

ARISTOPHANES
FROGS

EDITED WITH
INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY

BY
KENNETH DOVER

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PREFACE

WHEN Dr J. D. Denniston died in 1949 he left among his papers lecture-notes on Aristophanes' *Frogs* which, I was told, he had intended one day to turn into a commentary. Sir Denys Page gave this material to me, since I was at that time contemplating the production of a new Oxford Classical Text of Aristophanes and a commentary on at least one play. Other commitments supervened (particularly the preparation of lectures on Thucydides VI and VII), and by the time I was ready to turn to *Frogs* I learned that Professor W. B. Stanford, who had another copy of Denniston's notes, was preparing an edition and commentary himself (it appeared in 1958). I therefore did *Clouds* instead, but began again to pay intermittent attention to *Frogs* in 1970, and since 1983 have devoted an increasing proportion of my working time to it. It did not take me long to realize that a new edition and a new commentary were needed. Coulon had not investigated the manuscript tradition adequately, and his apparatus contains many oversights and omissions, some of them inherited from von Velsen and van Leeuwen. Some problems of interpretation had been neglected, and there were others on which I have found it profitable to put out of my mind what generations of commentators have said and try to imagine that *Frogs* was a newly discovered text.

It is possible to produce a 'definitive' edition of a classical text only in the sense that one may present all the evidence which has up to a given time seemed relevant to the establishment of the text. There are not many editorial choices which can expect to command the universal and enduring agreement of classical scholars, and even some of those which look as if they might achieve that high status may be suddenly demoted by a new datum or a new consideration. And plainly there cannot be such a thing as a 'definitive' commentary, short of a vast *catena* which would faithfully reproduce what all previous commentators and authors of books and articles have said. I have observed that other people cannot be trusted to state my own arguments correctly and adequately, and I have to infer that I cannot be trusted to state theirs. One reason for that is obvious: two people's solutions of a problem may differ not because one of them is better acquainted than the other with the relevant data, but because they

do not agree on the relative weight to be given to different considerations.

I have been sparing of references to my predecessors, particularly when I am saying what everyone has said before me and there is nothing to be gained in naming the person (most commonly, Fritzsche) who said it first. Here and there I have corrected an error to prevent it from gaining ground; and I give credit explicitly to those who thought of something which I accept but had not thought of myself. I have also thought it right to report Denniston's opinions on many passages, whether or not I arrived at the same opinions independently (I had deliberately postponed a proper scrutiny of his notes until the draft of my own commentary was complete), *ἵνα μὴ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γένηται*.

When I wrote my commentary on *Clouds* I assumed a fairly advanced knowledge of Greek grammar and vocabulary on the reader's part. Now I have changed my policy, and have given the reader much more help in translating. This is in response to pleas from British teachers, and because the student is concerned not only to understand the play but at the same time to facilitate hrs¹ reading of other plays by improving hrs knowledge of the Greek language, and some of my brief excursions into semantics may do more for that process than constant reference to the lexicon. I am also greatly influenced by my experience with the graduate students I have had the pleasure of teaching at Stanford: highly intelligent, strongly motivated and very hard-working, not in the least intimidated by corpora of fragments and articles in out-of-the-way periodicals, but often—because of their late start in linguistic work—with an uncertain hold on Greek grammar and a limited Greek vocabulary. The enthusiasm and intellectual enterprise of such students encourages me to believe that the future of classical studies may perhaps be brighter in the United States than in Europe.

I owe a lot to students and colleagues who have raised questions and offered suggestions in seminars at St Andrews, Stanford, and elsewhere. I am also indebted to Dr L. P. E. Edwards, who sent me a copy of her analyses of the lyrics in the play (she will, I fear, find some of my final decisions wayward); to Dr C. F. Austin, who alerted me to the

¹ The sequence of letters 'hrs' should be pronounced 'his', 'her(s)', or 'his or her(s)', according to the requirements of the context or the predilections of the reader. So too with 'hrm'. The long-established convention that 'the masculine pronoun must be taken as including the feminine' has now become quite unrealistic.

presence of unpublished marginalia in early printed editions; to Miss N. V. Dunbar, who gave me much information on those marginalia (and also compelled me to face the question, 'To what does a testimonium testify?'); to Professor Thomas Gelzer, for a timely reminder about the functions of the paragraphos in early texts; to Professors W. G. Arnott and A. H. Sommerstein, for letting me see the drafts of their articles on the politics of the play at a stage when I was still dithering over the interpretation of the parabasis; to Mr N. G. Wilson, for information on some passages of manuscripts; to Mr S. F. Weiskittel, who confirmed from his own knowledge of rowing my interpretation of $\acute{\omega} \delta\pi \cdot \delta\pi$; and above all to the copy-editor (Mr J. K. Cordy) and the proof-reader (Dr Leofranc Holford-Strevens).

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ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

- AC K. J. Dover, *Aristophanic Comedy* (London, 1972).
 CA J. U. Powell (ed.), *Collectanea Alexandrina* (Oxford, 1925).
 CGFP C. F. Austin (ed.), *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta in Papyris Reperta* (Berlin and New York, 1973).
 DFA Arthur Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, 3rd edn., rev. John Gould and D. M. Lewis (Oxford, 1988).
 DGE E. Schwyzer (ed.), *Dialectorum Graecarum Exempla Epigraphica Potiora*, 3rd edn., rev. P. Cauer (Leipzig, 1923).
 Dn J. D. Denniston, MS notes.
 GP J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1954).
 GPh A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page (eds.), *The Garland of Philip* (Cambridge, 1968).
 GPM K. J. Dover, *Greek Popular Morality in the Time of Plato and Aristotle* (Oxford, 1974).
 GPS J. D. Denniston, *Greek Prose Style* (Oxford, 1952).
 GV U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Griechische Verskunst* (Berlin, 1921, repr. Darmstadt, 1958).
 GVI W. Peek (ed.), *Griechische Vers-Inschriften I* (Berlin, 1955).
 GWO K. J. Dover, *Greek Word Order*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1968).
 HCT A. W. Gomme, A. Andrewes, and K. J. Dover, *Historical Commentary on Thucydides* (Oxford, 1945–81).
 HE A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page (eds.), *Hellenistic Epigrams* (Cambridge, 1965).
 HN B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1911).
 IEG M. L. West (ed.), *Iambi et Elegi Graeci* (Oxford, 1971–2).
 KB R. Kühner, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*, Part I, rev. F. Blass (Hanover, 1890–2).
 KG R. Kühner, id., Part II, rev. B. Gerth (Hanover, 1898–1904).
 LIMC J. Boardman *et al.* (eds.), *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (Zürich, 1981–).
 LM A. M. Dale, *The Lyric Metres of Greek Drama*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1968).
 LSJ H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek–English Lexicon*, 9th edn., rev. H. Stuart Jones and R. McKenzie (with Supplement, Oxford, 1968).
 MA A. M. Dale, *Metrical Analyses of Greek Tragic Choruses*, *BICS Supplements* 21.1 (1971), 21.2 (1981), 21.3 (1983).

- ML R. Meiggs and D. M. Lewis (eds.), *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1989).
- MT W. W. Goodwin, *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb*, rev. edn. (London, 1910).
- PCG R. Kassel and C. F. Austin (eds.), *Poetae Comici Graeci* (Berlin and New York, 1983-).
- PMG D. L. Page (ed.), *Poetae Melici Graeci* (Oxford, 1962).
- RE *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart, 1893-1970; Munich, 1972-).
- SA W. J. W. Koster *et al.* (eds.), *Scholia in Aristophanem* (Groningen, 1960-).
- SGV J. M. Stahl, *Kritisch-historische Syntax des griechischen Verbums der klassischen Zeit* (Heidelberg, 1907).
- SH H. Lloyd-Jones and P. Parsons (eds.), *Supplementum Hellenisticum* (Berlin and New York, 1983).
- TrGF B. Snell *et al.* (eds.), *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Göttingen, 1971-).

Other abbreviations (e.g. *IG*, *SEG*) are as in LSJ.

The names of ancient authors and works are abbreviated as in LSJ or more explicitly, and periodicals as in *L'Année philologique*. The numbering of fragments follows *PMG* for lyric, *IEG* for elegy and iambus, *TrGF* for Aeschylus, Sophocles, and minor or unidentified tragic poets, Nauck's *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* for Euripides, and *PCG* for comic poets, except for Menander (whose fragments are numbered as in Koerte's Teubner edition, revised by Thierfelder) and those for whom 'K' indicates numbering by Kock's *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta*. Epigrams, wherever possible, are numbered in accordance with *HE* and *GPh*.

Editions of *Frogs* and commentaries on it are referred to by the editor's or commentator's name only. The commentaries which I have used are those of F. K. Fritzsche (Zürich, 1845), F. H. M. Blaydes (Halle, 1889),¹ J. van Leeuwen (Leiden, 1896), T. Kock (4th edn., Berlin, 1898), B. B. Rogers (London, 1902), W. W. Merry (5th edn., Oxford, 1905), T. G. Tucker (London, 1906), L. Radermacher (reissued with an appendix by W. Kraus, Vienna, 1954), W. B. Stanford (2nd edn., London, 1963), and D. Del Corno (Milan,

¹ The use of Blaydes's edition and commentary generates in the user an exasperation which is expressed at some length by C. Holzinger, *JAW* 71 (1892) (7), 128-8^a. The information given in the apparatus criticus on manuscript readings is highly unreliable, and all MSS are treated as if they were of equal value. Blaydes's own emendations are often frivolous and reckless, and he is enthusiastic over similar emendations by others. His commentary is repetitious to a degree which suggests that he sent it to press unrevised. And yet his accumulation of parallels for linguistic and stylistic phenomena contains material which has saved subsequent commentators a great deal of trouble, and for that we must acknowledge a debt to him.

1985). References to Radermacher are by page-number, not to lines of the Greek text.

Reference is made to the following books and articles, each of which is mentioned in more than one context in the Introduction or Commentary,² by the author's (or editor's) name only, or, in cases where more than one work of the same author are listed, by author's name and date.

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² I have adhered strictly to this principle. Exclusion from the list does not imply any adverse judgement on my part; nor does inclusion necessarily imply favourable judgement.

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INTRODUCTION

I. ARISTOPHANES

THE career of Aristophanes as a writer of comedies lasted forty years. At least forty plays were attributed to him in antiquity,¹ eleven of which survived into the Middle Ages and thus to our own day; we know the titles of the lost plays, and we have nearly a thousand 'fragments' of them, including some substantial pieces of papyrus, some extensive citations, and many words and phrases recorded by ancient scholars.

The essential facts of his literary career are these (lost plays are asterisked, and those of uncertain date are omitted):

- 427 (Second prize) *Banqueters** (*Δαιταλείς*), produced by Kallistratos.²
- 426 (City Dionysia) *Babylonians** , produced by Kallistratos.
- 425 (Lenaia, first prize) *Acharnians* ('*Ach.*'), produced by Kallistratos.
- 424 (Lenaia, first prize) *Knights* ('*Eq.*'), produced by Aristophanes himself.
- 423 (City Dionysia, ranked low)³ first version⁴ of *Clouds* ('*Nu.*').

¹ It is never possible to be precise in stating the number of plays written by an Athenian comic poet, since (a) the same poet sometimes wrote two plays bearing the same title, and the second play could be either a completely different play or a revised version of the first; (b) the same play was sometimes known by two different titles; (c) when two poets had written plays with the same title and only one of the two survived, its authorship could be disputed.

² A collaboration in which a poet put on a play *διὰ* someone else (as 'director' or 'producer') was by no means uncommon; cf. F. Perusino, *Corolla Londinensis* 2 (1982) 138 nn. 3 f., and *Dalla Commedia Antica alla Commedia di Mezzo* (Urbino, n.d.) 42 f., F. S. Halliwell, *GRBS* 30 (1989) 515–28. Aristophanes' own career shows that such a collaboration was not confined to inexperienced poets, since *Frogs* itself was put on *διὰ Φιλωνίδου*. Its bearing on the interpretation of *Eq.* 512–46 and *V.* 1015–50 as evidence for Aristophanes' early career is controversial: cf. G. Mastromarco, *QS* 10 (1979) 153–96, F. S. Halliwell, *CQ* NS 30 (1980) 33–45, D. M. MacDowell, *CQ* NS 32 (1982) 21–6, Perusino, locc. citt., N. Slater, *GRBS* 30 (1989) 67–82.

³ The number of comedies competing on each occasion was five before the Peloponnesian War; whether a reduction to three was effected at the start of the war or some years after the start is disputed. Cf. W. Luppe, *Philologus* 116 (1972) 37–78, G. Mastromarco, *Belfagor* 30 (1975) 469–73.

⁴ The play we have is a revised version; cf. Dover (1968) pp. lxxx–xcviii.

- 422 (Lenaia, second prize) *Wasps* ('*V.*'), produced by Philonides.
 421 (City Dionysia, second prize) *Peace* ('*Pax*').⁵
 414 (Lenaia) *Amphiaraios*, produced by Philonides.
 414 (City Dionysia, second prize) *Birds* ('*Av.*'), produced by Kallistratos.
 411 *Lysistrata* ('*Lys.*'), produced by Kallistratos, and *Women at the Thesmophoria* (*Thesmophoriazusae*, '*Th.*'). *Th.* is datable in relation to datable plays of Euripides and by political references; it is probable that *Lys.* was produced at the Lenaia and *Th.* at the City Dionysia.⁶
 408 *Wealth** (*Plutus*), not the play of that name which has survived (see below).
 405 (Lenaia, first prize) *Frogs* ('*Ra.*'), produced by Philonides.
 392 *Women in Assembly* (*Ecclesiazusae*, '*Ec.*'). The date, which depends on a partially corrupt scholion and on historical references in the play, may be a year out.
 388 (probably first prize)⁷ *Wealth* (*Plutus*, '*Pl.*').⁸
 After 388: *Aiolosikon** and *Kokalos**, put on by Aristophanes' son Araros.⁹

According to the *Vita* (p. 1. 1, al.) Aristophanes was the son of one Philippos and belonged to the deme Kydathenaion, in the phyle Pandionis. It appears from what he says in *Nu.* 528–32 that he regarded himself as young and inexperienced when he wrote *Banqueters*, but it is unwise to draw firm inferences from that to his date of birth or to Athenian legislation governing the dramatic festivals.¹⁰

⁵ Aristophanes wrote another play of the same name.

⁶ Cf. *AC* 169–72.

⁷ This is an inference from the order in which the competing plays are listed in Hyp. iv *Pl.*

⁸ τελευταίαν διδάξας τὴν κωμωδίαν ταύτην ἐπὶ τῷ ἰδίῳ ὄνοματι (Hyp. IV). That does not preclude production διὰ τινος (*Σ Ach.* 378 says that Aristophanes ἐδίδαξε *Babylonians*, which was produced διὰ Καλλιστράτου).

⁹ Hyp. IV *Pl.* δι' ἐκείνου (sc. Ἀραρότος) καθῆκε may mean no more than that; if he wished it to be believed that Araros had actually written those two plays, his intention was not realized, for they are cited by Hellenistic writers as his own.

¹⁰ Cf. n. 2. The belief (which dies hard in works of reference) that Aristophanes was born in 444 rests on two items of evidence the initial plausibility of which dwindles upon scrutiny: (a) *Σ^{VE} Ra.* 501 says that he was μειρακίσκος when he wrote *Banqueters*, but that is simply an inference from *Nu.* 528 ff.; (b) if a date of birth underlies γεγωνὸς ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι κατὰ τὴν ρδ' Ὀλυμπιάδα (= 444/3) in the biographical notice given in the MS M (*Proleg. Com.* XXX*)—Aristophanes did not compete ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι until 427—it may well have been reached either by adding 17 (one year less than the age of δοκιμασία) to the date of *Banqueters* or by taking the fall of Athens in 404/3 as the ἀκμῆ of

In *Ach.* 642–4 the words of the chorus show that ‘this poet’ must have lived at least part of the time on Aigina. Statements to the effect that his father was Aeginetan (*Vita*, *PCG* iii. 2 T1 23 f.) or that after Athens expelled the Aeginetans in 431 (Thuc. ii. 27. 1) Aristophanes’ family was settled there should be treated with reserve—especially the former, which would mean that the poet could not have been an Athenian citizen and member of a deme. *Ach.* 642–4 seem to have been the only evidence available to ancient scholars.

Dikaiopolis, the ‘hero’ of *Acharnians*, says (377–82, cf. 502–8) that ‘because of last year’s comedy . . . Kleon dragged me into the council-chamber . . .’, and Σ ad loc. (cf. *Vita*, *PCG* iii.2 T1 19–21) explains this reference by saying that Kleon prosecuted Aristophanes for ‘wronging the city’¹¹ because *Babylonians* had ridiculed Athenian magistrates ‘in the presence of foreigners’ (the audience was cosmopolitan at the City Dionysia). No great harm came to the poet from this, and the year after *Acharnians* he wrote and produced, in *Knights*, a virulent and dramatically effective¹² attack on Kleon. Kleon prosecuted him on a second occasion, to which allusion is made in *V.* 1284–91; the charge, according to Σ *Ach.* 378 (cf. *Vita*, *PCG* iii.2 T1 21–9), was that Aristophanes was not of citizen parentage, but that may be no more than an inference from *Ach.* 642–4; the adage that there is no smoke without fire is not applicable to ancient biography or to the Athenian lawcourts.¹³

Although we know much about Aristophanes as a poet, we know little about him as a person, apart from the trivial fact that his hair was sparse (*Pax* 767–74). We do not know how wealthy he was.¹⁴ An

Aristophanes and (in accordance with a convention of Hellenistic literary historians) placing birth forty years before ἀκμῆ (cf. Kaibel, *RE* ii. 971 f.).

¹¹ Any action could be so regarded, whether explicitly forbidden by law or not. Socrates was prosecuted under that rubric (Xen. *M.* i. 1. 1) and so were the generals after Arginusai (Xen. *HG* i. 7. 9).

¹² But not politically influential; having given first prize to *Knights*, the Athenians proceeded to elect Kleon to a generalship (cf. *Nu.* 581 ff.).

¹³ C. Bailey in *Greek Poetry and Life* (Oxford, 1936) 237 f. points out that δικάιοπολις is an epithet of Aigina in Pi. *P.* 8. 22 (cf. μεγαίστοπολις *ibid.* 2, μεγαλόπολις *P.* 2. 1, 7. 1, ὀρθόπολις *O.* 2. 7) and suggests that the character’s name was intended to identify him with Aristophanes. E. L. Bowie, *JHS* 108 (1988) 183–5, however, raises the possibility that the allusion is to Eupolis, and that it was Eupolis, not Aristophanes, who was attacked by Kleon in 426. This does not seem to me so far from my suggestion (Dover (1987) 296) that Dikaiopolis personifies the characteristic ‘hero’ of comedy.

¹⁴ Plato in the *Symposium* represents him as a guest in Agathon’s house on the occasion of Agathon’s theatrical victory in 416, but opinions may differ on the

inscription of about 400 (*IG* ii² 2343) records the names of members of a religious association in his deme, including Philonides (the producer of *Wasps* and *Frogs*) and some other names which feature in his extant plays.¹⁵ As he survived two oligarchic revolutions and two democratic restorations without incurring disenfranchisement, seeking safety in exile, or suffering public rejection as a poet, it is reasonable to think that his commitment in practical politics was not conspicuous. The political implications of his work in general amount to moralizing about behaviour and style within the framework of the long-established democracy rather than advocacy of constitutional reform which would restrict the exercise of power to the propertied classes.¹⁶ There is, however, some advocacy in comedy, distinguishable from fantasy, satire, and ridicule; and it is not just a subjective judgement on the part of modern readers that identifies the parabasis of *Frogs* as a case in point, for that parabasis earned the poet an honorific decree from the assembly (cf. p. 73). Whatever political predilection we may discern in Aristophanes, we can be confident that it was shared by a significant element in the citizen-body; cf. p. 72.

Aristophanes does not directly express or reflect the spirit and culture of Periclean Athens, for he did not begin to write until after the death of Perikles. His Athens is the Athens which fell from wealth, power, and confidence to starvation and humiliation, and rose again, before his death, to a stability and prosperity in which the least curable weakness was nostalgia. At the same time, it is important that modern students of Aristophanes should not credit him with foreknowledge of historical events with which we are familiar. When he wrote *Birds*, for example, there was a perfectly reasonable expectation that Athens would defeat Syracuse and conquer Sicily; and while many Athenians

biographical relevance of this. I suspect that by presenting the story of Agathon's party as a story told by Apollodoros at second hand long after the event Plato is warning us that he wants us to judge it by its quality and utility (as we would judge a myth), not by its relation to reality.

¹⁵ The significance of the names was first observed by S. Dow, *AJA* 73 (1969) 234 f.; see further *SEG* xxxiii. 161. The most recent discussion, by H. Lind, *MH* 42 (1985) 249–61, plausibly suggests parochial rather than national-political reasons for enmity between Aristophanes and Kleon. The names on the inscription include 'Amphitheos', the name of the half-divine character in *Acharnians*. Cf. also D. Welsh, *CQ* NS 33 (1983) 51–5.

¹⁶ De Ste. Croix, 355–76, treats Aristophanes' attitude to the poor as essentially 'paternalistic', and stresses his hostility to those politicians whose influence was founded on their championship of the poor. Cf. also p. 71 n. 8 below.

may have doubted whether the Sicilian Expedition would achieve anything of permanent significance, very few can have contemplated the possibility that it would meet with complete disaster. Again, when he wrote *Frogs*, Athens could well have believed that it had the upper hand at sea and that the Peloponnesians could be induced to open negotiations for peace (negotiations which Athens had earlier rejected). The Athenians must have realized that a decisive naval defeat which would end the war in the Peloponnesians' favour was a possibility, but they had no positive grounds for fearing that this defeat was imminent.

In the arts, Athenian architecture, sculpture, and painting were—in the eyes of most of us, though probably not in Athenian eyes—past their prime in Aristophanes' day. The greater part of the prose literature which was to make the name of Athens immortal in later generations was not yet written.

Aristophanes is the only poet of the Old Comedy whose work we can assess through reading of complete plays; therefore we cannot help treating him as its representative. He represents, however, the last stage of the genre. Comedies had been officially recognized¹⁷ as part of the City Dionysia for sixty years before he wrote his first play; his last two extant plays, *Ecclesiazusae* and *Wealth*, show striking departures from the earlier pattern, and *Aiolosikon* and *Kokalos*, which he wrote after *Wealth*, apparently took these changes further.

The writing of plays was one of the crafts which tended to be perpetuated in families, and three of the fourth-century comic poets, in addition to Araros, are described as sons of Aristophanes: Philippos (and his name makes this plausible, since sons were often named after their paternal grandfathers), Philetairos, and Nikostratos.¹⁸

¹⁷ That is to say, 'given a chorus' by the archon; comic performances of dramatic type may have formed part of the κῶμοι in honour of Dionysos for a very long time before that.

¹⁸ There were disagreements about the identity of Nikostratos; cf. *PCG* iii. 2 T1 55–7, T2 8 f., T3 14–17, T7, T8.

II. COMPOSITION AND STRUCTURE OF THE PLAY

Euripides died in Macedonia in the winter of 407/6.¹ In *Frogs*, produced at the beginning of 405, we see Dionysos, the god in whose honour the dramatic festivals were held, obsessed with desire for Euripides and setting off on a journey to the underworld to bring him back. Dionysos is disguised as Herakles, presumably in the hope of intimidating whatever opposition he might encounter on the journey,² and accompanied by his human slave Xanthias. The first half of the play (1-673) contains dialogue between Dionysos and the real Herakles; the chorus of frogs which accompanies his crossing of the lake at the frontier of the underworld; comic incidents on arrival; the entry of the chorus of initiates, who live close to the palace of Pluto, god of the underworld; and then a succession of comic scenes of a kind which in other plays (*Ach.*, *Pax*, *Av.*, *Ec.*, *Pl.*) come in the second part of the play and follow from the achievement of the purpose which the earlier part has set in motion. The first, indispensable stage of Dionysos' project, admission to the palace of Pluto, is accomplished at 673. Thereafter we have the parabasis, addressed by the chorus to the audience (674-737), and it is followed by a conversation between slaves, such as in *Eq.*, *V.*, and *Pax* serves to explain the initial situation to the audience. But the situation revealed by the two slaves in *Frogs* constitutes a fresh start, something of which no hint has been given up to that point: Euripides has claimed the throne of poetry in the underworld, long occupied by Aeschylus (who died fifty years earlier), and Pluto has asked Dionysos to adjudicate. The rest of the play is the contest between the two poets. This is reconciled to the original theme, Dionysos' determination to bring back Euripides, when Pluto rules (1415 f.) that if (and only if) Dionysos decides between the rival claimant to the throne of poetry he may take back with him whichever of the two he wishes. Then Dionysos, his original desire for Euripides

¹ *Orestes* was produced in 408 (Σ *Or.* 371), and we have no evidence that points to the production of any Euripidean play in 407 or 406; after his death his son produced *Bacchae*, *Iphigenia at Aulis*, and *Alcmaeon* (Σ *Ra.* 67). More precise dating depends on the statement in *Vita Eur.* p. 3 11-14 Schwartz that news of his death in Macedonia (to which he had been invited by King Archelaos) reached Athens not long before a dramatic festival and Sophocles at the *proagon* brought on chorus and actors in mourning.

² So Hyp. I; though that is not a reason which Dionysos gives to Herakles (cf. 109-111 n.).

undermined by what he has now seen and heard of the two poets in competition, chooses Aeschylus.³

The contest itself has some surprising features. It begins with a full-scale, formally-structured agon (to which *Nu.* 889–1104 and 1321–1450 offer the closest analogies), but this agon, so far from culminating in the victory of one contestant, is rounded off by a joke (1089–98) diverting us from the issues which the contestants have treated so passionately.⁴ The chorus declares, rather lamely, *χαλεπὸν οὖν ἔργον διαίρειν* (1100), and we are led on to a sequence of tests, exceeding the agon in their total length, no one of which suffices to produce a decision. Moreover, these tests do not, for the most part, conform to what we have been promised. 799–801 make much not only of the weighing of verses, which we shall see, but also of their technically elaborate measurement, which we shall not;⁵ whether Euripides' declared intention to scrutinize *τὰ νεύρα τῆς τραγωδίας* (872, v. n.) is realized or not is admittedly uncertain, since there is insufficient agreement on what is meant by *τὰ νεύρα*. The short choral song 1251–60, preceding Euripides' parody of Aeschylean lyrics, repeats itself clumsily and is weighted in favour of Aeschylus to a degree which does not characterize the other utterances of the chorus.⁶ Dionysos' question in 1435 f. receives two different and disconnected answers and Dionysos only reacts to the first after the second has been disposed of.

The modern reader coming fresh to the play is likely to ask, in bewilderment, the question which is asked both by Herakles (75 f.) and later by Xanthias (786 f.), 'What about Sophocles?', and we are unlikely to be entirely satisfied with the answers given there. The historical facts help to explain our dissatisfaction and have been widely regarded as explaining also the unusual features in the structure of the play. It is to be presumed that Aristophanes started to compose *Frogs* early in 406, after Euripides had died and while Sophocles was still alive. He probably hoped that Sophocles would not die just yet, although, given Sophocles' advanced age, he could hardly have felt confident. When Sophocles did die in the course of

³ Cf. Fraenkel 187, Dörrie 298, 300.

⁴ Cf. Gelzer 27, Russo (1961) 71–84, (1966) 8, Long 291. The agon in *Knights* is in a sense indecisive in so far as the contest goes on after it, but unusual in that the chorus sides vehemently with one contestant throughout.

⁵ Cf. Fraenkel 173, 178 f., Russo (1961) 57–67, (1966) 6–8.

⁶ Cf. Russo (1961) 87 f., (1966) 10.

406,⁷ Aristophanes' work may have been very far advanced, perhaps even in rehearsal, and he had to make some changes to take account of the situation. Two passages of dialogue, 71–107 (which turns upon 'there are *no* good poets left!') and 785–94, together with 1515–19 in Aeschylus' valediction, are the minimal adjustments required.⁸ However, the unusual features in the structure of the play have generated the hypothesis that what we have before us is an imperfect combination of two different themes. On that hypothesis, the play as originally conceived was to be about the contest for the throne of poetry in the underworld, and the new theme was the journey of Dionysos to the underworld in search of a poet; as the contest in the original conception could not involve Sophocles, it was necessary in the revision to represent Dionysos as an enthusiast for Euripides.⁹

If we did not feel the awkwardness of the first two of the three passages in which explicit allusion is made to Sophocles, and if we were not aware of the likelihood that the play was far advanced when Sophocles died, it may be doubted whether we would spend time wondering whether the play as a whole was radically revised. The problems of 799–801, 872, and 1251–60 would certainly give us pause, but would hardly lead us so far; and the serious questions raised by the text of 1435–66 have quite a different bearing (pp. 74 f.). Just consider the incoherence, illogicalities, and unfulfilled promises of *Lysistrata*; they are more remarkable than those which the most determined critic can find in *Frogs*,¹⁰ but they have not been regarded as demonstrating that Aristophanes significantly changed his intentions in the course of composing *Lysistrata*. As for the development of the plot in *Frogs*, there are indeed features which differentiate it from earlier plays, but although observation of structural ingredients which recur in two or more plays is always desirable for its illustrative and suggestive value, such ingredients should not be treated as evidence

⁷ Cf. n. 1. An anecdote about his burial (*Vita Soph.* 15) must be of late date, since it erroneously envisages Lysander as commanding the Peloponnesian garrison at Dekeleia at the time.

⁸ For a detailed analysis cf. Russo (1961) 11–24, 27–51, (1966) 3–7.

⁹ Cf. Schmid iv. 333 n. 5, 358, Radermacher 355–7, Gelzer 26–31, Russo (1961) 62–6, 71–84, 87 f., 97 f., Fraenkel 184 n. 1, Sicking 161–78, Russo (1966) 7 f., 10, with references to earlier literature in all those sources.

¹⁰ The women are fed up with the war because their husbands are never at home. So, in order to force the husbands to make peace, they decide to arouse and frustrate them continuously, a procedure which implies that the men *are* at home. It is planned that while the young women play this teasing game, the old women will occupy the Acropolis. Thereafter we find that the young women too have locked themselves into the Acropolis.

for procedural 'rules', particularly in a genre which so manifestly accommodates diversity as Old Comedy. What is really remarkable about Aristophanes' plays is not the rigidity with which he adheres to formal structures but precisely the opposite, his readiness to exploit, abbreviate, discard, or displace them, giving them whatever point and function accord with his dramatic purpose.¹¹ In *Frogs* as we have it it seems to me¹² that he has skilfully designed and controlled a plot which, within the framework of 'My heart was struck by a longing for Euripides . . . I need a good poet' at the start (66, 72) and 'Take either of the two' (1415 f.) . . . 'I'll choose the one *mysoul wishes* . . . Aeschylus' (1468–71) at the end, presents us with a new and dramatically effective turn of events halfway through. It is hard on a dramatist if his most striking and successful innovation in plot-structure is to be treated by posterity, because his other plots are not so good, as the unhappy consequence of hasty revision.

We should not refrain from asking whether Aristophanes would have conceived and composed a play different in any significant respect if Sophocles had died at the same time as Euripides. It is not easy to see—and the general silence about Sophocles in Old Comedy does little to encourage the effort—how good comedy could have been made out of a contest between Aeschylus and Sophocles (cf. pp. 22 f.). Between Aeschylus and Euripides, on the other hand, the contrasts were obvious and admitted of absorption into the familiar Aristophanic contrast between the imagined virtues of a generation which had few survivors in 405 and the alleged depravity of its successors (cf. pp. 69 f., 75). Given the treatment of Euripides in earlier plays (notably *Thesmophoriazusae*, but also *Acharnians*, and incidentally *Clouds*), an enthusiasm for Euripides instantly establishes Dionysos as a target of humour (cf. pp. 38–41); an enthusiasm for Sophocles would not have had that effect.

¹¹ Rightly emphasized by H.-J. Newiger, *Dioniso* 57 (1987) 16–20 (on the agon), 20–30 (on the parabasis). The fact that in *Birds* the agon-form is used (460–626) by the same character throughout, expounding two stages of his argument (Gelzer 22–4) is a powerful warning against rigidity in interpretation. Cf. also Fraenkel 180.

¹² Subjective judgements by one person on what is alleged by another to be illogical, meaningless, or puzzling cannot be kept out of the discussion. I agree in all essentials with W. Kranz, *Hermes* 52 (1917) 584–91, Fraenkel 163–88, and D. Del Corno in *Studi salernitani in memoria di Raffaele Cantarella* (Salerno, 1981) 231–41.

III. THE CONTEST OF AESCHYLUS AND EURIPIDES

1. *The Issues*

We might have expected Dionysos to contemplate a journey to the underworld for a good poet and then decide that Euripides is the one who will fill the bill. In fact, it is the other way round, as he explains it to Herakles: his reading of *Andromeda* aroused in him a desire at all costs to bring Euripides back, and the need for a *δεξιὸς ποιητής* is offered as a justification. This distinction between the actual sequence and a hypothetical alternative sequence may seem at first sight pedantic, and the choice of *δεξιὸς* in preference to other complimentary terms which are used of poets may not seem important; but both considerations have a bearing on the structure of the play and on the term in which the contest is presented.

Herakles, on being told (72) that none of the poets remaining in Athens is any good, is surprised. Isn't Iophon, alive and well, good enough (73)? Well, he might be, but perhaps the good in his plays has all been the work of his father, Sophocles (73-5, 78 f.). Then why not, if a dead poet is to be resurrected, bring back Sophocles himself (76 f.)? Dionysos can only say that it would be impracticable to try to extract from the underworld a man likely to be content with his fate, wherever he is (80-2). Agathon? No longer in Athens (83-5). Xenokles, Pythangelos? Not worth considering (86 f.). But if it is Euripides' style that Dionysos wants, doesn't Euripides have plenty of imitators (89-91)? Ah, but they can't produce the real expression (97 *ῥῆμα γενναῖον*), the bold image, the provocative idea neatly expressed in one striking line (96-102). Herakles is scornful, even incredulous (104); but, of course, Herakles in comedy is a robust glutton, slow-witted, preferring violence to reasoning, not a discriminating patron of the arts (55-65, 105-7; cf. above all *Av.* 1565-1693). The audience is not expected necessarily to take sides with *him* in the assessment of poets. Nor is it expected to go all the way with Dionysos, because the first fifty lines of the play have made it quite clear that this is the Dionysos familiar to audiences of comedy as an object of humour (cf. pp. 38-41), and his halting, verbose paraphrase of E. *Hp.* 612 in obtrusively comic rhythm (101 f.) does not enhance his reputation as a connoisseur. The most significant aspect of the dialogue in 52-107 is that Dionysos values a poet for the technical skill which generates pleasure

and excitement in the audience. He is the kind of spectator deplored by Plato (*Grg.* 502 BC, *Lg.* 657 C–661 D; note 657 C 8 οἱ πλείστοι) but taken for granted by Aristotle, although for Aristotle stylistic skill is only one item in an aesthetic theory going far beyond anything envisaged in *Frogs*.

After 107, throughout the first half of the play, no allusion whatever is made to the purpose of Dionysos' journey. The conversation between the two slaves in 756–813 presents Dionysos' arbitration between Aeschylus and Euripides as a fortunate consequence of his arrival in the underworld, not as a means to the achievement of his purpose. The first explicit reminder of that purpose comes from Pluto in 1414, and Pluto gives the plot what is formally a new turn by saying, 'Whichever of the two you judge the winner, you can take one back with you'. The point is: 'If you won't do as I ask and judge the contest, I won't do as you ask and release anyone from my domain.' Formally a new turn, but we may have seen it coming since Pluto's slave explained to Xanthias that in the underworld it is the criminals who champion Euripides, while Aeschylus has few supporters, because virtue is scarce there, as it is on earth (771–83). Having been told so plainly and emphatically that bad people like Euripides and good people like Aeschylus,¹ members of the audience are not likely to think that Euripides will win the throne of poetry, and they may well wonder whether Dionysos in the end will wish to resurrect him.² We may recall also that Dionysos said he needed to bring back a δεξιός poet because there was no one left who was worthy of that term. Yet when he responds to Pluto's ultimatum, he says 'I came down here for a poet . . . that Athens might be preserved to hold its festivals' (1418 f.). *σωθείσα*, uttered in the perilous circumstances of 405, is a consideration to which Dionysos' original conversation with Herakles had made no direct reference;³ only the characterization of Euripides as πανούργος (80) foreshadows ὁ τῶν πανούργων (sc. δῆμος) in 781,

¹ Cf. Erbse (1975) 52. 'Aeschylus didn't get on well with the Athenians' (807 f.) introduces an ingredient common in Old Comedy and exemplified starkly in 274–6, vilification of the audience. That element, however, is usually brief, a momentary breach of dramatic illusion, and the development of the topic 'Villains for Euripides' by Pluto's slave is on a more extensive scale.

² On the outcome of the agon cf. K.-D. Koch 106; but an audience of *Clouds* which expected Right to triumph would have had a surprise at the end of the first agon there.

³ The importance of the introduction of this motif is stressed by Wilamowitz iv. 491 f. and Erbse (1975) 56 f. It is picked up by σῶθε in 1501.

and in 80 it counts for nothing when weighed against the glories of Euripidean style.⁴

δειξιότης and νουθεσία are two things which, Aeschylus and Euripides agree (1008–10), constitute the grounds for admiring a poet. A third is added: ‘and because they make people better in the (sc. Greek) world (ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν)’; but this can hardly be separated from νουθεσία, ‘admonition’, if we include implicit with explicit admonition (cf. p. 15) as constituting the moral effect of poetry, and in any case the progress of the contest does not countenance such a separation.

The contest is ἀγὼν σοφίας (882), a contest ἀνδροῖν σοφοῖν (896) to decide who is πῆν τέχνην σοφώτερος (780), and in his valediction to Pluto Aeschylus lays claim to supremacy in σοφία by saying ‘Give my throne to Sophocles to look after, for him I judge second (sc. only to myself) in σοφία’ (1516–19). There are passages of drama in which ‘wise’ is an appropriate translation of σοφός,⁵ but we rarely predicate ‘wisdom’ of poets and artists; we speak of a *good* poet, a *good* painter, and the like, or, on occasion, of a *great* poet, though when we need an abstract noun to refer to their quality we avoid ‘goodness’ and speak rather of ‘talent’, ‘ability’, sometimes of ‘greatness’ or ‘genius’. σοφός, like χρηστός (e.g. *Nu.* 8), καλός (e.g. *S. El.* 393) or any other positive evaluation, can be used sarcastically (as it is in 1154; cf. δεξιός in 1121). It can also be used doubtfully and warily, as in *Nu.* 1369 f., ‘Recite something from the modern poets, ἄττ’ ἐστὶ τὰ σοφὰ ταῦτα’ (we must remember that at that point Strepsiades is not yet disillusioned and antagonized, but still trying hard to be proud of his son’s sophistic education). There is no passage of Old Comedy in which it is necessary or even plausible to see in σοφός the derogatory connotations of the English word ‘clever’.⁶ In *Nu.* 1377–9, when Strepsiades is outraged by Pheidippides’ recital from Euripides, and Pheidippides has called Euripides σοφώτατος, Strepsiades exclaims σοφώτατόν γ’ ἐκείνον, ὦ—τί σ’ εἶπω; He is not admitting that Euripides is σοφός

⁴ Vaio 97 emphasizes the strand of moral judgement adverse to Euripides in what Herakles says in his discussion with Dionysos; the moral connotation of κόβαλα (104) is undeniable, but that of παμπόνηρα (106) is marginal; πονηρός in particular can mean ‘of poor quality’ in respect of whatever function is under discussion, as in *Pl.* 220 πονηρούς . . . συμμάχους, ‘feeble (sc. though no doubt well-intentioned) allies’.

⁵ Cf. *GPM* 120 f.

⁶ In *E. Ba.* 395 τὸ σοφὸν δ’ οὐ Σοφία the point is that what normally passes for σοφός is not to be confused with Sophia herself; cf. Dodds ad loc., Willink on *E. Or.* 819, Breitenbach 238 (the responsibility for personification is mine).

and implying that σοφία is bad, but furiously denying (sarcastically, as γ' here is 'Oh, yes!') that Euripides is σοφός. Aristophanes himself hopes to be thought σοφός (*Nu.* 520) and claims that *Clouds* σοφώτατ' ἔχειν τῶν ἐμῶν κωμωδιῶν (*ibid.* 522; cf. *V.* 64–6). Clear evidence of the synonymy of σοφός ποιητής (*Pax* 799, Eupolis fr. 392. 3) and ἀγαθός ποιητής (84, cf. 74; and κακοί (72) is the antonym of ἀγαθοί) is to be found in 763 τὸν ἄριστον ὄντα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ συντέχνων ~ 766 τὴν τέχνην σοφώτερος, since ἄριστος is the superlative of ἀγαθός.⁷ Interpretation of 1413 τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἠγοῦμαι σοφόν, τῷ δ' ἠδομαι and 1434 ὁ μὲν σοφῶς γὰρ εἶπε κτλ. must be accommodated to these data, and accommodation is in fact quite easy. In 1434 σοφῶς refers to 'Do not rear a lion-cub in a city' (1431), σαφῶς to 'I hate a citizen who . . .' (1427), for the lion-cub is an αἰνιγμα, like the oak-tree of *Pi. P.* 4. 263 ff.; cf. *Pl. R.* 332 B ἠνίξατο . . . ποιητικῶς, *Alc. Mi.* 147 B ἔστιν τε γὰρ φύσει ποιητικὴ ἢ σύμπασα αἰνιγματώδης. Since ἀμαθής is the antonym of σοφός (e.g. *Ec.* 201, *Pl. Phdr.* 239 A, *Smph.* 202 A, 204 B), 1445 ἀμαθέστερον . . . καὶ σαφέστερον is perfectly in accord with the contrast of σοφῶς and σαφῶς in 1434; re-casting the abstract τὰ δ' ὄντα πιστὰ κτλ. (1444) as τῶν πολιτῶν οἷσι νῦν πιστεύομεν (1446) is less σοφόν, 'less poetic', and more σαφές, 'plainer'. Greek regularly expresses 'less x' as 'more x', e.g. 'less beautiful' as 'uglier'.⁸

It seems clear, therefore, that δεξιότης and νοουθεσία are the complementary ingredients of σοφία.⁹ δεξιός as an evaluative term is on its way out from Attic at the time of *Frogs*, for it does not occur in Xenophon, the fourth-century orators, or New Comedy, and it is rare in Middle Comedy (Alexis fr. 9.2, Antiphanes fr. 227.2) and in Plato (v. *infr.*). The conservative author of [*Xen.*] *Ath.* uses it as a highly complimentary term: speaking in assembly should be restricted, he says, to τοὺς δεξιωτάτους καὶ ἄνδρας ἀρίστους (1. 6; cf. *Pl.* 387), whereas the democracy permits it also to τοὺς πονηρούς, and εὐνομία can be assured only when οἱ δεξιώτατοι make the laws and good men chastise the bad (1. 9). 'Intelligent' seems to be an appropriate translation there; so too in *Hdt.* i. 60. 3, where it is contrasted with εὐήθης, 'simple(-minded)'. Aristophanes flatters his audience by calling it δεξιός (*Eq.* 233 τὸ γὰρ θέατρον δεξιόν; cf. *ibid.* 228, *Nu.* 521, 527).

⁷ It could be argued that in *Pl. Pri.* 325 E (on education) ποιητῶν ἀγαθῶν there is a moral nuance in ἀγαθός, but that can hardly be said of 323 A ἀγαθός ἀύλητης . . . ἢ ἄλλην ἠντιοῦν τέχνην.

⁸ Cf. *HCT* iv. 232.

⁹ Our century is littered with the texts of plays whose authors earnestly sought to inculcate patriotism or piety in the young but did not have what it takes to attract an audience.

But to be *δεξιός* is not simply to possess a perceptive intelligence, the capacity for quick and deep understanding; in many instances it covers creative intelligence, skill, or expertise, and so overlaps *σοφός*.¹⁰ Poetry is one of *τῶν τεχνῶν ὅσαι μεγάλαι καὶ δεξιάι* in 762 (immediately before 763 *τὸν ἄριστον . . . τῶν . . . συντέχνων*, 766 *τὴν τέχνην σοφώτερος*). In Thuc. iii. 37. 3 *δεξιότης* is contrasted with *ἀμαθία* (v. supr.), and *σοφός* serves as well as *δεξιός* in flattery of the audience (*Nu.* 575, *Ra.* 700). Phrynichos Com. fr. 31. 2, in a highly encomiastic passage, calls Sophocles *δεξιός*, and in Strattis fr. 1. 2 Euripides' *Orestes* is *δρᾶμα δεξιώτατον* spoilt by a bad actor. The connotation of artistic skill is evident also in Plato's only two uses of the word: *Mnx.* 235 C *οὕτως ἡμῖν δεξιοὶ οἱ ῥήτορες εἰσιν*, the culmination of an ironic passage describing the exalted state induced in the audience by a funeral oration, and *Hipparchus* 225 C *τῶν σοφῶν ῥημάτων . . . ὧν οἱ δεξιοὶ περὶ τὰς δίκας καλλιποῦνται*.

We can see now why *σοφός* and *σοφία* were excluded from the conversation between Dionysos and Herakles, and *δεξιός* (71) was preferred; it was *ῥῆμα γενναῖον*, the product of *δεξιότης*, that Dionysos valued (97). 1009 makes it clear that *δεξιότης* and *νουθεσία* must be combined if poetic *σοφία* is to be attained, as it is by Aeschylus, and 1413 *τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι σοφόν, τῷ δ' ἥδομαι*, uttered when we are approaching the end of the contest, reminds us, if we need any reminder, that it is not uncommon to recognize the greatness of one poet while taking more pleasure in another whose *δεξιότης* is superior to his *νουθεσία*.¹¹

By contrast with didactic and paraenetic poetry, there is very little direct *νουθεσία* in tragedy or in narrative poetry. Choral moralizing, which dresses in striking and splendid imagery sentiments, often banal, which the audience already took for granted, was an inheritance from pre-dramatic lyric (e.g. Alkman *PMG* 1. 36–9), and it is understandably ignored by Aristophanes, just as it is by Plato in his censure of poetry and by Aristotle in his analysis of the function and effects of tragedy. The moral and political advice given by tragedy and narrative is implicit. It has to be inferred from the behaviour of a fictitious character, who serves as a potential model for imitation in real life, or

¹⁰ In 1114 *μανθάνει τὰ δεξιά* the verb has the sense which it has in 195, 765, and 1169, and *τὰ δεξιά* are the words and actions of which an unintelligent spectator might say what Dionysos says in 1169. On the distinction between *δεξιότης* and *σοφία* cf. van der Valk, *Humanitas* 33–4 (1981–2) 109 n. 13.

¹¹ One could say *τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι σοφόν, τῷ δ' ἥδομαι* with reference, e.g., to Mahler and Strauss (or, of course, Strauss and Mahler).

created by treating an opinion or sentiment uttered by a character in a particular context as if it carried the author's own recommendation.

This implicit *νοῦθεσία* is the substance of the formally structured agon which constitutes the first part of the contest,¹² 905–1098; the second part, 1119–1413, concerns poetic and musical style, and the third, 1417–66, confronts the poets with questions which could equally have been put to Athenians who were not poets. In the agon neither poet adopts the view which we commonly denote by the phrase 'art for art's sake'; they agree without more ado on the importance of *νοῦθεσία*, and each deplores the moral effect of the other's poetry. Euripides' argument is that Aeschylus stupefied his audience by pretentious, unintelligible language (923–9), while Euripidean tragedy involved the audience in familiar issues and taught them to think and argue (945–61), not to gape at the spectacle of a remote and unfamiliar world (961–3). Aeschylus in reply claims to have inspired martial courage (1119–30, 1039–42), using heroic characters whose language matched their status (1059–61). He charges Euripides with promoting adultery by the portrayal of adulterous women (1043–56) and with engendering selfishness among the rich (1062–6), idleness among the young (1069–71), and indiscipline in the fleet (1071–3).

It would be unreasonable to deny (as some of our unreasonable contemporaries do) that the behaviour of a character in fiction and the behaviour of someone we know in real life have equal validity as potential models for our own conduct, and also that sentiments and arguments propounded by my neighbour over the garden fence *or* by someone whose utterance is reported to me at second hand *or* by a character in a play on television are all equally valid as potential determinants of my personality. Naturally not all such models are positive determinants; they may be strongly negative, and whether a fictitious character has a positive or negative effect does not turn on a 'happy' or 'unhappy' ending to the story, or on the author's own intentions and predilections; least of all does it depend on obtrusive moralizing by the author.¹³

¹² Händel 54 n. 14 makes the point that everything up to the agon has led us to expect that it will be concerned with style, not with morality.

¹³ In Evelyn Waugh's *A Handful of Dust* Brenda has a young son called John Andrew and an adulterous lover called John. A friend comes to tell her that the former, whom he calls 'John', has been killed in an accident. For an appalling moment she thinks it is her lover who has been killed. Then she realizes that it is only her son, and cries, 'Oh, John Andrew! Oh, thank God, thank God!' No authorial comment is needed to help the reader to decide whether or not to take Brenda as a model.

There are, however, in addition to this general consideration, some distinctive features of the Greek attitude to literature which must be taken into account. One is that the substantial and widely diffused corpus of didactic poetry available in the fifth century had long implanted the conventional idea that the poet is a teacher. Aeschylus is able to exploit this idea (1030–6) by reciting the names of Orpheus, Musaios, and Hesiod (cf. Pl. *Ion* 536 B), to whom prescriptive, didactic poems were attributed, joining with them the name of Homer, who was, after all, a narrative poet but (as we see from Pl. *Ion* 540 E–I B) could be treated as implicitly didactic in so far as he offered models. Thus Aeschylus locates himself within a continuous tradition of teaching. Sufficient justification for calling such a notion ‘conventional’ can be found in the bare fact of Dionysos’ confessed delight in those ingredients of tragedy which have no didactic significance, to say nothing of Plato’s view of theatrical audiences and the strong archaic tradition of ‘delight’ as the aim of the narrative poet.¹⁴ It may well be that many, perhaps most, Athenians would have assented to the general proposition that a tragic poet has a responsibility to ‘make his fellow-citizens better people’ (as demanded by Plato’s Socrates in *Grg.* 501 E), but that is not to say that they actually went to the theatre in the hope of moral improvement.

To classical scholars the Greeks seem to have been curiously indifferent to the context of a poetic line or phrase. According to Arist. *Rh.* 1416^a29 a man engaged in litigation against Euripides attempted to argue that the author of *Hp.* 612 ἡ γλώσσ’ ὀμώμοχ’ ἡ δὲ φρῆν ἀνώμοτος (exploited in *Ra.* 1469–73) could not be trusted. Evidently the fact that Hippolytos, after that outburst, kept his oath was immaterial. What mattered was that the thought could be entertained, formulated, and pronounced aloud before an audience to some of whom it might seem rather a bright idea. We may be shocked when Socrates in Pl. *Smp.* 174 C says that Homer ‘represented Menelaos as μαλθακὸς αἰχμητής’, because we recall that the phrase (*Il.* xvii 687) is used by Apollo, disguised as Phainops, in an effort to encourage Hektor.¹⁵ We must, however, beware of comparing modern scholars with ancient non-scholars. If we compare like with like, we may find that our contemporaries in general are no more scrupulous than the Greeks in

¹⁴ Cf. Sicking 115–18, H. Maehler, *Die Auffassung des Dichterberufs im frühen Griechenland bis zur Zeit Pindars* (Göttingen, 1963) 15, 25–31, Harriott (1969) 121–5.

¹⁵ Cf. Poll. ix. 102, ‘Eupolis replies . . .’ meaning ‘Eupolis represents the other speaker as replying . . .’ (Eup. fr. 269).

their treatment of the original context and function of a well-known quotation.¹⁶

We must also reckon with Aristophanes' readiness to caricature both sides in a debate. The character of Right in *Nu.* 889–1104 contains a conspicuous degree of absurdity,¹⁷ and it is very doubtful whether burning sincerity on Aristophanes' part inspired Aeschylus' claims that Euripides' portrayal of 'kings in rags' encouraged avoidance of liturgies (1065 f.) or that deterioration in the character of minor officials and politicians was attributable to sexual improprieties in tragedy (1078–88). But topics which arouse genuine anxiety, above all sexual anxiety, can be a very powerful weapon in the hands of a critic. Aeschylus claims never to have portrayed a woman in love (1044).¹⁸ The Euripidean Phaidra whom he condemns is presumably the Phaidra of the earlier *Hippolytus*, since in the *Hippolytus* which has survived the prologue makes it plain that Phaidra is not an autonomous agent but a mere tool of Aphrodite's revenge.¹⁹ We do not know how strongly in the earlier play Eros was represented as an invincible divine power (as in Sophocles' *Phaedra*, fr. 680, 684 [= 'E. fr. 431' Nauck]). The conflict between 'I couldn't help it' and 'Oh yes, you could' was a live issue in the fifth century,²⁰ as we see from the argument between Hecuba and Helen in *E. Tro.* 914–1032 and from the vain attempt of Pasiphae in *E. Cretans* (fr. 82) to make her father listen. An audience of husbands, feeling threatened by adultery because they are husbands, takes the side of 'Oh yes, you could' except when self-justification induces them to say *they* couldn't help it. The gravamen of the charge against Euripides is that his models offer temptation to one part of the community and threaten another, the dominant part. There is a complementary phenomenon: a fictitious individual reinforces beliefs about a category, as the plot of *Thesmophoriazusae* demonstrates. Euripides 'slanders women' because Stheneboia communicates the message that women are licentious and

¹⁶ e.g. John 11: 50, 'It is expedient that one man should die for the people', and Johnson's 'Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel', though it must be admitted that Johnson did not make it easy for his hearers to grasp his train of thought.

¹⁷ Cf. Dover (1968), pp. lxiii–lxvi.

¹⁸ The modern reader exclaims, 'What about Klytaimestra?', but probably the Athenian audience thought of her primarily as a murderess who had incidentally taken a lover—a view, supplanting that of Homer, which the *Oresteia* imposes.

¹⁹ We do not know the terms in which Stheneboia spoke of Eros.

²⁰ *Nu.* 1076–82 present in comic form what is presented seriously in *S. fr.* 684. Cf. J. de Romilly in J. M. Bremer *et al.* (eds.), *Miscellanea tragica in honorem J. C. Kamerbeek* (Amsterdam, 1976) 309–21.

treacherous.²¹ Reaction to anxiety is perfectly illustrated by *Nu.* 1371–4, where Strepsiades describes how his son recited from Euripides a passage ‘about this man—my God!—screwing his sister! Well, I wasn’t going to stand *that* . . .!’ Strepsiades was not interested in the context or function of the speech, and still less did he care whether it was good or bad poetry. It broke a taboo; and it would be unwise, in the study of any culture, to underrate the power and violence of reactions to the breaking of taboos.²² Just as one careless phrase can wreck the career of a politician, so one disturbing or horrifying moment in a play, film, or novel, remembered when the rest of the work is forgotten, remains available for exploitation by hostile critics.

Since we have been told before the contest began that good people like Aeschylus and bad people like Euripides (771–83),²³ it is reasonable to infer that enough people had been disturbed by moments in Euripidean drama often enough for such a moral judgement to be intelligible. Once having removed genuine suspense by that judgement, Aristophanes is free to play at suspense as much as he likes and to be confident of our co-operation in that game.²⁴ This is achieved by the characterization of Aeschylus, including the element of caricature in some of his arguments (v. *supr.*); by the comments of the chorus; and by Dionysos’ own unwillingness and inability to reach a final decision.

The Aeschylus of the agon is a rather nasty old man, of a kind one would try to avoid meeting in real life: sulky (832), spluttering with rage (840–59, 917; cf. 993–1003), impatient, menacing, contemptuous, relentlessly abusive. The chorus, performing a role familiar to us from *Clouds*, holds the ring with conscientious impartiality (875–84, 895–904a, 1099–1119; 1100 is particularly important);²⁵ at one point,

²¹ What message about *men* is communicated by most tragedies is a matter on which the ancient world is silent.

²² I offer two modern instances. At one point in *The Golden Notebook* Doris Lessing alludes to the smell of menstrual blood. At that point my father ceased to read the book, would never again read anything by Lessing, and did not like to have any book by her in the house. Ten years ago an experienced London magistrate was puzzled by the expression ‘oral sex’, and a lawyer had to explain it to him, making it plain that the phenomenon is widespread among respectable people. The magistrate replied sombrely, ‘If that is so, I am glad that I do not have much longer to live in this world’. His reaction to much contemporary fiction may be imagined.

²³ Cf. Erbse (1975) 52.

²⁴ Dionysos is by no means unsympathetic to Euripides in the course of the contest (note 1209, 1228; 1399 f.); Whitman 251 misleadingly translates *πονηρός* as ‘wicked’ in 852 *ὁ πόνηρ* *Εὐριπίδη*, though it is obviously sympathetic and protective, as in *Av.* 1648.

²⁵ Cf. Gelzer 62–4, 121–3. An exception to the impartiality of the chorus is the song

where it addresses Aeschylus as *κοσμήσας τραγικὸν λήρον*, it may be adopting (v. 1005 n.) the jocular, patronizing attitude of comedy to tragedy. In the second part of the contest the tide runs in favour of Aeschylus; in the criticism of prologues and the parody of lyrics he progressively cools down, gets into his stride, enjoys himself, and mounts a counter-attack which succeeds because it is (to most of us, anyway; our respect for the archaic is ingrained) funnier than Euripides' attack on him; and his victory in the weighing of lines is indisputable.

For all that, Dionysos declares himself in 1411–13 unwilling to give a decision. In uttering 1413 τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἠγοῦμαι σοφόν, τῷ δ' ἤδομαι Dionysos could of course indicate by look and gesture which is which,²⁶ and no doubt did so if that is what Aristophanes wished, but dramatically it would be more effective if Dionysos spread his hands in a helpless gesture and turned his head from side to side while looking upwards, so that we are not told which he regards as σοφός in this ἀγῶν σοφίας.²⁷ Pressed by Pluto to decide, he puts the question about Alkibiades, and having heard the answers confesses himself still unable to give a verdict (1434);²⁸ again, the action could be such that it is left to us to discern who answered σοφῶς. Finally compelled to a judgement by Pluto (1467), he declares that he will award victory to the poet whom his ψυχή wishes to see victorious. This is in effect one more admission of inability to decide; the ego of Dionysos puts the responsibility on to his 'soul', committing himself to following its guidance, not just heightening the suspense which he has created in us, but himself sharing it. The imposition of distance between self and soul, rooted in forms of address (common in archaic poetry) to one's own heart, soul, or spirit, is parodied in comedy by literalism (*Ach.* 480–8, *V.* 757), but parody is not the paramount ingredient here. We should think rather of passages in which someone speaks of τῇ ψυχῇ διδόναι (*A. Pe.* 841, *Epich. CGFP* 89. 2, *Theocr.* 16. 24), τῇ ψυχῇ

1251–60. The textual problem of 1257–60 is serious on other grounds, but the praise of Aeschylus' lyrics in 1251–6 is hyperbolic even without 1257–60.

²⁶ A. Hurst, *Hermes* 99 (1971) 227–40, attaches too much importance to the usage of μὲν and δέ, which matters only in a text which was not acted but read.

²⁷ It is hard to understand how J. L. Marr, *CQNS* 20 (1970) 53, can say, given the data on σοφός noted above, 'Nor can there be any doubt that in σοφῶς εἶπεν Dionysos refers to Euripides'.

²⁸ Euripides' answer on Alkibiades is not open to criticism on moral or intellectual grounds (Händel 323 n. 13); assessment of his recipe for σωτηρία depends on solution of a serious textual problem (cf. p. 372).

χαρίζεσθαι (Simon. *IEG* 8. 13), or τὴν ψυχὴν εὐ δρᾶν (E. *Cy.* 340), and cf. Pl. *Hp.Ma.* 296 D ὁ ἐβούλετο ἡμῶν ἢ ψυχῇ εἶπειν. Dionysos follows what we would call 'the promptings of his heart'; an arbitrary,²⁹ intuitive judgement, divorced from rational assessment of the poets' answers to the questions he has just put to them.³⁰ Some sixty lines from the end of the play, it displays a striking identity of concept, despite the reversal of direction, with what he said fifty lines from the start: 'a desire struck [his] heart' (53 f.) and sent him off to the underworld.³¹ Now that he has heard Euripides and Aeschylus together, his ψυχῇ prefers Aeschylus.

The contest having been decided, the chorus acclaims the victor. Lines 1482–99 tell us why Aeschylus has won; first in positive terms, then in negative. The first stanza congratulates him on ξύνεσις ἡκριβωμένην (1483), εὐ φρονεῖν (1485), and attributes his victory to his being συνετός (1490). Both poets were credited with ξυνετὰς φρένας (876) in the song with which the chorus heralded ἀγῶν σοφίας, but the only other occurrence of such a term in the play is Euripides' prayer to Ξύνεσις (with Aither, the tongue and discriminating nostrils) in 892 f. The chorus's verdict is that Euripides was mistaken; it is Aeschylus who is superior in σύνεσις. This 'intelligence' cannot have (in the narrower sense of the word) a political connotation, because the poets' answers to Dionysos' political questions were inconclusive and were recognized as such by his mode of decision. The σύνεσις of Aeschylus must be his understanding of what works in the theatre, what gives the audience the profoundest satisfaction; and that is what the second stanza proceeds to tell us: χαρίεν οὐν μὴ Σωκράτει παρακαθήμενον λαλεῖν. χαρίεις is a word commonly used by the Greek literary critics; a passage of Demetrios (*Eloc.* 137 f.; cf. D.H. *Comp.* 11 (53)) shows, not surprisingly, that it means 'having χάρις' (cf. D.H. *Comp.* 9 (50)). χάρις is that attribute of anything, including literary works, which evokes a response of gladness in the hearer or spectator; Demetr. *Eloc.* 180 couples it with ἡδονή, D.H. *Comp.* 11 (53) classifies it as one of the elements which generate ἡδονή, and *ibid.* (48) contrasts τραχύτερον . . . καὶ οὐχ ἡδύ with χαριέστερον. The expected antonyms of χαρίεις are ἄχαρις, ἀχάριτος, ἄχαριστος (applied by Xen. *Hi.* 1. 24 to bad smells), and

²⁹ 'Arbitrary' here does not mean 'capricious'; the cause of an intuitive preference may be profound (cf. Erbse (1975) 59 f.).

³⁰ Cf. E. W. Handley, *RhM* 99 (1956) 214 f., and J. F. Killeen, *LCM* 3 (1978) 73.

³¹ Cf. M. Lossau, *RhM* 130 (1987) 229, 232.

these words do indeed occur in the critics (e.g. Demetr. *Eloc.* 302), but the commoner antonym in practice is *ψυχρός*; in Demetr. *Eloc.* 121 *χάρις* is contrasted with *ψυχρότης*. That is familiar to us from Old Comedy itself (*Ach.* 138 ff., *Th.* 170, 848, Eup. fr. 261); at any rate, the antonym of *ψυχρός* in this figurative sense is certainly not *θερμός*, for no Greek describes a good poem as 'hot'. *ψυχρότης* is what alienates the hearer and fails of the effect for which the speaker or writer hopes; it includes jokes which fall flat and errors of taste (Arist. *Rh.* 1405^b35 ff., Theophr. *ap.* Demetr. *Eloc.* 114, *ibid.* 121–3, 247, 304 ἄχαρι καὶ ψυχρόν).³² So the chorus prepares to tell us what it is in Aeschylus which captivates the soul of Dionysos.

Yet it tells us what Aeschylus did *not* do, and thus by implication what Euripides did wrong: 'to sit by Socrates and talk (*λαλεῖν*), discarding poetry (*μουσική*) and leaving out what matters most in the art of tragedy. To spend time idly on theorizing (*ἐπὶ σεμνοῖσιν λόγοισιν*) and nonsensical quibbling (*σκαριφησμοῖσι λήρων*) is loony (*παραφρονοῦντος ἀνδρός*)'. The chorus thus rejects Euripides' argument that his tragedies improved the citizens of Athens by teaching people to think about real issues, and it implies that it is just that insistence on thinking which has deprived tragedy of *χάρις*. The justification for translating *σεμνοὶ λόγοι* as 'theorizing' is in part the derogatory connotations of 'theory' in English,³³ in part the implications of Lys. fr. 1. 2, where the speaker confesses that he was deluded by the *σεμνοὶ λόγοι* on moral questions in which the Socratic Aischines had participated into assuming that Aischines would be a man of integrity in financial matters.³⁴

There are key-words in the stanza which relate it to issues raised in the course of the contest and elsewhere in Aristophanes. The name of Socrates is the most obvious. Reference to 'idleness' occurs twice in *Clouds*, once in the description of Socrates' deities, the Clouds themselves, as *μεγάλαι θεαὶ ἀνδράσιν ἀργοῖς* (316), and a second time (334) where *ἀργός* is an epithet of all the varieties of *σοφισταί* who are 'nourished' by the clouds while they 'do nothing' (*οὐδὲν δρώντας*)—a contrast with the *ἐργάτης λεώς*, a phrase which in *Pax* 632 designates

³² Cf. Wankel's commentary on Dem. xviii 256. G. Stohn, *Spuren der voraristotelischen Poetik in der alten attischen Komödie* (Berlin, 1955) 26–44, attributes the term to a much higher cultural stratum than the evidence warrants.

³³ The connotations of 'philosophizing' are quite different, because 'philosophical' is mostly used of people who bear misfortune with equanimity.

³⁴ In 1004 Aeschylus is characterized as *πυργώσας δήματα σεμνά*, but the *σεμνότης* of a *ρήμα* and the *σεμνότης* of a *λόγος* are different things (cf. 97 n.).

the farmers cheated by the politicians; compare the compliment *σώφρων κάργᾶτης* in *Ach.* 611. *λαλεῖν*, which in the course of the fourth century became and remained the ordinary word for ‘talk’, ‘converse’ (e.g. Demetr. *Eloc.* 225), is commonly translated ‘chatter’ or ‘babble’, but that is sometimes too strong; *λαλεῖν* and *λαλιά* are more like what we mean by pronouncing the word ‘talk’ in a contemptuous or impatient way: talking too much, or talking when action would be more appropriate (e.g. *Nu.* 505), or talking out of turn when prompt and silent compliance is needed. In the first scene of the play *Herakles*, implying ‘Why bring back *Euripides?*’, says (89 ff.) ‘But surely there are thousands of young blokes here writing tragedies, who are miles *λαλίστερα* than *Euripides?*’ The characters of *Euripides* are contrasted, as *οἱ νῦν λαλοῦντες* (917), with the famous silences of *Aeschylus*. *Euripides* claims (954) ‘I taught people to *λαλεῖν*’. *Aeschylus* accuses him of precisely that (1069), the teaching of *λαλιά* and *στωμυλία*, which, says *Aeschylus*, ‘has emptied the wrestling-schools and worn down the buttocks of the young men *στωμυλλομένων*, and made the crew of the *Paralos* answer back . . .’. This sentiment is a very loud echo of the charges brought in *Clouds* against the evils of sophistic education. When Wrong says to Right, ‘You’re not going to teach this young man’, Right replies, ‘I certainly am, if he’s going to grow up right and not just practise *λαλιά*’ (930 f.). Again, Right reacts to a clever argument of Wrong’s by saying, ‘That’s the kind of thing that keeps the bath-house full of the young men *λαλούντων* all day, all the time, and leaves the wrestling-schools empty’ (1052–4). And he promises *Pheidippides* that if he adheres to old-fashioned education, ‘You’ll spend your time in gymnasia, not *στωμύλλων* in the Agora’ (1002 f.). Talk is dangerous, because it takes young males away from physical exercise, encourages them to question their fathers’ values, and undermines the discipline which a city with its back to the wall needs.³⁵

Comparison with *Clouds* indicates that *Aristophanes* has assimilated the contrast between *Aeschylus* and *Euripides* to the generalized contrast between old and new, always a profitable line for popular comedy to take in respect of the arts,³⁶ and profitable in other

³⁵ Each generation tends to believe that its children are the first rebels. Xen. *M.* i. 2. 46 is a useful corrective: Perikles, trapped in an argument by the young *Alkibiades*, says, ‘We were clever at that kind of argument when I was young!’ Robert Louis Stevenson, as an Edinburgh student in the 1870s, was a founder-member of a society whose declared purpose was to reject all the values of the older generation.

³⁶ The boundary between the new and the old may be different in different arts; in

respects also at a time of privation and peril. That generalized contrast comes to the fore in the parabasis, where the difference between old and new political leadership is compared to the difference between the traditional silver coinage of Athens and the newly minted bronze coinage (718–37; cf. 890 κόμμα καινόν, of Euripides' deities). Aeschylus' generation defeated the Persian invasion and created the empire. Euripides' generation had experienced a critical loss of power, wealth, and population, and had come to a point at which one decisive naval battle could not only deprive the Athenians of their remaining empire but endanger the continued existence of Athens herself.

Looked at from the standpoint of tragedy, Euripides' generation took over neatly from Aeschylus' in 455, the year in which Euripides first competed, because Aeschylus had died at some time during the previous two years. Hence it was understandable that by Aristophanes' time Aeschylus had become a symbol of Athenian power, wealth, and success, Euripides a symbol of decline. When Pheidippides in *Clouds* refuses to sing Simonides, Strepsiades grudgingly offers him the alternative of a recitation from Aeschylus (*Nu.* 1363–5; he does not say 'Sophocles'). Dikaiopolis in *Ach.* 9–11 speaks of sitting in the theatre expecting Aeschylus (again, he does not say 'Sophocles'), and of his disappointment when Theognis was put on instead. That passage of *Acharnians* explains *Ra.* 868, 'My tragedies have not died with me', and the two together confirm the statement of *Vita Aesch.* 12 that a decree passed after the death of Aeschylus authorized the continued production of his plays. This fact is of great importance for *Frogs*; it means that for the audience the contest is not between a familiar style and a style known only to the oldest generation and a small number of people who read texts, but between two styles which were both put to the test in the contemporary theatre.³⁷

It is not unlikely that a large part of the audience of *Frogs* was induced by the second half of the play to give at least temporary assent to the *νοῦθεσία* implicit in its outcome. Since Aeschylus' career coincided with the great days of old, an error of logic which people

popular perception nowadays 'modern art' goes back a great deal further than 'modern music'.

³⁷ On the revivals of Aeschylus cf. R. Cantarella, *WdF* 87 (1974) (= *RAL* 362 (1965) 363–81) 412 f., and on the *Oresteia* in particular H.-J. Newiger, *Hermes* 89 (1961) 427–30. The data on the considerable extent of Aeschylean reminiscences, allusions, and parody in Old Comedy are presented by Becker.

find irresistible at a time of uncertainty and self-criticism could easily generate a belief that revival of Aeschylus would *cause* a revival of the great days of old. That causal sequence is implied by the parting injunction to Aeschylus (1501) *καὶ σώζε πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν*. Such assent, however, does not seem to have lasted long. In the fourth century it was Euripidean drama, not Aeschylean, which increasingly enjoyed the prestige of revival.

2. *Literary Criticism and Popular Culture*

The terms in which the contending poets criticize each other's work are derived from nine different sources, and strands from all of these are interwoven in the second half of the play. They are:

- (1) The long-standing treatment of tragedy as a subject of comedy³⁸
 - (a) by parody,
 - (b) by presenting on stage tragic poets (alive or dead) or personifications of Poetry or Music.
- (2) The tradition of describing language, poetry, and song metaphorically,
 - (a) in serious poetry, long before any extant comedies,
 - (b) in comedy, with a characteristically comic tendency to exploit whatever concrete details are suggested by the metaphor.
- (3) The study of language by the sophists.
- (4) Interest in the language and techniques of oratory
 - (a) as manifested in rhetorical handbooks and teaching,
 - (b) among people concerned with politics and lawsuits, including those concerned only as jurors or members of the assembly.
- (5) The study of poetry by the sophists.
- (6) What ordinary people said about the language and technique of the plays they had seen.
- (7) Popular views of the moral and social effects of tragedy.
- (8) Anecdotes about Aeschylus and other poets of the older generation.
- (9) The known views of Euripides.

³⁸ W. W. Baker, *HSt* 15 (1904) 121–240, gives a full survey of the references in comedy to serious poetry known up to that date.

(1)(a) Parody of tragedy is a constant feature of Aristophanic comedy. Sometimes it is extensive, e.g. *Ach.* 497–556 (~ E. *Telephos*), *Th.* 855–919 (~ E. *Helen*, a scene in which the technique of parody can be followed in rewarding detail),³⁹ *ibid.* 1016–1135 (~ E. *Andromeda*). *Th.* 101–29, a parody of Agathon, may or may not be aimed at one particular play of his. More often a motif, a short passage, a line, or a phrase is taken from tragedy; thanks to the labour and learning of Hellenistic commentators, we can often identify the source,⁴⁰ but there remain many cases in which we cannot, and in the majority of such cases it may well be that Aristophanes is simply composing for humorous purposes in a style easily recognized by the audience as tragic—by virtue of its vocabulary, syntax, and paucity of resolved long syllables—without any specific original in mind. Parody serves more than one purpose. Comic effect is achieved by implied analogy between the fate of mythical heroes and the domestic misfortunes of characters who do not generate profound pity or fear in us. Incongruity of style, the combination of elevated poetry with colloquial vulgarity, is essentially funny.⁴¹ In addition, parody, especially in conjunction with exaggeration, may carry with it an invitation to the audience to regard the original itself as an artistic failure; the invented Aeschylean and Euripidean lyrics in *Frogs* exemplify this aspect of parody. The understanding of such implicit criticism, however, calls for much hard work, and we cannot take it for granted that we have always identified what exactly was funny to Aristophanes' audience and why it was funny. We need help from explicit ancient criticism, and that is what *Frogs*, to an exceptional degree, offers us.

(b) We know that it was by no means the only play in which poetry was treated as a topic of comedy, and it is highly probable that it was not even the first in which a contrast was drawn between Aeschylean and later tragedy. The relevant plays are:

(i) *Thesmophoriazusae*, produced in 411,⁴² contains not only a parody of the lyrics of Agathon (101–29) but an introductory proclamation by his slave (39–57), including a highly figurative passage on the composition of poetry (52–7, cf. 67–9), and philistine comment from the Old Man (45–100, 130–75), against which Agathon defends himself.

³⁹ Cf. Rau 53–65.

⁴⁰ Rau 185–212 lists all the passages of tragic parody in Aristophanes.

⁴¹ Cf. *AC* 73–6.

⁴² A. H. Sommerstein, *JHS* 97 (1977) 113–26, states the arguments for 410 but rightly gives precedence to the case for 411.

(ii) Aristophanes' *Gerytades*. Fr. 156 shows that a delegation of poets went to the underworld, but it does not reveal whether their journey fell within the action of the play or preceded it. If fr. 591, a commentary on a play of Aristophanes (that it was his is shown by 65 f. *καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ὀρμισιν . . . ἔλεγεν*), is a commentary on *Gerytades*, the lemma 85 f. τ]ῆν δαίμον' ἦν ἀνήγαγον εἰς τὴν [ἀ]γορὰν ἄγων ἰδρύσωμαι βοῖ suggests that its theme was the rescue of Poetry, comparable with the rescue of Peace by Trygaios.

(iii) A play entitled *Poiesis* was generally ascribed to Aristophanes, though there was an alternative ascription to Archippos (*PCG* iii.2 T1 59). *PYale* 1625, identifiable as a fragment of *Poiesis* by its inclusion (4 f.) of fr. 451 K (assigned to *Poiesis* by Priscian), points to a situation in which Poetry herself has withdrawn from the world and has to be induced to return.⁴³

(iv) Aristophanes fr. 696,⁴⁴ according to Ath. 21 F, gives us Aeschylus speaking of his own choreography (*ποιεῖ τὸν Αἰσχύλον λέγοντα κτλ.*), and this is followed (*καὶ πάλιν*) by someone who recalls seeing the chorus dancing in *Phryges* and makes a comment like that made by Dionysos in *Ra.* 1028 f.

(v) Aristophanes fr. 720 speaks of 'darkness since the death of Aeschylus'.

(vi) Pherekrates in *Krapataloi* fr. 100 represented Aeschylus himself (so Σ^{VF} *Pax* 749) as saying *ὅστις* ⟨γ' add. Porson⟩ *αὐτοῖς παρέδωκα* (Porson: -κε codd.) *τέχνην μεγάλην ἐξοικοδομήσας*.

(vii) Pherekrates fr. 155 (from *Cheiron*) is a long speech by Mousike, complaining of her maltreatment by Melanippides, Kinesias (cf. *Av.* 1373–1409, *Ra.* 153), Phrynis (cf. *Nu.* 971), and Timotheos.⁴⁵

(viii) The *Muses* of Phrynichos competed with *Frogs* at the Lenaia of 405. Of the surviving citations, one (fr. 32) is an encomiastic apostrophe to the dead Sophocles and another (fr. 33) is an instruction to someone on how to vote for acquittal or condemnation. Were there (as Meineke was inclined to think) two plays at the same festival

⁴³ Ed. pr. S. A. Stephens, *Papyri . . . edited . . . in honour of Eric Gardner Turner* (Oxford, 1981) 23 f.; Lloyd-Jones ii. 4–6. For the notion that a deity may forsake mankind in disgust cf. Aidos and Nemesis in Hesiod's threat (*Op.* 197–200) and Dike in Aratos *Phaen.* 114–36.

⁴⁴ '558 K' in Kaibel's *Athenaios ad loc.*, but actually 677 K.

⁴⁵ The speech carries a humorous charge throughout, because its musical terms admit of sexual meanings also; cf. E. K. Borthwick, *Hermes* 96 (1968) 60–73, and on other aspects of the passage D. Restani, *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 18 (1983) 139–92.

portraying a contest between poets, and, if so, was this just a coincidence, or prompted by the death of Euripides in conjunction with signs of rapid physical deterioration in Sophocles, or did one comic poet learn of the other's intention and decide on a direct challenge? If Sophocles did not actually die until late in 406, it would not have been easy for Phrynichos, starting only then, to pit Sophocles against Euripides in an underworld contest; and even if he did manage it, it is remarkable that nothing cited from the play about Sophocles—except fr. 32, the tenor of which (it is a *μακαρισμός*) is far from indicating the presence of Sophocles as a character in the play—has come through into biographical anecdotes or into the scholia on *Frogs*. We should not make too much of fr. 33, for which a wide variety of contexts can be imagined.

(ix) Phrynichos' *Tragoidoi* or *Apeleutheroi* (Su φ 763): fr. 56 is *αἰτίαν ἔχει πονηρὸς εἶναι τὴν τέχνην*, and fr. 58 *τῇ διαθέσει τῶν ἐπῶν*.

(x) Plato Com. fr. 138 (from *Skeuai*) contrasts modern choral dancing unfavourably with the older style.

(xi) In Plato's *Lakonians* or *Poets* (Su π 1708) the speaker of fr. 69 is someone who quarries massive *ῥήματα*; the immediate context being unknown, we must reckon with the possibility that the reference is to oratory, not poetry. Fr. 70 is spoken by someone who claims to be a soul returning (*ἀνήκειν*) from the dead, but it has a humorous tone somewhat suggestive of *Ach.* 45–8 and may not be central to the play.

(xii) Plato wrote a comedy called *Poietes*, but none of the extant citations from it concerns poetry.

Apart from *Thesmophoriazusae* and Phrynichos' *Muses*, these plays are not datable. Plato's *Poietes* could be later than *Frogs*; the name 'Sebinos', occurring in it (fr. 125), is known to us from *Ra.* 431 and *Ec.* 980. On the other hand, Pherekrates' work as a whole, including *Krapataloi*, is likely to have been earlier than *Frogs*, because Pherekrates won his first victory at the Dionysia as early as 438/7 and his first at the Lenaia before Hermippos, Phrynichos, and Eupolis (*PCG* vii. 102 f.). His fr. 64 (from *Ἰπνὸς ἢ Παννυχίς*), one of the very few citations from him to offer any clue as to date, seems to be earlier than 415/14, since it refers to Pulytion's house as mortgaged, and Pulytion fled into exile in that year, his property being forfeit to the state.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ So, rightly, A. H. Sommerstein, *CQNS* 36 (1986) 105 f.; P. Geissler, *Chronologie der altattischen Komödie* (2nd edn., Zurich, 1969) 52 f., and MacDowell on *Andocides* i. 12 draw the opposite conclusion.

However, we still do not know whether Pherekrates was the first actually to bring the ghost of Aeschylus on to the comic stage, because the date of the play from which Ar. fr. 696 is drawn is not known. The motif of summoning the ghosts of great men of the past was central to the *Demoi* of Eupolis, which was certainly earlier than *Frogs*.⁴⁷ From the standpoint of religious belief there is a difference between a *νέκνυια*, in which ghosts are called up, and a *κατάβασις*, in which a living person goes down to the underworld itself to meet them, but so far as concerns what the ghost does and says on stage the difference is not important.

The upshot of these data is that the many virtues of *Frogs* do not include originality of concept.

(2)(a) The poets of Old Comedy were familiar with a serious tradition in which a wide range of metaphor was applied to the poet's task.⁴⁸ Pindar 'opens the gates of song' (*O.* 6. 27), fires 'shafts' (*O.* 1. 112, 2. 90 f., *I.* 5. 47 f.), journeys in the 'chariot of the Muses' (*O.* 1. 110, *P.* 10. 65, *I.* 8. 61, *Paean* 7b. 13 f.), makes a city blaze with song like fire (*O.* 9. 21 f.), 'weaves' a poem (πλέκειν *O.* 6. 86, cf. *N.* 4. 94; ὑφαίνειν fr. 179, cf. Bacch. 5. 9, 19. 8), 'constructs' it like a carpenter (*P.* 3. 113 ἐξ ἐπέων . . . τέκτονες οἶα σοφοὶ ἤρμωσαν), and recommends Hieron to 'forge' his own utterances on an anvil (*P.* 1. 87). Hesiod too uses the expression *ράψαντες ἀοιδήν*, an image embedded in the word *ῥαψωδός*.

(b) Some of these metaphors reappear in comedy (e.g. Kratinos fr. 70 *τέκτονες εὐπαλάμων ἕμνων*)⁴⁹ and percolate into colourful prose (e.g. Demokritos B21 *Ὀμηρος . . . ἐπέων κόσμον ἐτεκτῆνατο παντοίων*). Others, not necessarily prominent in serious poetry, are more fully exploited in comedy. Dithyrambic poets, for example, are associated with flying: Kinesias in *Av.* 1372–1409 is the most obvious case (cf. *Ra.* 1437 f.), Trygaios in *Pax* 827–31 speaks of seeing the souls of dithyrambic poets roaming the sky 'looking for preludes', and the same notion is developed in *Nu.* 335–8, where *ἄσματοκάμπται* are

⁴⁷ Anecdotes about the death of Eupolis at sea (*PCG* v. 295) offer different dates and locations, but it seems clear that no plays by him were recorded in the didaskaliai for the last few years of the war (cf. I. C. Storey, *Phoenix* 44 (1990) 4–7).

⁴⁸ For the data cf. Taillardat 280, 438 f., G. Lanata, *Poetica pre-platonica* (Florence, 1963) 40–103 and Harriott (1969) 57–97.

⁴⁹ Cf. Ugolini 261–4. D. Müller, in V. Reinhardt *et al.* (eds.), *Musa Iocosa* (Hildesheim/New York, 1974) 49–41, argues that comic metaphor in speaking of literature is a deliberate exaggeration of the figurative language used by people with pretensions to literary acumen; see, however, pp. 32–5 below.

preoccupied with clouds, birds, and storms. Possibly this is rooted in the poem of Anakreon (*PMG* 378) which 'Kinesias' quotes in *Av.* 1372, ἀναπέτομαι δὴ πρὸς Ὀλυμπον, reinforced by the idea that a person celebrated in poetry 'flies' over humankind (*Theognis* 237–40, *Pi. P.* 5. 114, 8. 34) and by the analogy between a bee gathering nectar and a poet putting a poem together from words and ideas (*Pi. Paeon* 6. 59, *Ar. Av.* 748–51). Its relevance to *Frogs* is the way in which it illustrates the comic propensity to exploit an isolated metaphor taken from serious poetry.⁵⁰ At least one other metaphor, the 'weight' of a verse or phrase, on which *Ra.* 1365–1410 turn, although foreshadowed in *Eq.* 628 κρημνοὺς ἐρείδων, *Nu.* 1367 κρημνοποιόν and the γωνιαία ῥήματα of *Plato Com. fr.* 69, seems to be a novelty whose roots in the metaphor of serious poetry are obscure. We need therefore to look outside the comic tradition for some, at any rate, of the ingredients of *Frogs*, and to ask not only whether a critical terminology had already taken shape by 405 but also at what cultural level it was used.

(3) The detailed analysis of language deployed in 1119–97 affords one clue. Meaning, definition, and correct diction (ὀρθόεπεια, ὀρθότης ὀνομάτων, ὀρθότης ῥημάτων) were a major interest of many fifth-century intellectuals, notably Kratylos (*Pl. Cra.* 383 A, 430 D), Prodikos (*Chrm.* 163 B-D, *Cra.* 383 B, *Euthd.* 277 E, *La.* 197 D, *Prt.* 337 C, 340 A, *Arist. Top.* 112^b22, cf. *Pl. Prt.* 341 B, *Meno* 75 E) and Protagoras (*Cra.* 391 BC, *Phdr.* 267 C, *Arist. Rhet.* 1407^b6, *Soph. El.* 173^b17).⁵¹ The discussion of κλύειν ἀκούσαι and ἦκω . . . καὶ κατέρχομαι in *Ra.* 1151–76 exemplifies the kind of thing on which these sophists pronounced. Such material, together with the grammatical 'rationalization' of language, is satirized in *Nu.* 658–93.⁵² Definition was (as it still is) the activity of an intellectual minority (cf. *Pl. Chrm.* 163 D), and an indication that it was so regarded at the time of *Frogs* is provided by Dionysos' reaction (1169) to the distinction between ἦκω and κατέρχομαι: 'I don't understand what you're talking about'.⁵³

⁵⁰ On this matter, of fundamental importance for the understanding of Old Comedy, cf. Newiger (1957), and on *Ach.* 665–75, where a scene of cooking and feasting is conjured up from the invocation of the 'blazing' Muse of the Acharnian charcoal-burners, Harriott (1969) 74 f.

⁵¹ Cf. C. J. Classen in *WdF* 187 (1976) 215–47 (= *PACA* 2 (1959) 33–49). Among the titles of works attributed to Demokritos there are four (B18a, 18b, 25b, 26a) concerned with aspects of language, but we have only the scantiest information (B25, 142) on their content.

⁵² Cf. L. Radermacher, *RhM* 60 (1914) 89–94.

⁵³ Harriott (1969) 156 f.

(4)(a) *ὀρθοέπεια* had considerable relevance to oratory. Persuasive speaking was, after all, an essential accomplishment for anyone who hoped to influence communal decisions even at local level or to obtain justice and avoid penalty in the courts—and, incidentally, an accomplishment sanctioned by tradition as complementary to the skill of the warrior, as Wrong in *Nu.* 1056 f. correctly (though disingenuously) observes. The *λόγων τέχνη* on which Prodikos prided himself (Pl. *Phdr.* 267 B) will have offered guidance to speakers rather than poets. We could infer the scale of practical interest in oratory from the plot of *Clouds* even without the abundant testimony of Plato and Aristotle on the activities of Teisias, Korax, and the sophists of the late fifth century.⁵⁴ One attested application of theoretical *ὀρθοέπεια* to the oratory of the courtroom is the distinction between *σημείον* and *τεκμήριον* which Antiphon (unsuccessfully) propounded *ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ* (Ammon. *Diff.* 127); reference to Antiphon's *τέχνηαι ῥητορικαί* is made also in [Plu.] *Vit. X Or.* 832 E and Longinus (*Rhet. Gr.* Spengel) I 318. 9. Ar. fr. 205 (from *Banqueters*, produced in 427)⁵⁵ is relevant in this connection: it gives us an argument between father and son, in which the father attributes certain words of his son's to 'Lysistratos', 'the *ῥήτορες*' (i.e. prominent political speakers, not 'rhetoricians'), 'Alkibiades', and 'the *συνήγοροι*' (cf. *Ach.* 685, 715), apostrophizes Thrasymachos (who was indeed a rhetorician, Pl. *Phdr.* 271 A), and characterizes one of the young man's utterances as *τερατεύεται*, a word applied also in *Eq.* 627 to an oratorical blast from Kleon.

(b) *Eq.* 1375–80 suggest that a fashionable critical language had taken shape by 424 in the discussion which political and forensic speeches could provoke: young men *ἐν τῷ μύρῳ* are represented there as talking (*στωμυλεῖται*; cf. p. 22) about an acquittal of Phaiax, and as creating six words ending in *-ικός* for the purpose. Plainly this fashionable language was highbrow enough to be ridiculed by old Demos, adopting a conventional view of young men who are too interested in politics and litigation. At the same time, it should be noted that *-ικός* was not, as is commonly asserted,⁵⁶ a morpheme favoured

⁵⁴ The data are in L. Radermacher, *Aritium Scriptores* (= *SAWW* ccxxvii. 3 (1951)) 11–52, 66–76, 79–81, 102–20.

⁵⁵ Discussed by A. C. Cassio, *Aristofane, Banchettanti* (Pisa, 1977) 43–9, 93 f., and V. Tammaro, *Mus. Crit.* 15–17 (1980–2) 101–6.

⁵⁶ So C. W. Peppler, *AJPh* 31 (1910) 430, 'Philosophy is the peculiar sphere of these adjectives in *-ικός* and their adverbs', and A. N. Ammann, *IKOΣ bei Platon* (Freiburg, Schw. 1953) 264–6, both founding their view on the flowering of the suffix in Plato (to whom one should add Archytas and Philolaos).

by the fifth-century sophists and philosophers, but very productive in the language of Athenian administration and technology⁵⁷ and greatly exploited by the comic poets from Kratinos onwards, more often sharing in the fashion and enjoying it than making fun of it, e.g. Ar. *V.* 1276 *χειροτεχνικωτάτους*, 1280 *θυμοσοφιστικώτατον*, 1284 *νουβουστικῶς*.

(5) It would be surprising if a preoccupation with precision of language in oratory did not extend to criticism of poetry, and Pl. *Pr.* 339 A indicates that it did. Protagoras is represented there as declaring *παιδείας μέγιστον μέρος εἶναι περὶ ἐπῶν δεινὸν εἶναι* and as defining this *δεινότης* as the ability to understand *τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν λεγόμενα . . . ἃ τε ὀρθῶς πεποίηται καὶ ἃ μὴ* and to know how to *διελεῖν* ('define', 'distinguish', 'classify') in a way which can be expounded and defended. Socrates and Protagoras then proceed (339 A–347 A) to discuss passages of Simonides, a discussion which entails distinguishing between *εἶναι* and *γενέσθαι* and between *δεινός* and *χαλεπός*; in the course of it we encounter the phrase *ὀρθῶς διαιρεῖν* (341 C), which reminds us of *Nu.* 742, where Strepsiades is urged to think of a way out of his troubles *ὀρθῶς διαιρῶν καὶ σκοπῶν*, perhaps a catch-phrase (cf. English 'It depends what you mean by . . .') of sophistic teaching. Independent evidence for Protagoras as a critic of poetry is provided by Arist. *Po.* 1456^b15, on the fault he found with the imperative addressed to the Muse in the first line of the *Iliad*.⁵⁸ Exegesis of Homer had a long history in the fifth century, as we see from the reference to Stesimbrotos, Glaukon, and Metrodoros in Pl. *Ion* 530 C, and Demokritos wrote *On Homer* (B20–5).⁵⁹ The description of Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes* as *δράμα Ἄρεως μεστόν* (*Ra.* 1021) was taken from Gorgias—unless he took it from Aristophanes⁶⁰—and Gorgias also made some interesting observations on the 'deception' essential to tragedy (B23) and the effects of poetry on its audience (B11. g); but as this last passage is only incidental to the theme of its context,⁶¹ the

⁵⁷ Cf. Dover (1987) 39 f.

⁵⁸ Cf. D. Fehling, *RhM* 108 (1965) 212–17 and C. P. Segal, *RhM* 113 (1970) 158–62.

⁵⁹ Arist. *Po.* 1461^a22 and *Soph. El.* 166^b1 cite critical comments on the text of Homer by Hippias of Thasos. The judgement of Pfeiffer 45 that 'there is no reason why he should be assigned to the fifth century' is too dismissive, since a fifth-century Hippias of Thasos was killed by the Thirty Tyrants in 404/3 (Lys. xiii. 54, 61). Once again, there are tantalizing titles among the works ascribed to Demokritos (B15c, 16a, 25a) and very little information on what he said.

⁶⁰ A possibility entertained by Pfeiffer 46.

⁶¹ Cf. Sicking 120.

persuasive power of language, the same may have been true of B23 and B24. The evidence falls far short of demonstrating that a work on tragic poetry by Gorgias (or anyone else) underlies the contest in *Frogs*. There do not seem to have been any τέχνη ποιητικάί to match the τέχνη ῥητορικάί.⁶² Sophists and rhetoricians were inclined to regard poetry as working upon the emotions in comparatively simple ways which did not merit the respect due to oratory.⁶³

(6) The distance between intellectual and ordinary discourse must always have varied according to the subject-matter. Scientific speculation on the anatomy of insects or the deep structure of the physical universe could easily be dismissed as irrelevant to the experience of the good citizen and therefore ridiculous. But tragedy was part of the ordinary citizen's experience, and we cannot imagine that when people went home from the theatre they communicated their opinions to one another only in inarticulate grunts of approval and disapproval. They must have said something; what did they say, and in what terms did they express it? Because the subject was the same for the most sophisticated connoisseur and the most insensitive boor, we would not expect to find any two people at exactly the same point on the scale between those two poles.⁶⁴ The terminology of criticism, including metaphors and similes which might have an obvious appeal and catch on, must have percolated in varying degrees from those who cared a great deal about poetry, through those who gave it less attention, down to those who gave it hardly any. For that reason it is unwise to assume, when we find words used in the appraisal of poetry both by Aristophanes and by the literary critics of the Hellenistic period, that they already constituted a technical terminology in 405, let alone that

⁶² Su σ 815 attributes to Sophocles a work *On the Chorus*, but no one else ever mentions it, and its authenticity must be suspect.

⁶³ Cf. B. Tsirimbis, *Die Stellung der Sophistik zur Poesie im 5ten und 4ten Jahrhundert bis zu Sokrates* (Munich, 1936) 34 f. Plato's Socrates in *Prt.* 347 c treats the discussion of poetic texts as unworthy of intelligent people; cf. *Hipp. Mi.* 365 cd. Plato's Protagoras (*Prt.* 318 e) contrasts education in μουσική (among other τέχνη) as inferior to the sophistic education which confers εὐβουλία περὶ τῶν οἰκείων . . . καὶ περὶ τῆς πόλεως.

⁶⁴ Nowadays those members of an audience who savour an allusion to Stesichoros do not as a rule wrinkle their noses at jokes about farting and leave it to the 'groundlings' to guffaw. In Römer's time they were expected to do so, and perhaps actually did; hence the sharpness of his distinction (80 f., justly criticized by P. Walcot, *GER* NS 18 [1971] 36 f., 46 f.) between different strata in the audience. It is not, however, insignificant that Aristophanes does not boast of his own physiological humour, but decries it—artfully in *Ra.* 1–20, polemically in *Nu.* 537–42, *Pax* 741–8—and always with the (less than honest) suggestion that his rivals fall back on it through lack of wit and imagination.

they originated in sophistic treatises. *Frogs* itself, in conjunction with those other comedies which used tragic poetry as material for humour, must be reckoned among the determinants of the language of later literary criticism.⁶⁵

Consider the famous anecdote about Sophocles in *Ion* of Chios (*FGrHist* 392 F6). At a dinner-party on Chios the presence of a very handsome young male slave prompts Sophocles to quote a phrase from Phrynichos, to which a literal-minded schoolmaster takes exception, and Sophocles flattens him by citing instances of poetic licence in the use of colour-terms from Simonides and Pindar. Neither Sophocles nor, presumably, the schoolmaster was a 'sophist', and if we claim to see 'sophistic' influence whenever any fifth-century Greek expresses a critical opinion about anything we are rendering the category 'sophistic' useless. There is abundant evidence that in pre-literate cultures the composition of songs is a process in which discussion and criticism, often passionate, play an important part—and inevitably so, because any aesthetic reaction implies preference, and preference implies criticism.⁶⁶ Is anyone prepared to say that the conversation described in *Ion* fr. 6 was impossible in the Bronze Age? I, for one, am not.

⁶⁵ Radermacher 257 f., 304 f. draws attention to passages of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Taillardat 467 f. lists correspondences which, he says, 'cannot be due to coincidence'. Few of them, however, are anything like correspondences; e.g. Aristotle's *βαρύτης* (can the reference be to *Rhet.* 1391^a28?) has nothing to do with the *βάρος* of *Ra.* 941. Pohlenz (162) persuaded himself that Gorgias composed a 'comparison of Aeschylus and Euripides' to which Aristophanes was indebted. For detailed criticism of Radermacher and Pohlenz cf. Sicking 113–35 and D. L. Clayman, *WSI* NS 11 (1977) 26–34.

J. D. Denniston, *CQ* 21 (1927) 113–21 argues on similar lines to Radermacher, but more diffidently, and draws attention particularly to Luc. *Rhet. Praec.* 23 (sc. ἡ γλώττα) γονιμωτέρα γενέσθω ~ *Ra.* 96–9 γόνιμος ποιητής, a term which puzzles Herakles and requires further explanation by Dionysos. Lucian was very familiar with Aristophanes, and in a context which proceeds from generalizations about discreditable uses of the tongue and ends specifically with oral sex it is understandable that he should think of γόνιμος. The possibility that γόνιμος was a fashionable term at the end of the fifth century nevertheless remains open. In Pl. *Phdr.* 234 E ἀκριβῶς ἕκαστα τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀποτετόρνευται a contribution of comic metaphor (cf. *Th.* 52–7, *Ra.* 819, 881, 901b) to the language of colourful prose is at least as probable as the hypothesis that Aristophanes and Plato drew independently on a battery of established technical terms. W. Wimmel, *Kallimachos in Rom* (= Einzelschr. 16 (Wiesbaden, 1960)) 115, gives an interesting list of passages of *Frogs* which are (in varying degrees) similar to passages of the *Aitia* prologue, but it is not surprising if two people talking about similar things use similar words. The classification of words as 'technical terms' can easily get out of hand, as in R. Turasiewicz, *Eos* 74 (1986) 205–16, where even ἀστειός is so treated.

⁶⁶ Cf. Ruth Finnegan, *Oral Poetry* (Cambridge, 1977) 82 f., 85 f. (on collective composition and mutual criticism), 189 f. (on apprenticeship and testing).

This does not in the least imply that all Athenians were perceptive critics of poetry, but only that some were, and that they exchanged opinions. The median level of culture is not easily assessed. The frequency with which identifiable passages of tragedy are parodied tells us little; Aristophanes does not set the audience an examination of the type 'Give the context of . . .', but tries to amuse simultaneously anyone who remembers the original and anyone who does not. Many members of the audience will have seen the tragedies which he parodies, and he will naturally have given prominence to passages which he knew had made the deepest impression and passed into circulation as catch-phrases or as wise or shocking sayings.⁶⁷ The fact that an audience can be alerted to parody by language and rhythm and probably also by pose, stance, gesture, and style of declamation made his task much easier. People tend to be pleased by the assumption that they know a little more than they know in fact, and it is easy enough to take one's cue from a neighbour and laugh when he does. Even so, the choral song 1109–18, immediately before the criticism of opening lines, encourages the audience, in a strain of rather laboured jocular-ity, to believe that what is to follow will not be 'above their heads'; 'they're all old soldiers', says the chorus, 'and every one of them's got a book.' It is, however, above Dionysos' head at one point (1169, cf. p. 29), and in that sense, at any rate, 'Aeschylus, Euripides, Dionysos and the chorus practise literary criticism; their author, through them, criticizes criticism'.⁶⁸ Line 1114, which does, after all, say 'a book', not 'a library', reflects a culture in which possession of a book deserves remark, and we can imagine that 'But a friend of mine saw it *in a*

⁶⁷ Cf. Römer 67, Harriott (1962) 5, L. Woodbury, *TAPhA* 106 (1976) 353–6.

⁶⁸ Cf. Harriott (1969) 148. *ἔχειν* and *κεκτηῖσθαι* overlap (e.g. *V.* 1440 *νοῦν ἄν εἶχες πλείονα ~ Ec.* 747 *νοῦν ὀλίγον κεκτημένος*), but they are not synonymous (as Pl. *Th.* 197 B explains with admirable lucidity), and it is fair to say that if we found in a fragmentary text 'everyone in the audience, [. . .] *ἔχων*', we would expect the missing noun to denote an object which everyone had *with him* (or a bodily part, an item of clothing, a trait of character, an attitude, sentiment, etc.; Dn.). Prima facie, therefore, the possible connotations of *βιβλίον ἔχων* are (i) 'having a written copy of this play with him', (a) because it was on sale before the performance, or (b) if the words belong to the second production, because copies of the first version had been on sale; (ii) 'having an exegetical commentary on the play with him'; (iii) 'having a treatise on tragic poetry with him'; and (iv) 'having with him a book (*sc.* for reading before the plays began, or between plays)', something which marks the man as an intellectual. Of these, (ii) does not sound much like the late fifth century, while (i) and (iii) would not much help a slow-witted spectator to *μανθάνειν τὰ δεξιὰ* unless he had read them, and thought about them, *before* the occasion. (iv) is more promising; but in any case we cannot press the distinction between *ἔχειν* and *κεκτηῖσθαι* too hard, in view of the expression *σκήπτρα καὶ θρόνους ἔχειν* in *S. OC* 425, 1354.

book! might be used in the course of an argument. The disparaging reference to books (not to any particular books) as material used by Euripides (943), together with Ar. fr. 490, 'corrupted by a book, or by Prodikos or some gabbler', indicates that there were people who held out against 'book-culture'. However, it is clear that *Frogs* was produced at a time when the dissemination of books was increasing rapidly. Eupolis fr. 327 is our earliest reference to a book-market, Pl. *Ap.* 26 DE speaks of a book by Anaxagoras as easily purchasable, and at the same time βιβλιοπώλης, 'bookseller', is attested in comedy (e.g. Theopompos fr. 77 K, Aristomenes fr. 9 K). Some people who received secondary education read books (cf. Xen. *Smp.* 4. 27), and those who were really interested went on to collect and read more, as Dionysos himself professes to have read *Andromeda* (52 f.), but just how many of the audience of *Frogs* actually possessed a dramatic, philosophical, or historical text is a matter on which estimates differ greatly.⁶⁹

The emphasis laid in 799–801 on the measurement of poetry by builders' instruments, given the existing tradition of metaphor (p. 28), is a promise raising the expectation that we shall see high-brow chat about poetry ridiculed and brought down to earth; the promise can safely be broken when we have been lured into the area which Aristophanes prefers to explore. Conversely, the readiness of Euripides to submit to scrutiny of τὰ νεύρα τῆς τραγωδίας (862) makes a promise to the more sophisticated which probably (but see n. ad loc.) is broken in the interests of the less.⁷⁰ Aristophanes took a calculated risk (as he well knew from his experience with *Clouds*), tacking all the time between the subtle and the crude. *Frogs* gives us a good idea of the boundaries within which he had to tack.⁷¹

(7) One aspect of tragedy which will certainly have figured in what the audience said about it is the moral aspect. Shocking incidents in a play make a deep impression, and can sometimes override other reactions (cf. pp. 17 f.); and an audience may also 'fall in love with' a character or be 'inspired' by him or her. Plato represents Protagoras (*Prt.*

⁶⁹ Cf. Römer 64.

⁷⁰ On Athenian literacy in general cf. E. G. Turner, *Athenian Books in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries* (2nd edn., London, 1978), W. B. Sedgwick, *C&M* 9 (1947) 1–9, L. Woodbury, *TAPhA* 106 (1976) 353–6, W. V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989) ch. 4.

⁷¹ The weighing of verses is a simple-minded business by comparison with the agon, as Erbse (1975) 54 observes.

325 E-6 A) as describing how teachers make boys learn poetry containing 'much admonition . . . and praise of good men of old, so that the boy may emulate them and strive to be like them' (cf. *Ra.* 1022, 1026, 1041 f.). This is not a sophist's prescription, but a statement of contemporary practice, and when poetry is used educationally in the service of morality it is to be expected that people would readily judge a play in the first instance by the good and bad examples it sets and the uplifting or dangerous thoughts which the characters utter. Judgments of that kind will have been expressed more commonly, and more vehemently, by the less sophisticated members of the audience, and it was prudent on Aristophanes' part to engage attention and sympathy by dealing with the moral effects of tragedy in the formal agon before going on to techniques.⁷²

(8) The anonymous *Lives* of Aeschylus and Sophocles contain anecdotes about them, some of which reflect their alleged views on tragic poetry. It is possible that all those anecdotes are fiction, but that is not to say that they are fabrications of a later age. Some twenty years before *Frogs* Ion of Chios and Stesimbrotos of Thasos put into circulation many anecdotes about eminent Athenians of their own and the previous generations,⁷³ and we see from Ion fr. 6, 22, and 23 that Aeschylus and Sophocles were included among the eminent. It is a fair inference from Ar. *V.* 1174-96 that narrative involving famous men was a staple element of conversation,⁷⁴ and a reasonable conclusion that anecdotes about Aeschylus were in circulation in the second half of the fifth century and therefore available to Aristophanes if he wished to use them in constructing an Aeschylus who would conform to popular perceptions.

(9) Euripides must be presumed, during the forty-odd years before his departure (not all of which were spent in a cave on Salamis)⁷⁵ to have conversed with quite a lot of people about tragedy, and about his own

⁷² Ugolini 259-91, noting an increasing sophistication from 425 to 405 in Aristophanes' treatment of serious poetry, reminds us that the spectators of *Frogs* were not identical with their fathers; cf. K. Holzinger, *JAW* 116 (1903) 171.

⁷³ Cf. Dover (1988) 8 f., 46 f.

⁷⁴ Cf. *ibid.* 9.

⁷⁵ On the alleged *δυσσομιλία* of Euripides, of which there is no hint in comedy, cf. P. T. Stevens, *JHS* 76 (1956) 87-94, where the legend is satisfactorily demolished. Euripides' most probable motive in going to Magnesia and then Macedonia in 408/7 was that he judged (correctly) that Athens was going to lose the war, and he preferred to be elsewhere when that happened (cf. 952 f. n.).

tragedies in particular. What he said will not only have been familiar to Aristophanes but will also have been disseminated, sometimes properly understood, sometimes misunderstood, among people who were only intermittently concerned with poetry. That is the obvious source of the criticisms of Aeschylean tragedy expressed in 907 ff., and of the arguments—not attested in other treatments of tragedy⁷⁶—by which Euripidean tragedy is defended in 948–52 and 959–61. An even more public source of information on Euripides' view of Aeschylus is his parody, in *El.* 487–546, of *A. Cho.* 164–234, the recognition of Orestes by hair, footprint, and cloth.⁷⁷ His target there is precisely the naïvety, the intellectual contempt for the audience, which he criticizes in Aeschylus in 909 f. and by implication in 971–9.

To sum up: 1119–1248, introduced by the reassuring stanza 1109–18, and marked by the phrase τῆς ὀρθότητος τῶν ἐπῶν (1181) and by Dionysos' bewilderment when the difference between two near-synonyms is explained to him (1169), parodies and by implication ridicules sophistic interest in ὀρθοέπεια. All else is derived from the comic tradition,⁷⁸ anecdotes about poets, and ordinary discourse in a community in which the dramatic festivals were a shared and welcome experience.

IV. DIONYSOS

In the last year or two of his life Euripides composed *Bacchae*, in which Dionysos, in the form of a sleek and sinister human endowed with miraculous powers, wreaks fearful vengeance on the ruling house of Thebes. The play was not produced until after the poet's death; how long after, we do not know. Conceivably, on the same occasion as *Frogs*, or two months later, at the City Dionysia; but it should be noted that nearly five years elapsed between the death of Sophocles and his

⁷⁶ Pohlenz 157 rightly observes the unusual nature of Euripides' claim (971–9) in respect of 'domestic economy', a claim directly opposed to that of Protagoras in *Pl. Prt.* 318 E (n. 63 above).

⁷⁷ Cf. Lloyd-Jones i. 335–47 (and 198, on *E. Pho.* 751 f.). The hypothesis of Böhme and Fraenkel that Euripides' *Electra* contains an interpolated satire on a passage interpolated in *Choephoroi* rested on unrealistic assumptions about Athenian attitudes to tragic drama.

⁷⁸ At the same time, *Nu.* 658–93 had already created a place for satire on ὀρθοέπεια within the comic tradition.

grandson's production of *Oedipus at Colonus*, and it could well be that several years passed before the audience of *Frogs* saw *Bacchae*. If *Bacchae* was produced in 405, Aristophanes and many other people will have known in advance what it was about; Athens was a society in which secrecy, seldom sought and even more rarely attained (cf. 750 n.), could hardly be expected when actors and chorus were recruited and rehearsed. If it was not produced until a later year, it is still possible that a text of it arrived in Athens in the course of 406.¹ Comic parody of a text not yet performed is unlikely, given the small size of the reading public (cf. p. 34), and if the occurrence in *Frogs* of certain words and phrases found also in *Bacchae* is anything other than coincidence, they must be allusions for connoisseurs rather than reminders to the audience as a whole.² Both Euripides and Aristophanes were working within the framework of traditional conceptions of Dionysos which are attested by literary and iconographic evidence. For us it is a provocative coincidence that the two plays were conceived so close together,³ but the chief importance of the coincidence is the stimulus it affords to reflection on the nature of Greek theology.

The traditional ingredients in *Bacchae* are strong and numerous;⁴ its most significant forebear is a trilogy of Aeschylus (the *Lykurgeia*; cf. *Ar. Th.* 135), in which the god inflicts self-destructive insanity on the Thracian king Lykurgos, who had persecuted him and his worshippers. We hear also of a treatment of the Lykurgos myth by Polyphrasmon (*TrGF* i. 7 T3), and earlier, of the daughters of Proitos, who, according to Hesiod fr. 131, were driven mad by Dionysos because they rejected his rites.

The tradition exploited in *Frogs* is very different. Dionysos in the

¹ Cf. Hooker 179–81.

² A list is given and discussed by R. Cantarella in Heller, 291–310. The most striking item is *Ra.* 100 = *Ba.* 888 χρόνου πόδα, but Σ cites χρόνου προύβαινε πούς from *Alexandros* (E. fr. 42). So too, άνευ πόνου (*Ra.* 401 and *Ba.* 614) occurs in *El.* 81 and *HF* 89; for *Ra.* 477 διασπάζονται cf. not only *Ba.* 339 διεσπάζαντο but also *Hec.* 1126 διασπάζωμαι; and for *Ra.* 838 έχοντ' άχάλινον . . . στόμα cf. E. fr. 492. 4 (*Mel. Desm.*) άχάλιν' έχουσι στόματα, as well as *Ba.* 386 άχάλινων στομάτων. Since much of *Bacchae* is about the exultation of Dionysiac worshippers, inspired and led by the god, in a miraculously attractive landscape, and the initiates of *Frogs*, accompanied by Iakchos, also exult in the landscape of paradise, some community of motifs and vocabulary is inevitable.

³ C. Pascal, *Dioniso* (Catania, 1911) 48, in treating *Frogs* as an 'answer' to *Bacchae*, does not allow for the extent to which tragedies about Dionysos and comedies about him could just as well be treated (though it would not be a useful exercise) as 'answering' one another all through the fifth century.

⁴ Cf. Dodds's edn., pp. xxv–xxxviii.

first half of the play exemplifies a type of character well known in the comedy of many cultures: he is the person to whom things happen, and we laugh more at him than with him. Boastful but cowardly (279–308, 479–93), incompetent (198–205), fat and out of condition (200, cf. 236 f.), and sensual (291, 739 f., cf. 113), but highly susceptible to the charm of the stage (cf. pp. 10 f.), he is none the less resilient enough to persist in his purpose through a succession of frustrations and embarrassments, and our sympathy goes with him in that. In terms of modern entertainment, he belongs to sitcom, not to soap or drama. He has something in common with the Old Man of *Thesmophoriazusae*, a little also with Strepsiades in *Clouds*, but more with his traditional attendants, the satyrs, as they are depicted in satyr-plays, ‘worthless hedonists’,⁵ an easy prey to fear, lust, compassion, and the like, and on balance rather likeable.

In the *Dionysalexandros* of Kratinos, datable to 430,⁶ Dionysos disguises himself as Paris in order to deceive the three goddesses and get his hands on Helen, and then as a ram, to evade the wrath of Paris when the Greeks come to Troy. In the *Taxiarchs* of Eupolis it seems that he undergoes instruction from Phormion as a soldier and as a sailor;⁷ accustomed to soft living, he is plainly not a promising recruit (fr. 268, 269, 272, 274), and the lemmata in 278. 50–5 indicate a rowing scene like that of *Ra*. 197–205. A late fifth-century vase-fragment (*DFA* fig. 86) shows us two persons labelled]ϞΥΥϞϞ and φορ[, and they are plump, comic figures, in whom it is hard not to see an illustration of Eupolis’ play.⁸ The Dionysos of Aristophanes’ *Babylonians*, on the other hand, seems to have been a figure of greater authority, pronouncing on Athenian politicians (fr. 75, *ap.* Ath. 494 D). We do not know anything about the *Dionysos* of Magnes, the *Dionysoi* of Kratinos (fr. 52), the *Dionysos Shipwrecked* of Aristophanes, and the *Dionysos* of Aristomenes, except that this last was probably later than *Frogs*.

The god of *Bacchae* is distinguished by a feminine beauty, suggesting an indoor life and unmanly preening (*Ba.* 235 f., 453–9), and his

⁵ I borrow the phrase from Richard Seaford’s edn. of Euripides’ *Cyclops* (Oxford, 1984) 6.

⁶ *PCG* iv. 140 f. Cf. also W. Luppe, *Philologus* 110 (1966) 169–93, Schwarze 6–24, E. W. Handley, *BICS* 29 (1982) 102–17.

⁷ On Eupolis cf. p. 28 n. 47. Phormion does not appear in history after 429/8; Thuc. iii. 7. 1 suggests that he was either dead or at least incapacitated in the summer of 428, and it cannot be securely inferred from *Eq.* 562 that he was still alive in 424.

⁸ Cf. A. M. Wilson, *CQNS* 24 (1974) 250–2. In the caption to *AC* fig. 7 I expressed myself too cautiously.

forerunner in Aeschylus is scornfully called γυμνός (fr. 61). He was probably, in both plays, beardless.]ρυυκος on the Phormion vase, however, seems to have a beard. A beardless Dionysos appears in the art of the later fifth century (e.g. LIMC iii.1, figs. 189, 334 f., 372, and above all the Pronomos vase (DFA fig. 49)), but there is nothing in *Frogs* to suggest that our Dionysos is beardless.⁹ He does indeed wear the body-length yellow dress called κροκωτός (46), a familiar item of a woman's wardrobe (*Lys.* 44, 51, *Th.* 941, *Ec.* 332, 879), but it is also a long-standing attribute of Dionysos, an aspect of his association with festivity (A. fr. 59, Kratinos fr. 40, LIMC iii.1, figs. 84, 87, 111). The chorus of initiates invokes Iakchos (323–5 al.), a deity who belongs with Demeter and Kore in the cult of Eleusis. 'Iakchos' is treated as a name of Dionysos in *S. Ant.* 1146–54, *E. Ba.* 725 f., and, according to Σ^{RVE} 479, in a ritual response at the Lenaia (Σεμελήϊν Ἰακχῆ);¹⁰ but the initiates do not recognize Dionysos as their Iakchos, nor does he say anything to suggest that he regards them as invoking himself. Any such recognition would have been impossible to reconcile with the humour of the scenes in 460–673, and in the construction of a comedy humorous effect takes precedence. A myth about the descent of Dionysos to the underworld—to rescue his mother Semele and transfer her to Olympus—existed in Aristophanes' time;¹¹ but any reference to that would spoil much of central importance to the comedy, especially the god's disguise as Herakles and his complete ignorance of the underworld.

This kind of selectivity is characteristic of comedy. In *Lysistrata*, for example, the purposes of the plot require us to ignore the possibility of any outlet for the sexual activity of an adult male citizen other than his legitimate wife; the play takes one slice of reality and develops within it in disregard of other slices, equally representative of reality, which could have been taken. So in *Frogs* the comic Dionysos is treated in

⁹ In LIMC s.v., no. 583 (s. IV* in.) we see a bearded Dionysos with a beardless young Herakles.

¹⁰ Cf. also p. 61. The identification was not universal; cf. O. Kern, *RE* vii. 2, 619–21 and xxxii. 2, 1228–30.

¹¹ Whitman 233 f. The earliest evidence is Iophon *TrGF* 22 F3 ap. Σ^V *Ra.* 330 (without verbatim citation); after that, D.S. iv. 25. 4, Apollod. iii. 5. 3. 3, Paus. ii. 37. 5. Pausanias, reporting an Argive myth that Dionysos descended by the Alkyonian Lake (near Lerna), is the only one who explicitly refers to a descent; the others (using ἀναγαγεῖν) leave open the possibility that Dionysos negotiated with the gods of the underworld at a safe distance. It is interesting that Pi. *P.* 3. 99 calls Semele 'Thyone' (so too the Paean of Philodamos, *CA* p. 166. 7), because according to Diodoros and Apollodoros the name was given to her by Dionysos after her return from the underworld.

isolation from the multifarious legends, cults, and functions of which a divine person, called in all cases 'Dionysos', was the nucleus. Adherents of monotheistic religions which treat God as omnipotent and omnipresent have difficulty in coming to terms with the handling of gods in the Greek theatre, and particularly with the readiness of a comic poet to ridicule the god of the dramatic festivals even to the extent of portraying him as defecating in fear (479–89). Three considerations may help us here. First, Dionysos is the god of the comic poet (cf. *Nu.* 519) and the comic actor, whose function at the festival is to make people laugh as much as possible, and it honours the god if the actor plays him to perfection as a divine buffoon. Secondly, any community needs certain privileged occasions on which ridicule of the powerful, whether human or divine, can emerge from the shadows of private grumbles into the daylight of public expression.¹² And thirdly, when a god performs a variety of functions (as Greek gods do), and when cults, each attached to a different function, matter far more than theology (as they do) to the ordinary worshipper,¹³ it is easy to treat each function in isolation from the rest. This is illustrated by the fact that in a list of gods invoked as witnesses to an oath we sometimes find 'the same' god named more than once, with different 'titles'.¹⁴ At a more sophisticated level, we find Pausanias in *Pl. Smp.* 180 D portrayed as taking it for granted that there are two goddesses called 'Aphrodite', one the daughter of Uranos and the other the daughter of Zeus, from which, he says, 'it follows necessarily' that there are two gods called 'Eros'. The comic Dionysos is a collection of functions shaped by comedy itself.¹⁵

In the second half of the play we see Dionysos, presumably now free of the need for the accoutrements of Herakles, fulfilling a role as arbiter which has no specifically Dionysiac associations. Power in the underworld rests with Pluto; under that power, Dionysos is the judge and manager of the contest, and in that capacity he must cajole,

¹² Cf. *AC* 31–41. To recognize this important ingredient of comedy is not to identify it as the 'essence' of comedy and underrate or explain away other ingredients.

¹³ Protestants who do not take kindly to 'Our Lady of X' and 'Our Lady of Y' tend to experience particular difficulty in coming to terms with Greek religion.

¹⁴ In the oath taken by the ephebes of Dreros in the Hellenistic period (*DGE* 193. 16–24) the gods listed include Zeus Agoraios, Zeus Tallaios, Apollo Delphinios, and Apollo Poitios, but no simple 'Zeus' or 'Apollo'.

¹⁵ V. Brelich, *ACDebr* 5 (1969) 21–30, seeks a key-concept which would unify the Dionysos of the first half of the play with the Dionysos of the second half and both of them with other functions of Dionysos, but it is questionable whether the terms of his inquiry would have been meaningful to Aristophanes.

command, and reprove (830–94, 1410). Eventually he must decide, which he does in a manner from which incisive authority is absent (cf. p. 19), and once he and Aeschylus have been entertained by Pluto as a prelude to their return to the world above he has no more to say, and not a word more is said to him or about him; theatrically it is not easy to fit him into the final scene with Pluto, Aeschylus, and the chorus.¹⁶ During the formal agon Dionysos' management is only intermittent (926 f., 1012, 1020); most of the time he plays the part of the *βωμολόχος* who comments facetiously (934, 968–70, 1036–8, 1067 f., 1074–6), naïvely (916–20, 921, 930, 1023 f., 1028 f.), or maliciously (952 f., 1047 f.) on what the disputants say.¹⁷ The *pnigos* which ends each disputant's presentation of his argument is divided in each case between the disputant himself and Dionysos in such a way that Dionysos brings passionate generalization down to humorous particulars (971–91, 1077–98). His 'idiocy and inanity'¹⁸ are in abeyance during the weighing-scene, and his questions about politics are serious enough, but his reactions to the answers he receives are not on the same level as the questions.

If Dionysos were a real person and *Frogs* a faithful record of actual events, we could legitimately speak (indeed, we would have no option) of the 'development' of his 'character' from *Schwärmerei* at the beginning to discriminating, right-minded patriotism at the end. But that is not necessarily how Aristophanes looked at him; to all appearances, Aristophanes exploited the comic Dionysos quite differently, and if we go behind the appearances (which is not obligatory) and speak of Dionysos as 'searching for himself'¹⁹ or 're-establishing his identity'²⁰ we must realize that we are translating an ancient comedy into modern categories, perhaps in the faith that a classic author must somehow always be profound even when it looks as if he is frivolous. If we discard the modern dramatist's preoccupation with individual character²¹ and see in Dionysos an embodiment of Athenian culture and

¹⁶ Cf. Kunst 52 f.

¹⁷ On the *βωμολόχος* cf. Gelzer 124 f. The term, derived from Arist. *EN* 1108^a23–5 but much earlier in use (cf. *Ra.* 358), was introduced into the analysis of Greek comedy by Zieliński and popularized by Süß (especially *RM* 63 (1908) 12–38); though Wilamowitz (iv 489 n. 1) disapproved of it, it has caught on. The utterances of Euelpides during the exposition of Peisetairos in *Av.* 463–626 are a clear example of *βωμολοχία*.

¹⁸ Cf. Harriott (1962) 6, 'Dionysos is sometimes acting the fool, and always foolish'.

¹⁹ Cf. Whitman 232.

²⁰ Cf. Segal 212.

²¹ Cf. M. Heath, *Unity in Greek Poetics* (Oxford, 1989) ch. 1, on the 'centripetal aesthetic' which leads many modern critics to assume, without adequate consideration

taste,²² edifyingly converted when a choice between old and new styles is squarely put before him, we may be nearer the mark; there remains a significant difference between the development of a theme²³ and the development of a 'character'.

V. XANTHIAS

In the plays before *Frogs* slaves have two main functions (apart from bringing on and taking off stage-properties): one is to explain the situation to the audience in the opening scene (*Knights*, *Wasps*, *Peace*), and the other is to elicit laughter by being hurt, threatened, or frightened.¹ The two slaves of *Knights* groan from the pain of the beatings which have been inflicted on them ever since the new Paphlagonian slave became the master's favourite and tyrannized over his fellow-slaves. They contemplate desertion, but fearfully, because they will 'lose their skin' if they are caught (21-9). Strepsiades in *Clouds* curses the war because he can no longer punish his slaves (5-7; he fears that they might desert), and threatens to strike the slave holding the lamp when the oil in it runs out (56-9). In *Wasps* one of the two slaves in the opening scene has dozed off, and the other warns him that he risks a beating (1-3). The following year, in the parabasis of *Peace*, Aristophanes denies that he indulges in crude, laboured humour about the beating of slaves; and he cites, as an example of what he does not do, a dialogue in which one slave uses the metaphor of invasion and ravaging with reference to the laceration of another slave's back by the whip (742-7). Yet in *Wasps* the outrageous old man Philokleon, when he has thrown himself with zest into the spirit of party-going, not only assaults and insults free citizens but whacks one of the household slaves (for fun, it seems), and the slave comes on groaning and congratulating tortoises on having a thick shell that saves them from feeling blows (1292-6)—a simple-minded joke already used in *Wasps* 429. One needs always to treat sceptically Aristophanes' claims that his humour is more subtle and refined than that of his rivals,² and, sure enough, in *Birds*, seven years after *Peace*,

of alternative aesthetics, that 'disunity, being unworthy of great writers, must always be only apparent'.

²² Cf. K. D. Koch 44 n. 71, 48 n. 80, Whitman 233.

²³ Cf. Vaio 93.

¹ Cf. Stefanis 126 f.

² In *Nu.* 543 f. Aristophanes disclaims violence and noise, but he gave the play an

we have a scene (1313–36) in which the slave of Peisetairos is abused, threatened, and beaten (and probably also pecked in the bottom by the birds' beaks) because he is slow and clumsy. Three years later, *Lys.* 1216–24 is a nauseating scene in which extreme maltreatment of slaves (a threat to set fire to their hair) is combined with a self-conscious admission (1218–20) that this is a concession to popular taste.³ Earlier in the play we twice find the conventional abuse of a slave as inattentive (184 f., 426 f.); cf. *Theocr.* 2. 19 f., 15. 27–32, 53 f.

When *Frogs* begins we seem to see in Xanthias a typical slave groaning under the luggage he is carrying, and thick-witted as well, because Dionysos easily bamboozles him about the relation between him, the burden on his shoulder, and the donkey that is carrying both. Aristophanes exploits this situation in two ways: on the one hand, the suffering slave as a conventional target; on the other, criticism of the low level of popular taste (1 f.) to which other comic poets pander (12–18). Yet as the dialogue between Dionysos and Herakles progresses, something unusual happens: Xanthias communicates with us, the audience, in asides. That is clear in 86, where, after Herakles' question, 'And what about Pythangelos?', we read 'And not a word about *me*, when my shoulder's worn right down!' No one takes any notice. Dionysos presumably makes a gesture of revulsion at the name of Pythangelos, Xanthias utters his complaint for us to hear, and Herakles continues about contemporary poets. Xanthias grumbles aside in the same terms twice more, 107 and 115. The reader of the play may at this point wonder—but the spectator would have known, one way or the other—whether 86 is really Xanthias' first aside. Who says 'And then I woke up' in 51? Herakles, Dionysos, or Xanthias? Each of the three was favoured by one or more ancient commentators; we can only say that it would make a very effective aside for Xanthias. Earlier, in 41, Dionysos calls Xanthias to witness how he has, as he thinks, frightened Herakles. Xanthias says 'Yes, (sc. afraid) that you might be a lunatic.' If Dionysos hears that, he ignores it;⁴ is he meant to hear it?

exceptionally noisy and violent scene when he revised it; cf. T. K. Hubbard, *Classical Antiquity* 5 (1986) 182–97.

³ Cf. Henderson ad loc.

⁴ The slaves in the opening scene of *Peace* tell us that their master is crazy (54, 65), and one of them tells him so to his face (90, 95), but there is a difference between their fear and despair at a fantastic situation and a disloyal aside which aims at enlisting our sympathy for a slave against his master's presence. Karion's prologue in *Wealth* (1–17), uttered to the audience, is in the tradition of *Eq.* 37–70, *V.* 54–135, *Pax* 50–77. On the

Earlier still, in 33 f., when Dionysos has said 'Since you say the donkey's no use to you, it's your turn to pick him up and carry him', Xanthias replies 'Oh, why didn't I fight in the sea-battle (sc. at Arginusai)? I'd be telling you to go to hell (sc. because I would have been freed).' Dionysos orders him to dismount (*κατάβα, πανούργε*)—because they have arrived (as he says) at their destination; is *πανούργε* prompted by Xanthias' open insolence, or is it the automatic abuse of slave by master, uttered after Xanthias has spoken 33 f. aside while Dionysos is approaching the door? One further sequence of putative asides comes in 308–11. Dionysos exclaims 'How pale I went at the sight of her!' Xanthias points to Dionysos' rear and says 'And this (sc. *πρωκτός* or *κροκωτός*?) turned *πυρρός* on your behalf.' Dionysos asks rhetorically what god is to blame for his misfortune, and the next line, *αἰθέρα Διὸς δωμάτιον ἢ Χρόνου πόδα*, repeated from 100 (where Dionysos expressed his admiration for the phrases), is left to Dionysos by many manuscripts but given to Xanthias by R V M^{ac} Md1. It must be emphasized that treatment of 33 f., 41, 51, 308, and 311 as asides is highly speculative, because it is common in Old Comedy for a character to say something to which another character present does not show the angry reaction which would be shown in real life,⁵ but there can be no doubt about 86, 107, and 115, and that, combined with the way Xanthias' role develops, justifies the speculation.

Xanthias does more than laugh at his master; he dominates him, as the braver and more resilient of the two, makes a fool of him, and splendidly gets the better of him in the scene (605–73) where both are beaten by the Doorkeeper. By that time Dionysos has become abjectly dependent on Xanthias, reduced to coaxing and wheedling in terms extraordinary between master and slave (579–88). After the parabasis Xanthias meets a slave of Pluto, and their fraternization 'downstairs' is prompt. Pluto's slave is astonished at the leniency of Dionysos in the aftermath of the beating scene. Xanthias says dismissively that Dionysos doesn't understand anything except drink and sex, and, boastfully, that he, Xanthias, would have made him regret it if any punishment had been attempted. The two slaves joke ecstatically about ways in which they get their own back on their masters. A poor sort of revenge, to curse your master behind his back when your own back is raw, but they speak as if it means a lot to them. There is

frankness with which slaves sometimes address their masters cf. E. Lévy, *Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon* 163 (1974) 42.

⁵ D. Bain, *Actors and Audience* (Oxford 1977) 88 f.

more irony in the scene than most spectators are likely to have perceived.

The slave of Pluto calls Dionysos *γεννάδας ἀνὴρ* (738) because he did not punish Xanthias. This word has a curiously limited distribution: several times in Aristophanes, twice in Plato, once in Aristotle, and never in the orators, historians, or tragedy. On etymological grounds⁶ we might have expected it to mean 'noble', but that does not fit its usage, any more than it fits most of the instances of *γενναῖος*. Dionysos is *γεννάδας* because he is magnanimous. *ὦ γεννάδα* is used by the chorus to Aeschylus (997) in an attempt to calm his temper, rather as we might address a brutal tyrant as 'O most merciful king!' Socrates says *ὦ γεννάδα* to Kritias in Pl. *Chrm.* 155 D in describing, apologetically and in some fear of being embarrassing and boring, how deeply affected he was by a peek at Charmides' beautiful body; 'forgive me' would be equally appropriate, as we see from (e.g.) *Smp.* 218 B, *Euthd.* 286 E. In Pl. *Phdr.* 243 C *γεννάδας* is coupled with *πρᾶος* (which in turn is coupled with *εὐκόλος* in *Hp.Mi.* 364 D), and in Arist. *EN* 1100^b32 the man who is *γεννάδας* and *μεγαλόψυχος* is enabled by his character to endure misfortune *εὐκόλως*.⁷ Now, Xanthias himself twice earns the epithet *γεννάδας*: once from Dionysos (179), when he offers to carry the luggage to the underworld, and again, in his disguise as Herakles, from the Doorkeeper (640), because of his willingness to undergo pain in the interests of fair play.

None of this means that Aristophanes had become a convert to emancipation. A very conventional Attic citizen might see nothing in the dialogue of the two slaves but confirmation of the incorrigible impudence and disloyalty of slaves as a class. Anyone more sensitive might be troubled by a feeling that it is slaves rather than masters who are worldly-wise and resilient, the real survivors. The conventional citizen could laugh at the dominance of Xanthias over Dionysos, as he would laugh at the women of *Lysistrata* and *Ecclesiazusae*, because a world turned upside-down is always an amusing fantasy; the fact that Xanthias' master is not a respectable citizen but a divine buffoon would insulate the audience against the implications of the relation-

⁶ It is boldly labelled 'Doric' in LSJ, but it is not yet attested in any non-Attic text. On its history and hypothetical prehistory cf. Björck 51-4.

⁷ In *Eq.* 240 *ὦ γεννάδα* is addressed to the Sausage-seller in an effort to stop him running away in panic, and in *Ach.* 1230 to Dikaiopolis, congratulating him on his resolute achievement of victory. The long-dead general Myronides is called *ὁ γεννάδας* in *Ec.* 304; we do not know for what virtues, other than military élan, he was remembered in Attic tradition.

ship. They might find it particularly amusing that a slave, normally regarded as motivated only by fear and greed, should be called *γεννάδας*.

These considerations do not alter the fact that, so far as our extant evidence goes, Xanthias plays a new kind of slave-role. In *Wealth*, seventeen years later, we encounter another remarkable slave, Karion. As a person, Karion is not another Xanthias, for he has all the characteristics traditionally associated with slaves,⁸ and even his best friends (if he had any) would be more likely to call him *πανούργος* than *γεννάδας*, but his dramatic role is very important; whenever we recall the play, it is he rather than his master who comes into our minds.⁹ His words and behaviour in 823–958, where he converses on equal terms with the Good Citizen and collaborates with him in stripping the Bad Citizen, have given rise to a problem in the textual transmission of the play. In that scene, the manuscripts other than R and V assign to Chremylos most of the lines which in R and V are spoken by Karion. Yet there can be no room for doubt that Karion is the only speaker from the household throughout. He is threatened by the Bad Citizen with torture (874–6). He is present when the Good Citizen arrives, because (821 f.) he cannot stand the smoke in the kitchen, where Chremylos is preparing a feast. There is no way of bringing Chremylos out to greet the Good Citizen except (a desperate expedient seriously considered by an ancient commentator) by making Karion re-enter the house immediately after saying that he has had to leave it, and putting in a choral interlude, although we have just had one between 802 and 803. Moreover, the symmetrical economy of the scenes which follow from the installation of *Wealth* is clear: 823–958, Karion and the Good and Bad Citizens (Bad Citizen enters at 850); 959–1096, Chremylos, Old Woman, and Young Man (Young Man enters at 1042); 1097–1170, Karion and Hermes; 1171–end, Chremylos and Priest of Zeus. The cause of all the trouble is revealed by Σ^{v63θ} 823: 'it is improper that a good citizen should converse with a slave.' A Hellenistic commentator could not stomach the familiar terms on which Karion and the Good Citizen talk to one another; but evidently Aristophanes could.

⁸ Cf. S. D. Olson, *TAPA* 119 (1989) 193–9 (though I cannot entirely agree with his allocation of lines (197 n. 5); a slave can use violence against a citizen with the encouragement and authority of his master, e.g. *Pax* 1120–4 (Stefanis 125), and the Good Citizen functions, so to speak, *in loco domini*). On the importance of Karion cf. Russo (1984) 354–8.

⁹ On the affinities between Xanthias and Karion cf. K. Komornicka, *Eos* 58 (1969/70) 189.

It is not known whether any comedy earlier than *Frogs* contained a major role for a slave comparable with Xanthias or Karion.¹⁰ From the fourth century we hear of titles which suggest a slave-protagonist,¹¹ and resourceful, dominant slaves are frequent in New Comedy. It is appropriate to ask whether any change of social attitude contributed to the creation of Xanthias. Unfortunately, the categories of evidence available for the fifth century (comedies, tragedies, but no speeches until near the end of the century, and nothing like Xenophon or Plato) and for the fourth (no tragedies, abundant speeches and dialogues, no complete comedies between 388 and 317) make it hard to compare like with like. It is possible, however, to follow certain strands of sentiment and attitude through from the late fifth century into the fourth.

One strand is the hard line: slaves are 'by nature utterly hostile to their masters' (Lys. vii. 35), and 'the citizens of a nation act as an unpaid bodyguard for one another against the slaves' (Xen. *Hi.* 4. 3, cf. 10. 4, 'many a master has been killed by his slaves'). There are those, says the speaker in Pl. *Lg.* 777 A, who put their trust solely in management by the goad and the whip, treating slaves as animals. But (ibid.) 'there are those who do the opposite', and the speaker has admitted (776 D), 'Many slaves before now have proved much better men in every way than brothers and sons and have saved their masters and their masters' whole estates.' The obstinate fact that some slaves are better people than some masters is given open expression in E. *Ion* 864-6 and fr. 831 and echoed in Men. fr. 722; not surprisingly, a slave is the speaker in the first and third of those passages, and probably also in the second. Since generosity and gratitude for loyalty were highly valued, masters who freed their slaves wanted everyone to know about it (Aeschines iii. 41), and a speaker in court considered that he would make a favourable impression on the jury if he professed to have rewarded loyalty and long service (e.g. Dem. xlvii. 55 f.). Lys. v. 5 assumes that slaves may hope to earn their freedom in that way, and it is a recurrent theme in New Comedy. The absence of the theme from Old Comedy may point to a significant difference between fifth- and fourth-century sentiment and practice.¹² The promise of freedom is, of course, a powerful instrument of control, if sometimes kept; if never kept, it is useless.

¹⁰ The Δουλοδιδάσκαλος of Pherekrates (Stefanis 183) probably means ὁ δούλους διδάσκων. I do not count in this category plays in which a slave character is a transparent disguise for an individual of citizen status, e.g. *Knights* and *Marikas* (Eup. fr. 192. 149).

¹¹ Cf. Stefanis 188 f.

¹² Cf. F. Bourriot in *Mélanges d'histoire ancienne offerts à W. Seston* (Paris, 1974) 35-47.

There is unlikely to have been any change in attitude towards slaves who were regarded by their masters as lazy or hostile, and there is a very great difference between rewarding individual slaves and questioning slavery as an institution; even approval of edifying sentiments uttered in plays is likely to have been short-lived when the audience returned to the practical management of house, farm, workshop, or mine. We know less than we would like to know about such Greek intellectuals as argued that slavery was contrary to nature; Aristotle argues against them in *Pol.* 1253^b11–5^b40, but does not identify them. Alkidamas fr. 3 (Avezzù), ‘the god let all go free; nature has made no one a slave’, cited by Σ Arist. *Rhet.* 1373^b18, is of doubtful relevance, because it comes from a speech about Messene and probably therefore refers not to the enslavement of individuals but to the enslavement of one Greek nation by another.¹³

There is, however, one singular historical event which may have some bearing on the creation of Xanthias. In the summer of 406 the Athenians manned a fleet with slaves as well as free men (*Xen. HG* i. 6. 24), and according to Hellanikos *FGrHist* 323a F25 the slaves in that fleet who took part in the battle of Arginusai, an Athenian victory, were given their freedom. It is to this that Aristophanes refers in *Ra.* 33 f., 190–2, and (the principal reference) 693–9. The extent to which Athens had used slave-rowers previously is controversial,¹⁴ but there is no hint in any comedy, speech, or historical narrative that they had rewarded naval service with enfranchisement, and it is a reasonable inference from the parabasis that they had not. Confrontation, even if belated, of the fact that slaves were as good as free men when it came to winning a sea-battle must have given Athenian assumptions a severe jolt, and Aristophanes created Xanthias precisely at the moment of its impact. Xanthias’ master is clumsy and helpless when seated at an oar (197–205), and no doubt many prosperous citizens who embarked for Arginusai along with slaves (*Xen. loc. cit.*) were little better until they got the hang of it (as Dionysos does). The precedent

¹³ Cf. G. Cambiano in M. I. Finley (ed.), *Classical Slavery* (London, 1987) 24 f.

¹⁴ B. Jordan, *The Athenian Navy in the Classical Period* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1975) 240–68, presents a case for thinking that they had regularly done so. His case entails rejection of what seem to me to be inescapable inferences from certain Thucydidean passages, emphasized by K.-W. Welwei, *Unfreie im antiken Kriegsdienst* (Wiesbaden, 1974) 67–70. Welwei does not, however, confront the implications of all Jordan’s data, e.g. the ὑπηρεσίαι of *IG* ii². 212. 69–65. On one point which does not directly affect his argument but is otherwise important, Jordan 262 n. 66 is mistaken: Aristophanes does not ‘rail against the enfranchisement of slaves’ but explicitly praises it and says (696) ‘it’s the only sensible thing you’ve done’.

of Eupolis' *Taxiarchs* (cf. p. 39) forbids us to think that Arginusai was the sole inspiration of the rowing-scene, but the implications of a contrast between a foolish master who cannot row and a bold slave who could have won his freedom by rowing cannot have escaped Aristophanes or his audience.

VI. THE DOORKEEPER OF THE UNDERWORLD

When Dionysos has knocked at the door of the palace of Pluto (464) it is answered by someone (let us call him 'A') who launches into a furious tirade at the sight of 'Herakles' and re-enters the palace at 478 with the threat that he will hasten to fetch the 'Tithrasian Gorgons'. At 605 someone ('B') comes out. At 738 someone ('C') opens a conversation with Xanthias.

Since B's first words at 605, uttered to two slaves under his command, are 'Arrest that dog-thief!', it would be perverse to doubt (cf. 467 f.) that A and B are the same person. Whether AB is the same person as C is a more open question. C certainly knows what happened in 605-73, as his first words (738-42) show, but that is hardly enough to establish the identification, because the question 'How could he have known . . .?' is a question of a kind which it is unprofitable to ask in a study of Old Comedy.

C is a slave—that is the whole point of the fraternization with Xanthias—and so is AB, for in 670 he refers to Pluto as *ὁ δεσπότης*.¹ Although *δεσπότης* can mean 'lord (of . . .)' in serious poetry (and gods and heroes can be invoked as *δέσποτα*), when used with the definite article in the dialogue of comedy it means 'my master' (spoken by a slave, e.g. 746; Alexis fr. 37. 1 ~ 8 and Men. *Epitr.* 400, 446 ~ 393, 467 are particularly illuminating), 'your master' (spoken to a slave, e.g. *Nu.* 1488), or 'his/her master' (spoken about a slave, e.g. *Th.* 341); this principle is not invalidated by the generalizing *χὼ δοῦλος . . . χὼ δεσπότης* of *Ra.* 949 f. Since AB has at least five underlings at his disposal, two people who are commanded to arrest 'Herakles' and three Scythian policemen who overcome the prisoner's resistance he

¹ The significance of this was observed by Fritzsche 203, but overlooked by Radermacher 211 (he argues that the tragic tone of 464 ff. shows that the speaker is not a slave). For earlier controversy on 'Aiakos' cf. E. von Leutsch, *Philologus* Supplbd. 1 (1860) 146-52, E. Hiller, *Hermes* 8 (1874) 453 f., and C. O. Zuretti, *RIFC* ns 2 (1896) 67-70.

is evidently a slave of managerial status, an overseer or steward,² but a slave none the less. This would be assumed by the audience from the fact that he opens the door and from his saying (469) that 'looking after the dog' was part of his job. When a character other than a slave opens a door, it is either someone whom we already know from earlier in the play (e.g. Socrates at *Nu.* 1145) or someone identifiable by dress or insignia (Herakles, and Hermes at *Pax* 180).

In the manuscripts the sigla mostly designate AB 'Aiakos', in some C has the same designation, thus:

- A: 464 *θεράπων* V: *οικέτης ἢ Αἰακός* V_{SI}: *Αἰακός* cett.; 465 *παῖς ἢ καὶ ὁ Αἰακός* K: om. V: *Αἰακός* cett.
- B: V_{SI}^{ac} had *οικέτης Αἰακός* at 618 (*οικέτης* del. V_{SI}^{pc}) and something other than *Αἰακός* at 630, while *οικέτης* at 642 stands uncorrected. Otherwise the manuscripts have *Αἰακός* throughout, except that K omits many sigla in this scene.
- C: Here there is less agreement. 738 *Αἰακός* R A Vb3 V_{SI} Θ: om. V: *οικέτης Πλούτωνος* K Np1 U₂^{ms}: *οικέτης Αἰακοῦ ἢ Πλουτῶν* M: *οικέτης σωσῆ* U. V indicates no changes of speaker until 754, and after that offers *οικέτης* consistently. After 738 R has only dicola; Θ uses *Αἰακός* consistently (except 745 *δῶν καὶ αἰ**), and so too A in 738–43. Otherwise *οικέτης* prevails, except that M_{d1}^{ac} has an isolated *Αἰακός* at 741 and changes to *θεράπων* after 760.³

Aiakos is absent from the list of *dramatis personae* in R, where we have only *θεράπων Πλούτωνος*; V has that too, but Aiakos as well (after *πανδοκεύτρια*). M and V_{SI} have both Aiakos and *οικέτης Πλούτωνος* (*Πλούτωνος* om. M), the other manuscripts only Aiakos. Disorder and duplication make the *dramatis personae* unsatisfactory evidence, but if 'Aiakos' is meant to cover character C as well as AB there is a degree of conflict between the list in a given manuscript and the sigla of that same manuscript. Some confusion was no doubt caused by disagreement about the sex of the slave who brings Persephone's invitation at 503.

Since the text during the Hellenistic period was devoid of sigla, the identification of characters not named in the text itself was subject to discussion (cf. p. 87), and opinions on the Doorkeeper are reflected in the following scholia. It will be observed that his identification as

² Cf. G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World* (London, 1981) 505 f.

³ For an explanation of such changes of designation cf. Dover (1988) 255–62.

Aiakos goes back to antiquity, and is taken for granted in Σ 658, but is rejected in Σ 464 for AB and nowhere entertained for C. In one case (652) identification seems to be carefully avoided, and this may be true also of 655.

- A: Σ^{VE} 464 εἰς τῶν ἐν Ἄιδου λέγει. τινὲς δὲ τὸν Αἰακὸν λέγουσιν ἀποκρίνασθαι· ὅπερ ἀπίθανον.
- B: Σ^{RVE} 607 τινὲς δὲ φασιν ἐκ τοῦ 'εἶεν καὶ μάχει' τὸν παρὰ τοῦ Πλούτωνος ἐξεληθόντα λέγειν . . . εἶτα τὸν παρὰ τοῦ Πλούτωνος . . . ἔνιοι δὲ φασὶ πάντα αὐτὸν λέγειν τὸν Πλούτωνα.
(Cf. Hyp. II. 6 Πλούτων δ' ἰδὼν ὡς Ἑρακλεῖ προσέκρουσε διὰ τὸν Κέρβερον).
 Σ^{RVE} 632 (ὁ add. Dübner) παρὰ (περὶ Σ^{R}) τοῦ Πλούτωνος τοῦτό φησιν.
 Σ^{RVE} 652 ἀποδέχεται αὐτὸν ὁ τύπτων.
 Σ^{VE} 655 δύναται δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ πρόσωπον λέγειν ὄλον.
 Σ^{RVE} 658 ὡς δυσκρίτως ἔχων τοῦτο λέγει ὁ Αἰακός.
- C: Σ^{E} 738 Πλούτωνος οἰκέτης.

The reason why Aiakos was judged 'implausible' (Σ 464) is to be sought in the perception of Aiakos in Aristophanes' time. A hero of exceptional piety, endowed with a sanctuary at Athens (Hdt. v. 89. 3), he became after his death a *πάρεδρος* of Pluto and Persephone (Isoc. ix. 15) and a judge of the dead, together with Minos, Rhadamanthys, and Triptolemos (Pl. *Ap.* 41 A, *Grg.* 524 A, 526 C). Several fourth-century red-figure vases (*LIMC* s.v.) show him (sometimes named) in that company, as a venerable old man leaning on a stick; in Latin literature he is the judge of the dead *par excellence* (Hor. *C.* ii. 13. 22, *Ov. Met.* xii. 25, *Sen. Apoc.* 14. 1–4). In an epitaph of the second century BC from Smyrna, however, we find a significant divergence from Isokrates' *πάρεδρος*, for he is invoked as Ἄιδεω πυλαουρέ (*GVI* i. 1179. 7). Apollodoros iii. 12. 6. 10 says of him τὰς κλείς τοῦ Ἄιδου φυλάττει, and he is κληδοῦχος in a later epitaph from Rome (*IG* xiv. 1746. 4). In Lucian he is the guardian of the gate: *Charon* 2 (τελώνης), *Men.* 8 (τὴν τοῦ Αἰακοῦ φρουράν), *Luct.* 4 (with Kerberos), *DMort.* 11. 2. He keeps a tally of the dead as they arrive (*Catapl.* 4), allocates space to them (*Charon* 25, *Men.* 17), turns back the inadmissible (*Bis Accus.* 12, *Peregr.* 45), and prevents escape (*DMort.* 13. 3). He can have Charon flogged (*DMort.* 2. 3), attends Pluto's court (*Philops.* 25), and figures in *DMort.* 6 and 27 as tourist-guide and spokesman of the underworld.

The decline from tribunal to janitor's lodge is explicable in terms of

the overlapping connotations of κληδοῦχος, πυλωρός, and θυρωρός. The κληδοῦχος of a deity is a priest or priestess (A. *Su.* 291, E. *Hyps.* I. iv. 28) or functionary in charge of a sanctuary (e.g. *IG* ii²: 974. 23 s. II^a), not just a janitor. A deity may be κληδοῦχος, as in Ar. *Th.* 1142 (sc. Athena) κληδοῦχος τε καλεῖται, E. *Hp.* 541 Ἔρωτα . . . τὸν τὰς Ἀφροδίτας φιλτάτων θαλάμων κληδοῦχον; cf. Pi. P. 8. 4, Ar. *Th.* 976. On the Table of Kolotes at Olympia (Paus. v. 20. 3) Pluto himself holds a key. By contrast, θυρωρός, the man who answers the knock and the cry of παῖ παῖ (e.g. Pl. *Prt.* 314 C, *Phd.* 59 C), is lowly.⁴ πυλωρός is a grander term; in Kallim. fr. 202. 29 Poseidon is πυλωρός of the Isthmus; Ajax calls Teukros πυλωρός in entrusting Eurysakes to him (S. *Aj.* 562), and the πυλωροί at Athens in Roman times were a magistracy (e.g. *IG* ii²: 2299). At a ritual in the Argolid (Plu. *Is. et Os.* 364 F) Dionysos was invoked as πυλαόχος of the underworld. There is, however, an overlap, as we see from Hdt. i. 120. 2 δορυφόρους καὶ θυρωροὺς καὶ ἀγγελιηφόρους (the typical retinue of a king) ~ iii. 118. 2 ὁ πυλωρὸς καὶ ἀγγελιηφόρος (in Cambyses' palace) and A. *Ch.* 565 f. θυρωρῶν οὐτις ἄν . . . δέξαιτο ~ E. *Hel.* 435 τίς ἄν πυλωρὸς ἐκ δόμων μόλοι; In the other direction, there is an overlap between πυλωρός and κληδοῦχος, for Iphigeneia is πυλωρός of the temple of Artemis in E. *IT* 1152 and κληδοῦχος of Artemis, *ibid.* 131 (cf. 1463, Brauron). It may not be wholly wide of the mark to suggest that a slow change in the common perception of Aiakos was a reflex of metaphor; compare the long tradition of jokes about St Peter, derived ultimately from Matt. 16: 19.⁵

It begins to look as if the identification of character AB as Aiakos was an unjustified inference, of Roman or late Hellenistic date, and that this is true *a fortiori* of C. The propensity of scholars in antiquity to attach names to characters who are not named in the text is well known (cf. p. 88); one of the most striking is the attachment of the name 'Mnesilochos' to the Old Man in *Thesmophoriazusae*, who in *PSI* 1194 (s. II^p) is still only 'Kinsman of Euripides'. Identifications of this kind can include demotion to servile status. In *Ach.* 393–403 the slave of Euripides who opens the door (note 401 δοῦλος) is designated 'Kephisophon' by the sigla in the manuscripts; but Kephisophon was

⁴ S. fr. 775 πύλης ἀναξ θυρωρέ is pretty certainly a joke from a satyr-play (cf. Kannicht on E. *Hel.* 1039 f.).

⁵ A certain fluidity of roles is suggested by *GVI* 943. 1 (Demetrias, s. III^a) εἰς μακάρων νήσους με κατήγαγεν ἀγχόθι Μίνως; it is normally Hermes who κατὰγει the souls of the dead (*Od.* xxiv. 100, *GVI* 1294. 5), whereas Minos is a judge. Possibly, however, κατήγαγε there denotes lodging and hospitable reception.

a man of whom we hear nothing until twenty years later, as a poetic collaborator with Euripides (*Ra.* 944, 1408, 1452 f.), and the terms in which he is apostrophized in Ar. fr. 596 (including *συνέζης ἐς τὰ πόλλ' Εὐριπίδη*) are hardly reconcilable with servile status.⁶

The case for sweeping 'Aiakos' out of the play seems so far to be straightforward, but there is one consideration which greatly complicates the issue. That is the tragedy *Peirithoos*, variously attributed to Euripides or to Kritias (*TrGF* i. 43 F1–14). The subject of the play was Herakles' rescue of Peirithoos and Theseus from the underworld; Peirithoos had been detained and punished for his presumption in courting Persephone, Theseus was there because he would not desert his comrade, and Herakles because Eurystheus had imposed on him the task of bringing Kerberos up to the world. Johannes Logothetes (ed. H. Rabe, *RhM* 64 (1908) 144) gives us a portion of dialogue between Aiakos and Herakles, in which Aiakos exclaims in astonishment at seeing a bold stranger approach and Herakles declares who he is and why he has come. It appears from F2 that the chorus represented people who had been initiated at Eleusis.⁷ It is unlikely that Aiakos' speech is actually the opening of the play,⁸ but whether it is or not, why is Aiakos the person to see Herakles approaching? Where exactly is he in relation to Pluto's palace, and what is he doing there? Had popular belief already located him at the janitor's lodge? If *Peirithoos* was produced before *Frogs*, we could not reasonably resist the hypothesis that in the Doorkeeper Aristophanes means us to see the tragic Aiakos, even though the dialogue between Aiakos and Herakles in *Peirithoos* is courteous. And if no allusion is made in *Frogs* to the name of Aiakos, that could be because the allusion to the tragedy was so obvious that the name was not needed. This raises a

⁶ The name is not impossible for a slave (*pace* Ugolini 271), for in *IG* ii² 1951. 180 we find *Κηφισο[* in a list of *θεράποντες* (117) in company with *Μανής* and the like. Our Kephisophon is called *μειρακίσκος οικογενής* in Satyros *Vita Eur.* col. XII, and is said there to have seduced Euripides' wife, an allegation repeated in *Vita Eur.* 6; cf. *Ra.* 1046 n. This was probably an inference drawn by combining *Ra.* 1046 with fr. 596.

⁷ F2 *ἵνα πλημοχόας τᾶσδ' εἰς χθόνιον χάσμ' εὐφήμως προχέωμεν* uses a word denoting the libations offered on the last day of the Eleusinian Mysteries (Ath. 496 A), but that does not mean (as suggested by Wilamowitz iv. 534) that part of the play was located on earth and part in the underworld; the chorus, like the chorus of *Frogs* (cf. pp. 61 f.), will have re-enacted in the underworld rituals which they had enacted on earth (D. L. Page, *Greek Literary Papyri* i (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1942) 121 f.).

⁸ Snell ad loc. suggests that it was, but *ἔα· τί χρῆμα;* is a strange opening for a tragedy; we would expect an expository prologue, ending with the appearance of a new character (E. *Md.* 46, *Hclcl.* 48–51, al.), even perhaps broken off abruptly (cf. E. *Cy.* 37 (satyr-play)).

further problem. *Peirithoos* was by no means an unknown play—we have part of it in *POxy* 2078 (s. II²), and it is cited by Plutarch, Athenaios, Clement, and Stobaios—but it appears from the scholia on *Ra.* 465–78 that the ancient commentators on *Frogs* ignored it and sought parallels for the wording of the Doorkeeper's speech from Euripides' *Theseus*, which was not about the underworld.⁹ This fact, coupled with the absence from the text of any prodding to make us see the joke of demoting an august judge of the dead to the role of an angry slave-doorkeeper,¹⁰ affords some support to an alternative hypothesis: that the tetralogy of which *Peirithoos* was an ingredient was either not produced at all, but circulated as a literary text, or produced at the Lenaia of 403,¹¹ when the Thirty Tyrants were in power and a prudent archon would not lightly have refused a chorus to their most formidable member. This hypothesis has the advantage of explaining everything, and we can get rid of Aiakos after all. The idea of a chorus of initiates might have been borrowed by Kritias from *Frogs*,¹² if it needed to be borrowed from anywhere; initiates are a fairly obvious category to choose for an underworld chorus.

VII. THE CHORUSES

A pair of opposed half-choruses was occasionally used in Old Comedy; *Lysistrata* is the most familiar example, but the surviving fragments of a commentary on the *Marikas* of Eupolis (fr. 192) reveal another (29, 121, 139, 186). *Frogs* is unique in using two completely independent choruses, of which the first is out of the way, never to be mentioned again, before the entry of the second.

⁹ Cf. Rau 115–17. Wilamowitz, *Analecta Euripidea* (Berlin, 1875) 172, argues that the phrases attributed in the scholia to *Theseus* were actually from *Peirithoos*.

¹⁰ Given the representation of Aiakos in vase-painting as an old man, it does not seem likely that the aggressive and vigorous doorkeeper could easily be identified as Aiakos by the audience on the basis of his costume. Or could it be that Dionysos and Xanthias are beaten with the long knobby stick which Aiakos carries on the vases?

¹¹ Not 405 or 404, since Kritias was in exile from a date earlier than the summer of 406 (Xen. *HG* ii. 3. 15, 36) and will not have returned until the exiles were recalled under the terms of the peace-treaty with Sparta. (Wilamowitz i. 449 f. insisted that *Peirithoos* must have been performed before the exile of Kritias.) If the *Peirithoos* tetralogy was never performed, it will have been easier for booksellers to attribute it to Euripides, and especially desirable in view of the execration of the memory of Kritias in the fourth century.

¹² There is no reason why tragic poets should not have borrowed ideas from comedy. The strong echo of *Av.* 213 f. in E. *Hel.* 1111 f., two years later, is commonly explained by deriving both from an unknown antecedent (so Rau 195), but Fraenkel believed that Euripides there borrowed from Aristophanes.

And *Frogs* is no more about frogs (indeed, a little less) than *The Old Curiosity Shop* is about an old curiosity shop. In that respect it differs from *Acharnians*, *Clouds*, *Wasps* (metaphorical wasps), *Birds*, *Thesmophoriazusae*, and *Ecclesiazusae*. The title¹ of the play will have been determined in part by the fact that the frog-chorus is the first of the two choruses to appear, in part by the strong tradition of animal-choruses in Old Comedy.²

It seems strange at first sight that Aristophanes should have written a play for two choruses at a time when the strain imposed by the war on the capital of wealthy individuals had led to the introduction of joint *choregiai* for the Dionysia (Arist. fr. 630 Rose *ap.* Σ^{VE} 404) and perhaps also for the Lenaia, as Σ suggests. It may have been for that reason that the ancient commentators believed (Σ^{VE} 209) that the frog-chorus was not seen, but only heard singing off-stage, so that no costumes were required for it. A strong case can be made for that view,³ for Charon says to Dionysos only 'You'll hear wonderful songs', not 'and you'll see them jumping all round you'. Charon's words are realistic; and yet theatrical fantasy will allow us to see what Dionysos

¹ Some comedies, like some Aeschylean tragedies (*TrGF* iii. 58 f.) and some Platonic dialogues, had alternative titles, but that was probably a situation which developed in the book-trade; the official records used for the compilation of the *διδασκαλία* can hardly have used alternatives.

² The known examples are listed in Sifakis 76. At least two plays called *Frogs* were earlier than Aristophanes': one by Magnes and one by Kallias. J. Defradas, *REA* 71 (1969) 23-37 (cf. Wills 316 f. and Verde Castro 67 f.), argues that the frogs' chorus is parodic, designed to ridicule the 'new music' from an austere standpoint (cf. Pl. *R.* 397 A and *Lg.* 669 c on poets who imitate 'animal cries'). N. Demand, *CPh* 65 (1970) 83-7, notes that Pratinas *TrGF* 4 F3.10 f., vilifying the sound of the aulos, reveals an adverse assessment of the noise made by toads (*φρύναι*); *φρύνη* can = *βάτραχος* in later Greek, and *Phrynichos* was a rival competitor of Aristophanes on the occasion of *Frogs*; hence the victory of Dionysos over the frogs would represent the victory of the god's true champion, Aristophanes, over his rival with the amphibian name. The argument is conceived as a defence of Aristophanes against a charge of irrelevance for bringing frogs into a play about literature; on questions of 'relevance' and 'unity' cf. p. 42 n. 21. If Defradas's view is right, lyrics which have long seemed to so many readers brilliant and attractive were actually intended by their author to be laughable. Such a thing can happen in the history of literary criticism, but the evidence for thinking that it has happened in this case is not adequate. How are we to interpret the imitations of bird-song in *Av.* 227 f., 237, 243, 260-2 (cf. Zimmermann i. 81)? The integration of their sounds and rhythms into the hoopoe's song hardly leaves room for a polemical point; and a culture which could think of the maddening noise of cicadas as the perpetual 'singing' of creatures dear to the Muses (Pl. *Phdr.* 259 BC) could take in its stride and enjoy lyrics founded upon the cries of *Rana ridibunda*. Cf. D. A. Campbell, *JHS* 104 (1984) 163-5.

³ Most effectively by R. H. Allison, *GR* 30 (1983) 8-20 and Zimmermann i. 164-6. W. B. Stanford, *Ha* 89 (1956) 68, regards 227 οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔστ' ἄλλ' ἢ κοάξ as an argument for the invisibility of the frogs.

only hears.⁴ There are, moreover, two arguments of substance against the invisibility of the frog-chorus. One is the practical difficulty of hearing what is sung off-stage, as audiences who have attended modern open-air productions of *Clouds* can testify.⁵ The other is that the main chorus of the initiates is dressed in ragged clothing (cf. pp. 62 f.), so that its costuming would have cost the choregos virtually nothing. Deprived of the spectacle of dancers dressed as frogs, we might well feel that we were being given short measure. The god in whose honour the festival was held would feel the same, and the beginning of 405 was not a time at which the Athenians would want to offend a god by parsimony; after all, the purpose of joint *choregia* was not so much to be nice to the rich as to keep up standards. Commentators must take decisions, and mine⁶ is in favour of a chorus of dancers costumed in brown and green, with frog-masks, leaping and squatting around the orchestra on both sides of Charon's boat.

The principal chorus, which enters at 316–22 and stays with us for the rest of the play, represents people who were initiated while they were alive on earth and now exist as happy souls close to the palace of Pluto, as described by Herakles in 154–63. The notion that good people will be rewarded in the afterlife and bad people punished was well-established and widespread in Aristophanes' time (cf. 145–53 n.). So also was the notion that initiation at Eleusis ensures preferential treatment in the underworld (on the relation between these two notions, cf. 454–9 n.); that is the plain promise of *h.Cer.* 481–3, echoed in S. fr. 837, Pi. fr. 137, Isoc. iv. 28.

As soon as Dionysos and Xanthias hear the first cry of Ἰακχ' ὦ Ἰακχε, Xanthias exclaims (318–20) οἱ μεμνημένοι / ἐνταῦθά που παίζουσιν ('are enjoying themselves') . . . / ἄδουσι γοῦν τὸν Ἰακχόν

⁴ Cf. Sifakis 94.

⁵ Cf. D. M. MacDowell, *CRNS* 22 (1972) 4. People with more experience than I have of operatic production tell me that an off-stage chorus is 'usually a disaster'. In Act I Scene 12 of *La Clemenza di Tito* Mozart prudently gave the off-stage chorus nothing to say except 'Ah!', many times. Elsewhere the problem may be tackled by making the chorus a backing for soloists singing the same words (*Idomeneo*), or giving them a song we have already heard on stage (*Carmen*), or bringing them on at the earliest possible moment after the beginning of the song (*Patience*). In the last scene of *Rheingold* we recognize the motif and we can guess the sentiments of the Rhine Maidens anyway. It will not do to cite the parodos of *Clouds* as a counter-example, because the play was a flop (*Nu.* 524 f.), and in any case it can be produced in such a way that we can see (though Strepsiades does not) the chorus from the start. The success or failure of the hoopoe singing in the bush in *Av.* 202–62 will have depended on what represented the bush and where it was.

⁶ In agreement with A. Körte, *DLZ* 1924. 192.

κτλ., and the notion of *παίζειν* constantly recurs in the chorus's own songs:⁷ 333 *φιλοπαίγμονα*, 375 *παίζων*, 388 *παῖσαι*, 392 *παίσαντα*, 407*b* *παίζειν*, 411 *συμπαιστρίας*, 415 *παίζων*, 452 *παίζοντες*. Of course, every comic chorus *παίζει*—it has fun, it makes us laugh—and the antistrophe 389–93 *καὶ πολλὰ μὲν γέλοιά μ' εἶπεν, πολλὰ δὲ σπουδαία, καὶ τῆς σῆς ἑορτῆς ἀξίως / παίσαντα καὶ σκώψαντα νικῆσαντα ταινιοῦσθαι* is an appropriate utterance for such a chorus whatever it may represent within the action of the play; the victory desired is victory in the festival (cf. *Av.* 445–7). The comic chorus does indeed say many things which are *γέλοια* (*passim*) and many which are *σπουδαία* (note 686 f. *τὸν ἱερὸν χορὸν δίκαιόν ἐστι χρηστὰ τῇ πόλει ξυμπαινεῖν κτλ.*); the exclusion of *σπουδαία* from the end of the stanza, in favour of *παίσαντα καὶ σκώψαντα*, accords well with the ratio of funny to serious in the play as a whole. *παίζειν* and *παιδιά* are regularly contrasted with *σπουδάζειν*, *σπουδή*, and *σπουδαῖος* (e.g. *Pl. Grg.* 481 BC, *Phlb.* 30 E, *Plt.* 288 C, *Smp.* 192 C), but a contrast between *σπουδή* or *σπουδαῖος* and *γέλοιος* occurs also (e.g. *Pl. Lg.* 816 D, 838 C).

However, the stanza is part of a prayer to Demeter, a deity appropriate to the role which the chorus of initiates is enacting within the play, and we find *παίζειν* and its cognates used on occasion of festivity which does not include comic performance. Stesichoros *PMG* 232 says 'Apollo loves *παιγμοσύναι* and song, whereas sorrows and groans are the province of Hades'. In *Men. Epit.* 478 *συνέπαιζεν* (Capps; -ζον MS) refers to participation in the festival Tauropolia (cf. *Ar. Lys.* 700 *θήκᾳτῃ ποιοῦσα παιγνίαν*). It seems, therefore, that our chorus simultaneously *παίζει* in its function as a comic chorus and enacts a company of initiates *παίζοντες* in the underworld. This ambivalence is familiar elsewhere in Aristophanes, and the balance between theatrical function and dramatic enactment shifts from one passage to another. At the end of *Thesmophoriazusae* the chorus-leader says (1227 f.) *ἀλλὰ πέπαισται μετρίως ἡμῖν, ὥσθ' ὦρα δὴ ἴστι βαδίζειν οἴκαδ' ἐκάστη*, where the purpose of the formula is to 'bring down the curtain' (as in *Nu.* 1510 *κεχόρευται γὰρ μετρίως τό γε τήμερον ἡμῖν*) but the feminine pronoun, immediately followed by a prayer to Demeter and Kore, locates the *παίζειν* within the action of the play—yet the *χάρις* demanded from the goddesses is most naturally taken as a reference to the prize. Earlier in *Thesmophoriazusae* the chorus-

⁷ Cf. Silk 113.

leader summons the chorus to dance and invoke deities (948 f.) by the words ἄγε νυν ἡμεῖς παῖσωμεν ἄπερ νόμος ἐνθάδε ταῖσι γναιξίν, / ὅταν ὄργια σεμνά . . . ἀνέχωμεν, and the chorus echoes her words in 983 f. παῖσωμεν ὦ γυναικες οἴαπερ νόμος. This is emphatically within the dramatic action, and among the deities invoked it is said of Hera (975) that she πᾶσι τοῖς χοροῖσιν ἐμπαίζει.⁸ *Pax* 815–18 is not so simple: the chorus invokes the Muse to ‘thrust wars aside and dance with me your friend’ and ends with the words μετ’ ἐμοῦ σύμπαιζε τὴν ἑορτήν; the festival which the farmers are celebrating with the reinstatement of Peace, or the dramatic festival, or both? There is a touch of a comparable blend of role and function in *E. Or.* 132 f. αἶδ’ αὐ πάρεισι τοῖς ἐμοῖς θρηνήμασιν / φίλαι ξυνῳδοί.

In so far as it is possible to allocate the παίζειν of the initiates between the alternatives, it could be said that 411 συμπαιστρίας belongs to role rather than function (since the members of the chorus are male), and that takes with it 415 μετ’ αὐτῆς παίζων; 392 παίσαντα is function rather than role, because of the reference to victory. 407b is perfectly ambivalent, as we shall see. 375 παίζων, 388 παῖσαι, and 452 παίζοντες are weighted in favour of role by their context. 333 τὴν ἀκόλαστον φιλοπαίγμονα τιμὴν is a daring expression in which role and function are perfectly blended. It is the only classical passage in which ἀκολασία, the regular antonym of σωφροσύνη (e.g. *Pl. Grg.* 493 B, 507 C, *Lg.* 696 B, *Lys.* 216 B) is even advocated, let alone commanded (Dn). Σ^{RV} explains ἀκόλαστον as ‘faultless’, ‘not deserving punishment’, but that is hard to believe, even given Hesiod fr. 248. 1 πονηρότατον καὶ ἄριστον (cf. Herakles) and *A. Ag.* 471 ἄφθονος ὄλβος in the unique sense ‘wealth which does not incur resentment’. In Mnesimachos fr. 4. 19 ἀκολασταίνει νοῦς μεираκίων figures in the description of a really good party, and our chorus’s phrase covers both the freedom of restraint enjoyed by the blessed and the licensed impertinence of a comic chorus (σωφροσύνη, after all, is not much fun). We might compare also (Dn) *E. Ba.* 113 νάρθηκας ὕβριστάς and *Ar. Th.* 961 f. γένος . . . θεῶν . . . γέραιρε φωνῆ χορομανεῖ τρόπω.

The first strophe and antistrophe of the chorus emphasize torches (340) and call Iakchos ‘light-bearing star of rites at night’ (343), so that it is not surprising that the last line of the anapaests (371) speaks of the ‘all-night festivals’ which the chorus is to celebrate (cf. 446/7, the

⁸ Cf. also *E. Ba.* 160 f. λωτὸς ὅταν εὐκέλαδος ἱερός ἱερά παύγματα βρέμη (unlike ‘play’, *jouer*, and *spielen*, παίζειν is not used in the sense ‘elicit musical sound from . . .’).

reference to the women's all-night celebration). It seems clear enough that we are meant to think of what we see as happening in the dark, well lit by torches. But 376 *ἡρίσθηται δ' ἐξαρκούντως* conflicts with this, for *ἄριστον* is the morning meal (cf., among many other passages in Xenophon, *Cyr.* vi. 3. 21 *αὔριον δὲ πρῶ . . . χρῆ ἄριστῆσαι*), and the implied exhortation, 'Come on, you can dance without thinking of your next meal', suits the function of the chorus as daytime performers, not the initiates in the underworld.

The same interweaving of function and role runs all through the recitation by the chorus-leader in 354–71. Its content is designed to vilify unpatriotic conduct and to champion the contribution of comedy to the life of the city, but its formal framework is modelled on a proclamation debarring the 'impure' from a religious ritual, and the choice of words and phrases in its opening and closing lines impresses that model upon us (cf. p. 239).

It is to be presumed that the paradise enjoyed by the initiates is exempt from toil, fatigue, pain, sickness, sorrow, and fear. Greece is a rocky country, and in much of it cultivation of the soil is laborious; its long, hot summer withers the flowers which adorn it in spring. Hence the chorus's exultation in meadows (326, 344), flowery meadows (373–4a, 448 f.), flowery groves (441/2), a moist, flowery plain (351/2). There is no toiling up rocky slopes. Pindar's paradise too is a land of meadows, flowers, foliage, fruit, and water (*O.* 2. 70–5, fr. 129. 3–5). One of the gold leaves from Thurioi (DK I B20 6) speaks of *λειμῶνάς τε ἱεροῦς καὶ ἄλσεα Φερσεφονείας* (cf. *Od.* x. 509 f.), and the motif recurs in epitaphs: *GVI* 1505. 3 f. (Arcadia, s. III/II^a) *ὑπεδέξατο Λήθης / λειμῶν καὶ σεμνὸς Φερσεφόνης θάλαμος*, 1572. 3 (Thessaly, s. III^a in.) *εὐσεβέων λειμῶνα κατοίκισον*. The fortunate souls enjoy sunlight, whereas the rest are enveloped in darkness (454 f.; cf. 155, 273), which is naturally associated in Greek thought with the world of the dead. Not too much sunlight, though; the moon, the stars, and the smell of the air at night would be gravely missed in paradise. Pindar's paradise enjoys a perpetual equinox (*O.* 2. 61 f.), and our chorus celebrates nocturnal festivities by torchlight (340–4, 350, 446/7). Pindar fr. 129. 6 f. envisages the blessed as spending their time in sport, games, and music, freed from agricultural labour and seafaring (*O.* 2. 63–5). We may surely take sexual activity for granted; the deliberately 'naughty' touch in 409–412*b* implies that the initiates are not sexless. Good wine (with no hangover) and agreeable food may also be assumed; cf. *Pl. R.* 363 CD. Interesting work, which most readers of this book would put

quite high on the list of the ingredients of paradise, does not come into it.

There were many mystery cults in the Greek world, associated with many different gods; some were under the management of the state, while others were entrepreneurial. In an Athenian play, however, those initiated in the Eleusinian Mysteries would naturally be initiates *par excellence*. We should not expect our chorus necessarily to enact the procession to Eleusis or any part of the actual Eleusinian ritual, for they are, after all, the souls of people who had been initiated while alive; but it is understandable that their songs and dances should draw to some degree on the ritual to which they owe their happy state, blending such elements with others which are dictated by their comic function.⁹ It must be remembered that the Eleusinian Mysteries were a delicate subject. To divulge what was said and done in the actual process of initiation was a very grave offence, and ten years before *Frogs* a number of distinguished Athenians had had to flee into exile because they were believed to have made fun of the Mysteries at parties in private houses. It was therefore advisable for Aristophanes to make it quite clear from the start that he was not proposing to offend, and *παίζουσιν* in 319 is an assurance that we are going to witness the festivities of the initiated, not any kind of parody of the very serious business of initiation.

The most conspicuous Eleusinian ingredient is the invocation of Iakchos. He was the god who was carried in procession from his sanctuary in Athens to Eleusis when the Mysteries were celebrated,¹⁰ and his name is the name of the processional song (Hdt. viii. 65. 1-4, Plu. *Phoc.* 28. 2; cf. Σ 324). In the play, however, it seems that he dwells in the underworld (323/4) and is called upon to come and dance with his worshippers (326-33), brandish his torches (cf. Paus. i. 2. 4) and lead them to the flowery plain (343, 350-3); then in 395 he is invoked again and asked to join the procession 'to the goddess' (400).¹¹ 451 *καλλιχορώτατον* is a glancing allusion to the well Kallichoron at Eleusis (*h. Cer.* 272),¹² but in view of the regular association of meadows with happiness in the afterlife (v. *supr.*) there is no reason to think that the chorus's frequent reference to meadows is meant to recall any feature

⁹ Cf. Foucart 336, 338, Händel 38-43, Horn 122, Zimmermann i. 124, 131 f.

¹⁰ Cf. Deubner 72 f., Judeich 364, Foucart 324-7 (in Foucart 111 Hdt. viii. '45' is a misprint for '65'), M. P. Nilsson, *ARW* 32 (1935) 83 f., Mylonas 253 f.

¹¹ Cf. L. Deubner, *Gn.* 12 (1936) 506.

¹² Cf. Richardson 310-12.

either of Eleusis or of Agrai (where the Lesser Mysteries were celebrated).¹³

There is, however, one other striking feature of the chorus which is taken from the Eleusinian ritual and turned to good comic use (cf. p. 57). It is clear from 404–12*b* either that the chorus is dressed in ragged clothing or, if not, that it represents people who would be so dressed in real life on a certain type of occasion. The second alternative is bizarre; it would be rather as if the chorus in *Wasps* wore no stings, despite the references to their stings in 405–20, 431 f. A passage of *Wealth* implies that very old clothes were worn by initiands at the Mysteries. There, a Good Citizen arrives (823) and is asked by Karion (842 f.) why the slave with him is carrying a cloak. He replies (844) that he has come to dedicate it to Wealth, the god now installed in the house of Karion's master. Karion asks (845) μῶν οὐν ἐμυήθης δῆτ' ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ μεγάλα; and the Good Citizen replies, 'No, I shivered in it for thirteen years'. What is the joke? If people wore good new clothes for initiation, Karion's question could be heavily sarcastic, as we might say, 'That the suit you wore to your wedding?' If they wore old clothing, the joke would be of a different kind: 'What's this, an initiation or something?' Or again, it might be elaborate courtesy on Karion's part, an assumption that the Good Citizen's cloak is threadbare not because he can afford nothing better, but for a special religious reason. According to Melanthios, *FGrHist* 326 F4, cited by Σ^{RVE} *Pl.* 845, initiates dedicated εἰς θεοῦ τινοῦς the clothes in which they had been initiated; so perhaps we are meant to think that Karion misunderstands the purpose for which the Good Citizen has come to the house. Σ^K *Pl.* 845, from Tzetzes' commentary, adds a datum which may explain both that passage and our passage of *Frogs*: 'those who

¹³ T. G. Tucker, *CQ* 18 (1904) 416–18, G. T. W. Hooker, *JHS* 80 (1960) 112–17, and M. Guarducci, in *Studi in onore di Aristide Colonna* (Perugia, 1982) 167–72, argue that the chorus is re-enacting not the procession to Eleusis but the festivities of the Lesser Mysteries at Agrai (cf. Deubner 70, Judeich 176). Their argument turns on location of the sanctuary of Dionysos ἐν Λίμναις by the Ilissos (but see Judeich 289–95) and on the reference in 215–19 to that sanctuary and the *Χύτροι*, part of the festival Anthesteria celebrated there (Deubner 93, 112 f.). Hooker also argues that the audience would think of the house of Herakles at the start of the play as the sanctuary of Herakles at Kynosarges (cf. Judeich 169–71). One difficulty in such attempts to fit the underworld journey to the topography of Athens is: what corresponds to the monsters (143 f.), mud, and darkness (145) intervening between the λίμνη and the initiates? A further objection is the emphasis on lakchos as a processional deity who accomplishes πολλήν ὁδόν (A. Körte, *JAW* 1911. 298). On the so-called γεφυρισμός of 416–30 cf. p. 247. M. Tierney, *PRAI* 42 C (1935) 199–218, argues that the ritual ingredients of the chorus's performance suit the Lenaia rather than the Greater or Lesser Mysteries.

had been initiated in the Great Mysteries, like those who went down into the cave of Trophonios, did not discard the himatia in which they had been initiated, until they died or until the garments had completely fallen to pieces.' One might have suspected that Tzetzes invented this to explain *Pl.* 845, but for the reference to Trophonios, which cannot be extracted from Aristophanes; and Tzetzes certainly had access to material which we do not have.¹⁴ Now, a frugal Athenian, whose piety did not always run deep when it conflicted with convenience, would be strongly tempted to wear old clothes for initiation, knowing that he was expected to sacrifice them by dedication, or tempted to put off the dedication until the clothes needed replacement anyway (cf. the cynical *μενετοὶ θεοί* to which reference is made in *Av.* 1618–20).¹⁵ Karion's joke will then be a joke against Athenian habits (cf. the cynical Neighbour of *Ec.* 746–832). If the former interpretation is right, 404–7*b* show that wearing old clothes at least for the procession to Eleusis was believed to be sanctioned, even prescribed, by a god mindful of his worshippers' interests. The words *ἐπὶ γέλωτι κάπ' εὐτελεία* (404 f.) have a triple point: ragged clothing generates laughter and saucy jokes (409–412*b*),¹⁶ it is economical for the worshippers of Iakchos in real life, and it is no less economical for the choregos; cf. the joke about 'saving the sheep for the choregos' with which the preparations for a sacrifice are cut short in *Pax* 1020–2.

The relationship of 316–459 to Eleusinian ritual has a certain bearing on another problem presented by the passage. Aristarchos, according to Σ^{RVE} 354 (the beginning of the anapaests, *εὐφημεῖν χρῆ κτλ.*), *ἐπὶ τούτων λέγει τὸν χορόν* (*ἐπὶ τούτον τὸν χρόνον λέγει Σ^{E}*) *μεμερίσθαι εἰς μερικὰ* (*μετρικὰ Σ^{V}*) *ἀνάπαιστα*, ἄλλα δὲ ἀμείβεσθαι τὸν χορόν (*εἰς . . . χορόν om. Σ^{R}*). Σ^{VE} continues *καὶ τί ἄρα συνείδεν ὁ Ἀρίσταρχος; (συν- . . . -χος om. Σ^{E}) δύναται δὲ καὶ ἐνσύζυγον εἶναι τὸ λεγόμενον, πολλαχοῦ δὲ μεμερίσθαι καὶ εἰς διχορίαν τὸ λοιπόν, ὥστε καὶ εἰς δώδεκα καὶ εἰς (om. Σ^{V}) δώδεκα διαμεμερίσθαι*. At 372, the

¹⁴ Cf. Wilson (1983) 194–6.

¹⁵ Greek religion was flexible. In 427/6 the Athenians greatly reduced the rate of interest on money owed to Athena (ML 215) and took her acquiescence for granted. In 410 they decreed (Andok. i. 98) that every citizen must take an oath to 'annul' (*λύω καὶ ἀφήμι*) any oaths which he had previously taken to the detriment of the democratic constitution.

¹⁶ Cf. L. Radermacher, *SAWW* 187. 3 (1918) 94–7, on the association of ragged clothing with festivity. Van Leeuwen says that clothes would become dirty (true) and ragged (would they?) in the course of the journey to Eleusis, and Verde Castro 74 that they would be torn by frenzied dancing (disarrayed, yes, but . . .). Note, however, that Karion speaks of the actual initiation, not of the journey.

end of the anapaests, Σ^{RVE} says ἐντεῦθεν Ἀρίσταρχος ὑπενόησεν μὴ ὄλου τοῦ (ὄλου τοῦ: ἔλαττον Σ^{V}) χοροῦ εἶναι τὰ πρῶτα. τοῦτο δὲ ἀξιόπιστον, πολλάκις γὰρ ἀλλήλοισ (-λους Σ^{R}) οὕτω παρακελεύονται οἱ περὶ (παρὰ Σ^{V}) τὸν χορόν (οἱ . . . -ρόν om. Σ^{R}). Aristarchos evidently believed that the anapaests were sung by one part of the chorus, ending with an exhortation to another part. τὰ πρῶτα refers at least to the anapaests, and possibly to the preceding strophe and antistrophe as well; for ἐντεῦθεν . . . ὑπενόησεν, 'inferred from this (passage)' cf. Σ^{BD} Pi. N. I. 25a ἐντεῦθεν ἴσως πλανηθεῖς ('misled, perhaps, by this fact') ὁ Τίμαιος κτλ. Σ^{VE} 354 πολλαχοῦ . . . διαμεμερίσθαι, which is plainly post-Aristarchan, envisages as a possibility (δύναται) half-choruses in all that follows the anapaests.¹⁷

The sigla show great variety and complexity, thus:

- 354 (εὐφήμειν) χορός A K M NpI: ἡμιχόριον R E P2o U VsI Θ:
παράβασις Vb3.
- 372 (χώρει) χορός πρὸς ἀλλήλους M: ἡμιχόριον R V E NP1 P2o U
Vb3 VsI Θ.
- 383 (ἄγε νυν) χορός Vb3: ἡμιχόριον V^{ms} E P2o U: ἡμιχόριον ἢ ἱερεῦς
R M NpI: ἡμιχόριον ἢ ἱερεῖς A.
- 385a (Δήμητερ) ἡμιχόριον R A E M MdI P2o U Vb3 Θ: ἄλλο μέρος
χοροῦ V.
- 394 (ἄγ' εἶα) ἡμιχόριον MdI P2o^{ac} U Θ.
- 398 (Ἰακχε) χορός M: ἡμιχόριον E NpI U Vb3 Θ: μέρος χοροῦ
VsI^{ms}.
- 403 (Ἰακχε) ἡμιχόριον P2o U Vb3 Θ: μέρος χοροῦ A NpI: μέλος
χοροῦ M.
- 408 (Ἰακχε) χορός Vb3: ἡμιχόριον A M NpI P2o U Θ.
- 413 (Ἰακχε) χορός M: ἡμιχόριον A Vb3 Θ.
- 416 (βούλεσθε) χορός V A E M NpI P2o Vb3 VsI Θ: χορός *** MdI:
ἡμιχόριον U.
- 434 (μηδὲν) χορός codd.
- 440 (χωρεῖτε) χορός V E K M MdI NpI P2o U Vb3 VsI Θ: ἄλλος
χορός A.
- 445 (ἐγὼ δὲ) ἱερεῦς A VsI: Διόνυσος E.
- 448 (χωρῶμεν) ἡμιχόριον V A E M NpI P2o U Vb3 Θ.

All this is, so to speak, fall-out. Aristarchos' suggestion gave the impetus to speculative divisions, one of which even divides each

¹⁷ Van Leeuwen, *Mnemosyne* 1896. 336, emends Σ 354 extensively and unnecessarily; on the tradition of half-choruses in dramatic texts, T. Renner, *ZPE* 41 (1981) 6 f.

occurrence of the refrain (403, 408, 413) from the verses which precede it (at what seem to us crucial points, the scholia are silent). But Aristarchus is not the only cause; the use of paragraphoi to mark off sections of a long passage goes back to the fourth century BC—it occurs in the Timotheos papyrus¹⁸—and there may well have been such paragraphoi in pre-Alexandrian texts of our parodos.

The anapaestic tetrameters 354–71 are similar in character to the epirrhema and antepirrhema of a parabasis, and, like them, are spoken by the chorus-leader. They end (370) with a command *ὕμεις δ' ἀνεγείρετε μολπήν*, to which the chorus responds in 372 *χώραι νυν*. In 383–413 we have two more examples of command (presumably by the chorus-leader) and response (by the chorus):

- (i) (a) 383 . . . *Δήμητρα* . . . *κελαδεῖτε*
 (b) 385a *Δήμητερ* . . . *συμπαραστάτει*
 (ii) (a) 394 . . . *παρακαλεῖτε* . . . *τὸν ξυνέμπορον*
 (b) 398 *Ἰακχε* . . . *συνακολούθει*

Such command and response are rooted in ritual formulae, such as that cited by Σ^{RVE} 479 (*PMG* 879 [1]), on the Lenaia: ‘the torchbearer says “Call the god!” and his hearers cry, “Iakchos, son of Semele, giver of wealth!”’ The originator of Σ^V 440 (v. infr.) accepted the possibility that such passages are mutual exhortation by the whole chorus and not *ἀμοιβαία*, but that is to ignore passages of drama in which the command is issued by an individual speaker at the end of a passage of dialogue, e.g. 874 *ὕμεις δὲ ταῖς Μούσαις τι μέλος ὑπάσατε. Χο. ὦ Διὸς ἐννέα παρθένοι κτλ.*; 1525–7 *προπέμπετε . . . τοῦτον . . . κελαδοῦντες. Χο. πρῶτα μὲν εὐοδίαν κτλ.*; cf. *Pax* 581 f., and some instances in tragedy, e.g. *S. Trach.* 202–5.¹⁹ The analogy strongly suggests that 383 f. and 394–7 are spoken by the chorus-leader.

Nothing else in 323–52 or 372–413 prompts us to divide the chorus. The first serious problem comes in 416 *βούλεσθε δῆτα κοινῇ σκώψωμεν κτλ.* This reminds us of *Lys.* 1042, uttered by the old men at the end of the dialogue between the half-choruses which culminates in reconciliation, *ἀλλὰ κοινῇ συσταλέντες τοῦ μέλους ἀρξώμεθα*. From then on the old men and old women sing and dance as a united chorus. If *κοινῇ* has the same point in *Ra.* 416, the chorus must have been

¹⁸ Cf. Lloyd-Jones ii. 206 f.

¹⁹ Cf. Kaimio 218. In *Th.* 101–29 we have an entirely lyric sequence of command and response; this is a parody—Agathon is composing and singing the whole sequence himself—and for that reason should be assumed to exemplify a choral form which Agathon had used.

divided earlier, and since Herakles told Dionysos that he would encounter *θίασοι* 'of men and women' (156 f.), a half-chorus representing males and one representing females may seem likely. But it has not proved possible to identify any such divisions satisfactorily.²⁰ The passage 398–413 (414a–15 are interposed by Dionysos and Xanthias) consists not of two responding stanzas, but of three; the third (409–13), the joke about glimpsing a girl's breast, suits males, but there is nothing in either of the other two to associate them with females. It should be noted that masculine singular participles referring to the singers occur in four out of the seven stanzas between 371 and 414a, and feminine participles nowhere (contrast *Th.* 954–68). Despite *Lys.* 1042, it is preferable to abandon the notion of half-choruses and take *βούλεσθε δῆτα κοινῇ* in 416 as an invitation to Dionysos and Xanthias.²¹ Dionysos has broken silence in 414ab with a declaration that he would like to join the festive dancing, and the chorus's reaction is not 'Oh my God, who's this spying on us?', but a genial 'Come on in!' (cf. the hospitable reception of a visiting *κῶμος*, as described in *Ach.* 982). *δῆτα* does not mean 'Well, now . . .', embarking on a new topic or activity, but is essentially consequential (*GP* 269–77), a reaction to the previous speaker's words; cf. *Av.* 1025 f. *βούλει δῆτα . . . μὴ πράγματ' ἔχειν*, 1689 *βούλεσθε δῆτ' ἐγὼ . . . ὀπτῶ*, *Pl. Phlb.* 62 c, *Plt.* 272 b, *Sph.* 218 d).

The last and most serious problem arises in 445, where it appears—if we take the text at face value—that the chorus-leader goes off, taking with him that part of the chorus which represents women and girls, while the men respond to his command *χωρεῖτε* by singing *χωρῶμεν κτλ.* Σ^v remarks on 440: *δύνανται πάντες οἱ κατὰ τὸν χορὸν ἀλλήλοις παρακελεύεσθαι καὶ μὴ εἰς ἀμοιβαία διααιρεῖσθαι. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο εἰς οὐδὲν φαίνεται ἂν οἰκονομούμενος.* The commentator no doubt had in mind the readiness of a chorus to address itself in second person imperatives or first person subjunctives (and even both in the same sentence, e.g. *E. Or.* 1258).²² There are three possible interpretations of the passage:

²⁰ Radermacher 184, Zimmermann i. 135 f.; the elaborate divisions suggested by A. Couat, *Mélanges Henri Weil* (Paris, 1895) 39–66 lack cogent argumentation.

²¹ So too Dn. J. M. Stahl, *RhM* 64 (1909) 46, takes *κοινῇ* to mean 'openly', 'publicly', citing Xen. *M.* ii. 6. 38 and Dem. xxi. 148 as parallels; but cf. MacDowell's edition of Dem. xxi on the latter passage. On the speaker of *ἐγὼ δ' κτλ.* v. n. ad loc.

²² Second person singular imperatives are also commonly used by choruses as a stylized representation of mutual exhortation, e.g. *Th.* 953, 969, *Lys.* 302; cf. Kaimio 121–43, where singular and plural imperatives are treated together.

- (1) The chorus is abnormally large, and
 - (a) the chorus-leader now leaves with part of it, or
 - (b) there is a second chorus-leader, who leaves with part of it.
- (2) There is only one chorus-leader, the chorus is of normal size, it divides temporarily into two parts, and we have to imagine that one part leaves in its role as female initiates while in its function as part of a comic chorus it stays with us.

(1)(a) is the solution adopted by van Leeuwen. It entails the belief that the epirrhema and antepirrhema of the parabasis are sung by the whole chorus—or alternatively, recited by a deputy leader. This hypothesis is not attractive, but it seems at first sight to derive some support from the fact that 905 f., the *κατακελευσμός* addressed to the two contestants at the beginning of the agon, are attributed by virtually all the manuscripts²³ not to the chorus (i.e. the chorus-leader), as Aristophanes' practice elsewhere would have led us to expect, but to Dionysos. The cause of the attribution may well be the fact that it is addressed to *both* the contestants. We may compare the situation in *Nu.* 457–75, where a mistaken view of the lyric dialogue between the chorus and Strepsiades generated an attribution of the chorus's lines to Socrates in all manuscripts. Σ^v there, however, points out that both the *κατακελευσμός* and the preceding verses belong to the chorus, *εἴωθε γὰρ μετὰ τὸ ἄσαι ἐπάγειν δίστιχον*. When we reach the *ἀντικατακελευσμός* in the agon of *Frogs* (1004), there is no attribution to Dionysos, but several manuscripts (V E K Np1 V_{S1}) have the note *ἔτι ὁ χορός* (cf. the Medicean Aeschylus at *Pe.* 155, where the chorus-leader addresses Atossa), and one does not say 'it is still the chorus' unless there is a danger that someone may think it is not. No support is to be found in this quarter for the hypothesis that the chorus-leader actually departs one-third of the way through the play.

(1)(b) The hypothesis that there is a second solo singer may be ancient; at least that is the prima-facie implication of *ιερεύς* as an alternative to *ἡμιχόριον* in R A M Np1 at 383 and *ιερεύς* (without alternative) in A V_{S1} at 445. The latter certainly implies that someone took *ἐγὼ δέ . . . εἶμι* literally. A modern tendency to emphasize the element of Eleusinian ritual led van Leeuwen to designate the chorus-leader *κορυφαῖος ἢ ἱεροφάντης* throughout and Radermacher (and

²³ The exception is P20, but the verses are dislocated there.

Dn) to attribute 440–7 to a *δαδοῦχος*.²⁴ The hypothesis still leaves us either with an outsize chorus before 440–7 or with a depleted chorus thereafter.

(2) The chorus has been acting the part of the blessed initiates in procession from one meadow (326, 344) to more meadows (373). We have to imagine these meadows. When the chorus-leader tells the chorus to go to a flowery grove (440–2), an exhortation to which they respond in *χωρῶμεν κτλ.*, while *he* will go with the women and girls, he is making a sexy joke; we all know—don't we?—what opportunities a female all-night festival affords to an enterprising male.²⁵ Here comedy takes precedence over ritual. If we really took 440–7 literally, the orchestra would shortly be emptied of all its dancers, for the men would depart in one direction while the women departed in another. It is simpler to suppose that no one departs.²⁶ The dance can briefly suggest a departure in two directions, but everything from 448 onwards can be sung in unison, replacing the 'flowery groves' of 441/2 with the by now tediously familiar 'flowery meadows' (448 f.) which await men and women alike. That raises a further question: are *any* of the choreutai (addressed as *ἄνδρες* in 598*a*) dressed as women? I suspect not; the words remind us that both men and women can enjoy the afterlife of the blessed, but the chorus we see is a sample which happens to be all men, and the all-night festival of the women and girls is left to our imagination (Dn).

There is a good theatrical reason for their behaving as if they were all leaving us: this section is their last utterance as initiates, and from now they are simply the chorus necessary to an Old Comedy, divested of any distinctive character. Their doctrinal utterance (and implicit moral exhortation) is their valediction in the role they have played up to this point. The only subsequent hint at their role as initiated souls is their reference to themselves as *τὸν ἱερὸν χορὸν* in 686; a comic chorus is indeed *ἱερός* in so far as a festival is an offering to the gods (Dn; cf. Dem. xxi. 51 *τοὺς χοροὺς ὑμεῖς ἅπαντας τούτους καὶ ταῖς ὕμνους τῷ*

²⁴ On this official cf. Fourcart 191–201, Mylonas 232, and K. Clinton, *TAPhS* 64. 3 (1974) 67 f.

²⁵ Cf. Radermacher 207. Menander's Pamphile fell victim at the Tauropolia (*Ephr.* 471–9; note 474 *παννυχιζούσας*) and so did Plangon at the Adonia (*Sam.* 38–49; note 46 *ἐπαννύχιζον ἐσκεδάσμεναι*). Given the enthusiasm aroused in Dionysos and Xanthias (414*a*–5) for the girl with the torn dress, we can hardly doubt the nature of the joke, any more than we can doubt it in *Av.* 1097–1101 *χεμάζω δ' ἐν κοίλοις ἀντροῖς νύμφαις οὐρείαις ξυμπαίζων*, illuminated by Anakreon 358. 4 and Asklepiades (*HE*) 4. 1.

²⁶ Cf. Zimmermann i. 23 f.

θεῶ ποιεῖτε). It happens not to be called so elsewhere in comedy, but in *Au.* 1719 the chorus is told, in preparation for Peisetairos' wedding, ἀλλὰ χρῆ θεᾶς / Μούσης ἀνοίγειν ἱερὸν εὐφημον στόμα, and earlier in the same play the chorus says of its own bird-song (745) Πανὶ νόμους ἱεροῦς ἀναφαίνω, while the nightingale is exhorted (210) λῦσον δὲ νόμους ἱερῶν ὕμνων. It seems to me therefore unlikely that χορῶν ἱερῶν and ἱερὸν χορὸν in the parabasis of *Frogs* are a deliberate reminder of the chorus's role as initiates, and more likely that the words serve to reinforce the seriousness of the message which the parabasis is designed to convey. In the closing lines of the play, where the chorus escorts Aeschylus with torches, the first person παυσαίμεθ' ἄν (1531) identifies it with living Athenian citizens. In the same way the chorus in *Nu.* 601 steps out of its role in calling Athena ἡμετέρα θεός.²⁷

VIII. POLITICS

The recurrent political theme of the play is a familiar one: old ways good, new ways bad (cf. pp. 22 f.). The heroic ideals of Aeschylean tragedy will preserve the city, the unsettling realism of Euripidean tragedy will subvert it. The antepirrhema of the parabasis (718–37) urges the citizen-body to reject the leadership of those whom it now follows, upstarts of foreign parentage (730–2), and turn back to men of known integrity who were brought up in the style of noble and wealthy families. The ode of the parabasis (674–85) focuses more closely on Kleophon, the most influential δημαγωγός¹ of the time. He too is vilified as a foreigner (680–2); and the treatment of him at the end of the play (1504, 1532) is malicious.

Kleophon, in fact, is treated in much the same way as Kleon twenty years earlier, the 'Paphlagonian', the 'hide-seller', in *Knights* (cf. *Nu.* 549, *V.* 1030–7, *Pax* 752–60). Aristophanes was not alone in his

²⁷ K.-D. Koch 51 and Hooker 177 see the exodos as a reaffirmation of the role of the chorus as initiates; but Hooker 173–5 recognizes the combination of role and function in the chorus, and cf. G. A. H. Chapman, *AJPPh* 104 (1983) 3 n. 13, 5 n. 21, on the fluctuating identity of a comic chorus.

¹ The English 'demagogue' is derogatory, but that is not true of δημαγωγός; cf. Lys. xxvii. 10 ἀγαθῶν δημαγωγῶν. In *Eg.* 191–3 δημαγωγία is neutral, as it is described as 'not now' or 'no longer' (οὐ . . . ἔτι) exercised by good and well-educated men, and it should be noted that Lys. xxv. 9 designates the oligarchic conspirators Phrynichos and Peisandros δημαγωγοί, i.e. men of exceptional influence in the assembly.

onslaught on the *δημαγωγοί*; after the death of Kleon Hyperbolos was the target of the comic poets in *Pax* 679–92, the *Marikas* of Eupolis, the *Hyperbolos* of Plato (fr. 183 ridicules him for his mispronunciations) and plays by Hermippos and others (cf. *Nu.* 555–9). *Kleophon* was the title of the play put on by Plato in competition with *Frogs*. The comic poets' view of these prominent *δημαγωγοί* seems to have been very close indeed to the view taken by Thucydides (Kleon, iii. 36. 6, iv. 28. 5; Hyperbolos, viii. 73. 3). Just as Kleon was a 'tanner' and a 'hide-seller', Hyperbolos was a 'lamp-maker' (*Pax* 681–92), 'the man from the lamp-market' (*Nu.* 1065). Andokides i. 146 sneers at Kleophon as a 'lyre-maker', and much political vilification in fourth-century oratory is close in tone and content to that of Old Comedy.² Aischines ii. 93 calls Demosthenes 'son of a *μαχαροποιός*' (Demosthenes' father was in fact the owner of a very large workshop) and a Scythian on his mother's side (ii. 78, 180, iii. 172). It had never been the practice of Old Comedy to spare the politically prominent (or to identify individuals who might be more acceptable). So far as the evidence available to us goes, Perikles was not attacked on the same grounds as the post-Periclean *δημαγωγοί*.³ Perikles, son of a man who had been a general in the Persian War and of a woman of aristocratic lineage, was a thoughtful, far-sighted, ambitious, ruthless imperialist, profoundly concerned with his own image: aloof, disinterested, of ostentatious probity. His successors were hardly 'upstarts'; one of them—Kleophon, in fact—was the son of a general,⁴ and it is unlikely that Kleon and Hyperbolos got their hands dirty.

Their political style, however, may have been a novelty after the Periclean years. They discovered that, although Perikles had enjoyed extraordinary success in causing the assembly to take the decisions he wanted it to take, there were other means to that end, noisier and more dramatic, deliberately populist, exploiting the great power of indignation⁵ and explicitly championing the weak against the strong.⁶ None of this would have helped them if the character of the assembly itself had not changed. The Periclean spell was broken by the plague and the

² Cf. *GPM* 30–2.

³ Schwarze 169–72 seems to me to underrate the difference.

⁴ Cf. *ML* 41 f.

⁵ For which there were sometimes good grounds; according to Thuc. iv. 28. 5 *οἱ σώφρονες τῶν ἀνθρώπων* would have been happy to see the Athenian military effort on Sphakteria fail if that had resulted in the disgrace of Kleon. Cf. also *HCT* iv. 426.

⁶ Cf. W. R. Connor, *The New Politicians of Fifth-Century Athens* (Princeton, 1971) 95 f., 151–63, 171–5, 178.

ravaging of Attica (Thuc. ii. 59, 65. 1-3), and people became much less inclined to ask 'And who might *you* be?' when someone without experience of high command behind him gave a cogent voice to their discontents. Thucydides and others like him thought the assembly unstable and irresponsible. Yet the gruesome irresponsibility which led to the trial of the generals after Arginusai was only one side of the coin; the other side was the increasing assumption of responsibility by the assembly, a development by no means at odds with the Periclean idéal (Thuc. ii. 37. 1, 40. 1-3, 44. 3). The comic poets fastened upon what was distinctive in the Periclean and post-Periclean styles: the monarchical character of the former and the populist character of the latter. Praise of the old and deprecation of the new were a strong tradition in Greek literature, the poet (or orator) being accorded the privilege of castigating his audience;⁷ in comedy, criticism of men who possessed authority and influence was also traditional. Every literary genre has a certain degree of autonomy, and some of the things said in comedy were said because they were the kind of thing that was expected in comedy. The choice of targets, within a large field, was up to the individual poet. For example, in an undatable play of Eupolis (fr. 384, probably from a parabasis) the generals, and therefore the management of the war, are the target: in the old days generals were 'gods', but now they are 'scum' (*καθάρματα*, 'scapegoats', cf. the *φαρμακοί* of *Ra.* 733).⁸

The comic poets should not be thought of as all 'members' of an 'opposition party' with a consistent policy. Criticism of current political style and behaviour does not amount to a policy or programme until it is reinforced with positive proposals. The nature and direction of the political criticism expressed in comedy tell us something about the audience, which evidently welcomed, on the privileged occasion of the dramatic festivals, ridicule of the choices which it had made in its political capacity.⁹ They may also justify some inferences about the nexus of friendships and patronage in which

⁷ Cf. *GPM* 29 f.

⁸ Cf. de Ste. Croix 355-71 on what he regards as the snobbish and 'paternalistic' attitude of Aristophanes to the poor. So far as concerns who is ridiculed, and for what reasons, his case is very powerful, but it concentrates too much on Aristophanes as an individual; the problem is one which affects Old Comedy as a genre—citations from other poets suffice to show that—and, moreover, a genre whose function was to entertain the mass audience which was the target of the poets' snobbery.

⁹ Cf. Jeffrey Henderson, in J.J. Winkler and Froma Zeitlin (eds.), *Nothing to Do with Dionysus?* (Princeton, 1990) 271-313, on comedy as a privileged extension of political debate.

comic poets were involved, often, perhaps, on the initiative of people whose primary concerns were not literary or theatrical.¹⁰

Down to *Frogs*, the issue of supreme importance in assessing the political standpoint adopted in Aristophanic comedy is the issue of war and peace. *Acharnians* (425), *Peace* (421), and *Lysistrata* (411) have been labelled 'peace plays' and even the word 'pacifist' has intruded into discussion of Aristophanes. He was certainly not a pacifist in the modern sense of the word, someone who believes that the deliberate taking of human life is wrong in all circumstances; like any other Athenian, he would have killed any number of people in defence of Attica against invasion. *Peace* was written at a time when the decision to negotiate seriously for peace had already been taken, and its production was in effect a celebration of the successful outcome. The problem lies in *Acharnians* and *Lysistrata*; in the former we are told that the war was unjustified in the first place, that Sparta's reaction to the Megarian Decree was understandable, and that peace would be advantageous, and in the latter, that negotiation for peace would be to everyone's advantage. The difficulty is created by the fact that Dikaio-polis' argument in *Acharnians* is put into a framework of paratragedy, as if ridiculing the case for peace, and *Lysistrata*'s reconciliation of the belligerents in *Lysistrata* is interwoven with sexual jokes, as if in dismissal. And yet the positive argument in each case must represent a significant strand of Athenian opinion. The people who said in 432 that the Megarian Decree was not worth a war (Thuc. i. 139. 4) cannot all have been converted, dead, in exile, or otherwise silenced by 425, and it must not be forgotten that in 430, under the impact of the circumstances which led to the temporary rejection of Perikles, the assembly actually initiated fruitless negotiations (Thuc. ii. 59. 2). As for 411, the awakened interest of the Persians in the outcome of the war must have raised some anxieties and generated some debate at Athens (cf. Lys. 1133 f.) on the possible advantages of a negotiated peace.

It seems unlikely that students of Aristophanes will ever agree on the measure of 'seriousness' to be discerned in the 'peace plays'. *Frogs* is not as a rule given that label, for although Kleophon was an uncompromising opponent of any peace which fell short of victory,¹¹ and the

¹⁰ The notion that Anytos and Meletos bribed Aristophanes to write *Clouds* (SA IV. ii. 372) is bizarre, but its implications are less so; the answer to the question 'Why did Aristophanes pick on Socrates?' may be 'Because some of his friends were enemies of some of Alkibiades' friends.' The implications of *V.* 1025 f. are also relevant.

¹¹ There is some doubt about the number of occasions before 405 on which Kleophon opposed negotiation; cf. Rhodes. 424.

closing lines of the play convey a strong hint that the *σωτηρία* of Athens lies in seeking an end to the war on less intransigent terms (1532 f.), the advice given by Aeschylus in 1463–5 is a recipe for victory. The same could be said at least of the surface meaning of 735–7, though the words used there are general enough to be open to many interpretations. In one respect, however, *Frogs* offers a serious message which in its concreteness differs strikingly from generalized criticism of political style or wishful thinking about advantageous peace terms. The epirrhema of the parabasis (687–99) develops a recommendation to restore citizen-rights to those who had lost them through participation in the oligarchic revolution of 411. That participation is described as *συμφορά*,¹² they ‘went wrong’/‘did wrong’ (*ἤμαρτε* (689) covers both) because they were ‘thrown by Phrynichos’ tricks’ (lit., ‘... wrestlings’).¹³ Phrynichos was a prime mover of the oligarchic revolution (Thuc. viii. 68. 3). He was murdered later in 411 (*ibid.* 92. 2); his murderers were honoured in 409 (*IG* i³ 102 = ML 85; Lys. xiii. 70–2) and his bones were thrown out of Attica (Lykurgos, *Leocr.* 112–14). Aristophanes’ way of referring to the disenfranchised is designed to present them, disingenuously, as innocent victims, like the *demos* itself. His proposal was one which could be put into effect by a single act of the assembly, and was indeed effected by the decree of Patrokleides (Andokides i. 77–9) after the fleet had been lost at Aigospotamoi.

According to *Vita Ar.* (PCG ii. 2 T1 35–9) Aristophanes was commended and awarded an olive wreath because of the advice he gave in the parabasis. The author of Hyp. I^c says ‘the play was so admired because of its parabasis’¹⁴ that it was produced again (*ἀνεδιδάχθη*),¹⁵ according to Dikaiarchos’ (fr. 84 Wehrli). The data offer no justification for supposing that the repeat performance was on any occasion other than a subsequent dramatic festival, from the City Dionysia of 405 onwards. On what occasion, will have been known to Dikaiarchos, who wrote *περὶ τῶν Διονυσιακῶν ἀγώνων* (fr. 75), and there are other

¹² One’s own misdeeds and those of one’s friends are *συμφοραί*; other people’s are crimes. Cf. MacDowell on Andok. i. 86; and in E. *Hp.* 1407 Hippolytos paves the way for his absolution of Theseus by lamenting Theseus’ *συμφορά*.

¹³ In a similar way a speaker in court who wishes to criticize the verdict of a previous jury is careful to speak of the jury as ‘misled’; cf. *GPM* 24.

¹⁴ Coulon adopts Weil’s lamentable emendation *κατάβασις*, founded on the assumption that the grounds for commending the play must have been aesthetic.

¹⁵ Hyp. I Ar. *Nu.* provides a clear example of *ἀναδιδάσκειν* = ‘put on again’: *ἀναδιδάξαι . . . προθυμηθέντος, οὐκέτι δέ . . . ποιήσαντος.*

citations from him (fr. 76–83), on the titles and authorship of plays, which suggest that he composed a kind of commentary on the didaskaliai, listing known plays and in some cases composing hypotheses. The commendation and wreath point to a decree of a familiar kind, ‘commend So-and-so and crown him with a wreath of olive, because he . . .’; examples are: (with wreath) *IG* i³ 145 (405/4, giving extensive reasons), ii² 29 (387/6), (without wreath) i³ 110 (408/7), ii² 20 (394/3).¹⁶

When the decree of Patrokleides had been passed, the supporters of the decree commending Aristophanes could say, and no doubt did say, that the city had taken his advice. At the time he gave the advice, there must have been enough sentiment in its favour to save him from vilification as a traitor. It is not easy to decide from the wording of the parabasis how far he wanted to go; 701 f., ‘everyone . . . who fights at sea together with us’, implicitly exclude exiles, and the decree of Patrokleides certainly offered nothing to the outright traitors who had fled abroad.

It is important to remember that irremediable disaster intervened between *Frogs* and the decree of Patrokleides. It is unlikely that anything short of that would have induced the assembly, at a time when Kleophon’s authority was considerable, to restore rights to men of questionable loyalty.¹⁷ That they did so after Aigospotamoi reflects a mood of disillusionment with political leaders who had manipulated the assembly at the trial of the generals (cf. Xen. *HG* i. 7. 35 on the revulsion against the manipulators), uttered threats which treated with contempt democratic procedure and the process of law (ibid. 7. 12–15, Lykurg. *Leocr.* 114, Aischines ii. 76), and encouraged intransigence at a time when—or so people could readily persuade themselves, now that everything had gone wrong—disaster might have been avoided by negotiation. The beginning of 404, when dealings with Sparta had begun and it proved practicable to get rid of Kleophon on a capital charge (Lys. xiii. 8, xxx. 10 f.), is the right time for a decree which awarded an olive-wreath to the poet and instructed the eponymous archon to grant a chorus to anyone who wished to present the play again at the Lenaia or City Dionysia of 404.¹⁸ Aristophanes had made

¹⁶ Cf. A. H. Sommerstein, forthcoming.

¹⁷ Cf. W. G. Arnott, *G&R* 38 (1991) 18–22.

¹⁸ A. Körte, *DLZ* 1924. 191, denies the possibility of a production in 404, but it is doubtful whether suffering and anxiety would have seemed to the Athenians an adequate reason for suppressing the dramatic festival. Cf. also p. 56.

his contribution to the rehabilitation of some of his friends, and they, influential in the changed climate of opinion, showed their gratitude.

Seeing an Aristophanic comedy at a second production is a different experience from seeing it at its first. When the chorus in the parabasis exhorts the city to do something which has now been done, no problem; but when Aeschylus in 1463–5 revives Perikles' advice on naval strategy,¹⁹ the emotional strain on an audience which has lost its navy is severe. Those lines alone would justify us in asking whether anything was rewritten for the second production, and the chaos in the text of the scene 1435–66 very strongly suggests that what we have before us is a conflation of two versions.²⁰ Dionysos asks two poets each to give him one opinion, but he receives three in all;²¹ and his reaction to the first is separated from it by the second opinion and his reaction to that (1442–50). That second opinion is essentially a restatement of the advice given by the chorus in 718–37; the third, as we have seen, is meaningless after the loss of the fleet; and the first (1437–41), although it presupposes naval warfare, is a wild and comic fantasy on which no action could be taken, fleet or no fleet, and which for that reason might have passed muster in 404. The second answer could be taken differently by different members of the audience; anti-democratic sentiment could identify 'those whom we now trust' as people who, in its view, are still too influential, and democratic sentiment could identify them as people who have now become dangerously influential.²²

Further details concerning the assignation of these passages to speakers will be considered on pp. 373–5. They constitute the second stage of the problem, and do not affect the fact that the hypothesis of conflation of a 405 version with a 404 version offers a complete solution to the first stage.

Some other provocative details concerning the political tendency

¹⁹ Perikles had attacks on the Peloponnese in mind; in 405, former subjects in rebellion and enemy-held territory in Asia Minor would be what Aeschylus means; cf. Sommerstein, *CQNS* 24 (164) 24. T. G. Tucker, *CR* 11 (1897) 302 f., recognized that the advice appropriate before the summer of 405 would be different from what was appropriate after.

²⁰ On the problems of this scene in general cf. Sicking 171–8; the solutions proposed by Dörrie, MacDowell, Newiger, and Sommerstein will be discussed in detail *ad loc.*

²¹ R. E. Wycherley, *CR* 54 (1945) 32–8, argues that the passage could be produced in such a way that the audience would accept its incoherence; so it *could*, I think, but there is no ancient parallel.

²² The slogan 'Clear the bums out!', popular in the Congressional elections of 1990, had different referents in different areas.

of the play remain. We may find it surprising that Aeschylus' advice on Alkibiades implies 'recall him and make use of him' (1432), and this advice is not rejected by Dionysos. Alkibiades' cousin Adeimantos, one of the generals of 406/5, is damned in 1512; *after* Aigospotamoi he was widely regarded as a traitor and responsible for the disaster (Lys. xiv. 38, Xen. *HG* ii. 1. 32), but in early 405 was his opposition to the barbarous decree which prescribed mutilation of captured Peloponnesian sailors (Xen. *ibid.*) enough to merit treatment as an enemy? An insertion of 1512 for performance in 404 is by no means out of the question.

The references to Theramenes are snide (540 f., 967–70), and in conjunction with what is said of him by Xenophon's Kritias (*HG* ii. 3. 27–33, above all 31 ~ *Ra.* 536 f.) may represent what some of his future colleagues among the Thirty said about him, but they were not necessarily unwelcome to him; he was probably rather pleased with himself.

Revision and conflation have often been invoked to explain the presence of lines in the play which editors find puzzling or not to their taste.²³ This is, however, a dangerous game: to adduce political reasons for such cases is to risk over-simplifying what was probably a complex and fluid set of relationships between individuals and groups. It may also be thought to beg the question of Aristophanes' political seriousness; so it would, if the play had been performed at any other period, but a comedy whose author was honoured by the assembly for his political advice, a comedy presented afresh (in consequence of a decision by the assembly) at a time of external and internal menace and apparently altered in at least one significant respect, is a phenomenon for the full understanding of which we need, but do not have, analogies.

IX. HISTORY OF THE TEXT

1. *Ancient and Medieval Manuscripts*

We have some scraps of two manuscripts of late antiquity (fifth and sixth centuries AD): *POxy* 1372, covering 44–50, 85–91, 840–61, and 879–902, and *PBerol* 13231 (= *Berliner Klassikertexte* 231), covering 234–63, 272–300, 404–10, and 607–11. In most of these lines only a fraction

²³ e.g. E. Graf, *Philologus* 55 (1890) 311–17, G. Pasquali, *SIFCS* 3 (1923) 71–4, and Marzullo 386.

of the line is preserved, but since both papyri have survived by chance they serve as a good random sample reassuring us of the close relationship between the text we can reconstruct from the earliest manuscripts and the text as it was in the last period of the ancient world. The identity of the lyric colometry of the oldest medieval manuscript with that of *PBerol* in 234–63, 273–300 and, 404–10 and with *POxy* in 879–84, 895–902 is noteworthy (cf. p. 000).

The whole or the greater part of the text of the play is contained in 86 manuscripts written between the tenth and seventeenth centuries AD.¹ In the list which follows, their description, given in full (with bibliography) by Eberline 2–48, is reduced to the barest minimum; the bracketed figure at the end of each item is the page-reference to Eberline.

- A Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ancien fonds grec 2712. α.1300; parchment (2).
- Br1 Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 4280–83. Early 15th century; copyist Georgios (2).
- C Paris, B.N., Ancien fonds grec 2717. 16th cent. (23).
- Cr Cremona, Biblioteca Governativa 171. 14th cent. (but replacement leaves 15th); replacement copyist Lianoros δ *Βονωνιεύς* (6).
- Ct1 Cambridge, University Library, Nn 3.15.1. Early 14th cent. (3).
- Ct2 bound with Ct1. End of the 15th cent. (4).
- Ct6 Cambridge, Trinity College, R.1.42. 15th cent.; copyist Michael δ *του Αγγεύς*. Lines 1370–end missing (4).
- E Modena, Biblioteca Estense, α.Ū.5.10. Late 14th cent. or possibly 15th (17).
- E2 *ibid.*, α.W.9.14. 15th cent. On the hand, cf. P6. (18).
- Es1 El Escorial, Real Biblioteca, Φ.III.6. 15th cent.; parchment. Lines 1006–end missing (7).

¹ My list excludes: Elbląg, Biblioteka Miejska O.2, now lost and known only from a collation made in 1788 (Eberline 7); Vaticanus graecus 920, which has 1–510 and 558–606, severely damaged and largely illegible (Eberline 31); Vaticani graeci 39 and 100 (Eberline 29 f.), each of which contains only the last few lines of the play; Vaticanus Palatinus graecus 319, containing only 713–1195 (Eberline 39); Florence, Riccardianus 48, derived from printed editions (Eberline 12, 137); four manuscripts containing only scholia (Cambridge, University Library, Dd.11.70; Modena, Biblioteca Estense, α.U.9.22; Montpellier, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Médecine, H.337; Vaticanus graecus 1823; Eberline 46 f.); and Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, B.V. 34, which contained only scholia and was destroyed by fire in 1904 (Eberline 47 f.).

- Es2 El Escorial, Real Biblioteca, Ψ.III.16. Mid 15th cent.; hand possibly that of Stephanos *ιερομόναχος* (cf. U2) (7).
- Es3 *ibid.*, Ω.IV.7. Mid 15th cent. for *Frogs* (previous portion is later); 1264–end missing (7).
- Fl. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, 80.26; 15th cent. (10).
- F3 *ibid.*, 91 sup. 7. 1485; copyist Ioannes Rhosos (cf. Np4); parchment (10).
- F7 *ibid.*, Plut. 31.4. 15th cent.; replacement sheets in *Clouds* and *Knights* in the hand of Camillus Venetus (8).
- F8 Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 36. 15th cent.; parchment (12).
- Fr2 Ferrara, Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea, 247. 15th cent.; owned by Lianoros (cf. Cr) (8).
- G Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, gr. 475. 15th cent.; parchment; hand of Georgios Alexandrou (42).
- H Copenhagen, Royal Library, Gamle Kongelig Samling 1980. 15th cent. (5).
- K ('M4' in Eberline and elsewhere) Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C 222 inf. About 1300. Hand changes at the top of fo. 92^r, at *Ra.* 797; fo. 100, which should have contained *Ra.* 1198–1250, is left blank (16).
- L Oxford, Bodleian Library, Holkham gr. 88. Early 15th cent.; hand of Marcianus gr. 622 of Hesychios (21).
- L2 *ibid.*, 89. c.1500; probably hand of Andreas Donos in first part of *Pl.* (cf. Ln3), the rest in one of the hands of Oxford, Barocci 66 (21).
- Ln3 London, British Library, Harley 5664. End of 15th cent.; copyist probably Andreas Donos (12).
- Ln6 *ibid.*, 6307. 15th cent. (13).
- M Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, L 39 sup. Early 14th cent.; hand of Vaticanus fr. 7, which is subscribed 1310; filigrane c.1326;² prayer for Demetrios Anemoukas on fo. 19^r (15).
- M2 *ibid.*, A 97 sup. End of 15th cent. (14).
- (M4 = K)
- M5 *ibid.*, D 64 sup. About 1500; copyist Bartholemaios Komparinos (14).
- M9 *ibid.*, L 41 sup. 15th cent. (16).

² There are other filigranes, but it seems (*SA* I. ii p. vii n. 1) that there is only one to which a reasonably precise date can be given.

- M11 *ibid.*, F 40 sup. About 1500; several hands (15).
Mdi Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 4683. Dating of old portion (*Pl.* 1–528, *Nu.*, *Ra.* 1–959) controversial;³ possibly as early as 12th cent. Replacements up to fo. 75^r by Constantine Lascaris in 1490, and thereafter 16th cent. (13).
Mo2 Mosow, State Historical Museum, 462. 17th cent. (18).
Ms Mount Sinai, St Catherine's Monastery, Greek MS 1206. 15th cent. 823–end missing (29).
Mui Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, gr. 137. 15th cent. (18).
Np1 Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, II.F.22. End of 14th cent. (19).
Np3 *ibid.*, II.F.23. End of 15th cent. (19).
Np4 *ibid.*, II.F.24. 1485; copyist Ioannes Rhosos (cf. F3) (20).
Np5 *ibid.*, II.F.25. 15th cent. Hands of Michael Apostoles and others, including Michael Lygizos (cf. Ct6), but date '1460' in note on fo. 153^v not in identifiable hand (20).
O3 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci 127. About 1400; parchment; scholia in hand of Andreas Donos (20).
P6 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ancien fonds grec 2716. About 1600; one hand is that of E2 (22).
P8 *ibid.*, 2821. 14th cent. (24).
P9 *ibid.*, 2822. 15th cent. (25).
P11 *ibid.*, 2824. 15th cent.; hand of Georgios Tribazias (25).
P19 *ibid.*, Suppl. gr. 135. 14th cent. (26).
P20 *ibid.*, Suppl. gr. 463. Beginning of 14th cent.; corrections and scholia in hand of Demetrios Triklinios (26).
P26 *ibid.* 2820. 14th and 15th cent.; three hands (24).
Pe1 Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta del Comune di Perugia, H 56. 15th cent. (27).
Pe2 *ibid.*, I 106. 1473; subscribed by Antonios Presbyterios (27).
R Ravenna, Biblioteca Classense, 429. Mid 10th cent.; parchment (27).
Sai Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria, M 71. About 1500 (28).
Saz *ibid.*, M 284. End of 15th cent. (28).
U Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urbinas gr. 141. 14th cent. (40).

³ Cf. Dover (1988) 225 (where, incidentally, '909' for '959' is an unfortunate resurrection of a long-standing error).

- U₂ Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urbinas gr. 143. 15th cent.; copyist Stephanos *ἱερομόναχος* (40).
- V Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, gr. 474. 11th or 12th cent.;⁴ parchment; two hands in *Frogs*⁵ (41).
- V₂ *ibid.*, gr. 472. 14th cent. (41).
- V₆ *ibid.*, gr. IX.26. 14th cent., many portions of text missing (43).
- Vb₂ Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barberinianus gr. 46. 15th cent. 1361–end missing (35).
- Vb₃ *ibid.*, Barberinianus gr. 126. 14th cent. (35).
- Vbgr1 *ibid.*, Borgianus gr. 12. 15th cent. 1306–end missing (36).
- Vc1 *ibid.*, Chisianus gr. 20. About 1500; copyist Gedes (36).
- Ve Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, CXXXI(120). 15th cent. (43).
- Vo₂ Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottobonianus gr. 161. About 1600; parchment (37).
- Vp₁ *ibid.*, Palatinus gr. 116. 14th cent.; copyist Alexios (38).
- Vp₂ *ibid.*, Palatinus gr. 67. 15th cent.; copyist Nikolaos ὁ *νταρμάρος* (subscription to *Acharnians*) (37).
- Vp₆ *ibid.*, Palatinus gr. 293. 15th cent.; parchment (39).
- Vp10 *ibid.*, Palatinus gr. 223. 1495 (38).
- Vs₁ *ibid.*, Reginensis gr. 147. Early 14th cent. (39).
- Vv₂ *ibid.*, gr. 57. 14th cent.; two hands in *Frogs* (29).
- Vv₃ *ibid.*, gr. 61. 14th cent. (30).
- Vv₄ *ibid.*, gr. 918. 1362; copyist probably the Georgios named on fo. 1^r (31).
- Vv₅ *ibid.*, gr. 1294. 14th cent. for the Aristophanes portion, later for the rest (32).
- Vv₈ *ibid.*, gr. 917. End of 15th cent. (30).
- Vv₉ *ibid.*, gr. 919. 15th cent. (31).
- Vv10 *ibid.*, gr. 921. 15th cent. (32).
- Vv12 *ibid.*, gr. 1378. 15th and 16th cents.; several hands, includ-

⁴ T. W. Allen, in his introduction to the facsimile of V (London and Boston, 1902), decided (9) in favour of the eleventh century. Koster, *Mnemosyne* 1963. 141, argued for the twelfth, in the belief (about which I am in two minds) that V's *ἡμῶν* in *Pl.* 162 was an emendation by Tzetzes (cf. Σ^K ad loc.) and not simply a variant which Tzetzes found and preferred. H. Erbse in H. Hunger *et al.* (eds.), *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung* i (Zurich, 1961) 279 says simply 'twelfth century'.

⁵ The writing of the text and scholia was divided between at least two, and possibly three, people; both or all are represented in different parts of *Frogs* (Allen 10–12).

- ing Demetrios Rhaoul Kabakes for the Aristophanes portion (33).
- Vv13-14 *ibid.*, gr. 38. 1322 (29).
- Vv17 *ibid.*, gr. 2181. End of 14th cent. (34).
- Vv18 *ibid.*, gr. 2293. 15th cent. (34).
- W Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, philol.-philol. gr. 163. 14th cent. (44).
- W9 *ibid.*, philol. gr. suppl. 71. Second half of 14th cent. (45).
- Y *ibid.*, philol. suppl. gr. 210. 1440 (44).
- Z *ibid.*, philol. suppl. gr. 227. First half of 15th cent.; hand probably of Stephanos *ἱερομόναχος* (cf. U2) (45).
- Δ Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, 31.16. 15th cent.; hand of Ioannes Skoutariotes (but for later portion (*Acharnians* onwards) probably Demetrios Sgouropoulos) (9).
- Θ *ibid.*, Conventi Soppressi 140. 14th cent.; two hands, but *Frogs* all in one hand (11).
- Φ *ibid.*, Conventi Soppressi 66. 14th cent. (11).
- X *ibid.*, 31.13. 15th and 16th cent.; hands of Georgios Alexandrou (in the portion including *Frogs*; cf. G) and Camillus Venetus (in the later portion; cf. F7) (9).
- Ω *ibid.*, 31.35. 15th or 16th cent.; several hands (10).

The task of investigating the interrelation of these manuscripts is greatly helped in the initial stages by our good fortune in possessing in P20 the 'working copy' of Triklinios, in which he noted variants, made emendations, imported a corpus of scholia which he attributed explicitly to Thomas Magister, and added scholia of his own, particularly on the metrical analysis of lyric passages; he seems to have been the first medieval scholar to understand the principle of lyric responsion. His hand is distinctive and identifiable, since he put his name twice to Marcianus gr. 464 (Hesiod and commentaries thereon), of which he copied the first part in 1316 and the latter part in 1319, and once to Oxford, New College, 258 (of Aphthonios and Hermogenes), which he subscribed and dated August 1308. A general comment in P20 (*Σ Nu.* 638b) and a note on a point of prosody (*Σ Nu.* 1178b), both written in Triklinios' hand, recur in Ctr1 with the marginal sign $T\rho\iota^{\kappa\lambda}$. That he consulted a number of manuscripts for *Frogs*, as for other plays, is clear from his insertion of *parepigraphai*, *αὐλεῖ τις ἔνδον* after 312 (*αὐλεῖ τις ἔνδοθεν* R V E M Mdr^{ac} al.) and *διαύλιον προσαυλεῖ* after

1264 (so too R V E K M U al.),⁶ and from his occasional noting of variants, e.g. 683 γρ. κελαρύζει (R Md1^{ac}: κελαδεῖ P20 cett.). Some of his corrections must be simply the adoption of variants, e.g. 465 κἀναίσχυντε καὶ τολμηρῆ σύ (R V al.), where the καὶ τολμηρῆ κἀναίσχυντε σύ of P20^{ac} is metrically and linguistically unobjectionable. Several manuscripts seem to have been derived from P20 at different stages of Triklinios' work on it, one of them (Vv13-14) as late as 1322 (Eberline 29, 94-9). His note on *Nu.* 638 indicates that he thought it right to emend (διορθοῦν) corrupt readings (χρόνω παραφθαρέντα) on metrical grounds, and he proceeded to do so in a 'second edition' of which the best representatives are Vv5 (*Pl.*, *Nu.*, *Ra.*, *Eq.*) and L (eight plays).⁷ Many of the corrections he made in P20 survive in L Vv5 (e.g. 772 βαλαντιητόμοις and 1448 σωθῶμεν), but in some cases he reverted to P20^{ac} (e.g. 320 ἄδουσιν οὖν instead of ἄδουσι γοῦν). The products of his further reflection were in some cases very bold, e.g. the deletion of τινάσσω in 340 (ἐξεβλήθη ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, he says), and sometimes regrettable, e.g. 356 ἴδε πῶ (*sic*) (εἶδεν recte R: εἶδε P20 al.; ἴδε E K Mⁱ: ἴδεν Np1) and 437 αὖ γε παῖ τὰ στρώματα (ὦ παῖ recte V: ὦ παῖ τὰ στρώματα cett.).⁸

Apart from P20^{pc} L Vv5, those manuscripts which in varying degrees show the influence of Triklinios in their text are: Br1 C Ct1 Ct6 E2 Es2 Es3 F1 F7 Fr2 H L2 Ln6 M5 M9 Md1 (later portion) Mo2 Ms Mu1 Np3 Np4 Np5 P6 P11 Pe1 Pe2 Sa2 U2 V6 Vp2 Vp10 Vv3 Vv8 Vv9 Vv10 Vv12 Vv13-14 Vv17 Vv18 W Y X Ω. Of the other manuscripts, three are 'pre-Triklinian' in the strict sense that they were written before his work began: R and V, which are far earlier, and (necessarily) P20^{ac}. I also treat A, K, and Md1 as too early to be affected by him. The rest are pre-Triklinian in the sense that, although they belong to his time or a later period, whatever Triklinian corrections they contain were clearly put in by hands other than the hands of their original copyists; Θ belongs in that category, and there are many Triklinian corrections added by a late hand in the old part of Md1. The distinction between Triklinian and pre-Triklinian texts is complicated by the composite origin of so many manuscripts; Es2, for example, shares many peculiar errors with the pre-Triklinian Np1 but for some stretches follows the

⁶ Cf. his insertions of (κομμάτιον) χοροῦ in *Wealth*; Dover (1988) 224.

⁷ The heading of *Knights* in L attributes the metrical scholia to Triklinios (N. G. Wilson, *CQNS* 12 (1962) 33).

⁸ On the question of emendation by Triklinios Eberline 73 f. is perhaps too sceptical.

second Triklinian edition, its affinity with Np1 being virtually submerged in those stretches (Eberline 143 f.). A less tractable problem is presented by isolated readings in which a predominantly pre-Triklinian manuscript agrees with Triklinios. Some such cases are easily accounted for by the fact that Triklinios often adopted variants which had been available for some time, and others by the undoubted ability of some scholars in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to perceive abnormalities in stichic metres and adjust them, e.g. by changing *-οις* to *-οισι*, thus anticipating Triklinian corrections. Emendation of that kind is a different matter from the deletion of *τινάσσω* in 340, which would not have entered the head of any medieval scholar before Triklinios. Moreover, some indisputably pre-Triklinian manuscripts contain readings, recognizable as emendations because they betray inadequate understanding of metre or language, which do not appear to have been entertained by Triklinios at any stage and were probably not known to him.

All the manuscripts we possess have been corrected, and it is a reasonable inference that all the lost manuscripts were also corrected. To judge from those papyrus fragments which contain extensive passages (of any author), the same inference should be drawn for antiquity. In *Frogs* even R embodies two emendations which must be presumed an inheritance from the ancient world: 33 ἔγωγ' οὐκ ἐναυμάχουν, where the emender spoiled the metre by knowing that hiatus was illicit but not understanding synizesis, and 1089 νῆ τὸν Δία γ' οὐ δῆτ', where *scriptio plena* was the cause of the trouble and someone obtusely preferred γ' to elision of Δία. At 1066 ἀλλ' ἐν ῥακίοις (*ἀλλὰ ῥακίοις* R) first appears in V, an emendation proceeding from ignorance of the prosody of initial ρ in Old Comedy. If correctors were invariably right, it would not be so difficult to construct a genealogical stemma, founded exclusively on the distribution of shared errors. However, real life is not like that. It is evident that systematic and thoughtless alteration of one text to bring it into line with another was very common. For example, E has been altered throughout from a source closely related to U, but many of these 'corrections' are changes for the worse, e.g. 414a πως om. U Vb3: del. E^{pc}; 818 [ἵππολόφων] ὑψιλόφων U E^{pc} (ὑψη- Vb3 Vs1); 1510 ἐγώ om. A P20 U Θ: del. E^{pc} M^{pc}. Even more striking is the fate of 1526 f. in Θ. A G P20 Sa1 Δ X omit 1527, and P8 remodels 1526 and 1527 to make a single anapaestic dimeter ταῖσιν τούτου τούτον μολπαῖς, thus depriving the sequence of its final paroemiac; the text of P8 appears as a variant in X

and in the margin of Δ, and in Θ a later hand has crossed out half the original text and corrected the rest to conform with P8. We must assume that this kind of thing happened in all the lost manuscripts (from the fourth century BC onwards), not just in those which the trawl of fate has served up to us. A process which disseminated error must also have helped to consolidate it, for once an error had spread far enough it could well acquire, in the eyes of an individual scholar, the spurious authority of 'most manuscripts'. The universality of correction, the propensity to introduce error, the common use of two exemplars to make a copy (either switching from one to another or keeping both in play throughout) and a different two or more as sources of correction, the frequent need to replace lost or damaged sheets from whatever source was available, and the readiness of scholars of all periods to make minor conjectural emendations, all combine to rule out the possibility of constructing a stemma for the pre-Triklinian manuscripts of *Frogs*.⁹

Of the two oldest manuscripts, R and V, R sometimes stands alone, especially in the last third of the play, in giving us an acceptable reading, whereas in the first two-thirds (and never in the last third) it is more often V which has this honour, e.g. 730 *προσελούμεν* R: *προσε-* P20^{pc}: *προσε-* cett.; 1428 *φανείται* R: *πέφυκε* cett.; 369 *αὐδῶ* V: *ἀπαυδῶ* cett.; 596*a* *ῥσται* Dawes: *ῥσι* V: om. cett. (*τις* Tri). There are also occasions on which R and V stand together in offering the right reading against the rest, e.g. 348 *χρονίους . . . παλαιῶν* R V: *χρόνους* (vel *χρονίων* vel *χρόνων*) . . . *παλαιούς* cett., and others again in which they stand alone in error, e.g. 971 *᾿γὼ φρονεῖν* cett.: *σωφρονεῖν* R V (there are no examples of the latter category in the last third of the play). These data by themselves would justify the hypothesis that after about line 1000 V and the other manuscripts had an ancestor which was not an ancestor of R. They do not help us to reconstruct what happened before that point, and a further complication is introduced by passages in which R and V together or singly are joined in a good reading by just one or two others, e.g. 274 *που* R M V_{SI}: om. cett.; 329 *περὶ κρατί* R V M_{DI}: *ἀμφὶ κρατί* cett.; 539*a* *μεταστρέφεισθαι* V M Tri: *-φεισθ' ἀεί* vel *-φειν* cett.; 936 *ποι' ἄττ'* V P20^{ac} Vb3 Θ: *ποιά γ'*

⁹ Where all alternative hypotheses are exempt from control through independently known data, any relationship whatsoever can be postulated by sufficient introduction of complexities. This statement is not meant as a criticism of the stemmata offered by editors of plays found in a comparatively small number of manuscripts, where a simple and cogent hypothesis can often be formulated.

cett.; 1423 *εἶπατον* recte om. R P20; 1517 *διασώζειν* R V V_{SI}: *σώζειν* cett. There are also a significant number of errors peculiar to R M_{d1} and not matched by any comparable list of errors peculiar to R V M_{d1} or V M_{d1}, e.g. 271 *ποῦ] ἦ ποῦ* R M_{d1}; 412 *παρραργέντος] διαρραργέντος* R M_{d1}.

Apart from trivial adjustments on metrical or orthographical grounds and passages of dialogue with very frequent change of speaker, where good luck sometimes emerges from chaos, there are barely a dozen passages in which just one or two pre-Triklinian manuscripts other than R and V give us the right answer, a plausible answer, or a possible pointer to it. One of these—238 *ἐκκύψας* P20^{ac}: *εκκ[PBerol: ἐγ-* cett.—may be a happy accident.¹⁰ Two others—1052 *τοῦτον* U: *τοιούτον* cett., and 1515 *θάκον* Bentley: *θῶκον* U (cf. 1522 *θῶκον* codd.): *θρόνον* cett.—both of which eluded Triklinios, and both in anapaests, suggest scholarly intervention which could possibly have occurred in the medieval period. That could hardly be said of 239 f., where Reisig's insertion of *Xo.* and *Δι.* is anticipated by V_{SI} and half (240 *Δι.*) by K, and it would perhaps be an unsound explanation of 505 *θεός σ'* M Tri: *θεός* cett. and 743 *ῥμωξε* M: *ῥμωξε* Np1: *οἴμωξε* cett. Tri.

There are, moreover, two cases where a good reading preserved in one or two manuscripts can be contrasted with what looks like a facile but unpersuasive emendation in others. In 1307 *ταῦτ'* is found in Θ and was brought by Triklinios into P20; R has *γ' ἔστ'* and V al. *ταῦτ' ἔστ'*, which gives one long syllable too many. In K U V_{SI} we find *τάδ' ἔστ'*, which scans, and in Np1 *τά γ' ἔστ'*, which also scans but is ungrammatical. In 1474 the correct *προσβλέπειν μ' εἰργασμένος* is only in M^{pc} Θ; all other manuscripts have the verb and participle (with or without *μ'*) in the reverse order, which is unmetrical, but the metre is restored by *ἐργασάμενος* in K (adopted by Triklinios) and (corrupted to *εἰργασά-*) Np1. *τάδ'* and *ἐργασάμενος* have a flavour of Tzetzes about them. He understood the iambic trimeter; the scholia in K and U constitute his commentary, and in *Nu.* 696, where most manuscripts have the unmetrical *ἐνταῦθ'*, the text of K and the lemma of the scholion in U have *ἐνθάδ'*.¹¹ There is no direct evidence that the pre-Triklinian scholars who commented on Aristophanes (cf. p. 94) edited the text in the sense

¹⁰ *ἐγκ-* and *ἐκκ-* not uncommonly appear as variants. In P20 *ἐκκύψας* is corrected to *ἐγκύψας* by the copyist, not by Triklinios.

¹¹ Cf. Dover (1988) 236.

that Triklinios edited it,¹² but what they said about the sense, grammar, orthography, or metre of individual passages must none the less have had some effect on subsequent texts.

Whatever the answer to that question, we can see that in *Pl.* 834 Ⓣ has a respectable iambic trimeter which must have been composed (its conjectural character is attested by an inappropriate particle) to patch up a lacuna caused by the accidental omission of some words,¹³ and the analogy of *Av.* 1343*b* justifies the belief that the emendation was Hellenistic.¹⁴ The isolated surfacing in the fourteenth century of putative ancient readings is not easily explained. If they were all derived from an early medieval 'archetype' crammed with variants,¹⁵ why do they appear in so few manuscripts? 'Gresham's Law', applied to the dissemination of error, may be a partial answer, but it is also probable that a greater variety of texts than we are apt to imagine survived from late antiquity into the ninth century—some no doubt damaged, even fragmentary—and variants and corrections from them, adopted by Byzantine scholars in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, filtered through to the Paleologan era.¹⁶ The fact that a few major errors appear in all manuscripts does not in itself constitute an argument for the existence of an early medieval archetype, for of the three that are most obvious—the lack of responson between 324 and 340 (with the unsatisfactory sense of 340), 1028 ἤκουσα περί where ∪ – ∪ – ∪ is required, and the separation of Dionysos' comment (1451–3) from Euripides' answer (1437–41) by a different answer and comment (1442–50)—at least the second and third were already in the text in Hellenistic times, as the scholia show.

This last fact does not militate *against* the existence of an early medieval archetype, but it suggests a rather surprising inference about the earlier history of the text: that the circulation of texts of Old Comedy was on a very small scale in the fourth century BC; that one, and only one, copy of *Frogs* (containing major errors) was available to

¹² Despite the inadequacy of the positive evidence for an edition by Thomas Magister, it remains a possibility; cf. Eberline 87 f. I accept Eberline's argument (99–102) that C11 is derived from P20 and is not a Thoman manuscript, and his view (146, 172 f.) that it is unlikely that Moschopoulos edited any plays of Aristophanes; but I would still not discount the possibility (cf. Dover (1988) 226) that Planudes had some influence on the text of A.

¹³ Cf. Dover (1988) 237.

¹⁴ Cf. Dover (1977) 145–7.

¹⁵ On the concept 'archetype' cf. M. D. Reeve, *Sileno* 11 (1985) 193–201.

¹⁶ Compare the stemma constructed for Thucydides by O. Luschkat, *Geschichte des Thukydidestextes im Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1965) 168.

the first generation of scholars at Alexandria; and that all subsequent copies of the play whatsoever were exclusively derived from that copy. That texts of Aristophanes should have been very rare in the fourth century, even at Athens (let alone elsewhere) is understandable, given that changes in popular taste were forcing fundamental changes in the structure of comedy upon playwrights. We might compare the striking neglect of Aeschylus in the fourth century, as manifested by his absence (so far) from the records of revivals and by his marginal treatment in Aristotle's *Poetics*. Aeschylus and Aristophanes alike were rescued by devoted scholars in the following century. It appears from ΣV . 1283 ϵ that Heliodoros cannot have known of any text of *Wasps* which did not contain an illegible passage between 1283 and 1284, and a commentator on an unidentified play of Aristophanes (fr. 590) was reduced to guessing (10–15) at the sense of a mutilated line.

In addition to the words of the text, manuscripts may show affinities in their scholia, in the dislocation of verses in stichic passages (i.e. lack of coincidence between verse-end and line-end), in the colometry of lyric passages, and in the sigla which indicate who is speaking.

Scholia may or may not be drawn by a copyist from the same source as the text; there is no general rule, and the distribution of Tzetzes' scholia provides a clear example of the absence of a match between affinity of text and affinity of scholia. Stemmatic investigation of scholia has to be pursued independently of investigation of the text. It is nice when they yield compatible answers, but that is a matter for hope, not expectation. Some of the frustrations of working on the text are absent from work on the scholia, but the converse is also true (cf. p. 100).

Sigla seem to have accumulated gradually from the first century BC to the twelfth AD. Fragments of Hellenistic texts of comedy show that change of speaker was originally indicated by a dicolon or paragraphos, without identifying the speaker,¹⁷ and it was recognized by ancient scholars that the attribution of words to speakers was a matter for discussion and argument (cf. pp. 51 f.), in the absence of any authentic tradition going back to the author's time. In consequence there was room for disagreement on the identity of a character and therefore on the number of different characters in a play.¹⁸ As we

¹⁷ On the putative 'alphabetic' sigla of the Hellenistic comic text *PHibeh* 180 cf. E. J. Jory, *BICS* 10 (1963) 65–78, and E. G. Turner, *AC* 32 (1963) 126.

¹⁸ The most notorious problem of this kind is raised by the identification of the male character who enters at *Ec.* 1130; cf. S. D. Olson, *GRBS* 28 (1987) 161–6.

would expect from its early date, R omits nearly a third of the required indications of change of speaker at the beginning of a line, and when the change occurs within the line it uses a dicolon as often as a siglum. These phenomena occur in blocks (e.g. 1443–67), sometimes extensive; in 738–813 only a minority of the changes of speaker is marked in any way by R. Omission of sigla in V is comparatively rare, but conspicuous in 738–813. Sigla were inserted, deleted, and changed as readily as the words of the text, but we have no examples of the deletion of a whole block, and for that reason the situation in 738–813 points to an affinity between the source of sigla for R and the source for V in that part of the play. There are sometimes indications that a manuscript is derived from a forebear in which a missing siglum was imported from a source which designated a character differently. Thus at 195, 273, and 275 M, which otherwise calls Xanthias ξα, has θερ^{π_ων} instead, and Np1 has θε for ξα at 308; it is interesting to note that at 195 K omitted the siglum and K^{pc} inserted δοῦ^λ instead of the ξα we would have expected. There are two specific attributions which briefly and inappropriately introduce a new character: a priest at 298 (A E Md1 U Vb3) and 300 (E Md1 U Vb3)—in response to Dionysos' appeal in 297—and Poseidon at 1427 (E^{pc}),¹⁹ presumably because Dionysos exclaims εὔ γ' ὦ Πόσειδον in 1430. In U the slave of Pluto is designated οἰ^{κτ} σω^{στ} at 738 and 741, where σω^{στ} is pretty certainly a corruption of σω^{σι}, derived from V. 136 ὦ Ξανθία καὶ Σωσία, καθεύδετε; Such curious inventions are more likely to be ancient than medieval; mistaken identifications of the slave of Euripides at *Ach.* 395–403 as Kephisophon and of the old man in *Thesmophoriazusae* as Mnesilochos are already in R (cf. p. 53).

Dislocation offers a different approach, because although it is often corrected it is never deliberately introduced as misguided 'correction'. One group of manuscripts, Cr L3 Ln3 O3 P26 V2 Vv18, is defined by the large number of shared identical dislocations (by 'identical' I mean not just in the same line, but at exactly the same point in the line). Many errors are also peculiar to these manuscripts, e.g. 525 πάλιν οἴσεις for οἴσεις πάλιν, or shared with P20^{ac}, Vp1, Vv4 and (after 630) Y. In a few readings they agree with R, e.g. 1411 φίλοι (so too P20^{rp}). They contain scholia ascribed by Triklinios to Thomas Magister,

¹⁹ It is not always easy to distinguish E^{ac} from E^{pc} (the corrector erased very carefully), but I am pretty sure that the siglum π^{οσδ} is superimposed on an erasure, and since E^{pc} is so close to U it looks as if 'Sosias' and 'Poseidon' may be from the same stable.

without the Triklinian additions.²⁰ The old portion of M_{d1} is extensively dislocated throughout, and so is Vb₃ except in 1000–1300. Their agreement in identical dislocation far exceeds statistical expectation:²¹ fifteen instances in 1–207, plus five ‘near misses’, i.e. dislocations differing by only one syllable. The same pattern is observable in *Clouds*; their stretches of identical dislocation there are associated with many textual errors peculiar to them, but that is not so in *Frogs*, where the text of M_{d1} is closer to R than to Vb₃. K and M are badly affected by dislocation: K in the second half of the play (where its arrangement of the text in staggered columns sometimes leaves room for doubt about the significance of minimal spaces between verses) and M quite badly in 354–71 and then grossly and chaotically from 761 to the end. Identical dislocation in K and M, however, falls somewhat below statistical expectation,²² though there is a striking number (twenty) of near misses. It may be that both manuscripts had an ancestor in which (as in P₁₉, for example) the poetic text had degenerated into the appearance of prose, and that more correction intervened between that ancestor and K than between the ancestor and M. It should be noted that in 786 f. M has incorporated into the text a line and a half from a scholion on 783, causing a dislocation, and in K the dislocation remains although the intrusive scholion has gone. There are no noticeable affinities between the texts of K and M in *Frogs*;²³ again, a contrast with *Clouds*, where the textual affinity of E, K, M, and Np₁ is conspicuous in the last third of the play. Further scrutiny of dislocations may produce trustworthy answers to some still unresolved questions about the interrelation of the manuscripts of *Frogs*, but it will not help us with R, V, A, E, Np₁, U, Vs₁, and Θ, in which there are either no dislocations (contrast V in *Clouds*) or virtually none, except for one bad patch (180–313) in Vs₁.

The scholia in several manuscripts (including V) of *Acharnians*, *Knights*, *Peace*, and parts of *Clouds* contain metrical analyses of the

²⁰ The distinctive features of this Thoman group are given in Eberline 78–91. As he seems (understandably) a little suspicious (89) of my statement ((1968) p. xcvi) that characteristic Thoman dislocations are shared by P₂₀ in *Clouds*, I should say that P₂₀^{ac} has precisely the dislocations of P₂₅ and V₂ in eight of the lines *Nu.* 266–74 and in fifteen of 353–404. It should be mentioned also that in *Nu.* 519–38 the Triklinian manuscript W has all but one of the twenty dislocations of P₂₅ V₂ and in 820–36 all but one of the twelve which they share there with O₃.

²¹ Cf. Dover (1988) 245.

²² Cf. *ibid.* 244.

²³ Note however that in 726 K has γράμματι instead of κόμματι and three lines later M has γραφέντας instead of τραφέντας, an unusual pair of errors which are likely both to have originated in the mind of the same person.

lyric passages, dividing each passage into 'cola' and describing each colon in metrical terminology. The analyses agree closely with the layout of the relevant passages in surviving papyri of those plays, and must be presumed to represent the standard colometry of Heliodoros (first century AD), who is named in that capacity by the subscription of V and Np₁ to *Clouds*.²⁴ Triklinios devised a fresh analysis, which is reflected in varying degrees in the colometry of manuscripts derived from his edition. There are no metrical analyses in the scholia of pre-Triklinian manuscripts of *Frogs*.²⁵ The close agreement of the colometry of R with that of the papyri in 234-63, 404-10, and 897-904 offers us some encouragement to believe that R gives us what Heliodoros intended, but unfortunately all the pre-Triklinian manuscripts, including R, quite often divide strophe and antistrophe differently, which Heliodoros did not do except on the rare occasions when serious textual corruption made it inevitable. We therefore have to treat strophe and antistrophe independently in classifying manuscripts according to their colometry. Classification is indeed possible within certain limits. M, Md₁, and Vb₃ must be left out of account, because there are so many points at which each of them has a colon-ending which is not shared by any other manuscript and makes no sense metrically: M from 372 onwards, Md₁ throughout, and Vb₃ everywhere except 901-1364. The manuscripts which can usefully be compared with R fall into two classes: one consists of V E K Np₁, and the other of A U Vp₁ Vs₁ Θ Φ. There is no place at which all ten agree precisely in differing from R, but nine of them do so at 675 (καὶ / ἔλθ' : / καὶ ἔλθ' R) and 716 (μεθύων / ἄνευ : μεθύων ἄνευ R); in both those places—but not noticeably elsewhere—Vp₁ goes with R.

Table 1 shows the extent and distribution of the differences from R in colometry. For the purposes of the table, 'difference' means a difference of at least two syllables. The first pair of columns shows how often manuscripts differ from R in 'overrunning', i.e. in having no colon-end where R has one, and the second pair shows how often they 'split', i.e. have a colon-end where R has none. Within each pair, the left-hand column shows the number of cases peculiar to the manuscripts named, and the right-hand column shows the number in which they share what they have with at least two manuscripts of the other

²⁴ For the data cf. D. Holwerda, *Mnemosyne* 1964. 113-39 and 1967. 247-72.

²⁵ Strictly speaking Σ^E 814 should be allowed as an exception to this generalization, but the passage is a very simple one. A source of Σ^{V₁} seems to have tried his hand at metrical analysis (e.g. some bits of 323-52), but the labels he attaches are inadequate and often wrong.

class. Naturally, every instance qualifying for the right-hand column is counted twice, once in each class. Since one would expect a split to follow very soon after an overrun, and vice versa, it might be thought that counting both separately distorts the picture; I have, however, counted both, because some cola, in R as well as in other manuscripts, are extremely short.

It will be seen that Class II has a strong tendency to combine two cola into one; this is especially prominent in A Θ , and it continues in A and Θ individually, a fact which suggests that a copyist accustomed to long cola in his exemplar would tend to combine many of the surviving shorter cola. If this practice was a feature of a common ancestor of A U Vp1 Vs1 Θ Φ , much of it must have been undone by correction from other sources before Vp1 and before U Vs1 Φ . There is only one point at which a pair straddles the class-boundary: 1309 θαλάσσης κύμασι Np1 Θ : -σης / κύ- cett. Of the manuscripts which cross over singly to join a pair or group of the other class, the most conspicuous are K (455, 534, 814, 816, 819, 826, 879) and Np1 (592, 1285, 1287, 1319, 1377). V once aligns itself with U Φ , 393 νικῆσαντα recte V U Φ : /νικῆσαντα cett. K goes its own way 26 times between 875 and the end of the play, which accords with its increasing tendency to dislocation in stichic passages. An interesting feature of Np1 is that it has very prominent inset and outset of some lines in 1331–64, and in one of these cases, 1358b, the inset of τῆν οἰκίαν is of remarkable depth; those two words constitute a colon also in V and K, and in V it is the only colon in the whole passage which is inset.

If classification by colometry (and, where applicable, dislocation) were treated as fundamental evidence for genealogical relationships, and shared textual error relegated to the category of confirmatory evidence, the following steps in the direction of a stemma could be taken:

(1) V and E have strong affinities in the text throughout *Knights*,²⁶ which is both immediately follows *Frogs*. Their texts of *Frogs*, though rarely allied in the first two-thirds of the play, show increasing affinity in the last third, e.g. 1385 τὸ om. V Eⁱ; 1387 ὠσπερ] ὅπως V E Np1 Vb3; 1397 ζητεῖτε] ζήτει τι recte V E^{ac} K M; 1418 Πλ. recte om. V Eⁱ Kⁱ; 1461 οὐ] οὐχὶ V E K M Np1; 1474 ἔργον] μ' ἔργον V E^{ac}. This suggests a change in the ancestry of the text of E at a late point in the play, the new source continuing for *Knights*. At the same time, affinity

²⁶ Cf. D. Mervyn Jones, *CQNS* 2 (1952) 171–3.

of V and E in colometry, as members of the class V E K Np₁, is consistent throughout.

(2) A and Θ, so close in colometry, show strong textual affinity in the last part of *Clouds* (in one stretch, with Vp₁ also), and a significant degree of affinity continues through *Frogs*, sometimes extending to Vb₃,²⁷ e.g. 304 αὐθις αὐ] ἀρτίως A M^{VP}. Vb₃ Θ; 544 οὗτος δ'] καὶ μὴν οὗτος A Θ^{ac}; 579 Ξανθίαν εἰ μὴ φιλω̄] εἰ φιλω̄ μὴ Ξανθίαν A Θ; 831 φημί τούτου] τούτου φημί A Θ; 944 μονωδίαῖς] κωμωδίαῖς A Vb₃; μον in ras. Θ^{pc}; 1188 οὐ δῆτ' οὐ μὲν οὖν] οὐ μὲν οὖν οὐ δῆτ' A Vb₃ Θ.

(3) The affinity between U, V_{SI}, and Φ indicated by their colometry is supported by the number of textual errors which they share, and in that respect they figure as members of a larger group which contains also U₂, V₀₂, Vp₆, W₉, and Z (Eberline 152–5).

On the relationships of manuscripts not already discussed I have nothing to add to Eberline.²⁸

It will be obvious from all that has been said that an 'uncontaminated' text of a work as widely read, copied, and studied as *Frogs* is not to be expected, and also that we cannot expect any pairing or grouping which is valid for one part of the play to be valid for the whole play. For the apparatus criticus of a modern edition, if it is not to take up more of the page than the text itself and drown the reader in details of which only a small fraction can contribute anything to answering the question that matters, 'What did the author probably write?', R and V are indispensable, but then a few manuscripts must be selected as representative of the rest.²⁹ In my opinion, the four which on chronological grounds have the first claim to be considered are A, K, Md₁, and P₂₀^{ac}. Md₁, however, gives us only three-fifths of the play, and the original text of P₂₀ is often obliterated by Triklinios' corrections. I have therefore reported only A and K fully; and since there are so few passages (302, 553, 621, and 692) in which they share an error peculiar to themselves and only one (426) in which they agree

²⁷ I presume that many of the errors shared by A and Θ are found also in the manuscripts derived from Θ (Eberline 150 f.).

²⁸ Whether or not G is a copy of V in *Clouds*, Eberline 157 f. has shown that it is not so in *Frogs*. In the light of what is said by M. D. Reeve in J. N. Grant (ed.), *Editing Greek and Latin Texts* (New York, 1989) 1–36, I am more cautious than I was ((1968) p. cvii) in assigning manuscripts to the scrap-heap of *descripti*, but that does not imply that I have any positive reasons for disputing Eberline's judgement on the manuscripts which he so classifies.

²⁹ Thirty years ago Eduard Fraenkel told me, 'In editing Aristophanes you don't want more manuscripts (sc. than Coulon) in the apparatus, you want fewer'.

against the rest in a right reading, they have the advantage of representing strikingly different branches of the textual tradition in the Paleologan era. Coulon chose A, M, and U, and another editor might prefer E and Θ or M and Θ, but it seems to me that for this play the combination of A and K offers the most comprehensive representation.³⁰

2. *Ancient Commentators*

Reference has already been made to the scholia of Tzetzes in the twelfth century, Thomas Magister at the end of the thirteenth, and Triklinios early in the fourteenth (pp. 81, 85). Tzetzes' contemporary Eustathios seems to have composed a commentary on some plays of Aristophanes, because he refers to it (*ἐν τοῖς τοῦ κωμικοῦ*) in his *Iliad* commentary (756. 10, 1359. 37). No copy of that commentary has survived, and it may have been a casualty of the sack of Byzantium in 1204. However, scholia in Vc1 on *Nu.* 409 and *Ra.* 316 and one in Vv2 on *Pl.* 66 bear an ascription to him (as *ὁ Θεσσαλονίκης*), and elsewhere comparison with matter in his Homer commentaries strongly suggests his authorship. There is evidence that at the end of the thirteenth century both Manuel Moschopoulos and Maximus Planudes made some comments on passages of *Wealth*, and Planudes also on *Clouds*, but there is no reason as yet to associate either of them with *Frogs*.³¹ There was nothing to stop any reader putting notes into the margin of a text, and the last stratum of medieval commentary is a miscellany of scholia which can only be brought under the rubric 'post-Triklinian'.³²

We have, however, a very substantial body of scholia which are a direct inheritance from the ancient world, recording and discussing the opinions of scholars of the Hellenistic and Roman periods and quoting from authors whose works did not survive to the medieval

³⁰ I have collated R from the published facsimile, with selective inspection of the original; V from the facsimile; E, K, M, and Θ from the originals, plus photographs (E) and microfilm (K M Θ); A, Mdr, Np1, U, Vb3, and Vs1 from microfilm, and the following selectively from microfilm: Ct1 L P8 P9 P19 P20 P25 V2 Vc1 Vp1 Vv1 Vv2 Vv4 Vv5 Z Δ Φ X Ω. Some data given in Blaydes's apparatus have been checked (and often found to be wrong); other data have been taken from Eberline.

³¹ The evidence is given by W. J. W. Koster and D. Holwerda, *Mnemosyne* 1954. 136–56, 1955. 196–206; and for Eustathios, see also M. van der Valk in Westendorp Boerma 143 f. and his edition of Eustathios' *Iliad* commentary, i pp. lxxxv f.

³² P8 is of interest in this connection; cf. Eberline 113–23 and Koster in Heller 320–7. Dübner's insouciance over the provenance of some of the scholia which he prints within square brackets has caused much waste of scholars' time in (sometimes unsuccessful) attempts to track them down.

period. These scholia are to be found not only in R and V but also in E, M (with some bare patches, especially in the last third of the play), Md1 (very few after 330), Vb3 (as far as 1330), and Θ. Np1, so rich in scholia on *Clouds*, fails us in *Frogs*. Many entries in the Suda are simply ancient scholia. Such material was, of course, available to the medieval composers of scholia—indeed, some things of value, no longer surviving in the fourteenth century, were available to Tzetzes in the twelfth—but they did not incorporate more than a portion of what they might have done, because they often judged that Hellenistic scholars' interpretations, references to little-known ancient authors, and information about details of Athenian history were of insufficient interest or utility.

In antiquity a commentary on a comedy was an independent book. The best known example so far is *POxy* 2741 (s. IIP), a commentary on the *Marikas* of Eupolis (Eupolis fr. 192); and we have three on unidentified lost plays of Aristophanes, *POxy* 212 (s. I/IIP, = Ar. fr. 591), *POxy* 2737 (s. IIP, = Ar. fr. 590), and *PSI* 112 (s. II/IIIP, = Ar. fr. 592). Whether any such commentary survived to the ninth century is uncertain. At the end of *Clouds* V, Np1, and Vp1 have the subscription *κεκώλισται ἐκ τῶν Ἡλιοδώρου* (cf. p. 90), *παραγέγραπται δὲ ἐκ τῶν Φαείνου καὶ Συμμάχου καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν* (this appears also in P20, where it has been transmitted mechanically and is untrue, since there were virtually no scholia in P20 until Triklinios imported those of Thomas). S too V at the end of *Peace* has . . . *παραγέγραπται ἐκ Φαείνου καὶ Συμμάχου*, and at the end of *Birds* *παραγέγραπται ἐκ τῶν Συμμάχου καὶ ἄλλων σχολίων*. Similar subscriptions are found in some eleventh-century manuscripts of Euripides' *Medea* and *Orestes*: (*Md.*) ⟨. . .⟩ *Διονυσίου ὀλοσχερῆς καὶ τινὰ τῶν Διδύμου*, (*Or.*) *παραγέγραπται ἐκ τοῦ Διονυσίου ὑπομνήματος καὶ ἄλλων μικτῶν*. The prima-facie meaning of such a statement is that someone at some time (in the case of Euripides) transferred an entire commentary to the margins and augmented it from one or more other sources, or (in the case of Aristophanes) excerpted from two or more commentaries.³³ But when? The position of the statement may be of some significance. In the Paleologan period it was normal to refer to the source of the scholia, if such reference was made at all, at the beginning of a work;

³³ On the interpretation of the Euripides subscriptions see Zuntz (1965) 272–5. In the *Clouds* subscription it is uncertain what noun should be understood with τῶν: ὑπομνημάτων or (on the analogy of *Birds*) σχολίων? Perhaps neither; cf. Arist. *Po.* 1451^b2 τὰ Ἡροδότου and such items as προβλήματα ἐκ τῶν Δημοκρίτου in Diogenes Laertios' list (v. 21) of the works of Aristotle.

so for Tzetzes in K and U and for Thomas in P20^{pc}, L, and Vv5, and that is what we would expect in a codex. But readers of papyrus rolls in antiquity were not all such nice people as to roll a book back to the beginning, ready for the next reader, when they had finished with it; for that reason the title was put at the end, and that is where any reference to the sources of the marginal material would be appropriate. It should therefore be assumed that the form of the *παραέγραπται* subscription goes back to the era of the roll;³⁴ but it does not follow that its meaning was always the same.

Given the practical difficulty of using a text written on a roll in conjunction with a commentary written on another roll, it is not surprising that it became common for a learned reader to create an annotated text by putting into the margin notes drawn from one or more of the commentaries available to him. *POxy* 1371 (s.v^p) of *Nu.* 1–11 and 38–52 and *POxon* Bodl. MS Gr. cl. f. 72(P) (s. iv/v^p) of *Eq.* 37–46 and 86–95 illustrate this practice, which in the case of more difficult texts is attested earlier: *PLouvre* E3320 of Alkman fr. 1 and *POxy* 2387 of id. fr. 3 go back to the beginning of the Imperial period. Some texts were produced with so much space above, below, and beside each column that the copyist seems to have thought it probable that users would wish to insert scholia; an early example of this kind is *POxy* 841 of Pindar's *Paeans* (s. ii^p), and *POxy* 2258 (s. vi/vii^p) is a codex of Kallimachos similarly designed.³⁵ What is of the greatest importance is that the scholia on *Nu.* 1–11 in *POxy* 1371 coincide with those of R and V not just in content but in their wording.³⁶ When the first medieval codices of Aristophanes were made in the tenth century, the texts surviving from late antiquity were already furnished with a variety of scholia, which had only to be transcribed. It may well be that no scholar of the early medieval period ever set eyes on a commentary by Symmachos, Phaeinos, or anyone else; but he would certainly have set eyes on subscriptions which said 'Marginal comment from Symmachos . . .', and when he did, he transcribed that.³⁷

³⁴ And it took a long time to die; Ct1 ascribes its scholia to Thomas in a subscription.

³⁵ Cf. Wilson (1967) 247–9. Zuntz (1965) 274 makes the important point that the Kallimachos codex, unlike the early examples of big margins used for notes, has the scholia written in the hand of the copyist himself.

³⁶ Cf. Zuntz (1975) 47–55.

³⁷ Note also the possibility that if the name of (e.g.) Symmachos occurred several times in the marginal notes put in by a reader, anyone copying that book might be tempted to add at the end *παραέγραπται ἐκ (τῶν) Συμμάχου*, especially if the name was that of a famous scholar; so five plays in the Triklinian manuscript L bear the unjustified superscription *σχόλια παλαιὰ Ἀριστοφάνους γραμματικοῦ*.

'It may well be' falls short of 'it was the case', but there is one consideration which strongly supports the hypothesis that ancient scholia, not an ancient commentary, were the immediate source of the scholia in medieval manuscripts of Aristophanes. An alternative explanation of a passage is sometimes introduced by ἄλλως (e.g. Σ^R 1227). Yet this same word may also introduce not an alternative but a re-statement of what has already been said, in virtually the same words, e.g. Σ^{VE} 1465 τὴν Περικλέους γνώμην λέγει, εἰ τὴν μὲν Ἀττικὴν ὡς πολέμιαν ἐάσουσι τέμνεσθαι †ἢ καὶ οὐ τεμοῦσιν† τὴν δὲ Λακωνικὴν περιπλεύουσιν:—ἄλλως: ἐπὶ τὴν Περικλέους φέρεται γνώμην, ὃς συνεβούλευσε περιπλεῖν τὴν πολέμιαν, μὴ μάχεσθαι δὲ τεμνομένης τῆς Ἀττικῆς. On the assumption that no commentator repeated himself so grossly, this type of scholion cannot be taken as a whole from a commentary, but must be the product of combining two scholia, from different exemplars, which were originally both excerpted from one and the same item in a commentary.³⁸ Moreover, a comment introduced by ἄλλως may on occasion be neither an alternative nor a repetition, but an addition (e.g. Σ^R 57) which must have been mistaken for an alternative; and here again the heading ἄλλως can hardly have stood in a commentary.³⁹

The process of accretion, sometimes entailing mere repetition, is quite obvious in the medieval period when someone has added a fresh stratum of scholia in a hand clearly distinguishable from that of the original copyist; this has happened, for example, in Vb3.⁴⁰ Something of the same kind must have happened in the exemplar, or a forebear, of V in *Clouds*. In that play the V-scholia form a numbered series throughout, the numbers going from 1 to 109 and then starting again at 1; but on fo. 30^r some very substantial scholia, interposed between the numbered scholia 101 and 102, are linked to the relevant words of the text by non-numerical symbols, and this happens again on fos. 36^v, 38^r, and 40^v, while on 39^v a brief scholion with a symbol is squashed between the text and the column of numbered scholia (not, therefore, inherited by the copyist from his exemplar, but added later). This is

³⁸ On the history of ἄλλως (and of *aliter* in Latin commentators) cf. Wilson (1967) 249–52. Zuntz (1975) 117–20 emphasizes the relevance of this phenomenon to the question of the origin of the medieval scholia, but ((1965) 275) does not rule out the possibility that a commentary on Aristophanes survived from antiquity.

³⁹ In such a case ἄλλο would be appropriate, but the difference cannot be pressed; in multiple epitaphs ἄλλως seems to replace ἄλλο from the fourth century AD (Wilson (1967) 251).

⁴⁰ I am surprised that Koster, *SA* IV. 1, p. lxxi f. has reservations about this.

not easily detected when symbols are used throughout instead of numbers (in *Frogs* V abandons numbers for symbols after line 254) or when lemmata are used without symbols or numbers. If, however, we observe that in V (e.g.) Σ *Ra.* 405 repeats exactly what is said in the second part of Σ 404, and that in E some interlinear scholia repeat what is to be found in the main column of scholia (e.g. 243, 685, 1278, 1353), or two scholia, one in the column and the other at the bottom of the page, have the same lemma (e.g. 1437), it is plain that when a copyist drew in scholia from more than one source he did not always notice that the same ground was being covered twice. This could have happened also in late antiquity.

In a long scholion it sometimes happens that the same ingredients appear in different orders in different manuscripts. This is well illustrated by the scholia on *κεροβάτας* and *καλαμόφθογγα* in *Ra.* 230. In R E MK Vb₃ Θ the two are clearly separated (Mdi has nothing on *κεροβάτας*), but in the numbered series in V they are run together, numbered *ι'*, in such a way that comment on *κεροβάτας* is split in two by comment on *καλαμόφθογγα*. In all, ten ingredients are discernible. Table 2 shows in its first line how they are disposed in V (1–3 and 9–10 concern *κεροβάτας*, 4–8 *καλαμόφθογγα*), and the rest shows the order in which the elements recognizable in V appear in the other manuscripts.⁴¹

Some ingredients show significant differences in wording: (3), for example, appears in V as *ὁ βαίνων ἐπὶ τῶν κέρατων, κέρατα δὲ φασι τὰ ἀκρωτήρια*, but in E Vb₃ Θ as (*ὁ*) *εἰς τὰ κέρατα τῶν ὀρῶν βαίνων*, and in (4) V says *οἱ ἀρχαῖοι καλάμῳ ἀντὶ κερατίου <ἐχρῶντο>* on the first occasion, but *κάλαμος πάλαι ἀντὶ κέρας (sic) ὑπετίθετο τῇ λύρα* on the second. The others are identical or nearly so wherever they occur. This suggests that in some cases the explanation given by an ancient commentator was excerpted one way in the margin of one ancient text and another way in another, and thus generated two different descendants in the medieval manuscripts.

As *Frogs* has no subscription, there is no ancient name with which we can associate its scholia, but they have one or two distinctive features. They mention Aristarchos more often than the scholia on all

⁴¹ In Dübner's edition the ingredients are (1) line 8 *ἐπειδὴ* . . . line 10 *λέγουσιν*; (2) 10 *ἢ οἶον κεροβάτης*; (3) 10 *ἄλλως* . . . 12 *-ρια*; (4) 18 *ἐξ οὗ* . . . 19 *ἐχρῶντο* and 24 *ἢ ὅτι* . . . 26 *τὸ κέρας*; (5) 19 *ἢ ἤδεσαν μὲν* . . . 22 *ἦσαν*; (6) 22 *ἄλλως* . . . 23 *ἐκ καλάμων*; (7) 24 *ἡχώδη δέ* . . . *ἀνεπέμπετο*; (8) 26 *ὡς Σοφοκλῆς* . . . 28 *λύρας*; (9) 12 *Δίδυμος δέ* . . . 14 *κεροβάτης*; (10) 15 *ἄλλως* . . . 17 *αἰγίπους*.

TABLE 2

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	4	8	1	9	10
V													
R	(κερο-)	1										2	
	(καλα-)				2	3	1						
E	(κερο-)	2		1								3	
	(καλα-)				1	3				2			
M	(κερο-)											1	
	(καλα-)				2	1							
Md ₁	(καλα-)				1	2							
Vb ₃	(κερο-)	2		1								3	
	(καλα-)				2	4	1			3			
θ:	as for Vb ₃ .												

other plays put together, and refer ten times to Timachidas (including the 'Timotheos' of Σ^{VE} 1453 (*Τιμαχίδας* cj. Dobree) and a hitherto unnoticed scholion⁴² on 1521 in E, *Τιμαχίδας βωμολόχος ὡσπερ ἱππολόχος*). He is not mentioned anywhere in the scholia on other plays; conversely, Symmachos, whose name occurs twenty-one times in the scholia on *Birds*, rates only two mentions in those on *Frogs*. The *Frogs* scholia lack metrical analyses of lyric passages (cf. p. 90);⁴³ they are particularly fond of the words *χαρακτηρίζειν*, *χαρακτηριστικός* (804, 819, 892, 907, 928, 1309, 1427);⁴⁴ and pedantic criticisms are sometimes dismissed with *οὐκ ἐγκλητέον* (1021) or *οὐ συκοφαντητέον* (53, 1092). Such features suggest that the scholia on different plays may differ in their ancestry.

We have to consider whether the gathering-in of marginal scholia from ancient texts available in the late ninth and early tenth centuries constituted, at any point in time and place, a corpus which could be regarded as the archetype of all the scholia we have. There are indeed certain errors which they all share,⁴⁵ e.g. 184 *αὐτοὶ οἱ* (cj. Dobree)

⁴² The hand is the same as in the other scholia, but I think a different pen was used.

⁴³ From the fact that Phaeinos is mentioned only in the scholia on *Knights* and in the subscriptions to *Clouds* and *Peace* Koster, *Mnemosyne* 1973. 225-9, draws the bold and interesting deduction that it was Phaeinos, and not Symmachos, to whom we owe the preservation of such Heliiodoran metrical analyses as we have.

⁴⁴ Otherwise only *Nu.* 1163d, *Pl.* 385, and three instances in *V.* 964-70.

⁴⁵ In what follows I have made only one reference to Md₁; its scholia are sparse after 330, those which exist are often obscured by damage, repair, and binding, and their order is so chaotic (often several pages out of step) that it is hard to be sure one has not

σάτυροι (cj. Bentley): αὐτοὶ σαπροὶ R V E: αὐ σαπροῦ Vb₃: [M Θ]; 357 Ἀρίσταρχον Su τ 169: Ἀριστόξενον codd.; 874 προῶσατε (cj. Valckenaer cl. EM s.v. ὑπάσατε): προσοίσατε codd.; 1302 παροΐνια (cj. Gelenius cl. Su σ 643): παροιτήια codd. The prospect of constructing a stemma for the scholia founded on the sharing of errors is brightened by the fact that since the scholia mattered so much less than the text changes made by correctors, whether intelligent or misguided, are rare; exceptions are mostly in Σ^E (56 f., 756, 1028, 1491), but note also Σ^{Vb₃} 681, where τυροποιός is corrected, ludicrously, to τυραννοποιός.⁴⁶ For the same reason, however, scrupulous observance of the word-order of the exemplar is not to be expected of a copyist of scholia (I have not yet found any instance of correction of word-order in a scholion) and, what is more important, abbreviation by simple omission is frequent. Σ^R, for example, usually gives us much less than Σ^{VE}; on 814 it even spoils the point (the grandiloquence of Aeschylean language) by stopping the quotation of A. *Pr.* 1–6 in the middle of the second line.⁴⁷ Differentiation between accidental and deliberate omission is often hard.

Despite its deficiencies, Σ^R is often better value, as in: 121 θράνους καὶ θρανάτια R: θράνους καὶ θανάτια V E M Vb₃ Θ; 544 ὁ δὲ Ξανθίας γνούς R: γνούς om. V E Vb₃ Θ [M]; 569 τὰ δὲ πράγματα ('the action of the play') R: τὰ δὲ δράματα V E Vb₃ Θ [M]; 651 περὶ οὐ καὶ Ῥιανός φησι R: Ῥιανός om. V E M Vb₃ Θ; 679 ὄλον δράμα φέρεται Πλάτωνος R: ὄλον om. V E Vb₃ Θ [M]; 694 (Hellanikos) διεξιῶν τὰ ἐπὶ Ἀντιγένους τοῦ πρὸ Καλλίου R: om. V E [M Vb₃ Θ]; 840 λαχανοπώλιδος υἱὸς ἦν Κλειτοῦς R: Κλειτοῦς om. V E M Θ [Vb₃]; 932 γένος τι Περσικὸν ἀντελάβοις (ἀττε- recte cj. Dindorf) ὁμοιον R: γένος τι λάβοις Περσικὸν αὐτῷ ὁμοιον V (-τὸ) E Vb₃ (-βης) [M]; 1038 (citation of *Il.* iii. 336 f.) ἵππουριν, δεινὸν δὲ λόφος R: ἵππουριν om. V E Vb₃ Θ [M]; 1043 (on Φαίδρας) διὰ τὸν Ἰππόλυτον δράμα Εὐριπίδου R: δράμα Εὐριπίδου V E: Φαίδρα δράμα Εὐριπίδου Vb₃ Θ [M]; 1066 (enlarging on the gloss συστραφεῖς) τὸ συστρέφειν R: τὸ συνέχειν V E Θ: τὸ συνεχές Vb₃ [M]; 1196 (list of generals) Λυσίας (cj. Dindorf cl.

missed anything. I have not spent the time on it that I would need to spend if I were producing an edition of the scholia on *Frogs*.

⁴⁶ Σ^Θ has τυραννοποιός with γρ. τυρο-; τυροποιός is also the reading of Σ^{VE}—an amusing error, as Taylor saw, for λυροποιός, since the reference is to Kleophon (cf. p. 70).

⁴⁷ In Σ^{EMVb₃Θ} line 1 is cited, then ξως (which makes all the difference) and line 6.

X. *HG* i. 7. 2): *Χύσις* R: om. V E M Vb₃ Θ; 1513 (citation of Eup. fr. 224) *τοῦ Πορθάονος* R: om. V E Θ [M Vb₃].

Such passages imply a relationship R / (V cett.), and that could be extended to R // V / cett. by such instances as the following: 100 *Εὐριπίδου ἐκ Μελανίππης* R V: *ἐκ Μελανίππης Σοφοκλέους* E Vb₃ Θ: *εἰς τὴν Μελανίππην Σοφοκλῆς* M; 184 *ἐκ τοῦ Αἰθωνος* R V: om. E Vb₃ [M Θ]; 216 (Kallimachos) *ἐν Ἐκάλη* R: *ἐν Ἐκάβη* V: om. E Vb₃ Θ [M]; 320 *ὡς καὶ Σωκράτης* R: *ὡσπερ Σωκράτης* V: om. E M M_{d1} Vb₃ Θ; 354 *Ἀρίσταρχος ἐπὶ τούτων λέγει τὸν χορὸν μεμερίσθαι* R V: *ἐπὶ τούτων τὸν χρόνον λέγει Ἀρίσταρχος μεμερίσθαι* E M Vb₃ Θ; 1344 *ἐκ τῶν Ξαντριῶν* R V: *ἐκ τῶν Ζαντριῶν* E Θ [M Vb₃]. Where R has nothing to offer, V is sometimes right against the rest, e.g. 151 (Morsimos' son) *Ἀστυδάμαντα* V: *Ἀμφιδάμαντα* E M Θ [Vb₃]; 570 *τέσσαρες ἐπὶ σκηνῆς διαλέγονται* V(1): *σαφῶς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς διαλέγονται* V(2) E M (-γεται) Vb₃ Θ; 913 *ἀποκροτοῦντα* V: *ἀποκρατοῦντα* M Vb₃ Θ: *ἀπρακτοῦντα* E. And of course V can be right where R and the other manuscripts have made independent errors or omissions, e.g. 15 *πῶσιν δοτικὴν* V: *δοτικὴν* R: om. E M [Vb₃ Θ].

Line 1043, cited above, suggests a division of 'cett.' into E / (M Vb₃ Θ), and that could be supported by: 51 *δύο στίζουσι* R V E: *δύο* om. M Vb₃ Θ; 1305 *τινὲς ἀγοραῖοι* R V E: *τινὲς εἰσαγοραίων* Vb₃ Θ [M]. After that, however, come complications of a familiar kind, for E M Vb₃ Θ are sometimes divided in their relationship with R and V: 78 (Iophon) *ψυχρὸς καὶ μαλακὸς* M Vb₃ Θ: *ψυχρὸς καὶ μακρὸς* V E [R]; 86 (Xenokles) *ἄξεστος . . . καὶ ἀλληγορικὸς* V E Vb₃ Θ: *καὶ ἀλληγορικὸς* om. R M; 134 *ὀπτᾶν* R E: *ὄπου* V: *οἱ ποιηταί* M Θ [Vb₃]; 269 *παραβαλοῦ δέ* M: *παραβάλλουσι* R: *-βάλουσι* V: *-βαλοῦσι* Θ [E Vb₃]; 427 *οὐ τόν . . . περαινόμενον* R E: *οὗτος . . . περαινόμενος* V Vb₃ Θ [M]; 501 *ἐκ Κοθωκιδῶν* (cj. Dindorf): *ἐκ Κοθώνων* Θ: *ἐκ Κολώνων* V E Vb₃ [R M]; 544 *πρότερος* R: *πρώτον* Θ: om. V E M Vb₃; 569 *καθ' Αἰδου νῦν* E (sc. ἐστι): *καθ' Αἰδου ἦν* R V Vb₃ Θ [M]; 694 *τὸ δὲ χρῆναι Καλλίστρατός φησιν οὐ συναλιφὴν εἶναι* M: *τὸ δὲ χρῆναι* om. V E Vb₃ Θ [R]; 704 *ὁ Πελοποννησιακὸς πόλεμος* R Vb₃^s Θ: *ὁ Διονυσιακὸς πόλεμος* V E M Vb₃ⁱ; 717 *τοῖς δὲ νῦν στρατηγοῖς κακοῖς οὖσι χρώμεθα* R M Vb₃ Θ: *τοῖς . . . συγχρώμεθα* V E; 775 (citation of *Il.* xi. 105) *δίδη μόσχοισι* M Vb₃ Θ: *διδυμόσχοισι* V E [R]; 798 *ἀπεδέδοτο* Vb₃ Θ: *ἀπεδέδοκτο* R V E [M]; 889 *καὶ νῦν ἐπλασεν* V M Vb₃ Θ; 1038 (citation of *Il.* iii. 337) *καθύπερθεν ἔνευε* Vb₃ Θ: om. R V E [M]; 1219 *Σθενεβοίας ἡ ἀρχή* V Vb₃ Θ: om. R E [M]; 1532 *ὄσοι τούτῳ ὁμοιοὶ εἰσι ξένοι* R Θ: *ξένοι* om. V E [M Vb₃].

These data show that the scholia in one or more of E M Vb₃ Θ must have inherited corrections imported from sources related to those of R and V (86, 134, 427, 544, 704, 717, 889, 1532) or (as happened with the text of the play) superior sources (78, 269, 501, 569, 694, 775, 798, 1038). The latter category can be reduced by the hypothesis that an ancestor of the scholia in M Vb₃ Θ checked citations from Homer (775, 1038)—but is that likely?—and the former category by recognizing that transmitters of scholia were capable of correcting pure nonsense (704). Not all the instances, however, can be explained away.

The value of scholia for the modern editor of the poetic text lies mainly in the information they give about ancient variant readings and occasionally in the inferences which can be drawn (cf. p. 86) from their silence. The opinions of Hellenistic scholars on the division of dialogue between speakers are also of value, in so far as they had read and studied far more of Old Comedy than is available to us and had observed characteristic features of its composition (cf. p. 67). Nevertheless, in exegesis they were inclined to present the merest conjecture as if it were known fact (e.g. p. 217), and they often failed to pursue questions which are of interest to us. We should be grateful for the material which their learning and devotion have bequeathed to us, but not too deferential to their interpretation of it.

3. *Indirect Tradition*

The earliest known quotation from *Frogs* is of 454–9, on an inscription of the first century BC from Rhodes. Those concerned with the transmission of the play have so far recognized approximately a thousand quotations, ‘testimonia’, in the Roman and medieval periods. More than a quarter of these are in the *Suda*, and the majority of the rest are to be found in lexica and works whose concern is primarily linguistic; they most commonly quote only a single word or phrase. As a rule they do not specify the play, and often the poet is not named either. In such cases there is often room for doubt about the admissibility of a putative testimonium. For example, Hsch. α 4673 ἀνάφορον· τὸ τῶν ἐργατῶν ξύλον could just as well refer to two other passages of Aristophanes as to *Ra.* 8; γ 352 γεννάδας· ἀνδρείος need not even refer to Aristophanes, let alone to *Ra.* 179, 640, or 738, and if it does refer to *Frogs*, to which of those three passages does it ‘testify’? κ 4785 κωδωνίσω· δοκιμάσω, following separate entries on κωδωνίσαι and κωδωνίσας, can be referred with more confidence to *Ra.* 79 because of

its tense and person. In the case of very rare words, it would perhaps be unreasonable to insist on that criterion; when Phrynichos, *Praep. Soph.* 83. 6, lists *καταλεπτολογεῖν* it is quite likely that he has *Ra.* 828 *καταλεπτολογῆσει* in mind.

There are further complications. When a Byzantine author uses a phrase such as *χελιδόνων μουσειά* (*Ra.* 92) it should not be assumed that he knew where it came from, let alone that he looked up the relevant passage of Aristophanes before using the phrase. The modern use of Biblical, Shakespearian, and other tags assures us of that; an editor of Coleridge would not regard every occurrence of 'Water, water everywhere' in newspapers as relevant to the text of *The Ancient Mariner*. Secondly, a phrase or line quoted by a later author was often adapted grammatically to its new context, e.g. [Luc.] *Philop.* 25 ὦ *δαμόνιοι ἀνδρῶν, μὴ μεγάλα λίαν λέγετε* (cf. *Ra.* 835). A lexicographer might also extract a discontinuous expression from its context, e.g. Phrynichos, *Praep. Soph.* 4. 6 *ἀνεβόησεν οὐράνιον ὄσον* (cf. *Ra.* 779–81); or the original words might be changed to make a different point, e.g. Apostolios III. 16 *ἄνευ ξύλου μὴ βιάδιζε* (cf. *Ra.* 716); or they might be made more intelligible by partial paraphrase. In the *Suda*, where explanations of Aristophanic phrases and words are normally taken from the scholia available at the time of compilation, quotation is constantly mixed with paraphrase and augmented by glosses, e.g. 33 . . . *ἐναυμάχουν τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτω* (*sic*) *Su* οἱ 101.

There are occasions—in other texts—on which a testimonium is invaluable (*S. Ant.* 1167 is a famous example), but out of a thousand testimonia for *Frogs* only one offers us a significant good reading not already to be found in the extant medieval manuscripts: 146 *ἀείνων* (*ἀεὶ νῶν* vel *ἀείναον* codd.)—to which, for good measure, we might add 134 *δύο* (*δύω* codd.) and 149 *ἡλό-* (*ἡλοί-* codd.). Not an impressive score. In a dozen passages a grammatically and metrically unobjectionable variant not found in the direct tradition is provided by a testimonium, but all of these are stylistically or dramatically inferior. One such is 797 *κριθήσεται* (for *σταθμήσεται*); it is a variant in Pollux and the *Suda* and the only reading offered by Photios, the *Etymologicum Magnum*, and the *Anecdota Bachmanni*, but never attested in the direct tradition. Lexicographers fed on lexis without the benefit of occasional refreshment from the texts of the authors cited.

It has become *de rigueur* for editors of Aristophanes to cite everything that anybody has ever regarded as a testimonium, but a serious case could be made for the proposition that this procedure has got out

of hand and needs to be severely restrained. However much we may learn from testimonia about Byzantine culture (especially lexicography), we learn very little indeed that helps us to decide what Aristophanes probably wrote and what he probably meant by it.⁴⁸ In the present edition I have omitted many testimonia: all those consisting of a single word, unless they might be thought by a rational being to be relevant to the form of the word; some of the vaguer reminiscences; and a few more for which the references hitherto given seem to be wrong and an attempt to find the right references seems to me labour ill spent. An obelisk marks those testimonia whose obvious errors, omissions, and interpolations are not all reported in my apparatus; the student of Aristophanes does not need to know that in citing 1211 *νεβρῶν δοραῖς καθαπτός* some manuscripts of Su κ 33 spell *νεβ* as *νευ* or write *νεκρῶν*, or that one manuscript of Su φ 34 turns *ιστόπινα* (or *ιστόπινα*) into *ιστόπινα*. The sign ~ means that the testimonium so marked is no doubt a reflex of a passage in the play but cannot be regarded as a conscientious quotation.

X. PRODUCTION

On the choruses, see p. 62; and on the last part of the play, p. 295.

In reading a Greek play one should always try to visualize the positions of the characters at any given moment, their movements and gestures, and hear their tone of voice in the mind's ear. For this purpose it is a good thing to know one's way around Denniston's *Greek Particles* and also to know the main constraints under which Greek drama operated: action out of doors, in daylight, and the concealment of facial expression by masks. To visualize the skene and orchestra as they were at the time of *Frogs* is a good deal more difficult, because there is still much room for disagreement on points of fundamental importance for theatrical production.¹ Was there only one door in the skene, or more than one? Was the area immediately in front of the skene higher than the orchestra, or on the same level?

It cannot be shown that there *must* have been more than one door,

⁴⁸ These observations must not be taken as a manifestation of ingratitude to those who collected the testimonia. The job had to be done; but an editor who is presented with a complete stock of potentially useful material has the right to select from it those items which are actually useful.

¹ Cf. J. R. Green, *Lustrum* 31 (1989) 19–21.

TABLE 3

Actor A	Actor B	Actor C	Actor D
I Dionysos 673	I Xanthias 673	37 Herakles 165	
			170 Corpse 177
		180 Charon 270	
		464 Doorkeeper 478	
		←	503 Slave 525
		549 Innkeeper 578	549 Plathane 578
		605 Doorkeeper 673	
	738 Xanthias 813	←	738 Slave 813
830 Dionysos 1480	830 Aeschylus 1480	830 Euripides 1478	830 Pluto 1480
1500 Dionysos	1500 Aeschylus		1500 Pluto

because all that drama *needs* is actors with hands, legs, and voices, and an audience which readily accepts conventions.² My own view is that there are scenes in Greek drama (notably *Ec.* 877–1111, and indeed the first half of *Peace*) which are not likely to have been conceived in the form they have if the dramatist had only one door at his disposal, but *Frogs* can easily manage with only one, which serves as the house of Herakles in the first scene and as the palace of Pluto from 431 onwards (the innkeepers probably enter from an eisodos; cf. p. 263). Nothing in the play throws any light on the ‘acting area’ in front of the skene. On Charon’s boat see p. 213.

Like a number of other scenes in Aristophanes, the last seven hundred lines of the play have speaking parts for four actors, even though Pluto does not speak until 1414; the scene with the innkeepers also requires four, and at two other points (166–70 and 178–80) not enough time is allowed for a change of role if only three actors are employed at that stage. The allocation of roles to four actors presents no problems and leaves very few practicable alternatives open (Table 3).

² Recognition of what *can* be done does not in itself commit us to any opinion on what the Greeks actually *did*. This principle applies whether we insist on reducing Greek drama to the austerity of a charade or, going the other way, regard the ekkyklema as ‘indispensable’ at *Ra.* 830 (W. Schmid, *Philologus* 76 (1920) 222) or indulge in speculation about a *décor mobile* (J. Carrière, *Dioniso* 41 (1967) 139).

METRICAL SYMBOLS

1. In abstract description of a metre:

- (1) position occupied by a long syllable
(2) last position of verse
- ∪ position occupied by a short syllable
- × position which may be occupied by either a long or a short syllable
- position which may be occupied by ∪ —, — ∪, or — —
- ∩ last position in verse
- | point at which word-end always occurs
- ∴ point at which word-end usually occurs
- two successive positions are occupied by syllables of the same word

2. In scanning a given sequence of words:

- long syllable
- ∪ short syllable
- × syllable which may be scanned as long or short
- open syllable containing long vowel or diphthong, scanned short because the following word begins with a vowel
- ∩ syllable which would be short if the next syllable belonged to the same verse
- | (1) (in responding verses) point at which word-end occurs in both strophe and antistrophe
(2) (in non-responding verses) point at which word-end occurs and the fact that it does is, or might be, of metrical interest
- || point at which hiatus or ∩ occurs (note that since the unit of trochaic rhythm is — ∪ — × it is impossible to prove || by means of ∩ in trochaics)
- | (between consonants) the preceding vowel is short, but the syllable containing it is scanned long
- (1) (beneath consonants) the preceding vowel is short and the syllable containing it is scanned short
(2) (beneath vowels) the two vowels together are scanned as one syllable

- ||| (1) end of strophe, antistrophe, mesode, epode, or any other sung passage
 (2) change of singer or (in stichic metres) change of speaker
 / (in stichic metres) end of verse

When a verse is plainly divisible into smaller units, a space equivalent to one long is left between units.

Note that neither the point between a prepositive and the following word nor the point between a postpositive and the preceding word is treated as word-end; but this question must sometimes be left open in the case of a disyllabic prepositive followed by a mobile word or in the case of any prepositive combined with one or more postpositives (e.g. $\epsilon\acute{\iota} \delta\acute{\epsilon} \tau\iota\varsigma$). The following abbreviations are used:

<i>anacr</i> (eonic)	∪ ∪ - × - ∪ - -	
<i>an</i> (apaestic unit)	$\overline{\omega} \overline{\omega} \overline{\omega} \overline{\omega}$	
<i>ba</i> (cchiac)	∪ - - -	
<i>cho</i> (riambus)	- ∪ ∪ -	
<i>cho</i> (riambic) <i>dim</i> (eter)	see Itsumi (1982) 72-4	
<i>cr</i> (etic)	- ∪ -	
<i>D</i>	- ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ -	
<i>Dd</i>	- ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ -	
<i>da</i> (ctyl)	- $\overline{\omega}$	
<i>do</i> (chmiac)	× $\overline{\omega} \overline{\omega}$ × $\overline{\omega} \overline{\omega}$	(see Conomis 23-50)
<i>e</i>	- ∪ -	(in dactylo-epitrite contexts)
<i>E</i>	- ∪ - × - ∪ -	(in dactylo-epitrite contexts)
<i>gl</i> (yconic)	∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - ∪ -	(see Itsumi [1984] 66-82)
<i>hyperdo</i> (chmiac)	∪ - ∪ - ∪ -	(see Conomis 28-31)
<i>hypodo</i> (chmiac)	- ∪ - ∪ -	(see Conomis 31-4)
<i>ia</i> (mbic)	× - ∪ -	
<i>ibyc</i> (ean)	- ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - ∪ -	
<i>io</i> (nic)	∪ ∪ - -	
<i>io</i> _∧	∪ ∪ -	(in ionic contexts)
<i>ith</i> (yphallic)	- ∪ - ∪ - - -	
<i>lek</i> (ythion)	- ∪ - × - ∪ -	
<i>mo</i> (lossus)	- - -	
<i>par</i> (oemiac)	$\overline{\omega}$ - $\overline{\omega}$ - ∪ ∪ - -	
<i>ph</i> (erecratean)	∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - -	
<i>reiz</i> (ianum)	× - ∪ ∪ - -	
<i>sp</i> (ondee)	- -	
<i>tel</i> (esillean)	× - ∪ ∪ - ∪ -	

Substitution of ω for - does not disqualify a unit for description in these terms, nor does substitution of ω for initial ×.

In lyric passages division between verses is shown in the manuscripts by line-end, space, or dicolon. In the colometry placed below lyric passages in this edition—

- / means 'division where the printed text does not divide'
- ⌊ means no 'division where the printed text divides'.

SIGLA CODICUM

*P*₁ *POxy* 1372 (s. V^p), vv. 44–50, 85–91, 840–61, 879–902
*P*₂ *PBerol* 13231 (*BKT* v. 2. 18), vv. 234–63, 273–300, 404–10, 607–11

R codex Ravennas 429 (s. X)
V codex Venetus Marcianus 474 (s. XI/XII)
A codex Parisinus graecus 2712 (c.1300 AD)
K codex Ambrosianus C 222 inf. (c.1300 AD)

Aliorum codicum, quorum conspectus supra (pp. 77–81) expositus est, nulla fit in apparatu mentio nisi quid pretii suppeditant.

a consensus codicum R V A K
t lectio quam praebet unus alterve e codicibus L P₂₀^{pc} Vv₅, editio scilicet Demetrii Triclinii
Σ scholium
⊂ colligi potest e scholio vel glossemate
***** littera erasa
+ spatium vacuum quod uni litterae sufficit
[] periit vel non legi potest
ac ante correctionem
pc post correctionem
1 manus ipsius scribae
2 manus recentior
i in linea
s supra lineam
mg. in margine
gl. glossema adscriptum
γρ. varia lectio vocabulo *γρ(άφεται)* notata
(γρ.) varia lectio vocabulis *τινες, διχῶς* vel sim. notata
λ lemma scholii

Sigla quae ad testimonia tantum pertinent

S Suda
Sch. scholium apud testem
v.l. varia lectio apud testem
§ fabulam non nominat testis
§§ nec fabulam nec poetam nominat testis
(§), (§§) unam alteramve e personis fabulae nominat testis ita ut non dubitari possit quin Ranas respiciat

- † verba fabulae ita transposuit omisit corruptit testis ut nullius pretii
sit omnia memorare
- ‡ verba quae in Ranis legimus alii fabulae tribuit testis
- ~ verba quae in Ranis legimus aptavisse videtur testis ad propriam
orationem

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΕΙΣ

Lectiones adhibui codicis E, quippe qui scholiorum veterum fons optimus exstet. argumentum Tzetizianum, quod in codice K invenias, omisi.

Argumenta sic in codicibus disposita sunt:

R: II + I(b), I(a) + I(c)

V: I(a) + I(c), II, I(b)

A: I(a) + I(c)

E: II, I(a) + I(c) + I(b)

I

(α) Διόνυσός ἐστι μετὰ θεράποντος Ξανθίου κατὰ Εὐριπίδου πόθον εἰς Ἄιδου κατιών· ἔχει δὲ λεοντήν καὶ βόπαλον πρὸς τὸ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἐκπληξιν παρέχειν. ἐλθὼν δὲ ὡς τὸν Ἡρακλέα πρότερον, ἵνα ἐξετάσῃ τὰ κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς, ἣ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸν Κέρβερον ᾤχετο, καὶ ὀλίγα ἄττα περὶ τῶν τραγικῶν τούτῳ διαλεχθείς, ὁρμᾷ πρὸς τὸ προ- 5 κείμενον. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς τῇ Ἀχερουσίᾳ λίμνῃ γίνεται, ὃ μὲν Ξανθίας διὰ τὸ μὴ συννεναυμαχηκέναι τὴν περὶ Ἀργινούσας ναυμαχίαν ὑπὸ Χάρωνος οὐκ ἀναληφθείς περὶ τὴν λίμνην κύκλῳ πορεύεται, ὃ δὲ Διόνυσος δύο ὀβολῶν περαιούται, προσπαίζων ἅμα τοῖς κατὰ τὸν πόρον ἄδουσι βατράχοις καὶ γελωτοποιῶν. μετὰ ταῦτα τῶν πραγμάτων ἤδη χειριζο- 10 μένων οἱ τε μύσται χορεύοντες ἐν τῷ προφανεί καὶ τὸν Ἰακχὸν ἄδοντες ἐν χοροῦ σχήματι καθορῶνται, ὃ τε Διόνυσος μετὰ τοῦ θεράποντος εἰς ταῦτ' ἔρχεται τούτοις. τῶν δὲ προηδικημένων ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους προσπλεκομένων τῷ Διονύσῳ διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς σκευῆς ἄγνοιαν μέχρι μέν- 15 τινος οὐκ ἀγελοῖως χειμάζονται· εἶτα μέντοι γε ὡς τὸν Πλούτωνα καὶ τὴν Περσέφατταν παραχθέντες ἀλεώρας τυγχάνουσιν, ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ὃ μὲν τῶν μυστῶν χορὸς περὶ τοῦ τὴν πολιτείαν ἐξιῶσαι καὶ τοὺς ἀτί- μους ἐντίμους ποιῆσαι χιτῆρων τινῶν πρὸς τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν διαλέγεται. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τοῦ δράματος μονόκωλα, ἄλλως δὲ τερπνὴν καὶ φιλόλογον λαμβάνει σύστασιν. παρειαγεται γὰρ Εὐριπίδης 20 Αἰσχύλῳ περὶ τῆς τραγικῆς διαφερόμενος, τὸ μὲν ἔμπροσθεν Αἰσχύλου παρὰ τῷ Ἄιδῳ βραβεῖον ἔχοντος καὶ τὸν τραγωδικὸν θρόνον, τότε δὲ Εὐριπίδου τῆς τιμῆς ἀντιποιησαμένου. συστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Πλούτωνος αὐτοῖς τὸν Διόνυσον διακοῦει, ἑκάτερος αὐτοῖν λόγους πολλοὺς καὶ ποικίλους ποιεῖται. καὶ τέλος, πάντα ἔλεγχον καὶ πᾶσαν βάσανον 25

οὐκ ἀπιθάνως ἐκατέρου κατὰ τῆς θατέρου ποιήσεως προσαγάγοντος, κρίνας παρὰ προσδοκίαν ὁ Διόνυσος τὸν Αἰσχύλον νικᾶν ἔχων αὐτὸν ὡς τοὺς ζῶντας ἀνέρχεται. τὸ δὲ δράμα τῶν εὐ πάνυ καὶ φιλολόγως πεποιημένων.

1 κατὰ] δι' Α Ε -πίδην Α 2 αἰδην Α Ε τὸ om. R 3 παρασχεῖν Α
 4 τὰ om. V ἦ] ἦ V: δι' ὧν Α Ε 4 ἐπὶ . . . ᾤχετο] ἐποίησεν ἐπὶ τὸν Κέρβερον
 ᾤχετο Α: ἐποίησε τὴν πορείαν πρὸς τὸν Κέρβερον ᾤχετο Ε 5 ὀλίγων Α ἄττα
 om. V Ε: πραγμάτων Α στρατηγικῶν Α τούτῳ om. Α Ε ὀρμάται Α
 6 χερουσίαι R μὲν om. R 7 συννεμαχηκῆναι Α τὴν] εἰς τὴν Α Ε
 8 λίμνην om. R V κύκλῳ om. Ε' ἔρχεται Ε 9 δούς διῶβλον (διά- Ε) Α Ε
 περᾶ Α Ε προπαί- R ἄμα] ἄμα δὲ Α ἄδουσι om. Α 10 καὶ om. Α
 χωρι- Α 13 προη-] ἦ- Α 14 τὴν] τε R: τὸν V ἕκ om. Α σκηνῆς Α
 ἀγνοίας R V μὲν] μὲν οὖν R V 15 ὡς] πρὸς Α Ε τὸν om. Ε
 16 περισίφασσαν Α: περσέφασσαν Ε παρελθόντες Α: περιελθόντες Ε -ρης Α Ε,
 fort. recte ἐν τοσοῦτῳ δὲ Α Ε 17 τῶν om. Α' ἐξέλασαι Ε 18 ἐντί-
 μους om. R V τῶν om. Ε 18-19 διαλέγεται πόλιν Α Ε 19 -κωλον Α Ε
 δε] τε Α Ε 20-1 αἰσχύλος εὐριπίδῃ Α Ε 21 τραγωδίας Α Ε δια-
 λεγόμενος Α Ε τὸ] τὸν R 22 τὸ πρωτεῖον παρὰ τῷ ᾄδῃ 22-3 καὶ . . .
 -τος δὲ om. Α 22 τὸν τραγωδικὸν θρόνον Vc1: τοῦ -κού -νου R V Ε 24 τὸν
 διόνυσον αὐτοῖς Ε: τὸν om. R V διακοῦειν] ἀκροατὴν Ε: ἀκροατὴν ἰδρυσσάμενον Α
 -ρος δ' Α 24-5 ποιεῖται πολλοὺς (om. καὶ ποικίλους) Α Ε 26 προσάγον-
 τος R V 27 ὁ om. Α Ε τὸν om. Α Ε αὐτοὺς R^{ac} 28 εὐ καὶ φιλο-
 πόνως πάνυ Α Ε 29 πεπονημένων Α

(b) οὐ δεδήλωται μὲν ὅπου ἐστὶν ἡ σκηνή, εὐλογώτατον δ' ἐν Θήβαις· καὶ γὰρ ὁ Διόνυσος ἐκείθεν καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἀφικνεῖται Θηβαῖον ὄντα.

(c) ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ Καλλίου ἄρχοντος τοῦ μετὰ Ἀντιγένης διὰ Φιλωνίδου εἰς Αθήναια. πρῶτος ἦν Φρύνιχος β Μούσαις, Πλάτων τρίτος Κλεοφῶντι. οὕτω δὲ ἐθαυμάσθη τὸ δράμα διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ παράβασιν ὡστε καὶ ἀνεδιδάχθη, ὡς φησι Δικαίαρχος.

1 ἄρχοντος om. R V τοῦ . . . 4 om. Α 1-2 ἐπὶ ληναίῳ· Φιλωνίδου ἐπε-
 γράφη Ε 2 πρῶτος ἦν] καὶ ἐνίκα Ε β Μούσαις] βουσαις R

II

μαθὼν παρ' Ἡρακλέους Διόνυσος τὴν ὁδὸν
 πρὸς τοὺς κατοικομένους πορεύεται λαβῶν
 τὸ δέρμα καὶ τὸ σκύταλον, ἀναγαγεῖν θέλων
 Εὐριπίδην· λίμνην τε διέβαινεν κάτω

Versus sicut prosam exhibent codices.

3 ἀναγαγεῖν Vc1 (cj. Brunck): ἀνάγειν R V Ε 4 -ριπί- V -νε Ε

καὶ τῶν βατράχων ἀνέκραγεν εὐφημος χορός.
 ἔπειτα μυστῶν ἐκδοχή· Πλούτων δ' ἰδὼν
 ὡς Ἡρακλεῖ προσέκρουσε διὰ τὸν Κέρβερον.
 ὡς δ' ἀνεφάνη, τίθεται τραγωδίας ἀγών,
 καὶ δὴ στεφανοῦται (γ') Αἰσχύλος· τοῦτον δ' ἄγει
 Διόνυσος ἐς φῶς, οὐχὶ μὰ Δί' Εὐριπίδην.

10

9 γ' add. ed. Aldina

10 -ριπί- V

BATPAXOI

ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ

ΞΑΝΘΙΑΣ
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ
ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ
ΝΕΚΡΟΣ
5 ΧΑΡΩΝ
ΧΟΡΟΣ ΒΑΤΡΑΧΩΝ
ΧΟΡΟΣ ΜΥΣΤΩΝ
ΘΥΡΩΡΟΣ
ΟΙΚΕΤΗΣ ΠΛΟΥΤΩΝΟΣ
10 ΠΑΝΔΟΚΕΥΤΡΙΑ
ΕΤΕΡΑ ΠΑΝΔΟΚΕΥΤΡΙΑ ΠΛΑΘΑΝΗ
ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΗΣ
ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΣ
ΠΛΟΥΤΩΝ

6 *βατραχ* παραχωρήματα R: *βατράχων παραχορήγημα* V 8 *θυρωρός* Dover
auct. Fraenkel: *Αίακός* α 9 *θεράπαινα Περσεφόνης* A: om. K 10-11 *πανδο-*
κευτρία: (sic) β R 11 om. V: bis nominat A: *Πλαθάνη* om. K et loco priore A

personas sic ordinant codices:

R: 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 2, 7, 12, 13, 14, 8
V: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, *ιερέυς*, 7, 9, 10, 8, 12, 13, 14
A: 1, 4, 2, 7, 6, 5, 8, 10, 11, 12, 3, 13, 11, 14, 9
K: 1, 2, 7, 4, 5, 8, 6, 10, 12, 11, 13, 14, 3

ΒΑΤΡΑΧΟΙ

ΞΑΝΘΙΑΣ

εἶπω τι τῶν εἰωθότων, ὦ δέσποτα,
ἐφ' οἷς αἰεὶ γελῶσιν οἱ θεώμενοι;

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ

νῆ τὸν Δί' ὅτι βούλει γε, πλήν 'πιέζομαι'.
τοῦτο δὲ φύλαξαι· πάνυ γάρ ἐστ' ἤδη χολή.

Ξα. μηδ' ἔτερον ἀστεῖόν τι;

Δι. πλήν γ' "ὡς θλίβομαι". 5

Ξα. τί δαί; τὸ πάνυ γέλοιον εἶπω;

Δι. νῆ Δία
θαρρῶν γε· μόνον ἐκεῖν' ὅπως μὴ ῥεῖς—

Ξα. τὸ τί;

Δι. μεταβαλλόμενος τανάφορον ὅτι χεζητιάς.

Ξα. μηδ' ὅτι τοσοῦτον ἄχθος ἐπ' ἑμαυτῷ φέρων,
εἰ μὴ καθαιρήσει τις, ἀποπαρδήσομαι; 10

Δι. μὴ δῆθ', ἰκετεύω, πλήν γ' ὅταν μέλλω ἕξεμῖν.

Ξα. τί δῆτ' ἔδει με ταῦτα τὰ σκεύη φέρειν,
εἴπερ ποήσω μηδὲν ὦνπερ Φρύνιχος
εἴωθε ποιεῖν καὶ Λύκις κάμειψίας;
σκεύη φέρουσ' ἐκάστοτ' ἐν κωμωδίᾳ. 15

Δι. μὴ νυν ποήσης, ὡς ἐγὼ θεώμενος,
ὅταν τι τούτων τῶν σοφισμάτων ἴδω,
πλεῖν ἢ ἑαυτῷ πρεσβύτερος ἀπέρχομαι.

Ξα. ὦ τρισκακοδαίμων ἄρ' ὁ τραχηλὸς οὐτοσί,

1-2 † Greg. Cor. p. 140 1 §§ Σ Dion. Thr. 20. 11 3-4 § † Vind. φ 6
4 (πάνυ . . .) Su π 250 (ἔστ' . . .) § † Phryn. PS 127. 5 7 (ἐκεῖν' . . .) † Th. 235. 7
8 (τά-) Poll. (I) vii. 175 (2) x. 17 §§ Phryn. PS 15. 9 § Vind. α 62 10 (. . . τις) §
Moschopoulos (Jb Cl Ph 27 (1881) 309) 11 Su § † (i) ε 1621, § (2) μ 538
12-14 § † Su λ 808 17-18 § Su π 1733 18 §§ † Phryn. PS 101

1 Ξανθίας om. V 3 post γε dic. E^{ac} 4 σχολή A^{ac} 5 Δι. om. R
6 δὲ K 7 ἐκεῖν' om. R: δ' ἐκεῖν' Mdi U 8 ἀνάφορον R^{ac} Poll.(I) Phr.
Vind. 9 μῆθ' AK 14 εἴωθε ποιεῖν] πεποίηκε Su 15 σκεύη φέρουσ'
R (γρ.) Σ^v (-σιν γρ.) Σ^{RE}): σκεύη φοροῦσ' K^{pc} (-σιν K^{ac}): σκευηφοροῦσ' V A Λ Σ^R (-σιν
γρ.) Σ^{VE}): σκευοφοροῦσ' M P20^{ac} (-σιν γρ.) Σ^{RE}): οἱ σκευοφοροῦσ' G (-σιν Np1)
18 πλήν R V Su^{u1}. ἡνιαυτοῦ R V 19 τρισκακοδαίμων K ἄρ' V AK

- ὄτι θλίβεται μὲν, τὸ δὲ γέλοιον οὐκ ἐρεῖ. 20
- Δι. εἴτ' οὐχ ὕβρις ταύτ' ἐστὶ καὶ πολλή τρυφή,
 ὄτ' ἐγὼ μὲν ὦν Διόνυσος, υἱὸς Σταμνίου,
 αὐτὸς βαδίζω καὶ πονῶ, τοῦτον δ' ὄχῳ,
 ἵνα μὴ ταλαιπωροῖτο μηδ' ἄχθος φέροι;
- Ξα. οὐ γὰρ φέρω ἕγω;
- Δι. πῶς φέρεις γάρ, ὅς γ' ὄχει; 25
- Ξα. φέρων γε ταυτί.
- Δι. τίνα τρόπον;
- Ξα. βαρέως πάνυ.
- Δι. οὐκ οὐν τὸ βάρος τοῦθ' ὁ σὺ φέρεις ὄνος φέρει;
- Ξα. οὐ δῆθ' ὁ γ' ἔχω ἕγω καὶ φέρω, μὰ τὸν Δι' οὐ.
- Δι. πῶς γὰρ φέρεις, ὅς γ' αὐτὸς ὑφ' ἑτέρου φέρει;
- Ξα. οὐκ οἶδ'. ὁ δ' ὤμος οὐτοσὶ πιέζεται. 30
- Δι. σὺ δ' οὐν ἐπειδὴ τὸν ὄνον οὐ φῆς σ' ὠφελεῖν,
 ἐν τῷ μέρει σὺ τὸν ὄνον ἀράμενος φέρε.
- Ξα. οἴμοι κακοδαίμων· τί γὰρ ἐγὼ οὐκ ἐναυμάχουν;
 ἦ τᾶν σε κωκύειν ἂν ἐκέλευον μακρά.
- Δι. κατάβα, πανοῦργε· καὶ γὰρ ἐγγυὸς τῆς θύρας 35
 ἦδη βαδίζων εἰμι τῆσδ', οἱ πρώτᾳ με
 ἔδει τραπέσθαι. παιδίον, παῖ, ἡμί, παῖ.

ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ

- τίς τὴν θύραν ἐπάταξεν; ὡς κενταυρικῶς
 ἐνήλαθ', ὅστις—εἰπέ μοι, τουτὶ τί ἦν;
- Δι. ὁ παῖς.
- Ξα. τί ἐστίν;
- Δι. οὐκ ἐνεθυμήθης;
- Ξα. τὸ τί; 40
- Δι. ὡς σφόδρα μ' ἔδεισε.
- Ξα. νῆ Δία, μὴ μαίνοιό γε.

Ἥρ. οὐτοὶ μὰ τὴν Δήμητρα δύναμαι μὴ γελᾶν.

21-4 Su § † (1) ο 1043, § † (2) υ 18 27 § † *Vind. φ* 12 (τό . . .) § Eust. *Il. i.*
 773. I 33 § † Su οι 101 35 (. . . -γεί) Su κ 474; Th. 191. 6 37 (παί,
 ἡμί) Choer. ii. 25. 3 38-9 (. . . -λάθ') Su κ 1330

21 ὕβρεις Su(2)^{v.1} 22 υἱὸς] διὰ ^λΣ^E 26 φέρω Θ^{pc} 27 Δι.] Ξα.
 V^{ac} οὐκοῦν V A σὺ om. K οὔνος V *Vind.* Eust.: οὐ- K: ὄυ- A 28 ὁ γ' ὄδ'
 A ante μὰ] dic. K (γρ) Σ^{RVE} ante οὔ] Δι. RV 29 Δι. om. RV 31 σ'
 om. E M Mdi^{ac} NpI P20^{ac} Vb3 33 κακόδαιμον Su (-δαιμον Mdi) ἐγὼ οὐκ
 ἐναυ-^λΣ^E t: ἐγωγ' οὐκ ἐναυ- R V A Su: ἐγωγ' οὐ ναυ- K 36 εἰμι R A K οὐ Θ
 40 alt. Ξα.] dic. R 41 Δι. om. R Ξα] dic. R νῆ Δία om. K 42 Ἥρ.
 ad fin. vs. 41 K^{ms} -τραν P K γελῶν V

- καίτοι δάκνω γ' ἔμαυτὸν, ἀλλ' ὄμως γελῶ.
 Δι. ὦ δαιμόνιε, πρόσελθε· δέομαι γάρ τι σου.
 Ἑρ. ἀλλ' οὐχ οἶός τ' εἶμ' ἀποσοβῆσαι τὸν γέλων, 45
 ὀρῶν λεοντῆν ἐπὶ κροκωτῷ κειμένην.
 τίς ὁ νοῦς; τί κόθορνος καὶ ρόπαλον ξυνηλθέτην;
 ποί γῆς ἀπεδήμεις;
 Δι. ἐπεβάτευον Κλεισθένει.
 Ἑρ. κἀναυμάχηςας;
 Δι. καὶ κατεδύσαμέν γε ναῦς
 τῶν πολεμίων ἢ δώδεκ' ἢ τρεῖς καὶ δέκα. 50
 Ἑρ. σφῶ;
 Δι. νῆ τὸν Ἀπόλλω.
 Ξα. κᾶτ' ἔγωγ' ἐξηγγρόμην.
 Δι. καὶ δῆτ' ἐπὶ τῆς νεῶς ἀναγιγνώσκοντί μοι
 τὴν Ἄνδρομέδαν πρὸς ἔμαυτὸν ἐξαίφνης πόθος
 τὴν καρδίαν ἐπάταξε πῶς οἶει σφόδρα.
 Ἑρ. πόθος; πόσος τις;
 Δι. μικρός, ἡλίκος Μόλων. 55
 Ἑρ. γυναικός;
 Δι. οὐ δῆτ'.
 Ἑρ. ἀλλὰ παιδός;
 Δι. οὐδαμῶς.
 Ἑρ. ἀλλ' ἀνδρός;
 Δι. ἀπαπαῖ.
 Ἑρ. ξυνεγένου τῷ Κλεισθένει.

43 ~ § † Tzetzes, *Ep.* 42, p. 61. 13 45-6 Su § † (1) 2460, §§ † (2) ο 991
 45 §§ Choer. i. 254. 12 47 (... λον) §§ † Su ρ 228 (τί . . .) *Vita Isoc.* 17-19
 (Mathieu); Macar. viii. 28 48 Su §§ (1) ε 2021, §§ † (2) π 3070; § † *Vind.* ε 216
 (. . . -μεις) † Th. 123. 2 49-51 Su § † (1) ε 1714, §§ † (2) κ 914 51 (κᾶτ'
 . . .) §§ Zon. 778; Th. 145. 5 52 (ἀνα- . . .)-4 (. . . ξε) § † *Vind.* π 15 55 § †
 Su μ 1203 (μι- . . .) Su μ 1053; §§ Apost. xi. 69 56 (. . . -δός) § † *Vind.* α 149

43 δάκνων A 44-50 *frustula praebebat* Πι 47 ὁ om. Su [ΠΙ] κῶ-
 θορνον A [ΠΙ] 48 ἀποδημεις Su(2)^{xl}. [ΠΙ] 49 Δι.] dic. R [ΠΙ]
 50 τρεισ- Meineke: [. . .] ΠΙ: τρισ- a 51 Ἑρ. om. R σφῶς A K λ Σ^E Σ^V Δι.
 om. R V (γρ.) Σ^R; dic. E Ξα.] Ἑρ. K (γρ.) Σ^{RVE}; om. (γρ.) Σ^{RVE}; Δι. (γρ.) Σ^{RVE} 52 Δι.
 om. (γρ.) Σ^{RVE} -γιγνώ- Brunck: -γινώ- a *Vind.* 53 ἐξαίφνης πρὸς ἔμαυτὸν A K
 55 πόσος] ποῖος V: ante πόθος (om. τις) Su Δι.] dic. R σμικρός V K: μακρὸς t
 56 omnia usque ad ἀνδρός (57) Herculi trib. (γρ.) Σ^{RVE} pr. Ἑρ.] Δι. R pr. Δι.] dic.
 R alt. Ἑρ.] dic. R alt. Δι.] dic. R 57 pr. Ἑρ. om. R Δι.] dic. R
 ἀπαπαῖ Fritzsche: ἀπαπαῖ R: -παῖ V: -παῖ γρ. Σ^E; ἀπαταῖ Mdr: ἀπαταῖ K: -ταῖ A
 alt. Ἑρ.] dic. R ξυνε- ut interrogationem explicat Σ^E Tzetzes τῷ Fraenkel

- Δι. μὴ σκῶπτέ μ', ὠδέλφ'. οὐ γὰρ ἀλλ' ἔχω κακῶς·
τοιοῦτος ἡμέρος με διαλυμαίνεται.
- Ἦρ. ποῖός τις, ὠδεελφίδιον;
- Δι. οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι. 60
ὁμως γε μέντοι σοι δι' αἰνιγμῶν ἐρῶ.
ἤδη ποτ' ἐπεθύμησας ἐξαίφνης ἔτνους;
- Ἦρ. ἔτνους; βαβαιάξ, μυριάκις γ' ἐν τῷ βίῳ.
- Δι. ἄρ' ἐκδιδάσκω τὸ σαφές, ἢ ἕτερα φράσω;
- Ἦρ. μὴ δῆτα περὶ ἔτνους γε· πάνυ γὰρ μανθάνω. 65
- Δι. τοιοῦτοσὶ τοῖνυν με δαρδάπτει πόθος
Εὐριπίδου.
- Ἦρ. καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ τεθηγκότος;
- Δι. κοῦδεῖς γε μ' ἄν πείσειεν ἀνθρώπων τὸ μὴ οὐκ
ἐλθεῖν ἐπ' ἐκείνον.
- Ἦρ. πότερον εἰς Ἄιδου κάτω;
- Δι. καὶ νῆ Δί' εἴ τι γ' ἐστὶν ἔτι κατωτέρω. 70
- Ἦρ. τί βουλόμενος;
- Δι. δέομαι ποητοῦ δεξιοῦ·
οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐκέτ' εἰσὶν, οἱ δ' ὄντες κακοί.
- Ἦρ. τί δ'; οὐκ Ἴοφῶν ζῆ;
- Δι. τοῦτο γάρ τοι καὶ μόνον
ἔτ' ἐστὶ λοιπὸν ἀγαθόν, εἰ καὶ τοῦτ' ἄρα·
οὐ γὰρ σάφ' οἶδ' οὐδ' αὐτὸ τοῦθ' ὅπως ἔχει. 75
- Ἦρ. εἴτ' οὐ Σοφοκλέα πρότερον ὄντ' Εὐριπίδου
μέλλεις ἀναγαγεῖν, εἴπερ ἐκεῖθεν δεῖ σ' ἀγειν;
- Δι. οὐ, πρὶν γ' ἄν Ἴοφῶντ' ἀπολαβῶν αὐτὸν μόνον
ἄνευ Σοφοκλέους ὅτι ποιεῖ κωδωνίσω.
κἄλλως ὁ μὲν γ' Εὐριπίδης πανοῦργος ὢν 80
κἂν ξυναποδράναι δεῦρ' ἐπιχειρήσειέ μοι·

58 (οὐ. . .) Su o 768 59-61 † *El. Gen.* λ 151 60 (οὐκ. . .)-1 Su o 894
62 † Σ^{REG} *Ach.* 245a 63 (βα. . .) Th. 58. 7 68-9 (. . . -νον) §§ † Su κ
2175 70 § † *Vind.* κ 52 71 (δέ. . .)-2 Su oi 94 72 §§ *Greg. Cyrp.*
iv. 58 73 (τοῦτο. . .)-4 § † *Phryn. PS* 6. 11 78-9 § † *An. Par.* i. 401. 10

60 Ἦρ. om. R^{ac} Δι.] dic. R 63 ἔτνους] ἐγὼ V^{rp} γ' om. V A Th.
64 Δι. om. R ἢ ἕτερα R Σ^v 65 Ἦρ. om. R μανθάνη V 66 Δι. om. R
ad fin. vs. dic. V 67 Ἦρ. Kuster: ante τοῦ (V^{rp}) Σ^{VE}: om. a 68 Δι. C(V^{rp}) Σ^{VE}:
om. a 69 Ἦρ.] dic. R 70 Δι. om. K^{ac} 73 τοῦτι V τοι om. V
76 οὐ Bentley: οὐχι a ὄντ' secl. Elmsley: ἀντ' Palmer 77 ἀναγαγεῖν] ἀνάγειν
R V εἴπερ γ' G Np1 78 γ' om. R ἰοφῶν γ' R^{ac} 80 γ' om. V
81 κἂν Dobree: καὶ a ἐπιχειρήσει ἐμοί R: -ρήσειεν ἂν A

- ὁ δ' εὐκολος μὲν ἐνθάδ', εὐκολος δ' ἐκεῖ.
 Ἦρ. Ἀγάθων δὲ ποῦ ὅστιν;
 Δι. ἀπολιπὼν μ' ἀποίχεται,
 ἀγαθὸς ποητῆς καὶ ποθεινὸς τοῖς φίλοις.
 Ἦρ. ποί γῆς ὁ τλήμων;
 Δι. εἰς μακάρων εὐωχίαν. 85
 Ἦρ. ὁ δὲ Ξενοκλέης;
 Δι. ἐξόλοιο νῆ Δία.
 Ἦρ. Πυθάγγελος δέ;
 Ξα. περὶ ἐμοῦ δ' οὐδεὶς λόγος
 ἐπιτριβομένου τὸν ἄμον οὕτωςι σφόδρα.
 Ἦρ. οὐκ οὐν ἕτερ' ἔστ' ἐνταῦθα μεираκύλλια
 τραγωδίας ποιούντα πλεῖν ἢ μυρία, 90
 Εὐριπίδου πλεῖν ἢ σταδίῳ λαλίστερα;
 Δι. ἐπιφυλλίδες ταῦτ' ἔστι καὶ στωμύλματα,
 χελιδόνων μουσεῖα, λωβηταὶ τέχνης,
 ἃ φρούδα θάπτων, ἣν μόνον χορὸν λάβη,
 ἅπαξ προσουρήσαντα τῇ τραγωδίᾳ. 95
 γόνιμον δὲ ποιητῆν ἂν οὐχ εὐροις ἔτι
 ζητῶν ἂν, ὅστις ῥήμα γενναῖον λάκοι.
 Ἦρ. πῶς γόνιμον;
 Δι. ὠδὶ γόνιμον, ὅστις φθέγγεται
 τοιουτοῦ τι παρακεκινδυνευμένον,
 "αἰθέρα Διὸς δωμάτιον" ἢ "χρόνου πόδα" 100
 ἢ "φρένα μὲν οὐκ ἐθέλουσαν ὁμόσαι καθ' ἱερῶν,

82 (pr. εὐ- . . .) Th. 107. 18 83, 85 §§ Su α 124 88 ~ §§ Demetrios
 Kydonias, *Ep.* 46, p. 79. 21 89 (ἕτερ'. . .) -91 § † Su π 1732 89 Σ' Nu. 1370
 91 † Zon. 497; § † Eust. *Il.* iv. 467. 15 (πλεῖν. . .) § Aristides iii (Lenz-Behr) 65;
 Choer. (i) i. 172. 32, (2) i. 358. 6; §§ † EM 262. 14; § † *Vind.* π 125 92-3 § † Max.
 Tyr. 25. 3; § † Tat. *ad Gr.* i. 3; §§ Apost. vii. 66 92 §§ † Dion. Hal. vi, p. 373. 4; Su §
 (i) ε 2758, § (2) σ 1154 93 (. . . -σεια) §§ Hsch. χ 327; Su χ 187; Eust. (i) *Od.* 1914.
 35; § (2) *Ep.* x p. 321. 5; Tz. *Chil.* iii. 784 96 § † Su π 356 97 (ῥῆ- . . . -ον)
 ~ §§ Phryn. *PS* 57. 6 98 (ῶσ- . . .) -102 § † Su π 356 99 † Σ^{VE} 819
 100 (χρό- . . .) §§ Eust. *Super Dicto* 2, p. 46. 29 101 Σ Heph. §§ (i) 282. 7, §§ (2)
 312. 3; §§ † *Prol. de Com.* X e α 3; ~ Σ E. *Hr.* 612

83 οἴχεται R V Su 84 ἀγαθὸς] δεξιὸς V^{pc} τοῖς φίλοις τοῖς σόφοις
 λ^{ΣE} (cf. explic. Σ^v) 85-91 **frustula praebebet** Πι 85 πῆ Su^{v1}. [Π1]
 86 -κλῆς A K [Π1] 89 Ἦρ.] Δι. K^{pc} [Π1] οὐκ οὐν R: οὐκοῦν V Σ Nu.
 91 ἢ σταδίου E^{ac} Mdr^s Nprⁱ Uⁱ Vb₃ Σ^R Choer.(i): σταδίου EM *Vind.* Choer.(2)
 [Π1] 96 in. Δι. K^{ac}: Ἦρ. K^{pc} [Π1] οὐκ ἂν Su 97 λάβοι R^{ac}
 98 Ἦρ.] Δι. K Δι.] sp. K 99 τοιούτων εἴ τι Σ 819: τι om. V 101 ἦ] καὶ
 Σ Heph.(1): om. Σ Heph.(2)

- γλώτταν δ' ἐπιορκήσασαν ἰδίᾳ τῆς φρενός."'
 Ἑρ. σὲ δὲ ταῦτ' ἀρέσκει;
 Δι. μᾶλλὰ πλεῖν ἢ μαίνομαι.
 Ἑρ. ἢ μὴν κόβαλά γ' ἐστίν, ὡς καὶ σοὶ δοκεῖ.
 Δι. μὴ τὸν ἔμδον οἴκει νοῦν· ἔχεις γὰρ οἰκίαν. 105
 Ἑρ. καὶ μὴν ἀτεχνῶς γε παμπόνηρα φαίνεται.
 Δι. δειπνεῖν με δίδασκε.
 Σα. περὶ ἐμοῦ δ' οὐδεὶς λόγος.
 Δι. ἀλλ' ὦνπερ ἔνεκα τήνδε τὴν σκευὴν ἔχων
 ἤλθον κατὰ σὴν μίμησιν ἵνα μοι τοὺς ξένους
 τοὺς σοὺς φράσειας, εἰ δεοίμην, οἴσι σὺ
 ἐχρῶ τόθ' ἠνίκ' ἤλθες ἐπὶ τὸν Κέρβερον,
 τούτους φράσον μοι, λιμένας, ἀρτοπώλια,
 πορνεῖ', ἀναπαύλας, ἐκτροπάς, κρήνας, ὁδοὺς,
 πόλεις, διαίτας, πανδοκευτρίας, ὅπου
 κόρεις ὀλίγιστοι. 110
 Σα. περὶ ἐμοῦ δ' οὐδεὶς λόγος. 115
 Ἑρ. ὦ σχέτλιε, τολμήσεις γὰρ ἰέναι καὶ σύ γε;
 Δι. μηδὲν ἔτι πρὸς ταῦτ', ἀλλὰ φράζε τῶν ὁδῶν
 ὅπη τάχιστ' ἀφιξόμαι' ἴς Ἄιδου κάτω,
 καὶ μήτε θερμὴν μήτ' ἀγαν ψυχρὰν φράσης.
 Ἑρ. φέρε δῆ, τίν' αὐτῶν σοι φράσω πρώτην, τίνα; 120
 μία μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ἀπὸ κάλω καὶ θρανίου,
 κρεμάσαντι σαυτόν.
 Δι. παῦε, πνιγηρὰν λέγεις.
 Ἑρ. ἀλλ' ἐστὶν ἀτραπὸς σύντομος τετριμμένη,
 ἢ διὰ θυείας.
 Δι. ἄρα κώνειον λέγεις;

103 § Σ^L S. El. 147; § Σ^A E. Or. 210; Su § (1) a 3827, §§ (2) σ 187 104 §§ Σ^{MA} E.
 Hec. 131 (κό-...) ibid. 105 §§ Su μ 1000 107 (... -κε) § Su δ 358
 114 (ὅπου ...) -15 (... -τοι) §§ Choer. i. 199, 26; EM 530. 3 121 Poll. x. 48; Su †
 (1) θ 453, † (2) κ 259, § † (3) π 1832 (ἀπό...) § Zon. 1054

102 γλώσσαν V ἰδίᾳ] ἀνευ R Su 103 Ἑρ. om. K Δι.] Ἑρ. K
 μᾶλλὰ CΣ^{VE} Su(2); μᾶλλα V; μάλα R Su(1); καὶ μάλα A K 104 Ἑρ.] Δι.
 K^{pc} ἦ] καὶ Σ Eur. (cj. Cobet) ante ὡς] Ἑρ. K 106 Ἑρ. in ras. K^{pc}
 107 Δι. om. R K 108 ὡσπερ V φέρων P20^{vp} Vs1 109 σὴν om. K
 112 τούτοις V 113 κρήνας] κρημνοὺς ^{γρ.}Σ^E ὁδοὺς καπηλίδας V 115 κόριες
 CChoer. (cf. Su κ 2081) 116 Ἑρ. om. R^{ac}; Δι. R^{pc} ἰέναι V καὶ σύ γε] κάτω
 V (καὶ σύ γε V^{pc}) 117 Δι. om. R φράζαι V 118 ὅπου V^{ac}; ὅπη V^{pc}
 (ὅπως Σ^v) ἀφικόμεθ' Rⁱ: -ξό- R^a A: ἀφιζώμεθ' ^{γρ.}Σ^v 120 Ἑρ. ad fin. vs. R
 φέρε δῆ] φέρ' ἴδω V^{pc} ante πρῶ-] Δι. A^s ante τίνα sp. M Θ^{ac} 121 in. Ἑρ. A
 γὰρ om. Su(1)(2)(3) ante ἀπὸ] dic. R 124 θυείας R: θυνίας V [K] κώνιον R [K]

Ἦρ.	μάλιστά γε.	
Δι.	ψυχράν γε καὶ δυσχείμερον·	125
	εὐθύς γὰρ ἀποπήγνυσι τάντικνήμεια.	
Ἦρ.	βούλει ταχείαν καὶ κατάντη σοι φράσω;	
Δι.	νῆ τὸν Δί', ὡς ὄντος γε μὴ βαδιστικοῦ.	
Ἦρ.	καθέρπυσόν νυν εἰς Κεραμεικόν.	
Δι.	εἶτα τί;	
Ἦρ.	ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν πύργον τὸν ὑψηλόν—	
Δι.	τί δρω;	130
Ἦρ.	ἀφιεμένην τὴν λαμπάδ' ἐντεῦθεν θεῶ,	
	κᾶπειτ' ἐπειδὰν φώσιν οἱ θεώμενοι	
	“εἶναι”, τόθ' εἶναι καὶ σὺ σαυτόν.	
Δι.	ποῖ;	
Ἦρ.	κάτω·	
Δι.	ἀλλ' ἀπολεσαίμ' ἂν ἐγκεφάλου θρίω δύο.	
	οὐκ ἂν βαδίσαιμι τὴν ὁδὸν ταύτην.	
Ἦρ.	τί δαί;	135
Δι.	ἦνπερ σὺ τότε κατήλθες.	
Ἦρ.	ἀλλ' ὁ πλοῦς πολὺς·	
	εὐθύς γὰρ ἐπὶ λίμνην μεγάλην ἤξεις πάνν	
	ἄβυσσον.	
Δι.	εἶτα πῶς περαιωθήσομαι;	
Ἦρ.	ἐν πλοιαρίῳ τυννουτῶϊ σ' ἀνήρ γέρων	
	ναύτης διάξει δὺ' ὀβολῶ μισθὸν λαβῶν.	140
Δι.	φεῦ·	141a
	ὡς μέγα δύνασθον πανταχοῦ τῷ δὺ' ὀβολῷ.	141b

127-34 §§ † *Et. Mill.* p. 202 127 (φράσω . . .) -8 § Σ' *S. Tr.* 394 128 (ὡς . . .) § Su β 20; ~ §§ Phryn. *PS* 96. 1 131 † *Th.* 177. 4 133 §§ Su εἰ 157 (. . . -τόν) § *An. Ox.* iv. 197. 17 (τόθ' . . . καὶ) § † Σ *Batr.* 152 134 § † Su θ 489 (ἀπο- . . .) § *Ath.* 66 B (έγ-) ~ *Eust. Il.* ii. 735. 21 137-8 (. . . -σον) Su α 104 139-41b §§ † Su φ 235 139-40 (. . . -ξεῖ) § † Su τ 1171 141ab § † Su ο 8; *EM* 613. 6

127 Ἦρ. om. R^{ac} κατάντη καὶ ταχείαν V 128 Δι. om. R K τὸν om. Aⁱ
 ὄντως *Et. Gen.* 129 Ἦρ. om. R et fort. K^{ac} -μικόν R V Δι.] dic. R κᾶτα
 V A K 130 Ἦρ. om. R Δι.] dic. R 131 Ἦρ. om. R 132 ad fin.
 vs. —εἴητε V^{mg} 133 pr. εἶναι] εἶναι R V (εἰ-γρ. Σ^{VE}) *An. Ox.*: εἴητε γρ. Σ^{VE} Su γρ.: om.
Et. Mill.: “εἶνται” Radermacher alt. εἶναι] εἶναι R V *An. Ox.* Δι.] dic. R Ἦρ.]
 dic. R 134 Δι.] Ἦρ. V -φάλωι V θρία Α δύο *Ath.* Su¹¹: δύο α
 135 Ἦρ.] dic. R τί δέ V 136 Δι. om. R Ἦρ.] dic. R 137 ἐπι] εἰς V
 138 Δι.] dic. R πῶς γε πει- R A

- πῶς ἤλθέτην κάκεισε;
 'Ηρ. Θησεὺς ἤγαγεν.
 μετὰ τοῦτ' ὄφεις καὶ θηρί' ὄψει μυρία
 δεινότατα.
- Δι. μὴ μ' ἔκπληττε μηδὲ δειμάτου·
 οὐ γάρ μ' ἀποτρέψεις.
- 'Ηρ. εἶτα βόρβορον πολὺν 145
 καὶ σκῶρ ἀείνων, ἐν δὲ τούτῳ κειμένους
 εἶ που ξένον τις ἠδίκησε πώποτε,
 ἢ παιδα κινῶν τὰργύριον ὑφείλετο,
 ἢ μητέρ' ἠλόησεν, ἢ πατρὸς γνάθον
 ἐπάταξεν, ἢ πίορκον ὄρκον ᾤμοσεν, 150
 ἢ Μορσίμου τις ῥήσιν ἐξεγράψατο.
- Δι. νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐχρῆν γε πρὸς τοῦτοισι κεί
 τὴν πυρρίχην τις ἔμαθε τὴν Κινησίου.
- 'Ηρ. ἐντεῦθεν αὐλῶν τίς σε περιέεισιν πνοή,
 ὄψει τε φῶς κάλλιστον, ὡσπερ ἐνθάδε, 155
 καὶ μυρρινῶνας καὶ θιάσους εὐδαίμονας
 ἀνδρῶν γυναικῶν καὶ κρότον χειρῶν πολύν.
- Δι. οὗτοι δὲ δὴ τίνες εἰσίν;
 'Ηρ. οἱ μεμνημένοι—
 Ξα. νῆ τὸν Δί' ἐγὼ γοῦν ὄνος ἄγω μυστήρια.
 ἀτὰρ οὐ καθέξω ταῦτα τὸν πλείω χρόνον. 160
- 'Ηρ. οἶ σοι φράσουσ' ἀπαξάπανθ' ὧν ἂν δέη.
 οὗτοι γὰρ ἐγγύτατα παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὁδὸν
 ἐπὶ ταῖσι τοῦ Πλούτωνος οἰκοῦσιν θύραις.

145-6 (... -νων) † *Et. Gen.* p. 268 145 (εἶτα ...) -6 (... -νων) *Su* σ 691
 146 (... -νων) § *Zon.* 1656 (ἀείνων) *Phot.* a 413; § *Eust. Od.* 1625, 55 (ἐν...) *Su*
 κ 1474 149 § † *Ammon. Diff.* a 25 (... -σεν) *Su* η 255 151 §§ *Su* η 358;
 §§ *Apost.* viii. 57 152 (κεῖ...) -3 § † *Diomedes* i. 475, 24 153 §§ † *Su* π
 3225 159 (σ-...) §§ † *Hsch.* ο 915; §§ *Phot.* ii. 18; *Su* §§ (1) ο 382, §§ (2) ο 383; §§
 † *Apost.* xii. 75; § *Eust. Il.* ii. 303, 17 163 § † *Vind.* ε 121

142 'Ηρ.] *dic.* R -γε V A K 143 ταῦτ' A K: ταῦθ' V θάρι' R^{ac}
 144 ἐκπληκτε V 145 -σπρέ- V 'Ηρ.] *dic.* R 146 ἀείνων *Phot.* *Su*
Et. Gen.: ἀεί νῶν R A K *Zon.*: ἀείναον V *Eust.* 147 -κηκε V 148 κοινὸν
Uyr. 149 ἠλό- *Su* *Ammon.*: ἠλοί- R V K^{pc}: ἠλλοί- A et fort. K^{ac} 152-3 sig-
 mate et antisigmate not. *Aristophanes Byz. sec.* Σ^{ve}, unde 152 del. (*vr*) Σ^{ve} 152 Δι.
 om. R τούτοις R A^{ac} καὶ εἰ R *Diom.*: ἐκεῖ A^{ac} 153 πρ. τὴν om. *Su*: ἦ (*vr*) Σ^v
 (cf. ad 152-3) -θεν R 154 'Ηρ. om. R V -εἰσι V A K 155 δὲ V
 157 πολὺν χειρῶν κρότον A 158 Δι.] Ξα. R A 159 ἄγων A K λΣ^ε *Phot.*
Su *Eust.*: ἄγει *Hsch. Apostol.* 160 in. Δι. E^{ac} 161 'Ηρ.] par. R οἶ σοι]
 οὔτοι Kⁱ φράζουσ' V -ξάπαν V 163 οἰκοῦσι K *Vind.*

- καὶ χαίρε πόλλ' ὠδέλφῃ.
- Δι. νῆ Δία καὶ σύ γε
 ὑγίαινε. σὺ δὲ τὰ στρώματ' αὐθις λάμβανε. 165
- Ξα. πρὶν καὶ καταθέσθαι;
- Δι. καὶ ταχέως μέντοι πάνυ.
- Ξα. μὴ δῆθ', ἵκετεύω σ', ἀλλὰ μίσθωσαι τινα
 τῶν ἐκφερομένων, ὅστις ἐπὶ τοῦτ' ἔρχεται.
- Δι. ἔαν δὲ μηϋῶν;
- Ξα. τότ' ἔμ' ἄγειν.
- Δι. καλῶς λέγεις.
 καὶ γάρ τινες φέρουσι τουτονὶ νεκρόν. 170
 οὗτος, σὲ λέγω μέντοι, σὲ τὸν τεθηκότα.
 ἄνθρωπε, βούλει σκευάρι' εἰς Ἄιδου φέρειν;

ΝΕΚΡΟΣ

- πόσ' ἄττα;
- Δι. ταυτί.
- Νε. δύο δραχμᾶς μισθὸν τελεῖς;
- Δι. μὰ Δί', ἀλλ' ἔλαττον.
- Νε. ὑπάγεθ' ὑμεῖς τῆς ὁδοῦ.
- Δι. ἀνάμεινον, ὦ δαιμόνι', ἔαν ξυμβῶ τί σοι. 175
- Νε. εἰ μὴ καταθήσεις δύο δραχμᾶς, μὴ διαλέγου.
- Δι. λάβ' ἐννέ' ὀβολούς.
- Νε. ἀναβιώων νυν πάλιν.
- Ξα. ὡς σεμνὸς ὁ κατάρατος. οὐκ οἰμώζεται;
 ἐγὼ βαδιοῦμαι.
- Δι. χρηστός εἶ καὶ γεννάδας.
 χωρῶμεν ἐπὶ τὸ πλοῖον.

ΧΑΡΩΝ

ὦ ὅπ· παραβαλοῦ.

174 (ῥ- . . .) Th. 369. 4 175 § † *Vind.* a 126 177 (ἀνα- . . .) § † *An. Ox.*
 ii. 353. 11 (ἀνα-) § Phot. a 1408 180 (ὠ- . . .) Su ω 132 (ὠσπ) Ael. Dion.
 ω 10

164 in. Δι. K: Ἥρ. M Δι.] Ἥρ. K 165 in. Δι. K 167 Ξα. om. R
 169 Δι. om. R μῆ ἔχω γ^ρ. Σ^{RE} Ξα.] dic. R τότ' ἔμ' Krüger: τότε μ' a Δι.]
 dic. R 170 τινες] τιν' (et ἐκ-) Elmsley ἐκφέρουσι E^{pc} U Vb3 171 in.
 Δι. A 173 πόσ'] πῶς R Δι. om. V Νε.] dic. R: om. V 174 Νε.] dic.
 R 175 ἔαν] ἵνα R C Σ^{VE}: ἵνα ἄν V τί σοι] τίσιν *Vind.* 177 -βιοίην Cobet
 178 Ξα] Δι. V. ante οὐκ] Δι. A^{pc} -ζεται V 179 in Ξα. V A Δι.] Νε. V
 180 in. Δι. V: Ξα. Np1 U Vs1 χωρῶ μὲν V ὦ ὅπ R: ὦ ὅπ A: ὦ ὅπ K: ὠσπ Σ^v λ Σ^E
 Ael. Su.

- Δι. τουτί τί ἐστι;
 Ξα. τούτο; λίμνη νῆ Δία
 αὕτη ὅστιν ἦν ἔφραζε, καὶ πλοῖόν γ' ὄρω.
 Δι. νῆ τὸν Ποσειδῶ, κάστι γ' ὁ Χάρων οὐτοσί.
 χαῖρ' ὦ Χάρων, χαῖρ' ὦ Χάρων, χαῖρ' ὦ Χάρων.
 Χα. τίς εἰς ἀναπαύλας ἐκ κακῶν καὶ πραγμάτων; 185
 τίς εἰς τὸ Λήθης πεδῖον, ἧ ἴς Ὀνουπόκας,
 ἧ ἴς Κερβερίους, ἧ ἴς κόρακας, ἧ ἴπι Ταίναρον;
 Δι. ἐγώ.
 Χα. ταχέως ἔμβαινε.
 Δι. ποῦ σήσειν δοκεῖς;
 Χα. ἐς κόρακας.
 Δι. ὄντως;
 Χα. ναὶ μὰ Δία σοῦ γ' οὐνεκα.
 εἴσβαινε δῆ.
 Δι. παῖ, δεῦρο.
 Χα. δούλον οὐκ ἄγω, 190
 εἰ μὴ νεναυμάχηκε τὴν περὶ τῶν κρεῶν.
 Ξα. μὰ τὸν Δί' οὐ γάρ, ἀλλ' ἔτυχον ὀφθαλμῖων.
 Χα. οὐκουν περιθρῆξει δῆτα τὴν λίμνην τρέχων;
 Ξα. ποῦ δῆτ' ἀναμενῶ;
 Χα. παρὰ τὸν Αὐαίνου λίθον,

185-6 Su §§ (1) α 1998, §§ † (2) τ 655 186 (εἰς . . .) § Paus. Att. ε 21 (*O . . .)
 ~ Hsch. ο 926; §§ Phot. ii. 19; §§ Zenob. v. 38; App. Prou. 2. 29; Eust. § (1) II. ii. 40. 2, § (2)
 Od. 1788. 23 187 (. . . -ρίους) † EM 513. 47 188 (ποῦ . . .) §§ Su π 2149
 190 (δοῦ- . . .)-† † Σ^{RVE} 420; §§ † [Plu.] Prou. ii. 7 191 §§ † Su κ 2362 (τήν)
 §§ Phot. i. 350 192 (ἀλλ'. . .) Th. 267. 16 194 Su (§§) † (1) α 1998, §§ † (2)
 τ 655; Eust. § (1) II. iii. 313. 22, § (2) Od. 1559. 45

181 Δι. Θ (γρ.) Σ^{VE}: Θε. Δι. Np1: Ξα. V A K: om. R Ξα. Θ C Σ^{VE}: Ξα. Δι. Np1^{pc}: Δι.
 V A K: dic. R 182 in. Ξα. V A K: Δι. Θ: Θε. Δι. Np1 ante καί] Ξα. t
 183 Δι. om. R A: Ξα. K 184 in. Δι. E U V S1 Θ^{ac} ante alt. χαῖρ'] Ξα. (γρ.) Σ^{RVE}
 ante tert. χαῖρ'] Νε. (γρ.) Σ^{RVE} 185 Χα. om. K 186 in. Χα. K Ὀνου-
 πόκας Radermacher: ὄνου πόκας a: ὄνου ποκάς C Hsch.: ὄνου πόκους Zenob.: Ὀκνου-
 πλοκάς Bergk 187 κόρακος V 188 pr. Δι.] Χα. R Χα. om. R A alt.
 Δι. om. R ποῖ E P20 U 189 Χα.] Δι. R: om. A K Δι. om. R A K εἶνεκα
 R K: ἐνεκα V 190 in. Δι. R V ἔμβαινε E M M d1 Np1 U V b3 V s1 Θ Δι.
 om. R V Χα.] dic. R 191 τὴν om. Σ^V 420 Su νεκρῶν A K (γρ.) Σ^{RVE} Apol-
 lonius ap. Σ^{RVE} 420 Ixion sec. Phot. (ctr. Aristarchus ap. Σ) [Plu] γρ. 192 δι' ἄλλ'
 οὐ R^{ac} 193 οὐκοῦν R V K τρέχων] κύκλω R V 194 Ξα. om. R ποῖ
 V Χα.] dic. R περὶ M¹ U V b3 Αὐαίνου Kock: αὐ- a Su Eust.

ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀναπαύλαις.

- Δι. μανθάνεις;
- Ξα. πάνυ μανθάνω· 195
- οἴμοι κακοδαίμων, τῷ ξυνέτυχον ἐξιῶν;
- Χα. κάθιζ' ἐπὶ κώπην. εἴ τις ἔτι πλεῖ, σπευδέτω.
- οὔτος, τί ποιεῖς;
- Δι. ὄτι ποιῶ; τί δ' ἄλλο γ' ἦ
- ἴζω 'πὶ κώπην, οὔπερ ἐκέλευές με σύ;
- Χα. οὔκουν καθεδεῖ δῆτ' ἐνθαδί, γάστρων;
- Δι. ἰδοῦ. 200
- Χα. οὔκουν προβαλεῖ τῷ χεῖρε κάκτενεῖς;
- Δι. ἰδοῦ.
- Χα. οὐ μὴ φλυαρήσεις ἔχων, ἀλλ' ἀντιβὰς
- ἐλᾶς προθύμως.
- Δι. κᾶτα πῶς δυνήσομαι
- ἄπειρος ἀθαλάττωτος ἀσαλαμίnius
- ῶν εἴτ' ἐλαύνειν;
- Χα. ῥᾶστ' ἀκούσει γὰρ μέλη 205
- κάλλιστ', ἐπειδὰν ἐμβάλης ἄπαξ.
- Δι. τίνων;
- Χα. βατράχων κύκνων θαυμαστά.
- Δι. κατακέλευε δῆ·
- Χα. ὦ ὄπ· ὄπ. ὦ ὄπ· ὄπ.

197 §§ Macar. iv. 96 (. . . -πην) § Eust. Od. 1710. 43 199 Hdn. i. 494. 11;
Ioh. Alex. p. 32. 12 200 § † Zon. 1170 203 (κᾶτα . . .)-5 §§ Σ Dion. Thr.
290. 20 203 (κᾶτα . . .)-4 (. . . -τος) § † Vind. a 97 203 Apoll.
Dysc. i. 229. 24 205 (ἀκού- . . .)-6 (. . . ἄπαξ) § Vind. e 28 207 (κατα-
. . .) § Eust. Il. iii. 328. 15 208 Su ω 133

195 Δι. M V_{SI}^{PC} Θ: dic. V: sp. A: om. R K Ξα.] dic. R ad fin. vs. dic. V
196 in. Δι. (νρ)Σ^{VE} ante τῷ] sp. A 197 κώπης M^{PC} ἔτι πλεῖ Kuster: ἐπι-
πλεῖ R V K: ἐπιπλεῖν A 198 ὄτι] τί A 199 οἴπερ A K ἐκέλευσας A K
200 Χα. om. R οὔκουν R: οὔκοῦν V 201 om. R οὔκοῦν V [R] προ-
βαλεῖς V [R] Δι. super -τε- et dic. ante ἰδοῦ (sic) V [R] 202 Χα. om. R -σης
A [K] ad fin. vs. par. R: dic. V: τὰ ῥέματα ἀντιβὰς V^{PC} 203 κᾶτα] εἶτα Vind.
204 -τευτος Kock 205 ante εἴτ'] Χα. V Χα.] dic. R: om. V 206 Δι. om.
R τινῶν R^{PC} 207 Χα. om. R Δι. om. R V κατακέλευε E U V_{SI} Eust.:
κάτακέ- R V: κᾶτα κέ- A K 208 om. R Χα. om. V [R] ὦ ὄπ· ὄπ (bis)
Dover: ὦ ὄπόπ (sic) ter V: ὦ ὄπ· ὄπ ὦ ὄπ· ὄπ A: ὦ ὄποπ bis K [R]

ΧΟΡΟΣ ΒΑΤΡΑΧΩΝ

	βρεκεκεκέξ κοᾶξ κοᾶξ.				
	βρεκεκεκέξ κοᾶξ κοᾶξ.	210			
	λιμναία κρηνῶν τέκνα, ξύναυλον ὕμνων βοᾶν φθεγξώμεθ' εὐγηρυν ἐμὰν ἀοιδάν, κοᾶξ κοᾶξ,				
	ἦν ἀμφὶ Νυσηῖον	215			
	Διὸς Διόνυσον ἐν λίμναισιν ἰαχῆσαμεν, ἦνίχ' ὁ κραιπαλόκωμος τοῖς ἱεροῖσι Χύτροις χω-	219a			
	ρεῖ κατ' ἐμὸν τέμενος λαῶν ὄχλος.	219b			
	βρεκεκεκέξ κοᾶξ κοᾶξ.	220			
Δι.	ἐγὼ δέ γ' ἀλγείν ἄρχομαι τὸν ὄρρον, ὦ κοᾶξ κοᾶξ.				
Χο.	βρεκεκεκέξ κοᾶξ κοᾶξ.				
Δι.	ὕμῖν δ' ἴσως οὐδὲν μέλει.				
Χο.	βρεκεκεκέξ κοᾶξ κοᾶξ.	225			
Δι.	ἀλλ' ἐξόλοισθ' αὐτῷ κοᾶξ. οὐδὲν γάρ ἐστ' ἀλλ' ἢ κοᾶξ.				
Χο.	εἰκότως γ', ὦ πολλὰ πράττων. ἐμὲ γὰρ ἔστερξαν εὐλυροὶ τε Μοῦσαι καὶ κεροβάτας Πᾶν ὁ καλαμόφθογα παίζων,	230			
	211 $\overline{12}$ A	213 $\overline{14}$ a	215 $\overline{16}$ V A K	216 $\overline{17}$ R A	217 λί/
	μναι- R V	219 -σι / χω- a	219a \overline{b} a	219b $\overline{20}$ A	221 2 A
	230 -τας / Πᾶν R V K				

209 Σ Dion. Thr. §§ (1) 310. 33, §§ (2) 478. 22; § Stephanus, CAG xxi. 2. 311. 2; § Ammonius, CAG iv. 5. 25. 9; §§ Aesop. 298 Halm; § Su β 530; Zon. (1) 81, (2) 410 211 Σ^{Tri}. S. OT 1463

209 βρεκεκεξ (vel -κέξ) V Su Steph. Ammon.: βρεκέκεξ Σ Dion.^{vi}: βρεκεκεξ Zon. κοᾶξ semel Σ Dion. 210 om. V 211 κρηνῶν A 212 ὕμνον βοᾶν V 213 -ξόμεθ' V ἐμὰν ἀοιδάν (sic) R V 214 κοᾶξ ter V A 216 Διῶ- Hermann: -ό- in ras. P20 217 -ναις (et ἰᾶ-) Schroeder 218 κραιπαλαί- R: κραιπαλαί- Su 219a Χύτροις Radermacher: χύτροισι R V K: -τη- A 220 βρεκεκεξ V 221 δέ γ' δ' V: δέ τ' A K 222 ὦ R ὄρρον C Ti-machidas ap. Σ^{VE} (ctr. Hdn. ap. Σ^R) 223 om. V βρεκεκεξ A [V] Xo. om. R [V] 224 Δι. om. R 225 Xo. om. R βρεκεκεξ V: βρεκέκεξ A 226 ἀλλ' om. V κοᾶξ κοᾶξ R A K 227 om. Aⁱ ἐστι V: om. A ἄλλο γ' ἢ A κοᾶξ κοᾶξ R A K 228 γ' σύ γ' A 230 κερω- A πᾶν V -φογα V

- προσεπιτέρπεται δ' ὁ φορμικτᾶς Ἀπόλλων 231/2
 ἔνεκα δόνακος, ὃν ὑπολύριον
 ἔνυδρον ἐν λίμναις τρέφω.
 βρεκεκεκέξ κοᾶξ κοᾶξ. 235
- Δι. ἐγὼ δὲ φλυκταίνας γ' ἔχω,
 χῶ πρωκτὸς ἰδίει πάλαι,
 κᾶτ' αὐτίκ' ἐκκύψας ἐρεῖ—
- Χο. βρεκεκεκέξ κοᾶξ κοᾶξ.
- Δι. ἀλλ' ὦ φιλωδὸν γένος, 240
 παύσασθε.
- Χο. μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν
 φθεγξόμεσθ', εἰ δὴ ποτ' εὐ- 242a
 ηλίοις ἐν ἀμέραισιν 242b
 ἠλάμεσθα διὰ κυπείρου
 καὶ φλέω, χαίροντες ὦδῆς
 πολυκολύμβοισι μέλεσιν, 245
 ἧ Διὸς φεύγοντες ὄμβρον
 ἔνυδρον ἐν βυθῷ χορείαν
 αἰόλαν ἐφθεγξάμεσθα
 πομφολυγοπαφλάσμασιν.
- Δι. βρεκεκεκέξ κοᾶξ κοᾶξ. 250
 τουτί παρ' ὑμῶν λαμβάνω.
- Χο. δεινὰ τᾶρα πεισόμεσθα.

233 -κος / ὄν V 234^γ A 236^γ A 238^γ A 240^ι V A K
 241 -σθε / μᾶλ- Π2 a 242a^β A 246^γ A

232 (δὲ- . . .)-3 ~ Ael. Dion. δ 27; ~ § Poll. iv. 62; ~ §§ Hsch. δ 2187; ~ §§ Phot. δ 709; ~ Eust. Π. iv. 264. 14; ~ Const. Manasses, *In Mich. Hag.* p. 181 236 Su φ 552
 237 Did. *in Dem.* xi. 25 243-5 † Su φ 533 247 (χο- . . .)-8, 250 §§ † Su ai
 244: † Zon. 81

233 δόνακος V ad fin. vs. dic. et eis λύραν πεπονημένον:— V 234-45, 249-62 ha-
 bet Π2 235 βρεκεκέξ V A [Π2] 236 in. Δι. Χο. R [Π2] γ' om. M Mdiⁱ
 Su^{vi} [Π2] 238 ἐκκύψας P20^{ac}; εκκ[Π2: ἐγ- a 239 Χο. Vστ (cj. Reisig):
 om. Π2 a βρεκεκέξ V A [Π2] κοᾶξ semel A [Π2] 240 Δι. K: om. R V A
 [Π2] 242a -ξόμεθ' V A K [Π2] 242b -ραισι A: -ραις ἸΣ⁸ [Π2]
 243 ἠλάμεσθα Ald.: ἠλλάμεσθα t: ἠλάμεθα R: ἠλάμεθα V A K Su [Π2] 244 φλεῶ
 R [Π2] 245 -βοις A K Su [Π2] μέλεσι A Su 248 -μεθα K Su Zon.
 [Π2] ad fin. vs. βρεκεκέξ Su: βρεκεκέξ Zon. 249 -παφλάσ-] -πλάσ- A [Π2]
 -ματι V: -μασι A K 250 Δι. om. R A K [Π2] βρεκεκέξ V (ctr. Σ^v) A Su Zon.
 [Π2] 251 in. par. et Δι. Π2: Δι. R A K ad fin. vs. : σύ γε πάντως:— R
 252 Χο. om. K: par. Π2 τᾶρα] γ' αρ[Π2: γαρ R: γ' ἄρα A K -μεθα R ad fin.
 vs. εἰ σιγήσομαι A

- Δι. δεινότερα δ' ἔγωγ', ἐλαύνων 253/4
 εἰ διαρραγήσομαι. 255
- Χο. βρεκεκεκέξ κοᾶξ κοᾶξ.
- Δι. οἰμώζετε· οὐ γάρ μοι μέλει.
- Χο. ἀλλὰ μὴν κεκραζόμεσθα γ' 258a
 ὅποσον ἢ φάρυξ ἂν ἡμῶν 258b
 χανδάνη δι' ἡμέρας·
- Δι. βρεκεκεκέξ κοᾶξ κοᾶξ. 260
 τούτῳ γὰρ οὐ νικήσετε.
- Χο. οὐδὲ μὴν ἡμᾶς σὺ πάντως.
- Δι. οὐδὲ μὴν ὑμεῖς γ' ἐμέ
 οὐδέποτε· κεκράζομαι γὰρ
 κᾶν με δῆ δι' ἡμέρας, ἔ- 265
 ως ἂν ὑμῶν ἐπικρατήσω τῷ κοᾶξ.
 βρεκεκεκέξ κοᾶξ κοᾶξ.

ἔμελλον ἄρα παύσειν ποθ' ὑμᾶς τοῦ κοᾶξ.

- Χα. ὦ παῦε παῦε, παραβαλοῦ τῷ κωπίῳ.
 ἔκβαίν· ἀπόδος τὸν ναύλον·
- Δι. ἔχε δὴ τῷβολῶ. 270
 ὁ Ξανθίας. ποῦ Ξανθίας; ἢ Ξανθία.
- Ξα. ἰαῦ.
- Δι. βιάδιζε δεῦρο.
- Ξα. χαῖρ' ὦ δέσποτα.

253/4 $\bar{5}$ A 257 $\bar{8}a$ A 258a -σθά / γ' a 258a \bar{b} a 258b $\bar{9}$ A
 260 $\bar{1}$ A 263 $\bar{4}$ A 264 -τε / κε- A 264 $\bar{5}$ A 265 -ρας / ἔ- a
 265 $\bar{6}$ a

258b † Th. 223, 4 262 §§ † Su π 244 270 (... -λον) § Su ν 59; § †
 Constr. Verb. p. 366 271 † Σ^{REF2} Ach. 243

253/4 Δι. om. K: par. Π2 256 Χο.] par. Π2 βρεκεκέξ Vi A [Π2]
 257 -ξετ' K μέλλει A K [Π2] 258a Χο. om. K -κραζό- V (ctr. ^ΛΣ^V) [Π2]
 -μεθα K [Π2] 258b φάρυγξ A K ὅποσον post -ρυξ transp. Bachmann
 260 Δι. om. K βρεκεκέξ V A [Π2] 261 in. Δι. A K τούτο R [Π2]
 262 Χο.] par. Π2 ὑμᾶς A^{ac} K [Π2] σὺ] γε Ri (σύ R³): σύ γε ^ΛΣ^R Su [Π2]
desinit Π2 263 γέ μ' A 264 οὐδεπώποτε A 265 δέη A: δεῖ K
 ante ἔως] Δι. K^{ac} 266 τῷ] τὸ R V Kⁱ 267 in. Χο. V A K βρεκεκέξ A
 268 in. Δι. V A K ποθ' ὑμᾶς παύσειν A 269 ὦ Dindorf: ὦ a τῷ
 κωπίῳ A K: τῷ κωπίῳ Mdi Np1^{ac} 270 τὸν] τὸ A C^{(p)2}Σ^{RVE} Δι.] dic. V
 271 ἦ] ἦ A: ἦ ποῦ R Ξανθία] -ίας R A K 272 Δι. om. R alt. Ξα.
 om. R

- Δι. τί ἐστι τάνταυθοί;
 Ξα. σκότος καὶ βόρβορος.
 Δι. κατείδες οὖν που τοὺς πατραλοίας αὐτόθι
 καὶ τοὺς ἐπιόρκους, οὓς ἔλεγεν ἡμῖν;
 Ξα. σὺ δ' οὐ; 275
 Δι. νῆ τὸν Ποσειδῶ ἴγωγε, καὶ νυνί γ' ὄρω.
 ἄγε δῆ, τί δρώμεν;
 Ξα. προΐεναι βέλτιστα νῶν,
 ὡς οὗτος ὁ τόπος ἐστὶν οὐ τὰ θηρία
 τὰ δεῖν' ἔφασκ' ἐκείνος.
 Δι. ὡς οἰμώζεται.
 ἡλαζονεύεθ' ἵνα φοβηθεῖην ἐγώ, 280
 εἰδῶς με μάχιμον ὄντα, φιλοτιμούμενος·
 οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω γαυρόν ἐσθ' ὡς Ἡρακλῆς.
 ἐγὼ δέ γ' εὐξάιμην ἂν ἐντυχεῖν τινι
 λαβεῖν τ' ἀγώνισμ' ἄξιόν τι τῆς ὁδοῦ.
 Ξα. νῆ τὸν Δία· καὶ μῆν αἰσθάνομαι ψόφου τίνος. 285
 Δι. ποῦ ποῦ ἔστ';
 Ξα. ὀπισθεν.
 Δι. ἐξόπισθέ νυν ἴθι.
 Ξα. ἀλλ' ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ πρόσθε.
 Δι. πρόσθε νυν ἴθι.
 Ξα. καὶ μῆν ὄρω νῆ τὸν Δία θηρίον μέγα.
 Δι. ποῖόν τι;
 Ξα. δεινόν. παντοδαπὸν γοῦν γίνεταί·

280-1 Su η 189 280 § Zon. 988 281 §§ † Su μ 304 282 Su γ 77
 283-4 § † Su α 336 284 § † An. Par. Cra. iv. 90. 23; § † Zon. 33 288-94 †
 Su ε 1049

273-300 habet Π2 273 Δι. om. R V A [Π2] Ξα. om. R; Δι. V [Π2]
 274 Δι. E M U Θ; Ξα. V A; om. R K [Π2] που om. R [Π2] super -τό. Δι. V; ante
 αὐ- sp. M 275 Ξα.] dic. R; om. Π2 V; Δι. A δ' γ' A ad fin. vs. ἀν^{ττ} ὁ ἥρ^α
 V 276 Δι.] dic. ad fin. vs. 275 Π2; om. R; Ξα. V A ἴγωγε om. K [Π2] γ' δ'
 V 277 in. par. Π2; Ξα. E^{ac} M Ξα.] dic. R; om. V A^{ac} [Π2] προΐεναι V
 [Π2] νων Π2; νόι R; νοῖν V 278 in. par. Π2 (et dic. ad fin. vs. 277); Ξα. V A
 279 Δι.] dic. R [Π2] -ζεται V ad fin. vs. dic. et par. R 281 φιλότιμον
 γένος V; φιλοτιμούμενον Su(1)^{v.1}(2)^{v.1}. [Π2] 285 Ξα.] par. Π2 286 Δι.]
 par. Π2 ἔστ' M d1 Θ; ἔστιν R; ἔσ[Π2; om. V A K ὀπισθεν A K ἐξόπισθεν R; ἔξο-
 V -θεν νυν (sic) E N p1 Θ; -θεν νῦν A K; -θεν R; -θεν αὐ V;]ν Π2 287 om. Π2
 Aⁱ pr. πρόσθε] -θεν A K Δι.] sp. K [Π2] alt. πρόσθε] -θεν V A; πρόσω K [Π2]
 289 Δι.] par. Π2 Ξα.] dic. R; punct. Π2 ante παν-] dic. R [Π2] -δαπῶν V
 [Π2] γοῦν] ουν Π2 γίνεταί M; γίνεται Π2 a

- τοτέ μέν γε βούς, νυνί δ' ὀρέύς, τοτέ δ' αὐ γυνή 290
 ὠραιοτάτη τις.
- Δι. ποῦ ἴστι; φέρ' ἐπ' αὐτήν ἴω.
 Ξα. ἀλλ' οὐκέτ' αὐ γυνή ἴστιν, ἀλλ' ἤδη κύων.
 Δι. Ἔμπουσα τοῖνυν ἔστί.
 Ξα. πυρὶ γοῦν λάμπεται
 ἄπαν τὸ πρόσωπον.
- Δι. καὶ σκέλος χαλκοῦν ἔχει;
 Ξα. νῆ τὸν Ποσειδῶ, καὶ βολίτινον θάτερον, 295
 σάφ' ἴσθι.
- Δι. ποῖ δῆτ' ἂν τραποίμην;
 Ξα. ποῖ δ' ἐγώ;
 Δι. ἱερεῦ, διαφύλαξόν μ', ἵν' ὦ σοι συμπτώης.
 Ξα. ἀπολούμεθ', ὠναξ Ἡράκλεις.
 Δι. οὐ μὴ καλεῖς μ',
 ὠνθρωφ', ἱκετεύω, μηδὲ κατερεῖς τοῦνομα.
 Ξα. Διόνυσε τοῖνυν.
 Δι. τοῦτ' ἔθ' ἤττον θατέρου. 300
 Ξα. ἴθ' ἤπερ ἔρχει. δεῦρο δεῦρ', ὦ δέσποτα.
 Δι. τί δ' ἔστί;
 Ξα. θάρρει· πάντ' ἀγαθὰ πεπράγαμεν,
 ἔξεστί θ' ὥσπερ Ἡγέλοχος ἡμῖν λέγειν
 "ἔκ κυμάτων γὰρ αὐθις αὐ γαλήν ὄρω."
 Ἡμπουσα φρουῶδη.
- Δι. κατόμοσον.
 Ξα. νῆ τὸν Δία. 305
- 295 §§ EM 204. 30; An. Bekk. 8. 69 (βο-) ~ Ath. 566 E 303-4 §§ † Su η 36

290 in. par. Π2 pr. τοτέ] ποτέ Π2: τότε R^{ac} V: ποτέ A . alt. τοτέ] τοτ[Π2: τότε R V: ποτέ A δ' αὐ] δὲ A 291 Δι.] dic. R στίν R ἴω V 292 Ξα.] par. Π2: om. R 293 Δι. om. Π2 R τοῖνυν γ' ἔστίν A [Π2] Ξα.] dic. R: om. V [Π2] ad fin. vs. dic. V 294 Δι.] par. Π2: dic. R: sp. K: om. V 295 Ξα. om. R K: Δι. A: par. Π2 νῆ] ναί Hdn.(1)(2) [Π2] ante καί] sp. K: Δι. CΣ^{RV}: Ξα. E^{ac} [Π2] 296 in. par. Π2: Δι. A: Ξα. E M Mδ1 Np1 U Vb3 Θ Δι. om. R V: Ξα. A [Π2] pr. ποί] καὶ ποί A δῆτ' δ' A K [Π2] Ξα.] dic. R: Δι. V A [Π2] 297 Δι. K^{pc}: par. Π2: om. R V A: Ξα. K^{ac} -ξομ' V [Π2] ὡι V [Π2] 298 Ξα.] par. Π2: dic. ad fin. vs. 297 R: ἰρ' A Δι.] dic. R [Π2] καλῆς K 300 Ξα. om. R: ἰρ' E Mδ1 U Vb3 [Π2] Δι.] dic. R [Π2] τοῦτ' ἔθ' Dindorf: τοῦτό γ' R V K: τοῦτό γ' ἔσθ' A λΣ^E [Π2] **desinit Π2** 301 Ξα. om. R K ἴσθ' A ad fin. vs. Ξα. K 302 Δι.] Ξα. θάρρει A^{ac} Ξα. om. R. A^{ac} θάρρει om. A^{ac} K πάντα πάγαθὰ A 303 in. Δι. V: Ξα. K θ'] δ' V A K ὑμῖν Su^{v.l.} λέγει Su^{v.l.} 304 αὐθις αὐ] αὐθις R V Su^{v.l.}: ἀρτίως A γαλήν Np1 Su: γαλήν R V: γαλήν' E Vsi: γαλήν' A K 305 in. Ξα. V Δι.] dic. R Ξα.] dic. R

- Δι. καύθεις κατόμοσον.
 Ξα. νῆ Δί'.
 Δι. ὄμοσον.
 Ξα. νῆ Δία.
 Δι. οἴμοι τάλας, ὡς ὠχρίασ' αὐτὴν ἰδῶν.
 Ξα. ὀδὶ δὲ δείσας ὑπερεπυρρῖασέ σου.
 Δι. οἴμοι, πόθεν μοι τὰ κακὰ ταυτὶ προσέπεσεν;
 τίν' αἰτιάσομαι θεῶν μ' ἀπολλύναι; 310
 Ξα. αἰθέρα Διὸς δωμάτιον ἢ Χρόνου πόδα.
 Ξα. οὗτος.
 Δι. τί ἐστίν;
 Ξα. οὐ κατήκουσας;
 Δι. τίνος;
 Ξα. αὐλῶν πνοῆς.
 Δι. ἔγωγε, καὶ δάδων γέ με
 αὔρα τις εἰσέπνευσε μυστικωτάτη.
 ἀλλ' ἡρεμεῖ πτήξαντες ἀκροασώμεθα. 315

ΧΟΡΟΣ

Ἰακχ' ὦ Ἰακχε.
 Ἰακχ' ὦ Ἰακχε.

- Ξα. τοῦτ' ἔστ' ἐκεῖν', ὦ δέσποθ', οἱ μεμνημένοι
 ἐνταυθά που παίζουσιν, οὖς ἔφραζε νῶν.
 ἄδουσι γοῦν τὸν Ἰακχον ὄνπερ δι' ἀγοράς. 320

316¹⁷ a

308 § † Su v 267 311 § Su χ 535 parepigr. Σ^{rec.} Pl. 252 314 § Σ^{rec.}
 E. Hec. 447 315 § † An. Boiss. i. 405; Σ' 269 320 ~ §§ Hsch. δ 975; §§ Su i
 15; § † Vind. a 22

306 om. K pr. Δι. om. R [K] pr. Ξα.] dic. R [K] alt. Δι.] dic. R [K]
 alt. Ξα.] dic. R [K] 307 Δι. om. R 308 Ξα. om. R V K ὀδὶ]
 ὀ R -αζεν Su σου] που V: μου A K: om. Su 309 Δι. om. R K -πεσε A
 K: προσέπτατο V: προσέμπεσε V^{sp.} 311 Ξα. om. V A K post 311 αὐλεί τις
 ἐνδοθεν R V: αὐλεί τις ἐνδον Σ Pl. 312 pr. Δι. om. A K τί] τίς R alt. Δι.]
 dic. R alt. Ξα.] dic. R: sp. K: fort. Δι. V^{ac} 313 Δι. om. R K Ξα.] dic. R: sp.
 K γέ με om. A: μέ γε K 314 αὔρα M d I Σ Eur.: αὔρα R V K: αὐρά γε A
 ἐξέπνευσε Σ Eur. 315 Δι. om. R V A C^(r) Σ^{VE} ἡρέμ V: ἡρέμα M U^s Vb3
 πτύ- A 316 -χε ὦ Ἰ- A 316-17 -χ' Ἰ- K 318 ἐκεῖνο δέσ- V A K
 319 -ζοῦσ' A 320 ἄδουσιν οὖν V: ἄγουσι γοῦν Vs1^{sp.}: ἄγουσιν οὖν Vind.
 ὡσπερ Su διαγόρας R V^{sp.} A K Aristarchus ap. Σ^E (ctr. Apollod. Tars. ap. Σ^{VE},
 'Diod. Tars.' ap. Hsch.) Su: ὁ διαγόρας Vind.

- Δι. κάμοι δοκοῦσιν. ἤσυχίαν τοίνυν ἄγειν
βέλτιστόν ἐστιν, ὡς ἂν εἰδῶμεν σαφῶς.
- Χο. Ἰακχ' ὦ πολυτίμητ' ἐν ἔδραις ἐνθάδε ναίων, στρ. 323/4
Ἰακχ' ὦ Ἰακχε. 325
ἐλθὲ τόνδ' ἀνὰ λειμῶνα χορεύσων
ὀσίους εἰς θιασώτας,
πολύκαρπον μὲν τινάσσω
περὶ κρατὶ σῶ βρῦνonta
στέφανον μύρτων, θρασεὶ δ' ἐγκατακρούων 330/1
- ποδὶ τὴν ἀκόλαστον
φιλοπαίγμονα τιμῆν,
Χαρίτων πλείστον ἔχουσαν μέρος, ἀγνὴν ἱερὰν 334/5
ὀσίους μύσταις χορεῖαν.
- Ξα. ὦ πότνια πολυτίμητε Δήμητρος κόρη,
ὡς ἡδύ μοι προσέπνευσε χοιρείων κρεῶν.
- Δι. οὐκουν ἀτρέμ' ἕξεις, ἦν τι καὶ χορδῆς λάβης;
- Χο. ἔγειρ' ὦ φλογέας λαμπάδας † ἐν χερσὶ γὰρ ἤκεις ἀντ. 340/1
τινάσσω†
Ἰακχ' ὦ Ἰακχε,
νυκτέρου τελετῆς φωσφόρος ἀστήρ.
φλογὶ φέγγεται δὲ λειμῶν·
γόνυ πάλλεται γερόντων· 345
ἀποσεύονται δὲ λύπας

325⁶ A 327⁸ A 329^{30/1} A 330/1 -των/θρα- a 332³ A
334/5 -σαν/μέ- R V K 340/1 -as/λαμ- a ἤκει(s)/τι- a 340/1 2 a

326-7 §§ † Su θ 379 329-30 (... -των) § Eust. Od. 1715.62 329 (... σῶ) §
Eust. Il. ii. 538. 12 339 § Eust. Il. i. 307. 26 (... ἕξεις) § Eust. Il. ii. 141. 8

322 εἶσθ' ἕως V: εἶσθ' ὡς K σαφές A 323/4 -τίμητ' Reisch: -τιμήτοις a:
-τίμοις Hermann ἐν om. t ad fin. (v --) tent. Dover 329 περι] ἀμφὶ A K
Eust (Od): ἐπι Eust. (Il) κατὶς ὡι V 330/1 στεφάνω Eust. θάρσει R:
θύρωσ V 332 τὰν E^{pc} U 333 -παίσιμονα van Herwerden 336 ὀσίοισι
K μύσταισι R V A 339 οὐκοῦν V A ἀτρέμας A 340/1 ἔγειρ' ὦ Meineke:
ἔγειρε a λαμπάδας secl. Radermacher γὰρ... τινάσσων obelis not. Dover: γὰρ
ἤκεις secl. Hermann γὰρ om. Σ^v ἤκει R V (ctr. Σ^{RVE}) τινάσσω secl. Tri-
cliniius, om. t 342 ὦ om. A 344 φθέγγεται, ut vid., R^{ac}: φλέγεται V A K
346 -σειέται V s¹ ac (et fort. Θ^{ac}) t

χρονίους δ' ἐτών παλαιῶν ἐνιαυτοὺς 347/8
 ἱεράς ὑπὸ τιμῆς.
 σὺ σὲ λαμπάδι φέγγων 350
 προβάδην ἔξαγ' ἐπ' ἀνθηρὸν ἔλειον δάπεδον 351/2
 χοροποιόν, μάκαρ, ἦβαν.

εὐφήμειν χρῆ κάξιστασθαι τοῖς ἡμετέροισι χοροῖσιν,
 ὅστις ἄπειρος τοιῶνδε λόγων ἢ γνώμην μὴ καθαρεύει, 355
 ἢ γενναίων ὄργια Μουσῶν μήτ' εἶδεν μήτ' ἐχόρουσεν,
 μηδὲ Κρατίνου τοῦ ταυροφάγου γλώττης Βακχεῖ' ἐτελέσθη,
 ἢ βωμολόχοις ἔπεσιν χαίρει μὴ ἔν καιρῷ τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν,
 ἢ στάσιν ἐθρὰν μὴ καταλύει μηδ' εὐκολός ἐστι πολίταις,
 ἀλλ' ἀνεγείρει καὶ ῥιπίζει κερδῶν ἰδίων ἐπιθυμῶν, 360
 ἢ τῆς πόλεως χειμαζομένης ἄρχων καταδωροδοκεῖται,
 ἢ προδίδωσιν φρούριον ἢ ναῦς, ἢ τὰ πόρρητ' ἀποπέμπει
 ἐξ Αἰγίνης Θωρυκίων ὧν εἰκοστολόγος κακοδαίμων,
 ἀσκώματα καὶ λίνα καὶ πίτταν διαπέμπων εἰς Ἐπίδαυρον,
 ἢ χρήματα ταῖς τῶν ἀντιπάλων ναυσὶν παρέχειν τινὰ
 πείθει, 365
 ἢ κατατιλᾷ τῶν Ἑκαταίων κυκλίοισι χοροῖσιν ὑπέδων,
 ἢ τοὺς μισθοὺς τῶν ποιητῶν ῥήτωρ ὧν εἶτ' ἀποτρῶγει,
 κωμωδηθεῖς ἐν ταῖς πατρίοις τελεταῖς ταῖς τοῦ Διονύσου.

351/2 -ρὸν / ἔ- R V K

347 (ἐτών . . .) ~ Eust. §(1) *Il.* i. 293. 11, §§(2) *Il.* ii. 721. 3, §(3) *Od.* 1384. 62 354-7 §§ †
 Plu. *Mor.* 348 DE; ~ *ibid.* 349 B 354-6 § † Gell. *praef.* 21 354-5 † Priscian. xviii.
 213; § † Su ἐ 1772 354 † Priscian. xviii. 175 356-7 § † Su τ 169 357 ~ §
 Phot. 571. 12 358-9 (. . . -λύει) § † Su θ 583 360 (ἀνε- . . . -ζει) §§ † Phot.
 a 1784; Phr. *PS* 157 362-3 (. . . -γος) § † Su θ 583 (ἦ τὰ- . . . -νῆς) § † Σ^B E.
 Ph. 1668 364-5 (. . . χεῖν) §§ † Su θ 444 364 § *EM* 155. 18; Th. 184. 3
 (. . . -των) § Zon. 323 (. . . -ταν) Σ^{VE} ad 362 365-7 † Greg. *Cor. p.* 146 366 §§
 Su κ 822

347/8 χρόνους A: χρονίων K παλαιούς A K 350 σὺ] σὺν K φέγγων
 Voss: φλέγγων a 351 -γε πάνθηρον Σ^{RVE} (ctr. ^(RP)Σ^{RVE}) 354 in. ἡμιχ^{ορ} R
 (cf. Aristarch. ap. Σ^{VE}): χ^ο A χρῆ] δεῖ Prisc. χοροῖσιν om. Plu. 355 γνώμην
 M^{ac} Vb3 Prisc.: -μη(ι) a Su Gell.: γλώσση Plu. -ρεύει M^{ac} U Vb3 Plu. Gell.; -ρεύη
 R^{ac} Prisc.: -ρεύοι R^{pc} V A K Su 356 εἶδε V: ἴδε K Su^{nl}: οἶδε A: ἦσεν Plu.
 357 μηδε M Np1 Vs1 ^ΛΣ^E Σ^V362 Plu.: μήτε a 358 ἔπεσιν Mdi U: -σι a Su
 359 ἦ] καὶ Θ^{ac} πολίτ^τ R: -της V A 360 post 361 R ἐγείρει K 362 -δωσιν
 Dawes: -δωσι a Su Σ^EEur. 363 Θωρυκίωνα (sic) ^(RP)Σ^E: Θωρακίων Su(θ 444)^{RP}
 ὧν om. R A ^ΛΣ^V: ἄν Su(θ 583) 365 ναυσὶν U Greg.: -σι a ἐπέδων R
 366 Ἑκαταίων Blaydes 367 τῶν] τοὺς A ῥήτωρ ὧν] ῥήτορων V

τούτοις αὐδῶ καὐθις ἀπαυδῶ καὐθις τὸ τρίτον μάλ' ἀπαυδῶ
 ἐξίστασθαι μύσταισι χοροῖς· ὑμεῖς δ' ἀνεγείρετε μολπῆν 370
 καὶ παννυχίδας τὰς ἡμετέρας αἰ τῆδε πρέπουσιν ἑορτῆ.

- χώρει νυν πᾶς ἀνδρείως στρ.
 εἰς τοὺς εὐανθείς κόλπους
 λειμώνων ἐγκρούων 374a
 κάπισκώπτων 374b
 καὶ παίζων καὶ χλευάζων· 375
 ἠρίστηται δ' ἐξαρκούτως.
 ἀλλ' ἔμβα χῶπως ἀρείς ἀντ.
 τὴν Σώτειραν γενναίως
 τῆ φωνῆ μολπάζων,
 ἦ τὴν χῶραν 380
 σώσειν φῆσ' ἐς τὰς ὥρας,
 κᾶν Θωρυκίων μὴ βούληται.

- ἄγε νυν ἑτέραν ὕμνων ἰδέαν τὴν καρποφόρον βασιλείαν,
 Δήμητρα θεάν, ἐπικοσμούντες ζαθέοις μολπαῖς κελαδεῖτε.

- Δήμητερ, ἀγῶν ὀργίον στρ. 385a
 ἄνασσα, συμπαραστάτει, 385b
 καὶ σῶζε τὸν σαυτῆς χορόν·
 καὶ μ' ἀσφαλῶς πανήμερον
 παῖσαί τε καὶ χορευσαί.

372³ A 374^a b A 374^b 5 a 375 παίζων / καὶ a 375⁶ a
 376 -ται / δ' R V K 376⁷ R V K 377 -βα / χῶ- R V K 377⁸ A
 380¹ a 385^a b A 387⁸ A

369–71 § † Gell. praef. 21 369 § Su a 2942 370 (. . . -ροῖς) § † Su
 ε 1772

369 αὐδῶ] ἀπαυδῶ R K Su: μὲν ἀπαυδῶ A ἀπαυδῶ bis] ἐπαυδῶ bis Richards
 τὸ om. V A K 370 χοροῖσιν A Su 371 τὰς om. A ἡμετέρας] ἡμέρας V:
 ἱεράς A πρέπουσ' ἑορτῆ V 372 in. ἡμιχ^o R V Aristarchus sec. Σ^{RVE} cf.
 Σ^{RVE} 354 χώρει νῦν (sic) E^{pc}: χώρει δὴ νῦν a: χωρείαν νῦν Σ^v 373 κόλπους τῶν
 καθ' Αἰδου A 374b καὶ σκώπτων A K 376 -κούτως R: -κούντος V
 377 ἀρείς C Σ^E (cj. Scaliger): αἶρεις R K: αἰρήσεις V^λ Σ^R (αἰ-): αἶροις A 380 ἦ]
 ἦν M^{ac} 381 σώσειν Cobet: σώσει V: σῶζειν R A K φᾶσ' (sic) M ad fin.
 vs.] . . R: dic. V 383 in. ἡμιχ^o ἢ ἱερεύς R: ἡμιχ^o V: ἡμ^{κρ} ἱερές A ἄγε νυν om.
 Vⁱ εἰδέαν R 384 -τραν V A K θεῶν A ζαθέοις R μολ^π R
 385a in. ἡμ^κ R A: ἄλλο μ^ρ X^p V 386 ad fin. vs. dic. V

- καὶ πολλὰ μὲν γέλοιά μ' εἰ-
 πείν, πολλὰ δὲ σπουδαία, καὶ 390
 τῆς σῆς ἑορτῆς ἀξίως
 παῖσαντα καὶ σκώψαντα νι-
 κήσαντα ταινιοῦσθαι.
- ἄγ' εἰά νυν
 καὶ τὸν ὠραῖον θεὸν παρακαλεῖτε δεῦρο 395
 ῥῥαῖσι, τὸν ξυνέμπορον τῆσδε τῆς χορείας. 396/7
- Ἰακχε πολυτίμητε, μέλος ἑορτῆς στρ.
 ἠῆδιστον εὐρών, δεῦρο συνακολούθει
 πρὸς τὴν θεὸν 400
 καὶ δεῖξον ὡς ἄνευ πόνου
 πολλὴν ὁδὸν περαίνεις.
 Ἰακχε φιλοχορευτά, συμπρόπεμπέ με.
 σὺ γὰρ κατεσχίσω μὲν ἐπὶ γέλωτι ἀντ. α'
 κάπ' εὐτελείᾳ τὸδε τὸ σανδαλίσκον 405
 καὶ τὸ ῥάκος,
 κᾶξῆῦρες ὡστ' ἀζημίους 407a
 παίζειν τε καὶ χορεύειν. 407b
 Ἰακχε φιλοχορευτά, συμπρόπεμπέ με.
 καὶ γὰρ παραβλέψας τι μειρακίσκης ἀντ. β'
 νῦν δὴ κατείδον καὶ μάλ' εὐπροσώπου 410
 συμπαιστρίας
 χιτωνίου παραρραγέν- 412a
 τος τιτθίον προκύψαν. 412b
 Ἰακχε φιλοχορευτά, συμπρόπεμπέ με.

389⁹⁰ R V A 390 -πεῖν / πολ- R V -δαῖα / καὶ R A 390¹ R A
 391² A 392 -τα / νι- R A 394 5 a 395 -ὄν / πα- R V K
 396/7 -ρον / τῆσ- R V K 400¹ R V K 401 ὡς / ἄνευ V K 401² V
 A K 406 7a a 407a b A 411 12a a 412a -ου / πα- a

404-5b Su § † (1) ε 3766, § † (2) ρ 29

390 σπου-] καὶ σπου- R 394 in. ἡμι^x Md1 P20^c U Θ ἄγ'] ἀλλ' tent. Bent-
 ley 398 in. ἡμι^x E Np1 U Vb3 Θ 403 in. μερ^o χ^p V A 404-10 frus-
 tula praebet Πz 404 κατασχίσω μὲν R [I2]: κατασχισάμενος Kock 405 -λια
 V [I2] τὸδε τὸ Bergk: τόνδε τὸν a [I2]: τόν τε Bentley 407 κᾶξῆῦρες
 Meineke: -εὔ- a: ἐξ- R [I2] 408 in. ἡμι^x A [I2] 409 γὰρ ἤδη πα- A K
 [I2] 412 διαρραγέντος R 413 in. ἡμι^x A

- Δι. ἐγὼ δ' αἰὶ πως φιλακόλου- 414a
 θὸς εἰμι καὶ μετ' αὐτῆς 414b
 παίζων χορεύειν βούλομαι.
- Ξα. κάγωγε πρὸς. 415
- Χο. βούλεσθε δῆτα κοινῇ
 σκώψωμεν Ἀρχέδημον,
 ὃς ἐπότης ὦν οὐκ ἔφυσε φράτερας;
 νυνὶ δὲ δημαγωγεῖ
 ἐν τοῖς ἄνω νεκροῖσιν, 420
 κάστιν τὰ πρῶτα τῆς ἐκεῖ μοχθηρίας.
 τὸν Κλεισθένης δ' ἀκούω
 ἐν ταῖς ταφαῖσι πρωκτὸν
 τίλλειν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ σπαράττειν τὰς γνάθους·
 κάκόπτει' ἐγκεκυφῶς, 425
 κάκλαε κάκεκράγει
 Σεβῖνον ὅστις ἐστὶν Ἀναφλύστιος.
 καὶ Καλλίαν γέ φασιν
 τοῦτον τὸν Ἴπποβίνου
 κύσθου λεοντῆν ναυμαχεῖν ἐνημμένον. 430
- Δι. ἔχουτ' ἄν οὖν φράσαι νῶν
 Πλούτων' ὅπου νῆσίδ' οἰκεῖ;
 ξένω γὰρ ἐσμεν ἀρτίως ἀφιγμένω.
- Χο. μηδὲν μακρὰν ἀπέληθς,

414a \overline{b} A K 414b -μι / καὶ A K 414b $\overline{15}$ A 415 -μαι / κά- R V
 416 $\overline{17}$ A 417 $\overline{18}$ A 419 $\overline{20}$ A 420 $\overline{1}$ A 422 $\overline{3}$ A 425 $\overline{6}$ A
 428 $\overline{9}$ R A

418-19 §§ Su ε 2872 418 (ἐπ-...) -21 § † Su φ 692 418 (ἐπ-...) -19
 §§ Su δ 411 423-4 (... -τοῦ) Σ Theocr. 5. 43 c 428-30 § † Su ι 575
 429 (ἴππο-) ~ § Σ^{rec}. E. Ph. 28 430 Σ^{VE} 501 (... -τήν) ~ Eust. § (1) Il. i. 171.
 10, § (2) Il. ii. 696. 9 434 § Su μ 874

414a Δι. Dindorf: Ξα. A: om. R V K C Σ^{RVE} ad 415 415 Ξα. Dindorf: Δι. R K
 (γρ.) Σ^{RVE}: om. V 416 Χο. om. R K: ἤμικ' U 418 ἐπότης R φράτερας
 Dindorf: -τορας a Su 419 νῦν δὲ V A: καὶ νῦν Su 420 νε-
 κροῖς K λ Σ^{VE} Su 421 κάστι K Su ἐκείθεν λ Σ^E 422 Κλεισθένην P20' U
 423 ταφαῖσιν λ Σ^R 425 κάκόπτει' K 426 καὶ κε- R V 427 σέβει-
 νον R: σεβίνοσ A Ἄνα- Porson: ἀνα- a 429 τουτοῦ τὸν R A K λ Σ^{VE}: τὸν Su
 430 κύσθου Eust.(1) γρ.: κυάθου U γρ. 431 Ξα. A (Δι. A^{ms}) (γρ.) Σ^R 432 πλού-
 των' M: -των a

- μηδ' αὐθις ἐπανεῖρη με, 435
 ἀλλ' ἴσθ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν θύραν ἀφιγμένους.
- Δι. αἶροι' ἂν αὐθις, ὦ παῖ.
 Ξα. τουτὶ τί ἦν τὸ πρᾶγμα
 ἀλλ' ἢ Διὸς Κόρινθος ἐν τοῖς στρώμασιν;
- Χο. χωρεῖτέ νυν 440
 ἱερὸν ἀνὰ κύκλον θεᾶς, ἀνθοφόρον ἀν' ἄλλος 441/2
 παίζοντες οἷς μετρυσία θεοφιλοῦς ἑορτῆς. 443/4
 ἐγὼ δὲ σὺν ταῖσιν κόραις εἶμι καὶ γυναιξίν, 445
 οὐ παννυχίζουσιν θεᾶ, φέγγος ἱερὸν οἶσων. 446/7
- χωρῶμεν εἰς πολυρρόδους 57ρ.
 λειμῶνας ἀνθεμῶδεις,
 τὸν ἡμέτερον τρόπον 450
 τὸν καλλιχορώτατον
 παίζοντες, ὄν ὄλβιαι
 Μοῖραι ξυνάγουσιν.
 μόνοις γὰρ ἡμῖν ἥλιος ἀντ.
 καὶ φέγγος ἱερὸν ἔστιν, 455
 ὅσοι μεμυήμεθ' εὐ-
 σεβῆ τε διήγομεν
 τρόπον περὶ τοὺς ξένους
 καὶ τοὺς ἰδιώτας.
- Δι. ἄγε δῆ, τίνα τρόπον τὴν θύραν κόψω, τίνα; 460
 πῶς ενθάδ' ἄρα κόπτουσιν οὐπιχώριοι;
- Ξα. οὐ μὴ διατρίψεις, ἀλλὰ γεύσει τῆς θύρας,

438 ⁹ A	440 ¹ /2 A K	441/2 -ās / ἀν- a	441/2 ³ /4 A	443/4 -a
/ θε- a	443/4 ⁵ A	445 -ραις / εἰ- a	446/7 -α / φέγ- R V K	
446/7 ⁸ a	449 ⁵⁰ A	450 ¹ A	454 ⁵ a	456 -θα (sic) / εὐ- R
456 ⁷ R A K	457 ⁸ R A	458 -πον / πε- R A	458 ⁹ R A	

439 Σ Pl. *Euthd.* 292 E; Zenob. iii. 21 452 (ὄν . . .)-3 Σ^A E. *Md.* 861
 454-9 § Titulus Rhodius, s. i a.C., *Dioniso* 8 (1940) 119 458-9 §§ Su i 121
 462 (γεύ-) † Th. 195. 1

435 ἐπαν*έτρη R 437 αἶροις U Vb3 Vs1^{pc} post παῖ| τὰ στρώματα R A K
 439 ῆ| ἢ ^λΣ^{RV} 440 Xo. om. R: ἀλλ'ο χ' A 441/2 ad fin. vs. dic. et par. V
 443/4 ad fin. vs. dic. E U 445 in. ἱερεὺς A: Δι. E 446 -ζουσι A K θεαῖ
 V^{pc} A K 448 in. ἡμῶ V A (ctr. Σ^v 440) -λυρό- V^{ac} K 455 ἱερὸν| ἱλαρὸν
 A 458 περὶ τε τοὺς V A K 462 -ψης V A K γεύσαι V A K

καθ' Ἡρακλέα τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὸ λῆμ' ἔχων;

Δι. παῖ παῖ.

ΘΥΡΩΡΟΣ

τίς οὗτος;

Δι. Ἡρακλῆς ὁ καρτερός.

Θυ. ὦ βδελυρὲ κἀναίσχυντε καὶ τολμηρὲ σύ 465

καὶ μιαρὲ καὶ παμμίαρε καὶ μιαρώτατε,

ὄς τὸν κύν' ἡμῶν ἐξελάσας τὸν Κέρβερον

ἀπῆξας ἄγχων κάποδρὰς ψῆχου λαβῶν,

ὄν ἐγὼ φύλαττον. ἀλλὰ νῦν ἔχει μέσος·

τοῖα Στυγὸς σε μελανοκάρδιος πέτρα 470

Ἄχερόντιός τε σκόπελος αἵματοσταγῆς

φρουροῦσι, Κωκυτοῦ τε περιδρομοὶ κύνες,

ἔχιδνά θ' ἑκατογκέφαλος, ἢ τὰ σπλάγχνα σου

διασπαράξει, πλευμόνων τ' ἀνθάψεται

Ταρτησσία μύραινα, τὼ νεφρῷ δέ σου 475

αὐτοῖσιν ἐντέροισιν ἡματωμένω

διασπᾶσονται Γοργόνες Τειθράσιαι,

ἐφ' ἃς ἐγὼ δρομαῖον ὀρμήσω πόδα.

Ξα. οὗτος, τί δέδρακας;

Δι. ἐγκέχοδα· κάλει θεόν.

Ξα. ὦ καταγέλαστ', οὐκουν ἀναστήσει ταχὺ 480

πρὶν τινά σ' ἰδεῖν ἀλλότριον;

Δι. ἀλλ' ὠρακιῶ.

ἀλλ' οἶσε πρὸς τὴν καρδίαν μου σπογγιάν.

463 §§ Choer. i. 188. 18 466 (μῦ- . . .) ~ Eust. § (1) *De Em. Vit. Mon.* 188, p. 262.
55, § (2) *De Thess. Capt.* 29, p. 278. 4 470-8 §§ † Su τ 1124 470 (Στυ- . . .) †
Su σ 1254 471 § Steph. Byz. 152. 7; † Su α 4687 474 (πλευ-) § † Eust. *Il.* i.
764. 21 475 (Ταρ- . . . -να) §§ † Poll. vi. 63; §§ Phot. ii. 201: ~ Eust. *Dion. Perieg.*
337 477 (Γόρ- . . .) § Su τ 579 (Τεί-) §§ Hsch. τ 882 480 Su σ 952
(σπογγιάν) ~ §§ Σ Aeschin. ii. 118

464 Δι. om. R ΘΥΡΩΡΟΣ Dover auct. Fraenkel: αἰα^α R A K γ^ρ-Σ^ν: θερ^α V: εἰς
τῶν ἐν Ἄιδου Σ^ν: ΠΛΟΥΤΩΝ C Hyp. II 465 Θυ. om. V: π(αῖς) ἢ καὶ ὁ αἰακ^ο K
καὶ τολμηρὲ κἀναίσχυντε M P20^{nc} U Vs1 468 ἀπῆξας R K: ἀπῆγγας A
470 τοῖα R 473 -τοντακέ- ^λΣ^E Su (ctr. Su^{γρ}) 474 πνευ- V A K^ο C Σ^R
475 Ταρτησσία C Σ^R Poll.: -τησία α (-τή- R) Phot. Eust. σοι V 476 αὐτοῖσι
νερτέροισι V 477 διασπαράξει Su^{ν1}. Τεί- van Leeuwen: Τι- α Hsch. Su (-θά-
V) 478 ἄς δ' ἐγὼ V 479 ante κάλει] Ξα. R V C Σ^{VE} 480 Ξα. om. R
V 481 Δι.] dic. R 482 -γιάν R Vⁱ (ctr. Σ^{RVB})

- Ξα. ἰδοῦ, λαβέ. προσθοῦ.
 Δι. πού 'στιν;
 Ξα. ὦ χρυσοὶ θεοί,
 ἐνταῦθ' ἔχεις τὴν καρδίαν;
 Δι. δείσασα γὰρ
 εἰς τὴν κάτω μοι κοιλιάν καθείρπυσεν. 485
 Ξα. ὦ δειλότατε θεῶν σὺ κἀνθρώπων.
 Δι. ἐγώ;
 πῶς δειλός, ὅστις σπογγιὰν ἤτησά σε;
 οὐκ ἂν ἕτερός γ' αὐτ' εἰργάσατ' ἀνήρ.
 Ξα. ἀλλὰ τί;
 Δι. κατέκειτ' ἂν ὀσφραϊνόμενος, εἴπερ δειλὸς ἦν·
 ἐγὼ δ' ἀνέστην καὶ προσέτ' ἀπεψησάμην. 490
 Ξα. ἀνδρείαά γ', ὦ Πόσειδον.
 Δι. οἶμαι νῆ Δία.
 σὺ δ' οὐκ ἔδεισας τὸν ψόφον τῶν ῥημάτων
 καὶ τὰς ἀπειλάς;
 Ξα. οὐ μὰ Δί' οὐδ' ἐφρόντισα.
 Δι. ἴθι νυν, ἐπειδὴ ληματιῶς κἀνδρείος εἶ,
 σὺ μὲν γενοῦ γ'ὼ τὸ ῥόπαλον τουτὶ λαβών 495
 καὶ τὴν λεοντῆν, εἴπερ ἀφοβόσπλαγχνος εἶ·
 ἐγὼ δ' ἔσομαι σοι σκευοφόρος ἐν τῷ μέρει.
 Ξα. φέρε δὴ ταχέως αὐτ'· οὐ γὰρ ἀλλὰ πειστέον.
 καὶ βλέψον εἰς τὸν Ἡρακλειοξανθίαν,
 εἰ δειλὸς ἔσομαι καὶ κατὰ σὲ τὸ λῆμ' ἔχων. 500
 Δι. μὰ Δί' ἀλλ' ἀληθῶς οὐκ Μελίτης μαστιγίας.
 φέρε νυν, ἐγὼ τὰ στρώματ' αἴρωμαι ταδί.

489 (... -νος) §§ † Su o 721 494 ~ Choricus xxxii. 77, p. 361. 15 (...
 -τιῶς) Su i 239; (λη-) §§ Su λ 445; §§ Phot. i. 385 498 (οὐ ...) Su o 768
 501 (οὐκ ...) Hsch. ε 1517 502 (... -μαι) § Vind. a 91

483 Ξα. om. R ante προσ-] dic. R: Δι. V A K: recte del. Dobree προσθοῦ Din-
 dorf: πρόσθον a Δι. Σ^{RV}E: dic. R: Ξα. V A: om. K ante ὦ] Ξα. E^p Np1: E^{ac} incert.
 χρυσω θεα Vⁱ 484 Δι. om. R δεισας R 486 Ξα.] dic. ad fin. vs. 485 R
 Δι.] dic. R: sp. K 487 in. Δι. K ὑπογγιαν, ut vid., Vⁱ (corr. V^s)
 488 οὐκουν R A K: οὐ τῶν Elmsley γ' αὐτ'] ταῦτ' A K 489 Δι.] dic. ad fin.
 vs. 488 R εἴπερ] εἶ A 490 πρόσέτ' V 491 Ξα.] dic. ad fin. vs. 490 R
 ἀνδρείας γ' R Δι.] dic. R 492 ἔδδεισας R 493 Ξα.] dic. R
 494 Δι. om. R K ἴσθι V -τίας V^{yp} Hsch. Phot. Su(2)^{yp}. 495 τοῦτι A
 498 Ξα. om. R: δι ἦ K, deinde ad fin. vs. ξα^{vo} αὐτὸν οὐ R K πιστέον R
 499 τὸν om. K -κλειο- I: -κλειο- a 501 Δι. om. R ἀλλ' om. V οὐκ] ἐκ
 Hsch. ἐμελίτης R: μελέτης V 502 -ματ' αἴρωμαι R Vind.: -μαθ' αἴρωμαι V τάδε R

ΟΙΚΕΤΗΣ

- ὦ φίλαθ' ἦκεις Ἡράκλεις; δεῦρ' εἴσιθι.
 ἦ γὰρ θεός σ' ὡς ἐπύθεθ' ἦκοντ', εὐθέως
 ἔπεπτεν ἄρτους, ἦψε κατερικτῶν χύτρας
 ἔττους δὺ' ἢ τρεῖς, βούν ἀπηνθράκιζ' ὄλον,
 πλακοῦντας ὦπτα, κολλάβους. ἀλλ' εἴσιθι. 505
- Ξα. κάλλιστ', ἐπαινῶ.
 Οι. μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω οὐ μὴ σ' ἐγὼ
 περιόψομάπελθόντ', ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ κρέα
 ἀνέβραττεν ὀρνίθεια, καὶ τραγήματα
 ἔφρυγε, κῶνον ἀνεκεράννου γλυκύτατον.
 ἀλλ' εἴσιθ' ἄμ' ἐμοί. 510
- Ξα. πάνυ καλῶς.
 Οι. ληρεῖς ἔχων.
 οὐ γὰρ σ' ἀφήσω. καὶ γὰρ αὐλητρίς τε σοι
 ἦδ' ἔνδον ἔσθ' ὠραιοτάτη κῶρχηστρίδες
 ἔτεραι δὺ' ἢ τρεῖς.
- Ξα. πῶς λέγεις; ὄρχηστρίδες; 515
 Οι. ἠβυλλιῶσαι κᾶρτι παρατετιλμέναι.
 ἀλλ' εἴσιθ', ὡς ὁ μάγειρος ἦδη τὰ τεμάχη
 ἔμελλ' ἀφαιρεῖν χῆ τράπεζ' εἰσήρητο.
- Ξα. ἴθι νυν, φράσον πρώτιστα ταῖς ὄρχηστρίσιν
 ταῖς ἔνδον οὔσαις αὐτὸς ὅτι εἰσέρχομαι. 520
 ὁ παῖς, ἀκολούθει δεῦρο τὰ σκευὴ φέρων.
- 505-7 - Σ^{VF} Pac. 1196 505-6 (τρεῖς) § † EM 387. 15; § † Et. Mill. p. 130; § † Σ
 Hes. Sc. 287 505 (ἦψε . . .) §§ † Σ^T Il. xiii. 441b; † Zon. 869 506 (βούν . . .)
 § Su α 3171 (κατερικτῶν) ~ §§ Phot. 147. 10 511 (κῶν . . .) Su κ 2278; † EM
 551. 27 512 (λη . . .) §§ Σ^T Il. xxiii. 69b; §§ Su λ 468 515 (ὄρ . . .) -16 † Su η
 28; § Zon. 972 516 (ἦ . . .) § EM 283. 50; § † Et. Gen. p. 92; Eust. § (1) Il. i. 764. 20,
 § (2) Od. 1798. 33 (κᾶρ . . .) Et. Gud. p. 375. 11 518 (χῆ . . .) Su ε 266
 519 (φρά . . .) -20 † Su α 4519 521 § Vind. σ 23
-
- 503 ΘΕΡΑΠΙΩΝ Vb3 Σ^{V(2)} Σ^{VE} ad 512 Σ^{RVE} ad 534; om. R: par. V: θεραπείανα Ἄιδου
 Σ^R: θεραπείανα Περσεφόνης A Σ^{V(1)E} Σ^R ad 512: δούλη Περσεφόνης γ^ρ Σ^{V(2)}: θ^ρ Περ-
 σεφόνης K 504 σ' M: om. a 505 -ρικτῶν A K ΣIl. ΣHes. Zon. (ctr. Phot.)
 506 βούν τ' V: βούν δ' Su^{V1} 507 ὦπτα] ἔπειτα ΣPac. ἀλλ'] δεῦρ' R
 508 Θε.] dic. R: om. V: sp. K, sed ad fin. vs. Θε. ἦ Δι.: Δι. A ante οὐ] Θε. V
 509 -μάπ- Porson: -μ' ἀπ- V: -μαι ἀπ- RAK τοι om. Kⁱ 511 πέφρυγε M: ἔ in
 ras. Mdi κεράννου EM 512 Ξα.] dic. R Θε.] dic. R: sp. K, sed ad fin. vs.
 θ^ρ δι.: Δι. A 513 ante και] Θε. A τε] γε R K 514 ἦ δ' ἔνδον R: ἦδ'
 ἔνδον K: ἦδη ἔνδον Dobree 515 post 516 A Ξα.] dic. R: Δι. Npⁱ πῶς γε
 λέ- R ante ὄρ- dic. et punct. R: Θε. A 516 Θε. om. R τᾶρτι Hdñ.
 517 in. Θε. K 518 ἦμελλ' V A K 519 Ξα. om. R ὄρ-] αὐλητρίσι A K
 520 ἔνδοθεν K ὅτι] ὡς A 521 in. Δι. K

- Δι. *ἐπίσχεσ, οὔτος. οὐ τί που σπουδὴν ποεῖ,
ὀτιή σε παίζων Ἑρακλέα ἕσκειῦασα;
οὐ μὴ φλυαρήσεις ἔχων, ὦ Ξανθία,
ἀλλ' ἀράμενος οἴσεις πάλιν τὰ στρώματα.* 525
- Ξα. *τί δ' ἐστίν; οὐ τι πού μ' ἀφελέσθαι διανοεῖ
ἄδωκας αὐτός;*
- Δι. *οὐ τάχ', ἀλλ' ἤδη ποιῶ.
κατάθου τὸ δέρμα.*
- Ξα. *ταῦτ' ἐγὼ μαρτύρομαι
καὶ τοῖς θεοῖσιν ἐπιτρέπω.*
- Δι. *ποίοις θεοῖς;
τὸ δὲ προσδοκῆσαι σ' οὐκ ἀνόητον καὶ κενὸν
ὡς δούλος ὦν καὶ θνητὸς Ἀλκμήνης ἔσει;* 530
- Ξα. *ἀμέλει, καλῶς· ἔχ' αὐτ'. ἴσως γάρ τοι ποτὲ
ἐμοῦ δεηθεῖς ἄν, εἰ θεὸς θέλοι.*

- Χο. *ταῦτα μὲν πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐστι* 534a
νοῦν ἔχοντος καὶ φρένας 534b
καὶ πολλὰ περιπεπλευκότος. 535
μετακυλίνδειν αὐτὸν ἀεὶ
πρὸς τὸν εὐ πρᾶττοντα τοῖχον 537a
μᾶλλον ἢ γεγραμμένην 537b
εἰκόν' ἐστάναι, λαβόνθ' ἐν
σχῆμα· τὸ δὲ μεταστρέφεσθαι 539a
πρὸς τὸ μαλθακώτερον 539b

534^a b̄ A 534^b 5 V K 535 καὶ / πολ- V K 535^b A
537^a b̄ A 538^b 9a A 539^b 40 A

522 (σπου- . . .) ~ §§ Phot. ii. 172; ~ §§ *An. Par. Ba.* 369. 6 526 (οὐ . . .) -7 §§ †
Su 0823 533 Σ' 460 534a-9a (. . .-μα) §§ † Su τ 174 534a-7a Orion, Flor.
p. 251. 14 539a (τό . . .) 41 Su § (1) δ 234, (2) μ 108

522 Δι.] Ξα. K οὐ τίς που V: οὐ τί πω K πο(ι)εῖς R A K 523 in. Δι. K
ὀτι ἦσε V (αι V*) -κλέα ἕσκει- Elmsley (et fort. P20^{ac}): -κλέα γ' ἕσκει- V A
K -ακα V 524 -σης V A K 525 -μενός γ' οἶ- A 526 ante οὐ]
dic. R οὐ δὴ που R A Su 527 αὐτοῖσι R Δι. om. R: Ξα. K 528 in.]
Δι. K Ξα.] dic. R 529 Δι.] punct. R θεοῖ R 530 ἀνόητον V
531 Ἀλ- Lenting: ἀλ- α -νης γ' A 532 Ξα. om. R αὐτὸν R: αὐτ' K: αὐτός M
533 ἦν et θέλη Vⁱ (-λοι. V*) 535 παρα- Su^{vl}. 536 -δεῖν γ' αὐ- A αὐτὸν
R V Su 537a-b μᾶλλον τοῖχον A 537b -μένον Su^{vl}. 539a -φείσθ'
ἀεὶ R Su: -φείν A K 539b τὸν R

	δεξιού πρὸς ἀνδρός ἐστι	540
	καὶ φύσει Θηραμένους.	
Δι.	οὐ γὰρ ἄν γέλοιον ἦν, εἰ	542a
	Ξανθίας μὲν δούλος ὦν ἐν	542b
	στρώμασιν Μιλησίοις	543a
	ἀνατετραμμένος κυνῶν ὄρ-	543b
	χηστρίδ' εἴτ' ἤτησεν ἀμίδ', ἐ-	544a
	γὼ δὲ πρὸς τοῦτον βλέπων	544b
	τοῦρεβίνθου ὄδραττόμην, οὐ-	545
	τος δ' ἄτ' ὦν αὐτὸς πανούργος	546a
	εἶδε, κᾶτ' ἐκ τῆς γνάθου	546b
	πύξ πατάξας μουξέκοψε	
	τοὺς χοροὺς τοὺς προσθίους.	

ΠΑΝΔΟΚΕΥΤΡΙΑ

Πλαθάνη, Πλαθάνη, δεῦρ' ἔλθ'. ὁ πανούργος οὐτοσί,
 ὅς εἰς τὸ πανδοκεῖον εἰσελθὼν ποτε
 ἐκκαίδεκ' ἄρτους κατέφαγ' ἡμῶν. 550

ΠΛΑΘΑΝΗ

νῆ Δία,

ἐκεῖνος αὐτὸς δῆτα.

Ξα.	κακὸν ἦκει τινί.
Πλ.	καὶ κρέα γε πρὸς τούτοισιν ἀνάβραστ' εἴκοσιν ἀν' ἡμιωβολιαῖα.
Ξα.	δώσει τις δίκην.

540 ¹ i a	542a ¹ b A	542b ὦν / ἐν V A	542b ¹ 3a V A	543a ¹ b R
A	543b -νος / κυ- R	543b ¹ 4 R	544a -δα (sic) / ἐ- R K	
544a ¹ b R A K	544b -τον / βλέ- A	544b ¹ 5 A	545 -μην / οὐ- R V K	
546a -τος (om. δ') / ἄ- A	546a ¹ b A	547 ¹ 8 a		

540-4 ~ Tz. *Chil.* x. 362-9 544a (εἴτ'...) † *An. Ox. Cra.* iv. 167.5 553-4 (...
 -αῖα) Poll. ix. 64 553 † Su α 1814; § † Zon. 187 554 (δῶ-...) § † Σ^{Tri.} S.
El. 472

542a ἄν om. A K 543a -μασιν Vsi: -μασι a λησίοις V 543b κινῶν
 A 544a εἴτ'] εἰ V ἀμίδας *An. Cra.* 545 τοῦ ῥε- A -θίου Ἰ^V
 545-6a οὗτος δ' ἄτ' ὦν αὐτὸς] αὐτὸς δ' ἄτ' ὦν R: καὶ μὴν οὗτος ἄτ' ὦν αὐτὸς A
 546a καυτὸς Meineke 547 βαστάξας V 548 alt. τοὺς] τοῦ V
 549 alt. Πλαθάνη om. K ἦλθ' A 550 πότε V^{ac}: τότε V^{pc} 551 -φάγειν R
 A K Πλ.] dic. Rⁱ (Πλ. R^v): ἐτ. πανδ. Σ^R 552 εἰκει R^{ac} 553 Πλ. K
 γε] τε Su^{xl}. τούτοις K Su Zon. 554 ἀν' ἡμ- Mdi Vb3: ἀνημ- a: λιμαῖα K^{ac}
 Ἰ^{Σ^R} τις om. Vⁱ: τω Σ S.

- Πα. καὶ τὰ σκόροδα τὰ πολλά.
 Δι. ληρεῖς, ὦ γυναί, 555
 κοῦκ οἶσθ' ὅτι λέγεις.
 Πα. οὐ μὲν οὖν με προσεδόκας,
 ὀτιῆ κοθόρνους εἶχες, ἀναγνώναί σ' ἔτι.
 τί δαί; τὸ πολὺ τάριχος οὐκ εἶρηκά πω.
 Πλ. μὰ Δί' οὐδὲ τὸν τυρόν γε τὸν χλωρόν, τάλαν,
 ὄν οὔτος αὐτοῖς τοῖς ταλάροις κατήσθιεν. 560
 Πα. κᾶπειτ' ἐπειδὴ τάργυριον ἐπραττόμην,
 ἔβλεψεν εἷς με δριμὺ κάμυκᾶτό γε.
 Ξα. τοῦτου πάνυ τούργον· οὔτος ὁ τρόπος πανταχοῦ.
 Πλ. καὶ τὸ ξίφος γ' ἐσπάτο μαίνεσθαι δοκῶν.
 Ξα. νῆ Δία, τάλαινα.
 Πλ. νῶ δὲ δεισάσα γέ που 565
 ἐπὶ τὴν κατήλιφ' εὐθὺς ἀνεπηδήσαμεν·
 ὁ δ' ᾤχετ' ἐξᾶξας γε τὰς ψιάθους λαβῶν.
 Ξα. καὶ τοῦτο τοῦτου τούργον.
 Πα. ἀλλ' ἐχρῆν τι δρᾶν.
 ἴθι δὴ κάλεσον τὸν προστάτην Κλέωνά μοι.
 Πλ. σὺ δ' ἔμοιγ', ἐάνπερ ἐπιτύχης, Ὑπέρβολον, 570
 ἴν' αὐτὸν ἐπιτρίψωμεν.
 Πα. ὦ μιαρὰ φάρυξ,
 ὡς ἠδέως ἄν σου λίθω τοὺς γομφίους
 κόπτοιμ' ἄν, οἷς μοι κατέφαγες τὰ φορτία.
 Πλ. ἐγὼ δέ γ' εἰς τὸ βάραθρον ἐμβάλοίμι σε.
 Πα. ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν λάρυγγ' ἄν ἐκτέμοίμι σου 575
 δρέπανον λαβοῦσ', ᾧ τὰς χόλικας κατέσπασας.

558 (πο- . . .) Su τ 124 562 † Su ε 1063; § Zon. 711 566 § Su κ 1047
 567 (ψι-) § Vind. ψ 1 568 † Su τ 843 575-6 † Th. 223. 7

555 ἄλλη παν^δ M: Πα. V: om. R K 556 κοῦκ] καικ V Πα.] ἐτέρα E Mdl
 προσεδόκας A 557 ἄν γνῶναι Elmsley 558 in. ἄλλη παν^δ R
 A: Πλ. V τί δε R εἶρηκας V 559 Πλ. Porson: Πα. V: om. R A K
 560 οὔτος] αὐτός A τοῖς om. R A 562 εἰς ἐμέ V Su^{nl} 564 Πα.
 R A K γ' om. V: δ' E U Vb3 Vs1 565 Ξα. om. R: Πα. V Πα. E^{pc}: dic. R:
 Πα. A K: om. V δεισασαί A πω R A K 567 τὰς Callistratus sec. Σ^{RVE}
 ⊂ Vind. 568 Ξα. om. R Πα. (νρ)Σ^{VE}: om. a 569 in. Πα. a: ἐτ. πανδ. Θ:
 recte del. Bothe ἴθι] και V 570 Πλ. om. R A K 571 Πα. M Np1: dic.
 R: sp. A K: om. V: Πα. E Mdl: ἐτ. πανδ. U Vb3 φάρυγγ' R^{pc} A K 572 in. Πα. V
 573 -φαγε V 574 Πα. R A: om. K: Δι. (νρ)Σ^R 575 Πα. om. R K: Πα. A^{pc}
 φάρυγγ' V 576 τὰς Schaefer: τοὺς a Th. χόλικας Schweighäuser: κόλικας a
 Th. ἐπέσπασας M: κατήσθιες Th.

ἀλλ' εἶμ' ἐπὶ τὸν Κλέων', ὃς αὐτοῦ τῆμερον
ἐκπηγνείεται ταῦτα προσκαλούμενος.

- Δι. κάκιστ' ἀπολοίμην, Ξανθίαν εἰ μὴ φιλῶ.
Ξα. οἶδ' οἶδα τὸν νοῦν· παῦε παῦε τοῦ λόγου. 580
οὐκ ἂν γενοίμην Ἑρακλῆς ἄν.
- Δι. μηδαμῶς,
ὦ Ξανθίδιον.
Ξα. καὶ πῶς ἂν Ἀλκμήνης ἐγὼ
υἱὸς γενοίμην δούλος ἄμα καὶ θνητὸς ὢν;
Δι. οἶδ' οἶδ' ὅτι θυμοί, καὶ δικαίως αὐτὸ δρᾶς·
κἂν εἴ με τύπτοις, οὐκ ἂν ἀντείοιμί σοι. 585
ἀλλ' ἦν σε τοῦ λοιποῦ ποτ' ἀφέλωμαι χρόνου,
πρόρριζος αὐτός, ἢ γυνή, τὰ παιδιά,
κάκιστ' ἀπολοίμην, κάρχέδημος ὁ γλάμων.
Ξα. δέχομαι τὸν ὄρκον, κἀπὶ τούτοις λαμβάνω.
- Χο. νῦν σὸν ἔργον ἔστ', ἐπειδὴ 590
τὴν στολὴν εἴληφας ἦνπερ 591a
εἶχες, ἐξ ἀρχῆς πάλιν 591b
ἀνανεάζειν (— ∪ —) 592a
καὶ βλέπειν αὐθις τὸ δεινόν, 592b
τοῦ θεοῦ μεμνημένον 593a
ᾧπερ εἰκάζεις σεαυτόν. 593b
ἦν δὲ παραληρῶν ἀλῶς, ἢ
κἀκβάλης τι μαλθακόν, 595
αὐθις αἶρεσθαί σ' ἀνάγκη
'σται πάλιν τὰ στρώματα.

590 ἐπει/δὴ V 590¹a V 591^b2a A 592^b3a A 593^b4 A
595^b6 A 596⁷ a 597 -λιν / τὰ R

580, 585 §§ † Su oi 38 588 (κάρ- ...) Su γ 277; §§ Σ^T Il. xxiv 192a
589 Σ' 549

578 ἐκπι- Θ^{VP}; ἐκποι- γ^PΣ'
λόγου] παῦε τούτους τοὺς λόγους V 579 εἰ φιλῶ μὴ Ξανθίαν A 580 παῦε τοῦ
582 Ξα. om. R Ἄλ- van Herwerden 581 in. par. R: Δι. V Δι.] dic. R: om. V
585 με] γε V τύπτῃς K. Su: τύπτεις Su¹. ἂν ἂν γ' εἶποιμ' ἔτι V 586 in.
Ἑρακλῆς V σε om. R: fort. γε V^{ac} 588 γλαμῶν ἄΣ^V 589 Ξα. om. R
591a ἦνπερ] ἦν A 592a (σαυτὸν ἀει) add. t: (αὐτὸ λήμα) add. Seidler
592b αὐθις εἰς τὸ A 593b ᾧπερ A 594 ἦν] εἰ R V K ἀλῶς ἢ Rader-
macher: ἀλώσει R K: ἀλωσι V: ἀλῶς A 595 καὶ βάλης R A K 597 'σται
Dawes: 'στι V: om. R A K: 'στιν Bentley: τις t τὰ om. V

Ξα. οὐ κακῶς, ὦνδρες, παραινείτ', 598a
 ἀλλὰ καὺτὸς τυγχάνω ταῦτ' 598b
 ἄρτι συννοοῦμενος. 599a
 ὅτι μὲν οὖν, ἦν χρηστὸν ἦ τι, 599b
 ταῦτ' ἀφαιρείσθαι πάλιν πει- 600
 ράσεταιί μ' εὐ οἶδ' ὅτι.
 ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐγὼ παρέξω 602a
 ἴμαυτὸν ἀνδρείον τὸ λῆμα 602b
 καὶ βλέποντ' ὀρίγανον· 603a
 δεῖν δ' ἔοικεν, ὡς ἀκούω 603b
 τῆς θύρας καὶ δὴ ψόφον.

Θυ. ξυνδεῖτε ταχέως τουτονὶ τὸν κυνοκλόπον, 605
 ἵνα δῶ δίκην· ἀνύετον.

Δι. ἦκει τῷ κακόν.

Ξα. οὐκ ἐς κόρακας; μὴ πρόσιτον.

Θυ. εἰέν, καὶ μάχει;

ὁ Διτύλας χῶ Σκεβλύας χῶ Παρδόκας,
 χωρεῖτε δευρὶ καὶ μάχεσθε τουτῶι.

Δι. εἴτ' οὐχὶ δεινὰ ταῦτα, τύπτειν τουτονὶ 610
 κλέπτοντα πρὸς τὰλλότρια;

Θυ. μᾶλλ' ὑπερφῶ.

Δι. σχέτλια μὲν οὖν καὶ δεινὰ.

Ξα. καὶ μὴν νῆ Δία.

εἰ πῶποτ' ἦλθον δεῦρ', ἐθέλω τεθνηκέναι,
 ἢ ἴκλεψα τῶν σῶν ἄξιόν τι καὶ τριχός.

598a \bar{b} A 600 $\bar{1}$ R V A 601 -ρά/σεται R V 602a \bar{b} A 603b $\bar{4}$ a

602a (πα-...) -3a § † Su λ 441 604 (... -κεν) § Su δ 329 605 §§ EM
 291. 2; Th. 327. 11 606 (ἦ-...) § Σ^{Tr}. S. El. 472 610 (οὐ-...) §§ Su δ 331;
 fort. ~ §§ Anaxim. Rhet. 25 614 § Su α 2819; §§ † Apost. xiii. 51 e (ἄ-...) §
 Phryn. PS 14. 4

598b -μενος ταῦθ' sp. A 599b ἦν R V^{ac} 600 τοῦτ' R: τοῦ·τ' V
 602a-b παρέξωμ' αὐτὸν Su 603a καὶ] sp. A 604 ψόφου A 605 Θυ.]
 cf. ad 464: Αἰακός a et ubique usque ad vs. 668 (cf. Σ^{RVE} ad 658): ὁ παρὰ τοῦ Πλούτωνος
 (ἐξεληθῶν) Σ^{RVE} (et ad 632), cf. ὁ τύπτων Σ^{RV} ad 649, 652: Πλούτων C (γρ)Σ^{RVE} ad 607
 συν- A K 607-11 habet Π2 607 Θυ.] sp. K, sed Αἰακός ad fin. vs. [Π2]
 608 διτύχας R: δ[Π2 σκεβλεύας R^{ac}: -βλί- A [Π2] σπαρδόκας V [Π2]
 609 δεῦρο R [Π2] μάχεσθαι Rⁱ V^{pc}: λάβεσθε (et -τουί) Θγ^p: [Π2] 610 Δι. om.
 (γρ)Σ^{RVE} ad 607 desinit Π2 611 πρὸς om. K Θυ.] Ξα. R A K: Δι.
 (γρ)Σ^{RVE} ad 607 μᾶλλ' ^λΣ^V: μᾶλλ' ^σΣ^V ad 607: μᾶλλ' R: μάλ' A K 612 Δι.] αἰ. R A
 K Ξα.] dic. R 614 ἦ] εἰ Su: οὐκ (et ἔ-) Apost. -σαν K

- καί σοι ποιήσω πρᾶγμα γενναῖον πάνυ· 615
 βασάνιζε γὰρ τὸν παῖδα τουτοῖ λαβῶν,
 κἄν ποτέ μ' ἔλῃς ἀδικούντ', ἀπόκτεινόν μ' ἄγων.
- Θυ. καὶ πῶς βασανίζω;
- Ξα. πάντα τρόπον· ἐν κλίμακι
 δῆσας, κρεμάσας, ὑστριχίδι μαστιγῶν, δέρων,
 στρεβλῶν, ἔτι δ' εἰς τὰς ρίνας ὄξος ἐγγέων, 620
 πλίνθους ἐπιτιθείς, πάντα τᾶλλα, πλὴν πράσσω
 μὴ τύπτε τοῦτον μηδὲ γητείω νέφ.
- Θυ. δίκαιος ὁ λόγος· κἄν τι πηρώσω γέ σοι
 τὸν παῖδα τύπτων, τὰργύριόν σοι κείσεται.
- Ξα. μὴ δῆτ' ἔμοιγ', οὕτω δὲ βασάνιζ' ἀπαγαγῶν. 625
- Θυ. αὐτοῦ μὲν οὖν, ἵνα σοι κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς λέγῃ.
 κατάρθου σὺ τὰ σκευὴ ταχέως, χῶπῳς ἐρείς
 ἐνταῦθα μηδὲν ψεῦδος.
- Δι. ἀγορεύω τινὶ
 ἐμὲ μὴ βασανίζειν ἀθάνατον ὄντ'· εἰ δὲ μὴ,
 αὐτὸς σεαυτὸν αἰτιῶ.
- Θυ. λέγεις δὲ τίς; 630
- Δι. ἀθάνατος εἶναι φημι, Διόνυσος Διός,
 τοῦτον δὲ δούλον.
- Θυ. ταῦτ' ἀκούεις;
- Ξα. φῆμ' ἐγώ.
 καὶ πολὺ γε μᾶλλον ἔστι μαστιγωτέος·
 εἴπερ θεὸς γὰρ ἔστιν, οὐκ αἰσθήσεται.
- Δι. τί δῆτ', ἐπειδὴ καὶ σὺ φῆς εἶναι θεός, 635
 οὐ καὶ σὺ τύπτει τὰς ἴσας πληγὰς ἐμοί;
- Ξα. δίκαιος ὁ λόγος· χῶπότερόν γ' ἂν νῶν ἴδῃς
 κλαύσαντα πρότερον ἢ προτιμήσαντά τι

616 (βα-...), 618-22 § † Su κ 1804 619 (ύσ-...) Su υ 692 622 (τύπ-
 ...-τείω) § † Su γ 262 (μηδέ...) § EM 230. 21

616 γὰρ om. K 618 Θυ. om. R -νίσω V Ξα.] dic. R: ad fin. vs. K
 619 -χίδων Su¹. 620 στλε- A ἔτι δ' εἰς] ἐπί τε A K 621 πλὴν] πρὶν R:
 πρὴν K^{ac} 623 Θυ. om. R κῆν V 624 τὰρ-] ἀρ- M 625 Ξα. om.
 R: Δι. A ἔμοιγ' οὕτω δέ] ἔμοιγ' οὕτως ἄνευ τιμῆς V: ἐμέγε τοῦτον δέ A: ἐμοὶ τοῦτον
 δέ K 626 Δι. (i.e. Θυ.) M^{ac} Θ: om. α: Δι. U Vb3 Vs1 αὐτὸν V A σου V K
 -θαλμῶν Θ 627 in ai. A K σὺ τὰ] αὐτὰ V ταχέως τὰ σκευὴ A K 628 ψεῦ-
 δος] σκευὸς A^{ac} Δι.] sp. K, sed δι' ad fin. vs.: om. Aⁱ 629 -τόν γ' ὄντ' t
 630 ἐαυτὸν V: σαυτὸν K δέστί A 631 Δι. om. R 632 fort. om. R^{ac}
 637 ante χῶ-] Δι. (γρ.) Σ^{RVE} γ' om. A K 638 κλαύσαντα R

- τυπτόμενον, εἶναι τοῦτον ἡγεί μὴ θεόν.
 Θυ. οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως οὐκ εἰ σὺ γεννάδας ἀνήρ· 640
 χωρεῖς γὰρ εἰς τὸ δίκαιον. ἀποδύεσθε δὴ.
 Ξα. πῶς οὖν βασανιεῖς νῶ δικαίως;
 Θυ. ῥαδίως·
 πληγὴν παρὰ πληγὴν ἐκάτερον.
 Ξα. καλῶς λέγεις.
 ἰδοῦ. σκόπει νυν ἦν μ' ὑποκινήσαντ' ἴδης.
 ἤδη ἴπάταξας;
 Θυ. οὐ μὰ Δί'.
 Ξα. οὐδ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖς. 645
 Θυ. ἀλλ' εἰμ' ἐπὶ τονδί καὶ πατάξω.
 Δι. πηνίκα;
 Θυ. καὶ δὴ ἴπάταξα.
 Δι. κᾶτα πῶς οὐκ ἔπτарον;
 Θυ. οὐκ οἶδα· τουδί δ' αὐθις ἀποπειράσομαι.
 Ξα. οὐκουν ἀνύσεις; ἰατταταῖ.
 Θυ. τί τᾶτταταῖ;
 μῶν ὠδυνήθης;
 Ξα. οὐ μὰ Δί', ἀλλ' ἐφρόντισα 650
 ὀπόθ' Ἡράκλεια τὰν Διομείους γίγνεται.
 Θυ. ἄνθρωπος ἱερός. δεῦρο πάλιν βαδιστέον.
 Δι. ἰοῦ ἰοῦ.
 Θυ. τί ἔστιν;
 Δι. ἰππέας ὄρω.
 Θυ. τί δῆτα κλαίεις;
 Δι. κρομμύων ὀσφραίνομαι.

644 (σκο-...) § Su u 513 647 (κᾶ-...) § Su π 3004 649 (i-...) §§ Su
 ι 56 650 (έ-...) -I § † Su δ 1161 651 An. Ox. Cra. i. 83. 5
 654 (κρομ-...) ~ §§ Su κ 2464

641 χωρεῖ V 642 Δι. Ξα. R Θυ.] sp. K 643 in Δι. K 644 in.
 Δι. E: Δι. Vb3^a (γρ.) Σ^{RVE} ante σκο-] sp. A: Ξα. E^a μ' ἀπο- V: με παρα- K
 645 in. Δι. V A ἴπάταξας; Fraenkel: πατάξας R: πατάξα σ' V: ἴπατάξά σ' A: πάταξας
 K Θυ.] Ξα. V A K Ξα.] Δι. V A K: Δι. M οὐκ (sine siglo personae) Bothe
 δοκεῖ vel δοκῶ Bentley 646 Θυ. om. R A K 648 Θυ. om. R τουδί δ']
 τοῦδ' ἰθ' R: τουί δ' V 649 Ξα. om. R A: Δι. Vs1^{ac} οὐκοῦν R: οὐκοῦν V
 ante ἰατ- sp. K ἰατταταῖ sp. τί τᾶτταταῖ K: ἰαττατᾶττατταττατταῖ R (sim. Su): τί
 τᾶτταταῖ· αἰακ^o τί τᾶτταταῖ V: ἰαταταῖ τί ἰαταταῖ A: αἰ^{ac} τί ἀτταταῖ add. A²₂^{mg}
 650 in. Δι. K: Ξα. M Ξα.] dic. R: Δι. Vs1^{ac} 651 -οισι V γίνεται R V K Su
 (-νῆ) An. Ox. 652 ἄν- Dindorf: ἄν- a 653 pr. Δι.] dic. R: sp. K Θυ.]
 dic. R: sp. K alt. Δι.] dic. R: sp. K 654 Θυ. om. R K Δι.] dic. R: sp. K

- Θυ. ἐπεὶ προτιμᾶς γ' οὐδέν;
 Δι. οὐδέν μοι μέλει. 655
 Θυ. βαδιστέον τᾶρ' ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τονδί πάλιν.
 Ξα. οἴμοι.
 Θυ. τί ἐστι;
 Ξα. τὴν ἄκανθαν ἕξελε.
 Θυ. τί τὸ πράγμα τουτί; δεῦρο πάλιν βαδιστέον.
 Δι. Ἄπολλον—ὄς που Δῆλον ἢ Πυθῶν' ἔχεις.
 Ξα. ἤλγησεν· οὐκ ἤκουσας;
 Δι. οὐκ ἔγωγ', ἐπεὶ 660
 ἴαμβον Ἰππώνακτος ἀνεμιμνησκόμην.
 Ξα. οὐδὲν ποεῖς γάρ· ἀλλὰ τὰς λαγόνας σπόδει.
 Θυ. μὰ τὸν Δί', ἀλλ' ἤδη πάρεχε τὴν γαστέρα.
 Δι. Πόσειδον—
 Ξα. ἤλγησέν τις.
 Δι. ὄς Αἰγαίου πρωνὸς ἢ γλαυκάς μέδεις 665/6
 ἀλὸς ἐν βένθεσιν.
 Θυ. οὐ τοι μὰ τὴν Δήμητρα δύναμαί πω μαθεῖν
 ὀπότερος ὑμῶν ἐστί θεός. ἀλλ' εἴσιτον·
 ὁ δεσπότης γὰρ αὐτὸς ὑμᾶς γνώσεται 670
 χῆ Φερρέφατθ', ἀτ' ὄντε κάκείνω θεώ.
 Δι. ὀρθῶς λέγεις· ἐβουλόμην δ' ἂν τοῦτό σε
 πρότερον νοῆσαι, πρὶν ἐμὲ τὰς πληγὰς λαβεῖν.
- Χο. Μοῦσα, χορῶν ἱερῶν ἐπίβηθι καὶ
 ἔλθ' ἐπὶ τέρψιν ἀοιδᾶς ἐμᾶς, 675
 τὸν πολλὸν ὀψομένη λαῶν δ'χλον, οὐ σοφίαι
- 674 -θι / καὶ R 674⁵ R

673 † Σ' 605

655 Θυ. om. R K ἐπειτα E M U Vs1 Δι.] dic. R: sp. K μέλλει V
 656 Θυ. om. R K τᾶρ'] ἄρ' R K: ἄρ' A: γ' ἄρ' t 657 Ξα. om. K Θυ.] sp. K
 Ξα.] dic. R: sp. K 658 Θυ. om. R K 660 Ξα.] Αἰ. Vb3^{pc} Δι.] Αἰ. V: sp.
 K 662 Ξα. om. K τοὺς Θ ὑποδει V 663 Θυ. om. R K ante ἀλλ'
 ras. K 664 pr. Δι.] Ξα. V (vr) Σ^R (ὁ ἕτερος τῶν τυπτομένων): om. K ὦ πο- V
 Ξα.] Δι. V (vr) Σ^R: sp. K: Αἰ. Vb3 -γησε V K 665/6 Δι.] Ξα. V: om. K
 πρωνὸς Scaliger: πρῶνας a μεδέεις V 667 ante ὄς transp. Hermann ἀλὸν
 R^{ac} 668 Θυ. om. K -τραν V A δύνομαι V πω] γῶ Coulon
 669 εἴσιτε V 670 ὑμᾶς αὐτὸς R 671 Φερρέφατθ' Thiersch: -φατ' V:
 φερρέφατ' R: περσέφατ' A: φερσέφασσ' K αἴτ' V 672 Δι.] Ξα. (vr) Σ^E
 673 ποιῆσαι R A K Σ' ad 605 με V A K Σ' ad 605 674 Χο. om. K
 675 ἀοιδᾶς ἐμᾶς sic R V (cf. ad 213)

μυρίαί κάθηνται
 φιλοτιμότεραι Κλεοφώντος, ἐφ' οὐ
 δὴ χεῖλεσιν ἀμφιλάλοισ
 δεινὸν ἐπιβρέμεται (τις) 68ο
 Θρηκία χελιδῶν
 ἐπὶ βάρβαρον ἐζομένη πέταλον·
 κελαδεῖ δ' ἐπὶ κλαυτον ἀηδόνιον
 νόμον, ὡς ἀπολείται
 κᾶν ἴσαι γένωνται. 68ς

τὸν ἱερὸν χορὸν δίκαιόν ἐστι χρηστὰ τῇ πόλει
 ζυμπαραινεῖν καὶ διδάσκειν. πρῶτον οὖν ἡμῖν δοκεῖ
 ἐξισῶσαι τοὺς πολίτας κάφελεῖν τὰ δείματα.
 κεῖ τις ἡμαρτε σφαλεῖς τι Φρυνίχου παλαισµασιν,
 ἐγγενέσθαι φημὶ χρῆναι τοῖς ὀλισθοῦσιν τότε 69ο
 αἰτίαν ἐκθεῖσι λύσαι τὰς πρότερον ἁμαρτίας.
 εἰτ' ἄτιμόν φημι χρῆναι μηδέν' εἰν' ἐν τῇ πόλει.
 καὶ γὰρ αἰσχρὸν ἐστὶ τοὺς μὲν ναυμαχῆσαντας μίαν
 καὶ Πλαταιᾶς εὐθύς εἶναι κἀντὶ δούλων δεσπότας.
 κοῦδὲ τοῦτ' ἔγωγ' ἔχοιμ' ἂν μὴ οὐ καλῶς φάσκειν ἔχειν, 69ς
 ἀλλ' ἐπαινῶ· μόνα γὰρ αὐτὰ νοῦν ἔχοντ' ἐδράσατε.
 πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις εἰκὸς ὑμᾶς, οἱ μεθ' ὑμῶν πολλὰ δὴ
 χοῖ πατέρες ἐναυμάχησαν καὶ προσήκουσιν γένει,
 τὴν μίαν ταύτην παρεῖναι συμφορὰν αἰτουμένους.
 ἀλλὰ τῆς ὀργῆς ἀνέντες, ὧ σοφώτατοι φύσει, 70ο
 πάντας ἀνθρώπων ἐκόντες συγγενεῖς κτησώµεθα

68ο¹ A 684⁵ A

678-82 † Σ^{MA} E. Or. 903 678-81 † Σ^{VE} 1532; §§ † Su φ 433 (οὐ . . .)-81 †
 Σ^{RV}E 93; §§ † Su χ 187 681 (Θρη- . . .)-2 § Σ^{Tri} A. Ag. 1051 682-4 (. . .
 -μον) Su ε 2381 683-4 (. . . -μον) § † Zon. 811 684 (ὡς . . .)-5 Su §§ † (1) 625,
 §§ † (2) ω 217; Σ' V. 106c 686-7 (. . . -νεῖν) † Vit. Ar. (PCG iii. 2, p. 3. 38) 689 Σ^R
 Lys. 313 (Φρυ- . . .) ~ §§ Hsch. φ 936; § † Su π 62

679 δὴ om. Σ^{VE} ad 1532 ἀμφιλάλοισ Σ E. 68ο δειλὸν Σ^A E.: δηλὸν Σ^M E.
 ἐπι-] περι- Su (τις) add. Blass 683 κελαρῦζει R Su (-ξει v.l.) Zon. (-ρί-):
 πρύζει Fritzsche 684 ἀπόλοιτο Su(2) 685 ἴσοι Σ^V 686 in. επιρρ^η
 R: ἡμ^{κρ} E Vb3 ἐστὶν R: πολλὰ Vita 687 συμ- Vita: ζυμπεραίνειν K ἡμ R
 688 κῶφελεῖν V 689 ἡμαρτεν R παλαιµασιν R (ctr. ^ΛΣ^{RV}) 69ο ἐκγε-
 U Vs1 -θοῦσι K 691 -σαί τε τὰς A προτέρας E U Vb3 Vs1 692 εἰν'
 om. A K 694 -ταίας V: -αιαῖς ^ΛΣ^R 695 τοῦτ' R K 696 ταῦτα V
 697 ἡμᾶς Θ' ἡμῶν V 698 καὶ] χοῖ V A -κοσιον R: -κουσι K
 699 ζυμ- A K -μένους V 700 φύσιν V 701 ζυγ- A

κάπιτίμους καὶ πολίτας, ὅστις ἂν ξιναυμαχῆ.
 εἰ δὲ ταῦτ' ὀγκωσόμεσθα κάποσεμνουόμεθα,
 τὴν πόλιν καὶ ταῦτ' ἔχοντες κυμάτων ἐν ἀγκάλαις,
 ὑστέρω χρόνῳ ποτ' αὐθις εὖ φρονεῖν οὐ δόξομεν. 705

εἰ δ' ἐγὼ ὀρθὸς ἰδεῖν βίον ἀνέρος
 ἢ τρόπον ὅστις ἔτ' οἰμώζεται,
 οὐ πολὺν οὐδ' ὁ πίθηκος οὗτος ὁ νῦν ἐνοχλῶν,
 Κλειγένης ὁ μικρός,
 ὁ πονηρότατος βαλανεὺς ὅποσοι 710
 κρατοῦσι κυκησίτεφροι
 ψευδολίτρου τε κονίας
 καὶ Κιμωλίας γῆς,
 χρόνον ἐνδιατρίψει· ἰδὼν δὲ τάδ' οὐκ
 εἰρημικός ἐσθ', ἵνα μὴ ποτε κά- 715
 ποδυθῆ μεθύων ἄ-
 νευ ξύλου βαδίζων.

πολλάκις γ' ἡμῖν ἔδοξεν ἡ πόλις πεπονθέναι
 ταῦτόν εἷς τε τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς καλοὺς τε κάγαθοὺς
 εἷς τε τὰρχαῖον νόμισμα καὶ τὸ καινὸν χρυσίον. 720
 οὔτε γὰρ τούτοισιν οὐσιν οὐ κεκιβδηλευμένοις,
 ἀλλὰ καλλίστοις ἀπάντων, ὡς δοκεῖ, νομισμάτων
 καὶ μόνοις ὀρθῶς κοπέισι καὶ κεκωδωνισμένοις
 ἐν τε τοῖς Ἑλλησι καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροισι πανταχοῦ
 χρώμεθ' οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ τούτοις τοῖς πονηροῖς χαλκίοις 725

710 -νεὺς / ὁ- A 710¹¹ I A 714 -ψει / εἰ- (sic) A 715¹⁶ A
 716 -θη / με- A -ων / ἄ- V K 716¹⁷ V A K

704 (ταῦτ' . . .) Su §§ (1) κ 1205, § (2) κ 2675 705 Σ' 686 709-13 Su §§
 (1) κ 1744, § (2) κ 2640 712 † Poll. vii. 39; Eust. § (1) *Il.* i. 764. 21, § (2) *Od.* 1714. 62
 713 Poll. § † (1) vii. 99, § (2) x. 135; ~ § Eust. *Dion. Perieg.* 530 716 (ἄ- . . .)-17 §§
 † Su α 2345; ~ §§ *Apost.* iii. 16 721-6 † Poll. ix. 90 725-6 † Su χ 47

702 ξιναυ- R V A 703 τοῦτ' U V_{SI} ὀγκωσόμεσθα R^{ac}: ὀγκωσώμεσθα K^{ac}
 λΣ^R: ὀγκωσόμεθα A -νώμεθα A 705 in. ἀντωδῆ A ὑστερον V τὸτ' A
 706 in. ἀντωδῆ V: χ^o A: ἡμι^x U V_{SI} Θ ὀρθῶς R 707 ἦ τὸν τρό- A
 710 χῶπῶσοι A 711 -τέφροι Radermacher: -τέφρου a Su 712 -νίτρου A
 K Su(1),(2)^{nl} τε om. V 714 post -ψει sp. A ἰδὼν Bentley: εἰδῶς a δέ] δέ]
 τε V τὰδε. οὐκ R 715 ἔσθα V 718 in. ἀν' ἐπιρρⁿ R γ' om. R V K
 719 τε om. V 720 εἷς τ' ἄρ- R 722 δοκεῖν V A 723 ὀρθοσκοπέισι
 Poll. alt. καὶ om. V 724 βαρβάροις V inter 724 et 725 sp. unius vs.
 vac. A

- χθές τε καὶ πρῶην κοπέισι τῷ κακίστῳ κόμματι.
 τῶν πολιτῶν θ' οὐς μὲν ἴσμεν εὐγενεῖς καὶ σώφρονας
 ἄνδρας ὄντας καὶ δικαίους καὶ καλοὺς τε κάγαθοὺς
 καὶ τραφέντας ἐν παλαιστραῖς καὶ χοροῖς καὶ μουσικῇ
 προσελούμεν, τοῖς δὲ χαλκοῖς καὶ ξένοις καὶ πυρρῖαις 730
 καὶ πονηροῖς κάκ πονηρῶν εἰς ἅπαντα χρώμεθα
 ὑστάτοις ἀφιγμένοισιν, οἷσιν ἢ πόλις πρὸ τοῦ
 οὐδὲ φαρμακοῖσιν εἰκῇ ῥαδίως ἐχρήσατ' ἄν.
 ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν, ὠνόητοι, μεταβαλόντες τοὺς τρόπους
 χρήσθε τοῖς χρηστοῖσιν αὐθις· καὶ κατορθώσασι γὰρ 735
 εὐλογον, κἄν τι σφαλῆτ', ἐξ ἀξίου γοῦν τοῦ ξύλου,
 ἦν τι καὶ πάσχητε, πάσχειν τοῖς σοφοῖς δοκήσετε.
- Οἱ. νῆ τὸν Δία τὸν σωτήρα, γεννάδας ἀνῆρ
 ὁ δεσπότης σου.
- Ἐα. πῶς γὰρ οὐχὶ γεννάδας,
 ὅστις γε πίνειν οἶδε καὶ βινεῖν μόνον; 740
- Οἱ. τὸ δὲ μὴ πατάξαι σ' ἐξελεγχθέντ' ἀντικρυς,
 ὅτι δούλος ὢν ἔφασκες εἶναι δεσπότης.
- Ἐα. ὦμωξε μέντ' ἄν.
- Οἱ. τοῦτο μέντοι δουλικὸν
 εὐθὺς πεπόηκας, ὅπερ ἐγὼ χαίρω ποιῶν.
- Ἐα. χαίρεις, ἰκετεύω;
- Οἱ. μᾶλλ' ἐποπτεύειν δοκῶ, 745
 ὅταν καταράσσωμαι λάθρα τῷ δεσπότη.
- Ἐα. τί δὲ τονθορύζων, ἠνίκ' ἂν πληγᾶς λάβῶν

727-37 §† Stob. *Ecl.* iv. i. 28 731 (pr. πο-...) -3 Su §§ † (1) π 2040, § (2) φ 104
 732 (οἶ-...) -3 Σ' *Eq.* 1136c 733 ~ § Aristides iii. 684 (Behr) 736 (κἄν
 ...) § Su a 2815 (κἄν... γοῦν) § † Su a 3334 736 (ἐξ...) -7 § † Apost. vii. 54b
 736 (ἐξ...) Aristid. xxix. 38; ~ Eust. *Il.* iv. 104. 9 737 † *An. Bekk.* i. 89, 18; Σ' 718

726 πρῶην R ^{ΛΣ^V} (ctr. ^{ΛΣ^E}) κόμματι] γράμματι K^{ac} 727 θ'] δ' V
 729 παλαιστρα Stob. μουσικαῖς P20': -κοῖς Vb3 730 προσελούμεν V A K:
 προσελουμέν ^{ΛΣ^R}: προνυελούμεν Stob. 731 πάντα Su 733 φαρμά-
 κοισιν V ἐχρήσασατ' ἄν: R Stob.: χρήσασατ' ἄν Su 734 -βάλλοντες V
 735 χρήσασατ' V -θῶσα R^{ac}: -θῶσι R^{pc}, ut vid.: -θῶσασαι Stob. 736 γοῦν] γὰρ
 Stob. 737 καὶ om. K -σεται Apost.: -σει *An. Bekk.* 738 in. Οἰκείτης V
 Mdi P20^{ac}: οἶκ πλοῦτ' K Σ^{RE}: οἶκ αἰακοῦ ἢ πλουτ' M: αἰακός R: οἶκ σω^{στ} U: om. V, sed
 siglum οἶκ^{στ} ad vs. 754 al. 739 Ἐα. om. V 740 καὶ βινεῖν] κάκκινεῖν K
 741 Οἱ. om. R V K: οἶκ^{στ} σω^{στ} U ἐξελεγχθέντ' R: ἐξελέγξασατ' K: ἐξελεγχθέντων
^{στ}-(sic) Σ^V 743 Ἐα. om. R V ὦμωξε M: οἶμωξε A [Οἱ.] dic. R: om. V: δ^{ου}
 καὶ αἰ* Θ 744 ante ὅπερ] Ἐα. A^s ποιεῖν V 745 Ἐα.] par. R: om. V: Οἱ.
 A [Οἱ.] par. R: om. V: Ἐα. K: δ^{ου} καὶ αἰ* Θ μᾶλλ' A Σ^E: μάλ' V ^{ΛΣ^{RVE}}: μάλα K
 747 Ἐα. E M Mdi Np1 U Vb3 Θ: om. R V K: Οἱ. A δαι V A K

- πολλὰς ἀπίης θύραζε;
Οἰ. καὶ τοῦθ' ἡδομαι.
Ξα. τί δὲ πολλὰ πράττων;
Οἰ. ὡς μὰ Δί' οὐδὲν οἶδ' ἐγώ.
Ξα. ὁμόγνιε Ζεῦ· καὶ παρακούων δεσποτῶν 750
 ἄττ' ἂν λαλώσι;
Οἰ. μᾶλλον πλεῖν ἢ μαίνομαι.
Ξα. τί δέ τοις θύραζε ταῦτα καταλαλῶν;
Οἰ. ἐγώ;
 μὰ Δί' ἀλλ' ὅταν δρῶ ταῦτα, κάκμιαίνομαι.
Ξα. ὦ Φοῖβ' Ἄπολλον, ἔμβαλέ μοι τὴν δεξιάν,
 καὶ δὸς κύσαι καὶ τὸς κύσον. καὶ μοι φράσον 755
 πρὸς Δίος, ὃς ἡμῖν ἐστὶν ὁμομαστιγίας,
 τίς οὗτος οὖνδον ἐστὶ θόρυβος καὶ βοῇ
 χῶ λοιδορησμός;
Οἰ. Αἰσχύλου κεῦριπίδου.
Ξα. ἄ.
Οἰ. πράγμα, πράγμα μέγα κекίνηται, μέγα
 ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖσι καὶ στάσις πολλὴ πάνυ. 760
Ξα. ἐκ τοῦ;
Οἰ. νόμος τις ἐνθάδ' ἐστὶ κείμενος,
 ἀπὸ τῶν τεχνῶν, ὅσαι μεγάλαι καὶ δεξιαί,
 τὸν ἄριστον ὄντα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ συντέχνων
 οἴτησιν αὐτὸν ἐν πρυτανείῳ λαμβάνειν
 θρόνον τε τοῦ Πλούτωνος ἐξῆς—
Ξα. μανθάνω. 765
Οἰ. ἕως ἀφίκοιτο τὴν τέχνην σοφώτερος
 ἕτερός τις αὐτοῦ· τότε δὲ παραχωρεῖν ἔδει.

758 (λοι-) §§ Phot. i. 393; §§ Th. s.v.

748 ἀπίης A K *Οἰ.* om. R V; Ξα. A τοῦθ' τόθ' A K 749 Ξα. om. R V; *Οἰ.*
 A δαί V A K *Οἰ.* om. R V; Ξα. A ὡς om. K 750 Ξα. om. R V; *Οἰ.* A
 751 ἄττ' ἂν] ὅταν V *Οἰ.*] dic. R: om. V; Ξα. A μᾶλλον Bentley; μάλλα R; μάλα V
 K; καὶ μάλα A 752 Ξα. om. R V; *Οἰ.* A δαί V A^s K *Οἰ.* om. R V; Ξα. A
 753 κάκμολύνομαι V 754 Ξα.] *Οἰ.* V A 756 ὃς om. A ad fin. vs.
 punct. Σ^{RE} 757 in. Ξα. V A ἐστὶν ὁ θό- E Np1 Vb3 Θ καὶ] χῆ A
 758 -ρισμός Th. 759 Ξα. om. R K *Οἰ.* om. R Aⁱ K pr. μέγα om. V;
 σφόδρα K alt. μέγα] πάνυ A 760 τοῖσι A καὶ] γὰρ A 761 Ξα.]
 dic. ad fin. vs. 760 R *Οἰ.*] dic. R: om. V 762 ὅποσαι A 763 ξυντεχνῶν
 V Σ^{RE} (συν-)· συντεχνῶν Σ^V 764 fort. -νω R^{sc} 765 -νος ἀμφὶς ἐξῆς R^{sc}
 Ξα.] dic. R: om. V 766 *Οἰ.*] dic. ad fin. vs. 765 R ἕως ἂν ἄ- V 767 τις
 om. V αὐτῷ K

- Ξα. τί δῆτα τουτὶ τεθορύβηκεν Αἰσχύλον;
 Οἰ. ἐκεῖνος εἶχε τὸν τραγωδικὸν θρόνον,
 ὡς ὦν κράτιστος τὴν τέχνην.
- Ξα. νυνὶ δὲ τίς; 770
 Οἰ. ὅτε δὴ κατῆλθ' Εὐριπίδης, ἐπεδείκνυτο
 τοῖς λωποδύταις καὶ τοῖσι βαλλαντιοτόμοις
 καὶ τοῖσι πατραλοῖαισι καὶ τοιχωρύχοις,
 ὅπερ ἔστ' ἐν Ἄιδου πλήθος. οἱ δ' ἀκροώμενοι
 τῶν ἀντιλογιῶν καὶ λυγισμῶν καὶ στροφῶν 775
 ὑπερεμάνησαν κἀνόμισαν σοφώτατον·
 κἄπειτ' ἐπαρθεῖς ἀντελάβετο τοῦ θρόνου,
 ἴν' Αἰσχύλος καθῆστο.
- Ξα. κοῦκ ἐβάλλετο;
 Οἰ. μὰ Δί', ἀλλ' ὁ δῆμος ἀνεβόα κρίσιν ποεῖν
 ὁπότερος εἶη τὴν τέχνην σοφώτερος. 780
- Ξα. ὁ τῶν πανούργων;
 Οἰ. νῆ Δί', οὐράνιον γ' ὄσον.
 Ξα. μετ' Αἰσχύλου δ' οὐκ ἦσαν ἕτεροι σύμμαχοι;
 Οἰ. ὀλίγον τὸ χρηστόν ἐστίν, ὡσπερ ἐνθάδε.
 Ξα. τί δῆθ' ὁ Πλούτων δρᾶν παρασκευάζεται;
 Οἰ. ἀγῶνα ποιεῖν αὐτίκα μάλα καὶ κρίσιν 785
 κἄλεγχον αὐτοῖν τῆς τέχνης.
- Ξα. κἄπειτα πῶς
 οὐ καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἀντελάβετο τοῦ θρόνου;
 Οἰ. μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἐκεῖνος, ἀλλ' ἔκυσε μὲν Αἰσχύλον,
 ὅτε δὴ κατῆλθε, κἀνέβαλε τὴν δεξιάν·
 κἀκείνος ὑπεχώρησεν αὐτῷ τοῦ θρόνου. 790
 νυνὶ δ' ἔμελλεν, ὡς ἔφη Κλειδημίδης,

779 (ἀνε-. . .), 781 ((οὐ-. . .)) §§ Phryn. PS 4. 6; § † An. Par. Ba. 94. 17 791-4 (. . .
 -εἰσθ') † Su ε 3850

768 Ξα.] dic. (ad init. vs.) R τοῦτο V 769 Οἰ. om. R 770 Ξα.] sp. et
 dic. R νῦν A 771 Οἰ. om. R A 772 τοῖσι] τοῖς K βαλαν- V A K
 774 ἐστίν ἐν K 775 λιγυσμῶν A: λογισμῶν M^{ac} M^s Npⁱ ^{ΛΣ}VE: καμπῶν γ^ρ. Σ^Ε.
 καμπῶν γ^ρ. Σ^Θ 776 σοφώτερον U Vsⁱ 778 Ξα.] dic. R: om. V
 ἐκβάλλετο R 779 Οἰ.] dic. ad fin. vs. 778 R 781 Ξα. om. R V
 παρέργων K^{ac} Οἰ.] dic. R: om. V ante οὐ-] dic. R γ' om. Phr. An. Ba.
 782 Ξα. om. R ξυμ- A K 783 om. Kⁱ Οἰ. om. R: ad fin. vs. K^{ms}.
 χρυσόν] χρυσόν K 784 Ξα. om. R 785 Οἰ. om. R 786 αὐτοῖν V
 Ξα.] dic. R 788 Οἰ.] dic. ad fin. vs. 787 R: om. V οὐκ] οὐδ' K εκυσεν R:
 ἔλκυσε K 789 δῆ] δὲ V -βαλλε R V 791 δὲ μέλλειν A κλειμίδης Kⁱ

ἔφεδρος καθεδείσθαι· κᾶν μὲν Αἰσχύλος κρατῆ,
ἔξειν κατὰ χώραν· εἰ δὲ μή, περὶ τῆς τέχνης
διαγωνιείσθ' ἔφασκε πρὸς γ' Εὐριπίδην.

Ξα. τὸ χρῆμ' ἄρ' ἔσται;

Οἰ. νῆ Δί' ὀλίγον ὕστερον.

795

κάνταῦθα δὴ τὰ δεινὰ κινήσεται.

καὶ γὰρ ταλάντῳ μουσικῆ σταθμῆσεται—

Ξα. τί δέ; μειαγωγῆσουσι τὴν τραγωδίαν;

Οἰ. καὶ κανόνας ἐξοίσουσι καὶ πήχεις ἐπῶν

καὶ πλαίσια ξύμπυκτα—

Ξα. πλινθεύσουσι γάρ;

800

Οἰ. καὶ διαμέτρους καὶ σφήνας. ὁ γὰρ Εὐριπίδης

κατ' ἔπος βασιανειῖν φησι τὰς τραγωδίας.

Ξα. ἢ που βαρέως οἶμαι τὸν Αἰσχύλον φέρειν.

Οἰ. ἔβλεψε γοῦν ταυρηδὸν ἐγκύψας κάτω.

Ξα. κρινεῖ δὲ δὴ τίς ταῦτα;

Οἰ. τοῦτ' ἦν δύσκολον.

805

σοφῶν γὰρ ἀνδρῶν ἀπορίαν ἠύρισκέτην.

οὔτε γὰρ Ἀθηναίοισι συνέβαιν' Αἰσχύλος—

Ξα. πολλοὺς ἴσως ἐνόμιζε τοὺς τοιχωρύχους.

Οἰ. λῆρόν τε τᾶλλ' ἠγείτο τοῦ γνῶναι περὶ

φύσεις ποητῶν· εἶτα τῷ σῶ δεσπότη

810

ἐπέτρεψαν, ὅτι τῆς τέχνης ἔμπειρος ἦν.

ἀλλ' εἰσώμεν· ὡς ὅταν γ' οἱ δεσπότηαι

ἐσπουδάκωσι, κλαύμαθ' ἡμῖν γίγνεται.

797 § Poll. ix. 52; § Phot. ii. 198; § Su τ 33; § EM 744. 20; § Vind. τ 46; § † An. Par. Ba.
380. 5 798 (μει-. . .) §§ Su μ 828 800-1 (. . . -νας) Poll. x. 148; §§ Su π
1716 804 § Su τ 157 807 § Su σ 1470

792 αἰσχυλοκρατῆ Su 793 περὶ] K^{ac} incert. 794 γ' om. V A K ad
fin. vs. par. R^{ac} 795 Ξα. om. R τὸ] τί V A: τί τὸ K Oἰ.] dic. R: om. V
796 δὴ τὰ] δῆτα: om. A 797 καὶ γὰρ] καὶ Vind.: ἀλλ' ἢ Poll. Phot. Su An.Ba.(ῆ)
σταθμῆσεται] κριθῆσεται Poll.^{v.1} Phot. Su^{v.1} An.Ba.EM 798 Ξα. om. R K δε]
δαὶ V A μια- R (ctr. CΣ^R) 799 Oἰ. om. R K ἐξοίσουσι] ἐξουσι K
800 συμ- R A Su -πυκτα R Poll.: -πυκτα V Su^{v.1}: -πηκτα A Σ^E Su^{v.1}: -μικτα Σ^R
Ξα. Kock: om. a -θεύουσι V γὰρ Kock: τε R V: γε A K Poll. 801 Oἰ.
Bergk: om. a super ὁ] Oἰ. V 802 -νίξειν K 803 Ξα. om. R K 804 Oἰ.
om. R K -ψε δ' οὖν R: -ψεν οὖν E^{pc} M U Vs1: -ψε γὰρ Su^{v.1} 805 Ξα. om. R K
Oἰ.] dic. R: om. V K 806 in. Oἰ. V 807 in. Ξα. V οὔτε] οὐ Su -ναίησι
K: -ναίοις ^ΛΣ^V: -ναίοισιν ^ΛΣ^E 808 Ξα. om. R V K: Oἰ. M -λοὺς γὰρ ζ- V
809 Oἰ.] dic. ad fin. vs. 808 R: om. K τε τᾶλλ'] τ' ἀλλ' ^ΛΣ^V 810 φύρεις,
ut vid., K 812 ὡς om. V γ' om. V 813 -δακῶσι R V: -δακῶσι K
γίνεται R

Χο. ἡ̄ που δεινὸν ἐριβρεμέτας χόλον ἔνδοθεν ἕξει,
 ἡ̄νικ' ἄν ὀξύλαόν περ ἴδη θήγοντος ὀδόντα 815
 ἀντιτέχνου· τότε δὴ μανίας ὑπὸ δεινῆς
 ὄμματα στροβήσεται.

ἔσται δ' ἵππολόφων τε λόγων κορυθαίολα νείκη
 σχινδάλαμοί τε παραξονίων σμιλεύματά τ' ἔργων
 φωτὸς ἀμυνομένου φρενοτέκτονος ἀνδρὸς 820
 ῥήμαθ' ἵπποβάμονα.

φρίξας δ' αὐτοκόμου λοφιάς λασιαύχενα χαίταν,
 δεινὸν ἐπισκύνιον ξυνάγων, βρυχώμενος ἦσει
 ῥήματα γομφοπαγῆ, πινακηδὸν ἀποσπῶν
 γηγένη φυσῆματι. 825

ἔνθεν δὴ στοματοργὸς ἐπῶν βασανίστρια λίσπη
 γλῶσσ' ἀνελισσομένη, φθονεροῦς κινούσα χαλινούς,
 ῥήματα δαιομένη καταλεπτολογῆσει
 πλευμόνων πολὺν πόνον.

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΗΣ

οὐκ ἄν μεθείμην τοῦ θρόνου, μὴ νουθέτει· 830
 κρείττων γὰρ εἶναί φημι τούτου τὴν τέχνην.

Δι. Αἰσχύλε, τί σιγᾶς; αἰσθάνει γὰρ τοῦ λόγου.

814	-τας/χό- R V	815	-δη/θή- R V	815	16 A K	816	δη/μα- a
816	17 A	817	18 K	818	-γων/κο- R V K	819	-ων/σμι- R V A
819	20 A	820	-νου/φρε- a	820	1 A K	822	-άς/λα- a
		823	4 A	824	-γῆ/πι- a	824	5 A
827	-ροῦς / κι- a	827	8 A	828	-νη/κα- a	826	-πῶν/βα- R V
829	30(!) K					828	9 A

815 (ὄξυ- ...) ~ §§ Eust. Ep. 29, p. 338 (θή- ...) ~ §§ [Luc.] Philop. 25
 819 (σκιν-...-νια) § Su σ 608 819 (σμι-...)-20 (...-νου) Poll. vii. 83; §§ Su σ
 741 819 (σμι-) §§ Hsch. σ 1255; §§ Phot. ii. 168 822 Su a 4499
 824 § † Eust. Od. 1713. 29 (πι-...) §§ Su π 1609; §§ Eust. Il. ii. 274. 15
 826 (λίσ-...)-7 (...-σα) §§ Paus. Att. λ 20

815 περ ἴδη] παρίδη V: περῆδη A ὀδόντας M^{ac} Luc. 819 -δάλαμοι Dover:
 -δαλάμων Np1 Σ^{RV} ad 824: -δαλάμων R: -δαλαμών V: -δάλων λ Σ^R: -δαλών A K λ Σ^E
 Su παραξονίων Stanford: -ξόνια a σμιλεύματ' ἔργων A: σμιλευματοεργού Hei-
 berg 822 δ' θ' V: om. K χαίτην Su 823 βρυχώ- R ἦσει R: ἦσει V
 824 -κηδῶν V 826 δη] δε A λισπή Apollonius ap. Σ^{RVE} 827 γλώσσα
 ἐ- K φθορερός Θ^{ac} 828 -μένα M^a 829 πνευ- A K 830 Εὐ.] Αἰ.
 Vⁱ μεθείην R 831 κρείσσον V τούτου φημί A

- Εὐ.* ἀποσεμννεῖται πρῶτον, ἅπερ ἐκάστοτε
ἐν ταῖς τραγωδίαισιν ἕτερατεύετο.
Δι. ὦ δαιμόνι' ἀνδρῶν, μὴ μεγάλα λῖαν λέγε. 835
Εὐ. ἐγὼ δα τοῦτον καὶ διέσκεμμαι πάλαι,
ἄνθρωπον ἀγριοποιὸν αὐθαδόστομον,
ἔχοντ' ἀχάλινον ἀκρατῆς ἀθύρωτον στόμα,
ἀπεριλάλητον, κομποφακελορρήμονα.

ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΣ

- ἄληθες, ὦ παῖ τῆς ἀρουραίας θεοῦ; 840
σὺ δὴ με ταῦτ', ὡ στωμυλιοσυλλεκτάδη
καὶ πτωχοποιεὶ καὶ ῥακιοσυρραπάδη;
ἀλλ' οὐ τι χαίρων αὐτ' ἔρείς.
Δι. παῦ', Αἰσχύλε,
καὶ μὴ πρὸς ὄργην σπλάγχνα θερμῆνης κότῳ.
Αἰ. οὐ δῆτα, πρὶν γ' ἂν τοῦτον ἀποφῆνω σαφῶς 845
τὸν χωλοποιὸν οἶος ὦν θρασύνεται.
Δι. ἄρν' ἄρνα μέλανα, παῖδες, ἐξενέγκατε·
τυφῶς γὰρ ἐκβαίνειν παρασκευάζεται.
Αἰ. ὦ Κρητικὰς μὲν συλλέγων μονωδίας,
γάμους δ' ἀνοσίους εἰσφέρων εἰς τὴν τέχνην— 850
Δι. ἐπίσχεσ οὗτος, ὦ πολυτίμητ' Αἰσχύλε.
ἀπὸ τῶν χαλαζῶν δ', ὡ πόνηρ' Εὐριπίδη,
ἄναγε σεαυτὸν ἐκποδῶν, εἰ σωφρονεῖς.
ἴνα μὴ κεφαλαίῳ τὸν κρόταφόν σου ῥήματι
θενῶν ὑπ' ὄργῆς ἐκχέῃ τὸν Τήλεφον· 855

833-4 † Su a 3517 835 ~ §§ [Luc.] *Philop.* 25; §§ *Apost.* xviii. 57 a
836-9 § † Su a 358 836-7 (. . . -όν) §§ Su ε 150; §§ *Zon.* 611 837-9 § †
Gell. i. 15. 19 838 (ἀθυρ- vel ἀπυλ-) ~ §§ *Arethas, Scr. Mim.* ii, p. 57. 26; Su a 772; §§
An. Par. Ba. 48. 6; § *Eust. Il.* ii. 619. 7 840-1 §§ † Su a 1172 840 *Hdn.* i. 490.
15; *Ioh. Alex.* 30. 11; §§ *Zon.* 131 (ἀρ- . . .) ~ §§ *Hsch.* a 7379 843 (παῦ'
. . .)-4 §§ Su τ 250 847-8 §§ † Su τ 1224 852 § † Su χ 5 854-5 §
Su κ 1444 855 § † Tz. *Chil.* ix. 968

833 *Εὐ.* om. R K ὅπερ V 834 -δίας K Su 835 *Δι.* om. R: *Αἰ.* K
μέγα R 836 *Εὐ.* R ἐγὼ διὰ Su 838 ἀθύρωτον] ἀπύλωτον V (ἀθυρ-
ν^ο-Σ^{VE}) A K Gell. *Arethas* *Eust.* 839 -κελλο- K -λορρή- E U Vb3 Vsi: -λορρή-
a 841-61 **habet** Πι 842 ῥακκιο- R^{ac} [Πι] 843 αὐτ' ταῦτ' E^{pc}
Mdi U Vsi [Πι] παῦσ' R A K Su [Πι] 844 κότῳ om. K: κάτω R^{ac}:]ω Πι
845 *Αἰ.* om. R K [Πι] 847]πατ[. . .]ς Πι, deinde ε[: παῖδες μέλαιναν V: μέλαι-
ναν παῖδες A K ^λΣ^E Su^{vl}. (ctr. Σ^{RVE} ⊂ Su) 848 τυφῶς R V (ctr. ^λΣ^E) [Πι]
851 *Δι.* om. K [Πι] 852 ὑπὸ K [Πι] δ' om. V [Πι] 853 ἄναγε V A K
σαυτὸν K [Πι] 855 θενῶν *Kuster:* θένων R V: θείνων A K Su^{vl}: θενω[Πι]

- σὺ δὲ μὴ πρὸς ὄργην, Αἰσχύλ', ἀλλὰ πραόνως
 ἔλεγχ', ἐλέγχου· λοιδορεῖσθαι δ' οὐ πρόπει
 ἄνδρας ποητὰς ὡσπερ ἄρτοπωλίδας·
 σὺ δ' εὐθύς ὡσπερ πρίνος ἐμπρησθεὶς βοᾶς.
- Εὐ. ἔτοιμός εἰμ' ἔγωγε, κοῦκ ἀναδύομαι, 860
 δάκνειν, δάκνεσθαι πρότερος, εἰ τούτῳ δοκεῖ,
 τᾶπη, τὰ μέλη, τὰ νεῦρα τῆς τραγωδίας,
 καὶ νῆ Δία τὸν Πηλέα γε καὶ τὸν Αἴολον
 καὶ τὸν Μελέαγρον κᾶτι μάλα τὸν Τήλεφον.
- Δι. σὺ δὲ δῆ τί βουλεύει ποεῖν; λέγ', Αἰσχύλε. 865
 Αἰ. ἐβουλόμεν μὲν οὐκ ἐρίζειν ἐνθάδε·
 οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου γάρ ἐστιν ἀγὼν νῶν.
- Δι. τί δαί; 870
 Αἰ. ὅτι ἡ πόησις οὐχὶ συντέθνηκέ μοι,
 τούτῳ δὲ συντέθνηκεν, ὥσθ' ἔξει λέγειν·
 ὅμως δ' ἐπειδὴ σοι δοκεῖ, δρᾶν ταῦτα χρή.
- Δι. ἴθι νυν λιβανωτὸν δεῦρό τις καὶ πῦρ δότω,
 ὅπως ἂν εὐξωμαι πρὸ τῶν σοφισμάτων
 ἀγῶνα κρῖναι τόνδε μουσικώτατα·
 ὑμεῖς δὲ ταῖς Μούσαις τι μέλος ὑπάσατε.
- Χο. ὦ Διὸς ἐννέα παρθένοι, ἀγναὶ 875
 Μοῦσαι, λεπτολόγους ξυνετὰς φρένας αἰ καθορᾶτε
 ἀνδρῶν γνωμοτύπων, ὅταν εἰς ἔριν ὀξυμερίμοις
 ἔλθωσι στρεβλοῖσι παλαίσμασιν ἀντιλογοῦντες,
 ἔλθετ' ἐποψόμεναι δύναμιν
 δεινοτάτοιν στομάτοιν πορίσασθαι 880

875⁶ A 876 -σαι/λεπ- A -γους/ξυ- R V -τὰς/φρέ- K 877 -πων/
 δ- a -ριν / ὀ- A 877⁸ A 878 -σι / πα- R V A -σιν / ἀν- K
 879⁸⁰ A [K] 880 -τοιιν / πο- A [K]

856-9 §§ † Su σ 1315 856-8 § Su π 2219 859 § † Σ Arat. 1047; § Su π
 2290 862 (τὰ νεῦ- ...) §§ Phryn. PS 111. 9 874 EM 782. 6; Σ' 830
 878 (στρεβ-... -σιν) §§ Su σ 1190

856 in. Δι. V [Π1] 857 ἔλλεχ' R: ἐγλέγχ' A [Π] ἐλλέχου R [Π1]
 πρόπει] θέμις E U V S1 Θ^ρ. 859 -πρισ- V A K 860 εἰμ' E N P1 V B3 Θ
 [Π1] 861 τοῦτο R **desinit** Π1 862 τῆς] τὰς K 863 γε] τε A
 K 864 μάλα] μάλλον A 865 σὺ δὲ δῆ τί t: σὺ δὲ τί R A K: τί δαί σύ V
 867 ἀγῶν Dindorf: ἀγῶν a: ὠγῶν U V S1 Δι.] sp., deinde Δι. super τί V τί δαί]
 τῆ V 868 δτ' ἢ V: δτιῆ R 870 σὺ R 874 ἐπάσατε Θ: προσάσατε
 E^p U V S1 **897-902 habet** Π1 880 om. K -σασθε A [K] [Π1]

- †ρήματα καὶ παραπίσματα ἑπῶν.
 νῦν γὰρ ἀγῶν σοφίας ὁ μέγας χω- 882/3
 ρεὶ πρὸς ἔργον ἦδη.
- Δι. εὐχεσθε δὴ καὶ σφῶ τι πρὶν τᾶπη λέγειν. 885
 Αἰ. Δήμητερ ἢ θρέψασα τὴν ἐμὴν φρένα,
 εἶναι με τῶν σῶν ἄξιον μυστηρίων.
 Δι. ἐπίθες λιβανωτὸν καὶ σὺ δὴ λαβῶν.
 Εὐ. καλῶς·
 ἔτεροι γὰρ εἰσιν οἷσιν εὐχομαι θεοῖς.
 Δι. ἴδιοί τινές σου, κόμμα καινόν;
 Εὐ. καὶ μάλα. 890
 Δι. ἴθι δὴ προσεύχου τοῖσιν ἰδιώταις θεοῖς.
 Εὐ. αἰθὴρ ἐμὸν βόσκημα καὶ γλώττης στρόφιγξ
 καὶ ξύνεσι καὶ μυκτῆρες ὄσφραντήριοι,
 ὀρθῶς μ' ἐλέγχειν ὧν ἂν ἄπτωμαι λόγων.
- Χο. καὶ μὴν ἡμεῖς ἐπιθυμοῦμεν 895
 παρὰ σοφοῖν ἀνδροῖν ἀκοῦσαι 896a
 τίνα λόγων ἐμμέλειαν. 896b
 ἔπιτε δαῖταν ὁδόν.
 γλώσσα μὲν γὰρ ἠγρίωται,
 λῆμα δ' οὐκ ἄτολμον ἀμφοῖν, 899a
 οὐδ' ἀκίνητοι φρένες. 899b
 προσδοκᾶν οὖν εἰκὸς ἔστιν 900
- 880¹ A [K] 882/3 -γας / χω- R V K 882/3⁴ a 896^a b a
 896b λόγων / a 896^b γ a 899a^a b a 899b ἀ/κι- K
 899^b 900 K
-
- 888-90 (... -νόν) §§ Su κ 262 890 (κόμ- ... -νόν) §§ Hsch. κ 3460
 894 Σ' 875 897 (δα-...) §§ Phot. δ 8 899a-904 (§§) † Su λ 441
-
- 881 ῥήγματα Francke: πρέμμα τε Kock παρὰ πρίσ- λΣ^R (ctr. Σ^{RVE} λΣ^E)
 882/3 δε om. K [ΠΙ] 885 σφῶί R [ΠΙ] 888 λιβανωτὸν καὶ σὺ δὴ
 λαβῶν Fritzsche: καικυδηλιβαν [...] νλαβω[ΠΙ: καὶ σὺ δὴ λι- λα- Mdi^{ac} (λι- καὶ σὺ δὴ
 λα- Mdi^{pc}): καὶ δὴ σὺ λι- λα- R: λα- καὶ δὴ σὺ λι- V^{ac} K: λαβῶν post -τὸν iterum V^{pc}:
 καὶ σὺ δὴ λι- (om. λαβῶν) Su Εὐ.] dic. R ad fin. vs. dic. V 889 θεοί A
 [ΠΙ] 890 Δι. om. R C^(rp) Σ^{VE} ad 889 τινές σοι V: τινές σοι A K:]νεοι ΠΙ
 ante σοι] Δι. C^(rp) Σ^{VE} Εὐ. om. ΠΙ: dic. R: super μά V: πλ^{ou} K dic. ad fin. vs. V
 891 Δι. om. K δὴ] νῦν A τοῖσιν] τ[.,] τρισιν ΠΙ 892 γλώσσης A K [ΠΙ]
 893 ξύνεσις V A K 894 ἐλέγχειν R ἂν om. R K ἄπτωμαι R K [ΠΙ]
 896b τίνα Dindorf ἐμμέλειαν secl. Dindorf: <τίν'> ἐμμελείας Kock 899 ἀκήρα-
 τοι Θ^s [ΠΙ]

- τὸν μὲν ἀστείον τι λέξειν 901a
καὶ κατερρινημένον, 901b
τὸν δ' ἀνασπώντ' αὐτοπρέμοις
τοῖς λόγοισιν ἐμπέσοντα
σοσκεδᾶν πολλὰς ἀλινδήθρας ἐπῶν.
- ἀλλ' ὡς τάχιστα χρῆ λέγειν· οὕτω δ' ὅπως ἐρείτον, 905
ἀστεία καὶ μήτ' εἰκόνας μήθ' οἱ ἄν ἄλλος εἴποι.
- Εὐ. καὶ μὴν ἐμαυτὸν μὲν γε, τὴν ποίησιν οἶός εἰμι,
ἐν τοῖσιν ὑστάτοις φράσω· τοῦτον δὲ πρῶτ' ἐλέγξω,
ὡς ἦν ἀλαζῶν καὶ φένας οἷοις τε τοὺς θεατὰς
ἐξηπάτα μῶρους λαβὼν παρὰ Φρυνίχῳ τραφέντας. 910
πρῶτιστα μὲν γὰρ ἓνα τιν' ἄν καθίσειν ἐγκαλύψας,
Ἀχιλλέα τιν' ἢ Νιόβην, τὸ πρόσωπον οὐχὶ δεικνύς,
πρόσχημα τῆς τραγωδίας, γρύζοντας οὐδὲ τουτί.
- Δί. μὰ τὸν Δί', οὐ δῆθ'
- Εὐ. ὁ δὲ χορός γ' ἤρειδεν ὄρμαθούς ἄν
μελῶν ἐφεξῆς τέτταρας ξυνεχῶς ἄν· οἱ δ' εἰργων. 915
- Δί. ἐγὼ δ' ἔχαιρον τῇ σιωπῇ, καὶ με τοῦτ' ἔτερπεν
οὐχ ἤττον ἢ νῦν οἱ λαλοῦντες.
- Εὐ. ἡλίθιος γὰρ ἦσθα,
σάφ' ἴσθι.
- Δί. κάμαυτῶ δοκῶ. τί δὲ ταῦτ' ἔδρασ' ὁ δείνα;

901a¹ b a 902¹ 3 A

901a-2 ~ §§ Phryn. PS 12. 1 (ἀσ- . . .) Su §§ † (1) α 4234, (§§) (2) κ 981; § † Phot. α 2993; § † An. Bekk. 453. 33 902 (αὐ- . . .)-4 Su § † (1) α 1233, § (2) α 4516
904 (πολ- . . .) † Su ε 1526; § † Zon. 768 (ἀ- . . .) Σ^{Np1} Nu. 32; Eust. §§ (1) Il. i. 604. 36,
§ (2) Il. iii. 172. 6

901a μὲν οὖν ἀσ- A [IT1] λέξαι R [IT1] Su(2): εἰπεῖν Su(1) Phot. An.Bekk.
901b -νισμένον Θ²ρ. desinit Πι 904 ἀλιν- E Np1 U 905 Xo. a:
del. Dindorf 906 μήτ' οἶα γ ἄν V: μηδ' οἶαν K ἔρρη V 907 Εὐ.] dic.
ad fin. vs. 906 V μὲν om. R V K γε om. V: καὶ A K 908 ἐλλέγξω R:
++++ K 909 fort. οἶους R 910 in. λέξω K -νίχου A^{ac}
911 πῦαν sic V: πινά R A K καθίσειν Bekker: κάθισεν R A K: ἐκάθισεν V
912 in. par. K ἀχιλέα A K τινὰ ἢ R A K 913 πρόσχημα V
inter 913 et 914 sp. unius vs. vac. A 914 Εὐ. om. R Vⁱ γ' E^{pc} U Vst: om. a
915 ἄν om. A K 916 Δι. om. R 917 Εὐ.] dic. et sp. R: om. V
918 Δι. om. R -κῶ· ++ τί R δαι R A K ἔδρασεν R V

- Εὐ. ὑπ' ἀλαζονείας, ἢν' ὁ θεατῆς προσδοκῶν καθῆτο,
ὀπόθ' ἡ Νιόβη τι φθέγγεται· τὸ δράμα δ' ἂν διήει. 920
- Δι. ὦ παμπόνηρος, οἶ' ἄρ' ἐφenaκίζομένην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.
τί σκορδινᾶ καὶ δυσφορεῖς;
- Εὐ. ὅτι αὐτὸν ἐξελέγχα.
κᾶπειτ' ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα ληρήσειε καὶ τὸ δράμα
ἤδη μεσοίη, ῥήματ' ἂν βόεια δώδεκ' εἶπεν,
ὀφρὺς ἔχοντα καὶ λόφους, δεῖν' ἄττα μορμορωπά, 925
ἄγνωτα τοῖς θεωμένοις.
- Αἰ. οἴμοι τάλας.
- Δι. σιώπα.
- Εὐ. σαφὲς δ' ἂν εἶπεν οὐδὲ ἔν—
- Δι. μὴ πρίε τοὺς ὀδόντας.
- Εὐ. ἀλλ' ἢ Σκαμάνδρους ἢ τάφρους ἢ π' ἀσπίδων ἐπόντας
γρυπαιέτους χαλκηλάτους καὶ ῥήμαθ' ἰππόκρημα,
ἃ ξυμβαλεῖν οὐ ῥάδι' ἦν.
- Δι. νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς, ἐγὼ γοῦν 930
ἤδη ποτ' ἐν μακρῷ χρόνῳ νυκτὸς διηγρῦπνησα
τὸν ξοῦθον ἰππαλεκτρύονα ζητῶν τίς ἐστιν ὄρνις.
- Αἰ. σημεῖον ἐν ταῖς ναυσίν, ὠμαθέστατ', ἐνεγέγραπτο.
- Δι. ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν Φιλοξένου γ' ὦμην Ἔρυξιν εἶναι.
- Εὐ. εἶτ' ἐν τραγωδίαις ἐχρῆν κάλεκτρύονα ποιῆσαι; 935
- Αἰ. οὐ δ', ὦ θεοῖσιν ἐχθρέ, ποί' ἄττ' ἐστὶν ἄττ' ἐποίεις;
- Εὐ. οὐχ ἰππαλεκτρύονας μὰ Δί' οὐδὲ τραγελάφους, ἄπερ σύ,
ἂν τοῖσι παραπετάσμασιν τοῖς Μηδικοῖς γράφουσιν·
ἀλλ' ὡς παρέλαβον τὴν τέχνην παρὰ σοῦ τὸ πρῶτον εὐθύς
οἰδοῦσαν ὑπὸ κομπασμάτων καὶ ῥημάτων ἐπαχθῶν, 940
ἴσχανα μὲν πρῶτιστον αὐτὴν καὶ τὸ βᾶρος ἀφείλον

924 (ῥή- . . .) Su β 353; § Zon. 401 925 (μορ-) Lex. Rhet. (Naoumides) s.v.
926 (. . . -νοῖς) † Su α 286 937 (ἀ- . . .) §§ Su α 3052 940 §§ Su οἰ 37
941-3 § † Su ι 707 941-2 (. . . -πάτοις) § † Zon. 1129

919 Εὐ. om. R -της++++προσ- K καθῆτο Dobree: -ῆτο E U Vsi: -οἴτο a
920 φθέγγαιτο A K 921 Δι. om. R 922 -δινῆ K Εὐ.] sp. R: dic. V
-ελλεγ- R 924 δώδεκα βόεια R^{ac} 925 -ρὺς R V μορμου- R A: μορμυ-
V Lex. Rhet. 926 ἀγνωτα VK LR: ἄγνωστα Vsi Αἰ. super μοι V Δι. super
πα V 927 δ' ἂν om. K εἶπεν οὐδὲν V: οὐκ εἶπεν Kⁱ (οὐδὲ ἐν add. K*)
928 Εὐ. om. R A 929 -παιί- R 930 οὐ ῥάδιον ἦν K 931 χρόνῳ
μακρῷ E^{pc} U 932 κολοκτρύονα ^λΣ^{RV} γρ. Σ^{RV}E (-λεκ- Σ^E p.c.) οὄρνις V
933 ὠμαθέστ' R ἐμέ γέ- V 935 ἐν ταῖς τρα- K κολοκ- R: κόλεκ- Kⁱ:
κώλεκ- K* 936 ποί' ἄττ'] ποῖά γ' R A K 938 ἂν R V τοῖσιν A
-μασι R V K 939 ὡσπερ ἔλαβον V παρὰ σοῦ τὴν τέχνην R τὸ om. R A K
πρῶτον om. R 940 κομπασ- V 941 ἴσχανα ^λΣ^R Su Zon.

ἐπυλλίοις καὶ περιπάτοις καὶ τευτλίοισι λευκοῖς,
 χυλὸν διδοὺς στωμυλμάτων ἀπὸ βιβλίων ἀπηθῶν.
 εἶπ' ἀνέτρεφον μονωδίαῖς Κηφισοφῶντα μειγνύς.
 εἶπ' οὐκ ἐλήρουν ὅτι τύχοιμ' οὐδ' ἐμπεσῶν ἔφυρον, 945
 ἀλλ' οὐξίωιν πρῶτιστα μὲν μοι τὸ γένος εἶπ' ἂν εὐθύς
 τοῦ δράματος.

Αἰ. κρείττον γὰρ ἦν σοι νῆ Δί' ἢ τὸ σαυτοῦ.
 Εὐ. ἔπειτ' ἀπὸ τῶν πρῶτων ἐπῶν οὐδένα παρήκ' ἂν ἀργόν,
 ἀλλ' ἔλεγεν ἡ γυνή τε μοι χῶ δούλος οὐδὲν ἦπτον,
 χῶ δεσπότης χῆ παρθένος χῆ γραῦς ἄν.
 Αἰ. εἶτα δῆτα 950
 οὐκ ἀποθανεῖν σε ταῦτ' ἐχρῆν τολμώντα;
 Εὐ. μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω·
 δημοκρατικὸν γὰρ αὖτ' ἔδρων.

Δι. τοῦτο μὲν ἔασον, ὦ τᾶν.
 οὐ σοὶ γὰρ ἔστι περίπατος κάλλιστα περὶ γε τούτου.
 Εὐ. ἔπειτα τουτουσὶ λαλεῖν ἐδίδαξα—
 Αἰ. φημὶ κάγῳ·
 ὡς πρὶν διδάξαι γ' ὄφελος μέσος διαρραγῆναι. 955
 Εὐ. λεπτῶν τε κανόνων εἰσβολᾶς ἐπῶν τε γωνιασμούς,
 νοεῖν, ὄρᾶν, ξυνιέναι, στρέφειν, † ἐρᾶν, τεχνάζειν,
 κάχ' ὑποτοπεῖσθαι, περινοεῖν ἅπαντα—

Αἰ. φημὶ κάγῳ.
 Εὐ. οἰκεία πράγματ' εἰσάγων, οἷς χρώμεθ', οἷς ζύνεσμεν,
 ἐξ ὧν γ' ἂν ἐξηλεγχόμην· ξυνειδότες γὰρ οὗτοι 960
 ἤλεγχον ἂν μου τὴν τέχνην· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔκομπολάκου

942 (τεύ-. . .) Th. 348. 6 943 (ἀπο-. . .) § EM 422. 38 944 § Su μ 1242
 949-50 ~ § Orig. adv. Cels. vii. 36 952 (τοῦ-. . .)-3 § Su ω 260 954, 956 §
 † Su γ 412; §§ † Zon. 461 956 Harp. 51. 12 958 (. . . -σθαι) §§ Phot. ii. 250
 960 (οὐ-. . .)-1 § Su ο 866

942 ἐπυλλίοισι K ante alt. καὶ] Αἰ. Marzullo λευκοῖς] μικροῖς A Th.
 943 ἀπηθῶν Vb3 EM; ἀπήθων V: ἀπ' ἠθῶν R A K CΣ^{RVE} 944 in. Εὐ. Marzullo
 μον-] κωμ- A ante Κη-] Αἰ. Marzullo μειγνύς Coulon: μιγνύς a Su
 945 in. Εὐ. Marzullo 946 μοι] σοι V^{s1ac}: τοι Θ εἶπ' ἂν] εἶπεν A K
 947 Αἰ.] sp. R: Δι. M γὰρ ++ ἦν K 948 Εὐ. om. R K 949 ἔλεγον A
 950 Αἰ.] dic. R 951 ταῦτ' ἐχρῆν] δὴ ταῦτα χρῆν K: δεῖ τοιαῦτα A Εὐ.] dic. R
 952 Δι.] sp. R^{ac} 954 Εὐ.] dic. ad fin. vs. 953 R: om. V τούτους V: τοῦτοιαι A
 λαβεῖν V Αἰ.] dic. R: Δι. A: Εὐ. V 955 in. Αἰ. A μέσον K 956 Εὐ.]
 dic. ad fin. vs. 955 R: om. V pr. τε] δὲ Zon.: om. Su ἐμβολᾶς M 957 ὄρᾶν]
 ἐρᾶν A 958 κάχ'] καθ' A: καθ- Phot. Αἰ.] dic. R: A^{ac} incert. 959 Εὐ.
 om. R V 960 γ' om. V ἐξηλεγχ- R -παλάκου R

- ἀπὸ τοῦ φρονεῖν ἀποσπάσας, οὐδ' ἐξέπληττον αὐτούς,
 Κύκνους ποιῶν καὶ Μέμνονας κωδωνοφαλαροπώλους.
 γνώσει δὲ τοὺς τούτου τε κάμους ἑκατέρου μαθητάς.
 τουτουμενὶ Φορμίσιος Μεγαίνετος δ' ὁ Μάνης, 965
 σαλπιγγολογχυπηνάδαι, σαρκασμοπιτυοκάμπται,
 οὐμοὶ δὲ Κλειτοφῶν τε καὶ Θηραμένης ὁ κομφίος.
 Δι. Θηραμένης; σοφός γ' ἀνὴρ καὶ δεινὸς εἰς τὰ πάντα,
 ὃς ἦν κακοῖς που περιπέση καὶ πλησίον παρασθῆ,
 πέπτωκεν ἕξω τῶν κακῶν, οὐ Χίος ἀλλὰ Κείος. 970
- Εὐ. τοιαῦτα μέντοῦ γὰρ φρονεῖν
 τούτοισιν εἰσηγησάμην,
 λογισμὸν ἐνθεῖς τῇ τέχνῃ
 καὶ σκέψιν, ὥστ' ἤδη νοεῖν
 ἅπαντα καὶ διειδέναί 975
 τά τ' ἄλλα καὶ τὰς οἰκίας
 οἰκεῖν ἄμεινον ἢ πρὸ τοῦ
 κἄνασκοπεῖν· "πῶς τοῦτ' ἔχει;
 ποῦ μοι τοδί; τίς τοῦτ' ἔλαβε;"
- Δι. νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς, νῦν γοῦν Ἀθη- 980
 ναίων ἅπας τις εἰσιῶν
 κέκραγε πρὸς τοὺς οἰκέτας
 ζητεῖ τε· "ποῦ 'στιν ἡ χύτρα;
 τίς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπεδῆδοκεν

980¹ V K 981 -ων / ᾱ- V 984⁵ A

962 (... -σας) §§ Su a 3607 (οὐδ'...) -3 §§ Su κ 2219 964-5 † Su γ 352
 965 (Φορ-...) § † Su φ 606 966 ~ §§ Σ Dion. Thr. 378. 11 967 § Su κ
 2025 968-70 (... -κῶν) §§ † Su θ 344 968 §§ † Su θ 345 (... ἀνήρ) §§
 Apost. viii. 91 970 (οὐ...) §§ † Su θ 345; §§ Apost. xiv. 16b; Eust. § (1) Il. iv. 691.
 10, § (2) Od. 1397. 41, § (3) Od. 1462. 45 980 (Ἀθη-...) -8 Su § † (1) ai 165, §§ † (2)
 μ 1051

962 om. A 963 -νας καὶ κω- K 964 δέ] τε R K: om. A κάμους
 Dobree: κάμου R K Su: κάμου γ' V A -τέρους A K 965 in. Δι. A τούτου μὲν
 A K μάνης E U Vb3 Vs1 Θ Σ^v ad 966: μανῆς R V: μανῆς K: μανῆς Σ^v: μάγνης A
 966 κάμψαι V A K (ctr. ^λΣ^{RE} Σ^v) 967 οὐμὸς R 968 Δι.] Δι. K^{pc} γ'
 om. K 969 που om. V 970 Κείος] κίος R K ^λΣ^{RE} (ctr. ^λΣ^v) Σ^{RE}VE Apost. Σ^t
 ad 905: Κῶσος Aristarchus ap. Σ^{VE} Su^{yp}. Eust.^{yp}. 971 Εὐ. om. K^{ac} γὼ
 φρονεῖν] σωφρονεῖν R V (ctr. Σ^{RV}) 975 καὶ om. V 978 κἄν ἀπο- R
 979 μοι om. K τοῦτ' τόδ' Bentley ἔλαβεν R 982 ἐέκραγε Su(2)
 983 'στι μ' ἡ Su(1) 984 -δοκε V A K Su(1)

τῆς μαινίδος; τὸ τρύβλιον 985
 τὸ περυσινὸν τέθηγκέ μοι.
 ποῦ τὸ σκόροdon τὸ χθιζινόν;
 τίς τῆς ἐλάας παρέτραγεν;”
 τέως δ’ ἀβελτερώτατοι
 κεχηνότες μαμμάκνυθοι 990
 Μελιτίδαι καθήντο.

Χο. τάδε μὲν λεύσσεις, φαίδιμ’ Ἀχιλλεύ; ἀντ.
 σὺ δὲ τί, φέρε, πρὸς ταῦτα λέξεις; 993a
 μόνον ὅπως 993b
 μὴ σ’ ὁ θυμὸς ἀρπάσας
 ἐκτὸς οἴσει τῶν ἐλαῶν· 995
 δεινὰ γὰρ κατηγορήκεν.
 ἀλλ’ ὅπως, ὦ γεννάδα,
 μὴ πρὸς ὄργην ἀντιλέξεις,
 ἀλλὰ συστείλας ἄκροισιν
 χρώμενος τοῖς ἰστίοις 1000
 εἶτα μάλλον μάλλον ἄξεις
 καὶ φυλάξεις, ἦνικ’ ἂν τὸ
 πνεῦμα λείον καὶ καθεστηκὸς λάβῃς.

985⁶ K 989⁹⁰ K 993a^b a 993b -νυν / ὅ- K 993b⁴ K
 994 5 A 996⁷ A 998⁹ A 999 1000 K 1000 1 A
 1002 ἀν / τὸ V 1002³ V A 1003 -ον / καὶ V K

985 (τό. . .)–6 § Su τ 1089 988 Σ^{RV}E 995; §§ Eust. *Il.* i. 133. 7 989–91 Su § (1) a
 33, § (2) μ 121, §§ † (3) μ 1344 990 (μαμ-) §§ Themistius xxvi, p. 323 B; §§ Hsch.
 μ 216; §§ Phot. i. 405; Eust. §§ (1) *adv. Implac. Acc.* 26, p. 103. 47, §§ (2) *de Simul.* 9, p. 89. 92
 991 (μ-) Themistius xxvi, p. 330 D; ~ §§ Lib. *Or.* xvii. 8; ~ §§ Hsch. μ 732; §§ Phot. i.
 414; *An. Bekk.* i. 211. 29 = 279. 18; §§ Eust. *Od.* 1735. 32; Tz. *Chil.* iii. 872; §§ Demetr. *Cyd.*
Or. ad Ioh. Cant. 12, p. 6. 26; §§ Nicetas Chon. *Hist.* p. 319. 68 992 § Eust. *Od.* 1941.
 46 994b–5 §§ † Su μ 984 995 Th. 111. 4, 120. 12 998–1003 Su § †
 (1) ι 692, § (2) λ 372 1003 (. . . -κός) ~ §§ Philostr. *VS* 565

986 περισυνὸν R -κέ μοι] -κεν Su(2) 987 σκόρον R χθιζινόν Lobbeck;
 χθεσινόν a Su, unde -δόν μοι τὸ t 988 τῆς] τὰς Σ^V ad 995 ἐλαίας Σ^{RV} ad 995
 Su^{nl}. -τραγε K Su 989 δ’ om. R -τατο R 990 -τες δὲ μα- K
 μάμακουθοι R; μαμμα- A K; μαμάκνυθοι Σ^R 991 μελη- P20^{pc} κάθηνται A Su
 992 λεύσεις R V ^ΛΣ^{RE} ἀχιλεύ K 993a δὲ] δῆ R^{pc} A K; δὲ δῆ V τί om. R
 993b μόνος R: om. V 995 ἐλαιῶν R Su (ctr. ^ΛΣ^{RV} Σ^{VE}) 997 ὦ] ὁ V:
 τῷ K 998 -ξῆς A K^{pc} Su(2) 1000 ἰστίοισιν R V K 1003 in. ξτι χο^o: V

ἀλλ' ὦ πρῶτος τῶν Ἑλλήνων πυργώσας ῥήματα σεμνὰ
καὶ κοσμησας τραγικὸν λήρον, θαρρῶν τὸν κρουνὸν ἄφίει. 1005

Αἰ. θυμοῦμαι μὲν τῇ ξυντυχίᾳ, καὶ μου τὰ σπλάγχν' ἀγανακτεῖ,
εἰ πρὸς τοῦτον δεῖ μ' ἀντιλέγειν· ἵνα μὴ φάσκη δ' ἀπορεῖν με,
ἀπόκριναί μοι, τίνος οὐνεκα χρῆ θανμάζειν ἄνδρα ποητήν;

Εὐ. δεξιότητος καὶ νουθεσίας, ὅτι βελτίους τε ποιοῦμεν
τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν.

Αἰ. τοῦτ' οὖν εἰ μὴ πεπότηκας, 1010
ἀλλ' ἐκ χρηστῶν καὶ γενναίων μοχθηροτέρους ἀπέδειξας,
τί παθεῖν φήσεις ἄξιος εἶναι;

Δι. τεθνάναι· μὴ τοῦτον ἐρώτα.

Αἰ. σκέψαι τοῖνυν οἴους αὐτοὺς παρ' ἐμοῦ παρεδέξατο πρῶτον,
εἰ γενναίους καὶ τετραπήχεις, καὶ μὴ διαδρασιπολίτας,
μηδ' ἀγοραίους μηδὲ κοβάλους, ὥσπερ νῦν, μηδὲ
πανούργους, 1015

ἀλλὰ πνέοντας δόρυ καὶ λόγχας καὶ λευκολόφους τρυφαλείας
καὶ πήληκας καὶ κνημίδας καὶ θυμοὺς ἐπταβοεῖους.

Εὐ. καὶ δὴ χωρεῖ τοῦτι τὸ κακόν· κρανοποιῶν αὐ μ' ἐπιτρίψει.
καὶ τί σὺ δράσας οὕτως αὐτοὺς γενναίους ἐξέδιδαξας;

Δι. Αἰσχύλε, λέξον μηδ' αὐθάδως σεμνυόμενος χαλέπαινε. 1020

Αἰ. δρᾶμα ποήσας Ἄρεως μεστόν.

Δι. ποῖον;

Αἰ. τοὺς Ἑπτ' ἐπὶ Θήβας·
ὁ θεασάμενος πᾶς ἂν τις ἀνὴρ ἠράσθη δάϊος εἶναι.

Δι. τοῦτι μὲν σοι κακὸν εἴργασται· Θηβαίους γὰρ πεπότηκας
ἀνδρειοτέρους εἰς τὸν πόλεμον· καὶ τούτου γ' οὐνεκα τύπτου.

1004-5 (. . . -ρον) § *Vit. Aesch.* 2 1004 § † *Σ^{VF} Pac.* 749 1008 §§ † S.E.
Pyrrh. i. 189 1014 (δια-) §§ *Phryn.* PS 61. 13; §§ *Zon.* 506 1016 (πνέ-)
~ §§ [*Luc.*] *Philop.* 25

1004 in. ὁ χο^ρ ζτι K (cf. *Σ^{RV}*) ὦ] ὁ *ΣPac.* ἐλλήνηνων V 1005 λήρον]
κλήρον ^{Δ^{SV}}: ληρόν *Radermacher* 1006 Αἰ. om. R 1007 τοῦτον] αὐτόν R
φάσκει R: φάσκης M^{ac} διαπορεῖν A ἐμέ A K 1008 in. Εὐ. V ἀπό-
κριναί μοι] πυνθάνομαι S.E. χρῆ] δεῖ R 1009 Εὐ.] Αἰ. V ὅτι] ὅτι τε A
βελτίστους A 1010 πόλεσιν E^{pc} U V s1: -σι a Αἰ.] dic. R: om. V^{ac} ταῦτ'
R 1011 μοχθηροῦς R A: -ροτάτους K τ' ἀπέ- V 1013 Αἰ. om. K^{ac}
1014 -δρησι- *Phryn.* 1015 μηδ' . . . μηδὲ] μήτ' . . . μήτε V A K μηδ' ἐπα- R
1016 -λόφας R 1018 Εὐ.] Δι. A ante κρα-] Δι. R V K -ψεις V K
1019 in. Εὐ. a: del. *Θ^{pc}*: om. Vb3 σὺ τί V A K δρᾶς A αὐτοὺς οὕτως A γεν-
ναίους] ἀνδρείους V K: -ως A ἐδίδαξας R A: ἐξέδειξας V 1020 Δι. om. R
1021 ἄρεος A K Δι.] dic. R: Εὐ. A K alt. Αἰ.] dic. R 1023 Δι.] Εὐ. M^{ac}
1024 ἐνεκα R V K: εἴνεκα U V s1

- Ai. ἀλλ' ὑμῖν αὐτ' ἔξῃν ἀσκεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦτ' ἐτράπεσθε. 1025
 εἶτα διδάξας Πέρσας μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐπιθυμεῖν ἐξεδίδαξα
 νικᾶν ἀεὶ τοὺς ἀντιπάλους, κοσμήσας ἔργον ἄριστον.
- Δι. ἐχάρην γοῦν, ἡνίκ' ἤκουσα περὶ† Δαρείου τεθνεώτος,
 ὁ χορὸς δ' εὐθύς τῷ χεῖρ' ὠδὶ συγκρούσας εἶπεν "ἱαυοῖ".
- Ai. ταῦτα γὰρ ἄνδρας χρῆ ποιητὰς ἀσκεῖν. σκέψαι γὰρ ἄπ'
 ἀρχῆς 1030
 ὡς ὠφέλιμοι τῶν ποιητῶν οἱ γενναῖοι γεγέννηται.
 Ὀρφεὺς μὲν γὰρ τελετάς θ' ἡμῖν κατέδειξε φόνων τ' ἀπέχεσθαι,
 Μουσαῖος δ' ἐξακέσεις τε νόσων καὶ χρησμούς, Ἡσίοδος δὲ
 γῆς ἐργασίας, καρπῶν ὥρας, ἀρότους· ὁ δὲ θεῖος Ὅμηρος
 ἀπὸ τοῦ τιμῆν καὶ κλέος ἔσχεν πλὴν τοῦδ', ὅτι χρῆστ'
 ἐδίδαξεν, 1035
 τάξεις, ἀρετὰς, ὀπλίσεις ἀνδρῶν;
- Δι. καὶ μὴν οὐ Παντακλέα γε
 ἐδίδαξεν ὅμως τὸν σκαϊότατον. πρῶην γοῦν, ἡνίκ' ἔπεμπεν,
 τὸ κράνος πρῶτον περιδησάμενος τὸν λόφον ἤμελλ' ἐπιδήσειν.
- Ai. ἀλλ' ἄλλους τοι πολλοὺς ἀγαθοὺς, ὧν ἦν καὶ Λάμαχος ἤρωσ·
 ὄθεν ἡμῆ φρῆν ἀπομαξαμένη πολλὰς ἀρετὰς ἐπόησεν, 1040
 Πατρόκλων, Τεύκρων θυμολοόντων, ἴν' ἐπαίροιμ' ἄνδρα
 πολίτην
 ἀντεκτείνειν αὐτὸν τοῦτοις, ὅποταν σάλπιγγος ἀκούσῃ.
 ἀλλ' οὐ μὰ Δί' οὐ Φαίδρας ἐπόιον πόρνας οὐδὲ Σθενεβοίας,
 οὐδ' οἶδ' οὐδεὶς ἦντιν' ἐρώσαν πώποτ' ἐποίησα γυναικα.
- Eυ. μὰ Δί', οὐ γὰρ ἐπῆν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης οὐδέν σοι.
- Ai. μηδέ γ' ἐπέιη· 1045
 ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σοί τοι καὶ τοῖς σοῖσιν πολλῆ πολλοῦ ἵκαθητό,
 ὥστε γε καὐτὸν σὲ κατ' οὖν ἔβαλεν.
- Δι. νῆ τὸν Δία τοῦτό γε τοι δῆ.
 ἃ γὰρ εἰς τὰς ἀλλοτρίας ἐπόεις, αὐτὸς τοῦτοισιν ἐπλήγησ.

1025 τοῦτο τρά- R 1026 ἐξεδίδαξα Bentley: ἐδί- a 1028 ἐχάρην R
 †ἤκουσα περὶ†] ἐκώκυσας περὶ Tyrrell (-σαν Thompson): ἐπήκοος ἢ τοῦ vel
 ἐπήκουον τοῦ tent. Dover 1029 δ' om. R χέρ' V^{ac} ξυγ- A 1030 ἐπασκεῖν A
 1032 μὲν om. V A K 1035 καὶ κλέος ἔσχεν Brunck: -χε R: ἔσχεν καὶ κλέος
 V CΣV^E: -χε A K τοῦδ' Bentley: τοῦθ' a 1036 Δι. Vb₃ V₅₁: Eύ. a
 1037 πρῶιην R V γοῦν] γὰρ K ἔπεπε R: ἔπεμψε M 1038 ἔμελλ' K
 1039 τοι] τε V: γε R K ἀγαθοὺς U V₅₁: κάγαθοὺς a 1040 πολλάκις R
 1042 αὐτὸν Θ: αὐτὸν a 1044 οὐδεὶς Porson: οὐδ' εἰς R: εἰς V A K -σαν ἐγὼ
 πῶ- A 1045 Eύ. om. R K οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν R: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπῆν V K Ai.] ++++
 K μηδέ] μηδέν V ἐπῆ A 1046 in. sp. V σοῖσιν] σοῖς R: σοῖσι A K
 -καθητό V₅₁* (cj. Bentley): -καθοῖτο a 1047 γε om. A K -βαλε V A K Δι.]
 Eύ. A^{ac} τοι] σοι Denniston

- Εὐ.* και τί βλάπτουσ', ὦ σχέτλι' ἀνδρῶν, τὴν πόλιν ἄμαϊ
Σθενέβοιαι;
- Αἰ.* ὅτι γενναίας και γενναίων ἀνδρῶν ἀλόχους ἀνέπεισας 1050
κῶνεα πίνειν αἰσχυνθείσας διὰ τοὺς σοὺς Βελλεροφόντας.
- Εὐ.* πότερον δ' οὐκ ὄντα λόγον τοῦτον περὶ τῆς Φαίδρας ξυνέθηκα;
- Αἰ.* μὰ Δί', ἀλλ' ὄντ', ἀλλ' ἀποκρύπτειν χρητὸ πονηρὸν τόν γε
ποητήν,
και μὴ παράγειν μηδὲ διδάσκειν. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ παιδαριοῖσιν
ἔστι διδάσκαλος ὅστις φράζει, τοῖσιν δ' ἠβῶσι ποηταί. 1055
πάνυ δὴ δεῖ χρηστὰ λέγειν ἡμᾶς.
- Εὐ.* ἦν οὖν σὺ λέγῃς Λυκαβηττοὺς
και Παρνασσῶν ἡμῖν μεγέθη, τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸ χρηστὰ διδάσκειν,
ὄν χρητὸ φράζειν ἀνθρωπείως;
- Αἰ.* ἀλλ', ὦ κακόδαιμον, ἀνάγκη
μεγάλων γνωμῶν και διανοιῶν ἴσα και τὰ ῥήματα τίκτειν.
κᾶλλως εἰκὸς τοὺς ἡμιθέους τοῖς ῥήμασι μείζουσι χρῆσθαι. 1060
και γὰρ τοῖς ἱματίοις ἡμῶν χρῶνται πολὺ σεμνοτέροισιν·
ἀμοῦ χρηστῶς καταδείξαντος διελυμῆνω σὺ.
- Εὐ.* τί δράσας;
- Αἰ.* πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς βασιλεύοντας ῥάκι' ἀμπισχῶν, ἵν' ἔλεινοῖ
τοῖς ἀνθρώποις φαίνοντ' εἶναι.
- Εὐ.* τοῦτ' οὖν ἔβλαψα τί δράσας;
- Αἰ.* οὐκ οὖν ἐθέλει γε τριηραρχεῖν πλουτῶν οὐδεὶς διὰ ταῦτα, 1065
ἀλλὰ ῥακίοις περιϊλάμενος κλάει και φησι πένεσθαι.
- Δι.* νῆ τὴν Δήμητρα χιτῶνά γ' ἔχων οὐλῶν ἐρίων ὑπένερθεν.
καὶν ταῦτα λέγων ἔξαπατήσῃ, περὶ τοὺς ἰχθῦς ἀνέκυψεν.

1056 (ἦν . . .)–7 (. . . -θη) § † Su λ 794 1063 (ἀμ-) Σ Dion. Thr. 271. 25
1066 (περι-) §§ Phot. ii. 79 1067 (χι-. . .)–8 §§ † Su χ 320 (οὔ- . . . -ων) §§
Eust. Il. i. 262. 1

1049 ἄμαϊ Elmsley: ἔμαϊ R: αἰμαῖ (var. acc.) V A K 1050 γενναίας] -ους R K
1051 κῶνεα Radermacher: -νεια a πειν A K σοὺς om. V K βελε- V K
1052 Εὐ. om. R δ' om. A τοῦτον U: τοιοῦτον a 1053 Αἰ. om. R γε om. R
1054 μηδὲ] μήτε R 1055 τοῖς V A K ποιηταῖς A 1056 δὴ E^{pc} M Np1
U Vb3 Θ: om. R: δε δὴ V K: δε A Εὐ. om. R -βητοῦς E M^{bc} Np1 Vb3 Θ Su¹.
1057 Παρνασσῶν A¹ Σ^{RV} Su¹: Παρνήθων Bentley μεγέθη ἡμῖν A 1058 -πίως
R Αἰ.] dic. R 1062 Εὐ.] dic. R 1063 Αἰ. om. R ἀμπισχῶν Bp1 (cj.
Fritzsche): ἀμπισχων R: ἀμπίσχων V A K Σ Dion. LR ἔλεινοῖ Bentley: ἔλεινοῖ a
1064 φαίνονται V A K Εὐ. om. R τι Bentley 1065 Αἰ. om. R οὐκ οὖν] οὐκ
A 1066 ἀλλ' ἐν ῥα- V A K περιϊλάμενος Cobet: περιειλάμενος Phot.: -ειλλο-
R: -ιλλό- V K Σ^{VE}: -ειλό- A Σ^R: -ειλημένος M^{VP}. C Σ^{RV} 1067 -τραν A γ'] δ'
vel om. Su^{vv}.ll. 1068 ante περὶ dic. V περὶ M U Vb3 Vsi¹ Su¹: παρὰ a
ἰχθῦσας Su

- Αί. εἶτ' αὐ λαλιὰν ἐπιτηδεύσαι καὶ στωμυλιὰν ἐδίδαξας,
ἧ ἕκεκένωσεν τὰς τε παλαιστράς καὶ τὰς πυγὰς ἐνέτριψεν 1070
τῶν μειρακίων στωμυλλομένων, καὶ τοὺς Παράλους ἀνέπεισεν
ἀνταγορεύειν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, καίτοι τότε γ', ἠνίκ' ἐγὼ ἕζων,
οὐκ ἠπίσαντ' ἀλλ' ἠ μάζαν καλέσαι καὶ "ῥυππαπαῖ" εἰπεῖν.
- Δι. νῆ τὸν Ἀπόλλω, καὶ προσπαρδεῖν γ' εἰς τὸ στόμα τῷ θαλάμακι,
καὶ μινθῶσαι τὸν ξύσσιτον κάκβας τινα λωποδυτῆσαι· 1075
νῦν δ' ἀντιλέγει κούκэт' ἐλαύνων πλεῖ δευρὶ καὺθις
ἐκέισε. 1076/7
- Αί. ποίων δὲ κακῶν οὐκ αἰτίος ἐστ';
οὐ προαγωγὸς κατέδειξ' οὗτος,
καὶ τικτούσας ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, 1080
καὶ μειγνυμένας τοῖσιν ἀδελφοῖς,
καὶ φασκούσας οὐ ζῆν τὸ ζῆν;
κᾶτ' ἐκ τούτων ἠ πόλις ἡμῶν
ὑπογραμματέων ἀνεμεστῶθη
καὶ βωμολόχων δημοσιθῆκων 1085
ἐξαπατώντων τὸν δῆμον αἰεῖ,
λαμπάδα δ' οὐδεὶς οἶός τε φέρειν
ὑπ' ἀγυμνασίας ἔτι νυνί.
- Δι. μὰ Δί' οὐ δῆθ', ὥστ' ἐπαφηγυάνθην
Παναθηναίοισι γελῶν, ὅτε δῆ 1090
βραδὺς ἄνθρωπός τις ἔθει κύψας

1080¹ A 1081 -νας / τοῖ- A 1081² A 1087⁸ A 1089⁹⁰ V
A 1090 -ναί/οι- VA -λῶν / ὁ K 1090¹ VAK 1091 -πός / τις V
1091² VAK

1072 (καί-...) † An. Ox. Cra. iii. 259. 14 1073 § Su ρ 300 (ῥυπ-) §§ Hsch.
ρ 513; §§ Phot. α 2878; §§ An. Bekk. 446. 32 1074 Σ' Ach. 162b 1076/7 Σ^{PS}
992 1083 (ἐκ ...) -4 Su α 2255 1089 (ᾧστ' ...) -90 (...) -λῶν) † Su ε
2000; § Zon. 820 1089 (ἐπ-...) Eust. § (1) Od. 1387. 2, § (2) 1547. 61

1070 -νωσεν Np^{ac} U Vs1: -σε α ('ξεξικένωσε K) 1071 -μυλο- R παρά-
λους V K^{ac} (cf. Σ^V) 1072 ἄρχουσιν U Vs1: -σι α γ' om. A ἀγώζων R
1073 ἀλλ' ἦ] εἰ μῆ Su ῥυππαπαῖ^{ΛΣ^{VE}} Hsch. Su: ῥυππαπαῖ VA: -παῖ An. Bekk.: ῥυππα-
παῖ K^{ac} 1074 Δι. om. R K γ' om. K 1075 ξύσιτον VA κακβασι R
τινα om. K 1076/7 νῦν R ἐλαύνων Fritzsche: -νει α πλεῖ Hermann: καὶ
πλεῖ α 1078 δέ] τε V A K ἐστιν A 1079 προγ- R^{ac}: πρωγ- R^{pc}
1081 μειγνυ- Coulon: μιγνυ- α 1082 οὐ om. A 1084 ὑπὸ γραμ- V
1089 δία γ' οὐ R ᾧστ' ἐπαφην- Bentley: ᾧστ' ἐπαφου- R (ἐπ' ἀ-) Su^h: Zon.: ᾧστ'
ἀπαφου- VAK Su Eust.: ᾧστε γ' ἀφου- Hermann 1090 πᾶν ἀθη- R

λευκός, πίων, ὑπολειπόμενος
καὶ δεινὰ ποιῶν· κῆθ' οἱ Κεραμῆς
ἐν ταῖσι πύλαις παίουσ' αὐτοῦ
γαστέρα, πλευράς, λαγόνας, πυγὴν, 1095
ὁ δὲ τυπτόμενος ταῖσι πλατεῖαις
ὑποπερδόμενος
φυσῶν τὴν λαμπάδ' ἔφευγεν.

- Χο. μέγα τὸ πρᾶγμα, πολὺ τὸ νείκος, ἄδρὸς ὁ πόλεμος ἔρχεται. στρ.
χαλεπὸν οὖν ἔργον διαιρεῖν, 1100
ὄταν ὁ μὲν τείνη βιαίως,
ὁ δ' ἐπαναστρέφειν δύνηται κάπερείδεσθαι τορῶς.
ἀλλὰ μὴ ἴ ταυτῶ κάθησθον·
εἰσβολαὶ γάρ εἰσι πολλαὶ χᾶτεραι σοφισμάτων.
ὅτιπερ οὖν ἔχετον ἐρίζειν, 1105
λέγετον, ἔπιτον, ἀνά <τε> δέρετον
τὰ τε παλαιὰ καὶ τὰ καινά,
κάποκινδυνεύετον λεπτὸν τι καὶ σοφὸν λέγειν.
εἰ δὲ τοῦτο καταφοβεῖσθον, μὴ τις ἀμαθία πρόση ὄντ.
τοῖς θεωμένοισιν, ὡς τὰ 1110
λεπτὰ μὴ γινῶναι λεγόντοιν,
μηδὲν ὀρρωδεῖτε τοῦθ', ὡς οὐκέθ' οὔτω ταυτ' ἔχει.
ἐστρατευμένοι γάρ εἰσιν,
βιβλίον τ' ἔχων ἕκαστος μανθάνει τὰ δεξιὰ·
αἱ φύσεις τ' ἄλλως κράτισται, 1115
νῦν δὲ καὶ παρηκόνηται.

1092 -κός / πί- A	-ων / ὑ- V K	1092 3 V A K	1093 -ών / κῆθ' V A K
1093 4 V A K	1094 -λαις / παί- V A K	1094 5 V A K	1095 -ράς /
λά- V A K	1095 6 V A K	1096 -νος / ταί- V A K	1096 7 V A K
1100 1 A	1102 κά/πε- K	1106 7 A	1109 -σθον / μὴ K
1110 11 R A	1112 -τε / τοῦ- K	1113 14 R	1114 -τος / μα- R
1114 15 R	1115 16 A	1116 17 R	

1106 (. . . ἔπιτον) Su ε 2712 1114 (μαν- . . .) § Poll. ii. 160

1092 λευκοπίων Σ ^R	-λιπό- R	1093 κεραμεῖς A K ^{ac}	1096 πλατεῖαις
V ^Λ Σ ^V : πλατεῖαις ^Λ Σ ^{RE}	1099 ἀνδρὸς R	1104 χ' ἀτέρων K	1106 ἀνά
τε δέ- Dobree: ἀνά δέ δε-	Thiersch: ἀνά δέ- a	1109 μῆτις R	1112 οὐκέθ']
οὐκ ἔσθ' V	ἔχειν R	1115 τ'] δ' R	

μηδὲν οὖν δείσητον, ἀλλὰ
πάντ' ἐπέξιτον, θεατῶν γ' οὐνεχ', ὡς ὄντων σοφῶν.

- Εὐ.* καὶ μὴν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς προλόγους σου τρέψομαι,
ὅπως τὸ πρῶτον τῆς τραγωδίας μέρος 1120
πρώτιστον αὐτοῦ βασανιῶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ·
ἄσαφῆς γὰρ ἦν ἐν τῇ φράσει τῶν πραγμάτων.
- Δι.* καὶ ποῖον αὐτοῦ βασανιεύς;
Εὐ. πολλοὺς πάνν.
πρῶτον δέ μοι τὸν ἐξ Ὁρεστείας λέγε.
- Δι.* ἄγε δὴ σιώπα πᾶς ἀνῆρ. λέγ', Αἰσχύλε. 1125
Αι. “Ἐρμῆ χθόνιε, πατρῶ' ἐποπτεύων κράτη,
σωτήρ γενοῦ μοι σύμμαχός τ' αἰτουμένω.
ἦκω γὰρ εἰς γῆν τήνδε καὶ κατέρχομαι.”
- Δι.* τούτων ἔχεις ψέγειν τι;
Εὐ. πλεῖν ἢ δώδεκα.
Δι. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πάντα ταῦτά γ' ἔστ' ἀλλ' ἢ τρία. 1130
Εὐ. ἔχει δ' ἕκαστον εἴκοσιν γ' ἁμαρτίας.
Δι. Αἰσχύλε, παραινῶ σοι σιωπᾶν· εἰ δὲ μή,
πρὸς τρισὶν ἰαμβείοισι προσοφείλων φανεί.
- Αι.* ἐγὼ σιωπῶ τῷδ';
Δι. εἰδὲν πείθῃ γ' ἐμοί.
Εὐ. εὐθύς γὰρ ἡμάρτηκεν οὐράνιον γ' ὄσον. 1135
Αι. ὀρᾶς ὅτι ληρεῖς.
Εὐ. ἀλλ' ὀλίγον γέ μοι μέλει.
Αι. πῶς φῆς μ' ἁμαρτεῖν;
Εὐ. αὐθις ἐξ ἀρχῆς λέγε.
Αι. “Ἐρμῆ χθόνιε, πατρῶ' ἐποπτεύων κράτη.”
Εὐ. οὐκ οὐκ Ὀρέστης τοῦτ' ἐπὶ τῷ τύμβῳ λέγει

1117¹ 18 K

1118 τον / θε- K

1132-4 (. . . τῷδ') (§) † Phryn. *PS* 71. 18

1117 om. A 1118 ὡς] ὡ R 1119 σοι A 1122 πραγμάτων]
ρήμάτων *Εγρ.* γρ. Σ^R 1123 πολλ+ + οὐς V 1124 ὀρεστείας V K ^λΣ^{VE} Σ^{VE}
1130 *Δι.* om. R ταῦτα πάντα R γ' om. K ἐστιν V K 1131 *Εὐ.* om. R
εἴκοσι K γ' om. R 1132-6 secl. Meineke: 1132-5 secl. Bergk 1133 ἰαμβοι-
σιν R: ἰαμβείοις V K 1134 τόδε V^{ac}: τῷδέ γ' ἰ ἄν V K 1135 *Εὐ.* om. R
γ' secl. Hermann 1136 *Εὐ.* U: om. Rⁱ: *Δι.* R^s V^s A K Σ^{RVE} 1137 *Αι.* om. R
Εὐ. om. Aⁱ 1138 χθόνε R 1139 τῷ om. V

- τῷ τοῦ πατρὸς τεθνεώτος;
- Αἰ. οὐκ ἄλλως λέγω. 1140
- Εὐ. πότερ' οὖν τὸν Ἑρμῆν, ὡς ὁ πατήρ ἀπώλετο
αὐτοῦ βιαίως ἐκ γυναικείας χερὸς
δόλοισ λαθραίοις, ταῦτ' ἐποπτεύειν ἔφη;
- Αἰ. οὐ δῆτ' ἐκείνος, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐριούνιον
Ἑρμῆν χθόνιον προσεῖπε, κἀδήλου λέγων 1145
ὅτι πατρῶον τοῦτο κέκτηται γέρας.
- Εὐ. ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐξήμαρτεν ἢ γῶ βουλόμην·
εἰ γὰρ πατρῶον τὸ χθόνιον ἔχει γέρας—
- Δι. οὕτω γ' ἂν εἴη πρὸς πατρὸς τυμβωρύχος.
- Αἰ. Διόνυσε, πίνεις οἶνον οὐκ ἀνθοσμῖαν. 1150
- Δι. λέγ' ἕτερον αὐτῷ· σὺ δ' ἐπιτήρει τὸ βλάβος.
- Αἰ. “σωτήρ γενοῦ μοι σύμμαχός τ' αἰτουμένω.
ἦκω γὰρ εἰς γῆν τῆνδε καὶ κατέρχομαι.”
- Εὐ. δις ταῦτὸν ἡμῖν εἶπεν ὁ σοφὸς Αἰσχύλος.
- Δι. πῶς δῖς;
- Εὐ. σκόπει τὸ ῥῆμ'· ἐγὼ δέ σοι φράσω. 1155
“ἦκω γὰρ εἰς γῆν” φησι “καὶ κατέρχομαι”.
ἦκειν δὲ ταῦτόν ἐστι τῷ “κατέρχομαι”.
- Δι. νῆ τὸν Δί', ὡσπερ γ' εἴ τις εἴποι γείτονι
“χρήσον σὺ μάκτραν, εἰ δὲ βούλει, κάρδοπον.”
- Αἰ. οὐ δῆτα τοῦτό γ', ὡ κατεστωμυλμένε 1160
ἄνθρωπε, ταῦτ' ἔστ', ἀλλ' ἄριστ' ἐπῶν ἔχον.
- Εὐ. πῶς δῆ; δίδαξον γάρ με καθ' ὅτι δὴ λέγεις.
- Αἰ. ἐλθεῖν μὲν εἰς γῆν ἐσθ' ὅτῳ μετῆ πάτρας·
χωρὶς γὰρ ἄλλης συμφορᾶς ἐλήλυθεν·
φεύγων δ' ἀνὴρ ἦκει τε καὶ κατέρχεται. 1165
- Δι. εὐ νῆ τὸν Ἀπόλλω. τί σὺ λέγεις, Εὐριπίδη;

1146 (πα- . . .) Σ^{rec}. 1126 1150 Σ^{rve} 1149; Su a 2518 (οἱ . . .) ~ Erot.
Voc. Hipp. 68. 11; ~ §§ Phryn. PS 37. 1 1154, 1156-9 § Gell. xiii. 15. 7
1156 ~ Prol. de Com. §§ (1) VI. 4, §§ (2) XI b 70 1159 (μάκ- . . .) ~ §§ Phot. i. 403
1163-5 † Su η 181

1140 ἀλλ' ἐγὼ V 1141 Εὐ. om. K πότερον V 1142 αὐτοῦ K χει-
ρὸς R 1144 ἐκείνον V A K 1146 ὅτι A 1147 μᾶλλον] μείζον A K
ἐξήμαρτες V A K ad fin. vs. dic. R 1148 εἰ] ἦ K 1149 Δι. om. R K
οὕτως ἂν R: οὕτος ἂν ἰΣ^R 1154-6 om. Aⁱ, add. A^{ms}. 1155 Δι.] Αἰ. RA: om.
V ῥῆμα κάγω σοι K 1157 ἦκω Gell. τῷ] τὸ R^{ac} 1158 γ' om. K:
del. A^{pc} τις γ' εἴ- A^{pc} 1159 χρῆσον R^{ac} 1161 ταῦτ' Brunck: ταῦτ' a
1162 Δι. Scaliger: Εὐ. a γάρ] δέ K 1163 εἰς γῆν μὲν ἐλθεῖν Su ἔστιν Su^{nl}.
1164 χωρεῖς R^{ac} -θε A

- Εὐ. οὐ φημι τὸν Ὀρέστην κατελθεῖν οἴκαδε·
λάθρα γὰρ ἦλθεν οὐ πιθῶν τοὺς κυρίους.
- Δι. εὐ νῆ τὸν Ἑρμῆν· ὅτι λέγεις δ' οὐ μανθάνω.
- Εὐ. πέραινε τοίνυν ἕτερον.
- Δι. ἴθι πέραινε σύ, 1170
Αἰσχύλ', ἀνύσας· σὺ δ' εἰς τὸ κακὸν ἀπόβλεπε.
- Αἰ. "τύμβου δ' ἐπ' ὄχθῳ τῷδε κηρύσσω πατρὶ
κλύειν, ἀκούσαι—"
- Εὐ. τοῦθ' ἕτερον αὖθις λέγει,
"κλύειν, ἀκούσαι", ταῦτ' ὄν σαφέστατα.
- Δι. τεθηκόσιν γὰρ ἔλεγεν, ὧ μόχθηρε σύ, 1175
οἷς οὐδὲ τρεῖς λέγοντες ἐξικνούμεθα.
οὐ δὲ πῶς ἐποίεις τοὺς προλόγους;
- Εὐ. ἐγὼ φράσω.
κᾶν που δις εἴπω ταῦτ' ἢ στοιβῆν ἴδης
ἐνούσαν ἕξω τοῦ λόγου, κατὰπτυσον.
- Δι. ἴθι δὴ λέγ'· οὐ γὰρ μουστὶν ἀλλ' ἀκουστέα 1180
τῶν σῶν προλόγων τῆς ὀρθότητος τῶν ἐπῶν.
- Εὐ. "ἦν Οἰδίπους τὸ πρῶτον εὐδαίμων ἀνὴρ—"
- Αἰ. μὰ τὸν Δί' οὐ δῆτ', ἀλλὰ κακοδαίμων φύσει,
ὄντινά γε, πρὶν φῦναι μὲν, Ἀπόλλων ἔφη
ἀποκτενεῖν τὸν πατέρα, πρὶν καὶ γεγονέαι, 1185
πῶς οὗτος ἦν τὸ πρῶτον εὐτυχῆς ἀνὴρ;
- Εὐ. "εἴτ' ἐγένετ' αὖθις ἀθλιώτατος βροτῶν."
- Αἰ. μὰ τὸν Δί' οὐ δῆτ', οὐ μὲν οὖν ἐπαύσατο.
πῶς γάρ; ὅτε δὴ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸν γενόμενον
χειμῶνος ὄντος ἐξέθεσαν ἐν ὄστράκῳ, 1190
ἵνα μὴ κτραφείησιν γένοιτο τοῦ πατρὸς φονεύς·
εἴθ' ὡς Πόλυβον ἠρρησεν οἰδῶν τῷ πόδε·
ἔπειτα γραῦν ἔγημεν αὐτὸς ὦν νέος
καὶ πρὸς γε τούτοις τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μητέρα·

1168 § † Su π 1587

1178-9 § † Su σ 1235

1180 (οὐ ...) Su ο 770

1182 §§ Dio Chr. Ixiv. 6; Σ A. ScT 775

1168 ἦλθεν] ἦκεν E^{pc} U V^{SI}V^{SI}^{ac} (cj. Bergk) -κόσι K

1180 Δι.] dic. ad fin. vs. 1179 V

μων] εὐτυχῆς V A K Dio

Bekker: ἀ- α: ὦ- E^{pc} U

ὦ R

1172 τύμβω R^{ac} V^{ac} τᾶδε A

1177 in. Αἰ. α: del. Bergk οὐ δὲ πῶς in ras. V

1180 μουστὶν R -τέον R V^{ac} Su^{v.l.}

1183 μὰ] νῆ R V

1184 γε om. R

1188 Αἰ. om. K

οὐ μὲν οὖν οὐ δῆτ' A

1193 ὦν]

- εἶτ' ἐξετύφλωσεν αὐτόν.
- Δι.** εὐδαίμων ἄρ' ἦν, 1195
εἰ κάστρατῆγησέν γε μετ' Ἐρασινίδου.
- Εὐ.** ληρεῖς· ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς προλόγους καλοὺς ποιῶ.
- Αἰ.** καὶ μὴν μὰ τὸν Δί' οὐ κατ' ἔπος γέ σου κνίσω
τὸ ῥῆμ' ἔκαστον, ἀλλὰ σὺν τοῖσιν θεοῖς
ἀπὸ ληκυθίου σου τοὺς προλόγους διαφθερῶ. 1200
- Εὐ.** ἀπὸ ληκυθίου σὺ τοὺς ἐμούς;
- Αἰ.** ἐνὸς μόνου.
ποιεῖς γὰρ οὕτως ὥστ' ἐναρμόττειν ἅπαν,
καὶ κωδάριον καὶ ληκύθιον καὶ θυλάκιον,
ἐν τοῖς ἰαμβείοισι· δεῖξω δ' αὐτίκα.
- Εὐ.** ἰδοῦ, σὺ δεῖξεις;
- Αἰ.** φημί.
- Εὐ.** καὶ δὴ χρῆ λέγειν. 1205
“Αἴγυπτος, ὡς ὁ πλεῖστος ἔσπαρται λόγος,
ξυν παισὶ πεντήκοντα ναυτίλῳ πλάτῃ
Ἄργος κατασχών—”
- Αἰ.** ληκύθιον ἀπώλεσεν.
- Δι.** τουτὶ τί ἦν τὸ ληκύθιον; οὐ κλαύσεται;
λέγ' ἕτερον αὐτῷ πρόλογον, ἵνα καὶ γινῶ πάλιν. 1210
- Εὐ.** “Διόνυσος, ὃς θύρσοισι καὶ νεβρῶν δοραῖς
καθαπτὸς ἐν πεύκησι Παρνασσὸν κάτα
πηδᾶ χορεύων—”
- Αἰ.** ληκύθιον ἀπώλεσεν.
- Δι.** οἴμοι πεπλήγμεθ' αὐθις ὑπὸ τῆς ληκύθου.
- Εὐ.** ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἔσται πρᾶγμα· πρὸς γὰρ τουτονὶ 1215
τὸν πρόλογον οὐχ ἕξει προσάψαι λήκθουν.
“οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις πάντ' ἀνήρ εὐδαιμονεῖ·
ἧ γὰρ πεφυκῶς ἐσθλὸς οὐκ ἔχει βίον,

1198 (οὐ . . .) § † Su λ 436 1200 Σ^{RV}E 1262 1208 (λη- . . .) §§ Σ Heph.
230. 21; Is. Tz. *de Metr. Pind.* p. 33. 8 1211 (νε- . . .)-2 (. . . -τός) † Su κ 33; § Zon.
1141; § *Vind.* κ 16 1217-19 §§ † Su ο 883

1195 αὐτόν R: ἐαυτόν A 1196 εἰ κέστρα- K 1197-1250 om. K,
pagina 100^v vacua relicta 1197 καλῶς A 1198 *Αἰ.*] dic. ad fin. vs. 1197
V 1200 om. V σοι A [V] ἀποφθερῶ Σ^{RV}E ad 1262 1201 *Εὐ.* om. V
1202 -μόζειν R 1203 θυλάκον CΣ^{VE} 1204 -βίοισι R 1205 *Εὐ.* om.
A *Αἰ.*] *Εὐ.* A φημί in ras. V *Δι.*] *Αἰ.* A 1209 *Δι.*] *Εὐ.* R A
1210 in. *Δι.* R A 1211 ὃς om. R 1212 καθαπτὸς ^ΛΣ^E (ctr. ^ΛΣ^V et Timach.
ap. Σ^{VE}) πεύκαισι R παρνασσὸν V¹: -νασσῶν A 1214 *Δι.*] *Εὐ.* E^{ac}
1216 ληκύθιον R 1217 *Εὐ.* om. R

- ἢ δυσγενῆς ὤν—”
- Αἰ. ληκύθιον ἀπώλεσεν.
- Δι. Εὐριπίδη—
- Εὐ. τί ἐστίν;
- Δι. ὑφέσθαι μοι δοκεῖ. 1220
- τὸ ληκύθιον γὰρ τοῦτο πνευσεῖται πολὺ.
- Εὐ. οὐδ’ ἂν μὰ τὴν Δήμητρα φροντίσαιμι γε·
νυνὶ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦτο γ’ ἐκκεκόψεται.
- Δι. ἴθι δὴ λέγ’ ἕτερον κάπεχου τῆς ληκύθου.
- Εὐ. “Σιδώνιον ποτ’ ἄστυ Κάδμος ἐκλιπῶν 1225
Ἀγήνορος παῖς—”
- Αἰ. ληκύθιον ἀπώλεσεν.
- Δι. ὦ δαίμονι’ ἀνδρῶν, ἀποπρίω τὴν λήκυθον,
ἵνα μὴ διακναίση τοὺς προλόγους ἡμῶν.
- Εὐ. τὸ τί;
ἐγὼ πρίωμαι τῷδ’;
- Δι. ἔαν πείθῃ γ’ ἐμοί.
- Εὐ. οὐ δῆτ’, ἐπεὶ πολλοὺς προλόγους ἕξω λέγειν 1230
ἵν’ οὗτος οὐχ ἕξει προσάψαι λήκυθον.
“Πέλοψ ὁ Ταντάλειος εἰς Πίσαν μολῶν
θοαῖσιν ἵπποις—”
- Αἰ. ληκύθιον ἀπώλεσεν.
- Δι. ὄρας; προσήψεν αὐθις αὐτὴν λήκυθον.
ἀλλ’ ὠγάθ’, ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀπόδος πάσῃ τέχνῃ· 1235
λήψει γὰρ ὀβολοῦ πάνυ καλὴν τε κάγαθὴν.
- Εὐ. μὰ τὸν Δί’ οὐπω γ’ ἔτι γὰρ εἰσὶ μοι συχνοί.
“Οἰνεὺς ποτ’ ἐκ γῆς—”
- Αἰ. ληκύθιον ἀπώλεσεν.
- Εὐ. ἔασον εἰπεῖν πρῶθ’ ὄλον με τὸν σίχον.
“Οἰνεὺς ποτ’ ἐκ γῆς πολύμετρον λαβῶν στάχυν 1240
θύων ἀπαρχάς—”
- Αἰ. ληκύθιον ἀπώλεσεν.

1220 (ύ- . . .) Th. 199. 13

1233 §§ † Σ Heph. 122. 20

1219 δυσθενῆς Su^h. 1220 Εὐ.] dic. R δοκεῖ Kuster: δοκεῖς a Th.
1222 οὐδ’] οὐκ Aⁱ -τραν R A et fort. V^{ac} 1226 αἰγῆ- V 1228 Εὐ. τὸ τί
om. Vⁱ (add. V^{ms}) Εὐ.] dic. R 1229 πρίωμαι A πείσθη R 1230 Εὐ.
om. R ἐπειδὴ R A πολλοὺς om. R A 1231 ληκύθιον R 1232 in.
Εὐ.] R V πείσαν R 1234 αὐ om. V 1235 ἀπόδου A 1235 πάνυ
om. V 1240 πολύβοτρυ (στ) Σ^R: πολύμεστον A σταχύν λαβῶν E^{pc} U

- Δι. μεταξύ θύων; καὶ τίς αὐθ' ὑφείλετο;
 Εὐ. ἕασον, ὦ τᾶν· πρὸς τοδὶ γὰρ εἰπάτω.
 “Ζεὺς, ὡς λέλεκται τῆς ἀληθείας ὕπο, —”
- Δι. ἀπολείς· ἐρεὶ γὰρ “ληκύθιον ἀπώλεσεν”. 1245
 τὸ ληκύθιον γὰρ τοῦτ' ἐπὶ τοῖς προλόγοισί σου
 ὡσπερ τὰ σῦκ' ἐπὶ τοῖσιν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἔφυ.
 ἀλλ' εἰς τὰ μέλη πρὸς τῶν θεῶν αὐτοῦ τραποῦ.
- Εὐ. καὶ μὴν ἔχω γ' οἷς αὐτὸν ἀποδείξω κακὸν 1250
 μελοποιὸν ὄντα καὶ ποιοῦντα ταῦτ' ἀεὶ.
- Χο. τί ποτε πράγμα γενήσεται;
 φροντίζειν γὰρ ἐγὼ οὐκ ἔχω,
 τίν' ἄρα μέμψιν ἐποίσει
 ἀνδρὶ τῷ πολὺ πλείστα δῆ
 καὶ κάλλιστα μέλη ποιή- 1255
 σαντι τῶν μέχρι νυνί.
- θαυμάζω γὰρ ἔγωγ' ὄπη
 μέμψεταιί ποτε τοῦτον
 τὸν Βακχεῖον ἄνακτα,
 καὶ δέδοιχ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ. 1260
- Εὐ. πάνυ γε μέλη θαυμαστά· δείξει δῆ τάχα.
 εἰς ἔν γὰρ αὐτοῦ πάντα τὰ μέλη ζυντεμῶ.
- Δι. καὶ μὴν λογιόυμαι ταῦτα τῶν ψήφων λαβῶν.
- Εὐ. Φθιώτ' Ἀχιλλεῦ, τί ποτ' ἀνδροδάϊκτον ἀκούων 1265
 ἰῆ κόπον οὐ πελάθεις ἐπ' ἀρωγάν;

1255⁶ A K

1256 -τι / τῶν K

1259⁶⁰ A1247 § Su σ 1327
δ 8041250 Σ' 1119
1265 §§ Su ι 217

1264 (parepigr.) Σ Pl. 352 (Koster); Su

1242 αὐθ'] αὐτὸν R ἀφείλετο R 1243 ἕασον] ἕα αὐτὸν V A 1245 -λείς
 R A 1246 -τοῖς*προ- V 1248 τράπου R V 1249 ὡς] οἷς Dobree
 ἐπιδείξω R 1250 ταῦτ' (sic) U: ταῦτ' a 1251: **denuo incipit K**
 1252-6 editioni posteriori, 1257-60 priori attrib. Dover 1252 ἐγὼ οὐκ Bentley:
 ἔγωγ' a 1256 μέχρι νυνί Meineke: ἐτι νῦν ὄντων a: ἐπιόντων Tucker
 1257-60 secl. Meineke 1261 γε] δῆ R 1263 τῶ ψήφω (γρ.) Eratosthenes
 sec. Σ^{VE} post 1263 par. R et διαύλειον προσαυλεῖ τις R V (-λι-) K Su ΣPl.
 1264 Εὐ. om. R ἀχιλεῦ K 1265 ἰῆ κόπον CΣ^{RVE} ad 1275 (cj. Heath): ἰήκοπον
 a: ἰήκοπον (γρ.) Σ^{RVE} ad 1275

- Ἐρμᾶν μὴν πρόγονον τίομεν γένος οἱ περὶ λίμαν.
 ἰῆ κόπον οὐ πελάθεις ἐπ' ἄρωγάν;
- Δι. δύο σοι κόπω, Αἰσχύλε, τούτω.
 Εὐ. κύδιστ' Ἀχαιῶν, Ἀτρέως πολυκοίρανε μάνθανέ μου παῖ. 1269/70
 ἰῆ κόπον οὐ πελάθεις ἐπ' ἄρωγάν;
- Δι. τρίτος, Αἰσχύλε, σοι κόπος οὗτος.
 Εὐ. εὐφαιμεῖτε. μελισσονόμοι δόμον Ἀρτέμιδος πέλας οἴγειν. 1273/4
 ἰῆ κόπον οὐ πελάθεις ἐπ' ἄρωγάν; 1275
 κύριός εἰμι θροεῖν ὄδιον κράτος αἴσιον ἀνδρῶν.
 ἰῆ κόπον οὐ πελάθεις ἐπ' ἄρωγάν;
- Δι. ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, τὸ χρῆμα τῶν κόπων ὄσον.
 ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν εἰς τὸ βαλανεῖον βούλομαι·
 ὑπὸ τῶν κόπων γὰρ τῶν νεφρῶ βουβωνιῶ. 1280
- Εὐ. μῆ, πρὶν γ' ἀκούσης χιτέραν στάσιν μελῶν
 ἐκ τῶν κιθαρῳδικῶν νόμων εἰργασμένην.
- Δι. ἴθι δὴ πέραινε, καὶ κόπον μὴ προστίθει.
- Εὐ. ὅπως Ἀχαιῶν δίθρονον κράτος, Ἑλλάδος ἦβας, 1284/5
 φλαττοθραττοφλαττοθρατ,
 Σφίγγα δυσαμεριᾶν πρύτανιν κῦνα πέμπει,
 φλαττοθραττοφλαττοθρατ,
 σὺν δορι καὶ χειρὶ πράκτορι θούριος ὄρνις,
 φλαττοθραττοφλαττοθρατ, 1290
 κυρεῖν παρασχῶν ἰταμαῖς κυσὶν ἀεροφοίτοις, 1291/2
 φλαττοθραττοφλαττοθρατ,
 τὸ συγκλινές τ' ἐπ' Αἴαντι,
 φλαττοθραττοφλαττοθρατ. 1295

1284/5 -ῶν / δί- R V K 1287⁸ A 1288⁹ K 1289 -ρι / θού- V K
 1291/2 -σχῶν / i- R V K

1279-80 §§ † Su β 413; §§ † Zon. 403 1285 (φλα-) §§ Σ Dion. Thr. 310. 33

1270 μου om. A 1272 Αἰσχύλε t: ὠσχύλε a 1273 εὐφη- V 1276 in.
 par. R ὄδιον t: ὄς διον R: ὄσιον V A K: αἴσιον (γρ.)Σ^{VE} ad fin. vs. par. R
 1280 -φρώ μου βου- A 1282 ἐν τῶ κιθαρῳδικῶ νόμω A 1283 om. (γρ.)Σ^V
 προστίθει V 1284 Εὐ. om. R 1286 pr. φλατ- Fritzsche: τὸ φλατ- a (sim.
 1288, 1290, 1293, 1295, var. acc.): φλατόθρα Σ Dion. 1289 ξὺν t ὄρνις] ἀνήρ Θ^{ac}
 1291/2 κουρεῖν V -φοίτοις V: -φοίταις A 1294 om. (γρ.)Timach. ap. Σ^{VE}

- Δι. τί τὸ “φλαττοθρατ” τοῦτ’ ἐστίν; ἐκ Μαραθῶνος ἢ
 πόθεν συνέλεξας ἰμονιοστρόφου μέλη;
- Αἰ. ἀλλ’ οὖν ἐγὼ μὲν εἰς τὸ καλὸν ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦ
 ἤνεγκον αὐθ’, ἵνα μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν Φρυνίχῳ
 λειμῶνα Μουσῶν ἱερὸν ὀφθειῖν δρέπων· 1300
 οὗτος δ’ ἀπὸ πάντων μὲν φέρει, πορνωδιῶν,
 σκολίων Μελήτου, Καρικῶν αὐλημάτων,
 θρήνων, χορειῶν. τάχα δὲ δηλωθήσεται.
 ἔνεγκάτω τις τὸ λύριον. καίτοι τί δεῖ
 λύρας ἐπὶ τούτων; ποῦ ἔστιν ἢ τοῖς ὀστράκοις 1305
 αὕτη κροτούσα; δεῦρο, Μοῦσ’ Εὐριπίδου,
 πρὸς ἡνπερ ἐπιτήδεια ταῦτ’ ἄδειν μέλη.
- Δι. αὕτη ποθ’ ἢ Μοῦσ’ οὐκ ἐλεσβίαζεν, οὐ.
- Αἰ. ἀλκυόνες, αἶ παρ’ ἀενάοις θαλάσ-
 σης κύμασι στωμύλλετε, 1310
 τέγγουσαι νοτίοις περῶν
 ῥανίσι χροῖα δροσιζόμεναι·
 αἶ θ’ ὑπωρόφιοι κατὰ γωνίας
 εἰεἰεἰεἰλίσετε δακτύλοις φάλαγγες
 ἰστότονα πηνίσματα, 1315
 κερκίδος ἀοιδοῦ μελέτας,
 ἴν’ ὁ φίλαυλος ἔπαλλε δελ-
 φῖς πῶραις κυανεμβόλοις

1309 10 a 1310 -σης/κύ- a 1314 -ει/λισ- R -λοις/φά- K (et -γες/)
 1315-16 -τα καὶ (sic) κερ- V A: -τα/καὶ (sic) κερ- K 1317 18 a 1318 -φῖς/
 πρῶ- a 1318 19 A

1297 § † Su ι 358 1298 (ἐγὼ ...) -9 §§ † Su ε 154 1302 § Su μ 495
 1305 (ὄσ-...) -6 § Phryn. PS 79. 6 1308 Σ’ 1296 (... -ζεν) § Eust. Il. ii. 677.
 19 1313 (ύ-...) -14 ~ §§ Eust. Il. ii. 825. 26 1314-15 † Su φ 34
 1314 (εί-) Su ε ι

1296 ἢ om. K 1297 ξυν- A: συνέλεξεν Su^{v.l.} 1299 αὐθ’ t: αὐθ’ a
 1300 ἱερῶν A ὀφθειῖν V 1301 πορνωδιῶν Meineke: -νιδίων a
 1302 σκολίων V A K μελίτου A K 1303 χορειῶν E^{pc} U VSI: χορείων a
 1304 δεῖ] δ’ εἰ R 1305 τουτούτων R: τούτων Cti: τούτῳ Θ^{pc}: τούτου Tucker
 1307 ἐπιτήδεια ταῦτ’ Θ: -δειονα τά γ’ ἔστ’ R^{ac}: -δεια τά γ’ ἔστ’ R^{pc}: -δεια ταῦτ’ ἔστ’ V A:
 -δεια τάδ’ ἔστ’ K 1308 ante οὐ] Εὐ. A 1309 ἀλ- R V A -γες: V ἀεν-
 νάοις V A θαλάσσαις R V K 1310 κύμασι A 1311 νοτεροῖς V A K:
 νοτίαις E Σ^v: νατεραίς Np1 VSI 1313 ὑπορο- Eust. 1314 εἰ sexies R Su:
 quinques V: quater K: semel A¹ (quater add. A^{m^{sc}}) -σεται V 1315 -πονα R
 Su^{v.l.}: V^{ac} incert.

μαντεία καὶ σταδίου.
οἰνάνθας γάνος ἀμπέλου,
βότρυος ἔλικα παυσίπονον
περιβαλλ', ὦ τέκνον, ὠλένας.
ὄρᾳς τὸν πόδα τοῦτον;

1320

Εὐ. ὄρῳ.

Αἰ. τί δαί; τοῦτον ὄρᾳς;

Δι. ὄρῳ.

Αἰ. τοιαυτὶ μέντοι σὺ ποιῶν
τολμᾷς τὰμὰ μέλη ψέγειν,
ἀνὰ τὸ δωδεκαμήχανον
Κυρήνης μελοποιῶν;

1325

τὰ μὲν μέλη σου ταῦτα· βούλομαι δ' ἔτι
τὸν τῶν μονωδιῶν διεξελεθῆν τρόπον.

1330

ὦ Νυκτὸς κελαινοφαῆς ὄρφνα,
τίνα μοι δύστανον ὄνειρον
πέμπεις [ἔξ] ἀφανοῦς Αἶδα πρόμολον
ψυχὰν ἄψυχον ἔχοντα,
μελαίνας Νυκτὸς παῖδα φρικώδη
δεινὰν ὄψιν
μελανοκεκείμονα
φόνια φόνια δερκόμενον,
μεγάλους ὄνουχας ἔχοντα.

1335a

1335b

1336a

1336b

ἀλλά μοι ἀμφίπολοι λύχνον ἄψατε
κάλπισί τ' ἐκ ποταμῶν δρόσον ἄρατε,
θέρμετε δ' ὕδωρ,

1339a

1339b

1321² V 1325⁶ A 1331 -ης / ὄρ- a 1334^{5a} a 1335a -νας /
νυκ- a φρι/κῶ- K 1335a^b a 1336a^b A 1336b -a / δερ- K (et
-νον /) 1339a -μῶν / δρό- K (et -τε /) 1339b⁴⁰ A

1320 (γά- . . .) -1 §§ † Su γ 59 1327 (δῶ- . . .) -8 (. . . νης) ~ §§ Hsch. κ 467c
(cf. δ 2705); ~ §§ Su δ 1442; ~ §§ Apost. vi. 41 1331-2 (. . . να) Su κ 1287
1343a (τέ-) §§ Hsch. τ 49b

1321 κερ-] καὶ κερ- V A K -κίδας Aⁱ 1322 περιβαλ' K ὠλένας V s1ⁱ
1323 in. par. R Εὐ. E V s1^{ac}; Δι. a: sp. U 1324 om. V Αἰ.] Εὐ. K [V]
δαί] δε R K [V] Δι.] Εὐ. E V s1^{ac} [V] 1325 μέντοι] μὲν V K 1329 μὲν
om. Kⁱ 1330 τῶν] τὸν R διεξ-] ἐξ- V 1325 μέντοι] μόνον V A K 1331 ὦ
V ὄρφνη Su 1333 ἐξ secl. Parker ἀφανοῦς V αἶδα V πρόπολον A^{ac}
V s1^{pc} Θ: πρόπολον A^{pc}: προμολῶν Wilamowitz 1339b δ'] θ' K^{ac}: δ'**** V

ὡς ἂν θεῖον ὄνειρον ἀποκλύσω.	1340
ἰὼ πόντιε δαίμων.	
τοῦτ' ἐκεῖν' ἰὼ ξύνιοικοι,	
τάδε τέρα θεάσασθε· τὸν ἀλεκτρυόνα	1343a
μου ξυναρπάσασα φρούδη Γλύκη.	1343b
Νύμφαι ὄρεσσιγονοί·	
ὦ Μαρία, ξύλλαβε.	1345
ἐγὼ δ' ἄ τάλαινα	
προσέχουσ' ἔτυχον ἔμαυτῆς	
ἔργοισι λίνου μεστὸν ἄτρακτον	
εἰείειελίσσουσα χεροῖν,	
κλωστήρη ποιούσ', ὅπως	1350a
κνεφαῖος εἰς ἀγορὰν	1350b
φέρουσ' ἀποδοίμαν.	
ὁ δ' ἀνέπτατ' ἀνέπτατ' ἐς αἰθέρα κου-	1352a
φοτάταις πτερύγων ἀκμαῖς,	1352b
ἐμοὶ δ' ἄχε' ἄχα κατέλιπε,	
δάκρυα δάκρυα δ' ἀπ' ὀμμάτων	
ἔβαλον ἔβαλον ἄ τλάμων.	1355
ἀλλ' ὦ Κρήτες, Ἴδας τέκνα,	1356a
τὰ τόξα λαβόντες ἐπαμύνατε	1356b
τὰ κῶλά τ' ἀμπάλλετε	1357a
κυκλούμενοι τῆν οἰκίαν.	1357b
ἄμα δὲ Δίκτυνα παῖς ἄ καλὰ	
τὰς κυνίσκας ἔχουσ' ἐλθέτω	

1341 ¹ 2 A	1342 -ν' / ἰὼ K (et -κοι /)	1343a -σθε / τὸν R V A
1343 ^a b a	1343b -σα / φρού- a	1346 ⁷ a
1347 ⁸ a	1348 -σι / λί- R V K	1350a ^b a
1351 ἀπο/(δοίμαν) ὁ K	1352a -ρα / κου- a	1350b -ος / εἰς a
K	1356b -τες / ε- K (et -τε /)	1354 -α / δά- K
1358 παῖς / Ἄρ- (sic) K	1357a ^b V A K	-α δ' / ἄ- V K
	1359 ⁶⁰ A	1357b -νοι / τῆν V K

1349 (εἰ-) Su εἰ I

1350b-I § Su κ 1860

1340 ἀποκλύσω V ^{ac}	1343a τάδε τέρα L. Dindorf (cf. Hsch.): τὰ δ' ἔτερα R:
τάδε τέρατα V A K	1344 ὄρεσι- V ⁱ A K ^{ΛΣVE}
quinquies V: sexies A	1348 εἰ
1351 δοίμαν om. K ⁱ (add. K ²):	1350ab ὅπως κνεφαῖος (sic) in ras. V
1352 ἄτῶν P20 ⁱ	-σα· ὅπως R
bis R	1352a ἐς Ald.: ἐπ' R: εἰς V A K
1356a κρήτας R	1353 ἄχε' om. R
1357a κῶλ' ἄμ- K	-λιπεν R A: -λειπεν V
	1355 ἔλαβον
	1356b τόξα] τόξα (τε) Bergk
	-νετε P20 ⁱ
	1358 -τυνα R
	ἀ Kock: Ἄρτεμις a: fort. Ἄρτεμις (θ') ἄ

διὰ δόμων πανταχῆ· 1360
 σὺ δ' ὦ Διὸς διπύρους ἀνέχουσα 1361a
 λαμπάδας ὄξυντάτας χερσίν, 1361b
 Ἐκάτα, παράφηνον εἰς Γλύκης
 ὅπως ἂν εἰσελθοῦσα φωράσω.

Δι. παύσασθον ἤδη τῶν μελῶν.
 Αἰ. κάμοιγ' ἄλις.
 ἐπὶ τὸν σταθμὸν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀγαγεῖν βούλομαι, 1365
 ὅπερ ἐξελέγξει τὴν πόησιν νῶν μόνον·
 τὸ γὰρ βάρος νῶ βασιανεῖ τῶν ῥημάτων.
 Δι. ἴτε δευρό νυν, εἶπερ γε δεῖ καὶ τοῦτό με,
 ἀνδρῶν ποητῶν τυροπωλῆσαι τέχνην.

Χο. ἐπίπονοί γ' οἱ δεξιοί. 1370
 τόδε γὰρ ἔτερον αὐτέρας
 νεοχμόν, ἀτοπίας πλέων,
 ὃ τίς ἂν ἐπενόησεν ἄλλος;
 μὰ τόν, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἂν εἶ τις
 ἔλεγέ μοι τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων 1375
 ἐπιθόμην, ἀλλ' ὤόμην ἂν
 αὐτὸν αὐτὰ ληρεῖν.

Δι. ἴθι δῆ, παρίστασθον παρὰ τὴν πλάστιγγ'.
 Αἰ. Εὐ. ἰδοῦ.
 Δι. καὶ λαβομένω τὸ ῥῆμ' ἐκάτερος εἶπατον,

1361a -ρους / ἀ- R V K 1361a¹ b a 1361b -δας / ὄ- a 1361b² a
 1363 -σα / φω- K (et -σω /) 1370 i A 1372 3 A 1374 5 A
 1375 μοι / τῶν K 1376 7A

1365 Choer. ad Heph. 203. 10 1369 (τυ-) §§ Su τ 1199 1371 (τέ-
 . . .)-2 § Su ν 222 1372 (ἀτο- . . .) ~ §§ Phryn. PS 35. 13; §§ † Su α 4374

1360 τὰς κυνίσκουσ Α 1361a διαπύρους Α (cf. Σ^{VE}) fort. ἀνίσχουσα V^{ac}
 1361b -τάταιν P20^a 1364 Αἰ.] dic. R: om. V: Εὐ. Α 1365 in. Δι. Α
 1366 ὃς ἐξελ- K^s: ὄσπερ ἐλ- Α: ὄστις γ' ἐλ- Θ μόνος Α K 1367 secl. Bergk
 in. Δι. (νρ.)Σ^{RVE} ad 1368 νῶν Α βασιανεῖ R^{ac} 1368 Δι. om. V
 1372 πλέον R V K Su^{vi}. 1373 ἐποίησεν R ἄλλους R 1374 τὸν Δι' ἐ- Α
 οὐκ Blaydes: οὐδ' a 1376 ἐπιθόμην i: ἐπει- a 1377 ἑαυτὸν V K
 1378 δῆ] νῦν Α Αἰ. Εὐ.] dic. R: ἀμφ^o V^{me}: om. Vⁱ K: Εὐ. Α 1379 Δι. om. R A
 K τὸ] τῶ V

- καὶ μὴ μεθήσθον πρὶν ἂν ἐγὼ σφῶν κοκκύσω. 1380
- Αἰ. Εὐ. ἐχόμεθα.
 Δι. τοῦπος νυν λέγετον εἰς τὸν σταθμόν.
 Εὐ. “εἶθ’ ὦφελ’ Ἀργούς μὴ διαπτάσθαι σκάφος.”
 Αἰ. “Σπερχιεὶ ποταμὲ βούνομοί τ’ ἐπιστροφαί.”
 Δι. κόκκυ.
- Αἰ. Εὐ. μεθεῖται.
 Δι. καὶ πολὺ γε κατωτέρω
 χωρεῖ τὸ τοῦδε.
 Εὐ. καὶ τί ποτ’ ἐστὶ ταῖτιον; 1385
 Δι. ὄτι εἰσέθηκε ποταμόν, ἐριοπωλικῶς
 ὑγρὸν πώησας τοῦπος ὡσπερ τᾶρια,
 οὐ δ’ εἰσέθηκας τοῦπος ἐπτρωμένον·
 Εὐ. ἀλλ’ ἕτερον εἰπάτω τι κἀντιστησάτω.
 Δι. λάβεσθε τοίνυν αὐθις.
- Αἰ. Εὐ. ἦν ἰδοῦ.
 Δι. λέγε. 1390
 Εὐ. “οὐκ ἔστι Πειθοῦς ἱερὸν ἄλλο πλὴν λόγος.”
 Αἰ. “μόνος θεῶν γὰρ Θάνατος οὐ δῶρων ἐρᾶ.”
 Δι. μέθετε.
- Αἰ. Εὐ. μεθεῖται.
 Δι. καὶ τὸ τοῦδέ γ’ αὐ ρέπει·
 θάνατον γὰρ εἰσέθηκε, βαρῦτατον κακόν.
 Εὐ. ἐγὼ δὲ πειθῶ γ’, ἔπος ἄριστ’ εἰρημένον. 1395
 Δι. πειθῶ δὲ κοῦφόν ἐστι καὶ νοῦν οὐκ ἔχον.
 ἀλλ’ ἕτερον αὐ ζήτηι τι τῶν βαρυστάθμων,
 ὅτι σοι καθέλξει, καρτερόν τε καὶ μέγα.
 Εὐ. φέρε ποῦ τοιοῦτον δητὰ μούστί, ποῦ;
 Δι. φράσω·

1383 (βου...) §§ Su β 448

1387-8 § Su ε 2997

1391 §§ Su π 1441

1380 μεθεῖσθον V A K σφῶν om. R κοκκύσω R V Aⁱ 1381 Αἰ. Εὐ. om.
 R: οἱ δύο V K^{ac}: Εὐ. A εἰς] ἐπὶ R 1382 Εὐ. +++ εἶθ’ K ἀργούς K
 -πτάσθαι R A^{pc} 1384 Αἰ. Εὐ. μεθεῖται. Δι. Radermacher: μεθεῖτε α
 1385 τὸ om. V 1387 ὡσπερ] ὅπως V 1388 τὸ οὐπος K 1389 Εὐ.
 om. Vsi: del. E^{pc}: sp. Vb3 1390 Αἰ. Εὐ.] dic. R: οἱ δύο V K: Αἰ. A Δι.] dic. R
 1391 ἱερὸν] οὐδὲν U^{pc}· ἄλλω R 1393 μέθετε Blass: μεθεῖτε α Αἰ. Εὐ. et
 Δι. Radermacher: om. α μεθεῖται Radermacher: μεθεῖτε α ad fin. vs. dic. V
 1394 in. Εὐ. R V κακῶν A K^{ac} 1395 Εὐ. om. R V 1396 Δι. om. R
 ἔστιν R^{ac} 1397 αὐ om. V ζήτηι τι] ζητεῖτε R A 1398 κράτερον R
 1399 pr. ποῦ] ποῖ R τοιοῦτο RA alt. ποῦ] πάν K Δι. Seidler: dic. R (fort. R^{pc})

- “βέβληκ’ Ἀχιλλεύς δύο κύβω καὶ τέτταρα.” 1400
 λέγοιτ’ ἄν, ὡς αὕτη ἴσι λοιπὴ σφῶν στάσις.
 Εὐ. “σιδηροβριθές τ’ ἔλαβε δεξιᾷ ξύλον”.
 Αἰ. “ἔφ’ ἄρματος γὰρ ἄρμα καὶ νεκρῶ νεκρός.”
 Δι. ἐξηπάτηκεν αὐτὸν σε καὶ νῦν.
 Εὐ. τῷ τρόπῳ;
 Δι. δὺ’ ἄρματ’ εἰσέθηκε καὶ νεκρῶ δύο, 1405
 οὓς οὐκ ἂν ἄραιντ’ οὐδ’ ἕκατὸν Αἰγύπτιοι.
 Αἰ. καὶ μηκέτ’ ἔμοιγε κατ’ ἔπος, ἀλλ’ εἰς τὸν σταθμὸν
 αὐτός, τὰ παιδί’, ἢ γυνή, Κηφισοφῶν,
 ἐμβᾶς καθήσθω, ξυλλαβῶν τὰ βιβλία·
 ἐγὼ δὲ δὺ’ ἔπη τῶν ἐμῶν ἐρῶ μόνον. 1410
 Δι. ἄνδρες φίλοι, κἀγὼ μὲν αὐτοὺς οὐ κρινῶ.
 οὐ γὰρ δι’ ἔχθρας οὐδετέρῳ γενήσομαι·
 τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἠγοῦμαι σοφόν, τῷ δ’ ἤδομαι.

ΠΛΟΥΤΩΝ

- οὐδὲν ἄρα πράξεις ὧνπερ ἦλθες οὐνεκα.
 Δι. ἐὰν δὲ κρίνω;
 Πλ. τὸν ἕτερον λαβῶν ἄπει, 1415
 ὀπότερον ἂν κρίνης, ἴν’ ἔλθης μὴ μάτην.
 Δι. εὐδαιμονοίης. φέρε, πύθεσθέ μου ταδί.
 ἐγὼ κατήλθον ἐπὶ ποτητήν. τοῦ χάριν;
 ἴν’ ἢ πόλις σωθεῖσα τοὺς χοροὺς ἄγῃ.
 ὀπότερος οὖν ἂν τῇ πόλει παραινέσειν 1420
 μέλλῃ τι χρηστόν, τοῦτον ἄξιον μοι δοκῶ.
 πρῶτον μὲν οὖν περὶ Ἀλκιβιάδου τίν’ ἔχετον
 γνώμην ἐκάτερος; ἢ πόλις γὰρ δυστοκεῖ.

1400 Zenob. ii. 85; Eust. § (1) *Il.* iii. 922. 6, § (2) *Od.* 1397. 19 1402 §§ *Su β* 540
 1406 † Σ^{EMF2} *Av.* 1133; *Su* §§ (1) α 3819, §§ (2) α 4703 1412-13 § *Su δ* 984

1400 in. Δι. V A K ἀχιλλεύς K δύο R^{pc} K κύβωι R τέτταρας R
 1401 in. Δι. R σφῶ K: νῶν ^{VR} στάσις] φράσις U V^{s1} 1402 δεξιᾷ R
 1403 ante καὶ dic. V νεκρός νεκρῶ V 1405 εἰσήνεγκεν R δύο R^{ac} V A K
 1408 παιδί’ ἢ Reiske: παιδιὰ ἢ R: -δία χῆ V A K κ’ ἠφι- R: χῶ κη- (^{VR})^{ac}.
 1410 δὲ om. R μόνα V A K 1411 ἄνδρες C οἱ ἄνδρες M^s (cj. Seager): ἄνδρες ■
 φίλοι] σοφοὶ V A K αὐτός R 1413 τὸ μὲν R^{ac} 1414 Πλούτων] Χο.
 (^{VR})^{ac} (ctr. Apollonium *ibid.*) ἔνεκα K 1415 Πλ. om. R post ἕτερον dic.
 R^s 1416 κρίνεις V^{ac} ἠκῆς Richards 1417 Δι. om. R φέρε] φέρε δῆ
 V A K 1418 ante τοῦ dic. R: Πλ. A K^s (ctr. Σ^{RVE}) 1419 in. Δι. A
 σωθήσα V^{ac} 1420 ἂν οὖν V A K -σειεν R^{ac} 1421 μέλλει R A K τι]
 τὸ M^{ac} τοῦτ’ K^{ac} 1422 ἀλκυ- A 1423 -τερος εἶπατον· ἢ V A K

- Αι.* ἔχει δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ τίνα γνώμην;
Δι. τίνα;
 ποθεῖ μὲν, ἐχθαίρει δέ, βούλεται δ' ἔχειν. 1425
 ἀλλ' ὅτι νοεῖτον εἶπατον τούτου πέρι.
Εὐ. μισῶ πολίτην, ὅστις ὠφελεῖν πάτραν
 βραδύς φανείται, μεγάλα δὲ βλάπτειν ταχύς,
 καὶ πόριμον αὐτῷ, τῇ πόλει δ' ἀμήχανον.
Δι. εὐ γ', ὦ Πρόσειδον. σὺ δὲ τίνα γνώμην ἔχεις; 1430
Αι. οὐ χρῆ λέοντος σκυμνὸν ἐν πόλει τρέφειν· 1431a
 μάλιστα μὲν λέοντα μῆ ἔν πόλει τρέφειν· 1431b
 ἦν δ' ἐκτραφῆ τις, τοῖς τρόποις ὑπηρετεῖν.
Δι. νῆ τὸν Δία τὸν σωτήρα, δυσκρίτως γ' ἔχω·
 ὁ μὲν σοφῶς γὰρ εἶπεν, ὁ δ' ἕτερος σαφῶς.
 ἀλλ' ἔτι μίαν γνώμην ἐκότερος εἶπατον 1435
 περὶ τῆς πόλεως ἦντιν' ἔχετον σωτηρίαν.
Εὐ. εἶ τις πτερώσας Κλεόκριτον Κινησία
 αἴροισιν αὖραι πελαγίαν ὑπὲρ πλάκα—
Δι. γέλοισιν ἂν φαίνοιτο, νοῦν δ' ἔχει τίνα;
Εὐ. εἰ ναυμαχοῖεν, κᾶτ' ἔχοντες ὀξίδας 1440
 βραίνουσιν εἰς τὰ βλέφαρα τῶν ἐναντίων— 1441
Δι. εὐ γ' ὦ Παλάμηδες, ὦ σοφωτάτη φύσις. 1451
 ταυτὶ πότερ' αὐτὸς ἠῦρες ἢ Κηφισοφῶν;
Εὐ. ἐγὼ μόνος, τὰς δ' ὀξίδας Κηφισοφῶν.
Δι. τί δαὶ σὺ; τί λέγεις;
Αι. τὴν πόλιν νυν μοι φράσον
 πρῶτον τίσι χρῆται· πότερα τοῖς χρηστοῖς;
Δι. πόθεν; 1455

1425 § Plu. *Alc.* 16. 3; § Su σ 511 1427-9 Su *ibid.* 1431a-4 (§§) † Su ο 986
 1431a-2 (§§) † Su σ 713 1431b-2 § Plu. *Alc.* 16. 3 1431b ~ † Val. Max vii.
 2. 7; §§ Macar. vi. 71 1433 (δυσο...)-4 (§) † Su ο 986 1437-8 Greg. Cor.
 p. 151; §§ Su λ 264 1451-3 § Su κ 1568

1424 *Αι.* om. R V: οἱ δύο K Δι.] Πλ. E^{ac} 1427 ὠφελεῖ R
 1428 φανείται] πέφυκε V A K: πέφανται Hamaker 1429 αὐτῷ R V
 1430 post 1431a transp. Erbse 1431a del. *Αι.* Erbse: *Εὐ.* M^{ac} χορῆν Newiger
 versum editioni posteriori attrib. Dover 1431b om. V A Kⁱ (add. K^{m8}): in. *Εὐ.* vel.
 Δι. vel Xo. (98.) Σ^{VE}: *Αι.* Erbse versum editioni priori attrib. Dover
 1437-41 damn. Aristarchus et Apollonius sec. Σ^{VE} 1437-41 et 1451-3 editioni priori,
 1442-50 posteriori attrib. Sommerstein, auct. Dindorf et Tucker 1437 *Λεώ-*
κριτον Su 1438 ἀρειεν αὔρα MacDowell 1440 κᾶτ' ἐ-] κατέ- R
 1451-62 huc transp. Dörrie 1453-4 damn. Σ^{VE} (cf. ad 1437-41) 1453 post 1454
 R^{ac} *Εὐ.* om. R 1454 Δι. om. R alt. τί om. V A K 1455 Δι.] dic. R

μισεῖ κάκιστα.

Αἰ. τοῖς πονηροῖς δ' ἥδεται;

Δι. οὐ δῆτ' ἐκείνη γ', ἀλλὰ χρήται πρὸς βίαν.

Αἰ. πῶς οὖν τις ἂν σώσειε τοιαύτην πόλιν,
ἢ μήτε χλαῖνα μήτε σισύρα ξυμφέρει;

Δι. εὔρισκε νῆ Δί', εἴπερ ἀναδύσει πάλιν. 1460

Αἰ. ἐκεῖ φράσαιμ' ἂν, ἐνθαδὶ δ' οὐ βούλομαι.

Δι. μὴ δῆτα σύ γ', ἀλλ' ἐνθένδ' ἀνίει τάγαθά. 1462

Αἰ. ἐγὼ μὲν οἶδα καὶ θέλω φράζειν.

Δι. λέγε. 1442

Αἰ. ὅταν τὰ νῦν ἄπιστα πίσθ' ἠγώμεθα,
τὰ δ' ὄντα πίστ' ἄπιστα—

Δι. πῶς; οὐ μανθάνω.
ἀμαθέστερόν πως εἶπὲ καὶ σαφέστερον. 1445

Αἰ. εἰ τῶν πολιτῶν οἴσι νῦν πιστεύομεν,
τούτοις ἀπιστήσαιμεν, οἷς δ' οὐ χρώμεθα,
τούτοισι χρῆσάμεσθ' ἴσως σωθῆμεν ἂν.

Δι. εἰ νῦν γε δυστυχοῦμεν ἐν τούτοισι, πῶς
τάναντί' ἂν πράξαντες οὐ σφῆζοίμεθ' ἂν; 1450

Αἰ. τὴν γῆν ὅταν νομίσωσι τὴν τῶν πολεμίων 1463

εἶναι σφέτερον, τὴν δὲ σφετέραν τῶν πολεμίων,
πόρον δὲ τὰς ναῦς, ἀπορίαν δὲ τὸν πόρον. 1465

Δι. εὐ, πλὴν γ' ὁ δικαστὴς αὐτὰ καταπίνει μόνος.

Πλ. κρίνοις ἂν.

Δι. αὕτη σφῶν κρίσις γενήσεται·
αἰρήσομαι γὰρ ὄνπερ ἢ ψυχῇ θέλει.

1458-9 (... -ρα) § Su σ 487 1443-52 §§ † Su σ 163 1445 §§ † Gell. xii.
5, 6; §§ † Apost. ii. 64a; § Su α 1470; Eust. § † (1) Il. ii. 190. 1, § † (2) Ep. 47, p. 351. 1
1463-5 Su §§ (1) π 1181, §§ (2) τ 815

1456 Αἰ. om. R -ται; V 1457 Δι. om. R: Αἰ. Bergk 1458 Αἰ. om. R:
Eὐ. Newiger: Δι. Dörrie 1459 σισύρα (γρ.) Σ^{RVE} ξυμ- V K 1460 Δι. om. R
1461-2 et 1463-6 editioni priori attrib. Dover, 1442-50 posteriori 1461 Αἰ. om.
R: Eὐ. Dörrie οὐ] οὐχι V K 1462 Δι. om. R 1442 Eὐ. C VAK, ubi
in vss. 1440-1 Eur. loquitur 1443 Αἰ. Vs1 (cj. Dörrie): Eὐ. VA: om. K
1444 Δι. om. R 1446 Αἰ. Vs1 (cj. Dörrie): Eὐ. V A: Δι. K 1448 -σαίμεθ'
K ἴσως σωθῆμεν] σωθῆμεν R Su 1449 Δι. Vs1^{nc} (cj. MacDowell)
1450 τί' ἂν Dobree: -τία α Su πράττοντες V A K post 1450 lac. stat. Mac-
Dowell 1463-6 secl. Newiger 1465 εὐπορίαν K 1466 Δι. om. R εὐ]
εὐ γε V γ' om. V A K 1467 Πλ. om. R: Eὐ. ἢ Πλ. M: Αἰ. vel Eὐ. vel Xo. (γρ.) Σ^{RV}

- Εὐ. μεμνημένος νυν τῶν θεῶν οὓς ὤμοσας
ἢ μὴν ἀπάξιν μ' οἴκαδ', αἰροῦ τοὺς φίλους. 1470
- Δι. ἢ γλῶττ' ὀμώμοκ', Αἰσχύλον δ' αἰρήσομαι.
- Εὐ. τί δέδρακας, ὦ μιαρῶτατ' ἀνθρώπων;
- Δι. ἐγώ;
ἔκρινα νικᾶν Αἰσχύλον. τίη γὰρ οὓ;
- Εὐ. αἰσχιστον ἔργον προσβλέπεις μ' εἰργασμένους;
- Δι. τί δ' αἰσχρόν, ἢ μὴ τοῖς θεωμένοις δοκῆ; 1475
- Εὐ. ὦ σχέτλιε, περιόψει με δὴ τεθνηκότα;
- Δι. τίς δ' οἶδεν εἰ τὸ ζῆν μὲν ἔστι κατθανεῖν,
τὸ πνεῖν δὲ δειπνεῖν, τὸ δὲ καθεύδειν κῶδιον;
- Πλ. χωρεῖτε τοῖνυν, ὦ Διόνυσ', εἴσω.
- Δι. τί δαί;
- Πλ. ἵνα ξενίζω σφῶ πρὶν ἀποπλεῖν.
- Δι. εὖ λέγεις 1480
νῆ τὸν Δί'. οὐ γὰρ ἄχθομαι τῷ πράγματι.
- Χο. μακάριός γ' ἀνήρ ἔχων
ξύνεσιν ἠκριβωμένην.
πάρα δὲ πολλοῖσιν μαθεῖν.
ὄδε γὰρ εὖ φρονεῖν δοκῆσας 1485
πάλιν ἄπεισιν οἴκαδ' αὐθις,
ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ μὲν τοῖς πολίταις,
ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ δὲ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ
ξυγγενέσι τε καὶ φίλοισιν,
διὰ τὸ συνετὸς εἶναι. 1490
- χαρίεν οὖν μὴ Σωκράτει
παρακαθημένον λαλεῖν,

1482³ A1484⁵ A1486⁷ A1488⁹ A1490¹ A

1471 § Eust. II. i. 700. i

1477 §§ † Su τ 662

1481 Σ' 1378

1471 Δι. om. K -μοκεν A 1472 Δι.] dic. R 1474 Εὐ. om. R -τόν μ'
ἔργον V: -τον ἔργον μ' A K^s προσβλέπεις μ' εἰργασμένος M^{pc} Θ: εἰργασμένος προ-
βλέπεις R: εἰρ- προσ- V A: ἐργασάμενος προσ- K 1475 Δι. om. R τοῖσι A
1477 δ' om. R μὲν] μυνέ V ad fin. vs. τὸ κατθανεῖν δὲ ζῆν Su 1478 in. Εὐ.
V διπνεῖν K τὸ δὲ] καὶ τὸ** E: καὶ τὸ M U 1479 τοῖνυν] νῦν R
1480 ξενίζω Meineke: -σω a: ξενίσωμεν Marzullo Δι.] dic. R 1482 μακά-
ριον Σ^{RVE} γ' om. A 1484 πολλοῖσι V A K 1486 ἄπεισ' R αὐ Bent-
ley 1489 φίλοισι(ν) Bentley: -λοῖς a

- ἀποβαλόντα μουσικὴν
 τὰ τε μέγιστα παραλιπόντα
 τῆς τραγωδικῆς τέχνης. 1495
 τὸ δ' ἐπὶ σεμνοῖσιν λόγοισιν
 καὶ σκαριφησμοῖσι λήρων
 διατριβὴν ἀργὸν ποιεῖσθαι
 παραφρονούντος ἀνδρός.
- Πλ. ἄγε δὴ χαίρων, Αἰσχύλε, χώρει, 1500
 καὶ σῶζε πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν
 γνώμασι ἀγαθαῖς, καὶ παιδεύσον
 τοὺς ἀνοήτους· πολλοὶ δ' εἰσίν.
 καὶ δὸς τουτὶ Κλεοφῶντι φέρων
 καὶ τουτουσὶ τοῖσι πορισταῖς 1505
 Μύρμηκί θ' ὁμοῦ καὶ Νικομάχῳ,
 τόδε τ' Ἀρχενόμῳ· καὶ φράζ' αὐτοῖς
 ταχέως ἤκειν ὡς ἐμὲ δευρὶ
 καὶ μὴ μέλλειν· κἂν μὴ ταχέως
 ἤκωσιν, ἐγὼ νῆ τὸν Ἀπόλλω 1510
 στίξας αὐτοὺς καὶ ξυμποδίσας
 μετ' Ἀδειμάντου τοῦ Λευκολόφου
 κατὰ γῆς ταχέως ἀποπέμψω. 1513/14
- Αἰ. ταῦτα ποιήσω· σὺ δὲ τὸν θᾶκον 1515
 τὸν ἐμὸν παράδος Σοφοκλεῖ τηρεῖν
 καὶ διασώζειν, ἦν ἄρ' ἐγὼ ποτε
 δεῦρ' ἀφίκωμαι. τοῦτον γὰρ ἐγὼ

1494 -τα / πά- K 1494 5 A 1496 7 A 1498 9 A 1500 1 A
 1502 3 A 1504 5 A 1506 7 A 1507 -μω / καὶ a 1507 8 R V A
 1508 -κειν / ὡς R V K 1508 9 R V A 1509 -λειν / κἂν a 1509 10 a
 1510 ἐγὼ (om. K) / νῆ R V K 1510 11 R V A 1511 -τοὺς / καὶ a
 1511 12 A 1517 18 A

1504 (δός ...) -5 § † Su π 1799 1508 (τα- ...) -10 § † Su δ 287
 1511-13/14 § † Su (1) σ 1396 1513/14 § † Su (2) δ 287

1493 -βάλλοντα V 1494 τὰ τε] καὶ τὰ R 1496 σεμνοῖσιν I: -σι a
 1497 σκαρη- V^{ac} -φισ- A (ctr. ^λΣ^v) 1498 ἀργῶν V 1500 ὦ' σχύλε U
 1501 ἡμετέραν Scaliger 1503 -τουσ] c in ras. V εἰσὶ K 1504 τοῦτο Su
 1505 τουτουσὶ Bergk: τοῦτο R Su: τουτοῖ V K: τουτὶ A: τούτοισι V^{pp}: 1510 ἤκωσι
 A ἐγὼ om. A νῆ] μὰ Su(1) 1511 συμ- R Su 1512 -λοφίου Σ^v: -φόρου
 Su(2): om. Su(1) 1513/14 κατὰ] καὶ τὰ V 1515 θᾶκον Bentley: θῶκον U:
 θρόνον a 1517 σφῆζειν A K

σοφία κρίνω δεύτερον εἶναι.
 μέμνησο δ' ὅπως ὁ πανοῦργος ἀνήρ
 καὶ ψευδολόγος καὶ βωμολόχος
 μηδέποτ' εἰς τὸν θᾶκον τὸν ἐμὸν
 μηδ' ἄκων ἐγκαθεδεῖται.

1520

Πλ. φαίνετε τοῖνυν ὑμεῖς τούτῳ
 λαμπάδας ἱεράς, χάμα προπέμπετε
 τοῖσιν τούτου τούτον μέλεσιν
 καὶ μολπαῖσιν κελαδούντες.

1525

Χο. πρῶτα μὲν εὐοδίαν ἀγαθὴν ἀπιόντι ποητῇ
 εἰς φάος ὀρνημένῳ δότε, δαίμονες οἱ κατὰ γαίας,
 τῇ δὲ πόλει μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθὰς ἐπινοίας.
 πάγχυ γὰρ ἐκ μεγάλων ἀχέων παυσαίμεθ' ἂν οὕτως
 ἀργαλέων τ' ἐν ὄπλοις ξυνόδων. Κλεοφῶν δὲ μαχέσθω
 κἄλλος ὁ βουλόμενος τούτων πατρίοις ἐν ἀρούραις.

1530

1521 ² A 1522 -κον / τὸν A 1522 ³ A 1524 -νυν / ὑ- K
 1528 -αν / ἀ- RVK 1529 -νψ / δό- RVK 1530 λων / ἀ- RV -θῶν / ἀ-
 K 1531 -λων / ἀ- R V K 1532 -λοις / ξυ- R V K -δων / Κλε- A
 1532 ³ A

1524 Χο. Πλ. U 1526 τοῖσι K μέλεσι K 1527 om. A μολπαῖς V
 K 1528 ἀπιόντι A 1529 εἰς] κές V K: κέις A γαίαν V A K
 1530 τῇδε] τῇ τε V A K 1532 ἐνόπλοις R

COMMENTARY

1-180. JOURNEY TO THE UNDERWORLD

(i) 1-37. *Dionysos and Xanthias Arrive at the House of Herakles*

Two men enter from one of the eisodoi. Both are plump with the padding of the comic actor's costume, and both wear the masks of bearded men (cf. p. 40). The leader is on foot. He wears a full-length yellow dress, with a lion-skin over it, carries a club (46 f.) and wears kothoroi on his feet (cf. 47 n.). This combination is enough to suggest that he is Dionysos disguised as Herakles, and identification could have been made certain by an ivy-wreath on his head, but in any case it is confirmed by 22. The second character rides a donkey and also carries a big bundle of luggage suspended from a strong stick (*ἀνάφορον*) resting on his shoulder. His burden identifies him as a slave, and ὦ δέσποτα (1) confirms that.

In 1-20 the men play two different roles simultaneously: in one, they are Dionysos and his slave, characters within the story which the play will enact; in the other, comic actors speaking of the enactment itself as a theatrical event. A similar combination occurs in *Knights*, *Wasps*, and *Peace*, where a slave who has begun the play as a character within it recognizes the presence of the audience and explains the dramatic situation. Here in *Frogs* we are given no such explanation; it will emerge from Dionysos' conversation with Herakles. The dual role serves instead to criticize the humour of Aristophanes' rivals and to imply the superiority of his own. This ingredient enters also in the prologue of *Wasps* (54-66) and is a prominent feature of the parabases of *Clouds* (535-62) and *Peace* (739-47).

As a rule gods fly where they will, but for the purpose of this play Dionysos is grounded, and Herakles inhabits a house, not a cloud on Olympos.

1 εἴπω: the first person of the subjunctive is commonly used when the speaker is wondering what to do, but here he is asking for permission or agreement (cf. 64 n.).

3 νῆ τὸν Δι' ὅτι βούλει γε: a positive oath followed by γε after an intervening word or two is 'Yes indeed,'; cf. 41, *Ec.* 1035. πλὴν "πιέζομαι": throughout this scene Aristophanes simultaneously uses the groaning slave as a joke (cf. p. 44) and conveys the idea that we expect something better from him. In fr. 340 (cited by Σ^{RVE}) someone complains οὐ δύναμαι φέρειν / σκεύη τοσαῦτα καὶ τὸν ὤμον θλίβομαι.

- 4 ἤδη: 'by now' (i.e. because it has been used so often). χολή: '(a cause of) bile'; so too a person or action can be *δνειδος*, '(a target of) reproach'.
- 5 ἄστειον: a conventional contrast between city (*ἄστν*) and country (*ἄγροί*) was established by Aristophanes' time, so that *ἄστειος* means 'clever', 'witty' (e.g. 901, 906) and *ἄγροικος* 'stupid', 'boorish' (e.g. *Nu.* 628, 646).
- 7 τὸ τί: cf. 40.
- 8 μεταβαλλόμενος: probably shifting it from one shoulder to the other. χεζητιῶς: 'you need a shit (*χεζειν*)'. In telling Xanthias not to say this, Dionysos gets the laugh which greets its utterance anyway. Possibly it was a stock joke for a slave to beg another to take over his burden 'just for a minute—I'm bursting!' and then skip off.
- 10 καθαιρήσει: 'take (it) down (from me)'. ἀποπαρδήσομαι: 'I'll blow it all out', losing control of the bowels; *πέρδεσθαι* is 'fart'.
- 11 μέλλω γ' ἔμεϊν: i.e. needing an emetic.
- 13 f. Phrynichos and Ameipsias were contemporaries of Aristophanes and competed against him; Phrynichos' *Muses* came second to *Frogs*. Σ^{RV}E remarks that his surviving plays did not contain the sort of thing alleged here; Σ has nothing to say about Ameipsias. As for Lykis, a *Λυκ[* won his first victory at the Dionysia some years after Aristophanes' first (*IG* ii²: 2325. 65); his work did not survive into the Hellenistic period (Σ^{VE}).
- 15 σκεύη φέρουσ': so R γ^p. Σ^{VE} E^{pc} K^{ac} Md I U. 'They carry baggage' = 'they present characters carrying baggage'; cf. *Lys.* 187–9 τίν' ὄρκον ὀρκώσεις . . . ; || . . . εἰς ἀσπίδ', ὡσπερ, φασίν, *Αἰσχύλος ποτέ, / μηλοσφαγούσας*, and *Pl.* 582–6 ὁ Ζεὺς . . . πῶς ἂν ποιῶν τὸν Ὀλυμπικὸν αὐτὸς ἀγῶνα . . . ἀνεκέρηυτεν τῶν ἀθλητῶν τοὺς νικῶντας = 'Why, at the Olympic festival held in honour of Zeus, are the victorious athletes proclaimed . . .?' (KG i. 99 f., *SGV* 47 f., Schwyzer ii. 220; R. Renehan, *CPh* 81 (1987) 115, Dover (1988) 176). No connecting particle is required, since the sentence specifies what has been referred to generically as what those other poets do; cf. 1018, *Lys.* 195, 642, 808, and KG ii. 344 f., *GPS* 110 f. σκεύη φοροῦσ' (E^{ac} K^{pc} M^{pc}) will not do, since *φορεῖν* in comedy is 'wear', *φέρειν* 'carry'. Nor will *σκευηφοροῦσ'* (Λ Σ^R V A γ^p. Σ^E Vb₃ Θ^{ac}), because it does not occur elsewhere, and *ξιφηφορεῖν* is not a good analogy, because it is post-classical and in any case a sword is 'worn' rather than 'carried'. *σκευοφοροῦσ'* (M^{ac} VS₁^{pc} Θ^{pc}) does not scan, and *οἱ σκευοφοροῦσ'* (G; cf. Np₁ οἱ σκεύη φοροῦσ') is no doubt an attempt to restore the metre.
- 16 θεώμενος: as a member of the audience; the gods are considered to be present at their festivals, and there was a statue of Dionysos in the theatre.
- 17 σοφισμάτων: on *σοφ-* cf. pp. 12–14. Those who practise *σοφία* are said to *σοφίζεσθαι*, and a *σόφισμα* is an instance of their activity.
- 18 πλείν ἢ ἑνιαυτῶ: 'a full year'; cf. *Nu.* 1065 πλείν ἢ τάλαντα πολλά and Antiphon vi. 44, where 30 and 20 days add up to πλείν ἢ πενήκοντα. As we say, 'It takes a year off my life'.

- 19 For –οο in the third foot, with elision between the two shorts, cf. 140, 1436 and Descroix 193 f.
- 20 **θλίβεται**: the joke forbidden in 5. **ἔρει**: for the neck (throat) as subject of ‘say’ cf. the anus as subject in 238 f.
- 21 **εἶτ’**: commonly indignant and plaintive, as in *Nu.* 1214, where the Creditor’s first words are *εἶτ’ ἀνδρα τῶν αὐτοῦ τι χρηρὴ προίεναι*; Dionysos seems suddenly to realize that he is being treated outrageously, while his slave is ‘spoilt’ by being on the donkey. **ῥβρις . . . τρυφή**: ‘a manifestation/example of . . .’; cf. 4 n.
- 22 **Σταμνίου**: a man proclaiming his own worth and importance would sometimes bring in his father’s name; cf. the angry bread-seller in *V.* 1397, who names both her parents. Dionysos, as a son of Zeus, could do so to greater effect than anyone, but instead Aristophanes invents a ‘Stamnios’ (or -ias), derived from *σταμνός*, ‘wine-jar’. Cf. *V.* 151, where Bdelykleon fears he may be ridiculed as *υἱὸς Καπνίου*.
- 23 **βαδίζω καὶ πονῶ**: ‘have all the fatigue of walking’. *βαδίζειν* is sometimes simply ‘go’, e.g. *E. Pho.* 544, where the light of the sun *βαδίζει τὸν ἐνιαύσιον κύκλον*, but also specifically ‘walk’, as in Alexis fr. 265. 2 f. *βαδίζειν ἀρρῦθμως . . . ἐξὸν καλῶς*. **ὄχῳ**: ‘mount’, i.e. ‘put on to an animal’; cf. *Xen. Eq. Mag.* 4. 1, where a commander is recommended to give his horses a rest and his men a change *τῷ βαδίζειν, μέτριον μὲν ὄχοῦντα, μέτριον δὲ πεζοποροῦντα*.
- 24 **ταλαιπωροῖτο . . . φέροι**: the optative is used, despite the dependence of the *ἵνα*-clause on a present tense, because the intention was formed in the past; cf. 766, *V.* 110 *ἵν’ ἔχοι δικάζειν, αἰγιαλὸν ψήφων τρέφει*, and KG ii. 382 f., *MT* 115, *SGV* 482, Schwyzer ii. 323.
- 25 **γάρ**: ‘No, for . . .’, ‘Why, how can you?’; cf. 29 and *GP* 81 f. The smart master bamboozles the slow-witted slave (creating in us expectations which Xanthias will falsify later in the play) rather as Euthydemos and Dionysodoros reduce the young Kleinias to bewilderment in *Pl. Euthd.* 276 a–e. Xanthias gets his own back a little by uttering the forbidden joke *πιέζομαι* in 30; 28 might mean that his bowels are over-laden, but the joke probably lies in his indignant protestations through inability to see the truth of 27.
- 26 **γε**: answering a question (*GP* 133), e.g. *Pax* 674 f. *ποιός τις οὖν εἶναι δόκει . . .*; || *ψυχὴν γ’ ἄριστος κτλ.*, or contradicting the negative implication of the question (*GP* 132), e.g. *V.* 26 f. *οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔσται δεινόν . . .* || *δεινόν γε πού’στ’ κτλ.*
- 28 **μὰ τὸν Δί’ οὔ**: cf. 1043 *ἀλλ’ οὐ μὰ Δί’ οὐ Φαίδρας*, *Nu.* 1066 *ἀλλ’ οὐ μὰ Δί’ οὐ μάχαιραν*. *γ^ρ. Σ^{RVE}* records a change of speaker at *μά* (where K too has a dicolon) and then R V have *Δι.* at *οὔ*, not at 29.
- 32 **ἐν τῷ μέρει**: ‘in (your) turn’; cf. 497 and *Lys.* 539 f. *ὅπως ἂν / ἐν τῷ μέρει χῆμεις . . . συλλάβωμεν*.
- 33 f. On the possibility that Xanthias utters these lines in the direction of the

audience as an aside cf. pp. 44 f. In 406 the slaves who had fought in the battle of Arginusai were given their freedom (cf. p. 49). **ἐγὼ οὐκ**: Triklinios' correction of ἐγὼγ' οὐκ, which does not scan (ἐγὼγ' οὐ ναυ- K Θ^{PC} is a mistaken conjecture); for ἐγὼ οὐ scanned as two syllables cf. *V.* 416 ἐγὼ οὐ μεθήσομαι, *Nu.* 1373 κάγῳ οὐκέτ'. ἢ τᾶν: = ἤτοι ἄν, 'I can tell you, . . .' Cf. *S. OC* 1366 ἢ τᾶν οὐκ ἄν ἤ, *GP* 553 f. **κωκύειν . . . μακρά**: cf. the threats in *Av.* 1207 οἰμῶξει μακρά, *Eq.*, 433 κλάειν σε μακρὰ κελεύσας, *Lys.* 1222 κωκύσεσθε τὰς τρίχας μακρά.

- 35 κατάβα**: Xanthias now has to dismount, and we hear no more of the donkey, whose sole function has been to provide the humour of 23–32. Plainly it has gone by 165, where the question of the transport of baggage to the underworld arises. Animals on stage cannot be relied upon to take themselves off when they are no longer needed (*pace* C. W. Dearden, *Mnemosyne* 1970. 19); it must be led off, and that is most naturally done by a slave who comes out of the door after Herakles, probably at 45–7. When a guest arrives with a horse or donkey, the servants of the host in a well-run household will not wait for orders before seeing that the animal is given water and food. **πανούργε**: while the sense 'tricky', 'up to anything', is sometimes apparent (e.g. 80), it is strikingly inappropriate here; the word serves in comedy as a very general term of abuse, e.g. *Eq.* 249 f. (the Chorus abusing Kleon) καὶ πανούργον καὶ πανούργον· πολλάκις γὰρ αὐτ' ἐρώ. / καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἦν πανούργος πολλάκις τῆς ἡμέρας.
- 37 παιδίον**: it is assumed that a slave, not the owner of the house, will open the door, and that is usually so in comedy (e.g. 464, *Ach.* 395, *Av.* 60), but the convention is disregarded whenever it would be cumbersome or spoil a humorous point; here an immediate contrast between the real and the pretended Dionysos is desired. For survey of the data cf. W. Koch, *De Personarum Comicarum Introductione* (Breslau, 1914) and A. Perkmann, *WSt* 46 (1929) 149–52.

(ii) **38–166. Conversation with Herakles**

Nothing in the words of the text tells us that the person who opens the door is Herakles, until we come to 58 ὠδέλω, but we know who it is if he is massively padded and wears a lion-skin.

- 38 κενταυρικῶς**: the centaurs were not only large and powerful (being half horse) but also violent and hybriatic; they are the τετρασκελὲς ὕβρισμα of *E. HF* 181, whom Herakles fought and worsted (ibid. 364–7, 1272 f.).
- 39 ἐνήλαθ'**: 'jumped at' (~ ἐνάλλεσθαι); so too in *Nu.* 136 Strepisades is accused of 'kicking' the door. Complaint about unreasonably violent knocking is a recurrent motif in comedy; cf. *Pl.* 1097–1102 (where Hermes, intimidated by Karion, denies that he knocked at all). **ὅστις**: 'whoever

- (it was)'; cf. *Nu.* 226 f. *ἔπειτ' ἀπὸ ταρροῦ . . . ὑπερφρονεῖς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, εἶπερ,* ' . . . if that's what you're doing'. **τουτὶ τί ἦν:** so commonly for 'What's this?'; cf. 438, *Pl.* 1097, *Pl. Smp.* 213 B, *SGV* 106.
- 40 ὁ παῖς:** a master commonly summons his slave thus, as in 521, *Ec.* 833, or with the article and the slave's name (e.g. Ameipsias fr. 2. 1); cf. the herdsman in Theocr. 4. 45 f. calling to individual goats. It may be (Dn) that Herakles has turned his face back towards the wall to hide his laughter. **τὸ τί:** cf. 7.
- 41 μὴ μαίνοιό γε:** perhaps an aside; cf. p. 44. On the wording, cf. *Pl.* 684 *οὐκ ἐδεδοίκεις τὸν θεόν, || νῆ τοῦς θεοὺς ἔγωγε, μὴ κτλ.*
- 42:** cf. Xen. *HG* vi. 1. 1 *ὄτι . . . οὐ δυνήσοιτο μὴ πείθεσθαι;* *KG* ii. 216. We cannot see the facial contortions of a masked actor, so presumably stifled sounds and exaggerated bodily movements must indicate Herakles' predicament.
- 43 καίτοι . . . γε:** 'and, mind you, . . .'; *GP* 557. **δάκνω:** so Strepsiadēs in *Nu.* 1369 'bites his spirit' (*τὸν θυμὸν δακῶν*) to repress anger.
- 44 ὦ δαιμόνιε:** a conciliatory mode of address, reinforcing a plea which may contain a note of reproof; cf. *Nu.* 38 "*ὦ δαιμόνιε, do let me get a bit of sleep!*" and E. Brunius-Nilsson, *ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΕ* (Uppsala, 1955) 82–97.
- πρόσελθε:** it seems that when Dionysos called to Xanthias in 40 he moved away from the door at the same time as Xanthias moved towards him, and now he summons Herakles too away from the door.
- 45 οἶος:** for the short first syllable cf. *Nu.* 198 *ἀλλ' οὐχ οἶον τ' (- ⊥ ∪ ⊂).*
- ἀποσοβῆσαι:** *σοβεῖν* is used of scaring away birds, both *σοβεῖν* and *ἀποσοβεῖν* generically of 'keeping off', 'keeping away'.
- 46 κροκωτῶ:** cf. p. 40.
- 47** It appears from the barrage of questions directed at Agathon by the Old Man in *Th.* 136–45 *κατ' Αἰσχύλον / ἐκ τῆς Λυκουργείας* (134 f.) that Herakles' questions to Dionysos are also founded on the hostile interrogation of Dionysos by Lykurgos; cf. *Av.* 994 *τίς ἢ πίνουα; τίς ὁ κόθορνος τῆς ὁδοῦ;* For *ξυνηλθέτην* cf. *Th.* 140 *τίς δαὶ κατρόππου* ('mirror') *καὶ ξίφους κοινωνία;* **κόθορνος:** a boot which could be put on either foot, mainly worn by women, but characteristic of Dionysos in vase-painting; in the post-classical period it is regarded as the footwear of the tragic actor, but this association is not attested for classical times. Cf. *DFA* 206–8.
- 48 ἀπεδήμεις:** we might have expected, 'Where are you going, dressed like that?', but Herakles asks, 'Where were you?', as if he had missed his brother's presence in Godstown for some time (cf. Radermacher), and that is certainly the question which Dionysos answers. *ἀποδημεῖν* is 'be away from home', 'be abroad'. Van Leeuwen preferred *ἀποδημείς* (*Su* (2)), arguing that Dionysos' answer is simply the lead-up to 66–70 but is interrupted by Herakles. **ἑπεβάτευον:** a trireme normally had a small detachment of hoplites on board, *ἐπιβάται* (in *IG* ii: 1951 they are listed immediately

after the trierarch), and to serve as an *ἐπιβάτης* is *ἐπιβατεύειν* (e.g. Pl. *La.* 183 D). Evidently Kleisthenes was the trierarch on this (imaginary) occasion. The humour of the passage lies in the alleged effeminacy of Kleisthenes, a victim of ridicule for at least twenty years before *Frogs* (*Ach.* 117–21, *Th.* 574–654). His command of a trireme is not necessarily in itself a fantasy, because although trierarchy was allocated on the basis of wealth, the trierarch was nominally in command at sea. The treatment of Kleisthenes in comedy may have been founded on nothing more than an abnormally small growth of facial hair. However, that generated a stock joke that he played the sexual role of the female (cf. *Lys.* 1092 ‘We shall simply have to fuck Kleisthenes’), and *ἐπιβατεύειν* suggests *ἐπιβαίνειν*, used of the male animal mounting the female (cf. D. M. Bain, *Sileno* 16 (1990) 253–61; but id., *Eikasmos* 2 (1991) 159–61 doubts whether *ἐπεβάτευον* would make the audience think of *ἐπιβαίνειν*).

49 *κἀναυμάχησης*: this may be an expansion of the sexual joke (cf. R. Seager, *CQ* NS 31 (1981) 249 f., M. Lossau, *Mnemosyne* IV.39 (1986) 389 f.). The essential mode of attack in naval warfare was by ramming, and the ram (*ἔμβολον*) resembles a stiff penis, as we are reminded by *Av.* 1256 *στυομαί τριέμβολον*. Sexual innuendo could be made quite plain if Herakles accompanied the question *κἀναυμάχησης* by a gesture (middle finger?) of ramming. The understood object would be Kleisthenes, not female prey of Dionysos and Kleisthenes jointly.

50 *ἢ δώδεκ' ἢ τρεῖς καὶ δέκα*: nonchalance over the number is designed to impress. In English ‘either twelve or thirteen’ does not have quite the same connotation as ‘twelve or thirteen’ (Dn), but in Greek it does; cf. *Lys.* 360 *εἰ . . . τὰς γνάθους τούτων τις ἢ δις ἢ τρεῖς ἔκοψεν*. The MSS have *τρισ-*, but cf. *IG* 1² 364. 11 *τ]ρεῖς καὶ δέκα* and *Is.* viii. 35 *τριῶν καὶ δέκα μυνῶν*.

51 *σφῶ*: Dionysos and Kleisthenes, not Dionysos and Xanthias; it would be odd if the master of the house took cognizance of the slave carrying his visitor’s baggage. *κῆτ' ἔγωγ' ἐξηγρόμην*: ‘and then I woke up’. Scholars disagreed over the attribution of these words: Herakles, scornfully? (*νρ.Σ^R* K Np1 Vb3^{pc} Vs1 Θ) Dionysos, disarmingly? (*Σ^R* *νρ.Σ^V*). Or Xanthias (R A M Md1 Vb3^{ac}; om. V), in a sour aside, unrecognized by the other two? Attribution to Xanthias best fits the progressive characterization of his role (cf. p. 45).

52 *καὶ δῆτ'*: ‘and . . .’; cf. *V.* 11–13 *κάμοι γάρ . . . ἐπεστρατεύσατο . . . ὕπνος. / καὶ δῆτ' ὄναρ θαυμαστὸν εἶδον*; *GP* 278. *ἀναγιγνώσκοντί μοι . . . 53 πρὸς ἑμαυτόν*: not quite our earliest datable reference to solitary reading, for *E.* fr. 369. 6 f. (from *Erechtheus*) must refer to that (cf. B. M. W. Knox in *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature* (Cambridge, 1985) i. 9). Plato *Comicus* fr. 189. 1–3 is from *Phaon*, dated to 392/1 by *Σ Pl.* 179.

53 *Ἀνδρομέδαν*: produced in 413/12, with *Helen*, and parodied on a grand scale in *Th.* 1010–1135.

- 54 **ἐπάταξε**: cf. Theognis 1199 *καί μοι κραδίην ἐπάταξε*. **πῶς οἶει**: like *πῶς δοκεῖς*, used virtually as an adverb of intensification, e.g. *Nu.* 881 *βατράχους ἐποίει πῶς δοκεῖς*, *Ach.* 24 *εἶτα δ' ὠσιουῦνται πῶς δοκεῖς*, though in *Nu.* 1368 *πῶς οἶεσθέ μου τὴν καρδίαν ὀρεχθεῖν* the verb is not parenthetical.
- 55 **πόσος τις**: an odd question, 'How strong a desire?', because we would have expected 'What kind of desire?' or 'Desire for what?', and Herakles eventually asks 'What kind . . .?' in 60; but the question is a feed for the joke about Molon. **μικρὸς ἡλικὸς Μόλων**: 'as small as Molon'; evidently Molon, to whom *Dem.* xix. 246 refers as a famous actor of the past, was a very big man. Didymos *ap. Σ^{RVE}* missed the point in supposing that another Molon, a *λωποδύτης*, was conspicuously small.
- 56 One ancient view (*ap. Σ^{RVE}*) was that Herakles answers the first two of his own questions, but we do not know why anyone thought that he was able to answer them negatively, unless it was assumed that Dionysos made negative gestures. Herakles asks 'woman?' before 'boy?', but the reverse order would have occasioned no surprise, because the Greeks did not classify individuals as 'heterosexual' or 'homosexual', but treated females and immature males together as sex-objects, the adult male being the sexual subject; cf. Dover (1978) 60–8, and in particular *Xen. An.* i. 1. 14 'individual misappropriations' (sc. of captives) 'through desire for a boy or a woman'.
- 57 **ἀπαπαῖ**: so Fritzsche: *ἀπαπαῖ* R V: *ἀτταταῖ* A E K M N p1 Vb3 (–*ταῖ*) V s1 (–*ταῖ*): *ἀταταῖ* M d1 U Θ. In *Ach.* 1197 Dikaiopolis' *ἀτταταῖ* is an exclamation of delight, countering Lamachos' pained *ἀτταταῖ* in 1190; in *Nu.* 707 it is the cry of someone tormented by bedbugs. *ἀταταῖ* is not attested, but in *V.* 309 *ἀπαπαῖ* as a cry of distress is metrically guaranteed (contrast *V.* 235 *ἀπαπαῖ*). In *S. Phil.* 730–805 Philoktetes' agonized cries include *ἀτταταῖ* (743), *παπαῖ* (785, 792 f.) and *ἀπαπαπαῖ* (746). Dionysos' cry is most probably *ἀπαπαῖ*, and it might be a cry of revulsion; a male's desire for another adult male was regarded as shocking (e.g. *Xen. An.* ii. 6. 28, Theopompos, *FGrHist* 115 F225), and Herakles could well say *ἀλλ' ἀνδρός*; in a tone implying, 'My God, you don't mean . . .?' Yet Dionysos' desire, though not sexual, is in fact for a grown man, and he could well utter *ἀπαπαῖ* in distress when *ἀλλ' ἀνδρός* touches him on the raw. A decision on this matter necessarily affects our interpretation of Herakles' response. If *ἀπαπαῖ* is a cry of repudiation, the response would be an apologetic statement, '(Well, you did say that) you were with Kleisthenes'; but if *ἀπαπαῖ* is a cry of distress, the response could be a question, 'Did you do it with Kleisthenes?', implying, 'Is it Kleisthenes you're longing for?' *συγγίγνεσθαι* often means 'meet', 'get together with . . .' (e.g. *Nu.* 252, *Av.* 1132), but it is also a sexual euphemism, e.g. *Xen. An.* i. 2. 12 *ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ συγγενέσθαι Κύρον τῇ Κιλίσσῃ*. Fraenkel 132 interprets *τω* as *τω* = *τινι*, comparing *Ach.* 839 *τις Κτησίας*,

- but I must confess inability to understand his reasons (cf. V. Tammaro, *Mus. Crit.* 21–2 (1986–7) 178 f.).
- 58 σκῶπτε:** σκῶπτειν is often making fun of someone, not just making jokes. οὐ γὰρ ἀλλ': 'because . . . really . . .'; cf. 498 and *GP* 31.
- 60 ὠδελφίδιον:** solicitous, though patronizing; Herakles obeys Dionysos' request to take him seriously.
- 61 δι' αἰνιγμῶν:** αἰνίττεσθαι, αἰνιγμα, αἰνιγμός are for the most part not so much what we mean by 'riddle' as oblique allusion or analogy.
- 62 ἔτνους:** 'soup'. Herakles in comedy is a glutton; cf. 549–60, *Av.* 1583–1604, 1689–92.
- 63 βαβαϊάξ:** in *Ach.* 1141 this expresses a reaction to misfortune, in *Lys.* 312 to smoke in the eyes, and its implication here is not so much a lip-smacking 'Oh, boy!' as 'Oh, how I wish I had some now!'—in fact, rather like Dionysos' ἀπαπαῖ in 57. γ': intensifying a quantitative word (*GP* 120 f.).
- 64 ἄρ' ἐκδιδάσκω τὸ σαφές:** τὸ σαφές is literally 'the clear (way)', as opposed to the allusive αἰνιγμός, 'am I to spell out the plain truth for you?' The verb must be subjunctive (cf. 1 n.), because the only possible answer to 'Am I spelling out . . .?' must be 'No, you are doing the opposite', and the context precludes ambiguity. For τὸ σαφές cf. Thuc. i. 22. 4 ὅσοι δὲ βουλή-σονται τῶν τε γενομένων τὸ σαφές σκοπεῖν; and ὄν ἐκδιδάσκειν cf. E. Tsitsoni, *Untersuchungen der EK-Verbalkomposita bei Sophokles* (Kallmünz, 1963) 13, 50. ἢ ἑτέρω: cf. *Eq.* 35 ἀλλ' ἑτέρω πη σκεπτέον, 'We've got to look in a different direction', and for the prodelision *Ach.* 828 εἰ μὴ ἑτέρωσε.
- 66 τοῖνυν:** 'Well, . . .', going on the next point; cf. *GP* 574–6. **δαρδάπτει:** used in *Nu.* 711 of bedbugs biting the sleeper's body. Both δάπτειν and δαρδάπτειν occur in epic, but δαρδάπτειν is not attested in lyric and tragedy; it may be an instance (there are analogies in English) of a word which is highly poetic at one time and place but colloquial at another.
- 67 Εὐριπίδου:** for dramatic effect, there should be a slight pause after πόθος. καὶ ταῦτα: 'and that, too . . .', 'and, what's more, . . .', is normally not a response, but a continuation, with no change of speaker (in *Ach.* 1025 the speaker is continuing after an interruption). In *Lys.* 378 καὶ ταῦτα . . . γε answers a question, and in *Ec.* 137 it defiantly rebuts a criticism. Not surprisingly, some ancient scholars gave the whole line to Dionysos, while others gave τοῦ τεθηκότος to Herakles (Σ^{VE}), presumably regarding him as interrupting, though there is no parallel for an interruption after any such phrase as 'and, what's more . . .'. With some misgivings, I follow editors since Kuster in giving all four words to Herakles, although the editors' choice has been founded on a misreading of Σ. (Euripides had a son of the same name (*TrGF* i. 94), but after mention of *Andromeda* Herakles naturally thinks first of its author.)
- 68 ἀνθρώπων:** reinforcing οὐδεὶς (cf. *Eq.* 1262), as it often reinforces a superlative (e.g. 1472), but it also has the humorous point (less obtrusive than in

1472) that Dionysos, being a god, could hardly be subject to mortal dissuasion. τὸ μὴ οὐκ: not uncommon in ‘persuade . . . not to . . .’, ‘prevent . . . from . . . -ing’, ‘refrain from . . .’, and the like; cf. *Pl. R.* 354 B οὐκ ἀπεισχόμεν τὸ μὴ οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐλθεῖν; *KG* ii. 217 f., *SGV* 792–7, *MT* 325 f., *Schwyzler* ii. 372. μὴ οὐ at verse-end is found also in [*A.*] *Pr.* 918 οὐδὲν . . . ἀπαρκέσει τὸ μὴ οὐ πεσεῖν; on this and similar phenomena cf. *Descroix* 288–94.

69 ἐπ’ ἐκείνον: ‘to get him’, not just ‘to meet him’; cf. 111, 1418. πότερον: πότερον and πότερα may introduce a question without any following alternative; cf. 1052, 1141.

71 δεξιού: cf. pp. 13 f.

72 Dionysos quotes a line from Euripides’ *Oineus* (fr. 565. 2).

73 τί δ’: introducing a question, as in 798, *S. OT* τί δ’; οὐχ ὁ πρέσβυς Πόλυβος ἐγκρατῆς ἔτι; *GP* 175 f. Ἴοφῶν: Iophon (*TrGF* 22) was a son of Sophocles and a very productive and successful tragic poet, winning first prize at the Dionysia of 436/5 and coming second to Euripides in 429/8 (the occasion of *Hippolytus*); fewer than thirty words of his entire work survive. We must infer from 74 f. and 78 f. that his father was widely believed to be responsible for what was best in his plays. γάρ τοι: often associated with a demonstrative in response either to a question or to a statement; cf. *Lys.* 42–6 τί δ’ ἂν γυναικες . . . ἐργασαίατο / . . . αἱ καθήμεθ) . . . ; ||| ταῦτ’ αὐτὰ γάρ τοι καῶσθ’ ἂ σώσειν προσδοκῶ, *GP* 88 f., 549 f.

74 εἰ . . . ἄρα: ‘if that really is good’. In a statement, ἄρα often means ‘after all’ or ‘as it turns out’, and in a conditional protasis, ‘as may be the case’; cf. *Dem.* xxi. 138 ἴσως μὲν οὐκ ἂν ὑβρίζοι, εἰ δ’ ἄρα, ἐλάττωνος ἄξιος ἔσται ‘. . . but if by any chance he does, . . .’, *GP* 37 f.

76 The line as it stands requires *Σοφοκλέα* to be scanned ∪ ∪ –. The prosody of names in -κλήης is variable in fifth-century documentary inscriptions, e.g. *IG* i² 933. 52 *Ni*[κο]κλέēs ~ 941. 11 [*N*]ικοκλēs, but in comedy nominative -κλήης is the norm (except *Ἡρακλήης* everywhere, and *Eq.* 884 *Θεμιστοκλήης*), and the scansion of the accusative -κλέα as ∪ – is demonstrable in *Ach.* 774, *Eq.* 765, *Ra.* 1036. *Ἡρακλέα* is $\underline{\underline{\cup}} \cup \underline{\underline{\cup}}$ in *Th.* 26, but – ∪ ∪ – in *V.* 757 (anapaestic rhythm). Accordingly, Bentley emended οὐχί to οὐ, while Elmsley preferred to delete ὄντ’ (for the absence of caesura which results from that deletion cf. 52, 71, 80, 137 al.). Corruption of οὐ to οὐχί undeniably occurred in V E K M Np1 at 1461, Antiphanes fr. 75. 4, and Anaxandrides fr. 145. 1 (in *Pl.* 178 it can be attributed to the influence of 176). On balance, Bentley’s conjecture seems advisable. πρότερον: hardly ‘earlier in date’, for that is irrelevant to Dionysos’ quest, and since Sophocles died after Euripides the fact that he was born and began his career earlier is not likely to be in the audience’s mind. ‘Superior’ is supported by *Nu.* 641–3 *στι* κάλλιστον μέτρον / ἦγει . . . ||| ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδὲν (sc. ἡγοῦμαι) πρότερον ἡμίεκτεω and *Pl.* *La.* 183 B *κἄν* αὐτοὶ ὁμολογήσειαν

πολλοὺς σφῶν προτέρους εἶναι πρὸς τὰ τοῦ πολέμου. Palmer's *ἀντ'* for *ὄντ'* is not as strongly supported as he thought by *Ec.* 925 οὐδείς γὰρ ὡς σὲ πρότερον εἴσεια' ἀντ' ἐμοῦ, because the old woman there (addressing the girl) means 'he's got to do me before he does you', with temporal sequence (cf. *ibid.* 700 f.).

- 77** We have a choice between *ἀνάγειν* (R V E^{ac} Md^{ac} Np^{ac} P20^{ac} Vb₃) *εἶπερ* γ' (G Np^{ac} P11) and *ἀναγαγεῖν* (A E^{pc} K M Np^{ac} U Vs₁ Θ) *εἶπερ*. *εἶπερ* ἐκείθεν, $\text{⌢} \cup \text{⌢}$, has adequate parallels in 651, 658 *δεῦρο* πάλιν, and *Lys.* 838 οὐμὸς ἀνήρ. **ἄγειν**: a simple verb is often used when the appropriate compound has been used just before; cf. 133, 170 (v. n.), 197, 1229, *Lys.* 850 f. ἐκκάλεσον . . . || *ἰδοῦ* καλέσω, *Renhan* 45 f., 102, KG ii. 565, Schwyzer ii. 422. (Cf. also ML 53 (Rhamnous, c.445) I f. ἐπ' Ἀύτοκλείδο δεμαρχόντος . . . 15 f. ἐπὶ Μνησιπολέμο ἀρχοντος . . .)
- 78 f.** The reasoning is odd in conjunction with 73 f. Certainly if Iophon, deprived of Sophocles' help, turns out no good, Dionysos still needs to bring a good poet back from the underworld. But if Iophon proves to be good on his own, that is not just a reason for leaving Sophocles among the dead but also a reason for leaving Euripides there too. Aristophanes could have avoided the problem entirely by taking the line that everything good in Iophon came from Sophocles; but he would have looked foolish if in the next few years Iophon went from strength to strength in popular esteem, and in any case he may have had personal reasons for not wishing to wound Iophon too deeply. **ἀπολαβῶν αὐτὸν μόνον**: cf. *Hdt.* i. 209. 3 καλέσας Ὑστάσπεια καὶ ἀπολαβῶν μόνον. **κώδωνίσω**: derived from *κώδων*, 'bell', but well established in the general sense 'test', 'sound' by Aristophanes' time.
- 80** **κάλλως**: 'and anyway, . . .', 'and, what's more, . . .'; cf. 1060 and ἄλλως in 1115. **πανοῦργος**: cf. 35 n. The word is applied to Euripides (1520), his admirers (781), and those whose character his plays have determined (1015).
- 81** **κᾶν**: so Dobree; *καὶ* MSS, but despite 574 (v. n.) the omission of *ἄν* would be surprising here; it is, however, defended by W. J. Verdenius in *Westendorp Bouma* 145, comparing *Ar.* 180 ὡσπερ εἴποι τις and examples given in KG i. 230. **ξυναποδρᾶναι**: ἀποδιδράσκειν has a derogatory tone, being associated with cowards, deserters, and runaway slaves.
- 82** **εὐκόλος**: 'relaxed', 'easy-going'; cf. 359. The word occurs in no other play of Aristophanes. In *Pl. Phd.* 117C εὐχερῶς καὶ εὐκόλως describes how Socrates drank the hemlock, and in *Hp.Mi.* 364 D it is coupled with *πράως*. Ion of Chios, *FGrHist* 392 F6, praises Sophocles' character, and *Pl. R.* 329 BC represents him as giving a cheerful and good-tempered answer when asked, in advanced old age, 'Can you still do it with a woman?'
- 83** **Ἀγάθων**: Agathon (*TrGF* 39) won his first victory at the Lenaia of 417/16, the occasion commemorated in Plato's *Symposium*. He is satirized and parodied in *Th.* 29–265, but at some time before 405 he moved to

Macedonia—as Euripides did in or after 408—to enjoy the patronage of king Archelaos (Ael. *VH* xiv. 13).

- 84 ἀγαθός:** cf. p. 13. Σ^V records δεξιός as a variant, though it will not scan, but a explanatory gloss is sometimes mistaken for a variant (e.g. Σ^V 202), and the gloss here was no doubt prompted by 71. **ποθεινὸς τοῖς φίλοις:** *V* has τοῖς σοφοῖς over τοῖς φίλοις, either as an explanation or as a variant, and $\Lambda\Sigma^E$ runs them together: τοῖς φίλοις τοῖς σοφοῖς. ποθεινός, ‘missed’, ‘longed for’, is a stock element in speaking of the dead, e.g. E. *Pho.* 320 ποθεινὸς φίλοις, *GVI* 1492. 4 ποθεινὸς ἐών (Athens, s. IV^a in.), 1499. 3 πᾶσι ποθεινόν (Athens, s. IV^a m.). Perhaps there is a very slight pause before τοῖς φίλοις and ‘meaningful’ emphasis on φίλοις, alluding to Agathon’s alleged effeminacy and suggesting that some of his ‘friends’ were more than just friends (as Pausanias certainly was (Pl. *Smp.* 193 B), but he followed Agathon to Macedonia (Ael. *VH* ii. 21)). Cf. Dover (1978) 171 n. 2.
- 85 εἰς μακάρων εὐωχίαν:** in Hes. *Op.* 166–73 the ‘islands of the blessed (μάκαρες)’, ‘at the end of the earth’, are for the generation of heroes, and in *Od.* iv. 561–9 Menelaos, as a son-in-law of Zeus, is promised felicity in ‘the Elysian plain at the end of the earth’. In the classical period, however, the ‘blessed’ are the virtuous dead in general; Plato’s Socrates (*Phd.* 115 D) declares οἰχήσομαι ἀπῶν εἰς μακάρων δὴ τινὰς εὐδαιμονίας, and in *GVI* 943. 1 (Demetrias, s. III^a ex.) an epitaph locates its subject in ‘the islands of the blessed’. In *Eq.* 1151 ἄπαγ’ εἰς μακαρίαν ἐκποδῶν is angry abuse (cf. ‘Drop dead!’). Agathon, however, was enjoying a good time (εὐωχία) not among the μάκαρες but among the Μακεδόνες.
- 86 Ξενοκλῆης:** Xenokles (*TrGF* 33), a son of Karkinios, defeated Euripides at the Dionysia of 415 (the occasion of *Troades*); he is vilified in *Th.* 169, 440–3, and there is an allusion to his tragedy *Likymnios* in *Nu.* 1259–66.
- 87 Πυθάγγελος:** mentioned nowhere else.
- 87 περί . . . 88:** it may be that Dionysos makes a prolonged and exaggerated gesture of rejection at the mention of Pythangelos (perhaps he pretends to vomit; cf. 11), and while he does so Xanthias utters aside his complaint about his burden (cf. 107, 115); it would be hard, though, to devise anything to cover the aside in 159 f.
- 89 ἔτερ’:** ‘in addition’; it is not suggested that Xenokles and Pythangelos are μειρακύλλια. Cf. 515. **μειρακύλλια:** the suffix is not vehemently derogatory, but rather patronizing: ‘kids’. Cf. 942 ἐπυλλίους, and M. Leumann, *Glotta* 32 (1954) 214–16.
- 90 πλεῖν ἤ:** cf. 18 n.
- 91 σταδίω:** cf. *Nu.* 430 ἑκατὸν σταδίοισιν ἄριστον. **λαλίστερα:** ὀν λαλιά cf. p. 22. For degrees of comparison in -ιστ- cf. (e.g.) *Pl.* 27 κλεπτίστατος, Pherekrates fr. 102. 7 κακηγορίστερος.
- 92 ἐπιφυλλίδες:** in *AP* vi. 191. 3 (Cornelius Longus) ἐπιφυλλίς is plainly a small grape (or bunch), part of a very poor man’s offering to Aphrodite.

Small bunches, hidden among the leaves and ignored at the grape-harvest, are gathered afterwards by gleaners, and that is what is meant by the LXX translation of Judges 8: 2 and Obadiah 5 (Σ^v offers other explanations founded on analysis of the word as ἐπὶ τοῖς φύλλοις). **στωμύλματα**: cf. p. 22. Nouns in -μα can be used of persons; in *Av.* 431 the Hoopoe describes Peisetarios as σόφισμα, κύρμα, τρίμμα, παιπάλημ' ὄλον. Cf. Bruhn 139.

- 93 χελιδόνων μουσεῖα**: the phrase χελιδόνων μουσεῖον is applied in E. fr. 89 (*Alkmene*) to ivy, as a place where swallows gather. Swallows perched together often utter a prolonged irregular twittering which sounds like conversation; hence the common comparison of non-Greek-speakers to swallows (681 n.). μουσεῖον, as a sanctuary dedicated to the Muses, is an appropriate place for gatherings devoted to music and song; Pl. *Phdr.* 278 B Νυμφῶν . . . μουσεῖον designates the place where Socrates and Phaidros have conversed. **λωβηταί**: λωβᾶσθαι is 'damage', 'spoil'; Timotheos, *PMG* 791. 218, arrogantly dismisses his predecessors as λωβητῆρες ἀοιδᾶν.
- 94 χορὸν λάβη**: 'are granted a chorus' by the archon in charge of the festival (*Arist. Po.* 1449^b1 f.), from whom the producer χορὸν αἰτεῖ (*Eq.* 513; cf. *Kratinos* fr. 17. 1 οὐκ ἔδωκ' αἰτοῦντι Σοφοκλέει χορὸν, and *DFA* 84.)
- 95** 'after one piss against Tragedy'. This might be simply a vulgar expression dismissing someone else's claim to acquaintance with the great, but 96 γόνιμον suggests that the impotent are being contrasted with the fertile (lacking the microscope, the Greeks did not know that infertility is compatible with high potency). Tragedy here is personified; cf. *Eq.* 517 πολλῶν γὰρ δὴ πειρασάντων ('making a pass at her'; cf. *Lys.* i. 12) αὐτῆν (sc. *Κωμωδοδιδασκαλίαν*) ὀλίγοις χαρίσασθαι (a verb used of sexual compliance, e.g. *Ec.* 629), and the personification of Music in *Pherekrates* fr. 155.
- 96 γόνιμον . . . 97 ζητῶν ἄν**: cf. *Pl.* 104 f. οὐ γὰρ εὐρήσεις ἐμοῦ / ζητῶν ἔτ' ἄνδρα . . . βελτίονα. Repetition of ἄν is common, e.g. 581 (*KG* i. 246–8, *Schwyzler* ii. 306), but the order *obj. ἄν neg. vb. part. ἄν* is unusual; cf., however, E. *Tro.* 416 ἀτὰρ λέχος γε τῆσδ' ἄν οὐκ ἐκτησάμην.
- 97 ὅστις**: 'who (sc. if there were anyone) would . . .'; cf. *Xen. An.* i. 3. 17 ὀκνοίην μὲν ἄν εἰς τὰ πλοῖα ἐμβαίνειν ἢ ἡμῖν δοίη, *KG* i. 255–7, *SGV* 270, 532 f., *MT* 203 f. **ῥήματα**: of the three ῥήματα with which Dionysos illustrates his point, two are short phrases and the third very extensive, but also a substantival phrase. The use of ῥήμα to refer to what we would call a 'phrase' is to be found in 1059 f. There are other passages in which it could be translated 'word', e.g. *Pax* 930 f. (referring to the exclamation δὲ) and *Nu.* 1402, 'I couldn't utter three ῥήματα without making a mistake'. This would suit 824 and 924. In 1198 f. it covers both 'word' and 'phrase', and in 1379–81 ῥήμα and ἔπος, 'verse', 'line', are synonymous. The most suitable English translation, most of the time, is 'expression', for an 'expression' may be a word, a phrase, or a short sentence. In addition, ῥήματα may mean 'what is

said' (e.g. *Pax* 220 ὁ γοῦν χαρακτήρ ἡμεδαπὸς τῶν ῥημάτων, where the reference is to content, not form), as in English (e.g.) 'I took his words to heart'; cf. *Pax* 603 f., *Av.* 1267. In *Th.* 443 'a few ῥήματα' means 'a short speech'. In *Pl. R.* 473 E ῥήμα refers to a twelve-line utterance, λόγος to the content of its argument. **γενναῖον**: a 'real' expression, with the connotation 'memorable'. *γενναῖος* can be used not only of well-brought-up humans (1011, 1050), animals of good stock, and well-cultivated fruit (*Pl. Lg.* 844 E), but also of loaves (*Pl. R.* 372 B) and of skilled and experienced professionals (*Pl. Plt.* 297 E). Cf. 378; and on other connotations, irrelevant to this context, 615 n. **λάκοι**: *λάσκειν* (aor. *λακεῖν*), 'utter', is common in serious poetry, and in *Ach.* 410 and *Pl.* 39 paratragic colouring is obvious; not so in *Ach.* 1046, where *λάσκων* is 'crying out' (cf. *λακήσ-ομαι*, -εται, *λακήσης* in *Pax* 381–4). Possibly *λάκοι* here has the connotation 'declaim', 'proclaim'.

98 πῶς γόνιμον: cf. p. 33. Herakles might well be puzzled. *γόνιμος* is usually 'fertile', 'productive', but 'real' or 'genuine' in *Pl. R.* 367 D, ἀγαθὰ γόνιμα τῇ αὐτῶν φύσει ἀλλ' οὐ δόξη. **ᾧδι**: ᾧδε and ᾧδί are demonstratives which more often look forward than back, e.g. *Pl. Cra.* 391 A δοκῶ μοι ᾧδε ἂν μᾶλλον πιθέσθαι σοι, εἴ μοι δείξειας κτλ. Combined as it is here with *δοσις φθέγγεται*, 'of such a kind that he . . .', it has much in common with *τοιούτος*; cf. *Isok.* iv. 189 τοιαῦτα λέγειν ἄν . . . ἐπιδώσει κτλ. (*MT* 218 f.).

99 τοιουτονί: unless correlated with ὥστε, οἴος, or the like, *τοιούτος* more usually refers back, but forward reference, as here, is well established; cf. *KG* ii. 646. **παρακεκινδυνευμένον**: lit., 'risked', i.e. 'daring', i.e. an expression which may 'come off' but may fall flat; cf. 1108.

100 αἰθέρα Διὸς δωμάτιον: in *E. fr.* 487 (*Melanippe*) someone swears by *ιέρων αἰθέρ' οἴκησιν Διός* (cf. *Th.* 272), which Dionysos' hazy memory turns into something absurd, since *δωμάτιον* is not only (like other diminutives in -μάτιον) a type of word alien to tragedy, but means 'bedroom' (*Lys.* 160, *Lys.* i. 17, 24) **χρόνου πόδα**: while the exact phrase occurs in *E. Ba.* 888 (cf. p. 33 n. 65), Euripides had used the idea earlier in *Alexandros*, fr. 42: *καὶ χρόνου προύβαινε ποῦς*.

101 f. In *E. Hp.* 612 Hippolytos, tempted in his anger to break his oath to Phaidra's nurse, cries *ἡ γλώσσ' ὀμώμοχ', ἡ δὲ φρῆν ἀνώμοτος*. It was one of Euripides' most famous lines (cf. 1471 and p. 16), and Dionysos is made ridiculous by his inability to recall it correctly; his paraphrase includes six (characteristically comic) resolutions of long positions. **καθ' ἱερῶν**: 'over sacrificial offerings', which invested oaths and prayers with greater solemnity; cf. *doc. ap. Th.* v. 47. 8 ὀμνύντων δὲ τὸν ἐπιχώριον ὄρκον τὸν μέγιστον καθ' ἱερῶν τελείων. **ἐπιορκήσασαν**: *ἐπιορκεῖν* is to break an oath (e.g. *Lys.* 914) or to swear that something is the case when it is not (e.g. *Dem.* xxi. 119). **ἰδίς**: assimilated here to *χωρίς*, with which a genitive is normal.

- 103** σὲ δὲ ταύτ' ἀρέσκει: 'and you' (sc. the god of tragedy) 'like that?' ἀρέσκειν is found both with the accusative and with the dative; cf. ἐπαινεῖν, which takes the dative in fifth-century documentary inscriptions but the accusative in literature. μᾶλλά: i.e. μή, ἀλλά . . ., 'don't (say that), but (rather) . . .'; cf. 611, 745, 751. πλεῖν ᾗ: cf. 18 n. μαίνομαι: 'I'm crazy (about it)'; cf. 751.
- 104** ἡ μὴν: introducing very emphatic assertions, including oaths; followed by γε also in *V. 277b* ἡ μὴν πολὺ δριμύτατός γ' ἦν τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν. κόβαλα: 'dirty tricks', to judge from *Eq. 418*, where the Sausage-seller includes among his κόβαλα distracting a butcher's attention in order to steal meat. Cf. 1015.
- 105** Logically we would expect the point to be 'Don't try to tell me what I think; I know, and you don't', but here it is more likely to be 'Don't tell me what to think'. Cf. *E. Pho. 602* τὸν ἐμὸν οἰκήσω δόμον, *IA 331* τὸν ἐμὸν οἰκεῖν οἶκον, '. . . manage my own house'. Σ^{VE} quotes from Euripides μὴ τὸν ἐμὸν οἶκει νοῦν· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἀρκέσω and attributes it to *Andromache*, where in fact we find (237) ὁ νοῦς ὁ σός μοι μὴ ξυνοικίη.
- 106** Herakles persists; καὶ μὴν . . . γε is not a protesting 'But, look, . . .', but a reinforcement of 104 with a further point, public recognition of the minor poets as useless; cf. *Pl. Cra. 412 A, 414 A, GP 120*.
- 107** δειπνεῖν μὲ δίδασκε: implies 'You know all about feasting; allow me to know about poetry'.
- 109** κατὰ σὴν μίμησιν: 'in imitation of you'. With a verbal noun, when the object of the action is a personal pronoun, the possessive adjective is used; cf. *Thuc. vi. 90. 1 αἱ ἐμαὶ διαβολαί*, 'allegations against me'; *KG i. 560, Schwyzer ii. 203*.
- 109** ἵνα . . . **111** Κέρβερον spells out ὧν ἔνεκα κτλ.: '(namely), so that you might . . .'. ξένους: people who entertained Herakles on his journey, on whom Dionysos might call by virtue of his kinship with Herakles. ἐπί: cf. 69 n. Κέρβερον: Herakles went down to the underworld and brought Kerberos, the monstrous three-headed dog who guards its gate, up to the world to show to Eurystheus; this was the twelfth and last of his 'Labours'. The myth is the subject of Pindar's *Dithyramb 2* and of another lyric poem (*POxy 2622*) which could be by Pindar; there are important links between that poem and the story as told by *Apollod. ii. 5. 11-12*, for which see *Lloyd-Jones i. 167-87*. Cf. also 143 n.
- 112-15** For the long list of items in asyndeton cf. *Ach. 545-54*, where a picture of bustling activity is created. The effect of Dionysos' list is: 'Tell me everything I need to know'. 'Harbours' and 'cities' are on a rather different level from 'bread-shops' and 'brothels'. ἀναπαύλας: 'places to rest', above all in shade; cf. *Pl. Lg. 625 B ἀνάπαυλαι κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν . . . εἰσι σκιαραὶ* ('shaded'). ἔκτροπᾶς: 'turnings', i.e. the right turnings to take. κρήνας, ὁδοῦς: Σ^E records a variant κρηνοῦς, and in *V* ὁδοῦς is imme-

diately followed by *καπηλίδας*. *κρημνούς*, ‘cliffs’, is probably a simple slip; in this list of things to be sought an item to be avoided would strike a false note. *καπηλίδας* obviously cannot be a gloss on *κρήνας*, *όδους*, and it is not easy to see on what other word it could be a gloss, with the possible exception of *ἀρτοποιία*; but it appears from *Ec.* 153–5, ‘I won’t allow the installation of water-tanks *ἐν τοῖς καπηλείοις*’ that in addition to their general sense the *καπηλ*- words have a special association with wine-shops, which would be particularly apposite in *Lys.* 427, 466. We might have expected Dionysos, as the god of wine, to be particularly concerned with good wine-shops on his journey, and it looks as if *καπηλίδας* is an ancient reader’s ‘improvement’ on *κρήνας*, *όδους*. **διαίτας**: ‘accommodation’, ‘places to stay’; cf. *Hdt.* i. 36. 1 *διαίταν εἶχε ἐν Κροίσου*, ‘he stayed in Kroisos’ palace’. **κόρεις**: ‘fewest bugs’ is presumably the best a traveller could hope for.

116 ὦ σκέτλιε: commonly abusive, but cf. *Nu.* 485, where Strepsiadēs describes himself as *σκέτλιος* because of his bad memory. Herakles treats Dionysos’ desire to go the underworld as a misfortune; so Ismene addresses Antigone as ὦ *σχετλία* in *S. Ant.* 47, reproaching her rashness, and cf. *Il.* x. 164 (Diomedes to Nestor) *σκέτλιος ἔσσι, γεραιέ· σὺ μὲν πόνον οὐποτε λήγεις*. **γάρ**: the words following an exclamation or a vocative can be introduced by *γάρ*, as in (e.g.) *Av.* 815 *ἄληθες, οὗτος; ἔτι γὰρ ἐνταῦθ’ ἦσθα σὺ;*, ‘What! You? Are *you* still here?’; cf. *GP* 80. **καὶ σὺ γε**: ‘You too?’; cf. *GP* 158.

117 τῶν ὁδῶν: with *ῥπη* in 118 (V^{pc} U Vb₃) the genitive is most easily explained as dependent on *ῥπη*, lit., ‘tell me by-which-way of the ways . . .’. But given *S. Tr.* 1122 f. *τῆς μητρὸς ἦκω τῆς ἐμῆς φράσων ἐν οἷς / νῦν ἐστί*, it seems more likely that the genitive is dependent on *φράζε*, and *ὅπως κτλ.* is ‘(telling me) how . . .’ or ‘making provision for . . .’.

118 ἀφίξομαι: *S.* *ῥ^p. Σ^v A Vb₃* have *-μεθ’ εἰς*, but the plural is very unlikely, for Dionysos nowhere in this conversation with Herakles acknowledges the fact that his slave will be accompanying him (128, 135, 138), nor does Herakles (137, 139, 143, 154, 161). For the prosody cf. 509 *-ψομαι ἀπελ-* (υ —) and *Ach.* 62 *ἄχθομαι γῶ*; KB i. 242 f.

119 ἄγαν: commonly assumed to qualify both adjectives *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ* (a phenomenon amply illustrated by Bruhn 95–8), but ‘neither hot nor too wintry’ makes satisfactory sense as it stands.

120 τίν’ . . . τίνα: for the repeated interrogative as Herakles wonders aloud cf. 460 and 1399.

121 μία μὲν γάρ ἐστιν: there are (or were, before the invention of explosives and the internal combustion engine) four main ways of suicide: a sharp weapon (for the most courageous), hanging, poison (hemlock was the standard), and jumping from a height. But three is a more ‘magical’ number than four (cf. 184, 385 f. nn.), and *Σ Pi. O.* i. 97 ef gives two alternative versions: ‘noose, poison, pit’ and ‘sword, noose, cliff’. Olympias sent

- Eurydike a sword, a noose, and hemlock, and commanded her to choose (D.S. xix. 11. 6). Herakles suggests in turn hanging, poison, and jumping; cf. Su τ 154, Radt on S. fr. 908, and Fraenkel, *Kleine Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie* (Rome 1964) i. 465–7. ἀπό: ‘by means of . . .’; cf. 1200. κάλω και θρανίου: ‘rope and bench’ suggests a sea-journey, for ships make much use of cables (in Thuc. iv. 25. 5 ἀπὸ κάλω seems to mean ‘towing’) and rowers sat on a bench (θράνος); then κρεμάσαντι σαυτόν (and the spelling-out rather flattens the joke) tells us that the rope is to go round the neck and the bench to be kicked away.
- 122 πνιγηράν:** ‘stifling’, of climatic conditions (Hp. *Aer.* 1) and also ‘choking’.
- 123 τετριμμένη:** ‘worn away’, i.e. ‘well-trodden’, and also ‘pounded’, as hemlock was pounded in a mortar (θυεία) to make a fatal dose (Pl. *Phd.* 117 B).
- 125 ψυχράν:** in Plato’s *Phaedo* the physical effects of hemlock on Socrates are described as progressive paralysis beginning at the feet (117 E–8 A). The description is selective (for literary and philosophical purposes), since the effects of hemlock are actually more diverse and much nastier (C. Gill, *CQ* NS 23 (1973) 25–8), but it is clear from our present passage that progressive paralysis was regarded as the distinctive feature of hemlock poisoning.
- 127 κατάντη:** ‘downhill’; how abruptly, we learn in 133.
- 128 βαδιστικοῦ:** ‘I’m not much of a walker’; cf. 23 n., Thphr. fr. 180. The subject of the genitive participle often has to be understood (as here, ‘I’); cf. Av. 1513 ὡς ἀκούοντος (sc. ἐμοῦ) λέγε, and the point of ὡς is ‘on the assumption that . . .’, ‘given that . . .’; cf. KG ii. 93 f.
- 129 καθέρπυσσον:** the movement denoted by ἔρπειν is usually slow and steady (in Xen. *Smp.* 4. 23, of the first growth of facial hair), but not invariably (e.g. S. *Ant.* 618). Here it is probably chosen because of Dionysos’ confession in 128, implying ‘Take a walk—take your time— . . .’. εἶτα τί: Herakles gives his third recommendation a little at a time; Dionysos’ εἶτα τί and τί δρῶ (130) are eager, his ποί in 133 bewildered.
- 130 ἐπί:** ‘up on to . . .’; cf. Bachmann 66 f. πύργων: the exact location of this tower is unknown, and seems to have been unknown to the source of Σ^{RVE} (‘they say that there was a high tower . . .’) Paus. i. 30. 4, however, speaks of a ‘tower of Timon’ in the region of Akademeia, north-west of the Kerameikos, and that location suits what is said in 131–3; cf. Judeich 414.
- 131 λαμπάδ:** a torch-race was an ingredient of the Panathenaia (1089–98), the Hephaistia (*IG* i² 82. 30; cf. Hdt. viii. 98. 2), the Promethia (Istros, *FGHHist* 334 F2), the Bendideia (Pl. *R.* 327 A, 328 A), a festival of Pan (Hdt. vi. 105. 3), and (at least in Hellenistic times) several other festivals (Deubner 116, 225, 228, 230). The race described by Paus. i. 30. 2 began from the altar of Prometheus in the region of Akademeia, and its route was from there to the city-wall in Kerameikos; that may have been the route in all the festivals

(cf. 1093 f.), except that the Bendideia was celebrated in Peiraieus. Pausanias' race is a straightforward competition between individuals, but Hdt. viii. 98. 3 certainly has a relay-race in mind (his reference to it is to explain the relay system of couriers in the Persian Empire), and ἀφ' ἵππων in Pl. R. 328 A points to a relay. Though the terms λαμπαδηφορία (Hdt. viii. 98. 3) and λαμπαδηδρομία (Σ^{RVE} here) occur, the race is usually called λαμπάς, e.g. Pl. R. 328 A λαμπάς ἐσται, Hdt. vi. 105. 3 λαμπάδι (sc. τὸν Πάνα) ἰλάσκονται, IG ii: 1011. 54 (s. Π*) ἔδραμον δὲ καὶ τὴν λαμπάδα. ἀφιεμένην τὴν λαμπάδα thus means 'when the torch-race is being started'; ἀφιέναι is the action of the starter, as in Eq. 1159 ἄφες ἀπὸ βαλβίδων ἐμέ τε καὶ τουτονί.

133 “εἶναι”: ‘Start them!’, implying ‘Get on with it!’, addressed to the starter by impatient spectators. An infinitive dependent on λέγειν or εἶπεν may represent an imperative of direct speech; this is not attested for φάναί, though in Lys. xvi. 13 ἐγὼ προσελθὼν ἔτι τῷ Ὀρθοβούλῳ ἐξαλείψαι με the Byzantine scholar whose work is apparent in Laurentianus lviii. 4 plausibly corrected ἔτι to ἔφην. To be on the safe side, we should print ‘εἶναι’ in inverted commas. For the imperatival use of the infinitive cf. the next εἶναι and Ach. 257 πρόβαινε, κἀν τῷ χλω φυλάττεσθαι σφόδρα, S. Ph. 57 ὅταν σ' ἐρωτᾷ . . ., λέγειν κτλ. (KG ii. 202–2, SGV 599 f., MT 313, Schwyzer ii. 380–2). For the simple verb εἶναι after the compound ἀφιεμένην cf. 77 n. Σ^V records an ancient variant εἶητε, which is equally unattractive in sense (‘May you start them!’) and metre (– 1 ∪ | ∪ 2, with substantial pause at the division), and Radermacher suggested that Aristophanes wrote εἶνται, ‘They’re off!’, of which ΕΙΗΤΕ was a corruption. He may be right.

134 θρίω δύο: θρίον is a pâté wrapped in a fig-leaf, and Σ^{VE} says that animals' brains also were roasted in fig-leaves. ‘Two’, because the brain is in two hemispheres.

136 τότε: III.

137 ἐπί: V's εἰς is not impossible, but for arrival at a lakeside, without going into the water, ἐπί is preferable; cf. Pl. Chrm. 166 B ἐπ' αὐτὸ ἦκεις ἐρευνῶν τὸ κτλ., of arrival at a point. **λίμνην:** the lake of Acheron; cf. E. Alc. 444.

πάνου: on the word order cf. Dover (1987) 55–7.

138 ἄβυσσον: an adjective in classical Greek: ‘bottomless’, a feature attributed to many lakes today in local folklore. **εἶτα:** plaintive; cf. 303 κᾶτα. **πῶς:** all but V K have πῶς γε, which does not sit well with εἶτα. γε with an interrogative is in any case not common, but it has an observable tendency to intrude in the medieval transmission, e.g. at 515, where R M have the unidiomatic πῶς γε λέγεις; Cf. GP 124 f.

139 τυννουτῶ: Herakles is trying to frighten Dionysos (cf. 144) by combining a vast and bottomless lake with a tiny boat. τυννουτῶ is no doubt accompanied by the appropriate gesture; cf. Nu. 878 παιδάριον ὄν τυννουτονί, ‘when he was only so high’. For the correction of -ω- cf. Nu. 392

τυννουτουι οία, scanned — — ω — υ. γέρων: Charon, whom we shall meet at 183.

- 140 δὺ' ὄβολῶ:** it was customary to put a coin into the mouth of a corpse as payment to Charon; sometimes in the Hellenistic period it was more than an obol, even much more (ibid. 211), as excavation has shown (cf. Susan T. Stevens, *Phoenix* 45 (1991) 215–29—though she goes astray in her interpretation of Dionysos' exclamation). Luc. *De Luctu* 10 treats an obol as the regular sum (so too Antiphanes Maced. (*GPh*) 8. 6), and Dionysos' reaction suggests that this was taken for granted by an Athenian audience. To imagine that Herakles takes account of Xanthias as well as Dionysos, or of a return fare payable in advance, is to spoil the point of the joke. The form ὄβελός (= '[metal] spit') was displaced, in the sense 'obol', by -βο- in documentary texts after the early fifth century (Threatte i. 215), but -βε- was retained in the sense 'spit' and in *διωβελία*.
- 141b τῷ δὺ' ὄβολῶ:** in the last decade of the century we encounter (e.g. *IG* i³ 377. 30–52) many disbursements of money for the *διωβελία*, and *Αθ. π.* 28. 3 attributes its institution (without telling us what it was) to Kleophon. It was not jury-pay, for that stood at three obols (*V.* 609, 690); nor was it pay for attending the assembly, for that was introduced after the war by Agyrrhios (*Αθ. π.* 41. 3); nor again is it likely to have been the 'theoric' fund for payments to those attending festivals, a matter to which fifth-century comedy never refers. Its probable purpose was to support citizens rendered destitute by war conditions; cf. Rhodes 355–7, 492, 514.
- 142 Θησεύς:** in fifth-century tragedy Theseus is represented as a prehistoric democrat, a king who consults his people and abides by their decisions; cf. especially Euripides' *Suppliants* 399–455. His entry to the underworld was with his friend Peirithoos; cf. p. 54.
- 143** When Herakles went to the underworld to bring up Kerberos, he encountered a frightening phantom of the Gorgon Medusa; Apollod. ii. 4. 12. 4, cf. Lloyd-Jones i. 178–81. C. N. Brown, *CQNS* 41 (1991) 41–50, draws attention to (i) Idomeneus of Lampsakos, *FGrHist* 338 F2, on Empusa, who ἀπό σκοτεινῶν τόπων ἀνεφαίνετο τοῖς μνουμένοις, (ii) Luc. *Catapl.* 22, where a man newly arrived in the underworld remarks that his experience closely resembles initiation at Eleusis, because ἰδοῦ γοῦν προσέρχεται δαδουχοῦσά τις φοβερὸν τι καὶ ἀπειλητικὸν προσβλέπουσα (it is Teisiphone), (iii) Plut. fr. 178 Sandbach, on the fear, trembling, and sweating which seize initiands at the penultimate stage of initiation. These passages strongly suggest that the initiands were exposed to frightening φάσματα as a prelude to being 'saved' by revelations of bliss. That corresponds to that experience which Dionysos and Xanthias will have: terror at the approach of a monster whom they identify as Empusa, and then at once the chorus of the blessed initiates. On the sinners in mud, however, see pp. 251 f.
- 144 μή μ' ἔκκληττε:** 'Don't try to scare me!'

- 145** εἶτα . . . **146** ἀείνων: the notion that sinners are plunged in mud is attributed in *Pl. R.* 363 ε to (unnamed) poets, and in *Phd.* 69 c to propagators of initiation rituals; cf. p. 54 and Graf 103–7. Comedy cannot resist adding σκῶρ, ‘shit’, disagreeably spelt out as ‘the river of diarrhoea’ in *Ar. fr.* 156. 3. ἀείνων: the MSS write this as ἀεινῶν (except for ἀείναον V), but Photios α 413 f. treats it as one word and cites as proof Kratinos fr. 327 γλώτταν . . . καλῶν λόγων ἀείνων.
- 146–51** Some of these sins were recognized at all periods as very grave: wronging a ξένος (147), striking one’s parents (149 f.), and perjury (150). The Furies in *A. Eu.* 269–75 declare that anyone who is impious (ἀσεβῶν) towards a deity, a ξένος, or his own parents must expect requital after death, and in *Il.* xix. 259 f. perjury is ‘punished by Erinyes beneath the earth’. Into this list Herakles inserts (148) a mean offence, surreptitiously taking one’s money back from a prostitute while ‘on the job’. παιδα could be masculine or feminine, but would almost certainly be taken as masculine by the audience, given the connotations of παιδικά and παιδεραστής and the extent to which the prostitution of (non-Athenian) boys was taken for granted (cf. Dover (1978) 31 f.). κινεῖν, lit. ‘move’, was a slang term for sex, comparable with our ‘screw’, e.g. *Pax* 867. Then comes a literary offence, having a speech from a tragedy of Morsimos copied out, presumably to be learned and recited (cf. Pheidippides’ after-dinner recital of a Euripidean speech in *Nu.* 1369–72, and Ehippos fr. 16. 3).
- 149** ἠλόησεν: whether we write -λοί- or -λό- (-λοι- in epic, and cf. the Attic πατραλοίας), the second syllable is short in *Th.* 2 and Pherekrates fr. 65. γνάθον: neither ‘jaw’ nor ‘cheek’, but one cheek plus that side of the upper and lower jaws; cf. *Nu.* 1109.
- 151** Μορσίμου: Morsimos (*TrGF* 29) is the subject of unfriendly reference in *Eq.* 401 and *Pax* 802. According to Σ^v and ΣTM *Av.* 281 he was a son of the tragic poet Philokles.
- 152 f.** Dionysos adds another offence, ‘learning the *pyrrhikhe* of Kinesias’. Some, according to Σ^{VE}, deleted (ἀφαιρούσι) 152 and began 153 with ἦ, not τήν. Aristophanes of Byzantion marked the passage with ‘sigma and anti-sigma’, critical signs whose meaning is not as clear to us as we might wish (cf. Dover (1988) 212 f.). At *Od.* v. 247 f. he used those signs to mark what he considered to be alternative lines which both said the same thing. That consideration does not apply here, and it looks as if he suspected, on grounds of dramatic style, that Aristophanes wrote 151 or 153 (with ἦ) or 152 f. (with τήν). In that case, τινες misunderstood his point. κει: for a prepositive at the end of an iambic trimeter cf. 198 (ἦ), *Nu.* 196 (ἶνα), *S. OC* 993 (εἰ). πυρρίχην: *Xen. An.* vi. 1. 12 shows that this was a dance in body-armour, carrying a shield, and *Pl. Lg.* 815 A describes its movements as strenuous imitation of hand-to-hand fighting. Κινησίου: Kinesias was a late fifth-century dithyrambic poet and musician (we encounter him again in 366

- and 1437), and since he was of feeble physique and chronic ill-health (*Lys.* xxi. 20, fr. 53. 3; and cf. 1437 n.) he is unlikely to have danced a *pyrrhikhe* himself. It seems therefore that he composed the music for one. His music is ridiculed in Pherekrates fr. 155. 8–12, where the simile *καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς ἀσπίσιν*, although it has a perfectly good point of its own in the context, might be a passing allusion to his *pyrrhikhe*. L. B. Lawler, however, makes the interesting suggestion (*TAPhA* 81 (1950) 84 f.) that ‘the *pyrrhikhe* of Kinesias’ might be a figurative allusion to strained movements in his choreography for dithyrambic choruses.
- 154** ἐντεῦθεν: ‘after that’; cf. *Nu.* 62. αὐλῶν . . . πνοή: ‘the blowing of aulos’; on the aulos cf. Wegner 52–8, pls. 4–6.
- 155** φῶς: cf. 454 f. and p. 60.
- 156** μυρρινῶνας: ‘myrtle-groves’; the officiating priests and priestesses at the Mysteries wore myrtle (Istros, *FGrHist* 334 F29). θιάσους: cf. 327; and θιάσος is the word used of the Bacchanals in *E. Ba.* 56, 584 a1.
- 157** ἀνδρῶν γυναικῶν: for the two-term asyndeton cf. *S. Ant.* 1079, and for other such asyndeta *A. Pe.* 404 παῖδας γυναικας and *Ar. Ach.* 685 πωλεῖν ἀγοράζειν; *GPS* 105, *KG* ii. 346. κρότον: the clapping of hands, as in applause and to accentuate the rhythm of song and dance.
- 158** In R it is Xanthias who puts the question, but that is no doubt an unwise inference from 159.
- 159** f. Xanthias must speak these two lines as an aside, during which the dialogue between Herakles and Dionysos is unrealistically frozen. ἄγω: all but R V have ἄγων, but wrongly; cf. *Lys.* 695 αἰετὸν τίκτοντα κἀνθαρός σε μαιεύσομαι, ‘I’ll be the beetle-midwife, and you’ll be the eagle-parent’, *Theognis* 347 κύων ἐπέρησα χαράδρην, ‘I am, so to speak, the dog that crossed the torrent’, both referring to fables. The point of ‘a donkey celebrating the Mysteries’ is that donkeys do all the hard work for the initiands in the procession but draw no reward in the afterlife.
- 160** οὐ καθέξω: Xanthias begins, laboriously, to lower his burden during the next four lines, but has not quite finished doing so by 165. τὸν πλείω χρόνον: ‘any longer’; cf. *Thuc.* iv. 117. 1 ‘to make a truce καὶ ἐς τὸν πλείω χρόνον’, i.e. ‘. . . in the long term also’.
- 162** παρ’: ‘beside’.
- 163** In *Dem.* lx. 34 the valiant dead are thought of as παρέδρους . . . τοῖς κάτω θεοῖς (cf. 765 and p. 52), and the notion that the initiates live close to Pluto’s palace is similar.
- 164** χαῖρε πόλλ’: cf. *Pl. Phdr.* 272 E πολλὰ εἰπόντα χαίρειν τῷ ἀληθεῖ, ‘saying goodbye to the truth’. νῆ Δία: ‘Yes’ is not a very logical answer to ‘Goodbye!’ or even to ‘Have a good time!’, but the similarity of function between χαῖρε and ὑγίαινε causes assimilation to utterances in which an oath intensifies the repetition of a word, e.g. *Pax* 628–30 ἐν δίκη . . . ||| νῆ Δί’ ὦ μέλ’ ἐν δίκη γε δήτα. Cf. Werres 38.

165 ὑγίαινε: cf. *Ec.* 477 ἀλλ' εἶμι· σὺ δ' ὑγίαινε. ||| καὶ σὺ γ', ὦ Χρέμης.

166 Herakles goes back into his house, and Dionysos turns to Xanthias.

καί . . . μέντοι: cf. *Th.* 707–9 τί ἄν οὖν εἴποι . . . τις, ὅτε . . . ὄδ' ἀναισχυντεῖ;
||| οὐπω μέντοι γε πέπαυμαι, ' . . . Yes, and I haven't given up yet!' Cf.
GP 414.

(iii) **167–80.** *Encounter with a Corpse*

168 ἐκφερομένων: ἐκφέρειν, ἐκφορά are the standard terms for taking a dead person from his house to the tomb; cf. Kurtz and Boardman 144–6 and pl. 35 (a black-figure representation of men carrying a bier on their shoulders). ὅστις ἐπὶ τοῦτ' ἔρχεται: 'if any (such) is coming for this purpose'; porters die, like everyone else.

169 μηῦρω: Σ^R records a variant μῆ ἔχω, which is certainly not an explanatory gloss and looks like an emendation by someone (in antiquity) who found the crasis of η and εν unacceptable, despite *Th.* 4 ὦ Εὐρυπίδην, *Ec.* 643 μῆ αὐτόν, E. fr. 464.2 ἦ εὐγένεταν (cf. KB i. 228). τότε ἔμ' ἄγειν: 'take me with you'; the sense points to τότε ἔμ' (Krüger) rather than the MSS' τότε μ'. There is no purely linguistic problem here; cf. 133 n. The odd thing is that Xanthias is bound to go anyway, to serve his master's various needs; hence M. Platnauer, *CR* 58 (1944) 14, conjectured τότε ἔμὲ δεῖ (sc. φέρειν αὐτά; cf. 1368). But given the context, it is not hard to understand 'as baggage-carrier'.

170 A party appears, carrying a bier with a corpse on it; whether they come from an eisodos or out of a door in the skene, we can hardly decide. Most MSS have τινες φέρουσι, but τινες ἐκφέρουσι E^{pc} Mdi^{pc} U Vb3. If the former is right, it exemplifies the use of a simple verb when the appropriate compound has been used just before; cf. 77 n. Elmsley acutely suggested τιν' ἐκφέρουσι; for οὔτοσι in the sense 'here', 'there', or 'look!', accompanying another pronoun cf. *Av.* 268 οὔτοσι καὶ δὴ τις ὄρνις ἔρχεται, *Nu.* 141 ἐγὼ γὰρ οὔτοσί, Radt 103–6. It is desirable that our attention should be drawn to the corpse rather than its bearers: 'for there actually is one . . .'. Understanding τινες as subject is not quite so easy (it is quite different from the third person plural used of people in general, e.g. in φασί and the like), but in 797–800 μειαγωγῆσουσι the switch from the passive σταθμήσεται to the active with a somewhat indeterminate subject causes us no perplexity, and here, with the bearers already in sight, ἐκφέρουσι should cause us even less.

171 οὔτος, σὲ λέγω μέντοι: 'Hi, you!' Cf. *Av.* 933 οὔτος, σὺ μέντοι . . . χιτῶν' ἔχεις· ἀπόδυθι κτλ.; *GP* 400.

172 βούλει: 'Are you willing . . .?', i.e. 'Would you like . . .?'; cf. 416. σκευάρι': the diminutive is meant to be persuasive.

173 πόσ' ἄττα: cf. 56 πόσος τις. The corpse raises his head. τελείς: 'pay'.

174 μὰ Δι', ἀλλ': 'No, no, . . .'; cf. *Th.* 1125, Werres 28 f. ὑπάγεθ':

- addressed to the bearers; cf. *Nu.* 1298 ὑπαγε· τί μέλλεις; ‘Get a move on! . . .’. τῆς ὁδοῦ: cf. Xen. *An.* i. 3. 1 οὐκ ἔφασαν ἵεσθαι τοῦ πρόσω, and the frequent use of the genitive in epic to denote the area over or through which one moves; KG i. 384 f., Schwyzer ii. 112.
- 175** ὦ δαιμόνι: cf. 44 n. ἔάν: ‘to see if . . .’, ‘in the hope that . . .’; cf. 339, 644, KG ii. 534 f., Schwyzer ii. 687 f. ἵνα (R E^{pc} U Vb₃ ΘΥ^{pc}) is less idiomatic.
- 176** καταθήσεις: lit., ‘put down’, i.e. ‘pay’; cf. 624. μὴ διαλέγου: lit., ‘don’t converse’, i.e. ‘Don’t waste my time talking’.
- 177** ἐννέ’ ὀβολούς: i.e. a drachma and a half. ἀναβιῶν: the living say, ‘May I die if . . .’ as a strong refusal, e.g. *Lys.* 531 μὴ νυν ζῶν, *Ec.* 977 ἀποθά- νοιμ’ ἄρα, and the corpse views resurrection in the same way. (The evidence which would justify a firm decision between -βιῶν and -βιοίην (Cobet) is inadequate and conflicting.) The bearers and the corpse now go out of our sight through a parodos.
- 178 f.** V gives 178 to Dionysos, with Xanthias coming in at ἐγώ; the rest give it all to Xanthias, except that A has Ξα. at ἐγώ and A^{pc} inserts Δι at οὐκ. If V is right, ἐγὼ βαδιοῦμαι seems curiously abrupt; we would have expected, ‘Cheer up, master!’ or the like to precede it. The dismissive οὐκ οἰμῶξεται, suggesting, ‘Oh, forget about him!’, serves that function, and ὡς σεμνὸς κτλ. provides the motivation. I accordingly follow R in giving ὡς . . . βαδιοῦμαι all to Xanthias. σεμνός: σεμνότης is an attribute of deities, their sanctuaries and their rituals, but in mortals it is unseemly pride; here and in *Pl.* 275 ὡς σεμνὸς οὐπίτριπτος it means, ‘Thinks a lot of himself, doesn’t he?’ Cf. 1020, 1496, p. 21. κατάρατος: lit., ‘accursed’; cf. 746 and *Lys.* 530 σὺ γ) ὦ κατάρατε, σιωπῶ γ’; οὐκ οἰμῶξεται: lit., ‘will he not wail?’ In the second person, οὐ with a future, as a question, is equivalent to a command, as in 193; here we have the third person corresponding to the common imperative οἰμωζε (e.g. *Ec.* 809). χρηστός: this is the most general word for ‘good’ in Attic, applied to things (e.g. 600, 686, 1056 f.) as well as people (e.g. 783, 1011, 1455). Though cognate with χρήσθαι, it is not to be confused with χρήσιμος, ‘useful’, for χρήσθαι covers not only ‘use’ but ‘deal with’ and ‘encounter’ (e.g. Antiphon v. 21 ἐτύχομεν δὲ χειμῶνι τινη χρησάμενοι). Deities and mortals, rich and poor, masters and slaves, can all be χρηστός (cf. Dover (1988) 10 f. and *GPM* 51, 63), and whatever connotation of utility there may be in any given context the denotation concerns moral character, principles, and temperament. γεννάδας: cf. p. 46.

180–208. DIONYSOS EMBARKS

The few paces that they take towards one eisodos represent their journey to the lake at the boundary of the underworld. A cry is heard; someone in charge of a boat is commanding someone else ‘In! Out! (cf. 208 n.), ‘Bring her along-

side! (cf. *Eq.* 762 καὶ τὴν ἄκατον παραβάλλου). Then at 182 a boat with Charon in it appears. We have reason to think that boats had appeared in comedy before (Kratinos fr. 143, 151 (*Ὀδυσσῆς*) and Eupolis, *Taxiarchs*; cf. p. 39), and there is no insuperable mechanical problem. The boat can be on half-hidden wheels, like that in which Dionysos was transported at the Anthesteria (Deubner 103, 107, pls. 11.1, 14.2), and it can be drawn out of one eisodos, into and across the orchestra, by a rope on which men hidden in the other eisodos are hauling. Up to that point the rope would be safely tucked against the bottom of the steps leading up to the area in front of the skene.

On the portrayal of Charon in Greek art cf. C. Sourvinou-Inwood in *LIMC* iii. 1 210–16. We first hear of him in a reference (Paus. x. 28. 2) to the epic poem *Minyas*, of uncertain date, and the first extant picture of him is on a black-figure vase c.500 (*LIMC* loc. cit. no. 1). He is often portrayed thereafter on white-ground lekythoi. The black-figure vase shows him holding two steering-oars in the stern of a boat from which several oars project; winged souls come flocking, and one of them is already seated at an oar. E. *Alc.* 438–45 envisages him as holding an oar (κώπη) in one hand and a (big-bladed) steering-oar (πηδάλιον) in the other, but on the lekythoi he has a punt-pole. Dionysos, as we shall see, has to do his own rowing, with one oar, while Charon (presumably) keeps the boat on course by the steering-oar.

His ferry is unusual in that it connects with ‘the bourne from which no traveller returns’, so that Charon always has to come back by himself. παραβαλοῦ in 180 cannot therefore be addressed to anyone, and it is best if it is uttered offstage, so that we do not see that. It is what one would expect to hear a ferryman cry out in real life, and the assimilation of the ghostly ferry to real ferries is throughgoing (cf. *LIMC* loc. cit. 211). Charon cries out his destinations (185–7) like a station announcer, and ‘Hurry along!’ when his departure is imminent (197). He is also brusque (188), churlish (188 f.) unreasonably choosy (190 f.), and abusive (200–2); he keeps the public in its place. People who sell goods and services tend to be seen in comedy through the eyes of dissatisfied customers; so bread-women are aggressive and quarrelsome (858), wool-sellers cheat (1386), and fishmongers are the enemies of us all (fr. 402. 10, Alexis fr. 16, Amphis fr. 30, Antiphanes fr. 159). No doubt people had plenty of grudges against ferrymen.

181 τούτι . . . 184 Χάρων: the division between speakers is exceptionally uncertain. It suits the timidity of Dionysos that he should be startled and ask ‘What’s this?’ in 181 (so Θ^{νρ}.Σ^v) and that Xanthias should remind him of what Herakles said (cf. 177 n.). καὶ . . . γε can mean ‘Yes, and . . .’ in response to another’s words, whether preceded by an oath (e.g. 1074), followed by an oath (e.g. *Nu.* 1331, *Lys.* 752), or without an oath (e.g. 49). It can also mean ‘and, what is more, . . .’ (e.g. 313) with no change of speaker; in that sense, an oath may come immediately after καὶ (e.g. *Av.* 574; cf.

- Werres 33 f.), but in cases where an oath comes later there is no γε (Werres 38). These data point to change of speaker at νή in 183 (Δι. V V_{S1} Θ: Ξα. K: om. cett.). So, 181 Δι. τουτί . . . Ξα. τουτο; . . . 183 Δι. νή . . . There is no reason why Dionysos should not go on to speak 184 as well, as he does in most manuscripts (the exceptions are E U V_{S1} Θ).
- 181 ΤΟΥΤΟ . . . 182 ἦν κτλ.:** as a rule, 'this is a lake' would be αὕτη ('στι) λίμνη, while τουτο (έστι) λίμνη would mean 'a lake is (to be defined as being) . . .' (KG i. 74 f., Schwyzler ii. 606 f.). Hence the punctuation we need is τουτο; λίμνη; cf. Nu. 1248 τουτι τί έστι; || τουθ' έτι έστι; κάρδοπος. 'This (τουτο) is that (αὕτη) lake which . . .' would sound wrong. For the oath νή Δία following the words which answer the question cf. Nu. 483, V. 184 (Werres 26 f.). In V A E Md1 Np1 U V_{S1} Θ change of speaker is marked at αὕτη; giving 'A lake!' || '(Ah, yes,) that one which . . .', but the absence of an oath or connecting particle militates strongly against that.
- 183 Χάρων:** Herakles did not name Charon in 139 f., but spoke as if Dionysos knew nothing about the ferry. Since the audience knows all about Charon, Aristophanes does not want to waste any time now.
- 184** According to Demetrios *ap. Σ^{RVE}* this is a citation from the Aithon of Achaios (*TrGF* 20 F11), being uttered there by 'the satyrs' (cj. Bentley: σαπροί Σ), who evidently adopted the triple salutation addressed to the dead (cf. 1176 n.) and on other solemn occasions (e.g. Pi. P. 4. 61); Radermacher 162. Σ cites a custom (on Mykonos) of invoking the spirit of a spring three times before drawing water. Σ also thinks it plausible that the salutation should be divided between Dionysos, Xanthias, and the corpse; but the corpse has served its dramatic purpose and departed, and we do not want the rowing scene encumbered by it.
- 185 ἀναπαύλας:** cf. our expression 'eternal rest'. πράγματα often connotes trouble and suffering (e.g. *Ach.* 269, *Pax* 293, 353); cf. πράγματα παρέχειν, 'be a nuisance (to . . .)'.
186 Λήθης πεδίον: the 'plain of Oblivion' (cf. Theognis 1215) is hot and barren in the Myth of Er (Pl. *R.* 621 A). The 'house of Lethe' in *AP* vii. 25. 6 (= *HE* 3329) is simply the underworld; the river of Lethe in Pl. *R.* 621 D is not a river called 'Lethe' but a river which is the boundary of Lethe. **Ἵνου-πόκας:** there are place-names beginning with ὄνου or κυνός, e.g. Onougnathos, a promontory in Lakonia (Str. vii. 5. 1, 3) and Kynossema (Thuc. viii. 104-6), but 'shearings of an ass' is a bit different. The paroemiographers cite it as an expression for an impossible task, and if the proverb was current in Aristophanes' time the name will stand for hopelessness. There is a noun πόκος; no noun *ποκή is attested, but its form (~ πέκειν) is unobjectionable; cf. πλοκή ~ πλέκειν. Σ^E uses πόκες as if from a singular *πόξ, which is not to be expected, though Ibykos (*PMG* 327) used ἀλίτροχα = ἀλιτροχον, according to Choer. *Theod.* i. 267. 15; cf. πάνδοξ = πανδοκέως and maybe Hsch. α 792 ἀγριβρόξ = ὀρίγανον. However, in compound

names the prosody can change; cf. Arat. *Ph.* 36 *Κυνόσουρᾶ ~ κυνὸς οὐρά*, 'dog's tail'. Probably *Ἵονουπόκας* (Radermacher) or even *Ἵονούποκᾶς* is right here rather than the *Ἵονου πόκας* of Photios and the Suda. Polygnotos' famous picture at Delphi showed someone, labelled with the name Oknos, plaiting (*πλέκειν*) a rope which, as fast as he made it, was eaten by a donkey. According to Photios, Aristarchos, commenting on our passage, referred to a mention by Kratinos (fr. 367) of someone (*ἽΟκνον*) *τινὰ* Erbse ad Paus. Att. ο 13) making a rope which suffered that fate. It is not surprising, therefore, that the emendation *ἽΟκνου πλοκάς* has appealed to several editors from Bergk onwards. I suspect that there were two proverbial expressions available to Aristophanes with somewhat different bearings: *Ἵον πέκειν* and *Ἵονου πόκος*, of impossible tasks, and *ἽΟκνου πλοκαί*, of endless and fruitless tasks (like that of Sisyphos), and that Aristophanes invented a name which refers primarily to the former but reminds us of the latter.

187 Κερβερίους: the name suggest Kerberos, the dog of the underworld (cf. 111 n.). In *Od.* xi. 14 Krates substituted *Κερβερίων* for *Κιμμερίων*, the people dwelling on the edge of Ocean, where Odysseus called up the ghosts. As Sophocles (fr. 1060) used the name, it cannot have been invented for *Frogs*. **Ἵς κόρακας:** a violently abusive exclamation (e.g. 607), expressing a wish that the person so addressed may lie unburied and be eaten by ravens; but, like swear-words in most languages, it is constantly used without regard for its literal sense. **Ταινάρων:** Tainaron is the middle one of the three great southern promontories; it seems from Hdt. i. 23, 24. 6 that *ἐπί*, 'on to' was the appropriate preposition (and in 24. 8 *ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ* is 'at' or 'on' Tainaron). It was believed that there was a way through to the underworld there (Men. fr. 875) and that Herakles brought Kerberos up that way (Str. viii. 5. 1). In our context, a real place is surprising, and it may be that naval raids on that part of Lakonia were regarded (perhaps in the light of a recent and disastrous attempt) as exceptionally dangerous, a 'suicide mission'; that would suit *ἐς κόρακας* and give a sour topical twist at the end of the catalogue of destinations.

188 ἔμβαινε . . . 189 οὐνεκα: for 'go on board' *ἐμβάινειν* and *εἰσβαίνειν* are both attested, but very often as variants. No form of either is metrically guaranteed except *εἰσε-*. *εἰσβαίνειν* predominates to an extent which makes it hard to think that the choice was entirely indifferent; I retain *ἐμ-* here with misgivings.

It is only in V M²c that Charon says *ἐς κόρακας* and Dionysos replies with *δντως*, but this is all in character. Dionysos, like many passengers by train or bus, asks a question which has already been answered, and Charon replies with an impatient curse. Dionysos takes him literally: 'Really and truly?' (cf. *V.* 996 f. *εἰπέ νυν ἐκεῖνό μοι δντως ἀπέφυγε*; *Ec.* 786 *δντως γὰρ οἴσεις*); Charon's reply is not, 'Yes, for your sake', i.e. 'Certainly, if you wish', but 'Yes, as far as you're concerned' (cf. 1118), implying 'That's where

I'd like to take *you!*' Although intransitive *σχεῖν*, 'put in (at . . .)' is normally followed by *εἰς*, sometimes by a dative (e.g. Thuc. iii. 33. 1), *ποῦ* and *ὅπου* very often appear where we would expect *ποι* and *ὅποι* (KG i. 545). Here only E U have *ποι*; we must remember that neither alternative can ever be metrically guaranteed.

190 εἰσβαῖνε δῆ: in R V these words, with *παῖ*, *δεῦρο*, are all addressed by Dionysos to Xanthias. R V A K M^{ac} all have *εἰσ-*, the rest *ἐμ-*; cf. 188 n. δῆ after an imperative is especially characteristic of comedy; cf. GP 216 f.

190 δοῦλον . . . 191 κρεῶν: the reference is to Arginusai; cf. p. 49. With *τῆν*, *μάχην* is understood from *-μαχ-*; cf. KG i. 267, ii. 558, Schwyzer ii. 175. The variants *κρεῶν* and *νεκρῶν* are both ancient, as Σ^{RVE} shows. Aristarchos had *κρεῶν* in his text, and attempted to explain it; Demetrios Ixion (*ap. Phot.*) conjectured *νεκρῶν*, and it is evident from Σ^{RVE} 420 that Apollonios adopted that. 'The battle about the corpses' is plausible at first glance, since it was the failure of the commanders to pick up dead and wounded Athenian sailors which caused an uproar at Athens (Xen. *HG* vi. 1. 34–7. 35) but it would be not only inexact but peculiarly offensive at a time of recent and widespread bereavement (Dn), in a way that comedy avoids. The same could be said of 'meat' or 'flesh' = 'dead bodies'; it seems that in S. fr. 728 (from *Chryses*) 'this meat' = 'my person', but the context and speaker are unknown. According to Photios 202 *περὶ τῶν κρεῶν τρέχει* was said of a hare running for its life (cf. Hdt. vii. 52. 1, where Xerxes' dream about a hare symbolizes that he will retreat *περὶ ἑωυτοῦ τρέχων*, and *V.* 375 f. *τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς δρόμον δραμεῖν*), and that makes *τῆν περὶ τῶν κρεῶν* intelligible as 'the life-or-death struggle'.

192 οὐ γάρ, ἀλλ': different (cf. GP 31) from 58. **ὀφθαλμιῶν:** we hear in Hdt. vii. 229. 1 of eye disease as incapacitating a fighter.

193 This type of question, with or without *δήτα*, functions as a positive command; cf. GP 431 f. **περιθρέξει:** *τρέχειν* has two futures, *θρέξεσθαι* (*Nu.* 1005, *Pax* 261) and *δραμείσθαι* (*V.* 138). **τρέχων:** choice between this (A E K M Θ^{ac}, defended by C. A. Lobeck, *Paralipomena Grammaticae Graecae* (Leipzig 1837; repr. Hildesheim 1967), 533) and *κύκλω* (R V E^{rp}. M d I N p I U V b₃ V s I Θ^{pc}) is hard, because although there is a common construction with verbs of motion, exemplified by Pl. *Smp.* 195 B *φεύγων φυγῆ*, Thuc. iv. 67. 1 *ἔθεον δρόμω* (cf. Schwyzer ii. 166, 388), and there is obvious affinity between *περιθρέξει . . . τρέχων* and *Ach.* 177 *φεύγοντ' ἐκφυγεῖν*, a separation of the two cognate words is uncommon. Cf., however, S. *Phil.* 55 *ὡς λόγοισιν ἐκκλέψης λέγων*; and if we ask which is more likely to have been corrupted to the other, *τρέχων* or *κύκλω*, I have little doubt that *κύκλω* is ancient editorial intervention.

194 ποῦ: V has *ποι*, but in *Lys.* 526 *ποι γὰρ καὶ χρῆν ἀναμείναι*; the point is 'How long . . .?' or 'For what . . .?' **παρά:** cf. 162. **Αὐαίου:** *Αὐ-* (Kock) rather than *Αὐ-* is indicated by 1089 *ἐπαφηυάνθην* (cf. *Ec.* 146). The

- idea of a place called ‘the Stone of . . .’ is simple enough—cf. *Μελαμπύγου λίθος* in Hdt. vii. 216, and there was a rock at Eleusis called *Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα* (Apollod. i. 5. 1. 2), associated with the mourning Demeter—but -αινος in a place-name or personal name is odd. Statements in the scholia that there was a stone of this name in Attica, or in the underworld, sound like pure guesswork. *αὔος* is ‘dry’, ‘withered’, and *αὐαίνεσθαι* ‘wither away’, ‘pine away’ (e.g. *S. El.* 819, *Phil.* 954). On the gold leaf from Petelia (DK i. B17. 8) the soul is to declare *δίψη δ’ εἴμ’ αὐῆ καὶ ἀπόλλυμαι*, and Σ^{RVE} speaks of the dead as arriving ‘withered’ in the underworld. Another Σ (Dübner p. 280d 22–4) takes *Αὐαίνου* not as a genitive but as an imperative (cf. flower-names such as ‘forget me not’ and ‘mind your own business’); it is quite possible that there was a colloquial expression ‘Wither away!’ (cf. our ‘Get stuffed!’ and the like), meaning ‘You can wait till doomsday, for all I care’. Cf. S. Srebrny, *Eos* 43 (1948) 51. Σ^{VE} observes that people weary of a long wait say *αὔος γέγονα περιμένων*.
- 195 ἀναπαύλαις:** ‘where people take a rest’—as they tend to do at a conspicuous landmark on a long walk; cf. 113. **μανθάνεις:** ‘Understand?’
- 196** What one first encounters on leaving the house can be an omen of the good or ill fortune which one will meet that day (Luc. *Pseudol.* 17); cf. *Ec.* 792, Thphr. *Char.* 16. 3, on the ominous import of a weasel crossing one’s path. Xanthias now staggers away through an *eisodos*, and we shall not see him again until 271. Dionysos gets into the boat.
- 197 ἐπὶ κώπην:** evidently the correct term for ‘at the oar’ (cf. *Od.* xii. 171 f. *ἐπ’ ἔρετμᾶ / ἔζόμενοι*), but Dionysos does not know it, and sits *on* the oar. **ἔτι πλεῖ:** the expected sense, ‘If anyone *more* is sailing . . .’ (cf. *Pl. R.* 300 d *ἀλλὰ μοι ἔτι τοσόονδε εἰπέ*, and the equivalence of our ‘anyone still to come?’ and ‘anyone more to come?’) is given by Kuster’s emendation; the MSS have *ἐπιπλεῖ*, which means simply ‘sail on . . .’, ‘be on board’, not ‘sail in addition’. In *Pl.* 1116 *οὐδὲ ἐν ἡμῖν ἔτι θύει*, where the required sense is ‘not . . . any more’, *ἔτι* is corrupted to *ἐπι* in all MSS except V.
- 198 οὔτος:** sometimes ‘You!’, picking out the person addressed from others (cf. 171), but often used when only the speaker and one other person are present, like an expostulating ‘Hey!’ (cf. 479). **ὄτι ποιῶ; . . . ἦ:** cf. *Nu.* 1495 f. *τί ποεῖς; || ὄτι ποιῶ; τί δ’ ἄλλο γ’ ἦ / διαλεπτολογοῦμαι κτλ.*, ‘. . . Doing? Why, I’m . . .’. On prepositive *ἦ* at verse-end cf. 152 n.
- 199 οὔπερ:** so only R V Md1; the rest have *οἴπερ*, which might be right; cf. 188 n.
- 200 οὔκου:** cf. 193 n. **γάστρων:** ‘Tubby’; cf. *Pax* 1300 *ὦ πόσθων* (~ *πόσθη*, ‘penis’), addressed to a boy; Chantraine 161.
- 201 ἰδοῦ:** uttered in complying with an order; cf. 483, 644. To judge from Charon’s reaction, Dionysos simply stretches his hands out in front of him, not touching the oar.
- 202 οὐ μή . . . 203 προθύμως:** *οὐ μή* with a future, followed by *ἀλλά* with a

- future, is a negative command followed by a positive command; cf. KG ii. 177, *MT* 104 f., Schwyzer ii. 292 f. **ἔχων**: a verb accompanied by intransitive ἔχων is 'keep on . . . -ing', especially when foolish speech (e.g. 512) or (as here) behaviour is being reproved. **ἀντιβάς**: 'setting your feet against (the stretcher)'.
- 203 κᾶτα**: here plaintive and indignant, as in *Lys.* 1166.
- 204** The line achieves rhetorical effect in two traditional ways: by combining three negative adjectives in asyndeton (cf. *Il.* ix. 63 ἀφρήτωρ ἀθέμιτος ἀνέστιος) and by the 'rising tricolon' ∪ - ∪ | ω ∪ - ∪ | ω ∪ - ∪ -, as in *Nu.* 1327 ὦ μιὰρὲ καὶ πατραλοῖα καὶ τοιχωρύχε; cf. Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 412 and 1243. **ἀθαλάττωτος**: adjectives in ἀ- . . . -ωτος serve as negative passive 'participles' of verbs in -οῦν. Disregard of the normal meaning of the underlying verb (e.g. *S. Tr.* 109 εὐναῖς ἀνανδρώτοις) is very rare, and in any case the verb θαλαττοῦν, 'inundate' or 'mix with sea-water', not 'accustom to the sea' or 'train at sea', is post-classical. There is, however, a verb θαλαττεύειν, 'be at sea' (of ships, *Thuc.* vii. 12. 3), and adjectives in ἀ- . . . -εωτος have a wide range of relationships to verbs in -εύειν and -εύεσθαι, e.g. ἀβασιλευτος, ἀδοῦλευτος, ἀπαρθένευτος. That is the strength of the case for Kock's emendation ἀθαλάττευτος here; but when people coin words, they tend to look to models familiar at the moment rather than to philological principles (cf. modern English *launderama* and words in *-drome*), and emendation is probably imprudent here (cf. H.-J. Newiger, *Gnomon* 32 (1960) 752). **ἄσαλαμίνιος**: the men of Salamis were known above all as sailors (cf. *Ec.* 37 f.). ἀ- is here equivalent to 'non-'; one might compare Hesiod's ἀδότης, 'non-giver' (*Op.* 355), but given such pairs as βέβαιος / ἀβέβαιος, ἄσαλαμίνιος is less peculiar.
- 205 ὦν**: the word is on the borderline of 'mobile' and 'postpositive' (cf. *GWO* 13, 43, 52) and therefore uncommon at the beginning of a verse; cf. 1142 n. **εἴτ'**: εἴτα between participle and verb implies incompatibility, 'in spite of being . . . , . . .'. Cf. 367.
- 206 ἐμβάλῃς**: 'strike' the oar into the water; cf. *Eq.* 602.
- 207 βατράχων κύκνων**: 'swan frogs'; cf. *Av.* 1559 κάμηλον ἀμνόν 'camel lamb'. It was commonly believed (a belief reflected in *Av.* 769-84 and *E. IT* 1104) that swans sing melodiously when dying or in remote places, for the delectation of the gods, but unfortunately, not for our ears; the Mute Swan makes few sounds except for the twang of its wings in flight, while Bewick's Swan and the Whooper Swan both have a very limited repertoire. **κατακέλευε δῆ**: 'give me the stroke'; this was the job of the κελευστής ([*Xen.*] *Ath.* i. 2) on a trireme. On δῆ cf. 190 n.
- 208 ὦ ὄπ'** **ὄπ'**: the accentuation is very varied in the MSS. ὦ must go with the pulling of the oar through the water, the first ὄπ with the raising of the blade at the end of the stroke, and the second ὄπ with the recovery for the next catch. On how it works out in practice, cf. S. F. Weiskittel, *Report of Sea*

Trials, ii. *Poros* 1988 (Geneva, NY, 1989) 29. This explains why there is only one $\delta\pi$ in 180.

209–67. LYRIC DIALOGUE

On the appearance of the chorus of frogs, cf. p. 57. The species whose cries most nearly resemble $\beta\rho\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\xi\ \kappa\omicron\acute{\alpha}\xi\ \kappa\omicron\acute{\alpha}\xi$ is the Marsh Frog, *Rana ridibunda* (not seen or heard in Britain; cf. E. N. Arnold and J. A. Burton, *A Field Guide to the Reptiles and Amphibians of Britain and Europe* (London 1978) 85). I would represent those cries phonetically as a staccato /'e'e'e'e'e'e'/ and a leisurely /uooa'/. Why $\beta\rho$ -, and why $-\xi$ at the end? The latter seems to be a Greek spelling convention for the representation of sounds; so $-\tau\omicron\rho\omicron\tau\acute{\iota}\xi$ and $-\lambda\iota\lambda\iota\tau\acute{\iota}\xi$ in bird-song (*Av.* 260, 262)—contrast the approximations in modern bird-books, where $-nk$ is common but $-nx$ and $-x$ unexamined— $\pi\alpha\pi\pi\acute{\alpha}\xi$ for farting (*Nu.* 390), and exclamations in $-\acute{\alpha}\xi$ (63 n.). Initial $\beta\rho$ appears in many Greek words denoting the production of sound, e.g. $\beta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\iota\nu$, $\beta\rho\nu\chi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$, $\beta\rho\rho\mu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$, and even in the baby-word $\beta\rho\upsilon$, 'drink' (*Nu.* 1382; cf. Phryn. *PS* 31. 11, Hsch. β 1210, 1247), although the combination of initial stop and fricative is notoriously difficult for infants to pronounce; cf. C. A. Ferguson, *American Anthropologist* Special Publications 66 no. 6 part 2 (1964) 103–14, and (with C. B. Farwell) *Language* 51 (1975) 432. The Latin equivalent of $\beta\rho\upsilon$ is *bu(a)*, the Arabic *mbu(wa)*. $\beta\rho\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\xi$ seems thus to embody two non-representational conventions.

Refrains are characteristic of various kinds of invocation—hymns, paeans, and magical spells. They may occur at the beginning of each stanza (e.g. Pi. *Paeon* 5), at the end (id., *Paeans* 1 and 21), or both (*Hymn to the Kouretes*, *CA* 160 f.). Aristophanes uses the refrain *Ἰακχε φιλοχόρευτα συμπρόπεμπέ με* in 403, 408, 413; cf. *Ἵμνην ὦ Ἵμέναι' ὦ* in the wedding-song at the end of *Peace* (1329–59). The frogs' 'refrain' is irregularly placed, the entire passage being astrophic, and it has nothing to do with invocation, but reflects the tireless croaking of frogs. On the merits of the passage as poetry, cf. p. 56 n. 2. Its style is a characteristic mixture of elevated and comic (cf. Silk 136 f.). Traditional long alpha is used in 213 f., 230, 242b, 248 (though not in 215 ἦν), and poetic words such as *εὐγερνυ* (213), *λαών* (219b), and *εὐλνυροι* (229) combine with colloquial vulgarity, e.g. *πρωκτός* (237) and *διαρραγήσομαι* (255), and comic confections such as *πομφολυγοπαφλάσμασιν* (249). The rhythm throughout is nearly all iambic and trochaic, with many lekythia (cf. Zimmermann i. 156–9), but 218–19b are dactylo-epitrite, with 216 f. (on the manuscript text) effecting a transition.

- (1) 209 ($\beta\rho\epsilon$ - . . .) $\omega \cup - \cup - \cup - |$ *lek*
 (2) 210 = (1)

(3) 211 (λιμ-...)	--υ-- υοο	<i>ia cr</i>
(4) 212 (ξύν-...)	υ--υ-- υοο	<i>ia cr</i>
(5) 213 (φθεγ-...)	--υ-- υοο-- υ--	<i>ia ch ba</i>
(6) 213 (κό-...)	υ--υ--	<i>ia</i>

An alternative analysis of 213 f. is possible: *ia ch*, then *ba ia*. But although *ba lek* and *ba ith* are common, *ba ia* is peculiarly rare (*Th.* 1016 is an incomplete adaptation from *Andromeda* (E. fr. 117)); *ia ch ba* occurs in *A. Ag.* 769 f. ~ 779 f., *Pe.* 1016 ~ 1029, and sense-pause favours the analysis proposed above.

(7) 215 (ῆν-...)	--υ-- υοο	<i>ia cr</i>
(8) 216 f. (Διός...)	υ--υοο--υ-- --υω υοο	<i>tel ia cr</i>

In 216 Hermann's *Διώνυσον* (for *Διό-*) has generally been adopted, giving *ia cr* instead of *tel*; the form is attested in epic and lyric (Pi. fr. 29, 121a3), but emendation here is not essential; for | *tel ia* ... cf. *S. Tr.* 953 f. ~ 962 f. || *tel zia ba* ||. The prosody of *ιαχῆσαμεν* is uncertain; *iā* is found in *E. Hel.* 1147 (*ιαχῆθης*), *iā* in *Tro.* 515 and *Pho.* 1295 (*ιαχῆσω*), *Or.* 826 (*ιάχῆσε*), *iā* in *E. El.* 1150 (*ιάχῆσε*), *iā* in *hCer* 20 (*ιάχῆσε*) and probably in *Ar. Th.* 327 (*ιαχῆσειεν*). 217 could therefore be --υ-- x-υοο (*zia*), --υω υοο (*ia cr*) or --υο--υοο, a colon which seems not to occur in drama. With Schroeder's emendation *Λίμναις* and *iā* we would have --υ-- υοο (*ia cr*).

(9) 218 (ῆνίχ'...)	--υο--υοο--	<i>D-</i>
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I adopt dactylo-epitrite notation here in view of what follows.

(10) 219ab (τοῖς...)	--υο--υοο-- --υο--υοο--υο--	<i>D-D-e</i>
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There are problems here. The manuscripts have *Χύτροισι*, and with that (given the option of *-σιν*) we have a choice between—

(i) τοῖς ἱεροῖσι Χύτροισι(ν)	$D \underline{\cap}$
χωρεῖ κτλ. and	$-D-e$
(ii) τοῖς ἱεροῖσι Χύτροισι χω-	} <i>ibyc D-e</i>
ρεῖ κτλ.	

The ibycean is certainly used by Aristophanes (cf. Zimmermann ii. 202 f.), but in drama generally it appears in aeolo-choriambic rather than dactylo-epitrite contexts (cf. *LM* 164–6). The objection to (i) is of a different kind. Anceps at the end of one dactylo-epitrite verse and again at the beginning of the next, though common in Bakchylides, is exceedingly rare in Pindar (*I.* 1 ep. 4 f.) and tragedy (*S. Aj.* 175 f. ~ 185 f.). There are two instances in Aristophanes: *V.* 277ab ~ 285 f. *E-* || *-D* ... and *Ec.* 572 f. *D-* | *-D* |||. It is noticeable that there is strong pause at all three points. That is true also of three of the four points in Pindar and of the strophe in Sophocles, but not of Sophocles' anti-strophe, or here. On balance I have thought it advisable to adopt Radermacher's *Χύτροις*, giving

τοῖς ἱεροῖσι Χύτροις χω-
ρεῖ κτλ.

(11) 220 = (1)		
(12) 221 (ἐγώ . . .)	υ υ υ - - - υ -	2ia
(13) 222 (τόν . . .)	υ υ υ - υ υ υ -	1ia
(14) 223 = (1)		
(15) 224 (ὕμῖν . . .)	- - υ - - - υ -	2ia
(16) 225 = (1)		
(17) 226 (ἀλλ' . . .)	- - υ - - - υ -	2ia
(18) 227 (οὐδέν . . .)	- - υ - - - υ -	2ia
(19) 228 (εἰκό- . . .)	- υ - - - υ - -	2tr
(20) 229 (ἐμέ . . .)	ω υ - - υ υ υ - υ - - -	cr 2tr
(21) 230 (καί . . .)	- υ ω - - υ ω - - υ - - -	3tr
(22) 231/2 (προς- . . .)	ω υ υ - - υ - - - - υ - - -	3tr
(23) 233 f. (ἔνκα . . .)	ω υ ω υ ω υ ω υ } ω υ - - - υ -	2tr lek
(24) 235 = (1)		
(25) 236 (ἐγώ . . .)	υ υ υ - - - υ -	2ia
(26) 237 (χῶ . . .)	- - υ - - - υ -	2ia
(27) 238 (κᾶτ' . . .)	- - υ - - - υ -	2ia
(28) 239 = (1)		
(29) 240 (ἀλλ' . . .)	- - υ - - υ -	ia cr
(30) 241 (παύ- . . .)	- - υ - - υ -	ia cr

For the change of singer within a verse cf. (in addition to 1323 f., where a special comic effect is achieved) *Nu.* 466 f. ἀρά γε τοῦτ' ἄρ' ἐγώ ποτ' ὄψομαι; || ὥστε γέ σου κτλ.

(31) 242ab (φθεγ- . . .)	- υ - - - υ - } - υ - υ - υ - υ -	lek 2tr
(32) 243 (ἦλά- . . .)	- υ υ υ ω υ - -	2tr
(33) 244 (καί . . .)	- υ - - - υ - -	2tr
(34) 245 (πολυ- . . .)	ω υ - - υ ω -	cr tr

The alternative analysis ω υ - - υ υ υ - (*tr cr*) is marginally less attractive, because the splitting of ω, common in runs of purely cretic rhythm, is much less so in other circumstances; cf. Parker (1968) 249-51, 263 f. Note, however, *Pax* 588 f. *cr tr cr* (- υ υ υ !) *tr lek*.

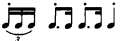
(35) 246 (ῆ . . .)	- υ - - - υ - υ	2tr
(36) 247 (ἔνυ- . . .)	ω υ υ υ - υ - -	2tr
(37) 248 (αἰό- . . .)	- υ - - - υ - υ υ	2tr
(38) 249 (πομ- . . .)	- υ ω υ υ υ -	lek
(39) 250 = (1)		
(40) 251 (του- . . .)	- - υ - - - υ -	2ia

(41) 252 (δεινά . . .)	- u - u - u - u	2tr
(42) 253 (δεινό- . . .)	- u w u - u - -	2tr
(43) 255 (εἰ . . .)	- u - u - u -	lek
(44) 256 = (1)		
(45) 257 (οἰ . . .)	- - u - - - u -	2ia
(46) 258ab (ἀλλά . . .)	- u - u - u - u - } w u - u - u - - }	4tr
(47) 259 (χαν- . . .)	- u - u - u -	lek
(48) 260 = (1)		
(49) 261 (τοῦ- . . .)	- - u - - - u u	2ia
(50) 262 (οὐδέ . . .)	- u - - - u - -	2tr
(51) 263 (οὐδέ . . .)	- u - - - u u	lek
(52) 264 (οὐδέ . . .)	- u w u - u - -	2tr
(53) 265 f. (κᾶν . . .)	- u - u - u - u - u - - } w u - - - u - - }	3tr lek

However we spell δέη, it is extremely likely that it is scanned here as one syllable, as in Philetairos fr. 3. 1, Men. fr. 751. 3, and cf. the variants κᾶν δεῖ, καὶ δεῖ, and κεῖ δεῖ at *Pl.* 216 (O. Lautensach, *Glotta* 7 (1915) 93 f.). The alternative is to break the run of trochaic rhythm and accept *tr ch tr lek*.

(54) 267 = (1)

Cf. Zimmermann i. 159-63, iii. 80-2.

In modern productions of the play in the English-speaking world the frogs' cry is commonly sung to the rhythm  (♩ = 90), which is not at all like the sound of *Rana ridibunda*. Dionysos is rowing, his rhythm seems to be prescribed by Charon in 208, the rowers in a trireme rowed to the sound of an aulos (played by an ἀύλητής who was a member of the crew, e.g. *IG* ii² 1951. 100 f.), and the frogs' song will have been accompanied on an aulos (cf. 212 n.). It is therefore a reasonable assumption that there was some relationship between the god's rowing and the frogs' song; unfortunately, metrical analysis, which is all we have to go on, tells us nothing about tempo, nor do we know what prosodic distortions were used in lyrics for special effects (scansion alone would not tell us the prosody given to 'Attention!' and 'Stand at ease!' on the parade-ground). In any case, a rhythmic movement suiting 209-15 would not suit 216-19b. Add to this that Dionysos is rowing alone and does not have to keep up a steady rhythm. Those very facts, however, could be turned to good comic effect, and probably were.

Dionysos 'takes' the frogs' cry from them (251), and that dismays them (252); he somehow 'wins' (266, cf. 261) by uttering their cry until they are silenced. Why should they be silenced? It seems that they and Dionysos are engaged in a 'shouting match' like the Paphlagonian and the Sausage-seller in *Knights*

(274–7, 285–7), a competition to see who can last longer (cf. MacDowell (1972) 4 f., Zimmermann i. 163). This motif is blended with the motif of competition in singing, such as we find in Theocritus 5 (note 22 διαείσομαι ἔστε κ' ἀπείπησ, cited by Zimmermann loc. cit.). These two motifs are used in the service of a comic idea (cf. *GV* 592–4): down to 249 Dionysos puffs and pants and half collapses after every few (irregular) strokes, but at 250 he pulls himself together (253/4 f. being his comment on his own access of energy) and finishes the course at a fast, smooth pace—unrealistically fast, perhaps, but in any case in time with the song—roaring out 267. (Th. Zieliński, *Eos* 37 (1936) 106, believes that the frogs accelerate their song; Wills 313–15, in the light of 221–3, suggests that he vanquishes the frogs by farting (special sound-effects off-stage) more loudly than they can sing).

212 ξύναυλον: the aulos is the normal accompaniment (though not invariable; cf. 1304 n.) of choral song in drama. Cf. E. *El.* 879 ἔτω ξύναυλος βοὰ χαρᾶ.

213 ἐμάν: in choral song the first person moves readily between singular and plural; cf. 217 ἰαχήσαμεν ... 219b κατ' ἐμὸν τέμενος. Examples are assembled in Kaimio 44–103.

215 Νυσηῖον: Nysa, a mountain associated with Dionysos and in particular with his birth (e.g. E. *Ba.* 556 f.), did not have an agreed location in the real world; *Il.* vi. 133 puts *Νυσηῖον* in Thrace, but Nysa in *hBacch.* (1) 8 f. is in the Middle East.

216 f. Διός: sc. 'son of . . .'; cf. 1361a. **ἐν Λίμναισιν:** the location of the sanctuary of Dionysos ἐν Λίμναις is disputed. Thuc. ii. 15. 4 includes it among the oldest inhabited parts of Athens, to the south (πρὸς νότον) of the Acropolis. It is hard to find a likely spot for 'marshes' except somewhere along the course of the Ilissos, which was outside the city walls; yet *Is.* viii. 35 describes a house ἐν ἄστει as being παρὰ τὸ ἐν Λίμναις Διονύσιον. Cf. Judeich 290–6, Jacoby, *FGrHist* IIIb 1 594 f., *DFA* 19–25. The marsh was drained in the Hellenistic period (*Str.* viii. 5. 1, *Σ^{PA}*. Thuc. loc. cit.; hence no mention in Pausanias), but cannot have been dry in 405, or it would have had no association with frogs.

217 ἰαχήσαμεν: these frogs are the ghosts of frogs which once lived at Athens, so that the aorist denotes past time (contrast 229 ἔστερξαν); but as the celebration of the festival is an annual event, the present tense χωρεῖ in 219b is right.

219a Χύτροις: this was the name given to the third and last day of the Anthesteria, celebrated at the sanctuary of Dionysos ἐν Λίμναις halfway between the Lenaia and the City Dionysia. The second day (Choes) included competitive drinking of wine (cf. *Ach.* 1000–3), which explains the description of the gathering for the Chytroi as κραιπαλόκωμος, for κραιπάλη is 'hangover'. At the Chytroi sacrifices were offered to Hermes as

- the god in charge of the passage of souls to the underworld, and there was strong awareness of the presence of the dead (Deubner 112–14). The element *-κωμος* may not seem to suit that, but it is appropriate to a festival of Dionysos; the heading of the fourth-century inscription which records the victories in tragic, comic, and choral performances at the City Dionysia (*IG* ii² 2318) uses *κῶμοι*. . . τ[ῶι Διονύσ]ωι as a covering term (cf. *DFA* 102 f.).
- 219b λαῶν:** cf. 576. *λαός* (the Attic-Ionic form is *λεώς*, as in the herald's formula *ἀκούετε λεῶ* (*Ach.* 1000)) appears in lyrics and in grandiloquent language (e.g. *Eq.* 163).
- 222 ὄρρον:** cognate with our word 'arse'. A long spell of rowing is hard on the skin, and the rower in a trireme had a pad (Th. ii. 93. 2 *ὑπηρέσιον*, Hermippus fr. 54. 2 *προσκεφάλαιον*) for protection.
- 224 ἴσως:** the tone imparted is not clear. In Plato *ἴσως* sometimes presents with courteous diffidence a statement of which the speaker in fact feels sure (e.g. *Phd.* 67 A), and it can also be sarcastic (e.g. *R.* 339 B), but here it may be pathetic, as in English, 'I don't suppose you care!'
- 226 αὐτῷ κοάξ:** '*koax* and all', as in 476 *αὐτοῖσιν ἐντέροισι*, 'guts and all', and (with the article, which is not so common) 560 *αὐτοῖς τοῖς ταλάροις*; cf. *KG* i. 433 f., Schwyzer ii. 164 f.
- 227** Cf. *Lys.* 139 *οὐδὲν γάρ ἐσμεν πλὴν κτλ. ἀλλ' ἢ* is most naturally interpreted here as *ἄλλο ἢ*, but that is not always so, e.g. *Eq.* 779 *οὐχὶ φιλεῖ. . . ἀλλ' ἢ διὰ τοῦτο κτλ.* and some other passages where 'except (for the fact) that . . .' is the translation required; cf. *GP* 24–7.
- 228 εἰκότως γ':** 'Yes, it's only right (sc. that we should be proud of our *koax*)'; the proposition with which the frogs agree is not quite what Dionysos said. **πολλὰ πράττων:** *πολλὰ πράττειν* is to interfere in other people's business; in *Pax* 1028 Trygaios says to Hierokles, who has interrupted the sacrifice, *πολλὰ πράττεις, ὅστις εἶ*. Touchy people regard adverse comment as 'interference'; cf. *Ach.* 833, where Dikaiopolis apologizes for his *πολυπραγμοσύνη* after the Megarian has gloomily rejected the friendly farewell *χαῖρε* as *οὐκ ἐπιχώριον*.
- 229 ἔστερξαν:** from the continuation *προσεπιτέρπεται δέ* and from the fact that the croaking of frogs is a constant in the experience of mortals and immortals, it is clear that *ἔστερξαν* refers to present as well as past time—the so-called 'gnomic' aorist, though that is too narrow a term; cf. *KG* i. 158–60, *SGV* 131–4, Schwyzer ii. 282–6, *MT* 53–5.
- 230 κεροβάτας:** Pan has goat's hooves (Hdt. ii. 46. 1 remarks that he is portrayed as *τραγοσκελής*), and hooves are made of *κέρας*, 'horn'. *Σ^{RVE}* records an alternative ancient interpretation of *κεροβάτας*, 'going upon mountain-peaks'; cf. the variants *κέρας* and *ὄρος* in *h.Bacch.* (1) 8 and Allen, Halliday, and Sikes n. ad loc. **καλαμόφθογγα:** 'Pan pipes' are made of reeds (*κάλαμος*) of different lengths bound together with wax. **παίζων:** cf. pp. 57–9.

- 231 φορμίκτας:** *φόρμιγξ*, 'lyre' and words derived from it are purely poetic. Apollo is the supreme lyre-player; he is shown on a seventh-century Cycladic amphora carrying one (Wegner taf. 1c), and *Il.* xxiv. 63 refers to him playing at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis.
- 233 ἔνεκα δόνακος:** when the infant Hermes in *h.Merc.* 41–53 kills a tortoise in order to make the object which the poet calls *φόρμιγξ* (64, 506), *λύρη* (423), or *κίθαρις* (499), he bores through the shell and fixes *δόνακας καλάμοιο* in it, then puts oxhide over that, and finally inserts arms (*πήχεις*) and joins them at the top with a bridge (*ζυγόν*). Plainly *δόνακες* are reed-stalks and *κάλαμος* the plant as a whole (in Thphr. *HP* iv. 11. 11 *δόναξ* is treated as the commonest species of the genus *κάλαμος*). The material of which Hermes makes the arms and the bridge is not stated. In the light of the description, however (cf. Abert, *RE* II. i. 1761 f.), composed by someone who certainly knew how a lyre was made, we can see why Aristophanes should call the reed *ὑπολύριος*, because it is under the hide which it itself under the strings. *S^{RVE}* says that *οἱ ἀρχαῖοι* used reed (*κάλαμος*) instead of horn (*κεράτιον*), but whether that refers to the arms, the bridge, or both is obscure; in any case the explanation is tentative and sounds like guesswork. The context of *S. fr.* 36 *ὑφηρεθη σου κάλαμος ὡσπερὶ λύρας* would help, if we had any idea what it was. **ἔνεκα** most commonly follows its noun but cf. *V.* 886.
- 234 τρέφω:** the frogs speak as if reeds are a crop which they cultivate; *τρέφειν* is used of tending plants in (e.g.) *Il.* xvii. 53.
- 236 φλυκταίνας:** 'blisters', most naturally on the hands, but cf. 221 f.
- 237 χῶ πρωκτὸς ἰδίει πάλαι:** 'and my anus has been sweating for a long time'; perhaps not exactly sweating, but oozing, in view of what he goes on to say. Cf. *Av.* 790 f. *εἰ . . . τις . . . τυγχάνει χεζητιῶν / οὐκ ἂν ἐξίδισεν εἰς θοίματιον κτλ.*
- 238 ἐκκύψας:** 'peeping out (sc. of my clothes)'. So *Π2* and probably *P20^{ac}*; *ἐγκύψας* (**a**) means 'bending over', which only the body as a whole can do.
- 239** We expect him to say something like *παπαπαππάξ* (cf. *Nu.* 390, where the noise of an explosion from the bowels is imitated), but the Chorus comes in with its refrain instead. The MSS, except *Vs1^{ac}*, give the line to Dionysos, but it seems clear from 251 that 250 is his first utterance of the refrain, and from 240 that 239 is not. Reisig made the right conjecture before *Vs1* was known.
- 240 ἀλλ':** a weary 'Oh, *do* . . .!' might be thought appropriate, but the courteous *φιλωδὸν γένος* (contrast 226, 257) favours 'Oh, come on now, . . .' in a more sympathetic tone; cf. *Pl. R.* 328 A *ἀλλὰ μένετε*, 'Please do stay!' (*GP* 14).
- 241 μὲν οὖν:** 'Oh, no! . . .'; cf. *Eg.* 18 *λέγε σύ. ||| σὺ μὲν οὖν μοι λέγε* (*GP* 475).

- 242a** εἰ δὴ ποτ': 'We shall . . ., if we ever (sc. as we certainly did) . . .' is a strong declaration.
- 243 f.** κυπείρου καὶ φλέω: the former (Thphr. *HP* iv. 8. 1) is probably galingale, *Cyperus longus* (Polunin no. 1830), and the latter (*HP* iv. 10. 4) *Erianthus ravennae* (Polunin no. 1807).
- 245** πολυκολύμβοισι: κολυμβᾶν is 'dive', and πολυκόλυμβα μέλη are presumably songs often interrupted by diving.
- 246** Διός: 'the rain of Zeus' is a familiar phrase in epic (e.g. *Il.* v. 91), and in popular religion Zeus retained throughout the classical period the attributes of a sky-god who sends rain. In *Nu.* 368 Strepsiades, assured by Socrates that there is no Zeus, demands ἀλλὰ τίς ὕει;
- 247** χορεῖαν . . . **249** πομφολυγοπαφλάσμασιν: χορεία is defined by Pl. *Lg.* 654 b as the song-and-dance of a chorus; cf. 336, 396. αἰόλος is (among other things) 'variegated', and the dative πομφολυγοπαφλάσμασιν (πομφόλυξ, 'bubble', and παφλάζειν, 'splutter') is best taken more closely with αἰόλαν than with ἐφθελγήμεσθα; the frogs' song is varied irregularly by plops as one or other of them dives.
- 251** λαμβάνω: cf. pp. 222 f.
- 252** Cf. *Ach.* 323, where the chorus says, 'No, we won't listen to you!' and Dikaiopolis replies δεινὰ τᾶρα πείσομαι. For the phrase δεινὰ πασχ(ω), 'it's intolerable for (me)', cf. *Av.* 1225, *Ec.* 650.
- 253/4** ἐλαύνων: cf. p. 222.
- 255** διαρραγήσομαι: 'burst', 'split in two'; cf. 955 μέσος διαρραγῆναι. Unlike other aspects of διαρρηγνύναι, the aorist passive seems to be colloquial; διαρραγείης occurs several times (e.g. *Av.* 2) as a curse.
- 257** οἰμώζειτ': cf. 178 n. The imperative is used as a curse, e.g. *Ach.* 1035 ἀλλ' ἀπιῶν οἰμώζε ποί. οὐ γάρ μοι μέλει: cf. 224 (οὐδέν), 655 (οὐδέν), 1136 (δλίγον, the commonest form of the expression). What 'doesn't matter' to Dionysos is the anxiety voiced by the frogs in 252; for the reader, the intervention of 253–5 obscures that, but a shrill and panicky style of singing 256 would make the point clear for the hearer, thereafter diminuendo, as if their voices were failing (Dn).
- 258a** ἀλλὰ μὴν . . . γ': in Pl. *Phd.* 110 b, when Socrates has said εἰ . . . καὶ μῦθον λέγειν καλόν, ἀξιὸν ἀκούσαι κτλ., Simmias invites him to speak: ἀλλὰ μὴν . . . ἡμεῖς γε τοῦτου τοῦ μύθου ἡδίων ἂν ἀκούσαιμεν. So here (*GP* 342), 'All right, then (sc. if you don't care), we'll shout . . .'.
258b ὁπόσον . . . ἄν: this separation of ἄν from the relative by a mobile word in a protasis with the subjunctive is remarkable. There is no way of avoiding it except by Bachmann's emendation ἢ φάρυξ ὁπόσον ἄν κτλ., but a comparable oddity occurs with περ in 815 ἡνίκ' ἄν . . . περ ἴδη, and cf. 1420 ὁπότερος οὖν ἄν κτλ. Moreover, there are a few true parallels, notably Pl. *Lg.* 739 BC πρώτη . . . πόλις . . . ἐστίν . . . ὅπου τὸ πάλοι λεγόμενον ἄν γίγνηται κατὰ πάσαν τὴν πόλιν ὅτι μάλιστα· λέγεται δὲ ὡς . . . κοινὰ τὰ τῶν

φίλων, where the variant γίγνοιτο would not give the right sense. Cf. LSJ s.v. ἄν IV. D. I. 1.

- 259** δι' ἡμέρας: 'all day'; cf. *Pax* 56 δι' ἡμέρας . . . λοιδορεῖται τῷ Διί.
262, 263 οὐδὲ μὴν: cf. *Ec.* 1075, 1085 οὐδὲ μὴν ἐγώ, 'I won't, either!'; *GP* 339. πάντως: 'whatever you do', 'whatever happens'; cf. *Ec.* 604 ἀλλ' οὐδέν τοι χρήσιμον ἔσται πάντως αὐτῷ, 'but it won't be any use to him anyway'.
265 δῆ: cf. p. 222. δι' ἡμέρας: Dionysos picks up the phrase used by the frogs in 260.

269–311. DISEMBARKATION AND ENCOUNTER WITH A MONSTER

- 268** ἔμελλον ἄρα: triumphantly, as in (e.g.) *Nu.* 1301 ἔμελλόν σ' ἄρα κινήσειν ἐγώ, 'I *knew* I'd make you move!' The frogs have now departed, silenced, and this line is spoken by Dionysos, not sung.
269 παραβαλοῦ: cf. p. 213. τῷ κωπίῳ: diminutive, because Charon himself is wielding the larger steering-oar. M_dI Np₁^s have τὸ κωπίω (defended by Blass 149, and adopted by LSJ), giving the sense 'ship your (two) oars', but Dionysos must bring the boat alongside first, and it seems from 197–9 that he has only one oar.
270 τὸν ναῦλον: 'the fare'; τὸ ναῦλον A E M U Θ^{ac}, and so generally in fourth-century prose, but the nominative ναυλος is found in *IG* ii² 1672. 159, and Kallistratos (*ap. S^{RVE}*) opted for τὸν ναῦλον here. ἔχε δῆ: for δῆ with the imperative cf. 207 n. τῶβολῶ: cf. 140 n. It is unlikely that Dionysos is encumbered with a purse; probably he makes a gesture of taking the money from under his tongue (where small change was carried, cf. *V.* 609, 788–92) and putting it into Charon's hand. Maybe Charon transfers it to his own mouth. Charon and his boat now go out of our sight through the eisodos opposite to the one from which they appeared, as if they were going on to another port of call (cf. p. 213).
271 ὁ Ξανθίας: cf. 40 n. ῆ: accented ῆ in R V K M M_dI Np₁ but ῆ in A E U Vb₃ Vs₁ Θ. ῆ ῆ in *Nu.* 105 and E. *HF* 906 is a repressive exclamation, not a cry from afar.
272 ἰαῦ: Xanthias cries this offstage, then appears, staggering and puffing, with the baggage.
273 τί ἔστι τὰνταυθοῖ: as they find themselves on strange terrain, either could say (a) 'What is there here?' in bewilderment; and as they have arrived by different routes, either could say (b) 'What is there on *your* way here?' One part of the answer, 'darkness', suits (a), because the humour of the encounter with Empusa is enhanced if we are to imagine it happening in darkness (cf. 285). The other part, '. . . and mud', and the following lines suit (b) better, if Dionysos puts the question, because the sinners lying in mud have not figured in the crossing of the lake, and account is best taken of

them by locating them on Xanthias' route, which we have not seen. Whether the audience would understand the question as meaning, 'What is there (on the way by which you came) here?' is problematic; *ἐνταυθοῖ* can connote direction of movement (as in *Lys.* 568, where it is contrasted with *ἐκεῖσε*), but it often occurs with 'wait', 'stay', 'be present', etc. (e.g. *Nu.* 814, 833, *V.* 1442, *Lys.* 4, *Th.* 225) and is then synonymous with *ἐνταῦθα*. *αὐτόθι* (274) can mean 'here' (e.g. *Eq.* 119), but it is analysable as 'at it', and is not a demonstrative. In *Pl. Phdr.* 229 c it is certainly 'there', contrasted with where the speakers are. On balance, (b) seems to me inescapable. 'Darkness' can apply both to where they are now and to Xanthias' route. In the description given by Herakles (137–51) the order was: lake, land of monsters, sinners in mud, initiates. Now the order of the second and third items is reversed, because however we distribute the dialogue in 273–6 the sinners come before the monsters. This change is dictated by the need to sacrifice what is less easily exploited for comic purposes and make room for what is more easily exploited. Disposing of the lake and the sinners simultaneously somewhat reduces the shock of the change.

275 οὐς ἔλεγεν ἡμῖν: 149 f.

276 καὶ νυνὶ γ' ὀρώ: cf. 182 n. The reference to the audience (with a gesture towards them) resembles *Nu.* 1096–8, where Wrong forces Right to admit that the great majority of the audience is 'wide-arsed'.

277 ἄγε δῆ, τί δρωμεν: it must be Dionysos who puts this question to his slave (R E^pc Np1 U Vs1 Θ have no change of speaker here, and E^{ac} M give it to Xanthias; but confusion has prevailed in the MSS since 272). 279 ὡς . . . 284 are plainly spoken by Dionysos. **προϊέναι βέλτιστα νῶν**: with the idea of getting a move on and spending as little time as possible in land of monsters. Cf. *Eq.* 30 *κράτιστα τοῖνυν τῶν παρόντων ἐστὶ νῶν κτλ.*

279. ἔφασκ' ἐκεῖνος: cf. 275. We have to understand an *εἶναι* which is virtually existential (though strictly speaking, *οὐ* is its predicate). This is not easy. A partial (but only partial) parallel is S. *OT* 108–10 *ποῦ τόδ' εὐρεθήσεται; . . . || ἐν τῆδ' ἔφασκε γῆ*. Radermacher cites *PHibeh* i. 49. 2 f. (s. III^a m.) *πορεύθητι οὐ ἂν ἀκού[σηις] | Λυσίμαχον*, and the usage may be colloquial; there are some other putative colloquial constructions in the play, e.g. 1047. **ὡς οἰμώξεται**: cf. 178 n. *ὡς* may be exclamatory here, like *ὄσον* in *V.* 893 *ὄσον ἀλώσεται*, but it may also serve to introduce a strong assertion, as in *Nu.* 209 *ὡς τοῦτ' ἀληθῶς κτλ.*, 'I can assure you, . . .'.

280 ἡλαζονεύεθ': *ἀλαζών* is someone who claims superior knowledge or skill and exploits this for self-serving ends; cf. 908–10. D. M. MacDowell, in Craik 287–92, makes a good case for saying that in the fourth century it often approximates to 'liar', while in the fifth the emphasis is more on the alleged expertise.

281 φιλοτιμούμενος: *φιλοτιμία* is the desire to be recognized (not neces-

sarily wrongly) as braver, wiser, or more powerful than others. On its other aspects cf. 678 n.

282 γαῦρον: ‘boastful’, ‘vain’; cf. Archilochus fr. 114. 2 βοοστρύχοισι γαῦρον, E. *Su.* 862 ὀλβῳ γαῦρος. The line is adapted from E. fr. 788. 1 (*Philoktetes*) οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω γαῦρον ὡς ἀνήρ ἔφν.

283 ἐγὼ δέ γ’: *ἐγῳγε δέ, as in *Nu.* 1417 ἐγὼ δέ γ’ ἀντείποιμ’ ἄν κτλ.; *GP* 153.

284 ἀγώνισμ’: ‘achievement’; cf. Th. vii. 59. 2 ‘the Syracusans . . . thought it would be καλὸν ἀγώνισμα for them . . . to conquer the whole Athenian force’.

285 νῆ τὸν Δία: ‘Yes, indeed!’ Cf. *Pax* 416; Werres 14–17. καὶ μὴν: this often draws attention to a new sight or sound, e.g. E. *Andr.* 820 καὶ μὴν ἐν οἴκοις προσπόλων ἀκούομεν βοήν; *GP* 356.

286 f. The MSS vary greatly here; the practicable alternatives are:

(1)	ποῦ ποῦ;		ἴξόπισθεν		}	ἐξόπισθέ(ν) νυν ἴθι							
(2)	ποῦ ποῦ ’στ’;		ῶπισθεν										
(3)	}	}	}	}			}	}					
(4)									ποῦ ποῦ ’στιν;		ἐξόπισθεν		δπισθέ(ν) νυν ἴθι
(5)									}	}	}	}	}
(6)	ἐξόπισθ’		δπισθέ(ν) νυν ἴθι										

(3) and (4) contain split $\cup\cup$ — which is found at change of speaker at *V.* 1369 -τα. ||| ποίαν κτλ. (and possibly, though both can be normalized by trivial emendation, *Av.* 90, 1495). Elision of (ἐξ)όπισθε, as of πρόσθε (*S.* *OC* 1114, E. *Ba.* 225), is possible (*Philemon* fr. 115. 1) but very rare and not attested in Aristophanes. On balance, option (2) seems the most likely. The stage action in which Dionysos tries to put Xanthias between himself and danger is easily envisaged. Whether Xanthias is genuinely afraid or playing a practical joke on Dionysos, we cannot tell for sure from the text; if a joke, it could be made plain on stage by exaggerated gestures of laughter when he is behind Dionysos. His ποῖ δ’ ἐγὼ at 296 suggests that he is actually frightened, and that in turn suggests that in 295 he is not making a sarcastic joke at Dionysos’ expense but simply serving as a mouthpiece for a comic absurdity (cf. *AC* 59–65). Whether or not we are to imagine the encounter with Empusa as taking place in gloom (cf. 273 n.), we cannot have Dionysos peering beside Xanthias; he is too scared for that, and δεῦρο (301) implies that while Xanthias is making a solemn adjuration and apotropaic gesture Dionysos has retreated and is cowering. We can also be sure that we do not see Empusa ourselves; compared with the metamorphoses of 286–96 the problem which Goethe’s dog/devil sets theatrical producers of *Faust* is child’s play.

288 καὶ μὴν: cf. 285 n.

289 γοῦν: ‘at any rate’, whether (as here) offering evidence for one’s own

utterance or (as in 293) agreeing that there is evidence for the truth of what someone else has said (*GP* 450 f., 454 f.).

290 **τοτέ:** A E M Md1 U Vb3 Θ have *ποτέ* at the beginning of the line, and A M Vb3 V_{S1} Θ^{ac} *ποτέ δ' αὐ γυνή* at the end. There is comparable textual variation in *Eq.* 540, but *τοτέ* prevails in *Av.* 76 and 1398 f. and generally in the texts of other authors. Assuming that both forms were acceptable Attic, and given that they are metrically identical, no firm editorial decision is possible in most cases, but here the contrasting *νυνί* favours *τοτέ*.

291 **πού'στι:** Dionysos' interest is aroused at once; cf. Xanthias in 515 and both of them in 414a–15. For the metrical phenomenon $\cup|\cup'$ cf. *V.* 69, *Nu.* 29.

293 **Ἔμπουσα:** most of the evidence (cf. Waser, *RE* V. ii. 2540–3) on this malignant creature comes from late antiquity, but Demosthenes' gibe (xviii. 130) that Aeschines' mother was called 'Empusa' *διὰ τὸ πάντα ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν* shows that (like Proteus in *Od.* iv. 417 f., cf. Pl. *Ion* 541 E) Empusa could change her form at will. In Ar. fr. 515 (from *Tagenistai*) someone reacts to an invocation of *Ἐκάτη χθονία* by calling Hekate herself 'Empusa', and Hekate is the goddess who sends ghosts upon us from the underworld (*E.* *Hel.* 569). Cf. also 143 f. nn., and for the rest of this scene E. K. Borthwick, *CQNS* 18 (1968) 200–6. **τοῖνυν:** cf. 66 n.

294 **καὶ σκέλος χαλκοῦν ἔχει:** given that Dionysos dare not look (cf. 286 f. n.), this must be a question; R marks change of speaker, A E^{ac} M^s Np1 have the siglum Δι. (sp. K), and Md1 has Δι. over χαλ-. In *S. El.* 491 *χαλκόπους Ἐρινύς* the reference is to untiring pursuit (using an epic epithet of horses), not material.

295 R marks no change of speaker between 294 *καὶ σκέλος* and 296 *ποι δ' ἐγώ*; V gives everything from *νή* to *τραποῖμην* to Xanthias; the other MSS mark changes at *νή*, *καί*, and *σάφ'*, but disagree widely on who says what. It is not very likely that Dionysos utters *καὶ βολίτινον θάτερον* as a question, and as a statement, even less likely. 918 shows how *σάφ' ἴσθι* can be tagged on; hence *Ξα. νή . . . Δι. ποι δῆτ' . . . Ξα. ποι δ'.* **βολίτινον:** *βόλιτος* in *Ach.* 1026, where Dikaiopolis congratulates a farmer on his two oxen, is unquestionably cow's dung. Σ^R here interprets it as donkey's dung, possibly because Empusa was called *ὄνοκωλος* (Σ^{RVe}) or *ὄνοσκελῖς* (Σ^R *E.* 1048).

297 **ἱερεῦ:** the priest of Dionysos Eleuthereus sat in the front row in the theatre (*DFA* 268 f.). It is clear not only from this passage but from *Ach.* 1085–94 (where an invitation from the priest is incorporated into the action of the play) that the actors would join him at a party after the festival.

298 **ὤναξ Ἡράκλεις:** Herakles was commonly invoked for protection against evils, as *ἀλεξίκακος*, and now Xanthias turns to his disguised master as if Dionysos were the real Herakles. **οὐ μή:** cf. 202 n. **μ':** elision at the end of an iambic trimeter occurs also in *Av.* 1716 and is frequent in Sophocles; cf. Descroix 293, P. Maas, *Greek Metre* (English tr., Oxford, 1962) 87 f.

- 299** μηδὲ κατερείς τοῦνομα: because—to judge by a widespread belief elsewhere—if an evil spirit knows your name its power over you is greater; cf. E. Riess, *AJP* 18 (1897) 194 f.
- 300** τοῖουνυ: cf. 293, 66 n. τοῦτ' ἔθ' ἦπτον θατέρου: R V K have τοῦτο γ' ἦπτον, the other MSS τοῦτό γ' ἔσθ' ἦπτον, and Dindorf divined that ἔσθ' is a corruption of ἔθ'; cf. Pl. *Cri.* 51 c, and 1147 ἔτι μάλλον. Dionysos knows that no evil spirit will be afraid of *him*.
- 301** ἴθ' ἦπερ ἔρχει: an apotropaic formula, 'go on your way!'; cf. *Lys.* 833 f., where it is addressed to Aphrodite: ἴθ' ὀρθήν ἦνπερ ἔρχει τὴν ὁδόν (Th. Zieliński, *Philologus* 60 (1901) 5 f.).
- 302** θάρρει· πάντ' ἀγαθὰ πεπράγαμεν: cf. *Pl.* 1188–90.
- 303** f. Evidently Hegelochos, taking the part of Orestes three years earlier, mispronounced γαλήν' (γαληνά, 'calm') as γαλήν, 'weasel', in E. *Or.* 279. He was not allowed to forget it, as we see from Sannyrion fr. 8 and Strattis fr. 1 and 60. In addition to being intrinsically ludicrous, the slip gave peculiarly inappropriate sense, in that a weasel crossing one's path was a bad omen, not a good one (*Ec.* 791–3, Thphr. *Char.* 16. 3), and weasels were associated (again, the data are late) with Hekate (cf. Borthwick, loc. cit. (293 n.) 202 f.).
- 305** κατόμοσον . . . **306**: the threefold oath exemplifies the importance of the number three in ritual and magic; cf. 184 n., *AP* v. 245. 3 τρισὶν ὤμοσα πέτραις, and Petr. 131 'ter . . . exspuere terque lapillos conicere in sinum' (H. Usener, *RhM* 58 (1903) 17).
- 308** R has σου as the last word of the line, V που and the rest μου; but A M Md1^s Np1 Vs1^{pc} give the line to Xanthias, and that, with σου, is surely right. πυρρός is the colour of faeces in *Eq.* 900, *Ec.* 329 f., 1060 f., and the effect of fear on the bowels is a common motif in comedy (*Pax* 241, 1176, *Ec.* 1060 f.), exploited in detail in 479–90. Xanthias points to the lower rear of Dionysos' κροκωτός, and ὀδί refers either to that (cf. Marzullo 390 f.) or (though without necessarily exposing it) to Dionysos' backside (πρωκτός). For masculine and feminine demonstratives without any accompanying noun cf. 1505, *Nu.* 1146. The ancients offered a variety of explanations: (a) the priest of Dionysos had a red complexion (Σ^{RVE}; Eupolis fr. 20 and Kratinos fr. 492 ridiculed the πυρρός complexion of Hipponikos, but the text of the citation of Eupolis in Σ is corrupt, and it is not certain whether the person ridiculed was a priest of Dionysos; since Paus. ii. 2. 6 speaks of archaic statues of Dionysos at Corinth as having their faces painted red, Fritzsche suggested that the priest of Dionysos was rouged for ritual occasions); (b) Ixion (ap. Σ^{VE}) thought that the actor is pointing to a well-known man in the audience; (c) Aristarchos (ap. Σ^{VE}), that ὀδί = ἐγώ, Xanthias having reddish-brown hair (cf. the name Πυρρίας); (d) Xanthias brandishes his phallos, or points to Dionysos' phallos (Σ^V). It may seem that ὑπερ- implies that πυρριᾶν can mean 'blush (for you, with shame at embarrassment)', as it

does in the late novelists (LSJ strangely gives that meaning for *Eq.* 900), but this is not attested for the classical period, in which 'blush' is *ἐρυθριᾶν*. More probably the point is: 'don't worry about being *ὠχρός*, this is *πυρρός* on your behalf' (Dn).

309 προσέπεισεν: V has *προσέπειτατο*, which does not scan and is probably an intrusion from marginal quotation of E. *Alc.* 421 as a similar line.

310 If we know what deity is afflicting us, we know whom we should try to appease; cf. E. fr. 912. 12 f. *τίμι δει μακάρων ἐκθυσσάμενους εὐρεῖν μόχθων ἀνάπαυλαν*; and the anxiety of the superstitious man in Thphr. *Char.* 16. 11 to discover to whom he should pray after a disturbing dream. **αἰτιάσομαι:** for the future indicative, rather than the deliberative subjunctive, in such a question cf. *Nu.* 129 f. and examples gathered in Radt 113–16.

311 On this putative 'aside' by Xanthias cf. p. 45.

312–459. PARODOS

(i) 312–22. *Approach of the Chorus*

312 The sound of auloi is heard (cf. 313); most manuscripts have a parepigraphé *αὐλεῖ τις ἔνδοθεν*. All but V_{S1} give *οὔτος* (cf. 199 n.) to Dionysos, and that dictates the changes of speaker down to 314 (V_{S1} confusedly gives *τί ἐστιν*; to Xanthias as well as *οὐ κατήκουσας*; and *αὐλῶν πνοῆς*). 315, however, creates a problem. It suits Dionysos' caution (cf. 321 f.) and should therefore be spoken by him, but in the tragic convention which it parodies, exemplified by A. *Ch.* 20 *Πυλάδην, σταθῶμεν ἐκποδῶν* and E. *El.* 107–11 *ἀλλ' . . . ἐξώμεσθα κτλ.* (neither mentioned by Rau 201 f.) there is no change of speaker, but a change of direction by the same speaker, and that is true also of *Ach.* 239 f. *ἀλλὰ δεῦρο πᾶς ἐκποδῶν* and *Th.* 36 *ἀλλ' ἐκποδῶν πτήξωμεν*. K is in fact the only manuscript to indicate a change of speaker at 315. If, then, it is Dionysos who says *οὔτος* in 312, it seems that 313 *ἔγωγε* to the end of 315 must all be spoken by Xanthias. Granted that Xanthias is emerging as the dominant character by the end of 277–311, it is pushing this motif rather fast to make Dionysos fall in with a 'Let us . . .' from his slave. Can it then be Xanthias who says *οὔτος*? So peremptory an address from slave to master raises misgivings (cf. Fraenkel (1962) 25 n. 2), but there is no doubt about it in 479, and since it can be used between equals (e.g. *Au.* 49, *Th.* 224, *Pl.* 439) it is a comparatively small step in Xanthias' self-assertion. These considerations suggest: 312 *Ἐα. οὔτος, Δι. τί . . . , Ἐα. οὐ . . . , Δι. τίνος*, 313 *Ἐα. αὐλῶν . . . , Δι. ἔγωγε*, and no further change.

315 ἤρεμέι: so R A E K Np1 Uⁱ V_{S1} Θ^{ac}; V has *ἤρέμ'*, and the rest *ἤρέμα*, which is common in Plato and metrically guaranteed in *Pax* 82. Hdn. ii. 464.

21 f. lists *πανδημεί*, *ἀτρεμεί*, and *ἡρεμεί* together. Dionysos and Xanthias now huddle against the skene as if hiding behind something.

316 f. On *Iakchos* cf. p. 61.

319 *ἐνταῦθά που*: ‘somewhere around’, ‘somewhere near’, as in *Av.* 1184. *παίζουσιν*: cf. p. 58. *ἔφραζε*: sc. *Herakles*, as in 182.

320 *δι’ ἀγορᾶς*: so V E, following *Apollodoros of Tarsus* (*ap. Σ^{VE}*); *Aristarchos* (*ap. Σ*) interpreted the sequence of letters *διαγορας* as the proper name *Διαγόρας*, and R cett. give us that. ‘*Diagoras*’ is a common enough name in the Aegean generally, but very rare at Athens. Someone of that name was a lyric poet (*PMG* 738), and the *Diagoras* to whom *Hermippos* fr. 43 refers as *ὁ Τερθρεύς*—an imaginary demotic which suggests ‘quibbler’—could be the same person. So could *Diagoras of Melos*, to whom *Nu.* 830 *Σωκράτης ὁ Μήλιος* alludes, in a context concerning *Socrates’* alleged rejection of belief in *Zeus*. That *Diagoras* expressed contemptuous hostility towards the *Eleusinian Mysteries*, and in consequences was outlawed, a price being put on his head (*Av.* 1072–4, *Krateros FGrHist* 342 F16, *Melanthios* *ibid.* 326 F3; cf. F. Jacoby, *APAW* 1959. 3). In [*Lys.*] vi. 17, datable to 399, he is treated as the very model of impiety: *τοσοῦτο δ’ οὗτος Διαγόρου τοῦ Μηλίου ἀσεβέστερος κτλ.*, and there can be no doubt that utterance of the name ‘*Diagoras*’ on the comic stage in 405 would make the audience think not of lyric poetry but of ‘atheism’ and outrageous blasphemy. It seems a poor joke and theatrically pointless to say, just at the moment when we are expecting to see and hear the chorus of initiates, that this chorus is singing the song which is or was sung by someone who rejected and ridiculed initiation. It makes much better sense to believe, on the strength of this passage, that the procession to *Eleusis* went through the *Agora*, whether or not that was the shortest route from the *Iakcheion* (and it probably was not; cf. *Paus.* i. 2. 4 and *Judeich* 364).

(ii) 323/4–53. *Strophe and Antistrophe, with Dialogue*

On the costume, composition and possible (but unlikely) divisions of the chorus cf. pp. 64–9, and on the relation between the function of a comic chorus and the portrayal of *Eleusinian ritual*, pp. 58–61. No good purpose is served by holding the chorus back out of sight and making us strain to catch the words (cf. p. 57 n. 5); 338, like 313 f., refers to smell, but that is hardly enough to tell us that the chorus could still not be seen.

Metrical analysis of the opening verse is inseparable from problems of text and interpretation. The MSS give us:

- (1) 323/4 (*Ἰακχ’*) ◡ — ◡ ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — —
 ~ 340/1 (*ἔγειρε*) ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — —

Reconciliation of the first two differences is easily achieved by emendation. We need Meineke's $\xi\gamma\epsilon\iota\rho' \acute{\omega}$ for $\xi\gamma\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon$ in 340/1, because in comedy $\phi\lambda$ - is unparalleled, whereas $\theta\lambda$ -, $\phi\lambda$ -, $\chi\lambda$ - occur 22 times, including 4 in lyrics; and for an imperative reinforced by $\acute{\omega}$ (or $\acute{\omega}$? Cf. LSJ s.v. $\acute{\omega}$ 4 and Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 22) cf. A. *Ch.* 942 ἐπολολύξατ' ὦ δεσποσύνων δόμων ἀναφυγᾶ κακῶν, E. *Tro.* 335 βόασον ὑμέναιον ὦ . . . νύμφαν, *Cy.* 52 ὕπαγ' ὦ ὕπαγ' ὦ κεράστα. Our second need is to get rid of one syllable in the middle of 323/4. Triklinios did this by deleting $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$; it is absent from L Vv5, and his metrical analysis in Vv5 (omitted in L) presupposes its absence. This is not impossible; it gives us respension of anacreontic *πολυτιμήτοις ἔδραις ἔν*- to *210 φλογέας λαμπάδας ἔν χερ-*, which is not common but is exemplified later in this song (and in E. *Ba.* 530 ~ 549; West 124). *ναίειν* with a locative dative occurs (e.g. E. *Md.* 397 *μυχοῖς ναίουσα*) but is unusual; an accusative or $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ with the dative is expected. On these grounds Reisig's *πολυτίμητ' ἔν* is slightly preferable; the analogy of E. *Tro.* 1221 *σύ τ' ὦ ποτ' οὔσα καλλίνικε μυρίων μῆτερ τροπαίων* (cf. KG i. 50) suggests translation as 'you who dwell greatly honoured in your sanctuary here'. *ἔδραις* really needs an epithet, but can perhaps be given one; see below. Hermann's *πολυτίμοις ἔν*, popular with editors, introduces a post-classical word. So far 323/4 seems to be

$$\begin{array}{r} \cup - - \cup \cup - - \cup \cup - - \cup \cup - - \quad ba \ 3io \\ \text{or } \cup - - \cup \cup - - - \cup - - \quad ba \ \text{anacr } io \end{array}$$

which fits the predominantly ionic rhythm of the song very well. For *ba* at the start of an ionic sequence cf. E. *Pho.* 1539 f. *ba 4io* | (twice); West 125. It echoes the rhythm of the cry to *Iakchos* appropriately. If the text of 340/1 is sound, either the respension is highly irregular (cf. *V.* 276a || $\cup - - - \cup - -$ | ~ 283b | $\cup \cup - \cup \cup - -$ |) and a variety of comparable irregularities which cannot be emended away (Zimmermann iii. 110) or a final $\cup - -$, which could be the desired epithet of *ἔδραις*, has been lost from 323/4. This somewhat alters the analysis:

$$\cup - \quad - \cup \cup - \quad - \cup \cup - \quad - \cup \cup - \quad - \cup \cup - \quad - \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle \cup - - \rangle \\ \cup - - \end{array} \right\} \cup - \ 3ch \ tr$$

a cross (cf. (2)) between hipponactean ($\circ \circ \ ch \ ba$) and 'greater asclepiad' ($\circ \circ \ 3ch \times \cup$) and eligible for the label—which reflects honourable defeat—'aeolo-ionic' (*LM* 126–30), not out of place at the beginning of a predominantly ionic song. For the sequence *ch tr* cf. *V.* 282–3a *ch cr ch 3tr* | (~ 275a–c | *DD*–*2tr* ||) and *S. Phil.* 1179 f. | $\cup - \cup \cup - -$ | *ch tr* | 4*ch cr* | 2*ch*. |. The sense of 340/1, however, creates difficulties. Is the imperative addressed to the god, as in (e.g.) 326, 399, or is the chorus using the singular imperative in addressing itself, as in 377, *Lys.* 302, *Th.* 953, and often elsewhere (cf. Kaimio 121, 127–37)? If the former, then $\eta\kappa\epsilon\iota$ (R V) must be rejected in favour of $\eta\kappa\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (cett.), and with *τινάσσων* we must understand *αὔτας*, as is perfectly possible; cf. 1398 (KG ii. 561–3). If

- (7) 330/1 (στέ- . . .) υ υ - υ - υ - - υ υ - - | *anacr io*
 ~ 347/8 (χρο- . . .)
- (8) 332 (ποδί- . . .) υ υ - υ υ - - | *io_λ io*
 ~ 349 (ιε- . . .)

For initial *io_λ* cf. (9), *V.* 273 ~ 281*a* and *E. Ba.* 66, 68.

- (9) 333 (φιλο- . . .) υ υ - υ υ - - | *io_λ io*
 ~ 350 (σύ- . . .)
- (10) 334/5 (χαρί- . . .) υ υ - | - υ υ - - υ υ - - |
 υ υ - | *3io io_λ*
 ~ 351/2 (προ- . . .)

For *io_λ* at the end cf. *V.* 280 ~ 289, 300 ~ 313.

- (11) 336 (δσί- . . .) υ υ - υ - υ - - || *2io*
 ~ 353 (χορο- . . .)

The other passages of Aristophanes in which ionic rhythm predominates are *Th.* 101–30 (parody of Agathon, invoking a series of deities) and *V.* 291–316 (lyric dialogue between the old men and the boys). Since it also permeates *Bacchae*, it may have had especially strong associations with Dionysiac worship, and it appears also in *E. Cy.* 495–518, a celebration of the alcoholic and sexual jollity of the komos. In the Hymn of Philodamos, however (*CA* 165–71) it is found only in the first verse of the refrain, and there is nothing particularly Dionysiac about *A. Pe.* 65–125, *Se.* 720–33, *Su.* 1018–62, and *E. Su.* 42–70. Since the old men in *Wasps* are described (219 f.) as *μινυρίζοντες μέλη ἀρχαιομελισιδωνοφρυνιχήρατα*, B. Zimmermann, *Prometheus* 13 (1987) 128, suggests that the most important association of ionics was with archaic tragedy.

327 δσίους: there are technical usages in which *δσιος*, 'permitted by the gods', is contrasted with *ιερός*, 'reserved for the gods', but in general it is more positive than that: 'righteous', 'pious'. **θιασώτας:** cf. 156 n.

328 τινάσσω: by tossing the head; cf. *E. Ba.* 185 *ποιὶ δεῖ . . . κράτα σείσαι . . .*

329 κρατί: the only occurrence of this highly poetic word for 'head' in Aristophanes; there is no nominative *κράς* in Attic.

330/1 μῦρτων: officiating priests at the Mysteries wore crowns of myrtle (*Istros, FG^rHist* 334 F29). The Dionysiac crown was of ivy (*E. Ba.* 80), as many vase-paintings show. **ἐγκατακρούων:** 'stamping your feet (in the dance)'; cf. 374*a* and *E. El.* 180 οὐδ' ἰστάσα χορούς . . . εἰλικτὸν κρούσω πόδ' ἐμόν. The point of *ἐγ-* is possibly 'among us'; cf. *Th.* 973–5 "Ἦραν . . . ἧ πᾶσι τοῖς χοροῖσιν ἐμπαίξει. That has no point, however, in 374*a*.

332 ἀκόλαστον: cf. p. 59.

333 φιλοπαίγμονα: an epithet of dancing and dancers in *Od.* xxiii. 134 and *Hes. fr.* 123. 3; in the two passages of Plato where it occurs (*Cra.* 406 c, *R.*

- 452 E) it is transmitted as *φιλοπαΐσμων* (cf. Poll. v. 161). *τιμήν*: the ‘honouring’ of the god by worship; cf. 349 and E. *Hp.* 107 *τιμαΐσιν . . . δαιμόνων χρῆσθαι*, ‘pay gods the honour due to them’.
- 334/5 Χαρίτων . . . μέρος**: on *χάρις* cf. p. 20. The expression here is like *Ec.* 582 *τὸ ταχύνειν χαρίτων μετέχει πλείστον παρὰ τοῖσι θεαταῖς*, ‘what the audience likes most is quick action on stage’. But since the attributes which have *χάρις* were personified as a divine female group, *Χάριτες* (like the Muses and the *᾽Ωραι*), the analogy of Bakchylides 3. 71 *ἰοπλό]κων τε μέρο[ς ἔχον]τα Μουσάν*, combined with the ritual context here, strongly suggests that we should print *Χαρίτων* (Dn). The invocation of Dionysos by the women of Elis (*PMG* 871) asks him to come *σὺν Χαρίτεσσι*.
- 336 ὀσίοις μύσταις**: the dative is intelligible with *ιέραν* in the light of S. *Aj.* 440 *ἄτιμος Ἄργείοισι* (cf. KG i. 421 f., Schwyzler ii. 151 f.), and Pl. *Lg.* 955 E ‘Earth and the hearth are *ιέρὰ πᾶσι πάντων θεῶν*’, i.e. ‘. . . sacred to gods everywhere, in the eyes of all men’, though that is not as close a parallel as one might wish. Alternatively, the dative might be determined by *ἐγ-* in *ἐγκατακρούων* or even by the entreaty *ἔλθέ* in 326; for hyperbaton on an even greater scale cf. 708 *οὐ πολὺν . . . 714 χρόνον*.
- 337 Δήμητρος κόρη**: the exclamation is appropriate, since Kore (Persephone) was intimately associated with Demeter at Eleusis.
- 338 f.** Piglets were the customary sacrificial animals at the Eleusinian Mysteries (cf. *Ach.* 764 *χοίρους μυστικᾶς*; Mylonas 249 f.), and whereas Dionysos commented on the smell of the ritual torches, Xanthias plays the earthy role of the slave (cf. Karion and his master in *Pl.* 190–2, where Karion’s mind runs exclusively on food) in smelling roast pork. For the genitive cf. *Pax* 180 *πόθεν βροτοῦ με προσέβαλ’*, ‘Whence did (the sound) of a mortal come to my ears?’ It is not obvious why Xanthias should ‘keep still’ (cf. *Av.* 1572 *ἔξεις ἀτρέμας*) on the chance (*ἦν*; cf. 175 n.) that he may ‘get a bit of sausage too’; but popular morality assumes, when the assumption is useful, that patience is rewarded, and we try to control children by saying, ‘Now, you be good’ (= ‘unobtrusive’) ‘and . . .’. But there is a double meaning here, for *χοῖρος* is a slang word for the female genitals, as is clear from *Ach.* 774, 782, 791 f.; cf. Σ^{KU} *Ra.* 516b and *AC* 63–5. As we see, some of the initiates are women and girls (409–12b, 445), and it is striking that a very coarse joke (bowdlerized by Radermacher, *RhM* 89 (1940) 237) should intervene between two stanzas of elevated tone. We might compare *Ach.* 994–9, *Pax* 873–908, *Lys.* 1148, 1157–75, in all of which an issue which is intrinsically very serious is translated into uninhibited sexual terms, but at least in the first two of those passages the switch of tone is nothing like so abrupt. The sexual reference of *χοιρείων κρεῶν* is reinforced by *χορδῆς*, ‘sausage’ (R. Seager, *CQ NS* 31 (1981) 250). This is not attested in the sense ‘penis’, but a sausage is so like a penis (as recognized in a simile *ὡσπερ ἀλλάντα*—another word for ‘sausage’—in Hipponax 84. 17) that it is hard to believe

that the audience would not see a double meaning in 339, whether it implies that Xanthias will be bugged (an insult, implying that he would welcome it) or that he will lay hands on a boy's penis (not an insult; cf. *Av.* 142 and Dover (1978) 94–7).

340/1 On the serious problems here see pp. 233–5.

343 φωσφόρος ἀστήρ: 'star' can be used figuratively in praise, e.g. *E. Hp.* 1122 *φανερώτατον ἀστέρ' Ἀθάνας* (Hippolytos), but here it has a special association with Iakchos; in *S. Ant.* 1146 f., where he is identified with Dionysos, he is invoked as *πῦρ πνεόντων χοράγ' ἀστρων*, as if he were the god who rules the night.

344 φέγγεται: 'is lit'. **δέ:** for the position of *δέ* after the second mobile word cf. *Ach.* 80 *ἔτει τετάρτῳ δ'*, *GP* 188, *GWO* 59 f. Such postponement is less common in Aristophanes than in tragedy, and far less common than in fourth-century comedy.

345 πάλλεται: 'is shaken', not by the tremor of old age but by vigorous dancing. Cf. *E. Ba.* 188–90, where Kadmos and Teiresias are inspired to Bacchic dancing: *ἐπιλέλησμεθ' ἠδέως γέροντες ὄντες* and *κἀγὼ γὰρ ἠβῶ κτλ.*

314 ἀποσειόνται: 'shake off'; cf. *Lys.* 670 f., where the old men exhort one another *νῦν δεῖ, νῦν ἀνηβῆσαι . . . ἀποσεισασθαι τὸ γῆρας τόδε.*

347/8: 'the tardy *ἐνιαυτοί* of old *ἔτη*' implies a distinction between *ἐνιαυτός* and *ἔτος*, such as we find in *Od.* i. 16 *ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ἔτος ἦλθε περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν, / τῷ οἱ κτλ.* There is a tendency (Dn) for 'year' to be *ἔτος* in expressions of the type 'n years', 'in the *n*th year', 'the year in which . . .', but *ἐνιαυτός* when it is viewed as a completed succession of seasons. A. Wilhelm, *SAWW* 142.4 (1900) assembles an interesting collection of examples, including *IG* ii² 2492. 2–4 (s. IV^a m.) *τετταράκοντα ἔτη, ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα δυοῖν δραχμῶν ἕκαστον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν*, and *Ἀθ. π.* 42. 4 f. *τὸν μὲν πρῶτον ἐνιαυτὸν οὕτω διάγουσι . . . φρουροῦσι δὲ τὰ δύο ἔτη κτλ.* *ἐνιαυτός* can also mean 'anniversary', e.g. *DGE* 323C. 48 (Delphi, s. IV/III^a) and 'cycle' (of two or more years), e.g. *D.S.* xii. 36. 2 *Μέτωνος ἐνιαυτός* (of a 19-year cycle of intercalations).

349 ὑπό: 'through' in its causal sense, as in 816, 940. **τιμῆς:** cf. 333 n.

350 φέγγων: so Bothe; *φλέγων* codd., which does not respond. LSJ cites the active *φέγγειν* only from Hesychios; cf., however, *τὰ ἠδοντα* (~ *ἠδεσθαι*) in Antiphon Soph. B44 col. 4. 17 f., unique in Attic.

351/2 ἐπ' ἀνθηρόν: cf. 373, 441, 449. Ancient scholars (Σ^{RVE}) interpreted the sequence of letters as *ἐξαγε πάνθηρον*, the simple accusative indicating the destination (cf. *Nu.* 299 f., *KG* i. 311 f., *Schwyz* ii. 67 f.). One would not expect the Athenians of Aristophanes' time to be so fond of wildlife as to welcome a paradise swarming with *θήρες*, but it is interesting that someone thought they might have been; was hunting assumed?

353 μάκαρ: 'blessed', in the main an epithet of deities (e.g. *Nu.* 598, of

Artemis, ἢ τ' Ἐφέσου μάκαιρα πάγχρυσον ἔχεις οἶκον), but also used in congratulating mortals, e.g. *Nu.* 1206.

(iii) 354–71. *Anapaests*

In Aristophanes' earlier plays the parabasis begins (cf. Sifakis 33–5, 60–8) with a short song by the chorus and proceeds to a recitation by the chorus-leader, called ἀνάπαιστοι (*Ach.* 627, *Eq.* 504, *Pax* 735, *Au.* 684), although the anapaestic tetrameter is not invariably the metre used, for the corresponding passage in the parabasis of *Clouds* (518–62) is in eupolideans. The parabasis of *Frogs* contains no such passage; it appears here instead, as part of the parodos.

Three motifs are interwoven throughout: the celebration of a ritual, which justifies the call for silence (354) and the exclusion of those who should not be present (355 f., 369 f.); the rejection of those who do not appreciate comedy (357 f.); and vilification of those guilty of political misconduct or offensive behaviour (359–68). Many ingredients in this blend are ambivalent, open to interpretation as referring either to the procession of initiates which is being enacted or to the comic chorus which is enacting it. 354 τοῖς ἡμετέροισι χοροῖσιν and 355 τοιῶνδε λόγων are completely ambivalent. Then 356 ὄργια . . . εἶδεν suggests initiation, but *Μουσῶν* and ἐχόρευσεν tilt the line in the direction of comedy. 357 Κρατίνου . . . γλώττης keeps us in the realm of the theatre, and ἐτελέσθη brings us back to mysteries, but *Βακχεία* suits both, for there were Dionysiac mysteries and Dionysos is also the god of the theatre. This dual role of the god underlies ταῖς πατρίοις τελεταῖς ταῖς τοῦ Διονύσου in 368. In the last sentence we are plainly reminded that the Chorus represents initiates; yet αἰ τῆδε πρέπουσιν ἑορτῇ advertizes the performance as appropriate to the festival in which we are participating.

354 εὐφημεῖν χρῆ: a cry at the outset of a ritual utterance or performance; εὐφημεῖν χρῆ (cf. *Eq.* 1316), εὐφημεῖτε (e.g. 1273, *Ach.* 237, *Pax* 434), and εὐφημία ὅστω (*Au.* 959) are adaptations to different metrical contexts.

355 τοιῶνδε λόγων: 'such utterances as this'; given the ambivalence of the Chorus's words so far, we wonder what is coming. ἢ γνώμην μὴ καθαρεύει: a proclamation at the start of the initiation procedures debarred murderers and non-Greeks from participation (*Isoc.* iv. 157; *Graf* 42 n. 11), and to have 'clean hands', i.e. not polluted by the shedding of blood, was a normal requirement for ritual of all kinds. Initiation no doubt required other kinds of 'purity' in addition (cf. *R. Parker* 283–5). Here, however, only purity of γνώμη is demanded, entailing patriotism, co-operation, and appreciation of the important role of comedy in the life of the community (not, as *LSJ*, a 'clear conscience'). γνώμην (*M* Vb3) is grammatically preferable (cf. *E. Ba.* 74 βιοτὰν ἀγιστεύει), but γνώμη (*R* V al.) cannot be rejected as wrong (cf. *Th.* ii. 59. 2 τῆ γνώμη ἀποροί; in *Xen. Cyr.* iv. 1. 8 the

MSS are divided between *διέφθαρτο τὰς γνώμας* and *διεφθάρθαι ἐδόκει ταῖς γνώμαις*). The indicative *καθαρεύει* is given by U Vb₃ and possibly Mⁱ: -η R^{ac} E: -οι V M^s cett. If 354 f. were a two-line citation from a lost play, we would all opt for -οι, because the optative with a relative is idiomatic when there any 'ought' or 'must' in the apodosis (*MT* 212 f.), but the continuation in indicatives makes -οι very unlikely here.

356 γενναίων: cf. 97 n.

357 Κρατίνου: the most important comic dramatist of the generation before Aristophanes; in *Eq.* 526–36 Aristophanes writes him off as a once great man who is now a senile drunkard, but in the following year his *Pytine* defeated *Clouds*. **ταυροφάγου:** the application of this epithet assimilates Kratinos to Dionysos himself, called *ταυροφάγος* in S. fr. 668 (from *Tyros*; context unknown); on Dionysos in the form of a bull, the killing and eating of animals in Bacchic tradition, and the relation between the two, see Dodds, pp. xvii–xx, 79, 197 f. *ταυροφάγος* also characterizes Kratinos as 'larger than life', a man of Herculean appetites (cf. 506, 553 f.).

358 βωμολόχοις: *βωμολοχία* is 'clowning', 'buffoonery', 'playing the fool'; Arist. *EN* 1108^a24 f. treats it as the habit of turning everything into a joke, no matter how inappropriate the occasion (which accords well with *μη ἴν καιρῶ*), but it is also used to condemn as foolish conduct or words which are not necessarily intended to amuse (e.g. 1085, 1501, *Eq.* 1358). Aristophanes would be ready to attribute *βωμολοχία* to his rivals but not to admit to it himself. **ἔπεσιν:** in Hdt. ii. 30. 1, 'their name is "Asmakh"', and this *ἔπος* means "those who stand . . .", *ἔπος* refers to an individual word, and in *Nu.* 638 the context shows that *ἐπῶν* are '(individual) words'. But as in English expressions such as 'have a word with . . .' and 'his words impressed me' (contrast the German distinction between *Worte* and *Wörter*), *ἔπος* can also refer to anything which is uttered, even a long speech. So *Eq.* 39 *ἦν τοῖς ἔπεσι χαίρωσι καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν* distinguishes what is said or sung in a play from what is done. In *Nu.* 544 '(sc. this comedy) is confident in herself and τοῖς ἔπεσιν', the contrast is with slapstick and horseplay; cf. *Pax* 750 *ἔπεσιν μεγάλοις καὶ διανοίαις* ('ideas') καὶ σκώμμασιν οὐκ ἀγοραίοις ('jokes that are not vulgar'). A single verse can of course be called *ἔπος* (Hdt. iv. 29 refers thus to *Od.* iv. 85), but there is no evidence in comedy for *ἔπη* in the specialized denotation 'epic poetry' which appears later. **τοῦτο ποιούσιν:** *ποιεῖν* and *δρᾶν* are used, with *τοῦτο* (or *αὐτό*, 584) as object, as an alternative to repeating a verb; but elsewhere the subject is personal, whereas here what the *ἔπη* 'do' is *being βωμολόχα*. Blaydes's *ποούντων* deserves serious consideration.

359 στάσιν: here abstract, 'faction'; cf. 760 (the senses in 1281 and 1401 are quite different), *Th.* 788 *στάσιν ἀργαλέαν*. **εὐκόλος:** cf. 82 n. **πολίταις:** 'his/our fellow-citizens'; usually with the article, but cf. *Lys.* 341–3 *ἄς . . . ἰδιόμι . . . ῥυσαμένας Ἑλλάδα καὶ πολίτας*. R has *πολι'* and V A M

πολίτης, which is not impossible; cf. *Ach.* 595 ἀλλὰ τίς γὰρ εἶ; ||| ὅστις; πολίτης χρηστὸς κτλ.

- 360 ἀνεγείρει καὶ ῥιπίζει:** ‘awakens and fans’ (sc. faction; μῆ . . . πολίταις in 359 has a somewhat parenthetical character). **κερδῶν:** ‘gain’, ‘profit’; commonly, but not necessarily, material gain. The accusation that other people are seeking ‘personal gain’ is commonplace in Greek politics. Thuc. ii. 65. 7 regards the successors of Perikles as having abandoned his policies κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας φιλοτιμίας (‘ambitions’, ‘rivalries’) καὶ ἴδια κέρδη.
- 361 χειμαζομένης:** lit., ‘storm-tossed’, but figuratively ‘distressed’, ‘suffering’, as in *S. Phil.* 1460. **ἄρχων:** ‘when holding office’ (whether elected or appointed by lot). **καταδωροδοκεῖται:** καταδωροδοκεῖν (e.g. *Eq.* 66) or -κείσθαι (Kratinos fr. 135) is ‘take bribes’; in *V.* 1036 καταδωροδοκῆσαι has no explicit object, but many verbs in κατα- take a genitive (e.g. 366 κατατιλᾶ), and τῆς πόλεως χειμαζομένης is probably not a genitive absolute.
- 362 προδίδωσιν:** προδιδόναι, ‘betray’, does not always imply deliberate treachery (and the same is true of προδοσία; cf. *HCT* iv. 375 f.) but may cover failure through negligence or faint-heartedness.
- 362 τὰπόρρητ’ . . . 364:** naturally the Athenians forbade the export of commodities to states (including Epidaurus) with which they were at war (cf. *Eq.* 278 ἐξάγων γε τὰπόρρητα). The island of Aigina, in Athenian occupation since 431 (Th. ii. 27. 1), was halfway between Athens and Epidaurus, well placed for illicit traffic. In 413 (Th. vii. 28. 4) the Athenians replaced the tribute from their subject-allies with a 5% tax on all seaborne traffic passing through ports under their control. An εἰκοστολόγος is an official responsible for the collection of the tax (cf. *D.* xxiii. 177 δεκατηλόγος, ‘collector of 10% tax’). It may be that Thorykion held that office on Aigina, though comparison with 540 ἀνδρός . . . φύσει Θηραμένους shows that Θωρυκίων ὦν could mean ‘being the same sort of person as Thorykion’. We do not know what allegations against Thorykion, if any, were true. The commodities listed in 364 are all vital for warships: ‘leather pads’ for rowlocks (cf. *Ach.* 97), flax for ropes (cf. [*Xen.*] *Ath.* 2. 11) and pitch for caulking timbers (cf. *Ach.* 190).
- 365** This is something of which Alkibiades could reasonably have been suspected in the winter of 412/11, when he was with the Peloponnesian forces in Ionia and they were being subsidized by the Persian satraps in Asia Minor (Thuc. viii. 6), but who was doing it in 405? Presumably suspicion fell on some of those who had fled into exile after the end of the oligarchic revolution in 411.
- 366** The reference is to the dithyrambic poet Kinesias (cf. 153 n.), κυκλιο-διδάσκαλος in *Av.* 1403, who seems on some occasion to have been seized with diarrhoea and left his mark conspicuously; in *Ec.* 329 f. a neighbour comments on the colour of the woman’s dress that Blepyros is wearing by

asking, 'Did Kinesias shit on you?' **Ἐκαταίων:** all MSS have this. In Dem. liv. 39 *ἐκαταία* are plainly offerings of food made to Hekate (cf. *Pl.* 594 c. Σ), but in *V.* 804 *ἐκαταίων* (or *-κά-*) is a statue or shrine of Hekate outside the house; cf. Hsch. ε 1258 ('... before the doors; or, some say, at road junctions'), and many such have survived (T. Kraus, *Hekate* (Heidelberg, 1966) 97–128). Σ^{Ald.} *V.* 804 records a variant *ἐκατεῖον* there. **ὑπάδων:** this must mean singing while the chorus danced, Kinesias being a composer-performer (Radermacher 192 rules this out, ignoring the fact that this line binds *Av.* 1403 and *Ec.* 329 f. together). Cf. 874 *ὑπάσατε*, where the Chorus is told to sing during the preparations for sacrifice, and Kallim. *H.* 4. 304–6 οἱ μὲν ὑπαεῖδουσι νόμον . . . αἱ δὲ ποδὶ πλήσσουσι . . . οὔδας, *H.* 3. 242 f. *σύριγγες ὑπήεσαν* to accompany a dance *κύκλω*.

- 367:** 'nibbles at the pay of the poets' must refer to a proposal that the poets competing at the dramatic festivals should be paid less. Σ^v says that the reference is to Archinos 'and perhaps Agyrrhios' (mentioned in *Ec.* 102), but we know no more about the proposal or the amounts involved. *ρήτωρ* is closer to 'politician' than to 'orator', let alone 'rhetorician'; οἱ *ρήτορες* are those who are active as speakers in the assembly, and in *Th.* 292, where a pseudo-assembly of women at the Thesmophoria is in prospect, the term means 'those (sc. whoever they may be) who are going to speak'. *εἶτα* indignantly (cf. 205 n.) contrasts politicians with poets, who really matter.
- 368** An important indication that eminent people did not always take comic ridicule in good part; the words chosen here remind them that it is sanctioned by religious tradition.
- 369** 'I proclaim and forbid and . . . forbid "Stand aside . . ."' sounds a self-contradictory utterance, and it is tempting to emend *ἀπαυδῶ* to *ἐπαυδῶ* (Richards; *ἐπι-* in its common sense 'in addition'). Yet when the passage has begun (354) *εὐφήμειν χρῆ κάξιστασθαι . . . ὅστις κτλ.*, has gone through a long series of *ἦ-*clauses, and is then rounded off with *τούτοις αὐδῶ . . . ἐξίστασθαι*, no one is likely to be puzzled by *ἀπαυδῶ*; *ἐξίστασθαι* has so strong a negative character; moreover, if we make a slight pause after *αὐδῶ* and again after the second *ἀπαυδῶ*, we can give *καὺθις . . . ἀπαυδῶ* a parenthetical character (cf. 360 n.) **τὸ τρίτον:** cf. 184 n. **μάλ'** may reinforce *αὺθις* rather than *ἀπαυδῶ*; cf. *Nu.* 870, *Pax* 5, *Av.* 1415 *ἰδοὺ μάλ' αὺθις*, *Pl.* 935 *οἴμοι μάλ' αὺθις*.
- 370** **μύσαισι:** nouns (especially in *-της*) are often used as if they were adjectives, e.g. *Ach.* 162 *ὁ θρανίτης λεώς*, Xen. *Cyr.* vii. 5. 62 *ὑβρισταὶ ἵπποι* (KG i. 271–3, Schwyzer ii. 176).
- 371** **παννυχίδας:** in 446/7 it is the women who *παννυχιζουσιν*, and all-night festivals seem to be particularly associated with women (Kritias B1. 4–6 *ἔστ' ἄν . . . παννυχίδας θ' ἱερὰς θήλεις χοροὶ ἀμφιέπωσιν*), but there is no suggestion of sexual discrimination here or in the *νυκτερός τελετή* of 343. Cf. p. 68.

(iv) 372–413. *Exhortations and Invocations*

(a) 372–82. Mutual Exhortation

Lines 372–6 and 377–82 are in responsion. The passage is made up entirely of long syllables, except for *Θωρυκίων* in 382, and resembles in that respect invocations (cf. West 55) ascribed to Terpander (*PMG* 698) or not to any individual poet (*PMG* 941, 1027*c*). In so far as our passage can be divided into six verses, of which (4) is an anapaestic metron, (6) an anapaestic dimeter, and (1), (2), and (5) paroemiacs, the label ‘anapaestic’ seems appropriate, but (3) gives trouble. So far as the manuscript tradition goes, there are a number of places in tragedy where we are presented, in an anapaestic context, with a ‘pentamakron’ (or ‘pentasyllabic verse’, *MA* iii. 106) or ‘hexamakron’ (*LM* 54 f., 60 f.; they are often normalized by emendation). The hexamakron, or ‘anapaestic tripod’, or whatever we like to call it, is undeniable in *E. Ion* 125–7 = 141–3. The strophe and antistrophe to which that refrain is attached are not anapaestic; but here in *Frogs* we have a hexamakron embedded in anapaests. There are other passages of Aristophanes in which a verse appears to be composed of an odd number of ω —; cf. Zimmermann iii. 102.

(1) 372 (χώ- . . .)	--- -----	<i>par</i>
~ 377 (ἀλλ’ . . .)		
(2) 373 (εἰς . . .)	-----	<i>par</i>
~ 378 (τήν . . .)		
(3) 374 <i>a</i> (λει- . . .)	--- ---	<i>hexamakron</i>
~ 379 (τῆ . . .)		
(4) 374 <i>b</i> (κᾶ- . . .)	----	<i>an</i>
~ 380 (ῆ . . .)		
(5) 375 (καί . . .)	-----	<i>par</i>
~ 381 (σώ- . . .)		
(6) 376 (ῆρ- . . .)	-- ω -----	<i>2an</i>
~ 382 (κᾶν . . .)		

372 πᾶς: the singular imperative with or without *πᾶς* is an exhortation by the Chorus to itself; cf. *Av.* 1191 *ἀλλὰ φύλαττε πᾶς ἀέρα*, 1196 *ἄθρει δὲ πᾶς κύκλω σκοπῶν*, and *Kaimio* 127–31. **ἀνδρείως:** the connection of *ἀνδρείως* with *ἀνῆρ* was recognized, as the contrast between *γυναικεία* and *ἀνδρεία* in *Th.* 151–4 shows, and there is a humorous point in the application of *ἀνδρειοσύνη* in *Lys.* 549, 1108, *Ec.* 519. The word is not decisive evidence for an all-male chorus here, but cf. 598*a* and p. 68.

373 κόλπους: cf. *Av.* 1093 *λειμώνων . . . ἐν κόλποις ναίω*.

374*a* ἐγκρούων: cf. 330/1 n.

374*b*–5 The elements of *σκώπτειν* (cf. 58 n.) and *χλευάζειν* (‘mock’, ‘jeer’; cf. *Men. Epitir.* 431 f. *ἐμαυτήν . . . λέληθα χλευάζουσ’*, ‘I’ve made a complete

fool of myself, and didn't realize it') are suppressed, except for the reference to Thorykion in 382, until 416, where they are given full rein.

376 ἡρίστηται: cf. p. 60 and Horn 132.

377 ἔμβα: cf. *Ec.* 478 ἔμβα χῶρει (the first words of the chorus as it returns from the assembly), *E. El.* 112 f. (= 127 f.) ὦ ἔμβα ἔμβα κατακλαίουσα. **χῶπως ἀρείς:** cf. *E. Hcll.* 321 f. πολλῶ σ' ἐπαίνω . . . ὑψηλὸν ἀρῶ. The grammar (cf. 7 n.) requires ἀρείς (Scaliger; *ā-*), not αἶρεις, αἶρης, or αἶροις (αἰρήσεις V).

378 Σώτειραν: Σ^{RVE}, without any hint of an alternative opinion, identifies this deity as Athena, and Athena Soteira is often coupled with Zeus Soter in Athenian documents of the early Hellenistic period (e.g. *IG* ii² 689. 9 f., *SEG* xvi. 63. 14 f.; cf. Graf 47 n. 37). J. A. Haldane, *CQNS* 14 (1964) 207–9, points out that the martial rhythm of the whole passage (cf. West 53 f.), coupled with γενναίως and ἀνδρείως and the topical allusion in 382, suits an appeal to Athena at a time when the σωτηρία of Athens is a pressing issue. On the other hand, there was a sanctuary of Kore Soteira in the Attic deme Korydallos (*Ammon. Diff.* 279), and the same title is given to Kore in Arkadia (*Paus.* viii. 31. 1), at a sanctuary in Lakonia (*ibid.* iii. 13. 2) and on the coins of Kyzikos (*HN* 572–5). If it is imperative that Kore should be mentioned in the parodos, it can only be here; but Aristophanes is under no compulsion to parade all the Eleusinian deities, and he certainly leaves out Triptolemos, who was of the highest importance (*M. P. Nilsson, ARW* 32 (1935) 84–6). *Arist. Rhet.* 1419^a3 f. refers to a secret τελετή τῶν τῆς σωτείρας ἱερῶν in Perikles' time, but since the point of the anecdote is that neither Perikles nor the seer Lampon had been initiated into those rites the reference is unlikely to be to Eleusis. Our Soteira can hardly be Demeter, because she is invoked in 385a–393, but conceivably Demeter 'the queen who brings the grain' and 'Demeter the Saviour' could be treated as different beings for ritual purposes; cf. p. 41. **γενναίως:** cf. 97 n.

381 σώσειν: V's σώσει (σῶζειν cett.) points to σώσειν (Cobet), because ἐς τὰς ὥρας is found in prayers, promises, and wishes for the future (*Nu.* 562 εἰς τὰς ὥρας τὰς ἐτέρας δοκήσετε, *Th.* 950–2 ἐκ τῶν ὥρῶν εἰς τὰς ὥρας ξυνεπευχομένας τοιαῦτα μέλειν κτλ., *Theocr.* 15. 74 κῆς ὥρας κῆπειτα . . . ἐν καλῶ εἴης).

382 Θωρυκίων: cf. 363 n.

(b) **383 f.** Exhortation to invoke Demeter

Like the 'parabolic' address 354–71, this is in anapaestic tetrameters.

384 ζαθέοις: a lyric synonym of ἱερός. Perhaps here ζαθέαις (R M₁ P20^a), for in tragedy it may be of two terminations or three.

(c) **385*a*–94.** Invocation of Demeter

385*a*–8 respond to 389–93.

(1) 385 <i>a</i> –391 (Δή- . . .)	--υ-- --υ--	}	6 <i>ia</i>
~ 389–391 (καί . . .)	υ--υ-- υ--υ--		
	--υ-- --υ--		
(2) 387 f. (καί μ' . . .)	--υ-- υ--υ--	}	3 <i>ia ba</i>
~ 392 f. (παί- . . .)	--υ-- υ--υ--		

Fraenkel 201 f. associates the rhythm with traditional cult-songs; cf. *Ach.* 263 *φαλῆς ἐταίρε Βακχίου* (Zimmermann i. 130 n. 51) and perhaps also (as Fraenkel suggested in a seminar) *Pi. N. 1. 1 ἀμπνευμα σεμνὸν Ἄλφειοῦ*.

385*b* συμπαραστάτει: in *Ec.* 9 (Praxagora is addressing her lamp) *πλησίον παραστατεῖς* seems to denote presence as a witness, but in 15 *συμπαραστατεῖς* is a closer collaboration; yet *Th.* 369 f. *ὦσθ' ἡμῖν θεοὺς παραστατεῖν* suggests that a semantic distinction would be illusory.

387 ἀσφαλῶς: not just 'safely', but in the broadest sense, 'without anything going wrong' (e.g. in the performance).

393 ταινιοῦσθαι: *ταινίαι*, 'ribbons', were tied round the heads of victors; 'three ribbons' are a *νικητήριον* in Eubulos fr. 2. 3.

(d) **394–7.** Exhortation to invoke Iakchos

If we interpret *νυν* as the enclitic—cf. *Ach.* 494, *Pax* 467, *Th.* 663 *εἰά νυν*, and *ἄγε νυν* very often—the metrical analysis is:

(1) 394 (ἄγ' . . .)	υ--υ--	<i>ia</i>
(2) 395 (καί . . .)	--υ----υ-- υ--υ--υ--	<i>lek ith</i>
(3) 396]7 (ὦ- . . .)	--υ-- υ--υ-- --υ--υ--	<i>zia ith</i>

Coulon's arrangement is puzzling: *νυν* enclitic, but beginning a verse, without inset. For the sake of homogeneity modern editors, taking *νῦν* as temporal 'now', separate *ἄγ' εἰά* as υ--υ--|| or treat it as *extra metrum*, so that we then have *zia ith* twice. υ--υ--|| would be a bacchiac. The same problem recurs at 440–6/7, where *χωρεῖτε* is normally treated as --υ--|| (or *extra metrum*); for --υ-- as a bacchiac, cf. *E. Ion* 201, where |--- υ--| responds to 190 |υ-- υ--| (*LM* 101 f.). Bentley was unwilling to pay so high a price for homogeneity, and so am I, given the sequence *6ia zlek zia* (~ *lek ia*) in *Nu.* 1305–10*a*, and cf. *Ec.* 289 f. || *zia* | *lek* ||. *A. Ch.* 456–8 ~ 461–3 show three *ia lek* in succession. Initial temporal *νῦν* is in any case too urgent and weighty for a mere transition from one invocation to another in a stress-free situation.

396/7 συνέμπορον: 'companion on the road'; cf. p. 71.

(e) 398-413. Invocation of Iakchos

The three stanzas are in responsion; on the refrain, cf. p. 219.

- | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|---|--------|
| (1) 398 (Ἴακ-...) | υ̣ - υ̣ ω̣ | υ̣ - υ̣ ω̣ | υ̣ - υ̣ ω̣ | υ̣ - υ̣ ω̣ | | 2ia ba |
| ~ 404 (σύ...) | υ̣ - υ̣ ω̣ | υ̣ - υ̣ ω̣ | υ̣ - υ̣ ω̣ | υ̣ - υ̣ ω̣ | | |
| ~ 409 (καί...) | | | | | | |
| (2) 399 (ἦ-...) | - - υ̣ - | - - υ̣ - | υ̣ - υ̣ ω̣ | υ̣ - υ̣ ω̣ | | 2ia ba |
| ~ 405 (κάπ-...) | | | | | | |
| ~ 410 (νῦν...) | | | | | | |
| (3) 400 (πρὸς...) | - - υ̣ - | | | | | ia |
| ~ 406 (καί...) | | | | | | |
| ~ 411 (συμ-...) | | | | | | |
| (4) 401 f. (καί...) | υ̣ - υ̣ ω̣ | υ̣ - υ̣ ω̣ | υ̣ - υ̣ ω̣ | υ̣ - υ̣ ω̣ | } | 3ia ba |
| ~ 407ab (καῖξ-...) | - - υ̣ - | - - υ̣ - | υ̣ - υ̣ ω̣ | υ̣ - υ̣ ω̣ | | |
| ~ 412ab (χι-...) | - - υ̣ - | - - υ̣ - | υ̣ - υ̣ ω̣ | υ̣ - υ̣ ω̣ | | |
| (5) 403 = 408 = 413 | υ̣ - υ̣ ω̣ | υ̣ - υ̣ ω̣ | υ̣ - υ̣ ω̣ | υ̣ - υ̣ ω̣ | | 3ia |

398 μέλος . . . 399 εὐρών: Iakchos is treated here as the 'inventor' of his own song, i.e. the founder of the processional ritual. Cf. A. Kleingünther, *Protos Heuretes* (*Philologus* Supplbd. 26.1 (1933)) 26-39 on divine 'inventors'.

400 πρὸς τὴν θεόν: presumably Demeter, as the senior deity at Eleusis and the last previous deity invoked; cf. 446/7.

402 πολλὴν ὁδόν: cf. p. 71.

403 φιλοχορευτά: 'a friend to dancers' rather than 'a lover of dancing'; cf. Pl. *Smr.* 192 b φιλεραστής, 'affectionate towards his lover', though in *V.* 88 φιληλιαστής is 'fond of being a juror'. **συμπρόπεμπέ με:** not μοι, so not 'join with me in escorting . . .' but 'join in escorting me'; cf. A. *Pe.* 622 τιμὰς προπέμψω . . . θεοῖς, 'send (sc. with an escort) . . .' and 529 f. παῖδ' . . . προπέμπετ' ('escort') ἐς δόμους.

404-7b On the Chorus's dress, see pp. 62 f. **κατεσχίσω μέν:** μέν here is co-ordinated with καί in 407a, as not uncommonly (cf. *GP* 374-6). κατασχίζειν is 'split', 'tear', and the middle voice here has one of its regular meanings, 'cause/prescribe/secure the . . . -ing of - - -', e.g. διδάσκεισθαι, 'have . . . taught', κολάζεσθαι, 'see that . . . is/are punished' (Pl. *Prt.* 324 BC ὁ δὲ μετὰ λόγου ἐπιχειρῶν κολάζειν . . . ἀποτροπῆς γούν ἐνεκα κολάζει . . . κολάζονται . . . οὐχ ἦκιστα Ἀθηναῖοι κτλ.). **τόδε τό:** the MSS have τόνδε τόν, which does not respond. Neuter diminutives in -ίσκον are not common, but we find ζυγίσκα (plural) in *IG* ii² 1549. 9 (s. IV/III^a), and σαμβάλισκα (plural) is metrically guaranteed in Hipponax 32. 5 (σάμβαλον = σάνδαλον). Hence Bergk's τόδε τὸ σανδαλίσκον is unexceptionable. **τὸ ράκος:** in comedy initial ρ is treated prosodically as a doubled consonant, e.g. *Nu.* 344 αὐται δὲ ρίνας ἔχουσιν. **ᾧστ':** ᾧστε and the infinitive are quite common with διαπράττεσθαι, 'manage to . . .',

‘succeed in . . . -ing’, and *κάξηύρες ὥστε* here, ‘find a way of . . . -ing’ seems to be modelled on that.

409 παραβλέψας: ‘stealing a sideways glance’, as one would in those circumstances.

410 καὶ μάλ’ εὐπροσώπου: cf. *Th.* 644 *τοδι διέκυψε καὶ μάλ’ εὐχρων*, ‘It’s squeezed through this way—and it’s a good complexion, too!’

(v) **414a–439.** *Intervention and Mockery*

The mention of a girl’s breast is too much for Dionysos and Xanthias. One of them cries out that he is *φιλακόλουθος*, i.e. that there’s nothing he likes better than joining in such a procession (cf. 339 *συνακολούθει*), and the other chimes in ‘Me too!’ *Σ^{RV}E* 415 says that some gave *κάγωγε πρόσ* to Dionysos (so too the MSS except V Vs1); this does not necessarily imply that they gave *ἐγὼ δ’ ἀεί κτλ.* to Xanthias, because although the sigla in A M U Vb3 Θ do so, the other MSS have no siglum there, and it may have been the prevalent view, with 445 in mind, that the chorus-leader utters those words.

The metrical analysis of the intervention is:

(1) 414ab (ἐγὼ . . .)	υ – υ –	– ω υ –	υ – υ –	υ – –	3ia ba
(2) 415 (παί . . .)	– – υ –	– – υ –		– – υ –	3ia

414a πως: used sometimes in speaking of one’s own character or feelings; cf. *E. Cy.* 583 f. *ἦδομαι δέ πως / τοῖς παιδικοῖσι μάλλον ἢ τοῖς θήλεσιν*, *S. El.* 372 f. *ἦθάς εἰμί πως / τῶν τῆσδε μύθων* (Chrysothemis, shrugging off Elektra’s tirade).

415 πρόσ: adverbial, ‘too’, ‘in addition’; cf. 611 and *Pax* 18 f. *αὐτὴν ἄρ’ οἶσω . . . || νῆ τὸν Δί’ ἐς κόρακάς γε, καὶ σαυτὸν γε πρόσ.*

The Chorus now ridicules three contemporaries—Archedemos, an unnamed son of Kleisthenes, and Kallias, son of Hipponikos—and one dead man (or fictitious character?) from the deme Anaphlystos. There is a striking formal resemblance here to a passage (fr. 99) from the *Demes* of Eupolis, where we find a sequence of at least five stanzas (the metre changes at 19 f.), of the form *3ia ba*, ridiculing Peisandros, Pauson, Theogenes, Kallias, and Nikeratos.

There is abundant evidence for licensed ridicule and abuse of individuals as an integral part of various festivals and rituals (cf. H. Fluck, *Skurrile Riten in griechischen Kulte*n (Endigen, 1931) and Richardson 213–17), and *V.* 1362 f. *ἴν’ αὐτὸν τωθάσω . . . | οἷσις ποθ’ οὐτός ἐμέ πρὸ τῶν μυστηρίων* shows that it existed also in Eleusinian procedures. Hsch. γ 469 defines *γεφυρίς* as ‘a prostitute on the bridge’ (or alternatively, ‘not a woman, but a man, covered’) who made jokes against the passers-by on the occasion of the Mysteries; also (γ 470) *γεφυρισταί* as people who acted collectively in this way, against the eminent, on that occasion. In post-classical authors *γεφυρίζειν*, *γεφυρισμός*,

-ιστής are used of vulgar abuse in general. It has commonly been thought that 416–30 are an adaptation of this element of the Eleusinian procession, but the passage of Eupolis cited above suggests that purely theatrical precedent is an adequate explanation. So far as the content is concerned, it is hardly to be expected that we should discern a difference between ridiculing eminent passers-by at the procession and ridiculing eminent members of the community (and audience) from the comic stage. Cf. Mylonas 256.

The Chorus sings five short stanzas of identical form, and then there is a brief dialogue which adds three more of the same form.

(1) x - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - ∪	ia ba
(2) x - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - ∪	ia ba
(3) x - ∪ - ∪ - x - ∪ - ∪ - x - ∪ - ∪	3ia

The second longum of (2) is resolved in 435 (ἐπα-). It will be observed that the intervention of Dionysos and Xanthias prepares the way metrically for this section.

416 βούλεσθε: addressed to Dionysos and Xanthias; cf. p. 66.

417 Ἀρχέδημον: Archedemos was, according to Xen. *HG* i. 7. 2, ὁ τοῦ δῆμου τότε προεσθηκῶς in 406, and after Arginusai prosecuted the general Erasimides for embezzlement, before the issue of the recovery of casualties had come up. Whether he survived the war and the Thirty Tyrants is not known. *Lys.* xiv. 25 (a speech delivered in or after 395) refers to Archedemos himself as an embezzler, and alleges that he was the lover of Alkibiades' son.

418 According to Σ^{RVE} the second teeth which a child normally has by the age of seven were called φραστήρες. A father was expected to introduce his legitimate sons to his phratry (a unit of social and religious association, theoretically founded on kinship; cf. 798 n.). In one case of which we know, this introduction came soon after birth (*Is.* viii. 19). To say of Archedemos that 'at seven he had still not grown φράτερας'—the joke is characteristically concentrated in the last word of the stanza—is to imply that he was illegitimate and that his present citizenship was secured by corruption (cf. p. 69). Cf. *Lys.* xxx. 2 (attacking Nikomachos) 'and how old he was when he was introduced to his phratry—well, that's a long story'. The form -τε-, restored here by Dindorf (-το- MSS) was that current in Aristophanes' time: *IG* ii² 1237. 9, 15 al. (396/5).

420 From their point of view, they speak of the living as 'the corpses above' as we speak of 'the dead below'.

421 τὰ πρῶτα: cf. *E. Md.* 912 f. οἶμαι γὰρ ὑμᾶς τῆσδε γῆς Κορινθίας τὰ πρῶτ' ἔσεσθαι.

422 τὸν Κλεισθένης: who he was, we do not know; for the style of reference

cf. *Ach.* 716 ὁ Κλεινίου. He is mourning not his father (on whom cf. 48 n.) but the person denoted in 427, his alleged lover.

423 **πρωκτόν:** tearing the hair, scratching the cheeks, and beating the head were an expression of mourning. This man plucks the hair from his anus, and the joke has two layers: it is discreditable that he should focus his emotions so obsessively on sodomy, and also that a man with an adult growth of body hair should still be somebody's 'boy'.

425 **ἔγκεκυφώς:** 'bent over', in grief, but also reminiscently.

427 'Sebinos', suggestive of *βινεῖν*, 'fuck', is improbable as a Greek name (though names beginning with *Φαλ(λ)-* and *Ποσθ-* are found in the Hellenistic period), and names beginning with *Seb-* are not attested in classical times either. 'Sebinos' is probably a nickname of non-Greek origin (cf. 'Marikas'; A. C. Cassio, *CQ* NS 35 (1985) 38–42, developing a suggestion of E. Maass), and/or (cf. Radermacher 205) its bearer may have been not a contemporary but a proverbial figure; at any rate 'Sebinos the Anaphlystian' is alluded to thirteen years later, in *Ec.* 979 f. The demotic *Ἀναφλύστιος* is meant to suggest *ἀναφλάν*, lit. 'pound up', a term for raising an erection (e.g. *Lys.* 1099). No doubt the Anaphlystians had to put up with a lot of jokes, and so did Romans called 'Sabinus'. The metre requires *Ἄνα-* (Dindorf) = ὁ *Ἄνα-*, not *Ἄνα-*. For *ὄστις* cf. 39 n., and for the syntax 889 and *Th.* 502 *ἑτέραν δ' ἐγὼ δ' ἢ φασκεν ὠδίνειν γυνή*, 'I know another woman who . . .'.

428 **Καλλίαν . . . 429 τὸν Ἴπποβίνου:** Kallias, son of Hipponikos, was a very wealthy and distinguished Athenian of the late fifth century and a patron of intellectuals. *Andoc.* i. 124–7 alleges that he ran a *ménage à trois* with his wife and mother-in-law, and he had a considerable reputation as a womanizer (*Kratinos* fr. 12, 81). *τοῦτον* does not imply his presence in the theatre; cf. 708, *Lys.* 389 ὁ τ' *Ἀδωνιασμὸς οὔτος* (certainly not spoken at the time of the Adonia), and *Pl. Grg.* 470 D *Ἀρχέλαον . . . τοῦτον τὸν Περδίκκου*; *KG* i. 645. The comic distortion *Ἴπποβίνου* exploits the use of *ἵππο-* to connote 'monstrous', as in 929 and *Men. Theoph.* 19 *ἵππόπορνε*.

430 **κύσθου λεοντήν:** *κύσθος* is 'cunt', so we might translate 'a pussy-skin'; on the genitive cf. 1067 and *Ach.* 992 *ἔχων στέφανον ἀνθέμων*, ' . . . crown of flowers' (*KG* i. 164, 376, *Schwyzler* ii. 128). Herakles conquered the lion of Nemea, and Kallias wears a suitable trophy of his own 'conquests'. In the mid fourth century Nikostratos, an Argive commander and a man of great size and strength, wore a lionskin in battle in imitation of Herakles (*D.S.* xvi. 44. 2 f.). *Diodoros* questions his sanity, and the statement of *Σ^{VE}* 501 that Kallias wore a lionskin may be no more than an inference from the present passage; cf., however, 501 n.

431 **οὖν:** not inferential, but gently dismissive; cf. 1491, *GP* 426 and English 'Well, then, . . .' = 'Well, now, . . .'.

431–2 **φράσαι . . . Πλούτων' ὅπου . . . οἰκεῖ:** = *φράσαι ὅπου οἰκεῖ*

- Πλούτων*; only M indicates the elision of *-να*, and it is probably right; cf. *Ec.* 1125 *φράσατέ μοι τὸν δεσπότην / . . . ὄπου ὅστιν*.
- 435** This sounds rudely discouraging, but is evidently not so in Greek convention.
- 437** All MSS except V have *τὰ στρώματα* after *ὦ παῖ*, which spoils the responsion and must have arisen from a characteristic glossator's desire to supply the verb with an explicit object. The active *αἴροις* (U Vb₃) would be wrong, for it would imply 'give me . . .'; cf. 518 n.
- 438** ἦν: cf. 39 n.
- 439** The analogy of fr. 621 *τί τὸ κακόν; ἀλλ' ἢ κοκκύμηλ' ἠκρατίσω*; ('. . . Did you breakfast off plums?') and other passages cited in *GP* 27 suggests at first sight 'What's all this? Can it be . . .?', but the point is much more likely to be 'What's this but . . .?'; cf. 227 n. According to Σ^{RVE} the proverbial expression *Διὸς Κόρινθος* originated in the Corinthians' claim to sovereignty over Megara and their herald's repeated insistence on 'Korinthos (sc. son) of Zeus'; Σ^V adds a version in which Corcyra figures instead of Megara. Whatever the aetiology, in Attic the expression means 'the same old thing over again' or, as in Pl. *Euthd.* 292 E *τὸ λεγόμενον ὁ Διὸς Κόρινθος γίγνεται*, 'back to square one'. *ἐν τοῖς στρώμασιν* has an extra point, because in *Nu.* 710 Strepsiadēs calls bedbugs (*κόρρεις*; cf. 115) 'Corinthians', and no doubt 'bugs' was Attic slang for 'Corinthians'; cf. 'frogs' = 'Frenchmen'.

(v) **440–59. Exhortation and Doctrine**

(a) **440–6/7. Instructions to proceed**

For the metrical analysis, see p. 245; here we have two *zia ith* more than in 394–6/7.

441/2 ἀνά . . . ἀν': cf. 326 n. θεᾶς: presumably Demeter.

443/4 παίζοντες: cf. pp. 57 f.

445 Cf. pp. 66–8.

446/7 παννυχιζουσιν: cf. 371 n. θεᾶ: so R V^{ac}: θεαί V^{pc} cett., but it is the worshippers who *παννυχιζουσιν*. The goddess is 'either Kore or Demeter' in Σ^{RV}, but cf. 400 n. The feminine form θεά is preferred, to avoid ambiguity, when there is no article (cf. 446/7), but ἡ θεός is normal.

(b) **448–59**

The strophe is the response of the Chorus to the command *χωρεῖτε*, the antistrophe a doctrinal assertion in praise of the Mysteries. The metrical analysis is:

(1) 448 (χω- . . .) ◡ - ◡ | - ◡ - ◡ | *zia*
 ~ 454 (μό- . . .)

(2) 449 (λει- . . .)	-- υ ω υ - ρ	<i>ia ba</i>
~ 455 (καί . . .)		
(3) 450 f. (τόν . . .)	υ - υ υ - υ -	} <i>2tel</i>
~ 456 f. (ἄσοι . . .)	υ - υ υ - υ -	
(4) 452 (παί- . . .)	υ - υ υ - υ -	<i>tel</i>
~ 458 (τρόδ- . . .)		
(5) 453 (Μοῖ- . . .)	-- υ υ --	<i>reiz</i>
~ 459 (καί . . .)		

A sequence of telesilleans with a reizianum as clausula is common, e.g. *Eq.* 1111–30 ~ 1131–50, *Pax* 856–62 ~ 910–15. It is not elsewhere preceded by an iambic sequence marked by pause, but in *Ec.* 289–99 ~ 300–10 *4ia* (without pause) introduces a long telesillean sequence, and in tragedy transition from iambic rhythm at the start to aeolo-choriambic rhythms for the body of the stanza is common, e.g. *E. Hel.* 515–27.

451 **καλλιχορώτατον**: cf. p. 61.

453 **Μοῖραι**: it is surprising to encounter the Fates here (hence the explanation *οἱ θεσμοί* in Σ^{Rv}), but they were not excluded from festivals, for we read of sacrifices *Μοῖ[ρ]αῖς*, *Διὶ Μοιραγέτῃ* in *IG* i³ 7. 12, and *Μοῖραῖς χοῖρος* in *IG* ii² 1358b. 28 (s. IV^a pr.). Since they determine the time of one's death, they can be thought of as underworld deities, and are so treated in a curse (R. Wünsch, *Philologus* 4 (1900) 69: *Μοῖραι καταχθόνιαι*). But the initiates, blessed after death, have no cause to fear them. **ξυνάγουσιν**: as one can 'gather' a force or 'convene' an assembly, so one can 'set up' a dance, and here the Fates set up the *χοροί* implicit in the adjective *καλλιχορώτατον*.

455 **ἱερόν**: confirmed by our earliest testimonium, the Hellenistic inscription from Rhodes; *ἱλαρόν* (A M Np1^s U Vb3 Vs1), 'cheerful', may have originated in an unconsciously Christianizing error *ἱλεων*, 'gracious'.

456–9 Herakles (145–58) spoke of sinners lying in mud and of initiates enjoying light and festivity, but said nothing of the fate of good people who had not been initiated. Initiation into mysteries came into existence as a response to an understandable demand for preferential treatment in the afterlife, in a culture where (as the bitter and unforgettable words of Achilles in *Od.* xi. 488–91 remind us) virtually no one could expect to be happier in the afterlife than in life on earth. It is equally understandable that initiates themselves, and all advocates of initiation, should increasingly polarize the afterlife, consigning all the uninitiated to the mud (Pl. *Phd.* 69 c; cf. S. fr. 837 (context unknown), where initiates alone 'live' in the underworld, while the rest are doomed to *πάντ' ἔχειν κακά*). At the same time a belief in judgement of the individual's moral record as determining his fate after death was widespread; Kephalos in Pl. *R.* 330 D–31 B speaks candidly of his fears on that score, but at the same time he believes that the man whose conscience is clear can face death with equanimity. Epitaphs from

the fourth century BC onwards express the hope that the dead person may find a place among ‘the pious’ or ‘the righteous’: *GVI* 1491. 3 f. *εἰ δέ τις εὐσεβίας παρὰ Φερσεφόνη χάρις ἐστίν / καὶ σοὶ τῆσδε μέρος δῶκε Τύχη φθιμένη*, 1686 (*δικαιοσύνης ἄθλον*), 1757 (*εὐσεβέων . . . εἰς θάλαμον*), all three from fourth-century Attica, and, like many similar examples from Hellenistic times (cf. *GPM* 261–6), saying nothing at all about initiation. The relation between attainment of a blessed state after death by ‘joining the club’ and attainment of at least a tolerable state by a virtuous life must have preoccupied many people. Diogenes the Cynic hit the nail on the head (as so often) by asking ‘Will Pataikion the thief have a better fate after death than Epameinondas, because he has been initiated?’ (Plu. *Quom. Adul.* 21 EF; cf. D.L. vi. 39, Julian *Or.* vii. 25 (‘lie in mud’)). Aristophanes’ chorus appears to be prescribing *two* conditions for enjoyment of light in the underworld: initiation and virtue. Since the gods were widely believed to punish fraud, injustice, and aggression (particularly offences against parents, hosts, and guests) there was a certain convergence between *εὐσεβής/ἀσεβής* and *δίκαιος/ἄδικος* (*GPM* 250–3), so that *εὐσεβῆ . . . τρόπον* in 456–8 covers ‘righteousness’ as well as ‘piety’. What Aristophanes himself believed about the afterlife, we cannot know; he may not even have believed that the soul survives the body. In his audience, those who had been initiated probably regarded initiation and virtue in combination as a necessary qualification, while those who had not will naturally have regarded virtue as sufficient. The fate of those who have been neither notably good nor deplorably bad is not the kind of thing in which comedy is interested.

458 f. περὶ τοὺς ξένους καὶ τοὺς ἰδιώτας: *ἰδιῶται* are individuals as opposed to the State (*Eq.* 776; Thuc. iii. 82. 2, iv. 61. 2, both contrasting *ἰδιώτης* with *πόλις*), or people not holding office (Thuc. iii. 70. 6, ctr. *βουλευταί*), or not of great influence (*Pax* 751, joining *ἰδιῶται* with women and opposing both to *οἱ μέγιστοι*), or lacking professional skills (Thuc. ii. 48. 3, ctr. doctors, and vi. 72. 3, ctr. *χειροτέχνη*); Stanford’s note here confuses *ἰδιῶται* with *ἀπράγμονες*. It seems therefore that anyone could be simultaneously *ἰδιώτης* and *ξένος*, and that many people would be neither, whereas what we expect in the Chorus’s words is an exhaustive division, foreigners and co-nationals. That contrast is normally expressed by *ξένοι/πολίται*, e.g. Xen. *Hi.* 5. 3, *M.* iv. 4. 17 (cf. *Smp.* 8. 7), Pl. *Meno* 91 A, *Euthd.* 282 B, *Grg.* 473 D. Aelius Dionysius 1. 3 (Erbse) asserts incorrectly that Thucydides uses *ἰδιῶται* in the sense *πολίται*, and accordingly Σ^{RVE} explains *ἰδιώτας* here as *τοὺς ἰδίους, τοὺς πολίτας*. But *ἴδιος* means ‘own’, ‘private’, ‘personal’, contrasted by Thucydides with *δημόσιος* (e.g. i. 80. 3) or with *κοινός* (e.g. iii. 14), and *οἱ ἴδιοι* never means ‘one’s co-nationals’. (In 891 *ἰδιῶται* appears at first glance to be synonymous with *ἴδιοι*, but there is a joke there (v. n.) which mere synonymy would spoil.) Aristophanes seems to be suggesting that godfearing behaviour towards foreigners and ordinary,

humble people really matters, whereas in dealing with generals, sophists, and the like no holds are barred. If that is his point, it is a humorous and elliptical way of making the point which Pl. *Lg.* 777 D makes more seriously: that the righteousness of the truly righteous man is manifested in his conduct towards his slaves, subjects, and all those who are weaker than himself.

460–502. RECEPTION BY THE DOORKEEPER;
CHANGE OF COSTUME

- 460 f.** Dionysos' nervousness is understandable, for the palace of the King of the Dead is necessarily intimidating, but the Greeks were also aware that the conventions of arrival at a house are not identical everywhere.
- 462** On the syntax cf. 202 f. n.
- 464 παῖ παῖ:** Dionysos settles for the Athenian convention; cf. 37 n. **καρτερός:** more like 'big, strong' than 'mighty' or 'valiant', which would be too poetic; cf. *Th.* 31 μῶν ὁ μέλας, ὁ καρτερός; On the identity and status of the Janitor, cf. pp. 50–5. While he is declaiming, slaves can come on and relieve the Chorus of its torches, which will not be needed again until 1524.
- 465 f.** Both lines lend themselves splendidly to declamation as 'rising trikolā'; cf. 204 n. They repeat—exactly in M P20^{ac} U Vs1, which have *καὶ τολμηρὲ ἀναίσχυντε σύ*, almost exactly in the other MSS—the words with which Hermes greets Trygaios' arrival on Olympos in *Pax* 182 f. *βδελυρός* and *μιαρός*, 'foul', 'vile', 'filthy', express violent adverse reaction, whatever the nature of the conduct condemned; they go together in *Eq.* 304, *μιαρός* and *τολμηρός* in *Pax* 362, and *ἀναίσχυντος* and *βδελυρός* in *Ach.* 287.
- 467 f.** Lit. 'having driven out our dog Kerberos darted off throttling (him) and running off were gone having taken (him).' In *Apollod.* ii. 5. 12. 7 f. Herakles is allowed by Pluto to carry off Kerberos if he can do so unarmed, and succeeds in subduing the dog by throttling him (*οὐκ ἀνήκε . . . ἄγχων τὸ θηρίον ἕως ἔπεισε*). In vase-paintings he is shown as putting the dog on a chain-lead (*LIMC* s.v. nos. 2554–76). (*ἐξ*)*ελαύνειν* normally denotes driving or pushing rather than pulling, but Herodotus uses it of leading out an army (e.g. i. 76. 3). *ἄττειν* denotes rapid movement; cf. 567 *ῶχετ' ἐξάξας* and *Nu.* 553 *εἰσῆξε δᾶδας ἔχουσα. ἀποδιδράσκειν* is normally associated with runaway slaves and deserting soldiers, not with creditable actions. *λαβῶν* is often no more than 'with', e.g. 567, 1263.
- 469 ἔχει μέσος:** cf. *Nu.* 1047 *σε μέσον ἔχω λαβῶν ἄφυκτον*, 'Now I've got you!'
- 470–8** are not a parody of any particular tragic scene (cf. p. 25 and *Rau* 115–18) but an accumulation of bombastic and not always entirely coherent

tragic motifs and phrases; the closest analogies are the parodies of messenger-speeches in *Ach.* 1174–89 and *Av.* 1706–19.

470–3 The ‘black-hearted rock of Styx’, ‘blood-dripping Acheronian crag’, ‘questing hounds of Kokytos’ and ‘hundred-headed echidna’ are all subjects of *σε . . . φρουρούσι*, i.e. ‘prevent your escape’. *τοία* (= *τοιαύτη*) sets the tone at the outset, since in Attic it is purely poetic (except in the expression *τοί- ἢ τοί-*). In *Od.* x. 513 f. Styx, Acheron, Kokytos, and Pyriphlegethon appear together; Kokytos and Pyriphlegethon flow into Acheron, which is probably a lake (cf. 137 n.), and the description includes a rock (*πέτρα*) at their confluence. The image of the place in the minds of the audience may well have included a vast crag, but we do not otherwise hear of a ‘crag’ of Acheron in addition to the ‘rock of Styx’. **μελανοκάρδιος**: black is the colour of death (cf. 1336*a*), but ‘black-hearted rock’ also suggests ‘heart of stone’; cf. *PV* 244 *σιδηρόφρων τε κάκ πέτρας εἶργασμένος*, of someone without pity, and *Pi.* fr. 123. 4. **αἵματοσταγής**: whose blood, is not clear. **κύνες**: the Furies in *Eumenides* are assimilated to dogs in relentless pursuit of their prey, and cf. *S. El.* 1388 f. ‘inescapable dogs on the track of evil deeds’. **ἔχιδνά θ’ ἑκατογκέφαλος**: *ἔχιδνα* occurs (e.g. *Hdt.* iii. 108. 1) as a synonym of *ἔχις*, ‘viper’, but in *Hes. Th.* 295–332 *Echidna* is a monster, half girl and half snake, and the mother of more monsters, including *Kerberos*. ‘Hundred-headed’ is an importation from *Hesiod*’s description of the hundred snake-heads of *Typhoeus* (*Th.* 825); cf. *Pi. O.* 4. 8 (‘Typhon’), *P.* 1. 16 (‘Typhos’; cf. *Nu.* 336) or the *hydra* slain by *Herakles* (*E. HF* 1190).

474 πλευμόνων: *πλεύμων*, not *πνεύμων*, is the classical form, according to *Moiris* s.v. **ἀνθάψεται**: cf. *S. Tr.* 778, of the effect of the poisoned robe on *Herakles*: *σπαραγμός αὐτοῦ πλευμόνων ἀνθήψατο*.

475 Ταρτησσία μύραινα: *μύραινα* is the murry (or ‘moray’), *Muraena helena*, a large and aggressive eel, the subject of much zoological fantasy (cf. *Thompson* 162–4). In *A. Cho.* 994 *Orestes* compares *Klytaimestra* to a *μύραινα*. *Tartessos* was the south-western part of the Iberian peninsula (*Hdt.* iv. 152. 2) and thus for an Athenian audience at the edge of the world (its omission from *Hermippos* fr. 63, a list of Athenian imports from the four quarters of the globe, is significant). It echoes ‘*Tartaros*’; but also, a variety of murry called ‘*Tartessian*’ was known as a delicacy, according to *Poll.* vi. 63 and *Varro ap. Gell.* vi. 16. 5. **νεφρώ**: ‘kidneys’, but also ‘testicles’; cf. 1280 n.

476 αὐτοῖσιν ἐντέροισιν: cf. 227 n.

477 Γοργόνες Τειθράσιαι: *Teithras* was an Attic deme (*Τει-* (*SEG* xvii. 83. 10 (s. IV^a m.) al., not *Τι-*), and it is a fair inference from this passage that the women of that deme were popularly believed to be fierce and ugly.

478 δρομαῖον ὀρμήσω πόδα: cf. *E.* fr. 495. 3 f. *παλιν ὑποστρέψας πόδα / χωρεῖ δρομαῖον*. The *Doorkeeper* whirls round and strides into the palace.

Dionysos (as we see from 480) has collapsed on the ground.

- 479 οὔτος:** cf. 198 n. **ἐγκέχοδα· κάλει θεόν:** ἐγγέζειν is to shit in one's clothes, as ἐνουρεῖν is to piss in them; cf. *V.* 627, where fear is the cause of the trouble. According to Σ^{RVE} the formula ἐκκέχυται ('it has been poured out'), καλεῖτε θεόν was uttered after the pouring of a libation on certain ritual occasions; humorous distortion of religious formulae was acceptable in comedy, as we see from *Av.* 865–88 and *Th.* 331–51, but to modern taste this instance is extreme.
- 481 πρὶν τινά σ' ἰδεῖν ἀλλότριον:** lit. 'before someone from another house/family sees you'; in Pl. *Euthd.* 4B ἀλλότριος is the antonym of οἰκείος. Cf. 'What will the neighbours think?' as a reproach to badly behaved children. **ἀλλ' ὠρακιῶ:** 'I can't, I'm fainting!'
- 483 οἶσε:** a synonym, in epic and comedy, but foreign to tragedy and prose, of ἐνεγκε or φέρε; cf. *Ach.* 1099 ἄλας θυμίτας οἶσε ~ 1103 ἐνεγκε δεῦρο τῷ περῶ ~ 1104 ἐμοὶ δὲ τὰς φάπτας γε φέρε. **σπογγιάν:** it seems that a sponge soaked in cold water was applied (to the chest) to assist recovery from shock, and evidently it could be carried in luggage in a waterproof bag.
- 483 f.** R shows change of speaker before προσθοῦ and που, and has an oblique stroke before ὦ. The other MSS give προσθοῦ to Dionysos, and most of them give ποῦ ὅστιν to Xanthias; E^P Np1, however, have *Ξα.* at ὦ, and K, which has nothing at ποῦ, has *Ξα.* in the right margin. Plainly it is Xanthias who says 'Here, take it!' and also προσθοῦ, 'apply it (to yourself)'. (The MSS have πρόσθου; Dindorf restored προσθοῦ in conformity with the rule given by Hdn. i. 468. 12–14.) In the medical writers a doctor προστίθει something to a patient, but the patient προστίθεται something to himself; that is clear from (e.g.) *Hp. Nat. Mul.* vii. 318. 4 (Litttré) ψύγματα χρῆ προστιθέναι, after masculine participles (the patient is female) ~ *Epid.* ii. 692. 7 (Litttré) προσθεμένη (female patient). It must also be Xanthias who asks, 'Is that where you keep your heart?', and the exclamation ὦ χρυσοὶ θεοὶ goes with it. The only problem is ποῦ ὅστιν. Xanthias can hardly ask, 'Where's your heart?', and in any case he does not need to know, since Dionysos now has the sponge. He might possibly ask, 'Where's it gone?' as Dionysos applies it to an unexpected place, and then peer round and see it, but it makes better sense if Dionysos, lying face downwards, stretches out his arm behind him and asks gently 'Where is it?'
- 486 θεῶν . . . κἀνθρώπων:** cf. 68 n. For the addition of 'gods and . . .' cf. *Av.* 1572 f., where Poseidon reproaches the Triballian god: 'You're the most barbarous god I've ever seen in my life!'
- 487 ὅστις:** 'considering that I . . .'; cf. 740, 1184, where, as most commonly, it is followed by γε.
- 488 οὐκ ἄν:** so V; οὐκουν R A K, but (as Elmsley saw) we need ἄν; for . . . — ∪ | ∪ . . . cf. 19 n. **εἰργάσατ' ἀνήρ:** cf. 291 n.
- 489 ὀσφραϊνόμενος:** 'smell' in English is ambiguous, but ὀζειν is to give off

a smell and *ὀσφραίνεσθαι* to take one in. However bad a smell a coward may inflict on others, the point here is his wretchedness in suffering his own smell.

490 προσέτ' ἀπειψήσάμην: cf. 291 n.

491 οἶμαι νῆ Δία: 'Yes, it was!', defiantly or complacently; cf. *Pax* 863 οἶμαι, 'Yes, I think I shall!', responding to 'You'll be enviable . . .'.

493 οὐ μὰ Δί' οὐδ' ἐφρόντισα: 'No, I didn't even give it a thought'; cf. *GP* 196.

494 ληματιᾶς: *V⁷⁰* has the noun *ληματίας* (acknowledged also by *S^F*), to which there are parallels in Kratinos fr. 382 *φιλοπραγματίας* and Xen. *Ages.* 6. 24 *φρονηματίας*. The verb *ληματιᾶν* can be supported by other verbs in *-iān* coined for the occasion: *Eq.* 61 *σιβυλλιᾶ*, 'is keen on prophecies', *Pl.* 1099 *κλαυσιᾶ*, 'needs a beating', *Nu.* 183 *μαθητιῶ*, 'want to be a student', modelled on common words denoting needs for excretion (*χεζητιᾶν*, *ούρητιᾶν*) or sex (*βινητιᾶν*).

496 εἴπερ ἀφοβόσπλαγχνος εἶ: the structure of the sentence, 'given that *x*, then *y*, if *x*' has a near-parallel in 736 f., but there are closer parallels in early prose: Anaxagoras B12, Diogenes of Apollonia B2 (Fehling 148 f.). Euripides uses *θρασύσπλαγχνος* (*Hr.* 424), and Aeschylus *κακόσπλαγχνος* (*ScT* 237).

497 ἐν τῷ μέρει: cf. 32.

498 οὐ γὰρ ἀλλά: cf. 58 n.

499 Ἡρακλειοξανθίαν: *-κλειο-* is Triklinios' necessary correction of *-κλειο-*, which would not scan. For the type of compound cf. the title *Διονυσσαλέξανδρος* (Kratinos).

500 εἶ: '(and see) if . . .'.

501 μὰ Δί' ἀλλ': 'No, you won't be; you're truly . . .'. Dionysos is mocking Xanthias' confidence, as the end of the line shows. οὐκ **Μελίτης μαστιγίας:** there was a famous sanctuary of Herakles in the deme Melite (Woodford 218); we expect 'the god from Melite' (*ἐκ Μελίτης* is the normal demotic, not *Μελιτεύς*), but we get a surprise in *μαστιγίας*, a term for an incorrigible slave who is often flogged. *S^{RVE}* relates this passage to 428–30, where reference is made to Kallias' 'lion-skin', and sees an allusion to Kallias, son of Hipponikos, who 'lived in Melite'. Kallias belonged to the deme Alopeke (the evidence is to be found in J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families* (Oxford 1971) 256), but it was quite possible for a man to own houses and land in demes other than his own (in *IG* i³ 426b. 5 f., for example, we find a house in Kollytos owned by a man of the deme Eitea) and to live in one of them (e.g. *IG* ii² 1590. 6 f. *Α]ρισταγόρας Αριστοδῆ[μου ... | ἐ]ν Κυδαθηναίω οἰκῶν* (343/2)). The hypothetical allusion could be dismissed outright were it not for the fact that Kratinos fr. 81 calls Kallias *στιγματίας* 'tattooed (sc. like a runaway slave)' because his property was heavily mortgaged. If Kallias lived more in Melite than elsewhere, if he had

ever worn a lion-skin, and if Kratinos' *στιγματίας* was remembered, then Σ^{RVE} is right, and Dionysos is saying 'You look like Kallias!' (cf. M. A. van der Valk, *WJA* NF 6a (1980) 73).

502 ταδί: τάδε (R Mdl) may be right.

503–48. INVITATION FROM PERSEPHONE AND SECOND CHANGE
OF COSTUME

A slave comes out of the central door to deliver Herakles an invitation to dinner from Persephone. Perhaps because we so often encounter representations of women attended by female slaves, inside or outside the home (e.g. *Lys.* 184, *Th.* 279, 609, Theocr. 15. 27, 53 f.), some ancient commentators identified this slave as a woman. The sigla, except for Vb₃ (*θεράπεινα*), are equivocal (Werres 44 is mistaken on this point): mostly θ^ε, θερ^α etc.; R has nothing, while V has a paragraphos at 503 and θερ^α or θ^ε. R V E do not include any slave of Persephone in their *dramatis personae*, but many other MSS list *θεράπεινα Περσεφόνης*. The slave swears *μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω* (508), and that is regularly a man's oath, as we see from *Ec.* 156–60, where the women are rehearsing their role, disguised as men, in the assembly, and one woman, reproved for using the woman's oath *νῆ τῶ θεῶ*, corrects herself: *ὦ νῆ τὸν Ἀπόλλω*. *Lys.* 917 (Myrrhine speaking to her husband) is the only exception, not easily explained; Werres loc. cit. suggests that as Kinesias has urged intercourse in the sanctuary of Pan Myrrhine is alluding to the rape of Kreusa there by Apollo (*E. Ion* 936–41).

Herakles, having been initiated in the Mysteries before setting off to capture Kerberos, was welcomed in the underworld by his half-sister Persephone (D.S. iv. 26. 1); it was she who allowed him to take the dog (Timaios, *FGrHist* 566 F102(b); but Pluto in Apollod. ii. 5. 12. 8) and saved him from the herdsman of the underworld, Menoites (Apollod. ii. 5. 12. 7). Cf. Lloyd-Jones (1990) i. 180; and John Boardman, *JHS* 95 (1975) 8 f., points out that well before Aristophanes' time the vase-painters' depictions of the seizure of Kerberos show Persephone as complacent, even sympathetic. It is quite possible that in vulgar belief Persephone fancied Herakles, and that in this scene Aristophanes is deliberately, and rather daringly, giving a touch of Stheneboia to Persephone.

504–11 may create in the mind of the modern reader a picture of Persephone busy in the kitchen, but there is a cook (517 f.), and it may be that we should take the verbs of 504–11 as denoting not actions performed by the goddess herself but as actions supervised by her (cf. 15 n. and Dover (1988) 176). Yet supervision of cooking by the master of the house could be very close, extending even to participation (*Ach.* 1005–17, *Av.* 1579–89), and the humour of the scene may lie in part in the assimilation of the royal household of the

underworld to an Athenian house (so Del Corno); Persephone is the lady of the house, not the master, but plainly acting on her own initiative.

503 ὦ φίλταθ' ἦκεις Ἡράκλεις: the order of words is comparable with E. *Hr.* 337 ὦ τλήμων, οἶον, μῆτερ, ἠράσθης ἔρον and *Or.* 112 ὦ τέκνον ἔξελθ' Ἐρμιόνη.

504 ὄς κτλ.: σε, like other postpositives, tends to 'gravitate' to a place earlier than the clause in which it belongs semantically; cf. *Th.* 1134 μέμηρσο, Περσεῦ, μ' ὡς καταλείπεις ἀθλίαν, and *GWO* 14 f.

505-7 The cumulative asyndeton (contrast 509-11) helps to create a picture of great activity, as in *Ach.* 545-54, Aeschines iii. 157 (*GPS* 103). The imperfect tenses throughout describe the scene as it was when the slave came out of the house. **ἔπεττεν**: a way of cooking bread (as here) and cakes (*Ec.* 224, 843), hence 'bake'. **ἤψει**: one ἔψει soup (as here), meat (fr. 448), and root vegetables (fr. 701); 'boil'. **κατερικτῶν**: (κατ)ερείκειν is 'tear', 'split', 'crush', and κατερικτά (the form given by Photius) are split peas. **ἔνους**: cf. 62. **ἀπηνθράκιζ'**: cooking over ἀνθρακες, 'charcoal'. **πλακοῦντας ὄπτα**: πλακοῦς is a flat, round cake (cf. *Ach.* 1125 πλακοῦντος . . . κύκλον). In *Ec.* 224 it undergoes πέττειν, but here ὄπταν, which is mostly used of roasting meat (or, in *Nu.* 409, a stuffed paunch). **κολλάβους**: a kind of bread (Ath. 110 f.), in *Pax* 1196 going with hare. **ἀλλ'**: 'Do, please, . . .'. In *Pl. R.* 327 b Polemarchos' slave begs Socrates and his friends to wait for Polemarchos: οὗτος, ἔφη, ὄπισθεν προσέρχεται. ἀλλὰ περιμένετε; *GP* 13.

508 κάλλιστ', ἐπαινώ: formulae of gratitude used equally in accepting and declining; cf. Xen. *Smp.* 1. 7 ἐπαινοῦντες τὴν κλήσιν οὐχ ὑπισχνούντο συνδειπνήσειν, 'while thanking him for his invitation, they didn't commit themselves to having dinner with him'. **Ἀπόλλω οὐ**: cf. 33 n. **οὐ μὴ . . .**

509 περόψομάπελθόντα: οὐ μὴ with the subjunctive, as a strong negative declaration, is common, but with the future indicative much rarer; one example is *S. OC* 176 οὐ τοι μὴποτέ σ' . . . τις ἄξει. Cf. *KG* ii. 221 f., *MT* 104 f. μὴ alone with the future is more frequent, e.g. *Lys.* 917, *Ec.* 999. For the crasis of -μαι ἀπ- cf. *Ach.* 325, where δῆξομαι ἄρα is scanned as - υ - υ -. Cf. also 118 n. περιορᾶν is 'see, but do nothing about . . .', i.e. 'stand by and see', 'allow', with a participial construction; cf. *Ach.* 167 ταῦτα περιείδεθ' . . . πάσχοντά με.

510 ἀνέβραττεν: meat and birds (e.g. *Pax* 1197) can be cooked by (ἀνα)βράττειν; presumably 'boil', since in *Ap. Rh.* ii. 323, 566 the word is used of 'boiling' surf and spray. **τραγήματα**: in *Pl. R.* 372 c these include figs and nibbles.

511 ἔφρυγε: cf. *Ec.* 844 φρύγεται τραγήματα. In *Theocr.* 6. 16 the height of summer φρύγει, 'parches', 'bakes', 'roasts'. **κῶνον**: cf. *Th.* 349 καὶ

οίκιαν, scanned – ◡ –. ἀνεκεράννου: wine was normally mixed with water; cf. *Eq.* 1187 ‘drink a three-to-two mixture’.

512 ἀλλ’: cf. 507 n. πάνυ καλῶς: cf. 508 n. ληρείς ἔχων: cf. 202. It sounds discourteous (and in Pl. *Grg.* 497 A it is deliberately so), but it is possible (e.g. *Lys.* 845) to say ‘Oh, nonsense!’ affectionately or coaxingly.

513 αὐλητρίς . . . **514**: an aulos-girl was a normal ingredient of a banquet (in Pl. *Smp.* 176 E she is dismissed so that the company can enjoy serious conversation). It is significant that the girl’s beauty rather than her musical competence is emphasized here. αὐλητρίδες and ὀρχηστρίδες, ‘dancing-girls’, were slaves and vulnerable to importuning and mauling by the guests, as vase-paintings amply testify. Cf. 543. τρε: so only V (γε cett.); but γάρ does not seem ever to be superimposed on καί . . . γε. ἦδ’ ἔνδον: in effect, ‘here’; the slave gestures into the door (Verdenius, in Westendorp Bouma, 146). Dobree’s ἦδη ἔνδον receives marginal support from ἦδ’ ἔνδον R, ἦδ’ ἔνδον K, and rather more from the fact that as a rule (e.g. Pl. *Smp.* 176 E) the aulos-girl came in after the meal, so that ἦδη would have a point. ὠραιοτάτη: cf. 291. κῶρχηστρίδες: cf. *Th.* 484 καὶ δδύνη, scanned – ◡ –.

515 ἔτεραι: ‘in addition’; cf. 89 and *V.* 1221 ξένος τις ἕτερος, after three citizens have been named. πῶς λέγεις: πῶς γε λέγεις R M, but cf. *Th.* 6, *Av.* 323 πῶς λέγεις, and τί λέγεις very often. In general, γε is uncommon with interrogatives, and there is a tendency for it to appear in later MSS where it is absent from earlier. Cf. *GP* 124 f.

516 ἦβυλλιῶσαι: cf. 89 n. and Pherekr. fr. 113. 29 “ἦβυλλιῶσαι and with their roses trimmed”. παρατετιλμέναι: depilated, by plucking (τίλλειν) or singeing, reducing the area of pubic hair to the tidy, immature proportions which Greek men found attractive; cf. M. F. Kilmer, *JHS* 102 (1982) 104–12, D. M. Bain, *LCM* 7 (1982) 7–10.

517 ἀλλ’: cf. 507 n.

518 ἔμελλ’: ‘was just going to . . .’. ἦμελλ’ (A E K M Mdi Np1 U Θ) is metrically guaranteed in 1038 and *Ec.* 597, but so is ἔμελλ- in 791 and five other passages of Aristophanes, so plainly both forms were current. ἀφαιρεῖν: ‘take . . . off the fire’, as in *Ach.* 1119 ἀφελῶν δεῦρο τῆν χορδῆν φέρε. χῆ τράπεζ’ εἰσήρετο: meals were taken at small, low tables placed beside the couches on which the diners reclined. αἶρειν, ‘lift’, sometimes approximates to ‘bring’, as in *Pax* 1 αἶρ’ αἶρε μάζαν, and cf. *V.* 1216 τὰς τραπέζας εἰσφέρειν.

519 f. Xanthias omits any thanks or greeting to his hostess. One suspects that he might willingly forgo the meal in order to get at the girls. The echo of 291 ὠραιοτάτη in 514 and the similarity of Xanthias’ reaction to Dionysos’ emphasizes how much master and slave have in common. αὐτός: not

exactly 'I myself' (sc. as opposed to someone else), but a proud 'I' (sc. the god Herakles, the boss, the champion lover).

521 ὁ παῖς: cf. 40 n.

522 ἐπίσχες οὔτος: 'Hey, hold on!' Cf. 851 and *V*. 829 (Bdelykleon inter-rupts); and on οὔτος cf. 198 n. οὔ τι που: 'surely . . . not . . .?'; cf. *Lys.* 354 οὔ τι που πολλὰ δοκοῦμεν εἶναι; *GP* 492. σπουδῆν ποεῖ: 'be serious', 'take it seriously'; the idiom requires the middle voice (so *V* Vs₁), not the active, which would mean 'bring about . . .' (cf. *SGV* 53 f.).

523 σε . . . Ἡρακλέα ἑσκευάσα: analysable as 'I turned you into Herakles by dressing you up'; cf. *Pl. Cri.* 53 D οἷα δὲ εἰώθασιν ἐσκευάζεσθαι οἱ ἀποδιδράσκοντες, 'the sort of disguise that fugitives usually put on', but (lit.) 'I dressed you Herakles' is somewhat elliptical.

524 f. Cf. 202 n.

526 τί δ' ἐστίν: cf. 302 n. οὔ τι που: cf. 522 n.

527 οὐ τάχ', ἀλλ' ἤδη: lit., 'not soon, but now'; τάχα is often 'perhaps', but the antithesis with ἤδη (cf. *Andok.* ii. 2 τοὺς μὲν ἤδη πράττοντας, τοὺς δὲ τάχα μέλλοντας) precludes the translation 'there's no maybe about it'.

528 μαρτύρομαι: a cry uttered especially by someone assaulted, as in *Ach.* 927, *Pax* 1119, but also as a protest (triumphant in *Nu.* 1222, where *Strepsiad*es thinks he has caught out his creditor).

529 τοῖς θεοῖσιν ἐπιτρέπω: formally, ἐπιτρέπειν and ἐπιτροπή are used of reference of a dispute to an arbitrator. ποίοις θεοῖς: not 'which gods?', which would be τοῖς ποίοις θεοῖς (the contrast between *Nu.* 367 and *Nu.* 1233 illuminates the difference), but a scornful 'What do you mean, "gods"?' Since *Dionysos* is himself a god, he finds *Xanthias*' appeal ludicrous.

530 f. For the exclamatory use of τὸ (δέ) with the infinitive, cf. 741, *Nu.* 268, *Av.* 5; 'to think that . . .!' *KG* ii. 46, *SGV* 673, *Schwyz*er ii. 380. For the splitting of τὸ δὲ προσδοκῆσαι σ' from ὡς κτλ. by οὐκ ἀνόητον καὶ κακόν cf. 613 f. Ἄλκμήνης: sc. 'son'. As a rule a noun which is a predicate does not have the article, but there are many exceptions (*KG* i. 591 f.), e.g. when the identity of subject and predicate is asserted; hence Ἄλ- (*Lenting*; Ἄλ- *MSS*).

532 ἀμέλει, καλῶς: in *Nu.* 488 these same words are confident and reassuring, but here they seem to mean 'Oh, all right!' in a tone of resignation. ἔχ': cf. 270.

533 δεηθείς ἄν: sc. αὐτά, rather than 'come begging to me'; the *Demos*thenic formula δεηθεῖς ὑμῶν, classified by *LSJ* as 'c. gen. pers. only' is always followed by a specification of the request. εἰ θεὸς θέλοι: cf. our 'God willing', not confined to people of religious faith; in *Pl.* 1188 καλῶς ἔσται γάρ, ἣν θεὸς θέλη occurs in a passage whose religious presuppositions are, to say the least, unconventional.

534a-548: the *Chorus*'s song and *Dionysos*'s respond not only to each other but also to 590-604. That has been taken into account in dividing them into

verses, but the marking of responding word-end in the analysis below takes account only of the present passage.

(1) 534 <i>a</i> -5 (ταῦ-...)	-υ- υ -υ-υ	}	4 <i>tr lek</i>
~ 542 <i>a</i> -3 <i>a</i> (οὐ...)	-υ-υ- -υ-υ-		
	-υωυ-υ-		
(2) 536-7 <i>b</i> (μετα-...)	ωυ-υ- -υ-υ-	}	4 <i>tr lek</i>
~ 543 <i>b</i> -4 <i>b</i> (ἀνα-...)	-υ-υ- -υωυ		
	-υ-υ-υ-		
(3) 538 <i>a</i> -9 (εἰ-...)	-υ-υ- -υ-υ-	}	4 <i>tr lek</i>
~ 545-6 <i>b</i> (τοῦ-...)	-υωυ -υ-υ-		
	-υ-υ-υ-		
(4) 540 f. (δεξι-...)	-υ-υ- -υ-υ-	}	2 <i>tr lek</i>
~ 547 f. (πύξι-...)	-υ- -υ-υ-		

The technique is very close to that of *Av.* 1470-81 ~ 1482-93 ~ 1553-64 ~ 1604-1701: 2*tr* 2 *lek* || 4*tr lek* || 2*lek* (but *lek* 2*tr*, inescapably, in 1700 f.) || 6*tr lek* |||, though those four stanzas are only tenuously linked (1470-2) with the content of the play. Cf. Zimmermann i. 196-200, ii. 185 f.

543*a*: so, commonly, of characteristic behaviour; cf. 540 and *E. Hel.* 950, 'It is πρὸς ἀνδρὸς εὐγενοῦς to weep...'.
543*b* νοῦν... καὶ φρένας: 'intelligence'; so the Old Man in *Th.* 291 (in his disguise as a woman) prays for his little son νοῦν ἔχειν μοι καὶ φρένας.

535 πολλὰ περιπεπλευκότος: this, together with 537*a* (v. n.), is peculiarly appropriate to the comparison with Theramenes with which the stanza ends, given Theramenes' conduct after Arginusai (cf. 541 n.). Simultaneously it suggests someone who has 'seen the world', and recalls *Od.* i. 1-5 μάλα πολλὰ πλάγχθη κτλ.

536 μετακυλίνδειν: -λίν-, not -δείν (A U Vs1 Θ) is metrically guaranteed by other passages of comedy.

537*a* τοῖχον: the side of a ship; cf. (Σ^{VE}) *E. fr.* 89 (*Alkmene*) εἰς τὸν εὐτυχή / χωροῦντα τοῖχον.

537*b* ... **538*b*** σχῆμα: 'rather than stand, a painted likeness' ('image', 'portrait') 'in one pose'. For σχῆμα, 'form', 'bearing', 'appearance' and the like cf. 463. Alkidamas *Soph.* 28 compares a written λόγος, necessarily ἐνὶ σχήματι καὶ τάξει κεχηρμένος, to an εἰκὼν λόγου devoid of life and force, and to a statue. By Cicero's time (*De Or.* ii. 93) there were rhetorical writings attributed to Theramenes, and in *Su θ* 342 f. (a confused entry, distinguishing a 'Theramenes of Keos' (cf. 970 n.) from the Athenian Theramenes) a work περὶ σχημάτων is attributed to him. W. Süss, *RhM* 66 (1911) 184-6, suggested that this should be added to the Theramenean allusions in our passage; but the attribution of treatises to Theramenes needs stronger support than it has, and the treatise περὶ σχημάτων, whoever wrote it, was probably about figures of speech (cf. *Demetr. Eloc.* 59).

- 538b-9** μεταστρέφεισθαι πρὸς τὸ μαλθακώτερον: 'turning round to get more comfortable'; the expression may have been associated chiefly with finding the most comfortable position in bed.
- 540** δεξιού: cf. pp. 13 f. πρὸς: cf. 534a n.
- 541** Θηραμένης: the name of the man satirized is saved to the end; cf. the names in *Ach.* 1173, *Pax* 921, *Av.* 1564, though in *Ach.* 1173 the name of Kratinos is an unexpected twist. Theramenes was the son of Hagnon, who had held high military office as a colleague of Perikles and had also been (*Lys.* xii. 65) one of the πρόβουλοι appointed after the Sicilian disaster in 413. Theramenes himself came to prominence in 411, when he took a leading part (*Th.* viii. 68. 4) in establishing the oligarchy of the Four Hundred. When the oligarchy was disrupted by faction, he took the lead on the more democratic side (*Thuc.* viii. 89. 2-94. 1) and consequently remained in popular favour after the democratic restoration. At Arginusai he was one of the two trierarchs charged with recovery of the dead and wounded, but claimed that he was prevented by bad weather from doing so (*Xen. HG* i. 6. 35) and pressed the charge of negligence against the generals (*ibid.* 7. 5-8). The generals were executed, but he escaped blame. His later career gave further demonstration of his skill in political survival, until the Thirty Tyrants (of whom he was one) condemned him to death at the instigation of Kritias; but what he had managed to do before 405 is quite enough to explain what is implied about him in this passage.
- 543a** Μιλησίους: wool blankets from Miletos were highly regarded: Kritias B2. 6 f., Euboulos fr. 89. 2 f.
- 543b** ἀνατετραμμένος: lit., 'turned up', i.e. 'lying back'. ὄρχηστρίδ': cf. 514 n.
- 544a** εἶτ': not indignant here, as in 203, 205 (v. 203 n.), but with the connotation 'suddenly', 'unexpectedly'. ἀμίδ': a pot for (men's) urine, with a round hole in the shoulder, available at drinking-parties (cf. Eupolis fr. 385. 5) to save the trouble of going out of the room.
- 545** τοῦρεβίνθου ὄραττόμην: ἐρέβινθος, 'chick-pea', is plainly a slang term for 'penis' (perhaps in origin affectionate baby-talk; a double meaning is obvious in *Ach.* 801), and δράττεσθαι is 'clutch', 'grasp'; Dionysos imagines himself as a slave masturbating at the sight of his master's good progress with a dancing-girl.
- 546a** ἄτ' ὦν αὐτὸς πανούργος: on πανούργος cf. 80 n. In view of *Th.* 920 ὡς πανούργος καὶ τὸς ('you too') εἶναι μοι δοκεῖς, Meineke's conjecture καὶ τὸς is very attractive.
- 546b** κἄτ' . . . 548: on κἄτα on 544a n. Slaves could be struck violently by angry masters. It is not immediately obvious why a slave should be struck for masturbating, but we have to reckon with a master's irrational perception of his slaves' sexuality as threatening; or, of course, the blow might be simply punishment for inattentiveness, a familiar motif in the portrayal of

master–slave relations (e.g. *Lys.* 184, 426). **χορούς:** *χορός* here is ‘row’, sc. of teeth; cf. Xen. *Oec.* 8. 39 *χορὸς σκευῶν*, of utensils arrayed neatly in order, and Ach. Tat. i. 15, of columns (in Galen *De Usu Partium* 11. 8 there is an elaborate simile comparing teeth with a chorus). As we have both an upper and a lower row of teeth, van Herwerden’s emendation *τοῦ χοροῦ* is unnecessary.

549–604. ENCOUNTER WITH INNKEEPERS AND THIRD CHANGE
OF COSTUME

Dionysos asked Herakles (114) for advice on innkeepers. Here they come. A woman appears, accompanied by a slave, from the direction in which Dionysos and Xanthias are moving. She calls excitedly to another woman, who answers the call from behind her, with another slave. (Greater readiness to recognize the presence of the slaves would have saved commentators a lot of trouble over 569–71). There is no good reason to suppose that the two women come out of a door in the skene, because an encounter of the kind portrayed much more naturally occurs on the road. We soon learn that the two women are innkeepers, and evidently partners in the same inn, since they took refuge simultaneously in the same room from Herakles (565 f.). It is also clear from the reference to *προστάται* in 569 f. that they are metics (resident aliens at Athens, preserving that status in the underworld); a metic could not initiate legal action, and was therefore required to ‘register’ under a citizen *προστάτης*, who would act on his behalf (Lipsius 370–3, Harrison i. 189–99). Casualties in war, bearing especially heavily on the naval crews recruited from the Islands, must have made many widows who needed to earn a living.

Women who kept inns were not popular with their customers (cf. p. 213); in *Pl.* 426–8 Chremylos guesses that the dreadful Poverty must be a *πανδοκεύτρια*, ‘for otherwise you wouldn’t have made such a fuss when we’ve done you no wrong’, and Thphr. *Char.* 6. 5 classes keeping an inn with keeping a brothel and tax-collecting as occupations in which a man of shameless depravity excels. Herakles in his descent to the underworld encountered the Gorgon Medusa (cf. 143 n.), and these formidable innkeepers are, so to speak, Gorgons (R. J. Clark, *Phoenix* 24 (1979) 252 n. 22). On the gluttony of Herakles see 62 n.; his propensity to resolve any problem by gross violence is exploited in *Av.* 1574–8, 1628.

The distribution of lines between the two women is a problem. Change of speaker is demanded at 551 *νή Δία* (spoken by Plathane), 570 *σὺ δ’*, 574 *ἐγὼ δέ γ’*, and 575 *ἐγὼ δέ*, very likely (cf. *Lys.* 130, 934; Werres 37) at 559 *μὰ Δί’* (V U), and possible at 558 *τί δαί* (so all except Md1 Vb3), 561 *κἄπειτ’* (where no MS has it), and 571 *ὦ* (no change in V; dicolon and paragraphos Vs1; space but no siglum A K Θ^{ac}). V has an inappropriate change at 572 *ὡς ἠδέως*, no doubt

misplaced from 571. Plathane's role can be whittled down and as much as possible given to the First Innkeeper (cf. R. G. Ussher, *LCM* 10 (1985) 102), but the greatest comic effect is achieved if both women rage at Dionysos in rapid alternation, so that he is battered from both sides and has no chance (after 555 f.) to utter a word.

549 οὔτοσί: cf. 170 n.

551 ἔκκαίδεκα: '16' symbolizes a large amount in *Pl.* 195 f., 'If anyone's got 13 talents, it increases his desire to get 16', but an innkeeper is likely to recall the exact quantity on an unpaid bill.

552 δῆτα: confirming the previous speaker's utterance, sometimes with repetition of a word, e.g. *Ach.* 1227 *τήνελλα καλλίνικος*. || *τήνελλα δῆτ' κτλ.*, sometimes (as here) making the same point, e.g. *Lys.* 94-6 *μύσιδδέ ('speak') τοι . . .* || *νῆ Δί' . . . λέγε δῆτα κτλ.* **κακὸν ἤκει τινί:** an aside (cf. 554, 606) rather than a warning (cf. 628) to Dionysos. In *Theocr.* 5. 120, 122 the comparable 'asides' are maliciously intended to be heard by the person concerned.

553 κρέα . . . 554 ἂν ἡμιωβελιαία: 'meat at twenty half-obol portions a time'; for the order, cf. *E. Su.* 588 *χωρήσομαι γὰρ ἐπτά πρὸς Κάδμου πύλας*. *ἀνά* is 'at the rate of . . .', 'at a time'; cf. *Xen. An.* iii. 4. 21 *ἐποίησαν ἐξ λόχους ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας* ('. . . each of 100 men'), and for the adjective *ἡμιωβελιαῖος* cf. *Xen. M.* i. 3. 12 *ἡμιωβελιαία τὸ μέγεθος* (on *-βε-* cf. 140 n.) and *Ar. fr.* 438 *δραχμιαῖον* (defined by *Pollux ix.* 60 as *δραχμῆς ἄξιον*). It appears from *Eupolis fr.* 156. 3, speaking of a parsimonious man, that a half-obol's worth of meat was a small ration for the main meal of the day; it is entirely in character that the Innkeeper should think of such a portion as fair and proper, and of the consumption of twenty such as monstrous, as if she were to say, 'He ate three suppers, and I'd given him a whole egg for the first one!' Other interpretations of this passage, severing *εἴκοσιν* from *ἡμιωβελιαία*, are untenable, for 'twenty (portions of) meat, half-obol portions at a time' is not sense. Nor will it do to suggest that the metic's Attic is faulty, because there were no great syntactical differences between Greek dialects at the time of the play, and when *Aristophanes* wants to make fun of dialect he goes a great deal further (cf. *Dover* (1987) 241-6). **ἀνάβραστ':** cf. 510 n.

556 οὐ μὲν οὖν: 'Oh no (sc. I know very well what I'm talking about)! You didn't expect . . .' Cf. 1188 and *Pl. Smp.* 201 C *σοὶ οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην ἀντιλέγειν*. || *οὐ μὲν οὖν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ . . . δύνασαι ἀντιλέγειν* (*GP* 475).

557 κοθόρνος: there is irony (*Dn*) in treating the genuine item of *Dionysos'* clothing as if it were a disguise. **ἀναγνώναι:** words meaning 'expect', 'hope', and the like normally take a future infinitive, but are quite often found with an aorist infinitive. In some such cases normalization by emendation is easy, changing *-σαι* or *-σασθαι* to *-σειν* or *-σεσθαι* or

inserting ⟨*äv*⟩ (e.g. Xen. *Ag.* 7. 6 ἡλπιζον ⟨*äv*⟩ ἐλείν τὰ τείχη), but a hard core resists, most notably A. *Ag.* 674 f. Μενέλεων . . . προσδόκα μολεῖν. Cf. KG i. 195–7, *SGV* 194–208, *MT* 42 f., Schwyzer ii. 206. If we emend here to *äv γνῶναι* (Elmsley), we give the postpositive *äv* an abnormal position immediately after minor pause. *äv* as part of a phrase-like clause, e.g. *äv τις φαίη*, hardly counts as support for that (KG i. 246). Slightly better support is provided for *δητά* (V E^{pc}) in *Nu.* 398 f. πῶς . . . , εἶπερ βάλλει, δητ' οὐχὶ Σίμων' ἐνέπρησεν, but a repeated πῶς is a variant there. Without emendation of *ἀναγνῶναι*, we have $\bar{\iota} \cup \bar{\iota}$; cf. 286 f. n. and 652, 658 δεῦρο πάλιν (though admittedly there is no phrasal pause there). Given a choice of abnormalities, I opt for *ἀναγνῶναι*.

559 *χλωρόν*: of colour, 'yellow' or 'green', but often 'fresh', contrasted with what has turned dark through withering or staleness; cf. Alexis fr. 178. 12 τυροῦ τροφάλια χλωρὰ Κυθνίου παρατεμών. *τάλαν*: women's language, expressing pity, sympathy, or reproof, according to context; cf. Wilamowitz, *Menander. Das Schiedsgericht* (Berlin, 1925) 74 and C. Dedoussi, *Hellenika* 18 (1964) 1–6.

560 *αὐτοῖς τοῖς τάλαιοις*: 'baskets and all'. *τάλαροι* are baskets in which cheese was kept; cf. Theokr. 5. 86 'Lakon fills nearly twenty *τάλαροι* with cheese'. On *αὐτοῖς* cf. 226 n.; for the inclusion of the article, cf. *V.* 170, 1449. Ion *TrGF* 19 F29 (from *Omphale*, a satyr-play) describes Herakles as devouring the firewood and charcoal while the rest of the company was still uttering a prayer before the meal.

561 *ἐπραττόμην*: lit., 'tried to exact', i.e. 'asked for . . . '.

562 *δριμύ*: lit., 'sharp', usually in a disagreeable sense; 'he gave me a hard look'. Cf. Pl. *R.* 519 A ὡς δριμυῖ ('keen') μὲν βλέπει τὸ ψυχάριον. *κάμυ-κάτο*: 'roared', 'growled'.

563 *τούτου πάνυ τούργον*: lit., 'of him absolutely (is) the action', i.e. 'That's typical of him!' Xanthias now chimes in, sympathizing with the innkeepers (cf. 610–12).

564 *δοκῶν*: *δοκεῖν* is sometimes 'pretend', as in *Lys.* 179 θύειν δοκούσας καταλαβεῖν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, but the alternative, 'and we thought he was crazy' has some point here; 'acting crazy' would cover both.

565 *νῆ Δία, τάλαινα*: it is hard to see what exactly Xanthias is agreeing with—he wasn't there, and his oath of assent differs in that respect from the examples given by Werres 14—but perhaps, 'Yes, he *does* act crazy! You poor thing, (sc. I can just imagine)'. *τάλαινα* carries more weight than *τάλαν* (cf. 559 n.). *δειςάσα*: the feminine dual in *-ā* is well attested in the fifth century, e.g. S. *Ant.* 58 μόνα δὴ νῶ λελειμμένα, *IG* i² 51 τῶ στήλα (always τῶ for all genders). *πou*: so V alone; *πω* (cett.) makes no sense and was no doubt generated by unconscious recollection of *πω* at the end of 558. Denniston (*GP* 491), implicitly taking *δέ . . . γε* together, suggests that the experience was so frightening that the woman cannot recall exactly what

- happened ('We must have . . .'). It would make good sense if *γέ σου* were like our parenthetic 'you see', 'you know', but that lacks evidence (*GP* 494).
- 566 κατήλιφ:** a storage shelf or 'mezzanine' (Σ^{RVE}) extending across the room, supported by a beam; Poll. vii. 123, Hsch. κ 1755.
- 575 ἐξάξας:** cf. 468. **ψιάθους:** 'cups'; feminine in *Lys.* 922, though Kallistratos' text here had *τοὺς ψιάθους* (Σ^{RVE}).
- 568 ἀλλ' ἐχρῆν τι δρᾶν:** although (ἐ)χρῆν may have a past reference ('ought to have . . .'), it overlaps *χρή* and *δεῖ* (cf. *Av.* 640 ἀλλ' ὡς τάχιστα δεῖ τι δρᾶν); 'We ought to be doing something about it.'
- 569 f.** The First Innkeeper now sends her slave off to fetch Kleon; for the address to a slave who has not previously been mentioned cf. Thoas' command *στεῖχε καὶ σήμαινε σὺ* in *E. IT* 1211. Plathane then sends her own slave off. If we do not allow slaves in this scene, then: (a) The First Innkeeper addresses Plathane as if Plathane were her servant, yet at once receives from her an equally direct command. To avoid that, Tucker (cf. Marzullo 393, J. T. Hooker, *Maiia* (1979) 245) gives the line to Dionysos (as sarcastic) and van Leeuwen gives it to Xanthias, but such bold sarcasm lessens the effect of Dionysos' fright (Dn), and sarcasm on the part of Xanthias goes against the attitude he has adopted in 563–5, 568. (b) The actions commanded are illogical and uneconomical, for why should each of them be sent in search of the *προστάτης* of the other? (c) Anyway, neither obeys; they return to the attack on Dionysos. There is no denying that the scene *could* be staged, given sufficient noise, bustle, and speed, in such a way that the women, agitated and flustered, give orders to each other, start to run off, and cannot resist turning back to renew the attack. But are they flustered? Are they not rather in command of the situation? And we must take account of the fact that the audience would expect to see each of them accompanied by a slave; cf. the slave who evidently goes with the Old Man to the festival in *Th.* 279–81, though no previous reference has been made to her and no subsequent reference is made. **Κλέωνα:** dead since 422. He may have acted as *προστάτης* for a number of metics, but this could be a joke against his alleged enthusiasm for prosecutions (cf. *Eg.* 255–65 and *passim*).
- 570 σὺ δ':** in epic and (rarely) in tragedy *σὺ δέ* may appear at the beginning of a sentence or clause when there is no change of person addressed (*KG* i. 657, Schwyzer ii. 188), but here we are in comedy, and it is very unlikely that 569 and 570 could both be addressed to the same slave. **Ἵπέρβολον:** dead since 411 (*Th.* viii. 73. 3); the point made is the same as the point just made against Kleon.
- 571 φάρυξ:** cf. 258*b*.
- 572 γομφίους:** 'molars'.
- 573 φορτία:** 'goods', sometimes foodstuffs (e.g. *V.* 1407), but not necessarily so (e.g. *Ach.* 899, 910).

- 574 βάραθρον:** this was a pit at Athens into which the corpses of people executed were thrown (Xen. *HG* i. 7. 20 strongly suggests that people might be thrown in to die), and the expression of a wish that someone should be cast into this pit is quite violent (cf. *Nu.* 1448 f.). **ἐμβάλοιμι:** without *ἄν*, the optative means ‘I wish I could . . .’, ‘May I live to . . .’, and the like. The absence of *ἄν* with an optative which is unambiguously potential is customarily normalized by easy emendation (cf. *KG* i. 248 f., *SGV* 298–302, *MT* 81), but here the preceding *κόπτοιμ’ ἄν* may make a difference; cf. (Schwyzer ii. 325) *A. Ag.* 1049 *πειθοί’ ἄν, εἰ πείθοι’ ἀπειθοίης δ’ ἴσως*, *Pl. Phd.* 87 E *ἀναγκαῖον μεντᾶν εἶη . . . ἀπόλλυσθαι, ἀπολομένης δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς . . . ἐπιδεικνύοι κτλ.* Some, according to *Σ^R*, gave the line to Dionysos, but cf. 569 f. n.
- 575 λάρυγγ’:** both *λάρυγξ* and *φάρυξ* appear in comedy as terms for the channel which the food goes down, and it would be unrealistic to postulate a difference here.
- 576 χόλικας:** so Schweighäuser; *κόλικας* codd., and *Σ^{RVE}* plainly confuses *χόλικες*, ‘lights’ (e.g. *Pax* 717) with *κόλλικες* ‘loaves’, ‘rolls’ (e.g. *Arche-stratos* [*SH*] 135. 12). **κατέσπασας:** lit., ‘drag down’, i.e. ‘devour’, as in *Eq.* 718.
- 577 ἀλλ’ . . . Κλέων’:** the First Innkeeper, having sent her slave to find Kleon, is now going to meet him on his way.
- 578 ἐκπηνιέται:** *πήνη* is the thread on the bobbin, and *πηνίζεσθαι* ‘wind off’; cf. 1315. **προσκαλούμενος:** ‘summonsing’; cf. *V.* 1406 f. *προσκαλοῦμαί σ’ . . . βλάβης*.
- 579 κάκιστ’ ἀπολοίμην:** used in 588 as part of a solemn oath, but here a colloquial intensification; cf. *Ach.* 151 *κάκιστ’ ἀπολοίμην εἴ τι τοῦτων πείθομαι*, ‘I’m damned if I believe a word you’ve said!’
- 580 οἶδ’ οἶδα τὸν νοῦν:** ‘I know what you’re thinking!’ So too *Pl.* 1080.
- 581 ἄν . . . ἄν:** cf. 96 f. n. **μηδαμῶς:** ‘Oh, don’t say that!’ Cf. *Ach.* 334 *ἀλλὰ μὴ δράσης δὲ μέλλεις, μηδαμῶς ὦ μηδαμῶς, ‘. . . Don’t, please don’t!’*
- 582 Ξανθίδιον:** a wheedling diminutive, as in *Nu.* 80 *Φειδιππίδιον*, 223 *Σωκρατίδιον*. -θι- from -θίας is surprising (contrast *ἀργυρίδιον* from *ἀργύριον* and *ἱματίδιον* from *ἱμάτιον* (*Ach.* 872 *Βοιωτίδιον* is from *Βοιωτίας* (cf. *Ach.* 953, 1923), not, *pace* Chantraine 69, from *Βοιωτός*), but there it is, and it is better to assume a generalization of -ίδιον for proper names than (with Meineke) to delete *ῶ*. **Ἄλκμήνης:** cf. 530 f. n.
- 584 οἶδ’ οἶδ’:** as in 580, but with an entirely different tone. **αὐτὸ δρᾶς:** ‘do so’; *δρᾶν* and *ποιεῖν* are used, with *αὐτό* or *τοῦτο* as object, as an alternative to repetition of a verb. Cf. 358 n.
- 585 κᾶν:** *καί* | *εἰ* . . . | *vb ἄν* > *κᾶν* | *εἰ* . . . | *vb (ἄν)*, as in *Pl. Lys.* 208 B *κᾶν εἰ βούλοιο . . ., ἐφῶεν ἄν*.
- 586 τοῦ λοιποῦ . . . χρόνου:** ‘at any future time’; more commonly without *χρόνου*, as in *Pax* 1074 *οὔποτε . . . τοῦ λοιποῦ*.

587 f. Dionysos invokes a curse upon himself should he break his promise. A prayer for good fortune if one keeps one's oath but 'utter destruction' (*ἐξωλεία*) for oneself and one's family if one breaks the oath is often part of the swearing; cf. Andok. i. 98, Dem. xxiii. 67. **πρόρριζος:** lit., 'root-forward', i.e. 'uprooted' (cf. English 'root and branch'), a technical term in a curse, e.g. E. *Hp.* 683 *Ζεὺς σε . . . πρόρριζον ἐπιτριφείεν*. **ἀπολοιμήν:** ἡ γυνή, τὰ παιδιά are parenthetic, as in 1408 f.; cf. Schwyzer ii. 60. **κάρχιδημος:** cf. 417 n. For the unexpected 'sting in the tail', diverting attention towards a contemporary individual, cf. 382. **γλάμων:** 'blear-eyed'; so too Lys. xiv. 24. Modern convention discourages jeers at the chronic illnesses of political adversaries (though I have heard President Johnson called a 'varicose thug'), but ancient convention did not; in *Pl.* 716–25 the pain suffered by Neokleides from eye-disease is exploited for brutal humour.

589 δέχομαι: formal acceptance; cf. *IG* i³ 54. 18–20 τὸν ὄρκον δόναι καὶ δέχασσ[θαι].

590–604 The passage falls into two halves which (with one putative irregularity) respond, and they also respond to 534*a*–41 and 542*a*–8, q.v.

(1) 590–1 <i>b</i> (νῦν . . .)	- υ - υ - υ - - -	}	4 <i>tr lek</i>
~ 598 <i>a</i> –9 <i>a</i> (οὐ . . .)	- υ - - - - υ - υ - υ		
	- υ - - - - υ υ		
(2) 592 <i>a</i> –3 <i>a</i> (ἀνα- . . .)	ω υ - - - - υ - υ - υ	}	4 <i>tr lek</i>
~ 599 <i>b</i> –601 (ὄτι . . .)	- υ - - - - - υ - - -		
	- υ - - - - - υ υ		

The sense of 592*a* is complete, and we may be confronted here with an instance of the irregular responsions which are more frequent in cretic and trochaic rhythms (cf. Zimmermann iii. 110) than in other rhythms. Yet if the loss of a word or two after *ἀνανεάζειν* is postulated, there is no lack of plausible supplements, and it is hard to conceive any reason for abnormal responsion at just one point out of four in a straightforward trochaic sequence organized as this one is.

(3) 593 <i>b</i> –5 (ὤπερ . . .)	- υ - υ - υ - υ - υ - υ	}	4 <i>tr lek</i>
~ 602 <i>a</i> –3 <i>a</i> (ἀλλ' . . .)	- υ - υ - - - - υ - - - υ		
	- υ - υ - υ - υ - υ		
(4) 596 f. (αὐ- . . .)	- υ - - - - - υ - - - -	}	2 <i>tr lek</i>
~ 603 <i>b</i> –4 (δεῖν . . .)	- υ - - - - - - υ υ		

590 νῦν σὸν ἔργον: cf. *Nu.* 1345 σὸν ἔργον . . . φροντίζειν ὄπη κτλ., 1397 σὸν ἔργον . . . ζητεῖν κτλ., both exhortations by the chorus to the contestants in an agon. νῦν can carry great weight, as in A. *Pe.* 405 νῦν ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀγών.

591*b* ἐξ ἀρχῆς πάλιν: these words constitute a phrase in *Pax* 1327 and *Pl.*

221, of restoring an original state; hence there is minor pause after *εἶχες*, and the fact that Xanthias was not always Herakles is ignored.

- 592a ἀνανεάζειν:** *νεάζειν* is always intransitive (Triklinios') supplement *σαυτὸν αἰεὶ* makes the opposite assumption), but Seidler's *αὐ τὸ λῆμμα* is grammatically all right, taking *λήμμα* as internal accusative.
- 592b βλέπειν . . . τὸ δεινόν:** the neuter adjective with *βλέπειν* normally has no article (e.g. 562), so that *τὸ* here may have a demonstrative character; but cf. 796 n. on the article with *δεινός*.
- 593a θεοῦ:** Herakles, who was turned into a god on the death of his mortal body; cf. *Od.* xi. 601–25, where the 'Herakles' seen by Odysseus in the underworld is a phantom (*δεινὸν παπταίνων*), for the real Herakles (602 *αὐτός*) is on Olympos.
- 594 f.** R K Mⁱ N Pⁱ V s₁ have *εἰ . . . ἀλώσει*, 'if you are going to be caught out . . .'; *εἰ . . . ἀλώση* V E M^a V b₃ (*ἀλωση*) Θ, *εἰ . . . ἀλῶς* M d¹ ac, ἦν . . . ἀλῶς A M d¹ pc U V s₁. In the next line all but V have *καὶ βάλῃς, καὶ βάλλῃς* (V b₃ Θ), or *καὶ βάλλεις* (M). If ἦν is right, Radermacher's *ἀλῶς ἦ* is inescapable, but *εἰ . . . ἀλώσει κάκβαλεις* cannot be dismissed out of hand; cf. 11 n. **παραληρῶν:** 'talking nonsense', i.e. saying something which it would be foolish to say in the role you have assumed; cf. Pl. *Thi.* 169 A *παρελήρησα φάσκων κτλ.* **κάκβάλῃς τι μαλθακόν:** 'utter a soft word', i.e. 'falter'; cf. Pl. *R.* 473 E *τοιούτου ἐκβέβληκας ῥῆμά τε καὶ λόγον*, and *Nu.* 727 οὐ *μαλθακιστέα*, 'you mustn't be faint-hearted'. Del Corno suggests that (lit.) 'let fall out something soft' may also allude to the effect of fear on the bowels (cf. 479–90).
- 597 ὅσται:** V has ὅστι (om. cett.), and ὅστιν would scan, but a future is far preferable after ἦν . . . *κάκβάλῃς*; hence ὅσται Dawes. Triklinios, ignorant of V (cf. Dover (1988) 225), supplied *τις*, a sensitive suggestion, given the tendency of *τις* to modify an utterance in the same way as *που*, e.g. *A. Ag.* 55 ἦ *τις* *Ἀπόλλων κτλ.*, *Xen. Oec.* 7. 39 ἡ γὰρ ἐμῆ φυλακὴ . . . *γελοία τις* ἂν οἶμαι φαίνοιτο (KG i. 663 f., Schwyzer ii. 215).
- 598a ὧνδρες:** cf. 372 n. and p. 68.
- 599b μὲν οὖν:** we would tend to say 'and' or 'because', but οὖν amplifies the thought which Xanthias says is in his mind; almost 'in fact, . . .'. **χρηστόν:** cf. 179 n.
- 601 εὐ οἶδ' ὅτι:** used as a self-contained phrase (with or without *εὐ*), e.g. *Lys.* 154, 'They'd soon make peace, *εὐ οἶδ' ὅτι*', *Dem.* ix. 1 *πάντων οἶδ' ὅτι φησάντων γ' ἂν* (KG ii. 354, 368), so that there is no problem in the fact that *ὅτι μὲν οὖν κτλ.* is already dependent on *οἶδα*.
- 603a ὀρίγανον:** marjoram, *Origanum vulgare* (Thphr. *HP* i. 12. 1, Polunin no. 1160). The strength and sharpness of its taste are the point here; cf. *Eq.* 631 '[The Council] looked mustard and stared'.
- 603b δεῖν:** sc. *παρέχειν ἐμαυτὸν ἀνδρεῖον*.
- 604 καὶ δῆ:** this dramatic *καὶ δῆ*, calling attention to a new sight or sound,

often occurs in mid-clause, e.g. *Av.* 268 ἀλλ' εἰς οὐτοσὶ καὶ δὴ τις ὄρνις ἔρχεται, 'Look, here's one bird coming!' (*GP* 251).

605-73. DIONYSOS AND XANTHIAS ARE BEATEN

The Janitor comes out of the central door, with two subordinates. He points dramatically at Xanthias.

606 ἀνύετον: 'Get a move on!' Cf. the participle ἀνύσας with an imperative (649) and *Pl.* 413 μὴ νυν διὰτριβ', ἀλλ' ἄννε πράττων ἐν γε τι. In addressing two people the dual and the plural are equally available and may both be used in the same passage, as here and in 1109-12. ἦκει: cf. 552.

607 οὐκ ἐς κόρακας: cf. 187 n. εἶέν: usually 'Well, now'; sometimes 'I see', but here it has a grim undertone. καὶ μάχει: 'Putting up a fight, are you?' It is hard to decide whether καὶ here corresponds to stress on 'fight' (cf. *GP* 311 f.) or means 'too' (sc. in addition to stealing), and the same is true of *V.* 1406 καὶ καταγελᾷ μου—'Making fun of me?' or 'Making fun of me, too?' (sc. in addition to assaulting me). The Janitor now summons three policemen, who come out at a run.

608 Athens had a police force composed of state-owned slaves acquired in Scythia and armed with bow and arrows (hence *Ach.* 54, where the herald calls for οἱ τοξόται to remove Amphytheos from the assembly). One of the three who appear now, Pardokas, has a comic name, for παρδεῖν is the aorist of πέρδεσθαι, 'fart'; 'Spartokos' was a name recurring in the royal house of the Crimean Bosphoros (e.g. *D.S.* xii. 31. 1), and that is perhaps the cause of σπαρδόκας in *V.* δίτυλος means 'two-humped' (of a camel) in *D.S.* ii. 54. 6, and *Hsch.* κ 1961 records κεβλός as meaning 'baboon', but we do not know from what dialect or period.

610 εἶτ': indignant, as in the opening words of the grumbling creditor in *Nu.* 1214. Dionysos is now playing on Xanthias the trick which Xanthias played on him in 563-8, professing shocked sympathy with the adversary. τύπτειν τουτονί: τουτονί, i.e. Xanthias, is the subject, and the verb is absolute.

611 πρὸς: this must be adverbial, 'in addition'; cf. 415. μᾶλλ': cf. 103 n. ὑπερφυᾶ: by no means always derogatory ('remarkable', 'extraordinary'), but in *Th.* 831 'scandalous' would suit, and cf. *Pl. Grg.* 467 B (where it is coupled with σχέτλιος) and *Dem.* xxi. 88 (with δεινός).

612 καὶ δεινά: δεινός and σχέτλιος are similarly coupled in *Av.* 1175, *Lys.* 408 f. (|| σχέτλιόν γε || . . . || δεινόν γε λέγεις), but Dionysos seems to be lost for words, as he repeats δεινά from 610. This can be effective if he splutters and pauses before καὶ and then puts great stress on δεινά. μὲν οὖν: cf. 241 n. καὶ μῆν: 'But, look here! . . .', a stronger protesting adversative

- than the instances recorded in *GP* 357 f. **νή Δία:** this approximates to a true oath (cf. 306) and is not just an intensification.
- 613** This spells out in forceful terms the conventional ‘May I die, if . . .’ (e.g. 579). Real defendants hesitate to say to a jury, ‘Execute me if I am guilty’; in *Lys.* iii. 4 ἀξιῶ δέ . . . εἰ μὲν ἀδικῶ, μηδεμιᾶς συγγνώμης τυγχάνειν the defendant does not risk a capital penalty.
- 614** Xanthias’ protest verges on incoherence, as his ‘I’m willing to die’ comes between the two halves of a disjunctive protasis.
- 615** **γενναῖον:** here (contrast 97 n.) ‘magnanimous’ or ‘fair-minded’; so (sarcastically) in *Pl. R.* 558 c.
- 616 f.** It was possible for an Athenian accused of a crime to offer his slaves for examination under torture by his accusers, and for one adversary to challenge the other to surrender his slaves for torture. The assumption underlying this practice seems to have been (a) that since slaves would naturally want revenge on their master (cf. *Lys.* vii. 35), only someone sure of his own innocence would risk offering their testimony, or (b) that slaves would naturally fear their master’s vengeance if they incriminated him, unless the alternative, prolongation of the torture, was even worse. Generalizations about the reliability of such evidence mix with generalizations about its unreliability in oratorical texts; cf. Harrison ii. 147–50, Lipsius 889–95. **γάρ:** this introduces the specification of what has been referred to generically as *πράγμα γενναῖον*; cf. *GP* 59–61.
- 617** **ἄγων:** ‘take me and execute me’; cf. Antiphon v. 34 ἀπέκτειναν ἄγοντες τὸν ἄνδρα.
- 618** **βασανίζω:** deliberative subjunctive, not present indicative; the context precludes ambiguity; cf. 64 n. *βασανίσω* (*MdI Np1*) could be right.
- 618 f.** **ἐν κλίμακι / δήσας:** possibly the victim was stretched, with wrists and ankles tied to rungs, and then dropped face downwards from gradually increasing heights.
- 619** **ὑστριχίδι:** *Poll.* ii. 24 relates the word to *θρίξ*, ‘hair’, and Σ^{RVE} defines it as a whip made of hide from which the hairs (or bristles) had not been removed.
- 620** **στρεβλῶν:** ‘stretch taut’ by a winch or peg (e.g. *Pl. R.* 531 B, of the strings of a lyre) or ‘twist’, ‘wrench’ (– *στρεβλός*, ‘curved’, ‘curled’ in *Th.* 516); of torture, sometimes ‘on a wheel’ (e.g. *Pl.* 875), sometimes general (e.g. *Nu.* 620 *στρεβλουτε καὶ δικάζετε*). **ὄξος:** I have been dissuaded by medical friends from experimenting with a small quantity to see how painful it is.
- 621** **πλήν . . . 622 νέψ:** either party could stipulate conditions, and they had to be agreed; cf. doc. *ap.* *Dem.* xlv. 61 γράμματα ἦν ἔτοιμος γράφειν . . . καθ’ ὅτι ἔσται ἡ βάσανος. The leaves of the leek (*πράσον*; *Allium porrum*, Theophr. *HP* vii. 1. 8, 2. 2) or onion (*γῆτειον*; *Allium cepa*, Theophr. *HP* vii. 4. 10) are soft and fragile (cf. the proverb that a lover’s purse is fastened with a leek-leaf (*Plu. Smp.* 622 D), so that Xanthias’ stipulation implies ‘Don’t let

him off lightly!' Σ^{VE} says that boys of free status were beaten with the foliage of leek and onion, and the reference is probably to a symbolic beating as part of a ritual, because we hear in Theocr. 7. 106 of a statue of Pan being beaten with σκίλλαι (*Urginea maritima*), and Hipponax 6. 2 speaks of beating a scapegoat with σκίλλαι.

623 κᾶν τι . . . **624** κείσεται: 'and in case . . ., the (sc. agreed) sum shall be deposited'; cf. 176. The principle of compensation (to the owner) for maiming a slave under torture is exemplified in Dem. xxxvii. 40, where a third party is responsible for estimating the value of the damage. τύπτων: maiming resulting from the other tortures might be worse, but beating is the only one which is going to be enacted, and τύπτων turns our attention in that direction.

625 οὔτω: 'simply', 'without more ado'; cf. Lys. xiii. 54 'Hippias . . . and Xenophon . . . were executed, one of them after torture and the other οὔτως'.

628 ἐνταῦθα: implying 'You may get away with lies elsewhere, but you're not going to *here*'. ἀγορεύω: used of public utterance, including 'proclaim', 'declare'; cf. Lys. ix. 9 τοῦ μὲν νόμου ἀγορεύοντος κτλ. τινί: not 'anyone concerned', but a menacing 'someone' = 'you', cf. E. *Andr.* 577, where Peleus threatens Menelaos by saying χαλᾶν κελεύω δεσμὰ πρὶν κλάειν τινά.

629 εἰ δὲ μή: 'otherwise'.

631 Διός: sc. 'son', as in 216.

634 γάρ: prepositive εἰ and postpositive περ combine to make a virtual prepositive, so that the postponement of γάρ is not out of the ordinary. οὐκ αἰσθήσεται: improvised theology, or maybe a popular belief; but in *Il.* v. 343, 352-4 Aphrodite screams and suffers pain when wounded by Diomedes.

637 δίκαιος ὁ λόγος: possibly Xanthias hesitates for a perceptible moment before saying this; but he can be pretty sure that he is tougher than Dionysos.

638 προτιμήσαντα: 'care', 'attach importance'; cf. *Ach.* 26 f. εἰρήνη δ' ὅπως / ἔσται, προτιμῶσ' οὐδέεν.

639 εἶναι: since ἡγοῦ τοῦτον εἶναι would scan equally well, it is reasonable to suspect a semantic reason for the order, but remarkably hard to find one which will fit all the examples of εἶναι after minor pause in even one author, and the reason may be not semantic but aesthetic.

640 γεννάδας: cf. p. 46.

641 ἀποδέσθε: Dionysos and Xanthias now have to strip.

644 ἰδοῦ: cf. 200 n. Xanthias (cf. 662 n.) turns his back to the Janitor, waiting for the blow. ὑποκινήσαντ': compounds of κινεῖν are among the many active verbs which can be used intransitively (cf. KG i. 90-6), and in ὑποκινήσαντα ὑπο- may mean 'a little' (which would suit some instances of ὑπο-verbs in Plato), but '(from) under (the blows)' also makes sense.

645 The sequence of letters $\eta\delta\eta\pi\alpha\tau\alpha\xi\alpha\sigma$ could be (a) $\eta\delta\eta$ 'πάταξά σ', 'I've struck you already', spoken by the Janitor, or (b) $\eta\delta\eta$ 'πάταξας, a question, 'Have you struck already?', asked by Xanthias (no change of speaker at $\eta\delta\eta$ is marked by R K Md1). In either case, there must be a change of speaker (as in all MSS) at οὐδ'; comparison with 493, 'No, indeed, I didn't give it a thought', Pl. 704, 'No indeed, he didn't give it a thought', and Pl. 551 'No, it hasn't, and it's not going to, either', shows that 'No, you haven't, and I don't think you have either', does not make sense. If (a) is right, the Janitor strikes immediately after Xanthias has said *ἰδοῦ*, Xanthias in *σκόπει κτλ.* pretends that he is still waiting, and the Janitor, in annoyance or perplexity, says 'I've already struck you'; and when Xanthias has said *οὐ μὰ Δία*, Dionysos says *οὐδ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖς*, implying 'That wasn't a real blow!' But however great his malice towards Xanthias, it is out of character for Dionysos to urge the Janitor to greater efforts; after all, he is due for the next blow. Moreover, Fraenkel 132–5 points out that *οὐ μὰ Δία* normally answers a question in comedy. If (b) is right, the Janitor cannot strike until after he has said 'No, I haven't', and after that he must strike (Σ^{KU} suggests that *οὐ μὰ Δία* is a joke by the Janitor: 'If *you* didn't feel it, *I* didn't strike'.) Fraenkel's idea is that having bluffed so far, Xanthias feels the blow keenly, and says ruefully, 'No, I agree, you hadn't!' This makes good comic action, but it seems wrong that Dionysos in 646 f. should be more nonchalant than Xanthias. But perhaps he is not; before uttering *πηνίκα* he may stagger and get the word out in a choked voice, determined to keep up the pretence of not feeling anything so long as he can manage that. Without emendation, Fraenkel's interpretation makes the best sense of the passage. The alternative is to adopt Bothe's *οὐκ* for *οὐδ'* (cf. 1374 n.), adopting $\eta\delta\eta$ 'πάταξά σ', giving everything from *οὐ* to *δοκεῖς* to Xanthias, and invoking 1043 and Nu. 1066 as parallels for *οὐ μὰ Δί' οὐ*.

647 *ἔπταρρον*: because a tickle or a draught can make one sneeze.

649 *τί τὰταταῖ*: R A' Md1 have no change of speaker and multiply the repeated syllables.

650 *μῶν*: 'Aha!' or 'Can it be that . . .?', introducing a question which can be, though it certainly is not always, unfriendly. No doubt Dionysos gesticulates triumphantly when Xanthias evinces pain, and Xanthias does the same in turn.

650 f. *ἐφρόντισα / ὀπόθ'*: 'the time when . . . came into my head'. **Ἡράκλεια**: Diomeia was a deme lying along the Ilissos due south of the Akropolis. It contained a sanctuary of Herakles, with a gymnasium, called Kynosarges (Paus. i. 19. 3; Judeich 169 f., 422 f.), where a major festival of Herakles was held (Deubner 226; Woodford 215 f.).

652 *ἄνθρωπος ἱερός*: 'there's something supernatural about him', or 'he's under divine protection' (*ἄν-* Dindorf: *ἄν-* codd.). So in Pl. *Ion* 534 B the

- poet is *ιέρως* because he becomes *ἐνθεός*. **δεῦρο πάλιν**: for the split $\cup | \cup$ – cf. 47 n.
- 653** **ιοῦ ἰοῦ**: *ιοῦ* (however accented) appears as an exclamation of pain and grief (e.g. *Nu.* 1, 1321) and of excitement and pleasure (e.g. *Pl. R.* 432 D *ιοῦ ἰοῦ* . . . *κινδυνεύομεν ἔχειν ἔχνος*, ‘I think we’ve picked up a trace!’). *Hdn.* i. 417. 22 al. recognizes only the former, and accents it *ιοῦ*; *Triklinios* (*Σ Pax* 317*b*) accents the latter *ιοῦ*. That may be an inference (not necessarily incorrect) from the fact that Herodian specifies *ιοῦ* as *σχετλιαστικόν*. It would have good comic effect if Dionysos’ first *ιοῦ* was obviously a cry of pain, but his second *ιοῦ* adjusted to his pretence. **ἱππέας**: associated with splendid processions, not only with war; cf. *Sappho* 16. 1–3, ‘some say that a host of cavalry . . . is the fairest sight on earth’.
- 655** **ἔπει**: sometimes used, as here, like *γάρ*, e.g. *V.* 73, 519, *Th.* 553; *KG* ii. 461 f., *Schwyzler* ii. 660.
- 657** **ἄκανθαν**: if Xanthias feels the pain of a thorn in his foot, he is no god, and the question posed in 633–9 is settled; the audience can see that, but the Janitor is not allowed to.
- 659** Dionysos cries out in pain, then pretends to be reciting a poem. **πoux**: one can never be sure where a god is; cf. *Anakreon* (*PMG*) 348. 4 ἦ κου . . . *ἔσκατορῆς κτλ.*, *Alkaios* 325. 1 f. *ἄνασσ’* . . . *ἄ ποι κτλ.*
- 661** **ἱαμβον**: *ἱαμβος* was a genre of poetry, and ‘iambic’ rhythm, common in that genre, was named after it; cf. *M. L. West, Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* (Berlin/New York, 1974) 22–39. **ἱππώνακτος**: Σ^{VE} attributes the verse to Ananios (*IEG*) fr. 1. 1, not *Hipponax*. Variant attributions are not uncommon in the history of the text of archaic poets.
- 662** So far it has been assumed (following the MSS) that Xanthias was the first to be struck (644); then Dionysos (646), Xanthias (649), Dionysos (653), Xanthias (657), Dionysos (658), and that fits with Dionysos’ quotation of poetry and Xanthias’ ‘thorn in the foot’. If we observe strict alternation, it should be Xanthias who is struck at 663 and sings from a Sophoclean chorus; so *V* *Vs1^{ac}*. In that case, 662 is spoken either by Xanthias, demanding a more painful blow even though he knows that the last two were bad enough, or by Dionysos, so anxious to hurt Xanthias that he disregards his own inability to withstand what will come his way next if Xanthias does not break down. It is better to suppose that the alternation is abandoned. After 659 Xanthias scents victory and excitedly urges the Janitor to give Dionysos a second blow. The Janitor, whose temper is not improved by failure to settle the matter, is inspired by the sight of Dionysos’ pot-belly (cf. 200) to greater brutality, and complies with Xanthias’ urging.
- 664–7** Dionysos screams *Πόσειδον*, Xanthias comments ‘someone’s hurt!’, and then Dionysos breaks into song, pretending that that was his intention anyway. What he sings is a passage from Sophocles’ *Laokoon* (fr. 371), given by Σ^{VE} in a version which is both divergent and more extensive. *Hermann*

observed that if *άλος ἐν βένθεσιν* came immediately after *τις, Πόσειδον . . . βένθεσιν* would make an iambic trimeter; but since Dionysos is singing, so drastic a transposition is unjustified. In *Av.* 904–52 the Poet, in addition to responding in lyrics to the spoken verse of Peisetairos, twice (913 f., 950–2) begins a lyric utterance with an iambic trimeter and then goes into lyrics (cf. Rau 119 n. 7). **μέδεις:** *μέδειν or *μεδέειν, ‘rule (over . . .)’, appears in epic only in the participial forms μέδων, μεδέων (μέδεις (Aeolic participle) is virtually certain in Alkaios 354), μεδέουσα, but *S. Ant.* 1118 f. has *ος . . . μέδεις* and Empedokles B17. 28 μέδει. It governs a genitive (as in Emped. loc. cit.), and Scaliger therefore emended *πρώνας*, ‘headlands’, to *πρωνός* (for the accent cf. Hdn. ii. 720. 37). The ‘Aegean headland’ will be Sunion. **άλος ἐν βένθεσιν:** in the version given by Σ^{VE} we have instead *εὐανέμου λίμνας ἐφ’ ὕψηλαῖσι σπιδάδεσσι*, then an unintelligible *στομάτων*. Since μέδεις can be intransitive and followed by ἐν . . . (as in *S. Ant.* loc. cit.), ‘You who rule the Aegean headland and in the depths of the grey sea’ is coherent. The reason why Aristophanes changed the Sophoclean passage, if he did not simply misremember it, is not clear.

670 **δεσπότης:** cf. p. 50.

671 **Φερρέφατθ’:** many inscriptions show that *Φερρέφαττα* was the Attic name of Persephone; cf. Thraette i. 450 f.

672 **ἐβουλόμην δ’ ἄν:** lit., ‘I would be wishing that you had thought . . .’, a common way of saying, ‘I wish you had thought . . .’; cf. *V.* 960, *KG* i. 214, *SGV* 306 f., *MT* 84 f., Schwyzer ii. 347.

673 **ἐμέ:** for the contrast between ‘your thinking’ and ‘my suffering’ ἐμέ (R Md1 Vb3) is more effective than με (cett.); and the split – ∪ ∪ may be justified by the prepositive character of *πρίν* (*West* 89 f., *Descroix* 188–94).

674–737. PARABASIS

Since the ‘anapaests’, an important element in the parabases of other plays, have been transferred to the parodos (354–71), this parabasis consists simply of ode (674–85), epirrhema (686–705), antode (706–17), and antepirrhema (718–37).

(i) 674–85. Ode

The ode and antode are in responsion (cf. *Prato* 304 f., *Zimmermann* ii. 189 f., iii. 87), thus:

(i) 674 f. (<i>Μούσα . . .</i>)	– ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ –	<i>ada De</i>
~ 706 f. (<i>εἰ δ’ . . .</i>)	– ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ ∪ – – ∪ –	

(2) 676 (τόν...) ~ 708 (οὐ...)	- ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - - - ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ -	<i>D - D</i>
(3) 677 (μν...) ~ 709 (κλει...)	- ∪ - ∪ - ¯	<i>ith</i>
(4) 678 f. (φιλο...) ~ 710 f. (ὁ πο...)	∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - - - - ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ -	<i>2an - D</i>
(5) 680 (δει...) ~ 712 (φευ...)	- ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - -	<i>D - (= 3da)</i>
(6) 681 (θη...) ~ 713 (καί...)	- ∪ - ∪ - -	<i>ith</i>
(7) 682-5 (ἐπί...) ~ 714-17 (χρό...)	∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - ∪ ∪ - ∪ - -	<i>5an × ith</i>

(2)–(3), (4)–(6), and (7) all begin with double-short rhythm and end with an ithyphallic; cf. especially *Pax* 775–96 ~ 797–818. (1) foreshadows this transition from double-short to single-short rhythm; it is treated by Prato 305 and Zimmermann iii. 87 as two verses, *6da | do*. On the anapaestic rhythm with which (1) and (7) begin cf. R. Pretagostini, *SCO* 25 (1976) 193–5. (2) and (5) are familiar dactylo-epitrite units. In Dale's terminology (*LM* 217) (1) is 'prosodiac' (beginning with - ∪ ∪ . . .) and (4) and (7) are 'enoplian' (beginning with ∪ ∪ - . . .), a terminology criticized by West 195, 199. The closest parallels are *Av.* 451–9 ~ 539–47, [A.] *PV* 544–52 ~ 60, *S. Trach.* 497–506 ~ 507–16; in all those cases some of the verses can be classified without more ado as dactylo-epitrite, and the passage of *Birds* ends with an ithyphallic.

There is a textual problem in (5). In epic *κοινή* is scanned ∪ - -, but the dative plural *κοινήσι* is ∪ ∪ - ∪. Tragedy uses *κονίαισ(ι)ν* with *ι* (*A. Ag.* 64, *E. Andr.* 112, *Su.* 821), but in comedy we find the genitive singular *κονίας* (*Ach.* 18, *Lys.* 470). The quantity of -ρι- in *αἰθρία* similarly varies according to metrical convenience: in iambic trimeters, *Th.* 1001, *Pl.* 1129 *πρὸς τὴν αἰθρίαν*, *Adesp. Iamb. (IEG)* 11. 2 α]ἰθρίην/; in anapaestic tetrameters *Nu.* 371, *Kratinos* fr. 58. 2 *αἰθρίας*; in elegiacs, *Solon* fr. 13. 22 *αἰθρίην*. In 712 respension with 680 would point to *κονίας* were it not that the MSS (except V) have *τε κονίας*; respension thus demands an additional syllable in 680, for which Blass 150 proposed -*μεται* (τις), comparing *Av.* 1559 f. *κάμηλον ἀμνόν τιν'* (cf. the use of *τις* in similes and metaphors, e.g. *A. Ag.* 735, 1142, 1194).

The invocation of the Muse calls upon her to come, to be present at the performance; so too 879, *Ach.* 665, 672, *Pax* 775 (addressed to Muses), and *Eq.* 559, *Nu.* 269, *Thesm.* 319, 1115 (addressed to various deities); *Horn* 14. The subject of the song is Kleophon, who is vilified for his alleged Thracian ancestry (cf. p. 69).

674 *χορῶν*: cf. 354 n. *ἱερῶν*: cf. pp. 68 f. *ἐπιβηθι*: the aorist *ἐπιβήναι* with a genitive is 'enter upon . . .', 'set foot in . . .', 'embark on . . .'.

- 675** ἐπὶ τέρψιν ἀοιδᾶς ἑμᾶς: since a deity *τέρπεται* by worship (e.g. *Th.* 990–2 ὦ Διόνυσε . . . χωρεῖς τερπόμενος . . . *Νυμφᾶν* . . . ὕμνοις), the meaning might be ‘to delight in my song’, but the function of the Muse in drama is not only to receive an offering of song and dance but also to inspire it and make it a delight for its audience (divine and human). Hence van Leeuwen’s interpretation, ‘ut meo cantu (auditores) delectes’—which perhaps is too one-sided—and Radermacher’s ἐπὶ τερπνὴν ψῶδῆν.
- 676** λαῶν: cf. 219*b* n. σοφίαι: for this flattery of the audience cf. 700, 1115–18. The plural σοφίαι would normally denote a variety of skills, as in Pl. *Th.* 176 C, but in *IG* ii² 522 ἄνδρες ἐποίησαν σοφίασιν καλὸν ἄγαλμα it seems unlikely that the men concerned are regarded as having different skills, and σοφίαι μυρίαί may mean ‘any number of men who are σοφοί’.
- 677** μυρίαί: it would be unwise to draw any conclusion on the capacity of the theatre: cf. 90.
- 678** φιλοτιμότεραι: it is not obvious why Kleophon, active and ambitious in politics, should be treated as deficient in φιλοτιμία (cf. 281 n.). We must, however, distinguish between a desire to achieve high status by inspiring fear (whatever people may really think) and a desire to achieve it by courage and generosity which deservedly win genuine admiration and respect. This good φιλοτιμία is attributed to recipients of honorific decrees in the fourth century (e.g. *IG* ii² 398. 14 f. (c.320); cf. D. Whitehead, *C&M* 34 (1983) 55–74). Moreover, φιλοτιμία can mean ‘honour’, e.g. *Xen. Hi.* 1. 27 ‘marriage into a noble family δοκεῖ . . . παρέχειν τινα τῷ γήμαντι φιλοτιμίαν’ and *Dem.* ii. 3 (sc. the growth of Philip’s power) δοκεῖ . . . ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἔχειν φιλοτιμίαν, ἡμῖν δ’ οὐχὶ καλῶς πεπραχθαι, and such passages suggest that φιλοτιμότεραι could be translated ‘more deserving of honour’. An alternative possibility (Dn) is that Kleophon (like Demosthenes) constantly professed devotion to the honour of Athens, and the chorus is saying that the average Athenian was more genuinely concerned with that than Kleophon.
- 679** χεῖλεσιν: cf. Eupolis fr. 102. 5, speaking of Perikles: ‘Persuasion sat upon (ἐπεκάθιζεν) his lips’. ἀμφιλόις: ‘talking both ways’, i.e. Greek and Thracian.
- 680** ἐπιβρέμεται: for the prosody -β¹ρ-, which would not be acceptable in the iambic trimeters of comic dialogue, cf. *Av.* 579 ἀν¹ρῶν (anapaests) and *V.* 678 ἐφ’ ὑγ¹ρᾶ (anapaests; epic phraseology), and B. Sachtshal, *De comicorum graecorum sermone metro accommodato* (Breslau, 1908) 13.
- 681** χελιδών: after ‘roars’, ‘swallow’ comes as an intended surprise. The sound of languages other than Greek was commonly compared to the twittering of swallows (cf. 93 n.), e.g. *A. Ag.* 1050 f.
- 682** ἐπὶ βάρβαρον ἔζομένη πέταλον: we have been told that the swallow ‘roars on the lips’ of Kleophon, and now it is said to ‘perch on a foreign leaf’. Birds do not perch on leaves (and swallows do not perch in foliage at

all), but since a wreath can be called a *πέταλον* (Bakchyl. 5. 186), so no doubt can a leafy twig.

683 κελαδεῖ: 'sings', 'cries', used of the swallow in *Ραχ* 801. R Mdt have *κελαρύζει*, a word used elsewhere of the sound of running water, and Fritzsche suspected that Aristophanes wrote *τρύζει*, used of the swallow in Arrian *Anab.* i. 25. 6 and of the dove in Theocr. 7. 140. **ἐπίκλαυτον ἀηδόσιον νόμον:** lit., 'wept-over nightingale's tune'. The song of the nightingale was thought of as a lamentation for her murdered son Itys (*Od.* xix. 522, and cf. Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 1140–5).

684 ὡς ἀπολείται: *ὡς* introduces the content of the lament; cf. Pi. *O.* 13. 75 f. *δείξεν . . . τελευτᾶν πράγματος, ὡς τ' . . . κοιτάξατο . . . ὡς τε . . . ἔπορεν κτλ.*

685 κἄν ἴσαι γένωνται: if the votes for condemnation and those for acquittal were equal, the defendant was acquitted (*Αθ.* π. 69. 1, cf. *E. El.* 1268 f.). Juries were made up of an odd number of jurors, to prevent such a situation, but the Areopagus, which was composed of all living ex-archons and tried cases of homicide, could as well be even as odd on any given occasion, and the Council of 500 had some judicial powers (cf. Rhodes 537–42). It seems that *αἱ ψῆφοι*, 'the votes', must be understood as the subject of *ἴσαι γένωνται*; cf. *Nu.* 972 *τυπτόμενος πολλᾶς* (sc. *πληγᾶς*). That at least was the ancient interpretation, as we see from Σ^{RVE}. (Radermacher's hypothesis that *αἱ σοφίαι* is understood from 676 is impossibly tortuous.) Aristophanes' promise is that somehow or other Kleophon will come to a bad end (possibly by violence, like Androkles (Thuc. viii. 65. 2)).

(ii) **686–705. *Epirrhema***

On the political message of this passage see pp. 73–5.

686 ἱερόν: cf. pp. 68 f. **χρηστά:** cf. 179 n.

687 συμπαραινεῖν: in *Av.* 852 there is considerable point in *συμπαραινέσας*, following *ὁμοροθῶ, συνθέλω*, but here we have to ask, 'join *whom* in advising?', and the answer must be 'those who have already been urging what we are going to urge'. In *S.* fr. 576. 3 the point of *συμπαραινέσαι* is obscure. **διδάσκειν:** in *Ach.* 656–8 Aristophanes promises always to give good 'instruction' to the public (*πολλὰ διδάξειν ἀγάθ' . . . τὰ βέλτιστα διδάσκων*).

688 δείματα: 'fears', presumably, of victimization which, as disenfranchised persons (*ἄτιμοι*), they are not in a position to combat on equal terms.

689 Cf. p. 73.

690 ἐγγενέσθαι: 'be permitted'; cf. Andok. i. 141 *ἵνα κάμοι ἐγγενηταί ἐκείνους μιμήσασθαι*. **ὀλισθοῦσιν:** we use 'slip' in a moral sense too, but here the point lies in the metaphor of wrestling.

- 691 αἰτίαν ἐκθεῖσι:** ἐκτιθέναι is used (1) of exposing unwanted infants (e.g. 1190), (2) of putting up a notice for the public to read (decr. *ap.* Andok. i. 83), and (3), in and after Aristotle, of expounding. The common interpretation of αἰτίαν ἐκθεῖσι as 'after giving an exposition of (sc. their defence against) the charge' is hard to justify, while 'having got rid of the charge against them' makes good sense. **πρότερον:** cf. *Eg.* 1355 ταῖς πρότερον ἀμαρτίαις. προτέρας (E U Vb3 Vs1) gives us the very rare -ω-υ as a trochaic metron.
- 692 εἶν':** for the elision cf. *Nu.* 1357 εἶν' ἔφασκε.
- 693** Cf. p. 49. 695 shows that it is not the granting of citizenship to slaves which is shameful, but doing so while still refusing to re-enfranchise worthy citizens. **μίαν:** sc μάχην. Cf. Antiphon v. 13 ἀπολογησαμένῃ τὴν προτέραν (sc. ἀπολογίαν); KG ii. 564 f.
- 694 Πλαταιᾶς:** those Plataeans who escaped massacre by the Peloponnesians in 427 (Thuc. iii. 68) were received at Athens and given Athenian citizenship (Dem. lix. 104-6). If that citizenship was subject to any special limitations, we do not know what they were; Aristophanes seems therefore to be saying not that the slaves were given 'Plataean rights', but that they were, so to speak, Plataeans, a body of people granted citizenship as a whole.
- 695 μὴ οὐ:** cf. 68 n.
- 696 νοῦν ἔχοντ':** cf. 534 n., 1396.
- 697 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις:** 'in addition'; there is no need to imagine that πρὸς is adverbial (cf. 611 n.) and τούτοις the antecedent of οἱ κτλ., since οἱ κτλ. can perfectly well be a relative clause equivalent to a substantive in the dative; cf. 710.
- 698 χοῖ πατέρες:** virtually parenthetical; cf. 1408 f. and *IG* ii² 373. 29 εἶναι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐγγόν[οις γῆς καὶ οἰ]κίας ἐγκτησιν ἀπέχοντι κτλ. **γένει:** it was a conventional fiction that the members of a citizen-body were of common ancestry.
- 699 παρῆναι:** aorist infinitive of παρήμι, not imperfective infinitive of πάρειμι. **συμφοράν:** cf. 689 f. and p. 73. **αἰτουμένοις:** cf. 1152 (= A. *Cho.* 2).
- 700 τῆς ὀργῆς ἀνέντες:** cf. *V.* 574 τῆς ὀργῆς . . . ἀνείμεν. **ὦ σοφώτατοι φύσει:** cf. 1115-18 and *Nu.* 575 ὦ σοφώτατοι θεαταί.
- 701** This is not the romantic cry 'Seid umschlungen, Millionen', because 702 ὅστις ἂν ξυμμαμαχῆ completes the thought, 'all those who . . .'. ἀνθρώπους rather than ἀνδρας, because the enfranchised slaves are included.
- 703 ὄγκωσόμεθα:** 'be too proud'; ὄγκος is literally 'bulk' or 'swelling', figuratively 'pride', 'self-importance'. **κάποσεμνουόμεθα:** 'not deign to do it'; cf. 833 and 178 n.
- 704** The phrase κυμάτων ἐν ἀγκάλαις, 'in the embrace of the waves', i.e. 'storm-tossed', is taken from Archilochos (*IEG*) fr. 213 (cf. E. *Hel.* 1062

πελαγίους ἐς ἀγκάλας). We would expect *καὶ ταῦτα* ('and that, too, . . .'; cf. 67) to precede the phrase which it emphasizes, and the passages commonly cited as instances of postponement are explicable otherwise, as Fraenkel 151–3 shows (*Pl.* 545 f., Diodorus Com. fr. 3. 5, *Pl. R.* 341 c). Fraenkel explains this passage by heavy emphasis on *τὴν πόλιν*, which replaces the *ψυχάς* of Archilochos, but since the whole passage is about the fate of the city the explanation is not entirely satisfactory.

705 εὖ φρονεῖν οὐ δόξομεν: the threat is very muted, but no one likes to be mocked, and the city's reputation plays a prominent part in fourth-century political debate, e.g. Dem. xx. 10, 125, 155–7, xxiv. 205 (*GPM* 307).

(iii) **706–17. Antode**

This song is directed against Kleigenes, who is apparently (710–13) a proprietor of bath-houses. A man of that (uncommon) name was first secretary of the Council in 410/9 (*IG* i³ 375. 1), but we know nothing else about him. He is threatened in unspecific terms (708–14 οὐ πολὺν . . . χρόνον ἐνδιατρίψει), just as Kleophon is threatened in 684 (*ἀπολείται*).

706 εἰ . . . ἀνέρος is a quotation from Ion (*TrGF* 19 F1, context unknown). ὀρθός: in A. *Eu.* 318 the Furies describe themselves as μάρτυρες ὀρθαί; cf. *Pi. O.* 6. 90 ἐσσι γὰρ ἄγγελος ὀρθός. The dependence of an infinitive on ὀρθός (sc. εἰμι) is to be classified with similar dependence on a wide range of adjectives; *KG* ii. 9–15, *SGV* 647 f., *MT* 305–8, Schwyzer ii. 364. ἀνέρος: the poetic form ἀνερ- = ἀνδρ- occurs also in *Eq.* 1295 (lyric) and *Av.* 687 (anapaestic).

707 ἔτ': threatening, as in E. *Alc.* 731 δίκας δὲ δώσεις . . . ἔτι, Eupolis fr. 99. 108 ταῦτα δ' ἔτ' ὀφλήσεις ἐμοί. οἰμώξεται: cf. 178 n.

708 οὐ πολὺν: we have to wait until 714 (*χρόνον*) for the completion of the phrase, but given the context, particularly the future οἰμώξεται, it is not hard to divine that 'time' is coming. Cf. Xen. *An.* vi 3. 15 πολλή μὲν γὰρ (sc. ὀδός) εἰς Ἡρακλείαν πάλιν ἀπιέναι. οὐδ': 'not . . . either'; we have to remember the threat to Kleophon in the ode. πίθηκος: on the Greek view of apes and monkeys cf. García Gual, *Em.* 11 (1972) 453–60 and S. Lilja, *Arctos* 14 (1980) 31–8. Comparison of a human to a monkey is not flattering; cf. *Ach.* 957, Eubulos fr. 114. 4 (ἐπίβουλον κακόν). οὗτος: cf. 428 n. ἐνοχλῶν: 'bore', 'annoy', 'be a nuisance'.

709 μικρός: small stature is not easily forgiven in a society which values size and strength in men.

710 βαλανεύς: 'bath-keepers' are classified with prostitutes in *Eq.* 1403 and are victims of the comic convention which regards all retailers and providers of services malevolently (cf. p. 213). ὀπόσοι: 'worst bath-keeper (of) all those (bath-keepers) who . . .'. The relative clause is equivalent to a

substantive in an oblique case, as in (e.g.) *V.* 586 ἔδομεν ταύτην ὅστις ἂν ἀναπέιση, ‘... to whoever has persuaded us’; cf. 697 n., Bruhn 51 f.

711 κρατούσι ... 713 γῆς: *κυκησίτεφρος* should mean ‘stirring ash’, to judge from many other compounds in -σι-, e.g. *Ach.* 315 παραξικάρδιον = *παράπτον τὴν καρδίαν*, *Lys.* 554 *Λυσιμάχας* = *λυούσας τὰς μάχας* (though Kratinos fr. 381 *λυπησίλογος*, if it means *λυπῶν διὰ τοῦ λέγειν* (Phot. *a* 1975) is slightly different). Hence Radermacher’s emendation *-τεφροί* for the *-τέφρου* of the MSS. Wetted ash was used as a detergent; so were sodium carbonate (*λίτρον*) and a whitish clay from the island of Kimolos (calcium montmollionite). Sodium carbonate might be adulterated with lime (Plin. *NH* xxxi. 114), and that no doubt is the point of *ψευδολίτρον*. After *κρατούσι*, *γῆς* implicitly likens the bath-keepers to rulers of a domain; cf. *IG* i² 156. 2 *δοσης* (sc. *γῆς*) *Ἀθηναῖοι κρατούσιν*.

714 ἐνδιατρίψει: ‘spend his time among (us)’, i.e. ‘he won’t be with us for long’. *ιδῶν*: so Bentley; *εἰδῶς* MSS, which does not scan. What Kleigenes sees is that ‘he won’t be with us for long’, but we are left to guess why he sees that. **οὐκ εἰρηνικός ἐσθ’:** ‘he’s not a man of peace’, i.e. he is aggressive; in Isoc. viii. 136 abstention from dishonest gain is characteristic of the *εἰρηνικός*. If Kleigenes was associated with Kleophon in opposition to any proposals for peace negotiations, the joke is political as well as personal. *V* has *ἔσθα*, which might be thought to point to *ἔσθ’* = *ἔσται*, but there are other bizarre word-endings in *V* (e.g. 1283 *προστίθει*). **ἴνα ... 717 βαδίζων:** ‘that he may not on some occasion be stripped, when drunk, if he goes without a stick’. Stealing clothes, whether surreptitiously or by assault, was a well-known crime (cf. Antiphon ii β 5 f.), and a drunken man on his way home from a party was a comparatively easy victim (cf. *Av.* 493–8). It is a fair inference that Kleigenes habitually appeared in public with a stout stick on occasions when others thought it unnecessary (like the nervous philosophers of Luc. *Paras.* 55). It is a mistake to see here any reference to a ‘baton of office’; the juror’s coloured stick in the fourth century was not a badge of office, but a device to ensure that jurors went to the courts to which they had been allocated (*Aθ.* π. 63, 2, 65, 3, Dem. xviii. 210).

(iv) **718–37. Antepirrhema**

The message is: ‘put your trust in men of distinguished ancestry, rejecting the “first-generation politicians” of whose forebears you know nothing’, and it is implied that the latter are of foreign parentage and illegitimately enrolled in the citizen-body (cf. pp. 69 f.). An analogy is drawn from coinage. Until the last years of the fifth century Athenian coins were of silver, but because of the extreme difficulty of mining silver at Laureion after the establishment of a Peloponnesian garrison at Dekeleia the gold dedications on the Acropolis were used for the striking of gold coins in 406 (Hellanikos, *FGrHist* 4 F172).

Σ^{VE} 725 says that bronze coins were struck in 406/5. Our passage, in combination with *Ec.* 815–22, where clear reference is made to the withdrawal of bronze coinage (some time before 393/2) might seem to leave no room for doubt; but the fact is that the earliest surviving Attic bronze coins are all datable to later in the fourth century. We do have, however, silver-plated bronze coins from Aristophanes' time, and the hypothesis that these were private forgeries is hard to reconcile with the quantity found and the number of identifiable dies used in their production (J. H. Kroll, *GRBS* 17 (1976) 329–41). The reasonable conclusion is that when Aristophanes says 'bronze', whether in *Frogs* or in *Ecclesiazusae*, he means bronze plated with silver. The existence of the new gold coinage introduces an untidy element into the analogy; this coinage was, after all, a novelty, but gold is gold, the metal of the gods themselves, and could not easily be treated as symbolizing upstarts. The notion of Σ^{VE} 725 that Aristophanes is condemning the gold along with the bronze is ruled out also by the fact that in 719 we have 'good citizens', not 'good and bad citizens' to balance 'the old coinage and the new gold'.

718 πολλάκις: like English 'I've often thought . . .' and 'I've often wondered . . .' introducing a general reflection; cf. *Eq.* 1290 ἡ πολλάκις ἐννυχίαισι φροντίσι συγγεγένημαι, *V.* 1265 πολλάκις δὴ 'δοξ' ἐμαυτῷ κτλ. (both choral). **πεπονθέναι:** so in *V.* 946 ἐκείνῳ μοι δοκεῖ πεπονθέναι, 'I think that this is what has happened to him'. To represent someone as *πάσχω* rather than *ποιῶν* mitigates censure.

719 καλοῦς τε κἀγαθοῦς: the expression is widely used in a moral sense, denoting honesty, loyalty, and decency (*GPM* 41–3), but, like English 'decent people', it was also applied specifically to the upper classes (*Thuc.* viii. 48. 6, contrasted with the *demos*; *Pl. R.* 569 A, *Arist. Pol.* 1293^b38–40).

721 οὔσιν: except in periphrastic tenses, where the temporal element is important (cf. W. J. Aerts, *Periphrastica* (Amsterdam, 1965); *KG* i. 38 f., Schwyzer i. 811 f.), a participle (κεκιβδηλευμένοις) as predicate of 'be' is uncommon, but cf. *Lys.* xxiv. 7 νεωτέρῳ καὶ μάλλον ἐρρωμένῳ ὄντι (where, as here, there are two predicates, one an adjective and the other a participle) and *E. Hec.* 358 οὐκ εἰωθὸς ὄν. **κεκιβδηλευμένοις:** κίβδηλος is used of deceptive (because adulterated) coins; cf. *IG* ii² 1388. 61 (397/6) στατήρες κίβδηλοι.

722 ὡς δοκεῖ: not 'as it seems', but 'as is generally agreed'; cf. *Thuc.* vi. 17. 1 ἔως . . . ὁ Νικίας εὐτυχῆς δοκεῖ εἶναι.

723 κεκωδωνισμένοις: cf. 79 n.

725 χρώμεθ' οὐδέν: rhetorical exaggeration for the sake of the analogy, because the old silver coins in circulation would not have been rejected.

726 χθές τε καὶ πρόην: lit., 'yesterday and the day before', i.e. 'only the other day'; in *Dem.* xviii. 130 it is contrasted with the vaguer ὄψέ, 'lately'.

727 εὐγενεῖς: 'true-born' elsewhere in Aristophanes (*Th.* 330, *Lys.* 697) rather

- than ‘aristocratic’, and cf. Dem. lvii. 46, 62 and lix. 72 *εὐγενή μὲν, πένητα δέ. σῶφρονες*: the essence of *σωφροσύνη* is stopping to think before one acts, and then accommodating one’s action to legal or moral rules (*GPM* 16–19). Anyone can be *σῶφρων*, but there was a strong tendency in Aristophanes’ time for anti-democratic forces to claim the virtue for themselves and those who acquiesced in their leadership; cf. Thuc. iv. 28. 5 *οἱ σῶφρονες τῶν ἀνθρώπων*, of the enemies of Kleon, and iii. 82. 8, viii. 64. 5.
- 728 δικαίους**: cf. 633, 637. **καλοὺς τε καὶ αἰσθητοὺς**: cf. 719 n.
- 729** Physical training and music were the staple ingredients of the education of older boys (Pl. *R.* 376 E, *Prt.* 325 D–6 C). Since education was not free, boys of the richest families had more of it than the others, as remarked in Pl. *Prt.* 326 C. [Xen.] *Ath.* i. 13 comments on the hostility of the demos to *τοῦς γυμναζομένους . . . καὶ τὴν μουσικὴν ἐπιτηδεύοντας*.
- 730 προυσελοῦμεν**: the word occurs elsewhere only in [A.] *PV* 438, where it means ‘maltreat’, ‘outrage’. **χαλκοῖς**: here an element which belongs to one member of the comparison intrudes into the other. **πυρρίαις**: ‘Pyrrhias’ (cf. ‘Xanthias’) occurs in New Comedy as a slave’s name. *πυρρός* hair (cf. 308 n.) was regarded as characteristic of Thracians (Xenophanes B16), but on white-ground funerary lekythoi many figures have hair which is yellow, brown, or reddish, and on the famous red-figure vase Paris G175 Ganymede, the most beautiful youth ever, has carrotty hair. Dn sees a contradiction between this passage and the earlier commendation (695 f.) of the freeing of slaves; but, of course, we are concerned now with political leadership, not simply citizenship.
- 731 πονηροῖς καὶ πονηρῶν**: cf. E. *Andr.* 591 *ὦ κάκιστε καὶ κακῶν*.
- 733 φαρμακοῖσιν**: a ritual in which a ‘scapegoat’ (*φαρμακός*) was expelled from the community—and beaten (seriously or symbolically) or stoned—was widespread in the Greek world (Burkert (1985) 82 f.; J. Bremmer, *HSCP* 87 (1983) 299–320). At Athens this ritual was part of the Thargelia (Deubner 179–88). The speaker of *Lys.* vi. 53 associates *φαρμακὸν ἀποπέμπειν* with *καθαίρειν* (‘purify’) *τὴν πόλιν* and *ἀλιτηρίου ἀπαλλάττεσθαι* (‘be rid of a sinner under a curse’). Since, according to Σ^{rec.} 730, deformity and worthlessness were qualifications for the status of scapegoat, Aristophanes implies ‘not even human enough to be scapegoats’. **εἰκῆ ῥαδίως**: ‘haphazardly, lightly’ is somewhat tautological, but that is a common phenomenon with adverbs, e.g. Antiphon i. 20 *εὐθέως παραχρήμα*, E. *Hec.* 489 *ἄλλως . . . μάτην*, and the frequent *τάχ’ ἄν ἴσως, πάλιν αὖθις*, etc.
- 734** Cf. Eupolis fr. 392. 7 *ἀλλὰ μοι πείθεσθε πάντως μεταβαλόντες τοὺς τρόπους. ὠνόητοι* is harsh (cf. *Lys.* 572 *ὡς ἀνόητοι*, ‘What idiots you are!’); contrast the compliment paid in 700.
- 735 χρηστοῖσιν**: cf. 179 n., 600.
- 736 εὐλογον**: commonly used of what is easy to explain or justify, but here coloured by *εὐ λέγειν* and *εὐλογία*, ‘praise’, ‘good repute’. **κἄν τι**

- σφαλήτ'**: τι tones down the reference to failure and defeat; cf. Thuc. i. 140. 1 ἦν ἄρα τι καὶ σφαλλώμεθα, contrasted with κατορθώσαντας. **ἐξ ἄξίου** . . . **ξύλου**: a proverbial expression ('hanged on a really good tree') is adapted for the end of the parabasis just as 'drive out a nail with a nail' is adapted at the end of the parabasis of *Acharnians* (717 f.)
- 737 ἦν τι καὶ πάσχητε**: a conventional euphemism for death in *V*. 385 ἦν τι πάθω γώ, 'if anything happens to me' (followed there by instructions for burial). For the virtual repetition in *κἄν τι σφαλήτ'* . . . ἦν τι καὶ πάσχητε, cf. 496 n. **τοῖς σοφοῖς**: those whose experience and wisdom makes them good judges; but there may also be a hint at commemoration of Athens by future poets (cf. Pi. *Raean* 18. 3 ἀνδ]ρι σοφῷ παρέχει μέλος, *P*. 10. 22 εὐδαίμων δὲ καὶ ὑμνητός . . . γίνεται σοφοῖς. **δοκῆσετε**: again, as in 705, emphasis on reputation. Since 705 ended with δόξομεν, δοκῆσετε illustrates the complete synonymy of alternative forms of the future and aorist of δοκεῖν; cf. 1485, *Nu*. 562. Throughout the epirrhema and antepirrhema there are frequent shifts between 'we' and 'you' in references to the Athenian citizen-body: 686 'we', 696 f., 'you', 701–5 'we', 727 'we', 725–31 'we', 735–7 'you'.

738–813. DIALOGUE BETWEEN SLAVES

Xanthias and another slave come out of the palace, talking; on the possibility that they have come out of a side-door, cf. 812 n. On the identity of the other slave, see pp. 50–3; and on the implications of the first part of their conversation, p. 46.

738 γεννάδας: cf. p. 46.

739 πῶς γὰρ οὐχί: 'Yes, of course . . .'; cf. Pl. *Euthphr.* 10A οὐκοῦν καὶ φιλοῦμένον τι ἐστί . . . ; || πῶς γὰρ οὐ; (*GP* 86).

740 οἶδε: for εἰδέναι with infinitive = 'know how to . . .' cf. *Av*. 9 and Alexis fr. 217. 2 ὁ δὲ Διόνυσος οἶδε τὸ μεθύσαι μόνον.

741 τὸ δὲ μὴ πατάξαι σ': cf. 530 n. **ἐξελεγχθέντ'**: E K M Np1 Θ have the active ἐξελέξαντ', agreeing with the understood subject of πατάξαι. *V^{rp}*. ἐξελεγχθέντων Ἀττικῶν is probably a corruption of a comment that -λεγχ- is correct, -λεχ- wrong; for the occasional omission of a nasal in a combination of three consonants cf. Thraette i. 573 f., Gignac i. 117—and the fact that R has -λεχ- here. **ἄντικρυς**: if this has its common meaning 'straightway', it most naturally qualifies πατάξαι, but Thuc. vi. 10. 3 ἀντικρυς πολεμοῦσαι, 'are openly making war', and other Thucydidean examples suggest that it qualifies ἐξελεγχθέντ' and means 'inescapably', 'undeniably'.

743 ᾤμωξε μεντᾶν: μέντοι here seems to correspond to emphasis on 'would'

in English ‘he *would* have been sorry for it!’ Cf. Pl. *Tht.* 158 E γελοῖον μὲν τὰν εἶη, ‘that *would* be absurd!’; *GP* 402. **τοῦτο μέντοι . . . 744 πεπόηκας:** Σ^{RVE} refers *τοῦτο* (μέντοι emphasizing the demonstrative; cf. *GP* 400) to Xanthias’ bellicose utterance; the point of εὐθύς will then be the immediacy of his reaction to 741 f. (the Aristotelian εὐθύς, ‘for example’, is unlikely in Aristophanes). It is surprising to find a mere utterance denoted by ποιεῖν, but if we take *τοῦτο* as referring to the action described in 742 εὐθύς is hard to explain. In either case the perfect tense πεπόηκας is surprising, since we would expect it to refer to the creation of a continuing situation or to an action which has had continuing consequences (KG i. 167–9, *GV* 116, Schwyzer ii. 287; cf. Ros 339–41). Perhaps that is just the point, that Xanthias has ‘from the start’ (cf. 939) established a master–slave relationship which endears him to Pluto’s slave.

745 ἵκετεύω: cf. 11 n. This parenthetical ἵκετεύω in Aristophanes is usually ‘I beg you, (don’t . . .)!’, but here evidently ‘Do tell me, *please!*’ In Eubulos fr. 114. 1, Philetairos 7. 1 it is ‘I *ask* you!’, with a question to which the speaker thinks that the answer is obvious. **μᾶλλ’:** cf. 103 n. **ἐποπτεύειν:** ἐπόπτης is someone who has gone through all the stages of initiation and is allowed to see the sacred objects in the Mysteries; cf. Pl. *Phd.* 250 c μνούμενοι καὶ ἐποπτεύοντες, *Smph.* 209 E τὰ τέλεια καὶ ἐποπτικά. It is noteworthy for the history of Greek religion that ἐποπτεύειν here, in a very down-to-earth context, is treated as a moment of supreme happiness. **δοκῶ:** ‘seem (to myself)’.

746 καταράσσωμαι λάθρα: ‘curse . . . behind his back’.

747 τί δέ: cf. 73 n. **τονθορούζων:** a blend of ‘mumble’ and ‘grumble’ in *Ach.* 683, of helpless old men on trial, but in *V.* 614 coupled with καταρασάμενος and more like ‘mutter (discontentedly)’.

749 πολλὰ πράττων: ‘doing what you’ve no business to do’; cf. 228 n. **ὧς . . . ἐγώ:** lit., ‘as I know nothing’, i.e. ‘in a way in which I know nothing (else that does)’.

750 ὁμόγνιε Ζεῦ: Zeus conceived as guardian of the mutual obligations which people have by virtue of common descent; so in E. *Andr.* 921 Hermione entreats Orestes ἀλλ’ ἄντομαί σε Δία καλοῦσ’ ὁμόγνιον. **παρακούων:** ‘overhearing’; sometimes ‘happening to hear’ without intention of eavesdropping, e.g. *Hdt.* iii. 129. 3.

751 λαλώσι: cf. p. 22. **πλείν ἢ μαίνομαι:** cf. 103 n.

752 καταλαλῶν: not attested elsewhere in the classical period; later, it denotes reproof, abuse, or slander, and presumably the point of *κατα-* here is that divulging confidential conversation is unwelcome (and sometimes discreditable) to those who converse. The passage is an interesting reminder that it is hard to keep secrets in a society where people constantly have slaves in attendance.

753 μὰ Δί’ ἄλλ’: μὰ Δία being a negative oath, the meaning is ‘No, (χαίρειν

- (745) is not strong enough, I'd say rather that) I . . .'. **κάκμιαίνομαι:** *μιαίνειν* is 'stain', and figuratively 'pollute'; the combination of *έκ-* with the fact that the slave is speaking of great happiness shows that he must mean 'I have an orgasm', and Hp. *Superfet.* 31 uses *έκμιαίνεσθαι* in that sense. There are indications (e.g. Hes. *Op.* 733 f.) that human semen was offensive to deities (Parker 74–9) and therefore a polluting substance. *κάκμολύνομαι* (V) could be right, but is not attested elsewhere.
- 754** **ἔμβαλε . . . 755** **κύσσον:** shaking hands is not a casual greeting among the Greeks, but a pledge of affection and loyalty, and a kiss reinforces it. Cf. 788 f.; and in *Nu.* 81 Strepsiades, before starting to beg his son to go to Socrates' school, says *κύσσον με καὶ τὴν χεῖρα δὸς τὴν δεξιάν*. For (lit.) 'give to kiss' cf. *Lys.* 923 *δὸς νυν μοι κύσαι* (where the context is erotic) and *Is.* vii. 2 'confirming the transaction, *δόντων αὐτῶ τῶν νόμων* (sc. to do so)'.
755 **καί μοι φράσον:** they embrace, and while they do so we hear a noise of shouting within. Σ^{RVE} suggests that Xanthias starts to ask the other slave a question about something else, but breaks off after *ὁμομαστιγίας* and asks instead what the noise is about; the alternative (recognized by Σ^{RVE}) is that *καί μοι φράσον κτλ.* is all concerned with the noise. The problem lies in *καί*, because we do not expect that to break off an utterance and introduce a question prompted by a new event; even the breaking-off *καίτοι* (*GP* 557) would be surprising here. *καί* is explicable, however, on the assumption that Xanthias regards willingness on the part of the other slave to divulge what is going on as entailed by their newly cemented relationship: 'And now . . .'.
756 **ὁμομαστιγίας:** on *μαστιγίας* cf. 501 n.; the notion of Zeus as a deity of *μαστιγίαί* takes the *ὀμόγνιε Ζεῦ* of 750 a stage further.
757 **ἔστι:** a verb is very often singular when it precedes two or more coordinated subjects the first of which is singular; KG i. 79 f., Schwyzer ii. 608.
759 Change of speaker before *ἄ* is omitted in R E Md^{1ac} K, and change after it by R V A¹ M Np¹, while U Vs^{1ac} put the second change before the first *μέγα*. There can be little doubt that it is Xanthias who says *ἄ*, for in Aristophanes (as in Sophocles and Euripides) it is a response, not a continuation. It normally implies 'Stop!', 'Don't . . .!', but cf. A. *Ag.* 1085–7 'Apollo, Apollo! . . . ἄ, where have you brought me?' and A. *Su.* 162 *ἄ Ζεῦ* in an anguished appeal. Pluto's slave must reply *πράγμα κτλ.*, so that Xanthias may ask *έκ τοῦ*. For the repetition cf. 580, and E. *Hp.* 327 *κάκ' ὦ τάλανά σοι τὰδ'*; *εἰ πεύση, κακά*; Fehling 170.
760 **στάσις:** cf. 359 n.
762 **ἀπό:** unless we punctuate after *κείμενος* we have the problem of explaining *ἀπό* = *περί*, for which Hdt. iv. 54 *ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν ποταμῶν* is a very insecure parallel, and we introduce an unnecessary obscurity. We speak of selecting members of a committee 'from the arts' (cf. Thuc. iv. 130.

- 4 τινος . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου); and after all, dead poets go *from* the exercise of their art on earth *to* the underworld. **δεξιά:** cf. pp. 13 f.
- 763 συντέχνων:** the ‘genitive of comparison’ with a superlative is normal, and admits of the translation ‘more . . . than *all* . . .’.
- 764** Free meals in the prytaneion (named from the presiding prytaneis of Council and Assembly, though they themselves dined elsewhere (*Ath. π.* 43. 3)) were an honour conferred by the state on various categories of people prescribed in *IG* i³ 131, including victors in the panhellenic games; cf. Rhodes 308. **αὐτόν:** pleonastic, but not unparalleled, e.g. *Pl. R.* 398 A ἄνδρα δὴ . . . , εἰ . . . ἀφίκοιτο . . . , προσκυνοῖμεν ἄν αὐτόν, *Hdt.* ii. 10. 2; interestingly, it occurs in *IG* i³ 131 itself (5–7), ἔπειτα τοῖς [h]αρμ[οδίο καὶ Ἄριστογεί]τονος ἡδ[σ] ἄν ἐι ἐγγύτατα γένος, [huiδὼν γνεσίον μὲ ὄντων, ἐν]αι αὐτοῖς τὲν σίτ[ε]σι[ν κτλ.]; *KG* i. 661.
- 765 ἐξῆς:** ‘next to . . .’; cf. 163 n. **μανθάνω:** ‘Yes, I see’; an exposition is similarly punctuated by the hearer in *Av.* 1456, 1461.
- 766 ἕως ἀφίκοιτο:** optative, because the law was made in the past; cf. 24 n.
- 767 ἔδει:** cf. 12 n.
- 768** Xanthias’ question seems to assume that Aeschylus’ position could not be seriously challenged.
- 770 κράτιστος:** the synonymy of *κράτιστος* and *ἄριστος* is neatly shown by 763 ~ 770; on their relation to *σοφός*, cf. pp. 12 ff.
- 771 ἐπεδείκνυτο:** ‘put on a performance’ (‘. . . display’, . . . ‘show’); the word is used of a lecture or recitation by a sophist (of Prodikos, *Xen. M.* ii. 1. 21) or a demonstration of a physical technique (*Pl. La.* 179 E).
- 772 f.:** ‘stealers of clothes’ (whether by violence or by stealth), ‘cutters of purses, beaters of father’ (cf. 274 n.) ‘and men who dig through walls’ (i.e. burglars). These categories of criminal, together with thieves, plunderers of temples, and men who kidnapped others into slavery, are included in a list of criminal activities in *Pl. R.* 575 BC and *Xen. M.* i. 2. 62.
- 774 ὅπερ:** the relative here has the number and gender of its predicate, not of its antecedent, as in (e.g.) *Pl. Phdr.* 255 C τοῦ βρέυματος ἐκείνου . . . ὃν ἵμερον Ζεὺς . . . ὠνόμασε; *KG* i. 76 f.
- 775 ἀντιλογίων:** ‘disputes’, ‘controversies’ (cf. 878); but a work of Protagoras was known in later times as *ἀντιλογίαί* (*Protag.* A1, p. 255. 4; or -ικά (-ικοί?) B5), and the reference here may be to the set-piece arguments characteristic of Euripidean tragedy (e.g. *Su.* 399–510). **λυγισμῶν:** *λυγίζειν* is ‘bend’, ‘twist’, especially in wrestling and dancing (*λογισμῶν* M^{ac} M^a Np1, ‘reasonings’, is an almost inevitable corruption), and *στροφή* is a ‘turn’ or ‘twist’, figuratively ‘dodge’, ‘evasion’ (*Ec.* 1026, *Pl.* 1154). The two ideas occur together figuratively in *S. Ichn.* (F314) 371 στρέφου λυγίζου τε μύθοις . . . οὐ μὲ πείσεις, ‘twist and turn as you may in your talk . . .’, and *Pl. R.* 405 C, where the skilful but dishonest forensic orator is *ικανὸς πάσας*

μὲν στροφᾶς στρέφεσθαι, πάσας δὲ διεξόδους διεξιῶν ἀποστραφῆναι λυγιζόμενος.

777 ἔπαρθεῖς: 'aroused', 'excited'.

778 ἴν': 'where', as commonly in the fifth century, especially in documentary inscriptions. ἔβállετο: 'was pelted', as in *Ach.* 236 the chorus intends to stone Dikaiopolis in their indignation at his treasonable conduct.

780 ὁπότερος εἶη: 'to see which was . . .'.

781 ὁ τῶν πανούργων: sc. δῆμος; and on πανούργος cf. 35 n. νῆ Δί' . . . ὄσον: lit., 'Yes indeed, heaven-high (was) the amount which (their clamour was)'. Cf. 1135, and on νῆ Δία . . . γε 3 n.

782 ἕτεροι: cf. 515 n.

783 χρηστόν: cf. 179 n.; and for the sentiment cf. Antiphanes fr. 59. 8 ὀλίγον ἐστὶ τὸ καλὸν πανταχοῦ / καὶ τίμιον. ὥσπερ ἐνθάδε: dramatic illusion is broken as he waves hand towards the audience; cf. 276 n. and p. 11.

785 αὐτίκα μάλα: ∪ ∪ † ∪ occurs in this phrase also in *Lys.* 739, 744.

786 κἀπειτα: cf. *Av.* 963 κἀπειτα ('but if that's so') πῶς / ταῦτ' οὐκ ἐχρησιμο-λόγεις κτλ. Σοφοκλέης: cf. pp. 7 f. and 76 n.

790 Who did what to whom? Sophocles certainly declines to compete against Aeschylus (791-3). ὑποχωρεῖν, however, is normally used of yielding ground, and Sophocles could hardly be said to withdraw from a throne which he did not occupy. Hence we might expect 790 to mean either that Aeschylus gave up his throne to Sophocles or that he gave up part of it, allowing Sophocles to sit beside him (so Kallistratos *ap. Σ^{VE}*). The latter hypothesis presupposes a throne of peculiar dimensions, made for two although hitherto occupied by one. For the former hypothesis, J. H. Kells, *CR NS 14* (1964) 234, compares *h.Cer.* 191-3, where Metaneira εἶξε . . . κλισμοῖο on the arrival of Demeter, but Demeter declines the offer; but there Metaneira is not simply being courteous or friendly, for the divine aura of Demeter inspires reverence (αἰδώς, σέβας) and fear (χλωρὸν δέος). Both hypotheses are hard to reconcile with 830 and indeed with the ensuing contest as a whole. It seems therefore that Sophocles, having embraced Aeschylus, made it clear, by backing away with a deprecating gesture, that he had no claim on the throne (P. T. Stevens, *CR NS 5* (1955) 237, 16 (1966) 3). Cf. *Dem.* xviii. 136 ἐγὼ μὲν τῷ Πύθωνι . . . οὐχ ὑπεχώρησα, ἀλλ' ἀναστὰς εἶπον κτλ., 'I did not fail to oppose Python, but got up and spoke'; and *Av.* 1633 τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ἥραν παραδίδωμι τῷ Διῷ, 'I have no claim on Hera, I leave her to Zeus', is not irrelevant, though there is a humorous point in Peisetairos' lordly arrogance. Denniston (*GP* 584) denies that κἀκείνος can refer to Sophocles, on the grounds that 'where καί is used in anaphora, there is always a fairly marked contrast between the two ideas'; but though this is true of some of the examples which he quotes (291), it is not true of all of them, e.g. *Pl. Lg.* 903 C πᾶς γὰρ ἰατρὸς καὶ πᾶς ἔντεχνος δημιουργός. In

the present case there is a good reason for repeating *ἐκείνος*, the contrast between Sophocles' behaviour and Euripides'. This emphasis lies not so much on the first *ἐκείνος* (cf. 1244 οὐ δῆτ' ἐκείνος, 1457 οὐ δῆτ' ἐκείνη γ', where there is no implicit contrast, and (e.g.) *Av.* 90 μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἔγωγε, where such contrast is minimal) as on the second. A comparable emphatic repetition is to be found in 1184 f. *πρὶν φύναι μὲν . . . πρὶν καὶ γεγονέναι*. Coulon, accepting Sophocles as the subject of *ὑπεχώρησεν*, conjectured *κἄνεικος* for *κἄκείνος*; Wilamowitz iv. 490 (cf. Fraenkel 163 n. 4), taking Aeschylus as the subject, deleted 790 as an interpolation generated by the superior prestige of Sophocles in the fourth century. Dobree gave 790 to Xanthias and made it a question, 'And did Aeschylus . . .?', ignored by the other slave; but ignoring a direct question is rather different from ignoring an aside (158–61), and it would be a silly question after 758–86.

791 ὡς ἔφη Κλειδημίδης: the punctuation is disputed. If we punctuate after *ὡς ἔφη* as well as before it, the sense is 'that he will be, as he put it, (sc. like) Kleidemides waiting in reserve' (cf. 159 n.). If only before it, the joke will lie in a reference to some occasion on which Kleidemides used the expression *ἔφεδρος καθίζεσθαι* figuratively and it was remembered (with admiration or with derision). That interpretation is supported by *V.* 1183 f. *ὦ σκαῖε κἀπαίδευτε, Θεογενῆς ἔφη / τῷ κοπρολόγῳ, Ἐς. 21–3 καταλαβεῖν δ' ἡμᾶς ἔδρας / δεῖ τὰς εἰταίρας . . . / ἄς Φυρόμαχος ποτ' εἶπεν, εἰ μέμνησθ' ἔτι*. Kallistratos' statement (*ap. Σ^{VE}*) that Kleidemides was a son of Sophocles ('Philokles' *Σ^V*) is qualified by 'perhaps', and Apollonios' (*ibid.*), that he was a Sophoclean actor, is probably equally speculative.

792 ἔφεδρος: used sometimes of a 'reserve' or 'support', but also (as here) of someone who will compete against the winner of a previous competition; cf. [E.] *Rh. νικῶν δ' ἔφεδρον παῖδ' ἔχεις τὸν Πηλέως*, 'if you win, you then have the son of Peleus as an adversary'.

793 ἔξιν κατὰ χώραν: 'stay as he was'; cf. *Pl.* 367 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ βλέμμ' αὐτὸ κατὰ χώραν ἔχει, *Thuc.* iv. 76. 5 ἤλπιζον . . . οὐ μενεῖν κατὰ χώραν τὰ πράγματα.

794 διαγωνιείσθ': in *Xen. HG* vi. 4. 16 the word is used of completing a competitive performance when there would have been grounds for cancelling it, and in *Aeschines* iii. 132 of a 'fight to the finish', but it is not always possible to discern that meaning in the compound (e.g. *Xen. M.* iii. 9. 2). For elision of *-αι* in infinitives cf. 692 n.

795 τὸ χρῆμ': 'what you were talking about'; cf. *Ec.* 148 τὸ χρῆμ' ἐργάζεται, 'Now the action begins'.

796 κἀνταῦθα δῆ: 'and right here . . .' telling us what we shall see 'very soon' (*ὀλίγον ὕστερον*). **τὰ δεινά:** the article sometimes appears with *δεινός* in circumstances where we would not miss it or expect it, e.g. *S. Aj.* 312 (*Tekmessa's* narrative) *ἔπειτ' ἔμοι τὰ δειν' ἐπηπείλισ' ἔπη*; cf. 592b n. and Jebb's note (p. 192) on *Trach.* 476.

797 σταθμήσεται: the testimonia (Pollux v.l., Su v.l., Photios) offer *κριθήσεται*, which is comparatively colourless.

798 μειαγωγήσουσι: at the Apaturia a father introduced his child to his phratry (cf. 418 n.); there appear (from *IG* ii² 1237. 60 f., a decree of the phratry Demotionidai (396/5)) to have been two such occasions in a child's life, τὰ μεία (not μείονα or μείω) and τὰ κουρεία (cf. Deubner 232–4). It is the father who is said to ἄγειν these (*IG* ii² 1237. 60, 118) with a sacrifice and is thus μειαγωγός; cf. Eupolis fr. 130. 3 ὡσπερ μειαγωγός ἐστιῶν. Σ^{RVE} offers an etymology—to the effect that the members of the phratry jokingly exclaimed μείον, 'too small', and demanded that the sacrificial animal be weighed—which sounds unlikely, but it goes back to Eratosthenes and Apollodoros (*ap.* Harpokration s.v. μείον), and Ar. fr. 299 is spoken by someone who fears that his phratry may think his victim does not weigh enough.

799 κανόνας . . . 800 ξύμπτυκτα: κανών (cf. 956) is a straight bar or rod, πήχυς ('cubit') a unit of length; the former is used for one of the purposes of a 'ruler', the latter for measurement. πλαίσιον is a rectangular wooden frame (e.g. *IG* i³ 475. 215) or box (e.g. *IG* ii² 1514. 13 f. (c.343)) or a rectangular formation of troops (e.g. Xen. *An.* iii. 4. 19; a 'hollow' formation, the baggage-train enclosed within it, *ibid.* iii. 2. 36, vii. 8. 16). For the epithet we have to choose between ξύμπτυκτα (K Su; πτύσσειν is 'fold') and ξύμπηκτα (A E M NpI Vb3 Vs1; πηγγύναι is 'fix'); σύμπτυκτα (R), ξύμπυκτα (V), and σύμπηκτα (MdI Θ) are corruptions of one or the other, and appear as variants in the Suda. Pherekrates fr. 84. 3 calls a passage of pherecrateans σύμπτυκτοι ἀνάπαιστοι, because they come in that part of the parabasis called ἀνάπαιστοι (cf. *GV* 62 n. 4), and 'folded' where we would say 'catalectic'. In Diphilos fr. 90. 1 f. a σύμπτυκτος lamb is served up whole; 'trussed'? Hdt. iv. 190 describes the (portable) houses of the Nasamones as σύμπηκτα ('put together') from interwoven rushes. 'Put together' by itself is an empty epithet of πλαίσια, for a brick-frame cannot be anything else (as Σ^{RV} recognizes: πρὸς οὐδέν, ἀλλ' οἶον περιτὰ καὶ σοφά). 'Folding' has more point; a frame hinged at the corners and folded when not in use saves a great deal of space in transport, and the technicality suits the passage well.

800 πλινθεύσουσι γάρ: *Ξα.* and γάρ are Kock's emendation; R MdI have τε, the rest (and Pollux) γε, and no MS has any change of speaker. But 'and they will make bricks' is nonsense, when the frames, like the other instruments, are going to be used not for their original purpose but for measuring verses. If Xanthias interrupts with a naïve question, that is entirely in keeping with 798; for interrogative γάρ, 'Why, . . .?', cf. *Lys.* 489 διὰ τὰργύριον πολεμοῦμεν γάρ; S. *OT* 1028 f. ποιμνίους ἐπεσάτων. / ||| ποιμὴν γὰρ ἦσα . . .; (*GP* 77 f.).

801 καὶ διαμέτρους καὶ σφήνας: διάμετρος in Pl. *Meno* 85 B is the mathematicians' term for the diagonal of a rectangle, and it is used later for

the diameter of a circle. Only here is it an instrument; possibly ‘set-square’, though Σ^{VE} interprets it as ‘compasses’. σφήνες, ‘wedges’, belong to a rather earlier stage of the production of building materials.

802 κατ’ ἔπος: cf. 358 n.

803 ἢ που: ‘I certainly imagine . . .’; cf. 814, *GP* 286.

804 ταυρηδόν: ‘like a bull’; so Socrates in Pl. *Phd.* 117 B, ταυρηδὸν ὑποβλέψας at his jailer, but there is no hostility there.

805 κρινεῖ δὲ δὴ τίς: cf. *Av.* 112 πράγους δὲ δὴ τοῦ δεομένου δεῦρ’ ἠλθέτην; (*GP* 259).

806 ἀπορίαν: cf. 1465.

807 συνέβαιν’: ‘agree with . . .’ in the sense ‘get on well with . . .’. The *Vita Aesch.* attributes Aeschylus’ departure to Sicily (where he died) to various occasions of resentment and disillusionment, but the point here may be simply that the Athenians did not live up to his standards of morality.

809 λήρόν τε . . . 810 ποητῶν: ‘he thought everyone else rubbish when it comes to recognizing what poets are like’. Cf. *Lys.* 86ο λήρός ἐστι τᾶλλα πρὸς Κινησίαν, ‘other men are trash compared with Kinesias’, Alexis fr. 25. 12 σποδὸς (‘dust’) δὲ τᾶλλα, Περικλέης, Κόδρος, Κίμων.

812 ἀλλ’ εἰσίωμεν: their object being to keep safely out of the way, it may look odd for them to go in the direction of the noise through the central door, even though a choral song will now intervene before the appearance of the disputants; hence their exit through a side-door may be preferable.

813 ἐσπουδάκωσι: the perfective subjunctive is a tense we do not often meet, but here not surprising, because ἐσπουδακέναι, denoting excitement, enthusiasm, or seriousness, is common.

814–29. PRELUDE TO THE AGON

Four stanzas in reponson (Prato 306 f., Zimmermann ii. 147, iii. 88).

(1) 814 ~ 818	----υ--υ--υ--υ--υ--υ--	6da
~ 822 ~ 826		
(2) 815 ~ 819	--υ--υ--υ--υ--υ--	6da
~ 823 ~ 827		
(3) 816 ~ 820	--υ--υ--υ--υ--υ--	5da
~ 824 ~ 828		
(4) 817 ~ 821	--υ--υ--υ--	lek
~ 825 ~ 829		

The dactylic hexameters contribute to the portrayal of the contest as a heroic combat. The song is rich in unusual words, some of them compounds; a few are taken from epic (814 ἐριβρεμέτας, 818 κορυθαίολος, 822 λασιαιχένα) or tragedy (821 ἵπποβάμονα), while others are attested only here and may be

presumed comic coinage (815 ὄξύλαλον, 820 φρενοτέκτονος, 822 αὐτοκόμου, 824 γομφοπαγή, 826 στοματοουργός). Neither contestant is mentioned by name. A reader familiar with the scenes which follow has no difficulty in identifying Aeschylus as subject of 814 ἔχει, 815 ἰδη, 817 στροβήσεται and 823 ἦσει, and Euripides as subject of 815 θήγοντος and Euripides' tongue as the γλώσσα of 827, but the spectator seeing the play for the first time has to make these identifications on the strength of what he has heard in 775 and 801-4.

Rather as παίζειν was overworked in the parodos, ῥήματα is overworked here (821, 824, 828). 816 δεινῆς seems a little flat after δεινόν in 814; but see John Jackson, *Marginalia Scaenica* (Oxford, 1955) 220-2 on the readiness of Greek poets to repeat the same word in one context.

814 ἦ που: cf. 803 n. **ἐπιβρεμέτας:** 'thundering mightily', an epithet of Zeus in *Il.* xiii. 624. **ἔνδοθεν:** 'in his heart'; cf. *Pi. P.* 2. 74 οὐδ' ἀπάταισι θυμὸν τέρπεται ἔνδοθεν.

815 ὄξύλαλου . . . 816 ἀντιτέχνου: a hunted boar 'sharpen its tusks' in *Il.* xi. 416. Our sentence looks as if it means (lit.) 'when he sees his adversary whetting his sharp-talking tooth', but there is a linguistic difficulty. Some verbs of perception, e.g. αἰσθάνεσθαι, are regularly followed by a genitive, and the same construction is occasionally found with others, e.g. γινώσκειν (Schwyzer ii. 106), but the only putative parallel for ἰδη θήγοντος . . . ἀντιτέχνου is Aratos, *Phaen.* 430 μέχρι βορήος ἀπαστράφαντος (βορήος ἀπ' ἀστρα- Maass) ἰδηται. *Eg.* 803 ἃ πανουργεῖς οὐ καθορᾶ σου exemplifies a category in which a relative clause specifies that aspect of the object which is perceived (KG ii. 362); in *Xen. M.* i. 1. 11 'neither seen nor heard . . .' the genitive normal with 'hear' prevails, and in *Pl. R.* 558 A οὐπω εἶδες . . . αὐτῶν μενόντων a genitive absolute intervenes. We should therefore analyse our clause: (lit.) 'when he sees the sharp-talking tooth of his adversary who is sharpening it'. **περ:** in Attic περ is found attached to relatives (e.g. εἴπερ, ὅσπερ, etc.) or (often καίπερ) with a participle in the sense 'although', e.g. *E. Ion* 1324 οὐ τεκοῦσά περ, and hardly ever (*A. Ag.* 140 is an isolated instance) in any other way. In epic, on the other hand, it is used so freely that it is hard to say what it 'means' (cf. *GP* 481 f.), and we may suspect that it was often a monosyllabic space-filler, used here by Aristophanes to intensify the epic tone of the song. V has not περ ἰδη, but παρίδη, 'look sidelong'; that is not good sense here, because it so often implies that the person perceived is unaware of being perceived, e.g. *Av.* 454, *Hdt.* i. 37. 2, *Xen. Smp.* 8. 42.

817 στροβήσεται: 'turn this way and that', as if in inarticulate rage.

818 ἱπολόφων . . . νείκης: λόγων νείκη, 'verbal contests', are what we shall see and hear, but κορυθαιόλα, 'with flashing helmet' (a regular epithet of Hektor; cf. G. S. Kirk on *Il.* ii. 816) assimilates the contest to an epic battle.

819 σχινδάλαμοί τε παραξονίων: we meet σχινδάλαμοι, 'slicers',

‘shavings’, in *Nu.* 130, where Strepsiadēs despairs of learning *λόγων ἀκριβῶν σχινδαλάμους παραξόνια* is explained by Poll. i. 145 and Phryn. *PS* 100 as ‘linchpins’, which go through the axle to keep the wheel on. Unfortunately, *σχινδαλάμων τε παραξόνια* (MSS) ‘linchpins of slivers’, is rather close to gibberish (A. Y. Campbell, *CR NS* 3 (1953) 137); in another context, it might mean minute linchpins inserted in axles of extreme thinness, but the perilous feebleness of such objects does not suit the tone of this song at all. ‘Editors assume that the phrase must make sense; but must it?’ (Dn). Well, the emendation *σχινδάλαμοί τε παραξονίων*, ‘slivers of linchpins’ would make sense, because such pins need careful paring if they are to be a close fit; for the type of errors, cf. the apparatus on 347/8 and M. L. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique* (Stuttgart, 1973) 23 f. It does not help to give *παραξόνια* (explained by Σ^{RVE} as *κινδυνώδη*) an otherwise unattested meaning, e.g. very tight turns at the turning-post in a chariot-race (cf. *Il.* xxiii. 334–43, 465–7), which could chip the axle, for we would still want *-οι -ων*. J. F. Killeen, *RhM* 101 (1958) 377 f., sees a reference to the Solonian *ἄξονες*, but the notion of legal quibbling is not at home in this context. More attractively, Stanford postulated an adjective *παραξόνιος* and conjectured (keeping *σχινδαλάμων παραξονίων*, ‘axle-grazing splinterings’). Herwerden proposed **παραξόανα*, and *παραξοή* is indeed the abstract noun of *παραξεῖν*, ‘smooth’, ‘file’, ‘polish’ (as is clear from *IG* vii.7 3073. 140 (Lebadeia)), but compounds with *-ξόανος* have to do with *ξόανον*, ‘statue’, e.g. Luc. *Syr.D.* 3 *ἄξόανοι νηοί*, ‘temples without statues’, Nonn. *Dion.* iv. 273 *λιθοξόανοί τε νηοῦ*, ‘temple with stone statues’. Campbell (loc. cit.) suggested *παραψόγια*, a diminutive of *παραψογοί* ‘marginal (?) criticisms’ (a word attributed to Euenos in Pl. *Phdr.* 267 A). **σμιλεύματά τ’ ἔργων**: *σμίλη* is a cutting-tool, e.g. such as shoemakers use (Pl. *Alc.* I 129 c), and *ἔργον* can be used of any object created by human activity, e.g. a statue (Xen. *M.* iii. 10. 7); hence ‘parings of works of art’. An objective genitive depending on a noun in *-μα* is not common, but cf. E. *Andr.* 826 f. *σπάραγμα κόμας . . . θήσομαι*, *Phoen.* 1743 f. *τάλαιν’ ἐγὼ (σῶν) συγγόνου θ’ ὑβρισμάτων*. We would expect a more specific and colourful word than *ἔργων*, to give a phrase matching the previous one, but the same could be said of *ρήματα* elsewhere in the song. We would also like (as emphasized by Blass, *Hermes* 36 (1901) 310) an epithet of *φωτός* to make it match *φρενοτέκτονος ἀνδρός*; yet ‘parings of the works of a man who is defending himself against . . .’ falls short of demanding emendation. Heiberg conjectured *σμιλευματοεργοῦ*, but I doubt whether Aristophanes would use *-οεργός* (as opposed to *-ουργός*, e.g. 826) except in borrowing an existing epic word in an appropriate context.

820 φωτός: *φῶς*, ‘mortal’, ‘man’, is used by Aristophanes only in obvious parody of serious poetry. **φρενοτέκτονος**: cf. [A.] *PV* 714 f. *σιδηροτέκτονες . . . Χάλυβες*.

- 821 ἵπποβάμονα:** 'horse-riding' in [A.] *PV* 805, but of centaurs, who had horses' bodies, in *S. Trach.* 1095; that is more appropriate here, and ἵππο- serves as an augmentative, as in 929 ἵππόκρημνα and *Men. Theoph.* 19 ἵππόπορνε.
- 822 Lit.,** 'bristling the shaggy-necked hair of the hair-and-all mane-ridge'; cf. *Od.* xix. 446 (a boar) φρίξας εὐ λοφίην. λοφιά is used of a mane and of the ridge on which the mane grows, χαίτη of mane or hair; αὐτόκομος in *Luc. VH* i. 40 αὐτοκλάδοις καὶ αὐτοκόμοις means 'leaves and all', cf. 903 αὐτοπρέμνοις. λασιαυχὴν is used of a bull in *h.Merc.* 224.
- 823 ἐπισκύνιον:** the skin and flesh over the brows; cf. *Il.* xvii. 136 (a lion) πᾶν δέ τ' ἐπισκύνιον κάτω ἔλκεται ὅσσε καλύπτων. **ξυνάγων:** in *Nu.* 582 the clouds, scowling and bringing bad weather, τὰς ὄφρυσ ξυνήγομεν. **βρυχώμενος:** 'roaring', used of bulls, lions, the sea, and men in agony. **ῆσαι:** cf. *S. Ant.* 1200 f. ἔπος / ἦσι δυσθρήνητον.
- 824 γομφοπαγή:** 'fastened together with bolts'; cf. *A. Su.* 846 γομφοδέτω δόρει (of a ship). **πινακηδὸν ἀποσπῶν:** 'tearing them away like boards' creates a picture of someone furiously demolishing a house, and since ἀνασπᾶν has 'words' as its object in *S. Aj.* 302, *Men. fr.* 362, *Pl. Tht.* 180 A, Herwerden conjectured ἀνασπῶν here. But πινακηδὸν does not go well with that; it makes the best sense if we think of boards being torn away from a ship (so Σ^{RVE}) by the blasts of a storm (γηγενεὶ φυσήματι).
- 825 γηγενεὶ:** the Giants were γηγενεῖς, 'earth-born', and here the point must be 'gigantic', though in *Alexis fr.* 113. 5 it is 'earthy', 'primitive', and in *Nu.* 853, applied by Pheidippides to Socrates and his pupils, it might be either 'squalid' or the equivalent of slang terms such as 'trog' or 'nerd'.
- 826 f.** λίσπη is mysterious; Kallistratos (Σ^{RVE}) thought it was a very slender animal, and that implies γλώσσαν ἐλισσομένη (the reading of V). In *Pl. Smp.* 193 A λίσπαι are clearly (cf. 191 D) objects sawn in half to make tallies. Σ^{RVE} says that λίσπος (noun or adjective?) is used of knucklebones which are worn-down. That seems not easy to reconcile with *Smp.* 193 A, for the more worn one half of a tally is, the less likely it is to serve its purpose by a neat fit with the other half. If, however, λίσπος denotes 'of half-thickness', either from wear and tear or from deliberate bisection, Euripides' tongue can be 'worn smooth' by long practice. It is ἐπῶν βασανίστρια in at least two senses: 'tester of (other people's) verses', as we shall see; subjecting his own verse to severe quality control; and perhaps also 'torturing' verses (cf. 616) in the sense 'distorting'. The purpose of a bit (χαλινός) is to slow a horse down by pulling on the reins and to encourage it to gallop (when spurred) by relaxing the pull. A bit can be called φθονερός in so far as it 'begrudges' the horse its speed, often painfully, and, coupled with that, 'moving' suggests reining back, certainly not giving full rein. But restraint seems out of place here, particularly in view of *S. Ant.* 108 f. φυγάδα πρόδρομον ὀξυπόρω κινήσασα χαλινῶ, where the reference is to headlong flight, and

E. *IA* 151 *εἰσόρμα, σεῖε χαλινούς*, a command to make haste (on foot, metaphorically shaking the reins). In the Sophocles passage the ‘bit’ is not ‘moved’ by the rider, but by an external (divine) force, and might therefore be a metaphor for compulsion (cf. Lloyd-Jones i. 368–71), though the idea of reining back the attacker and wrenching him round into flight is, I think, present. This raises the possibility that *φθονερούς κινούσα χαλινούς* refers to the imposition by Euripides of a check on the vehement force of Aeschylus. However, the preceding *γλώσσ’ ἀνελισσομένη* points to a different interpretation: the horse’s tongue ‘curls up’ and tries to get the bit between its teeth in order to nullify the rider’s attempt to restrain it; cf. Xen. *Eq.* 6. 9 and J. K. Anderson, *Ancient Greek Horsemanship* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1961) 55.

828 ῥήματα δαιομένη: lit., ‘distributing expressions’, i.e. having an expression ready for every occasion. **καταλεπτολογήσει:** *λεπτός* is ‘thin’ (e.g. *Nu.* 1017, of a thin chest), ‘fine’ (e.g. *Nu.* 177, of fine ash), and metaphorically ‘subtle’ (e.g. *Nu.* 1404 *γνώμαις δὲ λεπταῖς*). In *Nu.* 320 Strepsiades declares that his soul *λεπτολογεῖν ἤδη ζητεῖ*. The point of *κατα-* is ‘subdue’, ‘overcome’; cf. *Nu.* 944 *ῥηματίοισιν . . . αὐτόν . . . κατατοξεύσω*, *Ach.* 160 *καταπελτάσονται τὴν Βοιωτίαν ὄλην*, ‘they’ll overrun all Boeotia as light-armed troops’.

830–1117. AGON

(i) 830–74. *Quarrel*

The dramatic function of this section is much the same as that of *Nu.* 889–948, where we see Right and Wrong quarrelling before the formal agon is instituted by the chorus.

We now have before us, as we see from the dialogue, Euripides, Dionysos, and Aeschylus, all of whom come out of the palace door. Where is Pluto? Nothing in the text tells us when he appears. He first speaks at 1414, responding (*ἄρα*) to what Dionysos has said in 1411–13, and those three lines are most naturally addressed to him. If, however, he first enters at 1410, it is an unmarked entrance of a kind to which there is no parallel in Aristophanes; we would expect some kind of ‘But here comes . . .’ (e.g. *Eq.* 234), a vocative (e.g. *Eq.* 725), or a clear break before 1411 (e.g. *Lys.* 387). It is therefore to be presumed that Pluto is present from 830 onwards.

Euripides’ opening words suggest that he has physically grasped the throne of poetry. In that case, Aeschylus is sitting on it and holding tight, for otherwise Euripides would nip in and sit on it himself. To bring on stage someone who has already sat down, an *ἐκκύκλημα*, a ‘wheeling-out’, is necessary. We have been told (765) that the throne of poetry is next to the throne of Pluto; so,

it would seem, two thrones must be wheeled out, Pluto sitting on one, Aeschylus on the other, and Euripides laying hands on Aeschylus' throne. Dionysos must then either precede this tableau or make his way past it. Yet the tight group so constituted, leading to an agon in which both contestants remain on the same side of the centre, must be dissolved if the contest is not to be intolerably static and irritatingly asymmetrical. We are much better off without any *ἐκκύκλημα*. At the last line of the choral song Pluto enters from the palace door, a throne is carried in after him, and he takes his seat in the centre; this reminds us that his is the authority that matters. Dionysos follows, and sits (though not for long) on a seat placed for him to the left of Pluto; he is, after all, an honoured guest with an important function to perform, not a courtier. Then Aeschylus, who takes the seat brought in for him (the throne of poetry) to the right of Pluto, followed by Euripides, who lays hands on Aeschylus' throne but at 833 takes his hands off in order to gesticulate adequately (cf. *Av.* 1507–9, where Prometheus says, 'So that I can tell you . . ., hold the umbrella over me'). Aeschylus stands up at 840 to deliver his thunderous abuse, and Euripides retreats in the direction of Dionysos. Dionysos rises to calm Aeschylus down at 843, and at 852 hustles Euripides further to the left. We now have the two contestants symmetrically disposed, Dionysos mobile, and Pluto impassively enthroned at the centre.

830 μεθείμην: the choice between *μεθείην* (R Θ) and *μεθείμην* (cett.) is rendered difficult by the apparent synonymy of *μεθίεναι* and *μεθίεσθαι* in Aristophanes: *V.* 416 *τόνδ' ἐγὼ οὐ μεθήσομαι* ~ 437 *εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτον μεθήσεις, ἐν κτλ.* ~ 434 *μὴ μεθήσθε μηδενί*, *Av.* 1085 *φράζομεν μεθίεναι* (sc. αὐτούς), al.; cf. *S. Phil.* 1301 f. *μέθες με πρὸς θεῶν χεῖρα*. || *οὐκ ἂν μεθείην*, *Ε. Ηρ.* 325 f. *βιάζην, χειρὸς ἐξαρτωμένη;* || *καὶ σὼν γε γονάτων, κοῦ μεθήσομαί ποτε*. Although there are many instances in which the active and middle of a verb are used in such a way that it is impossible in translation to bring out any difference in meaning (and *Ros* 271–3 accepts arbitrary variation as the reason for this), it is usually possible to discern a difference of standpoint (*KG* i. 101, 110, *SGV* 52 f., 61–3, Schwyzer ii. 234 f.), even in *Pl. Phd.* 91 c *συννομολογήσατε* ~ *Euthd.* 280b *συννομολογησάμεθα*. In the case of *μεθίεναι* it is arguable that the active is used when attention is focused on the removal of restriction on the object, but the middle when it is focused on the action of the subject; cf. 1393 n. **μὴ νουθέτει:** 'Don't you tell me what to do!' As Aeschylus is maintaining a grim silence, these words are probably addressed to Dionysos, as 831 (because of *τοῦτου*) must be.

833 ἀποσεμνυνεῖται: cf. 703, 1020.

835 ὦ δαιμόνι' ἀνδρῶν: cf. 44 n., 1049, 1227. **μεγάλα:** cf. *Pl. Phd.* 95 b *ὦγαθέ, . . . μὴ μέγα λέγε*, 'Don't speak so confidently!'

837 ἀγριοποιόν: *ἀγριος* is 'wild', 'savage' (Stanford ad loc. confuses it with *ἀγροῖκος*), and Aeschylus is being accused of creating primitive,

uncivilized characters. **αὐθαδέστομον:** the *αὐθάδης* is reckless of others, and the compound here (oddly, ‘presumptuous’ in LSJ), coupled with the adjectives that follow, refers to Aeschylus’ ‘defiantly violent originality of expression’ (Dn.).

838 ἀχάλινον: on *χαλινός* cf. 827 n. *ἀχάλινα στόματα* is found in *E. Ba.* 838 and fr. 492. 4 (from *Melanippe Desmotis*). **ἀκρατές:** the respect in which someone ‘lacks control (over . . .)’ is normally specified, e.g. [A.] *PV* 884 *ἀκρατῆς γλώσσης*; here, as an epithet of *στόμα*, its implication is obvious. **ἀθύρωτον:** this (R Mst, and so too the testimonia), ‘not fitted with a door’, and *ἀπύλωτον* (cett.), ‘not fitted with a gate’, would make equally good sense, implying that nothing restrains the torrent of words from Aeschylus, but *ἀθύρωτον* has stronger precedents: Theognis 421 *πολλοῖς ἀνθρώπων γλώσση θύραι οὐκ ἐπίκεινται*, cf. Simonides (*PMG*) fr. 541. 2, and *E. Or.* 903 *ἀθυρογλωσσοσ*.

839 ἀπεριάλητον: in isolation, we would interpret this as ‘not talked about’, but the sense we need here is ‘incapable of *περιλαλεῖν*’. *Ar.* fr. 392 describes Euripides’ tragedies as *περιλαλούσας*, and in *Ec.* 230 *μη περιλαλώμεν* is ‘let’s not (just) *talk* about it’; on *λαλιά* cf. p. 22. Adjectives in *ἀ- . . . -τος* often have an active sense; cf. *S. Trach.* 1200 f. *ἀλλ’ ἀστένακτος κἀδάκρυτος . . . ἔρξον*, and the examples assembled by Bruhn 56. **κομποφακελορρήμονα:** *κόμπος* is ‘boasting’, *φάκελος* ‘bundle’ (usually of firewood), and for *-ρρήμων*, ‘speaking . . .’ cf. *A. Ag.* 1155 *κακορρήμων*, ‘uttering words of ill-omen’.

840 ἄληθες: ‘*What?*’, with incredulous indignation, often followed by an unfriendly vocative, e.g. *Lys.* 433 *ἄληθες, ὦ μίαιρὰ σύ*; In this sense the adjective is proparoxytone (*Hdn.* i. 490. 13–17). **ὦ παῖ . . . θεοῦ:** adapted from *E. fr.* 885 *ὦ παῖ τῆς θαλασσίας θεοῦ* (presumably Achilles, son of Thetis). *ἀρουραίας* (~ *ἄρουρα*, ‘cultivated land’) exploits the comic poets’ long-standing association of Euripides’ mother with the growing and marketing of vegetables: *Ach.* 478, *Th.* 387, 456. Her name, according to *Vita Eur.* 1, was Kleito, and Philochoros, *FGrHist* 326 F218, says she was *τῶν σφόδρα εὐγενῶν*. The reason why comedy treated her as a greengrocer is obscure; perhaps her father had productive land and sold his surplus profitably, in which case his enemies would enjoy portraying her as trudging to market laden with vegetables; or it may be that the family fell on hard times and made a living in ways which could be treated as unworthy of a solid citizen (cf. *Dem.* lviii. 35, 42, where the speaker has to defend his mother’s social status).

841 ταῦτ’: sc. *λέγεις*; cf. 1273, *KG* ii. 564, Schwyzer ii. 707 f. **στωμυλιοσυλλεκτάδη:** on *στωμυλία* cf. p. 22. A poet can be regarded as ‘collecting’ (*συλλέγειν*) his ideas and expressions from a variety of sources; cf. 849, 1297, and *Ach.* 398, *Pax* 830. *-ίδης*, *-άδης* and *-ιάδης*, common in proper names, are used to characterize types of people, e.g. *Ach.* 595–7 *πολίτης*

- χρηστός, οὐ σπουδαρχίδης ἀλλ' . . . στρατωνίδης, σὺ δ' . . . μισθαρχίδης. The formation is an inheritance from early iambic poetry (cf. Meyer 140–6), and appears in satyr drama (cf. R. Pfeiffer, *SBAW* 1938.2 130 f.).
- 842** Lit., ‘creator of beggars and stitcher-together of rags’. It is clear from *Ach.* 412–34, where Dikaiopolis comes to borrow pitiable clothing from Euripides, that by that time Euripides had produced at least six plays in which the main character was portrayed as a ‘beggar’ in wretched clothing, through banishment, other misfortunes, or (in the case of Telephos) disguise.
- 843** ἀλλ' . . . ἐρείς: ‘But you’ll regret saying it’, ‘You won’t get away with it’. Cf. *Ach.* 562 ἀλλ' οὐ τι χαίρων ταῦτα τολμήσεις λέγειν.
- 844** For πρὸς ὀργήν, ‘in anger’, cf. 856, 998. σπλάγχνα, ‘guts’, are the seat of strong emotions, including pity, anger (1006), and fear. κότος, ‘rage’, is a highly poetic word. It is singular that in E. *Cy.* 424 Odysseus says σπλάγχν' ἐθέρμαινον ποτῶ (‘with drink’); and M. P. Charlesworth, *CR* 40 (1926) 4, suggested that our line is a quotation from Aeschylus, *Cy.* 424 an amusing adaptation of the original.
- 845** οὐ δῆτα: sc. παύσομαι; cf. *V.* 988 f. κάπολυσον, ὦ πάτερ. ||| οὐ δῆτα, κιθαρίζειν γάρ κτλ., *GP* 275.
- 846** χωλοποιόν: Bellerophon, thrown from his supernatural steed, and Philoktetes, bitten in the foot, were both lame (χωλός), and this, like the rags, is the target of jokes in *Acharnians* (411 χωλοὺς ποεῖς); so too *Pax* 146–8, ‘mind you don’t fall . . . and be lamed and provide Euripides with a plot’.
- 847 f.** Dionysos jokingly treats Aeschylus’ rage as the threatening approach of a whirlwind (τυφῶς; cf. *Lys.* 974) and pretends to call for a propitiatory sacrifice to avert it (or rather, ‘him’, for winds are persons; cf. Hdt. vii. 191. 1). On such sacrifices cf. Paus. ii. 12. 1 (Sikyon) and P. Stengel, *Hermes* 35 (1900) 627–34. μέλανα: so R K Md I P20^{ac} V51; μέλαιναν cett.—cf. Verg. *Aen.* iii. 20 ‘mactavit . . . nigram Hiemi pecudem, Zephyris felicibus albam’, v. 772 ‘Tempestatibus agnam / caedere deinde iubet’—but Σ^{RVE} supports μέλανα. παῖδες: whatever slaves are within earshot. ἐξενέγκατε: ἐκφέρειν (sc. out of the skene) is the verb used of bringing on stage-properties, as in *Nu.* 18 f., where Strepsiadēs, whom we have to imagine as on his bed indoors, says ἄπτε, παῖ, λύχνον / κάκφερε τὸ γραμματεῖον. ἐκβαίνειν: a surprising word to use of a storm (‘out of’ what?), but ἐξιέναι is so used in *Eq.* 430, where Kleon threatens ἔξειμι γάρ σοι λαμπρὸς (cf. Hdt. ii. 96. 3 λαμπρὸς ἄνεμος) ἤδη . . ., ‘stirring up land and sea in confusion . . .’.
- 849** The monody is a distinctive feature of Euripides’ later plays; cf. p. 358. Ancient scholars (Apollonios and Timachidas *ap.* Σ^{RVE}) saw in ‘Cretan’ a reference to Euripides’ *Κρηῆτες* (cf. p. 358) and *Κρήσσαι*; and Phaidra, Pasiphae’s daughter, was Cretan too (cf. E. *Hr.* 337 f., A. Römer, *RhM* 63 (1908) 349 f.). Sosibios, *FGrHist* 595 F25, cited by Σ Pi. P. 2. 127, says τὰ ὑπορχήματα πάντα μέλη Κρηταῖκά (sic) λέγεσθαι (cf. Ath. 181 B). ὑπόρχημα, first attested as a genre of composition in Pl. *Ion* 534 B, seems to have been a song accompanied by mimetic dancing (Ath. 15 D, Plu. *Qu.*

Conv. 748 AB). ‘Cretic’ is used by Kratinos fr. 237 and *PMG* Lyr. Adesp. 967 in its metrical sense, but *Ec.* 1165 *Κρητικῶς οὖν τῷ πόδε / καὶ σὺ κίνει* heralds a passage which is not cretic in rhythm (nor even, except at the very start, trochaic, *pace* *GV* 62). The association between Crete and dancing (cf. Pi. fr. 107b, *S. Aj.* 699), in combination with Euripides’ fondness for monodies and his use of Cretan myths, is quite enough to account for *Κρητικῆς μονωδίας*. It is questionable whether any Euripidean tragedy contained anything which on formal grounds would be called a ‘Cretan monody’.

850 γάμους δ’ ἀνοσίου: particularly the incestuous love (cf. 1081) of Makareus and Kanake in *Aiolos*, which so deeply shocks Strepsiades in *Nu.* 1371–4; perhaps also Pasiphae’s unfortunate lust for a bull in *Kretes* (Austin 49–58).

851 οὔτος: cf. 198, 312. **πολυτίμητ’:** elsewhere in comedy this epithet is given only to deities (e.g. 323/4, 337, 398), so that here it sounds an extravagant compliment to Aeschylus. In Pl. *Euthd.* 296 D, however, Socrates ironically says *ἀλλὰ βουληθείης . . . ὦ πολυτίμητε Εὐθύδημε . . .* after Euthydemus has made preposterously inflated claims.

852 χαλαζῶν: ‘hail’. **πόνηρ’:** sympathetic, not abusive; cf. *Au.* 1648 ‘your uncle’s cheating you, ὦ πόνηρε σύ’, and *V.* 977. It was believed by grammarians that in this sense the word was proparoxytone (Hdn. i. 197. 19–21, Ammonios *Diff.* pp. 104 f., no. 405), though it seems from Tryphon, as quoted by Ammonios, that the distinction could not be observed in the spoken language of his time.

853 ἀναγε: R alone has this; *ἀπαγε* cett. The latter seems more often to denote complete removal from the scene (e.g. 625, *Nu.* 32), whereas the former is used of limited retreat (intransitively; neither is used elsewhere with the reflexive pronoun); cf. *Au.* 400 *ἀναγ’ εἰς τάξιν πάλιν εἰς ταῦτόν. εἰ σωφρονεῖς:* ‘if you’re wise’; cf. *S. El.* 464 *εἰ σωφρονήσεις, ὦ φίλη, δράσεις τάδε*, *Lys.* xxix. 14 *ἐὰν οὖν σωφρονήτε, τὰ ὑμέτερ’ αὐτῶν κομεισθε.*

854 κεφαλαίω: this may have been used of a massive horizontal block over a doorway or at the corner of a building, equivalent to *γωνιαῖος* (cf. Plato *Com.* fr. 69. 1 *γωνιαίου ῥήματος* ~ *IG* i³ 474. 19 *γωνιαίαν μῆκος ἐπτάποδα*, and Hsch. κ 2399 *κεφαλῖται· γωνιαῖοι λίθοι*. As *κεφάλαιον* often means ‘sum total’, and sometimes ‘crowning point’, *κεφάλαιον ῥῆμα* maybe connotes an expression which sums up the essentials of an argument and ‘crushes’ the adversary. In Eupolis fr. 115 the ghost of Perikles is called *κεφάλαιος τῶν κάτωθεν*, ‘supreme among . . .’, and as there is also an allusion there to the shape of Perikles’ head, a common topic in comedy (*Plu. Per.* 3. 3–7), so here we can understand both the figurative and the physical meaning of *κεφάλαιος*.

855 θενῶν: although Hdn. i. 449. 23 lists *θένω*, ‘strike’, among present indicatives, it is not otherwise attested, and there is little doubt that the stem *θεν-* in imperatives, subjunctives, and participles is aorist, corresponding to the imperfective *θείνειν* (cf. *E. HF* 949 *κάθεινε* (– ⊥ ∪) ~ *Hclld.* 271 *θενεῖν*

- (\cup $\acute{\alpha}$). Hence Blomfield's accentuation *θενών* (*θένων* MSS). $\acute{\upsilon}\pi'$ $\acute{\omicron}\rho\gamma\acute{\eta}\varsigma$: cf. 349 n. $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ *Τήλεφον*: we expect 'brains' and get 'Telephos' (cf. 842 n.) instead. We think readily of such expressions as 'Your head's full of . . .', ' . . . is your brain-child', and the like. Although the Greeks did not use such expressions, *Nu.* 1276 'I think your brain's been shaken up', i.e. 'you've gone crazy', associates the brain with thinking. For the form of the joke cf. *Ec.* 96 f., 'if she stepped over and pulled up her skirt and showed her Phormisios'. There is perhaps also an allusion to the myth that Hephaistos split open the head of Zeus for Athena to be born from it.
- 857** $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\gamma\chi'$ $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\chi\omicron\upsilon$: for this type of two-term asyndeton cf. 861, *Xen. Cyr.* vii. 1. 38 $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\theta\omicron\upsilon\nu$, $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\theta\omicron\upsilon\nu\tau\omicron$, $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\iota\omicron\nu$, $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\iota\omicron\nu\tau\omicron$ (KG ii. 346), and for the sense *V.* 485 $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\iota\nu$, *Pl. Grg.* 462 A $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\tau\acute{\omega}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$. . . $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\gamma\chi\acute{\epsilon}$ $\tau\epsilon$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\chi\omicron\nu$. $\pi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota$: E U Vs1 Θ_2 have $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\iota\varsigma$, but in *Nu.* 140 $\omicron\upsilon$ $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\iota\varsigma$ is (humorously) associated with mysteries and in *Pax* 1018 with sacrifices, whereas what we want here is something closer to *Lys.* 7 f. $\mu\grave{\eta}$ $\sigma\kappa\upsilon\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\alpha\zeta$, $\acute{\omega}$ $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\nu\omicron\nu$, / $\omicron\upsilon$ $\gamma\grave{\alpha}\rho$ $\pi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota$ $\sigma\omicron\iota$ $\tau\omicron\zeta\omicron\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\iota\nu$ $\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ $\acute{\omicron}\phi\rho\upsilon\varsigma$.
- 858** $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\alpha\varsigma$ $\pi\omicron\eta\gamma\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$: poets should be real *men*, not like women; cf. 1369. $\acute{\omega}\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho$ $\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\omicron\pi\omega\lambda\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\varsigma$: cf. p. 213.
- 859** $\pi\rho\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$: distinguished from $\delta\rho\upsilon\varsigma$, 'oak', in *Hes. Op.* 436, and identifiable from the details given in Theophrastos *HP* iii. 16 as the kermes oak, *Quercus coccifera* (Polunin no. 47).
- 860** $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\kappa$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\delta\acute{\upsilon}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$: cf. *Pl. Th.* 145 C $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}$ $\mu\grave{\eta}$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\delta\acute{\upsilon}\omicron\upsilon$ $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\acute{\omega}\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$ ('don't try to get out of . . .') . . . $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}$ $\theta\alpha\rho\rho\acute{\omega}\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\mu\epsilon\nu\epsilon$ $\tau\grave{\eta}$ $\acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha$.
- 861** $\delta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$, $\delta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\nu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$: cf. 857 n.; but this is more complex, for while 862 can be understood as 'to bite his verses, and that my verses should be bitten', in 863 f., where all the plays named are plays of Euripides, it is they which will be bitten, and not Euripides who will be doing the biting. A personal passive with the part affected in the accusative is commonplace, e.g. *Ach.* 1 $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\delta\eta\gamma\mu\alpha\iota$ $\tau\grave{\eta}\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\kappa\alpha\rho\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$ (KG i. 316), but that is usually confined to the aorist passive aorist and perfect (*Lys.* iii. 19 $\sigma\upsilon\nu\nu\epsilon\tau\rho\iota\beta\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$ $\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ $\kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ is an exception), and * $\delta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ *Πηλέα*, 'My Peleus is bitten', is stretching things a bit; but in the light of 855, that may be the point.
- 862** Clearly $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\eta$ are the spoken verses, $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta$ the sung lyrics. For the latter cf. (e.g.) 874, 1261; $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ is 'song' in non-dramatic contexts also, but $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\varsigma$ is more versatile (cf. 358 n.). $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\nu\epsilon\upsilon\rho\alpha$: $\nu\epsilon\upsilon\rho\alpha$ are 'muscles', 'sinews'. *Pl. R.* 411 B, speaking of the 'softening' or 'debilitating' effect of one kind of music, says that it 'melts' the hearer $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\acute{\eta}\xi\eta$ $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ $\theta\upsilon\mu\omicron\nu$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\acute{\epsilon}\mu\eta$ $\acute{\omega}\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho$ $\nu\epsilon\upsilon\rho\alpha$ $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ $\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}\varsigma$, ' . . . and, as it were, cuts the $\nu\epsilon\upsilon\rho\alpha$ out of the soul'. $\acute{\omega}\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho$ is important there, suggesting as it does that in Plato's time the metaphorical usage of $\nu\epsilon\upsilon\rho\alpha$ was not firmly established (*Dem.* xix. 283 is the first certain instance in prose). However, it is hard to believe that $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\nu\epsilon\upsilon\rho\alpha$ $\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ $\tau\rho\alpha\gamma\omega\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ is in apposition (rather than three-term asyndeton), treating the $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\eta$ and $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta$ of a tragedy as its $\nu\epsilon\upsilon\rho\alpha$, especially when the formal agon will be focused not on language and music but on the ways in which tragedy

acts upon its audience intellectually and morally. τὰ νεύρα must mean what makes tragedy live and work and affect us. In *Nu.* 1367 Pheidippides criticizes Aeschylean tragedy not only for its bombast but as ἀξύστατος; σύστασις is used by Plato of organized structure (e.g. *Tim.* 32 c, 36 d) and by Aristotle of the plot of a play, e.g. *Po.* 1450^a15 μέγιστον δὲ τούτων ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων σύστασις. Between σύστασις and Aristophanes' νεύρα there is a thread of association which he does not make explicit, and it may have been obscure to the audience.

863 f. All four of the plays mentioned are Euripidean; Aeschylus wrote a *Telephos*, but not a *Peleus*, *Aiolos*, or *Meleagros*. Πηλέα: either Πηλέᾶ (cf. *E. El.* 599 φονῆα) or Πηλέᾱ; contrast 912 Ἀχιλλεᾶ, *E. Andr.* 545 Πηλέᾶ, but *Th.* 26 Ἡρακλέα (*Descroix* 25). γε: A E K Md1 Np1 Vb3 have τε (om. U V51: σε M), but καὶ νῆ Δία . . . γε, the same speaker continuing, is well attested; cf. 181 n., *Werres* 33. κάτι μάλα: cf. *Pax* 280 οἴμοι γε κάτ' οἴμοι μάλα (and *ibid.* 53, 462).

866 ἐβουλόμην μὲν: 'I would have preferred . . .', or 'I could have wished . . .', a common opening in a speech, e.g. *Antiphon* v. 1, *Thrasymachos* B1, satirized in *Ec.* 151 (where, as often, it is accompanied by ἄν; cf. 672 n.); *KG* i. 205 f., *MT* 157 f., *Schwyzler* ii. 354. οὐκ ἐρίζειν: οὐ with an infinitive depending on βούλεσθαι is highly abnormal. Usually οὐ where μή is expected can be explained by the closeness with which the negative is linked to the following word, e.g. οὐχ ἦπτον, 'equally' (*KG* ii. 185), but that does not apply here. Possibly the formulaic character of ἐβουλόμην μὲν distances it from other uses of βούλεσθαι; cf. *Fraenkel* 138 f. A. C. Moorhouse, *Studies in the Greek Negatives* (*Cardiff*, 1959), comparing *E. Md.* 72 οὐκ οἶδα βουλοίμην δ' ἄν οὐκ εἶναι τόδε, takes οὐκ as negating ἐβουλόμην.

868 f. On the production of Aeschylus' plays after his death cf. p. 23. The comic idea that he will not be able to quote from them in the underworld because he has left them on earth is not exploited further, understandably. For hiatus after δτι cf. 922.

870 To modern ears this formula of consent sounds grudging, and here it might be, but it is not always so; cf. *Au.* 665, where the Hoopoe agrees to display Prokne to his guests: ἀλλ' εἰ δοκεῖ σφῶν, ταῦτα χρῆ δρᾶν. Cf. *Fraenkel* 83–8.

871 Lit., 'Let someone give . . .', a command to slaves: 'Fire! Incense! Come on!'. Cf. *Lys.* 186 καί μοι δότω τὰ τόμιά τις, and the preparation for the trial of the dog in *V.* 860–2: ἀλλ' ὡς τάχιστα πῦρ τις ἐξενεγκάτω / καὶ μυρρίνας καὶ τὸν λιβανωτὸν ἔνδοθεν. In *Th.* 37 f., when Agathon is about to compose, his slave comes with 'fire and myrtle' προθυσόμενος τῆς ποήσεως.

872 μουσικώτατα: μουσικός can be used of persons, though usually of composers or performers; here, plainly, of cultivated critics.

874 Cf. p. 65. On ὑπάσατε cf. 366 ὑπάδων.

(ii) **875–84.** *Sacrifice and Prayers*

Cf. *Prato* 308 f., *Zimmermann* ii. 204 f., iii. 88.

(1) 875 (ὦ . . .)	—υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—	4da
(2) 876 (Μοῦ- . . .)	—υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—	6da
(3) 877 (ἀν- . . .)	—υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—	6da
(4) 878 (ἔλ- . . .)	—υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—	6da
(5) 879 (ἔλθετ' . . .)	—υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—	Dd
(6) 880 (δεῖ- . . .)	—υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—	4da
(7) 881 (ρή- . . .)	—υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—	Dd
(8) 882/3 (νῦν- . . .)	—υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—	Dd
(9) 884 (χω- . . .)	—υ—υ— υ—υ—	ia ba

Alternatively, (8) and (9) could be taken together as 4da ith (cf. p. 276).

The predominantly dactylic rhythm is continued from 814–29.

875 Διός: sc. 'daughter'; cf. 216, 1361a. **ἐννέα:** Hes. *Th.* 60, 76, 917 makes the number of the Muses nine (so too *Od.* xxiv. 60), but three was known as an alternative (D.S. iv. 7. 2, Plu. *Smpr.* 744 B, Paus. ix. 29. 2).

876 λεπτολόγους: cf. 828 n. **ξυνετάς:** cf. p. 20.

877 γνωμοτύπων . . . ὄξυμερίμοις: χαλκοτύπος is 'bronze-worker' in (e.g.) Xen. *Ages.* 1. 26, and a γνωμοτύπος is someone who 'coins' γνώμαι, 'judgements', 'opinions' (sc. which show insight); on the metaphor cf. Taillardat 445. In *Nu.* 949–52 both contestants in the agon of Right and Wrong are described by the chorus as πισύνω . . . γνωμοτύποις μερίμοις. μέριμοις is used in *Nu.* 420, 1404 of the intellectual problems to which Socrates and his pupils addressed themselves; cf. *Nu.* 101 μεριμνοφροντισταί.

878 στρεβλοῖσι: cf. 620 n. **παλαίσμασι:** for the metaphorical use of 'wrestling' cf. 689. **ἀντιλογοῦντες:** cf. 775.

879 ἐποψόμεναι: cf. 675 n.

880 πορίσασθαι: the infinitive depends on δεινοτάτοις; cf. *Ach.* 429 δεινὸς λέγειν, 'a very skilled speaker'.

881 †ρήματα: whether or not a contrast is intended between the ῥήματα of Aeschylus and the παραπίσματα ἐπῶν of Euripides, ῥήματα, necessarily the product of any use of the vocal organs in articulate speech, is a surprisingly vague and colourless word compared with παραπίσματα ἐπῶν. Francke's ῥήγματα, lit. 'breaks', may well be the right answer (cf. *Eq.* 626 ἐλασίβροντ' ἀναρρηγνύς ἔπη, of a violent and portentous speaker); Kock suggested πρέμνα τε, 'stumps', 'bases' (of trees or columns; cf. 902). **παραπίσματα:** πρίειν is 'saw'; παραπίσματα must be 'sawdust' and/or 'sawn-off bits' (as apparently in *Inscr. Délos* 320. 68 (229^a) ἐβένου παραπρισμάτων παντοδαπῶν ὀλκή), or possibly 'sawings-off of verses' (cf. 819 n. on σμιλεύματά τ' ἔργων). In any case, the image is that of shaping verses with precision.

882/3 Cf. *Nu.* 955–8, at the end of the song preceding the agon: νῦν γάρ . . . κίνδυνος ἀνέται σοφίας, ἧς πέρι . . . ἐστὶν ἀγὼν μέγιστος. **χωρεῖ πρὸς**

ἔργον: cf. S. *Aj.* 116 *χωρῶ πρὸς ἔργον*, ‘I go now to do what I have said I will do’.

(iii) **885–94.** *Prayers*

The brazier and incense have been brought out during the song, and Dionysos has made his offering and prayer; we do not need to hear it, as we have already (873) been told its content.

886 f. Aeschylus belonged to the deme Eleusiniói, and the worship of Demeter naturally dominated Eleusis (in *Nu.* 519, where Aristophanes swears by τὸν Διόνυσον τὸν ἐκθρέψαντά με, the point—devotion to the god of the dramatic festivals—is different). There was a story (Arist. *EN* 1111^a9 f.) that Aeschylus had revealed secrets of the Mysteries through ignorance that they were secret; but even if this was well known, the humorous point, that in spite of being ‘nourished’ by Demeter he had betrayed her, does not seem very appropriate here. On the infinitive in prayers cf. 387 n.

888 R’s *καὶ δὴ σὺ λιβανωτὸν λαβῶν* does not scan; *λαβῶν δὴ καὶ σὺ λιβανωτὸν* (A E K M NpI U Vs1) scans (so too V, but V^{pc} repeats *λαβῶν* after *λιβανωτὸν*; Vb₃ omits *δὴ*), but ΠI has *καὶ σὺ δηλιβαν* [. . .] *νλαβω* [v, and so too Mdl^{ac} and (om. *λαβῶν*) Suda. Fritzsche acutely conjectured *λιβανωτὸν καὶ σὺ δὴ λαβῶν*; cf. Pl. *Ep.* 362 D τὰ γὰρ ἀναλώματα . . . καὶ σὺ δὴ φῆς ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, Xen. *Cyr.* i. 5. 6 *προσεείλοντο καὶ οὗτοι δὴ τοὺς τέτταρας* (*GP* 254 f.; *καὶ δὴ*, as opposed to *καὶ . . . δὴ*, draws attention, often to compliance with a command, not to the issuing of a command (*GP* 250–5)). **καλῶς**: Euripides declines; cf. 508 n.

889 Σ^{VE} *τινὲς ἐν τῷ “θεοῖς” δύο τιθέασιν* (‘put a dicolon’) *ἵνα ἐν ἡ τὸ “ἴδιοι τινὲς σοὶ κόμμα καινόν”* implies that in some texts Euripides continued down to *τινὲς* and Dionysos began with *σοὶ* or *σοῦ* (cf. van Leeuwen, *Mnemosyne* 1896. 342).

890 ἴδιοι . . . 891 ἰδιώταις: cf. 458 f. n.; Euripides’ gods are not the ‘official authorities’ of Olympos, but ‘amateurs’ (Tucker). **σοῦ**: so R; *σοὶ* cett., but the genitive is supported by Pl. *R.* 580 E *ὀνόματι . . . ἰδίῳ αὐτοῦ*. **κόμμα**: cf. the metaphor of 718–33.

892 f. In *Nu.* 424 Socrates recognizes as gods only Chaos, Clouds, and Tongue; he invokes Air and Sky (264) and swears by Breath, Chaos, and Air (627). The Sky is Euripides’ ‘pasture’, just as the clouds in *Nu.* 334 *βόσκουσι* intellectuals, scientists, dithyrambic poets, and the like. *στροφίγξ* is ‘pivot’ or ‘hinge’, and the phrase suggests a versatile tongue; cf. 826 f. and *Nu.* 792, where Strepsiades despairs of learning *γλωττοστροφεῖν*. Cf. also *Il.* xx. 248 *στρεπτή δὲ γλώσσ’ ἐστὶ βροτῶν* and E. *Ba.* 268 *εὔτροχον μὲν γλώσσαν . . .*

ἔχεις. μυκτῆρες, 'nostrils', are associated in Hellenistic literature with critical contempt, 'turning up the nose', but it makes better sense here to refer the word to sharpness and subtlety of perception. In Poll. ii. 78 μυκτηρίζειν (cited from Lysias) is associated with anger or agitation (δυσχεραίνειν).

(iv) 895-904. *Ode*

On the function of the song which begins the formal agon cf. Gelzer 73-80; here, as in *Nu.* 949-58, the Chorus exhorts both contestants to do their best.

There is respiration between the Ode and the Antode (992-1003) except at one point. Elasticity of respiration is found also in the Ode and Antode of the first agon in *Clouds* (955 f., 1030 f.); cf. Gelzer 74, *LM* 207 n. 1, Zimmermann ii. 137, iii. 88 f.

(1) 895 (καί...)	$\bar{w}--- \underline{w} \bar{w}--- $	2an
~ 992 (τάδε...)		
(2) 896ab (παρά...)	wu--- -u--- wu- -u-∩	2tr cr tr
~ 993ab (σύ...)	wuw- -u--- wu-	~ 2tr cr
(3) 897 (ἔπι-...)	$\underline{w} u-u-u- $	lek
~ 994 (μή...)		
(4) 898 (γλώ-...)	-u- <u>u</u> -u---	2tr
~ 995 (ἐκ-...)		
(5) 899a (λῆ-...)	-u-u -u-∩	2tr
~ 996 (δει-...)		
(6) 899b (οὐδ'...)	-u----u-	lek
~ 997 (ἀλλ'...)		
(7) 900 (προσ-...)	-u--- -u---	2tr
~ 998 (μή...)		
(8) 901a (τόν...)	-u--- -u---	2tr
~ 999 (ἀλλά...)		
(9) 901b (καί...)	-u----u-	lek
~ 1000 (χρώ-...)		
(10) 902 (τὸν δ'...)	-u--- -u---	2tr
~ 1001 (εἶτα...)		
(11) 903 f. (τοῖς...)	-u- <u>u</u> -u-u -u---	3tr lek
~ 1002 f. (καί...)	-u----u-	

In 993b I have admitted verse-end at the disyllabic prepositive *ὄπως* on the analogy of similar instances in the iambic trimeter (e.g. 114) and in Pindar (e.g. *N.* 5. 3 f. *ὄτι* ||).

897ab The MSS have ἀκούσαι τινα λόγων ἐμμέλειαν ἔπιτε δαίαν ὁδόν, 'to hear a sort of ἐμμέλεια of λόγοι. Go on your warlike way!' ἐμμέλεια is

a category of dance; tragic, according to Ath. 20 E (cf. 631 D). Pl. *Lg.* 816 B contrasts it, as an *εἰρηνικὸν εἶδος*, with the *πυρρίχη*, which is *πολεμικὸν εἶδος* (in retrospect, it is ironic that *ἐμμέλεια* should be associated with *δαίος* ('fierce', 'violent'; cf. 1022), but Aristophanes was not to know how Plato would classify dances), and in Hdt. vi. 129. 2 Hippokleides, beginning the dancing which later becomes indecorous, tells the piper to play an *ἐμμέλεια*. Philokleon in *V.* 1503, boasting that he will outdo a certain dancer, says 'I'll crush him with an *ἐμμελεία κονδύλου*' (a 'knuckle dance', i.e. a dance that will knock him flat). *λόγων ἐμμέλεια*, 'argument-dance', is not inappropriate to a dispute between tragic poets; *τινα* accompanies the metaphor, as in *A. Pe.* 238 *ἀργύρου πηγή τις* (of silver-mines) and *Ag.* 735 *ἰερέυς τις Ἄτας* (of a destructive lion). One does not hear a dance, but one hears the arguments which may be described figuratively as a dance. Σ^{RE} prefers here to take *ἐμμέλεια* as the abstract noun of the adjective *ἐμμελής*, close to *εὐρυθμία*, a sense which it has in Hellenistic Greek. Dindorf interpreted *τινα* as *τίνα*; the difficulty here is to fit the two accusatives, *ἐμμέλειαν* and *ὄδον*, to *ἔπιτε*. Dindorf accordingly deleted *ἐμμέλειαν* as an interpolation, which is unrealistic (Dn). F. Perusino, in *Studi in onore di F. M. Pantani* (Padua, 1984) 191-5, defends *τινα* and the MSS' text. The abruptness of the imperative *ἔπιτε*, without any *ἀλλά* (cf. 1106, 1118) or *οὐν* (cf. *Ach.* 627, *Eq.* 386, *Av.* 258) gives it the tone of a military command (cf. *Av.* 344, *Lys.* 461), and that suits *δαῖαν* well. Of alternative emendations the most attractive is Kock's *τίνα λόγων*, (<τίν') *ἐμμελείας ἔπιτε κτλ.* For *ὄδος* with the genitive cf. *Pax* 732 f. *ἡμεῖς δ' αὖ . . . ἦν ἔχομεν ὄδον λόγων εἴπωμεν.*

898 ἠγγρίωται: cf. 837 n.

899a λῆμα: cf. 463.

899b ἀκίνητοι: lit., 'unmoved', i.e. 'unimaginative'; cf. Alexis fr. 239. 3, where *ἀκίνητοι* is predicated of the proverbially dim-witted Boeotians.

901a ἀστεῖον: cf. 5 n. **λέξειν:** R M d i here have *λέξαι*, which in isolation would be possible (cf. Andok. iii. 27 *Κόρινθον ἐλείν προσδοκῶσιν*). Such instances are commonly emended (in prose, and in verse where metre permits) by changing aorists to futures, inserting *ἄν*, or imputing a semantic distinction; cf. 557 n. However, *λέξειν* is here co-ordinated with the future *συσκεδᾶν* (904).

901b κατερρινημένον: *ρίνη* is 'file', 'rasp'.

902-4 Lit., 'and that the other (sc. Aeschylus), tearing (them) up, charging in with his arguments uprooted . . .', i.e. that he will wield his arguments like trees uprooted. The structure of the sentence is comparable to 999 f. and Xen. *Cyr.* vii. 1. 40 *ὅτι βάλλειν δεήσοι ἀναιρουμένους ταῖς βῶλοις* and 3. 11 *λαβούσα τοῖσδε ἐπικόσμη αὐτόν*; cf. KG ii. 175 f. **ἐμπεσόντα:** 'charging in'; cf. 945 and Hdt. iii. 81. 2 (a democracy) *ὠθέει τε ἐμπεσῶν τὰ πρήγματα κτλ.* **συσκεδᾶν:** the verb (only here) is lit., 'scatter all together'; cf. the Homeric *συνέαξε*, 'broke in pieces', 'shattered completely'.

ἀλινδήθρας: ἀλινδείσθαι is 'roll over in dust' as horses do, and ἀλινδήθρα is where they do it. The idea seems to be that Aeschylus, wielding enormous words, will scatter to the sky all the dust of the battle-ground.

(v) **905 f.** κατακελευσμός

On the MSS' ascription of these two iambic tetrameters catalectic to Dionysos, see p. 67; and on the function of the κατακελευσμός which inaugurates an agon—in other plays it is addressed not, as here, to both contestants but to one of them—Gelzer 80–3. The κατακελευσμός uses the metre which the first contestant will use; when we come to the ἀντικατακελευσμός (1004 f.), it will be anapaestic tetrameters, in which Aeschylus will present his case. Perusino (1968) 50–4 observes that in *Clouds* Wrong, who speaks first, uses iambic tetrameters, Right anapaestic, and that the choice of metre may have some bearing on the author's sympathies; but in *V.* 546–728 both Bdelykleon and Philokleon use anapaestic tetrameters.

906 ἀστεία: in 901*a* ἀστειότης was expected from Euripides and contrasted with Aeschylus' heavier weapons, but here it is expected of them both. **εἰκόνας:** 'likenesses', rather like riddles of the type 'Why is *x* like *y*?', were a form of wit directed (often good-humouredly, as in *Av.* 801–8; note *ἔοικας* and *ἠκάσμεσθα*, and cf. *V.* 1309–13) against a person. In *Pl. Smph.* 215 *A* Alkibiades announces that he will deliver his encomium on Socrates δι' εἰκόνων, and does so by comparing Socrates to a Silenos; cf. *Lg.* 933 *E* μήτε λόγω μήτε εἰκόνι . . . κωμῶδεῖν. **μῆθ' . . . εἴποιοι:** there is an element of self-advertisement by the poet here; cf. 1–18 and 1370–7.

(vi) **907–70.** Euripides' Speech

Dionysos' attitude to the two contestants fluctuates during this speech: 914, 918, 921 f., 927 f., 930–2 are sympathetic to Euripides, 916 and 952 f. less so; 934 and 968–70 make topical jokes which are not directed against either contestant.

907 καὶ μῆν: so too the opening of Wrong's speech in the first agon of *Clouds* (1036) and of Strepsiades' in the second (1353); cf. *V.* 548, *Lys.* 486 (*GP* 355 f.). **ἑμαυτόν . . . εἶμι:** lit., 'I will explain myself, of what kind I am (in respect of) my poetry'. The first accusative is of the common 'proleptic' type (cf. 432; *KG* ii. 577–80), having the same reference as the subject of the subordinate clause; the second, of the type specifying the domain of an adjective, e.g. *Pl.* 558 βελτίονας . . . καὶ τὴν γνώμην καὶ τὴν ἰδέαν (*KG* i. 316 f., Schwyzer ii. 85 f.).

908 This reference to the organization of one's own speech was characteristic of Gorgias (cf. *B6* εἰπεῖν δυναίμην ἃ βούλομαι, βουλοίμην δ' ἃ δεῖ) and it is

- caricatured by Plato in Agathon's speech, *Smp.* 194 E ἐγὼ δὲ δὴ βούλομαι πρῶτον μὲν εἰπεῖν ὡς χρῆ μὲ εἰπεῖν, ἔπειτα εἰπεῖν.
- 909 ἀλαζών:** cf. 280 n. **φέναξ:** 'cheat'; cf. 921. **οἷοις:** 'by what means'; cf. *V.* 1362 f. 'so that I may mock him οἷοις (in the kind of terms in which) he once mocked me'. Cf. KG i. 437 f.
- 910 Φρυνίχῳ:** Phrynichos (*TrGF* 3) was a tragic poet of the generation before Aeschylus, and in *V.* 219, 269 a taste for his lyrics is treated as characteristic of the old men of the jury; cf. p. 236.
- 911-12** There were at least three famous Aeschylean plays in which a major character remained seated in silence, with head and face veiled, for a long time after the start of the play: *Niobe* (Niobe grieving for the death of her children), *Myrmidons* (Achilles, nursing his anger against Agamemnon and deaf to the pleas of the embassy), and *Phrygians* or *Ransoming of Hektor* (Achilles again, mourning for Patroklos); cf. Σ^{VE}, *Vita Aesch.* 5 f., and *TrGF* 239 f., 265 f. Since 992 and 1264 f. are cited from *Myrmidons* (and in fr. 132b we have Achilles replying to Phoinix Φοῖνιξ γεραῖέ . . . / πάλ]αι σιωπῶ κοῦδεν [.]στ.μ[]ἀντέλεξα), and nothing in Aristophanes is cited from *Phrygians*, it is probably *Myrmidons* that he has in mind here; cf. B. Döhle, *Klio* 49 (1967) 68-87, V. Di Benedetto, *Maia* 19 (1967) 385 f., and O. P. Taplin, *HSt* 76 (1972) 67, 70-2, 75 f. **τιν:** almost 'for example', or 'it might be'; cf. (where the tone is certainly not, as here, dismissive) A. *Ag.* 55 ἢ τις Ἀπόλλων ἢ Πᾶν ἢ Ζεὺς. **ἄν:** a past indicative tense with ἄν often has a frequentative sense, whether with the aorist, as here (cf. 924, 927, 946, 948) or with the imperfect (914, 920, 960 f.). Cf. KG i. 211 f., *GV* 304 f., *MT* 56, Schwyzer ii. 350 f. **Νιόβην:** ω - is common enough in the first half of a metron in iambic tetrameters (e.g. τὸ πρόσω- here, and 910, 915, 918), less so in the second half and most likely to occur with proper names and awkward words (e.g. 937), though there is no such reason in 943. Cf. Perusino 75-8.
- 913 πρόσχημα:** sometimes 'pretext', 'disguise' (e.g. *Hdt.* iv. 167. 3, 'this reason was πρόσχημα τοῦ λόγου, but in my opinion . . .'), sometimes 'show-piece', 'greatest ornament' (e.g. *Hdt.* v. 28, 'Miletos, then at the height of its power, was πρόσχημα τῆς Ἰωνίης'). The connotation 'mere show' is supported here by E. *El.* 387 f. αἱ δὲ σάρκες αἱ κεναὶ φρενῶν ἀγάλματ' ἀγορᾶς εἰσιν (*Dn*). **γρύζοντας:** cf. *Pl.* 17 οὐδὲ γρῦ, 'not a murmur', 'not a word'. **τουτί:** with a snap of the fingers, says Σ^{VE}; cf. 139 n.
- 914 ἤρειδεν . . . 915 ξυνεχῶς ἄν:** lit., 'would push' (or 'thrust') 'four chains' (or 'strings') 'of songs continuously, one after the other'. It is true that some sequences of choral lyrics in Aeschylus are of exceptional length, e.g. *Ag.* 104-257, *Su.* 40-175. On the repetition of ἄν cf. 97 n.
- 917 ἡλίθιος:** 'simple-minded', 'naïve'; cf. *Ec.* 765 ἀνόητος; || οὐ γάρ; ἡλίθιος μὲν οὖν. γάρ here is 'that's because . . .'; cf. *GP* 75.
- 918 ὁ δεῖνα:** 'you-know-who'. Cf. *Ach.* 1149 ἀνατριβομένῳ γε τὸ δεῖνα,

'having his you-know-what rubbed up'. More commonly δ *δεῖνα* is 'so-and-so', 'someone or other'.

919–20 προσδοκῶν . . . ὄπῳ: 'waiting to see when . . .'. **καθῆτο**: so E U Vs1 (though without the iota), supported by *Lys.* 149 *καθήμεθ'*; *καθοῖτο* cett. Given [Pl.] *Thg.* 130 E *καθοίμην* and the variants *καθήμην* and *καθοίμην* in X. *Cyr.* v. 1. 8, there is considerable uncertainty over the correct form of the optative of *κάθημαι*. The perfectives *κεκλήσθαι*, *κεκτῆσθαι*, and *μεμνήσθαι* offer only limited help, because *καθῆσθαι* goes its own way in several respects.

921 ὦ παμπόνηρος: not a vocative, as *ὕπ' αὐτοῦ* shows; cf. *Pl. Phdr.* 227 C *λέγει γάρ . . .* ||| *ὦ γενναῖος. εἶθε γράψειεν κτλ.* **ἄρ'**: as often, connoting discovery or realization; *GP* 35–7.

922 σκορδινῆ καὶ δυσφορεῖς: 'fidget uncomfortably' (or '. . . irritably'); in *Ach.* 30 *σκορδινᾶσθαι* goes with groaning, yawning, and farting.

924 βόεια: 'as big as oxen'; cf. *Pl. R.* 338 C *βόεια κρέα*, 'beef', *E. Cy.* 216–18 (*γάλα*) . . . *βόειον*, 'cow's milk'. The prefix *βου-* is commonly associated with size, e.g. in *Men. fr.* 834 *βουκορυζᾶν*, 'have a heavy cold'. **δώδεκ'**: cf. 1327.

925 ὄφρυς: the brows can be threatening and portentous; cf. *Pax* 395, 'if you can't stand the eyebrows and crests of Peisandros', the ugly eyebrows of Kleon (*Kratinos fr.* 228), and the menace inherent in a steep, even overhanging, rock-face (called *ὄφρυς*). **μορμωπά**: *μορμῶ* or *μορμών* (hence van Leeuwen's conjecture *μορμονωπά* (*Mnemosyne* 1896. 103 here) is a (usually female) bogymon of whom children are frightened. But *μόρμωρος* is glossed *φόβος* in *Hsch.* μ 1670, *μορμωρ-* (in various forms) as *παράσσειν* (μ 1672–6); and *μορμύρος* is a species of fish (*Thompson* 161). K Np1 Vs1^{ac} Θ^{pc} have *μορμωρωπά*, R A E Vb3 Θ^{ac} *μορμου-*, V *μορμωρ-*, M^{ac} *μορμω-*, and M^{pc} U Vs1^{pc} *μορμω-*. Either *μορμω-* or *μορμω-* could be right.

926 ἄγνωτα: *ἀγνώτα* in V, *ἄγνωστα* in Vs1 (*ἀγνώτα* Vs1^{yp}), but *Hdn.* ii. 615. 26–8 denies that *ἀγνώως* is found in the neuter, and in *S. OT* 58 the MSS have *γνωτᾶ κούκ ἀγνωτᾶ μοι*. There, the choice may be determined by the contrast with *γνωτᾶ*; here, since *ἀγνωστος* is common, Vs1 might be right.

σιώπα: evidently Aeschylus is not stifling his rage and indignation.

927 οὐδὲ ἔν: *οὐδὲ εἰς* and *οὐδὲ ἔν*, scanned as three syllables, become increasingly common in fourth-century comedy; in *Aristophanes*, cf. *Lys.* 1045 *πλαῦρον εἰπεῖν οὐδὲ ἔν*. **πρίε**: cf. 881 n.; we would say 'gnash'.

928 ἀλλ' ἦ: cf. 227, 439. **Σκαμάνδρους**: Skamandros was the river of Troy; for the plural (whether the point is 'repeated references to Skamandros' or 'Skamandros and other things like that') cf. 1056. **τάφρους**: the allusion is especially to the ditch protecting the Greek camp at Troy, over which the fighting rages in *Il.* xi–xiv.

929 γρυπαιετούς: *γρυπός* is 'hooked' (including 'hook-nosed'), and *αιετός*

- ‘eagle’. Σ^{VE} takes the reference to be simply to eagles portrayed in low relief on shields, and there is no need to think that a *γρυπαιετός* differs from an *αίετός*. **ἰππόκρημνα**: cf. 821 n., and *Nu.* 1367, where Pheidippides scornfully dismisses Aeschylus as *κρημνοποιόν*, ‘crag-maker’.
- 930** ἄ ξυμβαλεῖν οὐ ῥᾶδι’ ἦν: cf. Pl. *Cra.* 416 A *χαλεπὰ συμβαλεῖν*, ‘hard to work out’. **νῆ τοὺς θεούς**: M. Z. Koredakis, *Hellenika* 29 (1976) 347 f., argues for attributing *νῆ τοὺς θεούς* . . . 932 *ὄρνις* to Euripides, but the positive oath followed by *γοῦν* or *ἐγὼ γοῦν* is characteristic of the ‘bomolochic’ interventions of a third party (Kassel 270–2); cf. 980, 1047.
- 931** Adapted from E. *Hp.* 375 *ἤδη ποτ’ ἄλλως νυκτὸς ἐν μακρῶ χρόνῳ . . . ἐφρόντισ’ κτλ.*
- 932** **ξουθὸν ἰππαλεκτρυόνα**: the phrase is from Aeschylus’ *Myrmidons* (fr. 134). The monster, a combination of horse and cock, often appears on black-figure vases (P. Perdrizet, *REA* 6 (1904) 7–30). On the mysterious (purely poetic) adjective *ξουθός* cf. Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 1142 and Dale on E. *Hel.* 1111. In *Av.* 676 it is used of the nightingale and in 214, 744 of a bird’s throat; Aristophanes probably thought of it as ‘brown’, though there is no doubt that in later poets it sometimes refers to sound or movement.
- 933** The *locus classicus* for the signs borne by ships (on the stern) is the description of the Greek fleet at Aulis in E. *IA* 231–302: the Myrmidons have Nereids (239–41), the Athenians Athena (247–52), the Boeotians a snake (256 f.), and the Pylians the river Alpheios with bull’s legs (273–6).
- 934** **Ἔρυξι**: Arist. *EE* 1231^a17 mentions ‘Eryxis son of Philoxenos’ as a notorious gourmand.
- 935** **εἶτ’**: cf. 21 n. **κάλεκτρυόνα**: Euripides’ scorn rebounds on him in 1331–64, where the parody of his monodic style has as its subject the theft of a cock. R V^Δ U^{ac} have *κολοκτρυόνα*, Kⁱ U^{yp}. *κολεκ-*, K^s Np1 *κωλεκ-*, and Σ^{RVE} explains *κολο-* as a Persian species ‘like locusts’, which would make 935 a very odd riposte to 933.
- 936** **ἄττ’**: cf. 56, 173. Corruption of *ποι’ ἄττ’* to *ποιά γ’* (R A E K M Np1 U) is considerably more likely than the reverse; moreover, *γε* immediately after an interrogative appears mostly as a variant and is seldom metrically guaranteed (cf. 515; *GP* 124 f.).
- 937** **τραγελάφους**: ‘goat-deer’. Pl. *R.* 488 A treats this creature as an artist’s invention, but D.S. iii. 51. 2 lists it as an Arabian animal, while Plin. *NH* viii. 33 (50) locates it on the river Phasis. ‘Goat-antelopes’ are in fact a genus represented by several species in southern Europe and the Middle East; cf. D. Macdonald (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of Mammals* (London, 1984) ii. 584–91. Cf. *στρουθοκάμηλος*, which sounds a bizarre hybrid but means ‘ostrich’.
- 938** **παραπετάσμασιν**: ‘(wall-)hangings’. Hdt. ix. 82. 1 refers to the magnificent *παραπετάσματα ποικίλα* among what was captured from Mardonios after the battle of Plataea.
- 939** On the chronology cf. p. 23.

- 940 οἰδοῦσαν . . . 942 περιπάτοις:** on the personification of Tragedy cf. Newiger (1957) 131. The 'slimming' (*ισχναίνειν*) of someone who is 'swollen' (*οἰδεῖν*) is naturally of concern to doctors, as we see from the Hippocratic corpus. For the reference of *οἰδεῖν* to style cf. Taillardat 452 f. **κομπασμάτων:** cf. 839 n. **βάρος:** we may recall this when we come to the weighing of verses in 1365–1410. **ἑπυλλίοις:** diminutive of *ἔπος*, used also of Euripidean verses in *Ach.* 398, *Pax* 532. There may be (so Merry) a pun on *ἐρπύλλιον*, 'thyme', which in Themison (ed. R. Fuchs, *RhM* 58 (1903) 71) is specified as a cure for inflammation of the brain, but does not occur elsewhere in slimming diets. **περιπάτοις:** 'walks', often enough recommended by medical writers, e.g. *Hp. Morb.* ii. 50. 5, 52. 3.
- 942 τευτλίοισι λευκοῖς:** 'white beet', a mild purgative (*Plin. NH* xix. 40). Von Velsen attributed the words *καὶ τευτλίοισι . . . ἀπηθῶν* to Dionysos; Marzullo gives both these words and 944 *Κηφισοφῶντα μειγνύς* to Aeschylus. Yet the wit is too relaxed for Aeschylus in his present temper, and too sharp for Dionysos. It is not uncommon for characters in Aristophanes comedy to say things about themselves which in real life would be said of them by a hostile critic, e.g. *Lys.* 112–14, 'Oh yes, even if I had to pawn my dress—and spend the proceeds on drink the same day!', and Philokleon's delight in giving unjust judgements in *V.* 583–6.
- 943** 'giving her juice of chatterings, pressing it from books'. For the use of vegetable juices in medicine cf. Theophr. *HP* ix. 8. 1–3 (using *χυλός* and *ἀπηθεῖν*) and *Hp. Reg.* ii. 60. The introduction of beet and vegetable juice is no doubt an allusion to Euripides' mother (cf. 840 n.). On 'books' cf. p. 34.
- 944 μονωδίαις:** cf. 849 n. **Κηφισοφῶντα:** cf. pp. 53 f.
- 945 ὅτι τύχοιμ':** 'any old words', 'anything that came into my head'; cf. *Pl. Prt.* 353 A *ὅτι ἂν τύχωσι, τοῦτο λέγουσιν*. **ἔμπεσών:** cf. 904 n. **ἔφυρον:** 'mixed up', 'jumbled'.
- 946 οὔξιών:** we speak of 'coming on stage', the Greeks of 'coming out' (sc. of the skene), and 'bring on' is *ἐξάγειν* (*Pax* 744). **τὸ γένος:** not 'the kind of drama', because the prologue does not tell us that, but its 'origin', explaining how the situation with which the drama deals has arisen in the family history of its protagonist; cf. the prologues of E. *Helena*, *Phoenissae*, and *Orestes*.
- 947 τὸ σαυτοῦ:** cf. 840 n.
- 948 οὐδένα . . . ἀργόν:** 'I wouldn't leave' (lit., 'pass over') 'anyone with nothing to do'.
- 949 f.** Considering the importance of female characters in the *Oresteia* (including the slave-nurse in *Choephori*), it might not have occurred to us to draw this distinction between Aeschylus and Euripides, but it is evidence for the perceptions entertained in the late fifth century.
- 951 ἀποθανεῖν:** cf. 1012 n.
- 952 δημοκρατικόν:** i.e. it upheld the rights of the weak. Equality of rich and

poor under the law (*ἰσονομία*, e.g. Hdt. iii. 80. 6), equality in the right to speak (*ἰσηγορία*, e.g. Dem. xxi. 124), and speaking one's mind (*παρρησία*, e.g. Isoc. viii. 14) were all, naturally enough, associated with democracy. In comedy, anything that made life easier for the mass of the population could be called 'democratic', e.g. the provision of brothels (Philemon fr. 3) or free clothing for the poor (*Ec.* 411-21). **ἔασον**: 'don't pursue that!' **ὦ τᾶν**: a vocative used in polite remonstrance.

953 We do not know enough about Euripides' friends to understand the point of this line. In 967 he names Kleitophon and Theramenes as his 'pupils', but in the light of 965 we can hardly press the word 'pupils' too hard; yet if Theramenes (cf. 541 n.) and Kleitophon (an associate of Thrasymachos in Pl. *R.* 328 b, *Clit.* 410 c) were regarded as having in some way modelled themselves on Euripides, it is understandable that his loyalty to the democracy could at least be questioned. On the other hand, it may be that Euripides' own desertion of his country for the greater comfort and security of the Macedonian court was looked at with some disapproval. **περίπατος**: later, the word is used of philosophical discussions (e.g. Dikaiarchos fr. 29 *ap.* Plu. *An seni* 796 CD); here it seems to be 'spending time in talking about . . .'. **κάλλιστα**: the adverb, in place of the adjective, as predicate of the copula *εἶναι* is rare, but cf. X. *An.* vii. 3. 42 *καλῶς* ἔσται, *ἐὰν θεὸς θέλῃ* (Schwyzer ii. 414 f.).

954 **φημί κἀγώ**: *φημί* serves as an affirmative response (e.g. *Nu.* 1325), so here 'You certainly did!'

955 **διαρραγήναι**: cf. 256.

956 **λεπτῶν**: cf. 828 n. **κανόνων**: cf. 739 n. **εἰσβολάς**: cf. 1104. Lit., 'ways in' or 'invasions', but 'starting-points' in E. *Su.* 92 *καινὰς εἰσβολὰς ὁρῶ λόγων*, *Ion* 676-8 *ὁρῶ δάκρυα . . . στεναγμάτων τ' εἰσβολάς, ὅταν κτλ.*, and in Antiphanes fr. 189. 21 *εἰσβολή* is probably the 'opening scene' of a comedy. Here, however, 'insertions' seems more appropriate; cf. English 'bring in' = 'apply'. **γωνιασμούς**: Pl. *Phlb.* 51 c refers to 'shapes made *κανόσι καὶ γωνίαις*', i.e. '. . . set-squares'. In Lys. fr. 61 *γωνιασμός* is 'right-angled corner (of a walled area)', but here it is a verbal noun, 'squaring-off'.

957 **στρέφειν**: the simple verb is nowhere used intransitively, but *ἀναστρέφειν* and *ἐπαναστρέφειν* (e.g. 1102) are. **†ἐρᾶν**: 'be in love' is keeping odd company here, because it is notoriously incompatible with the rational calculation involved in the other seven items in the list, even when allowance is made for the heterogeneity of Aristophanic lists (e.g. *Av.* 1539-41). To take *στρέφειν* (or both *στρέφειν* and *τεχνάζειν*) as its objects, 'having a passionate desire to . . .' (so Fritzsche and Stanford) does not help much. R. G. Ussher, *Ha* 85 (1955) 59 conjectures *στρέφειν ἔδραν*, comparing Theophr. *Char.* 27. 14 *ἔδραν στρέφειν* and Theocr. 24. 111 *ἐδροστρόφοι*, of twisting the 'seat' in wrestling. *-ερᾶν* in compounds can mean 'vomit' or 'pour out' (e.g. A. *Ag.* 1599 *ἀπὸ σφαγῆν ἐρῶν*, and *ἐξερᾶν Ach.* 341, *V.* 993, of

pouring stones; the simple verb occurs only in Hsc. ε 5630), and L. J. D. Richardson, *Ha* 72 (1948) 80 f., argues that ἐράν could mean 'spout (fluent words)', the ambiguity being resolved by gesture; but it is hard to think of a gesture which could unambiguously signify fluency rather than fluid. An obelisk seems appropriate. τεχνάζειν: 'scheme'; coupled with στρέφεισθαι in *Ach.* 385.

958 κάχ' ὑποτοπέισθαι: 'suspect bad intentions (in others)'. In Pl. *R.* 409 c the rogue who is δεινός καὶ καχύποπτος is 'inappropriately mistrustful and unable to recognize good character' when he is dealing with people better than himself.

959 Cf. p. 37.

960 ἄν ἐξηλεγχόμεν: 'would have been shown up', sc. 'if I'd tried to deceive them', for ἐξ- implies completion, rather than 'was regularly (cf. 911 n.) put to the test'. On ἄν with the imperfect of unfulfilled past conditions cf. KG i. 211-14, *MT* 81-4, *GV* 302-4. οὔτοι: the audience; cf. 954, 972.

961 ἤλεγχον: cf. 77 n. ἐκόμπολάκουν: on κόμπος cf. 839 n. λάκειν is 'burst' (e.g. *Nu.* 410 διαλακήσασα, of a sausage bursting; cf. Björck 280-4). Here the reference must be to the noise of Aeschylus' declamatory language. In *Ach.* 589 κομπολάκυθος is invented as the name of the bird from whose plumage the crest on Lamachos' helmet comes.

962 φρονεῖν: without any qualifying word, often 'good sense', 'effective thinking', e.g. *S. Ant.* 1347 f. πολλῶ τὸ φρονεῖν εὐδαιμονίας πρῶτον ὑπάρχει. ἀποσπάσας: lit., 'tearing away', i.e. 'distracting', 'debarring'; in Pl. *R.* 491 b the things which are most enviable are said to ἀποσπᾶν the soul from philosophy. ἐξέπληττον: cf. 144.

963 Κύκνουσ . . . καὶ Μέμνονας: there were two Kyknoi: one, a son of Ares (*Hes. Sc.* 57), despoiled travellers on their way to Delphi (*ibid.* 477-80) and was killed by Herakles (*ibid.* 413-23, *E. HF* 389-93). The other, a son of Tithonos (*Apollod.* iii. 12. 4), was killed at Troy by Achilles (*Pi. O.* 2. 82), and in *I.* 5. 39-41 Pindar lists Kyknos, Hektor, and Memnon together as victims of Achilles. An Aeschylean *Memnon* is listed in the Medicean catalogue (*TrGF* iii T78. 10b. 10) but nothing that points to a portrayal of Kyknos in any play; see, however, Lloyd-Jones i. 246 f. on *A.* fr. 281a for a possible reference to the son of Ares. κωδωνοφαλαροπώλους: 'with horses (πῶλοι) which have bells (κώδωνες) on their cheek-pieces (φάλαρα)'. Apollonios *ap. Σ*^{RVE} says that Aeschylus παρήνεγκε χρωμένους κώδωσί τινας, 'brought on stage' (cf. 1054 n.; emend παρήνεγκε το παρήγαγε?), or 'spoke of . . .' (cf. *E. IA* 981 παραφέρουσ' οἰκτροὺς λόγους)?

964 τούτου τε κάμουσ: the construction is regular, e.g. *E. El.* 303 τὰμὰ κάκεινου κακά, *HF* 855 τὰ θ' Ἥρας κάμὰ μηχανήματα; and cf. 109 n. ἐκατέρου: cf. Pl. *Th.* 144 ε νῶν ἐχόντων ἐκατέρου λύραν, 'and if we had, each of us, a lyre'. μαθητάσ: philosophers, sophists, and rhetoricians are all said to have had 'pupils' in the ordinary sense (though we often have

reason to doubt statements in the biographical tradition about teacher-pupil relationships), but here the word is used more loosely, of men allegedly influenced by the poets.

965 τουτουμενι: = *τουτουι μέν*; cf. *Th.* 646 *ἐγγεταυθι = ἐνταυθι γε*. **Φορμισιος:** the joke in *Ec.* 97, where 'Phormisios' is substituted for 'cunt', may tell us something about his face, but we do not know for sure whether that man, this one, the speaker of *Lys.* xxxiv, and the man accused in Plato Comicus fr. 127. 1 of taking Persian bribes are all the same man. The name is so rare that they probably are. **Μεγαίνετός θ' ὁ Μάνης:** we have no other evidence on Megainetos (Σ^{RVE} τῶν στρατηγιώντων and Σ^{VE} οὐ βάρβαρος ἀλλ' ἀναίσθητος could be mere guesswork). *Μανης* (accentuation uncertain) is a very common name in Western Asia Minor (cf. O. Masson, *REG* 100 (1987) 236); in *SEG* 36. 983. 8 (Iasos, s. V^a) a Carian of that name (accusative *Μανην*) is appointed a proxenos of Iasos. Consequently, it is also a stock slave-name at Athens (e.g. *Lys.* 908, *Av.* 1311). It is usually accented perispomenon, and so here Κ Ν ρ Ι (*μάνης* M: *μανής* R V: *μάνης* cett.), but since in *SEG* 36. 1011 (Ephesos, s. IV m.) the genitive is *Μανεω* and in *SEG* 27. 915 (Lycia, s. I-II^p) *Μανεους*, there may have been a change from *Μάνης* to *Μανής* in the Roman era. It is an unlikely nickname—too grossly offensive—for an Athenian citizen; the Athenian called 'Manes' (dative *Μανηι*) in *IG* ii² 1673. 37 (Eleusis, c.330) is a skilled workman of whose parentage we know nothing (he has no demotic). As comic vilification, though, it is in accord with (e.g.) 'Sakas' in *Av.* 31, and cf. p. 69. The word was also used of the lowest throw in dice (*Poll.* vii. 204 f., cf. *Hsch.* μ 236) and of a little figure essential to the kottabos-game (*Ath.* 487 D; cf. *Hermippos* fr. 48. 7, *Antiphanes* fr. 57. 11). In those senses it appears as paroxytone, and probably a distinction should be drawn; if Megainetos was a notoriously unlucky gambler, the nickname *Μάνης* is appropriate. A has *μάγνης*, 'Magnesian', here, and that appears, as well as *μάνης*, in *Pollux's* list of names (v.l. *μαγνησία*) for a low throw (cf. *Hsch.* μ 22); from a text of *Frogs* which had it here?

966 σαλπιγγολογχυπηνάδαι: *σάλπιγξ* is 'trumpet', *λόγχη* 'spear(-point)', and *ὕπηνη* 'long beard' (which would suit the hairiness of Phormisios). **σαρκασμοπιτυοκάμπται:** *σαρκάζειν* is used of baring the teeth (*Pax* 282), hence (though not here) of a smile in which the eyes play no part; *πιτυοκάμπτης* is a 'pine-bender', and refers particularly to the legendary Sinis, who (until killed by Theseus) catapulted wayfarers to their death in that way (*Apollod.* iii. 16. 2). On *-άδης* cf. 841 n.

967 Κλειτοφῶν: probably the Kleitophon whom we meet in Plato as an associate of the sophist Thrasymachos (*Clit.* 406 A, 410 C, *R.* 328 B, 340 A). Σ^{RVE} , in saying that he *ὡς ἀργὸς κωμωδεῖται*, may have in mind a comic reference to his association with sophists; cf. *ἀργός* in 1498 and *Nu.* 334. **Θηραμένης** cf. 540 n. **κομψός:** English 'smart' is ambivalent in rather

the same way. *κομψός* can mean 'attractive' (e.g. Pl. *Phdr.* 230 A, of a patch of soft grass) or 'elegant', but sometimes also 'clever', 'subtle' in a derogatory sense.

968 σοφός . . . δεινός: cf. Pl. *Prt.* 341 A σοφός και δεινός ἐστὶν ἀνὴρ, cited as an example of the normal usage of *δεινός*.

969 περιπέση: cf. Xen. *M.* iv. 2. 27 τῶν τε ἀγαθῶν ἀποτυγχάνουσι καὶ τοῖς κακοῖς περιπίπτουσι. **πλησίον παραστή:** to us this sounds a recoverable situation, less dangerous than *περιπέση*, but *ἐγγύς* sometimes means more than just 'near' (e.g. Tyr. fr. 11. 29 ἐγγύς ἰών, 'coming to grips', E. *Hr.* οὐ παροῦσι κάγγυς ὦν φίλοις, '. . . and in my presence with them'), and *πλησίον* may have had the same connotation. Radermacher treats it as a pleonasm of the same type as Eupolis fr. 77 ἀναρίστητος ὦν / κούδεν βεβρωκάς. There, however, *καί* can be interpreted as 'and so . . .'; here, the sense 'or even . . .' should be considered, as in Pl. *Phdr.* 238 E κρείττον δὲ καὶ ἴσον (W. J. Verdenius, in Westendorp Bouma 148).

970 πέπτωκεν: ἐκπίπτειν and πίπτειν with ἐκ or ἀπό are mostly used of falling involuntarily or being thrown by someone else, but 'escape', 'extricate -self' is the meaning in A. *Eu.* 147 ἐξ ἀρκύων πέπτωκεν οἴχεται δ' ὁ θήρ, with which Sommerstein ad loc. compares Thuc. vi. 95. 2 ἐξέπεσον Ἀθήναζε, 'escaped and got to Athens'. As dice fall, the word is chosen with the end of the line in view. **οὐ Χίος ἀλλὰ Κεῖος:** it is clear from inscriptions of Roman date laying down the rules for the use of dice as oracles (e.g. H. A. Ormerod, *JHS* 32 (1912) 270-6) that *χίος* (confusingly spelt there *χείος*; but interchange of *ι* and *ει* is constant in the Roman period, whereas interchange of *κ* and *χ* is rare (Threatte i. 453 f., Gignac i. 90-4)) was the name of the lowest throw, a 'one'. Aristarchos (Σ^{VE}) seems to have had *Κῶος* in his text, not *Κεῖος*, and that was the name of the highest throw, a 'six' (Hsch. κ 4861). I dare say the audience expected *Κῶος* to be the last word, but Aristophanes has substituted an unexpected joke, as Σ^{VE} perceived. But what is the joke? According to Didymos (*ap.* Σ^{VE}) there was a proverb οὐ Χίος ἀλλὰ Κίος (*sic*), applied to such a man as Theramenes was according to 534a-40. (Pl. *Prt.* 341 E, 'Prodikos would say that Simonides was ἀκόλαστός τις and not at all a Kean', does not point to a proverbial reputation of Keans for *σωφροσύνη*, because the context concerns the meaning of *χαλεπός* in the dialect of Keos, to which Simonides and Prodikos both belonged, so that Prodikos would be the right person to explain Simonides' meaning (341 B).) Said here of Theramenes, the point of *Κεῖος* may be either a stock allegation of foreign birth (cf. p. 69) or an alleged association with Prodikos (cf. *Nu.* 830 Σωκράτης ὁ Μήλιος), and Demetrius (*ap.* Σ^{RV}E) said outright that Theramenes was a Kean. Eupolis fr. 251 treated him as an adopted son of Hagnon. Plu. *Nic.* 2. 1 Θηραμένης . . . εἰς δυσγένειαν ὡς ξένος ἐκ Κέω λελοιδόρηται, is no doubt an inference from Eupolis and *Frogs*.

(vii) 971–91. *Pnigos*

On the function of the *pnigos* in an *agon*, cf. Gelzer 115–120. It always employs the same rhythm as the preceding *epirrhema*, but in shorter units, and ends with *catalexis*. On the metre of 991 v.n. ad loc.

- 971 **μέντοῦγά:** for the *crasis* of *-τοι* and *έ-* cf. *Ec.* 410, *μέντοι ἔφασκεν* scanned — — — ∪.
- 972 **τούτοισιν:** not Kleitophon and Theramenes, but the audience, as is clear from what follows. **εἰσηγησάμην:** lit., ‘led in’ (and so in *Av.* 647), sometimes ‘propose’, ‘put forward’, ‘suggest’, ‘introduce’; cf. *Pl. La.* 179 D *εἰσηγήσατο οὐν τις ἡμῖν τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον*.
- 974 **νοεῖν:** the understood subject of the infinitives in 974–8 is the audience.
- 975 **διειδέναί:** ‘really understand’, as in *Nu.* 168.
- 976 **τά τ’ ἄλλα:** ‘the other things and *x*’ means ‘especially *x*’, e.g. *Pl. Smp.* 220 A *θαυμάσια ἠργάζετο τά τε ἄλλα καί ποτε κτλ.* Cf. *ἄλλως τε καί . . .*, ‘especially when/given that . . .’.
- 977 **οἰκεῖν ἄμεινον:** cf. p. 37.
- 978 **ἔχει:** cf. 75 n.
- 979 **ἔλαβε:** with the exception of 1203, where there is a special reason for it, no iambic verse can be shown to end in *ω-*; hence we should write *ἔλαβε* here (*ἔλαβεν R*) and treat 979 and 980 as two halves of one iambic tetrameter split between two speakers. That is also unparalleled in a *pnigos*, and we would have expected *catalexis* at 979 (cf. 1088). Radermacher 295 suggests that Dionysos interrupts.
- 980–8 Dionysos takes up the theme of *τὰς οἰκίας οἰκεῖν ἄμεινον* and trivializes it, in a way for which Euripides’ last words are in effect a comic ‘feed’, by hypothetical examples which belong (if anywhere) to the level of the housekeeper rather than the householder. **χύτρα:** a stout jug (which could be big enough to hold a baby; *Th.* 505), with a handle (or two; *Pl. Hp. Ma.* 288 D), and a very wide mouth; cf. B. A. Sparkes, *Pots and Pans of Classical Athens* (Princeton, 1958), no. 44. **μαινίδος:** a species of small fish (Thompson 153–5). **τρύβλιον:** a bowl for soup and the like; cf. *Ach.* 278 *εἰρήνης ῥοφήσει τρύβλιον*. **περυσινόν:** ‘last year’s’. **τέθηκε:** ‘perish’ can be used of abstract entities (e.g. *λόγοι*, *A. Ch.* 846), but is not used elsewhere of inanimate material objects. **σκόροδον:** cf. 555. **χθιζινόν:** ‘yesterday’s’; *χθουσινόν* (MSS) does not scan, but Loback’s *χθιζινόν* (cf. *V.* 281) does. **παρέτραγεν:** ‘nibbled at . . .’; the imperfective is *παρατρῶγειν*.
- 989 **ἄβελτερώτατοι:** ‘stupid’; cf. Strepsiades’ exultation over his fellow citizens in *Nu.* 1201 *τί κάθησθ’ ἀβέλτεροι*; It is coupled with *ἠλίθιος* in *Ec.* 297.
- 990 **κεχηνότες:** ‘gaping’ (imperfective *χάσκειν*), usually in bewilderment,

simple-minded admiration, or enthusiastic expectation (*Ach.* 10, *Nu.* 996), though it is used also of predators (e.g. Eubulos fr. 14. 11, of a wolf). **μαμμάκυθοι:** ‘dolts’, ‘clods’ (-μά-). *μαμμα* is an infant’s cry for food (*Nu.* 1383), and in *Nu.* 1001 *βλιτομάμματος* clearly means someone whose intelligence has not matured with his body.

991 Μελιτίδαι: cf. Men. *Aspis* 269 *Μελιτίδη / λαλεῖν ὑπείληφας*; ‘Do you think it’s a halfwit you’re talking to?’ *Μελητίδαι* (P20^{ac})—cf. *Meletides* in Apul. *Apol.* 24—would be preferable if we supposed that there was a proverbial halfwit called Meletos; Σ^{RVE} compares ‘Boutalion’ and ‘Koroibos’ (cf. Ael. *VH* xiii. 15 and Hsch. κ 3649). Moreover, the iota in the deme-name Melite and the noun μέλι, ‘honey’, is short, and H. Langerbeck, *HSPH* 63 (1958) 49, argues for treatment of 991 as ithyphallic (for which there is no parallel in a pnygos), taking the reference to be to Kallias (cf. 501 n.). Yet when the evidence is so exiguous I hesitate to reject the virtually unanimous reading of MSS and testimonia. **καθῆντο:** cf. *Nu.* 1201, cited on 990 above.

(viii) **992–1003.** *Antode*

The Chorus, which in the Ode had exhorted both contestants, now addresses itself to Aeschylus.

992: the opening words (so Σ^{RVE}) of Aeschylus’ *Myrmidons* (fr. 131), no doubt addressed there to Achilles by the chorus. *λεύσσειν*, ‘see’, is common in tragedy but confined in comedy to quotation and parody (as in *Th.* 1052).

995 ἔκτος . . . ἐλαῶν: careering off course is an obvious danger in chariot-racing, and the idea is often used figuratively: [A.] *PV* 883 *ἔξω δὲ δρόμου φέρομαι λύσσης πνεύματι μάργω*, E. *Ba.* 853 *ἔξω δ’ ἐλαύνων τοῦ φρονεῖν*, Pl. *Cra.* 414 B *ὡσπερ ἔκτος δρόμου φερόμενον*. It is not known whether ‘the olive-trees’ refers to a particular course familiar to Athenians or rests on an assumption about race-courses in general.

997 γεννάδα: cf. p. 46.

998 πρὸς ὄργην: cf. 844, 856.

999–1003 As so often, the Chorus uses more than one set of images: first racing, now sailing. It is not absolutely clear whether the gale presupposed in the advice to reduce sail (999 f.) is Euripides’ onslaught (996) or Aeschylus’ own temper (994, 998); but the former, sandwiched between warnings against *θυμός* and *ὄργη*, is distinctly subordinated to them. **σουστείλας:** ‘reducing’, ‘shortening’; as in 902 f., the direct object, ‘your sails’, is understood from the dative which follows, ‘using the edge of the sails’ (cf. 902 f., 1220). The metaphor is used of speech in E. *Md.* 522–5, where Jason, replying to Medea’s attack, likens himself to a good ship’s master who knows how to *ἄκροισι λαίφους κρασπέδοις ὑπεκδραμεῖν*, lit.,

'escape from under with edge-borders of canvas'. **μᾶλλον μᾶλλον**: cf. *Nu.* 1288 *πλέον πλέον τάργυριον αἰεὶ γίγνεται*, Alexis fr. 29. 2 *τὸ πρῶτον . . . ἡσυχῇ / ἔπειτα μᾶλλον μᾶλλον*. But what is it that Aeschylus is told to do 'more and more'? If 'extending (sc. the sails)'—cf. Thuc. vi. 99. 2 *ἢ ἐκείνοι ἔμελλον ἄξειν τὸ τεῖχος*—there is some stress on *εἶτα*, 'and after that . . .', and the point of *καὶ φυλάξεις κτλ.* is 'and (sc. before doing so) look out for . . .'. No hearer is likely to be confused by that sequence of thought, but the word *ἄξεις* itself is not easy. Thiersch's *ἄξεις* will not do, for *ἄττειν* denotes rapid and violent movement (cf. 468, 567). A commander *ἄγει* a fleet (e.g. Thuc. viii. 59. 1) and a ship *ἄγει* its cargo or passengers (e.g. Thuc. vi. 44. 1), but a master is not said to *ἄγειν* his ship. But if we think of a ship and its master as a single entity, and of *ἄξεις* as equivalent to *ἄξει σε ἢ ναῦς*, interpretation of *ἄξεις* as intransitive receives some support from *S. OT* 734 'a forked road *ἄγει* from Delphi and from Daulia', where English would say 'comes' ('leads' only with 'to . . .'). Hence: 'and after that, gather speed gradually, and look out for . . .'. **ἡνίκ' ἄν**: cf. *Ec.* 633 *ἐπιτῆρει / ὅταν . . . παραδῶ σοι κτλ.* **λεῖον καὶ καθεστηκός**: both words are used of a calm surface (*Eq.* 865 *ὅταν μὲν ἡ λίμνη καταστή*, *Hdt.* ii. 117 *εὐαεῖ τε πνεύματι χρησάμενος καὶ θαλάσση λείῃ*), but *λεῖος* is 'soft', 'smooth' in general, and *καθίστασθαι* 'settle down', so that both can fairly be used of a wind.

(ix) **1000 f.** *Antikatakeuleusmos*

1004 f. Clearly the predecessors of Aeschylus were not taken very seriously at the time of *Frogs*; cf. 910 n., and on *σεμνά* 178 n. Aeschylus is here said to have 'built up impressive language to a towering height'; cf. *Pax* 748 f. *τοιαῦτ' ἀφελῶν κακὰ . . . / ἐπόησε τέχνην μεγάλην ἡμῖν κάπυργωσ' οἰκοδομήσας* (sc. *αὐτήν*) / *ἔπεισιν μεγάλοις κτλ.* In 1005, however, there is considerable ambiguity. One meaning of *κόσμος* and *κοσμεῖν* is 'dress', 'adorn(ment)' (e.g. *Pl.* 530, 940), and in 1027 *κοσμήσας ἔργον ἄριστον* the 'achievement' is not the play *Persians* but the victory over the Persians which was 'adorned' by the play; cf. *Eq.* 568 *πανταχοῦ νικῶντες αἰεὶ τήνδ' ἐκόσμησαν πόλιν* and *Nu.* 914 *νῦν δέ γε κόσμος τοῦτ' ἐστίν ἐμοί*, 'yes, but (the hostile terms you use of me) are nowadays an adornment for me'. Another meaning is 'arrange(ment)', 'order', 'discipline' (e.g. *Av.* 1331 *διάθες τάδε κόσμῳ*). Either way, it seems that Aeschylus is being praised for having converted into a worthwhile art-form something which in the hands of tragic poets before him had been *λήρος*, 'nonsense', 'drivel'. Yet this relationship between *κοσμήσας* and *λήρον* is different from that between *πυργώσας* and *ρήματα*, for obviously he did not build up language which was previously *σεμνός* into something which was no longer *σεμνός*. If we want to make the relationship the same, it means that we must take

λήρον as referring not to pre-Aeschylean tragedy but to the art of tragedy as a whole. This introduces a somewhat alien note into the play, but comic ridicule of tragedy is not unknown; cf. *Av.* 786–9, ‘if you had wings, and you were getting hungry and fed-up with the tragic choruses, you could fly off . . . and after you’d had a meal, fly back to us (sc. comic choruses)’. To avoid this Rademacher interpreted λήρον as ληρόν, ‘(women’s) gold ornaments’ (for the accent, *Hsch.* λ 895). The difficulty there is that one does not κοσμεῖν adornment, but the person who is adorned; one could be said to ‘arrange’ adornment, but there seems to be no instance of that. The lemma of Σ^v has κληρόν, ‘inheritance’, ‘patrimony’ (cf. *Is.* xi. 3, 5, al.), which is by no means to be rejected out of hand, but may be an error generated in a copyist’s mind by 910 and 939. τὸν κρουνὸν ἀφίει: lit., ‘send forth your spring (sc. of words)’. For utterance as an object of ἀφιέναι cf. *E. Hp.* 990 f. ἀνάγκη . . . / γλώσσάν μ’ ἀφείναι, *El.* 59 γόους τ’ ἀφίημ’, and for the metaphor *Kratinos* fr. 198. 2 δωδεκάκρουνον (τὸ) στόμα.

(x) 1006–76/7. *Aeschylus Puts his Case*

1006 σπλάγχν’: cf. 844 n.

1007 δ’: cf. 344 n.; but here ἵνα and μὴ have a strongly prepositive character, so that δέ comes after the first mobile word.

1009 f. On these two lines, from some points of view the most important in the play, see pp. 15 f.

1011 μοχθηροτέρους: so V, and cf. *Pl. Grg.* 516 c ἀγριωτέρους γε αὐτοὺς ἀπέφηνεν ἢ οἴους παρέλαβεν. E K M Np1 U Vb3 Vs1 Θ have the superlative, R and A μοχθηρούς. ἀπέδειξας: ‘made (for all to see)’; cf. *Pl.* 208–10 ἐὰν γένῃ / . . . πρόθυμος . . . / βλέποντ’ ἀποδείξω σ’ ὀξύτερον τοῦ *Λυγκέως* (*Chremylos* promises to cure *Plutos* of his blindness).

1012 τεθνάναι: the fact that *Euripides* is already dead humorously takes the edge of this ferocious intervention by *Dionysos* (as Σ^{RVE} observes), but does not nullify it. The Athenians were lavish with capital punishment for political, military, administrative, and religious offences, and a speaker did not hesitate to rejoice in the death of an adversary.

1014 τετραπήχεις: ‘four cubits tall’; cf. *V.* 553 ἄνδρες μεγάλοι καὶ τετραπήχεις. On stature cf. 709 n. διαδρασιπολίτας: in *Ach.* 601 young men who evade military service are called διαδεδρακότες; -δράναι and -δεδρακέναι are the aorist and perfective of -διδράσκειν, ‘run’ (only in compounds).

1015 ἀγοραίους: lit., ‘belonging to the Agora’, hence ‘commonplace’, ‘vulgar’; cf. *Pax* 750 σκώμμασιν (‘jokes’) οὐκ ἀγοραίοις. κοβάλους: cf. 104 n.

1016 πνέοντας: to ‘breathe *x*’ is to be full of *x*, especially when *x* is something menacing, e.g. *A. Ch.* 33, 952 ‘breathing anger’, *E. HF* 862

'thunderbolt-breathing pains'. Cf. Dover in H. P. Duerr (ed.), *Die wilde Seele* (Frankfurt am M., 1987) 55 f. **λευκολόφους τρυφαλείας:** *τρυφάλεια* is an epic word for 'helmet'; *λευκόλοφος*, 'white-crested', first occurs in Anakreon (*PMG*) 433. 2, but Alkaios 357. 3 speaks of plumes of white horse-hair on helmets.

1017 πήληκας καὶ κνημίδας: 'helmets and greaves'. **θυμούς ἐπταβοείους:** lit. 'spirits of seven (hides) of oxen (in thickness)'. The adjective is applied in Homer (e.g. *Il.* vii. 220) to the great shield of Ajax.

1018 καὶ δὴ χωρεῖ τοῦτ' ἰὸν τὸ κακόν: cf. *Nu.* 906 f. αἰβοῖ, *τοῦτ' ἰὸν καὶ δὴ χωρεῖ τὸ κακόν*, the reaction of Right to an acute but unwelcome point made by Wrong. Here the sense is, 'Oh God, now he's making helmets!' *αὐ* is used as in *Th.* 852 *τί αὐ σὺ κυρκανᾶς;*, 'What are you up to now?', implying that the Old Man is affording a further example of his trickery; so too *ibid.* 892 *τί . . . ἔξαπατᾶς αὐ τὸν ξένον;* The MS tradition gives *κρανοποιῶν κτλ.* to Dionysos; Triklinios originally (P20^{Pc} Θ^{Pc}) deleted *Δι.*, but later (L Vv5) reinstated it. His first thoughts were right; *κρανοποιῶν κτλ.* amplifies *χωρεῖ τὸ κακόν* and should be spoken by the same person. **ἐπιτρίψει:** cf. *Lys.* 936 *ἄνθρωπος ἐπιτρίψει με*, 'She'll be the death of me!' V E K M U have *-ψεις*, which could be right, but words *about* Aeschylus follow naturally upon *χωρεῖ κτλ.*, with a turn *to* Aeschylus in the next line. Cf. 1119 n.

1019 καὶ τί σὺ δράσας: so R; the rest have *σὺ τί*, but the context requires 'And *what* exactly did you do?' rather than 'And what did *you* do?' **γενναίους:** V A E^{ac} K M Np1 Vb3 Θ have *ἀνδρείους*, but *γενναίους* picks up Aeschylus' claim in 1011 and 1014. For the syntax cf. E. *Md.* 295 *παῖδας περισσῶς ἐκδιδάσκεισθαι σοφούς* and *Men.* fr. 229 *χρεία διδάσκει . . . σοφὸν / Καρχηδόνιον*.

1020 Evidently Aeschylus is reluctant to reply and has to be pressed by Dionysos. R P20 make this line a continuation of Euripides' question. **σεμνυνόμενος:** cf. 178 n., 703, 833.

1021 δράμα . . . Ἄρεως μεστόν: the phrase, applied to *Seven against Thebes*, is attributed to Gorgias (B24) by Plu. *Quaest. Conv.* 715 E. Cf. p. 31. **ποίον:** V E M Np1 give the question to Dionysos (R has only a colon), but after 1019 it is more natural that Euripides should press Aeschylus: 'What kind of play (do you mean)? And there may be a touch of the scornful *ποιός* (529 n.) here. **Ἔπτ' ἐπὶ Θήβας:** produced in 468/7; the only extant member of a tetralogy in which it was preceded by *Laius* and *Oedipus* and followed by the satyr-play *Sphinx*.

1022 ἄν . . . ἠράσθη: cf. 924 n. **δαίτος:** cf. 897 n.

1023 Θηβαίους: the confederation of Boeotian city-states, dominated by Thebes, was an ally of Sparta in the Peloponnesian War and a formidable enemy of Athens on land. The Boeotian victory at Delion in 424 made a lasting impression; cf. Xen. *M.* iii. 5. 4.

- 1024 τύπτου:** lit., 'be struck'; probably Dionysos makes a threatening gesture towards Aeschylus.
- 1025 ὑμῖν:** either Aeschylus turns towards the audience, or he identifies the god closely with the city, 'You Athenians'. αὐτ': what is implicit in the preceding lines, courage and prowess in war; cf. *Pl.* 502 f. πλουτοῦσι . . . ἀδικίῳσ ἀυτὰ ('their wealth') ξυλλεξάμενοι.
- 1026 διδάξας:** 'put on', 'produced', as in (e.g.) *Pl. Pri.* 327 D ἀγριοί τινες οἰοίπερ οὖς πέρυσιν Φερεκράτης ὁ ποιητῆς ἐδίδαξεν ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ. μετὰ τοῦτ': *Persians* was in fact produced five years before *Seven against Thebes*. We do not know why Aristophanes thought of it as later; perhaps he did not address his mind to the chronological question at all, but gave the plays the order required by the argument he constructs for Aeschylus. ἐξε-δίδαξα: so Bentley; ἐδίδαξα (MSS) does not scan.
- 1027 κοσμήσας ἔργον ἄριστον:** the ἔργον, 'achievement', is the defeat of the Persian invasion; for κοσμήσας cf. 1005 n.
- 1028** Cf. 916 ἔχαιρον. The line does not scan, for $-\bar{\omega} - \bar{\omega} -$ is required where ἡνίκ' ἤκουσα stands, and its sense is puzzling, for no one in *Persians* hears about the death of Darius (and there is no doubt about the translation; cf. *Demetr. Eloc.* 216 ἐν τῇ ἀγγελίᾳ τῇ περὶ Κύρου τεθνεώτος); he is already dead, and his ghost, invoked by the chorus, rises from the tomb and addresses them. Chairis (*ap. S^{VE}*) appears to have thought that Δαρείου could mean τοῦ Δαρείου υἱοῦ, i.e. Xerxes, 'for poets are wont to call sons by their fathers' names'. Possibly (cf. K. Zacher, *JAW* 71 (1892) 77 f.) Chairis had τοῦ, not περὶ, in his text; but if so, what problem did he think he was solving? *S^{VE}* τινὲς δὲ γράφουσι Δαρείου τοῦ Ξέρξου is obviously a corruption of . . . (ἀντὶ τοῦ) "Δαρείου" "τοῦ Ξέρξου", or something to that effect. But nothing that brings in Xerxes is much help, because Xerxes is still alive at the end of *Persians*. Herodikos (*ap. S^{VE}*), followed by Didymos, argued that there must have been two plays called *Persians*, one of which had not survived. As he believed that the lost play covered the battle of Plataea, he must have thought that Xerxes, not Darius, is the king to whom Aristophanes refers (still wrong, because Xerxes did not die until fifteen years after Plataea). If 'hearing' is to be retained, we should consider ἡνίκ' ἐπήκοος ἦ τοῦ Δαρείου 'when I hearkened to Darius'; cf. E. *Held.* 118 f. αὐτὸς ἔρχεται . . . / Ἀθάμας τ' . . . τῶνδ' ἐπήκοοι λόγων and *Pl. Pri.* 315 B, where οὔτοι οἱ ἐπήκοοι denotes the men who kept close to Protagoras, hanging on his words. Tyrrell proposed ἡνίκ' ἐκώκυσας, παῖ Δαρείου; E. S. Thompson, *CR* 21 (1907) 235, ἡνίκ' ἐκώκυσαν περὶ Δαρείου, taking περὶ in its locative sense, 'around', but that does not go with the obviously anti-theatrical ὁ χορὸς δ' (Becker 48 f.). Coulon solved that problem by combining ἐκώκυσας with περὶ; 'you lamented' = 'you composed a scene of lamentation' (cf. 15 n.). Pohlenz 163 n. 5 made a bolder proposal, ἡνίκ' ἄριστ' ἤκουσ' ὑπὸ Δαρείου (cf. *Nu.* 521 ἄριστ' ἤκουσάτην, 'were highly praised'), making

Dionysos speak as a Greek and recalling the praise of Greek valour implicit in *Pe.* 816–27 (though the praise is entirely subordinated to the admonitions).

1029 συγκρούσας: clapping the hands usually expresses pleasure (e.g. *Xen. Cyr.* ii. 2. 5), but evidently one way of clapping could express grief, or could be regarded by Greeks as an Asiatic expression of grief. **ἰαυοῖ:** the chorus of *Persians* does not actually say that, but as it says *ἦέ, οἶ, δᾶ* and *ἰωᾶ* we should not quibble over a few vowels.

1032 The legendary Orpheus was the supreme singer and musician, and in Aristophanes' time there existed poems attributed to him, which propounded a cosmogony and cosmology. There were also initiations into Orphic mysteries, offering purification of sins and a happy afterlife (*Pl. R.* 364 E). The term 'Orphic' is justified by *Hdt.* ii. 81. 2 *τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖσι καλεομένοισι καὶ Βακχικοῖσι*, but in modern times it has been stretched to cover much that the Greeks would have categorized as 'Pythagorean' or 'Dionysiac', and what is called 'Orphism' seems to have been a marginal element in Greek religion (cf. Burkert (1985) 296–9, (1987) 33 f., 87 f.). Vegetarianism was a Pythagorean doctrine, to which fourth-century comedy makes several allusions (*Alexis* fr. 223. 1–3, *Antiphanes* fr. 133. 1–2, *Aristophon* fr. 12. 7 f., *Mnesimachos* fr. 1; cf. *Kallim.* fr. 191. 59–62 on 'Euphorbos'). It was also preached by *Empedokles* (*B128*, 136–7), by the *Mysteries of Zeus in Crete* (*E.* fr. 79. 19 *Austin*), and by Orphic poems and rituals; cf. *Pl. Lg.* 782 c, postulating prehistoric *Ὀρφικοί τινες λεγόμενοι βίοι . . . ἐμψύχων . . . πάντων ἀπεχόμενοι*, and *E. Hp.* 953–5, where *Theseus*, scornfully attacking what he regards as *Hippolytos'* hypocritical pretence of 'purity', tells him to eat only *ἄψυχος βορά* and to take part in Bacchic rites 'with Orpheus as king'. In a society which looked forward to sacrifices as opportunities for a good meal of beef or mutton, it is unlikely that *Aristophanes* intends to portray *Aeschylus* as an enthusiast for vegetarianism, and even less likely, given *Aeschylus'* pride in the portrayal of warriors, that he could be portrayed as a pacifist. *φονῶν* must be taken here (as in 'Thou shalt not kill') as unauthorized killing of humans by individuals, and it is assumed that Orpheus was one of the legendary 'civilizers' of human society, showing it the way out of its 'lawless and bestial' condition (cf. *Demokritos* B5. 8. 1, *Kritias* B25. 1–4) by the institution of laws governing homicide. **κατέδειξε:** 'taught'; the word is used of 'introducing' (on stage, 1062, 1079; a custom, *Av.* 500) and 'revealing'.

1033 Μουσαῖος . . . χρησμούς: *Musaios* was a legendary figure of Eleusis, a son of *Eumolpos*; cosmogonic poems, hymns, and purificatory prescriptions (cf. *Pl. R.* 364 E) were attributed to him, but he is best known in the classical period as the putative compiler of oracles of divine origin or inspiration. Such a collection was certainly in use by the late sixth century (*Hdt.* viii. 6. 3), and *Herodotus* seems (viii. 96. 2, ix. 43. 2) to have treated it

- with respect. 'Cures for diseases' are not elsewhere attributed to Musaios, but they are to Orpheus (Paus. ix. 30. 4).
- 1033 Ἡσίοδος . . . 1034 ἀρότους:** lit., ' . . . workings of land, seasons of crops, ploughings'—in *Works and Days*; it is interesting that the practical advice given therein is given precedence over the *Theogony*.
- 1034 θεῖος:** a human is *θεῖος*, 'godlike', 'divine', if his achievements are 'superhuman', and Homer, in Greek eyes, comes into that category; cf. Pl. *Phd.* 95 A Ὀμήρω θείω ποιητῇ, *Ion* 530 B Ὀμήρω τῷ ἀρίστῳ καὶ θειοτάτῳ τῶν ποιητῶν.
- 1035 τοῦδ':** so Bentley; *τοῦθ'* MSS, but 'from what . . . except (sc. from) the fact that . . .', however acceptable in English, is not Greek (*πλήν ὅτι . . .* would be, but not *πλήν τοῦθ' ὅτι . . .*).
- 1036 τάξεις . . . ἀνδρῶν:** lit., 'marshallings (sc. of troops), displays of valour, armings of men'. Despite considerable differences between Homeric and fifth-century warfare, it was still conventional in some quarters to regard Homer as the source of wisdom on tactics; Plato in *Ion* 540 D–I C presents us with a rhapsode who believes that his profession gives him a better understanding of warfare than any general. **Παντακλέα:** no doubt the man who is *σκαῖός*, 'clumsy', in Eupolis fr. 318; whether the same as the Pantakles mentioned as a trainer of boys' choruses in Antiphon vi. 11, we cannot know.
- 1037 ἔπεμπεν:** 'was taking part in a procession'; cf. *IG* i³ 71. 57 f. *πεμπόντων* δ[ὲ ἐν] τρεῖ πομπῆι [καθάπερ ἄποι]κ[οι].
- 1038 ἤμελλ':** guaranteed metrically also in *Ec.* 597, but ἔ- is equally guaranteed in 791 and *Eq.* 267.
- 1039 Λάμαχος:** Lamachos, a successful general in the Archidamian War, is ridiculed in *Acharnians* and invoked sarcastically as ὦ Λάμαχ' ἦρωσ (575). During the fighting at Syracuse in 414 he was cut off and killed in a dashing exploit (Thuc. vi. 101. 6). *Th.* 841, after his death, treats him with respect. ἦρωσ: 'heroes' in the Greek sense (the 'half-gods' of legend) are usually 'heroic' in our sense too, but that is not the point of ἦρωσ here. Contemporaries of exceptional quality and achievement could be venerated after death no less than figures of the legendary past; so Brasidas, buried at Amphipolis in 422, was honoured by annual sacrifices and games ὡς ἡρωῖ (Thuc. v. 11. 1).
- 1040 ὄθεν:** i.e. from Homer. **ἀπομαξαμένη:** *μάττειν* is 'mould', and *ἀπομάττεσθαι* 'take an impression', 'make a model of . . .'; so Kallimachos *Epiqr.* 27(= *HE* 56). 3, of Aratos imitating Hesiod. An anecdote about Aeschylus in Ath. 347 E says that he called his own plays 'slices from the great banquets of Homer'. **ἀρετάς:** cf. 1036; not 'virtues' in the sense in which we speak of 'the cardinal virtues'.
- 1041 Πατρόκλων:** the death of Achilles' comrade Patroklos is presupposed in *Myrmidons* (fr. 135, 138; cf. Radt, *TrGF* iii. 240), and since the play

portrayed the embassy of Phoinix (fr. 135b. 6) it must have included a messenger-speech about the courageous death of Patroklos. **Τεύκρων:** in which Aeschylean tragedy the valour of Teukros was exhibited is quite uncertain; conceivably *Salaminioi* (-*iai*?), but cf. Radt, *TrGF* iii. 333. **θυμολεόντων:** ‘with the spirit of a lion’, a Homeric epithet of heroes (e.g. Achilles in *Il.* vii. 228).

1043 οὐ μὰ Δί’ οὐ: cf. 493. **Φαίδρας ... Σθeneβοίας:** cf. pp. 17 f. Phaidra fell in love with her stepson Hippolytos, Stheneboia with her husband’s guest Bellerophon (her story is told in *Il.* vi. 160–5, where she is called ‘Anteia’). Both made false accusations against the objects of their love when they were spurned. Phaidra killed herself; so did Stheneboia, according to Hyginus 57. 5, 243. 2, though according to Σ Greg. Cor. (*TGF* p. 567) Euripides represented Bellerophon as killing her (cf. Σ^v *Pax* 141b). **πόρνας:** *πόρνη* is a prostitute who is not motivated by love or lust but sells herself for money; nevertheless, ‘whore’, then as now, could be used in abusing women who committed adultery.

1044: ‘and no one knows what woman in love I ever portrayed’. All MSS except R have *εις*, not *οὐδεῖς*; the metre is restored in A E^s M^{pc} U V_{SI} by *ἐγώ* between *ἐρώσαν* and *πώποτ’*, ‘I do not know on what woman in love I ever composed poetry (cf. Pl. *Phd.* 61 B *εις τὸν θεὸν ἐποίησα*). ‘No one knows ...’ in the sense ‘no one can point to ...’ is considerably better than ‘I do not know ...’, which could imply ‘I can’t remember ...’. The modern reader thinks of Klytimestra and Aigisthos, but Klytimestra in the *Oresteia* is motivated primarily by desire for revenge, and enjoyment of Aigisthos is supplementary.

1045 Ἀφροδίτης: beauty or charm *ἔπεισι* that which is beautiful (e.g. *Nu.* 1025). Aphrodite herself is the personification of sexual feeling, but *ἐπαφρόδιτος*, ‘attractive’, ‘alluring’, is predicated of Homer’s poetry by Isoc. x. 65.

1046–8 It seems from this passage that Euripides had suffered in his own life an unwelcome intervention of Aphrodite, and anecdotalage made Kephisophon his wife’s lover (cf. p. 54). It is curious (Dn) that no such reference is made in *Thesmophoriazusae*, where Euripides’ alleged hostility to women is an essential feature of the play. **πολλή πολλοῦ:** cf. *Eq.* 822 *πολλοῦ δὲ πολὺν* . . . *χρόνον*, and for *πολύς*, ‘in strength’, ‘with full force’ E. *Hp.* 443 *Κύπρις γὰρ οὐ φορητὸν ἦν πολλῇ ρύη*. **ἴπικαθῆτο:** so V_{SI}^s L, confirming Hermann’s conjecture; a wish, *ἴπικαθῆτο* or *ἴπικαθοῖτο*, is ruled out by the aorist indicatives in 1047 f. **κατ’ οὖν ἔβαλεν:** ‘tmesis’ is not unknown in Aristophanes (e.g. *Ach.* 295 *κατὰ σε χῶσομεν* cf. 1106 n. and Sachtschal 41); but all instances follow some degree of pause, and *οὖν* here is like the Herodotean *ὦν*, e.g. ii. 40. 2 *κοιλίην μὲν κείνην πᾶσαν ἐξ ὧν εἶλον*, and has no Attic parallels. **τοὔτό γε τοι δῆ:** the particles express agreement (*γε*) with what has just been said and prod (*τοι δῆ*)

- Euripides into acknowledging it; cf. *GP* 550 f. The ellipse of a verb is strange; the nearest analogy is ταῦτα (sc. ποιήσω or δράσω; cf. Timokles fr. 12. 2 δράσω τοῦτό σοι), ‘Yes, I’ll do that!’, e.g. *Ach.* 815 περιμέν’ αὐτοῦ. || ταῦτα δή. It looks as if the demonstrative by itself (or with δή) could mean ‘that’s true’. Merry and Dn independently thought of σοί, ‘that’s one for you!’, but this would be a very different sort of dative from Pl. *Prt.* 310 Α τί οὖν σοι τοῦτο;, ‘Why did you want to do *that*?’ and S. *Phil.* 753 τί σοί; ‘What’s up?’
- 1050 ἀλόχους:** ‘wives’, a tragic word found in Aristophanes only here and in a serious lyric invocation, *Lys.* 1286.
- 1051 κώνεα:** cf. 124 n. If πίνειν is right (and A has πιεῖν), the second syllable of κώνε(ι)α must be short; for omission of ι between ε and another vowel cf. Thraete i. 301–23, esp. 315, and the similar phenomenon with οι (ποεῖν, τοιοῦτος, etc.). The point seems to be that women were incited by the stories of Phaidra and Stheneboia to desire adultery, and then, when spurned or detected, committed suicide.
- 1052 οὐκ ὄντα:** possibly ‘not true’ (cf. S. *El.* 584 σκῆψιν οὐκ οὔσαν, ‘false pretext’), but the Greeks had an open mind where the truth of myths was concerned (Hdt. ii. 120 does not believe that Helen was ever at Troy), and ‘not already existing (as a story)’ is nearer the mark.
- 1054 παράγειν:** παρ- here has the connotation ‘into the presence of the audience’, hence ‘put on’, ‘bring on’. Cf. Arist. *EE* 1230^b19 οἰοῦσι οἱ κωμωδοδιδάσκαλοι παράγουσιν ἀγροίκους, and *Th.* 443 ὀλίγων ἔνεκα καύτη παρήλθον ῥημάτων, the opening words of a speaker to her audience.
- 1054 τοῖς μὲν γάρ ... 1055 φράζει:** ‘boys have a teacher who explains (things to them)’, not ‘anyone who speaks to boys is (*ipso facto*) their teacher’, which would require ὅστις ἂν φράζη and would also (Dn) make the stressed position of ἐστὶ surprising.
- 1055 ἠβῶσι:** not necessarily ‘young’, but ‘adult’; the provision of the Chalkis decree that Χαλκιδέον τὸς ἡεβόντας ἡπάντας should take the oath of allegiance (*IG* i² 40. 32 f.) does not exclude the old.
- 1056 δὴ δεῖ:** ‘that being so, ... must ...’, as in E. *Hp.* 1008, *El.* 71; cf. *GP* 237–9 on the emergence of connective and inferential δὴ.
- 1056 Λυκαβηττοῦς ... 1057 μεγέθη:** Lykabettos, less than 300 m. high, lies east of the Akropolis; Parnassos, in Phokis, is a great mountain massif rising to 2400 m. The two are so disparate that Bentley suggested *Παρνήθων*, i.e. Mt. Parnes, along the northern frontier of Attica, but there is nothing strange in linking a familiar minor hill with a much larger remote one. A U Vb3 Vs1 write *Παρνασῶν*, but *IG* ii² 1258. 24 (324/3) has *Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Παρνησίου*, and Hdn. i. 209. 20 prescribes σο. For the plural μεγέθη cf. Hdt. iii. 107. 2 ὄφιες . . . σκιμροὶ τὰ μεγάθρα, ποικίλοι τὰ εἶδα. *Παρνασῶν μεγέθη* can hardly mean ‘things the size of Parnassos’, and the closest analogy is perhaps with expressions of the type *Οἰνομάου βία* (Pi. O.

- i. 88), ‘the mighty Oinomaos’, *δράκοντος* . . . *φόβος* (Hes. *Sc.* 144), a ‘terrible snake’ (KG i. 280).
- 1058 ὄν:** i.e. ‘when/if you . . .’, ‘when/if he (sc. a poet) . . .’. *ἀνθρωπιεύς:* ‘like an ordinary being’; in Straton fr. i. 46 a man whose cook persists in using Homeric words begs him *ἀνθρωπίνως λαλεῖν τι*.
- 1059 ἴσα:** the assertion of Σ^{VE} that *ἴσος* with a genitive is an alternative to *ἴσος* with a dative is not supported by evidence (in E. *Hp.* 302 the sense required is Scaliger’s *τῷ πρίν*, not *τῶν πρίν*; cf. Barrett ad loc.). The meaning must therefore be ‘the expressions of great thoughts . . . equal (sc. to the thoughts)’. *τὰ ῥήματα:* on the scansion cf. 406 n., 1066. *τίκτειν:* cf. pp. 28 f.
- 1060 κἄλλως:** ‘and in any case’, ‘and also’; cf. 80. *εἰκάς:* ‘(it is) reasonable’, ‘(it is) only to be expected’; cf. 697, 900. *ἥμιθέους:* the heroes and heroines of legend had each a divine parent or close forebear; cf. Pl. *Cra.* 398 CD ‘All the heroes are half-gods, from the love of a god for a mortal woman or a goddess for a mortal man’. The title *ἥμιθεοι* goes back to *Il.* xiii. 23 and Hes. *Op.* 161.
- 1061** The reference is to the staging of tragedy by Aeschylus and others), but perhaps also to descriptions in epic.
- 1062 ἄμου:** i.e. *ἄ ἐμοῦ*. *καταδείξαντος:* cr. 1032 n. *διελυμήνω:* ‘mucked up’; cf. 59.
- 1063 ῥάκι:** cf. 842 n. *ἀμπισχών:* R has no accent, Br1 *-σχών*, all others *-πίσ-*; it is uncertain whether the word should be analysed as *ἀμπ-ισχων* (imperfective) or *ἀμπι-σχών* (aorist), but the sense makes the latter probable here. *ἔλεινοί:* *ἔλεινοί* (MSS) does not scan; *ἔλεινοί* (Brunck) is metrically guaranteed in S. *Phil.* 1130 *ἢ που ἐλεινὸν ὄρῃς* (dactylic).
- 1064 τοῦτ’** . . . *δράσας:* lit., ‘having done this, I did what harm?’ The words are clumsy and ambiguous, given *τί δράσας* in 1062; there is no such ambiguity in (e.g.) Pl. *La.* 195 *Ἄ πρὸς τί τοῦτ’ εἶπες βλέψας;*
- 1065 οὔκου** . . . *γε:* equivalent to a combination of *γούν*, ‘at any rate’, with a negative; cf. *GP* 422 f. *τριηραρχεῖν:* the annual appointment of trierarchs, each responsible for the equipment and repair of a warship and for its command in battle, was based on capital, and a man could evade the obligation by demonstrating that his capital was insufficient.
- 1066 περιλάμενος:** in most passages in which any part of the verb (-)(ε)ιλ(λ)-, ‘curl’, ‘wrap’, occurs there is confusion in the tradition (e.g. *Nu.* 761); cf. KB ii. 412 f. Here we are offered *περιειλλόμενος* (R U), *περιιλλόμενος* (V E^{ac} K Nr1) and *περιειλόμενος* (cett., except for forms which do not scan in M and M^{7p}). *ιλλ-* has some support, e.g. S. *Ant.* 340 (LAKR) *ιλλομένων*, 509 *ὑπίλλουσιν*; in E. fr. 540. 1 the feminine aorist participle is cited as *ὑπίλλασ’* in Ael. *NA* 12. 7, *ὑπήλας’* in Ath. 701 B, which may point to *ὑπίλασ’*. Cobet proposed *περιιλάμενος* here, and that is probably right, though Photios’ lemma *περιειλάμενος* almost certainly refers to this

- passage. **κλάει:** sc. *τις* or *πᾶς τις*, inferred from *οὐδεὶς*; cf. Dem. xviii. 199 *μηδεὶς θαυμάση . . . ἀλλά . . . θεωρησάτω* (KG ii. 566 f.).
- 1067 οὐλων ἔριων:** 'thick wool'.
- 1068 περὶ . . . ἀνέκυψεν:** 'pops up' (generalizing aorist) 'in the fish(-market)', thereby showing that he can afford expensive food. Cf. *V.* 789 *ἐν τοῖς ἰχθύσιν*, Eupolis fr. 324. 2 *περιήλθον ἐς τὰ σκόροδα*, 'went round to (where) the garlic (is sold)'. *ἀνέκυψεν* is nicely chosen, for in Pl. *Phd.* 109 D it denotes coming up out of the sea, and it may well have been the ordinary word for a fish surfacing.
- 1069** Cf. p. 22.
- 1070 . . . 1071 στωμυλλομένων:** an echo of *Nu.* 1002 f., 1053 f.; vb₁ obj₁ τε . . . καὶ obj₂ vb₂ is not an uncommon placing of τε; cf. Thuc. vi. 15. 2 *βουλόμενος τῷ τε Νικίᾳ ἐναντιοῦσθαι . . . καὶ . . . ἐπιθυμῶν κτλ.* and *HCT* iv. 240 f. **ἐνέτριψεν:** stout buttocks (*πυγῆ*) go with broad shoulders and a healthy complexion in *Nu.* 1012–14. Sitting around and talking allegedly 'rubs away' the buttocks.
- 1071 Παράλους:** one of the two triremes used for urgent state business was the *Paralos* (Thuc. iii. 33. 1 f.), and its crew, all Athenian citizens, were called 'Paraloi' (Thuc. viii. 73. 5 f.). (*Σ*^{RVE} wrongly asserts that the name was given to sailors in general.) They proved themselves unshakeably democratic at the time of the oligarchic revolution of 411 (Thuc. loc. cit.), and that did not endear them to people who thought that sailors should be seen and not heard.
- 1072 ἄρχουσιν:** the word is used equally of naval and military command and of administrative office. **καίτοι . . . ζῶν:** 'Now, in *my* time . . .'.
- 1073 μᾶζαν:** 'barley-bread'. **καλέσαι:** 'shout for . . .', 'demand'; cf. *V.* 103 *κέκραγεν ἐμβάδας*, 'he shouts, "My slippers!"' There is no true parallel for this meaning of *καλεῖν* (hence Herwerden's proposal *κάψαι*, 'gulp', 'gobble'), and given *καλεῖν*, 'use the word . . .', as in Pl. *Tht.* 198 B *καὶ καλοῦμέν γε παραδιδόντα μὲν "διδάσκειν", παραλαμβάνοντα δὲ "μανθάνειν"*, ἔχοντα δὲ δὴ . . . "ἐπίστασθαι", it is possible that the point is, 'barley-bread was the only thing they knew the name of'. **ῥυππαπαῖ:** in *V.* 909 *τὸ ῥυππαπαῖ* is 'the sailors'. *Σ*^{RVE} says that it is a cry 'preparatory to rowing', but that may be a guess.
- 1074 προσπαρδεῖν . . . θαλάμακι:** the *θαλάμακες* are what Thuc. iv. 32. 2 calls *θαλαμιοὶ* (-*ῖαι*? The genitive plural *θαλαμιῶν* would suit either), the lowest bench of rowers, with their faces uncomfortably close to the back-sides of the *ζύγιοι*. -*αξ* is quite a productive morpheme; cf. Eupolis fr. 172. 9 *πλούταξ*, of a man who is stupid but rich (Chantraine 380–2).
- 1075 μινθῶσαι τὸν ξύσσιτον:** in Pl. 313 the chorus threaten Karion *μινθῶσομένθ' ὥσπερ τράγου τὴν ῥίνα*, and *Σ* ad loc. says that when a goat had a cold the herdsman would smear dung in its nostrils to make it sneeze. In Damoxenos fr. 2. 15 and Arcestratos (*SH*) 140. 1 *μινθοῦν* is 'reject with

contempt’—i.e. ‘shit on ...’ metaphorically. Whether *μινθῶσαι τὸν ξύσσιτον* refers to intolerably crowded conditions on board or to nasty practical jokes is uncertain. **κάκβάς:** for the transition from the plural in 1073 to the singular here cf. *V. 552–4 τηροῦσ’ . . . ἄνδρες μεγάλοι . . . κᾶπειτ’ . . . ἐμβάλλει μοι τὴν χεῖρα* (and 555 goes back to the plural with *ἰκετεύουσιν*). **λωποδυτήσαι:** cf. 772 n. No doubt there were some thugs among the sailors, and among the hoplites too; Philokleon in *V. 236–9* recalls going out at night with a comrade, when they were on garrison duty in Byzantion, stealing a baker’s trough, and breaking it up for a cooking-fire.

1076/7 The numbering of the verses here originates in the fact that all the MSS (except M, which is just lucky, being badly dislocated in this portion of the play) divide after *ἐλαύνει* (*sic*). **ἀντιλέγει:** cf. 1072 and p. 22. **ἐλαύνων πλεῖ:** all MSS have *ἐλαύνει καὶ πλεῖ*, and Hermann rightly deleted *καί* as one syllable too many (there is no way of scanning *-σε* long and treating *καί* . . . *ἐκείσε* as an acatalectic anapaestic dimeter). We are thus left with a strange asyndeton at *πλεῖ*, and to mend that Fritzsche proposed *ἐλαύνων*. A trireme, when not in battle or in a hurry, could move either by oars or by sail, and the rowers naturally preferred the latter. But *πλεῖν*, constantly used to mean simply ‘go (on the sea)’, e.g. Thuc. iii. 18. 4 *οἱ δ’ αὐτερέται πλεύσαντες τῶν νεῶν*, ‘and they (sc. the hoplites), having rowed the ships themselves, . . .’, is nowhere contrasted with *ἐλαύνειν*, ‘row’; cf. [Xen.] *Ath.* 1. 2 *ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἔστιν ὁ ἐλαύνων τὰς ναῦς ~ 1. 13 ἀξιοὶ γοῦν ἀργύριον λαμβάνειν ὁ δῆμος . . . πλέων ἐν ταῖς ναυσίν*. This gives extremely strong support to *ἐλαύνων*: ‘and it’s not now by rowing that he goes this way and that’. Corruption of *ἐλαύνων* to *ἐλαύνει*, generated by the proximity of *ἀντιλέγει* and *πλεῖ*, led to interpolation of *καί*.

(xi) **1078–98. *Antipnigos***

Whereas Euripides in the *pnigos* summed up the merits of his own art, Aeschylus here says nothing about himself, but pursues the attack on Euripides which he initiated in 1069. Dionysos supports Aeschylus’ generalizations by retailing one illustrative incident.

1079 προαγωγούς: ‘procurers’, probably with particular reference to the efforts of the Nurse in *Hippolytus*. In *Th.* 341 the women call down curses on a female slave who is employed by a wife as a *προαγωγός* but betrays the wife to the husband.

1080 In Euripides’ *Auge* Auge, a priestess of Athena, was raped or seduced by Herakles and gave birth to Telephos in the sanctuary of Athena. That broke a taboo; in *Lys.* 742 f. a woman pretends to be pregnant as an excuse to be released from the Akropolis and calls upon Eileithyia, goddess of

childbirth, to delay delivery *ἔως ἂν εἰς ὄσιον* ('permitted') *μόλω ἕω χωρίον*.

1081 Cf. 850 n. and p. 18.

1082 The sentiment 'who knows whether living is not living?' recurs in 1477. Pl. *Grg.* 492 e quotes the Euripidean passage (without naming a play) as *τίς δ' οἶδεν εἰ τὸ ζῆν μὲν ἐστὶ καθανεῖν / τὸ καθανεῖν δὲ ζῆν*; In Stob. *Flor.* 120. 18 *τίς δ' οἶδεν εἰ ζῆν τοῦθ' ὁ κέκληται θανεῖν, / τὸ ζῆν δὲ θηῆσκειν ἐστί*; is attributed to *Phrixos* (fr. 833); so too Σ^{RVE}, with the reservation that the words are uttered by *Phrixos* himself, which does not suit the feminine *φασκούσας*. S.E. *Pyrrh.* iii. 229 gives the passage as *τίς δ' οἶδεν εἰ τὸ ζῆν μὲν ἐστὶ καθανεῖν, / τὸ καθανεῖν δὲ ζῆν κάτω νομίζεται*; and this version, down to *δὲ ζῆν*, is attributed by Σ E. *Hp.* 192 to *Polyidos* (fr. 638). Possibly (as Σ^{VE} remarks) Euripides used the sentiment in more than one play.

1084: 'has been filled up with assistant secretaries'. The secretary of the Council and Assembly, or of any commission or board of officials, was elected, but his assistant was a professional and an employee. It was conventional to look down on these assistants; so the speaker of *Lys.* xxx attacks his adversary by saying 'from being a slave, he has become a citizen; from a beggar, rich; and from *ὑπογραμματεύς*, a legislator'; and in the same spirit, *Dem.* xix. 237. Cf. the derogatory connotations of 'clerk' in old-fashioned English, or, more recently 'petty bureaucrat'. Part of the trouble, no doubt, was that the assistant tended to be right on questions of procedure when his amateur superior was wrong.

1085 βωμολόχων: cf. 358 n. **δημοπιθήκων**: on monkeys cf. 708 n.; and for the form of the word, cf. the *Δημοσάτυροι* of *Timokles*.

1086 The charge of 'deceiving the people' was a useful way of avoiding telling the Assembly that it bore responsibility for foolish or unjust decisions of its own.

1087 λαμπάδα: cf. 131 n.

1089 ὥστ' ἐπαφυσάνθην: cf. 194 n. One can be 'withered' (*αὔσος, αὐαίνεσθαι*) by fear (*Men. Epitir.* 961), thirst (*Ec.* 146), or as a spectator of a performance or festival (*Ar.* fr. 660, *θεώμενος*; boredom? Cf. *Ach.* 15 *ἀπέθανον καὶ διεστράφην ἰδών*), and evidently by laughing; cf. English 'I died!' The double prefix *ἐπ-αφ-* (*ἐπ' ἀφ-* R: *ἀπαφ-* V A K Np1: *ἀπεφ-* U Vb3 Vs1 U: *ἀπ-* M U^ρ) is suspect—hence *ὥστε γ' ἀφ-* Hermann (cf. 1047)—but as one commonly laughs *ἐπί* ('at') something the point may be 'I died laughing at a sight at the Panathenaia, when . . .'. Other Attic verbs beginning with *αυ* have *ηυ* in the past indicative, and Bentley was probably right to emend *-αυ-* to *-ηυ-* here, but MSS disagree over *αὐαίνειν*: *αυ* here, *ηυ* in fr. 660 (*αφ.* Su α 4418), and in Ionic Hdt. iv. 151. 1 *ἐξανάνθη, 173 ἐξηύηνε*.

1091 κύψας: 'with his head down' (Stanford).

1092 ὑπολειπόμενος: 'lagging behind'.

1093 δεινὰ ποιῶν: in effect, 'puffing and panting'; in *Nu.* 388 *Strepsiades*

says that his belly *δεινὰ ποεῖ* when he has drunk too much soup, and in 583 the Clouds *κάποοῦμεν δεινά*, with thunder and lightning, at the prospect of Kleon's election. Cf. Hdt. iii. 14. 6 *κλαιόντων καὶ δεινὰ ποιούντων*, 'weeping and lamenting bitterly'. **Κεραμῆς**: this deme was in the north-west part of the city, around the Dipylon Gate.

1095 λαγόνας: cf. 662.

1096 ταῖσι πλατεῖαις: *πλατεῖα*, feminine of *πλατύς*, 'broad', occurs as a noun a varied contexts, and here it is evidently the flat of the hand; cf. the verb *πλατειάζειν*, 'slap', Pherekrates fr. 258. In Ar. fr. 459 *πλατεῖαι* occurs again in connection with torch-racing, and this treatment of laggard runners was evidently customary; Hsch. κ 2263 defines *Κεραμεικαὶ* as *πλατεῖαι πληγαί*.

1097 ὑποπερδόμενος: the notion, acceptable to some commentators, that the fat man farted on his torch, implies unlikely contortions and does not do justice to *ὑπο-* (cf. 366 n.).

1098 ἔφευγε: 'tried to get away from them'; if he was blowing his torch to keep it alight, he was not dropping out of the race.

(xii) **1099-1118**. *Sphragis*

1099-1108 are in responsion with 1109-18. Cf. Prato 313, Zimmermann ii.137 f., iii. 88 f.

(1) 1099 (μέ-...) ~ 1109 (εί-...)	<u>υ</u> υ υ υ υ υ <u>υ</u> υ υ υ υ υ	2tr lek
(2) 1100 f. (χα-...) ~ 1110 f. (τοῖς...)	<u>υ</u> υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ <u>υ</u> υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ	4tr
(3) 1102 (ὁ δ'...) ~ 1112 (μη-...)	<u>υ</u> υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ	2tr lek
(4) 1103 (ἀλλά...) ~ 1113 (ἔσθρ-...)	υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ	2tr
(5) 1104 (εἰς-...) ~ 1114 (βιβ-...)	υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ	2tr lek
(6) 1105 (ὄτι...) ~ 1115 (αἰ-...)	<u>υ</u> υ υ υ <u>υ</u> υ υ υ	2tr
(7) 1106 (λέ-...) ~ 1116 (νῦν...)	<u>υ</u> υ υ υ <u>υ</u> υ υ υ	2tr
(8) 1107 f. (τά...) ~ 1117 f. (μη-...)	<u>υ</u> υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ	4tr lek

(On the problem presented by 1106 v. n. ad loc.).

The strophe repeats the kind of comment and exhortation which has become familiar to us through 875-84 and 895-904. Judgement on the agon is explicitly avoided: *χαλεπὸν οὖν ἔργον διαιρεῖν*.

The antistrophe serves the important purpose of warning the audience that some technicalities are on the way, and at the same time encouraging them to believe that it will be enjoyable and not above their heads. Cf. 680 and p. 35.

- 1099** The verse bears a curious resemblance to E. *Phaethon* 99 f. Diggle: *θεὸς ἔδωκε, χρόνος ἔκράνε λέχος ἑμοῖσιν ἀρχεταῖς. μέγα τὸ πρᾶγμα*: cf. 759. **ἄδρός**: ‘robust’, ‘strong’, ‘solid’; only here in Aristophanes, and not in tragedy, but there are several instances in fourth-century comedy.
- 1100**: ‘it is a difficult task to decide (the issue)’; cf. *Eq.* 516 ‘... that producing comedies is χαλεπώτατον ἔργον ἀπάντων’. For *διαίρειν* cf. A. *Eu.* 472 *φόνου διαίρειν* . . . *δίκας*, 488 *διαίρειν τοῦτο πρᾶγμα*.
- 1101** **τεῖνῃ**: ‘stretch’; very often, as here, intransitive, ‘exert oneself’.
- 1102** **ἐπαναστρέφειν**: this too is intransitive, used especially of a force turning round to fight, e.g. *Thuc.* viii. 105. 2. **κάπερείδουσαι**: ‘press hard upon . . .’, ‘thrust against . . .’. **τορῶς**: mostly ‘clearly’, of sound or sight, but here ‘vigorously’; cf. *Pl.* *Thi.* 175 E ‘perform all such (practical tasks) *τορῶς τε καὶ ὀξέως*’.
- 1103** **μὴ ἔν ταύτῳ κάθησθον**: ‘don’t just sit tight’; cf. *Thuc.* v. 7. 2, on Kleon’s moving his troops because their morale was low *ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καθημένους*.
- 1104** **εἰσβολαί**: cf. 456 n. **σοφισμάτων**: cf. 17 n.
- 1105** **ὅτι . . . ἐρίζειν**: lit., ‘so, whatever you are able to dispute’ (cf. 866), i.e. ‘whatever contentious points you can make’.
- 1106** **ἐπιτον**: cf. 897. **ἀνά (τε) δέρετον**: *δέρειν* is ‘skin’, ‘flay’ (cf. 619), and *Pi.* fr. 203. 4 uses *ἀνδέρωντι* (= *ἀναδέρουσι*) of Scythians stripping the skin off parts of a dead horse. Hence here ‘expose’, ‘lay bare’, as in later medical writers; it is ‘reveal (details of a story)’ in *Luc. Pseudol.* 20. The poets are being exhorted to expose the ‘old’ faults of Aeschylus and the ‘new’ faults of Euripides. The metre requires $\omega \cup \omega \times$ and the MSS give us *ἀναδέρετον*; Dobree proposed (τε) (for the tmesis cf. 1047 n.); editors have generally preferred <δέ> (Herwerden), as providing the simplest possible explanation of the corruption, but A B C δέ is far rarer than A B C τε, e.g. E. *El.* 334 *αἱ χεῖρες, ἢ γλώσσῃ ἢ ταλαίπωρός τε φρήν* (cf. *GP* 164 f., 501). M. Platnauer, *AJP* 67 (1946) 265, got this the wrong way round.
- 1109** **ἀμαθία**: the regular antonym of *σοφία*; cf. p. 13. **προσῆ**: cf. *Nu.* 588 *φασὶ γὰρ δυσβουλίαν / τῆδε τῆ πόλει προσεῖναι*, and so commonly with emotional or intellectual states.
- 1110** **ὤς**: = *ῶστε*; not elsewhere in Aristophanes, but frequent in tragedy and sporadic in prose.
- 1111** **λεγόντοιιν**: cf. the genitive participle in 815.
- 1113** **ἔστρατευμένοι γὰρ εἰσι**: ‘they’ve been on active service’. Erbse (1975) 55 suggests that the point is ‘they’re veterans of the theatre’, but

I suspect that colloquial usage may be the source: ‘they’ve seen life’, ‘they’ve seen a bit of the world’, possibly with the derogatory connotation of English ‘old soldier’ (wily in looking after his own interests and defeating authority). Cf. 535 n.

1114 Cf. p. 34.

1115 φύσεις: in later Greek φύσις can mean ‘sexual organs’, and *Tab. Defix.* 89a. 6 (cf. E. Kuhnert, *RhM* 99 (1894) 48) offers an example of that as early as the fourth century BC; Henderson 5 accordingly sees a sexual meaning in several of its occurrences in Aristophanes. If that is desired here, the translation ‘Nature has equipped them splendidly’ would be suitable; cf., however, K. McLeish, *CQ* NS 27 (1977) 76–9. κάλλως: cf. 80 n.

1116 παρηκόνηται: ἀκονᾶν is ‘sharpen’, ‘whet’; in Xen. *Cyr.* vi. 2. 33 λόγχην ἀκονῶν . . . τὴν ψυχὴν τι παρακονᾶ one can see the point of παρ-, but that is not always so.

1118 οὐνεχ’: ‘so far as . . . are concerned’; cf. 189. ὡς ὄντων σοφῶν: cf. 128; and σοφῶν here picks up the point of ἀμαθία in 1109.

1119–1250. CRITICISM OF PROLOGUES

(i) 1119–76. *Aeschylean Prologues*

1119 καὶ μὴν: cf. 907 n. αὐτούς: the point of ‘themselves’ is not immediately clear, but ‘by themselves’, i.e. ‘. . . let alone the rest of the play’ is understandable; cf. *Ach.* 504 αὐτοὶ γάρ ἐσμεν, *Th.* 472 αὐταὶ γάρ ἐσμεν, ‘we’re by ourselves’. προλόγους: many tragedies begin with what we would call a ‘prologue’, a monologue delivered by one character before anyone else appears, e.g. *Agamemnon*, *Medea*, *Hippolytus*, *Orestes*. Arist. *Po.* 1452^b19 f. defines πρόλογος as ‘all that part of a tragedy which precedes the entry of the chorus’, but it is questionable whether Aristophanes used the word that way; all the examples in 1119–1241 (except 1240 f. (v. n.)) are the opening lines of plays. σοῦ: A U Θ^{sc} have σοι (sc. Dionysos or the chorus-leader (Wilamowitz, *Aischylos*, *Orestie* ii (1896) 150)), which avoids a switch of addressee between this line and 1121 (αὐτοῦ); but possibly that should not be avoided. Cf. 1018, 1145 nn.

1122 Bergk deleted this line as a feeble interpolation founded on 927, and Del Corno points out that we would expect Dionysos’ question (βασανιεύς) to follow directly upon 1121 (βασανιῶ). There is nothing feeble about the line if it is delivered with enough force on ἀσαφής, but two other considerations encourage suspicion of its authenticity. One is that it contains the only instance of φράσις before Aristotle (after whom the word is common), and the other that τὰ πράγματα is a commentator’s term for the action of a play; e.g. Σ^R 569 τὰ δὲ πράγματα (δράματα Σ^{VE}) καθ’ Ἄιδου νῦν, ΣTM *Av.* 301.

However, it appears from *Eq.* 39 ἦν τοῖς ἔπεισι χαίρωσι καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν that Aristophanes too used the word for ‘action’ (cf. also 959), and from *Eq.* 36 βούλει τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῖς θεαταῖσιν φράσω; that one can φράζειν a dramatic situation. For me, these suspicions do not quite add up to a conviction. R^{VP}· E^{VP}· record a variant τῶν ῥημάτων, which does not (despite 1058 f.) make very good sense as an objective genitive with φράσει.

1123 ποῖον: cf. 1021 n.

1124 Ὀρεστείας: the prologue which Aeschylus recites is that of *Choephoroi* (missing from the Medicean manuscript which is our source for the play). *Choephoroi* is the second play of what we call the ‘Oresteia’. It seems, therefore, that either Ὀρέστεια was the current name of *Choephoroi* (and ἐκ Χοηφόρων would fit $\dot{\iota} \cup \dot{\iota} \times \dot{\iota}$ just as well as ἐξ Ὀρεστείας), or τόν should be emended to τιν’ (R. H. Allison, *LCM* 3 (1978) 75–8), or τόν means ‘that well-known . . .’. The third of these alternatives presents no difficulty, for we cannot possibly expect to know for sure what was well-known in 405 or what was not. *Th.* 135 ἐκ τῆς Λυκουργείας does not offer decisive help, for although Σ^R refers it to a whole tetralogy, that does not tell us what Aristophanes himself meant by the term. Perhaps more important is the fact that whereas forms in -εια are used of epic poems (e.g. Ὀδύσεια) or portions thereof (e.g. Διομήδεια), there is no instance of a tragedy which demonstrably had such a name (Dn).

1125 ἄγε . . . ἀνήρ: cf. *Pax* 510 ἀλλὰ πᾶς ἀνὴρ προθυμοῦ.

1126 Nothing could illustrate Aeschylean ἀσάφεια better, because people have argued about this line ever since it was uttered. Euripides in 1141–3 takes πατρῶα κράτη to mean the victory of Aigisthos over Agamemnon, and Aristarchos (Σ^{VE} 1144) agreed with that (κρατηθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Αἴγισθον ἀπώλετο), while recognizing that there are other possibilities. Aeschylus in 1144–6 says that the phrase means the powers derived by Hermes from his father Zeus. Both interpretations are improbable. ἐποπτεύειν, a word of which the real Aeschylus is fond, is used of a deity’s surveillance of human affairs; angry ghosts have power, and Orestes needs the power of his father’s ghost, as the great invocation-scene later in the play shows. Hermes not only conveys the souls of the dead to the underworld but can also send them up to communicate with the living (Burkert (1985) 157 f.); hence in *A. Pe.* 628–30 the chorus appeals to Earth, Hermes, and Pluto to send up the ghost of Darius. Orestes speaks of the power of his dead father, *qua* vengeful spirit, as falling within the province of Hermes. Cf. Garvie ad loc.

1127 αἴτουμένω: cf. 699.

1130 V₁^{ac} gives the line to Aeschylus (and Bergk had conjectured that), but it seems to me too plaintive and incompatible with his pride.

1132–5 Bergk deleted these lines, and Meineke deleted 1136 as well; Wilamowitz (see 1119 n.) 150 supported Bergk and gave ὀρᾶς ὅτι ληρείς; to Dionysos. However, a stronger case than they presented is required before

- we can postulate a four-line interpolation in Aristophanes (cf. Dover (1988) 199 f.). **παραινῶ σοι σιωπᾶν**: Aeschylus has evidently begun to splutter indignantly, and Dionysos, as judge, has to restore discipline. **ιαμβείοισι**: cf. 661 n. *ιαμβεῖον* is an iambic trimeter, a metre characteristic of one of the species of the genre *ἵαμβος*, the *ἵαμβος τρίμετρος* (Hdt. i. 12. 2). Kritias B2. 4 notes that the name *Ἀλκιβιάδης* will not fit into elegiacs but *νῦν δ' ἐν ἱαμβεῖῳ κείσεται οὐκ ἀμέτρως*. **προσοφείλων**: *ὀφείλειν*, 'be in debt', is often intransitive (e.g. *Nu.* 20, 485, 1135), and the verb also means 'be fined', 'become subject to a penalty'. **φανεῖ**: the point is not only that to be seen to be penalized is humiliating (cf. *GPM* 226–9), but that there will be no doubt about the penalty; *φανεῖ* makes Dionysos' words more threatening, not less. **ἐγὼ σιωπῶ τῷδε**: a 'repudiative' question; cf. 1227, *Lys.* 530 σοὶ δ' ὠ κατάρατε σιωπῶ ἔγω, and A. R. Anderson, *TAPHΑ* 44 (1913) 43–64. **ἐὰν πείθῃ**: cf. 1229. **οὐράνιον γ' ὄσον**: Hermann deleted γ', perhaps rightly; in 781 γ' reinforces *νῆ Δία*, but here there is no oath.
- 1136 ὄρᾳς ὅτι ληρεῖς**: cf. *Nu.* 662 ὄρᾳς δὲ πάσχεις; 'You see what you're doing?' (sc. in ignorance, lit., '... what you're undergoing?') **ἀλλ' ὀλίγον γέ μοι μέλει**: only U gives these words to Euripides, the rest give it to Dionysos (om. R'). 1135 must be spoken by Euripides, 1136 ὄρᾳς ὅτι ληρεῖς to him, and ἀλλ' . . . μέλει must be his response. In the combination ἀλλά . . . γε, γε sometimes means 'at any rate' (*GP* 12), but sometimes simply stresses the preceding word (*GP* 119). Neither ἀλλά nor γε, however, is elsewhere found with the very common ὀλίγον μοι μέλει.
- 1140 οὐκ ἄλλως λέγω**: normally a continuation by the same speaker, e.g. E. *Hel.* 1105 f. ἡδίστη θεῶν / πέφυκεν ἀνθρώποισιν· οὐκ ἄλλως λέγω.
- 1141 πότερ'**: cf. 69 n., 1052.
- 1142 αὐτοῦ**: for a prepositive at the beginning of a verse cf. *Nu.* 750 f. εἶτα δῆ / αὐτὴν καθείρξαμι.
- 1142 βιαίως . . . 1143 λαθραίοις**: there can be little doubt that (as suggested by Hermann; cf. Becker 63) these words are taken from a later part of the *Choephoroi* prologue.
- 1144 ἐκείνος**: so R; cf. 788 n. *ἐκείνον* (cett.) would mean, 'No, he didn't mean *Hermes*'.
- 1144 ἐριούνιον . . . 1145 χθόνιον**: *χθόνιος* is a widespread epithet of *Hermes* (cf. 1126 n.). The god is commonly called *ἐριούνιος* in epic, but not in lyric, tragedy, or Attic cult; however, in a Thessalian epitaph of the third century BC (*SEG* xxxiv. 497. 7 f.) it is *Hermes Eriounios* who is said to have taken the dead man and his wife to 'the island of the pious'.
- 1146 πατρῶν . . . γέρας**: 'this privilege of his is inherited from his father'; cf. Hdt. vii. 104. 2 τιμὴν τε καὶ γέρεα . . . πατρώια.
- 1147 μᾶλλον**: *μεῖζον* (V A K M Np1 Vb3 Θ) could be right. **ἐξήμαρτεν**: so R E^{ac} K U V_{S1}; -τες cett., which is perfectly possible.

- 1149 οὕτω γ' ἄν**: R E^{pc} U Vs1 have οὕτως, but cf. Pl. *Grg.* 472 D ἠκιστά γε, ἐπεὶ οὕτω γ' ἄν ('if that were so') ἀθλιώτατος εἶη. **τυμβωρύχος**: lit., 'digger into tombs', i.e. 'tomb-robber'; a common crime in the ancient world, because of the burial of precious objects with the dead.
- 1150 ἀνθοοσμίαν**: in Pl. 807 used of red (Greek 'black') wine with a good bouquet; cf. Xen. *HG* vi. 2. 6, where it is taken for granted that ἀνθοοσμίας οἶνος is the best. Whether Aeschylus' words mean 'You stink' or 'You have a hangover' is uncertain; Σ^{VE} implies that ἡδύς and smooth wine produces no hangover.
- 1151 ἕτερον**: sc. 'passage' or 'bit', plainly not 'verse'. **βλάβος**: βλάβη and βλάβος are normally 'harm', 'damage', but here plainly 'fault'; cf. 1171 τὸ κακόν.
- 1155 πῶς δῖς**: K Np1 Θ give this question to Dionysos, the other MSS give it to Aeschylus. If the subject of φησί in 1156 is Aeschylus, then σοι is Dionysos, and the question to which Euripides responds must be his. It is possible that the subject of φησί is Orestes; but even so, εἶπεν shows that 1154 is addressed to Dionysos, and Aeschylus is unlikely (cf. 1130 n.) to ask πῶς δῖς.
- 1157 ἦκειν**: the expected "ἦκω" is assimilated to the syntax of the sentence (cf. *Av.* 58 οὐκ ἀντὶ τοῦ παιδὸς (i.e. ἀντὶ τοῦ "παῖ") σ' ἐχρῆν "ἐποποιῖ" καλεῖν), whereas "κατέρχομαι" is not (cf. *S. Ant.* 566 ἀλλ' "ἦδε" μέντοι μὴ λέγ'. οὐ γάρ ἐστ' ἔτι).
- 1159**: 'kneading-trough'; μάκτρα is used in Pl. 545, κάρδοπος in *Nu.* 664–76. The joke is not original; cf. Pherekrates fr. 145 πρόσαιρε τὸ κανοῦν, εἰ δὲ βούλει, πρόσφερε.
- 1160 κατεστωμυλμένε**: active στωμύλλειν (e.g. 1310, *Nu.* 1003) and middle στωμύλλεσθαι (e.g. 1071) both occur; the passive here, 'overwhelmed by babble', is very unlikely, but the middle, 'you who have drowned everything in babble' makes sense.
- 1161 ταῦτ'**: von Velsen's apparatus wrongly implies that A and U have this accentuation, and the error has been perpetuated by subsequent editors. Brunck was the first to print ταῦτ'; all MSS have ταῦτ', except those which have Triklinios' ταῦτη (and 'στι).
- 1162** Scaliger may be right in giving the line to Dionysos. **καθ' ὅτι δὴ λέγεις**: lit., 'in accordance with what . . .', i.e. 'what your reason is for saying that'.
- 1163 ἐλθεῖν**: treated as synonymous with ἦκειν; cf. 1416 n. **ὄτω μετῆ πάτρας**: πάτρα is a poetic word, and the omission of ἄν with the subjunctive in a generalizing relative clause is tragic, not comic; there is however a parallel in *Ec.* 687 f. ὄτω δέ . . . μὴ ἔελκυσθῆ . . ., τούτους ἀπελώσιν.
- 1164 ἄλλης**: being away from home is not in itself a συμφορά, misfortune, but συμφοραὶ are not always misfortunes (cf. *Eq.* 655 ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς ἀγαθαίσι); hence 'with nothing to complicate the issue'.

- 1167 οὐ φημι:** ‘I assert that . . . not . . .’; cf. KG ii. 180, Schwyzer ii. 593 f.
- 1168 ἦλθεν:** in view of 1163 ἐλθεῖν ~ 1157 ἦκειν, it is not surprising that ἦκεν is a variant (E^{pc} U Vs1) here. **οὐ πιθῶν τοὺς κυρίους:** ‘without persuading those in authority’. This is not actually true, because the homicide law quoted by Dem. xxiii. 51 shows that it was possible to κατιέναι in contravention of prohibitions: ἐάν τις κατῆ ὅποι μὴ ἕξεστιν. However, what Euripides says was probably true of ordinary usage. πιθῶν (✓ ⁵ Pl. 949, ✓ ² E. *Ion* 840) coexists with πείσας.
- 1169** Cf. p. 29.
- 1170 πέραινε . . . 1171 ἀνύσας:** cf. Pl. 648 πέραινε τοῖνυν ὅτι λέγεις ἀνύσας ποτέ, ‘Well, get on with your story, and get a move on’.
- 1171 Αἰσχύλ’, ἀνύσας:** on — ✓✓✓ ² cf. Descroix 188 f.
- 1173 κλύειν, ἀκούσαι:** apparent tautology (particularly, though not exclusively, with verbs of perception) is not uncommon, e.g. E. *IT* 491 θυσίας ἐπιστάμεσθα καὶ γιννώσκωμεν, *Ba.* 617 οὐτ’ ἔθιγεν οὐθ’ ἦψαθ’ ἡμῶν. Sometimes it is plausible to draw a semantic distinction; [A.] *PV* 448 κλύοντες οὐκ ἤκουον suggests the difference expressed in English by ‘Yes, I heard it, but I suppose it didn’t register with me’. It is also an emotional way of making sure one’s hearer gets the point, and in invoking a god (the Christian liturgy is no exception) it has affinities with the accumulation of titles, provoked by an anxiety to get the right words to set the supernatural machinery in motion. In epic ἐκλυ-ε, -ον seems to be aorist in sense, and the present tense κλύω is slow to appear; hence some editors treat κλυειν as a second aorist and accent it perispomenon. Yet the present tense is so common in Attic that it is highly likely that speakers (who were not historical philologists) accented the infinitive paroxytone.
- 1175 f.** All MSS except Vs1^{ac} (in agreement with Bergk’s conjecture) give these lines to Dionysos (and 1177 to Aeschylus). The content suits Dionysos admirably; the obstacle is the harsh-sounding ὦ μοχθηρὲ σύ. Yet since two different senses of μοχθηρός, as of πονηρός (cf. 852 n.), were distinguished by ancient grammarians, we may accent μοχθηρε here proparoxytone and treat it as rough, jocular compassion. Pl. *Phdr.* 268 E regards correction of gross ignorance by ὦ μόχθηρε, μελαγχολᾶς as bad manners, but the word hardly connotes turpitude.
- 1176** In *Od.* ix. 65 Odysseus and his men call three times on the names of those of their number who were killed by the Kikones. Cf. Theocr. 23. 44, and also 184 n.

(ii) **1177–1250.** *Euripides’ Prologues*

- 1177 σύ . . . προλόγους:** whoever speaks the previous two lines should put this question too.
- 1178 στοιβήν:** ‘padding’, used in packing breakable goods. If the reference

here is to pleonasm, there is as much padding in Euripides as in Aeschylus; cf. 1173 n.

1179 ἔξω τοῦ λόγου: 'irrelevant'; cf. Lys. iii. 46 ἔξω τοῦ πράγματος, Isoc. xii. 74 ἔξω τῆς ὑποθέσεως. **κατάπτυσον:** lit., 'spit on it'; cf. Dem. xviii.

20 τίς οὐκ ἂν κατέπτυσεν σοῦ;

1180 οὐ . . . ἀκουστέα: cf. 58 n.

1181 τῆς . . . ἐπῶν: cf. pp. 29 f.

1182 From Euripides' *Antigone* (fr. 157). The infant Oedipus was exposed by his father Laios, who had been warned by an oracle that he would die at the hands of his son. A herdsman found the infant, who was then brought up by Polybos, king of Corinth. Grown up, Oedipus received an oracular prediction that he would kill his father and marry his mother (Iokaste), both of which he did in ignorance of their identity. **εὐδαιίμων:** so R E^{pc} U V^{s1} Θ^{γ^c}; the rest have εὐτυχῆς. In 1186 all have εὐτυχῆς, and in 1195 all have εὐδαιίμων. It is possible to draw a distinction between εὐδαιμονία and εὐτυχία; in E. *Md.* 1228–30 the messenger asserts that no one is εὐδαιίμων but, given wealth, one person can be εὐτυχεστερος than another. εὐδαιμονία is 'enviability' rather than a subjective state of 'happiness', as is clear from E. *Md.* 598, where λυπρὸς εὐδαιίμων βίος is envisaged, and often denotes material prosperity (cf. *GPM* 174). Radermacher, *WSI* 56 (1937) 2–8, argues that 1182 εὐδαιίμων ~ 1186 εὐτυχῆς is simply stylistic variation. At any rate 1183 κακοδαίμων is a very strong argument for εὐδαιίμων in 1182.

1184 f. There is strong reminiscence here of E. *Pho.* 1595–1614 (Oedipus' autobiographical speech): ὦ μοῖρ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὡς μ' ἐφυσας ἄθλιον (the opposite of what is said in fr. 157) / . . . ὃν καὶ πρὶν ἐς φῶς . . . μολεῖν / ἄγονον Ἀπόλλων . . . μ' ἐθέσπισεν κτλ. **ὄντινά γε:** 'seeing/given that . . . him . . .'; cf. *GP* 141 f. **Ἀπόλλων:** α is required; either, therefore Ἀ = ὁ Ἀ- (so Bekker), the normal Attic crasis, as in ἀνῆρ, or, far less likely, the ᾗ which in epic is common in the oblique cases of Ἀπόλλων. **πρὶν καὶ γεγονέναι:** cf. 166. Van Leeuwen gives these words, as a puzzled question, to Dionysos, but there is no hint of a change of speaker in the MSS or scholia, and no reason why we should not interpret the words as a forceful repetition of the point of πρὶν φύναι.

1186 εὐτυχῆς: cf. 1182 n.

1187 αὐθις: cf. 591 n.

1188 μὲν οὖν: cf. 241, 556 n.

1189 πῶς γάρ: this reinforces the negative statement, as πῶς γὰρ οὐ reinforces a positive; cf. S. *El.* 911 οὐδ' αὐ σὺ (sc. ἔδρασας) πῶς γάρ; ἦ γε κτλ. (*GP* 86). **ὄτε δῆ:** cf. English 'when . . .' = 'considering that . . .'; *GP* 231 f.

1190 χειμῶνος: this detail, as Σ^{RVE} remarks, does not appear elsewhere in the Oedipus myth, and is presumably invented here to magnify Oedipus'

- sufferings. **ἐξέθεσαν:** cf. 691 n. **δοστράκω:** an exposed infant was commonly put in a pot. *δοστρακον* is almost always 'potsherd', and may be used here to suggest that Oedipus' parents even begrudged him a proper *χύτρα*, but in *Ec.* 1033 it is used of a vessel holding water (cf. Poll. viii. 66).
- 1192 ἤρρησεν:** ἔρρειν is 'go' when the speaker is hostile to the goer, e.g. *Eq.* 4 ἐξ οὐ γὰρ εἰσήρρησεν (sc. the Paphlagonian) εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, *Lys.* 336 ἤκουσα γὰρ τυφογέροντας ἄνδρας ἔρρειν κτλ., and in commands is rather like English 'Fuck off!' and the like, e.g. *Lys.* 1040 οὐκ ἔρρήσεται ὦ μαστιγία; Here, however, pathos is more in evidence than hostility, as in *Eq.* 533 (Kratinos) γέρων ὦν περιέρρει. **οἰδῶν:** in S. *OT* 718 we are told that Laios 'joined together' the infant's feet, and in 1034 that they were pierced; so too E. *Pho.* 26 ('iron spikes'), where (27) this is held to explain the name *Οιδίπους*, 'swollen-feet'. The purpose of this brutality (which, unlike simple exposure, entails shedding blood) is uncertain, for a newly-born infant cannot save itself by crawling away; perhaps the story was invented to explain the name.
- 1193 γραῦν:** as Greek girls were commonly married by fifteen, Iokaste would have been under forty when Oedipus married her, and she went on to bear him four children; but myth likes simple categories, as we see from the portrayal of Oedipus as a weak old man in *Oedipus at Colonus*.
- 1196** Cf. *Pl.* 657, where Chremylos' wife, on hearing of the bathing of Wealth in the sea, exclaims ironically νῆ Δί' εὐδαίμων ἄρ' ἦν / ἀνὴρ γέρων ψυχρᾶ θαλάττῃ λούμενος. Erasinides was one of the generals put on trial after Arginusai in 406; the trouble in fact started when he was individually prosecuted by Archedemos for embezzlement.
- 1198 καὶ μὴν . . . γε:** vigorously embarking on a new point; cf. *GP* 120, 149.
- 1198 κατ' ἔπος . . . 1199 ἕκαστον:** cf. 97, 358 nn. **κνίσω:** lit., 'scratch', 'chafe'; in *V.* 1286 Aristophanes uses the word of Kleon's attack on him.
- 1199 σὺν τοῖσιν θεοῖς:** 'God willing', i.e. 'if all goes according to my hopes'; the phrase (normally *σὺν θεοῖς*) is a particular favourite of Xenophon's.
- 1200 ἀπὸ ληκυθίου:** for *ἀπό* cf. 121. *λήκυθος* is a small pot with a narrow neck and spout, which we may translate 'flask', usually containing oil for rubbing on the skin, but also scent and cosmetics. Euripides is understandably mystified; Aeschylus explains a little more fully in 1202–4 what he means and from 1208 illustrates his meaning by interrupting and completing a succession of Euripidean verses with *ληκύθιον ἀπόλωσεν. ἀπολλύναι* is used both of deliberate destruction and of accidental loss. Destroying a lekythos has no discernible point in this scene; losing one was no doubt a commonplace misfortune comparable to leaving an umbrella in a train (cf. O. Navarre, *REA* 35 (1933) 278–80), and its very triviality, attributed to mythical heroes, is intrinsically funny. We do not need to excavate any deeper layer of humour; cf. J. Henderson, *HSt* 76 (1972) 139 f., D. M. Bain, *CQ* NS 35 (1985) 31–7. The humour is heightened by repetition—it is the

humour more of children's pantomime than of sophisticated comedy—because the audience can see the fatal phrase coming (cf. λαβὲ τὸ βιβλίον in *Av.* 974–89), and some of them may have shouted it out with Aeschylus after the first two occasions of its use. Nevertheless, if the humour of the passage is all 'innocent', there are some coincidences which cannot be brushed aside. The words λήκυθος and ληκύθιον themselves suggest ληκάν, a slang word for sexual intercourse in *Th.* 493 (and possibly Pherekrates fr. 253), and Hsch. λ 858 records ληκῶ = 'sexual organ' (μόριον); cf. R. Guido and A. Filippo, *GrB* 10 (1981) 83–91. Although λήκυθος was a generic word applicable to several different shapes of flask (G. M. A. Richter and M. Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases* (New York, 1935) 17; cf. M. Robertson, *JHS* 102 (1982) 234), one common type (Richter and Milne, figs. 109–11) looks remarkably like a penis; and the use to which a λήκυθος was normally put meant that it dispensed small quantities of thick fluid. Exactitude is not characteristic of sexual imagery in slang; cf. English 'prick' and 'tool', and American 'box' = 'vagina'. We have to consider also the company the flask keeps in 1203. κωδάριον and θυλάκιον are the diminutives respectively of κώδιον, 'fleece' and θύλακος, 'sack'. It is hard for an audience of Old Comedy to hear 'fleece, flask, and bag' without thinking of pubic hair, penis, and scrotum (R. Penella, *Mnemosyne* 1973. 340, refers κωδάριον to the foreskin, but cf. J. Henderson, *ibid.* 27 (1974) 294). To all this we must add the fact that the first hero who ληκύθιον ἀπέλεσεν had begotten fifty sons (1207). Beneficent Nature has ensured that one cannot actually wear out the penis by constant use, but popular humour thinks one can (cf. B. Snell, *Hermes* 107 (1978) 130), and 1208 allows any member of the audience to laugh either at the trivial misfortune of Aigyptos in losing an oil-flask or at a graver misfortune, his inability to sustain an erection. D. Sider, *Mnemosyne* 1991. 359–63, postulates gestures by Aeschylus: finger raised in the air while Euripides in speaking, then drooped. If, however, we insist that these putative sexual allusions are not mere coincidence, we have to face the fact that there is no sexual exploitation (by Dionysos) of any of the verses cited from 1211 onwards (cf. Bain, *loc. cit.*, criticizing Snell's sometimes far-fetched explanations), and in 1242 the lekythos of Oineus is just that and cannot be given a sexual sense. It is of course possible that what begins as a joke with two layers progressively discards one layer.

There may be a third layer. λήκυθος and words derived from it (ληκυθίζειν, ληκυθισμός, ληκυθιστής) have important non-sexual associations. Kallim. fr. 215 describes the tragic Muse as ληκυθίζουσα, a verb which according to Poll. iv. 114 denotes the sound made by a βαρύστονος ὑποκριτής. Hsch. λ 856 f., Phryn. *PS* 86. 9 and Σ Heph. 122. 24 (διὰ τὸν βόμβον τὸν τραγικόν) also associate the lekythos with sound (cf. C. P. Bill, *CPh* 36 (1941) 46–41, J. H. Quincey, *CQ* 43 (1949) 33–7, and Taillardat 297 f.). Quincey 38–44, drawing upon the jokes in *Ec.* 996, 1101, 1111, where it seems

that *λήκυθος* refers to the face of an old woman larded with cosmetics (Σ^R 1101 explains *ἔχουσαν λήκυθον πρὸς ταῖς γνάθοις* as *ῶδηκνία*, ‘swollen’; cf. Su *φ* 760 and N. W. Slater, *Lexis* 3 (1989) 43–51), suggests that since inflated cheeks resemble the globular type of *lekythos*, *ληκύθιον ἀπώλεσεν* meant to the audience ‘lost his wind’, i.e. did not sustain impressive tragic style. Sider (loc. cit.) suggests that the joke is simultaneously sexual and non-sexual: ‘abandoned the tragic style’ and ‘lost his balls’ (the globular shape, whose resemblance to a scrotum was deliberately exploited by some potters; cf. W. Beck, *JHS* 102 (1982) 234). The difficulties with these interpretations are, first, that an actor does not ‘throw’ his voice by inflating his cheeks, and, even if he did, the mask would prevent the audience from seeing that; and, more important, that metaphorical *ληκυθ-* is far from complimentary (cf. Plu. *Epic.* 1086 E and Latin *ampulla*, *ampullari*; the context of S. fr. 1063 *ληκυθιστής* is not known), and for Aeschylus to say of Euripides that his characters ‘lost’ or ‘discarded’ something undesirable goes against the tenor of the whole contest.

No passage of *Frogs* has generated more published discussion than this in recent years, and in much of the discussion a conspicuous part has been played by Dem. liv. 14–17, 39, referring to ill-behaved gangs of young men in the mid-fourth century who took names such as *αὐτολήκυθοι*, *ἰθυφαλλοί*, and *Τριβαλλοί*. One can think of some very reasonable sexual meanings for *αὐτολήκυθος* (and G. Anderson, *JHS* 101 (1981) 130–2, does), but in Antiphanes fr. 17. 2 it is applied to a man who has nothing but bare essentials. There are many different ways of interpreting *αὐτο-* in compounds, and it is prudent to leave Demosthenes out of the matter.

1203 **θυλάκιον**: $\overset{\text{h}}{\cup} \cup \overset{\text{h}}{\cup}$ is unique in Aristophanes, and where it occurs elsewhere it is patently corrupt (Antiphanes fr. 46. 3) or easily emendable (Diphilos fr. 14. 2) or a variant (*PBerol* 13231 at *Ach.* 777). Here we could substitute the masculine accusative *θύλακον*; but it is hard to believe that Aristophanes would pay so grievous a stylistic price for the sake of a metrical constraint, and E. Harrison, *CR* 37 (1923) 10–14, points out that it is understandable that Aeschylus should parody, by exaggeration, the high degree of resolution and of $\cup \cup - = \cup -$ which characterizes the later plays of Euripides.

1204 **ἰαμβείοισι**: cf. 1133 n.

1205 **ἰδοῦ**: a scornful exclamation accompanying repetition of the previous speaker’s words; cf. *Lys.* 850 f. *ἐκκάλεσόν μοι Μυρρίνην. ἴδοῦ καλέσω* (cf. 77 n.) *ἔγω Μυρρίνην σοι*; **φημί**: cf. 954 n. **καὶ δῆ**: similar to the use of *καὶ δῆ* drawing attention to the speaker’s compliance with the previous speaker’s command (*GP* 251 f.).

1206–8 = E. fr. 846. According to Σ^{VE} some scholars identified this as the beginning of *Archelaos*, but Aristarchos denied that it was to be found anywhere in Euripides. The *Archelaos* known in later times began *Δαναὸς ὁ πεντήκοντα*

θυγατέρων πατήρ ([Plu.] *Vit. X Or.* 837 E), and portions of the first eight lines of the play are found in several authors, including Strabo v. 221, D.S. i. 38. 4, Tiberius Rhet. viii. 577. *PHamb* 118a (s. III/II^a) contains 24 lines of the prologue, but not the very beginning (fr. 2 Austin). Aristarchos considered that author's revision was probably the cause of the problem. It is certainly understandable that Aigyptos and his fifty sons and Danaos and his fifty daughters should have been confused by a commentator, but not so easy to believe that if there was a Euripidean play which began with Aigyptos and his sons Aristarchos could have failed to find it, especially considering that Hellenistic catalogues of literary works commonly gave the opening words as well as the title (cf. R. A. Coles and J. W. B. Barns, *CQ* NS 15 (1965) 52 f., on *POxy* 2544). It is even harder to believe that 1206–8 were concocted by Aristophanes, when all the other citations are from identifiable Euripidean plays. Aristarchos' conclusion is thus inescapable, but requires one modification; the alteration of the prologue does not have to be Euripides' own (if it was, it is likely to have been made during his time (407) at the court of Archelaos of Macedon), but can be attributed to the fourth century. Cf. A. Harder, *Euripides' Kresphontes and Archelaos* (Leiden, 1985) 19–82. **κατασχών:** Cf. E. *Hel.* 1206 *πόθεν κατέσχε γῆν;*

1209 ἦν: cf. 39. **οὐ κλαύσεται:** since 1210 must be spoken by Dionysos, who has not yet grasped the point of the criticism, it is appropriate that he (so V E Np1), rather than Euripides, should ask *τουτι τί ἦν*, and it therefore seems very probable that *οὐ κλαύσεται* is addressed by him to Euripides (cf. 178), Aeschylus being the subject of the verb. That is in keeping with his sympathetic and protective attitude to Euripides in the passage as a whole, notably 1228 (*ἡμῶν*).

1211–13 = E. fr. 752 (*Hypsipyle*); the passage continued *παρθένοις σὺν Δελφίσιν*. Thyrsi and fawn-skins are the characteristic trappings of the worshippers of Dionysos (E. *Ba.* 176); and for his association with the bacchanals of Delphi cf. *Nu.* 603–6. **καθαπτός:** 'equipped' with thyrsi, and 'clothed' in fawn-skins. Timachidas *ap. Σ*^{VE} insists on the accentuation *-τός*, Hsch. κ 85 on *κά-*. **πέυκησι:** so V A E M Np1 Vb3 Θ. *-ησι* is the ending of the first declension dative plural in Ionic, *-αισι(ι)* in Attic; but the Ionic form occurs sporadically in the transmitted texts of tragedy (cf. Page on E. *Md.* 479). Perhaps it is a matter of association with particular words (in *Nu.* 604 V has *πέυκης* and *PSI* 1171 (s. III^a) *πευκη*); but we must also reckon with the influence of epic on copyists (in Thuc. iii. 97. 1 some MSS have *ἵππι τάχιστα*), on which cf. Barrett on E. *Hp.* 101. A further complication is that Attic documentary inscriptions down to c.420 have *-ησι* and *-ᾶσι* in the dative plural (Page loc. cit. does not distinguish this from the Ionic form), and tragic poets may on occasion have used that. I retain *πέυκησι* with misgivings.

- 1214** A reminiscence of Agamemnon's dying cry in *A. Ag.* 1345 ὦμοι μάλ' αὐθις δευτέραν πεπληγμένους.
- 1215** πρᾶγμα: cf. *E. Md.* 451 κάμοι μὲν οὐδὲν πρᾶγμα, 'It doesn't matter to me'.
- 1216** οὐχ ἔξει: that proves not to be so; Euripides overlooks the possibilities of the 'gnomic aorist' (cf. 229).
- 1217–19** = *E. fr.* 661 (*Stheneboia*); the continuation was πλουσίαν ἀροῖ πλάκα, where we would invert the participial and main clauses and say 'though he ploughs a rich field, he is low-born'. ἔσθλός: this common poetic word for 'good' is alien to comedy and prose; cf. *GPM* 63, 68. Here the antithesis gives it the connotation 'of good family'. βίον: 'livelihood'; cf. *Pl.* 751 βίον / ἔχοντες ὀλίγον, *E. Su.* 450 κτᾶσθαι δὲ πλοῦτον καὶ βίον.
- 1220** ἔστιν: on the metre, cf. 286 n. ὑφέσθαι μοι δοκεῖ: 'I recommend' (cf. *Nu.* 1438) 'lowering your sail a bit'. ὑφιέναι and ὑφίεσθαι are used of lowering, slackening, abating in general, but the next line justifies translating 1220 with specifically nautical reference. δοκεῖ is Kuster's necessary emendation of δοκεῖς, which would be a patently untrue statement.
- 1221** πνευσεῖται πολύ: van Leeuwen points out that in addition to the figurative gale which threatens Euripides, a lekythos was often used for scent and could therefore give off a strong smell; cf. 338 προσέπνευσε. In *E. Andr.* 555 ἐμπνεύσομαι and *HF* 885 ἐκπνεύσεται -ομαι and -εται are metrically guaranteed, but cf. *Ach.* 1129 φευξοῦμενον and *Pl.* 447 φευξοῦμεθα, equally guaranteed.
- 1222** οὐδ' . . . γε: 'Yes, but . . .'. φροντίσαιμι: cf. 493, 650.
- 1223** ἐκκεκόψεται: 'it'll be knocked out of his hand'. J. Henderson, *HSt* 76 (1972) 139 f., suggests that at the start of this scene Aeschylus produces an actual lekythos and brandishes it appropriately. Euripides is again too sanguine.
- 1225 f.** = *E. fr.* 819 (*Phrixos*). The second *Phrixos*, says Σ^{VE}, which Tzetzes (Σ^K) denies, assigning it to the first *Phrixos* and citing as the actual beginning of the second *Phrixos* two lines ('If this were my first day of suffering and I were not making a long and painful voyage') which do not sound much like the opening of a Euripidean tragedy. The continuation of our passage in Tzetzes is ἦλθε Θηβαίαν χθόνα, but in Triklinios ἵκετ' ἐς Θήβης πέδον.
- 1227** ἀποπρίω: πρίασθαι serves as the aorist of ὠνεῖσθαι, 'buy', and ἀποπρίασθαι here matches ἀπωνεῖσθαι in Theopompos *Com. fr.* 86.
- 1228** διακναίση: 'wear down', 'wear away'; cf. *Ec.* 956 f. πόθος ὅς με διακναίσας ἔχει. ἡμῶν: cf. 1209 n. τὸ τί: cf. 7, 40; but this differs from other examples in not having an obvious substantival reference for τί. It is more like, 'What do you mean?', and we might compare *Av.* 1038 f. νόμους . . . ἦκω . . . πωλήσων. || τὸ τί, where the question is answered by recitation of a specimen νόμος.

- 1229** **πρίωμαι**: on the subjunctive, cf. 1 n.; on the simple verb after the compound, 77 n.; and for τῶδε, *Ach.* 812 πόσον πρίωμαι σοι τὰ χοιρίδια;
- 1231** **οὐχ ἔξει**: cf. 1223 n.
- 1232 f.** = E. *IT* 1 f.; the continuation is *Οἰνομάου γαμει κόρην*.
- 1235** **ἀπόδος**: cf. 270 n. If this means 'sell' (normally ἀποδίδοσθαι, but the active in E. *Cy.* 239 and *Thuc.* vi. 62. 4) 1235 f. would be addressed to Aeschylus, and 'another one', 'a replacement' must be understood as the object of λήψει. If that is so, what is understood with οὐπω in 1237? Not, as any rate, an imperative, which would require μή. And what would the point of ἔτι καὶ νῦν be (cf. *Thuc.* vi. 40. 1, where it accompanies a 'final appeal')? If ἀπόδος means 'pay' (cf. 270), all these difficulties disappear; Dionysos has asked Euripides already (1227) to buy the lekythos, and now renews his appeal. (Σ^{VE} takes the joke to be: 'Give Pelops a lekythos to make up for the one he lost', but that does not fit ἀπο-). **πάση τέχνῃ**: the expression lends urgency and insistence to an imperative, e.g. *Nu.* 1323 ἀμυνάθετέ μοι τυπτομένῳ πάση τέχνῃ.
- 1236** **λήψει γὰρ ὀβολοῦ**: 'you'll get it for an obol'. **καλήν τε κάγαθήν**: cf. 719 n. The expression is almost always used of people, but *Hdt.* v. 31. 1 applies it an island. As Del Corno observes, this is salesman's talk: 'You'll be getting a fantastic one for only an obol!'
- 1240 f.** = E. fr. 516 (*Meleagros*). Σ^{VE} points out that these are not the opening words of the play, but come a little later in the prologue. That is surprising; the words sound like an opening. **πολύμετρον**: R P20 record a variant πολύβοτρυν, but 'clusters of grapes' and 'ears of corn' do not go well together, and we may suspect a copyist καπηλείον σκοπῶν.
- 1242** **μεταξύ**: with a participle, 'being in the middle of . . .', or simply 'while . . .'. **ὑφείλετο**: cf. 148.
- 1243** **ἔασον ὦ τάν**: so R M^{pc} U^s V_{S1}^s; cf. *Lys.* 350 ἔασον ὦ, 'Hold it!', 'Stop!' V A E N_{P1} U V_{S1}ⁱ have ἔα αὐτόν, Θ ἔ' αὐτόν, and M^{ac} V_{b3} ἔασον αὐτόν, and all except V_{S1} have ὦ τάν as well (add. V_{S1}^{yp}). In *Lys.* 945 ἔα αὐτ' is scanned ◡ —, and this would justify the adoption of ἔα αὐτόν; Dionysos' facetious question can hardly provoke the reaction 'Leave Aeschylus alone!' ἔα and ἔασον are coupled with ὦ δαιμόνιε in *Nu.* 38, *Lys.* 945 (-νία), *Th.* 64, *Ec.* 564, 784, and ὦ τάν is very similar in tone (cf. 952 n.).
- 1244** = E. fr. 481. 1 (*Melanippe ἢ σοφή*); it occurs also in the *Peirithoos* of Kritias (fr. 1. 9), where it is the second half of a sentence. **τῆς ἀληθείας ὕπο**: not exactly 'by Truth', for ὑπό is not used only of personal agency, but also of cause (cf. 349); almost 'in true accounts'.
- 1245** **ἀπολείς**: interpretation of this sequence of letters as ἀπολεῖ σ' (V M U), 'he'll smash you', would make perfectly good sense (cf. *Nu.* 891 f. πολὺ γὰρ μᾶλλον σ' . . . ἀπολώ), but ἀπολείς (sc. με) is an idiom found in *Nu.* 1499, *Pl.* 390 ἀπολείς. || σὺ μὲν οὖν σεαυτόν, *Ec.* 775, E. *Cy.* 558 as a reaction of fear,

anger, or impatience. Dionysos is becoming weary of the game that Aeschylus is playing, and Euripides can stop it only by stopping his recitation of opening lines.

1247 **σὺκ'**: lit., 'figs', used of growths of any kind on the eyelids (Hp. *Epid.* iii. 7). **ἔφυ**: *φύναι* is commonly 'be' (sc. by nature), but here the more literal 'grow'.

1251–1363. PARODY OF LYRICS

(i) 1251–60. *Stasimon*

This song has three strange features (cf. Zimmermann ii. 148–50): it is grossly repetitious, for 1252 f. *φροντίζειν γὰρ ἔγωγ' ἔχω τίν' ἄρα μέμψιν ἐποίσει* is repeated by *θαυμάζω γὰρ ἔγωγ' ὅπη μέμψεται*; it is strongly biased in favour of Aeschylus; and it ends with a catalectic colon (pherecratean) which is immediately preceded not by a glyconic or any other acatalectic colon, but by two pherecrateans. This last phenomenon is extremely rare in drama, though not unknown: *Th.* 992–2 ~ 998–1000 *ia ar | ia ba || ia ba |||*, *E. Hel.* 1350–2 'dodrans A' (— ∪ ∪ — × —; *LM* 139, West 30, 194) | *reiz | reiz |||*; *V.* 319b–323 *3gl 2ph |||* is a special case, because there is strong pause between the two pherecrateans, and the second of them begins an anapaestic passage (the repetition of the refrain in wedding-songs, e.g. *Pax* 1355 f. and *Av.* 1742 f., is also a special case). The bias in favour of Aeschylus cannot be removed or even modified by any emendation or any hypothesis concerning the history of the text, but the hypothesis of conflation accounts neatly for the coexistence of the alternatives 1252 *φροντίζειν* . . . 1256 and 1257 *θαυμάζω* . . . 1260, and there is one possible reason for thinking that the latter belongs to 405 and the former to 404: when people had heard about Euripides' *Bacchae*—and it may even have been performed by 404 (cf. p. 37)—to call Euripides' adversary τὸν Βακχεῖον ἀνακτα would strike a slightly false note. (The coincidence of 1257 *θαυμάζω* and Euripides' sarcastic πάνυ γε μέλη θαυμαστά in 1261 is irrelevant, for the object of the Chorus's 'wonder' is not Aeschylean lyric itself but the difficulty Euripides will have in finding fault with it, and although a sarcastic compliment may on occasion pick up a word used earlier, as in *Dem.* vii. 32 ~ 30 and perhaps also *Pl. R.* 574 c ~ 571 a, it does not regularly do so; cf. *GP* 128–30). It is possible that the 405 version was a little longer and that not all of it has been incorporated into our text.

(1) (1251) (τί . . .)	∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ —	<i>gl</i>
(2) (1252) (φρον- . . .)	— — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ —	<i>gl</i>
(3) (1253) (τίν' . . .)	∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — —	<i>ph</i>
(4) (1254) (ἀν- . . .)	— ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ —	<i>gl</i>

(5) (1255 f.) (καί . . .)	- - - - - } - - - - - }	<i>gl ph</i>
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With the MSS text τῶν ἔτι νῦν ὄντων the second colon is a 'dragged' glyconic, which occurs in tragedy (West 116 f.) but not in comedy. On the text, v. n. ad loc.

(6) (1257) (θαυ- . . .)	- - - - -	<i>gl</i>
(7) (1258) (μέμ- . . .)	- - - - -	<i>ph</i>
(8) (1259) (τόν . . .)	- - - - -	<i>ph</i>
(9) (1260) (καί . . .)	- - - - -	<i>ph</i>

1252 ἐγὼ οὐκ ἔχω: ἔχω with an infinitive does not mean 'I have to . . .' or 'I cannot help . . .', but 'I can' (most often with a negative, 'I cannot'). ἐγωγ' ἔχω (MSS) therefore does not make sense, and Bentley's ἐγὼ οὐκ ἔχω is necessary; for the crasis cf. 33 n. φροντίζειν with an interrogative clause is used elsewhere (e.g. *Nu.* 1345 f. φροντίζειν ὄπη . . . κρατήσεις) of trying to think how to act or speak oneself, not of worrying about how someone else will act, but that residual difficulty remains whatever the text of the following words.

1256 τῶν μέχρι νυνί: the MSS have τῶν ἔτι νῦν ὄντων (except for the misguided τῶν νῦν ἔτ' ὄντων in U Vs1, assuming νῦν). That is metrically suspect (v. supr.) and also the wrong sense, for neither Aeschylus nor Euripides is now among οἱ ἔτι νῦν ὄντες and to say that Aeschylus is better than any of those who are still alive is a dim compliment (cf. 72). The emendation τῶν ἐπιόντων (Tucker; cf. A. Kapsomenos, *Hellenica* 34 (1982/3) 208–10) is very attractive, for ἐπιών is used not only of what is to follow (e.g. *IG* i³ 84. 31, Pl. *Cri.* 46 A) but also of what followed (e.g. *Lys.* xii. 17 τῆς ἐπιούσης νυκτὸς διέπλευσα), and for the use of the superlative cf. *Thuc.* i. 1. 1 ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων; *KG* i. 234, Schwyzer ii. 100 f. However, the paraphrase in Σ^R, τῶν μέχρι νῦν ὄντων ποιητῶν, which can hardly have been intended to explain τῶν ἐπιόντων, points rather to an ancient reading containing μέχρι, and Meineke's τῶν μέχρι νυνί must for that reason be given priority over other emendations.

1260 αὐτοῦ is undeniably ambiguous, but on balance it is a little more likely that the Chorus is apprehensive on behalf of Aeschylus, against whom Euripides may bring a devastating criticism which has not previously occurred to them, than that they are worrying about Euripides' possible failure.

(ii) **1261–1300.** *Parody of Aeschylean Lyrics*

1261 δείξει: most commonly with αὐτό as subject, '(the event itself)', but in *V.* 994 the question, 'How has the trial gone?' is answered by δείξειν ἔοικεν

as Bdelykleon empties the voting-urns, and cf. Dem. ii. 20 *δοκεῖ δ' ἔμοιγε . . . δεῖξειν οὐκ εἰς μακράν* 'it seems to me we shan't have long to wait for the answer'.

1263 λογιόυμαι: Euripides has promised to 'contract all into one', and Dionysos prepares to count how many, using pebbles, as was normal in arithmetical calculations; cf. Dem. xviii. 229 *οὐ τιθεῖς ψήφους . . . ἀλλ' ἀναμμνήσκων ἕκαστα*. τῶν ψήφων: for the genitive in the sense 'some' cf. *Pax* 772 *δός . . . τῶν τρωγαλίων*; KG i. 345, Schwyzer ii. 102 f.

1263 f. After 1263 the MSS (except A ^{Θ^{ac}}) have *διαύλιον προσαυλεῖ τις*. Σ^{RVB} explains this ('they say that it is called *διαύλιον* when . . .') as a passage played on the aulos without any accompanying singing. O. Taplin, *PCPHS* 203 (1977) 124, classifies this passage among '[instructions] for the supply of a sound which is clearly implied by the text', but although there is a clear enough implication (through contrast with 1281 f., where the lyrics derived from *κιθαρωδικοὶ νόμοι* are introduced as a different category) that Euripides sings to the accompaniment of an aulos, the text does not indicate that we hear an instrumental passage before the song begins.

1264–77 After beginning with a passage, *Φθιώτ' . . . ἄρωγάν*, which hangs together, Euripides sings a succession of verses from various plays and repeats after each verse the second part of the opening passage. What is evidently satirized here is not only Aeschylus' fondness for dactylic rhythm but also his use of refrains, which sometimes consist of only a few words, e.g. *Ag.* 121 = 139 = 159 *αἰλινον αἰλινον εἰπέ, τὸ δ' εὖ νικάτω*, but may also constitute short stanzas (*ἔφύμνια*), e.g. *Eu.* 328–33 = 341–6.

On all the citations of lost Aeschylean plays in 1264–77 and 1284–95 see Radt ad locc. in *TrGF* iii for fuller comment and bibliography.

Metrical analysis:

(1) 1264 (<i>φθι-</i>)	— — — — — — — — — — —	<i>ia 4da</i>
(2) 1265 (<i>ιή</i>)	— — — — — — — — — — —	~4da

Cf. S. *OT* 171 f. ~ 182 f. *4da* | ≈ *4da* ||; ('long paroemiac' in *MA* iii. 270, 'expanded paroemiac' in Dale (1969) 207). Zimmermann iii. 91 scans *ιή* as one syllable.

(3) 1266 (<i>Ἐρ-</i> . . .)	— — — — — — — — — — —	<i>6da</i>
(4) 1267 = (2)		
(5) 1268 (<i>δύο</i> . . .)	— — — — — — — — — — —	<i>par</i>
(6) 1269/70 (<i>κύ-</i> . . .)	— — — — — — — — — — —	<i>ia 5da</i>
(7) 1271 = (2)		
(8) 1272 (<i>τρί-</i> . . .)	— — — — — — — — — — —	<i>par</i>
(9) 1273/4 (<i>εὖ-</i> . . .)	— — — — — — — — — — —	<i>7da</i>
(10) 1275 = (2)		

(11) 1276 (κύ- . . .) — ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — — | 6da
 (12) 1277 = (2)

Prato 316 f., Zimmermann ii. 29 f., iii. 93, Rau 126.

1264 f. = A. fr. 132 (from *Myrmidons*): ‘Achilles of Phthia, why, when you hear the man-slaying—ah!—buffeting (sc. of battle), do you not join in to help (us)?’ **Φθιῶτ’**: cf. Achilles’ reference in *Il.* i. 155 to Phthia in Thessaly as his homeland. **ἰῆ κόπον**: as well as being a cry with which Paian is hailed (e.g. *Pax* 453–5) *ἰῆ* can be a cry of woe (e.g. *A. Pe.* 1004). The MSS have *ἰήκοπον* throughout, but *ἰῆ κόπον* (Heath) has the double advantage of giving us known words and explaining the *κόποι* on which Dionysos comments; moreover, Σ^{RVE} 1275, speaking of disagreement over the breathing of the exclamation *ἰῆ*, presupposes it. **πελάθεις**: ‘draw near’, occurs in paratragedy also in *Th.* 58 and in *E. El.* 1293.

1266 = A. fr. 273 (from *Ψυχαγωγοί*). Triklinios identified the ‘lake’ as the Stympthalian lake in Arcadia. Σ^{C1} says that the Arcadians worship Hermes as their ‘ancestor’ because of his association with Mt. Kyllene. According to Apollodoros iii. 8. 2. 5 *Arkas*, their eponymous ancestor, was son of Kallisto but foster-son of Maia, who was mother of Hermes; cf. Lloyd-Jones i. 335 f.

1269/70 = A. fr. 238. According to Σ^{RVE} Timachidas attributed this to Aeschylus’ *Telephos*, Asklepiades to *Iphigeneia*, while Aristarchos and Apollonios seem to have been unable to locate it. **πολυκοίρανε**: in *Il.* ii. 204 *πολυκοιρανῆ* is an undesirable proliferation of (potentially conflicting) rulers, but it is ‘rule over many’ in Rhianos i. 10, and Agamemnon, son of Atreus, is *πολυκοιρανός* in the sense that many kings are subordinate to him. **μου**: cf. Xen. *Cyr.* i. 6. 44 *μάθε δέ μου καὶ τάδε*; KG i. 361, Schwyzer ii. 106.

1273/4 = A. fr. 87 (from *Priestesses*). It is uncertain whether *εὐφαιμίτε* (cf. 354 n.) is a general admonition (so Brunck), or addressed specifically to the *μελισσονόμοι*, and no less uncertain who the ‘bee-keepers’ are. The bee is associated with Artemis, for it appears on the coins of Ephesos throughout the classical period (*HN* 572–5), and on the analogy of (i) the *Ἴσιονόμοι* of Hellenistic Egypt and (ii) the *βουκόλοι* who worshipped Dionysos (Dodds xviii, 159, 193 f.) it is possible that *μελισσονόμοι* means ‘those who administer the sanctuary of the Bee-goddess’. Alternatively, there may have been hives of bees, under the protection of the goddess, in the sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesos, and the *μελισσονόμοι* looked after them; or again, choruses of girls dancing at festivals of Artemis at Ephesos were called ‘bees’, like the ‘bears’ who worshipped Artemis at Brauron (*Lys.* 645), in which case the *μελισσονόμοι* are the priestesses. The Pythia is *Δελφίς μέλισσα* in *Pi. P.* 4. 60, and according to Σ ad loc. the term ‘bee’ was widely used of priestesses, but that does not help with *-νόμοι*; quis custodit ipsas custodes? Σ^{RV} (Radermacher 316 wrongly says ‘ein junges Scholion’) οἱ

διανέμοντες τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἢ οἰκούντες ἐν τῇ πόλει implies πολισσονόμοι, but Hermann suggested that we have there the surviving last part of a note in which μελισσονόμοι was explained on the analogy of πολισσονόμοι (a word found in *A. Pe.* 853, *Ch.* 864). οἴγειν: whether this is an imperatival infinitive (cf. 133 n.) or dependent on a later word not quoted, we cannot tell.

1276 = *A. Ag.* 104. Removed from its context, which concerns the omen seen by Agamemnon's army as it departed from Argos, (lit.) 'auspicious on-the-road power of men' would be baffling. R has δς δῖον (the only pre-Triklinian manuscript in which the correct δ appears), a paradigmatic case of conflated variants. Σ^{VE} not only fails to explain the verse but imports chaos by remarking 'most MSS have αἴσιον, but Asklepiades read δσιον'; evidently someone in whose text δσιον had already replaced δδιον thought that Asklepiades' comment referred to αἴσιον.

1278 This could fairly be called self-parody, because *Clouds* begins with the cry ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, τὸ χρέημα τῶν νυκτῶν ὄσον.

1279 βούλομαι: sc. ἰέναι. In *Lys.* 136 κάγω διὰ τοῦ πυρός it is easier to understand ἰέναι because of 133 f. διὰ τοῦ πυρός ἐθέλω βαδίζειν; *Xen. An.* i. 5. 13 παραγγέλλει εἰς τὰ ὄπλα is a better parallel (KG ii. 564).

1280 νεφρώ: lit., 'kidneys', but βουβών is the groin or a swelling in the groin, such as can be caused by excessive physical effort (κόπος), and it is clear from Philippiades fr. 5 that 'kidneys' was a sly euphemism for 'testicles'. A hot bath was recognized as good for 'κόποι in hot weather' (*Arist. Probl.* 863^b19–28).

1281 πρὶν γ' ἀκούσης: πρὶν ἄν with the subjunctive is normal in Attic (hence πρὶν γ' ἄν ἀκούσης Elmsley cl. *Ach.* 176 πρὶν γ' ἄν στῶ τρέχων), but the ἄν is sometimes omitted in poetry, e.g. *Ec.* 629 πρὶν τοῖς αἰσχροῖς . . . χαρίσωνται, *S. Phil.* 917 μὴ στέναζε πρὶν μάθης; KG ii. 454 f., *MT* 251. **στάσις:** 'set', 'collection'. In *A. Cho.* 114, 458 στάσις refers to a group whose members are loyal to one another in opposition to the reigning power, so that the usual notion of 'faction' is present, though without any derogatory sense. Here, however, Euripides means to be derogatory, implying that Aeschylus' lyrics are a 'minority group' outside the mainstream of poetry. Σ^{VE} entertains the highly implausible idea that στάσις μελῶν means στάσιμον μέλος, i.e. a choral song which is not a parodos and not a lyric dialogue with a character (*Arist. Po.* 1452^b17–24; cf. Dale (1969) 34–40).

1282 κιθαρωδικῶν νόμοι: νόμοι were a genre of lyric poetry (cf. *Pl. Lg.* 700 b, listing the traditional εἶδη of song) sung to the accompaniment of the lyre (κιθαρωδικοὶ νόμοι) or aulos (αὐλωδικοὶ νόμοι); within the genre, several species were named, differentiated by musical form. All were astrophic (*Arist. Probl.* 918^b13). The relevant data on the history of νόμοι are collected and discussed by H. Greiser, *Nomos* (Heidelberg, 1937).

1283 πέραιναι: cf. 1170 n.

1284/5-95 The metrical analysis is:

(1) 1284/5 (ὄπως . . .) υ-υ-υ- -υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ- | *ia 4da*
 (2) 1286 (φλατ- . . .) -υ-υ-υ-υ- | *lek*

On the text, cf. n. ad loc.

(3) 1287 (Σφίγ- . . .) -υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ- | *5da*
 (4) 1288 = (2)
 (5) 1289 (σύν . . .) -υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ- | *5da*
 (6) 1290 = (2)
 (7) 1291/2 (κν- . . .) υ-υ-υ- -υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ- | *ia 4da*
 (8) 1293 = (2)
 (9) 1294 (τό . . .) υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ-υ- |||

The parallels for this verse available to us are from Euripides, not from Aeschylus: *IT* 645 | υ υ υ υ υ - - - ||| *3ia* (cf. *MA* iii. 86) and *Pho.* 1350 | υ υ υ υ υ - - - || υ υ - υ - υ - υ - υ - υ - ||| (assuming . . . κωκυτόν, || ἐπί . . .). Prato 319 scans *Αἴαντι* as υ-υ-υ.

(10) 1295 = (2)

Cf. Prato 318 f., Zimmermann ii. 30 f., iii. 92, Rau 126.

1284/5 = A. *Ag.* 108/9. 1289 continues the quotation, but the main verb of the original, *πέμπει*, appears in the quotation from *Sphinx* which separates the two parts of *Ag.* 108-12, so that the (lit.) 'two-throned power over the Achaeans, the manhood of Greece' sends the Sphinx, and the 'darting bird' of 1289 becomes a phrase in apposition to the 'two-throned power'.

1286 A vocal imitation of a musical phrase monotonously repeated on the lyre (cf. *Pl.* 290, 296 *θρεττανελο*), and an interesting indication of the relation between voice and instrument in singing with a lyre. There is little profit in discussing the different accentuations in the MSS. They all begin with *τοφλατ-*, but Kock was probably right in deleting the initial *το* as a false inference from *τὸ φλαττοθρατ* in 1296; cf. 649 n. (Fritzsche also omitted the initial *το*, but under a misapprehension about the text of R.)

1287 = A. fr. 236 (from the satyr-play *Sphinx*, the final play of the Oedipus tetralogy which included *Seven against Thebes*). 'The hound that presided over evil days'; the noun *δυσημερία* is attested (S. fr. 591. 4 *μοῖρα δυσαμερίας*) but the adjective **δυσημέριος* is not, hence Dindorf's accentuation *δυσαμεριᾶν* (-*ριᾶν* MSS). For *κύνα* cf. S. *OT* 391 *ραψωδός . . . κύων*, of the Sphinx.

1289 = A. *Ag.* 111 f.; in the MSS of Aeschylus *καὶ χερὶ* has been displaced by a gloss (*δίκας*) on *πράκτορι*.

1291/2 Σ^{RVE} ascribes this (A. fr. 282) to *Agamemnon*, wrongly; Bergk very plausibly emended *ἐξ Ἀγαμέμνονος* to *ἐκ Μέμνονος*. 'The bold hounds who range the air' will be vultures or eagles, and 'having given (?him) to . . . to light upon' must refer to a corpse left to the dogs and birds (cf. *Il.* i. 4 f.).

1294 = A. fr. 84. On the analogy of ἀκλινής and ἐπικλινής, (lit.) ‘that which is/ was inclining together with Ajax in view’ may refer either to people united in hostility to him or to soldiers rallying to where he was on the battlefield. Apollonios (ap. Σ^{VE}) assigned the verse to *Thracian Women*, which concerned the death of Ajax. According to Timachidas (Σ^{VE}) 1294 was absent from some texts of *Frogs*; it may have been deleted by an editor who observed that it outstrips the rest of the parody in incoherence, as well as introducing heterogeneous rhythms, but a jump from one φλαττο- to the next is a more probable explanation.

1296 f. The question is answered by Aeschylus, and is presumably addressed to him; that is to say, Dionysos is not criticizing Euripides for ‘collecting’ (συνέλεξας) and combining (1262 ξυντεμῶ) such verses, but accepting the criticism as valid and therefore asking Aeschylus ‘Where did you get . . . from?’ ἐκ Μαραθῶνος . . . ἰμονιοστρόφου μέλι: ἰμονιά is a rope for hauling (ἰμᾶν) water up from a well, and ἰμονιοστρόφος is presumably someone who hauls it up by turning a winder, or over a pulley. In undeveloped countries today people sing while doing that kind of work, sometimes repeating the same refrain hundreds of times; cf. *Nu.* 1358 ‘sing like a woman grinding barley’. Kallim. fr. 260. 66 speaks of a water-carrier as singing a ‘rope-song’ (ἰμαῖον). ‘From Marathon’ is not necessarily connected with ropes or drawing water; Σ^{RVE} says that φλέως (cf. 244 n.) grows abundantly at Marathon and, like φλαττο-, begins with φλ. If the distant deme Marathon was regarded at Athens as being a rustic backwater, ‘from Marathon, or from where, did you get (these) rope-hauler’s songs?’ is entirely intelligible.

1298 ἀλλ’ οὖν: dismissal rather than denial: ‘Never mind that, . . .’. Cf. *Nu.* 984–6 ἀρχαῖά γε . . . || ἀλλ’ οὖν . . . ἐκείνα / ἐξ ὧν ἄνδρας . . . ἡμῆ παιδευσις ἔθρεψεν. / σὺ δὲ κτλ.; *GP* 422. εἰς τὸ καλὸν ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦ: i.e. ‘where it came from was good, and what it was used for was good’, probably a putting-down retort (colloquial: ‘is it a proverb?’ (Dn)) to the question, ‘Where on earth did you get . . .?’, implying, ‘Mind your own business!’ Cf. our ‘for a good reason’, ‘in a good cause’, and Perikles’ famous retort εἰς τὸ δέον ἀπώλεσα, ‘I spent it on a necessary purpose’ (*Nu.* 859, *Plu. Per.* 23. 1). Fraenkel 211 f. takes τοῦ καλοῦ to refer to the citharoedic nomos of 1283.

1299 ἵνα . . . 1300 δρέπων: Aeschylus does not boast of adherence to immemorial tradition, but of his own originality; cf. 910, 1005 nn. The image of a poet gathering nectar from flowers occurs with specific reference to Phrynichos in *Av.* 749–51 ὡσπερὶ μέλιττα Φρύνιχος ἀμβροσιων μελέων ἀπεβόσκετο καρπὸν αἰεὶ φέρων γλυκεῖαν ψῆδάν, and *Pl. Ion* 534 B applies it to poets in general. Cf. Taillardat 431–3, 436.

(iii) 1301–63. *Parody of Euripidean Lyrics*

(a) 1301–8. General Criticism

1301 ἀπό πάντων μὲν φέρει: this rare type of *μὲν* makes an implicit contrast with what has preceded. Cf. [A.] *PV* 901 *έμοι δ' ὅτε μὲν ὀμαλὸς ὀγάμος, ἄφοβος*, following the expression of a wish 'May I never catch the eye of Zeus!'; *GP* 377 f. Emendations such as *συμφέρει* for *μὲν φέρει* (Meineke; *συμφορεῖ* Herwerden (*Hermes* 24 (1889) 620)) are unnecessary, and Palmer's *μέλι* for *μὲν* pays an improbable compliment to Euripides. **πορνωδιῶν:** *πορνιδίων* MSS, 'whores', but all the other items in the list denote categories of poetry and song, and in any case in *Nu.* 997 the *-νι-* of *πορνίδιον* is short (diminutives in *-ίδιον* are derived from nouns in *-ιον*, e.g. *ἀργυρίδιον, ἱματίδιον*; cf. 582 n.). Hence Meineke's *πορνωδιῶν*, 'performances of song by whores'; the word may have been invented by Aristophanes for this context, and the same might be said of *χορωδία* in Pl. *Lg.* 764 E.

1302 σκολίων Μελήτου: in Epikrates fr. 4. 2 Meletos is named, with Sappho, as a composer of *έρωτικά*; some *σκόλια*, symposiastic songs, earn that label (*PMG* 900 f., 904 f.), and if *σκολίων* and *Μελήτου* belong together it is unlikely that we are meant to think of the tragic poet Meletos (or, if there were two of them (*TrGF* nos. 47 and 48), of either of those two; cf. MacDowell's edition of Andokides i, pp. 208–10, on the problems posed to us by bearers of that very common name). There is, however, a possibility that we should punctuate after *σκολίων*, thus introducing a deliberate ambiguity (maybe a near-pause but not quite a pause after *σκολίων*), and thus a swipe at the tragic poet (cf. Ar. fr. 117, 156. 9 f., Sannyrion fr. 2). **Καρικῶν . . . 1303:** *Καρικῶν* must qualify all three of the nouns that follow it (*pace GV* 226 n. 1), because there is nothing inherently disreputable in 'dirges' and *χορεῖαι* (cf. 247 n.). Plato Com. fr. 71. 12 f. speaks of a girl singing a 'Carian song' at a symposium, to the accompaniment of auloi, and Pl. *Lg.* 800 E of singers hired at funerals to accompany the body *Καρικῆ τινὶ μούσῃ* (cf. Poll. iv. 76). 'Carian' could be used with a derogatory connotation, because many slaves were Carian (e.g. *IG* i³ 427. 5 f., 8 f.), and the proverbial expression *ἐν Καρὶ κινδυνεύειν* meant 'try it on the dog'.

1304 ἐνεγκάτω τις τὸ λύριον: 'Someone bring me . . .!'; cf. 871 n. The article with *λύριον* might mean 'my', or it could mean the lyre which Euripides used, or pretended to use, in 1284–95. Although the aulos was the normal accompaniment in tragedy and comedy alike, this passage is evidence that Euripides' use of the lyre was not simply to show the derivation of Aeschylean lyrics from the citharoedic nomes. Cf. *DFA* 165–7, Kranz 38, and H. Huchzermeyer, *Aulos und Kithara in der griechischen Musik* (Emsdetten, 1931) 54–6. It should be observed that if the papyrus at

1263 is right 1276 (= A. *Ag.* 104) is sung to the aulos, but 1285 and 1289 (= 109 and 111 f. in the same stasimon) to the kithara. **καίτοι:** self-correction when struck by a new thought, as in S. *OC* 1131 f. *φιλήσω σ', εἰ θέμις, τὸ δὸν κἀρα.* / *καίτοι τί φωνῶ κτλ.*; *GP* 557.

1305 ἐπὶ τοῦτον: the text is probably sound; cf. Xen. *An.* vii. 8. 21 ἀκούσας ὅτι . . . ἐπ' αὐτὸν τεθυμένος εἶη ὁ Ξενοφῶν ('. . . had sacrificed with a view to attacking him'). Alternatives are ἐπὶ τούτων (Ct1), 'in these circumstances', ἐπὶ τούτου (Tucker), 'in dealing with *him*', ἐπὶ τούτῳ (Θξ^c), 'in attacking *him*'. One or other of these may underlie R *τουτοῦτον*. **ὄστράκοις:** 'potsherds'. In E. *Hyps.* (c.) 194–201 (Cockle) Hypsipyle amuses the infant Opheltēs by singing to him and snapping *κρόταλα*, 'castanets' (Σ^{VE} makes a reference to this). A black-figure amphora in Copenhagen (3241) shows Muses using castanets while they accompany Apollo (playing his lyre) and Hermes to the throne of Zeus; cf. Wegner 62 f. and pl. 28 A. It may be that in classical Athens castanets, let alone potsherds and shells, were down-market music, and certainly Hypsipyle's use of them was an innovation inviting satire.

1306 δεῦρο: a silent actor with a female mask and costume enters with a pair of potsherds in each hand. Whether we think of her as an old hag, an extremely ugly younger woman in dowdy and patched clothing, or a garishly made-up prostitute, depends on our interpretation of 1309; the only thing we can be sure of is that she is neither dignified nor attractive.

1307 πρὸς: cf. E. *Alc.* 346 f. *πρὸς Λίβυν λακεῖν / αὐλόν*, 'to the accompaniment of . . .'. **ἐπιτήδεια . . . ᾄδειν:** 'suitable for singing', with the active infinitive (cf. *Pax* 1254 *ἔστιν γὰρ ἐπιτήδεια συρμαίαν μετρεῖν* of a helmet) is commoner than the passive construction, 'suitable to be sung'.

1308 Σ^{RVE} interprets this as a question, 'Didn't she *λεσβιάζειν*? Didn't she?', but repeated οὐ, found in vehement denials, e.g. *Nu.* 1470 οὐκ ἔστ', οὐκ, 'He *doesn't* exist, he *doesn't*!' (cf. repeated μή in vehement commands or pleas), is not attested in questions. We should therefore treat the line as a statement; conceivably sarcastic, but that too lacks a parallel. It should not be assumed that 'in the past (*ποτε*) . . . did not . . .' is equivalent to 'never did'. The quasi-legendary fathers of lyric, Arion and Terpander, were from Lesbos, and 'the Lesbian singer' was recognized as supreme in his art (Sa. fr. 106, Kratinos fr. 263). Verbs in *-ιάζειν* commonly refer to dress, dialect, behaviour, or style, and in Ar. fr. 930 *σιφνιάζειν* and *χιάζειν* denote musical styles. It seems that Dionysos is rejecting as an impossibility any connection between Euripides' Muse and great lyric poetry in the old days. There is, however, a second layer in the joke. *V.* 1346 f. . . . *μέλλουσαν ἦδη λεσβιεῖν τοὺς ξυμπότας.* / *ὦν εἶνεκ' ἀπόδος τῷ πέει τῷδι χάριν* (said to an *αὐλητρίς*) shows that *λεσβιάζειν* is a sexual act performed by a woman upon a man; possibly handling his penis, more probably taking it in her mouth, for Theopompos Com. fr. 36 treats that as Lesbian and in Pherekr. fr. 159

someone thinks of 'Lesbian women' as *λαϊκάστριαι* (on *λαϊκάζειν* see H. D. Jocelyn, *PCPhS* 206 (1980) 12–66). *-ιάζειν* and *-ίζειν* have a certain overlap; cf. Xen. *An.* iii. 1. 26 *βοιωτιάζειν τῇ φωνῇ* ~ *HG* v. 4. 34 *τῶν μὲν Ἀθηναίων οἱ βοιωτιάζοντες* (political) ~ *ibid.* i. 6. 13 *τῶν τὰ πράγματα ἐχόντων ἀπτικιζόντων* ~ Pl. *Com.* fr. 183. 2 *οὐ γὰρ ἠπτίκιζε* (illustrated by linguistic solecisms). Cf. Uckermann 35. It may be that the mere word *ἐλεσβίαζειν* was enough to raise a laugh; if there is a point in the second-layer joke, 'In days gone by' (when she was young?) 'she wasn't a naughty girl, oh no!' So ugly that any man would rebuff her? (Yet old and ugly women are popularly believed to show great skill in sexual modes which fall short of full body contact; and cf. D. M. Halperin, *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality* (New York/London, 1990) 89.) Given the occurrence of *ποτε* in epitaphs and dedications (H. T. Wade-Gery, *JHS* 53 (1933) 72–7; cf. *A. Ag.* 577), particularly in the form *ὄς/οἶ ποτε* (and cf. Plato, *A.P.* vii. 256 *οἶδε ποτ'*) it seems likely that the Muse of Euripides is represented as an ugly old woman, as good as dead. It should be added that 'Lesbian' in Greek has no special connotation of female homosexuality, though the inclusion of that in the well-known sexual versatility and inventiveness of the women of Lesbos was probably taken for granted (cf. Dover (1978) 182–4).

(b) 1309–28. Euripidean Choral Lyric

The parody itself extends to 1322; the dialogue from there to 1328, arising out of the metrical abnormality in 1322, continues in lyric form.

The vocative *ἀλκυόνες* followed by a relative clause but no main clause exemplifies a long-established poetic form (e.g. Theognis 15 f.) favoured by Euripides, e.g. *El.* 432 *κλειναὶ νᾶες, αἶ ποτ' ἔβατε κτλ.*, *IT* 1106 *ὦ πολλαὶ δακρῦων λιβάδες, αἶ . . . ἔπεσον κτλ.*, *Tro.* 122 *πρῶραι ναῶν . . . αἶ . . . ἐξηρητήσασθε κτλ.* Cf. E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos* (Stuttgart, 1923) 168–76, Kranz 288 f., Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 1470. The addition of a *ἵνα*-clause ('where . . .') in evocation of a place is also characteristically Euripidean, e.g. *Ion* 492 *ὦ Πανὸς θακήματα . . .*, 495 *ἵνα . . . στείβουσι κτλ.*, 502 *τοῖσι σοῖς ἐν ἀντροῖς . . .* 504 *ἵνα . . . ἐξόρισεν κτλ.* The parody is given a grotesque turn by the introduction of spiders in 1313 and the attachment of 'where the dolphin . . .' to the corners of the ceiling where spiders spin their webs. 1319 can be forced into some kind of sense with 1317 f., but the apposition of 1320 f. is hardly more coherent than the sequence of verses in Euripides' parody of Aeschylus, and 1322 comes as an extravagant *non sequitur*, probably inspired by Orestes' startling embrace of Iphigeneia in *IT* 796 f. (note *περιβαλὼν βραχίονι*), Helen's embrace of Menelaos in *Hel.* 627–35 (note 628 f. *περὶ τ' ἐπέτασα χέρα*, 634 *περὶ δὲ γυῖα χέρας ἔβαλον*) and (according to *Σ*^{Ald.} 1322) a passage (E. fr. 756) of *Hypsipyle*.

The vocabulary is densely poetic except for 1310 *στωμύλλετε*. Clash of

styles always has comic effect (cf. 1342, 1359); *Lys.* 715 affords a striking example.

1317 f. are straight quotation of E. *El.* 435–7, where *εἰλισσόμενος* follows directly. The rare word *δροσιζόμεναι* (1312) seems to occur in E. *Hyps.* fr. 7. 5]οσιζομεν[. 1315 f. recall *Hyps.* 1. ii. 9 f. *κερκίδος ἰσοτόνου* and E. fr. 523 (*Meleagros*, according to Σ^v) *κερκίδος ἀοιδού*; 1320 f. recalls E. fr. 765 (*Hyps.*) *οἰνάθα . . . βότρυν*, fr. 146. 3 (*Andromeda*) *ἀμπέλων γάνος*, *Pho.* 229–31 *οἶνα . . . τὸν πολύκαρπον οἰνάνας ἰεῖσα βότρυν*, and *Ba.* 772 *τὴν παυσίλυπον ἀμπέλον*. 1322, attributed by Musurus (cf. *SA* IV. iii. 1073 f.) to *Hyps.*, recalls, as Tzetzes ad loc. observes, *Pho.* 307 *ἀμφίβαλλε μαστὸν ὠλένας ματέρος*, to which we can add *Tro.* 762 f. *ἀμφὶ δ' ὠλένας ἔλισσ' ἐμοῖς νώτοισι*. *ὠλένη* is very common in Euripides, but rare in the rest of tragedy. Σ^{VE} attributes 1309 to *LA*, but it is not in the *LA* we have, and the source of the scholion may have referred to the invocation of the halcyon in *IT* 1089 f. The prominence of *Hypsipyle* in the parody is not unexpected in view of 1305; cf. also 1327 n. On the whole passage see Rau 127–30.

Metrical analysis (Pucci 389–92, Prato 320–3, Zimmermann ii. 31–5, iii. 92 f.):

(1) 1309 f. (ἀλ- . . .) — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — *cr gl zia*
 — ◡ — — ◡ — ◡ ||

If *ἄε-* were possible, the analysis would be *cr lek zia*, but everywhere else we can find *ἀε* in this word: A. *Su.* 553, E. *Ion* 118, *Or.* 1299, fr. 594. 1, Ar. *Nu.* 275 (the resposion in *Ion* 1083–99 is obscured by corruption). For the structure of the verse cf. E. *LA* 784 | *cr* | *gl* | *ph* ||, *Hel.* 515 || *ia* *2cr* | *hipp* | *2gl* | (Itsumi (1984) 79 f.).

(2) 1311 (τεγ- . . .) — — — ◡ — ◡ — | *gl*
 (3) 1312 (ρά- . . .) ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — || *chodim*

Cf. E. *Ba.* 874 ~ 894; Itsumi (1982) 73.

(4) 1313 (αῖ . . .) — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — — |

This is the third verse of the stanza used by Sappho 94 || ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ||; in tragedy, E. *LA* 792 | ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — | and S. *Ant.* 966 ~ 979 || ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — | ◡ ◡ — | ◡ ◡ — | ◡ — || are closest. Cf. West 118.

(5) 1314 (εἰ . . .) () — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — ||

The MSS vary between four and six *εἰ* (except A^{ac} Θ^{ac}, which have only one). This may represent either the singing of one long syllable to two or more notes (in which case the verse is at least *tel ba*) or the prolongation of a syllable to the metrical equivalent of two or more (at least, then, *gl ba* = 'phalaecean'); the same problem is posed by 1349. Prolongation is suggested by the red-figure fragment on which *κvvuv* has been incised against the head of an owl (Beazley, *AJA* 31 (1927) 348), two or more notes (with or without prolongation)

by the writing of $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ as $\omega\omega\varsigma$, with two musical notes above it, in the early Hellenistic papyrus *PVindob.* G 2315. 6 (E. *Or.* 338–43); cf. J. B. Mountford in J. U. Powell and E. A. Barber (eds.), *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature*, 2nd series (Oxford, 1929) 154–164, and E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (Oxford, 1971), no. 35. On the red-figure vase Munich 2416, by the Brygos Painter (*ARV* 385 no. 228), $\circ\circ\circ\circ\circ$ emerges from the mouth of Alkaios as he plays a barbiton; this is inconclusive, but note that the vase is much earlier than Euripides.

- (6) 1315 ($\acute{\iota}\sigma\text{-}$. . .) $\text{---}\cup\omega\text{---}\cup\cap\parallel$ *lek*
 (7) 1316 ($\kappa\epsilon\rho\text{-}$. . .) $\text{---}\omega\cup\text{---}\cup\cup\text{---}$ | *ia ch*

Cf. E. *Hel.* 521, *Or.* 836; Itsumi (1982) 73.

- (8) 1317 f. ($\acute{\iota}\nu\text{'}$. . .) $\cup\cup\cup\text{---}\cup\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}$ *2gl*
 $\text{---}\text{---}\cup\cup\text{---}\cup\text{---}$ |
 (9) 1319 ($\mu\alpha\nu\text{-}$. . .) $\text{---}\cup\cup\text{---}\cup\cup\text{---}$ | *chodim*

Cf. E. *Hel.* 1463, *Ba.* 879, and often in *IA*; Itsumi, loc. cit.

- (10) 1320 ($\circ\acute{\iota}\text{-}$. . .) $\text{---}\text{---}\cup\cup\text{---}\cup\cup\text{---}$ | *gl*
 (11) 1321 ($\beta\circ\text{-}$. . .) $\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup\text{---}\cup\cup\text{---}$ | *chodim*
 (12) 1322 ($\pi\epsilon\text{-}$. . .) $\cup\cup\text{---}\cup\cup\text{---}\cup\cup\text{---}$ |

Cf. Bakchylides 18. 1 $\parallel\cup\cup\text{---}\cup\cup\text{---}\cup\cup\text{---}$ and 5 (~ 20, 35, 50) $\text{=}gl\ gl\ lek$; not in tragedy (Itsumi (1984) 74 f.).

- (13) 1323 ($\delta\text{-}$. . .) $\cup\text{---}\cup\cup\text{---}\cup\cup\text{---}$ |

Cf. the first part of S. *Aj.* 231 f. ~ 255 f., where the second part is *ia ba*, and E. *El.* 439 ~ 449 (basis \cup), *Ba.* 112 ~ 127, 115 ~ 130, *IA* 1093 (basis $\cup\cup\cup$ in those three); Itsumi (1984) 76 f.

- (14) 1324 ($\pi\acute{\iota}\text{-}$. . .) $\cup\text{---}\cup\cup\text{---}\cup\cup\text{---}$ | *gl*
 (15) 1325 ($\tau\circ\acute{\iota}\text{-}$. . .) $\text{---}\text{---}\text{---}\cup\cup\text{---}$ | *chodim*
 (16) 1326 ($\tau\circ\lambda\text{-}$. . .) $\text{---}\text{---}\cup\cup\text{---}\cup\cup\text{---}$ | *gl*
 (17) 1327 ($\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\text{-}$. . .) $\cup\cup\cup\text{---}\cup\cup\text{---}\cup\cup\text{---}$ | *gl*
 (18) 1328 (*Kv*- . . .) $\text{---}\text{---}\cup\cup\text{---}\parallel$ *ph*

1309 ἀλκυόνες: birds of many species fly fast and low over the waves offshore, repeating shrill cries, but none of them combines the distinctive features of the halcyon as described by Arist. *HA* 593^b ff., 616^a 141 ff. Whatever species was originally denoted by the name *ἀλκυών* (*Ceryle rudis*? Cf. D. W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1936) 47), the literary halcyon acquired a life of its own—poets drew upon poets, not on bird-watchers—and Pliny's statement (*NH* x [32] 90) *halcyonem videre rarissimum est* is not surprising.

1311 τέγγουσαι . . . 1312 δροσιζόμενα: lit., 'wetting with moist drops the skin of their wings, besprinkling'. **νοτίοις:** like many adjectives in *-ιος*

- (KB i. 536 f.), *νότιος* sometimes has a feminine declension (E. *Hp.* 150 *δίνας ἐν νοτίαις*), sometimes not ([A.] *PV* 400 *νοτίαις . . . παγαίς*). Here *νοτίαις* is peculiar to R; E P2o Θ^ε have *νοτίαις*, Np1 Vs1 *νοτεραίς* (possible, since *νοτερός* occurs five times in Euripides), and V A K M U Vb3 Θ *νοτεροίς* (unlikely, since adjectives in *-πός* normally do have a feminine declension).
- 1315 ἰσότηνα . . . 1316 μελέτας:** lit., ‘windings-of-thread stretching-across-the-loom, practisings of singer shuttle’. *ισότηνα* (R E), ‘involving labour at the loom’, would make sense (cf. *δορίπνοσ* in e.g. E. *El.* 479 *ἀνακτα δορίπόνων . . . ἀνδρῶν*), but E. *Hyps.* fr. 1. ii. 10 has *ισοτοῖνον*. *πήνη* is the spool of thread incorporated in the shuttle (*κερκίς*) which is passed through the threads of the warp (H. Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern*, 2nd edn. (Leipzig and Berlin, 1912) i. 151–3). As the shuttle makes contact with the warp in passing from one side of it to the other, it may make what a hand-weaver describes to me as ‘a very *satisfying* sound’, but she adds, ‘you could hardly call it *singing*’. It rises somewhat in pitch as the work progresses, just as the sound emitted by the plucking of a taut string rises when its length is reduced, and this analogy to an instrument may be the explanation of the *κερκίς ἀοιδός* of Greek poets: S. fr. 890 (but note that the point of fr. 595 is quite different), Antipatros of Sidon (*HE*) 43. 1 (*φιλάοιδος*), 5. 5 (comparison to nightingales), Philip (*GPh*) 22. 1 (a less hyperbolic comparison with swallows). G. M. Crowfoot, *ABSA* 37 (1936/7) 44 f., suggests that a long rod used to beat the weft into position (illustrated (pl. 6) by a black-figure vase, New York, Metropolitan Museum 31.11.4 (*ABV* no. 12)), would produce a sound from the threads, acting like a plectrum, and that rod might be called *κερκίς*—though its function is normally performed by what the Greeks call *σπάθη*.
- 1317 φίλαυλος:** dolphins often seem to accompany ships. On a trireme an *αὐλητής* (e.g. *IG* ii² 1951. 100 f., cf. Dem. xviii. 129) played to keep the rowers in time, and it was believed (perhaps rightly) that dolphins found the sound of the music attractive. **ἔπαλλε:** *πάλλειν*, ‘shake’, is used of moving the limbs quickly (cf. 1357a); in E. *El.* 435, the original of this passage, it is intransitive denoting the swimming and leaping of dolphins, and so too *ibid.* 477, of horses in battle, and *Lys.* 1309, of an energetic dancer. Here it has two internal objects, *μαντεία καὶ σταδίους*.
- 1318 κυανεμβόλοις:** the ram fixed to the prow of a trireme was its *ἔμβολον*. *κυανόπρωρος*, ‘with dark prow’, is a Homeric epithet of ships, and Euripides adapted the idea to the classical trireme. For the locative dative in the sense ‘near’, ‘at’, cf. S. *OC* 411 *σοῖς ὅταν σῶσιν τάφοις*.
- 1319 μαντεία:** since the dolphin was associated with Apollo (one of whose cult-titles was *Δελφίνιος*), it would be surprising if the behaviour of dolphins when a ship put to sea was not of interest to seers. **σταδίους:** *στάδιοι* and *στάδια* both serve as plurals of *στάδιον*.

1320 οἰνάνθας . . . 1321 παυσιπόνου: lit., ‘delight of wine-flowering of vine, curling of trouble-ending grape-cluster’. The accumulation of words to do with the vine is similar to the accumulation of words to do with wetting in 1311 f. In E. *Pho.* 231 οἰνάνθη seems to mean simply ‘grapes’; in *Av.* 588 it is something which grasshoppers eat, and the scholion defines it as ‘the first growth’ (ἐκφυσις) of the grape-bunch; possibly it is the stage at which the flower has fallen and the fruit has begun to set (Pi. *N.* 5. 6 f. is obscure and disputed). If 1320 f. are in apposition to *μαντεία καὶ σταδίους*, we have deliberately incoherent nonsense; if we mark pause at the end of 1319 and join 1320 f. with the words which follow, we have a *non sequitur* in the subject-matter of the song, but that is not the same as nonsense. The ‘child’ of 1322 can be told to cast her arms round the foliage and fruit of a vine, though the point of doing so is unclear. As it happens, one can περιβάλλειν one’s arms to someone or something (dative), e.g. E. *Pho.* 1459 περιβαλοῦσ’ ἀμφοῖν χέρας, or περιβάλλειν someone or something with one’s arms (dative), e.g. E. *Or.* 371 f. Ὀρέστην . . . χερσὶ περιβαλεῖν. The same is true of ἀμφιβάλλειν except for one or two Homeric passages. This consideration suggests that we should join οἰνάνθας . . . παυσίπονον with the preceding words, as deliberate nonsense, and treat 1322 as a comically sudden, loud cry of anguish.

1323 ὄρῳς . . . 1324 ὄρῳ: presumably Aeschylus is dancing while singing, and I suggested that having executed a wildly exaggerated movement, perhaps deliberately clumsy, to accompany περιβαλλ’ he draws attention to his own foot. Taken by itself, 1323 could be addressed either to Euripides or to Dionysos; what then is the joke in 1324? ὄρῳ in 1323 creates an abnormality in a run of glyconics, but if the abnormality is created by Dionysos it is not a criticism of Euripides. What makes the best sense is to follow E V51^{ac} in giving the first ὄρῳ to Euripides and the second to Dionysos. Euripides answers Aeschylus’ first question nonchalantly, implying, ‘So what?’, but in doing so he has been tricked into a new metrical abnormality, and Aeschylus addresses his second question triumphantly to Dionysos, ‘You see *that?*’ The switch from one addressee to another without any clarifying second-person pronoun may be compared with the switch from third to second person in 921 f., but in any case the direction in which the actor turns is the clarification that matters. On this interpretation, ‘foot’ in 1323 refers to a physical movement accompanying a certain sequence of syllables, whereas in 1324 it refers to a sequence, like ‘foot’ in our own metrical usage. In Pl. *R.* 400 A τὸν πόδα τῷ τοιοῦτου λόγῳ ἀναγκάζειν ἐπεσθαι καὶ τὸ μέλος, ἀλλὰ μὴ λόγον ποδί τε καὶ μέλει the words πούς and ῥυθμός seem to have identical reference, as we might say of gestures ‘make the hand suit the words’, whereas in 400 C οἶμαι τὰς ἀγωγὰς τοῦ ποδὸς αὐτὸν οὐχ ἥττον ψέγειν τε καὶ ἐπαιεῖν ἢ τοὺς ῥυθμοὺς αὐτοῦς it seems that πούς is an ingredient of ῥυθμός (cf. our ‘quickstep’, which is itself made up

of steps). In 400A *βάσις* is a portion of a sequence, as it is in Arist. *Met.* 1087^b36. *δράν*, like 'see', can be used of other modes of perception (e.g. 1234, *Th.* 496), especially when attention is drawn to something.

1325 *μέντοι*: emphasizing the demonstrative, as in 971 (*GP* 400).

1327 *ἀνά* . . . 1328 *Κυρήνης*: Kyrene is no doubt the woman of whom the old man in *Th.* 98 (*Kū* there, though always *Kū* in Pindar) is reminded by Agathon's effeminate appearance. For her name, cf. Themistokles' daughter Sybaris (Plu. *Them.* 32. 2), Krete (*IG* ii² 8516), Messene (*ibid.* 8724), Skione (Su σ 3266); Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen* (Halle, 1917) 551-6. This type of nomenclature was facilitated by personification of places and belief in eponymous divine beings (e.g. Kyrene in Pi. *P.* 9). Kyrene's 'twelve-trickery' (for the syntax cf. Thuc. v. 68. 2 *διὰ τῆς πολιτείας τὸ κρυπτόν*) will be her sexual versatility, what Dem. xviii. 130 calls *πάντα ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν*. *ἀνά* is not elsewhere a synonym of *κατά* in the sense 'in the manner of . . .'. There is obvious affinity between Thucydides' *κατὰ κράτος* (e.g. i. 64. 3) 'with maximum force' and Xenophon's *ἀνὰ κράτος* (e.g. *Cyr.* i. 4. 23) 'at maximum speed', but Aristophanes' use of *ἀνά* where *κατά* would have scanned just as well should have some point. Perhaps we should compare Plato's *ἀνὰ λόγον* (*Phd.* 116D), *ἀνάλογος*, *ἀναλογία*. Or perhaps the *δωδεκαμήχανον* of Kyrene is not an abstraction, but her vagina (but though English speaks of the penetrator as going 'up' his sex-object, Greek prefers *κατά*, as we see from the contrast between the abusive *καταπύγων* and English 'Up yours!' and the like). Or again, the use of *ἀνά* with a numeral expression to mean 'n at a time' may suggest that Euripides plays musical tricks 'by the dozen' (cf. 553 f. n.); *δώδεκα* is used in comic exaggerations of number, e.g. 924, Anaxandrides fr. 42. 28 *βολβῶν τε σιρὸν δωδεκάπηχυν* and Plato Com. fr. 143. 1 *Ξενοκλῆς ὁ δωδεκαμήχανος* (the Xenokles of *Pax* 792), and Paxamos, a Hellenistic writer, composed a book on copulatory technique called *δωδεκάτεχνον* (Su π 253). However, according to Σ^{VE} (cf. Su δ 1442) *ἀνὰ τὸ δωδεκαμήχανον ἄστρον* was in E. *Hyps.* (fr. 755). What did it mean? The twelve signs of the Zodiac were known to some Greeks by Aristophanes' time (W. Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* (English trans., Cambridge, Mass., 1972) 333 f.), but if that is the reference *-μήχανον* is baffling, and the sun is not called an *ἄστρον* (that is certainly not the intention in Pi. *O.* i. 5-7 *ἀλίου . . . ἄλλο θαλπνότερον . . . ἄστρον*). Σ₂^θ has *ἄντρον* instead; this could be a strikingly Freudian slip, but it may also be right, denoting the lair of a predatory creature with twelve exits, or a cave which was literally *δωδεκάκρονος* (metaphorical in Kratinos fr. 198, of a human mouth); after all, the child whom Hypsipyle looked after was seized by a snake while she was drawing water (Hyginus 74).

(c) 1329–1363. Euripidean Monody

Long astrophic monodies uttered by characters in grief or fear are a distinctive feature of Euripidean tragedy: *Hec.* 1024–84, *Hel.* 229–51, *Or.* 982–1012, *Pho.* 1485–1535, *Tro.* 308–41 are good examples (W. Barner, in W. Jens (ed.), *Die Bauformen der griechischen Tragödie* (Munich, 1971) 279 f., lists all the monodies in tragedy), but the longest and most remarkable is the monody of the terrified Phrygian slave in *Or.* 1369–1502 (with a few brief interpellations by the chorus). Aeschylus now exploits to the full Euripides' claim (959) to have put *οικεία πράγματα* on stage, for the singer has lost her cockerel and suspects that her neighbour has stolen it. She is of low social status, for she speaks of leaving home before dawn to sell woven flax. Her domestic mishap is treated in tragic language appropriate to the misfortunes of epic heroines (cf. p. 25). The opening verses seem to be modelled on *Hec.* 68–72 (so Asklepiades *ap.* Σ^{VE}), where Hecuba, who has had a sinister dream, invokes Night and Earth, 'mother of black-winged dreams'; but 1338–40 invite a coarse interpretation (v. n.). There are colloquial touches in 1342 and 1359 (v. nn.), and a common domestic slave's name in 1345.

Lines 1347–9 are a reminiscence of E. *Or.* 1431–3, where Helen is spinning (λίον ἤλακάτα δακτύλοις ἐλίσσεν νῆμα δ' ἴετο πέδω) when Orestes and Pylades burst in. 1338 is referred by Apollonios *ap.* Σ^{VE} to 'Eumenides' (*Τημενιδῶν* Dobree; E. fr. 741), and 1334 by Asklepiades *ap.* Σ^{VE} to the *Ξάντριοι* of Aeschylus (A. fr. 168. 16); that is not trouble-free, because in *POxy* 2164 (of *Ξάντριοι*) the line has not *ὄρεσσίγονοι* but *ναμαρτεῖς*, and Asklepiades refers to a particular MS. But, as Σ reasonably remarks, it is odd that Aristophanes should make Aeschylus parody Aeschylus in this context. The opening words of 1356 are ascribed by Σ^{RVE} to Euripides' *Κρήτες*, and they may be from the monody of Ikaros to which Σ^{VE} refers. R. Cantarella, *Euripide. I Cretesi* (Milan, 1963) 31, 803, following Fritzsche ad loc. and I. A. Hartung, *Euripides Restitutus* (Hamburg, 1843–4) i. 110, argues that virtually the whole of 1356a–63 (ἀλλ' . . . παράφηνον) is taken from *Κρήτες*, but a summons to 'surround the house' is hard to accommodate to the predicament of Ikaros seeking to escape from the Labyrinth (cf. Apollodoros, *Ephit.* i. 12).

In the second half of the monody there is a concentrated parody of the doubling of words (1352a ἀνέπτατ', 1353 ἄχεα, 1354 δάκρυα, 1355 ἔβαλον) which we find in tragic lyric of the late fifth century; by no means eschewed by Sophocles (e.g. *Phil.* 1169 πάλιν, 1179 φίλα, 1187 δαίμων, 1209 φονῆ, *OC* 124 πλανάτας, 1453 ὄρῃ)—or indeed by Aeschylus (Dn)—but obtrusive in the Phrygian's monody in *Orestes* because of its concentration (1428 Ἐλένας, 1444 ἄγει, 1454 ὄβριμα, 1456 ἔδρακον, 1468 ἔφερει, 1479 οἶος, 1481 εἶδον). If Aristophanes could have known of *IA* 1289 f. Ἰδαῖος Ἰδαῖος ἐλέγερ' ἐλέγερ', he would no doubt have parodied that; cf. Breitenbach 214–21, and on the parody as a whole Rau 131–6.

If the passage were genuine Euripides, we would know what demanded emendation in order to make it metrically credible in the light of his later plays. The fact that it is parody makes its metrical analysis very much harder, for although Aristophanes can be expected to concentrate and exaggerate distinctive features of Euripides' metrical innovations, we do not really know how he classified them, and for that reason we cannot know which particular phenomena he regarded as exemplifying particular principles of innovation; nor do we know what struck him most. It is possible to analyse and justify the text as it stands, except in 1358, where the problem is not primarily metrical. I have chosen to adopt Parker's deletion ((1958) 87 f.) of $\acute{\epsilon}\xi$ in 1333, in the belief that Aeschylus starts off in comparatively orthodox style and does not cut loose until 1335, but I have resisted Bergk's very tempting $\langle\tau\epsilon\rangle$ in 1356*b*. I have also given priority to phrasing over metrical homogeneity in 1356*a*–7*b*. My analysis differs from those of Leo, *AGWG* Ph.-hist. NF i no. 7 (Berlin, 1897) 75–82, Pucci 386–8, Prato 324–7, Zimmermann ii. 13–21, iii. 93 f.; the reader is warned that its subjective ingredient is abnormally high.

(1) 1331 ($\acute{\omega}$. . .) ---|υ-υυ-| ---| *chodim sp*

Cf. E. *El.* 173 f. ~ 196 f. | *chodim* (~ *gl*) *chodim* | *sp.* ||.

(2) 1332 ($\tau\acute{\iota}$ - . . .) υυ-|-- υ|υ--| *par*

(3) 1333 ($\pi\acute{\epsilon}\mu$ - . . .) --|[-]υυ-|υυ-|υυ- *zan*

(4) 1334 ($\psi\upsilon$ - . . .) --|-- υ|υ-∩|| *par*

If we regard $\delta\rho\phi\nu\alpha$ as beginning anapaestic rhythm, the ends of the anapaestic units fall, if we retain $\acute{\epsilon}\xi$, after $\mu\omicron\iota$, $-\nu\epsilon\iota-$, $\acute{\epsilon}\xi$, $\mathcal{A}\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha$, $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\alpha}\nu$, and then comes a paroemiac ending after $\mu\epsilon\lambda\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\varsigma$; if we delete $\acute{\epsilon}\xi$, they fall after $\mu\omicron\iota$, $-\nu\epsilon\iota-$, $\acute{\alpha}\phi\alpha$ - and so on, ending after $\mathcal{N}\upsilon\kappa\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$. The second alternative produces an anapaestic—one might say, quasi-anapaestic—sequence without parallel in Euripidean or any other poetry. But the former alternative, since there is no true word-end between $\acute{\epsilon}\xi$ and $\acute{\alpha}\phi\alpha\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ gives us a 'trimeter' also without parallel in tragedy (cf. *LM* 49) except possibly E. *Hp.* 1374 (cf. *LM* 57 n. 2 and Barrett ad loc.). Either way there is a clash between metre and sense, because the major sense-pauses come after $\delta\rho\phi\nu\alpha$ and $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$ and the minor after $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ and $\pi\rho\acute{o}\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\nu$. These considerations tell in favour of the analysis offered above. In (4) the paroemiac has a feature alien to tragedy (except S. *OC* 219, at change of singer), in that it ends with an open short syllable; that is found, however, in the Spartan marching-song *PMG* 856. 3, and the minor sense-pause and change of rhythm between 1334 and 1335*a* may help. Both (2) and (4) have another abnormal (but not unexampled) feature, . . . -υ|υ-- (cf. Parker (1958) 85, 87–9).

(5) 1335*a* ($\mu\epsilon$ - . . .) υ----- -υ----| *do hypoda*

(6) 1335*b* ($\delta\epsilon\iota$ - . . .) -----| *tetramakron*

For the 'dragged' hypodochmiac (—υ—) cf. E. *Med.* 158 ~ 183 | —υ— | —υ— | —υ— and *HF* 132 *zia* | —υ— | —υ— | —υ— | —υ—. The tetramakron, one form of the anapaestic metron, is justifiably treated as a 'dochmiac equivalent' by Dale, *LM* 54; it bridges anapaestic to dochmiac rhythm in S. *El.* 205, dochmiac to dochmiac in E. *Ba.* 598, and hypodochmiac to dochmiac in E. *LA* 1301. An alternative analysis of (5)–(6) is *do cr hexamakron*, but the hexamakron is more at home in anapaestic than in dochmiac rhythm (*LM* 60–2).

(7) 1336*ab* (μελανο-...) υ ω ω — ω
υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ — | *do chodim*

For this form of dochmiac cf. E. *HF* 888 (Conomis 28 casts suspicion on other putative examples in tragedy); for the *chodim*, Itsumi (1982) 73; and for the combination, cf. E. *Or.* || *do* | *gl* ||.

(8) 1337 (μεγά-...) υ υ — υ ω υ — υ || *anacr*

Cf. 1347.

(9) 1338–9*b* (ἀλλὰ ...) — υ υ — υ υ — υ υ — υ υ υ υ
— υ υ — υ υ — υ υ — υ υ
— υ υ — | *gda sp*

(10) 1340 (ὦς ...) — — — υ υ — υ υ — υ — ||

(11) 1341 (ἰὼ ...) υ — — υ υ — — | *gl*

If (10) and (11) were treated as one verse, with —σω shortened by correption, it could be considered analogous to S. *OC* 229–36 || 26*da* | *ia ba* ||. The analysis above is modelled on the ibycean (cf. 10) and Ar. *Lys.* 1283/4 | 4*da* | *cr* |. Cf. *LM* 164.

(12) 1342 (τοῦτ' ...) — υ υ — υ — — | *2tr*

(13) 1343*ab* (τά-...) ω υ — υ —
— υ ω — υ ω
— υ — υ — υ — — υ — | *hypodo 2cr lek cr*

The scansion of *τέρα* is uncertain. *τέρᾱ* and *τέρᾱ* are attested (once each) in Hellenistic poetry. *γέρας* and *γέρᾱ* are variants in E. *Pho.* 874; *κρέᾱ* is abundant in comedy. If we have *τέρᾱ* here, we begin with *tr* (homogeneous with 1342) but split resolution, —ρα/θε—. That phenomenon is common in comedy but rare in tragedy and not particularly Euripidean (Parker (1968), esp. 251 f.). It is commoner in dochmiacs (ibid. 266 f.), which favours interpretation of *τάδε τέρα θεᾱ*- (ω υ — υ —) as hypodochmiac.

(14) 1344 (*Nύμ*-...) — υ υ — υ υ — || *D*
(15) 1345 (ὦ ...) — — — υ — υ — || *ia cr*
(16) 1346 (ἔγω ...) υ — — υ — υ — || *2ba*
(17) 1347 (*προ*-...) υ υ — υ ω υ — — | *anacr*
(18) 1348 (ἔρ-...) — — υ υ — — υ υ — υ — || *2an*
(19) 1349 (εἰ-...) () — — — υ υ —

The problem of repeated ϵ is the same here as in 1314; if there is simply prolongation of the vowel, *D* or ‘*do drans B*’ ($- \times - \cup \cup -$) seems to be the answer.

(20) 1350*ab* (κλω-. . .) $- - \cup \cup - \cup -$ *tel chodim*
 $\cup - \cup - \cup \cup - |$

Cf. *E. Ion* 112 ~ 118; Itsumi (1982) 73.

(21) 1351 (φέ-. . .) $\cup - \cup \cup - - |$ *reiz*
(22) 1352*ab* (δ δ'. . .) $\cup \cup - \cup \cup - \cup \cup - \cup \cup -$
 $\cup \cup - \cup \cup - \cup - |$

Cf. *E. Andr.* 480 ~ 487 | 4 $\cup \cup - - \cup - |$, *HF* 1017 | 4 $\cup \cup -$ *ia* ||, *Pho.* 163 f. || 7 $\cup \cup - \cup - |$; *LM* 167 f.

(23) 1353 f. (ἐμοί-. . .) $\cup - \cup \omega \cup \omega \cup \omega$ *4ia*
 $\cup \omega \cup \omega \cup - \cup - |$

Two split resolutions in 1353; cf. on (13). The alternative would be to read $-\pi \epsilon \nu$ (with R V A U V S I) and treat 1353 as *do cr*; cf. *E. Ba.* 1153 f.

(24) 1355 (ἔβα-. . .) $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup - - - |$ *ia (or tr) mo*

On the possible analysis of ἔβαλον ἔβαλον as *tr*, despite the preceding iambic rhythm cf. Parker in Craik (ed.) 343; 1355 would then be a ‘dragged lekythion’, to which analogies are *E. Or.* 171 ~ 192 | $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup - \cup - |$ and *Pho.* 178 || *do | mo* ||.

(25) 1356*a* (ἀλλ'. . .) $- - - \cup - \cup \cup \cup ||$ *do cr*
(26) 1356*b* (τά. . .) $\cup - \cup \cup - \cup \omega - \cup \cup ||$ *tel cr*
(27) 1357*a* (τὰ κῶ-. . .) $\cup - \cup - - \cup \cup ||$ *ia cr*
(28) 1357*b* (κυ-. . .) $\cup - \cup - - - \cup - |$ *zia*

The theme throughout 1356*a*–60 is strongly Cretan; the rhythm which we call ‘cretic’ seems to have been called so in Aristophanes’ time (Kratinos fr. 237); and one striking feature of the monody of the Phrygian in *Orestes* is a succession of twelve cretics (1419–24), unparalleled in tragedy after *A. Su.* 418–22, though at home in comedy. Moreover, the very marked inseting of τὴν οἰκίαν in V N p i, however misguided, at least points to a colometry, inherited from antiquity, in which *κυκλοούμενοι* and τὴν οἰκίαν did not come in the same colon. With Bergk’s <τε> we could produce a run of cretics introduced by a dochmiac and rounded off by a lekythion, thus:

- - - $\cup - \cup \cup \omega$
 - $\cup \omega - \cup \omega - \cup \omega$
 - $\cup - - \cup \omega$
 - $\cup - - - \cup -$

Without <τε>, we have two alternatives. First, *do cr* ($-\delta \alpha \varsigma \tau \acute{\epsilon} \kappa \nu \hat{\alpha}$), then either (a) *tel* (τὰ. . . ἐπα-) 3*cr lek*, or (b) *ba* (τὰ τόξα λα-) 4*cr lek*. The sequence *tel cr* may

look odd in Attic drama, but cf. E. *Hp.* 130 ~ 140 | *tel sp* ||, and of course it would occasion no surprise in Pindar (e.g. *P.* 10 ep. 6, *N.* 3 str. 6). On (*b*), for *ba* in the form $\cup - \omega$ cf. E. *Tro.* 564 (*LM* 74); the location of the split $\cup - \cup | \cup$ is unparalleled, but so is the concentration of split resolutions on the all-cretic analysis. That concentration is an argument against cretic homogeneity, and so is the persistent conflict between pause and metre. On balance, and with hesitation, I suggest that the focus of parody here is a concentration of open *brevis in longo* (τέκνᾶ, -νατῆ, -λετῆ). That is common in Aeschylus, but not in Sophocles or early Euripides; it becomes conspicuous in late Euripides: *Pho.* 114, 148, 177, 294 (||), 312, 313 (or -σιν?), 315, 1294, *Or.* 167, 169 (||), 1379 (|||), 1493, 1501 (I disagree with *MA* iii. 116, 118 on the analysis of *Pho.* 114 and 177). If we wish (reasonably) for a concentration of cretics somewhere in this parody, here they come now:

(29) 1358 (ἄμα . . .)	$\omega \cup - \quad - \cup - \quad - \cup - $	3cr
(30) 1359 (τάς . . .)	$- \cup - \quad - \cup - \quad - \cup - $	3cr
(31) 1360 (διά . . .)	$\omega \cup - \quad - \cup - $	2cr
(32) 1361a (σὺ . . .)	$\cup - \cup - \cup \cup - \cup \cup - \cup $	

Cf. E. *Md.* 207, *Pho.* 128, *Ba.* 1190 (*LM* 171).

(33) 1361b (λαμ- . . .)	$- \cup \cup - \cup \cup - \cup - $	ibyc
(34) 1362 (Ἐ- . . .)	$\cup \cup - \cup \cup - \cup - \cup - $	

Cf. E. *El.* 586, 588 (*LM* 170 f.).

(35) 1363 (ὀ- . . .)	$\cup - \cup - \quad - - \cup - \quad - - $	2ia sp
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A spondee can function as a 'syncopated cretic', as in E. *HF* 898 (|||), 902. *Ar. Lys.* 789-92, and also (as here) as a 'syncopated iambic', cf. S. *El.* 479 ~ 495.

Two further observations on the metre of this parody. Parker (1968) 250, 268 draws attention to the split resolutions in the verses uttered by the dithyrambic poet in *Av.* 930, 938, 951, and suggests that Aristophanes is consciously introducing 'dithyrambic' features into the monody. A point of language (v. 1336a n.) supports that, but at the same time it should be noted that in the *Persians* of Timotheos split resolution is not conspicuous: only three such (13, 87, 155) out of a total of eighty resolutions. My second observation is simply a reminder: we are dealing with parody in which abnormalities, chosen by Aristophanes and not by us, are likely to be exaggerated and concentrated.

Where has the 'Muse' with the potsherd gone? Nothing in the text tells us what music accompanies the monody. The potsherd joke would be stale well before 1363, and if musical parody is to make its point we need the aulos-player, who is present anyway for the choral songs.

1331 κελαινοφαής: the underworld is μελαμφαής in E. *Hel.* 518. In *IA* 1054 λευκοφαή ψάμαθον, 'white-shining' is an appropriate translation, but with

- 'black-' the element *-φαής* seems to serve simply as a suffix to a colour-term. Cf. O. Hense, *Philologus* 60 (1901) 389 on *-φαής* in Euripides.
- 1333 πρόμολον:** if this is right, *πρόμολος*, 'one who comes forth' is analogous to *ἀγχίμολος*, 'nearby', *ἐπίμολος*, 'invader' (A. *ScT* 629) and *αὐτόμολος*, 'deserter'. The argument against it is that we would certainly expect so unusual a word in a much-studied play to be accompanied by a comment in the scholia and to feature in lexica. There is a Hellenistic word *προμολ-ή/-αί*, 'area in front', and Wilamowitz suggested *προμολῶν* here (keeping *ἐξ*); in Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 282–4, flocks of dreams nest in the great elm-tree which stands (273) 'vestibulum ante ipsum primisque in faucibus Orci'. A^c Vs1^{pc} ⊕ have not *πρόμολον* but *πρόπολον* (*-πυ*-A^{pc}), which is supported by E. *Hel.* 570 'I whom you see am not a *πρόπολος* of Hekate appearing by night'.
- 1334 ψυχὰν ἄψυχον:** phrases of this type (e.g. E. *Hel.* 690 *γάμον ἄγαμον*) occur throughout tragedy; cf. Bruhn 129, Breitenbach 236 f., Meyer 103 f. A soul can appear in a dream, as the dead Patroklos appears to Achilles in *Il.* xxiii. 65–107 (*ψυχή* 65, 100). The phrase here may mean a horrid spectre which, unlike a normal dream-figure, does not resemble a human; but E. *Hr.* 1144 *πότημον ἄποτμον*, 'a bad fate', may be more relevant.
- 1335a Νυκτὸς παῖδα:** in Hes. *Th.* 212 Night is mother of *φύλον Ὀνειρώων*.
- 1336a μελανονκευείμονα:** Hecuba's dream (*Hec.* 71, 705) has black wings; black is, unsurprisingly, the colour of mourning (E. *Alc.* 427), the way to the underworld (*Hec.* 1106), and the Erinyes (*Or.* 321). Cf. 155. What Aristotle calls (*Po.* 1457^a34) 'triple, quadruple, even multiple' compounds are not Euripidean, but characteristic of comic invention (e.g. *Nu.* 332 *σφραγιδο-νυχαρροκομήτας*; cf. Meyer 146–53), and also characteristic of the non-dramatic dithyramb and citharoedic nome, as exemplified in Timotheos, *PMG* 791 (e.g. 89 *μακραυχενόπλους*, 123 *μελαμπεταλοχίτωνα*, 216 *μουσοπαλαιολύμας*). Indeed, excessive use of compounds in general is called 'dithyrambic' in Arist. *Po.* 1459^a9, *Rhet.* 1406^b1 f. It seems therefore that in coining 'black-corpse-clad' Aristophanes is not confining himself to accurate parody but implying an affinity between Euripidean monody and other genres.
- 1337 ὄνυχας:** 'claws', 'talons', as of beasts and birds of prey—or the deadly sphinxes of E. *Hel.* 471. **ἔχοντα:** the repetition, after 1334, is unappealing but by no means foreign to tragedy; cf. S. *Phil.* 707 *οὐ φορβάν . . . αἰρών . . . 711 ἀνύσειε γαστρί φορβάν*, 1299 *ἦν τις ὀρθωθῆ βέλος . . . 1300 μῆ . . . μεθῆς βέλος*, and the wealth of examples from Sophocles and Euripides given by Jackson (p. 292 *supr.*).
- 1339b θέρμετε δ' ὕδωρ:** quoted from *Od.* viii. 426; long *υ* in *ὑδωρ* is not Attic.
- 1340 ἀποκλύσω:** in A. *Pe.* 201 f. Atossa washes after her menacing dream, and something similar is clearly narrated in Trag. Adesp. 626. 37–9 *ἐννυχον*

- πλανῆ[. καλ]λίρουν ἐπ' Ἀλφειοῦ πόρον[. An audience which has witnessed the effect of fear on the bowels of Dionysos (479–90) will see a further point in ἀποκλύσω.
- 1341** ἰὼ πόντιε δαίμων: Poseidon is invoked as πόντιε in E. *Andr.* 1011; cf. S. *OC* 1072 τὸν πόντιον γαῖαοχον. He has no relevance to the singer's predicament (except marginally, given the preceding reference to water), nor have the Nymphs of 1344; grandiloquent irrelevance is the joke.
- 1342** τοῦτ' ἐκείν': used mostly to express sudden awareness of a situation or recognition of a truth; four times in Euripides (plus *Md.* 98 τόδ' ἐκείνο), and so too (on the easiest punctuation) S. *El.* 1115. Its distribution in comedy and Platonic conversation indicates a colloquial tone—colloquial enough, anyway, to clash with the invocation of Poseidon. Cf. P. T. Stevens, *Colloquial Expressions in Euripides* (= *Hermes Einzelsch.* 38 (1976)) 31 f.
- 1345** Μανία: μᾶ, not μᾶ ('madness'); a slave-name in *Th.* 728 (cf. 965 n.).
ξύλλαβε: 'arrest', 'catch', sc. Glyke; cf. *Ach.* 206.
- 1350a** κλωστήρα: flax is spun from a distaff and wound on to a spindle (ἄτρακτος), and the spun material accumulated on the spindle is κλωστήρ; cf. *Lys.* 567 f.
- 1350b** κνεφαίος: 'before it was light', cf. *V.* 124 ὁ δ' ἀνεφάνη κνεφαίος. In specifying the time of an action Greek commonly uses an adjective in agreement with the agent rather than an adverbial expression (KG i. 273 f.).
- 1352a** ὁ δ' . . . ἐς αἰθήρα: hardly consistent with being carried off by Glyke, but consistency is not to be expected. Several different prepositions can govern αἰθήρ in Euripides, but ἐπί (R) is not among them.
- 1352b** ἀκμαῖς: in S. *OT* 1034 ποδοῖν ἀκμαῖς are not the tips of the toes, nor can E. *Ba.* 1207 χερῶν ἀκμαῖσι possibly mean the fingertips (cf. Dodds ad loc.); the hands and feet are ἀκμαί of the body, and wings of a bird's body.
- 1356b** τόξα: Cretan archers played a part in the Peloponnesian War (*Thuc.* vi. 25. 2, 43); on Scythian archers as police at Athens cf. 608 n.; but, unlike the police in a modern state, they would not be involved in investigating a charge of larceny, and the audience would not necessarily think of them on hearing 1356b.
- 1357a** τὰ κῶλά τ' ἀμπάλλετε: cf. 1317 n.
- 1358** Δίκτυννα . . . καλά: E. *IT* 126 f., calling Diktyнна 'daughter of Leto', identifies her with Artemis, and so too *Hp.* 145 f., where she is πολυθήρος. She had a temple at Kydonia in Crete (*Hdt.* iii. 59. 2), where she was regarded as a nymph, a companion of Artemis, not herself the goddess (*Kallim. H.* 3. 189–203). As the MSS' text stands, 'Diktyнна' and 'Artemis' are two names for the same goddess (and the run of cetics from ἄμα to 1360 πανταχῇ is interrupted by the hypodochmiac Ἄρτεμις καλά). Yet παῖς, which is not simply a synonym of παρθένος, creates a problem; a goddess is of course the παῖς, 'daughter', of another deity—in S. *OC* 1090 σεμνά τε παῖς Παλλὰς Ἀθήνα comes in an invocation to Zeus and admits of the trans-

lation ‘your daughter’, just as *παῖς ὁ κισσοφόρος* (Dionysos) in *Pi. O. 2. 27* is ‘her (sc. Semele’s) son’—but to call a deity simply *παῖς* is another matter. If the myth as known to Aristophanes represented Diktyнна as a child (like Helen carried off by Theseus (Isoc. x. 18 f.)) when she aroused the lust of Minos (Kallim. loc. cit.), *παῖς* is intelligible. Then we can emend either to Ἄρτεμις (θ’) ἀ καλά or (with Kock) to ἀ καλά, dropping Ἄρτεμις. Against the former is the awkwardness of the singular verb ἐλθέτω, but cf. *Th. 977–81* Ἐρμῆν . . . ἄντομαι καὶ Πάνα καὶ Νύμφας . . . ἐπιγέλασαι . . . χαρέντα χορείαις (KG i. 79–91). In favour of Kock is the fact that in *E. Tro. 554* Ἄρτεμιν is shown by resposion to be an intrusive gloss on Διὸς κόραν and in *Ar. Lys. 1262 ἀγροτέρ’ Ἄρτεμι* the name must be intrusive, since ἀγροτέρᾳ cannot be elided. Cf. Fraenkel on *A. Ag. 140*, where ἀ καλά (without a name) denotes Artemis. Aristophanes, while thinking of Diktyнна as a *παῖς*, has given her the distinctive epithet of Artemis.

1359 κυνίσκας: cf. 405 n. Dogs used for hunting are normally assumed to be female in [Xen.] *Cyn.*, e.g. 3. 1.

1361a Διός: sc. ‘daughter’; cf. 216 and *S. Aj. 172 Ταυροπόλα Διὸς Ἄρτεμις*. In *Hes. Th. 409 f.* Hekate is daughter of Perses (a Titan) and Asteria, but poems attributed to ‘Musaïos’ (B16) made Zeus her father; so possibly did Sophron, though perhaps too much of Σ Theocr. 2. 11/12 is attributed to Sophron by Heckenbach, *RE* vii. 2722. To Kallimachos, at any rate (fr. 466) Zeus is Hekate’s father.

1361a διπύρους . . . 1361b λαμπάδας: Hekate is δαιδοφόρος in Bakchylides fr. 31. 1, φωσφόρος in *E. Hel. 569*, *Ar. fr. 584*; cf. 366 n., and for representations of her as holding two torches Roscher i. 1901 f. For διπύρους . . . λαμπάδας, ‘two torches, both blazing’, cf. *E. IT 323 δίπαλτα πολέμων ξίφη*, ‘the swords of our two enemies, both brandished’.

1361b ὄξυτάτας: ‘piercing (with light)’; cf. *Pax 1173 φοινικίδ’ ὄξειαν πάνυ*, ‘blazing red cloak’, *Pi. O. 7. 70 ὄξειαν . . . ἀκτίνων*.

1362 παράφηνον: ‘come beside me and light the way’. In *h. Cer. 2. 47–61* Hekate accompanies Demeter (they are both carrying torches) at the start of Demeter’s search for Persephone.

1363 φωράσω: *φωράν* is the term used in Attic law of a search (under strictly defined conditions) for allegedly stolen property in another’s house; Lipsius 440, Harrison i. 207.

1364–1413. THE WEIGHING OF VERSES

1365 Σ^R 1367 says that some gave everything down to 1367 to Aeschylus. They were quite right, but the comment implies that someone else must have given more to Dionysos, and could only have done that by reading σφών for

- $\nu\omega\tilde{\nu}$ in 1366, $\sigma\phi\acute{\omega}$ for $\nu\acute{\omega}$ in 1367, (cf. the variant $\nu\omega\tilde{\nu}$ (γ^p - Σ^R) for $\sigma\phi\omega\tilde{\nu}$ in 1401), and possibly $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ (so $Vs1^{ac}$) for $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ in 1365.
- 1367** Bergk deleted the line as a feeble interpolation, and he has enjoyed some support, especially as the syntax is uncertain. It can, however, be dramatically effective if Aeschylus growls $\beta\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ portentously; cf. 1122 f. n. As for the syntax, if $\nu\acute{\omega}$ (R V al.) is right, $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ $\rho\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu$ goes with $\tau\acute{\omicron}$ $\beta\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\varsigma$, which is subject of $\beta\alpha\sigma\alpha\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}$; with $\nu\omega\tilde{\nu}$ (A Vb3 $Vs1^{pc}$ Θ_2^{pc}), the weighing is the understood subject and $\tau\acute{\omicron}$ $\beta\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\varsigma$. . . $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ $\rho\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu$ the object.
- 1368** $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\epsilon\rho$ $\gamma\epsilon$ $\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}$ $\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}$: $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$ looks forward to 1369; for the construction with $\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ and $\mu\epsilon$ cf. *Ec.* 297 f. $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\tau\omicron\nu\acute{\omega}\mu\epsilon\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\iota}$ $\acute{\omicron}\pi\acute{\omicron}\sigma\acute{\iota}$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon$ $\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ $\eta\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\alpha\varsigma$ (sc. $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\tau\omicron\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$). *E. Su.* 594 f. $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ $\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\nu$ $\mu\omicron\iota$, . . . $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$ $\kappa\tau\lambda.$ is significantly different.
- 1370-7** The song is very nearly in resposion with 1482-90, but has one fewer trochaic dimeters.

(1) 1370 ($\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$ - . . .)	w u - - - u -	lek
(2) 1371 ($\tau\acute{\omicron}\delta\epsilon$. . .)	w u w u - u -	lek
(3) 1372 ($\nu\epsilon\omicron$ - . . .)	w u w u - u -	lek
(4) 1373 ($\delta\omicron\tau\iota\varsigma$. . .)	w u w u - u - -	2tr
(5) 1374 ($\mu\acute{\alpha}$. . .)	w u - u - u - u	2tr
(6) 1375 ($\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon$ - . . .)	w u - - w u - -	2tr
(7) 1376-7 ($\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota$ - . . .)	w u - - - u - u - u - u - -	2tr ith

- $\omicron\acute{\iota}$ $\delta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\acute{\iota}$ in 1370 alludes to poets like Aristophanes: cf. pp. 13 f. The song as a whole is self-praise.
- 1370** $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\nu\omicron\iota$: 'taking trouble'; cf. *Isoc.* xix. 11 'I nursed him so $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma$ $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\omega}\varsigma$. . .'.
- 1371 f.** $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma$ $\nu\epsilon\omicron\chi\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu$: tragic language for 'a new wonder', as in *Th.* 700 f. $\tau\acute{\iota}$ $\tau\acute{\omicron}\delta\epsilon$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\kappa\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ $\nu\epsilon\omicron\chi\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu$ $\alpha\upsilon$ $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma$; (dochmiac rhythm), but there the 'wonder' is horrifying.
- 1372** $\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\pi\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$: in *Ach.* 349 this is 'unreasonableness', and $\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$ in *Av.* 1208 is 'outrageous', but, like our 'extraordinary', it can imply different valuations in different contexts.
- 1373** $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\nu\acute{\omicron}\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$: used of having good, bright, or novel ideas, e.g. *Nu.* 1037 f. $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\nu\acute{\omicron}\eta\sigma\alpha$ / $\tau\omicron\acute{\iota}\omicron\sigma\iota\nu$ $\nu\acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron\iota\varsigma$. . . $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\iota$, and cf. 1530 $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\nu\omicron\iota\alpha\varsigma$.
- 1374** $\mu\acute{\alpha}$ $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$: cf. *Pl. Grg.* 466 E $\mu\acute{\alpha}$ $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ — $\omicron\upsilon$ $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$ $\gamma\epsilon$ $\kappa\tau\lambda.$ $\omicron\upsilon\kappa$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu$: the MSS have $\omicron\upsilon\delta$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu$, which gives curious sense: 'I wouldn't have believed it even if someone who happened to meet me had told me', because $\omicron\acute{\iota}$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\tau\upsilon\chi\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ (cf. *Pl. Th.* 171 C 'neither a dog nor any old human' ($\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\tau\upsilon\chi\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\alpha$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\nu$)) are not the most reliable source, but the least. Hence Blaydes's $\omicron\upsilon\kappa$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu$. Σ^{VE} tries to retrieve the situation by supposing that $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\tau\upsilon\chi\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\omega\nu$ means 'those who had actually been present (and seen it)', but the expression is far too common in the derogatory sense 'any old . . .' for the

audience to take it in another sense. Whether οὐδέ here could mean ‘certainly not’ is doubtful; cf. the discussion of putative examples of that usage in *GP* 197–9, and W. J. Verdenius, *Mnemosyne* 1954. 68.

While the chorus is singing, attendants bring on a balance. Since the scene which follows requires one scale to go down at 1384, 1393, and 1404 when nothing material has been put into it, it must be weighted, but that fact must be concealed from the audience. It can easily be done by a peg under the beam at the fulcrum, unobtrusively removed once each poet has taken hold of his scale in 1379 f.

1378 ἰδοῦ: cf. 200 n.

1379 λαβομένω: ‘taking hold’ of the scales.

1380 κοκκύσω: a cuckoo κοκκῦζει (Hes. *Op.* 486), but so does a cockerel (Kratinos fr. 344) and even a herald (*Ec.* 30).

1382 = E. *Md.* 1, ‘Would that the hull of Argo had not flown through . . .’

1383 = A. fr. 249 (from *Philoktetes*). βούνομοί τ’ ἐπιστροφαί: ‘and land where grazing cattle have their range’; ἐπιστροφή is attested several times in Aeschylus.

1384 μεθείται: μεθείτε (codd.) is an incorrect form, as we see from E. *Alc.* 266, *IT* 468 μέθετε, Ar. *V.* 522, *Lys.* 216 ἄφετε, and why should Dionysos say ‘Let go’ as well as κόκκυ? καὶ πολὺ γε: καί is a surprised ‘Why!’ (*contra*, *GP* 158), and γε intensifies πολὺ (cf. *GP* 120).

1385 καί: indignant, related to the semi-adversative use of καί (*GP* 293).

1386 ἐριπωλικῶς: ἔρια are ‘wool’, and as it is sold by weight wetting it is the obvious way in which the seller can cheat the customer; cf. p. 213.

1388 ἐπτερωμένον: ‘the verse which you put in was winged’, because of διαπτάσθαι.

1389 ἀλλ’: ‘Well, then, . . .’; it is probably Euripides who speaks this line, though E^{pc} V_{SI} make Dionysos continue. ἀντιστησάτω: ‘and let him weigh (it) against (mine)’; ἰστάναι is the usual word for ‘weigh’ in the literal sense, e.g. *V.* 40.

1390 ἦν: ‘See!’; cf. *Eq.* 26.

1391 = E. fr. 170. 1 (from *Antigone*), continuing καὶ βωμὸς αὐτῆς ἔστ’ ἐν ἀνθρώπων φύσει.

1392 = A. fr. 161. 1 (from *Niobe*). The point is that it is useless to try to appease Death by sacrifices; and 161. 4 makes the passage very appropriate to this context: μόνου δὲ Πειθῶ δαιμόνων ἀποστατεῖ, i.e. Persuasion can do nothing with Death.

1393 μέθετε. Αἶ. Εὐ. μεθείται: μεθείτε μεθείτε (codd.) will not do (cf. 1384 n.); and μέθεσθε μέθεσθε (Porson; for ∪|∪², cf. 171 and *Th.* 1184) would be understandable only if both poets were so nervous about the outcome that they held on to their scales. But there is no reason why Aeschylus should be nervous. Radermacher’s emendation solves the

problem; to avoid monotony, μέθετε replaces a third κόκκυ. The switch from middle to active needs further explanation, and the difference between μέθετε and μέθεσθε is that between 'let it go' (thinking of what happens to the scale) and 'let go of it' (action on the part of the holder); cf. 830 n.

1394 γάρ: cf. 662 n.

1396 Because persuasion is mere words, and people are easily seduced against their better judgement.

1398 καθέλξει: sc. τὴν πλάστιγγα. καρτερόν τε καὶ μέγα: it is possible that we should not punctuate after -ξει, and that this phrase refers to the fall of the balance, not to the verse put into it.

1399 ποῦ . . . ποῦ: cf. 120 n.

1400 Three dice were thrown, and it is clear from A. *Ag.* 33 that a triple six was the best possible throw. It is also clear from Pl. *Lg.* 968 E ἡ τρις ἕξ, φασίν, ἢ τρεῖς κύβους βάλλοντες (so too Pherekrates fr. 129) that κύβος meant 'one' as well as 'die', so that two ones and a four are not a good throw. Ancient commentators sought this line in Euripides in vain. Aristarchos (Σ^{RVE}) thought it came from an earlier version of *Telephos*. Others attributed it to *Philoktetes*, *IA* (it is not in our text), or even *Myrmidons* (Σ^E), not a Euripidean play. The phrase 'two ones and a four' is from Eupolis (fr. 372), and it seems (cf. Σ^{VE}) that Dionysos plays a trick on Euripides: the line starts grandly, and we think that the object of βέβληκε may be a vast rock (cf. Diomedes in *Il.* v. 302–4), but then we descend into bathos. Cf. M. A. van der Valk, in J. den Boeft and A. H. M. Kessels (eds.), *Actus. Studies in Honour of H. L. W. Nelson* (Utrecht, 1982) 420, though he considers the possibility that the line is from a satyr-play.

1401 λέγοιτ' ἄν: the optative with ἄν is a courteous command to an equal; cf. 1467, *Ec.* 132, and Pl. *Prm.* 126 A πάρειμί γε ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, δεησόμενος ὑμῶν. || λέγοις ἄν, ἔφη, τὴν δέησιν (KG ii. 233 f., Schwyzer ii. 329). σφῶν: νῶν (Υ^Ρ·Σ^R) does not make sense after λέγοιτ' ἄν, unless we are to suppose that Dionysos turns confidentially to Euripides at αὐτῆ γάρ, which I do not suggest. στάσις: 'weighing', as in *SIG*³ 241 (Delphi, s. IV^a m.) A 28 βολίμου ('lead') στάσις.

1402 = E. fr. 531 (from *Meleagros*).

1403 = A. fr. 38. 1 (from *Glaukos Potnieus*). νεκρῶ: for the dative replacing a repetition of a preposition with another case cf. Theokr. 5. 136 f. οὐ θεμιτόν . . . ποτ' ἀηδόνα κίσσας ἐρίσδειν / οὐδ' ἔσποας κύκνοι.

1404 ἐξήπάτηκεν: almost 'has got the better of you', because in the terms in which the contest has been conducted Aeschylus has not deceived anyone.

1406 Αἰγύπτιοι: knowledge of the Pyramids and other colossal monuments in Egypt is reflected in *Av.* 1133, where Egyptians are 'brick-carriers' *par excellence*.

1407 καὶ μηκέτ' ἔμοιγε κατ' ἔπος: cf. *V.* 1179 μὴ μοιγε μύθους (sc. λέγε).

1408 Cf. 587 n., which vindicates -δι' ἧ (R) against -δία χῆ (cett.). Triklinios' χὼ Κη- must arise from the faulty scansion -φῖσο-.

1409 ἐμβάς: cf. 1358 n. καθήσθω: cf. 587 f. n. βιβλία: cf. 943 n.

1411 ἄνδρες: 'they'; Seager's ἄνδρες (ἄνδρες codd., with οἱ M^s) is necessary.

φίλοι: φίλοι (R P²⁰⁷⁶) is required (σοφοί cett.), for it makes no sense to say 'they are σοφοί but one of them (1413) is σοφός (sc. and the other is not)'.

Note that Dionysos does not at this stage say, 'I *cannot* decide', but 'I *will not* decide'.

1412: 'for (sc. by not deciding) I shall not get on bad terms . . .'. Cf. *Ec.* 888 δι' ὄχλου τοῦτ' ἐστί; a verb of motion is commoner with διὰ in this sense.

1413 Cf. p. 19.

1414–99. POLITICAL QUESTIONS AND OUTCOME OF THE CONTEST

(i) 1414–34. *Alkibiades*

The contest now takes a new turn: Dionysos puts to the poets two crucial questions about the political and strategic predicament of Athens in early 405, in order to discover not which poet is the better in the sense of the series of tests we have just witnessed but which will be the more useful to Athens—a better poet, that is to say, in the sense assumed in the agon. (Radermacher 336–8 draws analogies between this scene and those, in the literatures of several cultures, in which rivals have to answer questions such as τί φέρτατόν ἐστι βροτοῖσιν ἢ τί θνητοῖς κάλλιστον (*Certamen* 76, 82 Allen), but a distinction must be drawn between 'philosophical' generalization and practical politics.)

1414 A statement, as the following lines show, not a question. Σ^{RVE} says that some gave these words to the chorus-leader, but Apollonios attributed them to Pluto. Clearly the speaker of 1415 τὸν ἕτερον . . . 1416 must be the same, and it is Pluto, not the Chorus, whose permission to bring someone back from the dead is required.

1415 τὸν ἕτερον: for a moment the audience may take this to mean 'the other', i.e. Aeschylus, since we know Dionysos' original intention, but any such difficulty can be resolved by Pluto's waving a hand between one poet and the other. For ὁ ἕτερος = 'one of the two' cf. *Thuc.* iv. 43. 1 καὶ Βάττος μὲν ὁ ἕτερος τῶν στρατηγῶν (δύο γὰρ ἦσαν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ παρόντες) κτλ., where nothing has been said about Battos' colleague. In R there is no change of speaker before τὸν ἕτερον, but a superscript dicolon before λαβῶν. But κρίνω τὸν ἕτερον is a pleonasm where the choice is between two, and λαβῶν with an imperative normally occupies a concomitant

- position (preferably immediately after the verb). Here τὸν ἕτερον is stressed, 'Either of them', reinforced by 'whichever one you choose'.
- 1416** ἴν' ἔλθης μὴ μάρτην: (lit.), (a) 'in order to have come (here) not in vain', (b) 'in order to go (from here) not in vain' (cf. 69, *Nu.* 89, 111, 815, *Lys.* 728), or (c) 'in order to arrive (back on earth) not empty-handed'? With examples of type (b) and (c) we expect to find an indication (usually explicit, sometimes implicit) of the destination. If (a) is right, one may wonder why Aristophanes did not write ἤκης instead—which H. Richards, *CR* 15 (1901) 390 conjectured, believing ἔλθης to be an intrusive gloss on ἤκης; in Xen. *HG* i. 3. 11 *PR* *Rainer* vi. 97 has ηκεν where the medieval MSS all have ἤλθεν, ἤκ- is glossed by ἐλθ- in late scholia on *Wealth* (e.g. 357, 828), and cf. 1168 n.
- 1417** εὐδαιμονοίης: an expression of heartfelt thanks, as in *Ach.* 446, *E. El.* 231; cf. 'God bless you!'
- 1418** ἐπὶ ποιητήν: Dionysos is 'economical with the truth', as the development of the plot requires (cf. Erbse (1975) 56). τοῦ χάριν: R has a dicolon here, and A E^s K^s M Np1 U Vb3 Vs1^{pc} (*Al.* Vs1^{ac?}) Θ give the question to Pluto, but Σ^{RVE} makes Dionysos continue, and V Eⁱ Kⁱ conform with that interpretation. There is no exact parallel (in 1473 τινὲ γάρ οὐ; concludes the utterance and requires no answer, while in *Nu.* 22 f. Strepsiades is soliloquizing and answering his own question to himself), but the nearest analogy is the rhetorical τί οὐν; and the like in Demosthenes, e.g. xviii. 147, 177; cf. Wankel ad locc.
- 1419** σωθείσα: cf. p. 11.
- 1420** ὁπότερος οὖν ἄν: οὖν does not elsewhere divide a relative from ἄν in a protasis with the subjunctive, though other common particles (γε, δέ, μέν) do. There is an indefinite ὁποτεροοὖν, 'either of the two' (e.g. *Thuc.* v. 41. 2), and the relative ὁπότερος is also attested in this indefinite sense, e.g. *Andok.* iii. 26 ἀνάγκη ὁπότερον τούτων ἐλέσθαι. We may therefore be confronted here with encroachment of the indefinite form in -οὖν on the function of the relative.
- 1421** δοκῶ: 'I think I shall . . .', more a decision than a prediction; cf. *V.* 177 (present infinitive), 250 (future infinitive). The reflexive use of μοι with δοκῶ is common; cf. *KG* ii. 34, *Schwyzler* ii. 193.
- 1422 f.** Alkibiades fled into exile in 415 when he feared that he might be convicted of parodying the Mysteries at private parties, and transferred his allegiance to the Peloponnesians. In 411 he played a complex and equivocal role in his dealings with Sparta, the Persian satrap Tissaphernes, and the Athenian fleet at Samos; but the end of that year saw him exercising command of Athenian forces in the eastern Aegean while still an exile who could not safely set foot in Attica. Formally elected general in 407, he returned to Athens and was 'proclaimed ἀπάντων ἡγεμῶν αὐτοκράτωρ' (*Xen. HG* i. 4. 20), an extraordinary manifestation of popular confidence in his abilities. He was not long in favour, however, because before the end of

407 his helmsman Antiochos, to whom he had entrusted command in his own temporary absence, provoked an encounter with Lysander's fleet and suffered a straight defeat. Alkibiades was thereupon deprived of his command and withdrew to an estate of his own on the Hellespont (Xen. *HG* i. 5. 16 f.). It is striking that in spite of that, and in spite of the fact that in 406 the naval victory of Arginusai was won without him, the question whether or not to recall him and re-elect him to high office is still a major issue in 405, that Athens can still be represented (1425) as being in two minds about his recall, and that Aeschylus gives a verdict which amounts to saying, 'However difficult and wayward he may be, however many enemies he may have made, recall him and follow his lead'. Thuc. vi. 15. 4 sums up the Athenian dilemma, in a passage written after the end of the war (cf. *HCT* ad loc.): Alkibiades was outrageous and offensive, and that was his downfall, but he was a supreme strategist, and rejection of him was the ruin of Athens. There is a special link between Alkibiades and the theme of *Frogs* (cf. J. Hatzfeld, *Alcibiade* (Paris, 1940) 329–31): during his brief period as ἀπάντων ἡγεμῶν αὐτοκράτωρ in 407 he organized a procession (under arms) to Eleusis for the celebration of the Mysteries; that had been impossible for the previous five years because of the Peloponnesian domination of Attica, and Athenian access to Eleusis had necessarily been by sea. The constant reminders of the overland procession throughout the parodos (cf. p. 61) could not fail to be a reminder also of the effect of Alkibiades' leadership on Athenian morale.

The young Alkibiades is unfavourably mentioned in *Ach.* 716 and satirized for his speech-defect in *V.* 44 f.; in *Banqueters* there is a reference to a favourite word of his (fr. 205. 6) and another to his sexuality (fr. 244), but otherwise the rich anecdotal material in [Andok.] iv and Plut. *Alc.* finds no echo in Aristophanes. The *Baptai* of Eupolis seems to have been the only play in which he was an important target (*PCG* v. 331–3); we find passing references in Pherekrates fr. 164 and Eupolis fr. 171 and possibly, though not certainly, in Hermippos fr. 57. 7 f. and Eupolis fr. 117.

1423 **δυστοκεῖ**: lit., 'is having difficulty in giving birth'; cf. Theognis 39 κύει ('is pregnant') πόλις ἦδε.

1425 The second ingredient contrasts with the first; and the third, contrasting with the second, in effect restates the first. That is not the case in the tragic line which is parodied here. Ion *TGFr* 19 F41 σιγᾶ μὲν, ἐχθαίρει δέ, βούλεται γε μὴν.

1428 **φανείται**: so R; πέφυκε (cett.) is a tame alternative, for the point of *φανείται* is, 'If we recall him, we shall see plainly that he is still the man he was'. Cf. Isok. v.109 οὐδείς . . . φανείται κτλ., 'you will not be able to find anyone who . . .'. Hamaker conjectured πέφανται, but emendation is not required; the likely origin of πέφυκε is to be sought in the probability that 1427–9 came to be quoted as an aphorism divorced from its context and

therefore modified to make a generalization (cf. *Nu.* 412–17 as modified in D.L. ii. 27).

1429 Cf. *Eq.* 759 *κακ τῶν ἀμηχάνων πόρους εὐμηχάνους πορίζειν*. *ἀμηχανος* is used of people who are helpless (as here), of situations which are unmanageable, and of adversaries who are invincible.

1431a–2 1431*b* is omitted by V A E^{ac} K^{ac} M^{ac} Np₁ Vb₃, but that is of no importance textually, because when two successive lines end alike the probability that some MSS will omit one of them is very high; usually it is the second which is omitted (e.g. Np₁ at 1157 and V at 1324). What is important is (a) that Plutarch cites 1431*b*–2 but not 1431*a* (Valerius Maximus cites 1431*b* alone, making Perikles the speaker), and (b) that we can be sure that the same character did not utter both 1431*a* and 1431*b* on the same occasion. Erbse (1956) 276 f. argues that 1431*a* is the last line of Euripides' advice, that it was followed by 1430, and that 1431*b*–2 are then spoken by Aeschylus. Newiger (1985) 431 adopts this solution, urging that the infinitives in 1431*b* and 1432 depend on *γινώσκω* understood from *τίνα γνώμην ἔχεις*; and that with the transmitted order *ὑπηρετεῖν* should depend on *οὐ χρῆ*. Neither of these arguments is cogent, for the infinitive can be used as equivalent to an imperative (cf. 169 n.), and if 1431*a* is immediately followed by 1432 a pause between the two can easily divorce *ὑπηρετεῖν* entirely from *χρῆ*. The answers given by the two poets are contrasted in 1454 as one 'poetic' (*σοφῶς*) and the other 'plain' (*σαφῶς*). Since Aeschylus is destined to win the contest of *σοφία*, it must be he who introduces the image of the lion-cub, and to make Euripides introduce the image and Aeschylus merely elaborate on it seriously vitiates the point of 1454. Moreover, the real Aeschylus used precisely this image in *Ag.* 717–36; the point is different there—the lion, affectionate and attractive as a cub, is a serious threat as an adult—and certainly does not imply *τοῖς τρόποις ὑπηρετεῖν*, but that kind of difference is not one likely to trouble a comic poet (cf. p. 16 and 1028 f., 1425 nn.). It seems therefore that we have to acknowledge 1431*a* + 1431*b* as a doublet, and since I find it hard to believe that Aristophanes judged 1431*b* to be an improvement on 1431*a* I assign 1431*a* to 404 and 1431*b* to 405. Van Leeuwen, however, offers an alternative solution: Valerius' 'Perikles' was not necessarily a mistake; 1431*b*—whether followed by 1432 or by a different line (and there must have been something to balance *μάλιστα μὲν*)—could have occurred in the *Demes* of Eupolis, and 1431*a* could be Aristophanes' improvement on it. In that case 1431*b* will be an example of the intrusion of a line from a marginal note, as happened at S. *Aj.* 554 and (in several MSS) A. *Pe.* 253. *τρέφειν . . . ἐκτραφῆ*: cf. Pl. *R.* 411 B *τήκει . . . ἕως ἂν ἐκτῆξῃ τὸν θυμόν* (R. Renehan, *Studies in Greek Texts* (Göttingen, 1976) 25); the aorist aspect with *ἐκ-* denotes the completion of a process.

1434 Cf. p. 19. On the position of *γάρ*, for which it is hardly possible to

devise any explanation more plausible than that of metrical exigency ($\alpha\nu$ in 96 is comparable), cf. Dover (1987) 63.

(ii) 1435–66. *What Should Athens Do?*

Dionysos now asks the two poets each to give him one recommendation for the emergence of Athens from her present perils. The first recommendation is given by Euripides, as the reference to Kephisophon (1452 f., cf. 944) proves. A second is given in 1443–8, and a third in 1463–5. Since this means that one of the two poets makes two recommendations (as Σ^{VE} 1437 points out) there is a prima-facie case for arguing that something has been interpolated—by which I do not mean composed by a later author (cf. Dover (1988) 216–18), but introduced from another text of Aristophanic authorship. According to Σ^{VE} 1437 Aristarchos and Apollonios athetized 1437–41, the former because they are ‘cheap and vulgar’, the latter because they are irrelevant to Dionysos’ question. Σ^{VE} 1452 observes that the athetesis takes 1452 (he must mean, though he does not say, 1451–3) with it. So far, this is no more than a prima-facie case for interpolation, for Aristophanes could have chosen to represent one of the poets as going beyond his brief; but in addition, the second recommendation divides the first from Dionysos’ reaction to the first, and that is decisive for interpolation.

The relation of this part of the play to the political situation in 405 has been discussed on p. 75, and in what follows I assume certain conclusions drawn from that discussion, namely:

- (1) The play was performed again early in 404.
- (2) The recommendation made in 1463–5 was made in 405 and not in 404, because by then Athens had no fleet.
- (3) The recommendation made in 1437–42, although it refers to naval warfare, could have been made on either occasion, since it is both defensive and wholly fantastic.

From that I draw two further conclusions:

- (1) 1463–5 must be spoken by Aeschylus in 405.
- (2) 1443 f., 1446–8 must be spoken by Aeschylus in 404, for three reasons, of which neither the second nor the third would be conclusive without the others:
 - (a) Otherwise, we would be left without any recommendation from Aeschylus.
 - (b) The contest is a contest of *σοφία*, in which Aeschylus emerges supreme (cf. p. 12). Dionysos wishes the sentiment of 1443 f. to be expressed *ἀμαθέστερον*, i.e. less *σοφῶς* (cf. p. 13), and ‘more clearly’, i.e. in a manner less like that of Aeschylus, whose lack of ‘clarity’ has been criticized (927, 1122), not

without cause. The style of 1443 f. is not specially Euripidean, but could also be thought Aeschylean (Newiger (1985) 438, against MacDowell (1959) 264).

(c) The advice given in 1443–8 coincides with that given by the Chorus in 718–37.

There are, however, some residual problems:

(1) One poet refuses (1461) to give an opinion until he has returned to earth; Dionysos begs him to give it now (1462). Which poet refuses? 1461 must be an answer to a plea, the plea ‘find (sc. a way)’ is there in 1460, and 1460 follows naturally from a suggestion that there is no way. 1458 f. are such a suggestion, and they follow from what is said in 1456 f. about the political behaviour of the Athenians in answer to a request for information about Athens (1454 f.). Aeschylus, having been dead for fifty years, is the one who needs to ask and to be told. It seems therefore that it is Aeschylus who expresses despair in 1458 f., refuses to give an opinion in 1461, and then yields and gives one after all in 1463–5 in response to Dionysos’ renewed plea. The difficulty is that to withhold a useful recommendation seems to display Aeschylus as petulant or arrogant and in either case unpatriotic, whereas a wily Euripides might wish to secure resurrection on shaky credit. However, this is not the only way of taking the passage. 1461 could be spoken cautiously rather than cunningly or arrogantly, with much head-shaking; a pause after 1462, and then 1463–5 slowly and portentously.

(2) That interpretation must be considered in conjunction with *ἴσως* in 1448. All MSS have *σωθείημεν* (*σωθείμεν* Dawes), and R alone omits *ἴσως*; *-είμεν* is the inflection we expect (cf. Blaydes ad loc. and O. Lautensach, *Gl* 7 (1915) 101–3), though *-είμεν* appears sporadically (e.g. Men. fr. 767), and corruption of *ἰσως* to *σω* is rather more likely than the reverse. *ἴσως* would be surprising from the confident and voluble Euripides, but it suits Aeschylean gloom and misgivings (1458 f.) about his fellow-countrymen (cf. 1025, 1063–88).

(3) Who speaks 1449 f.? If the speaker of 1446–8, it is not only a curiously pleonastic utterance but at the same time moves from the cautious *ἴσως* on to the plane of *πῶς οὐ* (cf. MacDowell (1959) 265 f.). It is better to take 1449 f. as spoken by Dionysos to the audience, as in *Nu.* 1437–9, where Strepsiades turns away from his interlocutor to moralize (*ὠνδρες ἠλικες*). *γε* will then be ‘Yes, . . .’, merging with the confirmatory sense of *γάρ*; cf. *Eq.* 797 f. *τὰς πρεσβείας τ’ ἀπελαύνεις . . .* || *ἵνα γ’ Ἑλλήνων ἄρξη κτλ.*, 1231, E. *Cy.* 249–51 *χρόνιος δ’ εἴμ’ ἀπ’ ἀνθρώπων βορᾶς*. || *τὰ καινά γ’ ἐκ τῶν ἠθάδων . . . ἠδίων ἐστίν*; *GP* 130 f., 134. The illogical generalization of 1449 f. is comic (MacDowell (1959) 266); cf. *Ec.* 456 f. on ‘the only thing we haven’t tried’.

(4) Where do we find a home for 1442 *ἐγὼ μὲν οἶδα καὶ θέλω φράζειν*. || *λέγει*? This directs us to the beginning of Aeschylus’ recommendation, 1443 or 1463. One theoretical possibility is that while Aeschylus is brooding (*ἀπο-*

σεμνυνόμενος, cf. 1020), Euripides jumps in with ἐγὼ μὲν οἶδα κτλ. but Dionysos ignores him and addresses λέγε imploringly to Aeschylus. Although this would be easy enough in production, there is no other passage in which it can be shown that an ancient dramatist expects a reader to excavate from the text an action so complex, however simple it may be for the spectator. Must it not be Aeschylus who says ἐγὼ μὲν οἶδα κτλ.? The difficulty then is the reference of οἶδα as a response to ἀνίει. Yet the same difficulty presents itself with εὔρισκε in 1460. Aeschylus asked (1458 f.) πῶς οὖν τις ἄν σώσειε κτλ., and with εὔρισκε we have to understand ‘some way (sc. to save the city)’. Here again there is a possible producer’s solution: after 1462 silence falls while Aeschylus broods; then he yields. The question posed in 1468 f. is still in our minds, and with οἶδα we understand exactly what we understood with εὔρισκε. θέλω does not mean that Aeschylus is bursting to answer, but that he is, after all, *willing* to do so; cf. 613 and *Av.* 1597 f. νῦν τ’ ἐθέλομεν, εἰ δοκεῖ, / ἔὰν τὸ δίκαιον ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐθέλητε δρᾶν, / σπονδὰς ποιεῖσθαι (Peisetairos is nonchalant, and he does not imagine that the gods are positively anxious to do what he represents as ‘right’).

Taken together, the considerations which have surfaced in discussion of those problems indicate that the transposition of 1442–50 to make them an alternative to 1463–6 does not go quite far enough; they are an alternative to 1461–6. In the 405 version Aeschylus at first refused to answer, then yielded to Dionysos’ impassioned plea, but in the 404 version he did not refuse; that makes it much easier to understand with οἶδα the same object as we have to understand with εὔρισκε. In ἐγὼ μὲν, μὲν has the sense it commonly has with personal pronouns, ‘whatever may be the case with anyone else’; cf. *Ach.* 59, *Av.* 12, *GP* 381 f. As we have seen in (3) above, Dionysos’ audience-directed couplet, 1449 f., constitutes his comment on Aeschylus’ advice, corresponding to his reaction (1451 f.) to Euripides’ advice.

My hypothesis is therefore:

405 version:	}	1436–41	1451–60	}	1461–6
404 version:					1442–50

Naturally, 1442 would make excellent sense between 1436 and 1437; but to suppose that it wound its way from there to end up at the start of an interpolation of quite different origin would be to push coincidence *praeter necessitatem*.

The idea that the text of the scene is a conflation of two versions goes back to Dindorf and Hermann. Dörrie, while contemplating, but not invoking, the possibility that a second performance in 404 may have contributed to the state of our text (307 n. 4, 319 n. 1), takes the crucial step of transposing 1442–50 to follow 1462. He believes that Dionysos accepts two answers from Aeschylus and that two lines are lost, one spoken by Dionysos and the other by Aeschylus, between 1450 and 1463. MacDowell, accepting Dörrie’s transposition, gives 1446–8 to Euripides, as providing a better balance: after Euripides

has offered fantasy and Aeschylus has refused to answer at all, each of them produces a serious answer, but then we need something (and MacDowell posits a lacuna) to generate the answer which Aeschylus gives in 1463–5. Newiger (1985), like Dörrie and MacDowell, transposes 1442–50 to follow 1462, and follows Dörrie in making Aeschylus the speaker at 1442, but gives 1458 f. and 1461 to Euripides and also brackets 1463–6 as an intrusion of unknown origin. Most recently, Sommerstein (1991), while allowing 1463–6 to stand even in 404, regards 1442–50 as the 404 substitute for 1437–41 and 1451–3, so that Euripides makes a more sensible and realistic recommendation (cf. MacDowell 265 f.) and the outcome of the contest is not so obvious so far in advance. I am considerably indebted to all those scholars, though not in complete agreement with any one of them. I have no theoretical objection to lacunae, but I do not think that a lacuna is demonstrable anywhere in the scene.

1437 Κλεόκριτον: an ostrich is invoked as ‘mother of Kleokritos’ in *Av.* 877, and by coincidence (for the archons were chosen by lot) a man of that name was eponymous archon two years later. The man referred to here is almost certainly the ‘son of the ostrich’, for if he was very heavy the idea of his being airborne is a better joke; and he may well be the Kleokritos, keryx of the Eleusinian cult, whose eloquence helped to demoralize the supporters of the Thirty Tyrants in 403 (Xen. *HG* ii. 4. 20). **Κινησίρα:** cf. 153 n. As he was very slight in build, even emaciated (Plato *Com.* fr. 200), he is presented in *Av.* 1372–1409 as longing to be a bird and soar through the air.

1438 αἶροισιν αὔραι: the anacoluthon of the MSS’ *εἰ τις περώσας . . . αἶροισιν αὔραι* is remarkable, but cf. *Ach.* 1165 *βαδίζων . . . εἶτα κατάξειέ τις αὐτοῦ . . . τῆς κεφαλῆς* (KG ii. 107–9, *SGV* 710 f., Schwyzer ii. 403, 616 f., 705). In sentences of this type the subject of the participle is normally the ‘logical subject’ of the main verb, and in the present case that is not so; hence MacDowell’s *ἄρειεν αὔρα* may well be right. (Kock wrongly invokes *Pax* 933, which demands emendation on metrical grounds.) It is noteworthy that both this and Euripides’ next utterance (1440 f.), plus Aeschylus’ advice in 1463–5, are subordinate clauses without a main clause. A conditional protasis with no apodosis occurs as the first member of an antithetical ‘If . . .; but if not, . . .’ (KG ii. 484, *SGV* 424 f., Schwyzer ii. 687), but that does not apply here. Conceivably all three utterances are interrupted by Dionysos, but that seems implausible in 1465 and hardly less so in 1441. It is preferable to take them as dependent on an unspoken ‘The city would/will be saved if/when . . .’. The effect is something like our ‘Suppose . . .’ in cases where the purpose of the supposition is taken for granted.

1439 νοῦν δ’ ἔχει τίνα: ‘but what’s the sense’ (or ‘point’) ‘of that?’ Cf. 696; and for the position of *τίνα*, cf. *τίς* in 770.

- 1441** **ῥαίνουσιν**: sc. the vinegar (ὄξος) contained in the vinegar-flasks (ὄξειδες); cf. KG ii. 564 f.
- 1451** **Παλάμηδες**: Palamedes, subject of a Euripidean tragedy (parodied in *Th.* 769–84 (Rau 51–3)) was represented there as the inventor of writing (E. fr. 578), and later we find a variety of inventions attributed to him (e.g. dice, Paus. ii. 20. 3). Cf. Eupolis fr. 385. 6 *Παλαμηδικόν . . . τοῦξέρημα*.
- 1452** **Κηφισοφῶν**: cf. pp. 53 f.
- 1453** If the vinegar was Kephisophon's contribution, Euripides' was small.
- 1454** **τί δαι σύ**: cf. *Ach.* 803 *τί δαι σύ; τρώγοις ἄν;*
- 1455** **χρῆται . . . χρηστοῖς**: cf. 179 n. on *χρηστός*; for *χρησθαι*, cf. 1447 f.; and for the two together, 725, 731, 733. **πόθεν**: 'By no means!', with a touch of 'No, of course not!'; cf. *Ec.* 976 *μῶν ἐμὲ ζητεῖς; || πόθεν;*
- 1456** **τοῖς πονηροῖς . . . 1457** **πρὸς βίαν**: R marks no change of speaker anywhere in this passage except at 1439 and 1442, but resumes sigla sporadically at 1469. All other MSS except Θ^{ac} give the question *τοῖς πονηροῖς δ' ἤδεται*; to Aeschylus, all give the answer, 1457, to Dionysos and 1458 f. to Aeschylus. Bergk suggested that *τοῖς πονηροῖς δ' ἤδεται*; is a continuation of Dionysos' utterance and that 1457–9 are spoken by Aeschylus; Newiger (1985), following Bergk to the end of 1457, gives 1458 f. to Euripides, while Dörrie gives 1458 f. to Dionysos. The point of *πρὸς βίαν*, 'perforce', is that if they will not follow the good, the bad are the only alternative, but there may also be a suggestion that the bad impose themselves on the assembly; cf. *Ach.* 73 *ξενιζόμενοι δὲ πρὸς βίαν ἐπίνομεν*, 'We were entertained, and had no option but to drink'.
- 1459** **χλαῖνα** is a good, warm cloak, which might be of wool (*Av.* 493), and according to 'some' in Σ^{VE} *σισύρα* is a cheaper and rougher article, of goat-skin; Σ thus interprets *χλαῖνα* as symbolizing the good (i.e. rich) whom the assembly rejects and *σισύρα* the bad (i.e. poor) with whom it fares ill. Yet both *χλαῖνα* (*V.* 738) and *σισύρα* (*Av.* 122) can be called 'soft', and it seems from other references in comedy that *χλαῖνα* was worn out of doors while *σισύραι* were used as blankets in bed (e.g. *Nu.* 10, *V.* 1138, *Ec.* 347, 840). It is possible that the line is adapted from a proverbial expression.
- 1460** **νῆ Δί**: for the reinforcement of a plea by an oath cf. *Av.* 661 *ὦ τοῦτο μέντοι νῆ Δί' αὐτοῖσιν πιθοῦ*; Werres 39.
- 1462** **μὴ δῆτα σύ γ'**: cf. *Eq.* 959 *τουτονὶ λαβὼν ταμίενέ μοι. || μὴ δῆτά πω γ', ὦ δέσποτ', ἀντιβολῶ σ' ἐγώ*. **ἀνίει τὰγαθά**: the formula is used of blessings conferred by Pluto and the gods of the underworld in Ar. fr. 504. 14 *αἰτούμεθ' αὐτοῦς δεῦρ' ἀνίεναι τὰγαθά*; cf. Phrynichos fr. 16 (in Alcaic metre, and thus probably a quotation from a skolion), Kratinos fr. 172. It is flattering reverence to Aeschylus to treat him as if he possessed such powers.
- 1443** **ἡγώμεθα**: here and in 1446–8 Aeschylus uses 'we', identifying himself with the Athenians, but in 1463 f. 'they'.

1450 ἄν . . . ἄν: cf. 96 n.

1463–5 On the practicability of this advice in 405, cf. p. 75 n. 19. In 431 Perikles urged the Athenians on no account to fight the Peloponnesian army which ravaged Attica in the summer, but to put everything into strengthening the fleet (Thuc. ii. 13. 2, cf. 62. 2 f.). In 405, when a Peloponnesian force was permanently stationed at Dekeleia, even the option of fighting in Attica was no longer open (Thuc. vii. 27. 3–28. 3), and the exaction of money from the subject-allies in the Aegean, by tribute, taxes, or levies, was irregular. Aeschylus' advice in 1465 implies: without the fleet, they will have nothing, and all talk of any 'provision', 'way out', or 'resource' (cf. [Xen.] *Ath.* 3. 2 *περὶ πόρου χρημάτων*) is idle, leading to a total lack of resources, unless the fleet is put first.

1466 The notion that pay for jurors was wrong in principle is likely to have been entertained throughout by conservatives of the far right, but we have to remember also that at any given time it will have been shared by some people who were aggrieved by court decisions. In *V.* 656–63 Bdelykleon argues that out of a total annual revenue of 2000 talents a mere 150 talents went to pay jurors (assuming 6000 men, sitting for 300 days a year, at half a drachma a day). As *δίκαι* (but not *γραφαί*) were suspended during the later years of the war (Lys. xvii. 3), the expenditure on the courts will have been a good deal less than 150 talents a year in 405, though it may well have been a higher proportion of revenue than twenty years earlier. **αὐτά:** i.e. whatever revenue comes in through use of the fleet; cf. 1377 and *Ec.* 748 *βασανιῶ* . . . *αὐτά* ('. . . what's going on', or ' . . . the situation').

(iii) **1467–81.** *Dionysos Decides*

On the nature of the decision, and in particular on the interpretation of 1468, see pp. 19 f.

1467 κρίνοις ἄν: cf. 1401 n.

1468 γάρ: often found with a clause introduced, as here (*αὐτῇ*), by a prospective demonstrative, e.g. Pl. *Prt.* 349 D *ὥδε δὲ γνώση . . . εὐρήσεις γὰρ* κτλ. (*GP* 59). **ἡ ψυχῆ:** cf. pp. 19 f.

1469 τῶν θεῶν οὓς ὥμοσας: Dionysos has sworn no such oath, but his original determination to bring back Euripides is treated as amounting to an oath, as we say 'But you *swore* you'd do it!', meaning 'You declared emphatically . . .'. So in *S. Phil.* 941 Philoktetes says of Neoptolemos *ὀμόσας ἀπάξειν οἴκαδε*, although he himself had explicitly declined (811) to put Neoptolemos under oath, and the promise was sealed only by a handshake (813).

1470 ἡ μήν: cf. 104 n.

1471 = E. *Hp.* 612: cf. 101 f. n. Dionysos probably pauses for a second or two

between the two halves of the line. The elision of *-μοκ'* is no obstacle to that, given that the last word of one speaker is sometimes elided before the first word of another speaker, e.g. 56.

1472 ἀνθρώπων: cf. 486 n.

1474 Fritzsche suspected that this line is a quotation from tragedy. For the content, cf. Dem. lvi. 20 καὶ ταῦτο διαπεπραγμένος τολμᾶ βλέπειν εἰς τὰ ὑμέτερα πρόσωπα.

1475 An adaptation of E. fr. 19 (from *Aiolos*), substituting τοῖς θεωμένοις, with a clear reference to the audience (cf. 2, 926, 1110), for τοῖσι χρωμένοις, 'those who encounter it' (or '... deal with it').

1476 περιόψει με: cf. 509 n.

1477 τίς δ' . . . 1478 κῶδιον: the first line is an abbreviation of E. fr. 833. 1 f. (from *Phrixos*) and/or fr. 638 (from *Polyidos*); cf. 1082 n. The second line is a comic exploitation of the idea, in which it is implied that breathing is as good as a feast (sound rather than sense determines this) and that sleep is (sc. only?) a fleece to sleep on.

1479 χωρεῖτε: addressed to both Dionysos and Aeschylus, as σφῶ (1480) shows. An imperative addressed to more than one person is commonly coupled with a vocative referring to an individual as representative of the group or pair, e.g. *Lys.* 550 ἀλλ' ὦ τηθῶν ἀνδρειοτάτη . . . χωρεῖτε κτλ.; cf. Brinkmann 37, 41. On dual and plural cf. 605 n.

1480 ξενίζω: so Meineke. *ξενίσω* (codd.) is desirable in sense (cf. *Lys.* 1182–4 ὅπως ἀγνεύσετε / ὅπως ἄν . . . ὑμᾶς ξενίσωμεν κτλ.) but leaves the line a syllable short, and the imperfective is perfectly possible; cf. Xen. *An.* vii. 6. 3 καλεῖ τε αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ξένια καὶ ἐξένιζε μεγαλοπρεπῶς. Marzullo 407 suggests *ξενίσωμεν*, observing that in Men. *Dysc.* 958 the last syllable of *κρατούμεν* is lost. εὐ λέγεις: often said in response to good advice (e.g. *Ec.* 279) or in commendation of an opinion offered (e.g. *Nu.* 1092). Here it is rather like our 'That's a good idea!'

1481 νῆ τὸν Δί': τῷ πράγματι: 'with that', i.e. being entertained (cf. *ἀνήρ* = 'he') or 'with how things have gone'? *Pax* 309 f. ὅπως μὴ περιχαρεῖς τῷ πράγματι . . . ἐκζωπυρήσετε κτλ. favours the latter, and *V.* 1476 f. ὡς ἐπιε . . . ἤκουσέ τ' αὐλοῦ, περιχαρῆς τῷ πράγματι ὀρχοῦμενος . . . οὐδὲν παύεται could be held to favour either, but the logic of γάρ points to the former. Dionysos' acceptance sounds like an ungracious 'That's not a bad idea', but such words (like 'Don't mind if I do!') can be uttered in an enthusiastic tone; idiom can tolerate and justify anything. (*V.* 1344 ὁμῶς γε μέντοι τριβόμενον οὐκ ἄχθεται is not a good parallel, since the strong adversative shows that οὐχ ἄχθεται is contrary to expectation).

How Euripides departs, the text does not show us; perhaps at a run, tearing his hair and wailing.

(iv) 1482-99. *Judgement of the Chorus*

The actors have gone in, and the Chorus now explains why Dionysos preferred Aeschylus. For the interpretation of this passage see pp. 20-2.

It consists of two sections each of which ends with an ithyphallic. The two are almost in exact responsion, but not quite, because 1486 and 1498 are trochaic dimeters but 1489 and 1495 lekythia. *φίλοις* in 1489 can hardly be relied on (*φίλοισι* Bentley), but 1495 and 1498 entirely resist emendation, and in 1486 Dindorf's *αὖ* for *αὐθις* begs the question of responsion. A similar phenomenon is observable in *Au.* 1701: a trochaic dimeter occurs there, whereas 1477, 1489, and 1560 have lekythia, and with that solitary exception the four passages respond. It would therefore be nit-picking to withhold the labels 'strophe' and 'antistrophe' from the two halves of our present passage; cf. Zimmermann iii. 110 for other putative examples of near-responsion, though in some the 'irregularity' is extensive enough to make us wonder whether responsion was intended.

(1) 1482 (<i>μακά-...</i>) ~ 1491 (<i>χαρί-...</i>)	w u - <u>u</u> - u -	<i>lek</i>
(2) 1483 (<i>ξύνε-...</i>) ~ 1492 (<i>παρα-...</i>)	w u - <u>u</u> - u -	<i>lek</i>
(3) 1484 (<i>πάρα-...</i>) ~ 1493 (<i>ἀπο-...</i>)	w u - <u>u</u> - u -	<i>lek</i>
(4) 1485 (<i>ὄδε-...</i>) ~ 1494 (<i>τά τε-...</i>)	w u - u <u>w</u> u - <u>u</u>	<i>2tr</i>
(5) 1486 (<i>πάλιν-...</i>) ~ 1495 (<i>τῆς-...</i>)	w u - u - u - -	<i>2tr</i>
(6) 1487 (<i>ἐπ' ἀ-...</i>) ~ 1496 (<i>τὸ δ' -...</i>)	- u - u - u -	<i>lek</i>
(7) 1487 (<i>ἐπ' ἀ-...</i>) ~ 1496 (<i>τὸ δ' -...</i>)	w u - - - u - <u>u</u>	<i>2tr</i>
(8) 1488 (<i>ἐπ' ἀ-...</i>) ~ 1497 (<i>καί-...</i>)	<u>w</u> u - <u>u</u> - u - -	<i>2tr</i>
(9) 1489 (<i>ξυγ-...</i>) ~ 1498 (<i>δια-...</i>)	- u w u - u -	<i>lek</i>
(9) 1490 (<i>διά-...</i>) ~ 1400 (<i>παρα-...</i>)	w u - - - u - -	<i>2tr</i>
	w u <u>w</u> u - -	<i>ith</i>

Prato 330 f., Zimmermann ii. 161 f., iii. 95.

1482 μακάριος: a formula of felicitation, whether addressed to an individual (e.g. Pi. *P.* 5. 46 *μακάριος, ὃς ἔχεις κτλ.*) or, as here, generalizing; cf. Men. fr.

101 *μακάριος ὄστις οὐσίαν καὶ νοῦν ἔχει*. The formula continues in Christian Greek, notably in the Beatitudes (Matt. 5: 3-10), *μακάριοι οἱ κτλ.*

1483 ἠκριβωμένην: 'perfected', 'polished'; the verb is used in *Ec.* 162, 276 of getting something absolutely right by practice and attention to detail.

- 1484** **πάρα . . . μαθεῖν:** lit., ‘it is possible to understand (that) by many (examples or proofs)’; cf. Sa. 16. 5 f. (following a generalization) ‘it is extremely easy to make that intelligible to anyone’, then the example, ‘for Helen . . .’. *τεκμαίρεσθαι* with the dative, ‘infer from . . .’, is common, and *πολλοῖσιν μαθεῖν* seems to be modelled on that; cf. KG i. 438. For *πάρα* = *πάρεστι* cf. *Ach.* 129, *Th.* 1161, and abundant examples in tragedy.
- 1485** **δοκῆσας:** cf. 737 n.
- 1487** **ἐπ’ ἀγαθῷ μὲν . . . 1488** **ἐπ’ ἀγαθῷ δέ:** for this repetition cf. A. *Pe.* 157 *θεοῦ μὲν εὐνάτειρα Περσῶν, θεοῦ δὲ καὶ μήτηρ ἔφους*; Fehling 192–4, 197 f., 215 f., *GPS* 84–6.
- 1490** **συνετός:** picking up 1483 *ξύνεσιν*.
- 1491 f.** **χαρίεν οὖν:** the generalization follows from the fact that Aeschylus has won. **Σωκράτει παρακαθήμενον:** after *Clouds*, Aristophanes returns to Socrates briefly in *Av.* 1282, 1553–54. According to D.L. ii. 18 a passage of the first version of *Clouds* (fr. 392) spoke of Socrates as composing Euripides’ tragedies for him, and Telekleides fr. 39 and 40 make a similar allegation in respect of Euripides’ *Phrygians*; cf. Kallias fr. 15. Evidently the comic poets observed in Euripidean tragedy unconventional ethical arguments of a kind which they associated with Socrates. Inevitably, Su ε 3695 makes Euripides a ‘pupil’ of Socrates.
- 1497** **σκαριφημοῖσι:** words from the stem *σκαριφ-*, familiar to ancient commentators and lexicographers but not well attested in extant classical texts, seem to have to do with scratching, pecking, or chipping at the surface of something; cf. Isoc. vii. 12 *τὰς εὐτυχίας . . . διεσκαριφησάμεθα καὶ διελύσαμεν*. Frisk and Chantraine s.v. relate the stem to words for ‘scratch’ in other Indo-European languages (including Latin *scribere*). **λήρων:** cf. 809 n.
- 1498** **διατριβήν:** this does not in itself connote idleness or inactivity, but it is not used of the time spent on necessary physical labour.

1500–33. EXODUS

Pluto and Aeschylus come out of the central door. Since Dionysos too has been entertained as a prelude to departure (1480), we expect to see him, but Pluto’s words are addressed specifically to Aeschylus, and neither of them makes any reference to Dionysos, nor does the chorus. It is not inconceivable that he is simply a discarded character now, and we are not supposed even to ask ourselves where he is; but it would be less strange, at least to our way of thinking, if he does appear, side by side with Aeschylus. To have a non-speaking actor, wearing the costume and mask of Xanthias, accompany him to

carry the luggage would be to remind us unseasonably of the buffoonery of the first part of the play.

The metre of 1500–27 is purely anapaestic, divided into three unequal sections, the end of each section being marked by a paroemiac (1514, 1523, 1527). Word-end coincides with metron-end throughout except for 1522 *εἰς τὸν θᾶκον κτλ.*, and two places, 1517 f. *ἐγὼ ποτε δεῦρ' ἄφι-* and 1525 f. *προπέμπετε τοῖσιν*, are obstacles, because of *-τε*, to the organization of the whole passage in verses no larger than the dimeter. 1525 *λαμπάδας ἱεράς* exemplifies a rare form (— ∪ ∪ ∪ —) of the anapaestic metron, which we need not try to eliminate by writing *ἱράς*; cf. *Th.* 822 *τάντιον, ὁ κανών* and West 95.

1500 χαίρων . . . χώρει: a formula rather like ‘Have a good journey!’, though usually a more positive expression of goodwill. *ἀλλ' ἴθι χαίρων* is said by the chorus to a departing character in *Eq.* 498, *Nu.* 510, *Pax* 729; in *Pl.* 1079 *ἄπιθι χαίρων κτλ.* is an ironic ‘. . . and good luck to you!’. *Pax* 154 *ἀλλ' ἄγε Πήγασε χώρει χαίρων* is different, since Trygaeos is not parting with his ‘Pegasos’ but taking off on its back.

1501 ἡμετέραν: as the god is not an Athenian, Scaliger conjectured *ὑμετέραν*, and certainly *ἡμ-* and *ὑμ-* (both pronounced [*im*] in the Middle Ages) are frequently found as variants; but within this finale Pluto is half stepping out his role in the play and adopting the standpoint of the poet (cf. p. 69 on *Nu.* 601). The combination is more complicated in 1509–14, v.n. *σῶζε* picks up 1419 *σωθείσα*.

1502 παίδευσον: cf. pp. 15 f. and 1054 n.

1503 ἀνοήτους: cf. 734 n.

1504 καὶ δός . . . 1507 Ἄρχερόμψ: the genders of *τουτί . . . τουτουσί . . . τὸδε* suggest that Pluto hands to Aeschylus—or rather, to a slave-attendant, unmentioned in the text, who will have appeared in order to accompany Aeschylus—a sword (*ξίφος*), two nooses (*βρόχοι*) and a bunch of hemlock (*κάνειον*). Cf. p. 121 n. It is not customary in the West nowadays to express publicly a desire for the death of a political opponent, but the Greeks had no such inhibitions. **Κλεοφῶντι:** cf. p. 69 and 679 n. **πορισταῖς:** this magistracy is mentioned in Antiphon v. 49; its functions, obviously financial (~ *πόρος*; cf. 1465) are obscure to us. Cf. Rhodes 356. **Μύρμηκι:** not otherwise known. **Νικομάχψ:** the man of this name prosecuted in *Lys.* xxx (of 399/8) was one of the *ἀναγραφεῖς* charged in 410 and again in 403 with the codification and public inscription of the laws. **Ἄρχερόμψ:** he too is unknown to us.

1509 κᾶν μῆ . . . 1513/14 ἀποπέμψω: a slave could be tattooed (*στίζειν*; cf. Lloyd-Jones ii. 206, 11) so that he would be easily recognizable if he ran away, for his marking would be made known by proclamation (cf. Dover (1987) 187 f.). The feet of a slave might also be fettered (*συμποδίξειν*) so that he could not run; cf. *Hdas.* 3. 95–7. A mortal might say to slaves, ‘I’ll tattoo

- you and send you to the mines' (or '... to the treadmill'), but it is strange that Pluto should say, 'If they don't come *to me*, I'll tattoo them . . . and send them off *to the underworld*' (cf. Pl. *Phd.* 113 C δὺς κατὰ τῆς γῆς, 'plunging underground'). It is not Pluto who despatches the living; he awaits their arrival. Aristophanes seems to have combined a Pluto who speaks for the underworld (1508 ὡς ἐμέ) with a comic spokesman for Athens (cf. 1501 n.). For μὴ μέλλειν cf. Mnesimachos fr. 4. 25 ἦκειν ἤδη καὶ μὴ μέλλειν.
- Ἄδειμάντου:** cf. p. 76. **Λευκολόφου:** the name was actually *Λευκολοφίδης* (*SEG* xiii. 17. 17, 53, Xen. *HG* i. 4. 21); for the abbreviation cf. *Eq.* 18 κομψευρικῶς = *κομψευριπιδικῶς.
- 1515 ταῦτα ποίησω:** 'I'll do as you say'; on this formula in drama and Plato cf. Fraenkel 81–9. **θᾶκον:** except for U (θῶκον) the MSS have θρόνον, a classic example of the displacement of a word by an explanatory gloss which does not scan. θᾶκος is the form presented by the MSS of tragedy, and conjectured here by Bentley; the Ionic θῶ- appears in Men. *Dysc.* 176 and as a variant in Pl. *R.* 516 E.
- 1516 Σοφοκλεῖ . . . 1519 εἶναι:** cf. pp. 7 f. We are left to imagine that Pluto will do as he is told and that Euripides will not have the spirit to contest the enthronement of Sophocles. On the phonology of *Σοφοκλεῖ* cf. 76 n.
- 1520 μέμνησο δ' ὅπως . . . 1523 ἐγκαθεδεῖται:** cf. *Nu.* 887 τοῦτό νυν μέμνησο, ὅπως . . . δυνήσεται κτλ., 1107 καὶ μέμνησο ὅπως . . . στομῶσει κτλ. On πανούργος cf. 35, 80 nn.
- 1522 θᾶκον:** cf. 1515 n.
- 1523 μηδ' ἄκων:** 'not even by accident'.
- 1524** Pluto now commands the chorus to escort Aeschylus back to the world by torchlight.
- 152 λαμπάδας:** They need their torches again, and slaves come on to provide these. Cf. p. 68 f.
- 1526 τοῖσιν τούτου τούτων μέλεσιν:** '... with *his* songs', or '... with his own songs'; cf. Hdt. ii. 102. 1 παραμειψάμενος ὦν τούτους, τοῦ ἐπὶ τούτοις γεγονένου βασιλέος . . . τούτου μνήμην ποιήσομαι, Pl. *La.* 200 D κἄν ἐγὼ τὸν Νικήρατον τούτῳ ἤδιστα ἐπιτρέπομι, εἰ ἐθέλοι οὗτος, *Smpr.* 219 B Dem. xix. 335 (Gygli-Wyss 26). It is different from 'polyptota' of the type *μόνος μόνω, κακὰ κακῶς* etc. (Gygli-Wyss 80–2, 123–6, Fehling 221–33, KG ii. 602, Bruhn 130–2), because the two demonstratives have identical reference, and different also from the type *Πρίαμος Πριάμοιό τε παῖδες* (Gygli-Wyss 48 f., Fehling 139–42), because the two are neither co-ordinated nor contrasted. There is a closer resemblance in substance to the emotionally stressed (cf. Fehling 176–8) demonstratives of *V.* 751 (parodic) *κείνων ἔραμαι, κείθι γενοίμαν κτλ.*
- 1528–33** The procession now leaves the orchestra, singing a song composed in dactylic hexameters. This is not itself an Aeschylean song, although it opens with a reminiscence of *Glaukos Potnieus* (A. fr. 36. 5 f.) *εὐοδίαν μὲν*

[. . .] / *πρώτον ἀπὸ στόματος χέομεν*], and dactylic rhythm has already (1264–95) been emphatically associated with Aeschylus. It may be that it is sung while the whole chorus is still in the orchestra and that the song is followed, as they leave, by a song which Aristophanes did not compose but took from an Aeschylean play (cf. Radermacher 352). For that, predominantly dactylic rhythm (not necessarily discrete hexameters) is extremely probable; cf. the processional song at the end of *Eumenides*, 1032–47, and the wedding-proclamation in E. *Phaethon* (Diggle) 109–16. The reminiscence in 1530 (v. n.) strongly suggests that Aristophanes had *Eumenides* in mind in composing this exodos. The morphology and vocabulary of 1528–33 belong to serious poetry: *φάος, ὄρνυμένω, γαίας, πάγχυ, ἀχέων*; but the last line and a half change the tone, switching from solemn prayer for the well-being of the city to a personal polemic characteristic of comedy.

1529 δαίμονες οἱ κατὰ γαίας: the ‘gods below the earth’ include Pluto and Persephone themselves, but others too (e.g. the Semnai Theai (A. *Eu.* 1022) and the ghosts of heroes), whose numbers and nature cannot be fully known to mortals.

1530 μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθὰς ἐπινοίας: cf. A. *Eu.* 1011 f. *εἴη δ’ ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθῇ διάνοια πολίταις*; Fehling 228, Gygli-Wyss 116. On *ἐπίνοια* cf. 1373 n. The notion that gods put ideas into people’s minds is commonplace; it is not a common role for the gods of the underworld, but cf. 1462 n.

1531 μεγάλων ἀχέων: a pointed formal contrast with *μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν*. Symmetries and assonances of this kind are obtrusive in Gorgias, e.g. B6 *θεράποντες μὲν τῶν ἀδίκως δυστυχοῦντων, κολασταὶ δὲ τῶν ἀδίκως εὐτυχοῦντων*, but they are rooted in archaic gnomic poetry, not in sophistic prose; cf. Fehling 295–307.

1532 ξυνόδων: ‘encounters’ in battle, as in Thuc. v. 70, 71, vi. 69. 2. **Κλεοφῶν:** cf. p. 69.

1533 τούτων πατρίοις ἐν ἀρούραις: ‘in *their* ancestral fields’, the demonstrative being stressed and referring to ‘Kleophon and anyone else who wishes (sc. to fight)’. The implication is that they are all of non-Athenian origin (cf. p. 69). A precise reference back to the people named in 1504–12 (V. Coulon, *RhM* 99 (1956) 253 f.) would not be easily understood.

ADDENDA

p. xiii. Add to list:

- AUSTIN, C. F. (ed.), *Nova Fragmenta Euripidea in Papyris Reperta* (Berlin, 1968)
- p. 17. On Sophocles' *Phaedra* cf. A. Kiso, *BICS* 20 (1973) 22–36.
- p. 49 n. 19. 'Welwei does not, however, confront . . .'. But J. S. Morrison, *JHS* 104 (1984) 48–59 does, and demonstrates once and for all, to my mind, that the ὑπηρεσία of a trireme were not slaves. I suggest that the term originally denoted the small crew of a merchant sailing-ship, who were ὑπηρέται of the master.
- p. 68 n. 25, on the erotic sense of παίζειν: cf. Henderson 157.
- p. 234, 323/4 n., on πολυτιμητ': cf. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax* (Basle, 1926) i. 308.
- p. 297, 840 n.: C. Ruck, *Arion*, NS 2 (1975) 14–32 suggests that Euripides' mother was a herbalist who sold psychotropic aphrodisiacs. Categorizing Euripides as a 'sexualist', he seeks sexual allusion in passages of *Ach.* and *Th.* which are funnier without it. The remarks of V. Tammaro, *Mus. Crit.* 21/2 (1987) 178 f. on *Ra.* 204 are a useful corrective to such an approach to Aristophanes.
- p. 309, 937 n. I should have made it clear that for Aristophanes and his audience the τραγέλαφος was a creature whose existence in nature could well be doubted. For the history of the philosophical fuss about it cf. G. Sillitti, *Tragelaphos. Storia di una metafora e di un problema* (Naples, 1980).
- p. 333, 1147 n. If we were witnessing a scene in real life, we could legitimately ask, 'What is the error to which Euripides was going to point when he was interrupted by Dionysos?' We might guess (cf. van Leeuwen ad loc.) that he means that the underworld is not the province of Zeus, Hermes' father. But as it is, we can only say that in Aristophanes' mind there was something about 1144–6 which would not make 1147 baffling to the audience.
- p. 350, 1304 n. *DFA* loc. cit. justly points out that one cannot accompany oneself on a wind instrument while singing. Given the introduction of καθαρωδία in 1282 and the nature of the refrain φλαττοθραττο κτλ., it is pretty certain that 1264–77 were *not* accompanied on the lyre, and that the author of the *parepigraphe* before 1264 was on the right lines.
- p. 356, 1320 n. Professor E. K. Borthwick has discerned a close relationship between this apparently incoherent sequence and ingredients of the Hypsipyle myth; I hope that his argument will soon be published.

- p. 357, 1327 n., on ἄστρον: in Herakleitos B99 εἰ μὴ ἥλιος ἦν, ἔνεκα τῶν ἄλλων ἄστροων εὐφρόνη ἂν ἦν does not imply that the sun is an ἄστρον. Cf. KG i. 275.
- p. 371, 1422 f. There is no reason to think that Aristophanes' Τριφάλης was about Alkibiades; cf. *PCG* iii. 2 pp. 145, 285.
- p. 381, 1497 n. 'Frisk' refers to H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1954–70), and 'Chantraine' to P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Paris, 1968).

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