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 kothornoi 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).
νὴ 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 ΣRVE) someone complains οὐ δύναμαι φέρειν / σκέψη τοσαύτα καὶ τὸν ὦμον θλίβομαι.

4 ἡδὴ: 'by now' (i.e. because it has been used so often).

χολή: '(a cause of) bile'; so too a person or action can be ὄνειδος, '(a target of) reproach'.

5 ἀστεῖον: a conventional contrast between city (ἄστυ) and country (ἄγροι) was established by Aristophanes' time, so that ἀστεῖος means 'clever', 'witty' (e.g. 901, 906) and ἄγροκος 'stupid', 'boorish' (e.g. Nu. 628, 646).

7 τὸ τί: cf. 40.

8 μεταβαλλόμενος: probably shifting it from one shoulder to the other.

χεζητιᾷς: 'you need a shit (χέζειν)'. 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 'ξεμεῖν: i.e. needing an emetic.

13 f. Phrynichos and Ameipsias were contemporaries of Aristophanes and competed against him; Phrynichos' Muses came second to Frogs. ΣRVE 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 ii.2 2325. 65); his work did not survive into the Hellenistic period (ΣVE).

15 σκεύη φέρουσ': so Ῥ Yp, ΣVE Epc KAc Md1 U. 'They carry baggage' = 'they present characters carrying baggage'; cf. Lys. 187–9 τίν’ ὀρκον ὅρκῳ σεισε ...; ... εἰς ἀσπίδ’, ὕσπερ, φασίν, Ἀισχύλοις ποτέ, / μῆλοσφαγοῦσας, and Pl. 582–6 ὁ Ζεύς ... πῶς ἂν ποιῶν τὸν Ὀλυμπικὸν αὐτὸς ἁγῶνα ... ἀνεκήρυττεν τῶν ἀθλητῶν τοὺς νικῶντας = 'Why, at the

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. οἵ σκεύη φοροῦσα (Ε<sup>ac</sup> Κ<sup>ρc</sup> Μ<sup>pc</sup>) will not do, since φορεῖν in comedy is 'wear', φέρειν 'carry'. Nor will σκευηφοροῦσα (λ<sup>3</sup> Ρ Αγ Μ<sup>Vb3</sup> Θ<sup>ac</sup>), 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'. σκευοφοροῦσα (M<sup>ac</sup> VS1<sup>pc</sup> Θ<sup>pc</sup>) does not scan, and οἳ σκευοφοροῦσα (G; cf. Νρ1 οἳ σκέυη φοροῦσα) 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 πλεῖν ἢ 'νιαυτῷ: 'a full year'; cf. Nu. 1065 πλεῖν ἢ τάλαντα πολλά and Antiphon vi. 44, where 30 and 20 days add up to πλεῖν ἢ πεντήκοντα. As we say, 'It takes a year off my life'.

19 For υ in the third foot, with elision between the two shorts, cf. 140, 1436 and Descroix 193 f.

20 θλίβεται: the joke forbidden in 5.

έρει: 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' ἄνδρα τῶν αὑτοῦ τι χρὴ προϊέναι: Dionysos seems suddenly to realize that he is being treated outrageously, while his slave is 'spoilt' by being on the donkey.

ύβρις ... 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 Bdelylkleon 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 ἐνιαυσίον κύκλον, but also specifically 'walk', as in Alexis fr. 265. 2 f. βαδίζειν ἀρρύθμως ... ἐξὸν καλῶς.
ὀχῶ: '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 ὀχοῦντα, 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, Schwyzzer 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 indigant protestations through inability to see the truth of 27.

26 γε: answering a question (GP 133), e.g. Pax 674 f. ποίός τις οὖν εἶναι 'δόκει ...; ψυχήν γ’ ἄριστος κτλ., or contradicting the negative implication of the question (GP 132), e.g. V. 26 f. οὐδέν γάρ ἔσται δεινόν ... δεινόν γε που 'στ’ κτλ.

28 μὰ τὸν Δί’ οὔ: cf. 1043 ἀλλ’ οὔ μὰ Δί’ ὁ Φαίδρας, Nu. 1066 ἀλλ’ οὔ μὰ Δί’ οὐ μάχαιραν. ΥΡ-ΣΡΕ records a change of speaker at μὰ (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 ἄν / ἐν τῷ μέρει χήμεις ... 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 ἔγωγʼ οὐκ, which does not scan (ἔγωγʼ οὐ ναυ- Κ Θ is a mistaken conjecture); for ἐγὼ οὐ scanned as two syllables cf. V. 416 ἐγὼ οὐ μεθήσομαι, Nu. 1373 κάγῳ οὐκέτ’.

ἡ τὰν: = ήτοι ἄν, 'I can tell you, ...' Cf. S. OC 1366 ἢ τὰν οὖκ ἂν ἢ, GP 553 f.

κωκύειν ... μακρά: cf. the threats in Av. 1207 οἰμώξει μακρά, Eq., 433 κλάειν σε μακρά 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’ ἐρῷ. / καὶ γὰρ οὖτος 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 Herakles 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 ὡδέλφ’, 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 hybristic; 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 Strepsiades 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).

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(it was)'; cf. Nu. 226 f. ἔπειτ’ ἀπὸ ταρροῦ ... ὑπερφρονεῖς, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, εἶπε, ‘... if that’s what you’re doing'.
τοῦτο 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.

tὸ τί: cf. 7.

41 μὴ μαίνοι γε: perhaps an aside; cf. p. 44. On the wording, cf. Pl. 684 οὐκ ἐπεδωκέεις τὸν θεόν; νῇ τοὺς θεοὺς ἑγώγη, μὴ κτλ.

42: cf. Xen. HG vi. 1. 1 ὁτι … οὐ δυνάσκοιτο μὴ πεῖθεσθαι; 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.

dάκνω: so Strepsiades in Nu. 1369 'bites his spirit' (τὸν θυμὸν δακῶν) to repress anger.

44 ὡς δαιμόνια: a conciliatory mode of address, reinforcing a plea which may contain a note of reproof; cf. Nu. 38 "ὡς δαιμόνια, do let me get a bit of sleep!" and E. Brunius-Nilsson, ΚΩΝΙΟΝΙΕ (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'.


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 ἡ 'πίνοια; τίς ὁ κόθορνος τῆς ὁδοῦ; For ξυνηλθέτην cf. Th. 140 τίς δαὶ κατρόπτου ('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 ἄποδημεῖς (Su (2)), arguing that Dionysos' answer is simply the lead-up to 66–70 but is interrupted by Herakles.

ἐπεβάτευον: a trireme normally had a small detachment of hoplites on board, ἐπιβάται (in IG ii.2 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., Eikamos 2 (1991) 159–61 doubts whether ἐπεβάτευον would make the audience think of ἐπιβαίνειν.

49 κάναυμαχησας: 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 στύομαι τριέμβολον. Sexual innuendo could be made quite plain if Herakles accompanied the question κάναυμαχησας 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 δὶς ἢ τρὶς ἐκοψεν. The MSS have τρισ-, but cf. IG i.3 364. 11 τρεῖς καὶ δέκα and Is. viii. 35 τριῶν καὶ δέκα μνήων.
51 σφώ: 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.

cάτ’ ἐγω’ ἐξηγόρμην: 'and then I woke up'. Scholars disagreed over the attribution of these words: Herakles, scornfully? (Vp. Σ R K Np1 Vb3ac Θ) Dionysos, disarmingly? (ΣR Vp. ΣV). Or Xanthias (R A M Md1 Vb3ac; 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 ... ὑπνος. / καὶ δῆτ’ δναρ θαυμαστὸν εἶδον; GP 278.

ἀναγιγνώσκοντί μοι ... 53 πρός ἐμαυτὸν: 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 Άνδρομέδαν: produced in 413/12, with Helen, and parodied on a grand scale in Th. 1010–1135.

54 ἐπάταξε: cf. Theognis 1199 καὶ μοι κραδίην ἐπάταξε.

πώς οἴει: like πώς δοκεῖς, used virtually as an adverb of intensification, e.g. Nu. 881 βατράχους ἐποίει πώς δοκεῖς, Ach. 24 ἐέτα δ’ ὁπιούνται πώς δοκεῖς, though in Nu. 1368 πώς οἴεσθε 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 ἡλίκος 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. ΣRVE missed the point in supposing that another Molon, a λωποδύτης, was conspicuously small.

56 One ancient view (ap. ΣRVE) 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: ἀππαπαϊ R V; ἀτταταὶ A E K M Np1 Vb3 (-ταϊ) Vs1 (-ται): ἀταταὶ Md1 U Θ. In Ach. 1197 Dikaiopolis' ἀταταῖ is an exclamation of delight, countering Lamachos' pained ἀταταῖ 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 ἀταταῖ (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 τῳ as τῳ = 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: σκώπτειν is often making fun of someone, not just making jokes.

οὐ γὰρ ἀλλ': 'because ... really ...'; cf. 498 and GP 31.

60 ωδελφίδιον: solicitous, though patronizing; Herakles obeys Dionysos' request to take him seriously.

61 δι' αἰνιγμῶν: αἰνίττεσθαι, αἴνιγμα, αἰνιγμός are for the most part not so much what we mean by 'riddle' as oblique allusion or analogy.


63 βαβαιάξ: 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' ἀπαπαὶ in 57.
γ': intensifying a quantitative word (GP 120 f.).

64 ἄρ' ἐκδιδάσκω τὸ σαφὲς: τὸ σαφὲς is literally 'the clear (way)', as opposed to the allusive ἀγνηγμός, '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 σαφὲς cf. Thuc. i. 22. 4 ὁσοὶ δὲ βουλήσονται τῶν τε γενομένων τὸ σαφὲς σκοπεῖν; and on ἐκδιδάσκειν cf. E. Tsitsoni, Untersuchungen der EK-Verbalkomposita bei Sophokles (Kalmünz, 1963) 13, 50.

ἡ 'τέρα: cf. Eq. 35 ἀλλ' ἔτερα πη σκεπτέον, 'We've got to look in a different direction', and for the prodelision Ach. 828 εἶ μὴ 'τέρωσε.

66 τοίνυν: 'Well, ...', going on the next point; cf. GP 574-6.

dαρδάπτει: 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 τεθνηκότος to Herakles (ΣVe), 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 οὐδείς (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.

tὸ μὴ οὐκ: not uncommon in 'persuade ... not to ...', 'prevent ... from ... -ing', 'refrain from ...', and the like; cf. Pl. R. 354 οὐκ ἀπεσχόμην τὸ μὴ οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐλθεῖν; KG ii. 217 f., SGV 792-7, MT 325 f., Schwizer ii. 372. οὐδὲν at verse-end is found also in [A.] Pr. 918 οὐδὲν ... ἀπαρκέσει τὸ μή οὐ πεσεῖν; on this and similar phenomena cf. Descroix 288–94.
69 ἐπ’ ἐκεῖνον: '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.


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 ἐγκρατής ἔτυ, GP 175 f.

Ἰοφῶν: 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 γυναῖκες … ἐργασαίατο / … αἳ καθήμεθ’ …; ταῦτ’ αὐτὰ γάρ τοι κἀσθ’ ἃ 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 ἰῶς μὲν οὐκ ἂν υβρίζου, εἰ δ’ ἄρα, ἐλάττονος ἄξιος ἔσται ‘... but if by any chance he does, ...', GP 37 f.

76 The line as it stands requires Σοφοκλέα to be scanned ὄν. The prosody of names in -κλῆς is variable in fifth-century documentary inscriptions, e.g. IG I. 2 933. 52 Νικόκλεες ̄ 941. 11 [Ν]ικοκλέες, but in comedy nominative -κλέης is the norm (except Ἡρακλῆς everywhere, and Eq. 884 Θεμιστοκλῆς), and the scansion of the accusative -κλέα as ὄν is demonstrable in Ach. 774, Eq. 765, Ra. 1036. Ἡρακλέα is ὄν ὄν in Th. 26, but ὄν ὄν 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 ὅτι κάλλιστον
μέτρον / ἴμηει ... ἔγω μὲν οὐδὲν (sc. ἴμηομαι) πρότερον ἴμικέκτεω and Pl. La. 183 β κὰν αὐτὸν ἱμαλογησίειαν

πολλούς σφῶν προτέρους εἶναι πρὸς τὰ τοῦ πολέμου. Palmer's ἄντ' for δόντ' is not as strongly supported as he thought by Ec. 925 οὐδείς γὰρ ὡς σε πρότερον εἰσεισ' ἄντ' ἐμοῖ, 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 Eact Md1act Np1act P20act Vb3) εἴπερ γ' (G Np1act P11) and ἀναγαγεῖν (A Epc K M Np1act U Vs1 Θ) εἴπερ. εἴπερ ἐκεῖθεν, has adequate parallels in 651, 658 δεῦρο πάλιν, and Lys. 838 οὐμὸς ἀνήρ.

ἀγεῖν: 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 ... ᾶδου καλέσω, Renehan 45 f., 102, KG ii. 565, Schwyzter ii. 422. (Cf. also ML 53 (Rhamnous, c.445) 1 f. ἐπ' Αὐτοκλείδο δεμαρχόντος ... 15 f. ἐπὶ Μνησιπτολέμι ἄρχοντος ...)

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 lophon 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 lophon came from Sophocles; but he would have looked foolish if in the next few years lophon went from strength to strength in popular esteem, and in any case he may have had personal reasons for not wishing to wound lophon too deeply.

ἀπολαβὼν αὐτὸν μόνον: cf. Hdt. i. 209. 3 καλέσας ᾶγησίς καλα 'Υστάσπεα καὶ ἀπολαβὼν μοῦνον.

κωδωνίσω: derived from κώδων, 'bell', but well established in the general sense 'test', 'sound' by Aristophanes' time.

80 κἄλλως: '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 κὰν: so Dobree; καί MSS, but despite 574 (v. n.) the omission of ἄν would be surprising here; it is, however, defended by W. J. Verdenius in Westendorp Boerma 145, comparing Av. 180 ὕσπερ εἴποι τὶς and examples given in KG i. 230.
ξυναποδράναι: ἀποδιδράσκειν has a derogatory tone, being associated with cowards, deserters, and runaway slaves.

82 εὔκολος: 'relaxed', 'easy-going'; cf. 359. The word occurs in no other play of Aristophanes. In Pl. Phd. 117 ἐυχερῶς καὶ εὐκόλως describes how Socrates drank the hemlock, and in Hp.Mi. 364 διὰ it is coupled with πρόως. 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 Αγάθων: 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 an 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 λV Σ 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 ποθεινός φίλοις, GVI 1492. 4 ποθεινός ἐών (Athens, s. IVa in.), 1499. 3 πάσι ποθεινόν (Athens, s. IVa 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 ἀπιὼν εἰς μακάρων δή τινας εὐδαιμονίας, and in GVI 943. 1 (Demetrias, s. IIIa ex.) an epitaph locates its subject in 'the islands of the blessed'. In Eq. 1151 ἄπαγ' εἰς μακαρίαν ἐκποδών is angry abuse (cf. 'Drop dead!'). Agathon, however, was enjoying a good time (εὐωξία) not among the μάκαρες but among the Μακεδόνες.
86 Ξενοκλέης: Xenokles (TrGF 33), a son of Karkinos, 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 ἕτερ': 'in addition'; it is not suggested that Xenokles and Pythangelos are μειρακύλλια. Cf. 515.


90 πλεῖν ἦ: cf. 18 n.

91 σταδίῳ: cf. Nu. 430 ἐκατόν σταδίου μέρος ἀργατον.

λαλίστερα: on λαλία 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(...) 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 Peisetairos as σόφισμα, κύρμα, τρίμμα, παιπάλημ...

93 Χελιδόνων μουσεῖα: the phrase χελιδόνων μουσεῖα 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 ἐν Νυμφῶν ...

μουσεῖον designates the place where Socrates and Phaidros have conversed.
λωβηται: λωβάσθαι is 'damage', 'spoil'; Timotheos, PMG 791. 218, arrogantly dismisses his predecessors as λωβητήρες αὐτόν.

94 χορὸν λάβη: 'are granted a chorus' by the archon in charge of the festival (Arist. Po. 1449b1 f.), from whom the producer χορὸν αἰτεῖ (Eq. 513; cf. Kratinos fr. 17. 1 οὐκ ἔδωκ’ αἴτούντι ξοφοκλέει χορόν, 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) αὐτήν (sc. Κωμῳδοδιδασκαλίαν) 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 ... βελτίωνα. Repetition of ἄν is common, e.g. 581 (KG i. 246–8, Schwyzer ii. 306), but the order obj. ἄν neg. vb. part ἄν is unusual; cf., however, E. Tro. 416 ἀτάρ λέχος γε τήσδ’ ἄν οὐκ ἐκτησάμην.

97 ὅστις: 'who (sc. if there were anyone) would ...'; cf. Xen. An. i. 3. 17 ὅκνοιην μὲν ἂν εἰς τὰ πλοία ἐμβαίνειν ὁ ἡμῖν δοίη, KG i. 255–7, SGV 270, 532 f., MT 203 f.

ρήμα: of the three ρήματα with which Dionysos illustrates his point, two are short phrases and the third very extensive, but also a substantival phrase. The use of ρήμα 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 ὀί) and Nu. 1402, 'I couldn't utter three ρήματα without making a mistake'. This would suit 824 and 924. In 1198 f. it covers both 'word' and 'phrase', and in 1379–81 ρήμα 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, ρήματα may mean 'what is said' (e.g. Pax 220 ὁ γοῦν χαρακτήρ ἡμεδαπὸς τῶν ρημάτων, 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 ρήματα' means 'a short speech'. In Pl. R. 473 ἐ ρήμα 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 ἐ), but also of loaves (Pl. R. 372 ἐ) and of skilled and experienced
professionals (Pl. *Plt.* 297 ε). 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, -έται, λακήσης in *Pax* 381–4). Possibly λάκοι here has the connotation 'declare', '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 δ, ἁγαθα γόνιμα τῇ αὐτῶν φύσει ἄλλ' οὐ δόξη.

**ώδι**: ὥδε and ὡδί are demonstratives which more often look forward than back, e.g. Pl. *Cra.* 391 Α δοκῶ μοι ὡδὲ ἄν μᾶλλον πιθέσθαι σοι, εἶ μοι δείξειας κτλ. Combined as it is here with ὡστὶς φθέγξεται, 'of such a kind that he ...', it has much in common with τοιοῦτος; cf. Isok. iv. 189 τοιαῦτα λέγειν ὡδ ... ἐπιδώσει κτλ. (*MT* 218 f.).

**99 τοιουτονί**: unless correlated with ὥστε, ὁδός, or the like, τοιοῦτος 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 ἱερὸν αἰθέρ οἶκησιν 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 προὔβαγεν ποῦς.

**101 f.** In E. *Hp.* 612 Hippolytos, tempted in his anger to break his oath to Phaidra's nurse, cries ἡ γλῶσσ' ὀμώμοχ', ἡ δὲ φρὴν 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. ν. 47. 8 ὁμυντων 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).
ἰδίᾳ: assimilated here to χωρίς, with which a genitive is normal.

103 σὲ δὲ ταῦτ’ 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.

μάλλά: i.e. μή, ἀλλά ..., 'don't (say that), but (rather) ...'; cf. 611, 745, 751.

πλεῖν ἢ: cf. 18 n.

μαίνομαι: 'I'm crazy (about it)'; cf. 751.

104 ἦ μήν: introducing very emphatic assertions, including oaths; followed by γε also in V. 277b ἦ 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 τόν ἐμὸν οἰκήσω δόμον, IA 331 τόν ἐμὸν οἰκεῖν οἶκον, '... manage my own house'. ΣVE quotes from Euripides μὴ τὸν ἐμὸν οἴκει νοῦν· εξίω γὰρ ἄρκεσῳ and attributes it to Andromache, where in fact we find (237) ὁ νοῦς ὁ σός μοι μὴ ξυνοικοίη.

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 με δίδασκε: implies 'You know all about feasting; allow me to know about poetry'.

109 κατὰ σήν 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 ἵνα ἐμαὶ διαβολαί, 'allegations against me'; KG i. 560, Schwyzer ii. 203.

109 ἵνα ... 111 Κέρβερον spells out ὧν ἕνεκα 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 ἀνάπαυλαι κατὰ τὴν ὀδὸν ... εἰσὶ σκιαράι ('shaded').

ἐκτροπάς: 'turnings', i.e. the right turnings to take.

κρήνας, ὁδοὺς: ΣΕ records a variant κρημνούς, and in V ὁδοὺς is immediately 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, ὁδοὺς, and it is not easy to see on what other word it could be a gloss, with the possible exception of ἄρτοπιλα; but it appears from Ec. 153–5, 'I won't allow the installation of water-tanks ἐν τοῖς καπηλείοισι' 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, ὁδοὺς.

διαίτας: 'accommodation', 'places to stay'; cf. Hdt. i. 36.1 διάιταν εἶχε ἐν Κροίσου, 'he stayed in Kroisos' palace'.

κόρεις: 'fewest bugs' is presumably the best a traveller could hope for.

116 ὦ σχέτλιε: commonly abusive, but cf. Nu. 485, where Strepsiades describes himself as σχέτλιος 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) σχέτλιος ἔσσι, γεραιέ· σὺ μὲν πόνον οὔποτε λήγεις.

γάρ: the words following an exclamation or a vocative can be introduced by γάρ, as in (e.g.) Av. 815 ἀλῆθες, οὔτος; ἢτι γάρ ἐνταῦθ' ἡσθα σύ; 'What! You? Are you still here?'; cf. GP 80.
καὶ σύ γε: 'You too?'; cf. GP 158.

117 τῶν ὁδῶν: with ὅπῃ in 118 (Vdc U Vb3) the genitive is most easily explained as dependent on ὅπῃ, lit., 'tell me by-which-way of the ways ...'. But given S. Tr. 1122 f. τῆς μητρὸς ἥκω τῆς ἐμῆς φράζων 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 ἢς: R ὅπως Σ V 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- (¬¬¬) and Ach. 62 ἄχθομαι ἢς; 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. 1. 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 καὶ 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 β).
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 ώς ἀκοῦόντος (sc. ἐμοῦ) λέγε, and the point of ώς is 'on the assumption that ...', 'given that ...'; cf. KG ii. 93 f.

129 καθέρπυσον: the movement denoted by ἕρπειν 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 ποῖ in 133 bewildered.

130 ἐπί: 'up on to ...'; cf. Bachmann 66 f.

πύργον: 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 i3. 82. 30; cf. Hdt. viii. 98. 2), the Promethia (Istros, FGrHist 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 ἔσται, Hdt. vi. 105. 3 λαμπάδι (sc. τὸν Πάνα) ἱλάσκονται, IG ii2. 1011. 54
(s. IIa) 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 ἀφες ἀπὸ βαλβίδων ἐμέ τε καὶ τουτονί.

133 “εἴναι”: ‘Start them!’, implying ‘Get on with it!’, addressed to the starter by impatient spectators. An infinitive dependent on λέγειν or εἰπεῖν may represent an imperative of direct speech; this is not attested for φάναι, though in Lys. xvi. 13 ἐγὼ προσελθὼν ἔτι τῷ Ὀρθοβούλῳ ἐξαλείψαί με ἔχαλεξαί τοῦ λαμπαδιστή της Μαρίνος. To be on the safe side, we should print εἴναι in inverted commas. For the imperative use of the infinitive cf. the next εἴναι and Ach. 257 πρόβαλαί το ν τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τῷ τ
gesture; cf. Nu. 878 παιδάριον ὄν τυννουτοι, 'when he was only so high'. For the correction of -ω- cf. Nu. 392

τυννουτοι οἶα, scanned ꞏ-ω-ꞏ.

γέρων: Charon, whom we shall meet at 183.

140 δύ' ὀβολώ: 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 ὀβελός (= '[metal] spit') was displaced, in the sense 'obol', by -βε- in documentary texts after the early fifth century (Threatte i. 215), but -βε- was retained in the sense 'spit' and in διωβελία.

141b τῷ δύ' ὀβολῷ: 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, CQ NS 41 (1991) 41–50, draws attention to (i) Idomeneus of Lampsakos, FGrHist 338 F2, on Empusa, who ἀπὸ σκοτεινῶν τόπων ἀνεφαίνετο τοῖς μυουμένοις, (ii) Luc. Catapl. 22, where a man newly arrived in the underworld remarks that his experience closely resembles initiation at Eleusis, because ἰδοὺ γοῦν προσέρχεται δροσοχύτα τις φοβερόν 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’ ἐκπληττε: '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 ἀεὶ νῶν (except for ἀείναιον V), but Photios α 413 f. treats it as one word and cites as proof Kratinos fr. 327 γλῶτταν ... 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 ll. 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'. παῖδα 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 Ephippos fr. 16. 3).

149 ἡλόησεν: 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 Η and ΣΓΜ Αv. 281 he was a son of the tragic poet Philokles.

152 f. Dionysos adds another offence, 'learning the pyrrhikhe of Kinesias'. Some, according to ΣΕ, deleted (ἀφαιροῦσι) 152 and began 153 with ή, not τήν. Aristophanes of Byzantion marked the passage with 'sigma and antisigma', 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 ἡ) or 152 f. (with τήν). In that case, τινες misunderstood his point.

κεὶ: for a prepositive at the end of an iambic trimeter cf. 198 (ἡ), Nu. 196 (ἵνα), 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.


αὐλῶν ... πνοή: ‘the blowing of auloi’; 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 θίασος 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 γυναῖκας 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.

ὰγω: all but R V have ἄγων, but wrongly; cf. Lys. 695 αἰετὸν τίκτοντα κάνθαρός σε μαιεύσομαι, ‘I’ll be the beetle-midwife, and you’ll be the eagle-parent’, Theognis 347 κὼν 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 χαίρε πόλλ’: cf. Pl. Phdr 272 ε πολλὰ εἰπόντα χαίρειν τῷ ἀληθεῖ, ‘saying goodbye to the truth’.

νὴ Δία: ‘Yes’ is not a very logical answer to ‘Goodbye!’ or even to ‘Have a good time!’, but the similarity of function between χαίρε and ύγίαινε causes assimilation to utterances in which an oath intensifies the repetition of a word, e.g. Pax 628–30 ἐν δίκῃ ... νὴ Δί’ ὦ μέλ’ ἐν δίκῃ γε δῆτα. Cf. Werres 38.


166 Herakles goes back into his house, and Dionysos turns to Xanthias.

καὶ ... μέντοι: cf. Th. 707–9 τι ἄν οὖν εἴποι ... τις, ὅτε ... ὅδ’ ἀναισχυντεῖ; οὔπω μέντοι γε πέπαιμαι, ‘... 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).

ὀστίς ἐπὶ τοῦτ’ ἐρχεται: 'if any (such) is coming for this purpose'; porters die, like everyone else.

169 μηὕρω: Σ⁰ records a variant μὴ ἔχω, which is certainly not an explanatory gloss and looks like an emendation by someone (in antiquity) who found the crasis of η and ευ unacceptable, despite Th. 4 ὑπερπιθηκη, Ec. 643 μὴ αὐτὸν, E. fr. 464.2 ἐγένεται (cf. KB i. 228).

τότ’ ἐμ’ ἄγειν: 'take me with you'; the sense points to τότ’ ἐμ’ (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 τότ’ ἐμὲ 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 Epc R⁰ 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 οὐτοσί in the sense 'here', 'there', or 'look!', accompanying another pronoun cf. Av. 268 οὐτοσί καὶ δὴ τις ὄρνις ἔρχεται, Nu. 141 ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐτοσί, 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 μειαγωγήσουσι 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 οὗτος, σὲ λέγω μέντοι: 'Hi, you!' Cf. Av. 933 οὗτος, 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’ ἀττα: cf. 56 πόσος τις. The corpse raises his head.

τελεῖς: 'pay'.
174 μὰ Δί’, 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 ἰέναι 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 ὡ δαμόνι’: cf. 44 n.

ἐάν: 'to see if ...', 'in the hope that ...'; cf. 339, 644, KG ii. 534 f., Schwyzer ii.687 f. ἵνα (R E Πc U Vb3 Θγρ.) 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.

ἀναβιώνην: the living say, 'May I die if ...' as a strong refusal, e.g. Lys. 531 μὴ νῦν ζῆν, Ec. 977 ὑποθάνουμ’ ἁρα, and the corpse views resurrection in the same way. (The evidence which would justify a firm decision between -βιῴην 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 Απc 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 οἰμώξεται;, 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 σοί γ) ὡ κατάρατε, σιωπῶ 'γώ;
οὐκ οἰμώξεται: lit., 'will he not wail?' In the second person, οὖ 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 οἴμωζε (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 τινι 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 frs. 143, 151 (Ὀδυσσής) 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 τοῦτο … 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 yp. Σ ϒ) and that Xanthias should remind him of what Herakles said (cf. 177 n.). καί ... 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 καί (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 νῇ in 183 (Δι. V Vs1 Θ: Ξα. K: om. cett.). So, 181 Δι. τοῦτο ... Ξα. τοῦτο; ... 183 Δι. νῇ ... 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 Vs1 Θ).

181 τοῦτο ... 182 ἢν κτλ.: as a rule, 'this is a lake' would be αὕτη ('στὶ) λίμνη, while τοῦτο (ἐστὶ) λίμνη would mean 'a lake is (to be defined as being) ...' (KG i. 74 f., Schwzyer ii. 606 f.). Hence the punctuation we need is τοῦτο; λίμνη; cf. Nu. 1248 τοῦτι τί ἐστι; τοῦθ' ὃτι ἐστί; κάρδοπος. 'This (τοῦτο) is that (αὕτη) lake which ...' would sound wrong. For the oath νῇ Δία following the words which answer the question cf. Nu. 483, V. 184 (Werres 26 f.). In V A E Md1 Np1 U Vs1 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.
According to Demetrios ap. Σ轩辕 this is a citation from the Aithon of Achaios (TrGF 20 F11), being uttered there by 'the satyrs' (cf. 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 163 n. 1 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.

άναπαύλας: 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 ...)'.

Λήθης πεδίων: 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.

'Ονουπόκας: 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轩辕 uses πόκες as if from a singular *πόξ, which is not to be expected, though Ibykos (PMG 327) used ἁλίτροχα = ἁλιτροχον, according to Choer. Theod. i. 267. 15; cf. πάνδοξ = πανδοκεύς and maybe Hsch. α 792 ἀγριβρόξ = ὀρίγανον. However, in compound names the prosody can change; cf. Arat. Ph. 36 Κυνόσουρά ~ κυνός οὐρά, 'dog's tail'. Probably Ονουπόκας (Radermacher) or even Όνουποκάς is right here rather than the Όνου 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 (⟨Ὅκνον⟩ τινὰ Erbse ad Paus. Att. o 13) making a rope which suffered that fate. It is not surprising, therefore, that the emendation Ὄκνου πλοκάς has appealed to several editors from Bergk onwards. I suspect that there were two proverbial expressions available to Aristophanes with somewhat different bearings: ὄνον πέκειν and ὄνον πόκος, of impossible tasks, and Ὄκνου πλοκάι, 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 Κερβερίων: 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.

'ες 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.

Ταίναρον: Tainaron is the middle one of the three great southern promontories; it seems from Hdt. i. 23, 24. 6 that ἐπὶ, 'on to' was the appropriate preposition (and in 24. 8 ἐπὶ Ταίναρῳ 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 ες κόρακας and give a sour topical twist at the end of the catalogue of destinations.

188 ἔμβαινε ... 189 οὖνεκα: for 'go on board' ἐμβαίνειν and εἰσβαίνειν are both attested, but very often as variants. No form of either is metrically guaranteed except εἰσ-. εἰσβαίνειν predominates to an extent which makes it hard to think that the choice was entirely indifferent; I retain εμ- here with misgivings. It is only in V that Charon says ες κόρακας and Dionysos replies with ὄντως; 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 ὄντως ἀπέφυγε; Ec. 786 ὄντως 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 ποῖ and ὅποι (KG i. 545). Here only E U have ποῖ; we must remember that neither alternative can ever be metrically guaranteed.

190 εἰσβαίνε δή: in R V these words, with παί, δεῦρο, are all addressed by Dionysos to Xanthias. R V A K M all have εἰς-, the rest εμ-; cf. 188 n. δή 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 τὴν, μάχην is understood from -μαχ-; cf. KG i. 267, ii. 558, Schwyzer ii. 175. The variants κρεῶν and νεκρῶν are both ancient, as ΣRVE shows. Aristarchos had κρεῶν in his text, and attempted to explain it; Demetrios Ixion (ap. Phot.) conjectured νεκρῶν, and it is evident from ΣRVE 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 τὴν περὶ τῶν κρεῶν intelligible as 'the life-or-death struggle'.

192 οὐ γάρ, ἀλλ': different (cf. GP 31) from 58.

όφθαλμιῶν: we hear in Hdt. vii. 229. 1 of eye disease as incapacitating a fighter.

193 This type of question, with or without δῆτα, functions as a positive command; cf. GP 431 f.

περιθρέξει: τρέχειν has two futures, θρέξεσθαι (Nu. 1005, Pax 261) and δραμεῖσθαι (V. 138).

τρέχων: choice between this (A E K M Θac, defended by C. A. Lobeck, Paralipomena Grammaticae Graecae (Leipzig 1837; repr. Hildesheim 1967), 533) and κύκλῳ (R V Εγρ. Md1 Np1 U Vb3 Vs1 Θpc) is hard, because although there is a common construction with verbs of motion, exemplified by Pl. Smp. 195 β φεύγων φυγῇ, Thuc. iv. 67. 1 ἔθεον δρόμῳ (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 ὃς λόγους ἐκκλέψῃς λέγων; and if we ask which is more likely to have been corrupted to the other, τρέχων or κύκλῳ, I have little doubt that κύκλῳ is ancient editorial intervention.

194 ποῦ: V has poĩ, but in Lys. 526 poĩ γάρ καὶ χρῆν ἀναμεῖναι; the point is 'How long ...?' or 'For what ...?'

παρά: cf. 162.

Αὐαίνου: Auv- (Kock) rather than Auv- is indicated by 1089 ἐπαφηυάνθην (cf. Ec. 146).
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. αὖος 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 δίψῃ δ' εἶμ' αὖη καὶ ἄπολλυμαι, and ΣVE 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. Srebny, Eos 43 (1948) 51. ΣVE observes that people weary of a long wait say αὖος 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 κόπην: evidently the correct term for 'at the oar' (cf. Od. xii. 171 f. ἐπ' ἐρετμὰ / ἐξόμενοι), but Dionysos does not know it, and sits on the oar.

ἕτι πλεῖ: the expected sense, 'If anyone more is sailing ...' (cf. Pl. R. 300 D ἀλλὰ μοι ἐτί τοσόνδε εἶπέ, 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 ἡμῖν ἔτι θύει, where the required sense is 'not ... any more', ἐτί is corrupted to ἐπι in all MSS except V.

198 οὗτος: 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).

ὁτι ποιῶ; ... ἡ: cf. Nu. 1495 f. τί ποεῖς; ὅτι ποώ; τί δ' ἄλλο γ' ἡ / διαλεπτολογοῦμαι κτλ., '... Doing? Why, I'm ...'. On prepositive ἡ at verse-end cf. 152 n.

199 οὗτερο: so only R V Md1; the rest have οὗτερο, which might be right; cf. 188 n.
200 οὐκοῦν: cf. 193 n.

γάστρων: 'Tubby'; cf. Pax 1300 ὡ πόσθων ( ~ πόσθη, 'penis'), addressed to a boy; Chantraine 161.

201 ίδού: 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 ἀλλὰ with a future, is a negative command followed by a positive command; cf. KG ii. 177, MT 104 f., Schwyzrer ii. 292 f.

ἔξων: 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 κάτα: here plaintive and indignant, as in Lys. 1166.

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204 The line achieves rhetorical effect in two traditional ways: by combining three negative adjectives in asyndeton (cf. Il. ix. 63 ἀφρήτωρ ἀθέμιστος ἀνέστιος) and by the 'rising tricolon', as in Nu. 1327 ὡ μιαρὲ 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 -oún. Disregard of the normal meaning of the underlying verb (e.g. S. Tr. 109 ἐφυναίς ἀνανδρώτως) is very rare, and in any case the verb θαλαπτοῦν, 'inundate' or 'mix with seawater', not 'accustom to the sea' or 'train at sea', is post-classical. There is, however, a verb θαλαπτεύειν, 'be at sea' (of ships, Thuc. vii. 12. 3), and adjectives in ἀ- ... -ευτος have a wide range of relationships to verbs in -έυειν and -έυεσθαι, e.g. ἀβασίλευτος, ἀδούλευτος, 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).

ἀσαλαμίνιος: 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 ἀδώτης, 'non-giver' (Op. 355), but given such pairs as βέβαιος / ἀβέβαιος, ἀσαλαμίνιος is less peculiar.
205 ὤν: 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.

eϊτ’: εϊτα between participle and verb implies incompatibility, ‘in spite of being ..., ...’. Cf. 367.

206 ἐμβάλης: ‘strike’ the oar into the water; cf. Eq. 602.

207 βατράχων κύκων: ‘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 δή: ‘give me the stroke’; this was the job of the κελευστής (Xen. Ath. 1. 2) on a trireme. On δή 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 ὄπ in 180.

209–67. LYRIC DIALOGUE

On the appearance of the chorus of frogs, cf. p. 57. The species whose cries most nearly resemble βρεκεκεκὲξ κοὰξ κοὰξ 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 /ʔeʔ eʔ eʔ/ and a leisurely /uoaʔ/. Why βρ-, and why -ξ at the end? The latter seems to be a Greek spelling convention for the representation of sounds; so -τοροτίξ and -λιλιλίξ in bird-song (Av. 260, 262)—contrast the approximations in modern bird-books, where -nk is common but -nx and -x unexampled—παππάξ for farting (Nu. 390), and exclamations in -άξ (63 n.). Initial βρ appears in many Greek words denoting the production of sound, e.g. βρέμειν, βρυχᾶσθαι, βρωμᾶσθαι, and even in the baby-word βρῦ, ‘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 βρῦ is bu(a), the Arabic mbu(wa). βρεκεκεκέξ 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. Paean 5), at the end (id., Paeans 1 and 21), or both (Hymn to the Kouretes, CA 160 f.). Aristophanes uses the refrain Ἴακχε φιλοχόρευτα συμπρόπεμπέ με in 403, 408, 413; cf. Ὕμην ὦ Ὑμέναι 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 ἥν), and poetic words such as εὐγηρυν (213), λαῶν (219b), and εὐλυροι (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 (βρε- ...) w ○ ○ ○ ○ lek
(2) 210 = (1)

(3) 211 (λιμ- ...) – – ○ ○ – ○ cr
(4) 212 (ξύν- ...) ○ – ○ – ○ – cr
(5) 213 (φθεγ- ...) – – ○ ○ – ○ – ○ – ch ba
(6) 213 (κό- ...) ○ – ○ – ia

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 (ἥν- ...) – – ○ ○ – ○ – cr
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. frr. 29. 5, 121a3), but emendation here is not essential; for | tel ia ... cf. S. Tr. 953 f. ~ 962 f. | tel 2ia ba |. The prosody of ἰαχήσαμεν is uncertain; ἵα is found in E. Hel. 1147 (ἴαχήθης), ἵα in Tro. 515 and Pho. 1295 (ἴαχήσω), Or. 826 (ἴαχήσει), ἵα in E. El. 1150 (ἴαχησε), ἵα in hCer 20 (ἴαχησε) and probably in Ar. Th. 327 (ἴαχησεν). 217 could therefore be | 2ia, — — — | — — ɥ — — —, a colon which seems not to occur in drama. With Schroeder’s emendation Λίμναις and ἵα we would have | ia cr |.

I adopt dactylo-epitrite notation here in view of what follows.

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)  
χωρεῖ κτλ. and  
(ii) τοῖς ἱεροῖς Χύτροισι χω-ρεῖ  
χτ-ροίσι χ-ω-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. Ajf. 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' antistrophe, or here. On balance I have thought it advisable to adopt Radermacher's Χύτροις, giving

tοῖς ιεροῖς Χύτροις χωρεῖ κτλ.

(11) 220 = (1)
(12) 221 (ἐγώ ...) \( \text{ό-ό-} \quad \text{ό-ό-} \quad 2ia \)
(13) 222 (τόν ...) \( \text{ό-ό-} \quad \text{ό-ό-} \quad 1ia \)
(14) 223 = (1)
(15) 224 (ὑμῖν ...) \( \text{-ό-ό} \quad \text{-ό-ό} \quad 2ia \)
(16) 225 = (1)
(17) 226 (άλλα ...\( \text{-ό-ό} \quad \text{-ό-ό} \quad 2ia \)
(18) 227 (οὐδέν ...) \( \text{-ό-ό} \quad \text{-ό-ό} \quad 2ia \)
(19) 228 (εἶκό- ...) \( \text{-ό-ό} \quad \text{-ό-ό} \quad 2tr \)
(20) 229 (ἐμέ ...) \( \text{ώ-ώ-} \quad \text{-ώ-ώ} \quad \text{-ώ-ώ} \quad cr \text{ 2tr} \)
(21) 230 (καί ...) \( \text{-ώ-ω} \quad \text{-ώ-ω} \quad \text{-ώ-ώ} \quad 3tr \)
(22) 231/2 (προς- ...) \( \text{ώ-ώ-} \quad \text{-ώ-ώ} \quad \text{-ώ-ώ} \quad 3tr \)
(23) 233 f. (ἐνεκά ...) \( \text{ώ-ώ-ώ} \quad \text{ώ-ώ-ώ} \quad \text{ώ-ώ-ώ} \quad 2tr-3tr \)
(24) 235 = (1)
(25) 236 (ἐγώ ...) \( \text{ό-ό-} \quad \text{-ό-ό} \quad 2ia \)
(26) 237 (χώ ...) \( \text{-ό-ό} \quad \text{-ό-ό} \quad 2ia \)
(27) 238 (κότ' ...) \( \text{-ό-ό} \quad \text{-ό-ό} \quad 2ia \)
(28) 239 = (1)
(29) 240 (άλλα ...\( \text{-ό-ό} \quad \text{-ό-ό} \quad ia \text{ cr} \)
(30) 241(παύ- ...)  

(31) 242ab (φθεγ- ...)  

(32) 243 (ἡλά- ...)  

(33) 244 (καλ ...)

(34) 245 (πολυ- ...)

The alternative analysis 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 (−−−−−) tr lek.

(35) 246 (ἡ ...)  

(36) 247 (ἐνυ- ...)  

(37) 248 (αίό- ...)  

(38) 249 (πομ- ...)

(39) 250 = (1)

(40) 251 (του- ...)  

(41) 252 (δεινά- ...)

(42) 253 (δεινό- ...)

(43) 255 (εἰ ...)  

(44) 256 = (1)
However we spell δέῃ, 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 κὰν δὲ́ῖ, καὶ δὲ́ῖ, and κεῖ δὲ́ῖ 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*.

(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 $\frac{3}{2}$ $\frac{3}{2}$ $\frac{3}{2}$ $\frac{3}{2}$ $\frac{3}{2}$ $\frac{3}{2}$ ($\frac{3}{2}$ = 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 αὐλητής who was a member of the crew, e.g. *IG ii* 2. 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 a service of a comic idea (cf. GV 292–4): 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 offstage) 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 ἵτω 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 Νυσήΐον: 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 Νυσήΐον in Thrace, but Nysa in *hBacch.* (1) 8 f. is in the Middle East.

216 f. Διός: sc. 'son of … '; cf. 1361a.

έν 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, *FGHist* IIIb 1 594 f., *DFA* 19–25. The marsh was drained in the Hellenistic period (Str. viii. 5. 1, *Σ* *Pap.* 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 Ἐφροις: 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 ... τῶι Διονύσιοι 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 ἄκούετε λεώ (Ach. 1000)) appears in lyrics and in grandiloquent language (e.g. Eq. 163).

222 ὁρρόν: 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, Hermippos 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 αὕτοῖσιν ἐντερόισι, 'guts and all', and (with the article, which is not so common) 560 αὐτοῖς τὸῖς ταλάροις; cf. KG i. 433 f., Schwyzer ii. 164 f.

227 Cf. Lys. 139 οὐδέν γάρ ἐπήνευν πλήν κτλ. ἀλλ’ ἦ is most naturally interpreted here as ἄλλο ἦ, 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, Schwzyzer 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.


231 φορμικτάς: 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 ll. xxiv. 63 refers to his playing at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis.

233 ἕνεκα 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 καλάμοι 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 υπολύριος, because it is under the hide which it itself under the strings. Σ 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 ὑφῃρέθη σου κάλαμος ὡσπερεὶ λύρας would help, if we had any idea what it was.

ἐνεκα 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.) ll. xvii. 53.

236 φλυκταίνας: 'blisters', most naturally on the hands, but cf. 221 f.
237 χώ πρωκτός 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 ... τίς ... τυγχάνει χεζητιῶν / οὐκ ἂν ἐξίδισεν εἰς θοίματιον κτλ.

238 ἐκκύψας: 'peeping out (sc. of my clothes'). So Π2 and probably P20ac; 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 Vs1ac, 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 φιλῳδὸν γένος (contrast 226, 257) favours 'Oh, come on now, ...' in a more sympathetic tone; cf. Pl. R. 328 Α ἀλλὰ μένετε, 'Please do stay!' (GP 14).

241 μὲν οὖν: 'Oh, no! ...'; cf. Eq. 18 λέγε σύ. σοῦ μὲν οὖν μοι λέγε (GP 475).

242 α εἰ δή 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).

244 πολυκολύμβοισι: κολυμβᾶν is 'dive', and πολυκόλυμβα μέλη are presumably songs often interrupted by diving.

245 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 ἄλλα τίς ὑει;

246 χορείαν ... 249 πομφολυγοπαφλάσμασιν: χορεῖα 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 ἐφθεγξάμεσθα; the frogs' song is varied irregularly by plops as one or other of them dives.

252 Cf. Ach. 323, where the chorus says, 'No, we won't listen to you!' and Dikaiopolis replies δεινὰ τὰρα πείσομαι. For the phrase δεινὰ πασχ(ω), 'it's intolerable for (me)', cf. Av. 1225, Ec. 650.

253/4 ἐλαύνων: cf. p. 222.

255 διαρραγήσωμαι: 'burst', 'split in two'; cf. 955 μέσος διαρραγηναι. Unlike other aspects of διαρρηγνυναι, the aorist passive seems to be colloquial; διαρραγείησε occurs several times (e.g. Av. 2) as a curse.

257 οἰμώζετ': cf. 178 n. The imperative is used as a curse, e.g. Ach. 1035 ἀλλ' ἀπιὼν οἴμωζέ ψει.

οὐ γάρ μοι μέλει: cf. 224 (οὐδέν), 655 (οὐδέν), 1136 (ὁλίγον, 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 μὴν χάνειν καλόν, ἄξιον σαρακοῦσαι κτλ., Simmias invites him to speak: ἀλλὰ μὴν ... ἡμεῖς γε τούτου τοῦ μύθου ἥδιον 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 ἡ φάρυξ ὁπόσον κτλ., but a comparable oddity occurs with περ in 815 ἥνικ' ἄν ... περ ἰδη, and cf. 1420 ὁπότερος οὖν κτλ. Moreover, there are a few true parallels, notably Pl. Lg. 739 βc πρώτη ... πόλις ... ἐστιν ... ὁποῦ τὸ πάλαι λεγόμενον ἄν γίγνηται κατὰ πάσαν τὴν πόλιν ὃτι μάλιστα: λέγεται δε 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 δὲ ἡμέρας: 'all day'; cf. Pax 56 δι' ἡμέρας ... λοιδορεῖται τῷ Διό.


πάντως: 'whatever you do', 'whatever happens'; cf. Ec. 604 ἀλλ' οὐδέν τοι χρήσιμον ἂστι πάντως αὐτῷ, 'but it won't be any use to him anyway'.

δι’ ἡμέρας: Dionysos picks up the phrase used by the frogs in 260.

269–311. DISEMBARKATION AND ENCOUNTER WITH A MONSTER

268 ἐμελλόν ἄρα: triumphantly, as in (e.g.) Nu. 1301 ἐμελλόν σ’ ἄρα κινήσειν ἑγώ, '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. Md1 Np1 have τῷ κωπίῳ (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 ναῦλος is found in IG ii. 2 1672. 159, and Kallistratos (ap. ΣRV) opted for τὸν ναῦλον here.

ἔχε δή: for δή with the imperative cf. 207 n.

271 ὁ Ξανθίας: cf. 40 n.

ἦ: accented ἦ in R V K M Md1 Np1 but ἦ in A E U Vb3 Vs1 Θ. ἦ ἦ in Nu. 105 and E. HF 906 is a repressive exclamation, not a cry from afar.

272 ιαῦ: Xanthias cries this offstage, then appears, staggering and puffing, with the baggage.

273 τί ἐστι τἀνταυῆ: 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 οὓς ἔλεγεν ἡμῖν: 149 f.

276 καὶ νυνί γ’ ὁρῶ: 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 δή, τί δρῶμεν: it must be Dionysos who puts this question to his slave (R Epc Np1 U Vs1 Θ have no change of speaker here, and Eac M give it to Xanthias; but confusion has prevailed in the MSS since 272). 279 ὃς ... 284 are plainly spoken by Dionysos.

προϊέναι βέλτιστα νῷν: with the idea of getting a move on and spending as little time as possible in land of monsters. Cf. Eq. 30 κράτιστα τοῖς τῶν παρόντων ἐστὶ νῷν κτλ.

279. ἔφασκ’ ἐκείνος: cf. 275. We have to understand an εἶναι which is virtually existential (though strictly speaking, οὖ is its predicate). This is not easy. A partial (but only partial) parallel is S. OT 108-10 ποῦ τόδ’ εὑρεθῆσεται; ... ἐν τῇδ’ ἔφασκε γῆ. Radermacher cites PHibeh i. 49. 2 f. (s. III m.) πορεύθητι οὖ ἄν ἄκοι(σης) 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 ὅσον in V. 893 ὅσον 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: ἡλαζῶν 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 necessarily wrongly) as braver, wiser, or more powerful than others. On its other aspects cf. 678 n.


283 ἐγὼ δέ γ': *ἔγωγε δέ, as in Nu. 1417 ἐγὼ δέ γ' ἀντείποιμ' στάντε 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'.


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;
(2) ποῦ ποῦ ἄστι;
(3) ποῦ ποῦ ἄστιν;
(4) ποῦ ποῦ ἄστιν;
(5) εἴσπικθεν;
(6) εἴσπικθεν;

which is found at change of speaker at V. 1369 -τα. ποῖαν 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 ποὶ 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.


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 ποτὲ at the beginning of the line, and A M Vb3 Vs1 Θac ποτὲ δ᾿ αὖ 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 ποῦ 'στι: Dionysos' interest is aroused at once; cf. Xanthias in 515 and both of them in 414a–15. For the metrical phenomenon ω ι ω cf. V. 69, Nu. 29.

293 Ἐμπούσα: 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 Ἑκάτη 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, CQ NS 18 (1968) 200–6.

tοίνυν: cf. 66 n.
καὶ σκέλος χαλκοῦν ἐχει: given that Dionysos dare not look (cf. 286 f. π.), this must be a question; R marks change of speaker, A E Ac M Νp1 have the siglum Δι. (sp. Κ), and Md1 has Δι. over χαλ-. In S. El. 491 χαλκόπους Έρινος the reference is to untiring pursuit (using an epic epithet of horses), not material.

R marks no change of speaker between 294 καὶ σκέλος and 296 ποῖ δ' ἐγώ; V gives everything from νῆ to τραποίμην to Xanthias; the other MSS mark changes at νῆ, καὶ, 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' ίσθι can be tagged on; hence Ξα. νῆ ... Δι. ποὶ δῆτ' ... Ξα. ποὶ δ'.

βολίτινον: βόλιτος in Ach. 1026, where Dikaiopolis congratulates a farmer on his two oxen, is unquestionably cow's dung. ΣR here interprets it as donkey's dung, possibly because Empusa was called ὀνόκωλος (ΣRVE 1048) or ὀνοσκελίς (ΣR E 1048).

ιερεῦ: 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.

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 203, P. Maas, Greek Metre (English tr., Oxford, 1962) 87 f.

μηδὲ κατερεῖς τοὔνομα: because—to judge by a widespread belief elsewhere—if an evil spirit knows your name its power over you is greater; cf. E. Riess, AJPh 18 (1897) 194 f.

tοίνυν: cf. 293, 66 n.

tοῦτ' ἔθ' ἡττον θατέρου: R V K have τοῦτο γ' ἡττον, the other MSS τούτο γ' ἔσθ' ἡττον, and Dindorf divined that ἔσθ' is a corruption of ἔθ'; cf. Pl. Cri. 51 c, and 1147 ἔτι μᾶλλον. Dionysos knows that no evil spirit will be afraid of him.

ἰθ' ἤπερ ἐρχει: an apotropaic formula, 'go on your way!'; cf. Lys. 833 f., where it is addressed to Aphrodite: ἐθ' ὀρθὴν ἤπερ ἐρχει τὴν ὀδόν (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 γαλῆν, 'weasel', in E. Or. 279. He was not allowed to forget it, as we see from Sannyrion fr. 8 and Strattis frs. 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 ὡμοσα πέτρας, and Petr. 131 'ter ... exspuere terque lapillos conciere 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 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 ὁδί 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 (ΣRVE; 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, Fritzche suggested that the priest of Dionysos was rouged for ritual occasions); (b) Ixion (ap. ΣVE) thought that the actor is pointing to a well-known man in the audience; (c) Aristarchos (ap. ΣVE), that ὁδί = ἐγώ, Xanthias having reddish-brown hair (cf. the name Πυρρίας); (d) Xanthias brandishes his phallos, or points to Dionysos' phallos (ΣV). 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 προσέπεσεν: V has προσέπτατο, 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. τίνι δεῖ μακάρων ἐκθυσαμένους εὔρειν μόχθων ἄνάπαυλαν; 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 parepigraphe αὐλεῖ τις ἐνδοθεν. All but Vs1 give οὗτος (cf. 198 n.) to Dionysos, and that dictates the changes of speaker down to 314 (Vs1 confusedly gives τί ἐστιν; to Xanthias as well as οὐ κατήκουσας; and οὐλών πνοίας). 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 Πυλάδη, σταθῶμεν ἐκποδών 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 δεύρο 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 οὗτος in 312, it seems that 313 ἐγώγε 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 οὗτος? 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. Av. 49, Th. 224, Pl. 439) it is a comparatively small step in Xanthias' self-assertion. These considerations suggest: 312 Ξα. οὗτος, Δι. τί ..., Ξα. οὐ ..., Δι. τίνος, 313 Ξα. αὐλῶν ..., Δι. ἠρεμεί, and no further change.

315 ἠρεμεί: so R A E K Νp1 Ι Vs1 Θ, V has ἠρέμη, and the rest ἠρέμα, which is common in Plato and metrically guaranteed in Pax 82. Hdn. ii. 464.

21 f. lists πανδημεῖ, ἀτρεμεῖ, and ἠρεμεῖ together. Dionysos and Xanthias now huddle against the skene as if hiding behind something.


319 ἐνταῦθα ποὺ: 'somewhere around', 'somewhere near', as in Av. 1184.
παίζουσιν: cf. p. 58.

ἐφραζε: sc. Herakles, as in 182.

320 δι' ἀγοράς: so V E, following Apollodorus of Tarsus (ap. ΣVE); Aristarchos (ap. Σ) interpreted the sequence of letters διαγορᾶς 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 Diogoras to whom Hermippos fr. 43 refers as ὁ Τερθρεύς—an imaginary demotic which suggests 'quibbler'—could be the same person. So could Diogoras of Melos, to whom Nu. 830 ὁ Μῆλιος alludes, in a context concerning Socrates' alleged rejection of belief in Zeus. That Diogoras expressed contemptuous hostility towards the Eleusinian Mysteries, and in consequence 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: τὸσοῦτο δ' ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς τοῦ Μηλίου ἀσεβέστερος κτλ., and there can be no doubt that utterance of the name 'Diogoras' 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 lakcheion (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:

occur 22 times, including 4 in lyrics; and for an imperative reinforced by ὦ (or ὦ? Cf. LSJ s.v. ὦ 4 and Fraenkel on A. Ag. 22) cf. A. Ch. 942 ἐπολολύξατ’ ὦ δεσποσύνων δόμων ἄναφυγά κακῶν, E. Tro. 335 βόσαυν ὑμέναισιν ὦ ... νύμφαν, Cy. 52 ὑπαγ’ ὦ ὑπαγ’ ὦ κεράστα. Our second need is to get rid of one syllable in the middle of 323/4. Triklinios did this by deleting ἐν; 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 responsion of anacreontic πολυτιμήτους ἐδραῖς ἐν- to 2io φλογέας λαμπάδας ἐν 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 ἐν with the dative is expected. On these grounds Reisig’s πολυτίμητ’ ἐν is slightly preferable; the analogy of E. Tro. 1221 σύ τ’ ὦ ποτ’ οὖσα καλλίνικε μυρίων μήτερ τροπαίων (cf. KG i. 50) suggests translation as ‘you who dwell greatly honoured in your sanctuary here’. ἐδραῖς really needs an epithet, but can perhaps be given one; see below. Hermann’s πολυτίμοις ἐν, popular with editors, introduces a post-classical word. So far 323/4 seems to be

\[\text{\underline{\text{o-o-o-o)}} \quad \text{\textit{ba 3io}}\]

or

\[\text{\underline{\text{o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o}} \quad \text{\textit{ba anacr io}}\]

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 lakchhos appropriately. If the text of 340/1 is sound, either the responsion is highly irregular (cf. V 276a | ~ 283b | and a variety of comparable irregularities which cannot be emended away (Zimmermann iii. 110)) or a final \[\text{\underline{o-o-o-o}}\], which could be the desired epithet of ἐδραῖς, has been lost from 323/4. This somewhat alters the analysis:

\[\text{\underline{o-o-o-o}} \quad \text{\textit{3ch tr}}\]

a cross (cf. (2)) between hipponactean (\(\text{\textit{ch ba}}\)) and 'greater asclepiad' (\(\text{\textit{3ch \times h}}\)) and eligible for the label—which reflects honourable defeat—`aeoloionic' (LM 126–30), not out of place at the beginning of a predominantly ionic song. For the sequence \(\text{ch tr}\) cf. V. 282–3a \(\text{ch cr \textit{3tr}}\) \(\text{\textit{ch tr}}\) and S. Phil. 1179 f. \[\text{\underline{o-o-o-o-o}} \quad \text{\textit{4ch cr\textit{|2ch.}}\textit{|}}\]. 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 ἥκει (R V) must be rejected in favour of ἥκεις (cett.), and with τινάσσων we must understand αὐτάς, as is perfectly possible; cf. 1398 (KG ii. 561–3). If
the latter, understanding αὐτάς is rather harder: 'Awaken (your) torches, for he has come brandishing (his) torches in his hands ...', but cf. 1441 ῥαίνοιεν (sc. τὸ ὄξος) after ὀξίδας in 1440. Much would be cleared up if we could dismiss γὰρ ἥκει(ς) as interpolated, but once we acknowledge that any statement about corruption in a text is a historical statement about what someone did at a point in time we must hesitate to posit an inexplicable interpolation. The loss of a word after ναίων in 323/4 is a different matter, since the last word of a line is commonly omitted as the copyst’s eye moves prematurely to the next line (cf. 592a n.). ἐν χερσί may seem surprising as the leading phrase after a pause, since that is normally a position of some weight, and one can hardly brandish torches with anything except one’s hands (contrast the strong point made by χερσί in S. OT 1469 f. χερσί τὰν θιγὼν δοκοίμ ἐχειν σφαϲ). Where so much is tentative, and no solution seems free of objections, I judge it prudent to enclose ἐν ... τινάσσων in obeloi, but with that reservation analyse (1) thus:

(1) 323/4 (Ἴακχ' ...)

~ 340/1 (ἔγειρ' ...)

Triklinios deleted τινάσσων, oddly believing that γὰρ ἥκει can = ἥκει γάρ. Radermacher deleted λαμπάδας as a gloss, on the hypothesis that there was a noun *φλογεύς, 'torch' (or alternatively, that λαμπάδας could be understood with the adjective φλογέας). He takes ἔγειρ’ as intransitive, punctuates after it, accepts postponement of γάρ, cf. Lys. 489 διὰ τάργύριον πολεμοῦμεν γάρ; (GP 97), and accepts also responsion of ἐν τινάσσων to the left.

After the first verse the rest is comparatively plain sailing.

(2) 325 = 342 (Ἴακχ’…)

(3) 326 (ἐλθέ …)

(4) 327 (ὁσί- …)

Hiatus (and no correction) is common with exclamations; cf. E. Hp. 362 ἄϊες ὤ, ἔκλυες ὤ ~ 669 τάλανες ὦ κακοτυχεῖς.


Page 55 of 239

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For the responsion cf. (11).

(5) 328 (πολυ- ...)  
\[\text{\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet-\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet} \]  \text{anacr}

\[\approx 345 \text{ (γόνυ ...)}\]

For the long fourth syllable in an anacreontic cf. (6), (7), (11).

(6) 329 (περί ...)  
\[\text{\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet-\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet} \]  \text{anacr}

\[\approx 346 \text{ (ἀπο- ...)}\]

(7) 330/1 (στέ- ...)  
\[\text{\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet-\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet} \]  \text{anacr} \ io

\[\approx 347/8 \text{ (χρο- ...)}\]

(8) 332 (ποδί ...)  
\[\text{\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet-\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet} \]  \io_{\Lambda} \ io

\[\approx 349 \text{ (ἰε- ...)}\]

For initial \io_{\Lambda} \ cf. (9), V. 273 ~ 281a and E. Ba. 66, 68.

(9) 333 (φιλο- ...)  
\[\text{\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet-\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet} \]  \io_{\Lambda} \ io

\[\approx 350 \text{ (σύ ...)}\]

(10) 334/5 (χαρί- ...)  
\[\text{\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet-\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet} \]  \io_{\Lambda} \ io

\[\approx 351/2 \text{ (προ- ...)}\]

For \io_{\Lambda} \ at the end cf. V. 280 ~ 289, 300 ~ 313.

(11) 336 (ὁσί- ...)  
\[\text{\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet-\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet} \]  \io

\[\approx 353 \text{ (χορο- ...)}\]
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 ἀρχαιομελισιδωφρυνιχήρατα, B. Zimmermann, *Prometheus* 13 (1987) 128, suggests that the most important association of ions was with archaic tragedy.

327 ὀσίους: there are technical usages in which ὅσιος, 'permitted by the gods', is contrasted with ἱερός, 'reserved for the gods', but in general it is more positive than that: 'righteous', 'pious'.

θιασώτας: cf. 156 n.

328 τινάσσων: by tossing the head; cf. *E. Ba.* 185 ποῖ δεῖ ... κράτα σείσαι ...;

329 κρατῖ: the only occurrence of this highly poetic word for 'head' in Aristophanes; there is no nominative κράς in Attic.

330/1 μύρτων: officiating priests at the Mysteries wore crowns of myrtle (Istros, *FGrHist* 334 F29). The Dionysiac crown was of ivy (*E. Ba.* 80), as many vase-paintings show.

έγκατακρούων: 'stamping your feet (in the dance)'; cf. 374a and *E. El.* 180 οὐδ᾽ ἱστᾶσα χοροῦς ... ἐμόν. The point of ἐγ- is possibly 'among us'; cf. *Th.* 973–5 Ἡραν ... ἐπὶ πάσι τοῖς χοροῖς ἐμπαίζει. That has no point, however, in 374a.


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 φιλοπαίσμων (cf. Poll. v. 161).

τιμήν: the 'honouring' of the god by worship; cf. 349 and *E. Hp.* 107 τιμαῖσιν ... δαμάνων χρῆσαι, '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 πλεῖστον παρά τόσι 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 Ὁραί), the analogy of Bakchylides 3. 71 ἰοπλόκων τε μέρος Μουσᾶν, 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 ὅσιοις μύσταις: the dative is intelligible with ἱερὰ in the light of S. Aj. 440 ἄτιμος Ἀργείοις (cf. KG i. 421 f., Schwzyer ii. 151 f.), and Pl. Lg. 955 ἐ 'Earth and the hearth are ἱερὰ 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 ἐλθέ in 326; for hyperbaton on an even greater scale cf. 708 οὐ πολύν ... 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 χοίρωσις; 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 ἀτρέμα) on the chance (ἡ; 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. ΣKU Ra. 516b and AC 63–5. As we see, some of the initiates are women and girls (409–12, 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 ἄλλαντα—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 buggered (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 ψωσφόρος ἀστήρ: 'star' can be used figuratively in praise, e.g. E. Ἕρ. 1122
φανερώτατον ἀστέρ’ Ἀθάνας (Hippolytos), but here it has a special association with lakchos;
in S. Ἀντ. 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. Бα. 188–90, where Kadmos and Teiresias are inspired to Bacchic dancing: ἐπιέλησμεθ’ ἡδέως γέροντες ὄντες and κάγω γάρ ἣβῳ κτλ.

346 ἀποσείονται: 'shake off'; cf. Lys. 670 f., where the old men exhort one another νῦν δέι, νῦν ἀνηβῆσαι … κἀποσείσασθαι τὸ γῆρας τόδε.

347/8: 'the tardy ἐνιαυτοῖ of old ἔτη' implies a distinction between ἐνιαυτός and ἔτος, such as we find in Od. i. 16 ἄλλ’ ὅ τε δὴ ἔτος ἠλθ’ περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτών, / τῷ οἱ κτλ. There is a tendency (Dn) for 'year' to be ἔτος in expressions of the type 'n years', 'in the nth 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 ii.2 2492. 2–4 (s. IVa m.) τετταράκοντα ἔτη, ἐκατοθν’ διηπερακοντα δυοῖν δραχμῖν ἐκαστόν τού ἐνιαυτόν, and AΘ. p. 42. 4 f. τὸν μὲν πρῶτον ἐνιαυτόν οὕτω διάγοισι … φρουροῦσι δὲ τὰ δύο ἔτη κτλ. ἐνιαυτός can also mean 'anniversary', e.g. DGE 323C. 48 (Delphi, s. IV/IIIa) 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 ἥδοντα (~ ἥδεσθαι) in Antiphon Soph. B44 col. 4. 17 f., unique in Attic.

351/2 ἐπ’ ἀνθηρόν: cf. 373, 441, 449. Ancient scholars (ΣRVE) interpreted the sequence of letters as ἕξαγε πάνθηροι, the simple accusative indicating the destination (cf. Nu. 299 f., KG i. 311 f., Schwyzer 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 θῆρες, 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, ἦ 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, Av. 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 Βακχεῖα suits both, for there were Dionysiac mysteries and Dionysos is also the god of the theatre. This dual role of the godunderlies ταῖς πατρίοις τελεταῖς τοῦ Διονύσου in 368. In the last sentence we are plainly reminded that the Chorus represents initiates; yet αἳ τῇδε πρέπουσι ἑορτῇ advertizes the performance as appropriate to the festival in which we are participating.

354 εὐφημεῖν χρή: a cry at the outset of a ritual utterance or performance; εὐφημεῖν χρή (cf. Eq. 1316), εὐφημεῖτε (e.g. 1273, Ach. 237, Pax 434), and εὐφημία ἑτῳ (Av. 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.

ἡ 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 τῇ γνώμῃ ἄποροι; 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 M i -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 γευναίων: 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 Tyro; 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 μὴ ἐν καιρῷ), 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 έπος means "those who stand ..."', έπος refers to an individual word, and in Nu. 638 the context shows that έπος 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), έπος can also refer to anything which is uttered, even a long speech. So Eq. 39 ἢν τοῖς έπεσι χαίρωσι καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι distinguish what is said and sung in a play from what is done. In Nu. 544 '(sc. this comedy) is confident in herself and τοῖς έπεσιν', the contrast is with slapstick and horseplay; cf. Pax 750 έπεσιν μεγάλοις καὶ διανοίασι ("ideas") καὶ σκώμμασι οὐκ ἀγοραίοις ("jokes that are not vulgar"). A single verse can of course be called έπος (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 ποιούντων deserves serious consideration.

359 στάσιν: here abstract, 'faction'; cf. 760 (the senses in 1281 and 1401 are quite different), *Th. 788 στάσιν ἄργαλέαν*.

εὐκολος: cf. 82 n.

πολίταις: 'his/our fellow-citizens'; usually with the article, but cf. *Lys. 341–3 ἃς ... ἴδιομι ... ρυσαμένας Ἑλλάδα καὶ πολίτας. R has πολιΤ and V A M*. R has πολίτης, which is not impossible; cf. *Ach. 595 ἄλλα τίς γὰρ εἶ; ... ὡστις; πολίτης χρηστός κτλ.*

360 ἀνεγείρει καὶ ριπίζει: 'awakens and fans' (sc. faction; μή ... πολίτας in 359 has a somewhat parenthetic 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.*

ἀρχων: 'when holding office' (whether elected or appointed by lot).

καταδωροδοκεῖται: καταδωροδοκεῖν (e.g. *Eq. 66*) or -κεῖσθαι (Kratinos fr. 135) is 'take bribes'; in *V. 1036 καταδωροδοκήσαι* has no explicit object, but many verbs in κατα- take a genitive (e.g. 366 κατατιλᾷ), 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 τάπόρρητα ... 364: naturally the Athenians forbade the export of commodities to states (including Epidauros) with which they were at war (cf. *Eq. 278 ἐξάγων γε τάπόρρητα*).
The island of Aigina, in Athenian occupation since 431 (Th. ii. 27. 1), was halfway between Athens and Epidauros, 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 ἐκατηλόγος, ‘collector of 10% tax’). It may be that Thorykion held that office on Aigina, though comparison with 540 ἄνδρός φύσει Θηραμένου shows that Θωρυκίων ὤν 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.), κυκλιοδιδάσκαλος 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?’

Ἑκαταίων: all MSS have this. In Dem. liv. 39 ἕκαταία are plainly offerings of food made to Hekate (cf. Pl. 594 c. Σ), but in V. 804 ἕκατατον (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). ΣΑld V. 804 records a variant ἕκατετον 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 ὑπασσατε, where the Chorus is told to sing during the preparations for sacrifice, and Kallim. H. 4. 304–6 οἱ μὲν ὑπαείδουσι νόμον... αἱ δὲ ποδὶ πλήσσουσι... οὖδας, H 3. 242 f. σύριγγες ὑπήεισαν to accompany a dance κύκλῳ.

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 yet 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. ῥήτωρ is closer to ‘politician' than to 'orator', let alone 'rhetorician';
οἱ ῥήτορες 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'. ἕτα 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) εὐφημεῖν χρή κάξιστασθαι ... ὀστὶς κτλ., has gone through a long series of ἤ- 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 καὖθις ... ἀπαυδῶ a parenthetical character (cf. 360 n.)

τὸ τρίτουν: cf. 184 n.

μάλ' may reinforce αὖθις rather than ἀπαυδῶ; cf. Nu. 870, Pax 5, Av. 1415 ἵδοι μάλ' αὖθις, Pl. 935 οἴμοι μάλ' αὖθις.

370 μῦσταισι: nouns (especially in -της) are often used as if they were adjectives, e.g. Ach. 162 ὁ θρανίτης λεώς, Xen. Cyr. vii. 5. 62 ύβρισται ἵπποι (KG i. 271-3, Schwyzer ii. 176).

371 παννυχίδας: in 446/7 it is the women who παννυχίζουσιν, and all-night festivals seem to be particularly associated with women (Kritias B1. 4-6 ἔστ' ἀν ... παννυχίδας θῆλες χοροὶ ἀμφιέπωσιν), but there is no suggestion of sexual discrimination here or in the νυκτερὸς τελετή of 343. Cf. p. 68.
are often normalized by emendation). The hexamakron, or ‘anapaestic tripody’, 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 ἄτομα; cf. Zimmermann iii. 102.

(1) 372 (χώ- ...)
~ 377 (ἀλλ' ...)
(2) 373 (εἰς ...)
~ 378 (τήν ...)
(3) 374a (λει- ...)
~ 379 (τῇ ...)
(4) 374b (κἀ- ...)
~ 380 (ἡ ...)
(5) 375 (καί ...)
~ 381 (σώ ...)
(6) 376 (ήρ- ...)
~ 382 (κἀν ...)

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 κύκλῳ σκοπῶν, and Kaimio 127–31.

373 κόλπους: cf. Av. 1093 λειμώνων ... ἐν κόλποις ναίω.

374a ἐγκρούων: cf. 330/1 n.

374b–5 The elements of σκώπτειν (cf. 58 n.) and χλευάζειν ('mock', 'jeer'; cf. Men. Epitr. 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 ἠρίστηται: cf. p. 60 and Horn 132.

377 ἐμβα: cf. Ec. 478 ἐμβα χώρει (the first words of the chorus as it returns from the assembly), E. El. 112 f. (= 127 f.) ὦ ἐμβα ἐμβα κατακλαίουσα.

χώπως ἄρεις: cf. E. Hcld.321 f. πολλῷ σ’ ἑπαίνῳ ...ὕψηλον ἀρώ. The grammar (cf. 7 n.) requires ἄρεις (Scaliger; ᾱ-), not αἱρεῖς, αἱρῆς, or αἱροῖς (αἱρήσεις V).

378 Σώτειραν: ΣRVE, 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 ii. 2 689. 9 f., SEG xvi. 63. 14 f.; cf. Graf 47 n. 37). J. A. Haldane, CQ NS 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 σωτήρια 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 Lakodia (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. 1419α3 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 (σῴζειν 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 ἑτέρας δοκήσετε, Th. 950–2 ἐκ τῶν ὥρων εἰς τὰς ὥρας ξυνεπευχομένας τοιαύτα μέλειν κτλ., Theocr. 15. 74 κής ὦρας κήπειτα ... ἐν καλῷ εἴης).

382 Θωρυκίων: cf. 363 n.

(b) 383 f. Exhortation to invoke Demeter

Like the 'parabatic' address 354–71, this is in anapaestic tetrameters.
384 ζαθέοις: a lyric synonym of ἱερός. Perhaps here ζαθέαις (R Md1 P205), for in tragedy it may be of two terminations or three.

(c) 385a-94. Invocation of Demeter

385a-8 respond to 389-93.

(1) 385a-391 (Δή- ...) 
   ~ 389-391 (καί ...) 
(2) 387 f. (καί μ' ...) 
   ~ 392 f. (παί- ...)

Fraenkel 201 f. associates the rhythm with traditional cult-songs; cf. Ach. 263 φαλῆς ἑταῖρε Βακχίου (Zimmermann i. 130 n. 51) and perhaps also (as Fraenkel suggested in a seminar) Pi. N. 1. 1 ἀμφνευμα σεμνόν Άλφεου.

385b 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. ὥσθ ἡμῖν θεοὺς παραστατεῖν suggests that a semantic distinction would be illusory.

387 άσφαλῶς: 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 lakchos

If we interpret νῦν as the enclitic—cf. Ach. 494, Pax 467, Th. 663 εἶά νῦν, and ἄγε νῦν very often—the metrical analysis is:

(1) 394 (ἄγ’ ...) 
    ~ 395 (καί ...) 
(2) 396]7 (ὠ- ...)
Coulon's arrangement is puzzling: νῦν enclitic, but beginning a verse, without inset. For the sake of homogeneity modern editors, taking νῦν as temporal 'now', separate ἄγεια as or treat it as extra metrum, so that we then have 2ia ith twice. - - - would be a bacchiac. The same problem recurs at 440-6/7, where χωρεῖτε is normally treated as (or extra metrum); for as a bacchiac, cf. E. Ion 201, where responds to 190 | νῦν | (LM 101 f.). Bentley was unwilling to pay so high a price for homogeneity, and so am I, given the sequence 6ia 2lek 2ia(~ lek ia) in Nu. 1305-10a, and cf. Ec. 289 f. 2ia | 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- ...) | 2ia ba

~ 404 (σύ- ...)

~ 409 (καί- ...)

(2) 399 (ἥ- ...) | 2ia ba

~ 405 (κάπη- ...)

~ 410 (νῦν ...)

(3) 400 (πρός- ...) | ia

~ 406 (καί- ...)

~ 411 (συμ- ...)

(4) 401 f. (καί- ...) | 3ia ba

~ 407ab (κάξ- ...)

~ 412ab (χι- ...)

Page 68 of 239
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398 μέλος ... 399 εὑρών: 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.


403 φιλοχορευτά: 'a friend to dancers' rather than 'a lover of dancing'; cf. Pl. Smp. 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.

404–7 On the Chorus's dress, see pp. 62 f.

κατασκίσω μέν: μέν here is co-ordinated with καί in 407a, as not uncommonly (cf. GP 374–6). κατασκίζειν is 'split', 'tear', and the middle voice here has one of its regular meanings, 'cause/prescribe/secure the ...-ing of - - -', e.g. διδάσκεσθαι, 'have ... taught', κολάζεσθαι, 'see that ... is/are punished' (Pl. Prt. 324 BC ὁ δὲ μετὰ λόγου ἐπιχειρῶν κολάζειν ... ἀποτροπῆς γοῦν κολάζει ... κολάζονται ... οὐχ ἥκιστα Αθηναῖοι 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 ii.2 1549. 9 (s. IV/III a), and σαμβαλίσκα (plural) is metrically guaranteed in Hipponax 32. 5 (σάμβαλον = σάνδαλον). Hence Bergk's τόδε τὸ σανδαλίσκον is unexceptionable.

τὸ ῥάκος: in comedy initial ρ is treated prosodically as a doubled consonant, e.g. Nu. 344 αὕται δὲ ρίνας ἐξουσιν.

واجب: ὡστε and the infinitive are quite common with διαπράττεσθαι, 'manage to ...', 'succeed in ...-ing', and κάξηφας ὡστε 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 τοβί 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!' ΣRVE 415 says that some gave κάγωμεν πρὸς to Dionysos (so too the MSS except V Vs1); this does not necessarily imply that they gave ἔγω δ’ ἀει 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 (ἔγώ ...)

(2) 415 (παί- ...)

414a πως: used sometimes in speaking of one's own character or feelings; cf. E. Cy. 583 f. ἡδομαι δὲ πως / τοις παιδικοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς θήλεσιν, S. El. 372 f. ἡθάς εἰμί πως / τῶν τήσδε μύθων (Chrysothemis, shrugging off Elektra's tirade).

415 πρός: adverbial, 'too', 'in addition'; cf. 611 and Pax 18 f. αὐτὴν ἀρ’ οἴσω ... νὴ τὸν Δί’ ἐς κόρακάς γε, καὶ σαυτόν 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 5ia 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 Kulten (Endigen, 1931) and Richardson 213–17), and V. 1362 f. ἵν’ αὐτὸν τωθάσω ... ὠς ποθ’ οὗτος ἐμὲ 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) \[ x - \cup - \cup - \hfill \text{ia ba} \]

(2) \[ x - \cup - \cup - \hfill \text{ia ba} \]

(3) \[ x - \cup - \cup - \hfill 3\text{ia} \]

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 Αρχέδημον: Archedemos was, according to Xen. HG i. 7. 2, ὁ τοῦ δήμου τότε προεστηκώς in 406, and after Arginusai prosecuted the general Erasinides 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 the second teeth which a child normally has by the age of seven were called φραστῆρες. 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 ii. 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'.


422 τὸν Κλεισθένους: 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 ἐγκεκυφώς: '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 Αναφλύστιος is meant to suggest ἀναφλᾶν, lit. 'point 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 ἀνα- (Dindorf) = ὁ Ἀνα- not Ἀνα-. For ἀναιτοτικής cf. 39 n., and for the syntax 889 and Θ. 502 ἑτέραν δ᾽ ἐγγίζειν γυνή, 'I know another woman who …'.

428 Καλλίαν … 429 τὸν Ἰπποβίνου: 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 ὅ τ᾽ Ἀδωνιασμὸς οὗτος (certainly not spoken at the time of the Adonia), and Pl. Grg. 470 ὁ Ἀρχέλαον … τοῦτον τὸν Περδίκκου; KG i. 645. The comic distortion Ἰπποβίνου exploits the use of ἰππο- to connote 'monstrous', as in 929 and Men. Theoph. 19 ἰππόπορπε.

430 κύσθου λεοντῆν: κύσθος is 'cunt', so we might translate 'a pussy-skin'; on the genitive cf. 1067 and Ach. 992 ἐξων στέφανον ἀνθέμων, '… crown of flowers' (KG i. 164,
376, Schwyzer 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\(^{\text{V}}\) 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 φράσας ... Πλούτων' ὀποὺ ... οἰκεῖ: = φράσας ὀποὺ οἰκεῖ

Πλούτων; only M indicates the elision of -να, and it is probably right; cf. Ec. 1125 (φράσατε μοι τὸν δεσπότην / ... ὀποῦ ἀστιν.

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' ἦ 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\(^{\text{V}}\) 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\(^{\text{V}}\) 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 ἐ τὸ λεγόμενον ὁ Διὸς Κόρινθος γίγνεται, 'back to square one'. ἐν τοῖς στρώμασι has an extra point, because in Nu. 710 Strepsiades calls bedbugs (κόρεις; 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 2ia ith more than in 394–6/7.

441/2 ἀνά ... ἀν': cf. 326 n.
θεᾶς: presumably Demeter.


446/7 παννυχίζουσιν: cf. 371 n.

θεά: so R V<sup>ac</sup>: θεαί V<sup>pc</sup> cett., but it is the worshippers who παννυχίζουσιν. The goddess is 'either Kore or Demeter' in Σ<sup>RV</sup>, 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- ...) ~ 454 (μό- ...)

2. 449 (λει- ...) ~ 455 (καί ...)

3. 450 f. (τόν ...) ~ 456 f. (ὅσοι ...)

4. 452 (παί- ...) ~ 458 (τρό- ...)

5. 453 (Μοῖ- ...) ~ 459 (καί ...)

453 Μοῖραι: it is surprising to encounter the Fates here (hence the explanation οἱ θεσμοί in ΣRV), but they were not excluded from festivals, for we read of sacrifices Μοίραις, Διὶ Μοιραγέτη in IG i.3 7. 12, and Μοίραις χοῖρος in IG ii.2 1358b. 28 (s. IV⁸ 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.

455 ιερόν: confirmed by our earliest testimonium, the Hellenistic inscription from Rhodes; ἱλαρόν (A M Np1⁵ U Vb3 Vs1), 'cheerful', may have originated in an unconsciously Christianizing error ἵλεων, '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 δὲ τις εὐσεβίας παρὰ Φερσεφόνη χάρις ἐστίν / καὶ σοὶ τῆς μέρους δώκε Φερσεφόνη θυμένη, 1686 (δικαιοσύνης ἀθλον), 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 εὐσεβή ... 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: ἰδιώται 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 ἰδιώται with women and opposing both to οἱ μέγιστοι), or lacking professional skills (*Thuc*. ii. 48. 3, ctr. doctors, and vi. 72. 3, ctr. χειροτέχναι); Stanford's note here confuses ἰδιώται 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, *Euthyd*. 282 B, *Grg*. 473 D. Aelius Dionysius i 3 (Erbse) asserts incorrectly that Thucydides uses ἰδιώτας 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 ἰδιώται appears at first glance to be synonymous with ἱδίοι, 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 trikola'; cf. 204 n. They repeat—exactly in M P20 U Vs1, which have καὶ τολμηρὲ κἀναίσχυντε 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 ἀνῆκε … 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 ᾤχετ ἐξᾴξας and Nu. 553 εἰσῇξε δᾷδας ἔχουσα. ἀποδιδράσκειν is normally associated with runaway slaves and deserting soldiers, not with creditable actions. λαβὼν is often no more than 'with', e.g. 567, 1263.

469 ἔχει μέσος: cf. Nu. 1047 σε μέσον ἔχω λαβὼν 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 Acherontian crag', 'questing hounds of Kokytos' and 'hundred-headed echidna' are all subjects of σε‎ ... φρουροῦσι‎, i.e. 'prevent your escape'. τοία‎ (= τοιαύτη‎) sets the tone at the outset, since in Attic it is purely poetic (except in the expression τοι- ἢ τοι-). 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. 1336a), but 'black-hearted rock' also suggests 'heart of stone'; cf. PV 244 σιδηρόφρων τε κἀκ πέτρας εἰργασμένος, 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'.

ἔχιδνα θ‎’ ἑκατοκέφαλος: 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: σπαραγμὸς 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 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 δρομαίον ὀρμήςω πόδα: cf. E. fr. 495. 3 f. παλιν ὑποστρέψας πόδα / χωρεί δρομαίον. The Doorkeeper whirls round and strides into the palace.

Dionysos (as we see from 480) has collapsed on the ground.

479 οὗτος: cf. 198 n.

ἔγκεχοδα· κάλει θεόν: ἐγχέζειν 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 ΣRVE 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. 4 θ' ἀλλότριος is the antonym of οἰκεῖος. Cf. 'What will the neighbours think?' as a reproach to badly behaved children.

ἀλλ' ὡρακιῶ: 'I can't, I'm fainting!'

483 οἶσε: a synonym, in epic and comedy, but foreign to tragedy and prose, of ἔνεγκε or φέρε; cf. Ach. 1099 ἄλας θυμίτας οἶσε ~ 1103 ἔνεγκε δεῦρο τὼ πτερώ ~ 1104 ἐμοὶ δὲ τὰς φάττας 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 'στιν to Xanthias; ΕPc 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 πρὸςθου; Dindorf restored προσθοῦ in conformity with the rule given by Hdn. i. 468. 12–14.) In the medical writers a doctor προστίθησι something to a patient, but the patient προστίθεται something to hrmself; that is clear from (e.g.) Hp. Nat. Mul. vii. 318. 4 (Litré) ψύγματα χρὴ προστιθέναι, after masculine participles (the patient is female) ~ Epid. ii. 692. 7 (Litré) προσθεμένῃ (female patient). It must also be Xanthias who asks, 'Is that where you keep your heart?', and the exclamation ὦ χρυσοῖ θεοί goes with it. The only problem is ποῦ 'στιν. 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 urgently '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; οὐκον R A K, but (as Elmsley saw) we need ἄν; for ... οὐκέτ | ἄν ... cf. 19 n.

εἰργάσατ' ἄνηρ: cf. 291 n.

489 ὀσφραινόμενος: 'smell' in English is ambiguous, but ὄζειν 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' ἀπεψησάμην: cf. 291 n.

491 οἶμαι νὴ 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: Vv has the noun ληματίας (acknowledged also by Σε), to which there are parallels in Kratinos fr. 382 φιλοπραγματίας and Xen. Ages. 6. 24 φρονηματίας. The verb ληματίαν can be supported by other verbs in -ιᾶν 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, οὐρητιᾶν) 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 (Hp. 424), and Aeschylus κακόσπλαγχνος (ScT 237).
497 ἐν τῷ μέρει: cf. 32.

498 οὐ γὰρ ἄλλα: cf. 58 n.

499 Ἡρακλειοξανθίαν: -κλεο- is Triklinios' necessary correction of -κλεο-, which would not scan. For the type of compound cf. the title Διονυσαλέξανδρος (Kratinos).

500 εἰ: '(and see) if ...'.

501 μὰ Δί’ ἄλλ’: '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. ΣRVE 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 i.3 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 ii.1 1590. 6 f. Αρισταγόρας Ἀριστοδή[μου] ...... ἔν Κυδαθηναίῳ 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 ΣRVE 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 Md1) 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 (θεράπαινα), are equivocal (Werres 44 is mistaken on this point): mostly θερεφ, θερεφα etc.; R has
nothing, while V has a paragraphos at 503 and θεραπαίνα of Persephone in their *dramatis personae*, but many other MSS list θεραπαίναν 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 ηδὲ τῷ θεῖῳ, corrects herself: ὦ ηδὲ 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 F 102(b); but Pluto in Apollod. ii. 5. 12. 8) and saved him from the herdsmen 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 φιλταθ’ ἥκεις Ἡράκλεις: the order of words is comparable with E. *Hp.* 337 ὦ τλήμον, οἶνον, μήτερ, ἡράσθης ἐρον and *Or.* 112 ὦ τέκνον ἐξέλθ’ Ἑρμιόνη.

504 σ’ ὡς κτλ.: σε, like other postpositives, tends to 'gravitate' to a place earlier than the clause in which it belongs semantically; cf. *Th.* 1134 μέμνησο, 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.

**ΕΠΕΤΕΕΝ:** a way of cooking bread (as here) and cakes (*Ec.* 224, 843), hence 'bake'.
ηψε: one ἐψει soup (as here), meat (fr. 448), and root vegetables (fr. 701); 'boil'.

cατερικτών: (κατερικτών) is 'tear', 'split', 'crush', and κατερικτά (the form given by Photius) are split peas.

έτνους: cf. 62.

ἀπηνθράκις: cooking over ἄνθρακες, 'charcoal'.

πλακούντας ὤπτα: plakoúν is a flat, round cake (cf. Ach. 1125 πλακούντος ... κύκλον). In Ec. 224 it undergoes πέττειν, but here ὀπτᾶν, 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 οὗτος, ἔφη, ὄπισθεν προσέρχεται. ἀλλὰ περιμένετε; GP 13.

508 κάλλιστ', ἐπαινῶ: formulae of gratitude used equally in accepting and declining; cf. Xen. Smp. 1. 7 ἐπαινοῦντες τὴν κλῆσιν οὐχ ὑπισχνοῦντο συνδειπνήσειν, 'while thanking him for his invitation, they didn't commit themselves to having dinner with him'. Cf. J. H. Quincey, JHS lxxxvi (1966), 133 ff.

Ἀπόλλω οὐ: cf. 33 n.

οὐ μή ... 509 περιόψομάπελθόντα: οὐ μή with the subjunctive, as a strong negative declaration, is common, but with the future indicative much rarer; one example is S. OC 176 οὗ τοι μήποτε σ՚ ... τις ἄξει. Cf. KG ii. 221 f., MT 104 f. μή alone with the future is more frequent, e.g. Lys. 917, Ec. 999. For the crasis of -μαι ἀπ- cf. Ach. 325, where δήξομαι 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 ... πάσχοντα με.

510 ἀνέβρατεν: 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 ἐφρυι: cf. Ec. 844 φρύιν τραγήματα. In Theocr. 6. 16 the height of summer φρύιν, 'parches', 'bakes', 'roasts'.

κῷνον: cf. Th. 349 καὶ
οἰκίαν, scanned — — .

ἀνεκεράννυ: wine was normally mixed with water; cf. Ἐγ. 1187 'drink a three-to-two mixture'.

512 ἀλλ': cf. 507 n.

πάνυ καλώς: cf. 508 n.

ληρεῖς ἔχων: cf. 202. It sounds discourteous (and in Pl. Grg. 497 Α 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 Ε 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.

tε: so only V (γε cett.); but γάρ does not seem ever to be superimposed on καί ... γε.

ἡδ' ἔνδον: in effect, 'here'; the slave gestures into the door (Verdenius, in Westendorp Bouma, 146). Dobree's ἥδη 'νδον receives marginal support from ἥδ' ἐνδον R, ἥδ' ἐνδον K, and rather more from the fact that as a rule (e.g. Pl. Smp. 176 Ε) the aulos-girl came in after the meal, so that ἥδη would have a point.

ώραιοτάτη: cf. 291.

κώρχηστρίδες: cf. Th. 484 καὶ ὀδύνη, scanned — — .

515 ἐτεραι: 'in addition'; cf. 89 and V. 1221 ξένος τις ἐτερος, after three citizens have been named.

πώς λέγεις: πώς γε λέγεις R M, but cf. Th. 6, Av. 323 πώς 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 ἡβυλλιῶσαι: cf. 89 n. and Pherekr. fr. 113. 29 "ἡβυλλιῶσαι 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 ἀλλʼ: cf. 507 n.

518 ἐμελλʼ: ‘was just going to …’. ἡμελλʼ (A Ε Κ Μ Md1 Np1 U Θ) is metrically guaranteed in 1038 and Ec. 597, but so is ἐμελλ- in 791 and five other passages of Aristophanes, so plainly both forms were current.

ἀφαιρεῖν: ‘take ... off the fire’, as in Ach. 1119 ἀφελών δεῦρο τὴν χορδὴν φέρε.

χῇ τράπεζʼ εἰσήρετο: meals were taken at small, low tables placed beside the couches on which the diners reclined. αἴρειν, ‘lift’, sometimes approximates to ‘bring’, as in Pax 1 αἵρ’ αἵρε 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 ὡραιοτάτη 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 οὗτος: ‘Hey, hold on!’ Cf. 851 and V. 829 (Bdelykleon interrupts); and on οὗτος cf. 198 n.

οὐ τι που: ‘surely ... not ...?’; cf. Lys. 354 οὐ τι που πολλαὶ δοκοῦμεν εἶναι; GP 492.

σπουδὴν 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 ἑνσκεύασα: analysable as 'I turned you into Herakles by dressing you up'; cf. Pl. Cri. 53 δὸ δε ἐνεσκευάζεσθαι ἐνεσκευάζεσθαι οἱ ἀποδιδράσκοντες, ‘the sort of disguise that fugitives usually put on’, but (lit.) 'I dressed you Herakles' is somewhat elliptical.


526 τί δʼ ἔστιν: cf. 302 n.

οὐ 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 Strepsiades 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 θεοίς: 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, Schwyzer 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 Ἀλ- (Lenting; Ἀλ- 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.

ἐχ’: cf. 270.

533 δεηθείς ἄν: sc. αὐτά, rather than 'come begging to me'; the Demosthenic formula δεηθεῖς ύμῶν, classified by LSJ as 'c. gen. pers. only' is always followed by a specification of the request.

εἰ θεός θέλοι: cf. our 'God willing', not confined to people of religious faith; in Pl. 1188 καλῶς ἔσται γάρ, ἣν θεός θέλῃ 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.
The technique is very close to that of Av. 1470–81 ~ 1482–93 ~ 1553–64 ~ 1694–1701: 2tr 2 lek || 4tr lek || 2le Brexit (but lek 2tr, inescapably, in 1700 f.) || 6tr 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.

543a: so, commonly, of characteristic behaviour; cf. 540 and E. Hel. 950, 'It is πρὸς ἀνδρὸς εὐγενοῦς to weep ...'.

534b 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 537a (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 -δεῖν (A U Vs1 Θ) is metrically guaranteed by other passages of comedy.

537a τοίχον: the side of a ship; cf. (Σ'Ε) E. fr. 89 (Alkmene) εἰς τὸν εὐτυχῆ / χωροῦντα τοίχον.

537b ... 538b 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 ἕνι σχήματι καὶ τάξει κεχρημένος, to an eikṓn ἑνίου 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 μεταστρέφεσθαι πρὸς τὸ μαλθακώτερον: 'turning round to get more comfortable'; the expression may have been associated chiefly with finding the most comfortable position in bed.


πρός: 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 Ariginusai 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 Μιλησίοις: 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'.

ὀμίδ: 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 τούρεβίνθου 'δραττόμην: 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 ἀτ' ὄν αὐτός πανοῦργος: on πανοῦργος cf. 80 n. In view of Th. 920 ός πανοῦργος καύτος (γου τοο) εἶναι μοι δοκεῖς, Meineke's conjecture καύτος is very attractive.

546b κατ' ... 548: on κατα 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 hrs 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 νὴ Δία (spoken by Plathane), 570 σὺ δ’, 574 ἐγὼ δὲ 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 κάπετ’ (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 ἡδέως, 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 οὐτοσι: cf. 170 n.

551 ἐκκαίδεκα: ’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 τὴνελλα καλλίνικος. τὴνελλα δῆτα κτλ., sometimes (as here) making the same point, e.g. Lys. 94–6 μύσιδδέ τοι … νὴ Δί’ … λέγε δῆτα κτλ.

κακὸν ἥκει τινι: 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 ἀν’ ἡμιωβολιαία: ‘meat at twenty half-obol portions a time’; for the order, cf. E. Su. 588 χωρήσομαι γὰρ ἑπτὰ πρὸς Κάδμου πύλας. ἀνὰ is ‘at the rate of …’, ‘at a time’; cf. Xen. An. iii. 4. 21 ἐποίησαν ἥξι βάνης ἀνὰ ἐκκαίδεν. ἄνδρας (’… each of 100 men’), and for the adjective ἡμιωβελιαῖος cf. Xen. M. i. 3. 12 ἡμιωβελιαῖοι 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 ἡμιωβολιάια, 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 οὖν ἀν δυναίμην ἀντιλέγειν. /// οὐ μὲν οὖν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ...

δύνασαι ἀντιλέγειν (GP 475).

557 κοθόρνους: there is irony (Dn) in treating the genuine item of Dionysos' clothing as if it were a disguise.

ἀναγνῶναι: 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 (ἀν) (e.g. Xen. Ag. 7. 6 ἡλπιζοῦν (ἀν) ἐλεῖν τὰ τείχη), but a hard core resists, most notably A. Ag. 674 f. Μενέλεως ... προσδόκα μολεῖν. Cf. KG i. 195–7, SGV 194–208, MT 42 f., Schwyzer ii. 296. If we emend here to ἂν γνῶναι (Elmsley), we give the postpositive ἂν an abnormal position immediately after minor pause. ἂν as part of a phrase-like clause, e.g. ἂν τὶς φαίη, hardly counts as support for that (KG i. 246). Slightly better support is provided for δῆτα (V Epc) in Nu. 398 f. τῶς ..., εἴπερ βάλλει, δῆτ’ οὐχὶ ξίμων’ ἐνέπρησεν, but a repeated πῶς is a variant there. Without emendation of ἀναγνῶναι, we have θ’ ... θ’; 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 τυροῖ 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 ταλάροις: '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 δριμώ: lit., 'sharp', usually in a disagreeable sense; 'he gave me a hard look'. Cf. Pl. 519 A ὡς δριμῷ ('keen') μὲν βλέπει τὸ ψυχάριον.

κάμυκατο: 'roared', 'growled'.

563 τούτου πάνω τοῦργον: 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 δοκούσαις καταλαβεῖν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, but the alternative, 'and we thought he was crazy' has some point here; 'acting crazy' would cover both.

565 νὴ 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 -ᾱ is well attested in the fifth century, e.g. S. Ant. 58 μόνα δὴ νὼ λελειμμένα, IG i. 3 51 τὼ στήλα (always τώ for all genders).

ποι: 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 του 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.

567 εξάξας: cf. 468.

ψιάθους: 'mats'; 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 χρῆ 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 σύ 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, *Maia* (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. *Eq*. 255-65 and passim). Arist. *Rhet*. 1408b 24–6 shows that Kleon's enthusiasm for being ἐπίτροπος of freedmen became a popular joke.

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.

Ὑπέρβολον: dead since 411 (Th. viii. 73. 3); the point made is the same as the point just made against Kleon.

571 φάρυξ: cf. 258b.

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 κόπτοι’ ἄν may make a difference; cf. (Schwyzer ii. 325) A. Ag. 1049 πείθοι’ ἄν, εἰ πείθοι’: ἀπειθοῖς δ’ ἵσως, Pl. Phd. 87 ε’ ἀναγκαίον μεντάν εἴ ... ἀπόλλυσθαι, ἀπολομένης δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ... ἐπιδεικνύοι κτλ. Some, according to Ἐ, 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 ΣRVE plainly confuses χόλικες, 'lights' (e.g. Pax 717) with κόλλικες 'loaves', 'rolls' (e.g. Archestratos [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 ἐκπηνιεῖται: πήνη is the thread on the bobbin, and πηνίζεσθαι 'wind off'; cf. 1315.

προσκαλούμενος: 'summoning'; cf. V. 1406 f. προσκαλοῦμαι σ’ ... βλάβης.

579 κάκιστ’ ἀπολοίμην: used in 588 as part of a solemn oath, but here a colloquial intensification; cf. Ach. 151 κάκιστ’ ἀπολοίμην εἰ τι τούτων 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 δράσῃς ὁ μέλλεις, μηδαμῶς ὥ μηδαμῶς, '... Don't, please don't!'

582 Ξανθίδιον: a wheedling diminutive, as in Nu. 80 Φειδιπίδιον, 223 Σωκρατίδιον. -θī- from -θίας is surprising (contrast ἀργυρῑ́διον from ἀργύριον and ἱματῑ́διον from ἱμάτιον (Ach. 872 Βοιωτῑ́διον is from Βοιωτῑς (cf. Ach. 953, 1923), not, pace Chantraine 69, from
Βοιωτός), but there it is, and it is better to assume a generalization of - Initialise for proper names than (with Meineke) to delete ū.

Άλκμήνης: cf. 530 f. n.

584 oĩδ’ oĩδ’: as in 580, but with an entirely different tone.

αὐτὸ δρᾶς: 'do so'; δράν and θεῖν are used, with αὐτὸ or τοῦτο as object, as an alternative to repetition of a verb. Cf. 358 n.

585 κᾶν: καί | εἶ ..., | νβ ἄν > κᾶν | εἶ ..., | νβ (ἄν), as in Pl. Lys. 208 B κᾶν εἶ βούλοιο ..., ἐῷεν ἄν.

586 τοῦ λοιποῦ ... χρόνου: 'at any future time'; more commonly without χρόνου, as in Pax 1074 οὐποτε ... 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 ἐπιτρίψειεν.

ἀπολοίμην: ἢ γυνη, τά παιδία are parenthetic, as in 1408 f.; cf. Schwyzter ii. 60.

κάρχεδημος: 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 i. 3 54. 18–20 τόν ὅρκον δόναι καὶ δέχσασθαι.

590–604 The passage falls into two halves which (with one putative irregularity) respond, and they also respond to 534a–41 and 542a–8, q.v.

(1) 590–1b (νῦν ...) 4tr lek ~ 598a-9a (οὐ ...)
The sense of 592a 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.

590 νῦν σὸν ἔργον: cf. Nu. 1345 σὸν ἔργον ... φροντὶζειν ὅπῃ 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.

591b 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 αἰεί makes the opposite assumption), but Seidler's αὖ τὸ λῆμα is grammatically all right, taking λῆμα 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 ἀυτὸς) is on Olympos.
594 f. R K M ἂν Vs1 have εἰ ... ἄλωσει, 'if you are going to be caught out ...'; εἰ ... ἄλωση V E Μ5 Vb3 (ἀλωση) Θ, εἰ ... ἄλως Md1ac, ἂν ... ἄλως A Md1bc U Vs1. In the next line all but V have καὶ βάλης, καὶ βάλλεις (Vb3 Θ), or καὶ βάλλεις (M). If ἂν is right, Radermacher’s ἄλως ἂ cannot be dismissed out of hand; cf. 11 n.

παραληρών: 'talking nonsense', i.e. saying something which it would be foolish to say in the role you have assumed; cf. Pl. Tht. 169 A παρελήρησα φάσκων κτλ.

cάκβαλής τι μαλθακόν: 'utter a soft word', i.e. 'falter'; cf. Pl. R. 473 ἐ τοιοῦτον ἐκθέβληκας ῥήμα τε καὶ λόγον, and Nu. 727 οὗ 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 ἑσται: V has ἃτι (om. cett.), and ἑστιν would scan, but a future is far preferable after ἡν ... κακβάλης; hence ἑσται 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 ή τις ἀπόλλων κτλ., Xen. Oec. 7. 39 ή γάρ ἐμὴ φυλακή ... γελοία τις ἂν οἷοι φαίνοιτο (KG i. 663 f., Schwyzter ii. 215).

598 οὐνδρεῖς: 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 εὖ οἶδ᾽ ὅτι: used as a self-contained phrase (with or without εὖ), e.g. Lys. 154, 'They’d soon make peace, εὖ οἶδ᾽ ὅτι', Dem. ix. 1 πάντων οἴδ᾽ ὅτι φησάντων γ᾽ ἄν (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 δή: this dramatic καὶ δή, calling attention to a new sight or sound, often occurs in mid-clause, e.g. Av. 268 ἀλλ᾽ εἶς οὕτωσί καὶ δή τις ὁρνις 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 νῦν διάτριβ’, ἀλλ’ ἄνων 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.

ήκει: cf. 552.

607 οὐκ ἐς κόρακας: cf. 187 n.

eἰέν: 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 καταγελᾷς 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 Amphitheatres 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 Bosporos (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. 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 πρός: this must be adverbial, ‘in addition’; cf. 415.

μάλλ’: 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 σχέτικος) and Dem. xxi. 88 (with δεινός).
καὶ δεινά: δεινός: and σχέτλιος are similarly coupled in Av. 1175, Lys. 498 f. (μὲν οὖν: cf. 241 n.)
schέτλιον 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.

καὶ μήν: ‘But, look here! ...’, a stronger protesting adversative

μὲν οὖν: cf. 241 n.

υὴ Δία: this approximates to a true oath (cf. 306) and is not just an intensification.

νὴ Δία: 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 ἀδικώ, μηδεμιᾶς συγγνώμης τυγχάνειν the defendant does not risk a capital penalty.

Xanthias' protest verges on incoherence, as his 'I'm willing to die' comes between the two halves of a disjunctive protasis.

γενναῖον: here (contrast 97 n.) 'magnanimous' or 'fair-minded'; so (sarcastically) in Pl. R. 558 c.

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 πρᾶγμα γενναῖον; cf. GP 59–61.

ἄγων: 'take me and execute me'; cf. Antiphon v. 34 ἀπέκτειναν ἄγοντες τὸν ἄνδρα.

βασανίζω: deliberative subjunctive, not present indicative; the context precludes ambiguity; cf. 64 n. βασανίζω (V Md1 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 στρεβλοῦτε και δικάζετε).

ὀξος: I have been dissuaded by medical friends from experimenting with a small quantity to see how painful it is.

621 πλήν ... 622 νέω: either party could stipulate conditions, and they had to be agreed; cf. doc. ap. Dem. xlv. 61 γράμματα ἦν ἕτοιμος γράφειν ... καθ ὅτι ἔσται ἡ βάσανος. The leaves of the leek (πράσον; Aliium porrum, Theophr. HP vii. 1. 8, 2. 2) or onion (γήτειον; Aliium 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[RVE] 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 κἂν 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 οὐτω: 'simply', 'without more ado'; cf. Lys. xiii. 54 'Hippias ... and Xenophon ... were executed, one of them after torture and the other οὖτως'.

628 ἐνταὐθα: 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 μὴ: '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 ll. v. 343, 352-4 Aphrodite screams and suffers pain when wounded by Diomede.

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.


639 εἶναι: since ἣγοι 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 ἀποδύεσθε: Dionysos and Xanthias now have to strip.

644 ἰδοὺ: cf. 200 n. Xanthias (cf. 662 n.) turns his back to the Janitor, waiting for the blow.

ὑποκινήσαντα: 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 η δ η π α τ α ξ α ϲ could be (a) ἤδη 'πάταξά σ', 'I've struck you already', spoken by the Janitor, or (b) ἤδη 'πάταξας', a question, 'Have you struck already?', asked by Xanthias (no change of speaker at ἤδη 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 ἰδοὺ, 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 οὐδὲ 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 (Σκυλίδες 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 οὐδὲ (cf. 1374 n.), adopting ἡδὲ 'πάταξά σ', giving everything from οὐ to δοκεῖς to Xanthias, and invoking 1043 and Nu. 1066 as parallels for οὐ μὰ Δί οὐ.

647 ἐπαρακείμενο: because a tickle or a draught can make one sneeze.

649 τί τάτταταί: 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 / ὁπόθ': '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 ἀνθρωπος 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 ἱερός because he becomes ἔνθεος.

δεύτερο πάλιν: for the split cf. 47 n.

653 ἰοὺ ἰοῦ: iou (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 ἰοῦ ἰοῦ ... κυνδυνεύομεν ἔχειν
ἵνος‎, 'I think we've picked up a trace!'). Hdn. i. 417. 22 al. recognizes only the former, and accents it ἰοῦ; Triklinios (Σ Pax 317b) accents the latter ἰοῦ. That may be an inference (not necessarily incorrect) from the fact that Herodian specifies ἰοῦ as σχετλιαστικόν. It would have good comic effect if Dionysos' first ἰου was obviously a cry of pain, but his second ἰου adjusted to his pretence.

ἵππεας: 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 ἐπεί: sometimes used, as here, like γάρ, e.g. V. 73, 519, Th. 553; KG ii. 461 f., SchwYZer ii. 660.

657 άκανθαν: 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.

που: one can never be sure where a god is; cf. Anakreon (PMG) 348. 4 ἢ κοὐ ... ἐσκατορᾶς κτλ., Alkaios 325. 1 f. ἀνασσ' ... ἃ ποι κτλ.

661 ιαμβοῦ: ιαμβος 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.

Ἰππώνακτος: ΣVE 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 Vs1ac. 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 ΣVE in a version which is both divergent and more extensive. Hermann

observed that if ἀλὸς 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 ὃς ... μέδεις and Empedokles B17. 28 μέδει. It governs a genitive (as in Emped. loc. cit.), and Scaliger therefore emended πρῶνας, 'headlands', to πρωνός (for the accent cf. Hdn. ii. 720. 37). The 'Aegean headland' will be Sunion.

ἁλὸς ἐν βένθεσιν: in the version given by ΣVE we have instead εὐανέμου λίμνας ἐφ υψηλαῖσι σπιλάδεσσι, 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. Threatte 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:

(1) 674 f. (Μοῦσα ...) 
\[\overbrace{\overbrace{-\overbrace{-\overbrace{-\overbrace{-\overbrace{-\overbrace{-}\overbrace{-}}}}}}^{4da De}}\]
~ 706 f. (εἰ δ’ ...) 
\[\overbrace{-\overbrace{-\overbrace{-}}\overbrace{-}}\]

(2) 676 (τόν ...) 
\[\overbrace{-\overbrace{\overbrace{\overbrace{-\overbrace{-\overbrace{-\overbrace{-\overbrace{-}}}}}}}}\]
~ 708 (οὐ ...) 

(3) 677 (μυ- ...) 
\[\overbrace{-\overbrace{-\overbrace{-\overbrace{-}}}}\]
~ 709 (κλει- ...)

(4) 678 f. (φιλο- ...) 
\[\overbrace{\overbrace{-\overbrace{-\overbrace{-\overbrace{-\overbrace{-}}}}}}\]
~ 710 f. (ὁ πο- ...) 
\[\overbrace{-\overbrace{-\overbrace{-\overbrace{-\overbrace{-}}}}\overbrace{-\overbrace{-\overbrace{-\overbrace{-}}}}\]

(5) 680 (δεῖ- ...) 
\[\overbrace{-\overbrace{-\overbrace{-\overbrace{-\overbrace{-}}}}\overbrace{-\overbrace{-\overbrace{-\overbrace{-}}}}\]
~ 712 (φευ- ...) 

(6) 681 (ϑρῄ- ...) 
\[\overbrace{-\overbrace{-\overbrace{-\overbrace{-}}}}\]
~ 713 (καὶ ...) 

(7) 682–5 (ἐπί ...) 
\[\overbrace{\overbrace{-\overbrace{-\overbrace{-\overbrace{-\overbrace{-}}}}}}\]
~ 714–17 (χρό- ...) 
\[\overbrace{\overbrace{-\overbrace{-\overbrace{-\overbrace{-}}}}\overbrace{-\overbrace{-\overbrace{-\overbrace{-}}}}\]

(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 \(\overbrace{-\overbrace{-\overbrace{-}}\overbrace{-}}\)) and (4) and (7) are 'enoplian' (beginning with \(\overbrace{-\overbrace{-\overbrace{-}}\overbrace{-}}\)), 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 κονίη is scanned isión, but the dative plural κονίῃσι is ἰσι. Tragedy uses κονίαισι (ν) with ῖ (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. lamb. (IEG) 11. 2 αἰθρία; in anapaestic tetrameters Nu. 371, Kratinos fr. 58. 2 αἰθρίας; in elegiacs, Solon fr. 13. 22 αἰθρίαν. In 712 response with 680 would point to κονίας were it not that the MSS (except V) have τε κονίας; responson 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.

ἰερῶν: cf. pp. 68 f.

ἐπίβηθι: the aorist ἐπιβῆναι with a genitive is 'enter upon ...', 'set foot in ...', 'embark on ...'.

675 ἐπὶ τέρψιν ἀοιδᾶς ἐμᾶς: since a deity τέρπεται by worship (e.g. Th. 990–2 ὦ Δίόνυσε ... 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 τερπνήν ψήφην.

676 λαῶν: cf. 219b 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. Tht. 176 c, but in IG i.² 522 ἄνδρες ἐποίησαν σοφίαις καλὸν ἀγαλμα it seems unlikely that the men concerned are regarded as having different skills, and σοφίαι μυρίαι may mean 'any number of men who are σοφοί'.

677 μυρίαι: 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 ii. 2 398. 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 ...
pαρέχειν τινὰ τῷ γήμαντι φιλοτιμίαν’ and Dem. ii. 3 (sc. the growth of Philip’s power) δοκεῖ ...
ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἔχειν φιλοτιμίαν, ἡμῖν δ’ οὐχὶ καλῶς πεπρᾶχθαι, 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 χείλεσιν: cf. Eupolis fr. 102. 5, speaking of Perikles: ‘Persuasion sat upon (ἐπεκάθιζεν)
his lips’.

άμφιλάλοις: ‘talking both ways’, i.e. Greek and Thracian.

680 ἐπιβρέμεται: for the prosody -β|ρ-, which would not be acceptable in the iambic
trimeters of comic dialogue, cf. Av. 579 ἄγ|ρῶν (anapaest) and V. 678 ἐφ’ ὑγ|ρᾷ
(anapaest; epic phraseology), and B. Sachtschal, De comicorum graecorum sermone metro
accomodato (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 ἑζομένη 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 Pax 801. R Mdl 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 ἀηδόνιον 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 ἀπολεῖται: ὡς introduces the content of the lament; cf. Pi. O. 13. 75 f. δείξειν ... τελευτάν πράγματος, ὡς τ’ ... κοιτάξατο ... ὡς τε ... ἔπορευν κτλ.

685 κἂν ἴσαι γένωνται: if the votes for condemnation and those for acquittal were equal, the defendant was acquitted (Ἀθ. 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 πολλὰς (sc. πληγάς). That at least was the ancient interpretation, as we see from ς. (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.


χρηστά: cf. 179 n.

687 ξυμπαραινεῖν: in Av. 852 there is considerable point in συμπαραινέσας, following ὀμορροθῶ, 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 ἐγγένηται ἐκείνους μιμήσασθαι.

ὁλισθοῦσιν: 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 (deer. 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. Eq. 1355 ταῖς πρότερον ἁμαρτίαις. προτέρας (E U Vb3 Vs1) gives us the very rare ὅ.Length as a trochaic metion.

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 ἀπολογησαμένω τὴν προτέραν (sc. ἀπολογίαν); KG ii. 564 f.

694 Πλαταιάς: 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 ἔχοντι: 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 οἳ κτλ., since of οἳ 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 ii. 2 373. 29 εἶναι δὲ αὐτῶ καὶ ἐγγόνους γης καὶ οἰκίας ἐγκτήσει ἀπέχοντι κτλ.

γένει: it was a conventional fiction that the members of a citizen-body were of common ancestry.

699 παρεῖναι: aorist infinitive of παρίημι, not imperfective infinitive of πάρειμι.

συμφοράν: cf. 689 f. and p. 73.

αἴτουμένοις: cf. 1152 (= A. Cho. 2).

700 τῆς ὀργῆς ἀνέντες: cf. V. 574 τῆς ὀργῆς ... ἀνείμεν.

ὦ σοφώτατοι φύσει: cf. 1115-18 and Nu. 575 ὥ σοφώτατοι θεαταί.
This is not the romantic cry 'Seid umschlungen, Millionen', because 702 ὅστις ἂν ξυνναυμαχῇ completes the thought, 'all those who ...'. ἄνθρωποι rather than ἄνδρας, because the enfranchised slaves are included.

703 ὀγκωσόμεσθα: 'be too proud'; ὄγκος is literally 'bulk' or 'swelling', figuratively 'pride', 'self-importance'.

κἀποσεμνυνούμεθα: '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 ἐὔ φρονεῖν ὡς 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 i. 375. 1), but we know nothing else about him. He is threatened in unspecific terms (708–14 οὐ πολύν ... χρόνον ἐνδιατρίψει), just as Kleophon is threatened in 684 (ἀπολεῖται).

706 εἰ ... ἀνέρος is a quotation from Ion (TrGF 19 F1, context unknown).

ὁρθός: in A. Eu. 318 the Furies describe themselves as μάρτυρες ὁρθαί; cf. Pi. O. 6. 90 ἔσσοι γάρ ἀγγελός ὁρθός. The dependence of an infinitive on ὁρθός (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, Schwzyzer ii. 364.

ἀνέρος: the poetic form ἀνέρ- = ἄνδρ- 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.

οἴμωξεται: cf. 178 n.

708 οὐ πολύν: we have to wait until 714 (χρόνον) for the completion of the phrase, but given the context, particularly the future οἴμωξεται, it is not hard to divine that 'time' is coming. Cf. Xen. An. vi 3. 15 πολλὴ μὲν γὰρ (sc. ὀδός) εἰς Ἦρακλείαν πάλιν ἀπέναι.

οὐδ': 'not ... either'; we have to remember the threat to Kleophon in the ode.


οὔτος: 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).

οὗτος: '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 ἀναπείσῃ, '... to whoever has persuaded us'; cf. 697 n., Bruhn 51 f.

711 κρατοῦσι ... 713 γῆς: κυκησιτέφρος should mean 'stirring ash', to judge from many other compounds in -σι-, e.g. Ach. 315 ταραξικάρδιον = ταράττον τὴν καρδίαν, Lys. 554 Λυσιμάχας = λυούσας τὰς μάχας (though Kratinos fr. 381 λυπησίλογος, if it means λυπῶν διὰ τοῦ λέγειν (Phot. α 1975) is slightly different). Hence Radermacher’s emendation -τεφροι 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 ψευδολίτρου. After κρατοῦσι, γῆς implicitly likens the bath-keepers to rulers of a domain; cf. IG i. 3 156. 2 ὁσις (sc. γῆς) Ἀθηναῖοι κρατοῦσιν.
714 ἐνδιατρίψει: 'spend his time among (us)', i.e. 'he won't be with us for long'.

ἰδὼν: 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 ἔσθ': '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 προστίθεσι).

ἵνα … 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 (Ἀθ. 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 Laureeion after the establishment of a Peloponnesian garrison at Dikeleia the gold dedications on the Acropolis were used for the striking of gold coins in 406 (Hellanikos, FGrHist 4 F172).

ΣVE 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 ΣΈ 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 ἣ πολλάκις ἐννυχίαισι φροντίσι συγγεγένημαι, V. 1265 πολλάκις δή 'δοξ' ἐμαυτῷ κτλ. (both choral).

πεπουθέναι: so in V. 946 ἐκείνῳ μοι δοκεῖ πεπουθέναι, 'I think that this is what has happened to him'. To represent someone as πάσχων rather than ποιῶν mitigates censure.

719 καλούς τε κἀγαθούς: 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. 1293b38–40).

721 οὖσιν: except in periphrastic tenses, where the temporal element is important (cf. W. J. Aerts, Periphrastica (Amsterdam, 1965); KG i. 38 f., Schwizer i. 811 f.), a participle (κεκιβδηλευμένοις) as predicate of 'be' is uncommon, but cf. Lys. xxiv. 7 νεωτέρῳ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐρρωμένῳ ὀντι (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 ii. 1388. 61 (397/6) στατῆρες κίβδηλοι.

722 ὡς δοκεῖ: not 'as it seems', but 'as is generally agreed'; cf. Thuc. vi. 17. 1 ἔως ... ὁ Νικίας εὐτυχὴς δοκεῖ εἶναι.

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 πρώην: lit., 'yesterday and the day before', i.e. 'only the other day'; in Dem. xviii. 130 it is contrasted with the vaguer ὀψέ, 'lately'.

σώφρονες: 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 σώφρων, 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 σώφρονες τῶν ἀνθρώπων, of the enemies of Kleon, and iii. 82. 8, viii. 64. 5.

728 δικαίους: cf. 633, 637.

καλούς τε κἀγαθούς: 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. 1. 13 comments on the hostility of the demos to τοὺς γυμναζομένους … καὶ τὴν μουσικὴν ἐπιτηδεύοντας.

730 προυσελούμενε: 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 carroty 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 κἀκ πονηρῶν: cf. E. Andr. 591 ὃ κάκιστε κἀκ 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 φαρμακόν ἀποπέμπειν with καθαίρειν 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'.
εἰκῇ ῥᾳδίως: ‘haphazardly, lightly’ is somewhat tautological, but that is a common phenomenon with adverbs, e.g. Antiphon i. 20 εὐθέως παραχρῆμα, E. Hec. 489 ἀλλως ... μάτην, and the frequent τάχ’ ἂν ἴσως, πάλιν αὕθις, etc.

734 Cf. Eupolis fr. 392. 7 ἀλλά 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 εὖ λέγειν and εὐλογία, 'praise', 'good repute'.

κάν τι

σφαλήτ’: τι: tones down the reference to failure and defeat; cf. Thuc. i. 140. 1 ἢν ἄρα τι καὶ σφαλλώμεθα, contrasted with κατορθώσαντας.

ἐξ ἀξίου … 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 ἢν τι καὶ πάσχητε: a conventional euphemism for death in V. 385 ἢν τι πάθω ‘γώ, 'if anything happens to me' (followed there by instructions for burial). For the virtual repetition in κάν τι σφαλήτ’ ... ἢν 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. Ραεαν 18. 3 ἀνδρὶ σοφῷ παρέχει μέλος, P. 10. 22 εὐδαίμων δὲ καὶ ὑμνητός ... γίνεται σοφοίς.

δοκήσετε: again, as in 705, emphasis on reputation. Since 705 ended with δόξομεν, δοκήσετε 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 τῶς γὰρ οὐχί: 'Yes, of course ...'; cf. Pl. Euthphr. 10 A οὐκοῦν καὶ φιλούμενον τι ἔστι ...; πῶς γὰρ οὐ; (GP 86).

740 οἴδε: for εἰδέναι with infinitive = 'know how to ...' cf. Av. 9 and Alexis fr. 217. 2 ὥ δὲ Διόνυσος οἴδε τὸ μεθύσασι μόνον.

741 τὸ δὲ μὴ πατάξαι σ’: cf. 530 n.

έξελεγχέντα: E K M Νp1 Θ have the active ἐξελέγχαντ’, agreeing with the understood subject of πατάξαι. VN ἐξελεγχέντων ΑΤΤΙΚΩΝ 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. Threatte i. 573 ff., Gignac i. 117—and the fact that R has -λεχ- here.

ἀντικρῆς: if this has its common meaning 'straightway', it most naturally qualifies πατάξαι, but Thuc. vi. 10. 3 ἀντικρῆς πολεμοῦσι, 'are openly making war', and other Thucydidean examples suggest that it qualifies ἐξελεγχόμενον and means 'inescapably', 'undeniably'.

743 ϊσωξε μεντάν: μέντοι here seems to correspond to emphasis on 'would'

in English 'he would have been sorry for it!' Cf. Pl. Tht. 158 ἐ γελοῖον μεντὰν εἴη, 'that would be absurd!'; GP 402.

τοῦτο μέντοι ... 744 πεπόηκας: ΣRVE refers τοῦτο (μέντοι emphasizing the demonstrative; cf. GP 400) to Xanthias' bellicose utterance; the point of εὐθὺς will then be the immediacy of his reaction to 741 f. (the Aristotelian εὐθὺς, '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 εὐθὺς 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 ἱκετεύω: cf. 11 n. This parenthetical ἱκετεύω 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.

μάλλ᾿: 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 μυούμενοι καὶ ἐποπτεύοντες, Smp. 209 e τὰ τέλεα 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 καταράσωμαι λάθρᾳ: 'curse ... behind his back'.

747 τί δέ: cf. 73 n.

τονθορύζων: 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.

ώς ... ἐγώ: lit., 'as I know nothing', i.e. 'in a way in which I know nothing (else that does)'.

750 όμόγνιε 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’ όμόγνιον.

παρακούων: 'overhearing'; sometimes 'happening to hear' without intention of eavesdropping, e.g. Hdt. iii. 129. 3.

751 λαλῶσι: cf. p. 22.

πλεῖν 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’ ἀλλ’: μὰ Δία being a negative oath, the meaning is 'No, (χαίρειν μὲν ἀλλ’ ἄντομαί σε Δία καλοῦσ’ ὡς ἐγώ)'.

κάκμιαίνομαι: μιαίνειν is 'stain', and figuratively 'pollute'; the combination of ἐκ- 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 ἐκμιαίνεσθαι 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. κάκμολόνομαι (V) could be right, but is not attested elsewhere.

754 ἐμβαλε ... 755 κύσον: 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 κύσον με καὶ τὴν χεῖρα δός τὴν δεξιάν. For (lit.) 'give to kiss' cf. Lys. 923 δός νυν μοι κύσα (where the context is erotic) and Is. vii. 2 'confirming the transaction, δόντων αὐτῷ τῶν νόμων (sc. to do so)'.

755 καὶ μοι φράσον: they embrace, and while they do so we hear a noise of shouting within. ἐκ ῬΕ suggests that Xanthias starts to ask the other slave a question about something else, but breaks off after ὀμομαστιγίας and asks instead what the noise is about; the alternative (recognized by ἐκ ῬΕ) is that καὶ μοι φράσον κτλ. is all concerned with the noise. The problem lies in καὶ, 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. καὶ 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 ὀμομαστιγίας: on μαστιγίας cf. 501 n.; the notion of Zeus as a deity of μαστιγίαι takes the ὀμόγνιε Ζεῦ of 750 a stage further.

757 ἐστι: 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 Md1 supplementation, and change after it by R V A M Np1, while U Vs1 supplementation 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 πρᾶγμα κτλ., so that Xanthias may ask ἐκ τοῦ. For the repetition cf. 580, and E. *Hp.* 327 κάκ’ ὑ τάλαινα σοι τάδ’, εἰ πεύσῃ, κακά; Fehling 170.

760 στάσις: cf. 359 n.

762 ἄπό: unless we punctuate after κείμενος we have the problem of explaining ἄπό = περί, for which Hdt. iv. 54 ταύτα μὲν τὰ ἄπο 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.


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 (Ἀθ. π. 43. 3)) were an honour conferred by the state on various categories of people prescribed in IG i.3 131, including victors in the panhellenic games; cf. Rhodes 308.

αὐτόν: pleonastic, but not unparalleled, e.g. Pl. R. 398 Α ἄνδρα δή ..., εἴ ... ἀφίκοιτο ..., προσκυνοῖμεν ἄν αὐτόν, Hdt. ii. 10. 2; interestingly, it occurs in IG i.3 131 itself (5-7), ἔπειτα τοῖς [h]αρμ[οδίο καὶ Ἀριστογέι]τονος ἥδ[ος] ἄν ἐγγύτατα γένος, [ν]υιόν γνέσιόν μὲ ὄντον, ἐν[α]ι αὐτοῖς τὲν σίτ[έ]σιν 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 ἐως 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 ε).

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 ῥεύματος ἐκείνου ... ὃν Ἰμερον Ζεύς ... ὠνόμασε; KG i. 76f.

775 ἀντιλογιῶν: 'disputes', 'controversies' (cf. 878); but a work of Protagoras was known in later times as ἀντιλογίαι (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 Μac M6 Νp1, '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 ... οὔ με πείσεις, 'twist and turn as you may in your talk ...', and Pl. R. 405 C, where the skilful but dishonest forensic orator is ἱκανὸς πάσας

776 μὲν στροφὰς στρέφεσθαι, πάσας δὲ διεξόδους διεξιὼν ἀποστραφῆναι λυγιζόμενος.

777 ἐπαρθείς: 'aroused', 'excited'.

778 ἵν': 'where', as commonly in the fifth century, especially in documentary inscriptions.

ἐβάλλετο: 'was pelted', as in Ach. 236 the chorus intends to stone Dikaiopolis in their indignation at his treasonable conduct.

780 ὁπότερος εἴη: 'to see which was ...'.

781 ὁ τῶν πανούργων: sc. δῆμος; and on πανοῦργος cf. 35 n.

νὴ Δί ... ὅσον: lit., 'Yes indeed, heaven-high (was) the amount which (their clamour was)'. Cf. 1135, and on νὴ Δία ... γε 3 n.

782 ἐτεροι: cf. 515 n.

783 χρηστῶν: cf. 179 n.; and for the sentiment cf. Antiphanes fr. 59. 8 ὀλίγον ἐστι τὸ καλὸν πανταχοῦ / καὶ τίμιον.

785 αὐτίκα μάλα: occurs in this phrase also in Lys. 739, 744.
786 κἄπειτα: cf. Av. 963 κάπειτα (‘but if that’s so’) πῶς / ταῦτ’ ούκ ἐχρησμολόγεις 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. ΣVE). 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 Ἕραν ... τῆς Δι��, '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 κἄκεινος 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 ε πᾶς γὰρ ἰατρὸς καὶ πᾶς ἐντεχνός δημιουργός. In

the present case there is a good reason for repeating ἐκεῖνος, the contrast between Sophocles' behaviour and Euripides'. This emphasis lies not so much on the first ἐκεῖνος (cf. 1244 οὐ δῆτ' ἐκεῖνος, 1457 οὐ δῆτ' ἐκείνη γ', where there is no implicit contrast, and (e.g.) Av. 90 μὰ Δι' οὐκ ἔγωγε, where such contrast is minimal) as on the second. A comparable emphatic repetition is to be found in 1184 f. πρὶν φῦναι μέν ... πρὶν καὶ γεγονέναι. Coulon, accepting Sophocles as the subject of ὑπεχώρησεν, conjectured κἄκεινος for κἄκεινος; 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 καθίσεθαι figuratively and it was remembered (with admiration or with derision). That interpretation is supported by V. 1183 f. ὦ σκαὶ ἀπαίδευτε, Θεογενῆς ἔφη / τῷ κοπρολόγῳ, Ec. 21-3 καταλαβεῖν δ’ ἡμᾶς ἔδρας / δεὶ τὰς ἑταίρας … / ἢς Φυρόμαχος ποτ’ ἐπεν, εἰ μέμνησθ’ ἔτι. Kallistratos' statement (ap. ΣVE) that Kleidemides was a son of Sophocles ('Philokles' Σ) is qualified by 'perhaps', and Apollonios' (ibid.), that he was a Sophoclean actor, is probably equally speculative.

792 ἕφεδρος: 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. 119 νικῶν δ’ ἔφεδρον παῖδ’ ἔχεις τὸν Πηλέως, 'if you win, you then have the son of Peleus as an adversary'.

793 ἔξειν κατὰ χώραν: 'stay as he was'; cf. Pl. 367 ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ τὸ βλέμ’ αὐτὸ κατὰ χώραν ἔχει, Thuc. iv. 76. 5 ἡπιζ’ οὖν … οὐ μενεῖν κατὰ χώραν τὰ πράγματα.

794 διαγωνιεῖσθ': 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 δή: 'and right here …' telling us what we shall see 'very soon' (ὀλίγον ύστερον).

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 ii.² 1237. 60 f., a decree of the phratry Demotionidai (396/5)) to have been two such occasions in a child's life, τὰ μεῖα (not μεῖονα or μείω) and τὰ κουρεῖα (cf. Deubner 232–4). It is the father who is said to ἄγειν these (IG ii.² 1237. 60, 118) with a sacrifice and is thus μειαγωγός; cf. Eupolis fr. 130. 3 ὥσπερ μειαγωγὸς ἔστιν. ΣRVE offers an etymology—to the effect that the members of the phratry jokingly exclaimed μεῖον, '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. μεῖον), 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: κανόν (cf. 956) is a straight bar or rod, πῆχυς ('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 i.3 475. 215) or box (e.g. IG
ii.1 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 Np1 Vb3
Vs1; πηγνύναι is 'fix'); σύμπτυκα (R), ξύμπυκτα (V), and σύμπυκτα (Md1 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 ΣRV recognizes: πρὸς οὐδέν, ἀλλ' οἷον περιττὰ 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 Md1 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 τάργύριον
πολεμούμεν γάρ, S. OT 1028 f. ποιμνίοις ἐπεστάτουν. / / ποιμὴν γάρ ἦσθα...; (GP 77 f.).

801 καὶ διαμέτρους καὶ σφῆνας: 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 ΣVE
interprets it as 'compasses'. σφῆνες, '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, ταυρηδόν ὑποβλέψας at his jailer,
but there is no hostility there.
805 κρινεῖ δὲ δὴ τίς: cf. Av. 112 πράγους δὲ δὴ τοῦ δεσμένω 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 λῆρόν τε ... 810 ποητῶν: 'he thought everyone else rubbish when it comes to recognizing what poets are like'. Cf. Lys. 860 λῆρος ἐστι τὰλλα πρὸς Κινησίαν, 'other men are trash compared with Kinesias', Alexis fr. 25. 12 σποδός ('dust') δὲ τὰλλα, Περικλέης, Κόδρος, Κύμων.

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 ἐσπουδάκεναι, denoting excitement, enthusiasm, or seriousness, is common.

814–29. PRELUDE TO THE AGON

Four stanzas in responsion (Prato 306 f., Zimmermann ii. 147, iii. 88).

(1) 814 ~ 818
~ 822 ~ 826

(2) 815 ~ 819
~ 823 ~ 827

(3) 816 ~ 820
~ 824 ~ 828

(4) 817 ~ 821
~ 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 ἑριβρεμέτας, 818 κορυθαίολος, 822 λασιαυχένα) or tragedy (821 ἵπποβάμονα), while others are attested only here and may be presumed comic coinage (815 ὀξύλαλον, 820 φρενοτέκτονος, 822 αὐτοκόμου, 824 γομφοπαγῆ, 826 στοματουργός). Neither contestant is mentioned by name. A reader familiar with the scenes which follow has no difficulty in identifying Aeschylus as subject of 814 ἑχει, 815 ἴδῃ, 817 στροβήσεται and 823 ἥσει, and Euripides as subject of 815 θήγοντος and Euripides’ tongue as the γλῶσσα 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.


815 ὀξυλάλου ... 816 ἀντιτέχνου: a hunted boar ‘sharpens 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. γιγνώσκειν (Schwyzer ii. 106), but the only putative parallel for ἴδῃ θήγοντος ... ἀντιτέχνου is Aratos, *Phæn.* 430 μέχρι βορῆος ἀπαστράψαντος (βορῆος ἄπ’ ἀστρα- Maass) ἴδει. *Eq.* 803 ἔ πανουργεῖς οὐ καθορά 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 ἃ οὔπω εἶδες ... αὐτῶν μενότων 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. εἶπερ, ὅσπερ, etc.) or (often καὶ περ) 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 ἵδη, but παρίδῃ, ‘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 ἱππολόφων ... νείκη: λόγων νείκη, 'verbal contests', are what we shall see and hear, but κορυθαίολα, 'with flashing helmet' (a regular epithet of Hektor; cf. G. S. Kirk on Il. ii. 816) assimilates the contest to an epic battle.

819 σχινδάλαμοι τε παραξονίων: we meet σχινδάλαμοι, 'slivers',

'shavings', in Nu. 130, where Strepsiades despairs of learning λόγων ἀκριβῶν σχινδαλάμων. 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 σχινδάλαμοι 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 ΣRVE 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 *παραξόνα, and παραξόνη 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 ἀξόαναι νηοί, 'temples without statues', Nonn. Dion. iv. 273 λιθοξοάνοι τε νηοῦ, 'temple with stone statues'. Campbell (loc. cit.) suggested παραψόγια, a diminutive of παράψογοι 'marginal (?) criticisms' (a word attributed to Euenos in Pl. Phdr. 267 A).

σμιλεύματα τ’ ἔργων: σμίλη is a cutting-tool, e.g. such as shoemakers use (Pl. Alc. I 129c), 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 ... θήσαμαι, Phoen. 1743 f. τάλαιν' ἔγω (σών) συγγόνου θ’ ύβρισμάτων. 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 ῥήματα

Page 126 of 239
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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: φώς, 'mortal', 'man', is used by Aristophanes only in obvious parody of serious poetry.

φρενοτέκτονος: cf. [A.] *PV* 714 f. σιδηροτέκτονες ... Χάλυβες.

821 ἱπποβάμονα: '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 ἵπποκρήμνα and *Men.* *Theop.* 19 ἵπποπόρνε.

822 Lit., 'bristling the shaggy-necked hair of the hair-and-all mane-ridge'; cf. *Od.* xix. 446 (a boar) φρίξας εὖ λοφιήν. 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. λασιαυχήν 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 δε τ’ ἐπισκύνιον κάτω ἐλκεται ὡς καλύπτων.

ξυνάγων: in *Nu.* 582 the clouds, scowling and bringing bad weather, τὰς ὀφρῦς ξυνήγομεν. ἤσει: cf. S. *Ant.* 1200 f. ἔπος τί ἤσει δυσθρήνητον.


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 ἀνασπᾶν 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 *RVE*) by the blasts of a storm (γηγενεῖ φυσήματι).

825 γηγενεῖ: 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 ῬΒΕ) thought it was a very slender animal, and that implies γλώσσαν ἐλισσομένη (the reading of Β). In Pl. Smp. 193 A λίσπαι are clearly (cf. 191 D) objects sawn in half to make tallies. Σ ῬΒΕ 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 ὀξυτόρῳ κινήσασα χαλινῷ, where the reference is to headlong flight, and

............................................................... pg 295

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 φθονεροὺς κινοῦσα χαλινούς refers to the imposition by Euripides of a check on the vehement force of Aeschylus. However, the preceding γλῶσσαν 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 ρήματα 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 ρηματίσου ... αὐτόν ... κατατεξέμω, Ach. 160 καταπελτάσονται τὴν Βοιωτίαν ὅλην, 'they'll overrun all Boeotia as light-armed troops'.

Page 128 of 239
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(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 (ἀρά) 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 assymetrical. 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 μεθιέναι and μεθίεσθαι in Aristophanes: V. 416 τόνδ’ ἐγὼ οὐ μεθήσομαι ~ 437 εἰ δὲ μὴ τούτου μεθήσεσι, ἐν κτλ. ~ 434 μὴ μεθήσοθε μηδενί, An. 1085 φράζομεν μεθείην (sc. αὐτούς), al.; cf. S. Phil. 1301 f. μέθες με πρὸς θεῶν χεῖρα. ὦκ ἂν μεθείην, E. Hp. 325 f. βιάζῃ, χειρὸς ἐξαρτωμένη; καὶ σῶν γε γονάτων, κοὐ μεθήσομαι 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 συνομολογήσατε ~ Euthd. 280 ὑ συνωμολογησάμεθα. In the case of μεθιέναι 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 τούτου) must be.

833 ἀποσεμνυνυεῖται: cf. 703, 1020.

835 οὐ δαιμόνι' ἀνδρῶν: cf. 44 n., 1049, 1227.

μεγάλα: cf. Pl. Phd. 95 β ὑγαθέ, ... μὴ μέγα λέγε, 'Don't speak so confidently!'

837 ἀγριοποιῶν: ἀγριος is 'wild', 'savage' (Stanford ad loc. confuses it with ἀγροῖκος), and Aeschylus is being accused of creating primitive, uncivilized characters.

αὐθαδόστομον: 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).

ἄκρατές: the respect in which someone 'lacks control (over ...)’ is normally specified, e.g. [A.] PV 884 ἄκρατης γλώσσης; here, as an epithet of στόμα, its implication is obvious.

ἀθύρωτον: this (R M\textsuperscript{B}, 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:

839 ἀπεριλάλητον: 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 περιλαλοῦσας, and in Ec. 230 μὴ περιλαλῶμεν 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 κάδάκρυτος ... ἔρξον, and the examples assembled by Bruhn 56.

κομποφακελορρήμονα: κόμπος is 'boasting', φάκελος 'bundle' (usually of firewood), and for -ρρήμεν, '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 μιαρὰ σύ; In this sense the adjective is proparoxytone (Hdn. i. 490. 13-17).

Ἕως παῖ ... θεοῦ: adapted from E. fr. 885 ἡ παῖ τῆς θαλασσίας θεοῦ (presumably Achilles, son of Thetis). ἄρουραίς (~ ἕρουρα, '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. lvii. 35, 42, where the speaker has to defend his mother's social status).

841 ταῦτ': sc. λέγεις; cf. 1273, KG ii. 564, Schweitzer 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’ ... ἔρεις: ‘But you'll regret saying it', 'You won't get away with it'. Cf. Ach. 562 ἀλλ’ οὗ 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 σπλάγχνα ἐθέρμαινον ποτῷ ('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. κάπόλυσον, ὡ πάτερ. οὐ δῆτα, κιθαρίζειν γὰρ 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 (τυφώς; 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 Md1 P20 Vs1; 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.

παίδες: 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 Strepsiades, whom we have to imagine as on his bed indoors, says ἄπτε, παῖ, λύχνον / κἄκφερε τὸ γραμματεῖον.

ἐκβαίνειν: a surprising word to use of a storm ('out of' what?), but ἔξειναι is so used in Eq. 430, where Kleon threatens ἔξειμι γάρ σοι λαμπρὸς (cf. Hdt. ii. 96. 3 λαμπρὸς ἄνεμος) ἢδη ..., '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' Κρῆτες (cf. p. 358) and Κρῆσσαι; and Phaidra, Pasiphae's daughter, was Cretan too (cf. E. Hp. 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 Κρηταϊκά (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*).

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*Conv.* 748 αβ. 'Cretic' is used by Kratinos fr. 237 and *PMG* Lyr. *Adesp.* 967 in its metrical sense, but *Ec.* 1165 Κρητικῶς οὖν τῷ πόδε / καὶ οὗ 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. Pl. fr. 107b, S. *Aj.* 699), in combination with Euripides' fondness for monodies and his use of Cretan myths, is quite enough to account for Κρητικὰς μονῳδίας. It is questionable whether any Euripidean tragedy contained anything which on formal grounds would be called 'a Cretan monody'.

850 γάμους δ' ἀνοσίους: 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 οὕτως: cf. 198, 312.

πολυτίμητη: 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 Euthydemos has made preposterously inflated claims.

852 χαλαζῶν: 'hail'.

πόνηρ: sympathetic, not abusive; cf. *Av.* 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; ἄπαγε 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. *Av.* 400 ἀναγ' εἰς τάξιν πάλιν εἰς ταὐτόν.

854 κεφαλαίω: this may have been used of a massive horizontal block over a doorway or at the corner of a building, equivalent to γωνιαίος (cf. Plato Com. fr. 69. 1 γωνιαίον ῥήματος ~ IG i.3 474. 19 γωνιαίαν μήκος ἐπτάποδα, and Hsch. κ 2399 κεφαλαίται· γωνιαίοι 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 κεφάλαιον 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 θενών: 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 (−ι-ω ) ~ Hcld. 271 θενεῖν)

(ω. 4). Hence Blomfield's accentuation θενών (θένων MSS).

ὑπ' ὀργῆς: cf. 349 n.

tὸν 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 ἔλεγχο' ἐλέγχου: for this type of two-term asyndeton cf. 861, Xen. Cyr. vii. 1. 38 ἐώθουν, ἐωθοῦντο, ἔπαιον, ἐπαίοντο (KG ii. 346), and for the sense V. 485 καὶ δέρεσθαι καὶ δέρειν, Pl. Grg. 462 Α ἐρωτῶν καὶ ἐρωτώμενος ... ἔλεγχε τε καὶ ἐλέγχου.

πρέπει: Ε U Vs1 Θ2 have θέμις, but in Nu. 140 οὐ θέμις is (humorously) associated with mysteries and in Pax 1018 with sacrifices, whereas what we want here is something closer to Lys. 7 f. μὴ σκυθρώπαζ', ὦ τέκνον, / οὐ γὰρ πρέπει σοι τοξοποιεῖν τὰς ὀφρύς.

858 ἀνδράς ποιήσι: poets should be real men, not like women; cf. 1369.

ὡς περ ἄρτοπωλίδας: cf. p. 213.
859 πρίνος: distinguished from δρῦς, '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 κοὐκ άναδύομαι: cf. Pl. Th. 145 C ἀλλὰ μὴ άναδύου τά ὑμολογηµένα ('don't try to get out of ...') ... ἀλλὰ θαρρῶν ἐξεµενε τῇ ὑµολογίᾳ.

861 δάκνειν, δάκνεσθαι: 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 δέδηγμαι τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ καρδίαν (KG i. 316), but that is usually confined to the aorist passive aorist and perfect (Lys. iii. 19 συνετριβόμεθα τάς κεφαλάς is an exception), and *δάκνομαι τὸν Πηλέα, 'My Peleus is bitten', is stretching things a bit; but in the light of 855, that may be the point.

862 Clearly ἔπη are the spoken verses, μέλη the sung lyrics. For the latter cf. (e.g.) 874, 1261; μέλος is 'song' in non-dramatic contexts also, but ἔπος is more versatile (cf. 358 n.).

τὰ νεῦρα: νεῦρα 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 ἀν ἑκτήξῃ τὸν θυµὸν καὶ ἑκτέµη ʿωσπερ νεῦρα ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς, '... and, as it were, cuts the νεῦρα out of the soul'. ὡσπερ is important there, suggesting as it does that in Plato's time the metaphorical usage of νεῦρα was not firmly established (Dem. xix. 283 is the first certain instance in prose). However, it is hard to believe that τὰ νεῦρα τῆς τραγῳδίας is in apposition (rather than three-term asyndeton), treating the ἔπη and μέλη of a tragedy as its νεῦρα, 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 νεῦρα 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 δαξύστατος; 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 a 15 μέγιστον δὲ τούτων ἐστὶν ή τῶν πραγμάτων σύστασις. Between σύστασις and Aristophanes' νεῦρα 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 Πηλέα (cf. E. El. 599 φον3έα) or Πηλέα; contrast 912 Ἀχιλλέα, E. Andr. 545
Πηλέα, but Th. 26 Ἡρακλέα (Descroix 25).

γε: A E K Md1 Np1 Vb3 have τε (om. U Vs1: ςε M), but καὶ νὴ Δία ... γε, the same speaker continuing, is well attested; cf. 181 n., Werres 33.


866 ἐβουλόμην μέν: '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 ὥς; cf. 672 n.); KG i. 205 f., MT 157 f., Schwyzer ii. 354.

οὐκ ἐρίζειν: οὐ with an infinitive depending on βούλεσθαι is highly abnormal. Usually οὐ where μὴ is expected can be explained by the closeness with which the negative is linked to the following word, e.g. οὐχ ἤττον, 'equally' (KG ii. 185), but that does not apply here. Possibly the formulaic character of ἐβουλόμην μέν 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’ ἂν 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 ὅτι cf. 922.

870 To modern ears this formula of consent sounds grudging, and here it might be, but it is not always so; cf. Av. 665, where the Hoopoe agrees to display Prokne to his guests: ἀλλ’ εἰ δοκεῖ σφῶν, ταῦτα χρὴ δρᾶν. Cf. Fraenkel 83–8.

871 Lit., 'Let someone give ...', a command to slaves: 'Fire! Incense! Come on!'. Cf. Lys. 186 καὶ μοι δότω τὰ τόμια τις, and the preparation for the trial of the dog in V.860–2: ἀλλ’ ώς τάχιστα πῦρ τις ἐξενεγκάτω / καὶ μυρρίνας καὶ τὸν λιβανωτὸν ἐνδοθεν. 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.


(ii) 875–84. Sacrifice and Prayers

Cf. Prato 308 f., Zimmermann ii. 204 f., iii. 88.
(1) 875 (ὦ ...)

(2) 876 (Μοῦ- ...)

(3) 877 (ἀν- ...)

(4) 878 (ἔλ- ...)

(5) 879 (ἔλθετ’ ...)

(6) 880 (δει- ...)

(7) 881 (ῥή- ...)

(8) 882/3 (νῦν- ...)

(9) 884 (χω- ...)

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. ‘daughters’; 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. Smp. 744 B, Paus. ix. 29. 2).

876 λεπτολόγους: cf. 828 n.


877 γνωμοτύπων ... ὀξυμερίμνοις: 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 μερίμναις. μέριμναι is used in Nu. 420, 1404 of the intellectual problems to which Socrates and his pupils addressed themselves; cf. Nu. 101 μεριμνοφροντισταί.

878 στρεβλοίσι: cf. 620 n.

παλαίσμασι: for the metaphorical use of ‘wrestling’ cf. 689.
ἀντιλογοῦντες: cf. 775.

879 ἐποψόμεναι: cf. 675 n.

880 παρισσασθαί: the infinitive depends on δεινοτάτοιν; cf. Ach. 429 δεινὸς λέγειν, 'a very skilled speaker'.

881 τρήματα: whether or not a contrast is intended between the τρήματα of Aeschylus and the παραπρίσματ’ ἐπῶν of Euripides, τρήματα, necessarily the product of any use of the vocal organs in articulate speech, is a surprisingly vague and colourless word compared with παραπρίσματ’ ἐπῶν. Francke's τρήματα, lit. 'breaks', may well be the right answer (cf. Eq. 626 ἔλασίβροντ' ἀνάρρηγνυς ἐπη, of a violent and portentous speaker); Kock suggested πρέμνα τε, 'stumps', 'bases' (of trees or columns; cf. 902).

παραπρίσματ’: πρέμνα is 'saw'; παραπρίσματα must be 'sawdust' and/or 'sawn-off bits' (as apparently in Inscr. Délos 320. 68 (229ᵃ) ἐβένου παραπρισμάτων παντοδαπῶν ὁλκή), 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 ἀνεῖται σοφίας, ἧς πέρι ... ἐστὶν ἀγών μέγιστος.

χωρεῖ πρὸς

éργου: cf. S. Aj. 116 χωρῶ πρὸς ἐργοῦ, '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 Eleusinioi, 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 1111ᵃ ⁹ 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 λαβών does not scan; λαβών δὴ καὶ σὺ λιβανωτὸν (A E K M Np1 U Vs1) scans (so too V, but Vpc repeats λαβών after λιβανωτὸν; Vb3 omits δή), but Π1 has καισυδηλιβαν[…]νλαβω[ν, and so too Md1ac and (om. λαβών) Suda. Fritzsche acutely conjectured λιβανωτὸν καὶ σὺ δὴ λαβών; cf. Pl. Ep. 362 ο τά γάρ ἀναλώματα … καὶ σὺ δὴ φής ἀγαθόν εἶναι, Xen. Cyr. i. 5. 6 προσείλοντο καὶ οὕτοι δὴ τούς τέτταρας (GP 254 f.; καὶ δή, as opposed to καὶ..., 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 ΣVE τινὲς ἐν τῷ “θεοῖς” δύο τιθέασιν (‘put a dicolon’) ἕν ἐν ἢ τὸ “ἔδιοι τινές σοι κόμμα καινόν” implies that in some texts Euripides continued down to τινές 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).

σου: so R; σοι cett., but the genitive is supported by Pl. R. 580 ἐ ὅνόματι ... ἰδίω 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. στρόφιγξ is 'pivot' or 'hinge', and the phrase suggests a versatile tongue; cf. 826 f. and Nu. 792, where Strepsiades desairs of learning γλωττοστροφεῖν. Cf. also ll. xx. 248 στρεπτή δὲ γλῶσσα' ἐστὶ βροτῶν and E. Ba. 268 εὐτροφοχον μὲν γλῶσσαν ...

έχεις. μυκτήρες, '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 responsion between the Ode and the Antode (992-1003) except at one point. Elasticity of responsion 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.
In 993b I have admitted verse-end at the disyllabic prepositive ὅπως on the analogy of similar instances in the iambic trimeter (e.g. 114) and in Pindar (e.g. N. 5. 3 f. ὄτι).
The MSS have ἀκούσαι τινα λόγων ἐμμέλειαν ἐπιτε 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 ε (cf. 631 D). Pl. Lg. 816 β contrasts it, as an εἰρηνικὸν εἴδος, with the πυρρίχη, which is πολεμικὸν εἴδος (in retrospect, it is ironic that ἐμμέλεια should be associated with δάϊος ('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 ἐμμελεῖφ 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 ἄργυρου πηγή τις (of silver-mines) and Ag. 735 ἱερεύς 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. τις 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 ὁδόν, 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 οὖν (cf. Ach. 627, Eq. 386, Av. 258) gives it the tone of a military command (cf. Av. 344, Lys. 461), and that suits δαίαν well. Of alternative emendations the most attractive is Kock's τίνα λόγων, (τίν') ἐμμελείας ἐπιτε κτλ. For ὁδός with the genitive cf. Pax 732 f. ἡμεῖς δ' αὖ ... ἣν ἔχομεν ὁδόν λόγων εἴπωμεν.

898 ἠγρίωται: 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 Md1 here have λέξαι, which in isolation would be possible (cf. Andok. iii. 27 Κόρινθων ἐλεῖν 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: ῥίνη is 'file', 'rasp'.

Page 141 of 239
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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 βώλοις and 3. 11 λαβοῦσα τοῖσδε ἐπικόσμει αὐτὸν; cf. KG ii. 175 f.

έμπεσόντα: ‘charging in’; cf. 945 and Hdt. iii. 81. 2 (a democracy) ὥθει τε ἐπέμπεσον τὰ πρήγματα κτλ.

συσκεδάνυ: the verb (only here) is lit., ‘scatter all together’; cf. the Homeric συνέαξε, ‘broke in pieces’, ‘shattered completely’.

.................................................................

903–4

ἀλινδήθρας: ἀλινδεῖσθαι 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 ἀστεῖα: in 901 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 ἐσικάς and ἕκασμεσθα, and cf. V. 1309–13) against a person. In Pl. Smp. 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 ἐ μήτε λόγῳ μήτε εἰκόνι ... κωμῳδεῖν.

μήθ' ... εἶποι: 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 μήν: 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.).

ἐμαυτόν ... εἰμι: 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 βελτίστονας ... καὶ τὴν γνώμην καὶ τὴν ιδέαν (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 ἄ βούλομαι, βουλοίμην δ' ἄ δει) and it is
caricatured by Plato in Agathon's speech, Smp. 194 ἐ γώ δ ἆ δ ὃ βούλομαι πρῶτον μὲν εἰπεῖν ὡς χρή με εἰπεῖν, ἐπείτα εἰπεῖν.

909 ἀλαζών: cf. 280 n.

φέναξ: 'cheat'; cf. 921.

οἵοις: 'by what means'; cf. V. 1362 f. 'so that I may mock him οἵοις (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 γεραίε ... / πάλαι κυμώ κούδεν [,]/model ξτ.μί] 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 Πάν ἢ Ζεύς.

ἀν: a past indicative tense with ἀν 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, Schwyzter ii. 350 f.

Νιόβην: – 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 ἱωνίης’). The connotation ‘mere show’ is supported here by E. El. 387 f. αἱ δὲ σάρκες αἱ κεναὶ φρενῶν ἀγάλματ’ ἀγορᾶς εἰσιν (Dn).


toutί: with a snap of the fingers, says ΣVE; cf. 139 n.

914 ήρειδεν ... 915 ξυνεχώς ἀν: 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 ἀν cf. 97 n.

917 ἡλίθιος: ‘simple-minded’, ‘naïve’; cf. Ec. 765 ἀνόητος; οὐ γάρ; ήλίθιος 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 ὁ δεῖνα is ‘so-and-so’, 'someone or other'.

919-20 προσδοκῶν ... ὁπόθ’: 'waiting to see when ...'.

καθήτο: so E U Vs1 (though without the iota), supported by Lys. 149 καθήμεθ; καθοίτο cett. Given [Pl.] Thg. 130 ἐ 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 κεκλῆσθαι, κεκτῆσθαι, and μεμνῆσθαι offer only limited help, because καθῆσθαι goes its own way in several respects.

921 ὦ παμπόνηρος: not a vocative, as ὑπ' αὐτοῦ shows; cf. Pl. Phdr. 227 C λέγει γάρ ... ὦ γενναῖος, εἴθε γράψειεν κτλ.

ἀρ': as often, connoting discovery or realization; GP 35–7.

922 σκορδιναὶ καὶ δυσφορεῖς: 'fidget uncomfortably' (or '... irritably'); in Ach. 30 σκορδινάσθαι 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 βο- 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 ὀφρῦς).

μορμορωπά: μορμώ or μορμύρ- (hence van Leeuwen's conjecture μορμονώπα (Mnemosyne 1896. 103 here) is a (usually female) boggyman of whom children are frightened. But μόρμορος is glossed φόβος in Hsch. μ 1670, μορμυρ- (in various forms) as παράσκευ (μ 1672–6); and μορμύρος is a species of fish (Thompson 161). K Np1 Vs1 ac Θ Ψ pc Θ μορμο- , R A E Vb3 Θ μορμου-, V μορμυρ-, M μορμυρ-, and M Vs1 pc μουρμου-. Either μορμο- or μορμυ- could be right.

926 ἀγνωτα: ἀγνώτα in V, ἀγνωστά in Vs1 (ἀγνωστα Vs1 γρ.), but Hdn. ii. 615. 26–8 denies that ἀγνώς is found in the neuter, and in S. OT 58 the MSS have γνωτὰ κοὐκ ἄγνωτα μοι. There, the choice may be determined by the contrast with γνωτά; here, since ἄγνωστος is common, Vs1 might be right.

σιώπα: evidently Aeschylus is not stifling his rage and indignation.

927 οὐδὲ ἕν: οὐδὲ εἷς and οὐδὲ ἕν, scanned as three syllables, become increasingly common in fourth-century comedy; in Aristophanes, cf. Lys. 1045 φλαῦρον εἰπεῖν οὐδὲ ἕν.

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.

tάφρους: 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 αἰετός

'hooked'. ΣVE 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 αἰετός.

ιππόκρημνα: cf. 821 n., and Nu. 1367, where Pheidippides scornfully dismisses Aeschylus as κρημνοποιόν, 'crag-maker'.

930 ἃ ξυμβαλεῖν οὐ ῥᾴδι: cf. Pl. Cra. 416 Α χαλεπὰ συμβαλεῖν, 'hard to work out'.

υἱ τοὺς θεοὺς: M. Z. Koredakis, Hellenika 29 (1976) 347 f., argues for attributing νη τοὺς θεοὺς ... 932 ὁρνίς 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 Ἦδη ποτ’ ἄλλως νυκτὸς ἐν μακρῷ χρόνῳ … ἐφρόντισ’ κτλ.

932 ξουθὸν ἱππαλεκτρυόνα: 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 Ἐρυξίν: Arist. EE 1231Β17 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^λ Uac have κολοκτρυώνα, Κ^ι Υγρ.
κολεκ--root, K² Np1 κωλεκ-, and Σ²RVΕ explains κολο- as a Persian species 'like locusts', which would make 935 a very odd reply to 933.

936 ἄττ': cf. 56, 173. Corruption of ποί' ἄττ' to ποία 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.


940 οἴδούσαν ... 942 περιπάτοις: on the personification of Tragedy cf. Newiger (1957) 131. The 'slimming' (ἰσχναίνει) of someone who is 'swollen' (οἰδεῖ) is naturally of concern to doctors, as we see from the Hippocratic corpus. For the reference of οἰδεῖ 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.

ἐπυλίοις: diminutive of ἔπος, used also of Euripidean verses in Ach. 398, Pax 532. There may be (so Merry) a pun on ἔρπύλλιον, '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 τύχωι: 'any old words', 'anything that came into my head'; cf. Pl. *Prt.* 353 Α ὅτι ἂν τύχωι, τοῦτο λέγουσιν.

έμπεσών: cf. 904 n.

έφυσεν: 'mixed up', 'jumbled'.

946 οὐξιών: 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).

έασον: 'don't pursue that!'

ὦ τάν: 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 καλώς ἔσται, ἐὰν θεὸς θέλῃ (Schwyzer ii. 414 f.).

954 φημὶ κἀγώ: φημί serves as an affirmative response (e.g. Nu. 1325), so here 'You certainly did!'

955 διαρραγῆναι: 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 κανῶν ἐσβολάς ὡς λόγου, Ion 676–8 ὡς δάκρυα ... στεναγμάτων τ’ ἐσβολάς, ὅταν κτλ., and in Antiphanes fr. 189. 21 ἐσβολή is probably the 'opening scene' of a comedy. Here, however, 'insertions' seems more appropriate; cf. English 'bring in' = 'apply'.

γωνιασμούς: Pl. Philb. 51 C refers to 'shapes made κανῶν 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, 'squearing-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 it 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 ἑδροστρόφοι,
of twisting the 'seat' in wrestling, -ερᾶν in compounds can mean 'vomit' or 'pour out' (e.g. A.
Ag. 1599 ἀπὸ σφαγὴν ἐρῶν, and ἐξερᾶν Ach. 341, V. 993, of
pouring stones; the simple verb occurs only in (Hsch. ε 5630), and L. J. D. Richardson, Ha
72 (1948) 80 f., argues that ἐρᾶν 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 στρέφεσθαι in Ach. 385.

958 κάχ' ὑποτοπεῖσθαι: 'suspect bad intentions (in others)'. In Pl. R. 409 C the rogue
who is δεινὸς 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 ἃν ἐξηλεγχόμην: '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 ἃν with the
imperfect of unfulfilled past conditions cf. KG i. 211–14, MT 81–4, GV 302–4.

οὗτοι: the audience; cf. 954, 972.

961 ἡλεγχον: 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. πολλῷ 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.
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 l. 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. ΣRVE says that Aeschylus παρήνεγκε χρωμένους κώδωσί τινας, 'brought on stage' (cf. 1054 n.; emend παρήνεγκε to παρήγαγε; or 'spoke of ...' (cf. E. IA 981 παραφέρουσα οἰκτρούς λόγους)?

τούτου τε κἀμούς: the construction is regular, e.g. E. El. 303 τάμα κάκεινον κακά, HF 855 τά θ Ἦρας κάκα μηχανήματα; and cf. 109 n.

έκατέρου: cf. Pl. Tht. 144 τον ἕχοντον έκατέρου 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.

τουτουμενί: = τουτουὶ μέν; cf. Th. 646 ἐγγεταυθί = ἐνταυθί γε.

Φορμίσιος: 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 (ΣRVE τῶν στρατηγιῶντων and ΣΕ νόθος ἀλλ' ἀνοίχθητος 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 (Lasos, s. V9) a Carian of that name (accusative Μανην) is appointed a proxenos of Lasos. Consequently, it is also a stock slave-name at Athens (e.g. Lys. 908, Av. 1311). It is usually accented perispomenon, and so here K Np1 (μάνης M: μανής R: μάνης cett.), but since in SEG 36. 1011 (Ephesos, s. IV m.) the genitive is Μανεω and in SEG 27. 915 (Lycia, s. I-II10) Μανεοῦ, there may have been a change from
Mánης to Μανῆς in the Roman era. It is an unlikely nickname—too grossly offensive—for an Athenian citizen; the Athenian called 'Manes' (dative Μανηι) in IG ii.2 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 σαλπιγγολοχυπηνάδαι: σάλπιγξ is 'trumpet', λόγχη 'spear(-point)', and ύπην '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, 340A). Σrve, in saying that he ώς ἀργὸς κωμῳδεῖται, 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. 341A σοφός καὶ δεινός ἔστιν ἀνήρ, cited as an example of the normal usage of δεινός.

969 περιπέσῃ: cf. Xen. M. iv. 2. 27 τῶν τε ἀγαθῶν ἀποτυγχάνουσι καὶ τοῖς κακοῖς περιπέσῃ. πλησίον παραστῇ: to us this sounds a recoverable situation, less dangerous than περιπέσῃ, but ἐγγὺς sometimes means more than just 'near' (e.g. Tyrt. fr. 11. 29 ἐγγὺς ἰών, 'coming to grips', E. Ἱρ. οὐ παροῦσι κάκῳ κακοὶ ὢν 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 ὡν / κοὐδέν βεβρωκὼς. There, however, καὶ can be interpreted as 'and so ...'; here, the sense 'or even ...' should be considered, as in Pl. Phdr. 238 Ε κρείττον δὲ καὶ ἱσον (W. J. Verdenius, in Westendorp Boerma 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 ἄρκυων πέπτωκεν σῖχεται δ’ ὥθηρ, 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 χεῖος; but interchange of i and ei 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 Κῖος (sic), applied to such a man as Theramenes was according to 534a–40. (Pl. Prt. 341 Ε, '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 Demetrios (ap. Σ RVE) said outright that Theramenes was a Kean. Eupolis fr. 251 treated him as an adopted son of Hagnon. Plu. Nic. 2. 1 Θηραμένης ... ἐις 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.


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 δ εἰσηγήσατο οὖν τις ήμιν τούτο τὸ ἔργον.

974 νοεῖν: the understood subject of the infinitives in 974–8 is the audience.

975 διειδέναι: 'really understand', as in Nu. 168.

976 τά τ' ἄλλα: 'the other things and x' means 'especially x', e.g. Pl. Smp. 220 θαυμάσια ἠργάζετο τά τε ἄλλα καί ποτε κτλ. Cf. ἄλλως τε καί ..., 'especially when/given that ...'.


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 \( \omega \). 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). Rademacher 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'.

τέθνηκε: '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'; χθεσινόν (MSS) does not scan, but Lobeck's χθιζινόν (cf. V. 281) does.

παρέτραγεν: 'nibbled at ...'; the imperfective is παρατρώγειν.
989 ἀβελτερώτατοι: 'stupid'; cf. Strepsiades' exultation over his fellow citizens in Nu. 1201 τί κάθησο' ἀβέλτεροι; It is coupled with ἥλιθος 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' (-μᾱ́-). μαμμα is an infant's cry for food (Nu. 1383), and in Nu. 1001 βλιτομάμμας clearly means someone whose intelligence has not matured with his body.

991 Μελιτίδαι: cf. Men. Aspis 269 Μελιτίδῃ / 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; T 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 pnigos), 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.


(viii) 992–1003. Antode

The Chorus, which in the Ode had exhorted both contestants, now addresses itself to Aeschylus.

992: the opening words (so ΣRVE) 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 ἐκτός ... 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 λύσσῃ πνεύματι μάργῳ, E. Ba. 853 ἔξω δ’ ἐλαύνων τοῦ φρονεῖν, Pl. Cra. 414 θανάσθη ἐκτός 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 ὀργήν: 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 ὀργή, is distinctly subordinated to them.

συστείλας: '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 ἀκροισι λαίφους κρασπέδοις ὑπεκδραμεῖν, lit.,

μᾶλλον μᾶλλον: cf. Nu. 1288 πλέον πλέον τάργυριον αἰεὶ γίγνεται, Alexis fr. 29. 2 τὸ πρῶτον ... ἡπείτα 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 ἐκεῖνοι έμελλον 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 ᾄξεις will not do, for ᾄττειν 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 ἡ 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 ἐπιτήρει / ὅταν ... παραδῶ σοι κτλ.

λεῖον καὶ καθεστηκός: both words are used of a calm surface (Eq. 865 ὁταν μὲν ἡ λίμνη καταστῇ, Hdt. ii. 117 εὐαέϊ τε πνεύματι χρησάμενος καὶ θαλάσσῃ 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. Antikatakeleusmos

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 άφελὼν κακά ... / ἐπόησε τέχνην μεγάλην ἡμῖν κἀπύργωσ ὡς κακόν / ἔπεσιν 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 ἀεὶ τήνδ’ ἐκόσμησαν πόλιν and *Nu.* 914 νῦν δε γε κόσμος τοῦτ’ ἐστιν 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 κόσμω). 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 λῆρος, 'nonsense', 'drivel'. Yet this relationship between κοσμήσας and λῆρον is different from that between πυργώσας and ῥήματα, 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 λῆρον 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 Radermacher interpreted ληρον 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* has κλῆρον, '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 ... / γλῶσσάν μ’ ἀφεῖναι, *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 μή 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.


ἀπέδειξας: 'made (for all to see)'; cf. *Pl.* 208–10 ἔαν γένη / ... πρόθυμος / ... βλέποντ'/ ἀποδείξει σ’ ἀξίτερον τοῦ Λυγκέως (Chremylos promises to cure Plutos of his blindness).
1012 τεθνάναι: the fact that Euripides is already dead humorously takes the edge off this ferocious intervention by Dionysos (as ΣRVe 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).


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


λευκόλόφους 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 κνημῖδας: ‘helmets and greaves’.

θυμοὺς ἑπταβοείους: lit. ‘spirits of seven (hides) of oxen (in thickness)’. The adjective is applied in Homer (e.g. ll. vii. 220) to the great shield of Ajax.

1018 καὶ δὴ χωρεῖ τοιτὶ τὸ κακόν: cf. Nu. 906 f. αἴβοι, τοῦτοι 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!’ αὖ is used as in Th. 852 τί αὖ σὺ κυρκανάζ;ς; ‘What are you up to now?’, implying that the Old Man is affording a further example of his trickery; so too ibid. 892 τί … ἐξαπατᾷς αὖ τὸν ἕξον; The MS tradition gives κρανοποιῶν κτλ. to Dionysos; Triklinios originally (P20pc Θpc) deleted Δ.ι., 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 K M Np1 Vb3 Θ have ἀνδρείους, but γενναίους picks up Aeschylus' claim in 1011 and 1014. For the syntax cf. E. Md. 295 παϊδας περισσως ἐκδιδάσκεσθαι σοφος and Men. fr. 229 χρεία διδάσκει ... σοφον / 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.

ποῖον: V E M Np1 give the question to Dionysos (R has only a dicolon), but after 1019 it is more natural that Euripides should press Aeschylus: 'What kind of play (do you mean)_UNIX? And there may be a touch of the scornful ποῖος (529 n.) here.

'Επτ' 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.

δάίος: 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 ... ἀδίκως αὐτὰ ('their wealth') ξυλλεξάμενοι.
1026 διδάξας: 'put on', 'produced', as in (e.g.) Pl. Prt. 327 D ἄγριοι τινες οἰότερ οὖς πέρυσιν Φερεκράτης ὁ ποιητής ἐδίδαξεν ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ.

μετὰ τούτῳ: 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.

ἐξεδίδαξα: 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 ἔχαριον. The line does not scan, for — ὲ — is required where ἣνίκ’ ἴκουσα 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 τεθνεῶτος); he is already dead, and his ghost, invoked by the chorus, rises from the tomb and addresses them. Chairis (ap. Σ 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 περί, in his text; but if so, what problem did he think he was solving? Σ VE τινὲς δὲ γράφουσι Δαρείου τοῦ Ξέρξου is obviously a corruption of ... ἐκώκυσας, παῖ Δαρείου; E. S. Thompson, CR 21 (1907) 235, ἡνίκ’ ἐκώκυσαν περὶ Δαρείου, taking περί in its locative sense, 'around', but that does not go with the obviously antithetical ὁ χορὸς δ’ (Becker 48 f.). Coulon solved that problem by combining ἐκώκυσας with περί; 'you lamented' = 'you composed a scene of lamentation' (cf. 15 n.). Pohlenz 163 n. 5 made a bolder proposal, ἡνίκ’ ἄριστ’ ἴκουσα’ ὑπὸ Δαρείου (cf. Nu. 521 ἄριστ’ ἴκουσάτην, '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).
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.

ιαυοῖ: the chorus of Persians does not actually say that, but as it says ἠέ, οἴ, ὀᾶ and ἰωά we should not quibble over a few vowels.

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 ε). 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 βορὰ 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'.

Μουσαῖος ... χρησμούς: Musaios was a legendary figure of Eleusis, a son of Eumolpos; cosmogonic poems, hymns, and purificatory prescriptions (cf. Pl. R. 364 ε) 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*.


1035 τοῦθ’: so Bentley; τοῦθ’ MSS, but ‘from what … except (sc. from) the fact that …’, however acceptable in English, is not Greek (πλὴν ὅτι ... would be, but not πλὴν 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–1 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 σκαιός, ‘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 ἐπεμπεν: ‘was taking part in a procession’; cf. *IG i*3 71. 57 f. πεμπόντὸν δ[ὲ ἐν] τὲι πομπὲι [καθάπερ ἄποἰ]κ[οι.

1038 ἤμελλ’: guaranteed metrically also in *Ec*. 597, but ε̆̓́- 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 ἥρως (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.

ήρως: ‘heroes’ in the Greek sense (the ‘half-gods’ of legend) are usually ‘heroic’ in our sense too, but that is not the point of ήρως 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 ήρωι (Thuc. v. 11. 1).

1040 ὅθεν: i.e. from Homer.

Aeschylus in Ath. 347 Ἐ 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 (frr. 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 Τευκρος was exhibited is quite uncertain; conceivably Σαλαμινίοι (-iai?), but cf. Radt, TrGF iii. 333.

θυμολεόντων: 'with the spirit of a lion', a Homeric epithet of heroes (e.g. Achilles in ll. vii. 228).

1043 οὐ μὰ Δί οὐ: cf. 493.

Φαίδρας … Σθενεβοίας: cf. pp. 17 f. Phaidra fell in love with her stepson Hippolytos, Stheneboia with her husband's guest Bellerophon (her story is told in ll. 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 εἰς, not οὐδείς; the metre is restored in A εἰς M Mpc U Vs1 by ἐγὼ between ἐρώσαν and πώποτ', 'I do not know on what woman in love I ever composed poetry (cf. Pl. Phd. 61 B εἰς 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 Klytaimestra and Aigisthos, but Klytaimestra in the Oresteia is motivated primarily by desire for revenge, and enjoyment of Aigisthos is supplementary.

1045 Ἀφροδίτης: beauty or charm ἔπεστι 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 anecdote 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 πολύν ... χρόνον, and for πολύς, 'in strength', 'with full force' E. Hp. 443 Κύπρις γάρ οὐ φορητὸν ἢν πολλὴ ρή.

'πικαθήτο: so Vs1 L, confirming Hermann's conjecture; a wish, 'πικαθήτο or 'πικαθοίτο, is ruled out by the aorist indicatives in 1047 f.

κατ' οὖν ἔβαλεν: 'tmesis' is not unknown in Aristophanes (e.g. Ach. 295 κατά σε χύσομεν; cf. 1106 n. and Sachtschal 41); but all instances follow some degree of pause, and οὖν here is like the Herodotean οὖν, e.g. ii. 40. 2 κοιλίην μὲν κείνην πάσαν ἔξ ὡν εἶλον, and has no Attic parallels.

tοῖτο γε τοῖ δή: the particles express agreement (γε) with what has just been said and prod (τοῖ δή)

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 τοῦτο σοι), 'Yes, I'll do that!', e.g. Ach. 815 περίμεν' 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 σοι, '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 σοι; 'What's up?'

1050 ἀλόχους: 'wives', a tragic word found in Aristophanes only here and in a serious lyric invocation, Lys. 1286.

1051 κῶνεα: 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. Threate i. 301–23, esp. 315, and the similar phenomenon with οι (ποεῖν, τοῖοῦτος, 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 ὄσον, '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 1230b19 οίχως οί κωμῳδοδιδάσκαλοι παράγουσιν ἀγροίκους, and Th. 443 ὄλιγων ἐνεκα 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 φράζῃ and would also (Dn) make the stressed position of ἐστί surprising.

1055 ἡβῶσι: not necessarily 'young', but 'adult'; the provision of the Chalkis decree that Χαλκιδέων τὸς ἡββότας ἡπαντας should take the oath of allegiance (IG i.3 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 δή.

1056 Λυκαβηττούς ... 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 Παρνασσῶν, but IG ii.2 1258. 24 (324/3) has Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Παρνησσίου, and Hdn. i. 209. 20 prescribes σς. For the plural μεγέθη cf. Hdt. iii. 107. 2 ὅφιες ... σμικρὸι τὰ μεγάθεα, ποικίλοι τὰ εἴδεα. Παρνασσῶν μεγέθη can hardly mean 'things the size of Parnassos', and the closest analogy is perhaps with expressions of the type Οἰνομάου βία (Pi. O).

1. 88), 'the mighty Oinomaos', δράκοντος ... φόβος (Hes. Sc. 144), a 'terrible snake' (KG i. 280).

1058 ὅν: i.e. 'when/if you ...', 'when/if he (sc. a poet) ...'.

ἀνθρωπείως: 'like an ordinary being'; in Straton fr. 1. 46 a man whose cook persists in using Homeric words begs him ἀνθρωπίνως λαλεῖν τι.

1059 ἴσα: the assertion of ΣVE 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)'.

 tà ρήματα: on the scansion cf. 406 n., 1066.

1060 κάλλως: 'and in any case', 'and also'; cf. 80.

εικός: '(it is) reasonable', '(it is) only to be expected'; cf. 697, 900.

ἡμιθέους: 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 ἡμίθεοι goes back to ll. xii. 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 ἁμοῦ: i.e. ἃ ἐμοῦ.

καταδείξαντος: cr. 1032 n.

διελμήνω: 'mucked up'; cf. 59.

1063 ράκι: cf. 842 n.

ἀμπισχών: R has no accent ,Br1 -σχών, all others -πίσ-; it is uncertain whether the word should be analysed as ἀμπ-ίσχων (imperfective) or ἀμπι-σχών (aorist), but the sense makes the latter probable here.

ἐλεινοί: ἐλεεινοί (MSS) does not scan; ἐλεινοί (Brunck) is metrically guaranteed in S. Phil. 1130 ἦ που ἐλεινὸν ὁρᾶς (dactylic).

1064 τοῦτον ... 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 A πρὸς τί τοῦτον ἔπεις βλέψας;

1065 οὔκουν ... γε: equivalent to a combination of ὅν, '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 περιϊλάμενος: 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), περιειλλόμενος (V E AC K Np1) and περιειλόμενος (cett., except for forms which do not scan in M and MYP). ἰλλ- has some support, e.g. S. Ant. 340
(LΛKR) ἰλλομένων, 509 ὑπίλλουσιν; in E. fr. 540. 1 the feminine aorist participle is cited as ὑπίλλασα in Ael. NA 12. 7, ὑπήλας in Ath. 701 B, which may point to ὑπῑ́λασ. Cobet proposed περιenuous here, and that is probably right, though Photios' lemma περιειλάμενος almost certainly refers to this passage.

κλάει: sc. τις or πάς τις, inferred from οὐδείς; cf. Dem. xviii. 199 μηδεῖς θαυμάσῃ ... ἀλλά ... θεωρησάτω (KG ii. 566 f).

1067 οὐλὼν ἐρίων: ‘thick wool’.

1068 περί ... ἀνέκυψεν: ‘pops up’ (generalizing aorist) ‘in the fish(-market)’, thereby showing that he can afford expensive food. Cf. V. 789 ἐν τοῖς ἰχθύσι, Eupolis fr. 324. 2 περιηλίθον ἐς τὰ σκόροδα, ‘went round to (where) the garlic (is sold)’. ἀνέκυψεν is nicely chosen, for in Pl. Phed. 190 ὡ 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 ... καί obj₂ vb₂ is not an uncommon placing of τε; cf. Thuc. vi. 15. 2 βουλόμενος τῷ τε Νικίᾳ ἐναντιοῦσθαι ... καί ... ἐπιθυμῶν κτλ. and HCT iv. 240 f.

ἐνέτριψεν: stout buttocks (πυγή) 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.). (ΣRVE 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 ...’ζων: ‘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 καὶ καλοῦμεν γε παραδιδόντα μὲν "διδάσκειν", παραλαμβάνοντα δὲ "μανθάνειν", ἔχοντα δὲ δῆ ... "ἔπιστασθαι", it is possible that the point is, 'barley-bread was the only thing they knew the name of'.

ῥυππαῖ: in V. 909 τὸ ῥυππαῖ is 'the sailors'. ΣRVE says that it is a cry 'preparatory to rowing', but that may be a guess.

1074 προσπαρδεῖν ... θαλάμακες: the θαλάμακες are what Thuc. iv. 32. 2 calls θαλαμιόι (-ίαι? The genitive plural θαλαμίων would suit either), the lowest bench of rowers, with their faces uncomfortably close to the backsides 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 μινθώσομέν θ ὥσπερ τὴν ῥῖνα, 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 Archestratos (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.

κάκβας: for the transition from the plural in 1073 to the singular here cf. V. 552-4 τηροῦσ ... ἄνδρες μεγάλοι ... κἄπειτ ... ἐμβάλλει μοι τὴν χεῖρα (and 555 goes back to the plural with ἱκετεύουσι). ικετεύουσιν).

λωποδυτῆσαι: 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 καὶ as one syllable too many (there is no way of scanning -ει long and treating καὶ ... ἐκέιαι as an catalectic 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 νεών, 'and they (sc. the hoplites), having rowed the ships themselves, ...', is nowhere contrasted with ἐλαύνειν, 'row'; cf. [Xen.] Ath. 1. 2 ὁ δήμος ἐστιν ὁ ἐλαύνων τὰς ναῦς ~ 1. 13 ἀξίων γοῦν ἀργύριον λαμβάνειν ὁ δήμος ... 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 ἕως ἂν εἰς ὅσιον (‘permitted’) μόλω ‘γὼ χωρίον.

1081 Cf. 850 n. and p. 18.

1082 The sentiment 'who knows whether living is not living?' recurs in 1477. Pl. Grg. 492 Ε quotes the Euripidean passage (without naming a play) as τίς δ’ οἶδεν εἰ τὸζῆν μὲν ἐστι κατθανεῖν / τὸ κατθανεῖν δὲ ζῆν; In Stob. Flor. 120. 18 τίς δ’ οἶδεν εἰ ζῆν τοῦτο δ κέκληται θανεῖν, / τὸ ζῆν δὲ θνῄσκειν 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 ἐστι κατθανεῖν, / τὸ κατθανεῖν 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[RVE] 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.

dημοπιθήκων: 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' ἐπαφημάνθην: cf. 194 n. One can be 'withered' (αὖδος, αὐαίνεσθαι) by fear (Men. Epitr. 961), thirst (Ec. 146), or as a spectator of a performance or festival (Ar. fr. 660, θεώμενος; boredom? Cf. Ach. 15 ἀπέθανον καὶ δειστράφην ἰδών), and evidently by laughing; cf. English 'I died!' The double prefix ἐπ-αφ- (ἐπʼ ἀφ- R: ἀπαφ- V A K Np1: ἀπεφ- U Vb3 Vs1 U: ἀπ- M Uγρ.) is suspect—hence ὥστε γʼ 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 αὐ have ηὐ in the past indicative, and Bentley was probably right to emend -αυ- to -ηυ- here, but MSS disagree over αὐαίνειν: αὐ here, ηὐ in fr. 660 (ap. Su α 4418), and in Ionic Hdt. iv. 151. 1 ἔξαυάνθη, 173 ἔξηνε.

1091 κύψας: 'with his head down' (Stanford).

1092 υπολειπόμενος: '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 κάποιομεν δεινά, with thunder and lightning, at the prospect of Kleon's election. Cf. Hdt. iii. 14. 6 κλαιόντων καὶ δεινὰ ποιεύντων, 'weeping and lamenting bitterly'.

Κεραμής: this deme was in the north-west part of the city, around the Dipylon Gate.

1095 λαγόνας: cf. 662.

1096 ταῖσι πλατείαις: πλατεία, 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 πλατείαι occurs again in connection with torch-racing, and this treatment of laggard runners was evidently customary; Hsch. κ 2263 defines Κεραμεικαί as πλατείαι 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 ἐφευγε: '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

(1) 1099 (μέ- ...) | ἔφευγε: | ὑπο- | ὑποπερδόμενος: | ὑπο- | ὑπο- | ὑπο- | 2tr lek  
~ 1109 (εί ...)  
(2) 1100 f. (χα- ...) | ὑπο- | ὑπο- | ὑπο- | 4tr  
~ 1110 f. (τοῖς ...)  
(3) 1102 (ὁ δ′ ...) | ὑπο- | ὑπο- | ὑπο- | ὑπο- | ὑπο- | ὑπο- | 2tr lek  
~ 1112 (μη- ...)  
(4) 1103 (άλλά ...) | ὑπο- | ὑπο- | ὑπο- | 2tr  
~ 1113 (ἔστρ- ...)  
(5) 1104 (εἰς- ...) | ὑπο- | ὑπο- | ὑπο- | ὑπο- | 2tr lek  
~ 1114 (βεβ- ...)  
(6) 1105 (ὅτι ...) | ὑπο- | ὑπο- | ὑπο- | 2tr  
~ 1115 (αἰ ...)  
(7) 1106 (λέ- ...) | ὑπο- | ὑπο- | ὑπο- | 2tr  
~ 1116 (νῦν ...)  
(8) 1107 f. (τά ...) | ὑπο- | ὑπο- | ὑπο- | 4tr lek  
~ 1117 f. (μη- ...)  

1099-1108 are in response with 1109-18. Cf. Prato 313, Zimmermann ii. 137 f., iii. 88 f.

(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 ἔκρανε λέχος ἐμοίσιν ἀρχεταῖς.

μέγα τὸ πράγμα: cf. 759.

ἀδρός: '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 διαιρεῖν cf. A. Eu. 472 φόνου διαιρεῖν ... δίκας, 488 διαιρεῖν τοῦτο πράγμα.

1101 τείνη: '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.

κάπερειδεσθαι: 'press hard upon ...', 'thrust against ...'.

τορῶς: mostly 'clearly', of sound or sight, but here 'vigorously'; cf. Pl. Tht. 175 ἐ 'perform all such (practical tasks) τορῶς τε καὶ ὀξέως'.

1103 μὴ ὑ ταῦτῳ 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 ἔπιτον: cf. 897.
ἀνά (τε) δέρετον: δέρειν is 'skin', 'lay' (cf. 619), and Pi. fr. 203. 4 uses ἀναδέροντι (= 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 άναδέρετον 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, ἡ γλῶσσα ἡ ταλαίπωρός τε φρήν (cf. GP 164 f., 501). M. Platnauer, AJPh 67 (1946) 265, got this the wrong way round.

1109 ἀμαθία: the regular antonym of σοφία; cf. p. 13.

προσή: cf. Nu. 588 φασὶ γὰρ δυσβουλίαν / τῇδε τῇ πόλει προσεῖναι, and so commonly with emotional or intellectual states.

1110 ως: = ὡστε; not elsewhere in Aristophanes, but frequent in tragedy and sporadic in prose.

1111 λεγόντοιν: cf. the genitive participle in 815.

1113 ἐστρατευμένοι γάρ 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 παρηκόνηνται: άκονὰν is 'sharpen', 'whet'; in Xen. Cyr. vi. 2. 33 λόγχην άκονὸν ... τὴν ψυχὴν τι παρακοννὰ one can see the point of παρ-, but that is not always so.

1118 οὖνεχ': '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 μήν: cf. 907 n.

αὐτοὺς: 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. 1452b19 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.

σου: A U Θsc 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 (βασανεῖς) to follow directly upon 1121 (βασανίω). 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. Σv 569 τὰ δὲ πράγματα (δράματα Σv) καθ’ Άιδου νῦν, ΣTM Av. 301.

However, it appears from Eq. 39 ἢν τοῖς ἔπεσι 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. Ryp. Epyp. record a variant τῶν ῥημάτων, which does not (despite 1058 f.) make very good sense as an objective genitive with φράσιν.

1123 ποίον: 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 just as well as ἐξ Ὀρεστείας), or τὸν should be emended to τιν' (R. H. Allison, LCM 3 (1978) 75-8), or τὸν 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 ΣR 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. Ὀδύσσεια) 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 ἀνήρ 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 πατρῷα κράτη to mean the victory of Aigisthos over Agamemnon, and Aristarchos (ΣVE 1054) agreed with that (κρατηθεὶς 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 αἰτουμένῳ: cf. 699.

1130 Vs1ac 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 ὁρᾷς ὅτι ληρεῖς; 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.

ἰαμβείοις: cf. 661 n. ἰαμβεῖον is an iambic trimeter, a metre characteristic of one of the species of the genre ἰαμβος, the ἰαμβος τρίμετρος (Hdt. i. 12. 2). Kritias B2. 4 notes that the name Ἀλκιβιάδης will not fit into elegiacs but νῦν δ’ ἐν ἰαμβείω 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’ ὦ κατάρατε σιωπῶ ἵνα, and A. R. Anderson, TAPhA 44 (1913) 43–64.

έαν πείθῃ: cf. 1229.

οὐράνιόν γ’ ὅσον: Hermann deleted γ’, perhaps rightly; in 781 γ’ reinforces νῇ Δία, but here there is no oath.

1136 ὁρᾷς ὅτι ληρεῖς: cf. Nu. 662 ὁρᾷς ὅ τι πάσχεις;.. ‘You see what you’re doing?’ (sc. in ignorance, lit., ‘... what you’re undergoing?’)

άλλ’ ὀλίγον γέ μοι μέλει: only U gives these words to Euripides, the rest give it to Dionysos (om. R¹). 1135 must be spoken by Euripides, 1136 ὁρᾷς 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. ἡδίστη θεῶν / πέφυκεν ἀνθρώποισιν· οὐκ ἄλλως λέγω.

1144 ἐκεῖνος: so R; cf. 788 n. ἐκεῖνον (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 πατρῷον ... γέρας: 'this privilege of his is inherited from his father'; cf. Hdt. vii. 104.
2 τιμήν τε καὶ γέρεα ... πατρώια.

1147 μάλλον: μεῖζον (V A K M Np1 Vb3 Θ) could be right.

έξήμαρτεν: so R Ebc K U Vs1; -τες cett., which is perfectly possible.

1149 οὕτω γ': R Epc U Vs1 have οὕτως, but cf. Pl. Grg. 472 D ἤκιστα γε, ἐπεὶ οὕτω γ' ἂν ('if that were so') ἀθλιώτατος εἶ.

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 ἀνθοσμίαν: 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 ἀνθοσμίας ὁινός is the best. Whether Aeschylus' words mean 'You stink' or 'You have a hangover' is uncertain; ΣVE implies that ἡδύς and smooth wine produces no hangover.

1151 έτερον: 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 δίς: 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 δίς.

1157 ἥκειν: the expected "ἤκω‎" is assimilated to the syntax of the sentence (cf. Av. 58 οὐκ ἀντὶ τοῦ παιδὸς (i.e. ἀντὶ τοῦ "παί") σ' ἐχρῆν "ἐποποίη καλεῖν"); whereas "κατέρχομαι" is not (cf. S. Ant. 566 άλλ' "ἡδε" μέντοι μὴ λέγ'· οὐ γάρ ἔστ' ἐξίτη).

1159: 'kneading-trough'; μάκτρα is used in Pl. 545, κάρδοπος in Nu. 664–76. The joke is not original; cf. Pherekrates fr. 145 πρόσαφε τὸ κανοῦν, εἶ δὲ βούλει, πρόσφερε.
κατεστωμύλμενε: 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.

tαὐτ’: 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 ταὐτ’, all MSS have ταὐτ’, except those which have Triklinios' ταύτη (and 'στι).

Scaliger may be right in giving the line to Dionysos.

καθ’ ὑπ’ ὅτι δὴ λέγεις: lit., 'in accordance with what ...', i.e. 'what your reason is for saying that'.

έλθεῖν: treated as synonymous with ἥκειν; cf. 1416 n.

ότω μετῇ 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. ὀτω δέ ... μὴ ἥξελκυσθῇ ..., τούτους ἀπελώσων.

άλλης: being away from home is not in itself a συμφορά, misfortune, but συμφοραί are not always misfortunes (cf. Eq. 655 ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς ἀγαθαῖσιν); hence 'with nothing to complicate the issue'.

οὐ φημὶ: 'I assert that ... not ...'; cf. KG ii. 180, Schwyzner ii. 593 f.

ήλθεν: in view of 1163 ἐλθεῖν ~ 1157 ἥκειν, it is not surprising that ἥκειν is a variant (Eφc U Vs1) here.

οὐ πιθὼν 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 κατίεναι in contravention of prohibitions: ἐάν τις κατίῃ ὅποι μὴ ἔξεστιν. However, what Euripides says was probably true of ordinary usage. πιθὼν (ϕιά Pl. 949, ϕιά E. Ion 840) coexists with πείσας.

Cf. p. 29.

πέραινε ... ἀνύσας: cf. Pl. 648 πέραινε τοίνυν ὅτι λέγεις ἀνύσας ποτέ, 'Well, get on with your story, and get a move on'.

Αἰσχύλ’, ἀνύσας: on - 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 γιγνώσκομεν, Βα. 617 οὔτ' ἐθίγειν οὖθ' ἡμᾶθ' ἡμῶν. Sometimes it is plausible to draw a semantic distinction; [A.] PV 448 κλύοντες οὐκ ἡκουον 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 Vs1ac (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 ε 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 τής ὑποθέσεως.

κατάπτυσσον: lit., 'spit on it'; cf. Dem. xviii. 20 τίς οὐκ ἄν κατάπτυσσεν σοῦ;

1180 οὐ … ἀκουστέα: cf. 58 n.

1181 τῆς … ἐπών: 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.

εὐδαίμων: so R E pc U Vs1 Θ Y; the rest have εὐτυχής. In 1186 all have εὐτυχής, and in 1195 all have εὐδαίμων. It is possible to draw a distinction between εὐδαιμονία and εὐτυχία; in E. *Md*. 1228–30 the messenger asserts that no one is εὐδαίμων but, given wealth, one person can be εὐτυχέστερος than another. εὐδαιμονία is ‘enviability’ rather than a subjective state of ‘happiness’, as is clear from E. *Md*. 598, where λυπρός εὐδαιμών βίος is envisaged, and often denotes material prosperity (cf. *GPM* 174). Radermacher, *WSt* 56 (1937) 2–8, argues that 1182 εὐδαίμων ~ 1186 εὐτυχής is simply stylistic variation. At any rate 1183 κακοδαίμων is a very strong argument for εὐδαίμων in 1182.

1184 f. There is strong reminiscence here of E. *Pho*. 1595–1614 (Oedipus’ autobiographical speech): ὦ μοῖρ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς ὥς μ’ ἔφυσα ἂθλιον (the opposite of what is said in fr. 157) / ... ὃν καὶ πρὶν ἐς φῶς ... μολεῖν / ἄγονον Ἀπόλλων ... μ’ ἐθέσπισεν κτλ.

οὕτων γε: ‘seeing/given that ... him ...’; cf. *GP* 141 f.

Ἀπόλλων: ἄ is required; either, therefore Α = ὁ Ἀ- (so Bekker), the normal Attic crasis, as in ἀνήρ, or, far less likely, the ἄ 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 φῦναι.

1186 εὐτυχής: cf. 1182 n.

1187 αὖθις: cf. 591 n.

1188 μὲν οὖν: cf. 241, 556 n.

1189 πῶς γάρ: this reinforces the negative statement, as πῶς γάρ ὅτι reinforces a positive; cf. S. *El*. 911 οὐδ’ αὖ σύ (sc. ἔδρασας) ·πῶς γάρ; ἦ γε κτλ. (*GP* 86).

ὁτε δή: cf. English ‘when ...’ = ‘considering that ...’; *GP* 231 f.

1190 χειμώνος: 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.

ὀστράκω: an exposed infant was commonly put in a pot. ὀστράκων 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: ἤρρησι is 'go' when the speaker is hostile to the goer, e.g. Eq. 4 ἤ ἄρ ἐισήρρησεν (sc. the Paphlagonian) εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, Lys. 336 ἤκουσα γὰρ τυφογέροντας ἄνδρας ἤρρειν κτλ., and in commands is rather like English 'Fuck off!' and the like, e.g. Lys. 1040 οὐκ ἤρρησεν ὑπ' ἔρρειν ὑπ' ἄπειρα ἡμέρας. Here, however, pathos is more in evidence than hostility, as in Eq. 533 (Kratinos) γέρων ψυχρῷ γάρ περιέρρει.

οἴδών: 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 Οἰδίπους, '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 νὴ Δί ἦν ἄρ ἀνήρ ψυχρῇ 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. Cf. 190 n.

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 τοῖσι 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 ἀπὸ cf. 121. ληκυθίου 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 ἀπώλεσεν. 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 ff., 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 ληκᾶν, a slang word for sexual intercourse in Th. 493 (and possibly Pherekrates fr. 253), and Hsch. λ 858 records ληκώ = '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. κῳδάριον and θυλάκιον are the diminutives respectively of κῴδιον, '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 ἀπώλεσεν 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 ληκυθισώσα, 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, CO 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 1101 explains ἔχουσιν λήκυθον πρὸς ταῖς γνάθοις as ψώδηκαι, '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 ε 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 αὐτολήκυθος, ἰθύφαλλοι, and Τριβαλλοί. One can think of some very reasonable sexual meanings for αὐτο- (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: 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 (PBe rol 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 which characterizes the later plays of Euripides.

1204 ιαμβείοις: cf. 1133 n.
1205 ἰδοὺ: a scornful exclamation accompanying repetition of the previous speaker's words; cf. Lys. 850 f. ἐκκάλεσόν μοι Μυρρίνην. ἰδοὺ καλέσω (cf. 77 n.) 'γώ Μυρρίνην σοι;

φημί: cf. 954 n.

καὶ δή: similar to the use of καὶ δή 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/IIa) 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.

κατασχῶν: 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 τούτι τι ἦν, and it therefore seems very probable that ὡς 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.

καθαπτότος: 'equipped' with thyrsi, and 'clothed' in fawn-skins. Timachidas ap. ΣVE insists on the accentuation -τός, Hsch. κ 85 on κά-.

πεύκησι: so V A E M Np1 Vb3 Θ. -ησι is the ending of the first declension dative plural in Ionic, -αυζ(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 πεύκησι and PSI 1171 (s. IIIa) πευκή); but we must also reckon with the influence of epic on copyists (in Thuc. iii. 97. 1 some MSS have ὅτι τάχιστα!), on which cf. Barrett on E. Hp. 101. A further complication is that Attic documentary inscriptions down to c.420 have -ησι and -ασι 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 πεύκησι with misgivings.

1214 A reminiscence of Agamemnon's dying cry in A. Ag. 1345 ὤμοι μάλ' αὖθις δευτέραν πεπληγμένος.

1215 πράγμα: cf. E. Md. 451 κάμοι μὲν οὐδὲν πράγμα, 'It doesn't matter to me'.

1216 οὐχ ἕξει: 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'.

ἐσθλός: 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'.


1220 ἐστιν: on the metre, cf. 286 n.

ὑφέσθαι μοι δοκεῖ: 'I recommend' (cf. Nu. 1438) 'lowering your sail a bit'. υφεσθαὶ and υφεσθαι 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 -έται are metrically guaranteed, but cf. Ach. 1129 φευξούμενον and Pl. 447 φευξούμεθα, equally guaranteed.

1222 οὐδ’... γε: ‘Yes, but ...’

φροντίσσαμι: 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 ΣVE, which Tzetzes (ΣK) 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.


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 An. 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 τῷδε, Ach. 812 πόσου πρίωμαί σοι τὰ χοιρίδια;

1231 οὐχ ἔξει: cf. 1223 n.

1232 f. = E. IT 1 f.; the continuation is Οἰνομάου γαμεῖ 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 οὔπω 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. (ΣVE takes the joke to be: 'Give Pelops a lekythos to make up for the one he lost', but that does not fit ἀπό-).

πάση τέχνη: the expression lends urgency and insistence to an imperative, e.g. Nu. 1323 ἀμυνάθετέ μοι τυπτομένῳ πάση τέχνη.

1236 λήψει γάρ όβολου: 'you'll get it for an obol'.

calhν τε κάγαθήν: cf. 719 n. The expression is almost always used of people, but Hdt. v. 31. 1 applies it an island. As Stanford observes, this is salesman's talk: 'You'll be getting a fantastic one for only an obol!'

1240 f. = E. fr. 516 (Meleagros). ΣVE 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 καπηλεῖον σκοπῶν.

1242 μεταξά: with a participle, 'being in the middle of ...', or simply 'while ...'.

ὑφείλετο: cf. 148.

1243 ἐσαον ὦ τᾶν: so R MPC UVs1; cf. Lys. 350 ἐσαον· ὦ, 'Hold it!', 'Stop!' V A E Np1 U Vs1 have ἐα αὐτόν, Θ ἐ, αὐτόν, and MAB Vb3 ἐσαον αὐτόν, and all except Vs1 have ὦ τᾶν as well (add. Vs1YP). In Lys. 945 ἐα αὐτή is scanned υ = , and this would justify the adoption of ἐα αὐτόν here if a satisfactory sense could be given to αὐτόν; Dionysos' facetious question can hardly provoke the reaction 'Leave Aeschylus alone!' ἐα and ἐσαον are coupled with ὦ δαμόνει in Nu. 38, Lys. 945 (-νία), Th. 64, Ec. 564, 784, and ὦ τᾶν is very similar in tone (cf. 952 n.).

1244 = E. fr. 481. 1 (Melanippe η σοφή); it occurs also in the Peirithoos of Kritias (fr. 1. 9), where it is the second half of a sentence.

tής ἀληθείας ὑπό: not exactly 'by Truth', for ὑπό is not used only of personal agency, but also of cause (cf. 349); almost 'in true accounts'.
1245 ἀπολεῖς: 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’ … ἀπολῶ), but ἀπολεῖς (sc. με) is an idiom found in Nu. 1499, Pl. 390 ἀπολεῖς. σ’ 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 σῦκ’: lit., 'figs', used of growths of any kind on the eyelids (Hp. Epid. iii. 7).

ἐφυ: φῦναι 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 ἐγώ’ ἐχω τίν’ ἄρα μέμψιν ἐποίσει is repeated by θαυμάζω γὰρ ἐγώ’ ὅπῃ 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 ἄνακτα 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.
With the MSS text τῶν ἐτι 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.

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'). ἔγω γ' 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 δη ... 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 υπόν: the MSS have τῶν ἔτι νῦν ὄντων (except for the misguided τῶν νῦν ἔτι τὸν 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 διέρρευσα), and for the use of the superlative cf. Thuc. i. 1. 1 ἀξιούσιον τῶν προσεγεγεγονέων; KG i. 234, Schwyzler ii. 100 f. However, the paraphrase in Σ (τῶν μέχρι νῦν ὄντων τοιοῦτων, 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' ἐμοίγε ... δείξειν οὐκ εἰς μακράν 'it seems to me we shan't have long to wait for the answer'.

1263 λογιοῦμαι: 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 τιθεὶς ψήφους ... ἀλλ' ἀναμιμνῄσκων ἕκαστα.

τῶν ψήφων: for the genitive in the sense 'some' cf. Pax 772 δός ... τῶν τρωγαλίων; KG i. 345, Schwyzier ii. 102 f.

1263 f. After 1263 the MSS (except A Θبريد) have διαύλιον προσαυλεῖ τις. ΣRVE 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 κιθαρῳδικοί 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, Φθιῶτ ... ἀρωγάν, 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 αἴλινον αἴλινον εἰπέ, τὸ δ' εὖ νικάτω, but may also constitute short stanzas (ἐφύμνια), e.g. Eu. 328–33 = 341–6.

On all the citations of lost Aeschylean plays in 1264–77 and 1284–95 see Radt ad loc. in TrGF iii for fuller comment and bibliography.
Metrical analysis:

1. 1264 (φθι-) | 4da
2. 1265 (ἰή) | 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 ἰή as one syllable.  

3. 1266 (Ἐρ-) | 6da
4. 1267 = (2)
5. 1268 6da
6. 1269/70 6da
7. 1271 = (2)
8. 1272 par
9. 1273/4 par
10. 1275 = (2)
11. 1276 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 II. i. 155 to Phthia in Thessaly as his homeland.

ἰή κόπον: as well as being a cry with which Paian is hailed (e.g. *Pax* 453–5) ἰή can be a cry of woe (e.g. A. *Pe* 1004). The MSS have ἰήκοπον throughout, but ἰή 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 ἰή, 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 Stymphalian lake in Arcadia. Σct1 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 ΣRVE Timachidas attributed this to Aeschylus' Telephos, Asklepiades to Iphigeneia, while Aristarchos and Apollonios seem to have been unable to locate it.

πολυκοίρανε: in ll. ii. 204 πολυκοιρανίη is an undesirable proliferation of (potentially conflicting) rulers, but it is 'rule over many' in Rhians 1. 10, and Agamemnon, son of Atreus, is πολυκοίρανος 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 εὑραμεῖτε (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 Ἰσιονόμοι 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 Δελφὶς 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? ΣRV (Radermacher 316 wrongly says 'ein junges Scholion') oi

διανέμοντες τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἢ οἰκιῦντες 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 ὃς δῖον (the only pre-Triklinian manuscript in which the correct δ appears), a paradigmatic case of conflated variants. ΣVE not only fails to explain the verse but imports chaos by remarking 'most MSS have αἴσιον, but Asklepiades read ὅσιον'; evidently someone in whose text ὅσιον had already replaced ὅδιον thought that Asklepiades' comment referred to αἴσιον.

1278 This could fairly be called self-parody, because Clouds begins with the cry ω Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, τὸ χρῆμα τῶν νυκτῶν ὅσιον.

1279 θεολογαί: sc. έναι. In Lys. 136 κάγω διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς it is easier to understand έναι because of 133 f. διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐθέλω βαδίζειν; Xen. An. i. 5. 13 παραγγέλλει εἰς τὰ ὄπλα is a better parallel (KG ii. 564).

1280 νεφρῶ: 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 Philippides fr. 5 that 'kidneys' was a sly euphemism for 'testicles'. A hot bath was recognized as good for 'κόποι in hot weather' (Arist. Probl. 863b19–28).

1281 πρίν γ’ ἀκούσῃς: πρίν ἄν with the subjunctive is normal in Attic (hence πρίν γ’ ἀν ἀκούσῃς Elmsley cl. Ach. 176 πρίν γ’ ἀν στῶ τρέχων), but the ἄν is sometimes omitted in poetry, e.g. Ec. 629 πρίν τοῖς αἰσχροῖς ... χαρίσωνται, S. Phil. 917 μὴ στέναζε πρίν μάθης; KG ii. 454 f., MT 251.

Στάσιν: '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. ΣVE 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. 1452b17–24; cf. Dale (1969) 34–40).

1282 κιθαρῳδικῶν νόμων: νόμοι were a genre of lyric poetry (cf. Pl. Lg. 700 b, listing the traditional εἴδη of song) sung to the accompaniment of the lyre (κιθαρῳδικοὶ νόμοι) or aulos (αὐλῳδικοὶ νόμοι); within the genre, several species were named, differentiated by musical form. All were astrophic (Arist. Probl. 918b13). The relevant data on the history of νόμοι are collected and discussed by H. Grieser, Nomos (Heidelberg, 1937).

1283 πέραινε: cf. 1170 n.

1284/5–95 The metrical analysis is:
The parallels for this verse available to us are from Euripides, not from Aeschylus: IT 645 (cf. MA iii. 86) and Pho. 1350 (assuming ... κωκυτόν, ἐπί ...). Prato 319 scans Αἴαντι as ὑ-·

Cf. Prato 318 f., Zimmermann ii. 30 f., iii. 92, Rau 126.

1284/5 = A. Ag. 108/9. I289 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 ἐπερλατοβρατ' 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 δυσαμεριάν (-ρίαν MSS). For κύων cf. S. OT 391 ῥαψῳδός ... κύων, of the Sphinx.

1289 = A. Ag. 111 f.; in the MSS of Aeschylus καὶ χερί has been displaced by a gloss (δίκας) on πράκτορι.

1291/2 ΣRVE 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. *II. 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. ΣVE) assigned the verse to *Thracian Women*, which concerned the death of Ajax. According to Timachidas (ΣVE) 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 φλάττο- 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?'

έκ Μαραθώνος ... ἰμονιοστρόφου μέλη: ἰμονιά is a rope for hauling (ἱμᾶν) 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' (ἱμαῖον). 'From Marathon' is not necessarily connected with ropes or drawing water; ΣRVE 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 ἀλλʼ οὖν: dismissal rather than denial: 'Never mind that, ...'. Cf. *Nu.* 984–6 ἀρχαία γε ... ἀλλʼ οὖν ... ἐκεῖνα / ἐξ ὑν ἂνδρας ... ἡμὴ παίδευσις 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 nomes 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 ὃς ἔποιησε βοσκόμενοι ἐπί θῦδατος τὸ καλὸν ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦ ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦ νεκταρεύον ἰδέαν ἐπεμελοείμαι, 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 ἀπὸ πάντων μὲν φέρει: this rare type of μὲν makes an implicit contrast with what has preceded. Cf. [A.] PV 901 ἐμοὶ δ' ὅτε μὲν ὁμαλὸς ὁ γάμος, 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 μέν 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 πορνῳδιῶν, 'performances of song by whores'; the word may have been invented by Aristophanes for this context, and the same might be said of χορῳδία in Pl. Lg. 764 Ε.

1302 σκολίων Μελήτου: in Epikrates fr. 4. 2 Meletos is named, with Sappho, as a composer of ἐρωτικά; 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. frr. 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 χορῳδία (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 ε 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 pareigraphe at

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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 σὸν κάρα. / καίτοι τί φωνώ κτλ.; GP 557.

1305 ἐπὶ τούτων: the text is probably sound; cf. Xen. An. vii. 8. 21 ἀκούσας ὅτι ... ἐπ’ αὐτὸν τεθυμένος εἰη ὁ Ἑξονόφις (‘... 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 (Θ2), fin attacking him’. One or other of these may underlie R τούτουτων.

ὀστράκοις: ‘potsherds’. In E. Hyps. (c.) 194–201 (Cockle) Hypsipyle amuses the infant Opheltes by singing to him and snapping κρόταλα, ‘castanets’ (Σ2Ve 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 1308; the only thing we can be sure of is that she is neither dignified nor attractive.

1307 πρός: cf. E. Alc. 346 f. πρός Λίβυν λακεῖν / αὐλόν, ‘to the accompaniment of ...’.
ἐπιτήδεια ... ἀδειν: '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 Ὁ VRE interprets this as a question, 'Didn't she λεσβιάζειν? Didn't she?', but repeated οὒ, found in vehement denials, e.g. Nu. 1470 οὔκ ἔστ', οὔκ, '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 σφινιάζειν 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 ἠδὲ λεσβιεῖν τοὺς ξυμπότας. / ὧν εἵνεκ' ἀπόδος τῷ πέει τῳδὶ χάριν (said to an αὐλητρίς) shows that λεσβίζειν 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 λαικάστριαι (on λαικάζειν 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 ἀττικιζόντων ~ Pl. Com. fr. 183. 2 οὐ γὰρ ἠττίκιζε (illustrated by linguistic solecisms). Cf. Uckermann 35. It may be that the mere word ἐλεσβίαζεν 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 ὅς/οἵ ποτε (and cf. Plato, A.P. vii. 256 οἶδε ποτὲ) 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 νάες, αἳ ποτε ἔβατε κτλ., IT 1106 ὃς πολλαὶ δακρύων λιβάδες, αἳ ... ἔπεσον κτλ., Tro. 122 πρώμα ναών ... αἳ ... ἔξηπτήσασθε 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 ὃς Πανὸς ἄκηματα ..., 495 ἵνα ... στείβουσι κτλ., 502 τοίοι σοῖς ἐν ἄντροις ... 504 ἵνα ... ἔξορισεν 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. περί τ' ἐπέτασα χέρα, 634 περί δὲ γυῖα χέρας ἐβαλον) and (according to Σαλ. 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 δροσιζόμενα (1312) seems to occur in E. Hyps. fr. 7. 5 Ἰσαζόμενα. 1315 f. recall Hyps. 1. ii. 9 f. κερκίδως ἵστοτόνου and E. fr. 523 (Meleagros, according to Σφ. κερκίδως ἀοιδοῦ; 1320 f. recalls E. fr. 765 (Hyps.) ὡνίανθα ... βότρυν, fr. 146. 3 (Andromeda) ἀμπέλων γάνος, Pho. 229–31 οἰνά ... τὸν πολύκαρπον οἰνάνθας ὑπέσα 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. ἀμφι δ' ὠλένας ἐξίσον ἑμοίς νώτοις. ὠλένη is very common in Euripides, but rare in the rest of tragedy. Σφ. attributes 1309 to IA, but it is not in the IA 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-...)

---ww ----vv-vv- --- cr gl 2ia

--- --- ---"
If ᾱε̆ were possible, the analysis would be cr lek 2ia, but everywhere else we find ᾱε̆ in this word: A. Su. 553, E. Ion 118, Or. 1299, fr. 594, 1, Ar. Nu. 275 (the responsum in Ion 1083–99 obscured by corruption). For the structure of the verse cf. E. IA 784 | cr | gl | ph ||, Hel. 515 ||

\[\begin{align*}
\text{(2) 1311 (τεγ-)} & \quad \text{---} \text{--} \text{--} \text{--} | \quad gl \\
\text{(3) 1312 (ῥα-)} & \quad \text{--} \text{--} \text{--} \text{--} | \quad \text{chodim}
\end{align*}\]


\[\begin{align*}
\text{(4) 1313 (αἵ...)} & \quad \text{--} \text{--} \text{--} \text{--} | \\
\end{align*}\]

This is the third verse of the stanza used by Sappho 94 | \text{--} \text{--} | \text{--} | \text{--}; in tragedy, E. IA 792 | \text{--} \text{--} | \text{--} | \text{--} | \text{--} | and S. Ant. 966 ~ 979

| \text{--} \text{--} | \text{--} | \text{--} | \text{--} | \text{--} | are closest. Cf. West 118.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{(5) 1314 (εἱ...)} & \quad \text{---} \text{--} \text{--} \text{--} | \\
\end{align*}\]

The MSS vary between four and six ει (except Α³c Θ³c, 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 κυυυυ has been incised against the head of an owl (Beazley, AJA 31 (1927) 348), two or more notes (with or without prolongation)

\[\begin{align*}
\text{(6) 1315 (ισ-)} & \quad \text{--} \text{--} \text{--} | \quad \text{lek}
\end{align*}\]

by the writing of ως as ωως, with two musical notes above it, in the early Hellenistic papyrus P\text{Vindob.} 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), \text{ooo00} emerges from the mouth of Alkaios as he plays a barbiton; this is inconclusive, but note that the vase is much earlier than Euripides.
(7) 1316 (κερ-)  -ωοοοοο- | ia ch

Cf. E. Hel. 521, Or. 836; Itsumi (1982) 73.

(8) 1317 f. (ίν') -οοοοοοοο- | 2gl

(9) 1319 (μαυ-) -οοοοοο- | chodim

Cf. E. Hel. 1463, Ba. 879, and often in IA; Itsumi, loc. cit.

(10) 1320 (οι-) -οοοοοο- | gl

(11) 1321 (βο-) -οοοοοοοοοο- | chodim

(12) 1322 (πε-) -οοοοοοοοοο- |

Cf. Bakchylides 18. 1 иоοοοοοοοο and 5 (~ 20, 35, 50) = gl gl lek; not in tragedy (Itsumi (1984) 74 f.).

(13) 1323 (ὁ-) -οοοοοοοοο- |

Cf. the first part of S. Aj. 231 f. ~ 255 f., where the second part is ia ba, and E. El. 439 ~ 449 (basis οο), Ba. 112 ~ 127, 115 ~ 130, IA 1093 (basis οοοο in those three); Itsumi (1984) 76 f.

(14) 1324 (τί-) -οοοοοοοο- | gl

(15) 1325 (τού-) -οοοοοοοοοο- | chodim

(16) 1326 (τολ-) -οοοοοοοοοο- | gl

(17) 1327 (ἄνα-) -οοοοοοοοοο- | gl

(18) 1328 (Κυ-) -οοοοοοοοο- | 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

1311 τέγγουσαι ... 1312 δροσιζόμεναι: 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. Ἡρ. 150 δίναις ἐν νοτίαις), sometimes not ([A.] *PV* 400 νοτίοις ... παγαῖς). Here νότιος is peculiar to R; E P20 θ'R have νοτίως, Νp1 Vs1 νοτεραῖς (possible, since νοτερός occurs five times in Euripides), and V Α Κ Μ U Ββ3 Θ νοτεροῖς (unlikely, since adjectives in -ρός normally do have a feminine declension).

1315 ἱστότονα ... 1316 μελέτας: lit., 'windings-of-thread stretching-across-the-loom, practisings of singer shuttle'. ἱστότονα (R E), 'involving labour at the loom', would make sense (cf. δορίπονος in e.g. E. *El*. 479 ἄνακτα δοριπόνων ... ἀνδρῶν), but E. *Hyps.* fr. 1. ii. 10 has ἱστοτόνου. 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 ὁπάθη.

1317 φίλαυλος: dolphins often seem to accompany ships. On a trireme an αὐλητής (e.g. *IG* ii. 2 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. 1357α); 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, μαντεῖα καὶ στάδιοι.

1318 κυανεμβόλοις: the ram fixed to the prow of a trireme was its ἔμβολον. κυανόπρῳρος, '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 στῶσιν τάφοις.

1319 μαντεῖα: 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.

στάδιοι: στάδια and στάδιοι both serve as plurals of στάδιον.

1320 οἰνάνθας … 1321 παυσιπόνον: lit., 'delight of wine-flowering of vine, trouble-ending curling of 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' (ἔκφυσις) 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 μαντεῖα καὶ στάδιοι, 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. Ὄρεστῃ … 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 ὁρᾷς … 1324 ὁρῶ: presumably Aeschylus is dancing while singing, and I suggest that having executed a wildly exaggerated movement, perhaps deliberately clumsy, to accompany περιβάλλειν 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? ὁρῶ 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 Vs1 in giving the first ὁρῶ 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 Α τὸν πόδα τῷ τοιοῦτῳ λόγῳ ἀναγκάζειν ἑπεθαμα καὶ τὸ μέλος, ἄλλα μὴ λόγων ποδὶ τε καὶ μέλει οἱ λόγοι ποὺς καὶ ρυθμός seems to have identical reference, as we might say of gestures 'make the hand suit the words', whereas in 400 c οἴμαι τὰς ἀγωγὰς τοῦ ποδὸς αὐτοῦ οὐχ ἢ πόδι οὐχ ἤττον ψέγειν τε καὶ ἐπαινεῖν ἢ τοὺς ρυθμοὺς αὐτοῦς it seems that ποὺς is an ingredient of ρυθμός (cf. our 'quickstep', which is itself made up

of steps). In 400 Α βάσις is a portion of a sequence, as it is in Arist. Met. 1087b36. όραν, 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 (Κῡ there, though always Κῠ in Pindar) is reminded by Agathon's effeminate appearance. For her name, cf. Themistokles' daughter Sybaris (Plu. Them. 32. 2), Krete (IG ii.2 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 Pl. 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 ἀνὰ where κατὰ would have scanned just as well should have some point. Perhaps we should compare Plato's ἀνὰ λόγον (Phd. 116 d), 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 ἀνὰ 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 δωδέκαπηχυν 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
ΣVE (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.1. 5–7 ἁλίου ... ἀλλο θαλπνότερον ... ἄστρον). ΣE 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 δωδέκακρουνος (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 οἰκεῖα 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. ΣVE), 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 (λίνον ᾦλακάτα δακτύλοις ἐλισσεν νήμα δʹ ἵετο πέδῳ) when Orestes and Pylades burst in. 1338 is referred by Apollonios ap. ΣVE to *'Eumenides'* (Τημενιδῶν Dobree; E. fr. 741), and 1334 by Asklepiades ap. ΣVE to the Ξάντριαι of Aeschylus (A. fr. 168). That is not trouble-free, because in POxy 2164 (of Ξάντριαι) the line has not ὀρεσσίγονοι 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 ΣRVE to Euripides' Κρήτες, and they may be from the monody of Ikaros to which ΣVE refers. R. Cantarella, *Euripide. l 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 (ἀλλʹ ... 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, *Epit.* i. 12).

In the second half of the monody there is a concentrated parody of the doubling of words (1352a ἄνέπτατ', 1353 ἀχέα, 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 φωνᾶ, *OC* 124 πλανάτας, 1453 ὁρᾶ)—or indeed by Aeschylus (Dn)—but obtrusive in the Phrygian's monody in *Orestes* because of its concentration (1428 Ἑλένας, 1444 ἄγει, 1454 ὁρᾶμα, 1456 ἔδρακον, 1468 ἔφερεν, 1479 οἶος, 1481 εἶδον). If Aristophanes could have known of IA 1289 f. Ἰδαῖος Ἰδαῖος ἐλέγετ' ἐλέγετ', 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 εξ 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 ⟨τε⟩ in 1356a, I have also given priority to phrasing over metrical homogeneity in 1356a–7b. 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 (ὦ …) --|--|--| chodim sp

2. 1332 (τί- …) --|--|--| par

3. 1333 (πέμ- …) --|--|--|--|--| 2an

4. 1334 (ψυ- …) --|--|--|--|--| par

Cf. E. *El.* 173 f. ~ 196 f. | chodim (~ gl) chodim | sp.
If we regard ὄρφνα as beginning anapaestic rhythm, the ends of the anapaestic units fall, if we retain ἐξ, after μοι, -νει-, ἐξ, Αϊδα, ψυχάν, and then comes a paroemiac ending after μελαίνας; if we delete ἐξ, they fall after μοι, -νει-, ἀφα- and so on, ending after Νυκτός. 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 ἐξ and ἀφανοῦς 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 ὄρφνα and ἔχοντα and the minor after πέμπεις and πρόμολον. 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 1335a may help. Both (2) and (4) have another abnormal (but not unexampled) feature, ... – – – – (cf. Parker (1958) 85, 87–9).

(5) 1335a (με- ...)  

\[ \text{do hypodo} \]

(6) 1335b (δει- ...)  

\[ \text{tetramakron} \]

For the 'dragged' hypodochmiac (– – – – ) cf. E. Md. 158 ~ 183 | – – – – | \text{ch} | – – – – and HF 132 2ia. | – – – – | ia. 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. IA 1301. An alternative analysis of (5)–(6) is do \text{cr hexamakron}, but the hexamakron is more at home in anapaestic than in dochmiac rhythm (LM 60–2).

(7) 1336ab (μελανο- ...)  

\[ \text{do chodim} \]

For this form of dochmiac cf. E. HF 888 (Conomis 28 casts suspicion on other putative examples in tragedy); for the \text{chodim}, Itsumi (1982) 73; and for the combination, cf. E. Or. \text{do | gl}. 

(8) 1337 (μεγά- ...)  

\[ \text{anacr} \]
Cf. 1347.

(9) 1338-9b (ἀλλὰ …)

(10) 1340 (ὡς …)

(11) 1341 (ἰώ …)

If (10) and (11) were treated as one verse, with -σω shortened by correption, it could be considered analogous to S. OC 229-36 \( 26da \) | \( ia \ \ba \). The analysis above is modelled on the ibycean (cf. 10) and Ar. Lys. 1283/4 | \( 4da \) | \( cr \). Cf. LM 164.

(12) 1342 (τοῦτ᾽…)

(13) 1343ab (τά- …)

The scansion of τέρα is uncertain. τέρᾳ and τέρᾶ are attested (once each) in Hellenistic poetry, γέρας and γέρᾶ are variants in E. Pho. 874; κρέᾰ is abundant in comedy. If we have τέρᾶ 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 θεά- \( (ω \ - \ -) \) as hypodochmiac.

(14) 1344 (Νύμ-…)

(15) 1345 (ὦ …)

(16) 1346 (ἐγὼ …)

(17) 1347 (προ- …)

(18) 1348 (ἔρ- …)
(19) 1349 (ει-...) ( ) --- ο ο -

The problem of repeated ει is the same here as in 1314; if there is simply prolongation of the vowel, D or 'dodrans B'\(\{-x -\circ -\circ -\}\) seems to be the answer.

(20) 1350ab (κλω- ...) --- ο ο - tel chodim
   \(\circ -\circ -\circ -\)

Cf. E. Ion 112 ~ 118; Itsumi (1982) 73.

(21) 1351 (φε- ...) ο ο ο ο - reiz

(22) 1352ab (ὁ δ' ...) ο ο ο ο ο ο ο -
   \(\circ -\circ -\circ -\)

Cf. E. Andr. 480 ~ 487 | 4 \(\circ -\circ -\circ -\) | \(\circ -\circ -\circ -\) \(ia\) | \(HF\) 1017 | 4 \(\circ -\circ -\) \(ia\) ||, Pho. 163 f. || 7
   \(\circ -\circ -\circ -\) \(ia\) ||, LM 167 f.

(23) 1353 f. (ἐμοί ...) \(\circ -\circ -\\) \(\circ -\circ -\) \(\circ -\circ -\) \(\circ -\circ -\) \(4ia\)
   \(\circ -\circ -\\) \(\circ -\circ -\)

Two split resolutions in 1353; cf. on (13). The alternative would be to read -πεν (with R V A U Vs1) and treat 1353 as do cr; cf. E. Ba. 1153 f.

(24) 1355 (ἐβα- ...) ο ο ο ο ο ο - ia (or tr) mo

On the possible analysis of ἐβαλον ἐβαλον 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 | \(\circ -\circ -\circ -\) \(\circ -\circ -\) \(ia\) || and Pho. 178 || do | mo ||.

(25) 1356a (ἀλλ' ...) ---- ο - ο \(\circ -\circ -\) \(do cr\)

(26) 1356b (τά ...) ο ο ο ο \(\circ -\circ -\) \(\circ -\circ -\) tel cr
The theme throughout 1356a-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 insetting of τὴν οἰκίαν in V Np1, however misguided, at least points to a colometry, inherited from antiquity, in which κυκλούμενοι 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:

Without (τε), we have two alternatives. First, do cr (-δας τέκνα), then either (a) tel (τά … ἐπα-) 3cr lek, or (b) ba (τὰ τόξα λα-) 4cr 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 υ-ω ω cf. E. Tro. 564 (LM 74); the location of the split υ-ω-υ-υ 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 (τέκνα, -νατε, -λετε). 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 (ἀμα ...) υ-υ-υ-υ 3cr
(30) 1359 (τάς ...) υ-υ-υ-υ 3cr
(31) 1360 (διά ...) υ-υ-υ-υ 2cr
(32) 1361a (σύ ...)

\[ \text{ibyc} \]


(33) 1361b (λαμ- ...)

\[ \text{ibyc} \]

(34) 1362 (Ε- ...)

\[ \text{ibyc} \]


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.

(35) 1363 (ὁ- ...)

\[ 2ia \text{ sp} \]

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 potsherds 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 λευκοφαής ψάμαθον, 'white-shining' is an appropriate translation, but with

\[ \text{black-} \]

'...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 προμολών 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\textsuperscript{bc} Vs1\textsuperscript{bc} Θ have not πρόμολον but πρόπολον (-πυ- A\textsuperscript{bc}), which is supported by E. Hel. 570 ‘I whom you see am not a πρόπολος of Hekate appearing by night’.

1334 ψυχάν 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 II. 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. Hp. 1144 πότμον ἄποτμον, ‘a bad fate’, may be more relevant.

1335a Νυκτὸς παίδα: in Hes. Th. 212 Night is mother of φῦλον Ὀνείρων.

1336a μελανονεκυείμονα: 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\textsuperscript{a}34) ‘triple, quadruple, even multiple’ compounds are not Euripidean, but characteristic of comic invention (e.g. Nu. 332 σφραγιδονυχαργοκομήτας; 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\textsuperscript{b}9, Rhet. 1406\textsuperscript{b}1 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.

έχοντα: the repetition, after 1334, is unappealing but by no means foreign to tragedy; cf. S. Phil. 707 οὐ φορβᾶν ... αἴρων ... 711 ἀνύσειε γαστρὶ φορβάν, 1299 ἢν τις ὀρθωθῇ βέλος ... 1300 μή ... μεθής 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 ὕ in ὕδωρ 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 ἐννυχοῦν
πλανᾷ [ ... 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 ἰω πόντιε δαίμον: Poseidon is invoked as πόντιε in E. Andr. 1011; cf. S. OC 1072 τὸν πόντιον γαϊόχου. 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’ ἐκεῖν: used mostly to express sudden awareness of a situation or recognition of a truth; four times in Euripides (plus Md. 98 τόδ’ ἐκεῖνο), 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 μᾰ (‘madness’); a slave-name in Th. 728 (cf. 965 n.).


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 κνεφαῖος: ‘before it was light’, cf. V 124 ὁ δ’ ἀνεφάνη κνεφαῖος. 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 αἰθέρα: 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 ἀκμάς 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 Diktynna ‘daughter of Leto’, identifies her with Artemis, and so too Hp. 145 f., where she is πολύθηρος. 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, 'Diktynna' and 'Artemis' are two names for the same goddess (and the run of cretics from ἅμα 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 Παλλάς Αθάνα 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 Diktynna 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') ἁ καλά or (with Kock) to ἁ καλά, dropping Ἄρτεμις. Against the former is the awkwardness of the singular verb ἐλθέτω, but cf. Th. 977–81 Ἑρμῆν ... ἀντομαί καὶ Πάνα καὶ Νύμφας ... ἑπιγελάσαι ... χαρέντα χορείαις (KG i. 79–91). In favour of Kock is the fact that in E. Τro. 554 Ἄρτεμιν is shown by responsion to be an intrusive gloss on Διὸς κόραν and in Ar. Lys. 1262 ἀγροτέρ Ἄρτεμι the name must be intrusive, since ἀγροτερά cannot be elided. Cf. Fraenkel on A. Ag. 140, where ἁ καλά (without a name) denotes Artemis. Aristophanes, while thinking of Diktynna 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 'Musaioi' (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 δαϊδοφόρος 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 πολεμίων ξίφη, 'the swords of our two enemies, both brandished'.

1361b ὀξυτάτας: 'piercing (with light)'; cf. Pax 1173 φοινικίδ ὀξεῖαν πάνυ, 'blazing red cloak', Pi. O. 7. 70 ὀξείαν ... 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: φωρᾶν 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\textsuperscript{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 σφῶν for νῷν in 1366, σφῶ for νῷ in 1367, (cf. the variant νῶν (\textsuperscript{YP} Σ\textsuperscript{R}) for σφῶν in 1401), and possibly αὐτός (so Vs1 \textsuperscript{ac}) for αὐτόν 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 βάρος portentously; cf. 1122 f. n. As for the syntax, if νῷ (R V al.) is right, τῶν ῥημάτων goes with τὸ βάρος, which is subject of βασανιεῖ; with νῶν (A Vb3 Vs1\textsuperscript{pc} \textsuperscript{Θ\epsilon}), the weighing is the understood subject and τὸ βάρος ... τῶν ῥημάτων the object.

1368 εἴπερ γε δεῖ καὶ τούτο με: τοῦτο looks forward to 1369; for the construction with δεῖ and με cf. Ec. 297 f. ὡς ἂν χειροτονῶμεν ἅπανθʼ ὁπόσʼ ἂν δέῃ τὰς ἡμετέρας φίλας (sc. χειροτονεῖν). E. Su. 594 f. ἓν δεῖ μόνον μοι, ... ἔχειν κτλ. is significantly different.

1370–7 The song is very nearly in response with 1482–90, but has one fewer trochaic dimeters.

(1) 1370 ( ἐπί- ...) w o w w w | lek
(2) 1371 ( τόδε ...) w o w w w | lek
(3) 1372 ( νεο- ...) w o w w w | lek
(4) 1373 ( ὅτις ...) w o w w w | 2tr
(5) 1374 ( μά ...) w o w w w | 2tr
(6) 1375 ( ἐλε- ...) w o w w w | 2 tr
(7) 1376–7 ( ἐπι- ...) w w w w | 2tr ith
οἱ δεξιοί in 1370 alludes to poets like Aristophanes: cf. pp. 13 f. The song as a whole is self-praise.

1370 ἐπίπονοι: ‘taking trouble’; cf. Isoc. xix. 11 ‘I nursed him so ἐπιπόνως καὶ καλῶς... ’.

1371 f. τέρας νεοχμόν: tragic language for ‘a new wonder’, as in Th. 700 f. τί τόδε δέρκομαι νεοχμόν αὐ τέρας; (dochmiac rhythm), but there the ‘wonder’ is horrifying.

1372 ἀτοπίας: in Ach. 349 this is ‘unreasonableness’, and ἀτοπος in Av. 1208 is ‘outrageous’, but, like our ‘extraordinary’, it can imply different valuations in different contexts.

1373 ἐπενόησεν: used of having good, bright, or novel ideas, e.g. Nu. 1037 f. πρώτιστος ἐπενόησα /τοῖσι νόμοις … ἀντιλέξαι, and cf. 1530 ἐπιστημών.


οὐκ ἄν: the MSS have οὐδ’ ἄν, which gives curious sense: ‘I wouldn’t have believed it even if someone who happened to meet me had told me’, because οἱ ἐπιτυχόντες (cf. Pl. Tht. 171 C ‘neither a dog nor any old human’ ( τὸν ἐπιτυχόντα ἄνθρωπον)) are not the most reliable source, but the least. Hence Blaydes’s οὐκ ἄν. Σ VE tries to retrieve the situation by supposing that τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων 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 οὐδὲ 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 ιδοὺ: cf. 200 n.

1379 λαβομένω: ‘taking hold’ of the scales.

1380 κοκκύσω: a cuckoo κοκκύζει (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).

βούνομοι τ’ ἐπιστροφαί: ‘and land where grazing cattle have their range’; ἐπιστροφή is attested several times in Aeschylus.

1384 μεθεῖται: μεθεῖτε (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 πολύ γε: καί is a surprised 'Why!' (contra, GP 158), and γε intensifies πολύ (cf. GP 120).

1385 καί: indignant, related to the semi-adversative use of καί (GP 293).

1386 ἐριοπωλικῶς: 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.


1390 = E. fr. 170. 1 (from Antigone), continuing καὶ βωμὸς αὐτῆς ἔστ’ ἐν ἄνθρωπων φύσει.

1391 = 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 Πειθὼ δαμόνων ἀποστατεῖ, i.e. Persuasion can do nothing with Death.

1393 μέθετε. Αἰ. Εὐ. μεθεῖται: μεθεῖτε μεθεῖτε (codd.) will not do (cf. 1384 n.); and μέθεσθε μέθεσθε (Porson; for ς, ς, 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. Rademacher’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 if' (action on the part of the holder); cf. 830 n.

1394 γάρ: cf. 662 n.
Because persuasion is mere words, and people are easily seduced against their better judgement.

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.

ποῦ ... ποῦ: cf. 120 n.

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 ἐ ἕ τρις ἕξ, φασίν, ἕ 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 Philoctetes, 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‘ E) 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 ll. 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.

λέγοιτ' ἄν: the optative with ἄν is a courteous command to an equal; cf. 1467, Ec. 132, and Pl. Prm. 126 λάμψαι μὲν ἐπ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο, δεησόμενος ύμων. λέγοις ἄν, ἔφη, τὴν δήσειν (KG ii. 233 f., Schwyzer ii. 329).

σφών: νὺν (Y: Σ E) does not make sense after λέγοιτ' ἄν, unless we are to suppose that Dionysos turns confidentially to Euripides at αὕτη γάρ, which I do not suggest.

στάσις: 'weighing', as in SIG 3 241 (Delphi, s. IV m.) Α 28 βολίμου ('lead') στάσιος.

= E. fr. 531 (from Meleagros).

= A. fr. 38. 1 (from Glaukos Potnieus).

νεκρῷ: for the dative replacing a repetition of a preposition with another case cf. Theokr. 5. 136 f. οὐ θεμιτόν ... ποτ' ἀνήδωνα κίσσας ἐρίσδειν / οὐδ' ἐποπας κύκνοισι.

έξηπάτηκεν: 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’ ἐμοιγε κατ’ ἐπος: cf. V. 1179 μη ἐμοιγε μύθους (sc. λέγε).

1408 Cf. 587 n., which vindicates -δι’ η (R) against -δία χή (cett.). Triklinios' χώ Κη- must arise from the faulty scansion -φίσο-.

1409 ἐμβάς: cf. 1358 n.

καθήσθω: cf. 587 f. n.

βιβλία: cf. 943 n.

1411 ἅνδρες: 'they'; Seager's ἅνδρες (ἀνδρες codd., with οἱ M) is necessary.

φίλοι: φίλοι (R P20) 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 διά 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 or 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 ἐτέρον ... 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 ἐτέρον: 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 ἐτέρος = 'one of the two' cf. Thuc. iv. 43. 1 καὶ Βάττος μὲν ὁ ἐτέρος 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 ἐτέρον, but a superscript dicolon before λαβών. But κρίνω τὸν ἐτέρον is a pleonasm where the choice is between two, and λαβών with an imperative normally occupies a concomitant position (preferably immediately after the verb). Here τὸν ἐτέρον is stressed, 'Either of them', reinforced by 'whichever one you choose'.

1416 ἵν' ἔλθῃς μὴ μάτην: (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 ἥκῃς instead—which H. Richards, CR 15 (1901) 390 conjectured, believing ἔλθῃς to be an intrusive gloss on ἥκῃς; in Xen. HG i. 3.11 PRainer vi. 97 has ηκεν where the medieval MSS all have ἦλθεν, ἡκ- is glossed by ἐλθ- in late scholia on Wealth (e.g. 357, 828), and cf. 1168 n.

1417 εὐδαιμονοῖς: an expression of heartfelt thanks, as in Ach. 446, E. El. 231; cf. 'God bless you!'

1418 ἐπὶ ποητήν: 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 E5 K5 M NP1U VB3 VS1 pc (AI. VS1 ac?) Θ give the question to Pluto, but Σ RVE makes Dionysos continue, and V E1 K1 conform with that interpretation. There is no exact parallel (in 1473 τι οὔ concludes the utterance and requires no answer, while in Nu. 22 f. Strepsiaides is soliloquizing and answering his own question to himself), but the nearest analogy is the rhetorical τί οὔ; and the like in Demosthenes, e.g. xviii. 147, 177; cf. Wankel ad locc.

1419 σωθεῖσα: 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 ὁπότεροσοῦν, '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 -οῦν 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, Schwyzer 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 ἡγεμὼν 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 ἡγεμὼν 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 ἥδε.

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 σιγά μέν, ἐχθαίρει δέ, βούλεται γε μήν.

1428 φανεῖται: so R; πέφυκε (cett.) is a tame alternative, for the point of φανεῖται is, ‘If we recall him, we shall see plainly that he is still the man he was’. Cf. Isok. v. 109 οὐδές ... φανεῖται 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 κάκ τῶν ἀμηχάνων πόρους εὐμήχανος πορίζειν. ἀμήχανος is used of people who are helpless (as here), of situations which are unmanageable, and of adversaries who are invincible.

1431a-2 1431b 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 1431b–2 but not 1431a (Valerius Maximus cites 1431b alone, making Perikles the speaker), and (b) that we can be sure that the same character did not utter both 1431a and 1431b on the same occasion. Erbse (1956) 276 f. argues that 1431a is the last line of Euripides' advice, that it was followed by 1430, and that 1431b–2 are then spoken by Aeschylus. Newiger (1985) 431 adopts this solution, urging that the infinitives in 1431b and 1432 depend on γιγνώσκω understood from τίνα γνώμην ἔχεις; and that with the transmitted order ὑπηρετεῖν should depend on οὐ χρή. Neither of these arguments is cogent, for the infinitive can be used as equivalent to an imperative (cf. 169 n.), and if 1431a is immediately followed by 1432 a pause between the two can easily divorce ὑπηρετεῖν entirely from χρή. The answers given by the two poets are contrasted
in 1454 as one 'poetic' (σοφώς) 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 1431a + 1431b as a doublet, and since I find it hard to believe that Aristophanes judged 1431b to be an improvement on 1431a I assign 1431a to 404 and 1431b to 405. Van Leeuwen, however, offers an alternative solution: Valerius' 'Perikles' was not necessarily a mistake; 1431b—whether followed by 1432 or by a different line (and there must have been something to balance μάλιστα μέν)—could have occurred in the Demes of Eupolis, and 1431a could be Aristophanes' improvement on it. In that case 1431b 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 ... ἐκτραφῇ: cf. Pl. R. 411 Β τήκει ... ἐώς ἂν ἐκτήξῃ 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
device any explanation more plausible than that of metrical exigency (ἂν 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 ΣVE 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 ΣVE 1437 Aristarchos and Apollonios athetized 1437–41, the former because they are ‘cheap and vulgar’, the latter because they are irrelevant to Dionysos' question. ΣVE 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 σφία, in which Aeschylus emerges supreme (cf. p. 12). Dionysos wishes the sentiment of 1443 f. to be expressed ἀμαθέστερον, i.e. less σοφώς (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 Mac-Dowell (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 ίσως in 1448. All MSS have σωθείμεν (σωθείμεν Dawes), and R alone omits ίσως; -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 𫘪ως to cw is rather more likely than the reverse. ίσως 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 ίσως on to the plane of πῶς οὖ (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 (ἐνδρες ἠλίκες). γε will then be 'Yes, ...', merging with the confirmatory sense of γάρ; cf. Eq. 797 f. τὰς πρεσβείας τ' ἀπελαύνεις ... ἵνα γ' Ἐλλήνων ἅριη κτλ., 1231, E. Cy. 249–51 χρόνιος δ' εἶμ' ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων βορᾶς. τὰ καινά γ' ἐκ τῶν ἠθάδων ... ἡδίον' ἐστίν; GP 130 f., 134. The illogical generalization of 1449 f. is comic (Mac-Dowell (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. λέγε? 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 καὶ θέλω φράζειν. 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 εὕρισκε in 1460. Aeschylus asked (1458 f.) πῶς οὖν τις ἂν σώσει κτλ., and with εὕρισκε 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 1458 f. is still in our minds, and with οἶδα we understand exactly what
we understood with εὑρίσκε. 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’ έθέλομεν, εϊ δοκεί, / ἐὰν τὸ δίκαιον ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐθελήτε εδράν, / σπονδὰς ποεῖσθαι (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 εὑρίσκε. Ιn 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:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>405 version:</th>
<th>1436–41 1451–60</th>
<th>1461–61442–50</th>
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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).

Κινησία: 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 αἴροιεν αὔραι: the anacoluthon of the MSS' εἴ τις πτερώσας ... αἴροιεν αὔραι is remarkable, but cf. Ach. 1165 βαδίζων ... εἶτα κατάξειε τις αὔραι ... 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 αὔρᾳ 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 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 ῥαίνοιεν: sc. the vinegar (ὀξός) contained in the vinegar-flasks (ὀξίδες); 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 ... τοὐξεύρημα.

1452 Κηφισοφῶν: cf. pp. 53 f.
If the vinegar was Kephisophon’s contribution, Euripides’ was small.

tί δαὶ σύ: cf. Ach. 803 τί δαὶ σύ; τρώγοις ἄν;

χρῆται ... χρηστοῖς: cf. 179 n. on χρηστός; for χρῆσθαι, 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;

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 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; cfr. Ach. 73 ξενιζόμενοι δὲ πρὸς βίαν ἐπίνομεν, ‘We were entertained, and had no option but to drink’.

χλαῖνα is a good, warm cloak, which might be of wool (Av. 493), and according to ‘some’ in Σ is a cheaper and rougher article, of goatskin; 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.

νὴ Δί’: for the reinforcement of a plea by an oath cf. Av. 661 ὦ τοῦτο μέντοι νὴ Δί’ αὐτοῖσιν πιθοῦ; Werres 39.

μὴ δῆτα σὺ γ’: cf. Eq. 959 τουτονὶ λαβὼν ταμίευέ μοι. μὴ δῆτά πω γ’, ὦ δέσποτ’, ἀντιβολῶ σ’ ἐγώ.

ἀνίει τάγαθα: the formula is used of blessings conferred by Pluto and the gods of the underworld in Ar. fr. 504. 14 αἰτούμεθ’ αὐτοῦς δεῦρ’ ἀνίεναι τάγαθα; 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 (αὕτη), by a prospective demonstrative, e.g. Pl. Prt. 349 ὃδε δὲ γνώσῃ ... εὐρήσεις γάρ κτλ. (GP 59).


1469 τῶν θεῶν οὓς ὤμοσας: 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 ὁμός αὐτὸς 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 μὴν: 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 ταύτῳ διαπεραγμένος τολμᾷ βλέπειν εἰς τὰ ὑμέτερα πρόσωπα.

1475 An adaptation of E. fr. 19 (from Aiolas), 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 κῴδιον: 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 σφώ (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’ ὡς τῇθών ἀνθρειστήτη … 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 ἄγνεύσετε / ὃπως 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 ξενίζει μεγαλοπρεπῶς. Marzullo 407 suggests ξενίσωμεν, observing that in Men. Dysc. 958 the last syllable of κρατοῦμεν is lost.

εὖ 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 νὴ τὸν Δί': τῷ πράγματι: 'with that', i.e. being entertained (cf. ἀνήρ = 'he') or 'with how things have gone'? Pax 309 f. ὃπως μὴ περιχαρείς τῷ πράγματι ... έκζωπυρήσετε κτλ. favours the latter, and V. 1476 f. ὡς ἔπιε ... ἢκοισέ τ' αὐλοῦ, περιχαρῆς τῷ πράγματι ὀρχούμενος ... 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 ὃμως γε μέντοι τριβόμενον οὐκ ἀχθεταί is not a good parallel, since the strong adversative shows that οὗκ ἀχθεταί 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 resposion, but not quite, because 1486 and 1498 are trochaic dimeters but 1489 and 1495 lekythia. φίλοις in 1489 can hardly be relied on (φίλοσι Bentley), but 1495 and 1498 entirely resist emendation, and in 1486 Dindorf's αὖ for αὖθις begs the question of respion. A similar phenomenon is observable in Av. 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 resposion was intended.

1. 1482 (μακά- ...) | w-o-w-o- |
2. 1483 (ξύνε- ...) | w-o-w-o- |
3. 1484 (πάρα- ...) | w-o-w-o- |
4. 1485 (δε ... | 2tr

~ 1491 (χαρί- ...)
~ 1492 (παρα- ...)
~ 1493 (άπο- ...)
~ 1494 (τά τε ...)
(5) 1486 (πάλιν ...)  w o o o o o | 2tr

~ 1495(tής ...)  o o o o o | lek

(6) 1487 (ἐπ’ ἀ- ...)  w o o o o o | 2tr

~ 1496 (τὸ δ’ ...) 2tr

(7) 1488 (ἐπ’ ἄ- ...)  w o o o o o | 2tr

~ 1497 (καί ...) 2tr

(8) 1489 (ξυγ- ...)  w o o o o o | lek

~ 1498 (δια- ...)  w o o o o o | 2tr

(9) 1490 (διά ...)  w o w o o o | ith

~ 1400 (παρα- ...)

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, ὡς ἔχεις κτλ.) or, as here, generalizing; cf. Men. fr. 101 μακάριος ὃς οὐσίαν καὶ νοῦν ἔχει. The formula continues in Christian Greek, notably in the Beatitudes (Matt. 5: 3–10), μακάριοι οἱ κτλ.

1483 ἡκριβωμένην: '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 δοκήσας: cf. 737 n.

1487 ἐπ’ ἁγαθῷ μὲν ... 1488 ἐπ’ ἁγαθῷ δὲ: for this repetition cf. A. Pe. 157 θεοῦ μὲν εὐνάτειρα Περσῶν, θεοῦ δὲ καὶ μήτηρ ἔφυς; 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 frs. 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 σκαριφησμοίσι: words from the stem σκαρῑφ-, 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 … διεσκαριφήσαμεν 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 nonspeaking 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 τῶν δάκων κτλ., and two places, 1517 f. ἐγὼ ποτε δεῦρ' ἀφί- and 1525 f. προπέμπετε τοῖσιν, are obstacles, because of -τε̆, to the organization of the whole passage in verses no larger than the dimeter. 1525 λαμπάδας
ἱερᾶς exemplifies a rare form (~~~) of the anapaestic metron, which we need not try to eliminate by writing ἱρᾶς; cf. Th. 822 τάντιον, ὧ κανών and West 95.

1500 χαίρων ... χώρει: a formula rather like 'Have a good journey!', though usually a more positive expression of goodwill. ἀλλ’ ὧ τὰντίον ἱερᾶς is said by the chorus to a departing character in Eq. 498, Nu. 510, Pax 729; in Pl. 1079 ἀκπιθεῖ χαίρων κτλ. is an ironic '... and good luck to you!'. Pax 154 ἀλλ’ ὧ ἐπιγασας χώρει χαίρων is different, since Trygaios is not parting with his 'Pegasos' but taking off on its back.

1501 ἡμετέραν: as the god is not an Athenian, Scaliger conjectured ύμετέραν, and certainly ὑμ- and ύμ- (both pronounced [jm] 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. σῷζε picks up 1419 σωθεῖσα.


1503 ἀνοήτους: cf. 734 n.

1504 καὶ δός ... 1507 Αρχενόμῳ: the genders of τουτί ... τοιτουαί ... τόδε 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 (κώνειον). 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.

Κλεοφώντι: 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.

Νικομάχῳ: 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.

Ἄρχενόμῳ: he too is unknown to us.

1509 κἂν μή ... 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 (συμποδίζειν) 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 δύς κατά 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 ώς ἐμέ) with a comic spokesman for Athens (cf. 1501 n.). For μὴ μέλλειν cf. Mnesimachos fr. 4. 25 ἥκειν ἢδη καὶ μὴ μέλλειν.

Ἀδειμάντου: 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 κομψευριπικῶς = *κομψευριπιδικῶς.

1515 ταῦτα ποήσω: 'I'll do as you say'; on this formula in drama and Plato cf. Fraenkel 81-9.

θάκον: 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. θάκος 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 Ε.

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 τούτο γινομένου βασιλέος ... τούτου μνήμην ποιήσομαι, Pl. La. 200 D καὶ μέμνησθαι τοῦ ἐπί τοῦτοι γενομένου βασιλέους. On πανοῦργος cf. 35, 80 nn.

1522 θάκον: 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.

1526 τοῖσιν τούτου τούτου μέλεσιν: '... with his songs', or '... with his own songs'; cf. Hdt. ii. 102. 1 παραμειψάμενος ὦν τούτους, τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦτοι γενομένου βασιλέος ... τοῦτο μνήμην ποιήσομαι, Pl. La. 200 D κάν ἐγὼ τὸν Νικήρατον τούτῳ ἢδιστα ἐπιτρέποιμι, εἰ θέλω τῇ διαφορασίᾳ παραμειψάμενος ὦν παραμειψάμενος τοῦ σκοτεινοῦ φωτός τοῦ βασιλέου τούτου.
οὗτος, *Smp.* 219 in *Dem.* xix. 335 (Gygli-Wyss 26). It is different from 'polyptota' of the type μόνος μόνῳ, 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 Πριάμοι τε παΐδες (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, κεῖθι 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 Potniese* (A. fr. 36. 5 f.) εὐοδίαν μὲν

.../ πρῶτον 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, ὀρνυμένῳ, γαίας, πάχυ, ἄχεων; 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 ἀγαθή διάνοια πολίταις; Fehling 228, Gygli-Wyss 116. On ἐπινοία 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 ἄχεων: a pointed formal contrast with μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν. Symmetries and assonances of this kind are obtrusive in Gorgias, e.g. B6 θεράποντες μὲν τῶν ἁδίκως δυστυχούντων, κολασταὶ δὲ τῶν ἁδίκως εὐτυχούντων, 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 πατρίσις 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.
NOTES

p. 213, ‘has to do ... the steering oar’. On a Campanian bell-krater in Melbourne (National Gallery of Victoria, D14/1973) we see Silenos rowing a boat with a single oar while a female figure in the stern operates the tiller ((ed.) Peter J. Holliday, Narrative and Event in Ancient Art (Cambridge, 1993), p. 148).

p. 234, 323/4 n., on πολυτίμητα: 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 (1981) 181 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 κιθαρῳδία 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 pareigraphe 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, ἑνεκά τῶν ἄλλων ἄστρων 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.