 1178** χάρακι and τάφρον might be taken at first as a reference to a fortification trench filled with sharpened stakes of the sort Homer's Achaians build around their camp (e.g. *Il.* 7. 141-2; 12. 49-57; cf. LSJ s. χάραξ II. 1, citing D. 21. 167 (where the meaning of the word is in fact obscure)). But 1186 makes it clear that the 'ditch' in question is actually an irrigation channel, and the χάραξ is almost certainly a vine-prop (984-5n.). At 1192/3, 1226, Lam. claims to have been wounded by an enemy spear, and the image combines with that of the vine-prop to mark the triumph of the forces of Dionysos over those of War and the revenge of the countryside on those who damaged and ignored it; cf. Whitman 73. The detail finds an ironic echo in Thucydides' account of the death of the historical Lam. in the fighting around Syracuse in summer 413: 'after crossing a ditch and being cut off with a few of those who accompanied him, he died along with five or six of his companions' (vi. 101. 6).
- 1179** παλίνορρον: 'backward', i.e. in a direction an ankle ought not to go. A Homeric hapax legomenon (in the form παλίνορσος) at *Il.* 3. 33 and thus of interest to Hellenistic poets (e.g. A.R. 2. 576; Arat. 54 with Kidd ad loc.; Call. fr. 344; cf. Opp. *H.* 3. 351; Q.S. 1. 188); attested elsewhere in the classical period only at Emp. 31 B 35. 1; 100. 23 (although cf.

Philetaer. fr. 11. 2 ἀμπαλίνωρος; A. Ag. 154 παλίνορτος). ἐξεκόκκισεν: κόκκοι are 'hard berries' or 'seeds' (e.g. Eub. fr. 125. 1; Ephipp. fr. 13. 1; Euphro fr. 10. 10-11), and (ἐκ)κοκκίζω is properly 'remove seeds from a husk' and thus by extension 'empty out' (*Pax* 63; Nicom. Com. fr. 3. 2-3) or 'dislocate', as here (cf. *Lys.* 364). For Lam.'s injured leg, cf. 1214-15.

1180 τῆς κεφαλῆς κατέαγε: 1166-8n. περὶ λίθῳ: 'on top of a stone' (*Pax* 904; Hermipp. fr. 55. 2; S. Ai. 828; Ant. 1240; E. Ph. 881; cf. Hdt. ix. 101. 3). β's περὶ λίθον ('around about' or 'near a stone') yields bad sense and represents a copyist's attempt to eliminate a rare construction. For Lam.'s head-wound, cf. 1218-19.

1181-8 A difficult passage, large portions of which have been expelled or obelized by editors. Much of the obscurity (and most of the comic effect) is a result of the resort to paratragic language, and nothing suggests that the passage as it has come down to us is not more or less exactly what Ar. wrote. Cf. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Kleine Schriften* IV (Berlin, 1962) 295-7; *Beobachtungen* 31-42; Page 125-7; Dale 170-2; Dover, *G&G* 303-4, and *ICS* 2 (1977) 156-8 = *G&L* 216-18 ('the reasonable inference . . . is that the messenger's speech . . . parodies something specific. We need not be abashed if we are not in a position to identify the original and compare the parody with it'); 'Notes' 390-5 (with further bibliography at 391 n. 34).

1181 Cf. 574 with n. ἐξήγειρεν ἐκ τῆς ἀσπίδος: 'roused her up off the shield' (*pace* Rau 140 and 'Notes' 391 n. 35, where Sommerstein rejects this interpretation—which his own parallels (H. Od. 4. 730; E. HF 1050; [E.] Rh. 532) support—apparently on the ground that a real shield-emblem could not be detached in this way); Lam.'s equipment hits the ground so hard that the gorgon is jarred awake (Dover, *G&G* 304) and set in flight (cf. 1182-3n.).

1182-5 The masc. participles in 1184 and 1186 leave little doubt that 1184-5 are spoken by Lam. rather than the feather. πτίλον . . . πέτραισι must therefore be either (a) acc. abs. with a personal vb. (thus Elmsley, citing *Pl.* 277-8; fr. 664; cf. Σ<sup>REG</sup> (which also moots the possibility that the feather is the subj. of ἐξηύδα))—in which case it may not be the feather that is addressed in 1184-5; or (b) a second acc. (of the person or thing addressed) dependent on ἐξηύδα (cf. E. Hipp. 590). Fraenkel (*Beobachtungen* 37) rejects Elmsley's parallels on the ground that in the first the vb. is impersonal, while in the second the sentence is incomplete; in fact, λαχόν in *Pl.* 277 is certainly personal and the colon in fr. 664 is complete and the nature of the construction clear (cf. 'Notes' 392 n. 39). Sommerstein ('Notes' 392) argues that the use of a non-impersonal vb. in an acc. abs. is exclusively comic, and thus presumably colloquial and inappropriate for paratragedy. But much of the humour of Aristophanic paratragedy consists in the absurd mix of stylistic

registers and sentiments (e.g. *Lys.* 706-15; cf. 1-42n.), and this objection too can be set aside.

**1182-3** πτίλον . . . πεσόν / πρὸς ταῖς πέτραισι: The point is perhaps that Lam.'s feather has again become detached from his helmet (cf. 584-5, 1103), just as the gorgon device escaped his shield (1181 with n.), so that he quite appropriately bids it farewell (1184-5). Alternatively, this may be only an elaborate way of saying 'after his head'—still inside his helmet—'hit the rocks', in which case the echo of 1180 (cf. 1178-88n.) is more precise but 1184-5 must be interpreted in a different way (below). πεσών (R<sup>ac</sup>cp) reflects the influence of 1180. κομπολακύθου: 588-9n. Strictly speaking, the word is inappropriate in the mouth of Lam.'s Slave, who ought not to be mocking his master, but the poet's interest in making the general appear ridiculous outweighs such concerns and there is no reason to suspect the text (*pace* 'Notes' 393). ἐξηύδα: Elevated vocabulary (e.g. *H. Il.* 18. 74; *h.Cer.* 394; *Pi. N.* 10. 80; *A. Ch.* 151; *S. Ph.* 1244; *E. Hipp.* 1239 δεινὰ δ' ἐξαυδῶν κλύειν ('saying things terrible to hear'; the Messenger's report of Hippolytos' words as he is dragged across the ground by his horses); *Hec.* 183); attested nowhere else in comedy. μέλος: 1184-5 are not really a 'song', but tragic heroes and heroines often sing laments (cf. *Ra.* 1309-22) and the word lends additional paratragic pomposity to the Slave's speech.

**1184-5** = adesp. tr. fr. 45; note the absence of resolution. It is unclear whether this speech is intended as a farewell to (a) the sun (cf. *A. Ag.* 1323-5; *S. Ai.* 856-8; *E. Hec.* 411-12; *Praxill. PMG* 747. 1; *Thgn.* 569), addressed as the 'eye' of the sky (cf. *Nu.* 285 with Dover ad loc.; *Th.* 17; *Ec.* 1 with Ussher ad loc.; *E. IT* 194 (corrupt); *Mastronarde* on *E. Ph.* 543)—in which case part of the point must be that Lam. has begun to 'see black' (cf. 1180, 1218-19); (b) the feather (1182-3); or even (c) the gorgon (1181), with ὄμμα (lit. 'eye') used (as commonly in tragedy) of that which is dearest to the speaker (*A. Ch.* 238 with *Garvie* ad loc.; *S. Ai.* 977; *Tr.* 203; *E. Ph.* 801-2, 1702 with *Mastronarde* ad loc.; *Or.* 1082; cf. *Jebb* on *S. OT* 987); cf. *Taillardat* § 642. But clarity is not the point. ὄμμα is primarily poetic vocabulary (e.g. *H. Il.* 1. 225; *Ibyc. PMGF* 287. 2; *Archil.* fr. 191. 2; *A. Ag.* 271); attested in *Ar.* only in lyric (e.g. *Nu.* 290; *Lys.* 1284; *Ra.* 817) and paratragedy (*Th.* 126; *Ec.* 1). κλεινόν: Poetic vocabulary (e.g. *Eq.* 1328; *Epich.* fr. 185; *Stesich. PMGF* 184. 1; adesp. el. fr. 1; *A. Pers.* 474; *S. OT* 8), particularly common in Euripides (e.g. *Med.* 827; *Hipp.* 760; *HF* 1303). πανύστατον: Homeric (*Il.* 23. 532, 547; *Od.* 9. 452) and tragic (e.g. *S. Ai.* 858, *E. Alc.* 164; *Hec.* 411; *HF* 513 (all adverbial in final farewells to life, as here)) vocabulary; common in Euripides but attested nowhere else in comedy. For the note of pathos introduced by παν-, *Richardson* on *H. Il.* 22. 490. φάος γε τοῦμόν: 'my light', i.e. 'the light that shines on me'; in apposition to σ(ε) (*GP* 138-9). φάος ('light'; an exclusively

poetic form) can also mean 'source of joy' or 'salvation' (e.g. *H. Od.* 16. 23; *A. Pers.* 300; *S. El.* 1224; *E. Med.* 482; *HF* 531; cf. Tarrant, *CQ* NS 10 (1960) 181-7, esp. 183-4), so that the same ambiguity exists here as with κλεινὸν ὄμμα ('famous eye') in 1184. οὐκέτ' εἰμ' ἐγώ: Cf. *Eq.* 1243 οὐκέτ' οὐδέν εἰμ' ἐγώ; *V.* 997 (both paratragic); *S. El.* 677; *E. Alc.* 387; *Andr.* 1077; *Hel.* 1194.

**1186-7** τοσαῦτα λέξας εἰς ὑδρορρόαν πεσών: 'After saying such things [and] after falling into a ditch'; *hysteron-proteron*, as the narrative works its way back (1178-88n.) to the beginning of the incident, described in more detail in 1178-80. The 'ditch' (1178 with n.) into which Lam. stumbled is now described specifically as an inglorious ὑδρορρόαν, i.e. an irrigation canal (contrast 922 with n.). For agricultural irrigation and irrigation technology, *H. Il.* 21. 257-62; Forbes ii. 43-6. For Elmsley's ὑδρορροήν, 920-2n. ἀνίσταται: That a man who has just been wounded by a stake, twisted his ankle, hit his head on a stone, and made a farewell speech to the world (1179-85) cannot reasonably be expected to leap up and fight off a band of enemy soldiers (thus most outspokenly Merry) is true but no basis for excising these verses, particularly since Lam. must be got on his feet somehow to prepare for his entrance at 1190. ξυναντᾶ (first at *H. Il.* 17. 134; *Od.* 16. 333; cf. *A.R.* 4. 1486; *Call.* fr. 193. 26) appears *metri gratia* (as also at *Av.* 137; *Pl.* 41, 44; *E. IT* 1210; *Ion* 534, 787) for the regular Attic ἀπαντάω. Pace Starkie, the vb. is attested several times in 4th-c. prose (e.g. *X. An.* i. 8. 15; vii. 2. 5; *epist. ap. D.* 18. 157). δραπέταις: 'the runaways', i.e. Lam.'s own troops, who have moved ahead of their fallen commander and been driven back in defeat, forcing him to confront the advancing enemy alone (1188).

**1188** (like 440-1) is identified by Σ<sup>L</sup> (= Triklinios), drawing on an unknown source, as a line from *Tel.* (= *E.* fr. 705a Kannicht; a similar note appears in **c**, which are otherwise almost entirely free of scholia). Whatever incoherence is detected in 1186-8 ought therefore to be traced at least in part to Ar.'s desire to use a (presumably well-known) line from the most important tragic exemplar for his comedy to cap the Slave's paratragic description of his master's ruin. ληστάς: In the original context probably the Achaians; here the Boiotians (cf. 1077). R has λησταίς (accepted by Elmsley) via assimilation to δραπέταις in 1187. κατασπέρχων: First attested here and at *Th.* iv. 126. 6; subsequently at e.g. *A.R.* 2. 930; *Nic. Th.* 107, 496; *Opp. H.* 1. 632.

**1189** ὄδι δὲ καὐτός: 'Here he is, in person!'; cf. *V.* 1360\*; *Av.* 1718\* with Dunbar ad loc. ('the tone drops momentarily to colloquial'); *Ec.* 934; *Alc. Com.* fr. 22. 1. ἀλλ' ἄνοιγε τὴν θύραν: \* at *Nu.* 183. This line makes it clear that the Slave expects Lam. to be carried into the house to have his wounds treated. But since Lam. is needed on stage for the sake of the elaborate contrast drawn in 1198-1226 with the much

happier fate of Dik., what must actually happen is that another slave emerges from the house with medical supplies (cf. 1174-7), which Lam.'s companions use to bandage him up very crudely (esp. 1214-15) before carrying him off to Pittalos' house (1222-3) for more professional treatment. Most likely the Slave now exits into the house, although he might perhaps stay on stage to help treat his master's wounds and carry him off.

**1190-1234** Iambic, with a few cretics (1190 = 1198, 1215 ~ 1217) and dochmiacs (1219, 1221) mixed in; for the combination of metres, Parker 41-3. If (11) and (14) are added to the text, Lam.'s lines respond to Dik.'s (1-6 ~ 7-12, 13 ~ 14, 15 ~ 16, 17 ~ 18, 23-4 ~ 25-6, 27-8 ~ 29-30, 31-2 ~ 33-4, 35 ~ 36) except at (19-22), where Dik. lapses into normal iambic trimeters and Lam.'s lament is most likely extrametrical; after Lam.'s exit, the chorus and Dik. close the song (37-42). Cf. metr.  $\Sigma^{\Gamma}$  1190; metr.  $\Sigma^{E\Gamma}$  1214; White §§ 597-9; Prato 30-5; Zimmermann ii. 50-1; iii. 9-10; Parker 152-9.

(1)	1190	2cr	(19)	1210	ia ^ia ia^
(2)	1191/2	3ia	(20)	1211	3ia
(3)	1192/3	3ia	(21)	1212	Extrametrical
(4)	1194-5	ia ^ia ia^	(22)	1213	3ia
(5)	1196	ia ^ia ia	(23)	1214	3ia
(6)	1197	ia ^ia ia^	(24)	1215	2cr
(7)	1198	2cr	(25)	1216	3ia
(8)	1199	3ia	(26)	1217	2cr
(9)	1200	3ia	(27)	1218	3ia
(10)	1201	ia ^ia ia^	(28)	1219	do
(11)	<1202>	<ia ^ia ia>	(29)	1220	3ia
(12)	1203	ia ^ia ia^	(30)	1221	do
(13)	1204	3ia	(31)	1222	3ia
(14)	<1205>	<3ia>	(32)	1223	ia ia^
(15)	1206	ia ^ia ia	(33)	1224	3ia
(16)	1207	ia ^ia ia	(34)	1225	ia ia^
(17)	1208	2ia	(35-42)	1226-34	3ia ia^
(18)	1209	2ia			

(1) Most of the confusion in the descendants of  $\beta$  can be traced to problems with a majuscule exemplar (*TT* or *TI* read as *Π* (1190); *A* read as *Λ* (1198)).

**1190** The wounded Lam. enters from the wing into which he exited around 1149, without any equipment except his breastplate and greaves, and perhaps his helmet (stripped of its feather?; cf. 1182-3 n.); his fine clothes (572-4 n.) are reduced to muddy tatters. A pair of mute soldiers (counterparts to Dik.'s two whores; cf. 1198 with n.) help hold him upright. In an extraordinary reversal, Lam. rather than Dik.



(esp. 414–556) now takes on the role of the ragged, limping Euripidean hero (412–13n.), who is typically carried on stage dead or wounded at the end of the play (1174–89n.). Ketterer, *GRBS* 32 (1991) 51–60, suggests instead a specific (if oblique) allusion to the end of *A. Pers.* Although a few doctors may have accompanied some armies, initial treatment of the wounded was a haphazard and largely private business on the Greek battlefield (e.g. *Thphr. Char.* 25. 5–6) and only those who could walk (or limp) away more or less under their own power—as Lam. does here—and who had not suffered deep penetration wounds to the chest or lower body cavity had a realistic hope of survival. Cf. Hanson (1989) 210–18; C. F. Salazar, *The Treatment of War Wounds in Graeco-Roman Antiquity* (Studies in Ancient Medicine, vol. 21: Leiden, 2000), esp. 68–74.

**ἀτταταῖ ἀτταταῖ:** An inarticulate cry of grief also at *Nu.* 707; *Th.* 223, 1005; *S. Ph.* 743, 790; cf. 1198 with n.; *Eq.* 1; *Ra.* 649; Labiano Ilundain 97–103. *Pace* N. Wilson,  $\Lambda\Sigma$  (like all the  $\beta$ -MSS) has ἀτταπαττατά, not R's ἀτταταῖ ἀτταταῖ.

**1191/2** For the long run of shorts as indicative of Lam.'s agitation, 1054–5n.

**στυγερὰ** (like *στυγέω*; cf. 33n.) belongs to the language of serious poetry (e.g. *H. Il.* 23. 48; *Hes.* fr. 132; *Tyrt.* fr. 10. 8; *A. Ch.* 1008; *S. Ai.* 1195; *E. Med.* 994); attested elsewhere in comedy only at 1208 (also paratragic).

**γε:** 108n. **κρυερὰ:** High poetic vocabulary (e.g. *H. Il.* 24. 524; *Alcm. PMGF* 3. 34; *E.* fr. 916. 6 (anapaests); *Phryn. Trag. TrGF* 3 F 6. 1 (lyric); [*Emp.*] 31 B 156. 3); attested elsewhere in comedy only at *Av.* 951, 955 (dithyrambic parody). For the image, cf. Jebb on *S. Ant.* 88.

**τάλας ἐγώ:** Cf. 1210.

**1192/3 διόλλυμαι:** Common in tragedy (e.g. *A. Pers.* 483; *S. Ai.* 838; *Tr.* 1052; *E. Hipp.* 909; *Supp.* 613; *Tr.* 629); attested nowhere else in comedy.

**δορός ὑπὸ πολεμίου:** 1120–1n., 1178n. *δορός* (lit. 'length of wood') is arguably still ambiguous as to exactly how Lam. was wounded (cf. 1218 with n.), but cf. 1226 *λόγχη* ('spear'). The anastrophe is a mark of elevated style; cf. *Nu.* 278 (lyric); *V.* 1160 (paratragic); *Av.* 1232 (paratragic); *Th.* 1098 (paratragic); *Ra.* 1438 (paratragic); *KG* i. 554. For the (ultimately unanswerable) question of whether ὑπό or ὑπο ought to be written, Sens on *Theoc.* 22. 94 (with bibliography).

**τυπείς:** Elevated diction (e.g. *H. Il.* 12. 250; *Pi.* fr. 34; *S. Ai.* 255; *E. Andr.* 1120; [*A.*] *PV* 361; *Ion PMG* 746. 1); the form is attested nowhere else in comedy and is not colloquial in Attic (where *πληγείς* is used).

**1194–5** α's exemplar apparently had *ἐκεῖνο δ' αἰακτὸν ἂν γένοιτο*, with *οἰμωκτὸν* written above *αἰακτὸν* as a gloss (thus Porson) and *μοι* in the right margin (thus Dindorf). α added both words to the text, producing *ἐκεῖνο δ' αἰακτὸν οἰμωκτὸν ἂν γένοιτό μοι* (**Rac**). Triklinios (in the course of converting the lines to *2ia 2ia*; cf. 1197n., 1200–1n., 1202–3n.) replaced δ' with δ' οὖν, and although his conjecture has no authority (δ\* in R<sup>ac</sup> almost certainly represents a careless *scriptio plena* δέ), it is

printed by most modern editors. I have instead adopted a suggestion of Handley's and emended 1201. **αἰακτόν**: Aeschylean vocabulary (*Pers.* 931, 1069; *Th.* 846–7). οἰμωκτόν (the intrusive gloss) is attested nowhere else.

**1196** εἴ μ' ἴδοι: Thus B. α must have had ἄν with εἴ in superscript; R (ignoring both the supplement and the ordinary constraints of Greek grammar) wrote ἄν μ' ἴδοι; β incorporated the additional word to produce ἄν εἴ μ' ἴδοι (**ac**); and Triklinios (taking 1196–7 as an explanation of why the situation described in 1192/3 and—as he thought—referred to as ἐκείνο in 1194–5 was lamentable) corrected to γὰρ εἴ μ' ἴδοι.

**1197** Triklinios' κατεγχάνοι γε ταῖς ἐμαῖσιν ἄν τύχαις is designed to convert the line into 3ia. **ἐγχάνοι ταῖς ἐμαῖς τύχαισιν**: 'should laugh in the face of my misfortunes'; cf. 221–2 n. To be ruined while carrying out an unpleasant duty is bad enough; to be ruined and mocked for it is intolerable.

**1198** Dik. enters from the wing into which he exited around 1149, supported by a pair of naked prostitutes (most likely played by elaborately costumed men; cf. Henderson on *Lys.* 1106–27); cf. 1147–9 with n., 1190 n. His stage-phallus is in an erect position (1220; cf. 157–61 n.; Stone 72–102, esp. 98) and he carries an empty *chous* in one hand (1227 with n.). Cf. Philokleon's entrance with the pipe-girl at *V.* 1326–63. **ἄταταῖ** is not used elsewhere as a cry of joy (cf. 1190 n.), but the fact that Dik. hails Lam. only at 1207 shows that he cannot simply be making fun of him (i.e. as he discovers—allegedly to his great regret—how firm his companions' breasts are), and this must be an all-purpose exclamation like *παπαῖ* (1214 with n.). Cf. López Eire 89, and in Thiery and Menu 203–4.

**1199** Cf. *Th.* 1185 (of a dancing-girl/prostitute) 'Man, 'er tit's so firm! Just like a turnip!' **τῶν τιθίων**: Exclamatory gen. The diminutive *τιθίον* ('titty') is the vulgar *vox propria* for the female breast (e.g. *Ra.* 412b; *Pl.* 1067; Antiph. fr. 105. 4); cf. *MM* § 200; Olson on *Pax* 863. **κυδώνια**: 'like Kydonian [apples]', i.e. quinces (cf. Alc. *PMGF* 99; Stesich. *PMGF* 187. 1; Ibyc. *PMGF* 286. 1–2; Ath. 3. 81a–2a), which are even harder than apples; for the comparison, cf. Canthar. fr. 6; Leon. *APL* xvi. 182. 7 μαζὸς . . . κυδωνιᾶ ('her breast is as firm as a quince'). For breasts compared to other fruit *et sim.*, *Lys.* 155 (apples); *Th.* 1185 (turnips (above)); *Ec.* 903 (apples); frr. 599. 1 (beans (of very small, emergent breasts)); 664. 2 (nuts); Crates Com. fr. 43 (apples and arbutus fruit); Theoc. 27. 50 (apples) with Gow ad loc.; cf. fr. 148 (olives).

**1200–1** To the whores. **μαλθακῶς**: Not 'softly, gently' (which will not do with 1201) but 'luxuriously, wantonly'; cf. 68–70 n. **ὦ χρυσίω**: Cf. *V.* 1341 (Philokleon to the pipe-girl) χρυσομηλολόνηθιον; *Lys.* 930 (Kinesias to Myrrhine) ὦ χρυσίον\*. **τὸ περιπεταστὸν ἐπι-**

**μανδαλωτόν:** Sc. *φίλημα* (cognate internal acc. with *φιλήσατον*), '[the kind of kiss] with your lips spread wide [and] your tongue stuck out'. *περιπεταστόν* is a hapax legomenon. For *ἐπιμανδαλωτόν* (< *μάνδαλος*, 'door-bolt'), cf. *Th.* 131–2 (of Agathon's sexually arousing song) *καταεγλωττισμένον / καὶ μανδαλωτόν* ('full of French-kisses and out-thrust tongues'). For French-kisses, 377–82 n.; *Nu.* 51; Telecl. fr. 14 with K–A's apparatus; *MM* §§ 368–72. For the text, 1194–5 n. Triklinios' *κἀναπιμανδαλωτόν ἄν* represents an attempt to convert the corrupt text he inherited (c) into 3ia.

**1202–3** The echo of 1001–2 suggests that 1203 ought to be an explanation (*γάρ*) not of why the two whores should kiss Dik. in one way in particular but of why he deserves the wineskin offered as a prize at the drinking contest (cf. 1225, 1230, 1233–4). I therefore follow Bergk in assuming that 1190–7 and 1198–1203 originally responded exactly but that a line has fallen out between 1201 and 1203, as again between 1204 and 1206. Triklinios' *χοᾶ νῦν . . . ἐκπέπωκά γε* represents an attempt to convert α's *χοᾶ . . . ἐκπέπωκα* into 3ia.

**1204–5 συμφορά:** Very common in (but scarcely confined to) tragedy (e.g. *A. Pers.* 1044; *S. Ph.* 885; *E. Alc.* 673). *τάλαινα τῶν ἐμῶν κακῶν:* 163–4 n. For 1205, 1202–3 n.

**1206–7** Triklinios added *ῶ* after *ἰῶ ἰῶ* in 1206 and *ἰηῦ ἰηῦ* (*ἰῆ ἰῆ d*) in 1207 in order to convert the lines into 3ia. *ἐπωδύνων:* Hippocratic vocabulary (e.g. *Progn.* ii. 128. 9; *Epid.* ii. 608. 13; v. 248. 5; *Fract.* iii. 424. 4); attested subsequently in poetry at Nic. *Th.* 326 (of a wound); *Al.* 196 (of poison). *ἰηῦ ἰηῦ* represents derisive laughter (cf. *V.* 1335; *Pax* 195; Labiano Ilundain 212–14), as Dik. notices Lam. for the first time. For the spelling, West, *ZPE* 60 (1985) 10. *Λαμαχίππιον* ('my dear noble Lam.') is constructed out of (1) Lam.'s name + (2) the suffix *-ἵππος* (lit. 'horse'; treated at *Nu.* 63–4 as aristocratic—or at least a sign of aristocratic pretensions—as if Lam. were not from a relatively undistinguished family (266–70 n.); cf. 603; Dubois, in S. Hornblower and E. Matthews, *Greek Personal Names: Their Value as Evidence* (Proceedings of the British Academy 104: Oxford, 2000) 41–52, esp. 42–8) + (3) the hypocoristic diminutive suffix *-ιον* (which signals only Dik.'s contempt for his interlocutor).

**1208–9** The assignment and significance of these lines puzzled readers and commentators already in antiquity, due in part to confusion over whether *κυνεῖς* or *κινεῖς* ('you move'; unmetrical) ought to be printed in 1209 ( $\Sigma^{\text{REF}}$ ). Bergk (followed by most editors since Meineke) split each verse into two halves (thus already *d*, with various assignments of speakers) and rearranged them in the pattern *Λα. A Δι. C / Λα. B Δι. D*. This adds to the liveliness but is otherwise unnecessary, and (with Sommerstein) I have retained the traditional order of the words while removing the superfluous changes of speaker. *στυγερός:* 1191/2 n.

For the adj. in the sense 'suffering misery', e.g. *S. Ant.* 144; *E. Med.* 113.

**μογερός:** Tragic vocabulary (e.g. *A. Th.* 827; *S. El.* 93; *E. Med.* 206; [A.] *PV* 565; adesp. tr. fr. 701. 12); attested nowhere else in comedy.

1209 is a mock reproof addressed to the whores, who are not only kissing Dik. (cf. 1200-1) but nibbling (**δάκνεις**) playfully at his lips (cf. Archil. fr. 86. 11 *ἐδάκνομέν τε κάφ[ιλέομεν* ('we were biting and kissing'; of an erotic encounter); Plaut. *Pseud.* 67 *teneris labellis molles morsiunculae* ('gentle nibblings of tender lips'); Catullus 8. 18 *cui labella mordebis?* ('whose lips will you bite?')) and perhaps his ears. Cf. Dover, *G&G* 305.

**1210** α had *τάλας ἐγὼ τῆς ἐν μάχῃ ξυμβολῆς βαρείας* (**Rac**), which is hypermetrical, and Triklinios added *νῦν* after *μάχῃ* in order to convert the line into *2ia / ia ia*<sup>^</sup>. *ἐν μάχῃ* looks like an intrusive gloss; the def. art. renders *βαρείας* predicative, which will not do; and with all recent editors I follow Bergk in printing *τάλας ἐγὼ ξυμβολῆς βαρείας*. This eliminates responsion between 1210 and 1211 (like 1213 an ordinary trimeter), but the same phenomenon occurs in 1212-13, with responsion resuming in 1214-25, and the effect is presumably deliberate: Lam. (who never acknowledges Dik.'s presence on stage) continues his paratragic lament, but Dik. lapses into conversational style to address his wounded rival (to whom he speaks directly otherwise only in the greeting in 1207). **ξυμβολῆς** appears in the sense 'conflict, battle' also at *A. Pers.* 350; otherwise a prosaic use of the word (e.g. *Hdt.* i. 66. 4; v. 118. 3; *X. HG* iv. 2. 21), which is introduced here for the sake of the word-play in 1211.

**1211** *τοῖς Χουσί . . . τις ξυμβολὰς ἐπράττετο;* 'Was someone trying to assess contributions at the Choes festival?', where the custom was apparently instead for guests to furnish their dinner and for the host to pay for the symposium goods and the entertainment (1089-93 with 1085-6n.; thus Brunck). For *πράττομαι* in the sense 'assess a charge', e.g. *Ra.* 561; *Eub.* fr. 72. 4 *συμβολὰς ἐπράξατο*; *Alex.* fr. 265. 3; *Diph.* fr. 67. 12; *Macho* 338. This is the earliest specific reference to *δεῖπνα ἀπὸ συμβολῶν*, dinner-parties organized by a single individual on behalf of a group, either using money contributed in advance or on the understanding that the others would pay their shares afterward (e.g. *Phryn. Com.* fr. 60; *Alex.* fr. 102. 1; *Diph.* fr. 42. 28-31; cf. *Alex.* fr. 15 with Arnott ad loc.; *Eub.* fr. 72. 3-5; *Diod. Com.* fr. 2. 10-11); cf. Gow on *Macho* 44-5. **γάρ** marks this as an incredulous question; 'What?' (*GP* 77-8).

**1212** *ἰὼ Παιάν Παιάν:* 566-7n. Triklinios added a second *ἰὼ* (cf. 1206; *S. Tr.* 221 *ἰὼ ἰὼ Παιάν*), which allows the line to be taken as *2ia* (assuming that *Παιάν* suffers internal correption); more likely the words are extra-metrical, like *ἰήιε Παιάν* at *V.* 874, and no emendation is required. *Παιήων* is an independent god of healing in early epic (*H. Il.* 5. 401-2, 899-901; *Hes.* fr. 307; cf. *H. Od.* 4. 231-2) and apparently the Linear B

tablets (KN V 52; cf. W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985) 43–4). By the 5th c., the name is sometimes used as an epithet of Apollo (e.g. A. *Ag.* 146; E. fr. 477) but is also applied to other divinities and powers associated with healing or release from pain (e.g. A. fr. 255. 1 (Death); S. *Ph.* 832 (Sleep); cf. Crates Com. fr. 17. 3, where the Paionion is perhaps a sanctuary of Asklepios), and nothing suggests that Lam. has a particular god in mind. *Παιάν* is the normal tragic form of the word (cf. Wackernagel, *Glotta* 14 (1925) 61–4; Barrett on E. *Hipp.* 1371–3; Cromeey, *Glotta* 56 (1978) 62–5); comedy generally has *Παιών* (e.g. *Pax* 453; *Th.* 311; cf. 1213, 1223).

**1213** *τήμερον* gives a more specific sense to *νυνί*; ‘now, [i.e.] today’ (cf. H. *Il.* 7. 29–30 ~ 290–1; 20. 210–11). Nothing else is known of an Athenian *Παιώνια* ( $\Sigma^{\text{REF}}$  ‘an Athenian festival’, to which  $\Sigma^{\text{E}}$  adds ‘perhaps dedicated to Apollo’, is scholarly guesswork; cf. Deubner 202), and what Dik. means is not ‘today is not the Festival of Paion’ (note the lack of a def. art.) but ‘today is not a festival of Paion’.

**1214–15** Like 1218–19, 1222–3, addressed to whoever is doing the bandaging (1189n.). *λάβεσθε . . . λάβεσθε . . . / προσλάβεσθ(ε)*: More often the compound precedes the simplex, which retains the compound’s force; cf. KG i. 552; Watkins, *HSCP* 71 (1966) 115–19; Arnott on [Alex.] fr. 25. 4. For the text, 1216–17n. *μου*: 585–6n. *παπαί*: An expression of surprise and here of grief, as at e.g. *Lys.* 215; *Pl.* 220; A. *Pers.* 1031; S. *Ph.* 745; fr. 828f; E. *Alc.* 226; *HF* 1120; cf. López Eire 89; Labiano *Ilundain* 275–86, esp. 276–8. *φίλοι*: R’s *φίλοι* reflects the influence of 1217.

**1216–17** Addressed to the prostitutes. *τοῦ πέους . . . / προσλάβεσθ’*: For hand-jobs, 1147–9n. Triklinios’ *προσλάβεσθέ μ’* (tAld) represents an attempt to create respension with 1215, where β had *scriptio plena* *προσλάβεσθε* (AΓ, cf. E<sup>ac</sup>) and the common ancestor of ct added μ’ to eliminate hiatus before ω̄.

**1218–19** *εὐλιγγιῶ*: 580–1n. *κάρα λίθω πεπληγμένος*: As if Lam. had not simply fallen down and struck his head (1180) but been hit by a stone-thrower or slinger (a common form of light-armed troop (e.g. *Th.* vi. 22, 25. 2; X. *HG* ii. 4. 12; *Oec.* 8. 6); cf. 686 with n.; *War* v. 1–43, 53–67); cf. 1192/3 with n. *κάρα* is poetic vocabulary (e.g. *Th.* 1102 = E. fr. 123. 2 (the only other appearance of the word in Ar.); Cratin. fr. 105. 7 (eupolideans); H. *Il.* 5. 7; Pi. *P.* 10. 46; A. *Ch.* 428). *σκοτοδιγιῶ*: ‘I’m blacking out’; first attested here.

**1220–1** were omitted in the common ancestor of a when the scribe’s eye leapt from *σκοτοδιγιῶ* (1219) to *σκοτοβινιῶ* (1221). *κάγώ*: ‘And I for my part . . .’. *καθεύδειν*: 1147–9n. *στύομαι*: ‘I have a hard-on’; a primary obscenity (*MM* § 7). *σκοτοβινιῶ*: ‘I’m eager to get in the dark and fuck’ *vel sim.* (cf. 1051–3 n.); a comic coinage modelled on *σκοτοδιγιῶ* (1219\*).

**1222-3** εἰς τὰ Πιττάλου: 1032 n. β's εἰς τὸν Πιττάλου is not Attic usage; R's εἰς τοῦ Πιττάλου could perhaps be defended by reference to *Ec.* 420 εἰς τῶν σκυλοδειψῶν, but the def. art. is abnormal with the personal name (e.g. *V.* 1250; *Lys.* 621; cf. the examples collected at Poultney 6); and c's εἰς τὸν Πιττάλον (*sic*) and Elmsley's ('erunt qui malint') εἰς τοὺς Πιττάλου are ruled out by the fact that εἰς does not normally take an acc. of a person in Attic. Blaydes suggested ὡς τοὺς Πιττάλου, which assumes that εἰς was written for ὡς (despite 1224); that τοῦ was written for τοὺς via assimilation to the case of Πιττάλου (as in some MSS at 1032) in α or its exemplar; and that τόν was written in β for τοῦ by a scribe puzzled by εἰς + gen. It is more economical to assume with van Leeuwen (who assigns the conjecture to Elmsley) that Ar. wrote εἰς τὰ Πιττάλου ('to Pittalos' place'), as at *V.* 1432\* (where see MacDowell's n.), and that τοῦ replaced τὰ in α or its exemplar and τόν replaced τοῦ in β, as above. **παιωνίαισι χερσίν:** παιώνιος is tragic vocabulary (e.g. *A. Supp.* 1066 χειρὶ παιωνία; *Ag.* 848; *S. Ph.* 1345-6 παιωνίας / εἰς χεῖρας); attested nowhere else in comedy.

**1224-5** τοὺς κριτάς are the judges of the dramatic contest (*DFA* 95-9), also mentioned at *Av.* 445 and addressed directly at *Nu.* 1115-30; *Av.* 1102-17; *Ec.* 1154-62, while ὁ βασιλεύς is the archon basileus, who had charge (*inter alia*) of most aspects of the Lenaia festival ([*Arist.*] *Ath.* 57. 1 with Rhodes ad loc.; cf. 1154-5 n.) and most likely crowned the victor in the tragic and comic competitions at the end (thus *DFA* 98; cf. M. Blech, *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen* (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, Band XXXVIII: Berlin and New York, 1982) 312-13; Wilson 102). Dik.'s victory in the Choes drinking contest (1203) has merged with Ar.'s anticipated victory in the contest of comic poets. **φέρετε** and the question that follows in the second half of 1224 are addressed to the world in general and the chorus in particular, but it is unclear whether ἀπόδοτε is as well or Dik. is now speaking directly to the judges and the archon (probably seated in the front row of seats in the Theatre) and demanding his prize. **ἀπόδοτέ μοι τὸν ἄσκόν:** 'Give me the wine-sack I am owed' (LSJ s. ἀποδίδωμι I. 1), i.e. as the reward promised for winning the drinking contest (1001-2; cf. above; 1202-3 n.). Someone (perhaps a confederate of the poet in the front row of seats) hands Dik. a full wineskin (cf. 1230).

**1226** Cf. *H. Il.* 4. 460-1 ἐν δὲ μετώπῳ πῆξε, πέρησε δ' ἄρ' ὀστέον εἴσω / αἰχμὴ χαλκείη ('the bronze spearpoint stuck in his forehead and passed into the bone'); 5. 66-7; 11. 95-7 (etc.) (all of deep and deadly wounds). Lam.'s observation that he has been struck δι' ὀστέων amounts to a final emphatic insistence on the seriousness of his condition. **λόγχη** ('spear') is poetic vocabulary (in Hdt. in the sense 'spearhead' (e.g. i. 52; iv. 94. 2)); first attested in Pindar (e.g. *N.* 10. 60) and common in the tragedians (e.g. *A. Pers.* 51; *S. Ant.* 119; *E. Hec.* 102; *Tr.* 1301). For

spears, 1118–19n. **ὀδυρτά:** Adverbial neut. acc., ‘painfully’ (*pace* Σ<sup>REF</sup>, which mistakes the word for a nom. adj. (cf. S *ὀδυρτή*) and treats it as equivalent to *Ὀδρύσα*, ‘Thracian’ (St. Byz. p. 484. 2–6)); the adj. is first attested here, but cf. A. *Supp.* 69 *φιλόδυρτος. ὀδυρμόν* at the end of the line in **p** is an intrusive fragment of a marginal scholion ~ Σ<sup>REF</sup>. Lam.’s slave or slaves and the soldiers who brought him on at 1190 carry him off into a wing.

**1227** Like 1229, addressed in the first instance to the judges and the archon (cf. 1224), who must bear witness to Dik.’s victory, but also to the chorus and the audience generally. **τουτονί:** i.e. the hero’s *chous* (*pace* Σ<sup>RF3</sup>, which identifies the object in question as the wineskin, which ought to be full), which he holds up (note deictic -ί), doubtless inverted to show that it is empty, for public inspection. Σ<sup>RVEΓ</sup> *Av.* 1764 (cf. Σ *Pi. O.* 9. 1) identifies **τήνελλα καλλίνικος** as an echo of a song attributed to Archilochos (fr. spur. 324) in praise of Herakles’ victory at Olympia: *τήνελλα καλλίνικε / χαῖρε ἄναξ Ἡράκλεις, / αὐτός τε καϊόλαος, αἰχμητὰ δύω* (‘*tenella!* Hail victorious lord Herakles, you and Iolaos, twin spearmen!’); cf. *Av.* 1764 (in praise of the triumphant Peisetairos) with Dunbar ad loc.; Wilamowitz-Moellendorff on E. *HF* 180; Hsch. κ 480 (‘a type of dance [performed] upon the bringing up of Kerberos [from Hades by Herakles]’). *καλλίνικος* is also used of victors of various sorts at e.g. *Eq.* 1254 (of the Sausage-seller after the Paphlagonian has surrendered); *Pi. P.* 11. 46; *I.* 1. 12; E. *El.* 880; *Ph.* 1253; *Ba.* 1161. Σ<sup>RVEΓ</sup> *Av.* 1764, Σ<sup>ABCDEQ</sup> *Pi. O.* 9. 1, and Phot. p. 586. 2–3 claim that *τήνελλα* is an onomatopoeic imitation of the sound of a pipe or a lyre; cf. *Ra.* 1286 (etc.) *φλαττοθραττοφλαττοθρατ*; *Pl.* 290 (etc.) *θρεττανελο* (both imitations of the sound of a lyre).

**1228** The repetition of **τήνελλα . . . καλλίνικος** (1227n.) accompanied by **δητ(α)** marks this as an emphatic assent (*GP* 276). **εἵπερ καλεῖς γ’:** ‘if, in fact, you are calling [on us to do this]’; an expression not of doubt but of a confident eagerness to cooperate (307–8n.). **πρέσβυ:** Cf. Dickey 82–4, esp. 84 (an inconclusive discussion); here the term is clearly respectful. Σ<sup>EF</sup> glosses the word with the observation that Dik. had already presented himself as an old man ‘in his conversation with his wife at the beginning of the play’, although the text as we have it contains nothing of the sort.

**1229** 1227n. **καὶ πρὸς γ’:** *πρὸς* is adverbial; ‘and on top of that . . .’. Cf. 560–1n.; Stevens 57; Mastronarde on E. *Ph.* 610. What follows offers two additional grounds for admiring Dik.’s achievement: the wine he drank was unmixed and he emptied his jug at a single draught. **ἄκρατον:** Sc. *οἶνον*; cf. 73–5n. **ἄμυστιν ἐξέλαψα:** ‘I lapped it up without a breath, I chugged it’. *ἄμυστιν* is predicative of *ἄκρατον* (*οἶνον*) (*pace* LSJ s.v. II); cf. Epich. fr. 34. 4 *ἄμυστιν ὥσπερ κύλικα πίνει τὸν βίον* (‘he drinks up his livelihood without a breath, as if it were a winecup’);

Pl. Com. fr. 205. 3-4; Anacr. *PMG* 356(a). 2-3; E. *Cyc.* 417. ἐκλάπτω is attested first here and at *Pax* 885.

**1230 γεννάδα:** Extremely deferential, here in praise of Dik.'s 'resolute achievement of victory' (Dover, *Frogs*, p. 46; cf. Björck 51-4).  
**χώρει λαβὼν τὸν ἀσκόν:** According to S a 4177 (probably referring specifically to the great parade associated with the City Dionysia), Athenian citizens in Dionysiac processions carried ἀσκοί ('wine-sacks') on their shoulders and were therefore called ἀσκοφόροι ('wine-sack-bearers').

**1231** Addressed in the first instance to the chorus (cf. 1232-4) but also to the judges and the audience, who are thus invited to proclaim Ar. the victor in the comic competition. ἔπεσθε . . . ᾄδοντες: Cf. *Av.*

1755-8; *Pl.* 1209; E. *Hipp.* 58. Dik. (accompanied by the prostitutes) steps into the orchestra and exits down one of the *eisodoi*, carrying his wineskin and *chous*; probably several members of the chorus lift him onto their shoulders and carry him off (cf. *Pax* 1344-6). The rest of the chorus follow him out.

**1232-4 ἀλλ':** 408-9 n. σὴν χάριν: 'for your sake' (e.g. A. *Pers.* 1046; S. *Tr.* 485; E. *HF* 1238; *Hel.* 806; Pl. *Phdr.* 234e), i.e. 'if that is what you want' (cf. 1228 with n.). τήνελλα κτλ.: 'singing "τήνελλα καλλίνικος" in honour of you and the wineskin'. For the construction, cf. A. *Ag.* 173-4; E. *Med.* 663-4. The second τήνελλα καλλίνικος (restored by Elmsley) was lost via haplography, and the remaining καλλίνικος (ΑΓ, cf. E<sup>ac</sup>) was then attracted into the case of σε (RΓ<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup>ct).



'This edition is everything we could have expected, given the sterling qualities Olson had already shown in his edition of *Peace* (Oxford, 1998) . . . and it fully merits the company it keeps in the Clarendon series with, for example, Dover's *Clouds* of 1968 and Dunbar's *Birds* of 1995.'

Alan H. Sommerstein, *Bryn Mawr Classical Review*

Aristophanes' *Acharnians* was performed at the Lenaia festival in Athens in 425 BCE. The play is the story of an old peasant farmer, Dikaiopolis, who has grown so disgusted with the Peloponnesian War and the patent self-serving of the city's leading politicians (abetted by the stupidity of his fellow-citizens) that he concludes a separate peace with the enemy. As a result, he gains access to an immense supply of wonderful things, including wine, eels, thrushes, and a pair of beautiful and compliant women. Whether he is a traitor and a villain, or simply the cleverest and most daring man in the city, is a matter of extensive debate within the play. *Acharnians* itself, at any rate, took first place and is generally regarded as one of Aristophanes' two or three most brilliant surviving comedies. Olson offers the first complete new scholarly edition of the play in almost a century. The text and apparatus are based on a fresh examination of the papyri and manuscripts, many of which have never been studied systematically, and are supported by a new manuscript stemma. The introduction contains sections on the poet himself; the historical setting and political argument of the play; the mythological and literary background; division of parts, costumes, and props; staging; the use of dialects; and the history of the text. The commentary covers a wide range of literary, historical, and philological issues, with particular attention to staging and details of everyday life. All Greek in the introduction and commentary not cited for technical reasons is translated, making much of the edition accessible to general scholarly readers.

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