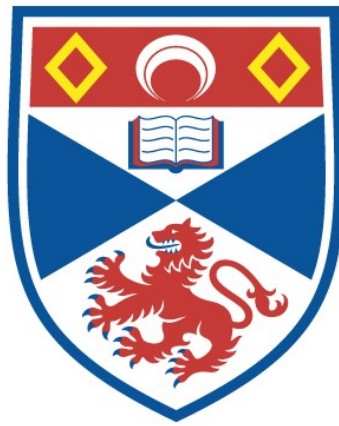


THE TECHNIQUE OF HUMOUR OF CRATRINUS,
EUPOLIS, PHERECRATES AND PLATO AND OF THE
POETS OF THE ATHENIAN OLD COMEDY

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A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
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University of St Andrews



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The Technique of Humour of Cratinus, Eupolis, Pherecrates
and Plato and of the Minor Poets of the Athenian Old Comedy.

The thesis examines the technique of humour of the Old Comedians other than Aristophanes, concentrating particularly upon the four for whom we have the best evidence, viz. Cratinus, Eupolis, Pherecrates and Plato. The internal and external evidence for the kind of humour they employed is considered under five principal groupings, viz. The Visual Element, Ridicule and Criticism, Physical Humour, Parody and Borrowings, and Imagery, Vocabulary and Verbal Devices. Within these main groupings there are many sub-divisions under which the examples of particular techniques are collected and discussed. A list of references is normally given, unless the discussion itself has already listed all examples. Several longer fragments are given detailed consideration and there is an index of fragments discussed. Account is taken of the most recently discovered fragments published in Oxyrhynchus Papyri.

Many conclusions relate to limited techniques or even to particular fragments, but in broad terms we can see that Cratinus' plays had varied political, literary, philosophical and social themes and that some of his burlesques were allegories. Criticism and invective were strongly represented, there was some obscenity, parody tended to be of Homer and the early poets rather than of Fifth Century Tragedy, and verbal inventiveness and word-play were prominent. Cratinus had much to say of his rivals and himself. Eupolis' overriding interest was in topical criticism and he had no taste for fantasy and mythological burlesque. He shows no signs of full-scale criticism of Tragedy, but some interest in lyric poetry and in philosophy is apparent. He exploited sexual and excretory humour, but was less given to coining words than Cratinus. Pherecrates avoided political criticism on the scale of Crat-

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inus' and Eupolis' attacks and composed rather plays of everyday life. Dietary humour and the 'Golden Age' theme are well attested in his work, but he used obscenity with some restraint. He shows but a limited interest in parody. Plato wrote both in the Old and Middle Comedy style, composing burlesques, political plays and literary comedies. Burlesques with erotic themes were particularly to his liking (cf. Alceus Comicus), and sexual humour was probably an important part of his technique. Plato was capable in his use of imagery and verbal humour. Strattis provides our best evidence for burlesque of Tragedy on a large scale.

Preface

I hereby declare that this thesis has been composed by myself and that the work of which it is a record has been done by myself and that it has not been accepted in any previous application for a higher degree.

The thesis is the product of three years' full time research work under the supervision of Prof.K.J.Dover and of two further years spent in preparing the thesis for submission, during which time I held temporary Lectureships in the Universities of Liverpool and Durham.I was admitted as a research student at the University of St. Andrews in October,1969, and I became a candidate for the degree of Ph. D.on 6th.May,1970. A statement from Prof.K.J.Dover certifying that the necessary regulations for submission of this thesis have been fulfilled accompanies this preface.

I wish here to express my gratitude to Prof.Dover for the guidance which he has given me in his capacity as supervisor.His own meticulous standards have been a constant inspiration, and his comments and criticisms have been of the highest value to me.I should also like to thank colleagues at Liverpool and Durham for useful discussions on some points and for their patience in putting up with the clatterings of my typewriter.My thanks go particularly to Dr.J.Pinsent, Dr.H.J.Blumenthal, Dr.W.Barr and Mr.R.J.Lickinson.I am grateful also to Mr.N.Shiel, formerly of the University of Ulster and currently of the University of Birmingham, for valuable discussions and not least for the gift of the typewriter on which the thesis was typed.

Alan M. Wilson,

Sept.,1974.

I certify that Allan M. Wilson has been engaged upon research work under my supervision and that he has fulfilled the conditions of Resolution No. 1, and that he is qualified to submit the accompanying thesis in application for the degree of Ph.D.

Supervisor.....

The
TECHNIQUE of HUMOUR
of
CRATINUS, EUPOLIS, PHERECRATES AND PLATO
and of the
MINOR POETS
of the
ATHENIAN OLD COMEDY

A
thesis
submitted by
ALLAN MURRAY WILSON, B. A.,
for the degree of Ph. D.,
University of St. Andrews.

1974



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Introduction

In this thesis I propose to examine our evidence for the technique of humour of Eupolis, Cratinus and the minor poets of the Athenian Old Comedy and to see what conclusions we can draw from that evidence. For this purpose I shall consider the material under five main groupings (see list of contents), which embrace the main spheres of the humour of Old Comedy. The classification of "humour" is, however, no easy matter, and one could readily make several cross-classifications under different headings. The system I have adopted is but a framework for the presentation of the evidence in an orderly and comprehensible manner, and I wish no-one to imagine that there is but one means of categorising jokes. The five main chapters of the thesis consider our examples of particular techniques and draw some limited conclusions appropriate to each section. In the 'Conclusions' section itself I consider what we can say of the overall technique of each major Old Comedian and attempt to discern what form of Comedy and what type of joke those Comedians especially favoured. Our evidence is often not conclusive, but there are generally hints that we ought to favour one verdict rather than another. I have attempted to avoid drawing any conclusions which are bolder than the reliability of our evidence warrants, for the study of the Old Comic fragments has suffered too much in the past from ambitious theories resting in the final analysis on almost no real evidence or sometimes, I fear, literally none. The nature of the evidence itself often invites speculation, but one must exercise restraint in dealing with conclusions from fragmentary texts or one will soon go astray. No inference is really safe unless it is quite inevitable, and one must frequently recall that one is dealing only with shades of probability. To some I may seem over-cautious, but precarious conclusions are worth very little and may be misleading.

I should say something here of the nature of our evidence. Although we possess a few papyrus fragments (incorporated now in C. Austin's Comi corum

Graecorum Fragmenta in Papyris Reperta), the great majority of our fragments are quotations in the text of later authors whose work has been transmitted to us. This means that for the most part we possess fragments of lost comedies because something in them interested a later writer, and it is important to remember that citations were rarely made with the humour or literary style of the passages in mind. Many fragments owe their preservation to some mention of a fish or foodstuff of interest to Athenaeus or to their use of some rare word of concern to lexicographers or to their providing evidence that some linguistic usage was Attic. Thus it was not the clever double entendre and personification of Cratinus Fr. 18

νῦν δ' ἦν ἴδη Μενδαίων ἡβῶντ' ἀρτίως
 οἰνίσκον, ἔπεται κὰκ κολουθεῖ κὰκ λέγει
 οἴμ' ὡς ἀπαλὸς κὰκ λευκός· ἀρ' οἴσει τρίτα;

that caused Athenaeus to quote it, but merely its mention of Mendaeian wine. In such cases it is manifestly a matter of chance if the passage happens to be of significance from other points of view. It is not surprising that the diligence of papyriologists in recording proverbs from lost plays has left us with far more proverbs in the Old Comic corpus than one would have thought a fair proportion, and it is likewise true that the lexicographers have quoted us a disproportionate number of rare and coined words. In such cases it is, as we shall see, informative to consider how many examples of the technique in question have been cited for their own sakes and how many are incidental occurrences. Between us and the original context stand not only the man who made the citation but the men who have copied the citation over the centuries, and it is regrettably true that a few words extracted from their context are more liable to corruption in copying than a continuous homogeneous text. In some cases the corruption is so severe that the fragment is quite irrecoverable, but in most cases, even where there is some doubt about the precise restoration of the text to be favoured, we have a good impression of the general sense of the citation. A fragment is seldom so corrupt as to be completely useless.

Let me say a little of Athenaeus, Hesychius and Photius in particular, as they are three of our most important sources of citations. If one looks at the fifty-three citations which Athenaeus makes from extant plays of Aristophanes one readily perceives that there are a substantial number of clumsy miscopyings of what was probably once a correct text, according to our manuscripts of Aristophanes. To give but one instance, at 397e Athenaeus cites Av. 102, where one manuscript of Athenaeus correctly has

Τηρὲν γὰρ εἰς σὺ; πρότερον ὄρνις ἢ τρωῶς;

but others divide between εἰς ὑπότερον and εἰς ὑπόπτερον. Clearly, Athenaeus' text was originally correct, but bad copying has led to the nonsensical misreadings of all but the one manuscript. In several cases, however, Athenaeus must have cited a different text from our transmitted version of Aristophanes, either from memory or from a bad source and wrongly, or from knowledge of a better text than our manuscripts of Aristophanes give us, as seems to have happened in at least one instance in the sample in question. At 119c, for example, Athenaeus quotes Pax 563 in the form

ἀγόρασον τι χρηστόν εἰς ἀγρόν τὰρίχιον

instead of the version which our Aristophanic manuscripts give, viz.

ἐμπολήσαντες τι . . . κτλ.

Athenaeus has thus replaced the participle with an imperative (and a singular at that) and converted the clause into a complete sentence (though no longer a complete line). The conversion is probably the result of an imperfect memory and the natural inclination to quote a convenient sense-unit (the imperative is not prompted by the context in which the quotation appears in Athenaeus). Athenaeus' memory seems also to have deceived him at 329b, where he misrepresents Vesp. 1127, and 485a, where he misquotes Pax 916. At 691b, however, Athenaeus quotes Eccl. 1117 with what is probably a better text than our transmitted version, and at 905 and 460c he gives variants, for Lys. 549 and Eq. 124 respectively, which are not impossible. The chances are, then, that in quoting Eupolis or Cratinus Athenaeus would in most cases begin with a correct citation, but would sometimes err him-

self in setting down the words, while in a fair number of instances later copyists would corrupt an accurate initial quotation, fortunately, for the most part, not so badly as to make the sense beyond plausible conjecture. Athenaeus does not often remark on the context of the passages which he cites from Aristophanes' extant plays, but in nine cases where he does his remarks are generally reliable as far as they go. At 569f, for instance he gives a perfectly adequate summary of the context when introducing a quotation from the 'Acharnians' (524-9), although he describes Aspasia's two girls not as πρόβα δῦο, as Aristophanes calls them, but in more restrained terms as *θεράπαινοι*. At 179a he produces a minimal summary of the situation in 'Wasps' in citing *Vesp.* 1208f and 1214f, but his representation of the circumstances is fair enough. His summary of the plot of 'Birds' down to line 67f, which he is about to quote (at 36f), is mostly adequate, but is misleading on two points, in that he represents the Hoopoe's servant as "suddenly flying up to" the men, and also, through imprecision in introducing the quotation itself, leaves us with the impression that the first words are those of one of the men, failing to indicate that they are in fact spoken by the Hoopoe's servant. In fact, in this case one must feel that Athenaeus' words are so badly chosen that he was not greatly concerned about making the setting of the quotation perfectly clear. Immediately below this citation from 'Birds', Athenaeus shows sober judgment in rejecting the interpretation of *Nu.* 109 by which *φασιανοῦς* denotes Phasian horses (already rejected by Aristarchus). It is encouraging that Athenaeus shows himself aware of and interested in the true interpretation of the passage he is quoting.

To gain some impression of the reliability of Hesychius as a source one may look out references and allusions to words and phrases used in Aristophanes' extant plays, where they are accompanied by an explanation of any size or importance. The sample I took was of fifty-two articles, being all suitable allusions to Aristophanes' extant plays in Kurt Latte's edition of Hesychius beginning with the letters α, β, γ , or δ . In only

three cases is Aristophanes actually named, but in the others it is apparent from what Hesychius says that he had a particular passage of an extant play of Aristophanes in mind. In most cases Hesychius' glosses are a fair interpretation of the sense, but he relies sometimes on guesswork, his own or some predecessor's, if he has no better guide to the meaning of a word, and the guesses can vary from sensible to very wild. For instance, the word $\beta\epsilon\kappa\kappa\epsilon\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta\nu\omicron\varsigma$ (Ar. Nu. 398) is glossed $\sigma\epsilon\lambda\eta\nu\acute{o}\pi\lambda\eta\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ("moon-struck, epileptic"), an explanation given also by Schol. Nu. ad loc., which seems no more than a guess based on the second half of the compound (--- $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta\nu\omicron\varsigma$), the insulting and contemptuous tone of the passage, and the associations of the moon with epilepsy (cf. $\sigma\epsilon\lambda\eta\nu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, $\sigma\epsilon\lambda\eta\nu\iota\alpha\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$, $\sigma\epsilon\lambda\eta\nu\iota\alpha\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$). The guess was probably made by some source common to Hesychius and the scholiast, but is an inadequate explanation, the true meaning emerging upon comparison with Hdt. II. 2. On $\acute{\alpha}\pi\rho\alpha\gamma\mu\omicron\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta$ (ref. Nu. 1007), Hesychius follows Aristophanes of Byzantium (as Schol. Nu.) in recording the suggestion that the word may denote a plant in the Academy as well as glossing it as an abstract noun: $\acute{\alpha}\pi\rho\alpha\gamma\mu\omicron\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta$ ἔργια ἢ φυτόν ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ. The notion that any plant may be meant comes from too literal an interpretation of the text, where Aristophanes (the poet) mixes abstract and concrete ideas. Sometimes Hesychius is unduly cryptic, giving an explanation which has lost precision and lucidity from hyperabbreviation. Such, for example, is his gloss on Ach. 640 (s. v. $\acute{\alpha}\phi\acute{\upsilon}\omega\nu$ τιμῆ). He is not, in fact, an altogether reliable guide as to the true sense of a word, although he is far more often accurate than in error. He does not usually indicate where he is relying on guesswork, but sometimes the presence of conflicting alternatives reveals that the interpretation of a word was uncertain for the ancients. Where Hesychius' evidence for the meaning of a word is opposed to the natural or rational interpretation he must be considered a somewhat doubtful witness. He seldom says anything substantial about context, and in that field he is a much less helpful source than Athenaeus.

For Photius a sample of passages where he explicitly cites parts of Aristophanes' extant plays provides a similar hint of reliability. The copyists seem in general to have been kinder to Photius than to Athenaeus, but there are instances where an originally correct citation seems to have been miscopied. Occasionally, there is evidence that Photius quoted a text different from our own of Aristophanes. In his entry on *τάλαντον*, for example, he gives a version of Ra. 797 which displays the same variants from our transmitted text of Aristophanes as the versions in the Souda and the Etymologicum Magnum. Photius' text is

ἀλλ' ἢ τάλαντω μουσικὴ κριθήσεται ,

where our mss. of Aristophanes give

καὶ γὰρ τάλαντω μουσικὴ σταθμήσεται .

This seems to be a case of derivation from a common source which had corrupted the text of Aristophanes by relying on a faulty recollection of the line. Photius records and prefers the variant *τὴν περὶ τῶν νεκρῶν* for Ra. 191, as well as giving the sound *τὴν περὶ τῶν κρεῶν* of the best of our Aristophanic manuscripts. In citing Thesm. 1197 (s. v. *κρέας*) Photius manuscripts now give an unelided version, viz.

ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔχω οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ συμβήνην λάβε ,

which our manuscripts of Aristophanes suggest is deficient in two places. Photius divides *ἔχω οὐδέν* instead of giving what seems to have been a barbaric crasis (probably *ἐκὼδέν*) and he loses *τό* in front of *συβήνην*, another barbarism. In this case, the corruption is probably due to the confusion caused to the scribes by the strange Greek rather than to any original misquotation by Photius. On interpretation Photius' glosses do not seem often to go wrong, and he is more willing than Hesychius to indicate uncertainty. He seems quite frequently to have compared several commentators' or lexicographers' remarks (*οἱ μὲν ... — sc. λέγουσιν ... οἱ δέ ...*) and often indicates uncertainty by offering alternatives. Occasionally he is willing to exercise his own judgment: on *κῦττιπος* he cites Vesp. 1111 in contradiction of one meaning given for the word and

seems to infer for himself the correct sense in the passage of 'Wasps' ($\xi\omicron\iota\kappa\epsilon\nu\ \delta\prime\ \epsilon\pi\iota\ \tau\omega\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\epsilon\iota\omega\delta\omega\nu\ \tau\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$). Sometimes, however, he can give an explanation that is well wide of the mark (s. v. $\upsilon\sigma\sigma\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ with reference to Lys.1001). In that particular case over-condensation of some earlier gloss may have introduced the error. On ascription Photius seems generally reliable, but textual corruption has distorted $\Sigma\phi\eta\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu$ into $\Sigma\phi\iota\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu$ in Photius' entry on $\kappa\upsilon\tau\tau\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma$, a reminder that some plays known to us only by a title which closely resembles another title may be no more than "ghost" plays, owing their existence to textual corruption.

From such an assessment of three of our principal sources we see some of the problems and dangers in interpreting the quotations from the lost works of the Old Comedians, but in most cases it would seem that our text and any information offered will be substantially reliable, a fair number of minor errors of transmission being readily detectable and amenable to fairly safe conjectures. Where there is manifestly severe corruption, one should clearly put little or no weight upon the evidence of the fragment. Cases where our source has himself misquoted the fragment will be few and difficult to detect in most instances, but there is nothing that we can do save derive confidence from the likelihood that such mistakes will not affect more than a small proportion of our evidence.

External evidence for the plot of a lost Old Comedy is rare. The great exception is the partially-preserved hypothesis to Cratinus' $\Delta\iota\omicron\nu\nu\sigma\text{-}\alpha\lambda\epsilon\acute{\xi}\alpha\nu\delta\rho\omicron\varsigma$. Apart from that, we have but few comments on the overall theme of old comedies outside the works of Aristophanes, as, for example, the remarks of Schol. Ar. Eq. 400 on the plot of the early part of Cratinus' $\Pi\upsilon\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\eta$ or the brief mentions of Aristides 2. 300 and Schol. ad loc. of the contents of Eupolis' $\Delta\eta\mu\omicron\iota$. Usually, what we can recover of the plot of a lost play depends upon the internal evidence of a few fragments taken in conjunction with the title, and one cannot safely press the internal evidence too far, for the smaller the fragment the more likely one is to mis-

interpret it or misassess its position or importance in the play. There is great scope for error, as well as for insight, the more one indulges one's imagination. In spite of our possession of well over a hundred substantially complete lines of Eupolis' *Ἀῆμοι* it is still possible to reconstruct the play along radically different lines. Edmonds' attempt to arrange the fragments in order and make out the plot, printed in the first volume of his *Fragments of Attic Comedy*, pp. 978 sq., is a particularly dangerous reconstruction, depending, as it does, to an exaggerated degree upon intuition. Not only fragments of Eupolis which we do not know are from *Ἀῆμοι* but even Old Comic fragments which we do not know are from Eupolis are introduced into the structure, and Edmonds' imagination is allowed too great rein both in the supplementation of the papyri and in the visualisation of the plot. In places his reconstruction is demonstrably wrong; in all too many places it cannot pretend to be demonstrably right. Even the astute Meineke, the most able of the three major editors of the Comic fragments, was utterly wrong in his guess as to the plot (and date) of Cratinus' *Διονυσιαλῆξάνδρος*. Writing long before the papyrus hypothesis was known, he suggested that the play belonged to the younger Cratinus and that the "Alexander" was Alexander the great (Meineke I 56. 7). Kock (I p. 23), on no greater evidence, rightly rejected Meineke's view and referred the title to Paris, or Alexander, of Troy. The papyrus now shows Kock to have made the happier supposition, but it is most informative to see how radically different a view the two editors could take of the same few fragments, both lacking as they did a real key to the meaning of the play. The more one builds a case on possibilities and suspicions the more insecure the edifice is, and the slippery slope of reconstructing plays from fragments is well-greased indeed. Nevertheless, one can make many valid deductions from the evidence we have, but one must not delude oneself into thinking that we can deduce more than we legitimately can. One may speculate, yes, but one must not imagine that speculation is knowledge.

There remain two external sources of information about the poets of the Old Comedy: (a) the brief comments of later writers about Comedy and the remarks of those authors who incidentally found occasion to refer to its exponents, and (b) the epigraphic evidence for the careers of the poets. Both sources are helpful in matters of chronology, and the comments of later writers preserve some important information for assessing the significance of particular poets in the overall history of Comedy. The survival of one vital sentence of Aristotle's Poetics (in C. 5 p. 1449a) has been crucial for our appreciation of the role of Crates in the development of Old Comedy, for without it we should have thought Crates a minor figure in that development. Aristotle records that Crates was the first at Athens to abandon the invective form of Comedy and compose themes and plots of general application (... τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων Κράτης πρῶτος ἤρξεν ἀφέμενος τῆς ἰσχυρῆς ἰδέας καθόλου ποιεῖν λόγους καὶ μύθους). Without the guidance of Aristotle's few words we should not have known this, for, although the lack of definite personal attacks in our fragments of Crates would still have been just as noticeable, of course, we should not have dared to make any inference as strong as Aristotle's statement. Some other ancient comments upon the methods of the Old Comedians are of great value, but the writers of late antiquity and of the early Middle Ages include also some absurdities and misleading information in their brief observations, and they are very far from being sources in which one can put implicit faith. For instance, Ar. An. περὶ κωμῶδίας accepts the account of Cratinus' death in Pax 702 as sufficiently factual to declare that he died on the first Spartan invasion of Attica, a deduction which is easily contradicted by the fact that Cratinus was still alive to produce his Πυτινὴ in 423 B. C. Tzetzes (paras. 15-16, Kaibel p. 28 and para. 24, Kaibel p. 20) has, like some other late sources, a very confused idea of when Cratinus' career ended. He represents the poet as still composing at the time of Eupolis' alleged ducking by Alcibiades, from which

reprisal the elder poet took warning and passed over to the more allusive style of political comment of Middle Comedy along with Pherecrates, Plato and Aristophanes. Schol. Ar. Av. 521 has a similar idea that Cratinus was still writing after the date of Aristophanes' 'Birds', while Platonius (para. 12, p. 5 Kaibel) treats Cratinus' *Ὀδυσσεύς* as though it dated to the time of the oligarchy of the Thirty Tyrants (cf. para 3, p. 4 Kaibel). He is clearly wrong to think so, but his words seem to carry that implication. It is quite likely that the fact that there was also a Middle Comedian called Cratinus was responsible for the confusion about the date of the death of the Old Comedian. It is worth noting that on p. 27 Kaibel (para. 12) Tzetzes cites—without naming the source, but the allusion is clear—part of Aristophanes' 'Wasps' (1.16) as an example of a Middle Comedy technique in making a joke (the allusive, allegorical attack). One hopes that Tzetzes did not mean to imply that 'Wasps' was anything but an old comedy, but it is at least disconcerting that Tzetzes should exemplify the *μέση καὶ δευτέρα κωμῳδία* (usually seen in these sources as developing after Eupolis' alleged ducking—so Tzetzes himself at paras. 15-16, p. 28 Kaibel, and para. 24, p. 20 Kaibel, and Platonius at paras. 4ff, p. 4 Kaibel) with an allusion to a play of 422 B. C., from the prime, or at any rate the maturity, of the Old Comedy period. We begin to see that our secondary sources are not worthy of too great trust. Indeed they sometimes plainly contradict each other. To take an easy and colourful example, even if one were to accept the version of Eupolis' alleged ducking which allows him to be drawn alive from the sea, Pausanias has him buried near Sicyon, while Aelian and Tzetzes tell how Eupolis' dog died by his master's grave on Aegina, where Eupolis had, by this account, departed this life, although for the Souda he perished in a shipwreck in the Hellespont on a campaign against the Spartans, resulting allegedly in a ruling that no poet should go again on active service. After reflecting that one may combine some of these versions to produce the theory that Eupolis died

by drowning in the Hellespont while on campaign with Alcibiades, giving rise to the story that he was ducked by that commander in retaliation for a scene in Eupolis' *Βάντα*, Meineke (I p.105f) more wisely judges the problem of where, when and how Eupolis died insoluble on the basis of such conflicting evidence. One may add that for Cicero (Att. 6.1.17) Eupolis' dipping took place while Alcibiades was en route to Sicily. If one had to pick any single version from this assortment of contradictions, one would pick the Souda's account as most credible because of the ruling claimed to have been made after Eupolis' death that no other poet should so hazard his life again, but I cite this evidence to show the confusions with which we sometimes have to deal in our sources, not to solve the problem of Eupolis' death.

The epigraphic evidence provides some vital indications of date and a few other facts about the careers of the Old Comedians. It is conveniently collected in Sir Arthur Pickard-Cambridge's The ^{Dramatic} Festivals of Athens pp.104sq. It consists chiefly of the Fasti (I.G. ii². 2318), partially-preserved records of the dramatic and choral competitions at the Great Dionysia for a few widely-spaced years of the Fifth and Fourth Centuries, giving the names of victorious Tragic and Comic poets, their *Χόρηγοί*, and certain other details about the other performances, and the Victors' Lists (I.G. ii². 2325), which records (separately) the names of the victorious Comic poets at the Great Dionysia and Lenaea in the order in which they attained the distinction of having won the first prize at that festival, with the total number of their victories there entered beside their name. The Victors' List also gives similar information for Tragic poets and for Tragic and Comic actors. The lists are fragmentary, but they are useful chronological guides. There are also the fragments of Athenian didaskaliai found in Rome, given in Pickard-Cambridge, l. c. p.120f after the restoration by Littmer. These give details of the careers of certain minor poets of the Old Comedy in I.G. xiv.1097 and I.G. xiv.1098, and as well as serving to clarify chronology they provide us with some

evidence of new titles and slight indications of the success or otherwise of the poets concerned. They offer no hint of content, of course, and are of but indirect help in forming an assessment of a Comedian's techniques (where relative chronology is sometimes of interest). Besides this sort of external evidence for dating, we have some information in the hypotheses to Aristophanes' extant plays about certain comedies of his rivals, but our principal means of dating the lost plays is from internal evidence, which seldom produces a firm date, but may give a *terminus post* or *ante quem* or else a rough indication of the sort of period in which the play may have been produced. The internal evidence for dating needs honest handling, or else one can mislead oneself into thinking one has a more precise date than is really the case. In relatively few cases is the date accurately and indisputably known.

We have seen the nature of the evidence available to us and also some of the hazards in working with fragmentary texts. Obviously we are better equipped to assess what sort of techniques Aristophanes' rivals used in limited jokes of no more than a few words than to perceive the handling of scenes or whole plays, and it is there that the emphasis of my work will lie. All citations, unless otherwise indicated, are from Edmonds, whose text is the fullest available, though produced with lamentable inefficiency in many ways. Fragments from papyrus are given from Austin (with Edmonds' reference also if included in his text), while references to Meineke are given in the form volume + page (e.g. II p. 256) for simplicity of reference. I have indicated where textual problems affect the interpretation. For a list of modern works cited in this thesis consult the bibliography, which lists all articles, books and dissertations on the Old Comic fragments (other than those of Aristophanes) mentioned by the author. Cratinus Frs. 75 and 76 Austin are treated as *adespota* and no note is taken of them in this thesis: they are very dubiously ascribed to Cratinus. *Adespota* are considered only where clearly non-Aristophanic.

The Visual Element

I propose to consider the importance of the visual element in the work of the rivals and predecessors of Aristophanes in Old Comedy under the following principal headings: (a) Costume, (b) Stage-properties, and (c) Action.

(a) Costume

(i) Chorus

I wish to examine first two particular forms of Comic chorus in which there is especially great scope for ingenuity in costume design. These are the animal chorus and those choruses in which the individual members have a personal identity.

Animal Choruses

The principal indication that a play probably had an animal chorus is the title, as a plural title generally denotes the main chorus,¹ but for some plays there is internal or external evidence to assist us in positively establishing the choral identity. The plays which seem to have had an animal chorus are the following. I give the evidence for thinking so after each title, and I include in brackets plays which seem to have had a chorus of satyrs or of centaurs. One should perhaps add the $\Sigma\epsilon\iota\rho\hat{\eta}\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ of Theopompus, as G. M. Sifakis does², if the Sirens formed the chorus, and the play of the same title by Nicophon, which, however, was never actually performed (so Ath. 6. 270a). It is nevertheless conceivable in both cases that sailors of Odysseus' crew were the (or a) chorus. There is no internal evidence.

Magnes:	Ἰοφύθορος	title & Ar. Eq. 522
	$\Psi\hat{\eta}\nu\epsilon\varsigma$	title & Ar. Eq. 523

	Βάτραχοι	title & Ar. Eq. 523
Ephantides:	[Ξάτυροι]	title
Cratinus:	[Ξάτυροι]	title
	[Διονυσιαλέξανδρος]	Hyp. Dionysalex. (satyrs)
	[Χείρωνες]	title & Cratin. Fr. 235 (centaurs)
Crates:	Θήρια	title & Fr. 17
	Ὄρνιθες ³	title
Callias:	Βάτραχοι	title
Pherecrates:	Μυρμηκάνθρωποι	title & Fr. 121 (ants?)
Eupolis:	Αἴγες	title & Fr. 14
Cantharus:	Ἀηδόνες	title
	Μύρμηκες	title
Phrynichus:	[Ξάτυροι]	title
Plato ⁴ :	Γρῦπες	title
	Μύρμηκες	title
Archippus:	Ἰχθύες	title, Frs. 28, 29, etc.
Diocles:	Μέλισσαι	title
Apollophanes:	[Κένταυροι]	title

It is possible that Nicochares' Κένταυρος (chorus of centaurs?) and Nicophon's Ἀφροδίτης Γοναί (Fr. 1 may indicate a chorus of birds—sparrows, perhaps, that pulled Aphrodite's chariot) also had animal choruses, but the notion is conjectural. In Aristophanes, 'Birds' and 'Wasps' certainly had animal choruses (or rather partially animal in the case of the jurymen of 'Wasps'), while the chorus of 'Knights' probably had mock-horses as part of their costume. It is doubtful whether the chorus of frogs in 'Frogs' were seen, as nothing is made of their appearance in the text and their song occupies but a small part of the play as a whole, but,

they do give their name to the play, and our evidence is not decisive.⁵ Of the lost plays of Aristophanes *Μελαργοί* seems likely on the evidence of the title to have had a chorus of storks, and it is conceivable that *Δράματα ἢ Κένταυρος* had a chorus of centaurs, but there may only have been one "centaur" (Pholus?) in the play.⁶

The total number of plays which seem to have had an animal chorus (or a chorus of centaurs, satyrs or Sirens), even on the uncorroborated evidence of titles, is not very great, compared to the total number of titles that we possess, but the animal chorus seems to have remained in occasional use right to the end of the Fifth Century (Archippus' *Ἰχθύες* dates c. 401-400 B. C.), and in the Fourth Century the *Ἰππῆϊς* of Antiphanes is a possible further example. The use of at least three animal choruses by Magnes is attested by Aristophanes in *Eq. 50ff.*, who speaks as though such spectacular choruses were particularly prominent in the works of Magnes or perhaps generally in vogue in his time. We know far too little of Magnes' contemporaries to form any estimate of the extent of their employment of theriomorphic choruses, but we do have five titles of plays of Magnes that do not suggest animal choruses to set against the three titles that do. We must not, therefore, infer that theriomorphic choruses were altogether predominant in Magnes' day, even if it would seem that they were probably more common than in Aristophanes' own time. Aristophanes is speaking not only of Magnes' animal choruses, but of the spectacle and ambitiousness of his choruses in general: he implies a chorus of Lydians in *Λυδοί* and of harp-players in *Βαρβιτίσται*, as well as the three animal choruses. In the generation of Cratinus the true animal chorus is not well attested, although it was still to be seen on occasions. Cratinus himself has no true animal chorus now detect-

able in his work, but he does have three plays which had, or seem to have had, choruses of satyrs or centaurs. Two of them, *Σάτυροι* and *Διονυσιαλέξανδρος* date after the beginning of the Peloponnesian War.⁷ Crates' *Θήρια* and Pherecrates' *Μυρμηγκώνθρωποι* had animal choruses, but the works of Teleclides and of Hennippus show no evidence of such spectacle. Callias' *Βάτραχοι* probably belongs to this period too.⁸ In Aristophanes' own generation Eupolis had a chorus of goats in *Αίγες*, but seems not to have had a theriomorphic chorus in any other play. Plato and Cantharus have four titles between them which seem to indicate that they were no strangers to the technique, while Aristophanes himself showed his awareness of the full visual potential of the animal chorus in 'Birds', and the number of definite and possible animal choruses in Aristophanes' plays is above the total for any other Old Comedian. He was, however, one of the more prolific exponents of the Old Comedy, and the overall proportion of animal choruses to choruses of some other form in his plays is not, therefore, so strikingly high, but it is clear that Aristophanes was at least as willing as most of his contemporaries to use the spectacle of a theriomorphic chorus in his plays. The *Ίχθύες* of Archippus is the last old comedy datable with any precision which we know to have had an animal chorus, but the chorus seems to have represented many kinds of fish and was very probably colourfully and spectacularly equipped with individually-designed costumes, like the birds in Aristophanes' play of that name, and so represents the animal chorus in its most developed form.

The Individualized Chorus

The 'Birds' of Aristophanes is unique among his extant plays in that it allows us to see how an individualized chorus could be handled. The phenomenon of a chorus with individual persons or species of animal or suchlike recognizable within its members was apparently not very common, but we do have some clear evidence for its

existence outside Aristophanes, and it is likely that it featured in several plays besides those where there is conclusive evidence. We shall see below that Eupolis' Πόλις and Amipsias' Κόως both had such choruses, but it is highly probable that all plays with generic animal titles also had multi-form choruses, or else the chorus would not represent more than one species and would merely be a chorus of, say, sheep rather than beasts or of larks rather than birds. Thus the generic titles of Magnes' Ὀρνίθες, Crates' Θήρια and Archippus' Ἰχθύες all suggest a chorus with costumes representing various species. To these may be added Crates' Ὀρνίθες if indeed distinct from Magnes' play of the same title. It is further likely, by analogy with Eupolis' Πόλις, that the generic titles of some at least of the following must be an indication of a multi-form chorus. I indicate where there is any definite evidence of choral composition, but it is likely that in most cases the title denotes the chorus.

Hemippus: Θεοί; Eupolis: Δῆμοι, possibly Ταξίαρχοι if some individual officers were distinguishable; Chionides: possibly Ἡρώες; Crates: possibly Ἡρώες; Aristophanes: possibly Ἡρώες (cf. Fr. 304); Aristophanes or Archippus: Νῆσοι (Ar. Fr. 395 probably describes a chorus-member); Plato: possibly, but very conjecturally, Ἑλλάς ἢ Νῆσοι, if the islands formed the chorus; Philyllius: possibly Πόλις; Eunucus: possibly Πόλις, if distinct from Philyllius' play; Pherecrates: conceivably Αὐτόμολοι, if the chorus was of individually represented gods (cf. Fr. 23). One fragment of Heniochus (Fr. 5) promises an explicit statement of the names of twenty cities, which are probably the chorus of the play. If this is so, there may well have been an attempt to make the chorus-members individually recognizable, or at any rate to give them significant personal costumes, as in Eupolis' Πόλις. It is likely that the chorus of Cratinus' Ἀρχιλόχοι were recogniz-

able individuals, as Fr. 2(οἶον σοφιστῶν σμῆνος ἀνεδιφήσατε) probably refers to the(or a) chorus, and Clement of Alexandria's remark in introducing the quotation, viz. ποιητῶν καταλέξας ἕφη , could well indicate that the poets in the chorus had just been individually identified for the audience in the manner of Amipsias' presentation of his chorus-members in his Κόινος (cf. below). Diogenes Laertius, Proem. 12, remarks of the same context, as it seems, καὶ οἱ ποιητῆι (ἐκαλοῦντο) σοφισταί, καθὰ καὶ Κρατίνος ἐν Ἀρχιλόχοις τοὺς περὶ Ὀμηρον καὶ Ἡσίοδον ἐπαινῶν οὕτως καλεῖ. This could indicate a short eulogy of each of the poets as they arrive. One may speculate that Teleclides in his Ἡσίοδοι would use a similar technique of identifying particular chorus-members, but there is no positive evidence. In the case of plays like Plato's Λόκιωνες ἢ Ποιητῆι or Σοφισταί or Phrynichus' Τραγῳδοὶ ἢ Ἀπελευθέροι it is much more doubtful whether there would be any opportunity to use the technique, as the composition of the chorus is too much in doubt (in the first case were they Laconians, poets or neither?). In Herippus Fr. 58 an army from over the sea is greeted (the play is Στρατιῶται). At the end of the fragment the manuscripts give

ἦσθου τὸν Ἄβυδον ὡς
 ἀνὴρ γεγένηται

which would mean, "Did you perceive how Abydos has become a man?" If the reading is correct and the city of Abydos was one of the chorus, then it would seem that we have here an individualized chorus of cities, of which at least one, Abydos, was not female (cf. the cities in Eupolis' Πόλις), but male. Meineke¹⁰ adduces the proverb μὴ εἰκῆ τὸν Ἄβυδον to show that the gender of Abydos need not be feminine, but supposes that "Abydos" here means the contingent from Abydos and not the city itself, which may be correct. Bergk¹¹ followed

Dindorf¹² in adopting the emendation τὸν Ἀβυδοῦθ' ὡς and further argued that there was an allusion to Alcibiades, who is said by Antiphon (in Athen. XII p. 525b) to have visited Abydos in early manhood with the intention of schooling himself in debauchery παρὰ τῶν ἐν Ἀβύδῳ γυναικῶν. This view is rather too adventurous, and it is much safer to follow Meineke, Kock, Whittaker¹³ and others in taking the chorus to be composed of Athenian allies, whether personified cities or, as seems safest of all, men from those cities. If one individual is given a personal notice, it is possible that others in the chorus were also, but we cannot really be confident. If the chorus-members were personified cities, then the lines quoted above refer to the personification of Abydos, the citizens of which were considered enervated and debauched, as a male soldier. In Eupolis Fr. 276 (Χρυσῶν Γένος) someone is pointing out individuals and counting them. The fragment covers the enumeration from the twelfth to the eighteenth. It is possible that these men are chorus-members being described and counted upon their arrival, although some¹⁴ have supposed that members of the audience are meant, which seems to me a less attractive idea. Only one man is named (Archestratus in line 4), the others being referred to by unflattering descriptions of their physical appearance or dress. The difficulty in taking the men to be members of the chorus is that the Scholiast to Plato Lys. 206d, in introducing Fr. 288, also of Χρυσῶν Γένος, speaks of the metaphorical use of ὤμιλλος of τὴν εἰς Κυκλώπων κατὰ κλισίην. If the text is correct, these Cyclopes could be the chorus, but Meineke's conjecture¹⁵ τὴν ἐν Κύκλω κατὰ κλισίην would remove them from the text. The conjecture is very plausible, the circle of guests being seen as the circle of the game^{εἰς} ὤμιλλαν into which knucklebones were cast (the speaker identifying himself

with the knucklebones which enter the circle). If the men in Fr. 276 are chorus-members, the title of the play ('Golden Race') may refer ironically to them. Another play that may have had individually identifiable elements in its chorus is Aristophanes' *Βαβυλωνίαι*, in which it seems that the allies of Athens were represented as slaves in a treadmill (cf. Ar. Fr. 64).

There is thus some probability that the individualized chorus figured in more plays than the two outside the works of Aristophanes where its presence is unmistakably detectable, Eupolis' *Πόλεις* and Amipsias' *Κόννος*. The plays in question extend in time from the early period of Old Comedy (Magnes' *Ὀρνιθές* is a probable example), through the period of the immediate predecessors and elder contemporaries of Aristophanes (Crates' *Θήρις*, his *Ὀρνιθές* if such existed, Hermippus' *Θεοί* and Cratinus' *Ἀρχίλοχοι* are the most plausible instances), into Aristophanes' own time (Aristophanes' own 'Birds', Eupolis' *Πόλεις*, Amipsias' *Κόννος*, possibly other plays of Eupolis, Aristophanes and one of Plato Comicus, Archippus' *Ἰχθύες* and perhaps others). It seems that the technique, like the use of animal choruses, was not foreign to Old Comedy of any period of the Fifth Century.

In Eupolis' *Πόλεις* three fragments make it clear that there was a scene where the chorus-members, representing the cities of the Athenian Empire, were introduced individually. These are Eup. Frs. 231, 232 and 233. Each city is given a line or two of comment as she appears, and it is evident that one character is identifying the figures for another (in Fr. 233 we discern two speakers). This is, of course, the situation in Aristophanes' 'Birds' when the chorus enters: the Hoopoe identifies the arrivals for Pisthetaerus and Euelpides.

It is not certain how the cities were visually represented, but it seems likely that the brief descriptions point out the relevance of the costume and that Eupolis is explaining for the audience why a chorus-member so dressed or equipped should represent a particular city. Thus Tenos, described as having "many sycophant-scorpions and vipers" may well have a costume embellished with representations of such creatures (Fr. 231), while Cyzicus, described as "full of staters" may well have a costume decorated with stage-coins or medallions (Fr. 233)¹⁶. Chios, "the fair city of fair folk", is perhaps just made up to look beautiful. Some of the costumes would be very bizarre, but, granted an individualized chorus introduced in this way, it seems inevitable that some effort must have been made to represent visually the essential associations of the cities. As in Fr. 233 Cyzicus is described as ἡ ὑστάτη, it seems that all the cities in the chorus were identified in the text, but they may have been given different degrees of prominence, as the birds are in Aristophanes' play of that name. Aristophanes introduces the first four most fully (probably these birds are not true chorus-members and appear on the roof of the stage-building)¹⁷ and only allows brief jokes on two of the others till the list is complete.

In Amipsias' *Kónnos* the chorus was of φροντισταί (so Athenæus at 5, 218c, where he remarks that Amipsias did not number (οὐ καταριθμεί) Protagoras ἐν τῷ τῶν φροντιστῶν χορῷ) and one of the chorus was evidently Socrates. Diogenes Laertius records that Amipsias brought Socrates on in a threadbare cloak and quotes Amipsias Fr. 9 from the context. Someone addresses Socrates and makes fun of his dress: the question πῶθεν εἶμι χλαῖνα γένοιτο; implies his need of a better cloak, while the remark τουτὶ τὸ κτεκὸν τῶν σκυτοτόμων κατ' ἐπιρραῖαν γέμνηται points to his lack of footwear. In spite of the difficulty of naming twenty-four sufficiently well-known φροντισταί

for the audience to be familiar with them, it is evident from Athenaeus' remark above (that Protagoras was not included in the chorus) that at least a substantial number of the chorus must have been explicitly identified. Perhaps the others were imaginary persons and only a few of the chorus were given close attention, just as not all the birds in Aristophanes' 'Birds' are introduced at the same length.

Animal choruses and those with individually identifiable chorus-members were not the only choruses in which the visual element must have been particularly important. We find also apparent choruses of Cyclopes (cf. Callias' *Κύκλωπες*, Diocles' *Κύκλωπες*, Nicophon's *Ἐγχειρογύστορες*, perhaps Cratinus' *Ὀδυσσεύς*¹⁸ and Eupolis' *Χρυσῶν γένος* (see above)¹⁹, of Lydians (cf. Magnes' *Λύδοι*), of Persians or Assyrians (cf. Chionides' *Πέρσαι ἢ Ἀσσύριοι* and Pherecrates' *Πέρσαι*), of Furies (cf. Teleclides' *Εὐμείνιδες* and Cratinus' homonymous play, if the title is genuine)²⁰ and of Amazons (cf. Cephisodorus' *Ἀμαζόνες*), and it is likely that a high proportion of the choruses of Old Comedy had visually entertaining costumes. Bergk²¹, followed by Meineke²² and Kock, suggested that in Cratin. Fr. 153 we have evidence for the appearance of the chorus of *Πανοπταί*:

κράνισα δισσὰ φορεῖν, ὀφθαλμοὶ δ' οὐκ ἀριθμητοί...

Kock sees the chorus as "Argo simillimi..., qui non solum oculatus, sed etiam biceps ut Ianus fingebatur". If so (the line could, one imagines, be no more than figurative), the appearance of the chorus must have been very bizarre. Webster²³ suggests that they may have worn the "Ἄργος πολυὸφθαλμος" mask mentioned by Pollux, *Onom.* IV.141. It is also possible that from Cratin. Fr. 126 we may infer that the chorus of *Νόμοι* were laws, personified as old men hobbling along with sticks (such is Meineke's suggestion: Bergk²⁴ guessed that

the chorus carried tablets). Of the women's choruses one of the more visually entertaining was probably Theopompus' Στρατιώτιδες, as one would suspect that the visual potential of a chorus of women in men's armour would not be neglected. There is not much evidence for the exact appearance of choruses outside Aristophanes' works in Old Comedy.

(ii) Characters

Fr. 3 of Cratinus, as many have observed, describes the costume of Dionysus in Διονυσολίξωδρος. The god has his traditional and obvious attributes, viz. the thyrsus, a κροκωτός as in Aristophanes' 'Frogs', a ποικίλον (broidered robe) and a cup. He is so accoutred in vase paintings.²⁶ In Aristomenes Fr. 5 (from his Γόητες) someone is told to take (as our text stands) a disguise or theatrical costume comprising "the god's panoply and mask" (which god is not apparent), while Plato's Ἐλλὲς ἢ Νῆσοι included the figure of Poseidon complete with trident, as it would seem from Fr. 24.²⁷ It was quite common among the poets of Cratinus' generation to make fun of Pericles' misshapen head, and it seems probable that this would be visibly and exaggeratedly represented in plays in which Pericles was a character, or else the helmet which he habitually wore to veil his deformity may have been pointedly a part of his costume in Comedy. Cratinus Fr. 71 probably indicates the wearing of such a helmet in context,²⁸ the reference to the "Odeum" being an insulting image, as that building had a conical dome, and the crown of Pericles' head was likewise elongated (cf. Plutarch, Pericles 3 : προμήκη δὲ τῆ κεφαλῇ καὶ ἀσύμμετρον). It is possible that in Hemippus' Ἀθηναῖς Γοναί the pregnant head was that of Pericles-Zeus (cf. Fr. 79, which could well be from that play).²⁹ Whether or not there were hits at Pericles, the representation of a pregnant head must have

offered considerable scope for visual humour (a mask with a padded crown?). Needless to say, the actual birth of Athena from the head must have taken place offstage. A similarly bizarre costume may well have been required for Polyzelus' Διονύσου Γοναί, where the sewing-up of Dionysus into the thigh of Zeus may have been visually portrayed (padded tights?). The Lamia of Crates' play of that name would presumably be portrayed as a monster (she had, for instance, detachable eyes in folklore), and Polyphemus in Cratinus' Ὀδυσσεύς and Nicochares' Γαλατεία (and Cyclopes where they appeared in other plays) would have a single eye, in the forehead, one presumes, of his mask, with obscured slits for his own eyes to see through. A spectacular character in Theopompus' Μηδός was the prologue, Mt. Lycabettus. Perhaps he was equipped with a costume to recall the familiar shape of that hill. It is interesting that Pollux (Onom. IV 142) lists an ὄρεος 'mask. It is likely also that animal characters like the Hoopoe and his servant in Aristophanes' 'Birds' (or the two dogs in 'Wasps') must also have figured in some of the other Old Comedians' plays with animal choruses and perhaps in some others. Yet probably some of the greatest scope for visual humour in the costumes of characters lay in plays which had either metamorphosis or the motif of a disguised character.

Metamorphosis

The nearest thing to metamorphosis (into animal form) in the extant work of Aristophanes is the passage of 'Birds' where Pisthetaenus and Euelpides emerge in their new, winged state at Av 801 ff. There the ludicrous appearance of both men is made the subject of jokes. The motif of metamorphosis seems to have figured also in Aristophanes' Δαίδαλος (cf. Fr. 184), where, according to the Souda (s. v. Εὐρύβρατος), Aristophanes depicted Zeus as changing himself

into many things(... ὑποθέμενος τὸν Δία εἰς πολλὰ ἑαυτὸν μεταβάλλοντα...). There is obvious scope for visual effect in such changes of form, and it is likely that it was exploited by Aristophanes' rivals in their mythological burlesques. Some obvious possibilities are that Cantharus' Τηρεὺς would deal with the metamorphosis of Philomela, Procne and Tereus, that Plato's Ἴω and Sannyrion's play of the same title would portray Io in bovine form, that in Plato's (and in Hermippus') Εὐρώπη Zeus would turn himself into a bull, or that Alcaeus' Καλλιστώ would include the eponymous character in the form of a bear. Whether Apollonophanes portrayed metamorphosis in his Δανάη is not known (although it may be suspected) but in Sannyrion's homonymous play we seem to have Zeus wondering what creature to turn himself into (in Fr. 8)³², an apparent indication that there may well have been later representation of him in animal form, or at least in non-human form (eventually the shower of gold, perhaps depicted by a glittering yellow garment). Cratinus' Νέμεσις appears to have shown Zeus (and Nemesis) in a variety of animal forms.³³ Fr. 109 Edm (114K) tells someone of the need to become a large bird,

ὄρνιθα τοίνυν δεῖ σε γίγνεσθαι μέγαν ,

while in Fr. 111 Edm (109K) someone (Zeus, one imagines) speaks of a delight in chaffinch's food, apparently being in bird-form. It is, of course, necessary to assume that metamorphosis (in most, if not all, cases) took place offstage, and that the character re-entered in a changed form (cf. Pisthetaerus and Euelpides in the passage of Aristophanes' 'Birds' cited above), as it would generally be too difficult to effect the transformation in full view (unless a cloak were thrown off to reveal another costume, or suchlike).

It does not seem possible to associate the use of the metamorphosis motif with any particular Comic poet, but it is obvious

that Comedians who neglected burlesque of mythological themes (especially Eupolis) would make little or no use of it, while in the later years of Old Comedy, when mythological burlesques became more common, there was somewhat more opportunity to employ the technique, if Comedians chose to do so. There are no clear burlesques in Attic Comedy earlier than the era of Cratinus, but very little indeed is known of the earliest Attic Comedians.

Disguise

In metamorphosis the character is supposed actually to have changed form, but there is also the motif of simple disguise. The concept is, of course, familiar from Aristophanes, especially from the 'Thesmophoriazusae', where the old relative of Euripides is disguised as a woman after a painful shaving and singeing, and where later Euripides first impersonates Perseus and Menelaus and finally disguises as an old woman in order to rescue his confederate. The whole chorus of 'Ecclesiazusae' disguise as men in order to gain admission to the Assembly, while in Aristophanes' 'Frogs' both Dionysus and Xanthias spend time disguised as Heracles. It is known from the Hyp. to Cratinus' Διονυσιαλέξενδρος that Dionysus was disguised as a ram for part of that play, in which he also substituted for, but seemingly did not impersonate, Paris at the Judgment (hence, of course, the title). It is probable that the title of Pherecrates' Ψεδοηρακλῆς is an indication that someone was disguised as Heracles in that play (Dionysus in Aristophanes' 'Frogs' might have been so described). It is far less likely that there was any impersonation of Heracles in the same poet's Ἀνθρωποηρακλῆς, for the feats of some human 'Heracles' could have been equated with those of the son of Zeus and Alcmena without any question of disguise as the demigod, or the title could mean "The

Humanized Heracles", that is, Heracles represented on an ordinary human level, as Prof. Dover suggests to me. Plays that dealt with the legend of the seduction of Alcmena by Zeus (Plato's *Νύξ* *Μακρά* and probably also Archippus' *Ἀμφιτρυῶν*) are very likely to have involved a disguise motif, Zeus taking on the guise of Amphitryo, as in Plautus' play of that name. There may even have been, as in Plautus, some humour from characters looking identical (Amphitryo and the disguised Zeus). This could easily be accomplished when masks were worn by the appearance of two characters in identical masks (and perhaps costumes), if both men had to be visible at once (otherwise one man could play two parts). W. Frantz,³⁴ followed by Norwood³⁵ and Edmonds, suggests that Plato Fr. 84 is to be interpreted as meaning that one of the 'two' Amphitryos will be seen wearing a lamp with two wicks on his head (i. e. Zeus) and that this is an aid to identification for the audience. In Plautus' play Zeus, or rather Juppiter, wears a golden tassel, while Amphitryo does not, and Mercury in the prologue explains that this will be the means of telling which is which (for the audience).³⁶ Mercury himself has feathers in his hat, which his counterpart has not. A two-wicked lamp, that of which Plato Fr. 84 speaks, seems a grotesque piece of headgear for a means of identification, but the declaration that someone will have this on top of his head is parallel enough to the Plautine passage to make it tempting to follow Frantz. In Aristomenes Fr. 5 there may be a disguise motif, or the "god's panoply and mask" may be a theatrical or similar costume. Disguised characters are not well attested outside Aristophanes.

A change of costume by a character without actual disguise is clearly attested in Aristophanes' 'Wasps', where Philocleon is

attired for his new life in fashionable society,³⁷ and probably Dicaeopolis' borrowing of the rags of Telephus to make his great speech in 'Acharnians' should be seen as a similar device.³⁸ A few fragments of Aristophanes' rivals point to changes of costume (conceivably with the purpose of assuming a disguise, but this is not evident) and should probably be seen as comparable to the change of clothing by Philocleon. The passages are Eup. 311K(117 in Edmonds),³⁹ where a character asks quickly to be attired by another in the Cretan robe (associated with the Archon Basileus, but not exclusively so: cf. Ar. Thesm. 730), Plato 205, which requests the loan of a cloak, and Theop. 10, which declares that the speaker will put on the person addressed a thick Laconian cloak. Cf. also Theop. 52 and Nicochares 5⁴⁰ for possible costume changes.

The Phallus

In Nu. 538f Aristophanes asserts that his First 'Clouds' did not rely on exaggerated leathern phalli for easy laughs from boys in the audience and speaks of the form of the phallus which was not to be seen in his play as

... ΣΚΥΤΙΝΟΝ ΚΑΘΕΙΜΕΝΟΝ
 ἔρυθρον ἐξ ἄκρου παχύ ...

Precisely how the last four words are to be grouped is obscure, as Prof. Dover indicates in his note to this passage in his edition of 'Clouds', but even if the words ἔρυθρον ἐξ ἄκρου belong together ("red at the end"), it is not necessary to suppose that Aristophanes is describing a representation of a circumcised penis, as vase-paintings show,⁴¹ although he may be doing so. At any rate, he implies that less refined comedies than his First 'Clouds' included visual humour from exaggerated phalli. In view of Aristophanes' sneer at such phallic humour here (however affected it may

be) it is interesting that, although the wearing of the Comic phallus is well attested in Aristophanes' own works,⁴² it is very ill attested in the plays of his rivals, as far as our internal evidence goes. In Phrynichus Fr. 58 Hermes is warned not to fall and break off his phallus (... φυλάσσοι μὴ πρῶτον

σάυτον περικρούσης ...)

and so give scope for sycophants to work further mischief (with allusion to the mutilation of the Hemae and its aftermath). It is probably to be inferred that Hermes was equipped with a visible phallus in the scene, but not necessarily so. Also of importance is Strattis Fr. 54, Σαννυρίωνος σκουτήνην ἐπικουρίαν, which Bergk⁴³ took to refer to the use of the phallus for cheap laughs in comedies of Sannyrion, further supposing that Sannyrion was in Aristophanes' mind when he wrote the passage of 'Clouds' which we have just considered. Zielinski⁴⁴ followed Bergk in adopting this view, but Meineke⁴⁵ and Kock found Dalecamp's interpretation⁴⁶ safer, namely that the reference is to a leathern corslet worn by the thin Sannyrion as a bodily support, presuming that Ar. Lys. 110, with its reference to the leathern olisbus, was an altogether different joke. It is true that Athenaeus cites the fragment when speaking of Sannyrion's thinness (and the thinness of other men), and Athenaeus must have thought that the words were pertinent. This means that either there was some word-play in context, or else Athenaeus misunderstood the words, if Bergk's theory is correct.⁴⁷ Baker, in his article 'De Comiciis Graecis Litterarum Iudiciis' p. 189, hesitates between these two views, and we must do likewise, for the context of Athenaeus forbids us to embrace wholeheartedly Bergk's very tempting interpretation. Schmid-Stählin⁴⁸ and Edmonds adopt a third view, that there is an allusion to the olisbus, as in Ar. Lys. 1. c., suggesting that Sannyrion excited himself with such an instrument⁴⁹

(or needed one in heterosexual relations because his virility was inadequate?), as well as having a prima facie reference to a body-support. The fragment cannot be taken as clear evidence for the exploitation of visual phallic humour by Sennyrion. In fact, the wealth of obscene humour outside Aristophanes in Old Comedy has left us no clear indication that the phallus was worn, but one can feel confident that this is mere coincidence, both on the strength of the hint that Aristophanes gives in Nu. 538f and because there is so much common ground in the types of sexual humour employed by Aristophanes and his rivals. It is quite unthinkable that characters in plays of Aristophanes' rivals never appeared in phallic costume.

(b) Stage-Properties

Stage-properties may be either relatively trivial -- a stick, a sword or a cup, for instance -- or very ambitious -- a boat or a giant, flying dung beetle, for example -- and clearly the more complex and difficult stage-properties are generally the more important as far as their visual potential is concerned. Little effort would be required to provide an actor with a sword or a stick, but some ingenuity would be needed to design and build a complex stage-property of the latter type. I propose, therefore, to deal in greater detail with the more elaborate stage-properties.

Animals (live and simulated)

In many cases it is not clear whether Old Comedy used a real or a 'stage' animal for a particular scene, and much may have depended on stage tradition. I suspect that a real animal would be used if this was practicable, unless the appearance of the animal was required to be itself humorous, as this would be much simpler for a brief passage. To take two Aristophanic examples, in 'Frogs' the

donkey on which Xanthias is riding when he enters at the beginning of the play has to do nothing more ambitious than carry him, and it would be easy to employ a real donkey for this scene. The absence of jokes about the appearance of the donkey helps one to conclude that there was nothing funny about the form of the animal. This would point away from a simulated donkey, but there is no conclusive indication. The donkey in 'Wasps', however, has to carry Philocleon under his body (hanging on like Odysseus)⁵⁰, and there may have been some risk that the animal would panic and behave erratically in a crowded theatre with such an unusually situated load. Careful training may have reduced the risk, but a wooden donkey on wheels (or an artificial donkey of some other sort) would have removed the danger entirely. At Vesp. 180 the donkey is asked, τί στένεις; , but its braying could either be done from off-stage or even imagined. A similar problem of staging would arise in Cratinus' Ὀδυσσεύς, where no doubt Odysseus' escape from Polyphemus' cave was portrayed. A stage ram would be essential there, as no ordinary ram could sustain the weight of a man hanging beneath it.⁵¹ By contrast, the carrier-pigeon in Pherecr. Fr. 33 could well have been real, as it would fly away upon release as desired.⁵² The most ambitious stage-animal in Old Comedy of which we know was the dung-beetle in Aristophanes' 'Peace', and the nearest that Aristophanes' rivals get to this (on our present evidence) is the sea-monster in a play of Phrynichus implied by Aristophanes' words in Nu. 554f, where he accuses Eupolis of introducing into his Μαρικῆς the old woman,

ἦν

Φρύνιχος πάλαι πεποίηχ', ἦν τὸ κῆτος ἦσθιεν.

This sounds like some travesty of the Andromeda legend, and the sea-monster may well have been visually represented. The Scholiast

comments, εἰσῆγε γραῦν φρύνιχος ὑπὸ κήτους ἐσθιομένην,
 κατὰ μίμησιν Ἀνδρομέδας . Whether there was a sea-monster in
 the Eupolis context also (in *Μαρκίας*) is less than certain, for
 the second relative clause (ἣν τὸ κήτος ἔσθιεν) seems to expand
 the first and primarily to describe the situation in Phrynichus'
 play, but it seems more likely than not that Aristophanes means
 that Eupolis took over from Phrynichus not only the old woman
 dancing the cordax, but also the exposure to the sea-monster.

Such is Bergk's interpretation⁵³ (p. 37f), who further conjectures
 that there was a parallel scene in Plato's *Κλειφῶν*, where he sup-
 poses that it was Cleophon's mother who was exposed for the fish
 to devour, just as Hyperbolus' mother (as Schol. Ar. Nu. 547 states
 her to be) was exposed to the sea-monster in Eupolis' *Μαρκίας* .
 The evidence is Plato Fr. 56, which Bergk, after Porson, so reads:

σὲ γὰρ τίς, ὦ γραῦ, συγκατώκισεν σαπρὰν
 ὀρφῶσι σελαχίοις τε καὶ φάγροις βορᾶν;

Both Meineke⁵⁴ and Kock⁵⁵ follow Bergk in seeing this fragment as
 evidence of an *Andromeda*-style exposure of Cleophon's mother in
 Plato's play, but Cobet⁵⁶ is unconvinced, as there is no mention of
 a sea-monster and he finds the verb *συγκατώκισεν* unsuited to the
 supposed sense. The significance of the prefix *συγ-* is certainly
 not apparent, and there is indeed no definite indication that any
 sea-monster was seen in the play, but it is probable that our
 fragment betrays some debt to the *Andromeda* theme in Plato's
 comedy.⁵⁷ In Cratinus' *Ξερίφιοι* there may well have been another
 burlesque of the *Andromeda* legend, for the play dealt with the
 story of Perseus, and Pollux tells us that Cratinus referred to
Andromeda as a *δελειόστρα* in the play (Fr. 216). That is far from
 proving that Cratinus did travesty the legend of *Andromeda* in

Σερίφιοι and even further from proving that there was visual humour from the appearance of the sea-monster, but it is interesting to note that there is the possibility of visually entertaining scenes burlesquing the Andromeda legend in a number of old comedies. Aristophanes, of course, parodies Euripides' 'Andromeda' in 'Thesmophoriazusa'⁵⁸, but there is no appearance of the sea-monster there. It is not difficult to suspect, with Fritzsche,⁵⁹ that the Andromeda theme was a favourite of Old Comedy.

Mythological burlesque would, of course, offer possibilities for the use of stage-animals wherever the legend involved metamorphosis into animal form or otherwise gave occasion for an animal to appear. There may well have been a stage-bull in Alcaeus' Πρωτόφῳη, for example. Cf. on metamorphosis above. Plays which involved sacrifices could also occasion the use of real or simulated animals as stage-properties. Cf. Cratinus Fr. 21 (from his Βούσειπς) and Hermippus Fr. 53, where it is possible that a similar technique to that of Ar. Pax 1020ff has just been employed. There Aristophanes avoids the actual slaughter of a sheep on stage, having the live animal taken off and what are supposed to be the creature's thigh-bones later brought on. Hermippus' fragment is

ὥρα μᾶττειν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ τὴν ὄρν περιθέσθαι
περὶ τὴν ὀσφύν.

Boats and Ships

The concept of a boat as a stage-property of Old Comedy is, of course, most familiar from Aristophanes' 'Frogs', where Dionysus rows across the Styx in Charon's boat, a stage craft evidently capable of movement and adequate to support the weight of two men. Yet there are four other indications of boats or ships in Old Comedy, in plays of Cratinus, Hermippus, Pherecrates, and (as I believe) Eupolis. In Cratinus' Ὀδυσσεύς Odysseus and at least a

semi-chorus⁶⁰ made up of his crew are evidently provided with something which represents a ship. Frs. 138 and 138A Edm (139K) and 139 Edm (140K) relate to navigation. As Odysseus and his crew apparently reach the Cyclops' cave in the course of the play, the implication of these fragments must be that the voyage there by ship figured in the action. Indeed it is very likely that the chorus entered on board their ship,⁶¹ as it would otherwise be difficult to have the ship brought on. Fr. 138 makes observations on the weather prevailing over the sea, while Fr. 138A Edm remarks on the steering of the ship, and Fr. 139 gives navigational directions by the Great Bear. The ship in this play must have been more substantial than Charon's boat in 'Frogs' in order to accommodate so many persons.

There seems also to have been a boat in Henuippus' Στρατιώται . In Fr. 54 someone (probably a military commander) declares to another, "It is time, then, to take your oar and cushion and come with me to leap on board ship and wield a furious oar." If a rowing scene did in fact follow, then some sort of craft must have been available as a stage-property. The reply of the man invited to take oar and row, although textually dubious, is interesting. He says something about having pustules on his hindquarters, and the remark is probably best understood, with Kock,⁶² as being an excuse to avoid having to row (in which case Blomfield's supplement προσκεφαλίου is not wanted), or else the next line may have continued the sense somewhat as follows:

ἀλλ' οὐδέομαι πανικτὸν ἔχων τὸν πρωκτον <προσκεφαλίου
ἐνὸς ἄλλὰ δουῖν.>

By analogy with Aristophanes' 'Frogs' and, as I shall argue, Eupolis' *Ταξίαρχοι*, it seems a distinct possibility that the reluctant rower is Dionysus, the delicacy of whose buttocks and whose ineptitude as a rower are a source of humour in Ra.197sq. (cf. esp. 236), while in *Ταξίαρχοι* he emerges as hopelessly ill-suited to the rigours of the military life. It is in fact possible that Dionysus rowed in *Ταξίαρχοι*, in the light of Fr.98 Austin (Pap.Oxy.2740), which seems to relate to *Ταξίαρχοι* and to reveal something of its content.⁶³ The papyrus consists of scholia on an Old Comedy, in which it seems from Fr.1,14-16 that Phormio was a character. Someone is quoted as saying, "Don't you know that my name is Ares?", and the Scholiast comments, "Phormio was nicknamed Ares."

[οὐ-

]κ οἶθ' Ἄρη μοι τοῦνο[-
 μ]α; Ἄρης ὁ φορμίων[ε-
]πεκαλεῖτο.

As Phormio is attested as a character only in Eupolis' *Ταξίαρχοι* (Fr.250 and Schol.Ar.Pax 347), it seems most plausible that 'Taxiarchs' is the play involved, especially as two lemmata in the scholia square well with our knowledge that Dionysus in 'Taxiarchs' learnt generalship and war from Phormio (cf. Schol. Pax l. c. ... Διόνυσος ἐν Ταξίαρχοις παρ' Εὐπόλιδι μανθάνων παρὰ τῷ φορμίωνι τοὺς τῶν στρατηγιῶν καὶ πολέμων νόμους ...). The first is at Fr.2 col.ii.6-8, where Lobel⁶⁴ restores the text as follows (the supplements are made certain by the scholiast's comment in the following lines): [οὐ

παύσει ραίνων ἡμᾶς οὐκ
 πρῶτα;

This seems to mean, "Stop splashing us, will you, you in the prow?"

and suggests that the situation in the play may be that someone in the front of a boat is rowing incompetently and splashing men behind him. In lines 10-11 of the same fragment Lobel makes the following very probable restoration:

ἔκτενεῖς οὖν τὸν κέλι-
σκον ἀντὶ τοῦ τὸ κέλος

This seems to confirm that rowing is involved, as someone is told to stretch his foot (sc. against the stretcher on which rowers rested their feet?—cf. Ar. Ra. 202f ἀλλ' ἀντιβὰς ἔλας προθύμως). It may well be, then, that the lines derive from *Ταξιάρχοι* and that they indicate that the military training that Dionysus received from Phormio included some rowing practice and that there was a boat or ship in 'Taxiarchs'. If so, there may be two partial precedents for the rowing scene in Aristophanes' 'Frogs', and it may be that the unskilled rower was a not uncommon source of visual humour. If, on the other hand, the Oxyrhynchus scholia do not comment on Eupolis' *Ταξιάρχοι*, there is some possibility that they comment on Hermippus' *Στρατιῶται*, in which case Phormio was a character in that play. In this connection the title of Aristomenes' *Διόνυσος Ἰσκητῆς* is also worthy of recollection.⁶⁵

There remains Pherecrates' *Μυρμηκῶν ἄνθρωποι*. This play dealt with the Flood and with Deucalion and Pyrrha's survival of it, and not only the legend itself but internal evidence also suggest that there must have been a boat or raft in the play.⁶⁶ Fr. 114 speaks of improvising a mast, while Fr. 117 sees the coming of a storm, no doubt the prelude to the Flood. Fr. 120 begs Deucalion never to offer the speaker fish to eat in the future, the words, it would seem, of a Pyrrha weary of having nothing but sea-food while she was on the raft.⁶⁷ The raft or boat of this play need not

have been large, as the occupants would only be two in number.

One final point in connection with the boat or ship as a stage-property is the possibility that Cratin. Fr. 136 Edm (145K) claims that the ship appeared for the first time in Comedy in *Ἰδυσσῆς*. The fragment runs simply as follows: *νεοχμὸν τι παρήχθη ἄθυρμα*. This probably means, "...that a new plaything (or delight) has been brought into the theatre (for *παράγω* in this sense cf. LSJ IIIb)". Meineke⁶⁸, Kock⁶⁹ and Kaibel⁷⁰ follow Bergk (p. 161) in taking *ἄθυρμα* to refer to the play itself; Norwood⁷¹ (hesitatingly) and Edmonds⁷² favour the view that *ἄθυρμα* refers to the ship. For the former view can be cited the evidence of Platonius, *de Diff. Com.* p. 4 Kaibel, that *Ἰδυσσῆς* was unusual in form, having, as Platonius implies, neither choral songs nor a parabasis⁷³; but it would seem to me easier to understand *ἄθυρμα* of something more concrete, such as the ship. There is not certain proof for either case, however, and the matter must remain in doubt.

Other Elaborate Stage-properties

We are told by Schol. Plato *Apol.* 19c that both Plato Comicus and Eupolis (Frs. 81 and 54 respectively) ridiculed Aristophanes *ὅτι καὶ τὸ τῆς Εἰρήνης κολοσσικὸν ἐξῆρεν ἄγαλμα*. The reference is to the hauling scene of *Pax* 458-520, where the figure of Peace is drawn out of the door in the centre of the stage-building. This scene and the flight of the dung-beetle lend much spectacle to 'Peace'. Evidently Eupolis and Plato found something to make fun of in this particular exploitation of visual effect by Aristophanes. This need not necessarily mean that they would scorn to use such a scene themselves, as Aristophanes himself shows, for he criticizes his rivals for doing several things that he does himself in some plays. For example, the fact that in the parabasis

of 'Peace' he derided exploitation of the motif of the ever-hungry Heracles⁷⁵ does not preclude the appearance of a ravenous Heracles in 'Birds',⁷⁶ and "men fighting against lice" (Pax 740) does not sound far different from Strepsiades' torment by bed-bugs (Nu. 708 ff). In fact there is not very much evidence for the use of elaborate stage-properties apart from those already considered above in the plays of Aristophanes' contemporaries and predecessors. Lysippus Fr. 1 seems to show two brothers waking up down a well (unless they wrongly interpret their own situation), and the well would presumably be visually represented. The egg in Cratinus' *Νέμεσις* (Fr. 110 Edm, 108 K) may have been of abnormal size for comic effect, just as it is possible to speculate that the scales in Ra. 1378 sq. were of ludicrously large proportions, while the same may be true of War's mortar and pestle in Pax 236 sq. and some of the astronomical and geometrical instruments in Nu. 201 ff (as perhaps Meton's instruments in Av. 999 sq). In Cratinus' *Σερίφιοι* some representation of the Gorgon's head would presumably be needed (it was said to be her head that petrified the island of Seriphos)⁷⁷. Really large-scale constructions especially made for particular plays are, however, not attested outside Aristophanes, except where we have already noticed them above (the boats in particular).

More Common Stage-properties

The commonest stage-properties are foodstuffs and accessories to eating and drinking, cups and household utensils and the like. These are widely attested throughout Old Comedy, and their occurrence is not exceptional. Where sacrifices figured in plays the impedimenta associated with the act would be needed (cf. esp. Cratinus Fr. 21, Hermippus Fr. 53 and see on ritual parody below). Items of mil-

itary equipment figure occasionally, in plays which involve soldiers as characters. A shield is attested as a stage-property in Eup. Fr. 257 (Ταξίρχοι), while an oar and a rower's cushion seem to be intimated by the text of Hemiipp. Fr. 54 (Στρατιῶται), and if there was indeed a rowing-scene in Eupolis' Ταξίρχοι such equipment must have been needed there too. It is quite to be expected that military contexts regularly involved the appearance of weapons and items of armour as stage-properties. Other miscellaneous articles required for various scenes in the plays of Aristophanes' rivals include brooms (e.g. Eup. 157), tablets (e.g. Eup. 149), walking-sticks (as Cratin. 126), musical instruments (e.g. Eup. 11, Plato 10), books (e.g. Plato 173), ropes (e.g. Plato 21) and chamber-pots (Eup. 45, 45A, 46: cf. Ar. Vesp. 807). There is generally no significant difference between one Comic poet and another in the use of these small stage-properties. An exception is perhaps found in Philyllius' use of torches. Strattis (Fr. 37) calls these the property of Philyllius, as though the latter poet made frequent use of them in his plays. The passage may well derive from the end of Strattis' play (Ποτάμιοι), just before the choral exodos, and instruct the chorus⁷⁸ to leave:

ὑμεῖς τε πάντες ἔξίτ' ἐπὶ τὸ Πύθειον,
 ὅσοι πάρεστε, μὴ λαβόντες λαμπάδας
 μηδ' ἄλλο μηδὲν ἐχόμενον Φιλυλλίου.

The implication is probably either that Philyllius was generally over-fond of ending a play with a torch-lit procession or else that on one particular occasion he had done so in an especially memorable scene. Torch-lit exodoi were certainly not confined to Philyllius' plays, as they figure in Aristophanes' 'Lysistrata' (cf. 1216sq.: the torches are probably retained for the exodos),

'Ecclesiazusae' (cf. ll. 50) and 'Plutus' (v. ll. 94), while torches are required as stage-properties in several other contexts of Aristophanes, and in Nu. 543 Aristophanes states that his earlier version of 'Clouds' scorned the use of torches (οὐδ' εἰσῆξε δῆδας ἔχουσ' ...), implying that they were already familiar stage-properties then, in at least some parts of comedies. In the rather mysterious passage of Aristophanes' 'Lysistrata'⁷⁹ where the Spartans and Athenians emerge from their feast (Lys. l. 216sq.) there is evidently some horse-play with torches. The Athenian who comes out at l. 216 apparently threatens either a group of slaves or parasites or such persons who have gathered outside the door or else makes as if to charge the audience with a torch (I think that ὑμεῖς τί κάθησθε and ὑμῖν χαρίσασθαι — "to gratify you" — rather favour this interpretation). The actor is made to hesitate to act this "vulgar passage" (so I interpret φορτικὸν τὸ χωρίον: for φορτικὸν cf. the contemptuous ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν φορτικῶν ἡττηθεῖς of Nu. 524f and κωμῳδίας... φορτικῆς of Vesp. 66, but agrees to such slapstick to please the audience (l. 219f). This may be a hint that κωμῳδία φορτικὴ of the time commonly exploited such scenes. In fact, in his partial revision of 'Clouds' Aristophanes seems to have made a concession to the taste of some elements of his audience for slapstick and to have introduced the scene where the φροντιστήριον is set ablaze by Strepsiades.⁸⁰ Schol. Nu. 543 reveals that this scene was not in the original,⁸¹ and Aristophanes had claimed earlier in the revised version that his original 'Clouds' did not "dash in with torches" (Nu. 543). A fragment doubtfully ascribed to either Lysippus (Fr. 10 Edm) or Archippus (Fr. 55) — the manuscripts give Χρυσίππος — is our only other indication of torches as a stage-property outside Aristophanes. There someone calls for lighted torches to be

brought from within.

(c) Action

The greatest part of visual humour derives from action on stage. This I propose to examine under certain specific headings and then more generally. The first group of passages that I wish to consider are those where violence on stage provides visual humour.

Violence

Choral Involvement

The concept of an angry chorus threatening or even attacking characters in the play is familiar from Aristophanes' extant plays. There are elements of this in all of Ach., Vesp., Eq., Av., and Lys. (the mut of the Scythian policemen at 456ff), while in the last-mentioned play the two semi-choruses threaten each other and at one stage (381) the old women give the old men a drenching. Such violence between different sections of the chorus has a slight parallel in Ach. 557ff, where the Achamians are divided into two groups by Dicaeopolis' speech and almost start fighting each other, but do not quite come to blows. It is possible that such situations developed on occasions in other plays with ἡμιχόρια⁸², but we lack the evidence for this. Outside Aristophanes there is little in our remains of Old Comedy to indicate choral involvement in violence. Cratinus Fr. 361, σφάττε, δειρε, κόπτε, is perhaps a cry of mutual encouragement in an attack, like the similar imperatives in Ach. 281ff, Eq. 251f, Av. 344ff and especially Av. 365 (ἐλάκε, τίλλε, πῦτε, δειρε, κόπτε ...). Whether any blows were actually exchanged in the context of Cratinus is not apparent, but the words certainly look, on the analogy of the Aristophanic

passages, like a battle-cry.⁸³ Whether there was any actual violence between humankind and the fish in Archippus' ἰχθύες is not clear. There was a treaty (Fr. 27 is part of it) between the fish and the Athenians, and Meineke's reconstruction of the plot,⁸⁴ which Kock and Edmonds follow, envisages conflicts between men and fish before the treaty is made. Meineke sees Fr. 16 as a report of a battle between fish and gluttons ("... e proelii inter pisces et lurcones descriptione ductus videtur hic locus..." he says), and the view seems to me very tenable, but, even if correct, the fragment is descriptive and is not an indication that any violence involving the chorus was actually seen. It is possible, of course, that some violence in the play was reported and some seen, but there is no clear evidence that the chorus of fishes and human characters fought in the theatre, although one would be a little surprised if Archippus lost any opportunity. There is no sign of choral violence in Crates' Θήριον, which was a fantasy of revolution among animalkind similar to Archippus' ἰχθύες, but one would not feel it out of place in the play.

There are no other indications of choral participation in violence in Old Comedy outside the works of Aristophanes. It is likely, however, that Odysseus' companions assisted him in the blinding of the Cyclops in Cratinus' Ὀδυσσεύς, if the event was, as seems probable, visually represented.

Violence to Slaves

At Pax 742ff Aristophanes accuses his rivals of exploiting violence towards slaves for humour, alleging that they brought on slaves bemoaning their bruises after a beating so that a fellow-slave could make jokes about their weals. The violence in this particular situation would obviously have taken place off-

stage, but even if the blows were supposedly delivered out of sight of the audience, there may have been some attempt visually to represent the effects of the beating on the slave (he could hobble on, clutching his back, or suchlike). At Nu. 541f Aristophanes does talk of visible violence in the plays of his rivals, but the reference is not necessarily to slaves (cf. the following section). We have now no clear evidence that any slave was beaten onstage in Old Comedy outside Aristophanes. In Plato Fr. 2,

περὶ τῶν δὲ πλευρῶν οὐδεμίαν ὥρην ἔχεις.

it is possible to see the complaint of a slave being flogged,²⁵ but it is more probable that the line is a threat to a slave who is inviting chastisement by his behaviour. In Eupolis' *Μαρικῆς* Fr. 190, ἀλλ' οὖν ἔγωγε σοὶ λέγω Μαρικῶντα μὴ κολάζειν, is no indication that Marikas actually received any punishment, and *Metag.* 19A and *Theop.* 63 are similarly no proof that a beating was administered in front of the audience. A play like Pherecrates' *Δουλοδιδάσκαλος* would offer obvious scope for humour from the beating of slaves, but there is no positive indication that the opportunity to incorporate a flogging scene was taken. The verb *ῥαβδίζειν* is attested from the play (Fr. 50), and Fr. 44 shows someone talking about his theft of food, which may be the words of a slave in danger of receiving a beating, but it is far too speculative to connect the two and to infer that there was a flogging scene. There is some exploitation of violence towards slaves in Aristophanes himself, of course, in the scene in 'Frogs' where Xanthias and also his master are beaten in order to establish which is god and which is slave (Ra. 616sq.) and in the use of physical persuasion to hurry Manes along in Av. 1326f. Plato Fr. 12 describes violence to a slave off-stage, as it seems, and Fr. 164

of the same poet is a colourful threat, declaring that someone's flesh will be made to resemble patchwork done on shoes.

Cratin. Fr. 275, τῆ μάλιστα κνάψειν εὖ μέλα
πρὶν συμπατῆσαι ,

probably refers to violence to slaves, but again does not indicate that any blows were delivered in view of the audience.⁸⁶ The same is true of Eup. Frs. 259 and 259A, the latter of which implies that there was visible evidence of ill-treatment done offstage, and is very reminiscent of Aristophanes' remarks in Pax 742ff. As our evidence stands, the visible flogging of slaves is attested only in Aristophanes in Old Comedy, but it is unlikely that other Comedians failed to exploit its potential for humour on occasions.

Other Forms of Violence

It is a feature of several Aristophanic plays that the protagonist chases off various unwanted visitors in the second half of the play. There is, however, no definite evidence for such rough treatment of intruders in the other Old Comedians' plays. Violence is indeed used upon certain unpopular individuals or types, but not in this particular connection. Thus Archippus Fr. B (ἰχθύεις) reveals that the gluttonous Melanthius was handed over bound to the Fishes, and there may have been visual humour extracted from this (cf. the binding of the Second Sycophant in 'Acharnians'⁸⁷ or the fastening of the Old Man to the plank in 'Thesmophoriazusee'). In Eup. I 22B & C Edm (Austin Frs. 92. 3 recto & verso (pp. 89 & 91)) a sycophant is forcibly bound and roughly taken away after trial before Aristides, as it seems.⁸⁹ There is here the same technique of portraying violence against unpopular 'types' as in the scenes

with sycophants in Aristophanes' Ach.¹⁰, Av.¹¹ and Plutus,¹² although the motif of the 'unwanted visitor' is absent. In Plato Fr. 23 we seem to have a parallel for other scenes of violence in Aristophanes, those in which the πρόβουλος is roughly handled by the women in Lys. and the ἐπίσκοπος assaulted in Av. (Lys. 601ff and Av. 1030ff). The fragment, from 'Ἐλλὰς ἢ Νῆσοι instructs someone to take the chain of a πρόξενος and bind him with it. This seems to intimate violence against an official or representative of authority, as with the πρόβουλος and ἐπίσκοπος in the Aristophanic contexts. Violence against so prominent a public figure as Cleon, who is involved in a brawl with the Sausage-seller in Aristophanes' 'Knights' when the chorus enter (cf. Eg. 246ff) is not definitely attested outside Aristophanes. Plays with Hyperbolus or other demagogues as characters may have involved scenes of rough treatment of these men, but this is not now determinable. Eup. 190, as we have seen, directs someone not to punish Maricas (Hyperbolus), but this is not necessarily evidence that he was physically attacked or beaten in the play. Three lesser individuals are brought to trial in Cratin. Fr. 233 (Χείρωνες)¹³, and there may have been some degree of manhandling in context there. The detection of the god Dionysus disguised as a sheep in Cratinus' Διονυσὸς λέξιανδρος (cf. Hyp. Dionysalex.) may have occasioned some physical restraint of the god, who was later sent off to be handed over to the Greeks, and the travesties of the Andromeda legend noticed above could have involved the use of violence on the mothers of Hyperbolus and Cleophon. What occasioned the complaints of ill-treatment in Eup. Frs. 74 and 210 is not apparent: violence is a good possibility, but not the only one. Other scenes of violence in the non-Aristophanic fragments

are the following: the biting of someone's ear (in a fight?)⁹⁴ in Hemippus 52 (Στρατιῶται) — unless the passage speaks metaphorically of the effect of bad music or singing, or the subject of δάκνει is an insect, bird, rat or some such creature —, the demand in Nicophon 2 that someone release a message-stick (σκυτάλιον), as though two persons were wrestling over it, and the possibility that Apollophanes 3 shows that the speaker had representations of bruises (or the audience may be meant to imagine them, or they may be hypothetical — and there are other possibilities). In Pherecrates 144B Edm (157K) there seem to have been visible signs that Μουσική had been ravished: cf. Plutarch's ὄλην κατήκισμένην τὸ σῶμα (Mus. 30). Perhaps her clothing was torn and she was dishevelled and staggering. In plays involving soldier-characters or military training there may have been scenes of violence also, and a play like Alcaeus' Πλαίστρα could perhaps have involved wrestling, if the title means 'The Wrestling School' and is not a woman's name. Some burlesque of mythology would allow the incorporation of violence into the plot also. Finally, Aristophanes himself talks in Nu. 541 ff of how his first 'Clouds' avoided such scenes as those in which an old man dealt a bystander a blow with his stick as he spoke, to cover up inferior verbal humour. The scholiasts variously identify the target of criticism as Eupolis in his Προσπέλατιοί, Hemippus, or the actor whose name is given as either Hemmon, Semmon or Simeimon (probably it should be Hemmon, as there was a Comic actor of that name, as we know from Pollux iv.88 and iv.144). Hemippus' name may well be a corruption of Hemmon, but the specific reference to Eupolis' Προσπέλατιοί looks as though it ought to have some foundation in fact.⁹⁵

Spectacular Dances by Characters

The locus classicus for a character in Old Comedy providing spectacle by dancing is the final scene of Aristophanes' 'Wasps', where Philocleon clearly produces much visual humour by the bizarre exhibition of dancing that he gives in competition with the sons of Carcinus.¹⁶ The Spartan and Athenian envoys dance at the close of Lys.¹⁷ and Blepynus seems to join in the choral dancing at the end of Eccl. (1165ff), while silent characters dance in Ra. 1306ff and Thesm. 1172ff. Yet Aristophanes shows contempt for Eupolis' inclusion of an old woman (probably Hyperbolus' mother) dancing the cordax in Μορικῶς (Nu. 555), an idea borrowed from Phrynichus, according to Aristophanes (Nu. 556). Aristophanes is, of course, charging Eupolis with plagiarism in context, and his indignation may colour his remarks about the cordax, which was at least one element of Μορικῶς which owed nothing to his own 'Knights': it came from Phrynichus! It is evident from Pap. Oxy. 2738 (Austin Fr. 237) that the rustic in Eupolis' Αἴγεις danced the σχῆμα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς and received instruction from his sophist-teacher on how to perform the dance. The dance seems to be the same as that referred to in Nu. 988sq., namely the πυρρίχη, performed at the Panathenaea, as Lobel observes ad loc. in Pap. Oxy. The dance was performed with a shield: cf. Borthwick, Hermes 96 (1968-9) pp. 63ff for the movements involved, and the passages cited in Prof. Dover's note ad loc. in his edition of 'Clouds'. The words of the Oxyrhynchus commentator (loc. cit. Col. ii. 11. 1ff) are restored by Lobel¹⁰⁰ as follows:

πυρρίχιζων, ἐν δὲ Αἴγειν Εὐ-
 πόλ[δος] τὸ μαλακὴν κε-
 λ]εύειν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ποεῖν. κλη-
 ρ]ως ποιῶντο[ς] τοῦ ἀγροί-
 κου τὸ σχῆμα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς

ὁ δὲ δεικτικὸς ἐκέλευεν μῆ-
λακῶς αὐτὸ ποιεῖν.

It is evident that the rustic performed the dance unsatisfactorily (σκληρῶς, stiffly, harshly) and was told to do it μαλακῶς, "mildly, softly, with suavity". In Eupolis' βᾶπτει we know from Schol. Juv. 2.91 that the poet "...inducit viros Athenienses ad imitationem feminarum saltantes lassare psaltriam." Whether the reference there is to the chorus or to individuals among the actors is not clear. Aristophanes' sneer at Eupolis' cordax in Μερικῶς rather implies that it was typical of the man to incorporate such a piece of vulgar entertainment in his plays, and at Nu. 540 Aristophanes stresses that his Nu. α' did not "drag in a cordax" (οὐδὲ κόρδοχ' εἴλκυσεν), which seems to carry the implication that too many plays did. The cordax could, of course, be a choral dance also: Theophrastus in his 'Characters' vi. 3 counts it a mark of ἀπένουια to dance the cordax sober and without being a member of a comic chorus. Thus not all the cordax dances in Old Comedy need have been solo, but Aristophanes' sneer reveals that Eupolis and Phrynichus at least so employed the dance on one occasion each. The dance was vulgar (φορτικός) according to Athenaeus (Xiv. 631d), and the fact that an old and probably grotesque woman was performing the dance in the passages of Eupolis and Phrynichus must have added greatly to the visual entertainment. ¹⁰¹ Though Aristophanes may affect in Nu. β' to despise the cordax, it is evident from the final scene in Vesp. that he was aware of the visual potential of grotesque and drunken dancing by an elderly character, even if the dances that Philocleon performs do not include the cordax. ¹⁰²

There are other references to dances in the fragments of Aristophanes' rivals, but none of them can be clearly related to solo dancing. For instance, Cratinus Fr. 219,

ξίφιζε καὶ πόδιζε καὶ διαρρικνουῖ ,

refers to three dances, but there is no context to determine whether the dances are choral or solo (or whether they are actually seen in the play at all: the line could conceivably be from a context advising someone what to do offstage or be a report of someone's words). Metagenes in Fr. 7, from his *Θουριόπερσαι* (never performed: Athenaeus 6. 270a) probably speaks of wild and foreign-style choral dancing, in view of the plural οὔτοι :

τίς τρόπος ἵππων; ὡς δ' ἔρχονται τὸν βαρβαρικὸν τρόπον οὔτοι.

Other references to comic dances in the Fragments are more trivial: cf. σκοπός (Eur. 446), κορδακισμός (Nicophon 25), ἀπόκινος (Cratin. 120, Cephisodorus 2, Ar. Fr. 275), καλαθίσκος (Apollophanes 1), δίνος (Apollophan. 1), κρίνον (Apollophanes 2). These references, often no more than the name of the dance, do not reveal whether there was any actual dancing in context: cf., for instance, the metaphorical use of ἀπόκινος in Eq. 20: ἄλλ' εὐρέτιν' ἀπόκινον ἀπὸ τοῦ δεσπότου.

If, then, we may believe the somewhat coloured remarks of Aristophanes himself in Nu., there may have been a greater willingness in certain of his rivals (notably Eupolis) to exploit the visual potential of vulgar dances by characters in their plays,¹⁰³ but when Aristophanes wrote the parabasis of Nu. he had already presented the spectacle of the drunken dancing of Philocleon at the Lenaea of 422 B.C.

Use of the μηχανή and ἐκκύκλημα

Pap. Oxy. 2742 (Austin Fr. 74) is our principal evidence for the use of the theatrical crane outside Aristophanes in Old Comedy. The frag-

ment is part of a commentary on an Old Comedy, which appears from its mention of Perseus and its concern with air-borne characters to be commenting on the *Σερίφιοι* of Cratinus,¹⁰⁴ where Fr. 207.1 Edm had already given us a hint of a flying Perseus (quite apart from the legend). The commentary quotes also lines from two plays of Strattis (*Ἄτράλαντος* ---sic--- and *Φοίνισσαι*) in which a character makes explicit reference to his airborne state. From the former play these lines are quoted:

ἀπὸ τῆς κρέδης ἤδη γὰρ ἰσχᾶς γίν[ομαι].
ὁ μηχανοποιός μ' ὡς τάχιστα καθελέτω.

From the latter play the citations include this line:

ἦκω κρεμάμενος ὥσπερ ἰσχᾶς ἐπὶ κρέδης.

A preceding borrowing from the opening words of Euripides' *Hypsipyle* (*Διόνυσος* ὅς θύρκοισιν)¹⁰⁵ and the apparent Euripidean parody in *ἦκω*... (reminiscent of some of his prologues) suggest that the airborne character is Dionysus, appearing as prologue.¹⁰⁶ The commentary also gives a citation from Aristophanes' *Γηρυτιάδης*, viz.

περιάγειν ἐχρῆν
τὸν μηχανοποιὸν ὡς τάχιστα τὴν κρέδην,

which is a new fragment. We already knew, of course, that the *μηχανή* was used in Aristophanes' *Δαίδαλος* (cf. Fr. 188) outside the extant plays of that poet (where the flight of Trygaeus on the dung-beetle is the most celebrated use of the *μηχανή* in Old Comedy).

As for the *ἐκκικλήμα*, the only passage outside Aristophanes in Old Comedy where its use has been suggested is in Eupolis' *Δῆμοι*, where Edmonds sees it as used in his Fr. L28B (Austin Fr. 92.2 verso, page 88). The idea is perilously founded, as it depends on quite a lot of Edmondsian insight and hopeful supplementation. The only basis it really has is that the great Athenians who have returned from the dead are evidently sitting at a feast (*καθ' ἡμέρους* in line 65 Austin),

which Edmonds fancies takes place within the stage-building. It is, however, perfectly possible that the great men are seated at a feast in full view of the audience, in front of the stage-building, and that there is no employment of the ἐκκύκλημα at all. I should not, therefore, consider Edmonds justified in postulating use of that stage device here.

In Plato Fr. 21 (Ἑλλὰς ἢ Νῆσοι) someone asks whether he or she should lower a rope to another. This suggests climbing in context, perhaps of the stage-building, unless the speaker is a male and means by the 'rope' what Philocleon means in Vesp. 1342ff (his phallus). The ascent involved may only be of the raised platform that probably stood in front of the stage-building (cf. the context of Vesp. 1. c.).¹⁰⁷ No theatrical device appears to be involved here.

Games

The game of cottabus¹⁰⁸ was evidently played on stage in Plato's Ζεὺς Κεκοῦμενος and in Amipsias' Ἀποκοτταβίζοντες and perhaps also in Pherecrates' Ἴπνός ἢ Ποννηχίς . In the first-named play (Frs. 46 and 47) Heracles is invited by a host to play cottabus with a girl to whom he has taken a fancy till the dinner be prepared, but, although greatly enthusiastic, Heracles points out that there is no proper equipment for cottabus. The host calls for a mortar, water and cups to improvise suitable apparatus, and the stakes are arranged as the girl's boots against Heracles' cup. Fr. 47 shows the game in progress and Heracles receiving instructions on how to achieve the best throw (or, as one suspects, the least effective throw, as he is apparently being cheated out of his possessions).¹⁰⁹ Probably Heracles absurdly exaggerates his compliance with the instructions and adopts a ridiculous posture resulting in a farcical throw. Amipsias Fr. 2 calls for preparations to play cottabus, and the title itself (Ἀποκοτταβίζοντες)

suggests that the game must have figured prominently in the play. The equipment for cottabus is needed in Plato Fr. 69 (Λάκωνες ἢ Ποιηταί), but the game is evidently played off-stage. In Pherecrates Fr. 66 (Ἰππὸς ἢ Παννυχίς) there is mention of cottabus materials, but it is not clear whether the game was played on stage or not. In Hemippus 47, of course, the game is not played, but merely described.

Another fragment of Amipsias (20), from *Ξφενδόνη*, may intimate that dice was played in that comedy. The stakes mentioned by Pollux (9.96) as being involved in the context are extremely high,¹⁰ and a scene of cheating or of reckless squandering of wealth (cf. Callias in Eupolis' *Κόλακεις*) seems likely. There is no evidence of games being played in any of Aristophanes' plays. There seems no closer parallel than the weighing of the poets' lines in 'Frogs'.¹¹ The title of Crates' *Παιδιαί* is very suggestive, but there are no positive indications that games were actually played in the drama, although Pollux (9.114) does disclose that Crates spoke about the great majority of games in the play.¹² Bergk¹³ speculates that the chorus of the play represented various kinds of games (another individualized chorus if so, but the guess is a long shot). He supposes that each chorus-member carried the equipment of the game he portrayed for purposes of recognition. Bergk's theory is born of a desire to make all plural titles denote the chorus, but in this instance one may perhaps feel entitled to suspend judgment. His argument that the title of Pherecrates' *Λήρροι* denotes the chorus is still less convincing,¹⁴ but has generally won credence, and was thought by Meineke¹⁵ to have support in Fr. 100 for the interpretation which it put upon 'Λήρροι' ("Gold ornaments"). Edmonds' translation "Stuff and Nonsense" (from *λήρος* (A) in LSJ) is a plausible alternative.

Miscellaneous

One of the most visually entertaining episodes in Aristophanes was probably the shaving and singeing scene in Thesm., where Euripides' old relative is prepared for his task of impersonating a woman. Some of this seems to have been inspired from Cratinus (64A Edm), although precisely how much is not clear. Schol. Ar. Thesm. comments on ἀποξυρεῖν τὰ δὲ as follows: τὰ γένεια . ταῦτα δὲ ἔλαβεν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων Κρατίνου . Clement of Alexandria also alleges (6. 57LP) that Aristophanes has borrowed lines, giving what seems to be an alternative title of Cratinus' play, Ἐμπιπρόμενοι¹¹⁹. In view of the apparent inclusion of a singeing scene in Cratinus' play, it is likely that the title Ἐμπιπρόμενοι refers to depilation ("Men being set on fire"), as Bergk understood it.

Another visually memorable scene in Aristophanes is the trial scene in 'Wasps', where a court is improvised for Philocleon, with various readily-available items substituted for the objects in a real court. No such visually elaborate parody of a court is attested outside Aristophanes in Old Comedy, but Phrynichus Fr. 32 intimates that there were at least voting-urns and a voting-pebble in a trial scene in Phrynichus' Μοῦσαι (cf. Vesp. 987ff) and that someone was invited to cast his vote. Whether there were further visual elaborations in the scene in Phrynichus' play we cannot tell. Fr. 194 of Cratinus also points to the presence on stage of voting-urns, and, as Fr. 185 recalls law-court language, there was probably a trial scene in Πυτίνη, but again with what visual elaboration we do not know. Cratin. Frs. 133(?) and 233 may be further hints of law-court scenes (in Νόμοι and Χεῖρνες).

Some scenes in Aristophanes seem to go further in their action than any comparable passage of his rivals which survives. The burning of the φροντιστήριον in Νυ. β' would admittedly never be seen, as Νυ. β' was never performed, but it would have represented a particularly

adventurous stage-action if the play ever had been put on. In Eccl. the laying-out of the household items in procession (730sq.) must have depended much on its visual effect. There seems to be no comparable scene now detectable in the non-Aristophanic Old Comedy fragments, unless the mysterious Nicophon Fr. 6 Edm (16K) be relevant (someone is asked to move away from the διφροφόρος). The scene in Eccl. where Blegynus defecates (or rather simulates defecation)¹²⁰ on stage is a visual crudity not now paralleled, as far as internal evidence goes, in the works of Aristophanes' rivals (in Ra. 479 ff Dionysus has an involuntary defecation with fright). There are, however, two external indications that such scenes were used in the plays of other Old Comedians. The Schol. Nu. 295 has this comment: τρυγοδαίμονες·οἱ ἄλλοι καμικοί·οὗτοι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασιν αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπους εἰσῆγον χέζοντας τε καὶ ἕτερα αἰσχροῦ ποιοῦντας. λέγει δὲ δι' Εὐπολιν καὶ Κρατῖνον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους. His words are, however, suspiciously likely to be an inference from the text of Nu., coupled with the two most celebrated names of Old Comedy apart from Aristophanes' own, exempli gratia. This scholium may, therefore, not represent independent evidence, and there remains only the hint in the text of Nu. 296 itself (... οἱ τρυγοδαίμονες οὗτοι ...) that Old Comedians other than Aristophanes had visually explicit scenes of simulated defecation, and even there it is not out of the question that Aristophanes, though generalizing, is thinking of himself rather than his rivals. One would, however, expect that Aristophanes was not alone in exploiting such scenes. In Vesp. 936ff and Thesm. 612f there are scenes where a character is clearly supposed to simulate urination on stage (and cf. Pax 1265f). The nearest parallel in the other Old Comedians is the scene in Eupolis' Αὐτόλυκος where chamber-pots were emptied (Frs. 45, 45A, 46 Edm). The frustrated attempts of Cinesias in Lys. to have intercourse with Myrrhine¹²¹ also

go further in action on stage than any extant passage of Aristophanes' rivals. Cratin. 302 speaks of fondling a girl's breast, but the imperfect tense indicates that the action was not seen, but reported. There may well have been a visual representation of sexual caresses in a number of Aristophanes' rivals' plays (one would consider so sexual a play as Eupolis' *Ἀυτολύκος* as one of the more likely candidates)¹²², but no fragment firmly suggests this.

The motif of the slave laden with baggage familiar from the opening scene of Aristophanes' 'Frogs' is said by Aristophanes to have been common in plays of Phrynichus, Lycis¹²³ and Amipsias (Ra. 1.3ff). Our fragments do not provide evidence to support this assertion, but Aristophanes is here a good witness to a simple point of fact (the remarks would lack any point if untrue). There may be an indication that Dionysus in Eupolis' *Τοξίτηροι* arrived for his training under Phomio either himself laden with baggage or with a slave (or pack-animal) so laden. Eup. Fr. 256 seems to be addressed to Dionysus, remarking on his bringing a bath and cauldron with him, like an Ionian soldier's wife near to childbirth. The coined word in Fr. 256A Edm (264K) is probably to be interpreted as referring to Dionysus in this connection. The word is *σκευσοφοριώτης*, taken by Meineke¹²⁴ to be a combination of *σκευοφόρος* and *εἰραφιώτης*, an epithet of Dionysus. The view is very plausible, although it is also possible that the word is an amalgam of *σκευοφόρος* and *στρατιώτης*, in view of the martial context. In Plato's *Zeus Kakoumenos* (Fr. 50) the bow of Heracles is described as *κεράτινον . . . σκευοφόριον κρηπίλον*. Cf. also Ar. Fr. 559.

Eating and drinking are commonly represented on stage, and likewise the preparation of food and drink. Such actions are attested in many plays of Aristophanes' rivals and of Aristophanes himself.

In addition to the above there are, of course, many instances of

minor stage-actions which assist the humour of a scene, and no doubt many gesticulations and movements on stage were made which are not revealed by the words of the text.

Ridicule and Criticism

Attacks on Living Individuals

I shall consider here all attacks on living individuals except those which relate to the artistic standards of tragedians, lyric poets and other figures from the literary world or to the theories of philosophers. These are dealt with separately: cf. the sections 'Literary Criticism' and 'Criticism of Philosophy and Scientific Theories' below.

(a) Jokes about Physical Characteristics

An obvious means of poking fun at an individual is to belittle him on physical grounds. A great political figure may be ugly, or a successful poet bald or fat or in some other way open to ridicule because of his physical looks. The classic case is that of Olympian Pericles himself, who, for all his pre-eminence in the political scene at Athens, still had one obvious and inescapable defect which laid him open to derision, his oddly-shaped head. This defect was mercilessly exploited by the Comedians of his day, who exercised great ingenuity in discovering new jokes on this hackneyed theme. Cratinus' fragments contain three examples of jokes with this motif. All three also exploit the common equation of Pericles with Zeus, a recognition of his domination of Athenian political life. In Fr. 71 Pericles is called ὁ σχινοκέφαλος Ζεὺς ("the squill-headed Zeus"), a sneering insult juxtaposing contemptuous mention of Pericles' physical imperfection and the nickname that epitomized his standing in the city, so far above that of his humble fellows. Pericles is also said to be wearing the Odeum on his head now that the potsherd has passed him by, an allusion to his habit of wearing a helmet to conceal his deformity of skull. The Odeum had a conical dome,² and the crown of Pericles' head

was likewise elongated.³In Fr. 240 Pericles-Zeus is not *νεφεληγερέτων* but *κεφαληγερέτων*, the pun depending for its effect on its assonance with the Homeric epithet. In Fr. 113 Edm (111K) Cratinus seems to apply two cult-titles of Zeus to Pericles for the sake of personal allusions. The second of these is restored with probability to *Καραιέ* by Meineke⁴ and puns on *κάρω*. Teleclides also directed his ingenuity towards devising such jokes. In Fr. 44a Edm he speaks of Pericles sitting in the city with a heavy head or headache — *καρηβαρῶντα*. There is possibly the same allusion in Fr. 47 — *καρηβαρικὸν τὸ πάθος*. In Fr. 44b Edm Teleclides describes Pericles' head as *ένδεκακλίνος* ("eleven-couch-size"), a term used to convey the capacity of a dining-room in normal circumstances. It is quite possible that Hermippus in his *Ἀθηνῶν Γοναί* represented Pericles-Zeus as having a pregnant head. Fr. 79 may, in fact, derive from this play: someone's head is declared to be as big as a pumpkin. In spite of this seemingly thorough exploitation of the theme in Pericles' lifetime, Eupolis in his *Ἀῆμοι* still manages to produce another pun on the subject. Pericles (brought back from the dead in that play) is described as *κεφάλαιον τῶν κάτωθεν*⁶, a revival of a very trite but evidently popular joke of the previous generation.

Three fragments make similar jokes against Philonides, who was, as Schol. Ar. Plutus 179 tells us, a big man (*μέγας τῷ σώματι*), but stupid (*ἡλίθιος*). Plato in Fr. 64 declares that Philonides' mother gave birth to a donkey, but suffered no harm, and Theopompus in Frs. 4 and 5 uses the same imagery, adding, it seems, that Philonides' sire was a jack-ass. Philyllius in Fr. 23 asks whether Philonides' mother was a camel,⁷ again a hit at the man's bodily form. The joke was evidently standard. In the Plato passage the joke against the massive and asinine Philonides is balanced with a hit at the thin and half-witted

Leagnus, whose physical form and mental inadequacy were so unworthy of his lineage. In the same way Philonides' mother was shocked to give birth to an ass.⁵ Nor are such hits directed only at political figures. Eupolis in Fr. 78, for example, pokes fun at the bald Aristophanes,⁶ while Sannyrion (himself a thin man: cf. Ar. Fr. 149, Strattis Fr. 20) scoffs at the desperately thin Tragedian Meletus as "the corpse from the Lenaeum".¹⁰

The device of ridiculing a public figure on physical grounds is naturally most common in the Comedians with the stronger political interests. Cratinus, Eupolis, Teleclides and Plato show the greatest evidence of its use, while the Comic poets relatively disinterested in lampooning individuals, Crates and Pherecrates, show little evidence of having used the technique (cf., however, Pherecr. 135). Aristophanes himself is as fond as most of the device. He makes fun, for example, of Cleonymus' gross figure (Ach. 88, Vesp. 592 and 822), of Alcibiades' lisp (Vesp. 44f), of the eye-trouble of Archdemus (Ra. 588) and of Neoclides (Ecc. 398 ff and 254, Plutus 665sq.), of the dwarfish and malformed sons of Carcinus (Vesp. 1509 ff, Pax 781 ff), of the huge beard of Phormisius (Ra. 965-6; cf. Ecc. 97), of the smooth-checked Clisthenes (e.g. Ach. 118, Eq. 1374), of the effeminate voice and looks of Agathon (Theam. 49 sqq. passim). Like the others Aristophanes sometimes exploits the technique of epitomizing a person's physical characteristics by comparison to an animal. Very like the passages of Philyllius (23) and Theopompus (5) cited above is Av. 877, which describes the swallow as μήτηρ Κλεοκρίτου. Opuntius in Av. 1294 is likened to a one-eyed crow, Eucrates in Fr. 143 is described as a boar (he was evidently a hairy man),¹¹ Midias in Av. 1298 f is likened to a quail struck on the head by a quail-filliper,¹² and Cleon is derided for his stench, as having

φώκης δ' ὀσμὴν, Λαμίνας ὄρχεις ἀπλύτους, πρωκτὸν δὲ καμήλου

(Vesp. 1033, Pax 759).¹³

The passages outside Aristophanes relevant to this section in full are

Cratinus: Frs. 71, 113, 217A, 240, 295(? Eucrates: cf. Ar. Fr. 143), and perhaps 283 and 430, if living individuals are denoted. Cf. 10?

Callias: 11 Teleclides: 14, 18, 44a, 44b, 46 and perhaps 43(? Aristophanes; ? Pericles). Pherecrates: 135 Hemippus: 9, 35, 42, 79(?)

Eupolis: 9, 19, 78, 112, 127, 182, 207, 213, 239, 260

Plato: 64, 97, 122, 124 (if an individual is meant), 184, cf. 185c.

Strattis: 16, 18, 20, 54 Theopompus: 4, 5, 24, 39 Phrynichus: 10

Archippus: 45 Philyllius: 23 Sannyrion: 2

(b) Allegations about Social or National Extraction

Two basic groups are discernible here: (i) allegations that a man (or woman) came from a low social stratum or that he or his family were connected with some lowly occupation; (ii) allegations that a man was not of true Attic descent and therefore a bogus citizen.

(i) It was not uncommon in Old Comedy to associate a politician in particular with some lowly occupation. Cleon, the target par excellence of Aristophanes' gibes, is subjected by that Comedian to a great many jokes inspired by his associations with tanning (cf., for example, Eq. 44, 59, 104, 128 ff, 314, 315 ff, 369 etc.). In fact, about two thirds of Aristophanes' "occupational" gibes aimed at politicians concern Cleon, the bulk of them in Eq. Outside Aristophanes specific examples of attacks of any sort on Cleon are few, and there are no definite references to Cleon's alleged occupation except in Adespota 61 (βυρσοκόππος of Cleon), which could itself be from Aristophanes for all we know. Nevertheless, Aristophanes' rivals used the technique against other public figures. Cratinus 196 treats Hyperbolus as a lamp-seller (cf. Ar. Nu. 1065, Pax 690 ff, Eq. 739 f, 1315), suggesting that, like one of his lamps, he should be put out, while in Ἀριστοπώλιδες Hemippus alleged that Hyperbolus' mother was a bread-seller (cf. Schol. Ar. Nu. 551 and

Gloss. Vict.). Anytus is treated as a shoemaker in Archippus 30 and Theopompus 57 (Ἐμβλάδας as a nickname), while fun is made of Eucrates, as it seems, as an owner of pig-fodder mills in Cratin. 295 (cf. Ar. Eq. 254). Cratinus alleges that a diet of his own husks is the reason for the man's hairiness. In Eupolis 182 Pisander is ὁ μέγας, οὐνοκίνδιος ("the donkey-driver"). The allusion may partly be to his physical size (cf. Hermippus 9), but men who worked with donkeys and mules were rated low on the social scale (cf. the muleteers in Thesm. 491f, who — like slaves — are stand-in sexual partners for the women if they have no one else). The word may also reflect on the intellect of Pisander. In Eupolis 243 there is a double attack, on both social and national grounds; for there someone's mother is said to have been a Thracian ribbon-seller.¹⁵ The allegation that Euripides' mother was a green-grocer-woman is not, however, made outside Aristophanes in Old Comedy as we now have it (cf. Ar. Eq. 18, Thesm. 387, Ach. 478 etc.). It is noteworthy that most of the occupational attacks, both in Aristophanes' and in his rivals' plays, are allegations that a man was himself a tradesman or that his family had such a background.¹⁶ Cf. V. Ehrenberg, 'The People of Aristophanes', Ch. V (esp. p. 91) for the significance of this in social terms.

The large number of attacks on Cleon through allusion to his alleged occupation make the practice of ridiculing a public figure on occupational grounds seem more common in Aristophanes than in his rivals, but if one excepts these attacks upon Cleon Aristophanes uses the device much more sparingly. The passages where Aristophanes uses this method of attack other than against Cleon are Eq. 128 sq., 254, 739f, 1315, Nu. 1065, Pax 690 ff, Ra. 707 ff, Eccl. 253, Plutus 175, Ar. Frs. 696 and 394, and (against Euripides) Eq. 18, Thesm. 387, cf. Ach. 457, Ach. 478, Thesm. 910, Ra. 840, cf. Ra. 947. Cf. also Fr. 919 and Lys. 397f.

The relevant passages outside Aristophanes in full are:

Cratinus: 196, 295, 324c, cf. 263.

Hemippus: Ἄρτοπώλιδες, Fr. 9.

Eupolis: cf. 99 and 124 Edm¹⁷, 182, 243, poss. even 282 and 364¹⁸.

Archippus: 30 Strattis: 3 and 6 if correctly ascribed (=Callias 33A)

Theopompus: 57 Adesp.: cf. 61 (if not Aristophanic).

(For allegations involving prostitution cf. on allegations about the character of individuals below.)

(ii) The device of alleging that a man could barely speak Attic Greek in order to imply foreign extraction is found in several of Aristophanes' rivals. Eupolis, in a particularly virulent attack on some demagogue,¹⁹ claims in Fr. 110B Edm (Austin Fr. 92 p. 86f) that the man only spoke Attic because he was ashamed to speak his natural tongue, an amusing instance of deriding a man for a fault which he contrived to avoid. The charge that the man was φρατέρων ἔρημος (ibid. line 2) is very like Aristophanes' remark that Archedemus ἐπτέτης ὧν οὐκ ἔφυσε φράτερας (Ra. 421) or the direction in Av. 764f: εἰ δὲ δοῦλός ἐστι καὶ καὶ ὡς περ Ἐξηκεστίδης, φυσάτω πάππους παρ' ἡμῖν, καὶ φανοῦνται φράτερες.

All three passages depend upon the fact that if a man was not a member of a phratry he was not a true citizen. It has been plausibly suspected that such a point lay behind Leucon's φράτερες²⁰, and the Ποτάμιοι of Strattis was probably similar in theme:²¹ cf. Harpocration p. 156.19 and Photius 445.10 Pors. (Ἐκωμωδοῦντο δὲ —sc. οἱ Ποτάμιοι —ὡς ῥηδίως δεχόμενοι τοὺς παρεγγράπτους). In both the Aristophanic examples above the joke is embellished, but in Eupolis loc. cit. the statement is made in its direct and simple form. Plato in Fr. 168 (from Ἰπέρβουλος) records the strange non-Attic speech of another demagogue, perhaps Hyperbolus, with examples of the odd Greek that he spoke. The device of giving explicit examples is perhaps a little

heavy-handed, but is similar in technique to Catullus' lampoon, three and a half centuries later, against Arrius (Catullus 84). In his *Κλεοφῶν* Plato exploited the same source of humour against that politician, this time by having his mother speak in barbarisms to her son in the play (Fr. 60)²¹. Hermippus may already have used this technique of suggesting non-Attic extraction in *Ἄρτοπώλιδες*, where possibly the linguistic oddities of Frs. 11 and 12 could be barbarisms spoken by Hyperbolus' mother or by Hyperbolus himself.²³ In Aristophanes we find this particular allegation of the inability to speak Attic Greek hinted only in *Ra.* 679 ff, where a Thracian swallow is said to sit on Cleophon's lips (i. e. he was of Thracian extraction and spoke a non-Greek tongue: for the likening of foreign speech to the twittering of swallows cf., for example, Aeschylus *Ag.* 1050). There is now no evidence that Aristophanes himself used the motif of introducing a barbarizing politician or member of a politician's family as a character in order to impute foreign origin.

There are numerous examples of a simple charge that a man was a foreigner. Sometimes a particular nationality is expressly stated, as "Lydian" of Hyperbolus in Plato 170, "Phrygian" of the same demagogue in Polyzelus 5, "Cretan" of Diitrephes in Plato 31, "Mysian" of Acestor in Theopompus 60. In Cratinus 336 Hipponicus is said to be Scythian in particular because of the fact that he had red hair. Some Comedians favour the use of a nickname implying foreign extraction. Acestor is nicknamed *Σάκος* (cf. the Saeae) in Callias 13, *Metagen.* 13 and *Av.* 31; Cratinus in Fr. 324c calls a rival poet *Ξένιος* (or *Ξένιος*)²⁴; while both Cleon in Aristophanes' 'Knights' and Hyperbolus in Eupolis' *Μαρκῆς* are given nicknames which suit their roles as foreign slaves in the play (although nothing is made of the "Paphlagonian" extraction of Cleon in *Eq.* as far as his dialect goes: the name puns, of course, on Cleon's spluttering (*παφλαγῆειν* : cf. *Eq.* 919)). Cleon is *Παφλαγῶν* also in *Ar. Nu.* 581, while in *Pop. Oxy.* 2741 Fr. 1B. col. iii (iv) 19-20 (Anst-

in Fr.95 ll.135f) there may be a hint that the nickname appeared also in the text of Eupolis' Μαρικᾶς. We read there

Κλέων Παφλ[
παφλαγείν[

The technique of attacking a public figure by suggesting that he was not a true Athenian is not especially common in Aristophanes, if one excepts passages which depend on the Cleon/Παφλαγῶν motif. The clear examples otherwise are to be found in Ach. 704f, Av. 31, 762, 764, Ra. 421, 679 ff, 1532f, Frs. 411, 438. There are in addition a few dubious examples,²⁵ but the total number is small. By comparison there is fairly substantial evidence of the exploitation of the technique by Eupolis and Plato and perhaps Cratinus, although it should be stated that three of the examples in the fragments of Plato are from the same play (Υπερβόλος). There are, however, noticeably more instances of the technique in the fragments of Eupolis, Plato and Cratinus than in the numerically greater fragments of Aristophanes. A few examples are preserved because they were actually cited by the scholiasts to Aristophanes to show that some person was ridiculed as a foreigner not only in the passage on which they were commenting, but also in other plays of the Old Comedy. Such passages are underlined in the list below, but it will be seen that more instances occur naturally than are thus artificially cited to illustrate Aristophanes' particular jokes.

Cratinus: cf. 30, cf. 163.12 Edm (Austin Fr. 73. 68)?, 208, 324c, 336.

Callias: 13 (Teleclides: 41.1f is poss. worth recording here, which may allege that Charicles was a changeling)

Pherecrates: 11 (for which cf. Cratin. 30 and Ar. Av. 1296)

Eupolis: 53, 71, 80, 110B Edm (Austin Fr. 92 p. 86f), 237, 243, 357. Cf. perhaps Pap. Oxy. 2741 loc. cit. (Austin Fr. 95.135f). In 159.4 στυγματίης may imply that Acestor was a runaway slave or a branded criminal.

Phrynichus: 20, 58. 5.

Plato: 41, 60, 166, 168, 170. In 187 στιγμάτων may be a hit either at Hyperbolus' social status or character.

Leucon: cf. the title φράτερες Strattis: cf. Ποτάμιοι

Metagenes: 10, 13. Theopompus: 60 Polyzelus: 5

(c) Allegations about Character

The most common means of attacking a public figure (unless he was a literary figure) was by making allegations about his character, by charging him with practising some vice or being given to some excess or with being guilty of some other form of disreputable conduct. Particular vices and shortcomings were associated with particular individuals in some cases, although many men were attacked on more than one account. For Aristophanes, for instance, Cleon is especially a corrupt embezzler, and about half of the allegations about his character clearly have this point, while other passages accuse him more vaguely of shamelessness, villainy and similar defects of character. Some other specific vices are also imputed to him (as gluttony and cowardice), but the allegations that he illicitly furthered his financial and political situation predominate. Against the Comic poet Cratinus the stock charge is drunkenness (so Ar. Eq. 526ff, 400, Pax 700ff, Cratinus' own Πρωίην passim), while Clisthenes is repeatedly assailed by Aristophanes for effeminacy and homosexuality (cf., for example, Ach. 119, Lys. 1092, Ra. 48 and 57 etc.). Sometimes a particular figure is especially the butt of one Comedian: the cowardice of Cleonymus is repeatedly derided by Aristophanes (11 times out of 16 mentions to be precise), but the other Old Comedians name him but once in our surviving fragments.²⁶ By contrast, some individuals were popular targets for the abuse of several Comedians. The Tragedian Melanthius earns derision for his gluttony from Pherecrates (139), Eupolis (41), Archippus

(28), Leucon (2) and Aristophanes (Pax 800 ff, 1009 ff), while he is attacked for practising other vices in Eup. 164 and Plato 132. Lampon's gluttony was another popular target (Cratin. 57, 58, Callias 14, Lysippus 6), and so were Alcibiades' sexual excesses (Pherecr. 155, Eupolis 158, 351, Aristophanes' *Τριφάλης* (cf. Fr. 554).²⁷ Aristophanes himself is witness to the popularity of attacks on Hyperbolus among his rivals (Nu. 551 sq.), although he is not referring specifically to attacks on the character of the man.

There may have been some difference between Aristophanes and his rivals in their treatment of Cleon. He was, of course, the *bête noire* of Aristophanes, who was particularly proud of his bold assault on the demagogue in 'Knights' when Cleon was at the height of his success (cf. Nu. 549 f) and who stresses in *Vesp.* 1029 ff and *Pax* 751 ff that he did not confine himself to attacks on lesser men as he claims his rivals did. The internal evidence of our fragments does much to support Aristophanes here, for there is now an almost complete absence of attacks on Cleon's character in the works of the other Old Comedians. Nevertheless, there are two important possibilities to explore which may lead us to think that Cleon was attacked at length in plays of at least two of Aristophanes' rivals. The first is the argument that Eupolis' *Χρυσῶν Γένος* was a criticism of Cleon's Athens; the second is that Plato Fr. 107 speaks of Plato himself and of a 'war' of his with Cleon.

The "Golden Race" of Eupolis was not a straight-forward treatment of the 'Golden Age' theme. It is not cited by Athenaeus in his group of quotations from such plays, which must lead us, with Wilamowitz,²⁸ towards the conclusion that its content was not such as to be appropriate to citation there. Walcker had already observed that the title was ironic. He had written into his copy of Runkel's edit-

ion of the fragments of Pherecrates and Eupolis, "De statu pessimo cum irrisione tamquam aureo"²⁹, and this is the theory which is now generally accepted, correctly as I think. Norwood³⁰, for instance, observes, "The GOLDEN AGE appears to have been a sarcastic eulogy of the Cleonian regime (quoting Fr. 290)"; Schmid³¹ speaks of "ein ironischer Titel für das Zeitalter des Kleon"; Denis³² remarks, "La Race d'Or est un titre trompeur et ironique." Frs. 290, 291 and 292 certainly point to a eulogy of Athens at some point in the play (parabasis epirrhena?) and the first line of Fr. 290 contains an apparently sarcastic equation of Cleon with the sun which surveys all:

ὦ καλλίστη πόλι πασῶν, ὅσας Κλέων ἐφορᾷ,...

It is also possible to speculate that the uncomplimentary descriptions of Fr. 276 denote (and introduce) a part of the chorus³³, ironically called a "Golden Race", while Meineke³⁴ perceived that Fr. 282 could well have been said of Cleon, because of his alleged occupation of tanner: ἀτεχνῶς μὲν οὖν τὸ λεγόμενον σκύτη βλέπει.

If correct (and it is a very reasonable supposition), this view prompts the inference that Cleon was probably a character (unless the line is part of a reported speech, perhaps). Now Fritzsche³⁵ observed on what is now Fr. 308 of Eupolis in Edmonds' edition that Cleon as a character is intimated there, and this view was endorsed by Bergk³⁶, who very plausibly ascribed the lines to Eupolis (amending Εὐβουλος in the Souda — s. v. Χαίρειν — to Εὐπόλις), following Fritzsche, and to Χρυσῶν Γένος in particular. To the same play he tentatively ascribed the line³⁷

Κλέων Προμηθεὺς ἔστι μετὰ τὰ πράγματα ,

which is quoted by Lucian with the words ὡς ὁ Κωμικός τὸν Κλέωνα φησιν. Bergk and Meineke³⁸ wrongly thought that a scholium identified ὁ Κωμικός as Eupolis (see Kock and Edmonds on the frag-

ment, which is Eup. 456, doubtfully ascribed), which means that the ascription to *Χρυσῶν Γένος* is very risky indeed. Clearly the fragment cannot be safely used to build up a case for Cleon's role in Eupolis' play. Nevertheless, I think there are still sufficient grounds to suspect that Cleon played a significant part in *Χρυσῶν Γένος*, though Schmid³¹ makes a very reasonable point in his suggestion that Eupolis' play was less personally offensive to Cleon than Aristophanes' 'Knights' (which it probably followed, in Dion. 424), as we know of no retaliatory measures taken against Eupolis by Cleon. We cannot demonstrate beyond doubt that Eupolis made any sustained attacks on Cleon in *Χρυσῶν Γένος*, but it is a possibility not to be ignored. It also appears that there was some, probably slight, mention of him in *Μαρκῆς*, for Fr. 196 tells us that he was already dead in that play, while in the Oxyrhynchus Commentary his name occurs at one point (Austin Fr. 95 ll. 135f), as we have noted above. Of specific attacks on Cleon's character in Eupolis, besides the generalisation in Fr. 308 that he caused the city much distress, there is possibly also the pun in Fr. 404, on *Γαληψός* and *λαμβάνειν*. Cleon captured Galepsus in 422 (Thuc. V. 6) and *λαμβάνειν* could indicate an allusion to the propensity of Cleon for illicit gain that Aristophanes so often satirizes. Such was Fritzsche's opinion,⁴⁰ followed by Meineke⁴¹ and Wilamowitz.⁴² The suggestion is highly plausible.

It must, however, be observed that comparatively few comments of any description directed at Cleon survive from the work of Aristophanes' rivals, which contrasts with the full treatment which Aristophanes gave to Cleon in his early plays, above all 'Knights'. References to Cleon occur outside Aristophanes in Old Comedy at Cratin. 217A and B (where Cleon is called mad), Hermipp. 46 and possibly 42 (cf. Kock ad loc.), Plato 216, and Eupolis 196, 290, 308, Austin Fr. 95.135

and Fr. 456, if one counts what should be an adespoton, apart from what may be the most significant mention of all outside Aristophanes, that in Plato 107. The generally accepted text is a complete iambic trimeter or part of a trochaic tetrameter (the end of one, in a line without diaeresis) declaring that the speaker firstly went to war with Cleon:

ὅς πρῶτα μὲν Κλέωνι πόλεμον ἤρξαμην

A different text is given by Sifakis⁴³, who quotes

ὅς πρῶτος μὲν Κλέωνι πόλεμον ἤρξαμην

and translates, "I who was the first... etc.", but wishes to see the words as part of a trochaic tetrameter from a parabasis epirrhema, adding that the line may also be a complete iambic trimeter. I can only conclude that he has made a slip in transcribing the fragment, for the text he gives will scan as neither, with its four consecutive long syllables, no matter how one attempts to divide it between two lines or otherwise to save the scansion. With the transmitted text, however, one can either see the end of a trochaic line without diaeresis, so

$\leftarrow \overset{1}{\text{υ}} \quad \overset{2}{\text{—}} \quad \overset{3}{\text{υ}} \quad \overset{4}{\text{—}} \quad \overset{5}{\text{υ}} \quad \overset{6}{\text{—}} \quad \overset{7}{\text{υ}} \quad \overset{8}{\text{—}}$
 ὅς πρῶτα μὲν Κλέωνι πόλεμον ἤρξαμην

or transfer ὅς to the previous line (cf. Nu. 555 for a relative at the end of a —there Euripidean—line) and obtain a diaeresis so: ὅς

$\overset{1}{\text{—}} \quad \overset{2}{\text{υ}} \quad \overset{3}{\text{—}} \quad \overset{4}{\text{υ}} \quad \overset{5}{\text{—}} \quad \overset{6}{\text{υ}} \quad \overset{7}{\text{—}} \quad \overset{8}{\text{υ}}$
 πρῶτα μὲν Κλέωνι πόλεμον ἤρξαμην.

The scansion is important here because if the line is an iambic trimeter it cannot belong to a parabasis (as Cobet⁴⁴ stressed, but he overlooked the possibility of trochaic scansion)⁴⁵ and it is therefore very difficult to suppose that the first person denotes Plato himself, unless we are so bold as to believe Kock's suggestion⁴⁶ that the speaker may be a character voicing sentiments appropriate to Plato, just as Dicaeopolis does for Aristophanes in Ach. 377. It is too daring, I think, to surmise that such a peculiarity of Comic

technique as that in Ach. loc. cit. figured also here, although one cannot positively dismiss the possibility. If we wish to suppose that Plato means himself it is far safer to see an extract from a parabasis epirrhema, even though it would normally be in the "anapaestic" section of a parabasis that a Comic poet would speak of himself: cf., however, Vesp. 1284-91. There is the chance that Plato is not meant at all and that some character is talking of his own relationship with Cleon: Cobet⁴⁷ is confident that "Perialges" ("the man in pain"), the eponymous character, is the speaker, recalling the hardships he endured when he ventured in vain to oppose Cleon. Schmid⁴⁸ wonders whether there is even the possibility that Plato is speaking for Aristophanes, who was so proud of his bold assault on Cleon, as we have seen. It is not out of the question that Aristophanes was a character in Περιαλγής, for we know that Cratinus cast himself in the role of a drunkard in Πυτινή and that Aristophanes included the Comic poet Sannyrion as a character in his Γηρυτιάδης (cf. Fr. 149), but the possibility is remote. Sadly, we must conclude that Meineke and Kock are too confident in their belief that Plato means himself (a view shared by Schoevaert in her thesis, Platon le Comique)⁴⁹ and concur in Schmid's opinion that we just cannot tell whether Plato means himself or some other. There is thus no definite evidence that Plato devoted any great attention to Cleon: there is only the possibility.

If Aristophanes' rivals hesitated to criticize the character of Cleon too boldly, they nevertheless did not spare other public figures. Their attention to Hyperbolus has already been noticed. Whole plays were directed against him by Eupolis (Μαρκίῶς), Hermippus (Ἄρτοπώλιδες), Plato (Ἐπέρβολος) and probably others (cf. Nu. 551sq.), and some of the attacks made upon his character survive. Eupolis in Fr. 192 calls him Περόσπητολις ("city-sacker"), probably with reference to the same sort of corrupt political practices for which Aristophanes attacks Cleon.

Eup.181 shows him as a verbal trickster; Leucon 1 accuses him of illicitly appropriating some cups of Paapis (who is unknown); while Plato—admittedly bold after the event—records the opinion that ostracism was too noble a fate for Hyperbolus and his *στίγματα* (which may mean brandings for a criminal act or else be a hint that Hyperbolus was a branded slave: cf. *κλυδέπω γ' ἐλευθέρω* in Fr.166). In his *Κόλακες* Eupolis treated Callias as a squanderer of the wealth which he inherited from his father, Hipponicus, while in his *Αὐτόλυκος* (α' and β') Eupolis assailed with what seems to have been a particularly uninhibited exploitation of obscenity and sexual slander the relationship of Callias with the athlete Autolykus and the characters and private lives of Autolykus' parents, Lycon and Rhodia. The great Pericles himself is accused of empty talk (Cratin. 293, 300, Hemipp. 46), cowardice (Hemipp. 46) and sexual excesses (Adesp. 59 and cf. Hemipp. 46.1⁵¹); Alcibiades is attacked as a (especially sexual) debauchee (Eup.158, 351, Pherecr.155); Pisander is accused of cowardice (Eup. 31 and Phryn. 20) and gluttony (Eup.110A Edm, Austin Fr.92.1ff); Androcles is alleged to have been *νεοπλουτοπώγης* (Cratin. 208) and a cut-purse (*βαλλαντιοτόμος*)—Ephantides 4 and Telecl.15; Cleophon is said to have been a fornicator before his beard was grown (Plato 59). Three of Plato's plays have the names of individual politicians as titles (*Κλεισθέων*, *Πείσανδρος* and *ὑπερβόλος*), and it is likely that he had much to say about their characters in those plays and that the eponymous character played a large part in the drama named after him. The three titles are good evidence of a strong political interest in Plato in the Old Comedy period, an interest which was still apparent in the *Πρέσβεις*. Schoevaert⁵² reminds us that Aristophanes put only one demagogue (Cleon) on the stage, as far as we know. To some extent, however, Aristophanes' charge that his rivals attacked petty figures receives support from the re-

mains of their work. Apart from the comparative scarcity of attacks on Cleon, it is worth noticing that Eupolis (and others) seem to have paid considerable attention to Lycon and his family and to Callias (cf. esp. the plays *Ἀυτόλυκος* and *Κόλακες* and also *Amipsias* 23, *Eup.* 215 and *Eup.* 273) and that several other persons of relatively minor importance are the victims of attacks on grounds of character from Aristophanes' contemporaries (e.g. *Midas* in *Plato* 108, *Metagen.* 11, *Phrynichus* 4 and 41; *Hieroclydes* in *Phrynichus* 17, *Hemipp.* 38; *Cleombrotus* in *Phrynichus* 53, *Ischomachus* in *Cratin.* 328). Nevertheless, Aristophanes himself assails many minor figures with vigour (as *Cleonymus* or *Clisthenes*), and it is rather the prominence of Cleon in Aristophanes' personal attacks on grounds of character that perhaps distinguishes him from the others.

The table appended to this section lists the passages containing attacks on individuals in this category in full for the non-Aristophanic Old Comedians. Those with the greatest number of such attacks attested are, as one would expect, Eupolis and Cratinus, with substantial evidence that the technique was used also by Phrynichus and Plato. Pherecrates has only four or five relevant passages, a small number in view of the relatively substantial number of his fragments surviving, and one that reflects his comparatively slight interest in personal satire (cf. *Anon. π. κωμ. Kaibel C.G.F.* p. 8). Especially well attested in Eupolis are the attacks on sexual grounds. The total number of examples in his fragments far exceeds the number of those in Cratinus and also those in the fragments of Aristophanes. In Aristophanes the technique is attested only in four fragments (114, 231, 438, 554) and in the title *Τριφύλης* (*Alcibiades*, as it seems from *Fr.* 554) outside the extant plays. Within the extant plays the distribution is as follows:

	Clear Examples	More Dubious Examples
<u>Ach.</u>	119, 527, 716	849
<u>Eup.</u>	877, 1280 ff	78 f, 407

	Clear Examples	More Dubious Examples
<u>Nu.</u>		355, 673ff, 675ff, 686
<u>Vesp.</u>	84, 687ff, 1280ff	poss. 1025ff (v. Eup.?)
<u>Pax</u>		poss. 762 (v. Eup.?)
<u>Av.</u>		831
<u>Lys.</u>	1092	
<u>Thesm.</u>	<u>29 sqq. (Agathon)</u>	
<u>Ra.</u>	48, 57, 426ff, 432	
<u>Eccl.</u>	365, 366, 647ff, 846	
<u>Plutus</u>	179, 303ff, 314	

In Eupolis the bulk of the examples come from *Αὐτόλυκος* (α' & β'), three or four of them being dubious, however. Only 44 and 56 are definite instances of the technique under discussion, but it is abundantly clear from the other fragments of the play that it depended to a particularly great extent on sexual slanders against identifiable individuals. No extant play of Aristophanes depends so heavily upon allegations of sexual excesses or depravity against an individual or individuals as Eupolis' *Αὐτόλυκος* seems to have done, although the lost *Τριφάλης* may well have concentrated to a very great extent on Alcibiades' sexual habits. In the extant plays the early part of *Thesm.* depends to a substantial degree on a series of jokes about Agathon's effeminacy and sexual practices, but this is predominant only in the one scene. Apart from the examples in *Αὐτόλυκος*, the definite instances of the technique in Eupolis are spread over four other plays and an unnamed play, so:

Δῆμοι	: 110B (Austin 92. 26f)
Κόλπες	: 158, 164
Πόλεις	: 215, 235

Φίλοι : 273

(unnamed play) : 351

There are also three less than certain examples in *Βάπτοι* (81,82,77). These sexual slanders form a high proportion of Eupolis' character criticisms as a whole, and it is likely that he was especially fond of the technique, even by comparison to other political Comedians like Cratinus and Aristophanes. To match thenine certain examples in the fragments of Eupolis in number one would have to take the certain examples from at least three extant Aristophanic plays, if one excepts *Thesm.* Again, the proportion of certain examples of the sexual slander against a living individual to certain examples of all other accusations made against the characters of individuals is, in Eupolis, roughly 1:3. A precise figure for Aristophanes is very difficult, as it depends so much on how one reckons prolonged attacks and what one does with dubious passages, but it is likely to show a proportion only half as great as that in Eupolis. All this seems to be an indication that Eupolis liked to combine his two specialities of topical comment and obscene humour. Cf. *Anon. π.κωμ.* Kaibel C.G.F. p.8, who says of Eupolis, ... καὶ ζηλώων Κρατίνων πολὺ τὸ λοιδόρον καὶ αἰσχρὸν ἐμφαίνει and *Vit. Ar.*, where we read, ... πικρότερον καὶ αἰσχρότερον Κρατίνου καὶ Εὐπόλιδος βλασφημούντων ἢ εἶδει . In both cases there is a clear reference to Eupolis' invective (as also to Cratinus') and it is likely that in *αἰσχρὸν* and *αἰσχρότερον* we have references to coarse or obscene censure ("ugly" language or material).

Attacks on the Character of Named (or Seemingly Once-Named or Identifiable) Individuals.

Vice/ground of attack: Gluttony

Cratinus: 57 (Lampon), 58 (Lampon)

Eupolis: 41 (Melanthisus), 110A (Austin 92.1sq. --- Pissender), *ibid.* (Theogone

Plato: 106 (Morychus, Glaucetes, Leogoras)

Others:

Callias: 14 (Lampon) ; Teleclides: ?16 ("Nothippus") ; Lysippus: 6 (Lampon) ; Pherecrates: 139 (Melanthius) ; Hemippus: 45 (Nothippus/Gnesippus?) ; Leucon: 2 (Melanthius) ; Archippus: 28 (Melanthius).

Drunkenness

Cratinus: Πυρίνη, passim (Cratinus)

Eupolis: 45 (Lycon), 45A (Lycon), 46 (Rhodia), 351 (Alcibiades)

Sexual Vices

Homosexual:

Cratinus: perh. 10 ("Bathippus"),⁵³ poss. 53 (prob. heterosexual), 151 (Aristodemus), 263, Schol. Vesp. 1187 (Androcles), poss. 340 (son of Iulius(?)), 402, if a particular individual intended.

The mysterious Fr. 195 is perhaps worth recording here.

Eupolis: 56 (Autolycus)—cf. 42 and 50 (if not ended),⁵⁴ 77, if a named individual intended, perh. 81 (Democritus), perh. 82 (text dub.), 110B (Austin 92. 26f—some demagogue whose name is now lost), 164 (Melanthius), 235 (Philoxenus). Cf. 57. Cf. Βάντι in general (Schol. Juv. 2. 91).

Plato:

Others:

Pherecrates: 155 (Alcibiades: also heterosexual—cf. below) ; Phrynichus: 47 (Philoxenus) ; Amipsias: cf. 23 (Lycon: cf. Schol. Vesp. 1159—text dub.) ; (?) Strattis (perh. rather Cratinus?): Austin Fr. 220. 98 ff (Lampon: ascription dub.).

Heterosexual:

Cratinus: 12 (elder Callias), prob. 53 (Xenophon), 241 (Aspasia).

Cf. Pericles-Zeus in 'Neneisis' (e.g. Fr. 111?).

Eupolis: perh. 42 (three brothels?), 44 (Leogoras), poss. 47 (Rhodia??), perh. 52 (dub. sense), 110A (92 ad init. Austin—Pausan, Theogenes), 158 (Alcibiades), 215 (Rhodia), 273 (Rhodia), 351 (Alcibiades).

Plato: 59 (Cleophon)

Others:

Teleclides: 17 (Pericles and Chrysillos), ? poss. 49 and 66 (Pericles-Zeus??)
34 (Gnesippus)

Pherecrates: 155 (Alcibiades: also homosexual—see above) ; Hemippus:
perh. 10 (? Hyperbolus' mother), 46.1 (Pericles) ; Phrynichus: 53 (Cleombrotus) ; Strattis: 3 (Isocrates and Lagisca), 26 (Megacles) ; Adespota:
59 (Pericles and his circle)

Theft, Corruption, Embezzlement, Dishonesty,

νεοπλουτοπονηρία, etc.

Cratinus: 162A (Hagnon), 203 (Aeschylus, Androcles, Dionysius)

Eupolis: 122C.15 (Austin 92.115—Diognetus as *ιερόσυλος*), 192 (Hyperbolus), 209 (Anynias), 218 (Simon), 361 (Socrates), perh. 404 (Cleon?).

Add 122B & C (Austin 92.78 sqq.) if the man tried was a real person.⁵⁵

Plato: 14 (Pamphilus), cf. 103 (Antiphon of Rhamnus), 119 (Phonnisius, Epicrates—cf. 120 and 121)

Others:

Teleclides: 15 (Androcles as *βαλλαντιοτόμος*) ; Eophonides: 4 (Androcles, as Telecl. 15) ; Hemippus: 3 (Hierocles) ; Phrynichus: 17 (Hierocles) ; Leucon: 1 (Hyperbolus)

Ambitions of Tyranny

cf. Adesp. 60 (Pericles' circle) ; Telecl. 42 is not so very far removed in tone.

Empty Talk, Lies, Bogus Rhetoric

Cratinus: 293 & 300 (Pericles)

Eupolis: 91 (Phaeax), 94 (Theogenes), 181 (Hyperbolus)

Plato: 161 (Teleas)

Others:

Hemippus: 46 (Pericles), 63.8 (Perdiccas)

Scouring of Wealth, Debt

Cratinus: 12 (Callias the Elder), 328 (Ischomachus)

Eupolis: 44(Leogoras), Κόλακες passim(Callias the Younger—esp.149 & 150)

Meanness, Thriftiness

Eupolis: cf.110A(Austin Fr.92 ad init.)—also greed and gluttony,154
(Hipponicus—tone of ironic praise)

Adesp.: 1(Phonmio)

For being κόλαξ, συκοφάντης or ἀλαζών

Cratinus: cf.78(Evathlus: "mentioned" as sycophant?), 213(Amyntias), cf.
242 (Pandel etus : as sycophant??)

Eupolis: 146b(Protagoras), 159.14(Acestor), 164(Melanthius), 165(Chaerophon), 166(Orestes, Marpsias), Κόλακες in general.

Plato: 14(Pamphilus), 102(Evathlus)

Others:

Hemippus: 3(Hieroclidides) ; Phrynichus: 4(Midias), 17(Hieroclidides),
20.4(Teleas), 53(Dioclidides, Teucer) ; Theopompus: 43(Danophon)

As φιλόδικος

Cratinus: cf. 242(Pandel etus: cf. Schol. Nu. 922)

Philyllius: 9(Laespodias)

Many Times Convicted or the Losing Party in Law-suits

Plato: 139(Dracontides)

As προδότης

Eupolis: [cf.181(Nicias, but bogus logic in context)]⁵⁶

Metagenes: 10(Lycon)

War-mongering

Cratinus: Hyp. Dionysal ex. ad fin. (Pericles)

Eupolis: 110B.8 ff(Austin 92.29 ff—some demagogue); 129A may be relevant, depending on the sense of the compound there.

Phrynichus: 16(Laespodias)

Cowardice

Eupolis: 31(Pisander), Austin Fr.100(Cleonymus)

Hemippus: 46(Pericles) ; Phrynichus: 20(Pisander)

ἀσεβής, ἱερόσυλος or ἀλιτήριος

Cratinus: 333(Hippon)

Eupolis: 52,99(Demostratus called ἀλιτήριος), 122C.15(Austin 92.114f—

Diognetus), 146b(Protagoras as ἀλιτήριος)

Pherecrates: 58(Polytion's house confiscated because of his involvement in the Mysteriēs scandal) ; Strattis: 19(Cinesias)

Cf. also Hemippus' prosecution of Aspasia for ἀσεβεία and the potential of Eupolis' Βάπτει.

Keeping of Exotic Pets, Obsession with Fighting-Birds, etc.

Plato: 108(Midias)

Phrynichus: 41(Midias) ; Adesp.: cf. 59(Pyriampes)

Eup. 36 may also refer to Pyriampes.

Misanthropy

Plato: 218(Timon)

Phrynichus: 18(Timon)

"Mad"

Cratinus: 217B(Cleon)

Eupolis:

Plato: 31(Diitrephes)

Teleclides: 6(Dipithes) ; Phrynichus: cf. 9(Dipithes as a religious fanatic) ; Amipsias: 10(Dipithes) ; Polyzelus: 11(Dionysius)

As Stupid or Ignorant

Cratinus: 11(Minnyon?), 15 & cf. 18(an archon capable of preferring Gnesippus to Sophocles) , 337(Theodotides)

Eupolis: 116 (sons of Hippocrates), 193 (Hyperbolus), 296 (Pantacles)

Plato: 64 (Leagrus)⁵⁷

Nicochares: 3 (Philonides)

as λόλος

Plato: 132 (Melanthius), 217 (Philepsius)

πονηρός or similarly vague moral condemnation, often as summarized by our sources.

Cratinus: 175 (son of Pisas, i. e. Meles), 201 (an Antiphon or poss. Lysonides), 233 (son of Pisas or else Pisas himself, with Osphyon and Diitrophes), 261 (son of Pisas)

Eupolis: 39 (Phrynondas), 107 (Phrynondas), 308 (Cleon)

Plato: 80 (Midias), 139 (Dracontides), 166 (Hyperbolus), 187 (Hyperbolus)

Teledides: 41 (Nicias)

Phrynichus: 4 (Midias), 17 (Hieroclides), 59 (Nicias)

(d) Nicknames and Allegorical Attacks

Certain political or otherwise familiar figures are on occasions denoted by nicknames in Old Comedy. Sometimes the nickname takes the form of a stock epithet, as it were, as in the case of Νεοκλείδης ὁ γλόμων (Eccl. 254 and 398), Ἀρχέδημος ὁ γλόμων (Ra 588; cf. Eup. 9), Περικλέης οὐλύμπιος (Ach. 530) or Κλεώνυμος ὁ ρίψασπις (Nu. 353f), and similar phrases. Sometimes a man is denoted by an occupational nickname without explicit identification (his occupation being familiar enough), as ὁ βυρσοπώλης (i. e. Cleon) in Pax 270 or ὁ βελονοπώλης (whoever is meant there) in Plutus 175. In these cases the nickname is still an epithet (the device is not common), but true nicknames are also found. Examples of such include Σάκος (i. e. Acestor) in Callias 13, Metagen. 13 and Av. 31, Κέρβερος (i. e. Cleon) in Plato 216, Eq. 1034ff and Pax

313, Πλαφλαγών (also Cleon) in Eq. passim, Nu. 581 and possibly in Eupolis' Μαρικός (Austin 95.135f), the name Μαρικός itself in Eupolis' homonymous play, Βουζύγης (i. e. Demonstratus) in Eup. 99 and 124 and, as Χολοζύγης, in Ar. Lys. 397f, or Ἐμβάδας (i. e. Anytus) in Theop. 57. In this group it is interesting to observe several nicknames of fellow Comedians in Cratinus. In 334 he calls Ecphantides Καπνίος, in 324c⁵⁸ Callias is Σχοινίωv, and in the same fragment Aristophanes or Phrynichus (or possibly some other) is Ξένιος or Ξενίος. One may add the compound Χοιριλεκφαντίδης in 335a, if correctly restored by Meineke.⁵⁹ One has to search hard for a parallel for this group of nicknames in other Comedians, but we know that Aristomenes was nicknamed Θυροποιός ("Door-maker") by someone or other of his rivals, no doubt (the Souda, s. v. Ἀριστομένης), and Bergk (Comm. p. 144) guesses that Θυροκόμος in the Souda's article on Lysippus should be seen as a nickname (a dubious interpretation). Καπνίος does occur in Ar. Vesp. 151, where it is taken by MacDowell to be a possible allusion to Ecphantides, but one may entertain doubts there. Eupolis' reference to Aristophanes as ὁ φαλακρός οὐτός in Fr. 78 does not really involve any nickname, nor do Aristophanes' descriptions of Cratinus as ὁ περιπόνηρος Ἀρτέμιων⁶⁰ (after identification in Ach. 851) and ὁ ταυροφάγος (after identification in Ra. 357) quite parallel the true nicknames in Cratinus' own works. The best attested nickname of all in Aristophanes' rivals is, however, that of Pericles, 'Zeus'. Cratinus so refers to him (with qualification) in Fr. 71, while the point also lies behind Cratin. 113 and 240, Adesp. 49 and perhaps Frs. 49 and 66 of Teleclides.⁶¹ Aristophanes himself refers to Pericles as "the Olympian" (Ach. 530). Corresponding to this equation of Pericles with Zeus are the various nicknames of his consort (Hera) Aspasia. She is "Hera" in Cratin. 241, while in Eup. 403 she may be described as βοῶπις (an epithet of Hera). Aspasia is also referred to as "Helen" (Eup. 249, and cf. Cratinus' Διονυσολέξανδρος ?),⁶² "Queen

Omphale" (Eup. 274, Cratin. 241A; cf. Adesp. 63) and "Dianira" (Adesp. 63), names which imply her hold over Pericles, for the first-named fascinated Paris, the second had Heracles for a slave, and the third was unwittingly the agent of his death.

The distortion of a man's name to make up a sort of nickname where the last element of the compound is normally the true end of the man's name is a technique occasionally, but not commonly found. It is not well attested in Aristophanes, who has but two or three examples more than Cratinus, Eupolis or Hermippus in all his extant works. The most ambitious instances of the technique are now found in Eup. 129A and Hermipp. 38. The new elements introduced into the man's name typically describe character defects or are otherwise humorous substitutions. The device can be used on other than personal names (e.g. Συβοίωτοι in Cratin. 310K (73A Edm) or Κεχίννιοι in Ar. Eq. 1263): for such instances cf. the chapter on Imagery, Vocabulary and Verbal Devices, as for compounds of the type Ἀντίλης or Ἀνθρωπηρακλῆς. The examples relevant to this section are as follows:

Cratinus: Χοιριλεκφαντίδης (Ephantides) 335a
Ἄνδροκολωνόκλης (Androcles) 263

The sandwiching of the new element by the two halves of the original name is unusual.

Eupolis: Ἄμφιπτολεμοπηδησίετρατος (dub.: perhaps Demostratus— or Demasi stratus?)⁶³ 129A

Δαμασικόνδυλος (for Demasi stratus) 408

Teleclides:? Νόθιππος (perh. =Gnesippus?)⁶⁴ 16

Hermippus:? Νόθιππος (" ") 45

Κολοκοφωροκλείδης (Hieroclides) 38 So Phryn. 17 also.

In Aristophanes we find

Κολοκώνυμος (Cleonymus) Vesp. 592

Χολοζύγης (for Βουζύγης, i. e. Demostratus) Lys. 37

(a distortion of a nickname: cf.

Βυρσοπαφλαγών	(i. e. Cleon) <u>Eq.</u> 47)
Σελλάρτιος	(cf. MacDowell, edn. <u>Vesp.</u> on 459)
Ἴππόκινος	(Hipponicus) <u>Ra.</u> 433

As for ALLEGORICAL attacks, it is not clear exactly how many plays of the Old Comedy had some deeper significance, especially in the case of mythological burlesques. Edmonds in his "Fragments of Attic Comedy" exercises great ingenuity in discovering possibilities of allegorical meanings in many of the plays of Plato and the later Old Comedians in particular, but in nearly all cases the idea that the play was allegorical rests purely on conjecture, and in very few instances indeed is there any positive internal or external evidence. It is a very hazardous process to attempt to discern allegory in mythological burlesque without some firm evidence that such existed. A case in point is Cratinus' Δραπέτιδες, where it is possible, in view of the mention of the slaying of Cercyon (Fr. 49), that Theseus was a character (although the passage should possibly not be taken at face value: cf. Kock ad loc.). Edmonds⁶⁵ wishes to identify this Theseus with Lampon the seer (for whom cf. Frs. 57 and 58—which incidentally do not conclusively prove that Lampon was a character in the play)⁶⁶, a very fanciful conjecture, while Pieters in his 'Cratinus'⁶⁷ identifies the same hero with Pericles, again a hazardous exercise of the imagination in view of the minimal evidence. Bergk⁶⁸ tells us that the play was concerned with the colonisation of Thurii; Tanner⁶⁹ that it had to do with the Eleusinian Tax Decree and Lampon's involvement therein. In fact, we cannot be sure what the plot of the play was, and there is no real indication that the possible character Theseus was to be equated with Pericles, Lampon or anyone else. Schmid⁷⁰ is wisely reserved in his remarks on the play and, though he hints Bergk's

theory, he does not attempt to make out the purport of the play. It is possible that Δραπέτιδες was allegorical, but one cannot demonstrate so.

A better case can be made for both Cratinus' Διονυσιαλίσανδρος and Νέμεσις. In the Hypothesis to the former we are told that Pericles was attacked very convincingly by implication (or innuendo— δι' ἐμφάσεως) for bringing war on Athens, or rather the war (τὸν πόλεμον), for Flickinger's suggestion⁷¹ that it is not the war of 431-404 that is meant (he argues for 445 as the date) deserves no credence. This statement has been taken by several scholars to mean that the audience were intended to see some similarity between the way in which Dionysus involves Troy in war in the play and the way in which Pericles had led Athens into conflict with Sparta. The view that Dionysus⁷² is to some degree to be identified with Pericles suits the words of the Hypothesis (esp. δι' ἐμφάσεως) better than any supposition that the attack on Pericles was to be found only in a limited passage, perhaps a parabasis, of the play. How far we should press the allegory is not clear. It is possible to see in the ravaging of Troy's territory by the Greeks a hint of the first devastation of Attica by the Spartans in 431 B. C.,⁷³ in the offer of τυραννὶς ἀκίνητος from Hera an allusion to Pericles' period of prolonged domination of Athens,⁷⁴ in the role of Helen an allusion to Aspasia,⁷⁵ in the surrender of Dionysus to the Greeks a suggestion that the Athenians should comply with the Spartans' demand that the curse of the Alcmeonidae be expelled,⁷⁶ in the bundling of Helen into a basket an allusion to the packing of Attic farmers into Athens.⁷⁷ Many of these inferences may be valid, but it is difficult to know in the absence of fuller evidence when one is becoming too ingenious. Pieters' belief⁷⁸ that the play alluded to Pericles' deposition and should be set in 429 probably goes too far: Luppe sets out the considerable weight of evidence against this int-

erpretation in pp.182ff of his article on the Hypothesis to *Διονυσιαίετος*. The possible allusions square much more happily with 430. The suggestion that *Nemesis* was allegorical derives in the first place from Bergk,⁷⁹ who contented himself, however, with this observation: "Sed de argumento huius Cratineae comoediae hoc loco disserere supersedeo, nisi quod contra Periclis potissimum potentiam scriptam esse contendo." The evidence is in Fr.113Edm, with Plutarch's comments thereon in *Pericles* 3, which prompt the deduction that Zeus in the play was to be equated with Pericles. Kock observes,⁸⁰ "Videtur igitur Iovis nomine Pericles, Nemesis nomine Aspasia significari." Zuendel, in letters to Meineke,⁸¹ had already advanced the theory that the play was concerned with Pericles' appeal to the Athenian people to accept his bastard son by Aspasia as a legitimate citizen after the plague had carried off his heirs in 430, so explaining the vocative *ΞΕΙΝΕ* in Fr.113 Edm (punning on *ΞΕΝΟΣ* and hinting the legitimized bastard). The play would thus date to 429 B.C. Kock is attracted by the idea, as Meineke before him, and several other scholars have found the theory tempting, including Denis,⁸² Geissler⁸³ and Norwood.⁸⁴ There has always, however, been the embarrassment of Schol. Av. 521 (cf. Fr.118Edm), which states that *Nemesis* postdated Aristophanes' 'Birds' (414B.C.). This has led some scholars to reject the Nineteenth Century theory of the play's allegorical significance and to propound very different ideas of their own. Oellacher⁸⁵ argued that the explanation of the strange statement in the scholium mentioned above should be seen in the fact that a Callias was archon after the date of 'Birds' in 412/1, while another man of that name held the archonship in 406/5. This may have misled the scholiast into the belief that 'Nemesis' was performed in one of these years, if he knew that it was performed under a Callias. Oellacher supposes that the play was actually performed in 456/5, when another Callias was archon. The argument is perilously built, but the date is accepted as probable by Schmid.⁸⁶ Taking over Oellacher's principle of

some confusion of archons' names being the key to the explanation of Schol. Av. 521, Godolphin⁸⁷ suggested that the scholiast had wrongly taken information that the play was performed under a Pythodorus to refer to the archon of 404/3 instead of that of 432/1. This is the dating accepted by Pieters in his Cratinus.⁸⁸ Both these theories involve some rejection of the former interpretation of the supposed allegory in 'Nemesis'. In the latter case it is only the allusion to the legitimization of the child that must be rejected; in the former even the identification of Nemesis with Aspasia becomes chronologically impossible. The most extreme view of all was that of Capps,⁸⁹ who argued that the explanation of the scholium lay in revising our opinions of the authorship of 'Nemesis'. He suggested that the play was wrongly ascribed to the elder Cratinus, and that we should believe the scholiast and suppose the play to post-date 'Birds' and ascribe it to the younger Cratinus, the Middle Comedian. This view has met with little favour, and rightly so. Godolphin points out that Cratinus the Younger operated well into the Fourth Century (cf. Meineke I 411). It is very difficult indeed to believe that Lampon could still have been alive in the dramatic career of this Cratinus, and Lampon is a figure whom we know to have been a butt of Cratinus (cf. esp. Frs. 57 and 58; also Fr. 62) the Elder. Meineke's attempt to ascribe Διονυσιαλέξινδρος to the younger Cratinus was lamentably misguided, as we now know from our Hypothesis, and it is hard to believe that Capps' suggestion is not equally fanciful. It can readily be seen, however, that a certain amount of imagination is required in any attempt to explain the apparent allegorical significance of 'Nemesis' and that the only uncontroversial conclusion seems to be that Zeus represented Pericles. If so, and if chronological considerations allowed it, it may legitimately be suspected that Nemesis represented Aspasia, but beyond that I should not like to be confident that we can make out the allegory of 'Nemesis'. Zuendel's theory is perhaps too ingenious and is precariously based.

Koerte⁹¹ not unreasonably suggests that the legend of the birth of Heracles would have suited Cratinus' purpose better, if it was really Cratinus' intention to allude to Pericles' legitimization of his bastard son. Heracles, for a start, was a child of the right sex! Here I may add that it is scarcely reasonable to take Fr. 71 as an indication that $\Theta\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\alpha\iota$ was allegorical, for Pericles is clearly spoken of only figuratively as "Zeus" (hence the epithet $\sigma\chi\iota\nu\omicron\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\phi\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, revealing that "Zeus" is a nickname.) In Cratinus 240, 241 and 241A there is allegory of a different sort, tracing in a mock theogony the ancestry of Pericles-Zeus and Aspasia-Hera. Pericles' mother is said to have been $\Sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ ("Faction"), Aspasia's $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\pi\upsilon\gamma\omicron\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta$ ("Lust"). The former idea recalls the struggle of Pericles with Thucydides in particular and also his relations with Cimon, while the latter charges Aspasia with sexual depravity. $\Pi\upsilon\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\eta$ was, of course, an allegory, but not a political play.

It is clear that Eupolis' Μαρικᾶς had an element of allegory, as transparent, it seems, as that in Aristophanes' 'Knights'. Hyperbolus was denoted by the name Μαρικᾶς (cf. Cleon's role as Παφλαγών in Eq.) and was a slave (the Commentary partially preserved in Pap. Oxy. 2741 (Austin Fr. 95) has references⁹² to a character described as $\epsilon\delta\epsilon\alpha\pi\acute{o}\tau\eta\varsigma$; this may well be $\Delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$, as in Aristophanes' Eq., but we cannot prove so.) The play seems to have shown the overthrow of Hyperbolus, as Eq. showed that of Cleon.

$\Delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$ figures in an allegorical scene in one of Plato's plays, not now identifiable (Frs. 185a, b, c), where he is represented as ill and his sufferings are made the occasion of jokes against public figures. As though about to faint he calls for someone to hold his hand,⁹³ but his purpose is to prevent his raising his hand to vote Agyrrhius general (185a). In 185b he complains, as though of indigestion,⁹⁴ of Mantias' mounting the platform to speak and calls for a bowl and feather (to induce vomiting). In 185c someone comments, "He's feeding ill-smelling Cephalus a most foul disease."⁹⁵ Demos metaphorically feeds the disease (i. e. suff-

ers from it) and literally endures Cephalus to feed in Athens. The illnesses of Demos are for Plato an allegorical way of commenting disapprovingly on the politicians mentioned. Precedents of a sort are to be found both in Aristophanes' Eq., where Demos is said to be like an indiscriminating beloved, giving himself to low suitors (Eq. 737 sq.), to lamp-sellers, to catgut-stitchers, to leather-cutters and to hide-sellers, or where Demos is rejuvenated and freed of his previous delusions (Eq. 1316 sq.), and also in Aristophanes' Ra (939 sq.), where Tragedy is represented as in need of a diet after being bloated out by Aeschylean bombast. Reminiscent of Eq. 737 sq. is Eup. 321, where we appear to have Demos addressing a *προμνήστρια* (so the unfortunately corrupt remarks of the grammarian who cites the fragment guide us to believe). Demos remarks, *καὶ μὴ πονηρούς, ὡς πονήρα, προξένει*

"And don't introduce me to rogues, you rogue (fem.)."

Wilamowitz⁹⁷ saw the situation so: "Demos apud lenam aliquam prostat in fomice et iratus est ad se admitti homines plebeios." Edmonds⁹⁸ remarks "The personified Athenian People is apparently got up as a marriageable girl." In view of Eq. 737 sq. it seems that Demos' submission to the whims of demagogues is translated into sexual terms and that there is some question of finding a partner for Demos in context. In Eq. loc. cit. the relationship is, of course, homosexual, and it may not be necessary to suppose that Demos has to be equated with a girl here, though it would make the role of the *προμνήστρια* easier (cf., e.g. Nu. 41 with Prof. Dover's note ad loc.). I suspect that the *προμνήστρια* is also an abstraction and that Wilamowitz misses the mark in seeing a brother in context. At any rate, there seems to be a hint of sexual allegory of Demos' submission to demagogues. Which play is involved we do not know. Wilamowitz called attention to Fr. 265 (φίλοι) in support of his theory, but Kock reminds us that Δῆμος was at least hinted in the pun of Fr. 213 (from Πόλις). There may well have been a major role for

Demos in *Μαρικῶς*, as we have seen¹¹, though his relationship with Maricas (Hyperbolus) would be that of master/slave. Nevertheless, in *Eq.* Cleon is Demos' slave, and that does not preclude the reference at *Eq.* 737sq. to Demos' submission to demagogues being like that of a beloved to unworthy partners.

It is possible that Strattis' 'Mymidons' was allegorical, as Fr. 36 either speaks of Athenian troops at Byzantium or else is very anachronistic (there was, of course, no coinage in the Trojan War period). Kock suggests (ad loc.) that the 'Mymidons' were the troops of Alcibiades, who captured Byzantium in 408. This is a possible interpretation but it is also conceivable that Fr. 36 (our only citation from the play) is only a temporary lapse of illusion to allow reference to a recent event. Besides the plays noticed here, there would be some degree of allegory in several others where personifications appeared, not all of them political allegories, of course. Cf. Heniochus Fr. 5.1.6f and Eupolis' *Πόλεις* for two political examples.

The passages relevant to this section outside Aristophanes are as follows:

Passages with Nicknames of Living Persons:

Cratinus: 71, 113, cf. 240 ("Zeus" of Pericles) ; 241, 241A (Aspasia) ; 334, 335a (Ephentides) ; 324c (*Σχοινίων* of Callias Comicus, *Ξένιος* of some other Comedian) ; 263 (Androcles) ; poss. 337 (Theodotides).

Eupolis: 249, 274, cf. 403 (Aspasia) ; 99, 124 (Demostratus) ; 408 (Damasistratus) ; 129A (*Ἀμφιπτολεμοπηδησίστρατος*) ; 81 (Democritus) ; *Μαρικῶς* (Frs. 190, 192 etc.) of Hyperbolus. Cf. Austin Fr. 98.14ff.¹⁰⁰

Plato: 216 ("Cerberus" of Cleon)

Callias: 13 (Acestor) ; Teleclides: poss. 16 (Nothippus=Gnesippus?).¹⁰¹

Behind 49 and 66 there may be the Pericles/Zeus motif.

Hemippus: 38 (Hierocles) ; 42 (Diagoras) ; poss. 45 (Gnesippus?). Poss. in *Ἀθηνῶν Ἰοναί* there was the Pericles/Zeus motif.

Phrynichus: 17(Hieroclidides) ; Philonides: cf. the title *Κόθορνος* (*κόθορνος* was a nickname of Theramenes --cf. Philonid. 6);
Theopompus: 57 (Anytus) ; cf. 30 ("Rhadamanthus") ; Metagenes: 13 (Acestor) ; Strattis: 3 (Isocrates) ; maybe 15, if *ὁ χοροκτόνος* was used as a nickname of the 'epithet' type(dub.) ; Adesp.: 49 (implies Pericles/Zeus motif) ; 63(Aspasia) ; 61 ("New Pisi stratids" of Pericles' circle).

Allegorical Plays and Scenes(political allegories):

Cratinus: *Διονυσιαλέξανδρος* , prob. *Νέμεσις* . Cf. 240, 241, 241A.

Eupolis: *Μαρικός* . Cf. Fr. 321.

Plato: 185a, b, c.

Strattis: perh. *Μυρμιδόνες* . The mysterious title *Ληνημοίδα* may also be relevant, but its significance is dubious ("Lemnos as Andromeda" is one theoretical possibility, "Lemnian Andromeda" another, and the possibilities do not end there).

Hemippus' *Ἀθηνᾶς Γοναί* and other plays which had or possibly had the Pericles/Zeus motif (this is conjectural for *Ἀθηνᾶς Γοναί*) may be relevant.

(e) Other Attacks on Living Individuals and Mentions of Living

Persons

m = mention

<u>Poet</u>	<u>Ref.</u>	<u>Person Involved</u>	<u>Ground</u>
<u>Cratinus</u>	(1)	(Metrobius)	m(proto-Cimon). Prob. not a real person.
	30	Lycurgus	m(Egyptian connection) cf. b. ii above.
	62	Lampon	as
	97	Gnesippus	m(vocative)
	98.8	Medon	m(a flower-seller)

	118	Lampon	m(alive)
	119	Chaeris	m(a flute-player)
	131	a polemarch	"Lycambean office"
	163.17	Nicias, father of Hagnon	m as a porter(cf. b.i above)
	163.18	Pithias	m(employer of Nicias)
	195	Clisthenes	m(dub. sign.)
	202	Chaerephon	poor and squalid
	203	Lycon	poor
	242	Pandeleetus	m, but cf. section c above.
	262	Hyperbolus	came early to public life(or newly come...)
	299	Eudemus	m
	317	Connus	poor and starving
	394	Bolbus	m(a dancer)
<u>Grates</u>	33	Megabyzus(??)	(dub.)
<u>Callias</u>	15	Pericles & Aspasia	P. taught rhetoric by A.
<u>Teleclid.</u>	11	Morychus	as a politician
	17	Chrysilla	as mistress of Pericles(cf. 'c')
	40	Socrates	Eur.'s help from him(cf. Lit. Crit)
	42	Pericles	too powerful
<u>Hemippus</u>	46.7	Cleon	as antagonist of Pericles
	63.7	Sitalces	as an Athenian ally
<u>Eupolis</u>	7	Phaeax	m
cf. 36		Pyrilampes??	(so Wilamowitz)
	40	Phonno	m(the admiral)
	43	Aristarchus	hostility to his generalship
	35A	some general?	m as a commander round Minoa

44	Myrrhina	as having had Leogoras' wealth wasted upon her.
cf. 55	Autolycus	his victory
97	(a) Cleocritus	m
106	Antimechus	m (a banker)
cf. 110	some politician?	fit only to burn at crossroads.
110A.15	Niceratus	dub. sign.
110A.12	Callias	as well-breakfasted
114	Pericles Jnr.	as impeded by illegitimacy ¹⁰⁴
146a	Protagoras	as present (cf. 146b and 147)
167	(a) Cleocritus	m
194	Hyperbolus'	insulting simile?
	mother	
206	Philinus	too attentive to a πόλις
207	Syracosius	as an excitable public speaker
210	Adimantus	as victim of outrage (he speaks) cf. section d above.
211	Stilbides	m
(211)	(Amphoterus)	(prob. fictitious)
212	Hierocles	ironic salutation
213	Demus, son of Pyrilampes	as having wax in his ears (i. e. deaf or unheeding)—(pun). cf. 214
23	Hyperbolus	as Cratin. 262
cf. 244A	Pericles??	cf. Goossens in RPh 61 (1935). 333- 349
250 etc.	Phomio	character in 'Taxiarchs'
263	Xanthias	m (a blacksmith)
276.4	Archestratus	m in an uncomplimentary list
290	Cleon	ironic m
297	Lampon	m
352	Socrates	as impoverished

Austin	95.90	Alcaeon	m
"	96.72	Syracosius	m
"	96.74	Execestus	m
"	95.166	Pericles Jnr.	m as <i>voθos</i>
<u>Phrynichus</u>	15	Chaerestratus	m
	21	Meton	m
	22	Nicias	as strategist
	26	Syracosius	for curtailing Comic freedom
<u>Anipsias</u>	9	Socrates	as shabbily dressed
	cf.11	(sophists)	(in chorus)
	27	Eudemus(-emus)	m
<u>Plato</u>	64	Glaucon	m
	101	Pisander	m
	101	another Pisander	m
	107	Cleon	on whom the speaker made war
	125	Andocides	m as <i>Ζηγγηρῆς</i> .
	133	Archinus & Agyrrius	m
	135	Sporgilus	m
	140	Bacchylides	m(a flute-player)
	141	Apolexis	m
	179	Lais	m(poss. after death)
	169	Hyperbolus	?as overthrown
<u>Philonides</u>	4A ?	some politician?	perh. speaking in agon of his relations with the Demos?
	6	Theramenes	m
<u>Arctippus</u>	16??	Aphye(?)	pun on her name?
	21	Daesias	m
	25	Hemaeus	m as cruel to fish

	27	Euclides	mm for sake of puns
		Atherine	
		Sepia, d. of Thyrsus	
		Cobius of Salamis	
		Batrachus	
<u>Strattis</u>	1	the archon who engaged Hegelochus	protest that he ruined Eur. play
	10	Epicrates	m(scomful)
	26	Lais	m
	33	Megallus & Dinias	m
<u>Theopompus</u>	1	Peron	m
	16	Peron	m
	18	Isaeus	m
	30	Callistratus	as having bribed some "Rhadamanthus"
	32.5	Theolyte	m(name used to imply an old hag attractive, aptly.)
	56	(wife of) Thrasymachus	m as suitable general(pun)
	97	Chares	m
<u>Polyzelus</u>	3	Theramenes	m of his 3 choices
	11	Dionysius	as rich and envied
<u>Sannyrion</u>	9	Archinus & Agyrrhius	m
<u>Alcaeus</u>	11	Gorgias	m(a doctor)

Cf. also titles of plays which are, or include, personal names.

Favourable Mention of Living Individuals

It is extremely rare for Old Comedy to pass a favourable verdict on any living individual, for the obvious reason that praise is such poor comic material compared to censure. The most striking exception is when a Comic poet is speaking of himself, as it was traditional in the parabasis (and sometimes elsewhere) to sing one's own praises loud. Favourable notice is also taken of the work of other literary men of whom the poet (or a character in his play) approves: cf. for all such comments the section on Literary Criticism. Outside this field of literature there are some passages which praise politicians or other well-known personalities, but the praise is usually in character for the speaker or else is ironic. An obvious case is where Philocleon in Vesp. 596sq. praises Cleon's concern for the jurors. Another is where young men are represented as eulogizing Phaeax's oratory in Ec. 1377ff. In both cases it is important to consider the character of the speaker. Probably ironic are three fragments outside Aristophanes which apparently praise the living: Telecl. 41, Eup. 212 and Amipsias 9. In the first case Teleclides seems to be implying that Nicias had an even darker secret to keep quiet than Charicles, and his reason for reticence, φίλος γὰρ ἀνὴρ, σωφρονεῖν δέ μοι δοκεῖ, is somewhat puzzling, for he was under no obligation to mention Nicias at all, if he wished to help Nicias keep his uneasy secret.¹⁰³ In Eupolis 212 the salutation Ἱερόκλεες βέλτιστε χρησμωδῶν ἄνδρες seems more likely to be a prelude to an insult than to praise: cf. the irony in Plato 106. In Amipsias 9 the last line says that, though so poor, Socrates never brought himself to play the flatterer (οὐ πώποτ' ἔτλη κολακεύσασθαι). Professor K. J. Dover¹⁰⁴ well points out that there may have been a "sting in the tail" in the next line. Possibly, for example, a statement to the effect that Socrates had no need to play the κολαεῖς as he had such skill as a κλέπτης could have followed (cf.

Eup. 361 and Nu. 179). The praise of Theramenes in Ra. 967ff seems similarly to be an ironic hit at the man's political versatility rather than a genuine expression of approval. In fact, if one excepts what the Comic poets say of themselves and of other literary and artistic figures, there seems to be no clear instance of sincerely intended praise on the poet's own behalf of a living individual in either Aristophanes or his rivals. There are, however, many neutral mentions.

Attitudes to the Dead

As topicality is so important in Old Comedy's comments upon personalities and trends, it is not surprising that the dead are paid far less attention than the living, except in a few plays where dead persons figured as characters, either themselves brought back from the Underworld or visited there. Thus the degree of attention given to dead politicians in Eupolis' $\Delta\eta\mu\omega\iota$ is extreme because the plot involved the return of several of them to Athens. It is interesting to note that in Fr. 112 Eupolis revives the tradition of "head" jokes against Pericles along with the politician himself. It is also interesting to observe the praise of Pericles' rhetoric in Fr. 98, no doubt in contrast to the inferior oratory of the time of $\Delta\eta\mu\omega\iota$. This is a very different attitude to Pericles' verbal dexterity from that found in plays of Pericles' lifetime (contrast Cratin. 293 and 300 and Hermipp. 46, where scorn is shown for his empty words). The change in attitude can be paralleled by Aristophanes' treatment of Lamachus in plays after his death compared with the hostility towards Lamachus displayed in earlier works of Aristophanes.¹⁰⁵

Apart from plays where dead persons are characters, there are occasional comments on the characters or achievements of dead individuals or references to their part in historical events or to their memorials or tombs. A notable comment on a dead man's character is found in

Eup. 208, where it is alleged that Cimon's character was marred by a fondness for wine and a too carefree nature and lightly hints at his alleged incest with his sister. Such brief assessments of dead individuals are found also in Cratin.1 (Cimon), Phrynichus 31 (Sophocles), Eup. 154 (Hipponicus), Phrynichus 69 (a harsh verdict on the musician Lamprus), and the adespota (cf. Kock I p. 293) unwisely assigned to Eupolis' *Δῆμοι* by Wilamowitz¹⁰⁶ and reckoned Eup. Fr. 104A in Edmonds (Themistocles). In Aristophanes we see the technique in such passages as Ra. 82 or 84. Not all notices of the dead are favourable: to parallel the severely censorious Phrynichus 69 we have the remarks on Cleon in *Pax* 47 ff, 269 f, 752 sq. and the allegation that Pericles brought on the Peloponnesian War to cover himself against possible charges of corruption (*Pax* 606 ff), as well as the pleasantries of Eup. 154 and 208 (and cf. further on Literary Criticism). Vilification of the dead is not, however, common.

References to historical events occur occasionally and sometimes involve remarks on individuals associated with them. Most such allusions are in Aristophanes (as *Lys.* 274 ff, 619, 1150 ff, *Vesp.* 502, *Ra.* 689, *Lys.* 1137 ff), although in Eupolis' *Δῆμοι* (Fr. 119 Edm) Miltiades swears by his battle, Marathon. Several passages both in Aristophanes and without refer to the time of Themistocles or to Themistocles himself in fond terms. Such passages are Plato 183, Telecl. 22, Ar. *Eq.* 812 ff and 884 f.

The passages relevant to this section outside Aristophanes are

Cratinus: 1, 223, 274, *Χείρωνες* (cf. 228), *Ἀρχιλόχοι* (cf. 2 & 6)

Eupolis: 96, 98, 109, 111, 112, 119, 128A (Austin 92. 41 sq.), 128B (Austin 92. 60 sq.), 130, 154, 196, 208, *Δῆμοι* in general. Cf. 108A Edm (Ad. 361K), if rightly ascribed to Eupolis.

Plato: 183, 191, *Λάκωνες ἢ Ποιηταί* (cf. 68)

Teleclides: 22, cf. *Ἡσίοδοι*

Pherecrates: *Κραπίταλοι* (cf. Fr. 94)

Phrynichus: 31, 69.

Cf. also passages of literary comment on dead poets (e.g. Theop. 33, Cratin

68a), and plays such as Amipsias' Σαμφώ .

Literary Criticism

Tragedy

(a) Aeschylus

References to Aeschylus in Old Comedy outside Aristophanes are minimal. Nevertheless, one of them—Pherecr. 94—shows that Aeschylus was a character in *Κραπίταλοι*, which seems to have involved a visit to the Underworld (cf. Pollux 9.83 and Pherecr. Fr. 89, perhaps describing a quick way to the Underworld, as in Ra. 120sq.). Aeschylus speaks of his own achievements:

ἄστις <γ> αὐτοῖς παρέδωκε τέχνην μεγάλην ἐξοικοδομήσας ¹⁰⁷

This is similar in tone to Ra. 1004f., both passages marking Aeschylus' service to Tragedy and his legacy to poets to follow. Teleclides 14 is the only other mention of Aeschylus outside Aristophanes: there it is said that Philocles, though ugly, has his great-uncle Aeschylus' spirit (*Ἀισχύλου φρόνημα ἔχει*). This paucity of references to Aeschylus is not so surprising if one observes that outside 'Frogs' Aristophanes himself only mentions him briefly and rarely (Ach. 10, Nu. 1365ff., Av. 807, Lys. 188, Thesm. 134, Frs. 153, 643, 646 and 667, if the last-mentioned be not a reference to Ra. 839). Aeschylus was not, of course, topical in the way that living Tragic poets were. ¹⁰⁸

References: Pherecr. 89 Teleclid. 14

(b) Sophocles

Sophocles is not often mentioned either by Aristophanes or by his rivals, but it is clear that Cratinus and Phrynichus shared Aristophanes' high opinion of the poet. Cratinus in Fr. 15 deplores the refusal of a chorus to Sophocles, but the granting of one to the inferior poet Gnesippus. Phrynichus in Fr. 65 says that Sophocles was not

γλυξίς οὐδ' ὑπέχυτος ἀλλὰ Πράμνιος, a metaphorical Pramnian wine, neither too sweet, but of little character, nor adulterated in quality, but with the true flavour desired by the connoisseur. In Fr. 31 Phrynichus has another eulogy of Sophocles, spoken by some character who evidently envies his successful life and freedom from misfortune, describing him also as the author of many fine tragedies. With the imagery of Phrynichus 65 cf. Aristophanes' description of Sophocles' work as honey-sweet in Fr. 530A and 531.

References: Cratin. 15 Phrynichus 31, 65. cf. also Eup. Austin 98. 7ff

(c) Euripides

In contrast to Aristophanes the other Old Comedians have little to say by way of direct comment on Euripides. The commonest point is that Socrates helped him compose, an allegation made also by Aristophanes. This charge is found in Callias 12 and Teleclides 39 and 40, and is, of course, a comic explanation for the sophistic element in Euripides' work. Euripides is associated with Socrates also in Ar. Ra. 149 ff and is called by Aristophanes "the nursling of Anaxagoras" (Fr. 676b). Cratinus in Fr. 307 coins the word *Εὐριπίδαριστοφανίζειν* ("be a Euripides-Aristophanes enthusiast") in his description of an over-inquisitive and interfering spectator.¹⁰⁹ This suggests that those who thought highly of Euripides would be expected to have a taste for the comedies of Aristophanes also. Plato (Fr. 30) seems to have found Euripides' sibilants irritating.

We have, however, no certain instances of charges outside Aristophanes that Euripides maligned women or corrupted social and moral standards or --save possibly for the corrupt Eup. Fr. 363-- that he had defects in technical skill. One adespoton (16) is aimed at Euripides' supposed hostility to women, but I exclude that fragment from consideration here on the grounds that it may well be Aristophanic itself for all we know. Adesp. 97A is similarly excluded. Nevertheless, there were

perhaps such criticisms once in plays which dealt with Tragedy. It is possible, for instance, that Euripides was tried in Phrynichus' Μούσα of 405 B.C. (cf. Fr. 32 and also Fr. 31's envy of Sophocles' successful life and easy death), but there are no decisive indications.¹¹⁰ Strattis in Fr. 1 calls Euripides' 'Orestes' δρᾶμα δεξιότατον and may have had more to say about the play and Hegelochus' disastrous slip in context (cf. on 'Tragic Actors' below). Nevertheless, as our evidence stands, it looks very much as though Aristophanes was abnormally fascinated by Euripides and his work. Even the Aristophenic fragments provide as many instances of critical comment on Euripides as the fragments of all the other Old Comedians put together,¹¹¹ and in three extant plays (Ach., Thesm., and Ra) Euripides is a particular focus of attention. He was evidently a character in two lost plays too (Δράματα and Προαγών : cf. Ar. Fr. 290, Schol. Vesp. 61). In Fr. 471 Aristophanes admits that he has elements of Euripidean style himself, while Schol. Plato Ap. 19c tells us that Ἀριστοφάνης ... ἐκωμώδειτο ἐπὶ τῷ σκώπτειν μὲν Εὐριπίδην, μιμεῖσθαι δ' αὐτόν, perhaps referring only to Cratin. 37 (which he cites immediately afterwards), or possibly with other such passages in mind. At Vesp. 61 Xanthias declares that the play will include no ἀνασελγαινόμενος Εὐριπίδης, which can probably be taken as an indication that Euripides had appeared before Vesp. in plays besides 'Achamians'. The scholiast says that he was so introduced in Δράματα and Προαγών, but we do not certainly know the dates of those plays, and Aristophanes may well be alluding to a play or plays other than his own. If so, our evidence for criticism of Euripides outside Aristophanes improves. See also on Tragic Parody in the appropriate section below.

References: Cratin. 37 ; Callias 12 ; Teleclid. 39, 40 ; Eupolis 363¹¹² ; Plato 30 ; Strattis 1 ; Theopompus 34 .

(d) Other Tragedians

Some of the minor Tragic poets who attract attention in Aristophanes scarcely figure or do not figure at all in the surviving work of his rivals. Agathon in particular, a character in Aristophanes' 'Thesmophoriazusaë' (although elsewhere in Aristophanes noticed only at Ra. 83ff and in Frs. 327 and 599), does not win a mention from any of Aristophanes' rivals. This may be fortuitous, or the degree of attention paid him in Thesm. may have been quite abnormal. Outside Aristophanes only Eup. Fr. 411 has any possible relevance for Phrynichus the Tragedian, for whom in Aristophanes cf. Vesp. 220, 269, 1490, Av. 749, Ra. 910, 1299 f, Thesm. 164ff, while Iophon, Theognis, Thespis, Patrocles, Ion and Pythagelus are all Tragic poets mentioned in Aristophanes but not in the other Old Comedians.¹¹³ The only Tragic poet who is a butt of Aristophanes' rivals but is not mentioned in Aristophanes' surviving work is Gnesippus,¹¹⁴ who is attacked especially by the generation of Comedians before Aristophanes.

Few of the attacks on the minor Tragedians, especially outside Aristophanes, are concerned with their literary standards. More commonly the jokes are about their characters, physical appearance or social status. Some minor Tragedians seem to be given quite generous attention by Aristophanes' rivals as a whole, compared with the rather scant notice taken of Aeschylus, Sophocles and even Euripides in the non-Aristophanic fragments, but the passages which mention the minor figures have in most cases been especially cited because they do just that, in order to illustrate some point in the Aristophanic scholia. For instance, four of the five mentions of Acestor outside Aristophanes in Old Comedy are so preserved, and four of the seven mentions of Melanthius. The position of Gnesippus is exceptional, as he is not mentioned in Aristophanes.

Most of the passages dealing with the minor Tragedians seem to

have been only limited jokes, both in Aristophanes' and his rivals' work, but there are some exceptions. The most obvious is, of course, the Agathon scene in Thesm. Plato 128 may show a context which debated the respective merits (and faults) of Morsimus and Sthenelus at length, while Gnesippus is attested as a character in Cratinus' Μαλθακοί (Fr. 97). Meletus was a character in Aristophanes' Γηγυτιάδης,¹¹⁵ and MacDowell takes it that Xenocles appeared in Aristophanes' 'Wasps' in person.¹¹⁶

The comments on these minor Tragedians' literary standards are as follows. Cratinus 85 declares that Acestor will take a beating if he does not condense his material, the implication apparently being that Acestor was guilty of bad organisation of his plays and was unduly long-winded or else given to incorporating scenes of dubious relevance at the expense of a concise development of the plot. Callias, in Fr. 13,¹¹⁷ sums up Acestor as "Sacar, whom the choruses hate", which perhaps means that his lyrics were particularly difficult to sing because of some defect or idiosyncrasy in their composition, which made the poet unpopular with his choruses. Perhaps they were just plain bad. Plato's reference to Xenocles as δωδεκαμήχανος (134) probably makes the same criticism as Ar. Pax 782, where Xenocles and his brothers are μηχανοδίφαι ("searchers for artifices"). The allusion may well be to Xenocles as a dancer, not as a Tragedian, as his brothers are included in the similar criticism in Pax. The sons of Carcinus were perhaps renowned for their desire to incorporate new variations in their performances (but cf. Schol. Pax 792). Baker reasonably sees a measure of double entendre in the passage (cf. Ra. 1328).¹¹⁸ Philocles' handling of some legend is deplored by Cratinus in Fr. 22:

ὄνπερ Φιλοκλέης τὸν λόγον διέφθορεν

The same Tragedian is the target of criticism in Teleclid. 14, where he is said to have the mind of Aeschylus, for all his ugliness. In Plato 128 Morsimus is apparently championed by someone against an admirer of Sthenelus, but we know so little of either that it is difficult to see

the point of contention.¹²¹ Sthenelus is also alleged to have used other poets' lines, in Plato Fr. 70. In Plato 132, where Melanthius is described as λλος, there may be a reflection on his literary work, but the reference may only be to his conversational habits in ordinary life. The literary standards of Gnesippus are splendidly derided by Cratinus in Fr. 15, where ^{the speaker} describes that poet as unfit in his opinion to be a διδάσκαλος even at the Adonia. As the Adonia was a women's festival where the women bewailed the dead Adonis (cf. Lys. 39 ff), the implication is apparently that Gnesippus' choruses wailed like the women on such occasions. In Cratinus 256 a chorus of Gnesippus is again ridiculed. In a passage of double entendre they are described as women hair-pluckers, plucking (on harps) vile lyrics (also limbs) in the Lydian mode. The chorus seems in context to be hypothetical, but no doubt Cratinus felt that Gnesippus' choral lyrics warranted such censure.

References: (passages underlined are concerned with the poet's work, other references being given for completeness. The sign + indicates that the fragment derives from the occurrence of the poet's name in the text, of Aristophanes, the scholiast quoting the passage to illustrate Aristophanes' mention.)

Acestor: Cratin. 85+ ; Callias 13+ ; Eupolis 159 ; Theop. 60+ ; Metagen.

13+

Xenocles: Pherecr. 14+ ; Plato 134+ (poss. concerned with poet's work)

Philocles: Cratin. 292 ; Teleclid. 14+, cf. 29

Morsimus: Plato 128

Melanthius: Callias 11+ ; Pherecr. 139 ; Eup. 41+ , 164+ ; Plato 132+ ;

Leucon 2 ; Archippus 28

Meletus: Samnyricus 2

Sthenelus: Plato 128+, 70

Morychus: Teleclid. 11+, Plato 106

Gnesippus: Cratin. 15 , 97 , 256 ; Teleclid. 16 (Nothippus), 34 ; Hermipp.

45 (Nothippus); cf. Eup. 139 & Chionid. 4 (both as lyric poet).

(e) Tragic Actors

Notice is occasionally taken of Tragic actors both in Aristophanes and in other Old Comedians. The most celebrated case is the attention given by three Comedians to the slip in pronunciation by Hegelochus which did much to ruin the effect of Euripides' 'Orestes'. The slip consisted in distorting

ἐκ κυμάτων γὰρ αὐθις αὐτὸ γαλήν' ὄρω¹²³
 into ἐκ κυμάτων γὰρ αὐθις αὐτὸ γαλήν ὄρω

which introduces an unwanted marten (the Ancient Greek equivalent of our domestic cat) into the passage. The simplest joke on the error is in Ar. Ra. 303f, which depends upon the mere recollection of the incident for its humour:

ἔξεστί θ' ὥσπερ Ἡγέλοχος ἡμῖν λέγειν.
 ἐκ κυμάτων γὰρ αὐθις αὐτὸ γαλήν ὄρω.

The jokes of Strattis in Fr. 60 and of Sannyrion in Fr. 8 are more ambitious, if not especially effective. Strattis' joke involves a misunderstanding of the notorious phrase. Someone says γαλήν' ὄρω and is taken to have said γαλήν ὄρω by another, who promptly looks round for the marten. The joke is rather spoilt (for me, at any rate) by the somewhat heavy-handed explanation of the misunderstanding that follows. In Sannyrion 8 Zeus, it appears, is musing over what animal form to adopt in order to approach Danae.¹²⁴ Momentarily he thinks of a γαλή¹²⁵ but dismisses the idea when he considers that Hegelochus would give him away with the infamous line. There is clearly some attempt to build up to the pun-line in ll. 3-4, although our text is uncertain. Hegelochus' slip is censured also in Strattis 1, and in Plato 215 the actor's voice is said to be displeasing. It is interesting that two plays of Strattis seem to have given substantial attention to Tragic actors. One bears the name, as it seems, of a Tragic actor, Callipides, known from Ar. Fr. 474 and Plutarch, Ageilaus 21. Another, the play from which

Fr.1 is cited, has either the title Ἀνθρωπορροΐστης ("Human-destroyer"), with reference perhaps to the man who hired Hegelochus, or else Ἀνθρωπορέστης ("A Human Orestes"), with reference to Hegelochus' taking the part of Orestes, one would surmise. In either case the play probably had a fair amount to say about Hegelochus. This makes it possible that Strattis paid more than the normal amount of attention to Tragic actors, for they do not generally figure prominently in Old Comedy.

References:

Hegelochus: Plato 215¹¹¹; Strattis 1, 60 and title Ἀνθρωπορροΐστης or Ἀνθρωπορέστης

Callipides: Strattis' Καλλιπιδῆς

Demophon the actor?: Theop. 43

Cf. also the references to dancers in Cratin. 394 and Callias 25 (Bolbus) and cf. on Xenocles in (d) above.

(f) Remarks on Tragic Poets not now Identifiable

There are a few passages where there is clearly literary criticism of some Tragic poet in context, but where we cannot establish the identity of the Tragedian. In Plato 68 it seems that some Tragic poet has returned from the dead, while in 67 there appears to be a reference to Tragic diction. Both passages come from Λόκωνες ἢ Ποιηταί. Similarly both Phrynichus 54 and Phrynichus 55 (from Τραγωδοί) refer to Tragic poetry. It is evident that there was discussion of the style and artistic merit of some Tragedian(s) in the play, as one would surmise from the title. For the possible implications of Phrynichus 32 see on 'Euripides' above. In Plato 130 there is a complaint of the decline in standard of the delivery of choral lyrics: instead of providing spectacle by dancing, modern choruses do nothing, but stand still and wail. The complaint is set in general terms, but may have hinted some particular poet's work. In addition to the above passages it is

very likely that certain plays dealt predominantly with Tragedy on the evidence of their titles or of hints of content. These are included in the list below.

References: Cratinus: cf. 260A & B(Λρα.)

Plato: Ζευαί (cf. 128, 130) ; Λύκωνες ἢ Ποιηταί (cf. 67, 68, 70) ; perh. Ποιητής ; perh. Σοφισταί (cf. 134 & 140) ; poss. even 'Ραβδούχοι¹²⁴ ??

Phrynichus: Τραγωδοὶ ἢ Ἀπελεύθεροι (cf. 54 & 55) ; Μούσαι (cf. 31 & 32)

Philonides: perh. Προγών, if this play be not Aristophanes'.

Strattis: cf. Καλλιπιδής and perh. Ἀνθρωπορραίστης (Fr. 1) or Ἀνθρωπορέστης (others besides Eur.?)

Nicochares: perh. Ποιητής ; perh. Ἡρακλῆς Χορηγός ?? (or Comedy?)

In addition to the above there are also passages which belittle Tragedy generally. Cratinus 306 depends, I take it, on the assumption that the audience will be sleepy and bored after enduring the preceding tragedies. The same notion that Tragedy is the dreary prelude to Comedy is found in Ar. Av. 787ff. Crates 24 declares that the plot of his Παιδιαί is another noble tale for Tragedians to use, probably a hit at the fact that Tragedy preferred ready-made plots from mythology, whereas Comedy had to devise its own. Cf. the Middle Comedian Antiphanes Fr. 191 for this theme.

Comedy

(a) Remarks on Other Comedians

Aristophanes

A common joke against Aristophanes was that he was born on the "fourth", an allusion to his producing some plays through others, as Heracles, who performed so many labours for Eurystheus, was born on the fourth. The joke is found in Plato (Fr. 100), Sannyrion (5) and Aristonymus (4). It was also, to judge from Nu. 540, the practice of some of Aristophanes' rivals to poke fun at his baldness. Eupolis does this

in Fr. 78.¹²¹ In Cratin. 324c it is perhaps Aristophanes who is nicknamed $\Xi\epsilon\upsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$. A few criticisms of Aristophanes' work are also found: both Eupolis(54) and Plato(81) make fun of the hauling scene in Aristophanes' 'Peace', while in Fr. 78 Eupolis claims that he helped Aristophanes write the 'Knights', a reply to the Aristophanic charge of plagiarism (in Nu. 553f it is alleged that Eupolis' Μαρκῆς was a vile travesty of 'Knights': this passage of Nu. was never performed, but Aristophanes must have made a similar charge elsewhere). Eupolis is probably teasing Aristophanes by laying claim to have helped him compose a play of which he was particularly proud. Cratinus in Fr. 200 (from Πυρίνη of 423 B.C.) had already accused Aristophanes of borrowing from Eupolis, and in Fr. 307 coins the word $\text{Εὐριπιδαριστοφανίζειν}$ to describe an over-inquisitive spectator's enthusiasm for Euripides and Aristophanes. No really substantial criticisms of Aristophanes' style of Comedy survive.

Others

Cratinus' references to Euphantides include the allegation that Choerilus assisted him in the composition of his plays (Frs. 335a, b, c) and the nickname Καπνίος ("Smoky", usually said of wine going bad), either hinting that Euphantides was not a lucid writer or that he was "going off" with age, like wine. In Fr. 324a Cratinus quotes some words of Euphantides, perhaps proceeding to make some comment on his style(?). The same poet speaks of Callias(324c) and Eupolis(200). In Fr. 308 he complains of the over-use of the theme of the hungry Heracles, a reflection on the methods of his rivals comparable to Aristophanes' remarks in Nu. 537sq., Vesp. 56sq., Pax 734sq. (esp. 741f). There is a lot of evidence of comment on Comedy and on its exponents in Cratinus.

By contrast there are few passages of relevance in Eupolis. In Fr. 357 he casts doubts on the Attic origin of some of his rivals, perhaps with Aristophanes chiefly in mind, and in Fr. 244 he shows contempt for 'Megarian' Comedy by using the adjective of a poor and

obscene joke. With Fr. 78 (on Aristophanes) these are his only comments on Comedy other than his own.

Among the others, Strattis pokes fun at Philyllius' use of torches in Fr. 37, and in Fr. 54 speaks of Sannyrion's "leather eid", which Bergk took to mean the Comic phallus, although the context of Athenaeus makes this doubtful. In Fr. 20¹³⁰ Strattis speaks of Sannyrion again, alluding to his thinness, which was such that Aristophanes included him as Comedy's representative on an embassy of thin poets in Γηρυτ-
αδης¹³¹. Pherecr. 185 is similar in purport and wording to Ar. Fr. 253: both passages speak of Comic choruses of earlier days. Euphantides 4, although corrupt, probably expresses weariness with the over-use of 'Megarian' Comedy by his rivals.

(b) Remarks of the Poets on Themselves

Cratinus' Πυτινή is outstanding as a comment of an Old Comedian upon himself. It is the only old comedy in which a Comic poet set himself among the cast and is a remarkable piece of self-satire from an elderly man, dismissed as senile by Aristophanes only a year before (Eq. 526sq.). Cratinus makes comic capital out of the stock charge against him, that he was a drunkard, by composing an allegory of his recall to faithfulness to his wife, Comedy, whom he had long neglected in his addiction to Μέθη¹³². The scale of the self-criticism utterly surpasses anything else said by the Old Comedians of themselves. Two fragments of Πυτινή particularly deserve our notice here: they are Frs. 195 and 196. They appear to tell Cratinus how to work Clisthenes and Hyperbolus into his plays, and the ληρείς ἔχων¹³³ at the start of Fr. 195 seems to indicate that Cratinus has previously made some unsatisfactory suggestion himself. Zielinski¹³⁴ followed Fritzsche in arguing that the speaker is Comedy, advising Cratinus how to improve his comic technique in some play which he is composing or has composed. This is a very plausible suggestion. The motif of the Comic poet's¹³⁵

receiving advice direct from *Κωμωδία* is nowhere else attested, but is, of course, closely linked to the peculiar circumstances of the play, that is if Fritzsche and Zielinski are correct. Several other statements on his own work are found in the fragments of Cratinus, more in fact than in any other Old Comedian save Aristophanes (the evidence for Eupolis is a fair way behind Cratinus in this respect). In Fr. 18 Cratinus deplores the poor literary taste of an archon who could refuse not only Sophocles (Fr. 15) but himself a chorus, and in Fr. 329 he is probably complaining of the audience's folly in not awarding him the first prize on a previous occasion. In 162A. 5-6 (Austin 73. 5-6) he expresses a fear that the judges may err under the weight of circumstances (what circumstances we do not know), one of the not uncommon statements of concern by the Comic poets that the merits of their work should not escape the judges' notice or that the judges should not give a biased decision and thus prefer the work of some other poet. For such sentiments cf. also Ar. *Null* 15sq., *Av.* 1102sq., *Ecl.* 1154sq., *Pherecr.* 96. Fr. 237 testifies to the labour involved in composing *Χείρωνες*, while it is possible that Frs. 135 and 136 (146K and 145K) speak of the content of *᾽Οδυσσεύς*¹³⁶. If so, they stress the element of novelty. In Fr. 169 Cratinus expresses confidence in victory (the "feast of clever spectators" to which the chorus say they have come is, of course, the victory feast)¹³⁷, while in the textually dubious Fr. 323 he speaks of the audience as the best judge of all of his work (1. 2), though the purport of the lines as a whole is not clear (some have thought that there is censure of the audience in 1. 1)¹³⁸.

Eupolis has less to say of himself than Cratinus in the surviving fragments. He claims to have helped Aristophanes write *Eq.* (Fr. 78) and stresses the unfairness of preferring "foreign" poets to the Attic-born Eupolis (Fr. 357). Fr. 223 seems likely to herald remarks on the Comic art, for it addresses the audience as

ἄνδρες λογισταὶ τῶν ὑπευθύνων χορῶν

a metaphor from the εὐθύναι of magistrates, an amusing and apparently novel image. The line is an iambic trimeter (or possibly part of a trochaic tetrameter, but it is far tidier as the former, as it could then begin a speech), which is somewhat surprising, but less so than Plato 107, for a character in the prologue could be addressing the audience, to give but one possibility. Fr. 306 makes some joke at the expense of the χορηγός of the play, as it seems, charging him with meanness (so Pollux interprets ῥυπαρώτερον). The point is probably similar to the remarks about economy in Re. 405ff or the joke about saving the χορηγός the sheep in Pax 1022. ῥυπαρώτερον is, however, a strong word.

Pherecrates in Fr. 96 threatens the judges with harsh words if they do not treat him fairly and give him the prize, another example of the technique noticed above on Cratinus 162A. In Fr. 79 it is interesting to see Pherecrates explicitly draw attention to a metrical novelty, a form of the metre later to bear his name, but which he calls σὺμπτυκτοὶ ἀνάπαιστοι.

Metagenes 14 is an informative comment on Metagenes' methods. The poet says that he varies his plot from scene to scene to feast the audience with many fresh side-dishes. This seems to point to a widely varied plot so constructed as to bring in many elements of Comedy on a somewhat episodic basis. This could perhaps be done by having a series of very dissimilar visitors coming along in the manner of the later scenes of Aristophanes' Ach. Av., Pax or Plutus, and with as much variety. The fragment suggests that Metagenes concentrated on individual scenes more than on overall effects, to which Crates, for instance, seems to have given greater attention. In fact, Crates Fr. 24 seems to show some pride in plot composition: Crates declares that he has provided another grand tale for the Tragedians to use.

Among the other Comedians, Plato speaks of his practice of allow-

ing plays of his own to be produced through others, either selling them his work (cf. διὰ πενίαν) or else employing other persons as διδάσκαλοι . We know now from Pap. Oxy. 2737^A that Plato did produce plays through others, first venturing to act as his own διδάσκαλος in the case of 'Ραβδούχοι'¹³⁹. The relevant passage — from a commentary on a play of Aristophanes—is as follows:

φ[.....]·π·! Ἐρατοσθέ-
νης περὶ Πλάτωνος ὅτι
ἕως μὲν [ἄλ]λοισ ἐδίδου τὰς
κωμωδίας εὐδοκίμει δι'
αὐτοῦ δὲ πρῶτον διδάξας
τοὺς ῥαβδούχους καὶ γενό-
μενος τέταρτος ἀπεώθη
πάλιν εἰς τοὺς Ληναίικους.

This seems to make it very probable that Plato is indeed speaking of himself, in spite of the similar Fr. 100, aimed at Aristophanes. The problem of whether or not Plato means himself in Fr. 107 has been considered above.¹⁴¹ The only other relevant passage in Plato is Fr. 133, where he may have attacked Archinus and Agyrrius for their reduction of the poets' pay (cf. Ar. Ra. 367 and Sannyrion 9). Phrynichus in Fr. 26 (textually doubtful) makes a complaint about the limitations imposed on him by Syracosius' μὴ κωμῶδειν ὀνομαστί law — although this does not prevent him from naming Syracosius, just as in Aristophanes' 'Birds', performed while the decree was in force, some individuals from public life were named in passages of ridicule.¹⁴² Μὴ κωμῶδειν ὀνομαστί is evidently a great simplification of the precise terms of the law.

It is clear that there was much common ground in the sort of comments which the Old Comedians made upon themselves and upon their rivals. What is most obvious in surveying the evidence of our fragments

is firstly the unique position of Cratinus' Πυτινή as a work of literary criticism, and secondly the comparative abundance of passages indicating comment on Comedy in Cratinus' remaining work.

References:

Other Comedians on Ar.:

Cratin. 200, 307, poss. 324c (or Phrynichus?)

Eupolis 54, 78, poss. cf. 357

Plato: 81, 100

Teleclid. poss. 43 ; Aristonymus 4 ; Sannyrion 5

Other Comedians on Each other:

Cratin. 335a, b, c, 324a, 334 (all Ephantides), 324c (Callias--also Ar. or Phrynichus), 200 (Eupolis), 308 (more general)

Eupolis cf. 244 ('Megarian' used contemptuously), 357 (not specific, but may hint Ar.?)

Ephantides 2 (contempt for 'Megarian' Comedy) ; Lysippus 4 (non-specific charge of re-using material) ; Pherecrates 95 (on earlier Comedy) 185 (choruses of earlier days) ; Hemippus 64 (Phrynichus) ; Strattis 20, 54 (Sannyrion), 37 (Philyllius)

Other Comedians on Themselves and Their Work :

Cratin. Πυτινή passim, 195 & 196 in particular. Also 18, poss. 36 (? and Διδασκαλία in general?)¹⁴³, poss. 73¹⁴⁴, 162A ad init. (Austin 73), 169, 222, 237, 323, 324b, prob. 329, cf. Pap. Oxy. 1611. 31 (p. 73 ad fin. Edm.). Cf. 174?

Eupolis 78, 223, 244(?), 306, 357

Plato 99, perh. 107, 133(?)

Ephantides cf. 2 ; Crates 24 ; Teleclid. poss. 4 (rebuke to audience)

Lysippus 4, cf. Pap. Oxy. 1611. 31 (p. 20 Edm) ; Pherecrates 79, 96 ;

Phrynichus 26 ; Metagenes 14 ; Sannyrion 9(?)

Possibly Cratin. 339 is an indication of comment on the theatre (? on Comedy?) also. Cf. also Cratin. 23 and perhaps even 347.¹⁴⁵

Epic

Evaluative comment on Epic poetry is rare, no doubt because of the absence of topical interest. Eupolis, Plato and Pherecrates have nothing to say of it, unless Pherecr. 152 and 153, an apparent comment on the discrepancy between Hesiodic and later standards of conduct towards guests, be considered relevant here (there is no criticism of artistic standards). There is also very little critical comment on Epic poetry in Aristophanes himself. There may well have been rather more in Cratinus and Teleclides. The latter's ¹⁴⁶ 'Ἡσίοδοι' has a suggestive title, and we know from Diog. Laert. Proem. 12 that Cratinus in his Ἀρχίλοχοι called the poets σοφισταί (cf. Fr. 2), τοὺς περὶ Ὅμηρον καὶ Ἡσίοδον ἐπαινῶν. This may well indicate substantial interest in Homer and Hesiod and in other early poets in that play. Homer may be ὁ τυφλός in Fr. 6. Fr. ¹⁴⁷ 332 shows that Cratinus treated the 'Margites' as Homer's, while in the context of the concocted line

τὸν δ' ἀπρημβόμενος προσέφη κρείων Διομήδης

Cratinus is said to have accused Homer of pleonasm (Fr. 68a). Of later Comic poets Theopompus has Odysseus comment anachronistically on the aptness of a Homeric simile (Fr. 33), while Metagenes wrote a play with the title Ὅμηρος ἢ Ἀσκηταί, perhaps, if one compares Ra. 1032ff, a play treating Homer as a manual for military training.

References: Cratin.: 68a, 332, Ἀρχίλοχοι (cf. Diog. Laert. loc. cit. & Frs. 2 & 6); Teleclid.: Ἡσίοδοι; Metagenes: cf. Ὅμηρος ἢ Ἀσκηταί; Theop.: 33

Other Literary and Musical Criticism

Cratinus has several references to early poets, but most of them were evidently no more than minor allusions. Thus, although Fr. 305 speaks of Polymnestus of Colophon, the citharode, Fr. 217 of the inferior Lyric poet Telenicus, ¹⁴⁸ and Fr. 243 of the "Lesbian bard" (about whose identity the ancients did not agree, although many claimed that the

allusion was to Terpander¹⁵⁰), Cratinus does not seem to have said anything of substance of any of them in context. Nevertheless, the occurrence of their names suggests that there was some literary or musical interest in context, even if not in them. All three phrases have something of the proverbial in them. Whether the "mention" of the "very early dithyrambic poet" Cecides or Cedides in Πανόπται (156) was trivial or not we cannot tell, but the name occurs in a context in Nu. 985 which suggests that the man was a type of all that was out-dated:

ἀρχαῖά γε καὶ Διπολιώδη καὶ τεττίγων ἀνάμειστα
καὶ Κηκείδου καὶ Βουφονίων.

It may in fact be that the man's name was used similarly in Cratinus, and that it was only a guess of the scholiast that Cecides or Cedides was of such early date,¹⁵² for an inscription of the later part of the Fifth Century records a victory of a Cedides (with the 'd') at the Thargelia. This could be the same man, perhaps a laughing-stock for an archaic style(?). Even if these references were all relatively trivial, it is clear that at least one of the older, non-epic poets figured prominently in Ἀρχίλοχοι¹⁵³. This is, of course, Archilochus himself, to whom Fr. 6 refers as the "Thasian brine", with reference to his part in the colonisation of Thasos and to his mordant invective.¹⁵⁴ Archilochus was a strong influence on Cratinus: cf. on 'Parody and Borrowings' below. Frs. 229 and 230 (Χείρωνες)¹⁵⁵ and Fr. 70 (Εὐνεῖδαί) also suggest comment on (lyric) poetry in context. Cf. 67 also, and the significance of the title Εὐνεῖδαί, by which were meant lyricists, citharodes who, according to Harpocration and Pollux, performed at religious services at Athens. Athenaeus (15. 698c=Fr. 68b Edm) attests the use of parody in the play, such as we see for ourselves in Frs. 69 and 70: cf. on 'Parody and Borrowings' below.

Eupolis in Fr. 139 deplores the view that it is out-dated to sing the works of Stesichorus, Alcman and Simonides, whereas one can hear

μοιχοί singing the verses of Gnesippus (who wrote lyric verse as well as Tragedy) to call out their paramours.¹⁵⁷ In Fr. 139A Edm (366K) Eupolis similarly bewails the fact that Pindar's poetry was neglected because of the general disregard for beauty among his fellow citizens (ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν πολλῶν ἀφιλοκαλίας : Athen. i. 3a). Fr. 361 again mentions Stesichorus in connection with a recital to the lyre (not a critical passage, however). It is clear that some sophistic musician appeared in Αἴγες (cf. 3, 4, 11, 17) and that the play showed some rustic (the ἄγροικος of Pap. Oxy. 273. ii = Austin 237, and hence the chorus of goats)¹⁵⁸ attempting to acquire an education (cf. Strepsiades in Aristophanes' 'Clouds': whether Αἴγες or Νυ. γ' dates first is uncertain).¹⁵⁹ Austin Fr. 237 shows that the rustic attempted a shield-dance at some stage in Αἴγες and was instructed in how to perform the movements properly by his " διδασκαλος ". Fr. 4 shows that the teacher took a fee for such instruction. Fr. 17 names the sophist-musician as 'Prodamus', a name not otherwise known in this connection. If the name is correctly reported by Quintilian, it may be that of a character invented by Eupolis, similar to those of Prodicus and Pronomus. It is possible that it is a mistake for one of these names, but the fact that in Austin Fr. 237 the character is simply designated ὁ διδασκαλος suggests that he was not identified as a celebrated sophist in the play. Perhaps the name Prodamus was a deliberate compromise between Prodicus and Pronomus. The name does, however, occur in an inscription from Melos (I. G. A. 435 = p. 97 Flick). Cf. further on 'Philosophy and Scientific Theories' below.¹⁶⁰ Whether Fr. 77 describes some musician from real life is not apparent, but, in view of Eupolis' taste for topical comment, one would suspect that it did so. The description of the man, in double entendre, uses homosexually suggestive language to convey his versatility as a musician and dancer. From the same play (Βάπτει)¹⁶¹ come two other fragments suggesting that dithyrambic (and perhaps other) performances figured in the play. 76A bids some girl

play a cyclic prelude, while 76B complains that someone is intolerable in that he is in conflict with the tune ($\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\epsilon\ \pi\alpha\rho\grave{\alpha}\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$). All this suggests some element of literary and musical criticism (and parody?) in $\beta\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\alpha$. Fr. 303 shows another 'recital', of both old-style and contemporary song (lyric: $\omega\delta\eta$). Someone declares that he will listen to both, examine them ($\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$) and choose which seems right to him. Parody and critical comment seem to be indicated in context. Kock sees a 'generation gap' situation, recalling the conflict over the merits of old and new-style poetry in Nu. 935sq., when Strepsiades wanted his son to recite for him. This is a possible view, but it may be a teacher/pupil relationship (or some other). Vaguer indications of literary criticism may be found in Fr. 245 (or predominantly parody in context?) and perhaps in Fr. 200. Edmonds' suggestion that in Fr. 127 someone is identifying with Orpheus is one of his more felicitous conjectures. The obvious reason for someone to wish to impersonate Orpheus (or to imitate him) in a play in which men returned from the dead is to bring back persons from the Underworld, as Orpheus tried to bring back Eurydice (cf. Edmonds p. 359, note 'e'). Whether it is actually a lyricist who takes on the role of Orpheus is not apparent, as some other person may have thought himself equal to the part. Edmonds' guess that Cinesias in particular is involved is risky, but it is a possibility. Even if someone does think of trying to bring back the dead by playing the role of Orpheus, it does not necessarily follow, of course, that that method was eventually adopted in the play. The method may have been a 'false start', as it were. In Fr. 81 Democritus of Chios is mentioned under a nickname.

The most important passage of comment upon lyric poets and music in the Old Comic fragments is unquestionably Pherecrates Fr. 145 (with 144B Edm, i. e. 157K). There Μουσική makes her complaints to Δικαιόσ-υνη of the gross mistreatment which she has suffered at the hands

of certain lyric poets, using language not only appropriate to the musical context, but also to sexual assault. Μουσική traces her successive ravishings by Melanippides, Cinesias, Phrynis and Timotheus,¹⁶² each worse than the last in the outrages which he perpetrated upon her. She claims that her woes began with Melanippides, whose innovations made her "slacker by a dozen notes" (l. 5 Edm). Düring¹⁶³ understands this to mean that the compositions of Melanippides were pitched low in comparison with the old music, which seems to agree with what is said of the older-style Dorian mode in Nu. 969 and the scholium thereto. The Dorian harmonia was higher in pitch than the harmoniai which the innovators favoured: cf. Schol. Nu. loc. cit.: ὡς συντόνου οὐσης τῆς παλαιᾶς ἁρμονίας, οὐκ ἀνειμένης ὡς οἱ νέοι ἐπένοήσαν . Δώδεκα χορδαῖς is taken by Düring¹⁶⁴ to mean "a great mass of notes", taking δώδεκα as a round number as in Ra. 1129. He understands the allusion to be to the wider compass of the new music. What is said of Cinesias, "the accursed Attic", is more obscure, as the simile in ll. 16-17 Edm is problematic. He is described as having been the end of Μουσική with his "extra-harmonious bendings (modulations)", which both Düring¹⁶⁵ and Borthwick¹⁶⁶ refer to "frequent modulations from mode to mode", even, it may be, within the same strophe. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in the passage cited by Düring on p. 183f of his article, speaks of such departures from the basic mode by later dithyrambic poets (naming Philoxenus, Timotheus and Telestes in particular) and records also how the music could be at times enharmonic, at times chromatic and at times diatonic. The simile ("so that in his dithyrambic poetry, as among the shields, his right seemed his left") has been variously interpreted. Meineke¹⁶⁷ followed Hanow¹⁶⁸ in taking the "bendings" in context to refer to physical movements of the chorus and in concluding that in consequence of the "extra-harmonious bendings" (or "tunings") the chorus was at times in the wrong place according to the strict requirements of

the music. Meineke adduces Schol. Ra. 153 in support of this, which says of Cinesias that ἐν τοῖς χοροῖς πολλῇ κινήσει ἐχρήσατο . He interprets ἄσπιδες in the simile as "ordines militum" and concludes that for Cinesias' right to seem his left in such a setting he must be facing the wrong way, which Meineke takes to be a reflection on Cinesias' cowardice, of which Lysias may give a hint in XXI. 20 (he speaks of Cinesias' success in avoiding military service, at any rate). Kock and Edmonds follow Meineke and Hanow in their general interpretation. The ἐξαρμόνιοι κἀμπαί are more convincingly interpreted by Düring and Borthwick as I have described above, but it is clear from the simile itself, as Meineke observed, that the physical movements made by the chorus in accordance with the musical innovations in question must also be in point in the passage, as Borthwick acknowledges on p. 66. The view that Meineke takes of the simile was also my own natural reaction to the words. Düring¹⁶⁹ seems misguided in understanding ἐν ταῖς ἄσπίσιν of the reflection in shields, as in mirrors, for, as Borthwick¹⁷⁰ very reasonably observes, "the gratuitous introduction here of shields is curiously unmotivated." The article in the phrase ἐν ταῖς ἄσπίσιν seems to me far more uncomfortable with Düring's interpretation than with Meineke's, although Düring himself regards the presence of the article as fatal to the "battle-line" view. The pun that Düring thinks he sees on δεξιῶν¹⁷¹ and ἀριστερῶν¹⁷¹ does not seem convincing to me. Borthwick argues that there is an allusion to the πυρρῆχη (cf. Ra. 153 for its association with Cinesias) with its shield movements, but I find it too difficult to believe that ἐν ταῖς ἄσπίσιν means "in his shields", i. e. in the shield movements of the Pyrrhic dance", as Borthwick claims. The interpretation is linguistically very uneasy in my opinion, and I should consider neither Düring's view of the simile nor Borthwick's an improvement on Meineke's. If Cinesias was a notoriously cowardly or bungling soldier, and if ἐν ταῖς ἄσπίσιν

can legitimately be taken to refer to battle-lines even with the article (and it seems less difficult to suppose so than to follow either of the other two suggestions), then we may believe Meineke, but none of the interpretations offered is without at least some difficulty.

Phrynīs, Μουσική claims, "threw in (introduced) some personal twist and completely finished me with bending and turning, with his twelve harmonies on five strings." Aristophanes too (Nu. 970) associates Phrynīs with *καμπύλι*, and Timotheus called him Ἰωνοκάρπης (Fr. 8 Diehl). Düring¹⁷² takes *στρόβιλος* to be a tuning mechanism, but Borthwick¹⁷³ well rejects this view and understands it of a violent whirling, an irregular rotatory motion (cf. the imagery of Pax 864, where we hear of οἱ Καρκίνου *στρόβιλοι*). Both Düring and Borthwick accept the transmitted Πέντε as the number of the strings, and the former offers detailed remarks on the tuning involved, but is perhaps inclined to accredit Pherecrates with a more precise impression of the meaning he intended than he need have had himself. Borthwick¹⁷⁴ well supposes that δώδεκα is a round number, chosen perhaps for its sexual associations (Cyrene the prostitute can offer twelve varieties in Ra. 1327, and Pexamus in the First Century B. C. called his work on sexual positions *δωδεκάτεχνον*; cf. Plato 134 also). Yet, for all his faults, Phrynīs was not too bad. Timotheus, however, Μουσική narrates, surpassed all in his passion for "off-route, extra-harmonious ant-runs and unholy overshootings and high-pitched trills." The "ant-run" image is used in Ar. Thesm. 100 of the lyrics of Agathon:

Μύρμηκος ἀτραπούς, ἢ τί διαμινυρίζεται;

The same image must explain Philoxenus' nickname Μύρμηξ. Meineke¹⁷⁵ took the reference of the image to be to the scurrying of ants to and fro, which is for us a more natural image, but Borthwick¹⁷⁶ adduces the phrase ... ἀνάτρητος ἔ τρῶπος οὗτος τῆς μελοποιίας (on Euripides' πολυχαρδία) from the Byzantine Treatise on Tragedy published

ed by Browning¹⁷⁷ to support the alternative, that the allusion is to the winding galleries in an ant-hill (the music following a similarly complex and winding path). In Fr. 26 Pherecrates uses the 'pathway of music' image again. For the sexual double entendre of the fragment here discussed from the musical angle cf. on 'Sexual Humour' below.¹⁷⁸ For further evidence of musical interest in Pherecrates cf. Fr. 42 and Fr. 6. In the latter two persons are considering the identity of the worst citharode. Meles' name is volunteered, while Chaeris is said to have the next-best claim on the title.

A few fragments of Plato refer to lyric poets and musicians. Fr. 184 makes fun of Cinesias' looks, not his poetry, and Fr. 173 introduces parody of, rather than criticism of, Philoxenus' Δείπνον, but Fr. 191, which questions Damon about his tuition of Pericles (? after Damon's death) may well intimate a substantial comment on their relationship, which endured until quite late in both men's lives.¹⁷⁹ Fr. 140 reveals some reference to the flute-player Bacchylides.

Fr. 2 of Phrynichus asks someone whether he did not once teach "this man" (τουτονί) to play the lyre and flute. Who the teacher and pupil were we cannot tell, but the passage is reminiscent of Plato 191 above. Fr. 6 of Κόννος, as well as the title of that play, suggests attention to lyric poetry and music in context. Cf. the brief allusion in Fr. 64 also. The principal passage of Phrynichus which offers criticism of music is, however, Fr. 69, a most unflattering assessment of Lamprus. The transmitted text (with λάρους and not Bergk's¹⁸⁰ νιγλάρους) translates, "... that seagulls sang the dirge when Lamprus was a-dying, a water-drinker, a whimpering arch-sophist, a mummy of the Muses, an ague of nightingales, a hymn of Hades." Not all these metaphors can be interpreted with certainty. "Water-drinker" is obvious: Cratin. 199, for instance, preaches the doctrine that a drinker of water is a dull poet.¹⁸¹ "An ague of nightingales" probably hints the distress that the poor music of Lamprus caused those songstresses of nature.¹⁸²

"Mummy of the Muses" may be something similar, or there may be an allusion to the physical appearance of Lamprus (about which we know nothing).¹⁸³ "Hymn of Hades" is explained by Erfurdt as "homo centu auditores enecans",¹⁸⁴ which is probably the true interpretation of the metaphor: Lamprus is seen as the musical servant of Hades in that his work is death to musical excellence and likely to be the end of his listeners. "Whimpering arch-sophist" perhaps considers Lamprus an academic quibbler without real artistic talent.

Among the other Comedians' work it is interesting to notice an entire play directed at Cinesias by Strattis. Frs. 18 and 19 of the homonymous play poke fun at Cinesias' physical appearance, while Fr. 15's reference to him as χοροκτόνος ("chorus-slayer") is probably a reflection on his artistic standards rather than an allusion to his alleged abolition of the χορηγία.¹⁸⁵ Amipsias' Σαπφώ is an interesting title, but we have no indications of what Amipsias had to say of the poetess. Amipsias also has a Κόννος ascribed to him (like Phrynichus), but our fragments suggest that philosophy was probably more prominent than music in that play. Whether Polyzelus' Μουσεῶν Γοναί had any literary criticism is unknown.

References: The passages underlined are the principal comments on literary and artistic standards; some of the others are mere 'mentions', while those marked + are concerned with something other than the poet or musician's literary or artistic standards, but are recorded here for completeness.

Cratinus: Fr. 6 and Ἀρχιλόχοι in general (Archilochus), cf. 67, cf. 70, 73A & B, cf. 77, cf. 134, 135, 156, 119, 175+, 217, 229, 230, 233(+?), 236, 243, 305. Εὐνείδαι in general.

Eupolis: Αἴγυς in general (cf. 3, 4, 11, 17, Austin 237—some sophistic musician), 76A, 76B, 77, 81+, 2127, 139, 139A, ? cf. 200, 245, poss. 296; if Pantacles is the Lyric poet, 303, 361, Austin 96. 61 & 116ff.

Plato: 140, 184+(Cinesias), 191(Damon), 173.

Chionides: 4 ; Teleclides: cf. 16 & 34+(Gnesippus—but as Tragedian?)

Pherecrates: 6(Meles, Chæris), cf. 42, 145(with 144B— Melanippides, Cinesias, Phrynīs, Timotheus).

Hemippus: cf. 31??, 42(Diagoras); Phrynichus: 2, 6 and Κόννος in general?, 69(Lamprus) ; Amipsias: cf. Ζαπφώ and Κόννος ; Strattis: 15, 18+, 19+ and Κινησίως in general ; Theopompus: 3, 24+, 50 & 64.

Adesp.: 65

Philosophy and Scientific Theories

The plays in which philosophy and scientific theories or their exponents are known to have received major attention outside Aristophanes are few, and most mentions of philosophers in the fragments are trivial, concerning their characters or looks. There are, however, some plays in which the satirising of philosophical and scientific theories and of those who held them was clearly very prominent. Fr. 155 of Cratinus strongly suggests that the title of the play to which it belongs, Πανόπτρι, refers to philosophers¹⁸⁶ or to their pupils,¹⁸⁷ for the fragment satirises a theory of the philosopher Hippon, the same theory of which Aristophanes makes fun in Nu. 96, that the relationship of the heavens to our world is like that of a πνιγείως to the charcoals or dough inside it. Guthrie¹⁸⁷ traces the charge of atheism commonly made against Hippon in later writers to this play, as Schol. Cls. Alex. Protr. 103 records that Cratinus spoke of him as ἀσεβής. In Fr. 226, ἀργυροκοπι-ιστήρης λόγων, the "silver-coiners of words" may be sophists, whose verbal skills are their livelihood, as Kock suggests. We have already noticed above¹⁸⁹ the presence of a sophistic musician ("Prodamus") in Eupolis' Αἴγες, from whom the rustic received instruction. It is also clear that Protagoras figured in Eupolis' Κόλακας. He is said in Fr. 146a to be present in Callias' house, while in Fr. 146b he is

said to presume to make pretentious statements about what is up in the heavens, while he eats what is out of the ground. The contrast between the intellectual pretentiousness of the man and his need to eat the same humble food as other men is similar to the criticism levelled at Socrates in Eup. Fr. 352, that he has considered every other problem except where his meals are to come from. For all their lofty, idle and conceited thoughts philosophers are no more able than their fellows to escape from the needs of the belly. The description of Protagoras as ἄλιτῆριος ("the sinner") on account of his materialistic views shows the same reaction as that of Cratinus to Hippon, whom he attacked for ἀσέβεια .Fr.147 seems to derive from the same context and to recount Protagoras' conversation at the table. He is said to have directed Callias (so Athen. i. 22f) to drink in order to have his lungs flushed out before the appearance of the Dog-star. The motif of a character reporting the actions and remarks of a philosopher at that moment off-stage in anecdotal style¹¹² is reminiscent of the scene between Strepsiades and the student in Nu. 133sq., where the student tells some stories of life in the School. Eup. 353, which bids some sophist teach a person how to practise idle chatter, is also reminiscent of 'Clouds' and suggests that some man is asking a sophist to educate his son, possibly in Αἴγυς, as we know that a sophist-musician was shown teaching there, although it is clear from Austin Fr. 237 that "the rustic" himself receives some instruction. Possibly, as in 'Clouds', both father and son¹¹³ became pupils in the course of the play, or it may be that "the rustic" in Austin 237 is the son and not the father. If so, Frs. 2 and 3Edm could be the words of the son expressing dissatisfaction with the goatherd's life that his father leads and expects him to lead also, while Fr. 4 could be the father offering payment to the sophist if he will educate his son. All this is speculation, as we do not know that Fr. 353 comes from Αἴγυς and there may be only one "rustic" in the play.

We must remember too that Lucian¹⁹⁴ speaks of Eupolis as well as Aristophanes as bringing Socrates onto the stage and composing comedies about him. Exactly what lies behind Lucian's statement we cannot tell, but it must indicate at least one major passage dealing with Socrates in Eupolis' plays. In Fr. 239 Eupolis makes fun of Chaerephon's complexion, while 165 brands him a toady (κόλαξ) of Callias.

Anipsias' *Kónvos* with its chorus of φροντισταί (one of whom was Socrates: cf. Fr. 9) must have had much to say of philosophy, but no comments beyond the brief description of Socrates survive. In Hemippus Fr. 4 we have signs of a philosophical agon, it appears. The metre (iambic tetrameters catalectic) and the sharp tone of the first line (esp. ὦ πανγρέ', suggesting a retort contradicting some statement of another person) point to this conclusion that the fragment is from an agon. The speaker describes what seems to be Time,¹⁹⁵ or the cycle of the year. He is round to look at, and contains all within himself as he revolves, and, traversing the whole earth, he gives birth to "us" (mortals?). He is called ἐνιαυτός (because ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῷ πάντα), and, by virtue of being round, has no end and no beginning, but continuously revolves and will never cease rotating every day. The essence of the idea is Heraclitean,¹⁹⁶ but the concept of cycles of time found a place in many philosophies. Other hints of philosophical interest in Hemippus are slight (cf. 22 and 42). One fragment of Theopompus pokes fun at Plato the Philosopher with allusion, it would seem, to the passage of the 'Phaedo' (96e) where Socrates expresses bewilderment over the process by which one and one can become two, and one divided into halves can also become two (cf. also Resp. 524d.9 sq.). This reference to Plato may well have been no more than a passing mention and Meineke is probably too speculative in suggesting that the Ἡδυχέρης of the title was Plato (to whom he sees allusion under the name of Aristyllus in Eccl. 646ff and Plutus 31.3f: the man there is a coprophile, and Meineke¹⁹⁸ takes our title to mean "homo delicios et amoribus deditus"). Plato was, how-

ever, a focus of attention in Middle Comedy,¹⁹⁹ and Meineke's guess is not absurd. Schmid²⁰⁰, for instance, is inclined to favour the theory. The Σοφιστής of the Comic poet Plato may have dealt with philosophy, but Fr. 140 reveals that the flute-player Bacchylides qualified as a 'sophist' in the play,²⁰¹ and so there may have been attention rather to literary standards and musical skills (or partly so). Cf. the sophist-musician in Eupolis' Αἴγες. Whether Phrynichus' Κόωνος, if indeed a different play from the homonymous work of Amipsias,²⁰² dealt with philosophy in the way that Amipsias' play evidently did, we cannot tell.

Criticism of philosophy does not seem to have been a major pre-occupation of any of the Old Comedians, but most of the principal rivals of Aristophanes have left signs of giving philosophical matters occasional, and sometimes prominent, attention.

References: Cratinus: cf. 154, 155, 202, cf. 226, 333, Πανόπτων in general.

Eupolis: Αἴγες (cf. 3, 4, 11, 17, Austin 237), 146a, 146b, 147 (Protagoras in Κόλωνες), 165, 239, 352, 353, 361. Cf. Lucian loc. cit.

Plato: cf. Σοφιστής

Teleclides: 39, 40 ; Hemippus: 4, cf. 22 and 42 ; Phrynichus: poss. Κόωνος ; Amipsias: 9 and Κόωνος in general ; Theopompus: 15.

Physical Humour

Sexual Humour

Sexual humour is much less well attested in the fragments of Cratinus than in those of Eupolis, but several interesting indications of his technique in the use of such humour survive. Cratinus' liking for proverbs, for coined words and for such verbal devices as puns and double entendre quite often colours his sexual humour, and he shows a fondness for ridiculing passive homosexuals. He coins words like Ἴωνόκουσος ("Ionian-arsed")¹ to describe a pathic, he calls catamites σφίγκται ("grippers")², he distorts the proverb εὐδοντι κύρτος αἶρεῖ into εὐδοντι πρωκτὸς αἶρεῖ (or εὐδοντι δ' αἶρεῖ πρωκτὸς)³ in an attack upon someone for submission to pedication. In the last words of Fr. 273 a woman⁴ is said to dedicate the last drops of her wine not to the Corinthian ξένος, like Stheneboea to Bellenophon, but to the Corinthian πέος. By a neat παρὰ προσδοκίων substitution the passage tidily and climactically combines reference to the alleged drunkenness of women and to the ravenous sexual appetites that Old Comedy claims for them. The para-oracle in Fr. 316 epitomises these supposedly insatiable lusts in its prediction (or direction?) that lustful women will use ὄλισβοι (perhaps because their men will not be available?)⁵. Fr. 183 is a light and amusing double entendre from Πυτίνῃ, in which Cratinus' passion for Mendaean wine is translated into sexual terms. Cratinus' neglected wife Comedy complains that if the old man catches sight of a newly matured Mendaean wine he sets off in eager pursuit of it, exclaiming, οἴμ' ὡς ἀπαλὸς καὶ λευκός· ἄρ' οἴσει τρία;

The words ἀπαλός and λευκός are chosen because they help to sustain the double sense, being capable of describing both a fair-skinned person ("soft" and "fair") and also a tempting wine ("mild, smooth" and "clear", perhaps: LSJ⁶ are utterly mistaken in giving ἀπαλός a "bad sense" here, viz. "weak"). The sex of the οἰνίσκος is taken to be male

by Meineke (II 117), followed by Lesky.⁷ Edmonds seems to take the sex to be female (I p. 87): cf. his footnote.⁸ Linguistically, it is easier to see the "nice young wine" as male, but one would have expected Cratinus' infidelities all to be represented as heterosexual. For the passage to refer to a girl, the fact that the diminutive οἰνίσκος is masculine would have to be a misleading coincidence. Probably we should accept Meineke's view that Cratinus is here represented as lusting after a boy, but I am reluctant to do so. It may not be irrelevant, however, to note that the Souda's article on Cratinus says that he was not only φιλοπότης but also παιδικῶν ἡττημένος⁹, though some have denied that that information should be taken at face value. Both Meineke¹⁰ and Edmonds¹¹ are inclined to take that view. At any rate, the question, "Will it stand three?" refers in one sense to adding three parts of water to the wine and in the other to three acts of intercourse.¹² In Fr. 39 the coinage ἀρρενωπός ("male-faced woman") suggests that the character of the person so described was belied by his outwardly masculine appearance (so the glosses of Eustathius 1571.46 and Hsch., s. v. ἀρρενωπός); in Fr. 33 the coinage ἀνεξικώμη is taken by Bergk¹³ to denote a woman able to put up with whatever censure was levelled against her by the villagers, perhaps on the grounds of her sexual morals. In Fr. 111 Edm (109K) there would seem to be double entendre. The scholion on Theocritus 11.10 cites the passage to illustrate the obscene sense of ῥόδον (for which cf. Pherecr. 108.29, for instance), and it is likely that all four foodstuffs listed are in double entendre, if any one of them is. For μῆλα (of breasts) cf., for instance, Pherecr. loc. cit. l. 29 or Ar. Lys. 155; for σέλινον (of the pudendum muliebre) cf. Pherecr. 131.4, Com. Adesp. 113, and Schol. Theocr. loc. cit.; σισύμβριον does not appear to be attested in an erotic sense elsewhere.

Cratinus, then, quite often employs verbal devices in the examples of his sexual humour which survive. The other striking fact about these

passages of sexual humour is that the derision of passive homosexuality is particularly prominent in them, more so than in the surviving work of any other Old Comedian. In Aristophanes, for instance, heterosexual jokes outnumber homosexual jokes by roughly four to one. The preference for heterosexual jokes is rather less marked in Eupolis (partly by reason of his fondness for sexual slanders against individuals), but in the fragments of Cratinus the number of passages making fun of homosexuality (predominantly passive homosexuality) is approximately equal to the number of passages with heterosexual reference. The passages in the latter category are Frs. 111Edm, 241, 273, 279, 302, 333K, 341E, perh. 383, prob. 53 and 97, while in the former category are Frs. 4, prob. 10, 151, 263 (Schol. Ar. Vesp. 1187), 389, 402, 419, 446, and (active role) 152 and prob. 183, i. e. 7-10 examples in one case and 8-10 in the other. In addition there is a mysterious reference in Fr. 195 to the notorious pathic Clisthenes. The title of Cratinus' Μαλθακοί is probably an indication that that play contained some substantial attacks on soft living and effeminacy (it is, however, possible that the play primarily derided shirkers of military service, if one compares the title of Eupolis' Ἀστράτευτοι ἢ Ἄνδρ-γύνοι and Ar. Nu. 691-2): Fr. 98 seems to be the words of the chorus listing the flowers with which they garland themselves. The theory that the chorus of Δραπέτιδες was really meant to represent effeminate or cowardly males is, however, precariously founded: there is no positive indication that the chorus were not genuinely female. Against this substantial evidence for the ridicule of homosexuality and effeminacy in plays of Cratinus must be set not only those fragments in which humour is extracted from heterosexual behaviour, but also the potential for heterosexual humour in such plays as Νέμεσις (the bizarre attempts of Zeus

to have his way with Nemesis), Διονυσιαλέξανδρος (Dionysus and Helen), and Πυτινή (the marital infidelities of Cratinus and his recall to faithfulness to Comedy). It nevertheless seems that Cratinus quite frequently made passive homosexuality and effeminacy the targets of his criticism.¹⁵

The fragments of Eupolis are particularly rich in sexual humour. His Αὐτόλυκος was, to judge from our fragments, a particularly obscene play. The athlete Autolykus was evidently derided as a catamite (i. e. of Callias) and called Entresian (Fr. 56), a pun possibly anticipated by Teleclides (cf. Fr. 57), hinting the sense "well-pierced" (εὖ + τετρησθεῖ), i. e. frequently subjected to pedication. Not only Autolykus, but also both his parents, Rhodia and Lycon, were the targets of abuse, and it has been plausibly conjectured¹⁶ that the reference in Fr. 42 is to a brothel run

by each: οἴκοῦσι δ' ἐνθάδ' ἐν τρισὶν καλιδίοις,
οἴκημ' ἔχων ἕκαστος

Frs. 47 and 50 refer to sexual intercourse¹⁷ in language similar to that later employed by Aristophanes in Lys. 229-30. Aristophanes has

οὐ πρὸς τὸν ὄροφον ἀνατενῶ τὸ Περσικὰ ,

while the Eupolis passages are respectively

σκέλη δὲ καὶ κωλῆνες εὐθὺ τοῦρόφου

and ἀνεκὰς τ' ἐπήρω καὶ βδελυρῶς σὺ τὸ σκέλος.

Fr. 44 reveals that in the second version of the play there was a scene where Leogoras, the profligate father of Andocides, complained of having squandered his patrimony on the courtesan Myrrhina, while the assertions that Eupolis makes about Rhodia elsewhere (cf. Fr. 215 in particular) make it likely that she was represented as sexually abandoned in Αὐτόλυκος also. It is possible that both Fr. 62 (ἀπρασία, lack of buyers) and Fr. 48 (ἐλλιμένιον δοῦναί πρὶν εἰσβῆναί σε δεῖ, "you must hand over your harbour-dues before you go in") refer to prostitution, but not demonstrable.¹⁸ In the latter case the sense would be that

payment must be made before admission to the brothel: the "harbour" would be the prostitute's vagina. For the imagery—in a much more elevated setting—cf. Soph. *O. T.* 1208 ff:

ὦ μέγας λιμὴν
αὐτὸς ἤρκεσεν
παίδι καὶ πατρὶ θαλαμηπόλῳ πεσεῖν.

There is a considerable likelihood that Fr. 52 is intended to suggest *cunnilingus*:

ἐπὶ κτινοτέρας ἰδέας ἔσεβῶν βίον ὡς μοχθηρὸν ἔτριβες.
—πῶς, ὦ πολλῶν ἤδη λοιπάδων τοὺς ἄμβωνας περιλείξας.

The reference to "having licked the edges of many dishes" may well draw on the same imagery as Ar. *Eccl.* 846-7, where the point is made more clearly:

Σμοῖος δ' ἐν αὐταῖς ἵππικὴν στολὴν ἔχων
τὰ τῶν γυναικῶν διακαθαίρει τρύβλια.

The interpretation is assisted by Eustathius' observation (1539.33), τὸ γυναικεῖον αἰδοῖον ἄμβων τε λέγεται καὶ χοῖρος καὶ ἐσχάρα (cf. Taillardat, *Les Images d'Aristophane*, para. 116). Another scene of obscene humour, excretory in this case and not sexual, is intimated by Frs. 45, 45A and 46, where chamber-pots are being emptied. The overall impression is that obscenity, above all sexual obscenity, was a very strong element of the humour of *Αὐτόλυκος*.

Αὐτόλυκος was apparently Eupolis' most obscene play, but there are many indications that he generously employed sexual humour elsewhere in his comedies, often in abuse of individuals.¹⁹ In Fr. 110B Edm (92.23sq. Austin), for example, he associates some demagogue with male prostitution. There are doubts about the precise restoration of the passage, and there have been several different reconstructions of the sense,²⁰ but I understand lines 25-7 of Austin's text to have one of the following senses, depending on whether one reads *τις ὧν* (van Leeuwen) or *τινας* (Wilamowitz) at the end of l. 26:

(a) (with $\tau\iota\varsigma \omega\upsilon$) "And he wouldn't even be speaking Attic Greek, if he were not ashamed before his friends at being one of the non-political²¹ male prostitutes and not one of the haughty kind, but he'd have to hang(or bow)his head and go into the brothel..."

(I remove the comma after $\eta\iota\varsigma \chi\upsilon\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron$ in Austin. Νεύσαντα probably contrasts with the pretentiousness of l. 24 Austin.)

(b) (with $\tau\iota\nu\alpha\varsigma$) "And he wouldn't even be speaking Attic Greek, if he were not ashamed before his friends, non-political male prostitutes and not the haughty kind, but he'd have to hang his head and go into the brothel..."

I prefer the former sense, with its contrast between the type of πόρνος the demagogue had pretensions to be and the lower type that he really was. For such a reflection on the character of ῥήτορες cf. Eur. Fr. 118, where an appeal is addressed to Miltiades and Pericles not to permit $\mu\epsilon\iota\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\iota\upsilon \kappa\iota\nu\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha$ to rule the city, $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota \tau\omicron\iota\nu \sigma\phi\upsilon\rho\omicron\iota\nu \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$ $\tau\eta\nu \sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$. For a similar attitude to ῥήτορες cf. Plato 186, Ar. Eccl. 1111ff, Eq. 423ff. We learn from Aeschines I. 21 (and passim) that a citizen who had prostituted his person was debarred by law from holding certain public offices or speaking in debate, an important fact to remember in interpreting such allegations in Old Comedy. Those who beat their fathers, shirked military service or threw away their shields were similarly not entitled to be heard in public debate (Aeschin. I. 28f), which enables us to see greater point in Aristophanes' gibes against Cleonymus for this last offence (cf. also Eupolis Fr. 100 Austin). Men who had squandered their patrimonies were also debarred (Aeschin. I 30): cf. in that light Eur. Fr. 44 and $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\lambda\alpha\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$. Fr. 77 employs a simple but nonetheless amusing double entendre to hint that some musician is not only versatile as a dancer but also as a catamite :

... ὅς κ' ἄλως μὲν τυμπανίζεις
καὶ διαψάλλεις τριγώνοις

καπικινεῖ τὰς κοχώννας
καὶ τιθεῖς ἄνω σκέλη. ²²

The situation in Fr.158 is somewhat obscure:

(A) Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐκ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐξίτω. — (B) τί ληρεῖς;
οὐκ οἶκας ἔλθων τὴν σεαυτοῦ γυμνάσεις δάμαρτα;

Alcibiades is bidden leave the women, but the first speaker is told that he is talking nonsense and it is suggested that he go home and give his own wife some exercise. Meineke²³ takes it that the man is warned that Alcibiades will demonstrate his virility on the speaker's wife unless the speaker (A) exercises her himself. He does not explicitly identify 'B' with Alcibiades, but Kock and Edmonds do so, otherwise following Meineke's lead. Bothe²⁴ supposes that a slave is 'B', impudently replying to 'A', who has bidden Alcibiades quit his banquet with flatterers and prostitutes. Kock and Edmonds take 'A' 's words to be an allusion to Alcibiades' homosexual ways in youth (Pherecr. 155 may have such a point). The words seem to be a parody of a formula used of a boy attaining the status of ἐφήβος or of an ephēbus achieving full man's status (so Schweighauser, following hints in Xen. Cyr. 1. 2. 8 and Terence Andr. 51),²⁵ and the diction of γυμνάσεις δάμαρτα may well be intended to counterbalance the language of the first speaker (δάμαρ is normally a word associated with high poetry, but it is found also in legalistic language: cf. Dem. 25. 53, where it appears in a quoted law). Clearly, the interpretation of the fragment is uncertain, but I may add a further suggestion of what the situation may be. The women in question are perhaps the γυναικες εἰλίπιδες of Fr. 161, the ἑταῖραι present in Callias' house in Κόλυκες (cf. Fr. 169). We are told by Maximus of Tyre (20. 7: cf. Edmonds I p. 370) that at Callias' symposia, as portrayed by Eupolis, τῆς κολυκείας τὸ φθλόν ἦν κύλικες καὶ ἑταῖραι καὶ ἄλλοι ταπεινοὶ καὶ ἀνδραποδώδεις ἡδοναί. A reward for playing the flatterer, then, was ἑταῖραι. Athenaeus cites our fragment (158) in order to show that Alcibiades was ἀκλόγιστος πρὸς γυναῖκας: he says nothing

about any homosexual allegation here. I wonder whether the situation is that some guests or flatterers of Callias are being permitted to enjoy the ἐσταῖραι in turn (offstage) and that the first speaker is telling Alcibiades that his time is up, as it were, and that it is the speaker's turn to claim his due. Alcibiades, the notorious γυναικομανής, refuses to leave and tells the man to get away home and exercise his own wife, if he must have sex. By this interpretation σεαυτοῦ gains in point. The metaphor "exercise one's wife" is paralleled in Asclepiades in the Palatine Anthology V 203 (v. Meineke II p. 495). The idea is similar to the imagery of the sexual games in Pax 894ff. If my theory of the significance of Fr. 158 is correct, there would be a substantial element of sexual humour in at least one scene of Κόλακες. For the reputation of Callias himself as a womaniser cf., for example, Ra. 432-434.

Fr. 206 is of special interest in that it represents a supposed member of the audience as having sexual designs on one of the cities which comprised the chorus in Πόλεις:

ὁ Φιλίνος οὗτος, τί ἔρα πρὸς ταύτην βλέπεις;
οὐκ ἀπολιβάζεις εἰς ἀποικίαν τινά;

The motif is similar to that of such passages as Pax 883ff, where Ariphra-ades is said to be eager for Theoria to come his way:

οἱ· ἐκείνοσ' ἰνεύει. Τρ. τίς; οἱ· οὗτις; Ἀριφράδης,
ἄγειν παρ' αὐτὸν ἀντιβολῶν. Τρ. ἀλλ' ὦ μέλε
τὸν ζῶμὸν αὐτῆς προσπεσὼν ἐκλάψεται.

Both passages exploit a common technique of making sexual jokes about female personifications. In the Eupolis passage there is a translation of what may be designs upon the wealth of allied cities into sexual terms. Philinus is told to take his eyes off the city and direct his attention towards some colony, seen, it would appear, as a more legitimate source of gain. Cf. Ehrenberg, The People of Aristophanes, p. 118, for the social and political aspects of this fragment.

From the same play comes Fr. 233, where the following observation is made of Cyzicus by some character:

— ἔν τῆδε τοίνυν τῇ πόλει φρουρῶν ἴπποτ' αὐτὸς
 γυναικ' ἐκίνουν κολλύβου καὶ παῖδα καὶ γέροντα,
 καὶ ἔην ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν τὸν κύσθον ἐκκορίζειν.

The city is seen as a place where, during his period of garrison-duty there, the speaker was able to purchase the sexual services of woman, boy or greybeard for a trifling sum and spend all day enjoying a woman's favours. The addition of γέροντα is, of course, comic hyperbole to emphasize the availability of whatever form of sex was desired. The phrase τὸν κύσθον ἐκκορίζειν makes a pun comparable to that in Ar.

Fr. 266: τί, ὦ πονηρέ, μ' ἐκκορίζεις ὡσπερ εἶ
 κλιντήριον;

Kock and LSJ²⁶ take the verb ἐκκορίζειν to be capable of derivation from both κόρις (i. e. "de-bug") and κόρη (i. e. "deflower"), and Kock makes his understanding of the pun clear in his translation, "Cur virginitate me spoliās, tamquam lectum cimicibus purges?" Edmonds sees the same image, while Taillardat is content to quote Kock (para 187). One may quote here the pun in Thesm. 760 also, where the verb ἐκκορεῖν (normally "sweep out") is made to mean "deprive of one's κόρη" (and also hint "deflower" in passing, no doubt). The simple verb κορίζειν is attested in the sense "sift, clean" in papyrus (BGU 11.20.40), implying that the word could be derived from κόρος (C in LSJ), "besom", and mean "sweep". We have thus three levels of meaning for ἐκκορίζειν :
 (a) "de-bug", (b) "sweep out", (c) "de-flower". It may be that we should see the Aristophanic passage (Fr. 266) as dependent upon (a) and (b), sensu obscuro, rather than (a) and (c), but all three ideas may be present. Editors are very coy about the Epulis passage under consideration, and Edmonds' translation is too euphemistic to be of any use at all in determining what he took to be the pun, or image if there is no pun.

Both²⁷ is more helpful: "Licuitque toto die cavum purgare (literally, "clean the hole")." Professor Dover suggests to me that the image is that of poking a broom (or besom) into a corner and thoroughly cleaning it out, and this surely is the primary sexual sense of our passage. The word could also bear the sense "de-bug" and refer to the communication of parasites as a result of intercourse with a woman whose personal hygiene was not of the strictest: cf. Nu. 713-4 for humour from the assaults of bed-bugs upon the private parts. We should, however, observe that the sense "de-bug" in the Aristophanic passage is made clear by the addition of ὡσπερὶ κλιντήριον, and it may be that Eupolis was not aiming for such a pun. On the sexual significance of ἐκκορεῖν cf. now the entry on κορικωρήνη in the supplement to LSJ (and see Meineke IV p. 642 (=Adesp. 1060) and Archilochus 15 and 49 Diehl for the sexual sense of κορήνη, which plainly denotes a woman -- in the κελητίζειν position -- in Archil. 49).

Both Plato and Pherecrates have left us one long fragment of sexual double entendre in addition to more limited sexual jokes. These fragments are Plato 174 and Pherecrates 145 (with 144B Edm, 157K), and it is informative to compare these with each other and with a third passage of particularly rich and concentrated sexual double entendre, viz. Ar. Pax 896ff. In Plato 174 (at line 7ff) Aphrodite lists offerings which the eager women must make before being admitted to Phaon's presence. The first offerings must be made to Aphrodite herself and comprise an uncastrated flat cake (πλακοῦς ἐνόρχης : cf. Av. 569, which antedates Plato's passage by over twenty years), a pregnant fine-meal cake (i. e. a well-risen one, ἄμυλος ἐγκύμων), sixteen entire thrushes with honey mated (κίχλαι ἑκκαίδεχ' ὀλόκληροι μέλιτι μεμειγμένα) and twelve hare's meat portions, which are described as ἐπισέλινα, a word of dubious significance here, but which must be the 'punch-word' of the phrase, whatever precisely its sense may be. Meineke²⁸ conjectured ἐπιπέλινα,

supposing a pun on $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\nu\epsilon\nu$ in its obscene sense (LSJ II), which is the best explanation of the passage offered. As Famell²⁹ remarks, some of the humour of these lines derives from the incongruity of the epithets and the objects to which they are applied, in particular the use of adjectives appropriate to animals to describe foodstuffs ($\acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{o}\rho\chi\eta\varsigma$, $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\mu\omega\nu$), but there is also, of course, a dominant suggestion of fertility or sexuality in most, probably all, of the epithets. Having asked these things for herself, Aphrodite proceeds to declare the proper offerings for certain other deities or phallic demons associated with her, some genuine and some probably inventions. The passage now rises to its peak of verbal dexterity and humour (ll. 12-18). Three half-measures of purse-tassels (an aphrodisiac in the ancient view: cf. Plato 173.9-10) are prescribed as the offering for Orthanes (for whom cf. Strabo 13.1.12, for example); here there is a pun on $\delta\acute{\rho}\theta\acute{o}\varsigma$, and the whole phrase alludes to the achievement of an erection: Av. 834 is another double entendre—and ritual or formulaic parody—on $\delta\acute{\rho}\theta\acute{o}\varsigma$; cf. also Eccl. 916). For Conisalus (another phallic demon: cf. Ar. Lys. 982 and Schol. ad loc.) and the "twin assistants" (i. e. the testicles: so Athen. IX. 395f and medical writers) a nice little plate of hand-plucked myrtle-berries is demanded. This combines two sexual images, that of words denoting plates and rims as slang terms for the female private parts (cf. Ar. Eccl. 846-7 and Eup. Fr. 52)³⁰ and also the association of words beginning $\mu\upsilon\mu$ —in Old Comedy (as $\mu\acute{\upsilon}\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon$ in Lys. 1004, $\mu\acute{\upsilon}\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon$ in Ec. 964, the name $\mu\upsilon\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon$ in Ar. Lys. and possibly Eup. 44—although it was a common Athenian name—and I think also $\mu\upsilon\mu\omega\acute{\nu}\iota\delta\eta\varsigma$ in Lys. 801: all denote or hint the sexual organs)³¹. "Hand-plucked" clarifies the image and refers, of course, to depilation (for which cf. Pherecrates 108. 29, Ar. Ra. 516, etc.) to tidy the pubic hair as well as to the picking of berries. The next line ("For the gods do not like the smell of lamps") explains why the alternative method of depilation (for which cf. Eccl. 12-13, for example) must not be employed. To judge from several references in Old Comedy to intimate tonsorial details, there was much

appreciation of such descriptions of the state of cultivation of the female pubic hair. In addition to the passages already cited cf. Ar. Lys. 87ff, 151, 824ff, Vesp. 1374f, Pax 890ff, Eccl. 720ff, perhaps the singing scene in Thesm (where 'Mnesilochus' is disguised as a woman)—itself owing something, it seems, to a scene in Cratinus³²—and also Eup. 278A and Archippus 45A (a metaphorical garden of Aphrodite: for κῆπος cf. D.L. 2. 216). That image of Archippus alludes to the pubic hair in a more poetic style than slang terms such as ἐχίνος (implied by Lys. 1169) and, as I suspect, φορμός (implied, as I believe, by Eccl. 97 and Lys. 800-804)³³, but, although the register of vocabulary and imagery may vary, it is clear that Plato was on safe if well-trodden Comic ground in our present passage. In l. 16 Jacobs' restoration³⁴

πυγῆς τετάρτη κυσί τε καὶ κυνηγέταις

seems to me probable for the transmitted πύργης τετάρτης. Famell's denial of the full sexual sense of this passage (he proposes στυρῶν τετάρτης)³⁵ is clearly misguided, although his article makes an important point on the ritual significance of κυσί τε καὶ κυνηγέταις. The passage as a whole is so manifestly packed with sexual double entendre that to reject a second sense in l. 16 when we have clear evidence of the obscene potential of the word κύων (for all his abuse of the "old commentators" for their "wanton emendation and unnecessary suggestions of obscenity" Famell would have done well to read Meinelke's citations and comments on l. 16 before taking the 'obscene' sense of the word to be 'harlot'!) and when the whole fragment would suffer from the absence of such double entendre at this point, is astounding. κύων is the penis, the κυνήγεται (the "huntsmen") are the testicles (developing the same image), and, if Jacobs' πυγῆς is right (and it is the most plausible conjecture), there is an allusion to anal intercourse. The money-offerings to λόρδων ("On the Back") and κύβδατος ("Bending-down") are intended to suggest prostitution, while the "skin" which

is the offering to Κέλως ("Mount") is probably, as Jacobs suggested, an ἔλισβος, even though the sense of κελητιζέειν is normally that the woman is astride the man in sexual intercourse. The nearest parallel to the suggested sense here is Ar. Lys. 153, where "skinning a skinned dog" refers, in one sense, to masturbation with an ἔλισβος³⁶. The image in Plato is not entirely clear, as the "mount" is the man in the κελητιζέειν position, while the "skin", on Jacobs' interpretation, is an instrument used by women. Probably the passage is not to be too closely pressed for logical coherence: the mention of the "mount" suggests the "rider" also, and the offering named is appropriate to the rider.

Plato's passage is a clever concentration of obscene humour and parody of ritual language. The basic theme is evidently one known to Comedy twenty and thirty years before, for not only do we have in Ar. Av. 565 ἢν Ἀφροδίτη εὐνή, ἰσχυρῶς ὄρνιθι φαληρίδι θύειν (where φαληρίδι puns on φαλῆς), but already in Ach. 792ff humour is extracted from the concept of sacrificing a χοῖρος to Aphrodite and skewering it on a spit (i. e. on the penis). Plato's passage is in effect an elaborate development of such themes. There is, however, some skill in organisation (the passage becomes more intense till l. 18 and then rounds off the jokes of this type in 19-21 before the impact of the double entendre weakens) and there is a good measure of variety in the obscene jokes.

By contrast, Pherecrates 145 (with 144B) is less inventive and re-uses some jokes.³⁷ Μουσαίχη complains that she has been grossly mistreated by certain dithyrambic poets, whose outrageous behaviour towards her is translated into sexual terms. I have already considered the musical criticism in this fragment above.³⁸ The sexual humour depends to a large extent on the double sense of "twisting" (στρέφειν, κόμπτειν). The idea appears in lines 9 and 15 of Kock's text and is used again in the lines incorporated as ll. 25-26 in Edmonds.³⁹ The repetition is somewhat

disguised by the presence of other points in two of these three passages. There is the obscure joke against Cinesias "among the shields" in 11.10-12, while in 11.25-26Edm (if we accept Emsley's conjecture ⁴⁰ "καμπῶν" for καπτῶν, as I think we should) there is a pun on two senses of καμπῶν, viz. "bendings" (καμπῶν) and "caterpillars" (καμπῶν). The phrase ὡςπερ ... τὰς ῥαφάνους seems to prepare for such a pun. At 11.5 and 28 Edm we find another joke which appears twice, that of "loosening" χορδαῖς δώδεκα. Nevertheless, in spite of being rather repetitious, Pherecrates uses skill enough to save the passage from any danger of becoming tedious, partly by overall organisation (this is another 'climactic' passage) and partly by varying the imagery in two places, as noticed above. The element of musical comment also helps to compensate for the relatively limited sexual imagery, compared with that in the Plato passage just considered and the lines of Aristophanes' 'Peace' discussed below. The most colourful sexual imagery in Pherecrates' passage is in 11.23ff Edm, where the sexual implications of the "off-route, extra-harmonious ant-runs and unholy overshootings and trills" which filled Music with windings are the climax of the double entendre. The eccentric copulatory manoeuvres suggested amuse not only because they are bizarre in themselves, but because they are described in language which simultaneously conveys the musical outrages. The remaining imagery is less exceptional: the idea of sexually "loosening" a female is attested in Ar. Lys. 419, where in a passage of obscene innuendo, a well-endowed cobbler is invited to visit a man's wife and loosen her shoe (the superficial sense) and broaden it out for her:

τεῦτ' οὖν σὺ τῆς μεσημβρίας
ἐλθὼν χαλάσον, ὅπως ἂν εὐρυτέρως ἔχη

The use of καταρύπτειν of sexual intercourse also has an Aristophanic parallel (with the simple verb) in Pax 898. For στρόβιλον ἐμβολῶν cf. Borthwick: ⁴² the sexual sense is of inserting the glans penis.

The Aristophanic passage which most closely resembles the above fragments of Plato and Pherecrates is Pax 894ff, where there is a double entendre description of the games which the council will be able to hold, now that they have Theoria. They will be able to wrestle on the ground, take up an all-fours position, throw her down on her side, take up a stance leaning forward on their knees, and, enoointed below in the manner of young men for the all-in contest, strike and dig with fist and penis. Thereafter they will be able to hold a chariot race where mount will ride by mount and chariots overturned upon each other will make gasping and panting approaches. And other charioteers will lie with their penis-tips exposed, fallen around the turning-points (καμπύ: cf. Pherecr. above). The passage depends upon the double reference to athletic games and to sexual intercourse in a variety of positions. Aristophanes does not labour the point, but changes his imagery at 899-900 from wrestling and boxing to chariot-racing to freshen the humour and to allow the double entendre to be developed in another connection. The theme of the sexual games was later to be exploited by Lucian, Asin. 10. In Anacreon 88 Diehl there is the image of riding a woman as one would a horse in a race:

ἴσθι τοι, καλῶς μὲν ἂν τοι τὸν χαλινὸν ἐμβάλομι,
 ἤνίας δ' ἔχων στρεφοίμι <σ' > ἄμφι τέρματα δρόμου.

Cf. also Theognis 257-60, 1249-52, 1267-70 for the woman/horse, man/rider image. Aristophanes' passage seems to me to be richer in its sexual humour than the fragment of Pherecrates (although, of course, it does not have the additional element of musical criticism or any corresponding element) and a little less highly wrought than Plato's passage (which has, however, a further element in its ritual parody). Aristophanes elaborates two basic themes (wrestling and boxing in 896-99, chariot-racing in 900-905), each for just long enough to let the audience assimilate and enjoy the joke, but Aristophanes does not over-work his material, and the humour does not lose its freshness. The second theme is more ambitious in its

imagery than the first, but in both cases the sexual sense of the lines is made quite obvious by the insertion of unambiguously sexual words (τῷ πέει , ἔπεψωλημένοι). It is arguable that Aristophanes' lighter touch makes his passage more effective overall than the more intense sexual humour in Plato Fr.174, but Plato handles his theme quite well also. Pherecrates' passage has a very amusing climax of imagery at ll. 23-6 Edm, but seems to be resorting to partial repetition in places, which detracts a little from its effectiveness. We may recall that Aristophanes makes the joke against Pherecrates in Lys.158⁷³ that he 'flogs dead horses' (to use our equivalent of the idea of skinning some creature--- "κύνα" is possibly a substitution for the sake of the sexual joke also present, but one would skin dogs for the manufacture of dog-skin caps (κυνέγι) ---already skinned):

τὸ τοῦ Φερεκράτους, κύνα δέρειν δεδηρμένην.

Aristophanes may have had in mind such repetition as we see in Fr.145 of Pherecrates, as well, perhaps, as the re-use of material in other ways.

A few remarks may be made on other indications of sexual humour in Plato, who seems to have found erotic themes to his liking. We have noticed briefly that Fr.173, also from 'Phaon', contains sexual humour. This long fragment shows a man (who is presumably Phaon) examining what he declares to be Philoxenus' 'Δεῖπνον'⁷⁴ in the attempt to discover which foodstuffs are aphrodisiac. There is some loose parody of Philoxenus and of didactic hexameter verse, while the sexual humour derives from references to the value of certain dishes in assisting the powers of erection. "Purse-tassels" (βολβός) are recommended in ll.9-10 as they stiffen a man's body (τὸ γὰρ δέμας ἀνέρος ὀρθοῖ). A mullet is dismissed as an unaphrodisiac food (ll.19-20), unwilling to assist in tensioning muscles, while in l.21 we find the scorpion-fish spoken of in the following terms:

σκορπίος αὖ --- (β) πῆσειέ γέ σου τὸν πρωκτὸν ὑπελθών.

Ensley's suggestion that there is a change of speaker after αὖ is

rightly, in my opinion, approved by Meineke⁴⁵, Kock and Edmonds. Phæon, or whoever is the first speaker, is about to read out something about the scorpion-fish when the other person interrupts with what may be an impatient wish ("...may it creep^{up} on you and stab you in the arse-hole!") in the manner of Ach. 92f, or may simply mean "...would creep up .. etc." There may be an allusion to the punishment of μοιχοί by forcing objects into their anus (cf. Nu. 1083ff)⁴⁶, but the use of a scorpion-fish for this purpose is not, to my knowledge, attested anywhere else. For the sting of the σκορπίος cf. D'Arcy Thompson, A Glossary of Greek Fishes (s. v.). As παίειν is also appropriate of sexual thrusts (as Pax 874), there may well be the additional point that "creep on you and stab you in the arse-hole" could suggest an act of pedication.

It is clear that Plato's 'Phæon' had a substantial, indeed predominant, element of sexual humour. There would also seem to have been strong elements of sexual humour in some other mythological burlesques of Plato. His 'Laius' may well have made much of that king's pederasty, while his 'Adonis' probably dealt with the passions of Aphrodite and Dionysus for that youth (in citing Fr. 3 Athenæus, 10. 456a, mentions Dionysus as the male lover, which may be an indication that Plato substituted that more humorous deity for Apollo, elsewhere named as the lover of Adonis, in the manner of Dionysus' substitution for Paris in Cratinus' Διονυσολέξ-ανδρος): Fr. 3 prophesies that two deities will be the end of Adonis,
 ἡ μὲν ἐλαυνομένη λαβρίοις ἔρετροῖς, ὁ δ' ἐλαύνων.

The "rowing" image is, of course, well attested in Aristophanes (Taillardat, para 180). Plato's 'Europe' included a scene where someone (Zeus?) contemplated intercourse with a sleeping woman (Europe?), but was advised by another that there were sexual παρόψιδες (side-dishes) if one's partner were awake during intercourse. The passage breaks off at a point where Zeus, if it is indeed he, asks for enumeration of these παρόψιδες. A 'set-piece' passage of sexual humour seems about to follow. In Plato's

Ζεὺς Κηκούμενος Heracles is stricken with passion for a girl whose footwear is named as the prize in the cottabus —against Heracles' (golden?) cup (Fr. 46; cf. 48A). In his 'Cleophon' Plato may have made something of the charges of sexual excesses sometimes levelled at Cleophon: cf. Fr. 59. To return to mythological burlesques, Ἴώ and Νύξ Μακρά no doubt had erotic elements (cf. the legends).

Space permits only a few brief comments on some of the other fragments which contain sexual humour. Pherecrates Fr. 102 is of interest in that it raises the possibility that there was a scene in Ἀἴροι comparable to that in Ar. Ach. 729-817. Pherecrates' words are

ὡς οὐχὶ τοῦτ' ῥύγχος ἔτεχνῶς ἐσθ' ὑβίς

Kock observes, "Scaena similis videtur Aristoph, Ach. 768 sq." The line does indeed sound as though the speaker is refusing to accept as such something offered as a pig, but whether this points to a 'χοίρειος' scene is not clear. Cratinus 3 is worth a mention in this connection also:

... ἦδη δέλφαικες, χοίροι δὲ τοῖσιν ἄλλοις.

Kock understood this fragment to refer to girls, a likely enough idea. Metagenes Fr. 4 shows a context where ὀρχηστρίδες and αὐλητρίδες were described. The fragment is a parody of didactic hexameter verse and amusingly re-applies an epic phrase used normally of buckling an adversary's legs beneath him with a death-blow. The "burden-bearing" men are not only merchants, but men who have not had sexual release for some time:

... νυνὶ δ' ὑμῖν ἄγοι εἶω
ἄρτι χροαλοῦσας αὐλητρίδας, αἳ τε τάχιστα
ἀνδρῶν φορηγῶν ὑπὸ γούνατα μισθοῦ ἔλυσαν.

The buckling of the legs in the sexual context is the exhausted collapse after the release at the moment of orgasm. Autocrates Fr. 1 describes appreciatively the movements of girls' buttocks as they dance (the 'dabchick' image is also in Ar. Fr. 29):

... καὶ τοῖν ἰσχύοισιν
τὸ μὲν κάτω τὸ δ' ἀνω εἰς

ἄνω 'ξεπαίρους'
 οἷα κίγκλος ἄλλεται.

Among several instances of sexual humour in Theopompus is the following reference to fellatio as the invention of the Lesbians (Fr. 35):

... ἵνα μὴ τὸ παλαιὸν τοῦτο καὶ θρυλούμενον
 δι' ἡμετέρων στομάτων
 εἴπω σόφισμ', ὅ φησι παῖδας Λεσβίων
 εὐρεῖν

The phrase δι' ἡμετέρων στομάτων is intended to be suggestive in this context of oral stimulation. In Theop. Fr. 32 we have a situation nearer to the New Comedy than the Old, in which a slave, Spinther, is evidently pretending desire for an old slave-woman in order to get her to drink some wine so that he can achieve some ulterior aim.

Several titles suggest that sexual humour figured strongly in certain plays. Alcaeus' Ἀδελφαὶ Μοιχεύομεναι and Amipsias' Μοιχοί are two obvious instances, while titles which name women with whom Zeus had liaisons or which otherwise recall erotic episodes in mythology are others. One suspects, for instance, that Alcaeus' Πασιφύη would not fail to exploit the possibilities that the legend of her desire for the bull could offer. Titles which are probably the names of courtesans are a third group: three of Pherecrates' comedies are apparently so named.¹⁸ 'Women' plays may have given scope for sexual jokes also, while it is likely that such humour figured in 'marriage' plays such as Archippus' Ἡρακλῆς Γαμῶν and Nicochares' Ἡρακλῆς Γαμοῦμενος. In fact, although we have only a small number of fragments of his work, the titles of the comedies of Alcaeus suggest that, like Plato, he favoured mythological burlesques with erotic motifs, as well as composing other plays with potential for sexual humour or erotic situations. His burlesques are Γανυμήδης, Ἐνδυμίων, Καλλιστώ and Πασιφύη, while Παλαίστρα is quite possibly a courtesan's name. We have already noticed the title Ἀδελφαί

Μοιχευόμενοι, and there is also a Ἴερός Γάμος among the surviving titles. Only Κωμωδοτραγῳδία is a title without apparent erotic associations. Some other Old Comedians whose careers extended into the Fourth Century also wrote erotic burlesques and 'courtesan' plays (a striking title in the latter group is Cephisodorus' Ἀντιλαίς), but the evidence is particularly strong for Alcaeus. Our best indications of the content of mythological burlesques with erotic themes are, of course, the long fragments of Plato's 'Phaon' considered above.

Generally speaking, heterosexual jokes considerably outnumber homosexual jokes, but we have already noticed that the fragments of Cratinus do not reflect this imbalance, while those of Eupolis do so to a lesser degree than the surviving work of Aristophanes. By contrast, heterosexual jokes greatly predominate in what we have of Plato and Pherecrates, and there are comparatively few homosexual jokes surviving in the remaining work of the minor Old Comedians. Nevertheless, plays with titles like Strattis' Χρυσίππιος and Alcaeus' Γανυμήδης⁴¹ are likely to have made much of their homosexual potential. Homosexual jokes are often linked to personal abuse and therefore tended to appear less commonly in the Old Comedians whose plays were less censorious of individuals. Pherecrates was, of course, such a Comedian, but it is a little surprising that there are no allegations of homosexual vice against individuals surviving from Plato's political attack, for he was in part a political poet. Of Aristophanes' extant plays, 'Thesmophoriazusae' has the most homosexual jokes, with 'Knights' not far behind. The two extant Middle Comedies have only three homosexual jokes between them (Eccl. 112, 365, Plutus 153ff), but an old comedy such as 'Peace' has only three such jokes (11, 724, 763), while 'Lysistrata' has only one (1090ff). Jokes about masturbation are few outside Aristophanes and only about one a play within that Comedian's extant works. References to sexual stimulation of a partner other than by full genital intercourse are found, outside Aristophanes, in Theop. 35 and

Strattis 40 (fellatio), Eupolis 52 (cunnilingus — probably), and Strattis 3 (manual caress of the male genitals). Eup. 208, Pherecr. 91 and Cratin. 279 are comparatively rare references to incest.

References:

Cratinus: heterosexual: 111 Edm, 241, 273, 279, 302, 333 (included in 12 Edm), 341 E, 383, prob. 53 and 97; homosexual: 4, prob. 10, 151, 263 (Schol. Ar. Vesp. 1187), 389, 402, 419, 446 (all passive), 152, prob. 183 (active); 316 (masturbation — female); vague: 14, 443, perh. cf. also 87 (v. Meineke II p. 69) and 195.

The plays most likely to have had substantial elements of sexual humour are Πυτίνη, Διονυσιαλέξανδρος, Νέμεσις and perh. Μαθηταί. Bergk (p. 183) greatly overstates the case for moral charges against Hippon in Πανόπται.

Eupolis: heterosexual: 44, 47 (unless, like 77, homosexual), prob. 48, 50 (unless hom.: cf. 77), prob. 52 (cunnilingus), poss. 110A. 7f (Austin 92. 7f — v. dub.), 139, 158, 161, 169, 176, 206, 208 (incest), 215, 229, 233 (also hom.), poss. 266 & 268, cf. 273, 278A, 344, 351, 354 Edm (= Austin 95. 47f), 399, 413, 414, Austin 95. 100 ff. Cf. 367, where Schol. Pax 740f speaks of Ζεύς Μοιχός in Eupolis (or Cratinus — which is more likely: cf. 'Nemesis'); homosexual: (poss. 47 & 50, if not het.), 56, 77, 82, 110B (Austin 92. 23sq.), 118, 164, 233 (also het.), 235, cf. 38A, poss. even 110A (Austin 92 ad init.) — v. dub.; masturbation: cf. 61 (or of sexual intercourse?); vague: 67, 81, poss. 244, poss. 334, 388, cf. 398, 434A, conceivably Austin 95. 54ff (circumcision).

Plays most likely to have had substantial elements of sexual humour:

Αυτόλυκος α' & β', Βόπται (cf. Schol. Juv. 2. 91 + Fr. 77), Κόλακες, perh. Ἀστράτευτοι ἢ Ἄνδρογύναι, perh. Φίλοι (cf. Wilamowitz ap. Kock I p. 330).

Pherecrates: heterosexual: 35, (cf. 62), cf. 71, 72 & 73 (perh. intimations of the motif of father and son in love with the same courtesan?), 91 (incest? cf. 102 (χοῖρες scene?), 108. 28f, 131. 3, 145 (with 144B), 149, 155 (perh. also hom.), 154A, cf. 172A, 172B; homosexual: perh. 155 (also het.); masturbation: 204 (male) — but cf. Iys. 953?; vague: 97 (perh. cf. Eccl. 707ff).

Plays: the 'courtesan' plays Κοριαννώ, Πετώλη (?), and Ἐπιλήσμων ἢ Θάλαττα (?).

Plato: heterosexual: 3 (also hom.), 43, 46, 48A, 59, 117, 159, 173, 174, 175, 178, cf. 179. Cf. 64 and 64A; homosexual: 3 (also het.), 247; masturbation: prob. 174.18 (female); vague: 54b, 255.

Plays likely to have had substantial erotic elements: Ἄδωνις, Ἀΐσιος, Εὐρώπη, Ἰώ, Νύξ Μακρά, Φάων, Ζεὺς Κακούμενος, perhaps Αἰετὸς Ἰερῶν.

Others: Crates: het.: 23, poss. 26 (breasts?), 40; vague: 21A; Callias: het.: 1, 23, cf. Ἀταλάντη; Teleclid.: het.: cf. 12 & 13, 17, 34, cf. also 1.6; hom.: 49, poss. 57; vague: 66; Hemippus: het.: 10, perh. 46.1; hom.: cf. 58.7f?; the play Εὐρώπη may have had much sexual humour; Cantharus: het.: 6, cf. 6A; cf. Τηρέυς; Phrynichus: het. 33, prob. 53, 74, (cf. 78); hom.: 47; vague: 58; Myrtilus: cf. Ἐρωτες and perh. Τιτανόπαιδες (=sodomites?); Ampias: het.: cf. 34; Μοῖχοι; Philonides: het.: cf. 5, 7; Archippus: het.: poss. 16, cf. 27, 45A; Ἀμφιγρύων, Ἡρακλῆς Γαμῶν; Strattis: het.: 3, cf. 26, poss. 36 (cf. Edm.), 40 (fellatio), 41 (poss. hints fellatio?), 51; perh. 52 is in homosexual double ent. (cf. Cratin. 87 and Meineke ad loc. and "riding" imagery of sexual relations: the play is Χρύσιππος, who was carried off by Laius), cf. Austin 220.100 (if by Strattis, which I doubt)—in the same context there was heterosexual humour (Austin 220.93ff); vague: 54 (the phallus?); Χρύσιππος, Ἀταλάντη; Poliochus: Κορινθιαστής; Metagenes: het.: 4; Aristagoras: vague: 6; Theopompus: het.: 21, 32, 35 (fellatio), 94; hom.: 29; vague: (cf. 37), poss. 71; Ἀφροδίσια, Παμφίλη, poss. Καπηλίδες, Πηνελόπη; Polyzelus: het.: poss. 7, 10, Μουσῶν Γοναί, poss. Διονύσου Γοναί, Ἀφροδίτης Γοναί; Sannyrion: Δυνάη (cf. 8), Ἰώ; Alcaeus: het.: 18, 23, 29, Γανυμήδης, Ἐνδυμίων, Καλλιστώ, Πασιφάη, Παλαίστρα, Ἀδελφαὶ Μοιχευόμεναι, Ἰερὸς Γάμος; Diocles: het.: 16; hom.: 4; cf. Θάλαττα (courtesan); Philyllius: Αὐγή, Ἄνθεια, Ἀταλάντη, Ἑλένη, Γλυκύντριαι ἢ Ναυσικόρα; Cephisodorus: het. & hom.: cf. 3, Ἀντιλαίς, poss. Ἀμαζόνες; Apollonphanes: Δαλίς (??);

Nicochares: het.:12 ; Λήμνιαι , Γαλάτεια , Ἀμυμώνη, Ἡρακλῆς Γομοῦ-
μενος ; Nicophon: Ἀδωνίς , Ἀφροδίτης Γοναί ; Autocrates: het.:1 ;
Euthycles: Ἀτελάντη.

Excretory Humour

The fragments of most of the non-Aristophanic Old Comedians do not provide us with many instances of excretory humour. The exception is Eupolis, who has nine fragments with elements of excretory humour (Strattis has four, Plato and Cratinus each three, others not more than one each). Eupolis apart, the figures seem modest by comparison with the number of instances in Aristophanes, who has ten relevant fragments,⁵⁰ while of his extant plays 'Peace' has about two dozen scatological jokes,⁵¹ with 'Ecclesiazusæ' and 'Frogs' not very far behind.⁵² We must, however, be cautious about inferring that Aristophanes favoured such jokes more than many of his rivals, for we have some hints that substantial scatological scenes once appeared in the comedies of some of the other Old Comedians. Ra. 12-14 scoffs at Phrynichus, Lycis and Amipsias for exploiting such humour in scenes where complaints are made about the physical effects (particularly on the bowels) of carrying heavy items of luggage:

Ξα· τί δῆτ' ἔδει με ταῦτα τὰ σκεύη φέρειν,
εἴπερ ποιήσω μηδὲν ὤνπερ Φρύνιχος
εἴωθε ποιεῖν καὶ Λύκισ Κᾶμειψίας;

No passages of excretory humour now remain from the work of these poets (though Lycis scarcely counts, as he has no fragments at all, there are seventy-nine fragments of Phrynichus, not counting those dubiously ascribed, and thirty-eight of Amipsias), and the Schol. Ar. ad loc. reports that Didymus made an observation to the same effect: Φρύνιχος δὲ ὁ κωμικός οὐδὲν τούτων ἐποίησεν ἐν τοῖς σωζομένοις αὐτοῦ· εἰκὸς δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀπολωλόσιν εἶναι αὐτοῦ τοιοῦτό τι.

We must, like Didymus, either infer that what occasioned Aristophanes' remarks has perished or else suppose that Aristophanes' claim was laugh-

ably unfair to the poets in question. That would seem much less likely: cf. the contempt in Dionysus' reply in Ra. 16-18. There would appear, then, to have been scenes like that at the beginning of the 'Frogs' (cf. also Eq. 998 for the motif in Aristophanes) in the work of at least three of Aristophanes' rivals. Although Aristophanes makes Dionysus forbid the use of the scatological (and other) jokes attendant upon such scenes, Xanthias manages to make most of the prohibited remarks all the same (with all the more effect), and it would, of course, be quite wrong to think that Aristophanes rejected such humour in his own works. Whether Schol. Nu. 295 had any evidence beyond the text of Aristophanes on which he was commenting for his statement that Aristophanes' rivals (in particular Eupolis and Cratinus) "brought men onto the stage defecating and performing other obscene acts" has already been considered.⁵³ Probably the plural in the text of Aristophanes on which the scholiast is commenting can be taken as an indication that there were scenes of excretory humour in the plays of some of Aristophanes' rivals as visually explicit as the Blcyrus scene in Eccl. 311 sq. or the scene in Ra. 479 ff, where Dionysus loses control of his bowels in terror, were later to be. In Vesp. 936 ff and Thesm. 612 f urination is simulated on stage. I have suggested above that there may have been the motif of luggage-bearing moving the bowels in Eupolis' 'Taxiarchs' (Dionysus did at least arrive with plenty of luggage), but there is no definite evidence for scatological humour in context, only a hint that the opportunity for it was there. No one actually simulates urination or defecation in our fragments of Aristophanes' rivals, but in Eupolis' Αὐτόλυκος (Frs. 45, 45A, 46) someone empties chamber-pots. Blcyrus' appeal in Eccl. 371 that the goddess of childbirth should not permit him to become a "σκωραμὶς κωμωδική" sounds as though it has a general application to comedies not only of Aristophanes, but also of his rivals. It is thus likely that there were some scenes depending heavily upon excretory humour in the plays of the other Old Comedians beyond

what our fragments suggest. One must, of course, remember that passages of excretory humour were much less likely to be cited by later writers than passages of linguistic or prosopographical interest. In fact, most of our fragments which contain scatological humour have been preserved for their evidence on philological points or because they reveal something of the nature of vessels used in excretory processes. Some good examples are Alcaeus Comicus Fr. 4, *κατέχεσον <δε> τῆς Νηρηίδος*,

cited for its second aorist, Eupolis 45,

ἔρα σφόδρ' ἐνεύρησεν οὐξέωλης γέρων,

cited for the Attic augmentation of the verb, and Pherecrates 88,

πρὸς τῇ κεφαλῇ μου λάσανα καταθείς πέρδεται,

cited to show that the *λάσανα* was not necessarily a fixed object.

Our evidence, then, is, for most of Aristophanes' rivals, sparse, but there are, nevertheless, some interesting examples of technique. Cratinus 26 uses the image familiar to us from Aristophanes (*Vesp.* 1305, *Pax* 335) of breaking wind in unrestrained and carefree delight ("lively insouciance" is Prof. Dover's description of the mood).⁵⁴ As in *Vesp.* 1305 (where it is said of Philocleon *ἐνήλατ' ἐσκίρτα ὑπεπόρδει κατεγέλα*) there is the notion of energetic movement in context too. The man in Cratinus' line leaps and breaks wind with abandon in a transportation of pleasure at some occurrence, which, if our transmitted text is correct,⁵⁵ displeased some other, whose reaction was a snarl at the ground:

ἔραζε πρὸς τὴν γῆν, ὃ δ' ἠσκήριζε κάπεπόρδει

The passage reaches its climax in the obscene imagery of delight. Strattis 51 speaks of someone's not even having time to answer the call of nature:

εἰ μὴδὲ χέσαι γ' αὐτῷ σχολὴ γενήσεται

As an image of preoccupation the idea is obvious, but nonetheless amusing because of its vulgar forcefulness. The remark in Eupolis 224 seems to be a rather similar image of poverty:

ἔμοι γὰρ οὐκ ἔστ' οὐδὲ λάσανον οὐ χέσω.

Neither of these particular uses of excretory imagery is paralleled in Aristophanes, but it is striking, by contrast, that the common Aristophanic joke of defecation in terror is not attested in any of the other Old Comedians, unless, in view of *Vesp.* 1177 (... ὡς ἢ Λόμι' ἄλοῦσ' ἐπέρδετο), Crates 18 (σκυτάλην ἔχουσ' ἐπέρδετο) refers to the effect of fright upon the bowels (so MacDowell)⁵⁶. In *Eup.* 110A (92 ad init. Austin), Theogenes is spoken of so (11.9-10):

Ἰυτος δ' ἔκειθ' ὁ Θεογένης
τὴν νύχθ' ἔλην πεπορδῶς.

The interpretation of the passage is problematic, but the scatological element conveys (a) the effects of over-eating and either (b) lethargy and slothful relaxation or (c) exhaustion and digestive disturbance after a thrashing (so Jensen's interpretation, for which v. Austin ad loc.)⁵⁷. If the latter, cf. *Ra.* 1096ff; if the former *Eccl.* 464, *Nu.* 8 ff, *Eq.* 115.

The imagery of *Eupolis* Fr. 163 seems to derive its inspiration from *Pherecr.* Fr. 131, which probably antedates *Eupolis*' passage by at least five years. In *Eupolis* Fr. 163 it seems that the man described is Callias, whose indulgence to the parasites who frequented his house is conveyed in the following words:

ὅς χαρίτων μὲν ὄζει
καλαβίδας δὲ βαίνει
σησαμίδας δὲ χέζει
μήλα δὲ χρέμπτεται.

Callias' every movement and function is seen as full of profitable meaning for the flatterers who prey on him. He has the smell of favours (ὄζειν with an abstract is one of the commonest of Old Comedy's metaphors: cf. Taillardat p. 437 n. 3), the walk of wanton dances, he excretes sesame-cakes and he spits apples. The imagery is intended to suggest Callias' affluence, his voluptuous existence, and his generosity to parasites. He is the source of favours, entertainment and good food. The passage is shorter, pitier

and more rhythmic than Pherecrates' and culminates in the obscenity (as such passages commonly do), which carries the image to its logical comic extreme, thus epitomising the servile dependence of the self-seeking flatterers upon Callias for their maintenance. In Fr. 284 Eupolis appears to be using the especially Cratinean technique of distorting a familiar phrase or proverb for comic effect. A small man is insultingly described, not as ἀποτράγγημ' ἀλώπεκος (which appears to have been proverbial for something very small, as the dessert left-overs of the voracious fox would be little indeed), but as ἀποπάτημ' ἀλώπεκος ("piece of fox-dropping"). The pun and the assonance are, of course, essential to the effectiveness of the joke, as well as the uncomplimentary excretory imagery. Finally, Cratinus Fr. 49 works excretory humour into the slaying of Cercyon (or perhaps someone seen as him) by representing him as being discovered in the act of relieving himself in a vegetable patch:

τὸν Κερκύονα θ' ἔωθεν ἀποπατοῦντ' (ἐγὼ)
ἐπὶ τοῖς λαχάνοις εὐρῶν ἀπέπνιξα.

The undignified occasion of the despatch (and the speaker's boastful tone) are the principal elements in the joke.

As in Aristophanes, it is generally true that jokes about the passing of urine are much less common than jokes about defecation, but it so happens that four of the nine passages of excretory humour in Eupolis relate to urination. Three, however, are from the same context, it seems (45, 45A, 46), and there is no reason to think that the general proportions were not true of Eupolis' plays also. In Aristophanes the proportion of jokes about urination to those about defecation and the breaking of wind is about 1:6 or 7.

References: Cratinus: 26, 39, 49 ; Eupolis: 16, 45, 45A, 46, 110A.10 (92.10 Austin), 163, 224, 284, 351.5 ; Plato: 5, 116, 222 ; Pherecrates: 88 ; Crates: 18 ; Strattis: 9, 51, 63, 43 ; Theop.: 62 ; Polyzelus: 4 (if we amend to ἐν ποταμῶν ἴσσις with Bentley in l. 4) ; Alcaeus: 4 ; Diocles: 17 ; Hemipp.: 82.1

Dietary Humour

A great many fragments refer to the processes of eating and drinking and to foodstuffs and wines (many being cited for this reason by Athenaeus in particular). A large number do not contain what can be described as a specific 'joke', but they are nevertheless indications that there was some dietary point in the context. A precise account of all the forms which dietary humour could take would be impossible within a short compass, but I propose to consider some of the more important indications of technique in Aristophanes' rivals' surviving work, as I see them, and to discuss some fragments in detail.

The vice of gluttony was a common target of ridicule. Passages where named individuals are attacked for such excesses are listed above.⁵⁸ Cratinus, for instance, seems to have devoted a choral passage to the greedy eating habits of Lampon (Frs. 57 and 58), while Hermippus in Fr. 45 makes fun of the gluttonous Nothippus (i. e. Gnesippus?)⁵⁹ by declaring that, were the Peloponnesian enemies' tasty foodstuffs, Nothippus alone would swallow down the entire Peloponnese. Plato satirises Glaucetes' devotion to the turbot by nicknaming him "Glaucetes ἡ ψῆγτα" (Fr. 106), while Eupolis derides the greed of Pisander and Theogenes in Fr. 110A (Austin 92 ad init.). Cratinus' Πυτίνη made capital out of the poet's own weakness for wine: the witty double entendre of Fr. 183 has already been described above.⁶⁰ The scene in Eupolis' Αὐτόλυκος where brimming chamber-pots were emptied (Frs. 45, 45A, 46) was no doubt a reflection on the quantity of wine drunk the night before by those who passed the urine, while in Fr. 351 Eupolis accredits Alcibiades with the invention of the drinking-bout cry, ἀμίδε, Πᾶν ("Po, boy!").

Eupolis' Κόλακες clearly made much of the way parasites found Callias an easy prey. Someone directs in Fr. 149 that the items "supper: 100 drachmas" and "wine for flatterers: another mina" should be recorded in some list, while Fr. 162 declares that no fire, no iron and no bronze

can keep the flatterers from their visit for supper. In Frs. 172 and 173 hungry parasites are described as γαστροδαίμονες and ταγηνόκτισ-
 οθηῖραι, i. e. "men whose god is their belly" and "hunters after the
 smell of the frying-pan", while in Fr. 148 someone is said to gobble down
 his food in greedy fashion: λαφύσσειται λαφύγμιον ἀνδρείον πᾶν.
 The chorus of flatterers themselves describe their way of seeking out
 rich but senseless hosts who will entertain them (Fr. 159). One of the para-
 sites who fed at Callias' expense was evidently Protagoras, in Eupolis'
 view, for Fr. 146b speaks of him as eating the things from the earth at
 Callias' table, for all his pretentious charlatanism about what is up in
 the sky. If Eupolis' κόλακες was the most thorough treatment of the κόλαξ
 in Old Comedy, it is nevertheless true that the theme of the hungry
 parasite was exploited elsewhere. Amipsias (Fr. 1) and Theopompus (13) both
 liken parasites to the voracious kestrel (mullet), while Cratinus in Fr.
 44 speaks of "leech-throated" uninvited guests at supper. His coinage
 γαστροχάρυβδης ("whirlpool-bellied") is another vivid description of a
 voracious eater. Sannyrion (10) speaks of ψωμοκόλακες ("flatterers for
 bread-morsels"), a word also in Ar. Fr. 167. Pherecr. 32 also speaks of a
 parasite, and Eupolis 346 describes parasites as "friends round the
 frying-pan when it's time for lunch".

The theme of Heracles' vast appetite seems to have been a favourite
 with many Comic poets. Aristophanes exploits it in Av. 1574sq. and in Ra.
 62ff and 549sq., although he affects to express weariness of it in Pax
 741. Cratinus in Fr. 308 similarly sees the motif as over-exploited. No
 doubt most comedies in which Heracles appeared could not resist the reg-
 ular dietary jokes, and there are many titles which suggest that Heracles
 (or someone substituting for him) appeared. These are Ἡρακλῆς (Philyll-
 ius), Ἡρακλῆς Γαμῶν (Archippus), Ἡρακλῆς Γαμούμενος (Nicochares),
 Ἡρακλῆς Χορηγός (Nicochares), Ψευδηρακλῆς (Pherecrates), Ἀνθρωπιη-
 ἀκλῆς (Pherecrates), Βούσειρις (Cratinus—cf. Fr. 21 for a dietary interest),

Κέρκωπες (Hemippus), $\Xi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\rho\iota\alpha\iota$ ἢ Κέρκωπες (Plato), while we know that Heracles was a character in Plato's Ζεὺς Κακούμενος and was offered a meal in the play (Fr. 46.1f), although it is not clear whether or not the meal was actually served.⁶¹

The drunkenness of women was another favourite theme. Cratinus neatly combines it with a hit at excessive sexual desire in Fr. 273.⁶² Both Phrynichus (fr. 71) and Eupolis (in his 'Maricas' -- cf. Ar. Nu. 553ff) had scenes where a $\gamma\rho\alpha\upsilon\varsigma$ μεθύσει performed the cordax, while two particularly good examples are to be found in Pherecrates. In one (Fr. 70) a girl is said to be a fit wine-mixer for frogs when she serves the potent mixture of two parts of water to four of wine to a woman who prefers her wine even stronger. The mixture is declared not merely to be watery, but to be pure water, and to be undrinkable. Some other fragments of the same play, Κορινθία , refer to the serving of food and wine, and it is likely that at least one scene had a substantial element of dietary humour (cf. Frs. 67, 68, 69 also). The other fragment is Fr. 143, where women are said to serve their husbands wine in shallow cups with no sides but almost entirely bottom, while they themselves drink from capacious cups, described as "like wine-transports, well-rounded, thin-sided, hollow and belly-shaped." If accused of drinking too much wine, the women can claim that they've only had one cup, even though that cup is the equivalent of many normal vessels. The speaker's tone is indignant (cf. $\xi\acute{\iota}\tau'$ in l. 1 and the impatient exaggeration in l. 10), and he is obviously protesting against the way women cheat their husbands. The passage is evidently from an agon (cf. the trochaic tetrameter metre) and states the masculine 'case' in what seems to have been a 'women' play (Τύρραννίς). Fr. 192 seems to be another indication that Pherecrates made fun of women and wine. Plato makes an allusion to the craving of women for wine in Fr. 174, and there are a few other passages which touch upon the theme.

Several substantial fragments have been preserved by Athenaeus of what may be termed the 'Golden Age' or 'Time of Plenty' theme, the theme

of the 'Idler's Paradise', as Baldry calls it.⁶³ These passages describe a paradise where men have no work to do but food appears spontaneously for them. Sometimes it is the mythical Golden Age or Elysium that is meant, sometimes some remote paradise where all good things abound, sometimes, as it seems, a promised future period of ease and prosperity. Dietary imagery is the backbone of such passages, with rivers of soup rolling past the diners, animated foodstuffs presenting themselves to be eaten, and other bizarre pictures of a fantasy world of ease, luxury and the super-abundance of good food to be enjoyed. The passages draw their inspiration ultimately from Hesiod's description of the Golden Age (Op. 109 sq.), especially from the notion that the earth bore fruit without human labour in those joyful days of Cronus, contained in Op. 117-8:

καρπὸν δ' ἔφερε ζείδωρος ἄρουρα
αὐτόματ' ἑκ πολλόν τε καὶ ἄφθονον.

The word αὐτόματος is, in fact, almost the theme-word of the Golden Age passages of Comedy: Baldry (p. 50) rightly recognises its importance. It is regularly used to emphasise that food was there to be eaten without human toil. The word is first seen in Comedy in Cratinus' Πλοῦτοι, Fr. 161 Edm (160K): αὐτόματ' ἑκ αὐτοῖς θεὸς ἄνιει τὰ γαθά.

Fr. 160 Edm (165K), from the same play, conveys the abundance of food in the reign of Cronus by speaking of using wheat-bread for knuckle-bones and of barley-loaves falling from trees in those bygone days. Elements of both these images were imitated by Teleclides, as Bergk observed,⁶⁴ in Fr. 1.14, μήτρας δὲ τόμοις καὶ χναυματίοις οἱ παῖδες ἄν ἤστρεγάλιον and Fr. 3, ... δρυπέπεσι μάζαις ... Another fragment of Πλοῦτοι, 166 Edm (164K), asks whether it is really true that strangers are feasted at the Κομῆς (at Sparta) and whether sausages are really hung up in public halls for the elders to bite off with their teeth. Bergk suspected that this fragment did not refer to Sparta itself but to some land of plenty described in the play (in tenus recalling Spartan institutions), but the

language of the fragment suggests rather the real Sparta to me, and Fr. 164Edm(162K) refers to the $\delta\iota\pi\omicron\delta\iota\alpha$, a Spartan dance (cf. Pollux 4.101, $\delta\iota\pi\omicron\delta\iota\alpha$ ἔργημα Λακεδαιμονικόν and Ar. Lys. 1243), in terms which may indicate that the dance was featured in the play. It may be that there was a Spartan character (or more than one) in the play who was asked about the state of wealth at Sparta and who perhaps performed a Spartan dance. Frs. 165Edm(163K) and the puzzling Fr. 162Edm (incorporating 161K) are probably further indications of the importance of dietary humour in Πλοῦτοι. Edmonds' supplements in Fr. 162 (= Austin 73.43sq.) are, of course, conjectural in the extreme, and his overall reconstruction is highly risky, to say the least. His notion that the black female tunny is addressing a group of fishes would seem in context an unlikely suggestion, but it must be admitted that in Fr. 313 (from an unknown play) there is some probability in the view that an assembly of vegetables (quite possibly, of course, only reported and never seen) is described:

ταῖς ῥαφανῶσι δοκεῖ, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις οὐ λαχύνουσιν.

There, however, one must remember that the interpretation of the datives as directly dependent on δοκεῖ is not inevitable (the sentence may be incomplete—sc. $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\theta\epsilon\alpha$ in the next line, for example?). Austin's suggestion that the sense of Fr. 161K is "Haec omnia tibi sum" (citing Av. 716 and Plautus Capt. 863f) was also my own reaction to the fragment and far surpasses Edmonds' view in probability, as I am sure all will agree. It is very difficult, however, to make anything worthwhile of the context, and Edmonds at least demonstrates to us how dangerous it is to try.

There was a chorus of beasts in Crates' $\Theta\eta\rho\iota\alpha$, and it would seem that they protested against being eaten, for Fr. 17 appears to be the word of some spokesman of the beasts bidding men eat other foods and the alarmed reply of some man, concerned that this will mean forgoing some favourite items of his diet. The theme of the animals rebelling against being made the food of humans was to be revived in Archippus' Ἰχθυῖς , where the

fish seem to have gone to war with humankind, while Ar. Av. 1076sq. protests against the way birds are treated by Philocrates the Poulterer (cf. Archippus Fr. 25, where Hemaëus' monstrous treatment of fish is attacked). There may have been something of the theme in Plato's 'Εορταί (cf. Fr. 28), but that is doubtful. Athenæus has preserved for us from Crates' Ὀήπιον two substantial fragments from an agon (the second, Fr. 15, is in iambic trimeters, but Athenæus suggests that it came from the reply to the speaker of Fr. 14—i. e. the agon was prolonged beyond the formal structure, as in 'Frogs') in which two persons appear to have promised their own style of 'Golden Age' to come, each trying to surpass the other in his proposals. Who the speakers are is not clear, but they both talk as though it was in fact within their power to create the Golden Age they describe (14. 3, 15. 2), while the second speaker refers to "his own" people (τοῖς ἐμοῖς, 1. 2), i. e., one presumes, those who support him or are under his power or care. It is quite possible that both speakers are seeking to "bribe", as it were, the first speaker in 1. 14 (who may well be, as Whittaker argued,⁶⁶ the second speaker in Fr. 17, i. e. a man learning that the eating of meat is over and that Golden Age relationships between men and beasts are to return).⁶⁷ In that case, Fr. 14 is the offer (or rather part thereof) of the beasts, through some spokesman, and Fr. 15 is a counter-offer from some party interested in persuading humankind not to comply with the beasts' suggestions, but still promising them a Golden Age of sorts.⁶⁸ How far one should press the practicability of the proposals is uncertain, but it is difficult to see how a mere beast could have power to make everything able to walk (14. 3). Perhaps there has been some divine intervention (could the speakers conceivably be deities, one wonders—possibly Cronus and Zeus?—cf. Teleclid. 1, where one suggestion is that Cronus speaks)⁶⁹ or possibly personifications are involved.⁷⁰ At any rate, it is clear that Baldry⁷¹ and Norwood⁷² are right to reject Meineke's⁷³ interpretation that one speaker recommends a life of luxury and ease, while

the other recommends a simple life in accordance with natural laws. The view was reiterated by Kock, but it is impossible to draw such a distinction (legitimately) between the proposals of the two speakers, both of whom seem to be describing a life of ease. In the earlier passage (14) one speaker explains how he means to abolish slaves. He will make them quite redundant, for all the items of the scullery will be able to move and they will do the work themselves. Ladles will do their own pouring, cups will wash themselves, foodstuffs will see to their own serving. A fish, when told to come and be eaten, will call out that it is only done on one side and be instructed to turn over and sprinkle itself with salt and oil itself. Crates' lively examples of the scheme at work culminate in the warning of the personified fish that it is not yet ready to be eaten. There is no dietary humour in Fr. 15, but it speaks of the ease with which the speaker will make it possible to take a bath, developing the idea of Golden Age luxury in another connection.

Our principle fragment of Teledides (Fr. 1) is of the 'Golden Age' type. The speaker⁷⁴ describes in anapaestic tetrameters the life that he gave mankind. He stresses first that life was peaceful and free from fear and disease, and then recounts that all necessities were αὐτόματα, spontaneously available. He passes at this point into the typical imagery of the Golden Age theme. Every gully flowed with wine, barley-cakes fought with bread-loaves at men's lips, begging to be eaten, fish went (from market) to one's home, cooked themselves and laid themselves in position on the dining-table, a river of soup flowed past the dining-couches rolling along hot portions of meat, while streams of sauce were at hand for those who wished to moisten their morsels. Ground-barley cakes sprinkled with spices were by one's side, while roast thrushes complete with slices of milk-loaf swooped into one's throat, and there was the cry of flat-cakes jostling each other by one's jaws. Boys would play knucklebones with slices of sow's matrix and tit-bits. Then men were fat, the speaker declares, and

there were plenty of giants in those days. The passage has several standard features of the Golden Age theme, but makes particularly entertaining use of personification, conjuring up images of foodstuffs fighting with each other in their eagerness to enter the mouths of men, and of thrushes, not only ready-roasted but prepared with all the regular trimmings, swooping into the diners' jaws. Such simple but vivid imagery, the emphatic positioning of many key words and the felicitous overall scale of the set-piece make Teleclides' passage a particularly memorable piece of Old Comedy. I take a more favourable view of the passage than Baldry,⁷⁵ who considers it ponderous.

Pherecrates has two passages on the 'Golden Age' theme, or rather passages which describe a time or place of plenty. These are Frs. 108 and 130. Fr. 108 is from *Μεταλλῆς* and describes Elysium, to which, it seems, the miners have either deliberately or accidentally tunnelled.⁷⁶ Some woman is recounting her discoveries there to a man who can barely control his enthusiasm for what he hears. Norwood⁷⁷ dismisses the passage as a poor copy of Teleclides, and it must be confessed that in two places Pherecrates does appear to draw on the lines of Teleclides just considered, as Baldry⁷⁸ also observes. He repeats the image of the ready-prepared thrushes flying to men's mouths and combines with this Teleclides' description of the pleas of the food to be eaten, while at l. 31 there seems to be another possible hint that Pherecrates' piece was not free of influence from Teleclides' —on the whole—more effective passage. The lines in question are the following:

Teleclid. 1. 4-5

... μᾶζαι δ' ἄρτοις ἐμάχοντο

περὶ τοῖς στόμασιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἰκετεύουσαι καταπιεῖν.

Teleclid. 1. 12: ὅπται δὲ κίχλαι μετ' ἀμητίσκων εἰς τὸν φάρυγ' εἰσεπέτοντο

Pherecr. 108. 23-4: ὅπται κίχλαι γὰρ εἰς ἀνάβραστ' ἤρτυμένα

περὶ τὸ στόμ' ἐπέτοντ' ἀντιβολουῦσαι καταπιεῖν.

Teleclid. 1. 9: ὑποτριμματίων δ' ὄχετοὶ τούτων τῶν βουλομένοισι παρήσαν

Pherecr. 108. 31: ἦντλον διὰ χώνης τοῖσι βουλομένοις πιεῖν.

Pherecrates expands the element of description of foodstuffs available and introduces some new images in the first nineteen lines of the piece, till the interruption of the second speaker. After the commonplace image of the river of soup (here converted into rivers of soup and of gruel), Pherecrates speaks effectively of how easily and effortlessly the well-oiled morsel slipped down the dead men's throats (ll. 6-7):

ὥστ' εὐμαρῆ τε καὶ τομίστην τῆν ἔνθεσιν
 χωρεῖν λιπαρῶν κατὰ τοῦ λάρυγγος τοῖς νεκροῖς.

He follows this with a novel image of the abundance of food. Black-puddings and sizzling slices of sausage were piled up on the river-banks like (fresh-water) shells (the rivers being those of soup and gruel). Pherecrates then passes into a list of appetising dishes to hand, building up to the second speaker's tormented interruption. The language is calculated to make the foodstuffs sound inviting, and its effectiveness depends on evocative adjectival phrases: "And there were perfectly-baked slices of fish, elegantly dressed with all kinds of sauces, and tiny eels enveloped in beet. And whole legs of beef most succulent were near to hand on little platters, and trotters boiled just right too, with a delicious aroma, and ox-tripe as well, while loins of pork with skins browned with roasting lay to one side in the most dainty of settings, resting on the top of cakes of fine meal. And there too were groats of wheat snowed over with milk on dishes as big as watering-cans, and slices of beestings ... B: Ah! You'll surely be the death of me, still keeping me here, when we can dive down just as we are to Tartarus!" ⁷⁴

The first speaker then increases the man's longing for this Underworld paradise by telling him more. Nor was good food the only attraction of those subterranean regions, for girls newly in the bloom of adolescence with their "rose-beds" (i. e. pubic regions) trimmed strained full cups of dark, fragrant wine for those who desired to drink. After heightening the listener's enthusiasm for a visit of his own to the Underworld by this

mention of the sexual attractions of the place, the speaker rounds off her description by pointing out that whatever one ate or drank was restored two fold. The passage may show signs of recasting Teleclides' earlier treatment and be arguably less effective in its imagery, but there is the added element of the tormenting of the appreciative listener by the mouth-watering description, and there is also the description of the sexual side of the paradise to enrichen the piece, and it is clear that the discovery of the Underworld paradise and its consequences were the backbone of the play. Cf. 109 also.

The other fragment of Pherecrates which deals with this theme is Fr. 130, from Πέρσαι. The speaker seems to be anticipating a time when traditional methods of working the land for food will be no longer needed and there will be a new period of prosperity and of effortless abundance comparable to the Golden Age. F. Ritter⁸⁰ supposed that the speaker was Wealth replying in an agon to Poverty (cf. Ar. Plutus 804-14 for a description of the material benefits Wealth brings), which is a very plausible theory, rightly treated with respect by Meineke⁸¹ and Baldry⁸² and others.⁸³ Norwood⁸⁴ reminds us of Plutus 507sq., where Poverty warns that certain trades will be neglected if Wealth is given back his sight. Our passage of Pherecrates would make a reply to such a point. Ritter supposed that Pherecrates was satirising Athenian hopes of getting gold from Persia, an idea which Meineke and others have viewed with favour. Cf. Ach. 102-4, 113 etc. for the question of getting gold from Persia in Old Comedy. Baldry⁸⁵ is suspicious of the theory and interprets Πέρσαι as "luxurious livers, gluttons", following Schmid⁸⁶ in extracting that meaning from Metagenes' title Ἐουπιόπέρσαι ("Schwelger" is Schmid's word). Perhaps we should be wary of speculating about the "Persian" connection of the plot, as Metagenes' title is indeed a warning that "Persians" may not be literally meant. Perhaps Athenians became "Persian" in life-style and wealth as a result of being freed from the constraints of Poverty. Schmid

takes our fragment to be from a parabasis, but I find that unconvincing, as the passage suits an agon so well: cf. τῶν εἰῶν in 1.1 in particular. I find his notion that Fr.131 is from a parabasis too no more convincing, and Sifakis⁸⁷ quite rightly does not treat either fragment as a parabasis extract. One wonders whether "stammt aus einer Parabasis" is really what Schmid intended to say, as the idea is so improbable. At any rate, we see that the speaker's tone is wildly extravagant. The familiar image of the river of soup with its attendant meat or breadstuffs is invoked again, and other organs of nature besides the river are seen as sources of ready-prepared food. Zeus will rain mellow wine, and the trees on the mountainside will shed not leaves but roast chitterlings of kids and tender little squids and boiled thrushes (for the tree image cf. Cratin. 160Edm). The passage aims for a strong verbal impact. ἡμῶν and τῶν εἰῶν are thrown into juxtaposition to express the speaker's contemptuous rejection of his opponents methods of providing the necessities of life. ἔτι stresses that the time for such old ways is past. At once the theme-word of the Golden Age (αὐτόματα in 1.3) is confidently hurled forth to explain why the need for the old methods has passed, and διὰ τῶν τριόδων immediately stresses that the food will stream by at every roads-meet (cf. Strattis 61). The gushing of the copious streams of soup is conveyed by the onomatopoeic κοχυδοῦντες ἐπιβλύξ, in 1.4, while the source is named as the very Fountains of Wealth. The same fullness of form for greater impact is seen in 1.9 as in 1.5. The verbal force of ll. 6-8 is assisted by an appreciative diminutive and two probable coinages, the second the sort of sprawling polysyllable familiar from Aristophanes.⁸⁸

The last substantial passage of the 'Golden Age' type preserved to us from Old Comedy is that in Metagenes' Θουριονίερα, a play never performed (so Athen. 6. 270a), but evidently a satire treating the people of Thurii as luxurious liveries. Metagenes' passage follows unimaginatively

in the tradition of the theme and shows very little trace of individuality, of a novel image or twist in the basically trite motif. His piece is the dullest of the surviving Golden Age passages and really has no significant originality beyond the fact that the river imagery is transferred to the Sybaris and Crathis. The image of foodstuffs rushing to the diners' mouths is revived in a weak form from Teleclid. Fr. 1. Nicophon's Σειρήνες (Frs. 20 and 21 Edm—13 and 14 K) included a passage of the Golden Age sort, but it has not survived to any great length and what remains is not of great significance, except in as much that its imagery of snowing, hailing and raining foodstuffs may owe something to Cratin. Fr. 121,

ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς ὄστροφίσιν ὕσει τὰ χυρ,

as well as to Pherecr. 130. Hemippus 25 and Strattis 61 may be brief extracts from Golden Age passages. There is no true example of the Golden Age set-piece in our extant plays of Aristophanes, though there are some passages which are not far removed from the type in theme (cf. Baldry, loc. cit. p. 58 f). Nevertheless, Athenaeus (269 e) gives us a hint that we should have found a parallel in Aristophanes' Τεργηνοστῆ (v. Fr. 508 Edm). Our fragments of that play make it plain that it had a strong dietary interest, as one would expect from the title: cf. Frs. 488, 492, 496, 497, 498, 502, 503, 506, 507, 511, 526, 527. Fr. 488 praises Pluto's realm and the lot of the dead, but that need not mean that there was an Underworld visit in the play. The title was very reasonably connected with the "friends round the frying-pan at lunch-time" of Eupolis Fr. 346 by Suevem³⁹ and taken to denote parasites. Dindorf⁴⁰, Bergk⁴¹ and Kock⁴² all approve this interpretation. Dindorf was content with Suevem's suggestion that the play was aimed at Callias like Eupolis' Κόλακες, but Bergk and Kock are more convincing in supposing that the play was directed at Alcibiades, especially in view of Eup. Fr. 351.1. At any rate, food was clearly a major topic in the play.

Hemippus Fr. 82 is a particularly good example of the appreciative description of food or wine. Dionysus is speaking of the merits of various

wines. Mendacian wine is what makes the gods wet their beds, such a surfeit do they take of it. Magnesian wine is the giver of pleasing gifts (μειλιχόδωρος), Thasian wine has the aroma of apples, and both far surpass all others, save for the peerless Chian wine, that freer from sorrow. But now Dionysus passes to the highest wine of all, which is called "mellow" (σαπρία). It gives an instant scent of violets, roses and hyacinths the moment jars of it are opened, a fascinating smell that possesses the whole room, ambrosia and nectar combined into one. This is the drink, Dionysus declares, this is the one that should be served for his friends to drink at the feast, while for his enemies Peparethian will do. The epic-style catalogue names the wines in ascending order of merit, until Dionysus overflows in eulogy of the drink that is dearest of all to him. There is a marked transition from humbler but still excellent wines to the final, unsurpassable perfection now to be described. The formal introduction of 1.6 segregates the peerless beverage from all others, while 1.1.7-10 seek to convey the instant, overpowering, all-pervading, captivating beauty of the odour of the wine. The threefold ὄζει emphasises the richness of its aroma; καὶ ἀπὸ στόματος στόμων ὑπανοιγομένων lays stress upon its immediate impact; θεσπεσίη underlines its enchanting quality, κατὰ πᾶν δ' ἔχει ὑπερεφές δῶ its pervasiveness, ἀμβροσίη καὶ νέκταρ ὁμοῦ its sublime deliciousness:

ἔστι δὲ τις οἶνος, τὸν δὴ σαπρίαν καλέουσι,
 οὗ καὶ ἀπὸ στόματος στόμων ὑπανοιγομένων
 ὄζει ἴων, ὄζει δὲ ρόδων, ὄζει δ' ὑφκίνθου,
 ὀδμή θεσπεσίη, κατὰ πᾶν δ' ἔχει ὑπερεφές δῶ,
 ἀμβροσίη καὶ νέκταρ ὁμοῦ· τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ πῶμα, κτλ.

The passage ends with a hit at the inferior Peparethian wine, which is declared adequate for enemies of Dionysus. Plato's passage examining the aphrodisiac qualities of foodstuffs (Fr. 173) has been considered already and is in some ways a comparable set-piece.

Lists of various sorts feature in the work of several Old Comedians, a striking Aristophanic example being Fr. 321, from his *Δεσμοφορίης* Ζου-
 α' β'. Quite commonly the list is of foodstuffs, perhaps in many cases from the sort of context where an invitation to a meal is served. It is in such a setting that Aristophanes coins the longest word in any European language, that in Eccl. 1169-75. Pherecrates and Philyllius have left the greatest number of fragments of such food-lists: cf. Pherecr. 45, 148, 175, 188; Philyllius 13, 19, 24, 26, 27 (some perhaps from the same context). In Eupolis Fr. 14 the goats which form the chorus of *Αἴγες* recite the food they eat, while there are further examples of the food-list in Callias Frs. 3 & 21, Metagen. 16, Nicophon 5 Edm (15K—cf. Fr. 1 Edm also), Eupolis Fr. 312(?), Plato 17(?), Archippus 11 & 12(?), 24 & 26(?), and Theop. 11(?), including some passages where we have not enough context to know how long the "list" was. In many cases the list is no doubt intended to whet the listener's appetite and to emphasise the grand scale of the feast, but in such a passage as Eup. 14 it is not so obvious what value the piece has as comedy, beyond simply introducing the chorus in character. Perhaps the list was delivered in some amusing or lively fashion (possibly a forlorn attempt to charge through it in one vast breath or such like: cf. R. G. Ussher on Eccl. 1168-76). Cratinus' list of flowers in Fr. 98 seems a similarly barren piece of comedy, unless there was something to enjoy in the manner of delivery or else the Athenian audience had a less sophisticated attitude than we to such lists. Some English songs have lists of a sort within them (cf., for example, "English Country Garden", which lists the flowers that grow in such a setting), but the musical interest would seem an important addition to a bare, recited list. Such a list as that in Shakespeare's Macbeth Act IV Scene I, 5sq. (the ingredients that the witches put into the cauldron) has more intrinsic interest than the food-lists of Old Comedy or lists such as those in Cratin. 98 or Ar. Fr. 321. Still, Old Comedy had a great interest in physical pleasures, and eating

and drinking vied with sex for pride of place.

Complaints of the quality or nature of one's food or of torment from hunger are sometimes found. A memorable example is Pyrrha's remark (as it surely is) to Deucalion after leaving the raft or boat in Pherecrates' *Μυρμηκάνθρωποι*. Weary to death of a constant diet of fish, she pleads,

μηδέ ποτ' ἰχθύν, ὡς Δευκαλίων, μηδ' ἦν αἰτῶ παροθῆς μοι.

We have noted the scene in Pherecrates' *Κοριωννίς* where a girl is rebuked as being a suitable wine-mixer for frogs (Fr. 70)⁹³. In Fr. 23 of the same poet we have a complaint from the Gods that they are unfairly treated in the distribution of the meat in sacrifices, while in Fr. 13 Pherecrates has the image of nibbling one's fingers in hunger like the octopus (cf. Hemipp. 24, Alcaeus 28A Edm, Plato 93). It seems that Dionysus found the harsh soldier's diet disagreeable in Eupolis' *Ταξίμαχοι* : Frs. 254 and 255 are probably complaints from him, while Fr. 250 may be an indication that Dionysus and Phomio took a meal in the course of the play (cf. also Fr. 253). In Eup. 322 someone complains of missing his evening meal. Other complaints about one's diet can be seen in Cratin. 99, 192, 218, 221, Crates 17, Phrynichus 57A, Theop. 54, Philonides 1 (and 9?), possibly Strattis 14, and perhaps some other fragments open to various interpretations.

It is particularly difficult to draw the line between what is a dietary 'joke' and mere mentions of foodstuffs and the like. In some cases it is quite obvious that the reference to eating or drinking was a specific joke, and in some cases it is clear that there was an attempt to build up atmosphere in context with a vivid description of good food or drink or suchlike, but in a great many instances the reference to food or drink that is preserved is not substantial enough to determine what was said in context, while even where we have a few lines of context there are cases where it is dubious whether the humorous element is tangible enough to label the passage a dietary 'joke'. Probably the least

distorted picture of the evidence will be given if I list every passage which could reasonably be conceived of as a 'dietary' passage (not necessarily a firm joke), including all indications that a Comedian made some reference to food, unless they be quite clearly not from a true dietary context. Hence, for example, the metaphorical mention of *ἄλμη* in Cratin. 6 would not be counted, as the point is not a real dietary one, whereas such a word as Crates' *ἡμιμάσητος* (Fr. 49) would be counted, as it may be from a true dietary context. In some cases the decision that a fragment is or is not relevant will, I fear, be somewhat arbitrary, but it seems to me that some element of such subjective judgment is unavoidable. I mark some of the most significant fragments in the list below. I give also the plays involved.

References:

Chionides: Πρωχοί 5, 7 ; Magnes: Διόνυσος 1 ; Eophonitides: Σάτυροι 1 ; Cratinus: Ἀρχίλοχοι cf. 3 (double ent. ?) ; Βούσειρις 21 (sacrificial context) ; Δηλίδες 27 ; Διονυσολέξανδρος cf. 38, 40, 44, 45 ; Δραπέτιδες 50, 57 & 58 (abuse v. Lampon) ; Κλεοβουλῖναι 86, 92 ; Μαλθακοί 99, 103 ; Νέμεσις 111, cf. 116 (ref. cottabus) ; 121 (cf. Golden Age?), 124 (ref. ritual), 125, 129 ; Ὀδυσσῆς 142, 143 (Cyclops' cannibalism), 144, 145, 146, 147, 149 ; Πλουῦτοι 160 & 161 (Golden Age), 162, 165, 166 (copis) ; Πυλαίη 169 (victors' feast) ; Πυπίνη personification of Μῆθη, 183 (wine-lust), 184, 188, 188A, cf. 189 & 190, 191, 192, 193, 199 (wine the poet's steed) ; Σεριφοί 206 (met. from food), 216 ; Τροφώνιος 218, 221 ; Χείρωνες 232 (ref. ritual?), 234 (libation), 238 & 239 (Golden Age—but not really dietary in what we have of it) ; Ἴβροι 251 (vomiting), 266 (vomiting) ; from unnamed plays 237 (women and wine), 274, 280, 288, 291 (libation), 295, 297, 298, 301, 303, 308 (Heraclēs), 313 (? personified vegetables), 317, 320, 326, 370, 371, 397, 412, cf. 423, 445 ; Crates : Γέιτονες the μεθύων in this play (Ath. 10. 429a), 1 ; Ἡρως 9 ; Θήριον 14 & 15 (Golden Age—the latter not dietary, but included for completeness), 17 (beasts forbid meat-eating) ;

Λόμια cf. 19 ; ῥήτορες cf. 26 ; Τόλμαι cf. 33 ; Unnamed cf. 40, 44, 49 ;
Callias: Κύκλωπες 3(list), 4(feast context), 6(do.), 7, 9(ref. cottabus) ;
 Πεδῆται 14 ; Unnamed 21(list), 29 ; Teledides: Ἀμφικτύονες 1(Golden
 Age), cf. 2, 8 ; Ἀψευδεῖς 10 ; Πρυτάνεις 24 & 25 ; Στερροί 32, 33(sacr-
 ifice) ; Unnamed 38, 48 ; Thuganides: Unnamed: 2 ; Aristomenes: Γόητες
 6, 7, 8 ; Διόνυσος Ἀσκητής 11, 12 ; Unnamed 14 ; Lysippus: Βάκχαι cf. 1 ;
Pherecrates: Ἀγαθοί 1, 4 ; Ἄγριοι 7, 8, cf. 10(Golden Age), 10A, 13(octopus/
 hunger), 16 ; Ἀνθρωποφρακλῆς (title) ; Ἀυτομόλοι 22, 23(Gods complain of
 sacrifices), 25, 27, 28, 29 ; Γράες 32(parasite) ; Δουλοδιδάσκαλος cf. 39,
 41(training of slaves in art of serving wine?), 44, 45(list), 46A(train-
 ing in preparation of food?) ; Ἐπιλήσιμων ἢ Θάλαττα 54, 55, 56 ; Ἴπνός ἢ
 Παννυχίς 61, 65, 66(ref. cottabus) ; Κοριαννώ 67, 68, 69, 70(all ref. serving
 of food and wine), 75, cf. 78 ; Κραπάταλοι 80, cf. 81, 82, 83, 84, 95, cf. 96A, cf.
 97 ; Λῆροι 102(? χοῖρος scene?), 104 ; Μεταλλῆς 108(Golden Age) ; Μυρμηκ
 ἄνθρωποι 120, 122, 123 ; Πέρσαι 127, cf. 128, 130(Golden Age), 131("O
 belcher of mallow..") ; Πετᾶλη 138, 139 ; Τυραννίς 141, 143(women and
 wine) ; Χείρων cf. 147, 148(list), 152 & 153(unHesiodic lack of hospit-
 ality) ; Ψευδοφρακλῆς (title) ; Unnamed 156, 159, 161, 167, 168, 169(cooking),
 172, 172B, 173, 174, 175(list), 181, 184, 188(list), 190, 192(women and wine), cf.
 197, 202, cf. 208, 214, 217, 218, 221, 230 ; Hemippus: Ἀρτοπώλιδες 11 ;
 Δημόται cf. 20 ; Εὐρώπη 24(octopus/hunger) ; Θεοί 25(cf. Golden Age?) ;
 Κέρκωπες 37, and prob. 'Heracles' humour ; Μοῖραι 41, 43, 44, 45(Nothippus
 could swallow Peloponnese), cf. 47(ref. cottabus) ; Στρατιῶται 51, 53(sacr-
 ifice), 55(Chian cup: cf. Pherecr. 192), 57, 60 ; Φορμοφόροι 63(catalogue of
 imports) ; Unnamed 76, 81, 82(wine catalogue), 83, 84, 91 ;
Eupolis: Αἴγες 1, 5, 6(parody of prayer?), 7, 8, 10, 12, 14(goats' diet), 19,
 cf. 20 ; Ἀστράτευτοι ἢ Ἀνδρογύναι 41 ; Ἀυτολύκος cf. 52, 59 ; Βάπται 68,
 cf. 76, 85 & 86(ref. cottabus) ; Δῆμοι 110A & B(11-12), cf. 121, 122B, 125, 128A
 & B(preparation of food), 128C, 130 ; Εἰλωτες 138(copis), 144, 145, 145A ;
 Κόλκαες 146b, 147, 148, 149, 150, 154, 159(the flatterer's life), 161, 162, 163

("who smells of favours.."), 172, 173, cf. 175A; Λάκωνες 179; Μαρικᾶς 186,
 cf. 198, cf. 204, + the drunken cordax of Hyperbolus' mother; Πόλις 205,
 cf. 228, 230A, 236A; Ταξίαρχοι 250, 253, 254, 255; Φίλοι 272, cf. 275; Χρυσοῦν
 Γένος 277, 281, 289, cf. 298, cf. 299, 301, cf. 302; Unnamed 304, 312(list?), 322,
 325, 326, 330, 331, 332, 335, 335A, cf. 345, 346(parasites), 347, 350, 352, 355, 365,
 cf. 367(Heraclides?), cf. 370, 374a, 379, 382, 407, 427, 434, cf. 437, 439, cf. 395(ref.
 sacrifice); Cantharus: Τηρέυς cf. 6; Unnamed 8, 10; Phrynichus: Κρόνος
 12; Μονότροπος 23(Heraclides), cf. 27; Μούσα 34, 35; Πράστρινι 38, cf. 40;
 Στύροισι cf. 49; Τραγωδοὶ ἢ Ἀπελεύθεροι 50, 56, 57, 57A; Unnamed 60, 60A,
 61, cf. 65, 68, 71(drunk cordax); Myrtilus: Unnamed 4; Amipsias: Ἀποκοτ-
 τὰ βίζοντες 1(parasite), 2(ref. cottabus — cf. title), 4, 5; Κατεσθίων 6, cf.
 title; Κόννος 7, 8, 9; Σφενδόνη 18(poison), 19, cf. 21; Unnamed 22, 24, 25,
 33; Aristonymus Θησεύς 1; Ἥλιος Φιγῶν cf. 2, 3; Plato: Αἰὶφ' ἱερῶν
 9; Γρύπες cf. 15, 17(list?); Ἔορταί 28, 29, 33, 35, 38; Εὐρώπη cf. 44;
 Ζεὺς Κακούμενος 46(ref. cottabus—so 47), 49, cf. 52(+ Heraclides); Ἰώ 55;
 Κλεοφῶν 56, 61; Λάκωνες ἢ Ποιηταί 69(meal offstage, cottabus), 71; Μενε-
 λείως 74, 76; Νύξ Μακρά 86; Ξάντριαι ἢ Κέρκωπες (title—Heraclides?);
 Παιδάριον 91, 93(octopus/hunger); Πείσανδρος 95, 97; Περιαλγῆς 106;
 Ποιητής 110&111(?), 113; Πρέσβεις 123; Σοφισταί 137, 144; Σύμμαχια
 149, 150, 151, 156; Σύρφαξ 160, 162, 163; Ὑπέρβαλος 171, 172; Φάων 173
 (aphrodisiac foods), 174(offerings for access to Phaon & women and drink
 (?), cf. 175, 176; Unnamed 185(vomiting, etc.), 189, cf. 190, 193, 195, 196, 198,
 201(preparation of food), 207, 208, 236, 244, 246, 259; Philonides: Κόθορνοι 1, 2 &
 3; Unnamed 8, 9, 12, cf. 14; Leucon: Φρότερες cf. 1, 2; Archippus: Ἀμφι-
 τρύων 2, 7(?); Ἡρακλῆς Γαμῶν cf. title, 9, 10(ooaking), 11, 12, cf. 13; Ἰχθύες
 16, 20, cf. 21, cf. 24(list), 25(Hemaeus' outrages to fish), 27, 28, cf. theme
 of foodstuffs in rebellion; Πλούτος cf. 35; Hegemon: Φίλιππος 1;
Strattis: Ἀνθρωπορραΐσις 2, 4; Καλλιπιδης 11, 11A, 12; Κινησίος 13, 14;
 Λημνομίδης 22, 25, cf. Austin 220.124ff(feast mentioned) and ib. 159f(whence
 we should prob. read Θ]νέστη), ib. 171 & 179 perhaps(ref. to prayers &

sacrifices)—but the fragments are prob. wrongly ascribed to Strattis ;
 Μάκεδόνες ἢ Παιονίους cf. 28, 29, 31 ; Ποτάμιοι 30 ; Φιλοκτήτης 44 ;
 Ψυχασταί 57, cf. 58, cf. 59 ; Unnamed 61, 66 ; Poliochus: Κορινθιαστίς
 cf. 1 ; Unnamed 2 ; Metagenes: Αὔραι 2, 3 ; Θουριοπέτρι 6 (Golden Age),
 cf. 8 ; Φιλοθύτης cf. title, cf. 14, 15 ; Unnamed 16 (list), 17, 18 ; Theop-
omus: Ἀφροδίσις 6 ; Εἰρήνη 6A, 8, 11 (list?) ; Ἡδυχάρης 13 (parasites), 14 (?) ;
Θησεύς 17, 19 ; Κάλλαισχος 22, 23 ; Καπήλιδες 28 ; Μῆδος 30, cf. 31 ; Νεμέα
 32 ; Ὀδυσσεύς cf. 33, 34 ; Παμφίλη 40 (vomiting) ; Πηνελόπη 48 ; Ξειρήνες
 51 ; Ξτρατιώτιδες 54 ; Φινεύς cf. title, 62 ; Unnamed: 64, cf. 65, 67, 68, 70,
 76, cf. 78, 80, 93 ; Polyzelus: Δημοτυνδάρως 1, cf. 3 (poison), 4 (vomiting),
 Heracles?? ; Διονύσου Γοναί cf. 6 ; Μουσῶν Γοναί cf. 9 ; Unnamed cf. 12 ;
Samyrion: Γέλως 1, 3 ; Ἰώ 10 (flatterers) ; Alcaeus: Γανυμήδης 5, 9 ;
Ἴερὸς Γαμός 15 ; Καλλιστώ 17 ; Κωμωδοτραγωδία cf. 19 ; Παλοίστρα
 24, 25 ; Unnamed 28A (octopus/hunger) ; Diocles: Μέλιτται 6, 7, 8 (cooking) ;
Unnamed 14 ; Philyllius: Αἰγυεύς 2 ; Αὔγη 3, 4 (serving of a meal), 5, 6 ;
Δωδεκάτη 7, cf. title ; Ἡρακλῆς 8, cf. title ; Πόλεις 10, 13 (list) ;
Φρεωρύχος 19 (list?) ; Unnamed 24 (list), 26 (list?), 27 (list), 32 ; Henioch-
us: Γοργόνες 1 ; Πολύευκτος 2 (ref. cooking) ; Πολυπρήμων (cf. 3 : list of
 fish, but not dietary—included here by way of warning that not all such
 lists can automatically be taken as dietary humour) ; Τροχίλος 4 ; Unnamed
 5 (drunken women: Aristocracy & Democracy) ; Demetrius: Σικελία 1 ; Unnamed
 5 ; Cephisodorus: Τροφώνιος 5 (ref. coctabus) ; Ἰς 8, 9, perh. cf. title? ;
Apollophanes: Κρηῆτες 5, 6 ; Nicochares: Ἀμυμώνη 1 ; Ἡρακλῆς Γαμούμενος
 (title) ; Ἡρακλῆς Χαρηγός (title) ; Λάκωνες cf. 10 (ref. coctabus) ; Λήμνιοι
 11, 13, cf. 14 ; Unnamed 15, cf. 17 ; Nicophon: Ἀφροδίτης Γοναί 1 (list?) ;
Ἐγχειρογράφοι 5 (list), 8 ; Πανδώρα 13, 18 ; Ξειρήνες 19 (vomiting), 20
 (cf. Golden Age), 21 ; Unnamed cf. 24 ; Arcesilaus: Unnamed 1 ; Autocrates:
Unnamed cf. 3 ; Epilycus: Κωραλίσκος cf. 2, 3 (copis) ; Unnamed 6, 8 ; Myth-
ycles: Ἄσωτοι ἢ Ἐπιστολή 1.

Other Physical Humour

The following list of references includes all other 'physical humour' jokes in the remaining work of the Old Comedians other than Aristophanes and embraces also a substantial number of fragments where, although there is no specific joke, there is an indication of a context where there could have been an element of true physical 'humour'. As with dietary humour, it is again difficult to draw a line between a 'joke' of this sort and a mere reference to a physical function or suchlike, and I have thought it best to give the evidence in its fullest form, perhaps too full a form if the strictest criteria be used to decide what is 'humour', rather than to attempt to draw such an arbitrary line and perhaps exclude some fragments from the list which others would consider of importance. Space does not permit anything to be said in detail about the elements of physical humour included in this section, particularly as some aspects of such humour have already been considered. Cf. in particular the section on Violence (as a stage-action) under 'The Visual Element' and the section 'Jokes about Physical Characteristics' under 'Ridicule and Criticism'. There are also some points of relevance in the section on Costume in the 'Visual Element' (e.g. Cyclopes, Amazons). Some points of imagery and vocabulary will be found discussed in the appropriate chapter below. The range of physical humour is, overall, very much what one would expect by analogy with Aristophanes, while none of the Old Comedians seems to have made a particularly eccentric or remarkable use of the type of humour covered in this table.

References:

Physical Appearance:

Fatness/gross bodily proportions: Teleclid. 1.15 ; Hermipp. 9 ; Eup. 182 ; Plato 64 ; Theop. 4 & 5 ; Philyll. 23 ; thinness: Teleclid. 5 ; Eup. 127 (legs), 292, poss. cf. 194 (? flat-chested?) ; Plato 64 (legs), 184 ; Strattis 16 (legs), 18, 20, poss. 54, 64 ; Theop. 30. 3, 39 (legs) ; Sannyrion 2 ; small

stature: Teleclid. 46 ; Pherecr. 14 ; Eup. 284 ; cf. Theop. 'Βατούλη' ;
complexion: Cratin. 283, 425 ; Pherecr. 182A ; Eup. 19, 92, 239 ; Theop. 24 ;
 (cf. also Callias II for whiteness of skin—"λευκόπρωκτος") ; features:
shape of head: Cratin. 71, 113, 240 ; Teleclid. 44a, 44b, cf. 47 and poss. 43 ;
 cf. Hermipp. 79 ; Eup. 112 ; Strattis 34 ; bushy eyebrows: Cratin. 217A, 430 ;
one eye: Cratin. 141 (of Cyclops: cf. all 'Cyclopes' plays) ; Eup. 260 ; bleary-
eyed: Eup. 9 ; cf. Pherecr. 132 ; cock-eyed: Eup. 182, 276 ; hollow-eyed: Cratin.
 288 ; prominent nose: Eup. 260, Archipp. 1 ; bald: Eup. 78, 276 ; poss. Teleclid.
 43 (dub.) ; cf. Hermipp. ap. Scholia Anonyma Recentiora in Koster's Schol.
Recentiora in Nubes (Schol. in Ar. I. 3. 2), v. on 537b & 540b ; colour of hair:
 Cratin. 208, 336 ; Pherecr. 145. 22 (Edm.), 189 ; Eup. 276 ; Cephisod. 3 (the slave-
 name 'Xanthias') ; length of hair, luxuriant or curly hair: Cratin. 338, 353 ;
 Crates 27 ; Pherecr. 30, 189, 223, 225 ; Hermipp. 58 ; Eup. 419 ; Plato 124 ;
hair-cut: cf. Cratin. 41 ; Hermipp. 14 ; Eup. 278A ; beard-style, length of
beard, etc.: Cratin. 101, 439 ; Plato 122, 124 ; Philonides 10 ; beardlessness:
 Cratin. 10 (cf. 256) ; toothlessness: Pherecr. 74, 82 ; Phrynich. 68, 79 ; Diocles
 14 ; wrinkles: Theop. 75 ; ugliness: Teleclid. 14 ; Plato 217 ; brand-marks:
 Eup. 276 ; Plato 187 ; bodily hairiness: Cratin. 295 ; Plato 3 :

Disabilities:

Blindness: Cratin. 148 (Cyclops) ; Eup. 276 ; cf. Cratin. 6 also ; deafness: Eup.
 253 ; dumbness: Strattis 5 ; cf. Cratin. 6 ; lameness: Alcaeus 2 ; Myrtilus
 4 ; Phryn. 70A ; injured hand: Eup. 247A ; hunch-backed: Eup. 276 ; impotent:
 prob. Plato 64 ; "δυσπρωκτός" : cf. Meineke on Strattis 74 (signif. v. dub.).

Gait: Pherecr. 131 ; Eup. 163 ; Phrynich. 59 ; Aristonymus 2 ; voice: (lisp) Callias
 19 ; Phrynich. 10 ; Archipp. 45 ; (other) Callias 30 ; Pherecr. 144A ; Hermipp. 3 ;
 Eup. 412 ; Plato 215 ; Polyzelus 12 ; smell: Eup. 163 ; Plato 185 ; hybrid bod-
ily form: Eup. 156 (Cecrops) ; cf. also on 'Costume' ; depilation: (lack of)
 Pherecr. 195 ; (threat of) Cratin. 123, cf. 189, cf. 364 ; Philonides 7 ; Eup.
 348 ; (otherwise) Cratin. 64A ; Eup. 338 and cf. 278A ; bathing, washing: Crates
 15 ; Pherecr. 2, 9, 69, 195 ; Hermipp. 76 ; Eup. 136, cf. 108 ; Polyzelus 4 ;

(bathing after fever) Pherecr. 53 ; (scrape body after bath) Archipp. 50 ;
 (unwashed and dusty) Eup. 108A Edm (really an adespoton) ; (body-scent for
 men) Cephisod. 3 ; childbirth: Eup. 256 ; Plato 64A ; Polyzelus 8 ; cf. Cratin. 110
 (hatching egg) ; giving suck: Phrynich. 29 ; blowing nose: Cratin. 354 ; cf. Eup.
 283 ; spitting: Eup. 163 ; de-waxing ears: Plato 64B ; trimming nails: Crat-
 in. 455 ; (toilet in general: Eup. 421) ; vomiting: see 'dietary humour' ;
eructation: (listed also under 'dietary humour') Cratin. 58 ; Pherecr. 131 ; Eup.
 198 ; scratching: Hemipp. 78 ; "fighting with lice": cf. parab. Pax 740 ; poss.
 cf. Eup. 233 ; sleeplessness, deprivation of sleep, early awakening: Cratin.
 218 ; Pherecr. 208 ; Eup. 36, 108B ; Plato 209 ; Nicochares 16 ; Sannyrion 10A ;
 (sleep otherwise: cf. Pherecr. 19 ; Cantharus 3 ; Plato 43).

Discomfort: from cold: Crates 33 ; cf. Strattis 55 ; from heat: cf. Strattis'
 Ψυχωταί ; cf. Pherecr. 158 (fever?) , 80 (fever) , cf. 69 (dehydration after hot
 bath) ; from pustules on the buttocks: Hemipp. 54 ; cf. Cratin. 214(?) ;
 (discomfort generally) cf. Plato's Περικυλλίς ?

Illness: fever from dietary indiscretion: Pherecr. 80 ; Nicophon 19 Edm ;
swellings in groin: Callias 26 ; headache: Teleclid. 44a ; Pherecr. 218 ;
cough: Phrynich. 60 ; plague and mange: Eup. 191 ; (mange) Phrynich. 26 ;
pimple on tongue: Myrtilus 3 ; boil: Plato 127 ; pustules on buttocks:
 Hemipp. 54 ; cf. Cratin. 214(?) ; blood-letting: Crates 41 ; sickness more
vaguely: Eup. 1 (of goat) ; Plato 131 (Human?) ; cf. breathlessness and lack
of strength and vigour: Plato 199A, cf. 21A ; Theop. 71.

Violence: (visible, reported and threats thereof)

depilation as punishment: Cratin. 123 ; Philonides 7 ; so aptly. Cratin. 189 ;
binding to plank, etc: Cratin. 115, 341 ; Eup. 110B ; Plato 249 ; poss. cf. Eup. 95.
 112 Austin (v. dub.) ; torture of slaves: cf. Theop. 63 (branding: aptly. Eup.
 259—slave or criminal) ; whipping (usually of slaves): Cratin. 275 ; Pherecr.
 89 ; Eup. cf. 72, 429 ; Plato 12, cf. 63, 164 ; Crates 35 ; Phrynich. 36 ; cf. Nicochares
 16(?) ; cf. Ar.'s remarks in Pax 744ff ; specific reference to injury to a

particular part of the body: (punch in face) Phrynich. 28, 68 ; Pherecr. 155b; Hemipp. 80; (bite off ear) Hemipp. 52 ; (strike backbone) Plato 252; references to bruises: Apollophanes 3 ; Cratin. 351 ; other references to violence: Cratin. 361 (choral assault?), 148 (blinding of Cyclops); Pherecr. 76(?—if pronoun refers to a person), 50, 136, 224; Eup. 110, 122C, 259A, 249A, cf. 262, cf. 370, 323A, cf. 408; Plato 23, 128, 138(?), 198; Metagen. 9 (& 19A if not the same fragment); Theop. 77; Nicochares 8(?); perh. Nicophon 2; Teleclid. I. 4 (animated foodstuffs); cf. Strattis(?) Austin 220.17 & .39 ff.

The following may also be recorded here, as being of possible relevance:

Dances: references in Cratin. 120, 219; Eup. 411, 446; Plato 130; Metagen. 7;

Autocrates 1; Apollophanes 1&2 ; Cephisodorus 2; Nicophon 25.

Agitated manner of public speaker: Eup. 207 (cf. Aeschin. I. 25sq. & Arist.

Ath. Pol. xxviii. 5 for the Athenian concern that public speakers' posture and mannerisms should not be undignified or unbecoming)

The reference in Eup. 339 is obscure, but some sort of physical contortion is described.

Parody and Borrowings

Literary Parody

When Aristophanes parodies another literary artist or borrows from the language or style of some such figure, it is most commonly a Tragic poet who is concerned, and of all Tragic poets Euripides was especially likely to be parodied or quoted by Aristophanes.¹ Epic, iambic, elegiac and lyric poets are much less frequently parodied or quoted by him, while even Aeschylean Tragedy is really prominent only in the 'Frogs', and Sophocles is not parodied on the scale that Euripides is in Ach., Thesm., and Ra., where scenes of Euripides' 'Telephus', 'Helen' and 'Andromeda' are the object of parody, or where, in the case of Ra., there are substantial criticisms of style through comic imitation. It is possible that the chief point of Aristophanes' lost Αἰολοσίκων was parody of Euripides' 'Aeolus' for we are told by Platonius² that the play ridiculed the Tragedians' versions of Aeolus: Αἶολον τὸ δράμα τὸ γραφέν τοῖς τραγωδοῖς ὡς κακῶς ἔχον διασύρει. The title suggests that a Sicon (perhaps the master-caterer referred to as τῆς τέχνης ἀρχηγός in Sosipater's Καταψευδόμενος (ll. 13ff of the only fragment) and spoken of as though a figure of an earlier generation) assumed the role of Aeolus in the play (cf. Cratinus' Διονυσολέξανδρος, for example, for the possible implications of such a title). Our best parallel for Aristophanes' substantial interest in parody of Tragedy and of Euripides in particular is provided by Strattis, whose Φοινισσά shows signs of having been primarily a burlesque of Euripidean Tragedy, and in particular of Euripides' own Φοινισσά. Fr. 45 takes a line from Euripides' play (460) and follows it with ludicrous bathos:

παραινέσαι δὲ σφῶν τι βούλομαι σφόν.
 ὅταν φακῆν ἔψητε, μὴ ᾽πιχεῖν μύρον.

Fr. 46 begins with the words of Eur. Phoenissae 546, again as an introduction to bathos. Instead of "Then sun and night are slaves to men" (εἶθ' ἥλιος μὲν νύξ τε δουλεύει βροτοῖς), Strattis has chosen to convey this servitude in terms of a children's game, in which the sun was commanded to emerge from behind a cloud, and, of course, in time duly appeared: εἶθ' ἥλιος μὲν πείθεται τοῖς παιδίοις ὅταν λέγωσιν "ἔξεχ' ὦ φίλ' ἥλιε."

The humour is hardly inspired, but we gather from this fragment and Fr. 45 that part of Strattis' technique in this play was to borrow introductory words from Euripides' text and to allow the Tragic tone to dissolve into a grotesquely inept bathos. Fr. 47 shows that not all of Strattis' comedy was closely related to the text of Euripides' homonymous tragedy, but the hit at Theban peculiarities of vocabulary is manifestly suggested by the setting of the plays at Thebes. Edmonds' suggestion that fr. 48A is spoken by Euripides himself is probably wrong, but his guess that the words of that fragment are from a prologue and refer to Strattis is probably right. The fragment apparently speaks of getting some man to parody Tragedy, another indication of the importance of paratragedy in this play:

εἰ γὰρ αὐτὸν παρατραγωδεῖται τί μοι
κεν[³

Who, then, is the speaker? We now have evidence that it may be Dionysus as prologue, for chance has preserved a brief citation from this play in a commentary on some other old comedy, probably Cratinus' Ξερίφιοι τ, a citation which suggests that in Strattis' play Dionysus (a) was a character, (b) was the prologue (c) entered by means of the μηχανή. The citation, it is true, is very difficult to understand as a whole, and I feel no more able than Lobel⁵ (or Austin, who obelizes †δειλ†) to decipher some words in the centre of the passage, but I think that the above inferences are very plausible. I give the citation as articulated by Lobel and Austin:

(sc. Στραττις from I.8) <καὶ> ἐν Φαίνισσῶν

Διόνυσος ὅς Θύρσοισιν αὐλητῶν
 δειλῶ κω[] ἐνέχομαι δι' ἔ-
 τέρων μοχθ[ηρ]ίαν ἤκω κρε-
 μάμενος ὡσπερ ἰσχῆς ἐπὶ κρά-
 δης.

In the context the commentator is clearly speaking of the use of the *μηχανή* in various Old Comedies.⁶ He has already cited from Strattis' *Ἄτλαντος* (sic) the lines

ἀπὸ τῆς κράδης· ἤδη γὰρ ἰσχῆς γίν[ομαι].
 ὁ μηχανοποιός μ' ὡς τάχιστα καθελέτω.

In our fragment the line ἤκω κρεμάμενος ὡσπερ ἰσχῆς ἐπὶ κράδης is manifestly a similar reference to entry by means of the *μηχανή*, and the tone and vocabulary of the line are distinctly aimed at recalling a Euripidean prologue (cf., for instance, Ar. Fr. 1).⁷ A few words before, the opening words of Euripides' 'Hypsipyle' are found in Strattis' text:

Διόνυσος ὅς Θύρσοισιν⁸

The most natural inference is that Dionysus is identifying himself in the prologue of the play, having just entered on the *μηχανή*. If the patron god of the theatre was indeed the prologue of Strattis' play, it would seem plausible for him to be the speaker of Fr. 48A Edm, with its apparent reference to getting Strattis to parody Tragedy. Strattis is probably explaining in his prologue that his comedy is a parody of Euripidean Tragedy and of *Φοινισσαί* in particular. The prologue scene would, of course, be at least one new element added by Strattis to the basic kernel of Euripides' *Φοινισσαί*. Outside *Φοινισσαί* there are two other fragments which show, or may show, an interest in Euripidean parody on Strattis' part. Fr. 60 exploits Hegelochus' blunder in the pronunciation of *Orestes* 279 (also exploited by Aristophanes and Sannyrion),⁹ while it is possible that Fr. 66 is intended to parody Euripidean lyric style. The lines describe caterpillars or millipedes:

Πρασοκουρίδες, αἱ καταφύλλους
 ἀνὰ κήπους πεντήκοντα ποδῶν
 ἴχνησι βαίνετ' ἐφαπτόμεναι
 ποδοῖν σατυριδίων μικροκέρικων
 χοροῦς ἐλίσσουσθαι παρ' ὠκίμων
 πέταλα καὶ θριδακίνδων
 εὐόσμων τε σελίνων

"Leek-trimmers, who in leafy gardens go with fifty-footed tracks,
 with the feet of long-tailed little satyrs, whirling dances by the
 leaves of basils and lettuces and sweet-smelling celery."

Kock sees the passage as comparable to Ra.1309 ff, a parody of Euripides:

ἄλκυόνες, αἱ παρ' ἀενάοις θαλάσσης
 κύμασι στωμύλλετε,
 τέγγουσθαι κτλ.

There is some similarity of construction and theme, and it is possible to believe, with Kock, that the metrical complexities of the passage are meant to be parodic, although this is by no means clear. In Ra. loc. cit. the metrical parody is much more distinct. Strattis may only be seeking to describe lowly creatures with a faintly laughable solemnity, the humour of the lines residing in the grand description of humble caterpillars or millipedes, but there is the possibility of a gentle Euripidean parody.

There are other indications too that Strattis may have exploited parody of Tragedy on a large scale. The similarity of the title Ζώπυρος Περικατόμενος to Spintharus' tragedy Ἡρακλῆς Περικατόμενος is suggestive, though we have no indications of what Strattis may have owed to Spintharus' play beyond this title. A fragment of Strattis' Τρωίλος (41) seems to exemplify the same technique as Frs. 45 and 46 (especially the former). Words from a tragedy are followed by a comic bathos. The whole first line of Fr. 41 may well be a Tragic quotation on the grounds of the metre and the form Ζηγός. Meineke's guess¹⁰ that the line was part of Sophocles' Τρωίλος could well be correct, and the play could possibly have been a

treatment of that tragedy comparable to the treatment of Euripides' *φοινισσαί* which we have noted above. Some other titles of Strattis raise the possibility that the plays to which they belong may have parodied Tragedy, but it is always possible that the plays simply burlesqued legend. Two obvious cases in point are *Μήδεια* and *Φιλοκτήτης* (all three great Tragedians and some minor Tragic poets composed plays of the latter title), while *Χρυσίππος* bears the title also of a Euripidean tragedy. *Μυρμιδόνες* is attested as a title of a play of Aeschylus, while there is a possibility that *Λημνομέδα* (whatever precisely the mysterious compound title may signify)¹¹ parodied Euripides' or Sophocles' treatment of the Andromeda legend in their respective plays of the title *Ἀνδρομέδα*. Both Aeschylus and Aristias wrote an *Ἀταλάντη* (in the latter poet's case the play is thought to have been a satyr drama), and it may be that Strattis' *Ἀταλάντη* (or *Ἰταλάντος*, if that be the correct version of the title, which is variously transmitted) was a parody of one of those dramas. *Καλλιππίδης*, which bears the name of a Tragic actor for its title may well have given the opportunity to incorporate Tragic parody too, and Fr. 1 (from *Ἀνθρωπορρηϊότης* or *Ἀνθρωπορέστης*)¹² is a possible hint that Tragedy was to the fore in that play also. The overall impression is that Strattis' form of Comedy probably made an extensive use of Tragic parody and burlesqued the plays of several Tragedians, for, even if some of the above titles indicate only burlesque of legend, it is likely that in at least some cases there was a definite attempt to recall a particular Tragic antecedent. For other Old Comedians of the later period there is less reason to suppose that plays of theirs which bore the same titles as tragedies were burlesques of Tragedy rather than of legend alone, and in many cases there are titles which suggest mythological burlesque but which do not coincide with any Tragic title. Polyzelus' plays about the births of various deities are obvious examples. One play of a contemporary of Strattis which must have been paratragic, although it may not

have been aimed at any single Tragedian, is Alcaeus' *Κωμωδοτραγῳδία*. One fragment of that play (19) is derived from Euripides' 'Orestes' (866 and 871), but we have only four lines from the play in all.

As far as we can tell, no play of Eupolis was predominantly Tragic burlesque. In fact, the only indication that there may have been any paratragic scene in Eupolis' works is in Ar. Nu. 555f, where the more likely interpretation of Aristophanes' words would lead to the conclusion that both Phrynichus and Eupolis (in *Μαρικής*) had scenes where the Andromeda legend was burlesqued and where some particular Tragic antecedent was perhaps imitated.¹³ If so, the Tragic antecedent could not be Euripides' 'Andromeda', as that play postdated *Μαρικής*. Sophocles' 'Andromeda' would, however, be a possible candidate. Nevertheless, it is possible, as we have seen, that Aristophanes' words are not to be so understood, and that he means only that Eupolis incorporated into his *Μαρικής* a scene where a drunken old woman danced the cordax, a theme familiar from a burlesque of the Andromeda legend in Phrynichus (without the implication that Eupolis' scene was itself a Tragic burlesque or burlesque of the Andromeda legend). Nu. 555f is not decisive either way. It is quite possible that Plato 56 (with which cf. Amipsias 8) is an indication that the Andromeda legend was worked into Plato's 'Cleophon', perhaps with Cleophon's mother in the role of Andromeda. Cratinus' *Σερίφιοι* and Strattis' *Λημνομέδον* probably included Andromeda scenes, and so it appears that several passages of Old Comedy made capital of the theme of her exposure to the sea-monster.¹⁴ Aristophanes himself, of course, parodied Euripides' 'Andromeda' in *Thesm.* 1056sq., but lines 1060f of that same comedy reveal that it would have been chronologically impossible for Eupolis in *Μαρικής* (or Phrynichus before him) to have parodied Euripides' version of the legend.

We do, however, have several indications that Eupolis employed Tragic parody in more limited ways, and it is evident that he drew phrases from all three great Tragedians. From Aeschylus, for instance, he has borrowed all but the last word of Fr. 192 (cf. *Persae* 65):

ΠΕΠΕΡΑΚΕΝ ΜΕΝ ὁ ΠΕΡΣΕΪΠΟΛΙΣ ἤδη ΜΑΡΙΚᾶς.

Fr. 212 is modelled on another Aeschylean line, Sept. 39. Borrowings from Sophocles are detectable in Frs. 36, 205, Austin Fr. 98. 7ff and possibly Fr. 314Edm, while in Fr. 244A(11.14ff) Eupolis is drawing on Soph. Antigone 712ff. The speaker in the passage of Eupolis uses the gist of the Tragic passage to reinforce an argument. The key structure of the original is retained, but between the first three words and ἔκσώζεται in 1.2 the new element appropriate to the situation in Eupolis' play (Προσπύλιος) is inserted. The text requires some supplementation, but it is clear that the point is that he who will yield to arguments is saved, while he who contends against them is lost. The texts of Sophocles' original and of Eupolis' adaptation are respectively as follows (Eupolis 244A Edm is Austin

97): ὄρῳς παρὰ ρείθροισι χεϊμάροισι ὅσα
δένδρων ὑπέικει, κλῶνας ὡς ἔκσώζεται,
τὰ δ' ἀντιτείνοντ' αὐτόπρεμν' ἀπόλλυται.
αὕτως δὲ ναὸς ὅστις ἐγκρατῆ πόδα
τείνας ὑπέικει μηδέν, ὑπτίοις κάτω
στρέψας τὸ λοιπὸν σέλμασιν ναυτίλλεται.

(Soph. Antig. 712ff)

ὄρῳς παρὰ ρείθροισιν, ὅταν η[]δ[
ἦν μὲν τις εἴκη τοῖς λόγοις, ἔκσώζεται,
ὁ δ' ἀντιτείνων αὐτόπρυμνος οἴχεται.
αὕτως δὲ ναὸς...
- ἀπό μ' ὀλεῖς, ἄνθρωπι[

(Eup. Fr. 244A.14ffEdm)

In 1.16 of Eupolis' text (Edm—1.25 Austin) the papyrus has αὐτόπρυμνος οἴχεται ("is gone, stem and all"), which—if correct—is a substitution for αὐτόπρεμν' ἀπόλλυται in the Sophoclean original. Edmonds accepts the papyrus text and takes αὐτόπρυμνος to mean "rump and all", but it may be doubted whether the word is any more than a slip of copying (so Austin takes it), for the παρὰ προσδοκίαν joke, if such there be, al-

though it is exactly in the place where one would expect it, is strained Greek and not very effective comedy. The feeble joke would also be made at the expense of the imagery, the tree simile being lost and the nautical simile incorporated too early. In fact, whether or not one accepts αὐτόπρῦμος, it must be confessed that Eupolis does not seem to have made particularly effective use of the Sophoclean similes. Of Eupolis' borrowings from Euripides, Fr. 119 is worth quoting here. Eupolis recasts a passage of Euripides' 'Medea' (395-8), where Medea asserts

οὐ γὰρ μὰ τὴν δέσποιναν ἦν ἐγὼ σέβω
 μάλιστα πάντων καὶ ξυνεργὸν εἰλόμην,
 Ἐκάτην, μυχοῖς ναίουσαν ἐστίας ἐμῆς,
 χαίρων τις αὐτῶν τοῦμόν ἀλγυνεῖ κέαρ.

Eupolis preserves the wording of l. 398 and retains also the first three words of l. 395, substituting for Medea's oath by Hecate an oath by Miltiades sworn by his victory at Marathon:

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

The Tragic borrowing is a neat setting for the old soldier's threat. Less effective, to my mind, is Eupolis Fr. 111 Edm, which depends on Eur. Fr. 810N.

The Euripidean original is

μέγιστον ἄρ' ἦν ἡ φύσις · τὸ γὰρ κερκὸν
 οὐδεὶς τρέφων εὖ χρηστὸν ἔν θείῃ ποτέ.

Eupolis works the substance of the first words into Aristides' reply in the following exchange, in which Aristides further remarks, with a distinction recalling the νόμος / φύσις controversy, that, although his nature was principally responsible for his being so just, he took his part with all readiness in assisting that nature.¹⁵ Eupolis makes an allusion to Eur. Fr. 888N in Fr. 342 (cf. Ar. Ra. 1400), and the opening line of Fr. 314 is drawn either from Sophocles or Euripides. The line is sententious and is evidently taken as an introduction to some remarks about the susceptibil-

ity of assemblies to the powers of persuasion (cf. the words of Schol. Il. 2, 333, ἄμα δὲ καὶ τὸ παλίμβολον τῶν δῆμων ἐσήμκνευ). Austin Fr. 92. 35 (IlOB. 1. 3Edm) derives from Eur. Fr. 558N.

There is not a lot of evidence for the use of parody of Tragedy by Pherecrates, but Fr. 193 is one instance of his adapting Sophocles for his comic purposes, and it is possible that Fr. 94, where Aeschylus speaks, is based on a Tragic, and presumably therefore Aeschylean, original. The similarity of Ar. Pax 749 to Pherecrates' line makes it possible that both were imitating the same source, unless Aristophanes has borrowed direct from Pherecrates (it is least likely that Pherecrates has adapted words that Aristophanes used of himself and applied them to Aeschylus). It seems very reasonable to conjecture that Pherecr. Fr. 145 begins with a Tragic quotation, but we have no knowledge of the original. Nowhere does Pherecrates detectably borrow from Euripides in his surviving fragments. Plato has only minor borrowings from Tragedy now attested (Fr. 202A (Aesch.); Frs. 134. 2, 185c, 135 (Eur.)) and, although he may have used paratragedy in his mythological burlesques, none of his plays on such themes is demonstrably a take off any particular tragedy. He has, however, several plays which probably criticised Tragedy and which may well have had substantial elements of parody, like Aristophanes' 'Frogs'. For Plato's comments on Tragedy cf. above (esp. pp. 89 f and 92).

I have deliberately said nothing yet about Cratinus' use of parody, for our evidence points to the conclusion that he was rather less interested in Tragedy than in the work of epic and iambic poets and other early poetry. He borrows from Sophocles but once (Fr. 341F), and his debts to Euripides do not now appear extensive (Fr. 273 and Fr. 11A Edm, with ---dubiously--- Fr. 275B). He may have intended parody of the prophecies of Io's wanderings in Aeschylus' P.V. (Cratin. Frs. 206A, 207, 208) in his Σερίφ- 101 and there is some similarity between Cratin. Fr. 55 and Aeschylus Suppl. 234ff (perhaps coincidental), but he does not seem to have imitated

Aeschylus very often. There is no reason to think that Cratinus' *Ἐξήμενος* ¹⁶ parodied Aeschylus' tragedy of the same title. In Cratinus' *Ἰππία* there were evidently paratragic monodies (cf. Frs. 260A and 260B), and it is possible that Fr. 65 ends with a Tragic quotation or adaptation, in view of its metre and its resemblance to Eur. 128A.8. There is a clear warning here against any supposition that Cratinus altogether neglected paratragedy, but, taken as a whole, our evidence that Cratinus imitated and parodied Homer, Hesiod, Archilochus and other non-tragic poets is more striking. His *Ὀδυσσεύς* was a burlesque of the events in *Od. IX* in the Cyclops' cave, and most of the longer fragments from that play reflect Homeric language and situations. The full list of references is given in the summary at the end of this section, but here I may make a few general points. Firstly, it is clear that in general outline some scenes at least cannot have been much different from the action in the *Odyssey*. Frs. 146 and 147, for instance, clearly belong to a scene where the Cyclops is given the wine which will lead to his undoing, and the instruction that the Cyclops should at once ask his prisoner's name (Fr. 146) is a piece of dramatic irony in that it depends for its effect on the audience's familiarity with the false name Odysseus gives in the *Odyssey* and the consequences of its use by the Cyclops to his fellows after his blinding. Fr. 148, if rightly assigned to this play, would seem to show that the fellow Cyclopes did indeed come (whether or not they were seen) ¹⁷ to find out what ailed their comrade and did indeed receive the misleading reply of the deluded Polyphemus that No-one was responsible for his distress. Fr. 143 is manifestly from the point in the play where the cannibalistic Cyclops has Odysseus and his companions trapped in his cave and is threatening to devour them each in turn. Frs. 138, 138A and 139 make it apparent that Odysseus and his men entered on a boat and that their arrival at the land of the Cyclopes was the first scene in the play. Fr. 137 ¹⁸ probably comes from the point in the drama where the blinded Cyclops learnt his

to mentor's name (his true name, that is). Such is Kaibel's view,¹⁹ though Norwood²⁰ thought that the fragment opened the play (the chorus introducing itself)—cf., however, Hephaestion's remarks on Fr. 138.²¹ The overall impression is that Cratinus built his burlesque around the kernel of the Odyssean treatment of the story and made no startling changes to the plot that we can detect. There is no sign, for instance, of such an innovation as his substitution of Dionysus for Paris in the legend of the Judgment as treated in his Διονυσιαλέξ, ἄνδρος. Ὀδυσσεῆς cannot be shown to have parodied the actual words of Od. IX, for none of our fragments is closely modelled on Homer's text. Fr. 138, however, approximates to Od. 5. 277. Probably Cratinus concentrated on burlesque of the situation and events in Od. IX rather than on distorting lines for comic effect. His imitations of Homeric style in Ὀδυσσεῆς were probably less direct than that, for the most part. He does, nevertheless, have closer parodies of Homer elsewhere. In Fr. 315 he has distorted II. 14. 291, viz.

χαλκίδα κικλήσκουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δὲ κύμινδιν
 to χαλκίδα κικλήσκουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δὲ κύβηλιν.

There is a pun on two senses of χαλκίς. One is the original Homeric sense of a kind of bird; the other is disputed. Meineke²², Kock and LSJ settle for the simplest view, that χαλκίς is here made to denote also an object of bronze (cf. ἀργυρίς and χρυσίς), but Bergk²³ and Edmonds have other suggestions. Fr. 95 is inspired by Od. 22. 412, viz.

οὐχ' ὄσση καταμένοισιν ἔπ' ἀνδράσιν εὐχετάσθαι
 (cf. Archilochus Fr. 65 Diehl)

οὐ γὰρ ἐσθλὰ καθυνοῦσι κερτομεῖν ἔπ' ἀνδράσιν)
 and Cratinus' version remoulds the thought into iambic trimeter form, with some adjustments of vocabulary. The epic flavour is, however, distinctly retained:

καταμένοις ἔπ' αἰζηοῖσι καυχᾶσθαι μέγα.

Fr. 68a is interesting in that it is a connected line in Homeric style,

τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη κρείων Διομήδης.

Porphyry, who gives us the fragment, remarks that Cratinus made fun of Homer for pleonasm in the first four words. Evidently Cratinus had a passage of literary criticism of Homer in the context, which included at least this one pseudo-Homeric concoction. Homer, we must recall, seems to have been a character in *Ἀρχίλοχοι* (cf. Frs. 2 and 6. 3)²⁴, where there may well have been imitations of his style. We know from Athen. 15. 698c that the play from which Fr. 68a derives included at least some parody (κέχρηται — sc. παρωδίας — καὶ Κρατίνος ... ἐν *Εὐνεΐδαις*), while Frs. 67, 69 and 70 attest the literary interest of the play (*Εὐνεΐδαι*) also. Aristophanes himself is witness (Eq. 529) to the popularity of the passages which Frs. 69 and 70 began. The former is a parody of Hesiod's *Ἥρην χρυσοπέδιλον* (Theog. 454): Cratinus apostrophises Bribery with the words

Δῶροι συκοπέδιλε

The image in Fr. 70, *τέκτονες εὐπαλάμων ὕμνων* , derives from Pindar, *Pyth.* 3. 113 and *Nem.* 3. 4. We have already seen that Fr. 65 may incorporate a Tragic borrowing, and Fr. 67 hints that some interest was taken in dithyrambic verse in the play. The overall impression is that literary comment and parody were very prominent in *Εὐνεΐδαι* and that poets of various genres were imitated or commented upon in the course of the drama. The title refers to a family of citharodes at Athens, which is itself an indication of the chief interest of the play. Bergk²⁵ suggested that Fr. 317 may belong to *Εὐνεΐδαι* , but with insufficient reason. The lines parody Hesiod, *Op.* 299 ff, which is as follows:

ἐργάζεσθαι, Πέρση, δῖον γένος, ἄφρα σε λιμὸς
ἐχθαίρη, φιλήη δέ σ' εὐστέφανος Δημήτηρ
αἰδοίη, βίότου δέ τήν τιμιπλήσι καλίην.

Cratinus' text is dubious at the end of the second line. Two different versions have been transmitted to us, and Bergk and Kock suggest emendations of their own. Whatever is read, it seems clear that there must be

some allusion to Connus' proverbial poverty in later life in spite of his earlier Olympic victories as a flute-player. Exempli gratia I give Edmonds' text, which combines the versions of Schol. Ar. Eq. 521 and of the Souda: $\xi\sigma\theta\iota\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \sigma\eta\ \gamma\alpha\sigma\tau\rho\iota\ \delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\upsilon\ \chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\nu,\ \acute{\alpha}\phi\rho\alpha\ \sigma\epsilon\ \lambda\iota\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$

$\acute{\epsilon}\chi\theta\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\eta,\ \text{Κοινῆς δὲ πολυστέφανός σε φιλήσῃ}.$

In content and style Frs. 240 and 241 imitate works like Hesiod's 'Theogony'. Cratinus is in those fragments giving the ancestry of Pericles/Zeus and Aspasia/Hera. Both are given a significant personification for a mother. Pericles is a son of Faction ($\Sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\varsigma$); Aspasia is a daughter of Lust (Καταπυγρσύνη : for the word in this wider sense than that of sodomy cf. Lys. 776 and 137, where adjectival cognates convey the idea of lack of sexual control and lustfulness). Pericles/Zeus is not $\nu\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\eta\gamma\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\varsigma$, as in Homer, but $\kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\eta\gamma\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\varsigma$ (a hit at Pericles' malformed skull), while Aspasia/Hera is not $\beta\omicron\omega\pi\iota\varsigma$, like the Homeric Hera, but is a $\pi\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\kappa\eta\ \kappa\upsilon\nu\omega\pi\iota\varsigma$, another charge of sexual depravity.

Cratinus' debt to Archilochus in his play Ἀρχίλοχοι must have been considerable, although only one fragment surviving from that play is an adaptation of what we have of Archilochus (Fr. 10 is a modification of Archil. Fr. 107 Diel, with a small metrical alteration). It is likely, however, that Fr. 6 refers to Archilochus in the words $\text{Θ\epsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha\upsilon\ \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\mu\eta\nu}$ (with allusion to his part in the colonisation of Thasos and to his mordant lampoons). If the chorus (or semichorus, it may be) did indeed include the old poets, as I have argued above,²⁶ it is very probable that parody played a substantial part in the comedy. Frs. 6, 7 and 8 are all dactylic hexameters with some epic flavouring. Fr. 9 is corrupt, but Meineke²⁷ sees in it an Archilochean metre, although his suggested emendation is but one of several (Bergk²⁸ sees a Cratinean behind the line). The fragment is too mysterious out of context to permit any confident restoration. There is evidence outside Ἀρχίλοχοι too of Cratinean debts to Archilochus. Fr. 198 (from Πυτίνη) is one of three passages of Old Comedy based on Archilochus Fr. 52 Diel. (Eupolis and Aristophanes also adapt Archilochus' words for their

purposes). Fr. 275B appears to have its origins in Eur. Fr. 1110 Nauck, but Blass' view²⁹ that the lines are wrongly ascribed to Euripides and should be assigned, on grounds of metre, to Archilochus has considerable credibility. The iambic trimeter followed by a hemiepes is well attested as a metre of Archilochus' epodes. If the ascription to Archilochus is correct,³⁰ this is further evidence of Cratinus' interest in borrowing from that poet. In several other fragments Cratinus reflects the metrical patterns of Archilochus' verse. Frs. 212 and 212A are the greater Archilochean; the longer lines of Frs. 30, 57 and 58 have the same metre as Fr. 323, where Hephaestion points out a difference between Archilochus' own use of the metre and that of later poets such as Cratinus. In Frs. 57 and 58 Cratinus has a Telesilleion accompanying the longer line; in Fr. 30 a Reizianum. The longer line, the Archilochean itself, predominates in Ar. Vesp. 1518-37 and is used continuously in Cratin. Fr. 323. It is also used consecutively in Pap. Oxy. 2743 Fr. 8 col. ii (=Austin Fr. 220.94sq.), which prompts me to suspect, with Austin, that the fragments of Pap. Oxy. 2743 are not correctly ascribed to Strattis' *Ἀημονομέδων* and that they are perhaps from some play of Cratinus (Austin reasonably guesses *Δραπέτιδες* because of the mention of Lampon loc. cit., but we can do no more than conjecture on our slight evidence). All that is in favour of the ascription to Strattis is the occurrence of a proverb within the text which is known to have been used by Strattis, but a proverb could have appeared in other comedies,³¹ and Cratinus was particularly fond of proverbs. The mention of Lampon, rather surprising in Strattis, would be entirely at home in a play of Cratinus (for the mention see Austin l. 98). Luppe's suspicion³² that ll. 59-60 are traces of Eupolis 92. 32-33 Austin (*Ἀἴμοι*) is not convincing to me, as the traces are so very slight: ? *στρατ]ηγού[ε ?*
? *τοίου]του[ε ?*

Nor in my view does he get sufficient support from ll. 128 ff (where he sees a joke against the dead men brought back to life in the word

εκώληκες ("worms") and connects the sacrificial context with Eup. 92. 41 ff (Austin) to make us think of Eupolis rather than Cratinus as the author, but there is, of course, no certainty here in the ascription, only conjecture. In view of his use of Archilocheans (predominantly) in *Vesp.* loc. cit., Aristophanes himself might be another candidate for the author of the piece. It may be worth recording here that I had already formed a suspicion that the fragments were from a play of Cratinus before I discovered that Austin had similarly favoured that poet as the author. We have a little evidence that Eupolis could sometimes imitate Archilochus too, but Cratinus' debt to Archilochus is particularly conspicuous. In Fr. 128 Cratinus adapts another early poet, Solon (Fr. 8. 5 Diehl; *EL. & Lamb.* i. 124), recasting Solon's line

ὑμέων δ' εἰς μὲν ἕκαστος ἀλώπεκος ἴχνεσι βαίνει

in the form ὑμῶν εἰς μὲν ἕκαστος ἀλώπηξ δωροδοκεῖται.

In his play *Κλεοβουλῖνα* Cratinus apparently made much of parodying riddles in hexameter verse. One such is Fr. 87.

It may be that Cratinus' attention to the non-tragic and 'early' poets was to some extent a reflection of the general preference of the Comedy of his time, but our evidence is not sufficiently clear for us to decide this with confidence. It is true that there is little sign that Hermippus, for instance, had much interest in parody of Tragedy, whereas he has left two hexameter catalogues (Frs. 63 and 82) in epic style, but Old Comedians as late as Metagenes (cf. Frs. 4, 17 and 18) and Theopompus (Fr. 30) imitate or adapt epic language, and Pherecrates recalls Homer (Fr. 149), Hesiod (152 and 153) and the Theognidea (153) in his *Χείρων*, a play late enough to speak of the musical standards of Cinesias and Timotheus (Fr. 145). Five titles of the Comic poets Metagenes, Theopompus, Diocles and Plato raise the possibility of parody of Homer or of epic in general. My own suspicion is that there was something of a resurgence of interest in the parody and burlesque of Homer in the last years of Old Comedy (or

early Middle Comedy) after its comparative neglect by Eupolis and Aristophanes.

Plato in Fr.173 purports to quote Philoxenus(of Leucas). Someone(Phaon?) is seeking to discover the aphrodisiac qualities of various food-stuffs and describes a book in his hand as

Φιλοξένου κεινή τις ὀψαρτυσία

This "cookery-book" is taken by Athenaeus (i.5b) to be the Δείπνον of Philoxenus, but our remains of that work are in lyric verse, whereas Plato's extracts, if such they be, are in dactylic hexameters. There is also a considerable discrepancy between the style and also the standpoint of the fragments which we possess of Δείπνον and the lines which Plato purports to quote in Fr.173. Δείπνον in our fragments gives the impression of having been a narrative poem, and not the didactic work that Plato seems to imply. Probably Plato has not attempted a close parody of Philoxenus, but simply uses his name because of the culinary associations of his Δείπνον and attaches to it a parody of didactic verse vaguely on the sort of culinary subject with which Δείπνον dealt. There is probably no attempt to reproduce Philoxenus' style(or metre) or to reconcile Plato's didactic verse with the narrative Δείπνον. In fact, the description of the book as Φιλοξένου κεινή τις ὀψαρτυσία is probably best taken as an indication that Plato is producing not a parody of Δείπνον but a free version of an imaginary "Philoxenic" cookery-book, cast, as befits such a work of instruction, into the didactic style and metre.

We have some interesting indications of lyric parody in Eupolis. There seems to have been such in Αἴγες (cf. Frs 11 and 7 especially, with 3, 4 and Austin 237), where a sophist-musician was a central character and gave instruction to an ignorant rustic.³³ Fr. 293 points to the presence of a lyricist in Χρυσοῦν Γένος (cf. also the rhapsode in Fr. 294), while in Austin 96(Προσπέλατιοί) we have a mention of αὐληταί in the commentary(1.116) preceded by what appear to be lyric quotations from the text of Eupolis

in ll.106 and 113ff. Fr. 303 (play unknown) is of particular interest in that it asks whether a person wishes to hear the old or modern style of $\omega\delta\eta$. The reply is that both shall be delivered and the listener will then give his verdict on the styles. We should perhaps compare the passage in Nu.³⁴ where Strepsiades tells how his son and he fell out over a recital of "old" or "new" poets, where Simonides and Aeschylus represent the old style, and Euripides the new. Whether it is Tragedy or lyric poetry with which Eupolis is concerned in Fr. 303 (or a mixture of both, as in Nu.) is not apparent, but there was evidently parody of musical styles (and criticism of them) in context.

Our chief conclusions, then, about the use of literary parody in the comedies of the Old Comedians other than Aristophanes are these: that Strattis has left the best evidence for large-scale burlesque of Tragedy and may be suspected to have made paratragedy a prominent feature of several of his plays (while in *Kivnias* he may well have included some parody of lyric verse); that Eupolis had no play which was predominantly a burlesque of Tragedy, as far as our indications go, although there may have been a paratragic scene in his *Mepikōs* and we have some indications that lyric parody was found in certain of his plays (perhaps Tragic lyric in some cases, but we do not know); that Eupolis nevertheless used limited borrowings from all three great Tragedians and occasionally from some other literary predecessors, such as Archilochus, while Cratinus, by contrast, seems to have drawn more from epic and other non-tragic sources and seems to have paid considerable attention to Archilochus, though he did draw sometimes on Tragedy as well.

References:

Epic: (a) Homer

Cratinus: Fr. 95 (cf. Od. xxii. 412) ; Fr. 139 (approximates to Od. 5. 277) ; Fr. 315 (cf. Il. 14. 291) ; Fr. 68a is a concocted line, using Homeric formulae ; the coinage $\alpha\chi\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omega\varsigma$ (Fr. 323) is inspired by Od. xviii. 163 ; $\omicron\delta\upsilon\sigma\sigma\eta\varsigma$

burlesqued the encounter with Polyphemus: there are elements of Homeric language in Frs.142,143,148,149,150 ; cf. also Frs.171,220,314, poss. 382; with Fr.1 cf. Od. xi.136, xix.368 and also Pi.N. 7.99. (Cf. also Frs. 2 & 6) Eupolis: cf. 159.11(ἀλλυδὶς ἄλλος) and 161(γυναικὲς εἰλίποδες : cf. Il. 6.424 for the epithet of cattle, and cf. Hsch. (s. v. γυν. εἰλ.) for the sense when applied to women (v. Anacreon 94 Page).

Pherecrates: Fr.149 (cf. Il. 9.270).

Plato: cf. Fr.173.6 (cf. Il. 9.97--vaguely--but Plato purports to be quoting Philoxenus).

Teleclides: Fr.66(Τερπιότραμις) parodies Τερπικέφανος?

Hemippus: 63 (line 1=Il. 2.484, and there are several other Homeric phrases)

Metagenes: Fr.17 (cf. Il. 1.586 and 1.61) ; Fr.18 (cf. Il. xii.243); 4 adapts a Homeric phrase (in a catalogue context).

Theop.: 30 (cf. the Homeric simile).

Plays which may, on the evidence of their titles, have included substantial burlesque of Homer are (in addition to Cratinus' Ὀδυσσεύς):

Callias' Κύκλωπες, Diocles' Κύκλωπες, Metagenes' Ὀμηρος ἢ Ἀσκηταί, Theopompus' Ὀδυσσεύς and Πηνελόπη, Plato's Μενελεύς (??), Nicophon's and Theop.'s Ξειρήνες.

(b) Hesiod

Cratinus: 69 (cf. Theog. 454) ; 317 (cf. Op. 299 f); 240 and 241 imitate in content and style works like Hesiod's Theog.; 169 (as also Eup. 289) draws on a proverbial notion first attested in Hesiod's 'Marriage of Ceyx', if Schneidewin's emendation (ap. Bergk, Comm. p. 440) of Ἡσίοδος for Ἡράκλειτος be accepted. Cf. also Cratin. 2 for interest in Hesiod. It is possible that allusive animal and other names and epithets in Cratin. 94 (and perhaps 77) and Plato 246A are meant to recall Hesiodic periphrases (as Op. 524, 571), but such allusive descriptions were not solely associated with Hesiod. Cf. Bergk, Comm. p. 121.

Eupolis: cf. 289 (v. on Cratinus above).

Pherecrates: Fr.152 is Hesiodic (Great Boeae?), and, as it contains no hum--

orous elements (these appear in Fr. 153 later in the same context), it may be an undoctored citation or a 'straight' imitation of Hesiodic style; Athenaeus says that the whole of Fr. 153 is parodic of the *Μεγάλοι Ἡσίοδοι* ascribed to Hesiod, but the resemblance must be in content rather than in phraseology, and the passage contains a quotation from the Theognidea. Teledides: cf. the title *Ἡσίοδοι*.

(c) Vaguer imitations of epic and didactic style:

Hemipp. 82 (the wine catalogue); Plato 189 (a drinking feat)—cf. also on Philoxenus of Leucas; Eupolis 350 (τῆ...); Pherecr. 23 (?—*ταχέωστί*); Metagenes 4 (apptly. from an epic-style catalogue context); poss. Nicochares 19A (*ἀμιθρεῖν*, an epic and Ionic form). Cf. also such hexameter lines as Cratin. 6, 7, 8 (see below for para-oracular lines).

Tragedy (a) Aeschylus

Cratinus: Frs. 206A, 207 and 208 may well be inspired by the description of Io's wanderings in P.V.; Fr. 55 may owe something to Suppl. 234.

Eupolis: 192 (cf. Persae 65); 212 (cf. Septem 39).

Plato: 202A (= Persae 1040) Strattis: 18 (beginning of A. Fr. 132N).

Theop. 17 and Polyz. 2 may be inspired by the narration of Io's wanderings in P.V.

It is possible that Pherecr. (like Pax 749) is following some Aeschylean original in Fr. 94 (Aeschylus speaks).

(b) Sophocles

Cratinus: 341F Eupolis: 36. 2 (ends with words from S. 804N); 205. 2 (cf. O. T. 629); 244A. 14ff (cf. Antig. 712ff); cf. Austin 98. 7ff; 314. 1 may have a tragic antecedent in Eur. 323N or in Soph. 13N).

Pherecr.: 193 (cf. Electra 86). Philonides: 7 (cf. S. Fr. 742N)

Strattis: poss. 15 owes something to El. 6 (dubious).

(c) Euripides

Cratinus: 273 (cf. E. Fr. 664N); cf. 275B (cf. E. Fr. 1110N, lines suspected by Blass to be from Archilochus in fact, which is very plausible on metrical grounds—and because of the imitation in Cratinus itself); 11A Edm (1 Dem.) may indicate a borrowing from E. Fr. 473N.³⁵

Eupolis: 119. 2 Edm (= Medea 398)³⁴; 122C. 3 Edm (= E. Fr. 507N); 110B. 13 Edm (Austin 92. 35—cf. E. Fr. 558N); 111. 2 Edm (cf. E. Fr. 810N); perh. 314. 1 (Tragic antecedent in either E. 323N or S. 13N); 342 (cf. E. Fr. 888N).

Plato: 134. 2 (cf. E. Fr. 885N); 135 (poss. cf. E. 727N); 185c (cf. Orestes 10); poss. 166. 3 takes off Euripides' fondness for oxymoron?—cf. Ach. 396ff.

Phrynichus: 46 (said to parody Soph. or Eur.—Fr. 623N).

Archippus: 45B has its origins in E. Fr. 170N (or Aesch. 161N).

Strattis: 45. 1 (= Phoenissae 460); 46 (cf. Phoen. 546); 60 (cf. Orestes 279); Austin 74. 12 (opening words of E.'s 'Hypsipyle', Fr. 752N); 66 is perhaps intended as a parody of Eur.'s lyric style; 48A is prob. an indication that there was much paratragedy (esp. of Eur.'s own Phoenissae) in Strattis' Φοινισσάει (cf. Frs. 45 and 46 Strattis).

Metagenes: Fr. 10 includes a phrase from E. El. 37.

Theop.: 34 seems to quote Eur. (with a substitution)—cf. E. Fr. 894N.

Sannyrion: 8. 5 (= Orestes 279, with Hegelochus' slip).

Alcaeus: 19 (cf. Orestes 866 and 871).

Both Phrynichus and Eupolis seem to have burlesqued the Andromeda legend (cf. Nu. 555f), as Cratinus prob. did too, in Ζερίφιοι, but Eur.'s Ἀνδρομέδα dates too late to be the target of parody in any of these three passages. Plato's Κλεοφῶν may have burlesqued the Andromeda legend (Fr. 56—cf. Amipsias 8) late enough to parody Euripides' treatment of it, as Ar. does in Thesm.

(d) Minor Tragedians

Philocles: cf. Teleclid. 29 (Philocles 4N), indicating that Teleclid. either parodied or commented upon Philocles.³⁷

Spintharus: the title of Strattis' Ζώπυρος Περικαόμενος may owe something to Spintharus' title Ἡρακλῆς Περικαόμενος, but with what significance we do not know.

(e) Tragic Adespota(references as recorded in Nauck)

Eupolis: 116(156N)—Meineke³⁸ guessed the second line to be a parody of Euripides, but there is evidence only that the line may be paratragic (the prosody of Τέκν^υ is Tragic); 128A.8Edm ends as Cratinus 65 (with Tragic metre), indicating that either Eupolis is imitating grand style in Cratinus or else both poets draw on a common source in Tragedy (not in Nauck); 244A.21Edm has a strong resemblance to Ar. Ach. 162 and either borrows from Aristophanes or from some common(?Tragic?) source, one would suspect (esp. if Goossens' restoration be correct—but cf. Austin ad loc., viz. 97. 3)—not in Nauck.

Teleclid. 35 possibly had a Tragic antecedent (or just high style?)—not in Nauck.

Pherecrates: 145 prob. begins with a Tragic quotation (not in Nauck).

Strattis: 41(56LN). The first line is perhaps a Tragic quotation: Meineke suspected it to derive from Soph.'s 'Troilus' (the fragment is from Strattis' 'Troilus').

Nicochares: Fr. 1A seems to be paratragic (cf. diction, and scansion of l. 3)—not in Nauck.

Plays with the names of Tragic actors for their titles may well have had elements of Tragic language and parody. Plays including literary criticism of Tragedy must presumably have had similar elements of Tragic language and parody in most cases. See above (in 'Ridicule and Criticism') for a list of such plays. Some mythological burlesques may have parodied Tragic antecedents (in most cases we have no way of telling whether they did or not, but cf. Strattis' Φοινισσά). Cf. also Alcaeus' Κωμωδο-τραγωδία.

(f) Vaguer Paratragedy

Spinther's address to the cup in Theop. 32 is a paratragic touch (cf. Ar. Eccl. ad init.). The following fragments may also be thought to be especially likely to be seeking a vaguely Tragic tone in their phraseology or vocabulary:

Cratinus: 359 Pherecr.: 63 Theop.: 25 Philyll.: 4 Sann.: 4
Alcaeus: 14 Nicochares: 2 Heniochus: 1

Comedy

Some passages where Old Comedians have phrases found elsewhere in Old Comedy may owe their verbal resemblance to both poets' imitation of a common source. A case in point is Eup. Fr. 36 and Ar. Plutus 541, both imitating Sophocles. Sometimes a Comic poet explicitly quotes words from another Comedian (as Ar. Eq. 529 or Cratinus Fr. 324a), and sometimes there appear to be unacknowledged borrowings direct from an earlier Comedian (Hemippus 28 seems to have been the source of Plato 190). Cases where a common source is known are omitted from the list below, and some instances where a common source is suspected are likewise given under the possible common original.

Cratinus: 324a affects to quote Ephantides (but the words include a phrase of the lyric poet Pratinas—q. v.) ; Fr. 290 and Ar. Fr. 359 have either a common source, or else one Comic poet imitates the other.

Eupolis: Fr. 98.5 and Ar. Fr. 530A have very similar wording and imagery ; 146b.2 and Ar. Fr. 672 both end in the same phrase ; Fr. 180.2 is the same line as Pherecr. Fr. 163 ; 193 seems deliberately to draw on Ar. Eq. 188 (cf. Ar.'s claim in Nu. 553f that Eupolis recast his Eq. to compose *Μαρικας*) ; Eup. Fr. 92.48 Austin (128A.8 Edm) appears to have the same line as Cratin. Fr. 65 (common source ?).

Pherecr.: v. on Eupolis for Fr. 163. With Fr. 185 cf. Ar. Fr. 253.

Plato: (cf. Bergk, Comm. p. 420f for Plato's debts to other Comedians) 56.2 is the same line as Amipsias 8 (poss. with alteration of case) ; 190 seems

to be modelled on Hemipp. 28, or possibly vice-versa ; Fr.19=Ar. Fr.186 (cf. Clen. Alex. Str. 7.752, where it is said that Plato and Ar. plagiarised "each other", in "Daedalus" in Ar.'s case and aptly. also in Plato's: this strange statement seems to mean that the same lines were found in the "Daedalus" of both poets).

Hemippus: v. on Plato for Fr. 28.

Strattis: 22 is reminiscent of Cratin.193 (common source?).

Iambic, Elegiac and Lyric Poets

(a) Archilochus

Cratinus: 10 modifies (with a metrical adjustment) Archil. Fr.107 Diehl ; 198 is based on Archil. Fr. 52 Diehl ; 275B is prob. adapted from Archil. Fr.84 Diehl, though the apparent original is explicitly ascribed to Eur. (Fr.1110N)—cf. the metre ; Frs. 30, 323, the longer lines of 57 & 58, 212, 212A Edm and poss.9 (cf. Meineke) reflect Archilochus' metres. Cf. the play Ἀρχιλόχοι and also Frs. 131 and perh.199.1. Cratin.95, though deriving from Homer, is similar also to Archil. Fr.65 Diehl.

Eupolis: 357.1 is based on Archil. Fr. 52 Diehl; Austin Fr.95. 239 seems to indicate a reminiscence of Archilochus:

]εῖν· πᾶρ' τὸ Ἀρχι[λόχου or -λόχειον

236 has the same metre as Cratin.10 ; 139 has a run of Archilocheans.

Pherecrates: 65 is part of a greater Archilochean.

Strattis(??): Austin Fr. 220.94sq. has a run of Archilocheans. The fragment is tentatively ascribed to Strattis, but I have argued above that Austin may well be right to suggest Cratinus as author.

- adesp. 1325K -

The adespoton which is CCCIII Meineke (vol. iv p. 674) is modelled on Archil. Fr. 70 Diehl. Bergk (Comm. p. 11 ff) guessed that Cratinus' Ἀρχιλόχοι was the comedy from which the lines derived, but there is no positive evidence, although, on chronological grounds, the lines are likely to have been written by someone of Cratinus' generation (Metiochus was a friend of Pericles).

(b) Pindar

Cratin. 70 has the same image as Pi. Nem. III 4.

(c) Alcman

Cratin. 352 uses the same proverb as Alcman Fr.124(PMG), if the transmitted text of Alcman be correct.

(d) Solon

Cratin. 128 adapts Solon 8.5 Diehl (El. & Lamb. i.124). Solon was a character in Cratinus' Χείρωνες, but his verses may not have been parodied.

(e) Pratinas

Ephentides 3 has a phrase of Pratinas (PMG 708.15). Ephentid. 3 is itself a quotation in Cratin. 324a.

(f) the Theognidea

Pherecr. 153.8-9 quotes (with a slight variation) Theogn. 467 and part of 469. The lines are thought to be by Euenus: Pherecr. refers to them as ἔλεγεία.

(g) Philoxenus of Leucas

Plato 173 parodies a καινὴ ... ὀψαρτυσία of Philoxenus, thought by Athen. i.5b to be Philoxenus' Δεῖπνον (wrongly?).

(h) Lamprocles

Phrynichus 72 (cf. PMG 735)

(i) Hipponax

perh. cf. Eup. 74 (metre)

(j) Sappho

cf. Anipsias' Σαπφώ.

(k) Cinesias

cf. Strattis' Κινησίος.

Vaguer lyric and musical parodies:

Cf. esp. Eup. 293, 294, 303, 11 (with Austin 237), Austin 96.106ff and ib.113ff.

Plato 10(?); Cratinus' Εὐνεῖδα.

Non-Attic Characters (Parody of Dialect)

There is definite evidence for the appearance of non-Attic characters speaking appropriate dialects outside Aristophanes in Old Comedy. Clear instances are Cleophon's mother in Plato's *Κλεοφῶν* (Fr. 60), some Spartan or Spartans in Epilycus' *Κωραλίσκος* (Fr. 3), some Dorian in Philyllius' *Πόλις* (Fr. 11), some Aeolic-speaking character in Strattis' *Μακεδόνες ἢ Πλευσανίος* (Fr. 28). It is extremely likely that Dorian-speakers appeared in Eupolis' *Εἴλωτες* (cf. Frs. 133 and 140), and it seems probable that a Doric-speaking doctor figured in a play of Crates (Fr. 41), that there was at least one Doric-speaker in Apolllophanes' *Κρηῆτες* (Fr. 6), and that some Ionian character (Protagoras?) figured in Eupolis' *Κόλακες* (cf. Fr. 170, where Pollux says that Eupolis was Ionicizing). Aristophanes has characters to parallel all of these to some extent, but (i) he has no instance of a character speaking barbarisms in order to imply that some leading political figure related to the barbarizing speaker was of foreign extraction, (ii) he has no Doric-speaking doctor, (iii) he has no Ionian character definitely attested. The first technique, that of representing the parent of some demagogue as a foreigner unable to speak correct Attic Greek was exploited by Plato in his *Κλεοφῶν* (v. Fr. 60), probably by Hermippus in his *Ἀρτοπώλιδες* (with Hyperbolus' mother: cf. Frs. 11 & 12) and possibly, we may suspect, in other such plays, as Eupolis' *Μαρίκῆς* (where the drunken old woman of Nu. 555f is Hyperbolus' mother, according to Schol. Ar. ad loc.). The technique is a more vivid development of a simple verbal allegation that the demagogue was not of true Attic descent.³⁹ In Fr. 168 Plato explicitly cites some of the slips in his Attic Greek that he claims that some politician (Hyperbolus?) has made. The technique is somewhat heavy-handed, but is comparable to the explicit listing of Theban words and their Attic equivalents in Strattis 47, and in his mockery of Arrius (Catull. 84) Catullus uses a similar technique. Continuous and substantial examples of Doric Greek in Attic Old Comedy outside

Aristophanes are not found, the best example available being Epilycus Fr. 3, which is but four lines. The evidence of titles, however, suggests that in several plays there must have been a considerable element of non-Attic Greek. Our evidence suggests that most of the Old Comedians must have been willing to exploit the potential of non-Attic speakers, although there is no certain indication that Cratinus, for example, had any Doric-speakers even in his *Λάκωνες* (a title which Bergk^{Ad} and Meineke⁴¹ thought dubious). One must add that even the presence of a non-Attic word or line among our fragments is not on its own a certain indication of the presence of a non-Attic character in the play, as Ar. Pax 47f and 214 and Ar. Fr. 543, for instance, warn us, but it is usually the case that a non-Attic line or phrase in our extant plays of Aristophanes belongs to a non-Attic character, and the sense of the line can assist one's conviction in dealing with a fragment. There is the possibility in some cases that a word or phrase in a non-Attic dialect was part of a literary quotation or parody. Of the barbarian policeman in Aristophanes' 'Thesmophoriazissae' there is no trace in his rivals.

References:

Cratinus: plays which may have included non-Attic characters are *Λάκωνες*, *Θρηνητικὴ* (?), *Πλούττοι* (cf. 164) (?), *Πυλαίη* (?), *Ἀρχίλοχοι* (?). 73B and 404 have non-Attic words.

Eupolis: 138 and 140 (from 'Helots') are Doric; 435 and 444 are Doric forms, 315 has an Ionic form, 426 has a non-Attic (Ionic, Doric and Arcadian) perfect of *λαμβάνω*. In 280 a citharode is addressed as 'Sicilian' and 'Peloponnesian', suggesting that if he spoke he would use Doric Greek. Pollux speaks of Eupolis 'Ionicizing' in *Κόλυκες*: Protagoras' presence in the play may have given rise to the Ionicisms. Cf. the titles *Λάκωνες* and *Πόλεις* (Ionian cities' presence in the chorus involved Ionicisms??), as well as *Εἰλωτες*.

Pherecrates: cf. the titles *Περσῶν* (if any real 'Persians' were involved)

and Μέτοικοι .

Plato: in Κλειφῶν Plato made that politician's mother speak in barbarisms (Fr. 60). (In Fr. 168 Hyperbolus' (?) lapses from Attic Greek are recorded and in Fr. 234 the hapax ἄσκη for ἄσκησις is probably a barbarism). Cf. the titles Λάκωνες ἢ Ποιηταί, Μέτοικοι, Ἑλλάς ἢ Νῆσοι (?), poss. Συμμαχία (if an 'international' play—but the signif. of the title is dubious).

Chionides: cf. the title Πέρσαι ἢ Ἀσσύριοι .

Magnes: cf. Λυδοί Crates: Fr. 41 parodies the Doric Greek of doctors. Cf. titles Μέτοικοι, Σάμιοι (?). Callias: title Αἰγύπτιος

Teleclides: cf. titles Νῆσοι- or Στρατι- ?] Ἰωνοί (?), Ἡσίοδοι (?). Frs. 57, 60 and (partially) 50 have Doric forms, but with what significance is unknown. Hemippus: barbarisms in 11 & 12 (Hyperbolus' mother?); 96 has Sicilian associations. Cencharis: poss. cf. title Συμμαχία (if an 'international' play) Amipsias: cf. title Σαπφώ (?) Aristonymus:

cf. Fr. 9 (Boeotian) Archippus (or Aristophanes): poss. cf. Νῆσοι .

Strattis: Fr. 28 (from Μακεδόνες ἢ Πανσενίτης) apparently indicates a non-Attic speaker. (Fr. 47 upbraids the Thebans for not using correct Attic vocabulary, citing examples). Metagenes: (Θουριοπέρας is prob. not relevant here)⁴³ Theopompus: cf. title Μῆδος Philyllius:

Fr. 11, though textually doubtful, is clearly in Doric Greek and spoken by a Doric character (from Πόλεις). Demetrius: perh. cf. Σικελία

Apollophanes: Fr. 6 is Doric (from Κρήτες) Nicochares: cf. titles Κρήτες and Λάκωνες. 19A has an epic and Ionic form (literary or dialect parody?)

Some mythological burlesques may have included non-Attic characters, but there is no evidence to suggest that they did. Some 'women' and 'peace' plays may have been 'international'.

Parody of Ritual

Although a good many plays may well have included ritual parody, in comparatively few cases do we have firm evidence that any representat-

ion of ritual acts figured in a comedy of any of Aristophanes' rivals. We may strongly suspect that a sacrifice or libation was included in the action of many plays, but the nearest approach we have to a clear indication that ritual acts associated with sacrifice were visible in any particular play is Hemipp. 53 (from Στρατιώται ?), viz.

ὄρα μάττειν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ τὴν ὕδιν περιθέσθαι
περὶ τὴν ὀσφύν.

Cratin. 291 probably implies that a libation followed, while Teleclid. 33 is probably spoken to Hermes in the course of a sacrifice (always provided that the words are not reported in the play, as the events in the Temple of Asclepius are in the Plutus of Aristophanes). Theop. 70 seems to imply that a sacrifice is supposed to be taking place in the stage-building, out of sight of the audience. Cratinus 21 probably reveals that the impedimenta of sacrifice were visible (in Βούσσεις), but the conclusion is not certain. Eup. 128A (Austin Fr. 92. 41sq.) seems to include instructions for the preparation of a sacrificial feast, but the actual processes of preparation do not appear to have been visible. In Austin 220 (dubiously ascribed to Strattis), there is apparently some talk of a sacrificial feast also (cf. lines 125ff, 159f (mention of Thyestes?), 171, 179).

Of plays which are especially likely to have made much of ritual, the most interesting is Eupolis' Βάπται. Meineke (I pp. 119-126) gives most of our external evidence for the content of the play, from which we gather that the "Βάπται" were devotees of the Thracian goddess Cotyto, and that the drama was aimed at Alcibiades, who was alleged later to have dipped Eupolis in the sea for the dipping which the poet had given Alcibiades in the theatre. One may tentatively infer from this dubious tale that Alcibiades was "initiated by immersion" in Eupolis' play (so Edmonds deduces, p. 330). The scholium to Juvenal 2.91 is our principal source for the action of the play. Its text is as follows: Baptae titulus libri, quo impudici describuntur ab Eupolide, qui inducit viros Atheniens-

es ad imitationem feminarum saltantes lassare psaltriam ("the 'Dippers' is the title of a work in which shameless men are described by Eupolis, who makes Athenian men, leaping in dances in imitation of women, weary a lyre-girl"). The phrase "lassare psaltriam" seems to balance "lassare Cotytto" in the text of Juvenal on which the scholiast is commenting, and it seems to follow that the lyre-girl was playing the part of Cotytto in some travesty of the religious rites associated with that goddess (so Edmonds very reasonably infers, loc. cit.). Of our fragments of the play Fr. 77 accords well with the dance "ad imitationem feminarum", as its description of musical and dancing skill is so worded as to suggest sexual versatility (as a catamite)⁴⁴ also. Frs. 76A and 76B indicate that musical accompaniment earned mention in the play. 76A in fact addresses a girl who is to play a dithyrambic prelude on the flute: her presence is interesting in view of the role which the Schol. Juv. gives to the lyre-girl. Frs. 85 and 86 hint, but do not indisputably prove, that cottabus was played in the drama, which would be quite in keeping with the mood and setting of the play as so far deduced. Fr. 68 is a further confirmation of the impression that debauched merry-making was to the fore in *Βάρροι*, for someone is described as wearing a garland, even though he had had no lunch, no morsel to eat. The person was evidently looking forward to the evening revel and planned an early start to it (cf. Pherecr. Frs. 2 and 29). Fr. 84 is an ecstatic cry, while 72 and 87 are indications that magic was prominent in the play. The relationship of the *Βάρροι* to the prosecution of Alcibiades for his travesty of the Eleusinian Mysteries is a problem. Meineke (I pl 24ff) concludes that the play was produced in 415 before the scandal became public, and that Eupolis did not, indeed could not, direct his play against the profanation of the Eleusinian Mysteries, but was concerned only to ridicule Alcibiades and his circle and the cult of Cotytto, which he apparently thought contemptible and depraved. Meineke⁴⁵ rejects the theory of Buttman⁴⁶, revived by Norwood,⁴⁷ that Eupolis recast the travesty of the

Eleusinian Mysteries as a travesty of the rites of Cotytto because of the greater suitability of the latter to ridicule on the Comic stage. The theory involves one in chronological difficulties if one takes the date as 415 (see Meineke I p.125), but one cannot deny that Meineke's alternative assumes an uneasy degree of coincidence, unless Alcibiades was notorious already as the sort of man who might convincingly be portrayed as sharing in drunken parodies of religious rites. Whatever the historical truth, and I am rather inclined to favour Meineke's view, it is at least clear that a large part of the play must have been devoted to parody of ritual. Fr. 333 has long been suspected to be another fragment of *Βάπται* and may well be so, in which case some ceremony of dipping garments seems to be revealed.

Four plays of Cratinus may conceivably have had elements of ritual parody. It is likely that the opportunity to make something of the ritual associated with the descent to the cave of Trophonius (cf. Nu. 505ff and the long description in Pausanias 9. 39. 2sq.) in the comedy of that title would not be missed (the same goes for Cephisodorus' *Τροφώνιος*), and the legend of Busiris (for which see Apollod. 2. 5. 11) and Fr. 21 would lead one to suppose that the question of human sacrifice was an element of Cratinus' *Βούσειρις* and that some parody of sacrificial procedure may have been incorporated in the play. There is a weak hint in Frs. 81 and 83 that *Ἐρᾶται* touched to some degree upon the cult of the Thracian Bendis,⁴⁸ and the title assists the view that the play was to a large extent concerned with that cult, but we have no firm evidence for what Cratinus may have said of the cult and there is no positive indication that ritual parody was involved in the action. As for the *Δηλιάδες*, it is possible to suspect that the play was concerned in some way with the purification of Delos (Diod. 12. 58, Thuc. 3. 104), but there is really nothing to support the conjecture save the title.⁴⁹ Frs. 30 and 32 do reveal that there was at least some mention of processions or of a procession in the text, but that is not any firm indication that any visible procession or

other ritual act was portrayed in the course of the drama.⁵⁰ Our best evidence outside Aristophanes for any such visible parody of a procession is Nicophon Fr. 6 Edm(16K), where someone is asked to move away from the chair-bearer, suggesting that some procession or similar event at least comparable to the Panathenaic procession was in progress in the play, unless the lines are part of a narration. I give Edmonds' amended text, exempli gratia:

⟨Ω⟩γεννά<δα, σὺ δ'⟩ αὐτὸς ὀλίγον ἀνέγγαγε
ἀπὸ τῆς διφροφόρου · χρηστὸς εἶ καὶ κόσμιος.

In Cratinus' *Χεῖρωνες* there seems to have been some element of ritual parody. As Solon seems to have made an appearance in the play (cf. Fr. 228), it has been thought that the ritual was concerned with the conjuring up of the ghost, and this would seem a very plausible suggestion. Bergk (p. 239) shows that the remark of Schol. Soph. O. C. 477 (καὶ οἱ τοὺς καθαρμούς δὲ ἐπιτελοῦντες πρὸς τὴν ἕω ἴστανται) is in keeping with this interpretation by citing the words of Schol. Eur. *Alcest.* 113, viz. ψυχαγωγοὶ καθαρμοῖς τισὶ καὶ γοηταῖς τὰ εἶδωλα ἐπάγουσιν καὶ ἐξάγουσιν. Such a remark as Pherecr. 170,

Ἄδωνι ἄγομεν καὶ τὸν Ἄδωνιν κλέομεν,

is more probably to be taken as a joke than as a true indication of parody of the Adonia, as the explanation is so explicit.

References:

Plays which are likely to have included or seem possibly to have included ritual parody (cf. also below):

Cratinus: *Ἐρωτήρι* (cf. Frs. 81 & 83), *Βούσειρις* (cf. Fr. 21), poss. *Δηλιάδες* (? cf. 30, 32), *Τροφώνιος*.

Eupolis: *Βέπται* (cf. above), *Νουμηνίαι* (?).

Pherecrates: *Ἰπνὸς ἢ Παννυχίς* (?) Plato: *Αἰ ἀφ' ἱερῶν* (?), *Ἐορταί* (?)

Crates: *Ἐορταί* (?) Aristomenes: *Γόητες* (?) Lysippus: *Βάκχαι* (?), *Ἐρωσκόμος* (?) Phrynichus: *Μύσται* (?), *Κωμισταί* (?) Anipsias: *Κωμισταί* (?)

Philonides: (perh. cf. Προαγών (?)) Metagenes: Φιλοθύτης (?)
Theopompus: Ἀφροδίσιον (?) Alcaeus: ἱερὸς Γάμος (?—so all other
 'wedding' plays) Philyllius: Δωδεκάτη (?) Cephalod.: Τροφώνιος
Diocles: Βάκχαι (?)

Some 'god' plays such as Pherecrates' Ἀυτόμολοι (cf. Fr. 23) may also have included sacrifices or other ritual acts. Such titles as Μήδεια also raise possibilities.

Sacrifices: aptly. Teleclid. 33; cf. Eup. 128A (but offstage?); aptly. Hemipp. 53; Cratin. 21, 291(?); cf. Austin 220.125ff, 159, 171, 179 (Strattis? —or Cratinus?); cf. Theop. 70 (offstage sacrifice?).

Processions: perh. Nicophon 6 Edm.

Other Ritual: Eup. 333 (ceremonial dipping of garments); Cratin. 232 (conjuring up a ghost?); ?158 Eup.⁵¹; Theop. 14 (showering of nuts at wedding—visible?); Callias 6 (cup of Health after meal); cf. Pherecr. 14 (singing of Paean at drinking parties); Pherecr. 170 should prob. not be taken to indicate parody of the Adonia.

(prayers: v. Phryn. 17A, 73; Eup. 6; Pherecr. 20, cf. 87, cf. 137A)

Parody of Legal Language and Procedure

We have seen that there appears to have been a trial-scene in Phrynichus' Μούσαι. Fr. 32 speaks of two ums, one for acquittal, one for condemnation, showing someone which is which, and we may surmise that some trial has just reached the stage where the vote is to be taken (cf. Vesp. 986ff). Whittaker⁵² however, sees a "proagon", less convincingly to my mind. There was also a trial-scene in Cratinus' Πυρίνη, for Fr. 194 asks from which um another person will count the votes first, implying that a vote has just been taken, and Frs. 185 and 186 support the supposition that Cratinus was tried in Πυρίνη. Fr. 185 is in fact a familiar sentiment in legal speeches. Clement of Alexandria, who gives us the fragment, cites similar expressions from Lysias and Aeschines (cf. Meineke II p. 118). The Schol. Ar. Eq. 400, who sketches some points of the plot of Πυρίνη, speaks

of Comedy's pursuing a *δίκη κτρώσεως* against Cratinus, and it seems that the poet spoke Fr.185 early in his defence. Cratinus' *Χείρωνες* may also have had a court-scene, for Fr.233 declares that the speaker has brought three shameless creatures from the *ναυτοδίκην*, the magistrates who presided over trials involving commercial disputes between Athenian and foreign traders and who in the first instance heard cases where foreigners were accused of illicitly usurping citizen rights (cf. Ar. Fr. 225). In the latter circumstance the case was passed on to the *Heliaea*. One may suspect that the three "shameless creatures" of Cratinus' context were to answer a *γραφὴ Σενίας*, and it is likely that their trial figured in the action of the play following this passage (at what length we cannot tell). As Solon was revived in the play, he may well have acted as president of the court or he may have given judgment himself. In Eupolis' *Ἄημοι* Aristides acted as judge (Frs.122B, 122C Edm, Austin Frs.92.78sq. and 92.100 sq.) and tried at least one offender. Two further plays of Cratinus may possibly have included trial scenes, but our evidence is very inconclusive. *Νόμοι* at least included a reference to the voting-funnel (Fr.133) and spoke of corruption (Fr.128), but one cannot legitimately claim to do more than speculate on such weak evidence. The fact that Fr.128 is a parody of Solon may indicate that Solon was a character in *Νόμοι* as in *Χείρωνες*. Whether one can gain a hint of a trial-scene in *Ἀρχίλοχοι* from Fr.7 is extremely dubious, but Kock goes so far as to conjecture that the agon of the play took place at the spot on the Acropolis described. It is not inconceivable that the fact that Zeus cast a vote there had some significance for the action in the play. One may also recall here the Judgment of Paris (or rather of Dionysus) in *Διονυσιαλέξανδρος*. Bergk (Comm. p. 357) sees a trial-scene in ^{Eupolis'} *Προσπάλτιοι*, but is being perilously speculative in suggesting that Euthyphro prosecuted his father (for illicitly pretending to citizen rights) in the play. It is true that the Souda tells us (s. v. *Αρυχαρνεύ*) that the Prospaltians were made fun of in Comedy *ὡς δικαστικοί*, but we have no clear sign that there was a trial

in Προσπάτσιοι . It is possible, then, that Cratinus several times included a trial-scene in his plays: besides the evidence adduced above there is some sort of investigation into the source of Hagnon's wealth in Fr. 163, from Πλοῦτοι (Austin Fr. 73. 66sq.). There does not seem to be a true 'trial', but l. 10 (line 66 in Austin) at least has a distinct law-court flavour: *μάρτυρας τοὺς προσκεκλημένους...*

τῶδε χρεῖ· κτλ.

Archippus 27 is a prose parody of a treaty, for which see below.⁵³ Pherecrates 34 appears to be part of a similar parody of a treaty or resolution or suchlike appropriate to a 'women' play:

Ἀθηναίαις αὐταῖς τε καὶ ταῖς ἐυμμίχοις.

Eup. 35 and 125 Edm seem to be parts of para-decrees or proclamations, while Cratin. 313 appears to indicate that an assembly of vegetables (visible?, reported?) was involved in context. Archippus 29, *ἄνδρες ἰχθύες*, is an amusing parody of the beginning of a public address, delivered in this case to a group of fish.

References:

Cratin.: Πυτίνη (194, 185, 186?), Χείρωνες (cf. 233), ?poss. Νόμοι (cf. 133, 128??), ?poss. Ἀρχίλοχοι (cf. 7??), cf. Πλοῦτοι (cf. 163.10 Edm), cf. also Judgment in Διονυσιαλέξανδρος?

Eupolis: Ἀῆμοι (122B, 122C), poss. Προσπάτσιοι (dub.—cf. Bergk, loc. cit.).

Phrynichus: Μοῦσαι (32)

Archipp. 27, 29; Pherecr. 34; Eup. 35, 125; cf. Cratin. 313. Cf. also the role of various fish in Archippus' *ἰχθύες*, e.g. the κήρυξ—fish as herald.

Para-oracles and Riddles

Crates' complex riddle of Fr. 29 earns comment from Aristophanes in Fr. 333, who refers to it as an effortless composition which was thought brilliant in the earlier days when the Comic poet's art was still something great and worthwhile. Although Aristophanes seems to speak with an element of irony, Crates' puzzling riddle was evidently a famous piece of

Comedy, and is cited as typical of the (unsophisticated) standard of humour of the time. Edmonds attempts an explanation of the riddle, producing a not implausible solution, but it is not so important for our purposes to unravel Crates' meaning as to observe his technique. It is clear that he intended the riddle to be very obscure from his words of the last line of the fragment, which invite the decipherment of the allusive language and use the proverbial notion of the difficulties of knowing the date by the Cean calendar:

παρ' ἐκεῖνον, ἀγχ' ἐκεῖνον. ἐν κέῳ τίς ἡμέρας

Presumably Crates had one character set the riddle to another in his play (Ξάμιοι) and a solution or solutions were offered. The fragment manifestly depends for its effect on a rudimentary form of verbal cleverness and erudite allusion, perhaps enhanced by the situation in the play (was this some sort of test question which some poor soul had to answer?). Cratinus may well have devoted much of his Κλεοβουλῖνι to riddles, one of which appears to survive in part in Fr. 87. Cleobulina at any rate is described by Diog. Laertius (i. 89) as ἀνιγμάτων ἑξαμέτρων ποιήτριον and the inference that much of the play must have exploited that reputation is natural. Edmonds compares the scene in Vesp. 1216ff where Philocleon amuses by supplying humorous endings to drinking-songs, which is indeed a possible hint of what sort of comedy Κλεοβουλῖνι may have contained, but, of course, we lack any real insight into how Cratinus organised his play. It is possible that Eup. 235 is intended to be a riddle, or rather the beginning of one, or else is para-oracular. Our best example of the para-oracle outside Aristophanes is Plato Fr. 3, while it may be that Cratin. Fr. 316 is part of an oracular utterance.

References:

Cratin. Κλεοβουλῖνι, Fr. 316; Crates 29; Eup. 236; Plato 3.

Other Parodies

Pherecr. 137 is probably a parody of sophistic orthoepia (cf. Rs. 1159).

Eup.160 may be a set-piece arguing the value of the flatterer to mankind (cf. Poverty's speech in Ar. Plutus), which could be seen as a parody of sophistic argument. Crates 22 may be intended as a parody of medical terminology (λιποπωγώνια). In Crates 38, Teleclid. 7, Phrynichus 14, Nicophanes 6 and Nicophon 7 Edm (17K) there may be indications of parody of certain workers' songs.

Imagery , Vocabulary and Verbal Devices ,
with Breach of Dramatic Illusion

In this section I propose to examine our evidence for the use of imagery and verbal devices by the Old Comedians other than Aristophanes and to look at some points of their vocabulary and also to make some remarks on passages where dramatic illusion is allowed to lapse. When referring to images in Aristophanes I shall frequently make mention of Taillardat's Les Images d'Aristophane , an excellent classification of the similes and metaphors of Aristophanes which usually lists other occurrences in Old Comedy of images found in that poet, but does not normally take note of images found only in other Old Comedians and not in Aristophanes. Unfortunately, an exhaustive classification and analysis of the imagery and vocabulary of Aristophanes' predecessors and rivals is not possible on that scale within the scope of this thesis, but I propose in this section to expound what I consider the main features of the imagery and of the linguistic devices of Aristophanes' major rivals (and of some of the lesser Comic poets where our evidence is worthy of note) and to examine in detail some of the most striking illustrations in individual passages of these main features in practice. I shall consider first the evidence for the four rivals of Aristophanes whose work is most substantially, albeit still very meagrely, preserved, viz. Cratinus, Eupolis, Pherecrates and Plato, and then proceed to the less well represented Old Comedians.

Cratinus

Our fragments show Cratinus to have been a verbally vigorous and inventive Comedian, fond of bold coinages and word-play and capable of powerful, though sometimes complex, imagery and probably more given than most Old Comedians to working proverbs into his text, sometimes with a humorous substitution. One of the most colourful pieces of imagery in Cratinus is found in Fr. 186, from Πυτινά , where the poet Cratinus has apparently just delivered a flood of verse, and some bystander employs

the image of a river in spate to convey his amazement at the flowing verse of Cratinus:

ἀνάξ Ἀπολλων τῶν ἐπῶν τοῦ ῥεύματος·
 Καναχοῦσι πηγαί, δωδεκάκρουνον <τὸ> στόμα,
 Ἴλισὸς ἐν τῇ φάρυγι· τί ἄν εἴποιμ' ἔτι;
 εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἐπιβύσει τις αὐτοῦ τὸ στόμα,
 ἅπαντα ταῦτα κατακλύσει ποιήμασιν.

The image is developed and intensified from its original evocation in line 1 by the use of ῥεύματος. Both Καναχοῦσι πηγαί and δωδεκάκρουνον <τὸ> στόμα convey the immensity of the volume of the poetic flood, while the climax of the first three lines is the exaggerated image of the River Ilissus' being in Cratinus' throat, the vivid language being carried well over into the ridiculous for humorous effect. The consummating observation that if no-one bungs up Cratinus' mouth he will overwhelm everything around with his verbal torrent ludicrously treats Cratinus as though he were some vessel discharging its liquid contents (cf., e.g., Ach. 463), a humorously irreverent image. The application of the bung would not be metaphorical, as in Ar. Plutus 379,

τὸ στόμ' ἐπιβύσας κέρμασιν τῶν ῥητόρων ,

but literal. The concept of a flood of verse or speech is a relatively common image, but Cratinus' employment of it is strikingly vivid. As Aristophanes had used a similar metaphor in Eq. 526ff of Cratinus' former (but in Aristophanes' view bygone) successes, it may well be that Cratinus meant to recall Aristophanes' imagery and intended the echo to be his reply to Aristophanes' two-edged praise¹. The relevant part of Aristophanes' metaphor is so expressed: "Then, recalling Cratinus, who once used to stream along in a flood of praise and gush across the smooth plains, sweeping away from their station oaks, plane trees and rivals by the root and carrying them headlong before him..." For other Aristophanic examples of the 'torrent of words' image cf. Taillardat para. 504. Pherecrates has

the image in Fr. 51, as we shall see, while Cratinus employs it again in Fr. 330A:

γλωττῶν τε σοὶ
 δίδωσιν ἐν δήμῳ φορεῖν
 καλῶν λόγων αἰνῶν,
 ἧ̄ πάντα κινήσεις λέγων.

The imagery of the old poet's lust for wine in Fr. 183 has been considered already.² In Fr. 184 Cratinus declares that he is "wasting away" in longing for wine (ἐκτῆκομαι, he declares), while in Fr. 199 wine is the poet's "swift steed": αἶνός τοι χαρίεντι πέλει ταχὺς ἵππος αἰοιδῶ,
 ἔδωρ δὲ πίνων χρηστόν οὐδὲν ἄν τέκοις.

The contempt for water as the drink of the artistically dull appears also in Cratin. Fr. 288, Ar Eq. 89 and Phrynich. Com. 69 (of Lampus), while the idea of stimulating the wits with wine is found in Eq. 90 ff. The metrical form of Fr. 199 above suggests that the first (hexameter) line may be a quotation from, or else an imitation of, some poet, quite possibly Archilochus. Further examples of Cratinus' rich wine imagery may be found in Fr. 273³ and Fr. 298.⁴

Fr. 206 is an example of the ambitious imagery sometimes employed by Cratinus: οὕτω σταθερῶς τοῖς λωποδύταις ὁ πόρος πεινώσι παφλάζει ("So constantly is the strait on the boil for robbers when hunger takes them"). Kock, I feel, rightly interprets the sense, as Edmonds' version, viz.

"So furiously boil the straits of the sea
 with highwaymen needing a meal",

which interprets the dative as one of material, as it were, and not as one of advantage, seems to me much less pointed.⁵ The image is from a cauldron of soup or stew or similar foodstuff. The strait is seen as the pirates' cauldron, ever-ready to supply them with plunder when they feel the inclination to seek it, while the merchant snipping is seen in the role of the simmering contents of the cauldron, at hand to provide an immediate meal. Fr. 323 incorporates what seems to be more bold Cratinean imagery, but text and interpretation are uncertain. I give Kock's text:

χαῖρ', ὦ μέγ' ἀχρειόγελως ἔμιλε ταῖς ἐπίβδαις,
 τῆς ἡμετέρας σοφίης κριτῆς ἄριστε πάντων,
 εἰδόμενον' ἔτικτέ σε μήτηρ ἰκρίων ψόφῃσις

As the piece stands I take the sense to be, "Greetings, O throng so full of forced laughter on the morrow of the festival, best judge of all of our poetic mastery, fortunate your mother bore you, (the) noise of the benches." The word ἀχρειόγελως —if correct—is evidently a coinage inspired by Homer Od. xviii.163 (ἀχρεῖον ... ἐγέλυσσεν : "she forced a laugh"), and Cratinus is clearly addressing his audience through his chorus, but beyond that there is scope for a variety of interpretations and textual emendations. Meineke (II p.194) suggested reading με for σε in l. 3 and taking the "noise of the benches" (i. e. of the seats in the theatre) to be the applause of the audience which greeted the choral entry, a not unreasonable hypothesis, but only one of several possible views. In line 1 the sense is likewise obscure, but the general view is that some censure of the audience is intended, allegedly for laughing aptily at Cratinus' rivals' plays (so Bergk, Comm. p.9 f, Meineke II p.192ff), in view of the emphatic ἀχρειόγελως. There is, however, no adversative particle in line 2 (one could, however, readily introduce one by reading τῆς δ'), nor any explicit reference to the work of Cratinus' rivals in the first line, and it is not easy, as our text stands, to force the sense that Bergk and Meineke wish from our fragment. Meineke parenthesises ὦ μέγ' ἀχρειόγελως ἔμιλε to make the dative ταῖς ἐπίβδαις depend upon χαῖρ' (ε), but this does not rescue the first line from perilous obscurity nor does it make the contrast that Meineke wants between Cratinus' rivals and himself. The only way that I can see of producing such a contrast is to read τῆς δ' in l. 2 and to suppose that there is a line missing between the first two lines of our transmitted text, a line in which the contrast was made clear unless one drastically amend the first words of the passage (e. g. to ἄλλοις μὲν ... with τῆς δ' in the following line, χαῖρ' ὦ perhaps being part of a substantially lost preceding verse, but such a solution is very perilous).

In this case it seems that the extreme obscurity of the imagery is due, at least in part, to textual corruption, but Fr. 169, quite possibly the opening words of Πύλακος, shows that Cratinus was capable of using a quite involved image in such an address to the audience through his chorus. Using a favourite technique of recasting a proverb, Cratinus declares

οἶδ' αὖθ' ἡμεῖς ὡς ὁ πηλαϊδὸς
 λόγος αὐτομάτους ἀγαθούς ἴέναι
 κομφῶν ἐπὶ δεῖτα θεατῶν.

("Here we are again, in keeping with the ancient saying that the excellent go of their own accord to the feast of clever audience-members"). For the syntax cf. Theocr. xii. 12-14. Cratinus hints that if the audience are clever they will give him the first prize and his merited place at the victors' feast.

In his interpretation of Fr. 226 (ἀργυροκοπιστῆρας λόγῳ) Kock may not be too ingenious. He takes the "silver-coiners of words" to be sophists whose verbal skills were their source of wealth. The imagery would be allusive and somewhat complex, but such seems to have been Cratinus' manner on occasions. In Fr. 353 there is the vivid metaphor ἐπιπτεῖσθε λαλοῖσι ("gallop at with words", "make a verbal mounted charge upon.."). The image is of a mounted assailant's riding at some enemy, conveying a vigorous verbal assault. Ar. Ra. 1101f has similar military imagery of a verbal battle. Such military metaphors are collected in Taillardat paras. 531-534. Fr. 35 speaks of drawing up beautiful hymns to Dionysus as though from a well: ὅτε σὺ τοὺς καλοὺς θριάμβους ἀναρύτους ἀπηχθάνου. The image is of the class that speak of a poet's source of inspiration. In Ra. 1299f, for example, Aristophanes uses the metaphor of plucking flowers from the meadow of the Muses: ... ἵνα μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν φρυγίχῳ

λειμῶνα Μουσῶν ἱερὸν ὀφθεινῆν δρέπων.

Taillardat in Ch. XXXVIII lists a variety of other Aristophanic images employed in this connection; for more imagery of the poet's sort outside Aristophanes cf. Metag. 14, Pherecr. 94 and Lysippus 4.

Cratinus Fr. 304 has a striking metaphor:

εὐπρόσδος (οἱ εὐπρόσοιστος) ἦσθ', ὀνόματος οὐδὲν ἐπὶ χεῖρας φέρων.

Kock, I think, rightly perceives the sense: the notion is of someone so wealthy and ostentatious as to wear a fine garment hanging over his wrists, with ὀνόματος (good name) here substituted for the garment. The person, then, made no ostentatious display of his reputation, that is he did not become contemptuous or arrogant because of his high standing. The image is similar to that in Eupolis Fr. 118 Edm, which begs Miltiades and Pericles not to permit *μειράκια κινούμενα* to rule any more,

ἐπὶ τοῖν σφυροῖν ἔλκοντα τὴν στρατηγίαν.

Eupolis seems to have in mind the flaunting of their youthful successes like a luxurious, trailing robe. Both passages express pride or conceit by the use of metaphors from clothing. Neither image has a parallel in Aristophanes, but the metaphors would appear in Ch. XVI in Taillardat (para. 335), had they been Aristophanic. Both Cratinus and Eupolis have another image of conceit or haughtiness—that of raising the eyebrows in pride or disdain—which is attested in Aristophanes *Pax* 395 (Taillardat para 326). Eupolis speaks of a demagogue who has risen, he alleges, from the lowest origins, so (110B.1 Edm): τὰς ὀφρῦς ἤδη ἔξεπαίρει (Austin 9223). Cratinus (Fr. 355) has the concept in this form: ἀνεκταῖς ὀφρῦσι σεμνόν. The conveying of the emotion by means of its physical manifestations is, of course, a familiar device of humorous description: two extreme examples are the conveying of the emotion of fear by its effect on the control of the bowels, and of carefree delight by the excretory detail of the unrestrained breaking of wind associated with the mood in Old Comedy.⁶

Fr. 306 is an effective piece of Cratinean imagery with a witty pun.

Every person in the audience is bidden wake up,

ἐπὶ μὲν βλεφάρων αὐθημερινῶν ποιητῶν λήρον ἀφεντα.

We do not know for certain whether this fragment is from a Lenaea play or a performance at the Great Dionysia, but I strongly suspect that Cratinus is joking at the expense of the Tragic poets, for at the Great Dion-

ysia on each day a Tragic poet had all his plays performed (three tragedies and a satyr play), and one of the Comic poets followed with his comic offering. Like Aristophanes in the 'Birds' (786ff), Cratinus, I believe, is jokingly suggesting that his audience found the tragedies a dreary bore. He bids them wake up from the sleep that the wearisome tragedies have induced, as Cratinus' chorus are entering (Aristid. 49. 36 records that the lines were found ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ δράματος), and he tells them to clear from their eyes the trifling nonsense of poets whose plays fell all on the self-same day (and were forgotten the self-same day). Cratinus' offering, of course, would in one sense be a one-day affair, but the memory of its wit and entertainment would endure. The soporific trifles of the one-day poets are dispelled or cleared from the eyes in two ways: the Tragic chorus has now left the orchestra, and hence the audience can be said to have dismissed or sent it away from their sight; but the Tragic trifles are something which they must also dispel from their eyes like heavy drowsiness. Such striving for verbal effect and energy in the use of words are typical of Cratinus.

Fr. 256 exemplifies Cratinean double entendre:

ἴτω δὲ καὶ τραγωδίας
 ὁ Κλεομάχου διδάσκαλος
 μετ' αὐτὸν <ὁ> παρατιλιτριῶν
 ἔχων χορὸν Λυδιστὶ τιλ-
 λουσῶν μέλη πονηρά.

Μέλη bears two senses and is internal accusative in the one sense and external accusative in the other. Gnesippus' chorus pluck out foul tunes in the Lydian mode, but the passage also bears the meaning "pluck (depilate) ugly limbs in the Lydian way" (likening Gnesippus' chorus to slave-girls who remove their mistresses' superfluous body hair, plucking ugly μέλη no less than Gnesippus' insufferable chorus). Cratinus superbly derides the same poet's choruses in Fr. 15, where ^{the speaker} λ declares that he would

not consider Gnesippus worthy to act as a διδάσκαλος even at the Adonia, a women's festival, where there were, of course, no dramatic productions, but where the wails of women were to be heard no less than in Gnesippus' effeminate choruses.

An example of a Cratinean pun is Fr. 287:

ἡ παῖς γὰρ ἔμπαις ἔστιν ὡς ἡνδρωμένη.

(perhaps, "The child's with child as she's been with a man."). The word-play is clear, and the double pun (παῖς / ἔμπαις and παῖς / ἡνδρωμένη) is more impressive than most Greek puns. Fr. 56 is another piece of word-play, depending for its double sense on two meanings of πόλις ("city-state" and also a game). The point is made clear by the insertion of κύνα, for "dog" was the name of one of the pebbles used as pieces in the game. Our transmitted text is

Πανδιονίδα πόλεως βασιλεῦ
τῆς ἐριβώλακας, οἷσθ' ἦν λέγομεν;
καὶ κύνα καὶ πόλιν ἣν παίζουσιν.

The 'head' jokes against Pericles in Frs. 111 and 240⁷ are further good examples of Cratinus' liking for word-play, while in Fr. 163.12Edm it is a not implausible conjecture that there is a pun on the name of Hegnon.⁸ Frs. 415 and 438 derive from passages of word-play also.

Cratinus, as Bergk perceived,⁹ was evidently a great coinor of words. This is a field in which it is impossible to be precise about numbers, as one cannot always make a confident decision as to whether a word is an invention or not. One can be subjective and give figures for words which one considers likely to be coinages or one can be objective and give figures for words which are hapax, but in the former case one person's opinion of what is a plausible coined word is likely to differ from another's, and in the latter case one must remember that not all words which are hapax can legitimately be taken to have been inventions and not all invented words need be hapax. One does not, in any case, wish to reduce literature to mathematics, and I do not intend to attempt to quote hard and fast figures for the total number of coinages in each Old Comedian,

although I shall give some slight numerical indications. Nevertheless, to guide general impressions I have appended to this chapter lists of words which I should take to be in varying degrees plausible as coinages (necessarily somewhat subjective), and also lists of words which are hapax or are first found in each of the four major rivals of Aristophanes. The first thing that strikes one is that the number of words which may be coinages or which are hapax or very rare is extremely high in proportion to the number of lines which survive of most of the non-Aristophanic Old Comedians. The reason for this is obvious: a large number of the words are preserved in citations made for the purpose of illustrating the word itself, and the imbalance between rare and common Comic words is due to the diligence of lexicographers and grammarians in hunting them out. The proportion of rare words in the fragments of Aristophanes' lost plays is also high, in comparison with the frequency with which such words occur in his extant plays. An easy means of seeing just how far our sources distort the picture is to ascertain how many plausible coinages and hapaxes occur incidentally in our fragments, that is in fragments which are cited for something other than the word itself (or the essential point of the word). I have indicated this in the appendix to this chapter by underlining the words which occur in this way. A glance at the appendix will show that such words are distinctly in the minority, and, of course, they normally occur only in the course of fragments of more than a few words' length. We must therefore understand that, had we a play of Cratinus or of Eupolis or of any other Old Comedian apart from Aristophanes before us, we should not find coined or very rare words on anything like the scale that we do in the fragments, just as Aristophanes' extant plays do not employ such words as frequently as the fragments would suggest. It is also apparent from a glance at the appendix that I have found far more plausible coinages in Cratinus than in Eupolis, whose fragments are roughly equal in number to those of Cratinus, and that the number of hapaxes in Cratinus is similarly larger. As for incidentally-occurring coinages, the

number in Cratinus is arguably between 8 and 11, while there may be between 4 and 7 in Eupolis. In the Aristophanic fragments there are probably seven (Frs. 333.1, 149 (bis), prob. 198, the titles *Αἰολοσίκων*, *Γηρυτιάδης* and *Τριφάλης*). For Pherecrates the figure is probably between 12 and 15; for Plato between 8 and 13. The number of naturally-occurring hapaxes in each poet gives a similar impression: the maxima are for Cratinus 16, for Eupolis 10, for Plato 18, for Pherecrates 23. One must remember that four of the incidentally-occurring coinages in Pherecrates are titles, while three fragments between them (77, 113 and 124) contain seven of Plato's relevant coinages, but we still get the impression that both poets were not backward in their use of coined and rare words. Nevertheless, Pherecrates' apparent coinages are less striking, for the most part, than the probable inventions of Cratinus. We must resist the temptation to draw more definite inferences than the reliability of our data justifies, but I think that one can risk saying that, on this evidence, we should expect a play of Eupolis, on average, to have contained fewer coined words than a play of Cratinus. Let us now consider the sort of coined words used by Cratinus and the contexts in which they appeared. Here, of course, I draw on the full range of apparent coined words.

Cratinus, like Aristophanes himself, has a substantial number of proper name coinages, that is invented words where one element is a proper name. The adjective *προτήθους*, for instance, in Fr. 43 describes a woman as "pre-Tethys" (with a pun on *πρότηθη*). As Tethys was the wife of Oceanus and therefore a primeval deity, the notion behind the coinage is probably the same as that in passages where Cronos' name is used to suggest that someone's views were outdated or that the person was otherwise the representative of a bygone age: cf. *Nu.* 398, 929, 1070 for such associations of Cronos' name and also the dubiously ascribed Nicophon Fr. 22 (= *Philonides* 15), viz. *νυνὶ δὲ Κρόνου καὶ Τιθωνοῦ παπιαπιπιαπιπος νερόμισται*. In *Nu.* 998 the name of Iapetus, brother of Cronos, has the same associations. In Fr. 73A Cratinus derides the Boeotians as

... Συοβοιωτοί, κρουπελοφόρον γένος ἰνδρῶν

The contemptuous Συοβοιωτοί condenses into one word the proverbial boorishness of the Boeotian people (cf. Pindar Ol. 6.152). Cratinus in Fr. 335a combines the names of his rival Ephantides and of the servant of that Comic poet (so Hesychius) who was alleged to have assisted his master in the composition of his works, one Choerilus, into the compound Χοιριλο-εκφάντιδος. In Fr. 263 he introduces a new element into the name of Androcles the demagogue in order to make an 'occupational' joke against him, calling him Ἀνδροκολωνοκλής ("Androcles of Colonus", i. e. of the Κολωνός Ἀγοράς, where labourers were hired). The expanded name incorporates a sneer at the man's lowly origins and menial employment, as Cratinus saw them. In Frs. 69 and 401 Cratinus coins the names of personifications of Bribery and Corruption, Δωρώ (cf. δωρον) and Δεξίω (cf. δέχομαι). In the former case, by a distortion of a Hesiodic epithet of Hera, Bribery is described as συκοπέδιλος, "fig-sandalled", a hint at the blackmailing activities of the συκοφάνται. In Fr. 397 Cratinus conveys the voracity of a man's appetite by the coinage γαστροχάρυβδης ("having a Charybdis of a belly"), while in Fr. 419 he scornfully labels a catamite "Ionian-arsed" (Ἴωνόκυσος).

There is some evidence that Cratinus, like Aristophanes, occasionally used coined words in concentrations. For Aristophanic examples cf., for instance, Ra. 841f, where Aeschylus thus addresses Euripides:

σὺ δὴ με ταῦτ' ὦ στωμυλιοσυλλεκτῆδης
καὶ πτωχοποιεῖ καὶ ῥακιοσυρραπτῆδης;

Ach. 602-5 is another example:

τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ Ὠρέκης μισθοφοροῦντας τρεῖς δραχμῆς,
Τεισαμενοφαινίππους Πανουργιππαρχίδης,
ἑτέρους δὲ παρὰ Χάρητι τοὺς δ' ἐν Χάσειν,
Γερητοθεοδώρους Διομειγαλοζόνους

Some further striking concentrations of coined words can be found in Lys. 457-8, Ra. 837ff, Nu. 332f, Pax 810ff, Ra. 966. Two passages of Cratinus

reveal something of the same technique. One instance is the second line of Fr. 37: † τίς δὲ σὺ; † κομψός τις ἔροιτο Θεατής,

ὑπολεπτόλογος, γνωμοδιώκτης, Εὐριπιδαριστοφανίμων

All three words in the second line are hapax. For such a description using a concentration of rare or coined words cf. Plato Fr. 124. 2, viz.

τὸν ὑπηνόβιον σπαρτιοχαίτην ῥυποκόνδυλον ἔλκετριβωνν.

The other passage of Cratinus is Fr. 208, which builds up to a polysyllabic coinage of uncertain form and incorporates another coined word as the passage develops towards the climactic tricolon, viz. the invented compound νεοπλουτόπωνηρος. The corrupt word at the end of Fr. 208 is perhaps the most ambitious coinage of Cratinus now surviving, though a rival has now appeared in P^{ap}. Oxy. 2738 (Fr. 237 Austin), where Luppe emends and supplements the transmitted text to produce the form Γοργοδρακοντοδο(ρ)κ^αζ[α], which he renders "Gorgoschlängenbetrachterin" (literally, "Gorgo-on-snakes-onlooker"). The most substantial polysyllabic inventions in Old Comedy are now to be found in Aristophanes. Apart from the enormous compound in Ecc. 1169 ff, a word of twenty-six elements according to Meineke's emendation, there are coinages of five elements in Vesp. 220, 505 and Lys. 457. The only coinage outside Aristophanes in Old Comedy which has even four elements is that in Eupolis Fr. 129A, Ἀμφιπτολεμοπηδησίστρατος, which is actually cited for its polysyllabic proportions. Although Aristophanes has the most extravagant examples of the use of the polysyllable, he does not employ the technique of inventing such words more than two or three times a play on average (counting as invented polysyllables coined words of three or more elements), and so one would not expect the device to be very frequent in his rivals. Possible coinages of three or more elements outside Aristophanes are to be found in Cratin. 10, 208 (bis), 307, and Fr. 237 Austin, Crates 42, Pherecr. 130. 8, 195, Hermipp. 3, Eupolis 129A, 173, 256A, Philyl. 17, the dubiously ascribed Philonid. 15 (= Nicophon 22) and in Austin Fr. 220. 97 (διγκυσσοσλεύω : the fragment is tentatively ascribed to Strattis, but may be from a play of Cratinus). Our evidence

shows that there were a number of Old Comedians, most notably Cratinus, who at least occasionally employed the invented polysyllable. The coined word (λειριοπολφανεμώνη) in Pherecr. 130.8 is an interesting indication that Aristophanes was not the only Old Comedian to string together names of foodstuffs into rambling compounds in dietary passages.

Our fragments show that Cratinus not infrequently used coined words in abusive or censorious passages. Some of the examples already cited in other connections above are relevant here also, and there are other instances. In Fr. 71, for example, Pericles is described as σχινοκέφαλος ("squill-headed"), while in Fr. 240 he is κεφαληγερέτης ("head-gatherer" a pun on νεφεληγερέτης, an epithet of Zeus. Lampon in Fr. 62 is ἄγερσι-κύβηλις ("begging axe-wielder", i. e. begging priest, with reference to the sacrificial axe). Some persons are derided as ἄωρόλαιοι in Fr. 10 ("unseasonably beardless"). In Fr. 389 someone's effeminacy earns him the description ἄρρενωπῆς ("manly-looking woman"). With allusion to a passage of Homer, as we have seen¹², Cratinus calls his audience ἀχρειόγελως ("laughter-forcing") in Fr. 323.

These and other examples of Cratinean coinages testify to that Comedian's interest in verbal inventiveness. Cratinus seems also to have been fond of working proverbs into his text.¹³ Proverbs, like rare words, were particularly liable to be cited in later works, and we must be cautious in case the diligence of paroemiographers has given us a completely distorted impression. One can do something to restore one's sense of balance by checking how many proverbs occur in passages cited for the proverb itself, whereupon one learns that very few of the proverbs in the Old Comic corpus do occur without being specifically cited. The figures involved are in fact so small as to be meaningless as statistics, and one is forced to include specifically-cited proverbs in one's calculations. One sees at once that far more proverbs have been cited from Cratinus than from any other Old Comedian among Aristophanes' rivals, and one must

either conclude that the paroemiographers were especially thorough in quoting proverbs from Cratinus or else that there were more proverbs to quote, unless a measure of both be true. One is inclined to think that there must have been proverbs in greater numbers in Cratinus for so much interest to be drawn there at all, but one cannot demonstrate that the paroemiographers have not contrived to give a grossly misleading impression by quoting from Cratinus out of all proportion to the natural incidence of proverbs in the plays. They quote over twenty proverbs from the lost plays of Aristophanes, whereas four occur naturally, the latter being approximately the number that one would expect by analogy with the average number of proverbs in the extant plays of Aristophanes. In the fragments of Cratinus there are around thirty-five instances of proverbs or proverbial expressions (some dubious), of which only three occur altogether naturally. A glance at the appendix to this chapter will show that far fewer proverbs are cited from the other major Old Comedians, and the conclusion would be, if we could be sure that the paroemiographers have been evenly diligent, that proverbs were rather more in evidence in plays of Cratinus and Aristophanes, although not, of course, found more than a few times per play in either, and we should suspect that of all Old Comedians Cratinus was the most likely to incorporate proverbs into his plays (it is worth recalling that the fragments of Aristophanes are much more numerous than those of Cratinus, although a lot of them are not, especially substantial).

Let us consider how Cratinus used these proverbs. Fr. 52 is a good example of the simplest use of a proverb:

οἱ δὲ πῦππῆζουσι περιτρέχοντες, ὁ δ' ὄνος ὕεται.

The proverbial notion of being a donkey in rain was used of those who were unperturbed by or indifferent to some circumstance. Cephisodorus in Fr. 1 has the same proverb similarly used:

σκώπτεις μ', ἐγὼ δὲ τοῖς λόγοις ὄνος ὕομαι.

The proverb is something of a forceful colloquialism in context, but is

not a specific joke, of course. Quite a number of 'animal' proverbs are found in the Old Comic fragments. Crates, for example, uses the proverbial expression ὄσ διαὶ ῥόδων ("pig passing through roses") in Fr. 4 of the gauche and unteachable, of those with no appreciation of finer things; Strattis in Fr. 70 uses the proverb ὁ σκνιψὲς ἐν χώρῳ ("the tree-flea is at home"), apparently a saying applicable to those who could not settle; Diocles in Fr. 5 has the expression ἀλλεττι δ' ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἰκεστρεύς ("he's a leaping mullet with delight"). Cratinus in Fr. 31 speaks of the βούς ἐν αὐλίῳ ("the ox in the stall"), of one who is no longer of service; and in Fr. 311 someone declares that

ΚΟΚΚΥΪΕΙΝ Τὸν ἄλεκτρούον' οὐκ ἀνέχονταί

("They aren't letting the cock crow"). For a good Aristophanic example of this sort of proverb cf. Fr. 337, viz. λύκος ἔχωνεν ("he was the open-mouthed wolf", or "the wolf opened its jaws"), a saying used of those who have been disappointed of some gain or prize. Cf. also Ar. Fr. 523. The most famous of all Greek proverbs is found in Cratinus Fr. 33,

ΜΙΑ γὰρ χελιδὼν ἕαρ οὐ ποιεῖ

("One swallow does not make a spring"), a direct, gnomic use of the proverb, as far as we can tell. Fr. 16 gives us a little more context and allows us to feel something of the way in which the proverb was fitted into the play: ἐν καρὶ τὸν κίνδυνον ἐν ἐμοὶ δὴ δοκεῖ

πρῶτω πεπειρασθαι.

The allusion is to the proverbial idea of getting a Carian (mercenary or slave considered expendable) to face dangers before one faced them oneself ("try it on the dog" is our equivalent idea, as Prof. Dover reminds me) or generally of trying out a danger by proxy first. Someone in the play sees himself as having been cast in the role of the Carian in the proverb. As far as we can see, there is no really humorous point in the words, but it is conceivable that the speaker WAS a Carian slave or that there was some other special appropriateness in the use of the proverb. In Fr. 24 we may perhaps suspect a little more confidently that the proverb was humorously

appropriate in context, for someone sees that the old saying is true from what has just been recounted or observed in action, as it appears:

ἦν ἄρ' ἀληθὴς ὁ λόγος ὡς δὲ πᾶσι γέρων.

Theopompus in Fr. 69 has a similar assertion of the truth of the proverb:

δὲ πᾶσι δὲ οἱ γέροντες ὁρθῶ τῷ λόγῳ.

The saying was evidently a popular one in Old Comedy, for it occurs also in Ar. Fr. 378 and in Nu. 1417, where it is used as part of Pheidippides' justification for beating his father. Fr. 6 is interesting for the insight which it gives into Cratinus' use of the proverb:

εἶδες τὴν Θασίαν ἑλμην οἷ' ἄττα βαΐζει;
ὡς εὖ καὶ ταχέως ἀπετίσθητο καὶ παραχρήμα
οὐ μέντοι παρὰ κωφὸν ὁ τυφλὸς εἴοικε λαλῆσαι.

The "Thasian pickling-brine" is Archilochus, as many have observed, and the fact that his words have been so effective explains why he is said not to be dumb. It is Zielinski's very plausible conjecture (*Gliederung* 242) that the "blind man" is Homer, for whose apparent presence in Ἀρχιλόχοιοι cf. Diog. Laert. *Proem.* 12.⁴ If Zielinski is correct, then there is additional point in the proverb, for Homer was, of course, by tradition a blind poet.

As well as using proverbs in their true form Cratinus occasionally made a humorous substitution in the proverbial expression. An example is Fr. 4, where Cratinus has adapted for his purposes the proverbial εὐδοντι κύρτος ἄρει ("he sleeps while his weel traps its catch") into εὐδοντι πρωκτὸς ἄρει ("he sleeps while his arse-hole traps its catch"). By the substitution of πρωκτὸς for κύρτος Cratinus has changed the proverb into a homosexual joke against some catamite. Πρωκτὸς is something of a παράπροσδοκίαν substitution. Fr. 229 is a more complicated recasting of a proverbial idea, that of the donkey's inability to appreciate the lyre (ὄνος λύρας : sc. a verb of hearing). Cratinus combines with this notion the fact that losers in a game of ball were said to "sit down 'ὄνο,' " (so Schol. Plato *Theaet.* 146A) and produces

ὄνοι δ' ἀπωτέρω κέθονται τῆς λύρας

("they sit down 'donkeys' farther(or too far) from the lyre"). The reference would seem to be to persons defeated in some musical contest. Fr. 112 is a distortion of a proverb which appears in its true form in Fr. 352, viz.

Ψύρα τὸν Διόνυσον ἄγοντες ("considering Dionysus Psyra": Psyra was a small and infertile island the name of which was used as a type of what was worthless and contemptible; hence those that were slow to drink at parties were said to consider Dionysus Psyra). In Fr. 114 Cratinus adapts the proverb to Ψύρα τε τὴν Σπάρτην ἄγεις ("and you consider Sparta Psyra"), evidently with reference to someone who thought little of the Laconian city. Fr. 347 is Λέρνη θεατῶν ("a Lema of audience-members"), a distortion of Ἀργολικὴ Λέρνη κακῶν ("Argive Lema of ills"), referring, according to Hesychius, to the practice of depositing miscellaneous rubbish in the marsh. Cratinus presumably meant mischievously to equate the θεαταί and the κακά, as well as to suggest the vast encircling mass of spectators' faces. There is another good example of the distorted proverb in Fr. 169, quoted above, and there are less good examples in Fr. 76 and perhaps in Fr. 348. Fr. 303 may be intended to recall the saying

οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς εἰς Κορινθὸν εἶσθ' ὁ πλοῦς (dub.). Crat-

inus is not the only Old Comedian to use substitutions in proverbs. Eupolis, for example, adapts μὴ παιδί μαχίραρον ("don't entrust a knife to a child") in Fr. 90 and produces μὴ παιδί τὰ κοινά ("don't entrust public affairs to a child"). There seem to be further instances of the technique in Eup. Frs. 284 and 371, but in both cases there are difficulties of interpretation. There are further non-Aristophanic examples in Strattis Fr. 54, perhaps Theop. 6A and Adesp. 49, which is probably from some pre-Aristophanic comedy. Within Aristophanes the technique is not common, but is seen in use a handful of times. Probably the best instance is in Thesm. 528 ff, where the proverb ἐπὶ παντὶ λίθῳ σκορπίος is adapted to suit the situation:

τὴν παροιμίαν δ' ἐπαινῶ
τὴν παλαιάν· ἐπὶ λίθῳ γὰρ

παντί που χρή
μὴ δάκη ῥήτωρ ἄθρεϊν.

Cratinus may have used this technique somewhat more than Aristophanes and some of the other major Old Comedians (it is not now to be found in Plato or Pherecrates, but it is attested perhaps three times in Eupolis).

Imagery, then, verbal inventiveness, proverbs and word-play were important features in the technique of Cratinean Comedy.

Eupolis

Eupolis was not so verbally inventive as Cratinus. There are far fewer apparent coinages in his fragments, and only 4-7 of them appear without the benefit of specific citation.¹⁵ Nevertheless, his fragments include some memorable inventions, among them the polysyllable with the largest number of elements in the Old Comic corpus outside Aristophanes (Fr. 129A). He coins such words as *ταγηνοκνισοθήρας* ("hunter after the smell of the frying-pan") in Fr. 173, *κοιλιοδαίμων* ("one whose god is his belly": cf. such compounds as *σοροδαίμων*, *τρυγοδαίμων* and *κρονοδαίμων*) in Fr. 172, *ἀναχίππος* ("horseman by constraint") in Fr. 241A, *Δαμασικόνδυλος* ("Conquering-with-the-knuckles-Damastriatus") in Fr. 408, and *μιουσοδόνημα* ("poetic frenzy, Musical agitation") in Fr. 245. In Fr. 141 he describes a Peloponnesian obol as *καλλιχέλωνος* ("fair-tortoisid"), with reference to the design on the coin, while in Fr. 256A he invents the compound *σκευοφοριώτης* which is a conflation either of *σκευοφόρος* and *εἰραφιώτης* (an epithet of Dionysus), or else of *σκευοφόρος* and *στρατιώτης*. It may be. Fr. 2 has a lively coinage: *σὺ δ' ἀγιόζεις ἔνθα δὲ καθήμενος* ("...but you sit here and blether about goats!"). Eupolis' most daring surviving coinage is probably Fr. 436's *περιγαμφίδες* ("turns", "roundabouts of the pestle in the mortar"). Nevertheless, our general impression is that the plays of Eupolis did not contain coined words on the scale on which they seem to have been used by Cratinus. The proverb is also present on a reduced scale in Eupolis.¹⁶ Two of the best examples are in Frs. 261, *ὄνος*

ἀκροῦ ἀλπιγγός ("you're the ass hearing the trumpet"—from *Ταξίμαχοι* in which the unsoldierly Dionysus underwent training, the proverb parodying ὄνος λύρας, for which cf. Cratin. 229, or so one would surmise) and 269, Χίος δεσπότην ὠνήσατο ("the Chian bought a master"), but in general his employment of proverbs seems to have been more restrained than that of Cratinus—or Aristophanes.

Fr. 278 is an interesting piece of verbal humour:

ἔπειθ' ὁ κουρεύς τὰς μαχαίριδος λαβῶν
ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπήνης κατὰκερεῖ τὴν εἰσφορᾶν.

The word εἰσφορᾶν is substituted παρὰ προσδοκίαν for the sake of the social joke (the εἰσφορά was introduced—or reintroduced—by Cleon in 428). Instead of clipping superfluous hair from his customers' upper lips, the barber is here represented as trimming off the 'property-tax'. Fr. 31 seems also to be organised for verbal effect:

Πείσανδρος εἰς Πάκτωλον ἐστρατεύετο,
κένταυθα τῆς στρατιῆς κίκιστος ἦν ἀνήρ.

The first line is probably meant to sound as though an account of the devastation that Pisander was working on campaign should follow, but instead there is the bathetic statement that there was no coward to surpass him in the whole force. The stricter metre of the first line may be intended to assist the bathetic effect, while κίκιστος replaces the ἀριστος which we might have expected. Fr. 127 has another παρὰ προσδοκίαν substitution, while Fr. 361 is an example very similar to Nu. 177-9. Both passages end with an accusation that Socrates was a thief. The similarity between the two jokes impressed Schol. Nu., to whom we owe our fragment of Eupolis.

Eupolis did not neglect the pun. In Fr. 112, for instance, he revives the 'head' jokes against Pericles. More effectively, he makes a pun at Cleon's expense in Fr. 38:

πρῶτος γὰρ ἡμῖν, ὦ Κλέων,
χαίρειν προεῖπας, πολλὰ λυπῶν τὴν πόλιν.

The point is apparently that Cleon first used the salutation 'χαίρετε' in

an official communication (after the capture of Sphacteria in 425 B.C.). Eupolis contrasts the salutation "Rejoice" ("Greetings", etc.) with the ham that he claims Cleon did the city (no doubt he is thinking in more general terms than of the events at Pylos and Sphacteria, for even if Aristophanes and others —perhaps including Eupolis— begrudged Cleon the credit for the victory, the capture of the Spartan soldiers was a conspicuous success for Athens). Fr. 213 puns on the name Demos, a son of Pyrilampes, and the Athenian δῆμος. As in Aristophanes' 'Knights' (v. 43), the Athenian δῆμος is treated as rather deaf (i. e. to good sense), and the idea is behind the proverbial expression "have wax in the ears" in context. There are further examples of Eupolidean puns in Frs. 235, 404, 434 and weakly in 351 (with assonance, or rather rhyme, in l. 1).

Of particular interest is Fr. 110A Edm (Austin Fr. 92.1 sq.), which is built around a theme word, διαστρέφειν. The precise sense —or senses— of διαστρέφειν is —or are— obscure, and interpretations are varied. Wuest in Phil. 91 (1936) pp. 114-5 favours the sense "twist" (on the 'ladder', i. e. torture), a sense vaguely echoed by Page¹⁷ in his "put through the mill" and by Edmonds in his "make to squeal" (both reflecting a figurative notion of "torture": cf. the words that Dicaeopolis uses of his dismay at seeing that he must endure the music of Chaeris, viz.

τῆτες δ' ἀπέθανον καὶ διαστρέφην ἰδών, in Ach. 15).

Mayer¹⁸ and Maas¹⁹, however, win the approval of Demianczuk,²⁰ Schmid²¹ and others for their suggestion that διαστρέφειν has an obscene sense ("copulate with"). The simple verb στρέφειν is, of course, shown to be capable of bearing a reference to sexual intercourse in Pnerecr. Fr. 145. In our passage of Eupolis the best case for a sexual sense can be made for l. 8, where ὀλκᾶς is known to be a word that could, later at least, be used of a woman (as in A.P. 5.160). Jensen²², however, saw no such point and construed τῶν ὀλκᾶδων τιν' αὐτοῦ as the object of δειπνοῦντι and not διέστρεφεν (his explanation is quoted by Austin ad loc.). He took ὀλκᾶς in the sense of "food-vessel (ὀλκᾶς σιταγωγός)" in l. 7. Clearly, our int-

erpretation of this problematic fragment must be guided by the observ-
 ation that the passage is concerned with getting people who are well-off
 compared with the speakers to support (in particular, feed) those with less
 to eat. The word ' οὖν ' in l.11 appears to mark a transition from two an-
 ecdotal cases of people who have been subjected to τὸ διαστρέφασθαι
 to some cases of people who merit that fate. Pisander and Theogenes were
 greedy gluttons, the latter pretending to wealth he did not really have,
 Callias was a profligate millionaire, and Pauson a notorious starveling.
 Whatever the passage is taken to mean must make full sense in the light
 of those facts. Linguistically the most difficult line is l.8, where ἀπαξ
 caused Demianczuk doubts about the text (if correct it must = καθ' ἅπαρξ ,
 "once for all") and the imperfect διέστρεφεν is rather puzzling. Final
 agreement on the sense of the passage will be difficult to obtain, but to
 illustrate what I think may be the purport of the piece I give this
 provisional translation of Austin's text (ll.1-15), which is probably cor-
 rectly supplemented as far as it goes, though there are doubts about the
 first letters of ll.8-9. My translation of διαστρέφειν as "put through
 it", owing something verbally to Page, is meant to convey the sense of
 "pressurize" (force greater generosity to others) as well as "torture" in
 a figurative, and in Theogenes' case more literal, sense (cf. Ach.15, which,
 in spite of ἰδών , does not have to refer to having the eyes distorted,
 as LSJ take it, though it may do so):

"And what is more they say that Pisander was put through it ("was
 twisted") at his lunch yesterday when he declared that he wouldn't feed
 some guest-friend who hadn't a bite to eat. And Pauson came up on Theog-
 enes (the verb προσίστασθαι is appropriate also of wind, which may be of
 relevance here in the dietary context)²³ as he was dining to his heart's
 content on one of his cargo-carriers (i. e. on the food brought therein)
 and gave him a peeling (= thrashed him) and put him through it once for
 all, and Theogenes lay there collapsed in a heap,²⁴ farting the whole night
 long. We must first put Callias through it, then, and the people within the

long walls with him, for they have better lunches than we do, and Niceratus of Achamae..."

The passage is part of the antode of a parabasis. The 'theme-word' device is not Aristophanic, and is not attested again in the Old Comic fragments.

The imagery of Eupolis can be very amusing and vivid at times, and is sometimes used to embellish the political and sexual jokes of the poet. Eupolis does not seem to have produced the rather heavily-done images of which Cratinus was sometimes capable, but had a more consistently light touch. He was, however, probably a little less zestful than the elder Comedian in his use of words and verbal devices in general, if our fragments fairly represent him. Eupolis' most famous imagery is in Fr. 98, where he speaks of the eloquence of Pericles. I translate Edmonds' text:

"This man was the best speaker in the world. Whenever he came forward to speak, like a top-class runner he could give the orators a ten feet start and still speak fast enough to catch them up.

B: A swift-speaker you call him, and so he was; but besides that swiftness of his there was a power of conviction that sat on his lips, so did he beguile us, and he alone of the orators left his sting in those who heard him."

The image of persuasion sitting upon Pericles' lips is adapted by Aristophanes in Ra. 679 ff, where it is not Persuasion, but a Thracian swallow that makes its din from the barbarizing lips of Cleophon. Three homely images adorn Eupolis' eulogy. The first, from the race, conveys the speed with which Pericles spoke (so explicitly l. 4); the second is an image from the perching of a bird on a branch; the third from the sting of the bee, used to convey the enduring effect of what Pericles said. The light simplicity of the imagery well conveys the whole-hearted admiration of the speakers for Pericles and gives the lines great charm. Fr. 207 describes another orator, but likens him to a puppy running to and fro on a wall and yapping away. The speaker's excited movements (not surely in a public speaker)²⁵ and possibly harsh voice seem to have prompted the comparison:

Συρκόσιος δ' ἔοικεν, ἤνικ' ἔν λέγῃ,
 τοῖς κυνιδίοισι τοῖσιν ἐπὶ τῶν τείχιων.
 ἀναβὰς γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμ' ἔλαικτεῖ περιτρέχων

Fr. 223 has a memorable image: ἀνδρες λογιστῶν τῶν ὑπευθύνων χορῶν ("auditors of the accounts which choruses must render..."). The audience (or perhaps the judges in particular) are seen as the λογιστῶν (auditors) who must examine the accounts of the dramatic choruses, that is assess the merit of their performances. The metaphor is borrowed from public life at Athens, where certain magistrates were liable to submit accounts for scrutiny on relinquishing office and were said to be ὑπεύθυνοι or subject to this scrutiny. Some of the striking sexual, excretory and dietary imagery of Eupolis has already received comment in the chapter "Physical Humour". Such fragments as 48, 52, 158, 162, 163, 198, 206, 223, 224 and 284 are discussed there. The personification of the cities in Πόλεις has also been considered already.²⁶ One might add here the more limited personification, or rather humanisation, in Fr. 1, where someone is talking of goats and tells of the way they will let their goatherd know if they fall ill and warn him of the approach of a wolf. Fr. 37 combines personification with a touch of ironical self-denigration:

ἀνδρες ἑταῖροι, δεῦρ' ἤδη τὴν γνώμην προσίσχετε,
 εἰ δυνατόν, καὶ μὴ τι μείζον πρᾶττουσα τυγχάνει.

Eupolis playfully allows for the possibility that his audience may have found something more interesting to attend to than his play. By making the γνώμη itself the subject of τυγχάνει he gives the audience's mental faculties an amusing independent existence. The γνώμη may not, as it were, be willing to be turned to what Eupolis' chorus have to say.

Among condemnatory and abusive images the following impress themselves upon one. Fr. 205 deplores the choice of men as generals who would once never have made the grade as wine-inspectors. Fr. 103.8 Edm speaks of choosing καθάρματα as generals, that is men who might more appropriately have served the city as scapegoats. Fr. 116 is severely critical of the

sons of Hippocrates, who were derided in several other passages of Old Comedy for their ugliness and stupidity. Combining a number of conjectures I tentatively adopt this text:

<...> Ἱπποκράτους τε παῖδες ἐκβόλιμοί τινες,
βληχχτὰ <γε> τέκνα κοῦδαμῶς τ(οῦμ)οῦ τρόπου

("...and some prematurely-dropped sons of Hippocrates, bleating sheep of children and not^{at} all my kind of men"). Ἐκβόλιμοι, if correct, seems to suggest that some accident of birth accounted for the stupidity of these great-nephews of Pericles, while τινες perhaps indicates that they are grudgingly included in a list of the surviving family of the great statesman.

Of sundry other images of Eupolis, the following are worthy of mention. Fr. 19 calls Hipponicus ἱερεὺς Διονύσου on account of his red face (and hair, as he was called 'Scythian' on this account elsewhere)²⁷. The point was presumably to allege that he was red-faced because he was a drunkard, so devoted to wine as to seem the very priest of Dionysus. There was apparently a further joke in context, some pun it would seem, but Schol. Ar. Ra. 308 does not make the matter clear. Fr. 93 describes a man as being an octopus in his ways, which means that he was adaptable (cf. esp. Theognis 213ff, Pindar Fr. 43 and Soph. Fr. 286 Nauck). Alcaeus Comicus Fr. 1 draws on the same notion of the adaptability of the octopus (i. e. of the colour of its skin) and of the way in which a man can make his mind equally adaptable. If the line of Alcaeus preserved the general attitude that such adaptability was a virtue, then Kock is right to suggest that there was a negative to qualify ἡλίθιον in context. The sense would then be

"(not)... to be foolish and to have the mind of an octopus."

Eupolis Fr. ¹¹⁷103. 6 speaks of the veneration in which the noble-born generals of the Athens of earlier days were held in the following terms:

οἷς ὡσπερὶ θεοῖσιν ἠύχόμεσθα· καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν.

Kock offers Homeric parallels for this simile, expressive of extreme respect and admiration. Eupolis employs a vivid metaphor in Fr. 283, reinforced

ed with a vigorous oath:

ἀλλ' ὦ φίλε Ζεῦ, κατέχυτλον τὴν ῥῖν' ἔχεις.

The person addressed may have a heavy cold (so Meineke²⁸ and Edmonds) and may have just sneezed, or perhaps he is bleeding heavily from the nose after a blow in the face. Fr. 288 has an image from a game in which knuckle bones and similar objects were thrown into a circle. The fragment is discussed above.²⁹ As a result of a jocular misunderstanding there is imagery from the same game in Fr. 250, where the speakers are Phormio and (?) Dionysus: (Phormio) οὐκ οὖν περιγράφεις ὅσον ἐν ῥιστῶν κύκλον;

(Dionysus?) τί δ' ἔστιν; εἰς ὠμιλλαν ἑριστήσομεν;
ἢ κόψομεν τὴν μῆζαν ὥσπερ ὄρτυγα;

Dionysus (if it is he) does not see the point of Phormio's instruction and makes homolochic inferences as to the purpose of the circle which he has been asked to trace out. Is it to play the role of the circle in the game εἰς ὠμιλλαν, or is it to be the circle used in quail-filling? The image of filling the barley-loaf like the quail (for the procedure in quail-filling see Rogers ad Ar. Av. 1299) is effectively ludicrous. Fr. 231 has the image of the sycophant-scorpions and sycophant-vipers of Tenos, whereas Chios in Fr. 232 is as obedient as a horse that requires no use of the whip. Fr. 356 reflects on how time brings change and ends with the statement μένει δὲ χρῆμα, οὐδὲν ἐν ταυτῷ ῥυθμῷ.

The metaphor is, of course, from music. Fr. 355 has a simile from wine and uses a Thracian word, ζήλας (wine), evidently familiar at Athens. The precise sense is open to question, but Kock's emendation and interpretation are plausible, according to which the fragment draws a comparison with the effect of mixing the Attic nature and Thracian wine. Fr. 338 speaks of bodies as smooth as those of eels; Fr. 320 draws a comparison with a wind suddenly turned violent; in Fr. 318 some old man asks whether he is to be branded useless like cavalry horses which were past service. Fr. 124 asks why someone is yelling out like Demostrius when he's the victim of injustice. The nickname Βουζύγης is used for the vociferous orator, who was

evidently so irascible that he earned also the nickname *Χολοβύγης* (Lys. 37). Fr. 130 Edm (116K) is textually dubious, but clearly has imagery from the offering of a lamb at a phratry initiation ceremony. On Kock's interpretation (less bold and hypothetical than Edmonds') there is a declaration that from that time no general was able to outweigh "this man's" victory (i. e. that of Miltiades at Marathon?), feasting the city on his deed like a father offering a lamb at a phratry-initiation. Fr. 215 is a simile that epitomises Eupolis' virulent censure:

ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τὴν Λύκωνος ἔρρει πᾶς ἄνθρωπος.

The notorious Rhodia, wife of Lycon, is derided as a faithless harlot. In view of the *τῆνδε* in Fr. 268 it is probable that Kock is correct in seeing a metaphor there. Some old man is advised that he has taken on more than he can cope with, it would seem:

οὐκ ἐσωφρόνησας, ὦ πρεσβύτερα, τὴν κατὰστασιν
τῆνδε λαμβάνειν ἄφνω πρὶν καὶ μαθεῖν τὴν ἱππικὴν.

I have mentioned the possible sexual sense of this fragment above.²⁰ I might mention also Fr. 105 as an example of Eupolis' imagery. There he takes metaphors from the gushing of water and from the budding of plants to express revitalisation: ἀναβλυστονῆσαι καὶ χλοῆσαι τὴν πόλιν.

Photius treats the first word as a parodic invention (= ἀναβλύζω), and it seems that Eupolis meant to overdo the imagery here, perhaps to convey a mood of enthusiasm in the speaker, which would account for the confused and bizarre imagery of the line. Fr. 286 has a metaphor which is found in a more elaborate form in Ar. *Ach.* 3: Eupolis speaks of "sand-grain-hundreds" (i. e. 'umpteen'-hundreds) of audience members. Fr. 309 is a striking example of a common metaphorical usage of βλέπειν: συνέτυχεν ἐξιόντι μοι

ἄνθρωπος ἄποφρᾶς καὶ βλέπων ἀπιστίαν

("as I was coming out I met with an inauspicious-looking fellow with untrustworthiness all over his face"). Some further examples of vivid language in Eupolis are Fr. 181.7 (φρενοβλαβής—"deranged"—a stronger word than *μεινόμενος* or suchlike), Fr. 187 (περιήλθομεν καὶ φύλον ἄμφ-

ορεαφόρων — "we've been round a very tribe of jar-bearers"), Fr. 221 (σῆπροι — "mouldies" (Edmonds) — cf. Taillardat para. 56 for this common Comic metaphor) and Fr. 206 (οὐκ ἀπολιβύξεις — "drip off!"). Fr. 347 employs the expressive noun βρυγμός ("munching"), used of loud and vigorous eating. In the same fragment the word κοπετός seems to denote (unusually) the rattling of knives upon plates and similar noises made in the course of eager cutting of food. The word derives from the root of the verb κόπτειν, but normally refers to (blows of) lamentation. Edmonds' "clattering" must here express the approximate sense. Frs. 148 and 272 are further examples of the use of expressive descriptions of the consumption of food or drink. Fr. 329A is an impatient execration: οὐκ ἐς κόρακας, ἀνθρωπάριον, ἀποφθερέϊ; ("Get away and feed yourself to the ravens, damn you, you little squirt!"). The diminutive is quite obviously contemptuous. Fr. 330 embodies what seems to have been a colloquialism, although it is not found elsewhere. The phrase in question, οὐδ' ἐγκάφος ("not a mouthful, not a morsel") is similar to μηδὲ τάγυρι in Fr. 3, which is again the only passage where the expression is seen in use. Herodian speaks of τάγυρι as a foreign word. Perhaps it was a vulgarity originally of foreign origin. It may be that it was especially associated with the kind of person who was speaking (? the rustic in *Αἴγες*): καὶ ζῆν μισθόντι μηδὲ τάγυρι μουσικῆς ("... and to live without a scrap (e.g.) of knowledge of culture"). Fr. 293 has a strengthened form of λάβρος (κατάλαβρος is hapax) and a humorous superlative: ὦ κατάλαβρ', ὦ κιθαροιδότατε. The superlative is also in Ar. *Vesp.* 1278, which probably post-dates the play of Eupolis (Χρυσοῦν γένος) from which Fr. 293 derives.

Such, then, is Eupolis, a Comedian capable of employing lively and entertaining images from various sources, rich in imagination and felicitous in expression. Less interested in coining new words than Cratinus and apparently rather less fascinated by proverbs, he was nevertheless alive to the potential of the pun and of the πᾶρα προσδοκίαν joke, and his imagery avoids the impression of being somewhat heavily-wrought which one occas-

ionally receives from metaphors in Cratinus. Eupolis' style has a more sophisticated lightness (and greater evenness) than that of Cratinus, who arguably shows greater fervour in his use of words and word-play, but whose zeal and vigour do not always enable him to compare favourably with the urbanity and greater control of Eupolis. Not that Cratinean Comedy cannot be urbane and controlled, but there are times when it does not seem entirely free of rawness.

Pherecrates

Quite a large number of words in the fragments of Pherecrates may, as we have seen,³¹ be coinages, but they are not for the most part as striking as many of the probable coinages of Cratinus. There are four titles which are or may be coinages, viz. Ἀνθρωποφρακλής ("the Human Heracles"), Δουλοδιδάσκαλος ("Slave-instructor", but the word does recur in Procopius), Μυρμηκῶν ἄνθρωποι ("Ant-men") and Ψευδηρακλής ("Bogus-Heracles"). A number of Pherecrates' apparent coinages are vaguely 'dietary'. The most striking is Pherecrates' polysyllable λειριοπολφανεμώνη ("Lily-polphus (a farinaeous food)-anemone") in Fr. 130.8. In the same context is the adjective πολύτυρος ("rich in cheese").³² Fr. 143.5³³ has the word γαστροίδης or γαστροίης ("belly-shaped") of a cup, while Fr. 108.13 has δλόκνημος ("with the whole shin"). Fr. 82 (cf. 74) has ἀμάχηρος ("knifeless")—while in the same context we find ἀνόδοντος, a byform of ἀνόδων ("toothless"), probably not—I suspect—an invention of Pherecrates, but now found only in his fragments (82 and 74). The image in Fr. 95's ἐκχάρυβδιζω ("swallow down like Charybdis") is like that in Cratinus Fr. 397 (γαστροχάρυβδης). Λαρυγγικός in Fr. 32 ("concerned with the gullet") is used like a technical description of the "mercenary" Σαικύθαιον, a parasite:

Α σὺ δ' οὐχὶ θᾶττον, Σμικυθίων, ἐπισιτιεῖ;
 Β τίς δ' οὗτος ὑμῖν ἐστί; Α τοῦτον πανταχοῦ
 ἄγω λαρυγγικόν τιν' ἐπὶ μισθῷ ξένον.

I take it that the last line is worded so that ξένος may suggest both

"foreigner"(mercenary) and "guest", while ἐπὶ μισθῷ would mean "operating for pay" of a mercenary and more generally "on the make", I suspect, of the parasite. In line 2, incidentally, ἡμῖν ("Who have we here?") might make better sense than ὑμῖν ("Who's this you people have with you?"), but ὑμῖν is our transmitted text. In Fr. 230 σινεμώρευμα ("stolen dainty") is another hapax, but cognates of the word are attested, and Pherecrates may not have invented the noun. In Fr. 208 ἐγρηγόρειος ("keeping one awake") is formed from the noun ἐγρηγόρειος ("wakefulness") and seems perhaps to have been used of a foodstuff (cf. Et.M. 312.18, which gives us the fragment). The idea may have been of a food that caused indigestion. In Fr. 16 γλευκαγωγός ("carrying fresh wine") is a hapax, but not necessarily an invented word. Two coinages in Fr. 64 are feminine equivalents of familiar masculine nouns. Pherecrates' chorus declare, in Eupolideans,

αὐτίκ' οὐδείς οὔτε μαγείρηναν εἶδε πώποτε
οὔτε μὴν οὔδ' ἰχθυοπώλιναν

("For a start, no one has ever yet seen a 'butcheress' or for that matter even a 'fishmongeress' "). In Fr. 141B στρατηγίς is used as a female equivalent of στρατηγός (i. e. = "general"). The word is so used again in Ar. Ecdl. 835 and 870. Whether Pherecrates originally invented this use of the word or whether it existed as a substantive before his day in this sense is uncertain, for, if the fragment of Pherecrates did not exist, we should be tempted to presume that Aristophanes invented the substantive use of the word, which should lead us to be cautious. In Fr. 172B the insulting coinage ἀνδροκάπριναν ("sow that lusts for men") is inspired by a metaphor that was apparently in fairly common use (cf. Hemipp. 10 and Phryn. 33). All three passages make it clear that to the Greeks the sow was a type of lustfulness (cf. also the verb καπρίω ("went the boar") in Ar. Plutus 1024). Cf. Taillardat para. 303. Of the remaining possible coinages of Pherecrates, the most interesting are κλεπτίσης ("Thiefson, son of a thief") in Fr. 219, a comic patronymic, ταχέωστί ("in quick wise"), probably a parodic coinage on the lines of μεγαλωστί (itself an epic, Ionic and late prose word), in Fr. 239, πολλαγόρατος ("much-buying") in Fr. 126,

κραπαταλίης ("worthless or silly fellow") in Fr. 99 (with the often pejorative termination —ίης), στομοδόικος ("endowed with a mouth, loquacious" — aptly.) in Fr. 234, and ὑοσκυαμῶ (—έω in Hsch., "be mad from taking henbane") in Fr. 72. The word πρωτόβαθρος ("front-row-man", of a juror) in Fr. 226 is hapax, but perhaps not an invention, for the cognate verb πρωτοβαθρεύω is found in the Septuagint (Lxx. Es. 3.1). The verb ἀποτυλόω in Fr. 204 is taken by LSJ and Edmonds to denote masturbation, but Pollux explains it as the act of baring the glans penis, retracting the foreskin. The verb is not middle but active, and it may be that manual caress of a partner's penis was in question (the fact that Pollux does say τῇ χειρὶ makes it difficult to see the verb used as in Lys. 953, where ἀποδείρωσ' denotes "made ψωλός" (sc. with desire). At any rate, the verb corresponds to the use of τυλός of the glans penis and recurs in AB 423, which makes it likely that the word was a rare vulgarism and not a coinage of Pherecrates. The verb τυλόω is found in Erycius (cited by Meineke II p. 356) in the phrase εὖ τετυλωμένον ὄπλον ("well-hardened or well-knobbed weapon"), said of the male organ. In Fr. 14 Bergk³⁴ and Meineke³⁵ are probably right to conjecture φιλορχικός ("dance-loving") as an epithet of the dancer sons of Carcinus. The transmitted φιλορχικός ("given to ambitions") seems a much less likely description of them. A few other words, in particular compounds of verbs which are found only in Pherecrates, may or may not be coinages. It is more likely that they are not, and in any case they are of slight significance.

Pherecrates' fragments include a modest sprinkling of proverbs, but the type of joke in which a proverb is re-applied with a humorous substitution is not clearly attested. The nearest example is Fr. 134, where the proverbial idea of hurrying to Colonus underlies the passage. There was a saying, ὄψ' ἦλθες, ἀλλ' ἔς τὸν Κολωνὸν ἔεσο ("You've come late, but hasten to Colonus"), said of those applying for hire. The Colonus where labourers were hired was that in the market-place; there was another, the Colonus of Sophocles' play "Oedipus at Colonus", which was an Attic deme

sacred to the hero Colonus (ἵπποτης Κολωνός in Soph. O.C. 59). Pherecrates' passage anticipates confusion between the two (the second speaker's opening words suggesting the proverb), and there is a prompt attempt to forestall any misunderstanding. The second speaker wants it understood that he is not offering himself for hire as a labourer:

Α οὗτος πρόθεν ἦλθες; Β εἰς Κολωνόν ἰέμεν,
οὐ τὸν ἀγοραῖον, ἀλλὰ τὸν τῶν ἵππέων.

Other proverbial allusions are to be found in Frs. 15, 35, 124 and 144, with a semi-proverbial allusion in Fr. 39 (last line).

Fr. 155 has a sort of oxymoronic pun aimed at Alcibiades:

οὐκ ὦν ἀνὴρ γὰρ Ἀλκιβιάδης, ὡς δοκεῖ,
ἀνὴρ ἀπασῶν τῶν γυναικῶν ἐστὶ νῦν.

The allusion could be to Alcibiades' indecently youthful liaisons with the opposite sex (cf. Lys. XIV 25 and the similar charge against Cleophon in Plato Fr. 59) rather than to a graduation from playing the catamite to playing the paramour. Athenaeus cites the fragment simply to show that Alcibiades was ἀκόλαστος πρὸς γυναῖκας (a sense which the second line must bear in either case). Meineke (II p. 342) offers no interpretation; Kock cites passages of Suetonius (on Julius Caesar) to support the second interpretation; Edmonds' translation and comment assume the former explanation. Kock's view is preferable. Not only can ὡς δοκεῖ then belong in sense to the first statement (a better rhythm than one would obtain if the words had to qualify the second line), but the νῦν in the second line has more point if one accepts the theory of a graduation from homosexual to heterosexual activities. Furthermore, Aeschines I 167 has the same ἀνὴρ / οὐκ ἀνὴρ contrast in a clearly homosexual context (of Demosthenes, who has the effrontery, according to Aeschines, to slander a true man, though he is no man himself). At any rate, the pun is clear. Pherecrates has another verbal joke in Fr. 70. 2 (for the whole fragment cf. above):

ὑδαρῆ ἔχεέν σοι; — παντάπασι μὲν οὖν ὕδωρ.

The second speaker's impatient words pick up and intensify the first

speaker's. The forceful tone and the verbal echo (as well as the dietary joke) contribute to the humorous effect of the reply. Fr. 141 has an etymological play on *λοχῶντες πρὸς τοῖς βωμοῖς* and *βωμολόχοι*, amounting to a kind of pun. Some god is explaining how Zeus erected a massive chimney in the heavens to prevent the gods from earning the reputation of being *βωμολόχοι* from constantly lying in wait by altars to claim their sacrifices. The most basic sense of *βωμολόχος* implied (i. e. one who waits around the altars to beg scraps from the sacrifices or steal therefrom, LSJ 1) has its nearest parallel in Manetho *Astrologus* 5.119. Elsewhere the word signifies one who indulges in unseasonable and insensitive humour. For the double entendre of the long Fr. 145 cf. above,³⁶ as for the possibility that Fr. 102 may be a hint of a 'χοῖρος' scene, with all the consequent puns.³⁷ The word-play and imagery of Fr. 108. 26-28 are considered above also,³⁸ while the possibility of double entendre in Fr. 131 receives attention elsewhere also.³⁹ Fr. 145 is, of course, one of our best examples of non-Aristophanic double entendre in the Old Comic corpus. Fr. 1 depends on an ironic comment for its humour, along with ludicrous hyperbole. The first speaker is a gluttonous parasite, it seems, trying to tone down his avarice. The five half-medimni are about 120 men's rations:

ἔγὼ κατεσθίω μόλις τῆς ἡμέρας
 πενθ' ἡμιμέδιμν', εἴην βιόζωμαι. β, μόλις;
 ὡς ὀλιγόσιτος ἦσθ' ἄρ', ὅς κατεσθίεις
 τῆς ἡμέρας μακρᾶς νεὼς τὰ σιτία.

The word *ὀλιγόσιτος* is also in Phrynich. Com. Fr. 23, again in irony it would seem: ὁ δ' ὀλιγόσιτος Ἡρακλῆς ἐκεῖ τί δρᾷ;

"Heraclides" is there apparently used metaphorically of a ravenous eater.

Fr. 149 of Pherecrates depends upon a non-Homeric interpretation of *Λεσβίδας*: the Lesbians were notoriously associated with the practice of fellatio in Old Comedy (cf. *Thesp.* 35, *Strattis* 40, *Ar. Vesp.* 1345). The first line is intended to recall *Iliad* 9. 270, where Odysseus conveys Agamemnon's promise of gifts to Achilles, but it is unwise of Meineke⁴⁰ and Edmonds to

presume that Odysseus and Achilles are the speakers here: someone is quite possibly just receiving the same offer as Achilles, but interpreting it differently. He thinks of the sexual potential of seven girls of Lesbos: δώσει δέ σοι γυναίκας ἑπτὰ Λεσβίδας.

B καλόν γε δῶρον ἔπτ' ἔχειν λαϊκαστρίας.

I think Norwood⁴¹ probably mistaken in taking the comment as contemptuous, for the Greeks were aware of the sexual pleasure that fellatio could bring and could esteem the practice: cf. Pax 854f.

The imagery in the fragments of Pherecrates is often not particularly memorable or impressive, but he does produce some entertaining similes and metaphors. Fr. 51, for example, makes quite effective use of the relatively trite metaphor of the flood of words (for which cf. on Cratin. Fr. 186 above)⁴². The text at the beginning is doubtful, but some woman is complaining that whether she is silent or speaks out, she cannot please her husband. In the one case he chokes with vexation (for πνίγεσθαι so used cf. Antiphanes Fr. 171. 2), while if his wife opens her mouth he declares,

οἶμοι τέλας ... χαράδρα κατελήλυθεν

For the metaphorical use of χαράδρα cf. Ar. Vesp. 1034 and Pax 757. Fr. 155B produces a vivid image in its description of a blow delivered by Achilles

ὃ δ' ἄρ' Ἀχιλλεύς εὖ πὶ κόρρης αὐτόθεν
ἐπάταξεν, ὥστε πῦρ ἀπέλαμψ' ἐκ τῶν γνάθων.

Pherecrates can make quite effective use of dietary imagery. His 'Golden Age' fragments have already been discussed in detail above.⁴³ The imagery of Fr. 145, which is in sexual double entendre, has similarly been considered already,⁴⁴ and the description of the women's cups in Fr. 143 ("...like wine-transport, well-rounded, thin-sided, hollow and belly-shaped...") is noticed above also.⁴⁵

Among miscellaneous images one might notice the following. In Fr. 202D there is the metaphor of blood boiling in rage (ἀνέβρασεν αἷμα). The compound verb is not uncommonly so used in later Greek, while the basic im-

age of boiling with rage is well-attested: cf. Taillardat para. 352. The metaphor was probably fairly commonplace to Pherecrates. Fr. 69 speaks of being "boiled through" (διέφθορος), with reference to being over-heated and dehydrated after a hot bath. The image is a homely and no doubt colloquial one. Fr. 29A is ἀνὴρ ἀναρριπίζεται ("The man is being fanned to flame"). Metaphorical examples of the use of the verb ἀναρριπίζειν are found in several passages of late Greek and also in Antiphanes Fr. 202.16. The image is of rekindling or fanning to vigour some glowing embers, and the point in the Pherecrates context would be that the man's temper was being roused. Taillardat in para. 348n. adduces parallels for this interpretation. The moralising Fr. 146, in which an old man contrasts his youthful with his present ways, has three metaphors, one from the wrapping of foodstuffs or other articles, one from the use of water for washing the hands at the dining-table (cf. Teleclid. Fr. 1. 2), and one from weaving (cf. Plb. 3. 32. 3, Cicero Att. 14. 16. 3). For the omission of ὕδωρ in the words κατὰ χεῖρὸς ἦν τὰ πράγματα (α) cf. Alexis Fr. 261. 2, for example (κατὰ χεῖρὸς ἔδοθη) for Philonides Fr. 4A, and for the whole phrase cf. the passages quoted in Blaydes' note on Ar. Vesp. 1216. The old man in Pherecrates says

εἰκῆ μ' ἐπήρας ὄντα τηλικουτονὶ
πολλοῖς ἐμαυτον ἐγκυλίσει πράγμασιν.
ἐγὼ γὰρ, ὦνδρες, ἠνίκ' ἦ νεώτερος,
ἐδόκουν μὲν ἐφρόνουσιν δ' οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ πάντα μοι
κατὰ χεῖρὸς ἦν τὰ πράγματα ἐνθυμουμένω.
νῦν δ' ἄρτι μοι τὸ γῆρας ἐντίθησι νοῦν,
<καὶ> κατὰ μίτον τὰ πράγματα ἐκλογίζομαι.

The old man contrasts the readiness with which he involved ("enveloped") himself in trouble in his earlier days with the much more circumspect attitude that he takes in later life. The metaphor in κατὰ χεῖρὸς conveys the slight regard which he had for the magnitude or number of the problems which he was taking on. His problems were "water over the hands", that

is they little bothered him. The final metaphor (κατὰ μίτον ... ἐκλογίζομαι) stresses the very close analysis to which he now subjects any problem before he tackles it, now that age has given him more sense. The metaphors are clearly felt appropriate to conversational Greek.

Fr. 21 is presumably a metaphor: cf. Plutarch 2.1033e (reporting Aristotle on Chrysippus), viz. τῶν Ἀκαδημαϊκῶν στραγγαλίδων κοπίδα ("a knife for the Academic knots"). The verb στραγγαλίω is also found metaphorically in Plutarch 2.618f. To what precisely the metaphor, if it be such, in Pherecrates refers we can but guess (as Kock and Edmonds do). The general purport must be that the people addressed caused difficulties, set problems or put obstacles in the way of the resolution of some problem:

ὑμεῖς γὰρ εἰ στραγγαλίδος ἐσφίγγετε.

Fr. 13 has the well-used image of the hunger of the polypus; Fr. 147 draws an analogy with side-dishes; Fr. 150 has a simile from the forcing of a partridge from its nest (so Edmonds), perhaps with reference to the proverb πέρδιξ ὄρουσον (cf. Ar. Fr. 523). Fr. 135 makes a comparison deliberately insulting to the effeminate Clisthenes:

ἀλλ' ὦ περιστέριον ὁμοῖον κλεισθένει

Presumably what Clisthenes (I accept the emendation of Καλλισθένει to Κλεισθένει suggested by Porson and Emsley⁹⁶) had in common with the dove was that both were considered delicate, feminine creatures. Fr. 19 complains of the ambivalence of Argos in the war:

οὔτοι γὰρ ἡμῖν οἱ κακῶς ἀπολούμενοι
ἐπαμφοτερίζουσ' ἐμποδῶν κτθήμενοι

("Sit in our way" means "obstruct us", as in Pax 473.) For the sentiment, as well as the image, cf. Ar. Pax 473-7. The relationship in date between 'Peace' and Αὐτόμολοι cannot be certainly decided, as Pherecrates' fragment could belong to the period of the Archidamian War or else to 417 B.C., just after Argos' threefold change of side in the previous year.

Pherecrates, then, has left considerable evidence of an interest in invented words, although his coinages are not often of the most memorable;

he has a few proverbs, but does not use them —if our sources give anything like a true impression—on the scale of Cratinus; he employs double entendre on a large scale in Fr. 145, but is somewhat repetitive there, while a few fragments bear witness to an employment of the pun. There is no clear example of a *παρὰ προσδοκίαν* joke. In his use of imagery Pherecrates is probably seen at his best in his surviving 'Golden Age' fragments, 108 and 130 in particular, and has some images elsewhere of a light and often colloquial sort which add flavour to his style, but he does not seem to have depended heavily on enterprise or skill in his employment of metaphor and simile save in certain set-pieces, where he intensifies his style.

Plato

Plato's imagery appears to have been more ambitious than that of Pherecrates and seems to have made a greater contribution to his overall technique. Consider, for instance, his description of Cinesias in Fr. 184:

ΜΕΤὰ ταῦτα δὲ
 παῖς οἰάγρου ἢκ Πλευρίτιδος Κινησίας,
 σκελετός, ἄπυγος, κελύμινον σκέλη φορῶν,
 φθόγης προφήτης, ἐσχάρας κεκαυμένος
 πλείστου ὑπ' Εὐρυφῶντος ἐν τῷ σώματι.

Plato's brutal ridicule of Cinesias' extreme thinness uses several images. Cinesias is said to be Oeagnus' son by Pleurisy (accepting Kock's inspired conjecture *οἰάγρου* for the transmitted *εὐτόγρου*), which means that he was a wasted latter-day Orpheus, for Oeagnus was the legendary singer's sire. The technique of inventing such a parentage for a person whom one wished to censure is the same as that in Cratinus Frs. 240 and 241, where Pericles is son of *Στάσις* ("Faction") and Aspasia daughter of *καταπυγούνη* ("Shameless Lust"). The word *σκελετός* likens Cinesias to a withered mummy, possibly the same image as in Phrynichus 69, where Lamprus is derided in rather more obscure metaphors by Plato's rival. Cf. above⁴⁷ for

the possibilities there. Καλόμινα ("reed-like") compares Cinesias' slight legs to reeds, an obvious simile, while Φθόγης προφήτης ("harbinger of Consumption") is a figurative way of stating that Cinesias was wasted as though by some such disease as consumption, the advent or presence of which a glance at him foretold. The last phrase of the fragment seems to explain certain scabs on Cinesias' body as the result of cauterisation by the doctor Euryphon (ἔσχαρος being internal accusative: "his body marked with numerous scabs from Euryphon's cautery"), presumably a humorous explanation of the poor state of Cinesias' skin. The concentration of imagery or intensification of language in a comic description of a person is, of course, exactly what one would expect when the poet wishes to produce a colourful or memorable picture of an individual within a short compass. The most celebrated Aristophanic example is the portrait of Cleon in Vesp. 1031 ff and Pax 754 ff. Phrynichus 69 is another very striking example. In Fr. 124 (for which cf. above)⁴⁸ Plato has another concentrated description. Fr. 186 uses a mythological allusion in a complaint that one cannot be rid of public-speakers, who appear in ever-increasing numbers on the political scene:

ἦν γὰρ ἀποθήνη
 εἰς τις πονηρός, δὴ' ἀνέφυσαν ῥήτορες.
 οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἡμῶν ἰόλεως ἐν τῇ πόλει,
 ὅστις ἐπικαύσει τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν ῥητόρων.
 κεκολλόπτευκας· τοιγαροῦν ῥήτωρ ἔσει.

The allusion is to the slaying of the Hydra by Heracles and Iolaus, to achieve which Iolaus cauterised each severed head of the Hydra to prevent double re-growth. There is no one to do the same to stem the increase in the number of public speakers. The last line depends on the common assumption that an apprenticeship as a catamite was the ideal training in the utter shamelessness and moral depravity which seemed to the average Athenian to characterize all too many minor public figures.⁴⁹ Aristophanes expresses the laymen's inference succinctly in Eccl. 111 ff:

λέγουσι γὰρ καὶ τῶν νεανίσκων ὅσοι
πλείστα σποδοῦνται, δεινοτάτους εἶναι λέγειν.

In Plato's line the verb κολλοπέω corresponds to the slang use of κόλλωφ (as in Eubulus Fr.11, Diphilus Fr.43.22), and the overall sentiment is a more vivid way of saying οἱ κεκολλοπευκότες ῥήτορες γίνονται. The sudden colloquial transition is intended to give the generalisation extra force, and sums up the speaker's attitude to ῥήτορες.

Fr.22 compares the laws of Athens to spiders' webs, a simile attested well before Plato's own time, and one which expressed the limitations of the power of laws. They could restrain the weak, but not the strong. The simile is recorded for Anacharsis in Plutarch Sol. 5, for Zaleucus in Stobaeus Sem. 45.25, and for Solon in Diog.Laert.I.58. The point of the simile is not clear from the surviving words of Plato on their own, but the passages cited are much more explicit, and Plato's point was surely theirs. In Fr.97 Plato uses an insulting simile of the gross Pisander, whose gluttony is derided, for example, in Eupolis Fr.110A Edm. Plato says

ὥσπερ κνεφέλλων ἢ πτίλων σεσαγμένος.

Presumably he is referring to Pisander's figure. Fr.220 speaks of the speed of change in the buildings—as it seems—of Athens. If a man has been away for three months he no longer recognises the city, but like people at night who skirt the walls, those newly returned to Athens are conducted into the city from the Piraeus like some Persian mounted-couriers. We do not have Plato's actual words for this passage, but such is the purport of Sextus Empiricus' obviously close paraphrase (Edmonds too boldly tries to restore the text from this prose report). The first image is perhaps, as Edmonds suggests, that of travellers searching for a gate into the city at night. Frs.129 and 197 use the image of a well-fitting shoe.

Fr.197 has ὡς ἔστι μοι τὸ χρῆμα τοῦτο περὶ πόδα
("...as this thing fits my foot perfectly"), while Fr.129 has

καὶ τοῖς τρόποις ἔρμόττον ὥσ(περ) περὶ πόδα

("...and fitting his(?) ways like a shoe a foot.") The image is made more

explicit by the use of ἄρμόττειν ("fit well", of clothes etc.). Lucian uses περὶ πόδα figuratively in Hist. Conscr. 14, Ind. 10 and Pseudol. 23.

The image is colloquial. Fr. 130 complains of the way in which choruses had become more static, and makes its point more forcefully by using a simile from disablement by paralysis and the emphatic adverb στάδην, the line culminating in the strongly uncomplimentary ῶρύονται:

ἀλλ' ὡς περ ἀπόπληκτοι στάδην ἑστῶτες ῶρύονται

("...but they stand stock-still as though they were paralysed and howl away"). Fr. 153 is a lengthy analogy with boys playing a game (the point is not made explicit in the lines we have, but some persons' or states' easy change of loyalties—or varying success—is perhaps involved, as Wilamowitz⁵⁰ and Geissler⁵¹ have suggested: several other possible interpretations are reported in Norwood.⁵² The analogy is unusually full for a Comic fragment, but is overshadowed by the analogy of the coins in the parabasis of Aristophanes' 'Frogs' and that of the wool in the agon of the same poet's 'Lysistrata'. Fr. 175 has a simile from the dining table: the point is again not clear, but it is a very plausible suggestion of Fritzsche⁵³ that the reference was to adultery. Plato says

τὰ δ' ἄλλότρι' ἔσθ' ὅμοια ταῖς παροψίσι·
βραχὺ γὰρ <τι> τέρψαντ' ἐξανάλωται ταχὺ

("...but other people's are like side-dishes: they give brief pleasure, but are soon used up.") In Ar. Fr. 187 a woman's μοιχός is spoken of as her παροψίς, and in Magnes Fr. 2 there is a similar notion, in a definitely non-sexual context, of the παροψίς as some 'extra':

καὶ ταῦτα μὲν μοι τῶν κῆκῶν παροψίδες

("and these are side-dishes to my troubles"). Plato himself has παροψίδες metaphorically in Fr. 43 also, where someone advises that intercourse with a woman who is awake is better than with one who is asleep, as there are παροψίδες. The passage evidently went on to enumerate these extra delights. Fr. 164 is a colourful threat, declaring that someone's flesh will be made to resemble patchwork done on shoes. Such vivid threats and references to

violence are sometimes found in Old Comedy (and later Comedy). Another good example of the imagery of violence is Cratin. Fr. 275:

τῆ μάλιστα κνάψειν εἰς μέλα
πρὶν συμπατήσασαι

("...to give a really good carding with the whip before putting through the trampling stage"). Cratinus takes his imagery from fulling and re-orders the processes (cf. Pollux 7. 3). It is of such colourful imagery that Aristophanes speaks in Pax 743ff, where he claims that his rivals bring on beaten slaves for the sake of such remarks as

ὦ κακόδοιμον τί τὸ δέριμ' ἔπαθες; μῶν ὑστρίχιδι εἰσέβαλέν σοι
εἰς τὰς πλευρὰς πολλῇ στρατιῶ κένδεδροτόμησε τὸ νῶτον;

The military metaphor of the attack delivered by the bristle-whip and its stripping the back of flesh like a countryside of timber is, of course, meant to be bizarre. Not that Aristophanes does not himself use colourful imagery and vocabulary in threats and descriptions of violence. The exchanges between Cleon and the Sausage-seller in 'Knights' are rich in vivid threats. Cf., for example, Ec. 369 ff, where the two characters make threats appropriate to their trades. Cf. Taillardat Ch. XXXIII for images of violence in Aristophanes, and cf. Eup. Frs. 259, 259A and 259B for a situation recalling that of which Aristophanes speaks in Pax loc. cit. Plato in Fr. 12 has a less remarkable flogging metaphor (for which cf. Timocles 29, Apollod. Car. 5.10), that of "peeling" the person flogged:

λέπει τραχέϊαν ἔχων.

The verb is tentatively restored in Eup. Fr. 110A Edm. 8 (Austin 92.8). Plato Fr. 2, though not an image, is worth noticing here as an example of the embellishment of language or indirect expression not infrequently found in contexts involving violence. Most probably the line is a circumlocutory threat to a slave: ΠΕΡΙ ΤῶΝ ΔΕ ΠΛΕΥΡῶΝ ΟΥΔΕΜΙΑΝ ὤραν ἔχεις. Edmonds takes it as the complaint of a slave being flogged, but I am inclined to suspect that the sides in question are those of the subject of ἔχεις, as there is no personal pro noun or possessive adjective.

Fr.169 talks of the "fleeciness" (εὐερία, i. e. affluence) that Hyperbolus has so long enjoyed. The image is also in Ar. Av. 121f: both passages are considered in Taillardat para. 550. It may safely be presumed that a play devoted to the demagogue Hyperbolus (ostracised 417 B. C.) entitled 'Birds' (Dion. 414), but the image was no doubt common enough in colloquial language. Fr.124.1 has two metaphors conveying the sense of manoeuvring someone or something to one's will. Μεταπεττεύειν denotes "to move, as one would a draughtsman, to a different position", while διακλιμακίζειν is "thoroughly to use the wrestling-trick called κλίμαξ on a person". Both metaphors express the notion of gaining some success over an opponent:

Χαίρεις, οἶμαι, μεταπεττεύσας αὐτὸν διακλιμακίσας τε

("You're happy, I think, to have moved him to a new square and used the ladder-throw on him..."). The simple verb κλιμακίζειν is in Ar. Fr. 44A Edm (4 Demianczuk, who cites passages illustrating its significance). Several similes from the game of 'draughts' (πρῆσσοί) are cited in LSJ (s. v.). One would suspect that Plato's imagery refers to success in a 'round', as it were, of an agon (the line is one of two anapaestic tetrameters which form the full fragment). Kock doubts μεταπεττεύσας, but the transmitted text is perhaps satisfactory as a bold and humorous mixture of images. The verb itself is attested in Plato Philosophus Min. 316b. Fr. 9 has the more modest image of "drinking up" or "drinking away" wealth, an obvious enough metaphor (for which cf. Eur. Hipp. 626).

These and other images of Plato Comicus lead us to the conclusion that he was not lacking in skill and enterprise in the use of imagery. He has also a number of interesting coined words surviving. Fr. 64 has one such in ἀβελτεροκόκιξ ("stupid cuckoo of a fellow") in a fragment which has also some memorable insulting imagery (cf. above for the personal allusions involved):

εὐχ ἄρ' ὅτι
 ὁ μὲν Λάγρος, Γλαύκωνος ὦν μεγάλου γένους,
 ἀβελτεροκόκιξ ἠλίθιος περιέρχεται
 σικυοῦ πέπωνος εὐνουχίου κνήμας ἔχων;

φιλωνίδην δ' οὐ τέτοκεν ἢ μήτηρ ὄνον
 τὸν Μελιτέα κούκ ἔπαθεν οὐδέν;

("Don't you see that Leagnus, of the great family of Glaucou, goes about a simple imbecile of a cuckoo with the legs of a ripe but seedless cucumber, while isn't it true that Philonides of Melite's mother gave birth to a donkey and came to no harm?"). The 'donkey' image is considered elsewhere. There may well be a special point in specifying that Leagnus had the legs of a seedless cucumber: the hint is probably that the man was incapable of sexual relations, even though of mature years. The idea of a "eunuch" plant is not a particularly Comic image: cf. Theophr. H. Pl. 4, 11, 4. Εὐνουχίας is the opposite of σπερματίας. There is, however, likely to be some special insult in likening a man to a "eunuch" plant, and I think it must be what I have suggested. The word ἄβελτεροκόκυξ, itself has reference to the supposed stupidity of the cuckoo. It is so explained in Bekker Anecd. 27. 24, and such seems to be the point in Ar. Ach. 598 (Taillardat para. 454), where Dicaeopolis declares that "three cuckoos" elected Lamachus general: Ἄα· ἔχειροτόνησαν γάρ με. Δι· κόκυγές γε τρεῖς. Fr. 124 has three coinages in the second line in a concentrated description of a Spartan or philo-Laconian.⁵⁴ The coinages are ὑπηρόβιος ("of mustachioed existence"), σπαρτιοχαίτης ("ropy-haired") and ἐλκετρίβων ("cloak-trailer"). Cf. above for this fragment.⁵⁵ Fr. 113 contains the complaint, it seems, of some deity that he gets no offerings. Cook's suggestion,⁵⁶ adopted by Edmonds, that Death speaks is perhaps misguided, in spite of Aeschylus Fr. 161N (= Ar. Ra. 1392), μόνος θεῶν γὰρ Θάνατος οὐ δῶρων ἔρα, for the point there is that Death is inexorable and will accept no gifts, not that he wants them but does not get them. If Death is the speaker in Fr. 113 of Plato, then he cannot be complaining (as Edmonds' translation makes him do), but is simply stating a fact. At any rate, Plato employs four adjectives with privative alpha to stress that no offerings are made to this deity. Two of the words are apparent coinages (ἀπλόκωντος and ἀλιβένωτος); one is hapax in this sense (ἀσπλαγγος, which occurs in

the sense "bowel-less" or "heartless" elsewhere: cf. Soph. Aj. 472, Chrsipp. Stoic. 2. 249); and one is not uncommon (ἄγευστος). The fragment is

μῖνος δ' ἄγευστος
ἀσπλαγχνος ἐνιαυτίζομαπλάκουντος ἀλιβάνωτος.

Fr. 147A has χρησμηδόληρος, either "oracle-monger's babble", as Edmonds understands it, or "sooth-saying-twaddle-talker". Such insulting coinages are not infrequent in Old Comedians, especially in those who made personal censure a prominent part of their technique. Three words in Fr. 246A may be coinages: they are all allusive ways of referring to familiar objects (cf. Cratin. Fr. 94 and see on 'Parody and Borrowings' above). The eye is τὸ ὄφρυόσκιον ("the eyebrow-shaded"); the venomous spider is τὸ σηψιδαικῆς ("the one that causes mortification by its bite"); and the bone-marrow is τὸ ὄστεογενές ("the bone-bom"). Edmonds guesses that mock-oracles or riddles may have been involved (cf. Crates 29), which is a very plausible suggestion. The word ἀκύκλιος ("uncyclied", "not having been through the general education course -- the ἐγκύκλια παιδεία ") in Fr. 227 is probably a coinage; so also ἀσελγόμεκρως ("with wanton, brutal hom", of a ram) in Fr. 210. In Fr. 3 δασύπρωκτος ("hairy-arsed") may well not be a coinage, for the word, although hapax here, is likely to have existed in colloquial abuse, and the idea is in Cratin. 295. Whether the (presumably) invented name Σέβινος ("Screw", *sensu obsceno*) in Fr. 117 was original to Plato or not (it is also in Ar. Ra. 427 and Eccl. 980, but the relationship in date between Plato's Ποιητής, from which Fr. 117 derives, and Aristophanes' 'Frogs' is not known) cannot now be decided. In both passages of Aristophanes Sebinus is given a demotic and said to be Ἀναφλύστιος, which is usually taken to hint masturbation (so, e.g., R. G. Ussher in his edition of Eccl. ad loc.), but the noun ἀναφλασμός is glossed simply τὰ ἀφροδίσια by Photius for Eup. Fr. 61, and solitary sexual indulgence is appropriate to neither Aristophanic passage where 'Sebinus' is mentioned. Perhaps the notion of "crushing" in ἀναφλάω need not be so specifically linked to masturbation. Cf. σποδέω, which simply = βινέω. Sebinus in both Aristophanic passages

is virtually the personified penis, for which both the catamite in Ra. and the old woman in Eccl. long. Such names as Λόρδων ("On-the-back") and Κύβδαρος ("Bending-forward") which are given to phallic sub-deities in Fr.174 may be inventions, but it is difficult to be sure, as such a name as Ὀρθόγνης in the same context is not invented (it is found in inscriptions and in Strabo 13.1.12, etc.). These and other possible coinages in the fragments of Plato make it clear that he made at least a moderate use of verbal inventions, but our evidence does not really enable us to decide whether they were especially prominent in his plays.

Plato's capabilities in the use of double entendre are apparent in Fr.174, for which cf. above.⁵⁷ The allegory, imagery and punning of Frs.185a, b and c have also already received comment. Fr. 209, which is textually defective, must have involved a pun on the word ἀλέκτωρ, as though it derived from ἀ + λέκτρον (i. e. the "rouser"). Fr. 51 makes puns on γλώσσα. Fr. 259 may also intimate some word-play, but punning is not outstandingly well attested in Plato. Fr. 77 is oxymoronic, but to what end we cannot say: perhaps a riddle was involved or there was parody of sophistic word-play or Euripidean oxymoron or the like. Fr.188, as transmitted, has a very rare proceleusmatic foot at the start of the second metron. It is possible to emend this away (cf. Edmonds' text, for example), but, as the foot consists of the sharp λέγε ταχύ, it is possible that Plato intended to accommodate metre to sense. Someone is forcefully challenged and explains that he is a Daedalian Hemn capable of movement, manifestly a bizarre lie by someone embarrassingly detected in some enterprise (conceivably Hennes in Νῦξ Μακρά, but there is no need to presume that the character has to be Hennes rather than someone simply pretending to be a Hemn). Two interesting onomatopoeic exclamations are found in Frs.16 and 66, the latter a cry of malicious delight, the former more doubtfully representing a laugh. Fr. 206 has an apparently deliberate use of rhyme in antithesis in listing males of various ages. The transmitted text is

παῖδες, γέροντες, μείρακια, παλλάκια.

The proverb makes some moderate appearance in Plato's fragments, as in Fr.1, where the proverb is said of a drawn out but ineffectual activity:

εἶτ' οὐχ ὑπέρου μοι περιτροπή γενήσεται .

Fr. 54 is another clear proverb, whereon Kock makes a speculative but very plausible suggestion for the context. In Fr.100 Plato probably made the same joke against Aristophanes as Amipsias (Fr. 28), Sannyrion (Fr. 5) and Aristonymus (Fr. 4). The saying ΤΕΤΡΑΔΙ ΓΕΓΟΝΑΣ ("you were born on the fourth") was used of people who laboured, like Heracles, who was so born, for others. The point in applying the saying to Aristophanes was that he produced some of his plays through such men as Philonides and Callistratus. In the same play Plato spoke of himself as "imitating the Arcadians", who performed so often as mercenaries for others (Fr. 99). Plato was referring to his own practice of producing plays through others in his early days⁵¹. Probably he devoted the anapaests of his parabasis to the theme. Plato's fragments include also a number of familiar expressions such as Fr. 223's λύω λίσχας ("I cut the cackle", i. e. stop gossiping and start work), which is now known to have been used in Epulis' Μαρικῆς also (Austin Fr. 95.156), or Fr. 15's αὐτῷ κανῶ ("bread-basket and all", said of those who leave nothing at all of a meal:

ἀνηρπάκασ' ἀπαξέπαντ' αὐτῷ κανῶ .

Fr. 204's idea that when we are born "not even the neighbours take much notice" may also be semi-proverbial. Cf. also Fr. 13 and the maxim in Fr. 52.

One passage of irony deserves mention. Fr. 106 pokes fun at three gluttons by expressing envy of their luxurious way of life. Plato somewhat ironically treats Morychus' idle and over-fed existence as comparable to that of a god or else hits at the man's conceit and ostentatiousness, it may be. Another gourmand, Glaucetes, is nicknamed "the turbot" from his devotion to that fish:

ὦ θεῖε Μόρυχε (πῶς γὰρ οὐ θεῶν ἔφυς;)
καὶ Γλαυκέτης ἢ ψήττα, καὶ Λεωγόρας,

οἱ ζῆτε τερπνῶς οὐδὲν ἐνθυμούμενοι.

The speaker is probably the *περιγλής* of the title of the play, who is perhaps represented here as coveting the sort of life that the three gounmands live. Cf. Fr. 160 for another humorous image in a joke against a glutton: Mynniscus is said to be a friend of the sea-perch, suggesting that the fish was a favourite of his. Among a few points of colourful or forceful diction in Plato's style that may be mentioned are the humorous comparative and superlative in Frs. 195 and 57, where we find respectively *γαστρίστερος* ("bigger pot-belly of a fellow") and *ἀρπαγίστατος* ("utterly money-grabbing"). The appealing double diminutive *Ἀφροδιταρίδιον* ("darling little Aphrodite"), addressed, one would surmise, to the girl of Fr. 46 by Heracles, is also an embellishment of style (Fr. 48A), while in Fr. 196 *ἐχθοδοπός* of a gargle is probably a humorous touch, the word being usually found in more elevated contexts. The balance of the line assists the effect, with the emphatic word nicely following the caesura and the polysyllabic noun filling the line till then:

ἀνακοχυλισμὸν ἐχθοδοπὸν τι σκεύωσω

("I'll fix up some abominable gargle"). Plato does not have any true example of the *παρὰ προσδοκίαν* joke surviving, but in Fr. 173.18 there is bathos in the final phrase (cf. above). Line 21 of the same fragment becomes something of a *παρὰ προσδοκίαν* with the interruption.

Of Plato, then, we can say that his fragments reveal a Comedian who was lively and varied in his use of images and whose verbal humour, considered overall, was of an impressive standard. His light style has many interesting features.

Others

Our fragments of ARCHIPPUS are particularly full of puns. There may well be word-play in Fr. 40 (cf. Kock ad loc.), but most of Archippus' puns come from *ἰχθύεις*, which, like Aristophanes' "Birds", exploited verbal humour from the names of the creatures involved. Cf., for example, Ar. *Av.* 1105ff

where the humour stems from the fact that Athenian coins bore the owl: the Athenians are told they'll never be short of what every judge desires most, owls from Laurium (silver coins). Immediately afterwards, Aristophanes makes a pun on *αἰετός*, both "eagle" and "gable, pediment". Cf. also *Av.* 832ff, where we hear that a suitably martial bird will hold the Pelargic Wall (punning on *πελαργός*, "stork"), namely the "chick of Ares", the cock, once a human sentinel who kept watch for Ares on his adulterous visits to Aphrodite, but punished with metamorphosis after allowing Ares to be caught.⁵⁹ Such word-play involving bird-names and the like abounds in 'Birds', and it seems that Archippus' 'Fishes' depended heavily on the same device. It is possible that he was directly inspired by Aristophanes' technique in 'Birds' (though there was a gap of over a decade between the two plays), or it may be that such word-play was a characteristic of "animal" comedies, where individual species played their part. Crates' *ἄγρια* throws no light on the problem, but I am inclined to suspect that to some degree jokes about particular creatures performing tasks humorously appropriate to them went with the particular type of comedy to which 'Birds', 'Fishes' and 'Beasts' belong. It would seem to me too great a temptation to cast the creatures in the appropriate roles for such an opportunity to be ignored. Modern cartoons, of course, in which animals represent human beings draw heavily on appropriate casting of the animals involved. But let us examine Archippus' puns in *Ἰχθύες*.

Fr. 15 shows one character expressing surprise at what another has just said, that there are *μάντις* among fishes. The second speaker explains that *γαλεοί* ("dog-fish", punning on *Γαλεῶται*, whom Cicero speaks of as "interpretes portentum" in Sicily and who Stephanus of Byzantium says were *μαντέων εἶδος Σικελῶν*) are the fishes' seers:

τί λέγεις σὺ; μάντις εἰσὶ γὰρ θαλάττιοι;
 - γαλεοί γε, πάντων μαντέων σοφώτατοι.

The pun depends on the fact that the Galeotae derived their name from Galeus, a son of Apollo. *Γαλεοί* is treated as though it were the plural of

Galeus' name. Fr.17 seems to depend on the similarity between ὄρφῶς (sea-perch) and ὄρφεύς. Again there is a humorous allocation of an appropriate task or position to the fish:

ἱερεὺς γὰρ ἦλθ' αὐτοῖσιν ὄρφῶς τοῦ θεοῦ.

Fr.18 shows the "gilt-head" fish addressed as priest of Aphrodite. The point was presumably the frequent use of the epithet "golden" of Aphrodite, as in Mimnemos Fr.1.1 Diehl, *Iliad* 3.64 etc. (compare also the epithet πολύχρυσος of the same goddess, as in *h. Ven.* 1 and 9, etc.). The fish was also considered beautiful (*Matron ap. Athen.* 4.136a). Fr.19 has more puns of this type. Precisely what the text at the beginning of the fragment should be is dubious, but it is clear that fish are described as performing in capacities which their names suggest. The σάλπιγξ ("saupé") is thus said to act as trumpeter (ἐσάλπιγγε), and the βέλεε, and perhaps also the κήρυξ (cf. Edmonds' text) play the roles that their names equip them for. In Fr. 23 the κήρυξ ("trumpet-shell") is described as "nursling of Thalassa and "son of Porphyra": both these names were women's names, the former that of a courtesan of some fame. Both Pherecrates and Diocles seem to have named plays after her (*Ath.* 13. 567c makes this explicit for Diocles). The name also means "sea", of course, and the name of Πορφύρα means also "purple-fish". The κήρυξ is given a humorous ancestry. In Fr.16 it would seem not irrelevant that ἀφύη was capable of being used as a nickname of a courtesan (cf. *Athen.* 13. 536b) and that ἐψυγός may have been applicable to lustful persons (*Ath.* 9. 389a gives this impression in quoting Nicophon Fr. 8 Edm: cf. Bergk, *Comm.* p. 378). The words may be in double entendre. Possibly cf. Hemippus 15.

But it is Fr.27, which is a prose parody of a treaty between the fishes and the Athenians (so *Athen.* 7. 329b), that Archippus really concentrates his interest in puns. The part of the treaty which Athenaeus quotes us is concerned with the restoration of captives and things taken from the other side. The words ἡμᾶς μὲν introduce enumeration of what the fish

must return: ἀποδοῦναι δ' ὅσα ἔχομεν ἀλλήλων ἡμᾶς μὲν τὰς Θηράττας
καὶ Ἀθερίνην τὴν αὐλητρίδα καὶ Σηπίαν τὴν Θύρσου καὶ τοὺς Τριγλί-
ίδας καὶ Εὐκλείδην τὸν ἄρξαντα καὶ Ἀναγυροσυντόθεν τοὺς
Κορακίωνας καὶ Κωβιεῦ τοῦ Σαλαμινίου τόκον καὶ Βάτραχον
τὸν πᾶρεδρον τὸν ἐξ Ἰλρεοῦ...

The "Thracians" are both "slave-girls" and a kind of small sea-fish; Ath-
erine the flute girl is also a kind of smelt; Sepia is a courtesan in Ant-
iphanes 26.1, but also a cuttle-fish; the "Triglidae" are to be explained
partly by reference to τριγύλη, "red mullet", but the other sense is ob-
scure (Antiph. 26.9-11 guides us towards the view that courtesans are
meant); Euclides the ex-archon has a name which suggests εὐ + κλειδες,
shoulder-bones of tunny in Aristopho 7.2 etc.; the Coracions from Anagyr-
us represent a pun on κόραξ ("tub-fish") and κορακίνος (a black fish found
in the Nile), but the other sense is not understood, though Casaubon⁶⁰ and
Edmonds hazard guesses; "offspring of Cobius of Salamis" is a pun on
(a fish of the gudgeon kind), while τόκον may indicate that Cobius was
a banker or money-lender and be a further pun; Batrachus' name means
"frog" (the man was an informer under the Thirty Tyrants of 404-38 B.C.).

It is quite clear, then, from the few fragments that we have of Ἰχθύες
that the play was rich in word-play. In fact, the scholium to Ar. Vesp. 481,
commenting on a pun in Aristophanes' text, reveals that jokes were made
against Archippus for his (to some) low-brow and frigid word-play: τὰ
τοιαῦτα παρὰ τὰς φωνὰς πηίζει, φορτικῶς ὄντες· ἐφ' οἷς μάλιστα
τῶν ποιητῶν σκώπτουσιν Ἀρχιππον.

("He makes jokes of this sort on the words, which are those of a low-
brow; for this sort of thing they scoff at Archippus most of all among the
poets.") There are no indications that Archippus' employment of other
forms of verbal humour exceeded the average. His most memorable image is
that of Fr. 45A (cf. above also):

ὦ μέγαρ, ὅς ἐπὶ χλαυδοφόροις
κοίταισι τὸν Ἀφροδίσιον
κῆπον ἀποδρέπει.

("Fortunate man, who on beds topped with woollen coverlets cull the flowers of the garden of Aphrodite").

From the images of the remaining Old Comedians one may consider the following especially worthy of notice. Among the few fragments we have left of Lysippus' work we find an interesting metaphor from the cleaning of clothes used of the renovating of trite ideas of others for re-use in Comedy. Lysippus rejects, it would seem, such a practice for himself:

οὐδ' ἀνακνάψας καὶ θειώσας τὰς ἄλλοτρίας ἐπινοίας (Fr. 4)

("...nor having filled and fumigated others' ideas..."). From the same Comedian comes Fr. 7's celebration of the attractions of the city of Athens, carefully constructed for effect, with each line beginning a new conditional clause representing a greater lack of appreciation than the last (syntactical parallelism):

εἰ μὴ τεθέασαι τὰς Ἀθήνας, στέλεχος εἶ,
εἰ δὲ τεθέασαι μὴ τεθήρευσαι δ', ὄνος,
εἰ δ' εὐαρεστῶν ἀποτρέχεις, κανθήλιος.

A few memorable images are found in Hermippus, for example in Fr. 45, where it is said that, were the Peloponnesian enemies foodstuffs, "Hermippus" alone would suffice to vanquish them, by gulping down the entire Peloponnesians. In the course of Fr. 63, which lists imports to Athens, we find in ll. 7f

καὶ παρὰ Σιτάλικου ψύραν Λακεδαιμονίοισι·
καὶ παρὰ Περδικκού ψεύδη ναυσὶν πάνυ πολλῆς.

Sitalces was King of Thrace and an Athenian ally till Nov. 424 (cf. Ar. Ach. 134ff); Perdikkas II, King of Macedonia, was notorious for his double-dealing and unreliability. This is translated into physical terms by Hermippus' image: a fleet of cargo-ships is needed to bring his many lies to Athens. The catalogue of vines (82) is also interesting from the point of view of imagery and verbal devices: it is considered above.⁶¹ The two most striking images of Phrynichus are in Fr. 65 and Fr. 69. They are discussed above.⁶² Philonides Fr. 4A deserves notice. It consists of two anapaestic tetrameters catalectic, evidently from an egon, although Edmonds oddly supposes

that the chorus speak. The speaker indicates in metaphorical language that he has a grudge or claim against the Athenian people which he nevertheless offers to overlook:

περὶ δ' ὧν σὺ λέγεις, λόγος ἐστὶν ἐμοὶ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους κατὰ χεῖρα
 ὄν ἐγὼ λογιούμ' ἐξ ἀτελείας, τῷ δήμῳ δ' οὐδὲν ἀνοίσω.

("As for what you(? the opponent in the agon) speak of, I have an account against the Athenians ready to hand, which I will reckon at nothing and send no bill in to the people"). Strattis in Fr. 62 has an image from racing. Someone is said to start up too early, "jump the gun", as it were. For the image cf. Hdt. VIII 59. Fr. 34 of the same Comedian insultingly likens Creon's head (the extract is from 'Medea') to a cup turned upside down. It is not clear whether the second line is a bomolochic interruption from a third person present, but it seems quite possible (or the words may all belong to one speaker):

οἶσθ' ὧ πρὸς ἔοικεν, ὧ κρέων, τὸ βρέγμα σου;
 ἐγὼ δ' αὖ δίνῳ περικάτω τετραμμένῳ.

The point of the comparison is not fully clear. What is now denoted by the term 'dinus' is a large bowl, usually handleless, of the sort pictured in R.M. Cook, "Greek Painted Pottery", Plate 18 and in M. A. Richter and M. J. Milne, "Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases", p. 9, but the ancients seem to have applied the name to a kind of cup (Richter and Milne, op. cit. p. 10, where the evidence is cited), the precise shape of which does not seem to be known, although Schol. Ar. Vesp. 617 describes it as βᾶσιν οὐκ ἔχον ἀλλὰ κάτωθεν ὑπότροχον. Presumably the cup had a round bottom end, when inverted, resembled the bald pate of an aging man (the Creon of Euripides' 'Medea' is a generation older than Jason, Medea and Glauce, the Corinthian princess). With this simile cf. passages such as Ar. Av. 804f (which may support the notion that there is but one speaker in Strattis' lines above):

οἶσθ' ὧ μάλιστα ἔοικας ἐπτερωμένος;
 εἰς εὐτέλειαν χηνί συγγραμμένῳ.

Cf. also Vesp. 1170 ff, *ibid.* 1309 f, 1311 f, 1412 ff, Ecd. 126 f, Av. 1297 f. In Vesp.

1309sq. such humorous comparisons appear in a dinner-party setting, while in Vesp. 1170ff, Av. 804f and Ecd. 126f, as in the passage of Strattis (it would seem), it is a feature of costume that prompts the ludicrous comparison. The simile in Eupolis 207 (likening Syracosius' antics on the bema to a puppy on a wall) is another insulting εἰκὼν, but the passage of Strattis is the only clear non-Aristophanic parallel for the form of the similes cited from Aristophanes above.

A little should be said of Theopompus. Fr. 8 is a sententious metaphor:

ὁ μὲν ἄρτος ἡδύ, τὸ δὲ φενακίζειν προσὸν
ἔμβαμμα τοῖς ἄρτοις πονηρὸν γίγνεται.

("Bread is a pleasant thing to have, but when deception goes with it, it makes a poor sauce to dip your bread in"). Just how metaphorical the "bread" is, is not apparent. It perhaps stands for livelihood in general. Fr. 13 addresses hungry parasites or other persons eager for food, employing the same image as Amipsias Fr. 1 (that of the starveling mullet), and likening the parasites also to geese treated to vegetables, of which that voracious bird would make short work:

καὶ στήτ' ἐφελξῆς, κεστρέων νηστὶς χόρος,
λαχάνοισιν ὥσπερ χήνες ἐξενισμένοι.

In Fr. 32 Spinther addresses a cup in a style reminiscent of Praxagora's address to the lamp at the beginning of Aristophanes' 'Ecclesiazusae'. The cup is saluted as a "mirror of nature" in that intoxication is a means towards discovering secrets. The slave Spinther is trying to get an old woman drunk in this scene in order to learn something from her, it appears. The opening words are:

χώρει σὺ δεῦρο, @ηρικλέους πιστὸν τέκνον.
γενναῖον εἶδος, ὄνομά σοι τί θώμεθα;
ἔρ' εἰ κάτοπτρον φύσεος, ἣν πλήρες δοθῆς;
οὐδέν ποτ' ἄλλο. δεῦρο δὴ γεμίσω σ' ἐγώ.

Fr. 65, though textually doubtful, seems to have likened the Spartans to tavern-women who gave customers a sample drink of good wine, received their

approval, and then served them with very inferior wine. Sparta is thus said to have cheated the Greek world by exercising its hegemony far worse than had been expected. Finally, we may notice Fr. 33, which is unusual in that it is a comment by Odysseus on a Homeric simile. It has its nearest parallel in Cratin. Fr. 146, where Odysseus urges the Cyclops to ask him his name as soon as he has drunk the wine offered him (having like all good Greeks read his Homer). Alluding to *Od.* 19. 232-3, Odysseus in Theopompus' play remarks

ΧΙΤΩΝΑΪ ΜΟΙ
 ΦΕΡΩΝ ΔΕΔΟΙΚΑΣ ΔΑΙΔΕΓΛΕΟΝ, ΔΝ ΗΪΚΤΕΝ
 ΑΡΙΣΘ' ΟΜΗΡΟΣ ΚΡΟΜΜΥΟΥ ΛΕΠΥΧΑΝΩ

Odysseus is humorously made to break dramatic illusion with this comment on the merit of Homer's simile.

Proverbs are best attested, outside the four major rivals of Aristophanes, in Crates, Strattis and Theopompus, with scattered examples elsewhere. Puns, as we have seen, are especially to be found in Archippus, but there are a few examples among the other minor Old Comedians. Sustained passages of double entendre are now found only in the major Old Comedians. Examples of the *παρὰ προσδοκίαν* joke are not numerous, but Hemippus Fr. 46 ends with quite a good example, reinforced by rhyme (*δυσθεῖς αἴθωνι κλέωνι*). Of comic lists something has already been said above with particular regard to food-lists.⁶³ A few instances of the rarer figures of speech are found, one noteworthy example being the anaphora of Hemipp. 82.8 (and again 82.10-11), which receives comment elsewhere,⁶⁴ but in general such techniques are not important weapons in the armoury of the Comic poet. Nicophon 9 is remarkable for the degree of parallelism which it displays, each line consisting of two words each scanning dactyl+ spondee. How long the list was made to run we cannot tell, but we have five such lines in sequence without demonstrably having beginning or end.

As for possible coinages, there are several invented titles of the minor Old Comedians, such as Myrtilus' *Τιτανοπάνας*, Strattis' *Λημνομέδω* or Metagenes' *Θουριοτέρων*. The most interesting proper-name coinages

are that in Hemippus β (and Phrynichus 17), Κολυκοφωροκλείδης, and that in Teleclides 40, Σωκράτογόμφοσ. The former accuses Hierocles of being a flatterer and a thief; the latter, as transmitted, qualifies *Εὐριπίδης* and alleges that Euripides depended on Socrates' help to keep his plays together ("Euripides-es Socrates-clamped", i. e. with Socrates to hold them (their work) together). Not many of the possible coinages in the minor Old Comedians are of great consequence, but there are a few in the appended list to which some interest attaches.

I wish to say a little here of breach of dramatic illusion (outside the parabasis). A common source of lapse of dramatic illusion is direct explanation of the antecedents of the plot to the audience in a *πρόλογος*. The technique is used by Aristophanes in *Ec.* (v. esp. 36), *Vesp.* (v. esp. 54), *Pax* (50ff) and *Av.* (30ff). After a few opening exchanges with another character someone turns to the audience and suspends dramatic illusion in order to expound the circumstances. This technique was not peculiar to Aristophanes. In Plato 167 a character turns to the audience to explain the somewhat cryptic joke of Fr. 166, where his slave has told him that he is as good as elected to the council, even though he is a mere reserve-Councillor, as the first choice is bound to be rejected, as he is of bad character, foreign and not yet even a free man. The master shows impatience with the oxymoronic logic of his slave, and then explains the situation to the audience (in language reminiscent of *Ec.* loc. cit.):

ἄπερρ'· ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν τὸ πρᾶγμα δὴ φράσω·
 ὕπερβόλω βουλήσ γάρ, ἄνδρες, ἐπέλαχον.

All is thus explained. Frs. 166 and 167 are probably from the opening scene of Plato's play (*ὑπερβόλος*), though, as Fr. 166 begins in the middle of a line, we cannot be dealing quite with the very first words of the play.

Another fragment of Plato important here is that with which, according to Priscian 18.170, Plato *Συμμαχία οὕτως ἤρξατο*. This is Fr. 152, which is a very surprising beginning to a play, if that is what Priscian meant (so Norwood⁶⁵, for example), for the fragment includes the connective part-

idle γάρ: ἔγω γάρ ὑμῖν νῦν φράσω...

As the beginning of an address to the audience after some earlier remarks the words would be more credible, and the language closely resembles Plato 167 and Ar. Eq. loc. cit., which makes it very tempting to interpret the line so. Pherecrates Fr. 154 recalls another feature of Aristophanic prologues,

viz. speculation as to what may be in the minds of the audience. Cf. Pax

43ff: οὐκοῦν ἂν ἤδη τῶν θεατῶν τις λέγοι
 νεανίας δοκησίσοφος, 'τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα τίς
 ὁ κἀνθαρος δὲ πρὸς τίς?'

Pherecrates' words seem to derive from a prologue where someone is speaking of such a meddling character, whose impatient and critical (hypothetical) questions seem just to have been quoted:

εἴποι τις ἂν τῶν πάνυ δοκησιδεξίων·
 ἔγω δ' ἂν ἀντίποιμι: 'μὴ πολυπραγμόνει,
 ἄλλ' εἰ δοκεῖ σοι πρόσεχε τὸν νοῦν κἄκροῶ.'

Cratinus Fr. 307 is similar in theme⁶⁵, but consists of the greater part of two anapaestic tetrameters, not the metre one would expect in a πρόλογος. The words may derive from a parabasis in which there was passing speculation as to what the κομῆδὸς θεατῆς may ask (or be asking) or possibly from some other later stage of the play, unless the extract is from an initial choral παράοδος. At any rate, it has in common with the passages cited above the element of speculation as to the reactions of the over-critical or inquisitive audience member. Sometimes in Aristophanes the reactions of (supposed) individuals in the audience are envisaged, as in Vesp. 74sq., where the attempts of members of the audience to guess Philocleon's mania are "reported" by Xanthias, or Pax 883ff, where Arphrades' desire to have Theoria pass his way is "noticed". Cf. also Pax 543ff. Outside Aristophanes there is a parallel in Eupolis' Πόλεις (Fr. 206), where Philinus' designs upon some city in the chorus earn rebuke (cf. above)⁶⁷. Where there are formal prologues some degree of absence of dramatic illusion can be involved, in that there is a recognition of the presence of the audience,

who are directly addressed. Philyllius Fr. 8, for instance, seems to be from a prologue of the formal type (the play is Ἡρακλῆς). The speaker is Δορπία, a personification of the first day of the Apaturia, described as the "food-tasters' day". Heracles' gross appetite would seem to have influenced the choice of prologue. Dorpia introduces herself so:

βούλεσθε δῆτ' ἐγὼ φράσω τίς εἰμ' ἐγώ,
ἢ τῶν προτενθῶν Δορπία καλουμένη.

In Theop. Fr. 29 Mount Lycabettus, the prologue one presumes, speaks of himself and of the acts of vice committed on his slopes:

παρ' ἐμοῖ τὰ λίαν μαιράκια χαρίζεται
τοῖς ἡλικιώταις.

In this case, however, no breach of illusion is evident. Strattis 15 may well explain that the stage-building is (sc. the house?) of Cinesias the chorus-murderer. Eupolis 42, although not necessarily from a prologue of the formal type, may similarly identify three doors in the stage-building as the entrances to brothels run by Autolycus, Rhodia and Lycon, but one can only speculate there, and the "three little dwellings (or brothels)" may not have been visually represented. We have seen⁶⁸ that in Strattis' *Φοινισσαί* and also in his *Ἀτάλαντος* (sic in our papyrus) there was open reference to the κρέδη. In the former play it looks as though Dionysus was the formal prologue. There was probably some similar reference to the stage-device in the context of Cratinus (if it is he) upon which the commentator was writing. For such mentions of the μηχανή and the μηχανοποιός cf. Ar. *Pax* 174ff and Fr. 188. In Cratinus 276 there is mention of "exit-strains, exodus-tunes", and the words belong to someone who will apparently act as flute-player. Some special flautist seems to be concerned, for it is one matter to notice the flautist, as in *Av.* 665-84 and *Ecc.* 890ff (cf. also Nicophon 7), but another for the flautist to speak. Mention of a part of the play in the text is exemplified several times in Aristophanes with respect to the "anapaests" (as *Ach.* 627, *Av.* 682-4), though always in the course of the parabasis. In Fr. 92, Plato uses the verb παραβαίνειν

in the technical sense in a Eupolidean passage clearly beginning his parabasis proper, but illusion is commonly allowed to drop to some degree in a parabasis. Aristophanes sometimes refers elsewhere to his chorus as "the chorus" rather than under their dramatic role (e.g. Ach. 416, 442f, Nu. 1352), and there are sometimes mentions of parts of the theatre (Nu. 325, Av. 296, Fr. 388). There are no precise parallels for either of these practices in Aristophanes' rivals, beyond the probability that in Strattis 15 there is a reference to the stage-building. Cratinus Fr. 324b speaks of the chorus as τῶδε τῶ χορῶ, but the Cratinean metre shows that the line is from a parabasis. Eup. 363 is so corrupt that one can base no conclusion on it. Eupolis does, however, refer to his χορηγός in Fr. 306 (cf. Pax 1022 for such a reference in an iambic trimeter line). He asks whether anyone has ever seen a meaner choregus than "this man". Perhaps some joke was made about a second-rate costume or suchlike (? cf. Ra. 405ff). It was more usual to make fun of a choregus of the previous year (Aristophanes in Ach. 1150ff censures one for not providing a meal after the competition), but in this case, where it is apparently the choregus of the play being performed who is meant, the criticism must have been transparently light-hearted even though εὐπρόσωπότερον would not seem a gentle reproach. For the economy-mindedness imputed to choregi cf. also Pax 1022. Eupolis 223 is a somewhat unusual address to the whole audience or to the judges in particular, for the line is an iambic trimeter and not the parabasis metre one would expect. Ecd. 1154 is, however, another iambic trimeter introducing remarks by the chorus to the judges (trochaic tetrameters follow at once), and Eupolis 223 is probably a quasi-parabatic address to the audience or judges. The highly unusual lapses of illusion in Ach. 377sq. and 496sq., where a character suddenly begins to speak for the poet, are without any definite parallel outside Aristophanes,⁷⁰ but there are two further passages in the Aristophanic fragments (471 and 588), where it is a possibility that someone is speaking, like Dicaeopolis, for the poet.

The practice of taking insulting notice of the audience (outside the

parabasis) is now largely Aristophanic (Nu. 898, 1096 ff, Pax 821 ff, Ra. 276, 783), but Plato 94 may attest such jokes outside the parabasis in Plato. Cratinus 169 alludes to the victory-feast and flatters the audience. For such allusions cf. Ach. 1087, Ra. 297. This fragment is also one of several which seem to notice the audience at the very start of the play. Others are Cratin. 306 and 323 (cf. also the early part of Fr. 162A Edm—Austin Fr. 73—if that is part of an initial choral parodos, but we do not there have the very first words of the play), and possibly Plato 90 (but the dactylo-epitritic metre suggests rather a salutation to the audience at the beginning of an ode at some later stage in the play?). Some lapse of illusion can occur at the very end of a play also: Cratin. 237 is an example (so possibly Fr. 136 also). Cf. Nu. 1510 f, Vesp. 1536 f, Thesm. 1227 ff. The position of Crates 24 in its play is dubious, but it could be a line from an exodos.

On average there are about five or six examples of breach of dramatic illusion in an extant play of Aristophanes. There are four instances in his fragments (188, 388, 471, 588(?)). The lapse of illusion was of no interest to lexicographers and grammarians or any other of our sources, and so the incidence of the technique in the fragments of Aristophanes' rivals is not high. The evidence is best for Cratinus, as one can readily see from the following references:

Cratinus: 162A ad init.; 169, 237; 276; 306; 323; cf. 136; cf. Fr. 74 Austin; cf. 307 (?parabasis) ; Eupolis: 206; 223 ; Pherecrates: 154 ; Plato: 90; 94; 152; 167 ; Phrynichus: (?? cf. I Edm—v. dub.); cf. 18 (a prologue, probably, but perhaps just a soliloquy or part of a conversation) ; Strattis: prob. 15 ; (cf. Edm.'s interpretation of 48A)⁷¹; Austin Fr. 74 ; Theop.: cf. 33 ; Philyllius: 8 .

References

Imagery

The following passages may be thought of interest from the point of view of imagery. Those fragments underlined contain more striking or significant images, and in general the term "imagery" has been interpreted in a broad sense. Some fragments which may be figurative, but are not demonstrably so, are included (with indications to this effect).

The four "major" rivals of Aristophanes are given first place, as throughout this list of references, the other Old Comedians following in the order in which they appear in Edmonds Vol. I.

Cratinus: 1. 4; 1. 6; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6. 1; 6. 3; cf. 7; 8; poss. 9; 11; 12; 13; 15; 16; 17; cf. 25 & 26; 31; 33; 36; 41; (43); 44; 50; 52; 53; cf. 56; 57; 58; cf. 60; 66; 69; 70; 71; 73; 73A; cf. 76; cf. 83; 87; 88; cf. 89; 90; 94; 98. 7; 98. 8; poss. 99?; 101; cf. 102; cf. 103; cf. 110; 114; 121; 123; 125; 128; ?129; 130; 131; 133; cf. 135; 142; 143. 5; 148; perh. 154; 155; cf. 157; 160; cf. 162; poss. 162A. 13-15; 162A. 30; 163. 5f ; 163. 7f ; cf. 166; 169; 170; cf. 176; 183; 184; 187; 188. 4; cf. 189; cf. 190; 196; 197; 199; 206; 210; poss. 211?; 217; 220; cf. 222; 226; cf. 227A; 229; 233; 234; cf. 236; 240; 241; 241A; cf. 243; 244; cf. 245; 246; 255; 256; 259; cf. 263; 264C; 265; cf. 267; 273; 274; 275; 282; 282A; 283; 288; 289; 293; 296; 298; 300; 301; 302; poss. 303; 304; 306; 307; cf. 311; 312; poss. 313; 314; 317; 317A; 318; 321; 323; cf. 327; 329; 330A; 334; cf. 335a, b, c; poss. 338; 341A; 341E; 341F; 342; 347; 348; 349; 352; 353; 354; 355; poss. 357; 358; 364; 374; 378; 381; ? 383; 384; cf. 389; cf. 393; 397; cf. 401; perh. 402; cf. 415; 419; 419A; 421A; 426; 438; 440; cf. 442; 443; 444; 446; 447.

Eupolis: cf. 1; cf. 8?; 19; cf. 35B; cf. 36; 37; 38; cf. 38A; 48?; 49?; 51; 52; 56; 61; 82; 92; 93; 94; 98. 2-4, ib. 5, 6, 7; 101; 103; 104; 105; 108A (if by Eup.); 108B; 110A; 110B. 1 & 7; 116; 118; 122C. 21; 124; 127; 128A. 3; 130; 145A; cf. 147; 148; cf. 155; 158; 159. 6; 159. 10; 159. 12; 159. 16; 161; 162; 163; 169; 172; 173; cf. 192; 194; 198; cf. 205; 206; 207; cf. 209; 213; 215; 221; 223; cf. 224; cf. 225? (where person. & allegory poss.); 231; 232; 233; 244A. 14ff; 245; 249; 250; 256; 259A; 261; cf. 266?; 267; 268 (prob.); cf. 269; 277 (person.); 278; cf. 278A; 282; 283; 284; 286; 288; 289; 290; cf. 293; 295;

306; 309; 314; 318; 320; cf. 321? (perh. all eg.); 324; poss. 329; cf. 329A; poss. 334; 335A; 336; 338; poss. 339; 345; 346; cf. 347; 348; 351.1; prob. 354; 355; 356; poss. 357.8; poss. 360; cf. 364; 370; 371; 376; 376A; 379; 412; 423; cf. 427; cf. 434?; 434A; cf. Austin Fr.95.14ff; ib.. 33f?; cf. ib.. 78ff; ib.84ff.

Pherecrates: 1; poss. cf. 7; poss. 8; poss. 12; 13; 15; 19; 22; 23.5; 25; 26; 29A; 32; 35; 42; 51; 55; 56; 57.5; 69.1-2; 70; 94; 95; poss. 97; 99; 106; 108 (Golden Age); 115; 116; 124; 130 (Golden Age); 131; 135; 142; 143; 144; 144A; 145 (Music's complaint); 146 (three images); 147; 150; 155b; 161; 164; 166; 172B; cf. 174; 179, if really a frag. of Pherecr.; 197; 202D; 204; 228; 230; 237.

Plato: 1; 3; 9; 12; 22; 32; 43; cf. 46.10; cf. 48A?; 54; 59; 64; 67; 93; 97; 99; 100; 104; 106; 107; 122; 124; 128; 129; 130; perh. 149; 153; 155; 160; 164; 169; 173 passim; 174 passim; 175; 178; 183; 184; 185 (all eg.); 186; 190; 197; 197A; 199A; 216; 220; 224A; cf. 244; 246A.

Chionides: 2; cf. 8 Magnes: 2; cf. 5 Ephantides: ?2 (dub.) Crates: 4; cf. 8; cf. 14 & 15 (Golden Age); 19; cf. 23; 26; 29; 30; 36; 40 Callias: 2; cf. 4 (perh. corrupt); 11A; 11B; 23; cf. 28; 31 Teleclides: 1 (passim: Golden Age); 2; 4; 5; 13; 19; 24; 33; cf. 34A; 38; 39; 40; 43; 44b; ??57 (cf. Eup. 56?) Thugenides: cf. 4 (dub. an Old Comedian) Aristomenes: 10 Lysippus: cf. 1; 4; 7; 8 Hemippus: 3; cf. 4; 9; 10; 14; 15; 17; 24; 25 (person?—cf. Golden Age); 26; 30; ?32; 35; 37; 41; 42; 45; 46.146.4; 46.7 (παρὰ πρὸς.); 47.7; 52; 59; ?63.2; 63.7; 63.8; 82 passim.

Cantharus: cf. 1; 6; 6B; 7 Phrynichus: 3.2-3; ?10 (text dub.); 20; prob. 23; 24; 33; 52; 53; 64; 65; 69 Myrtilus: cf. title ΤΙΤΑΒΟΝΑΪΕΣ Amipsias: 1; cf. 4 19; 24; 26; 28 Aristonymus: 2; 4 Philonides: 4A; cf. 5; 7 Leucon: 1

Archippus: 1; cf. 2 (slight person.); ?6; cf. 23; cf. 29; 35; 45A; 45B Strattis: 1.3 2; 3; 9A; 11; 15; 20; cf. 23; 25; 34; cf. 35; 38; 39; cf. 54; 62; 66.4; 67; 70; cf. 71; 78;

Austin 74.8f Metagenes: 4; cf. title ΘΟΥΡΙΟΠΕΡΑΙ ; cf. 6 (Golden Age); 7; 9; 10; 14; 19A Aristagoras: 2 (=Metagen. 4) Theopompus: 2; 4&5; 8; 13; cf. 24; 32.1; 32.3; 32.4; 33; 40; cf. 50; 62; 65; 67; ?67A; 72; cf. 75; 89 Polyzelus: 6A; 12

Sannyrion: 2; 5 Alcaeus: 1; 18; 20; 22; 28A Diocles: poss. 2; 5 Philyllius: 4; cf. 18; 23 Eunicus: 1 Heniochus (if really an Old Comedian): 1

Demetrius: 4 Cephisodorus: 1, 7 Nicochares: 16; poss. 16A?; 16B

Nicoophon: 14; 19; cf. 20 (Golden Age); so 21; 22 Autocrates: 1

Adesp.: (where prob. non-Ar.) 10; 41; 49

Proverbs

The following fragments contain or make allusion to proverbs or to closely allied ideas. Those humorously distorted are underlined; those cited for the proverb itself are marked + .

Cratinus: 4+ ; 6. 3; 16+; 24+; 31+; 33+; 52+; 59+; 60+; 76+; 88+; 89+; 102+; 114+; 128+; 135+; 169+ ; 176+; (177+); (cf. 209A+); 229+; ? cf. 236(+); 243+; 244+; 245+; .cf. 252+; ? cf. 298+; ? cf. 303; cf. 311; cf. 347+; ? cf. 348+; cf. 349+; 352+; 359+; cf. 365+ .

Eupolis: cf. 35B+; 90+; cf. 185+; 209. 2?; 261+; cf. 265+; 269+; cf. 282+; 284+; 289+; 295+; ?? 360; 371+; 379.

Pherecrates: 15+; cf. 35+; (39. 4 prob. better not counted); 124+; cf. 134; 144+; (179+ only if really a fragment).

Plato: 1+; 54+; cf. 75+; 99+; 100+; 174. 3-4; 178+; cf. 213+.

Chionides: 8 (cf. Thesm. 1, Ar. Fr. 601) Magnes: 5+ Crates: 4+; 8+; 21+; 12+; 29. 5. 30+; 36+ Callias: 1+; 20+ Teleclides: 19+; 34A+ Thugenides: 4+

Hemippus: cf. 15; 17+; 59+ Phrynichus: (cf. 45+) Amipsias: 26 Aristonymus: 4+ Philonides: cf. 7+ Archippus: cf. title "Ὀνομα ἐκείνη" Strattis: 23+

(also in Austin Fr. 220. 7); 35+; 38+; 54; 67+; 70+; 71+; poss. cf. also 49Edm

(with 80A) Metagenes: 7+ Theopompus: cf. 6A+; 4?; 28+; 50+; ? 67A; 69+

Polyzelus: cf. 8+ Samyrion: 5+ Alcaeus: cf. 3+ Diocles: 5 Philyllius: cf. 10? Cephisodorus: 1+ Nicochares: 16+ Euthycles: 2

Maxims, Sententious Reflections:

The following may be felt to deserve notice here:

Cratinus: 95; 322 Eupolis: 356; 376 Pherecrates: cf. 146; poss. cf. 147

Plato: cf. 51, 52, 53; 98; 136; 192; 204; cf. 220? Susarion: 1 (prob. spurious)

Metagenes: cf. 18 Theopompus: cf. 6A; 8; cf. 34 Diocles: 14 Philyllius: cf. 10.

Puns

The following passages include, or arguably include, puns:

Cratinus: poss. 3??; cf. 6. 3 (if Homer meant); cf. 10; 56; 69; cf. 96; 112; 113; ?129?; poss. 163. 12 (depending on what restoration is favoured: cf. Page, Edmonds, Luppe, Austin for various possibilities); 207; 240; 241; 237; cf. 349; 415; 438.

Eupolis: prob. 110A; 112; 213; 235; 308; 404; ? cf. 434; cf. Austin 95. 7ff; cf. also 181 and perh. 316.

Pherecrates: (39); (63); 70. 2; 108. 26-28 Edm; (113); cf. 131. 3; 141; 149; 155; cf. 102??

Plato: 51; 185b; 185c; ? 209; 259; cf. 178.

Callias: cf. 1; poss. 7? Teleclides: 4; 39; ? 49; cf. 44a & 47 Lysippus: 7. 2

Hemippus: poss. 15; cf. 24A; 63. 17 & . 22; 81 Phrynichus: 1; 10 Archippus: 15;

poss. 16; 17; 18; cf. 19; 23; 27 (passim); cf. 29; ? 40 Strattis: 18; poss. 41; 54; cf.

23; Fr. 74 Austin Theopompus: cf. 15 & 56; 35? Philyllius: 7 Apolloph-

anes: 1 Nicochares: cf. 1 & 13

Double Entendre

The following passages depend to some extent on their ability to sustain (however transparently) two senses:

Cratinus: (cf. 3?); 111 (with which poss. cf. 239?); 183; cf. 189; 256.

Eupolis: 77; poss. cf. 230 Pherecrates: poss. cf. 102?; 145 Plato: 174.

ἴσως προσδοκᾶν Jokes

In the following fragments there is a surprise substitution after a preliminary build-up:

Cratinus: most strikingly in 273; cf. also 125. Cf. also (more weakly) distorted proverbs. Such fragments as 56 and 240 have a comparable technique too.

Eupolis: cf. 31; 127; cf. 231; poss. 244A. 16 (dub. text); 278; 361.

Pherecrates: (cf. 109) Plato: cf. 173. 21 (the interruption) Teleclides: 41.

Hemippus: 46. 7 Amipsias: cf. 9. 1 (interchange of ὀλίγων and πολλῶν)

Strattis: cf. the bathetic 45. 2 Polyzelus: 3. 2-3

Irony

Cratinus: 212; perh. 212A & 212B; cf. 328; prob. 293.

Eupolis: 37; 122B.14; 122B.20; ?212; 308; 346; cf. 351.6?; Austin 95.172.

Pherecrates: 1; 5.1-2; poss. 77; 109.1; ?118 (cf. Kock); 153.10.

Plato: poss. 75; poss. 104 (of Pisander?); 106.

Hemippus: ??25.3 (corrupt text) Phrynichus: prob. 23.

Dramatic Irony:

Cratinus: 146 Hemippus: poss. 1A (to Cassandra?) Theopompus: 32.8 (where the male slave seems indeed to be making an attempt on the old woman, but not as she means).

Oxymoron:

Cratinus: 317B Eupolis: poss. 128B.16 (Austin 92.75, where cf. supplements); cf. the pithy distinction of 91 (not strictly oxymoronic).

Pherecrates: 155; 92 Plato: 77; 166.3 Archippus: ?46 (unless one separates all four words with commas).

Lists:

Cratinus: 98; cf. 162.7-8 Edm (161K); cf., more weakly, 261 & 284.

Eupolis: 14; 228; 276; 304; cf. 312; cf., weakly, 13.

Pherecrates: 45; 46A; cf. 100; cf. 136; 148; cf. 175; 188; cf. also the Golden Age fragments (108, 109, 130) and also 131. Plato: cf. 17; cf. 174.7ff

Callias: 3; 21 Teleclides: cf. 42.3; cf. also the Golden Age fragment 1

Lysippus: ?cf. 2 Philonides: cf. 5 Archippus: cf. 11; cf. 12?; 24; cf. 26; 27; cf.

44 Theopompus: cf. 40.1 Poliochus: cf. 2 Polyzelus: cf. 4 Sannyrion: cf.

3?? Alcaeus: poss. cf. 14 Philyllius: 13; 24; cf. 26; cf. 27 Heniochus: 3;

cf. 5.1-2 (a promise fulfilled?) Apollophanes: perh. cf. 7? Nicophon: 1; 5;

9. It is possible that Phrynichus 70 heralds another instance. Plays with individualised choruses may also have included lists of some or all of the chorus-members (as Ar. Av. 302-4). See on the 'Visual Element' for a list of such plays. For food-lists in particular cf. on 'Dietary Humour'. Cf.

also Hemippus' catalogues in 63 and 82. Cf the adjectival concentration in Phrynich.18.

Alliteration

Cratinus:188; 206; 240.2 Plato:189.2; cf. 113's four privative alphas
Crates: cf.19? Teleclides: cf.1.8 Phrynichus: cf.18's accumulation of
privative alphas; so 57A Poliochus: 2 ad init. Metagenes: cf.6.2
Theopompus: 71 has four words in privative alpha.

Assonance

Callias:1 Hemippus: 54.3 Lysippus: 7.2

Rhyme

Hemippus: 46.7 Less significantly Cratin. 324b, Eupolis 351.1 & Plato
187.1-2 and 206.

Tricola

Cratinus: 6.2; 143.3; 208 Plato: cf. 31 (prob. a tricolon, but out of context)
Phrynichus: double tricolon in 69 Cf. also Eup.162.

Parallelism (of syntax)

Eupolis: 74; 163 (similarly 77) Pherecrates: 31 Plato: 77; cf. 113
Lysippus: 7 Nicophon: 9

Anaphora

Hemippus 82.8 and *ibid.* 10-11

Other Repetitions for Effect

Cratinus: 188.1-2 (contemplative) Eupolis: 205 (sad apostrophe)
Plato: 185.1 (urgency) Pherecrates: 117 (in alarm) Heniochus: 1

Figura Etymologica:

Eupolis 148 ; Austin 95.??

Other Etymological Passages

Pherecrates : 141 Hemippus: 4; cf. the pun in 81

Onomatopoeia and Exclamations

The most noteworthy instances are

Cratinus: 43 Eupolis: 84 Plato: 16; 46.9; 66 Hemippus: 19

Cf. also onomatopoeic verbs such as occur in Cratin. 52, Pherecr. 108.4, Eupolis 272, Nicochares 19.

Oaths (where particularly significant or unusual)

Cratinus: cf. 231 Eupolis: 70; 74; 119; 244; 283; Austin 95.170 (cf. Ar. Ach. 774) Pherecrates: cf. 73 (vocative, but sometimes an oath); 96

Plato: 123 Teleclides: 27 Amipsias: 19

In addition there are many instances of common oaths (esp. $\nu\eta$ or $\mu\epsilon\lambda$ ($\tau\omicron\nu\nu$) $\Delta\iota\epsilon\iota$).

Hyperbole

Pherecrates 143.10 is the most striking example. Cf. also Cratin. 187.5, Eup. 189, Pherecr. 1, Hemipp. 45, 52, 63.8, Phrynich. 15, Plato 46.9-10, Archipp. 35, Theop. 2, 21, Nicophon 22.

Gross Metrical Eccentricities

Eupolis 73 apparently divides a word between two iambic trimeters. Cf. the choliambic metre of 74 also (??parodic).

Vocabulary

Within the scope of this thesis a survey of the vocabulary of the Old Comedians other than Aristophanes cannot hope to be definitive, but I have thought it desirable to indicate which words I consider most likely to be the inventions of the Comic poets (there is not room in most cases to indicate why) and to list words which are hapax in each of the four principal rivals of Aristophanes, and also words which occur for the first time in one of those Comedians and which appear significant. It is particularly difficult to be precise in more than a few cases about what is and is not an invention of the poet concerned. Even such a manifest Comic coinage as Κολυκοφωροκλειδης is cited from both Phrynichus (17) and Hemippus (3), and the chronological relationship of the plays from which

the fragments come is doubtful. The list given below, however, contains what I hope is a reasonable subjective impression of what words are likely to be original to each Comedian. By its very nature it will not be precisely what someone else's subjective impression would be, but it ought to give some idea of what the approximate distribution of coined words appears to be. If a word is preserved in a fragment not cited for the word itself, the word is underlined. Not all the words which I suggest may be coinages are hapax (although they are mostly so), and certainly not all words that are hapax are treated as coined. If a word occurs only in the author and in late grammarians and lexicographers who appear to know the word only from the same context, it is treated as hapax, the latter passages being considered secondary to the former.

Words likely to be Coinages:

Cratinus

Perh. 10, ἄωρόλειος, "unseasonably beardless" (recurs in Aelian); perh. also Βάθειππος in Fr. 10 hides a coinage (dub.); title Διονυσολέξανδρος, "Dionysus as Paris"; 44, βδελλολήρυξ, "leech-throat"; 50, βαλονειόμοφος, "with a boss like a bath-valve"; 62, ἀγερσικύβηλις, "begging axe-wielder"; perh. 62, κυβηλιστής⁷⁴, "axeman"; 67, ἀμφιανακτίχω, "sing! Of the Lord..." (again in Ar. Fr. 59); 69, Δωρῷ, "Bribery"; 69, συκοπέδιλος, "fig-sandalled"; 71, σχινοκέφαλος, "squill-headed"; 73A, Ξυβοβόιωτος, "pig-Boeotian"; 73A, κρουπεζοφόρος, "wooden-shoed"; 101, αὐτοῖβηρος, "very-Iberian"; perh. 101, τραγοπώγων, "goat-bearded" (recurs diff. sense); ? 103, κάβαιος, "gluttonous person" (etym. dub.); 154, ἄλλοτριόγνωμος, ? "thinking of other things"; 208, νεοπλουτοπόνηρος, "newly-rich-villainous"; 208, Ἰδιονυσοκουρωνων⁷⁵, gen. pl. of a corrupt proper-name compound; perh. 217, Τελενικίχω, "play Telenticus", i. e. make empty sounds or make empty; 240, κεφαληγερέτας, "head-gatherer"; perh. 259, ὀλόφωνος, "all-voice, entire-voice (i. e. at full volume)"; 263, Ἀνδροκολωνοκλῆς, "Androcles of Colonus"; perh. 267, Μυσικηρφή, ? "like

Musicarphus"; perh. 282 and 282A, διαπηνηκίζω and πηνηκίζω, "false-front" (i. e. deceive) (Edmonds); perh. 287, ἔμποις, "with child"; perh. 302, χρωτίδιον, "lovely, tender skin" (dimin.); 307, Εὐριπιδαριστοφανίζω, "enthuse over Euripides and Aristophanes"; perh. 307, ὑπολεπτολόγος, "somewhat over-subtle" (cf. simple adj.); 307, γνωμοδιώκτης, "maxim-pursuer"; 312, σοβαύβαλος, "of the pig-sty" or "pig-lulling"?; 323, ἄχρειόγελως, "laughter-forcing"; 335a, χοιριλεκφαντίδης, "Choerilus-Eophantides"; 335b (if Cratinus'), ἔκχοιριλόω, "free of the Choerilus element"; 335c (if Cratinus'), ἐγχοιριλόω, "add the Choerilus element"?; poss. 340, πυρροπίπης, "ogler at red-heads (adolescents)" (?)(dub.); poss. 341G, φιλοπραγματίας, "busy-body (recurs in D. C., however); 343, λυπησίλογος, "paining by one's speech"; 353, στημονίας, "thread-like object"; 364, τρισσακωνίας, "pitch-dauber"; 374, ἄγροβόας, "country-bawler"; 383, ἀνεξικώμη (fem.), "enduring the village"; 385, ἄνοργος, "free from anger"; 389, ἀρρενωπίας, "male-faced-woman"; perh. 392b, Ἀρτύων, "Dresser" (from ἀρτύω); perh. 392, βαδισματίας, "good walker"; 397, γαστροχάρυβδεις, "whirlpool-belly(-ied)"; 401, Δεξίω, "Receipt (of bribes, etc.)"; poss. 404, δυσβράκωνος, "difficult to understand" (from Aeolic root); 419, ἰωνόκυσσος, "Ionian-arsed"; perh. 430, μίξοφρυς, "with joining eyebrows"; perh. 435, πανεύφρων, "the livelong night"; 438, πρότηθος, "pre-Tethys (adj.)"; poss. 446, σφίγκτης, "gripper", i. e. pathic; poss. 452, χαλαίρυπος, "dirt-loosening"; poss. 453, χειρονομησειώ, "want to gesticulate"; Austin Fr. 237, Γοργο[δ]ρακον[τ]οδ[ο]κ[α]ζ[α] (?), translated "Gorgoschlängenbetrachterin" by von Luppe (suppl. von Luppe).

Eupolis

2, αἰγιάζω, "go on about goats"; poss. 105, ἀναβλυτονέω, "gush up"? (Photius takes as coinage); poss. 108B, ὠμόυπνος, "with one's sleep not finished" (recurs Philostr.); perh. 110A. 13, ἄρστητικός, "well-lunched"; perh. 110B. 5, κίνητήριον, "knocking-shop" (Page—i. e. a brothel)—slang?; 129A, Ἄμφιπτολεμοπηδησίστρατος, distortion of a name in --(i)stratus; 133, ἡσθημα, "pleasurable experience"; 141, καλλιχέλιωνος, "of fair tortoise"

(of a coin); 142(?), ταῖσχοῦντ, adv. of dub. form and sense (Herodian censures the formation); poss. 145A, Λιμοδωριεύς, "Famine-Dorian" (but perh. proverbial: cf. sources on Edm. p. 368); 172, κοιλιοδαίμων, "belly-god man"; 173, ταγγυροκνισοθήρας, "hunter after the aroma of the frying-pan"; 222?, ἑπλήγιοσ, "single-garmented" (i. e. not a rich busybody, an honest, simple-living man?—cf. context); 234, ἄσπουδος, "without zeal, ambitionless"; 241A, ἀνάγκιππος, "knight by constraint"; ?? 244A.16, αὐτόπρυμνος, "stem and all" (dub. reading); 245, μουσοδόνημα, "poetic frenzy, Musical agitation"; 256A, σκευοφοριώτης, "luggage-bearer-Dionysus (cf. εἶραφιώτης) or luggage-bearer-soldier (cf. στρατιώτης)"; title Υβριστοδίκαι, "Abusers of Law"; 278A?, καρατμής, "with head, i. e. hair cut"; 294, τίσορωντ (or -os), (form and sense dub., but Schol. Ar. Av. 42 indicates a coinage); 394, ἑναγκιπέω, "be a knight by constraint" (cf. noun in 241A); ? 401, βέπτρια, "Dipper-ess"; 408, Δαμασικόνδυλος, "subduing-with-the-knuckles-Damasci strutus"; 412, ἐμίαις, "vomiter"; 420?, κλεπτίσκος, "little thief"; poss. 429, μαστιγιάω, "want a whipping" (but a verb likely to have been used of slaves before?); 436, περιαμφίς, "tum, roundabout".

Pherecrates:

4??, ῥοχαδώνης, "fig-buyer" (or a normal word for fig-wholesaler?); (?), ἀποπροσωπίζομαι, "wash the face" (attested different sense in Hsch.); prob. 14, where Bergk and Meineke conjecture φιλορχικός, "dance-loving"; perh. 16, γλευκαγωγός, "carrying fresh wine; title Ἀνθρωφηρεακλής, "The Human Heracles"; 32, λαρυγγικός, "gullet-(sc. man), concerned with the gullet"; ? title Δουλοδιδάσκαλος, "Slave-trainer"; 64, μαγείραινα, "butcheress" or "female cook"; 64, ἰχθυοπώλαινα, "fish-seller-ess"; ? poss. 72, ὑοσκυαμάω, "be mad from taking henbane"; 82, ἀμύχτιρος, "knifeless"; 95, ἐκχαρυβδίζω, "swallow like Charybdis"; 99, κραπαταλίας, "worthless or silly fellow"; poss. 109. 2, λωτοφόρος, "lotus-bearing"; title Μυρμηκόνθρωποι, "Ant-men"; 126, πολλαγόρασος, "buying-much"; 130. 8, λειριοπολφανεμώνη, "omel. et of lilies, polphus (a farinaceous food) and anemonas (cf. 108. 25 for these)";

130.7, πολυτύρος, "rich in cheese"; 141B, στρατηγίς (as subst.), "general-ess" (recurs in Ar.); 145.14 & 24, ἐξαρμόνιος, "extra-harmonious"; title Ψευδηραϊκῆς, "The Bogus Heracles"; 172B, ἀνδροκῆπραινῶ, "sow with lust for men"; perh. 182A, μιξόφρυξ, "part-Phrygian"; 208, ἐγρηγόρειος, "keeping one awake"; 219, κλεπτίδης, "son of a thief, Thiefson"; ?222, ναϊκισηρέύω (?) (conj. Kock), "grin yes" (text dub.) (also in Hemipp. 90); ?230, σινναμώρευμα, "stolen dainty"; 234, στομοδόκος, "endowed with a mouth (?)", i. e. loquacious(?); 239, ταχέωστί, "in quick wise" (parodic: cf. μεγαλωστί).

Plato

Poss. 3, δασύπρωκτος, "hairy-arsed" (but cf. Cratin. 295); 48A, Ἀφροδιταρίδιον "dear little Aphrodite"; 64, ἀβελτεροκόκκυξ, "stupid cuckoo of a fellow"; 77, Παροσημείος, "that is an imitation seal"; cf. 77, Παρακλείδιος, "that is an imitation key" (neut. subst. found (= "lock") in ii A. D. papyrus); ?88, βουλεντίς, "counselor (fem.)", but possibly from Aeschylus and not Plato; 113, ἀπλάκουντος, "never offered flatcakes"; 113, ἐλιβάνωτος "never offered frankincense"; ??117, Ξέβινος, "Screw" (sens. obsc.), also in Ar. Ra. & Eccl.; 124, ὑπηνόβιος, "of moustachioed existence"; 124, σπαρτιοχίτης, "copy-haired"; 124, ἐλκετρίβων, "cloak-trailer"; 147A, χρησιμωδοληρος, "oracle-monger's babble" (Ech) or (?) "sooth-saying-twaddle-talker"; poss. 174.10, where Meineke conj. ἐπισέλινος as an obscene pun on ἐπισέληνος ("cunt-marked" or "cunt-shaped" instead of "moon-marked" or "moon-shaped"); poss. 174.17, Λόρδων, "On-the-back"; poss. 174.17, Κύβδακος, "Bent-forward"; poss. 208, πορφυρόβαπτος, "dye'd purple"; poss. 210, ἀσελγόμενος, "with wanton, brutal hom"; 236A, αύχμηρόβιος, "of squalid existence"; 227, ἀκύκλιος, "uncycl'd, uneducated"; poss. 233, ἀρχωνίς (?), perh. fem. of ἀρχων or of ἀρχωνίης, but v. dub.; perh. 239, τγλωττηνί, dub. form; 246A, ὄφρυόσκιος, "eyebrow-shaded"; 246A, σηψιδακίης, "causing mortification by the bite"; 246A, ὄστεογενής, "bone-born".

Magnes: poss. 7, ἀπρόστομος, "not pointed, blunt"

Crates: 29, ὄρει-

μαχέω, "fight with mountains"; 42, ἀδικοχρήματος, "with ill-gotten

wealth";?poss. 44, ἀναγχόσιτος, "feeding on what one has to", but the word recurs in Nicostr. Com. 32, and cf. ἀναγχοφαγία, —έω, ἀναγχοτροφέω;?poss. 49, ἡμιμάσητος, "half-chewed";?poss. 51, παλίνδικος, "repeatedly going to law" or "going to law again", but cf. cognates(—έω, —ία).

Callias:?11, λευκόπρωκτος "white-arsed";?27, δοκησίνουσ, "clever in one's own conceit", but cf. similar compounds in δοκησι —;?28, ἔλλεβοριόω, "want hellebore", but cf. Plaut. Rud. 4, 3, 67;?30, στρηνόφωνος, "rough-voiced" Teleclides: 3, δουλοπόνηρος, "slave-bad"(?="bad like a slave's" —so LSJ—"bad enough for a slave"; Edm.'s "slave-made", i. e. almost "mass-produced", is to me implausible);8, Ἰχθύων, "Mr. Fish", prob. of a glutton, cook or fish-seller;?poss. 16, Νόθιππος, "Bastard-ippus"(of Gnesippus?), also in Hemipp. 45; 23, Δάκης, "Biter"(dog's name?); 40, Ξωκρατογόμφος, "Socrates-bolted"; in 44b ἐνδεκάκλιнос, "big enough for 11 couches", is conceivably an invention, but nineteen other formations in numeral+ κλιнос are listed in Buck and Petersen, which makes it unlikely;?52, ἀνερωτίζω, "keep on asking"; 62, Μέριφειρα (or —μπτ—, Meineke), "Censure"(person.?) Hemippus: poss. 5, καιροσπίθητος, "close-woven"; 10, πασιπόρνη, "prostitute for all-comers"; 24A, ἀνήδομαι, "not enjoy"; 32, παραταιναρίζω, "imitate celebration of the Taenaria"(i. e. celebrate, as at the Taenaria); 38, Κολακωφωροκλείδης, "Flatterer-thief-Hierocides"—also in Phrynich. 17;?63, ἡδυνέιρος, "bringing sweet dreams"; perh. 84A, ἄδραστος, "undone";?788, δειλοκοπέω, "terrify" or "cheat"; 90 (as Pherecr. 222).

Phrynichus:??17 (as Hemipp. 38, but prob. first in Hemipp. ?); 18, ἀδίλεκτος, "without conversation";?19A, μισογέρων, "lonely old man", but =Adesp. 1083; 70A, ἀναπηρόβιος, "with maimed life" Myrtilus: title Τιτανοπᾶνες,

"Titan-Pans"(homosexuals?) Amipsias:?10, παραμαίνομαι, "act insane", "behave like a madman"; poss. 34, νεογύνης, "newly with wife"(dub. form)

Aristonymus: 2, καρκίνοβήτης, "one who walks like a crab" Philonides: ?11, ἐπιχάρτης, "one who rejoices malignantly";?poss. 13, φιλομόχθηρος, "fond of villains(or villainy)", but the word recurs in Eustratius and is a v.l. in Plato Resp. 535d Archipous:?11, αὐξίκερως, "with growing

horns (dub.)"; 45, κλαυθουχενεύομαι, "incline the head"; ?45A, χλανιδοφόρος, "bearing χλανίδες (as blankets)", but recurs 10th. Century A. D.

Strattis: title Ἀνθρωπορέστης ("Human Orestes") or Ἀνθρωπορραΐστης ("Human-destroyer"), dub., but prob. latter; 15, χορόκτονος, "chorus-slaying"; title Λημνομέδρα, of dub. significance, but clearly a conflation of Λῆμνος and Ἄνδρομέδρα; perh. 44, στρογγυλοπλεύρος, "round-sided"; 74, διατράμις, dub. signif. (Meincke's suggestion, "with anus gaping through age", is unconvincing)

Metagenes: title Θουριοπέρσαι, "Thurian Persians"; poss. 15, λαθροφάγέω, "eat secretly", but cogn. noun in Hsch. Theopompus: ?20, αὐτόκακος, "woe to oneself", but neut. in Plotinus and later; ?30.4, λυσάνδρος, "loosening a man, i. e. making him more amenable to persuasion through intoxication", dub. reading; poss. 54, στρεψαύχηγ, "neck-twisting", but recurs in Apollin. Laod. (iv. A. D.); ?75, δεσποτοπενέστης, "master-serf" (dub., conj. Dobree); ?78, οἶνομάχλος, "lustful with wine" (dub. text); 79, ναυτίς, "sailoress"

Polyzelus: title Δημοτυνδάρως, "Demos as Tyndareus" (apptly.)

Philyllius: 17, λιχοφειδάργυρος, "gluttonous but mean" (dub. form: conj. Meincke)

Cephiædorus: title Ἀντιλαΐς, "Antileis, Reply to Leis"

Nicoophon: poss. 23, ἄρρησία, "silence, lack of speech", but ἄρρητος is common.

Hexax in Cratinus:

βωλοκόπος (5); ἀμφιτηρίβομαι (8A); ἄνεσία (20); ράζω (25 & 26); καθαρύλλω (27: the dimin. adv.—for the dimin. adj. cf. Plato 86); title Διονυσάλεξάνδρος; νακότιλος (41); βδελλολάρυγξ (44); παράπυξος (47); γελοτόπωλις (48); βαλανειόμφαλος (50); πυππάζω (52); Πανδιονίδης (56); ἄγερσικύβηλις (62); κυβηλιστής (62); ἀνεικάζομαι (63—but cf. Kock); Δωρώ (69); συκοπέδιλος (69); σχινοκέφαλος (71); Συσοβόιωτος (73A); κρουπέλοφόρος (73A); ἀποφρέω (79); πέλιξ (84: dub.); φέροικος (94: but cf. φερέοικος); βρύτινος (96); αὐτοΐβηρος (101); Κάβαισος (103: dub. etym.); σπερματίας (149); Κιμώνιος (151); ἄλλοτρίογνωμος (154); σκευωρός (159); ἔξαμεινῶ (163.16); κορωνιδεύς (179); ἠλεότης (186: conj. Fri. tzsche; dub.); βρίκελος (205); γροπλουτοπόνηρος (208); † Διονυσοκοιρώνων † (208: gen. pl. of corrupt compound); πολύβωτος (212); δελέαστρα

(216); Τελενικίζω (217); ξιφίζω (219); ἔρυθρόχρως (221: cf. — χρῶς); λυχνο-
 καυστέω (227; cf. — καυτέω); περισσοκαλλής (238); κεφαληγερέτας (240);
 ὀλόφωνος (259); Ἄνδροκολωνοκλής (263); γαλιδεύς (265); Μυσικαρφί (267);
 διαπτηνηκίζω (282); πηνηκίζω (282A); ἔμπαις (287); ὑδατοπωτέω (288: cf.
 — ποτέω); χρωπίδιον (302); Ἐξίριπιδαριστοφανίζω (307); ὑπολεπτολόγος (307);
 γνωμοδιώκτης (307); συαβαύβαλος (312); ἀχρειόγεως (323); Χοιριλεκφαντίδης
 (335a); ἐκχοιριλόω (335b); ἐγχοιριλόω (335c); πυρροπίτης (340) (cf. πυρο —);
 ἐκκυζέω (341E); λυπησίλογος (343); ?τῶλίσκος† (344; v. dub.); στημονίας (353);
 πισσοκωνίας (364); ἀγροβόας (374); ἀίμυλόφρων (379a); ἀίμυλοπλόκος (379b);
 ἀνεξικώμη (383); ἄνοργος (385); ἀρρενωπός (389: cf. ἀρρενωπός); Ἀρτύων
 (389b); βαδισματίας (392); γαστροχέρυβδης (397); Δεξίω (401); δυσβρέκωνος (404:
 from an Aeolic root); ἔλλοπιδεύς (408; conj. Schmidt); ἐφετινίδα (415); ἡμί-
 λουτος (416); Ἰωνόκυσος (419); λαυροστάτης (422); μετεκβολή (427; verb in
 Pap. Oxy. 2806, Fr. I, col. i, 3-i, which Austin (Fr. 76) boldly ascribes to Crati-
 nus—too boldly in my view); μίξοφρως (430); μινάρος (431); πανεύφρων (435);
 πρότηθος (438); στρωματίτης (445); σφίγκτης (446); τοκέω (449); χειρονομησεῖα
 (453); Γόργο[δ]ρακον[τ]οδο[ρ]κα[τ]α (Austin Fr. 237—conj. Luppe).

First in Cratinus: (rare or otherwise noteworthy words only)

ἑωρόλειος (10); βάθιππος (10—dub.); ἀναρύτω (36); ἀνεπτάγγελτος (44);
 ἀμφιανακτίζω (67: also Ar. Fr. 59); ἀμπυλίνωρος (73B; Boeotian form); συρβ-
 ηνεύς (77); Κακόδουλος (82); ἀποπυρίας (99); φοινικόπτερος (108); ἐπανθ-
 ρακίζω (143. 2); ἀναρροφέω (152A); παλινωδικός (159A); διποδία (164);
 τρόπα (170); ἑπανατρέπω (181); οἰνίσκος (183); δωδεκάκρουνος (187); βόθυνος
 (211); ἀριστεροστάτης (215); βιβλιαγράφος (249: cf. βιβλιο —); ? περο-
 ρραγής (253: also in a different usage in Ar. Ach. 934); ἀναφθείρομοι (264);
 κήτιον (266); μασθλήτινος (283); κοιλοφθαλμιάω (288); ? γαργαίρω (290: also
 in Ar. Fr. 359, etc.); κώμης (299); ? Πολυμνήστειος (305; also Ar. Eq. 1287);
 αὐθημερινός (306); βαβάκτης (321); ψόφης (323); καπνίας (334); φιλο-
 πραγματίας (341G); Ναύσων (349); ὑλίζω (354: cf. διυλίζω); ἐφιππάζομαι
 (358); ? οἴναγωγός (370: also Pheracr. 143); πιναρός (372); ἀμφίκουστις

(381); γονατίζω (399); δουλοπρεπῶς (403: adv. first here); δυσθαλής (405); ἐπιλησμονή or ἐπιλησμοσύνη (410); εὐθανάτως (413); θεόθυτος (417); καλαμα-
 ῥομαι (420); μισόκοπος (426); παγωνίας (439); ῥύδην (441); σχιζίας (447);
 φαγῆς (451) (cf. κατα —); χαλαίρυπος (452); ὄνουχίζω (455; also Ar. Fr. 834,
 etc.). The dub. †διπλοσ† (402) should perhaps also be in one of these lists
 (form uncertain).

Hapax of Sense in Cratinus (excluding words solely in Cratinus):

ἄνεπαγγελτος (44); καλιός (72: cf. καλιά); κακόδουλος (82); πῖλος (100);
 τραγοπύγων (101); φοινικόπτερος (108); ἔπανθρακίζω (143. 2); ? παλινοδικός
 (159A); ? βῶλος (160: cf. Hsch.; dub.); ἔπανατρέπω (181); ἄμοργός (210);
 ποδιζώ (219); ἀργυροκοπιστήρ (226); κήτιον (266); αὐθημερινός (306);
 ἀνελκτός (355); ἀμφίκουστις (381); γονατίζω (399); ? †διπλοσ† (402: cf.
 above); θηλόστριον (418); σαύνιον (443).

First in this Sense in Cratinus (where noteworthy and not already listed
 elsewhere):

ἰμόλινον (8A); ἄβαξ (86); βδελυγμία (251); ἄγιος (373); cf. ὄνουχίζω (455; also
 in Ar. Fr. 834, etc., and poss. first absolutely in Cratinus).

Hapax in Eupolis:

ἀγιγίζω (2); Τάγυρι (3: a foreign word acc. to Herodian); νεόκοπος (20: cf.
 νεόκοπος); ἀνακίης (21: cf. πανακίης and ἀνήκεστος); ἀφαιδία (34: cf. lex-
 icographers and grammarians ap. Kock); ἀναφλασμός (61: cf. ἀναφλέω & Ἀναφλ-
 ἔστιος in Ra. 431 and Eccl. 980); ἀρρωστήμων (63; cf. ἀρρώστημα); ἀναβλυστ-
 ονέω (105: cf. lexicographers and grammarians ap. Kock); ἀριστητικός (110A.
 13 Edm); κινήτηριον (110B. 5); νιγλαρεύω (120); ἡμφιπτελεμοπηδησίστρατος
 (129A); ἡσθημα (133); καλλιχέλωνος (141); ταισχουνί (142: dub. form and
 sense; Herodian censures the formation); ταγγνοκνισθήρας (173); συμπαρ-
 οικος (177: cf. πάροικος); ἀπλήγιος (222); ἄσπουδος (234); ἀνάχιππος
 (241A: cf. verb in 394); αὐτόπρυμνος (244A. 16, if correct); μουσοδόνημα (245);
 σκευοφοριώτης (256A); title Ἰβριστοδίκαι; καταμήτης (278A); κατάλαβρος (293)

ἴτισσων or —ος† (294); νεοκάτοικος (300: cf. νέοικος); ἔγκαφος (330: sounds colloquial in context); κόντιλος (334); λακκοπρωκτιά (351.4; cf. —ος in Nu.1330, etc.); Παλαμηδικός (351.6: cf. Παλαμήδειος); ἁμαρτωλῶς (375A: cf. —ος & —ία); ἀναγχιπέω (394: cf. adj. in 241A); ἀνδραποδιστικῶς (396: in superlat. adv. form: adj. in Plato Philos.); βάρπτρια (401); δαμαρ-
ίππεως (407: cf. Becker Anecd.1197); Δαριασικόνδυλος (408); ἔμιας (412); κλεπτίσκος (420); λέπτω (427); μαστιγιάω (429); οἰσουργός (433); περι-
αμφίς (436).

First in Eupolis

ἄρρογῆ (11); πολύφυλλος (14.3); προβατικός (14A); ἀνασκιρτέω (22); βαλλ-
αντίδιον (23); νεανισκεύομαι (29); ?καλίδιον (42: also in Com. Adesp.1335);
καταδιαφθείρω (44); ?ἀναρίστητος (68: also in Ar. Fr.454 etc.); ἀτρεύερος
(69); ἑμόυπνος (108B); ἔμπολις (137); πλούταξ (159.9); καλλαβίς (163);
_____ (163); κοιλιοδύμων (172); περίστατος (176); αὐτοκάβδαλος
(200); title Μαρικῆς (perh. Nu. 553 should not be counted as a recurrence
of this word); ἔμβροντάω (259A); ?ἀγκυρίζω (262: also in Ar. Eq. 262); ἔκκαν-
άσσω (272: cf. διακνάσσω); ἀναχυλίζω (275); ἀποπάτημα (284); ψαρμα-
κόσιοι (286: cf. ψαρμακωσιογράφοι in Ar. Ach. 3); σοβάς (344); κομμάτιον
(362) ἀνωφέλητος (377); ἀποκαθεύδω (399); γλύμμα (406); ἔραστρία (414: cf.
ἀνδρεραστρία in Ar. Thesm. 392); κενολογέω (418); κομμῶ (421); συμβίσιος
(poss. συμβιώτης) (448).

Hexax of Sense in Eupolis

σάβυτος (278A); κοπετός (347); σακτός (439); σκοπός (446); διακόλλημα
(447A: this, not στοιβή, seems to belong to Eupolis); cf. 82 below?

First in this Sense in Eupolis

cf. βάταλος (82: used of the anus acc. to Harpocration. This could well be
a hexax of sense, depending on how we interpret Demosthenes' nickname
Βάταλος: two of the contexts in Aeschines (I.131, II.99) strongly suggest
that the nickname had at least a connotation of passive homosexual vice);
ἀποφρός (399).

Hapax in Pherecrates

ἰσχαδώνης (4); φιλορχικός (14: conj. Bergk & Meineke); γλευκαγωγός (16);
 title Ἀνθρωφρηκλής; συγκορκινοῖμαι (20); ἀτραπίζω (26); λαρυγγικός
 (32); title Δουλοδιδασκάλος; ἀναϊκορέω (50A: cf. simple verb); ἀρδα (53: cf.
 ἀρδαλώ; ἀρδαλος); περίερκτος (63); μαγείρινα (64); ἰχθυοπώλαινα (64);
 κοτυλίσκη (69: cf. —ίσκος); ὑοσκυράτω (72: cf. —έω in Hsch.); cf. ἀνόδ-
 οντος (in both 74 & 82); ἀνυδρεῦομαι (76: cf. simple verb); ἀμίχαρος
 (82); κραπαταλίας (99); δλόκνημος (108.13); ἐπιξανθίζω (108.17); χναυρός
 (108.17); λωτοφόρος (109.2); title Μυρμηκάνθρωποι; Πολλαγόραος (126);
 ζυγοποιός (130.2); ναστίσκος (130.7); πολυτύρος (130.7); λειριπολφανεμίων
 (130.8); ἀνεκλογίστως (adv. only here; 143.7); cf. ἔξαρμόνιος (145.14 & .24)
 ἄγρυκτος (144B: cf. ἀγρυξία); title Ψευδηρακλής; ἀνδροκάπρινα (172B);
 μιέόφρυξ (182A); ἄσμηκτος (195); ἀπαράλεκτος (195); ἔργηγόρασιος
 (208); καθεστέον (215); κλεπτίδης (219); καταβαράω (218: by-form of κατα-
 βαρέω); πλοκάς (225); πρωτόβαθος (226: cf. —θρέω); σινυμώρευμα (230);
 στομοδόκος (234); ταχέωστί (239); τραύξανον (241: cf. τραύσανον in Hsch.).

First in Pherecrates

? ὀλιγόσιτος (1: also in Phryni. ch. Com. 23); διωχής (3); ἀποπροσωπίζο-
 ομαι (9); θρυγανέω or —άω (10); κερουῦχος (12); ἀμφίμαλλος (14A); γινίδιον
 (25); ἀρτήρ (38); Προζώννυμι (62); κίκκαβος (ap. Pollux 9.83, p. 236Edm);
 title Κραπαταλοί (with Fr. 82); ? νωτοπλήξ (39: also in Ar. Fr. 830); ἔκχαρυβδ-
 ἴζω (95: Hsch. also has ἔξεχαρυβδαῖωθι (sic)); δυσημερέω (98); τονθολυγέω
 (108.4); καταχυσμέτιον (108.11); ἡβυλλιάω (108.29); ἀναθολώ (116); χερ-
 ακισμός (130); ἐπιβλύξ (130.4); κοχυδέω (130.4); τενθίδιον (130.10); προσσείρου
 (131.2); cf. στρατηγίς (141B: first here as subst. = "general's"); γαστρο-
 ἴδης or ? γαστροῖς (dub. form) (143.5); ? δοκησιδέξιος (154: also in Call-
 ias 27); ? ἐγκλικίζω (166: also in Ar. Fr. 105); ἀλλοκότως (201); ἀπισυλόω
 (204); (*πτόω) (211: + Hsch.); ? ναικισηρένω ? (222: conj. Koock; also Hemipp.
 90); οὐλοκέφαλος (223: cf. οὐλοκέρημος); πλατειάζω (224); τραπέμπαλιν
 (240).

Hapax in Plato

δασύπρωκτος (3: cf. Gratin. 295 for the idea); ἀμφίκολλος (34: v. l. ἀμφικέφαλος); ἀστραβεύω (39); Ἀφροδιταρίδιον (48A); ἀβελτεροκόκκυξ (64); ἀπαμβρακόμοι (64A); προαναφυσάω (69. 6: conj. for προαναφυσάω, also hapax); παρασημίος (77); περαικλείδιος (77; but neut. subst. found in ii. A. D. papyrus); ? βουλευτής (88: poss. an Aeschylean fragment); παντόςοφος (90: cf. πάσσοφος); ὄρτυγκόπος (108); ἐπλάκουντος (113); ἐλιβάνωτος (113); ὑπηνόβιος (124); σπαρτιοχαίτης (124); ἐλκετρίβων (124); δικλιμακίζω (124: cf. simple verb); λυχνίος (146); χρησμευδόληρος (147A: em. Schneider); εὐερία (169); ῥαφανίδιον (171); ? ἐπιπέλινος (174. 10) (conj. Meineke for ἐπισέληνος, which is first in Plato, if correct); Ἀόρων (174. 17); Κύβδατος (174. 17); καλλοπεύω (186. 5); ἐξαμνοτίζω (189); μανάκισ (200); πορφυρόβαπτος (208); ἀσελγάκερως (210); συβώτρια (211); ἄκλωστος (221: cf. κλώθω); ἄκοος (226); ἀκύκλιος (227); ? ἄμαρτήμων (228A: if ἀμάρτημον be correctly interpreted as neuter of this adj.); ἀρχωνίς (233: if correct); ἄσκη (234); ἀσμάτιον (235); ἄσμος (235); ἀύχμηρόβιος (236A); πρόσωπος (238: masc. equiv. of πρόσωπον); cf. τγλωττήν† (239: form dub.); ἔξπους (242: cf. ἔκπους & ἔξάπους); ναυτοκόπος (246); ὄφρυόσκιος (246A); σηψιδακής (246A); ὄστεογενής (246A); ῥακετρίζω (252: cf. ῥαχετρίζω in Pollux).

First in Plato:

ἐπιτραπέζωμα (74); ἀνεγκλητί (76A: —εἰ in Iso cr. 15. 28); ἀπώλεια (78: elsewhere ἀπώλεια); αὐτοσχεδίημα (87); ? Σέβινος (117: also in Ar. Ra. 427 & Eccl. 980); ?? ῥυποκόνδυλος (124: but prob. first in Ar. Fr. 718); μεταπεττεύω (124); ? δωδεκαμήχανος (134: also in Ra. 1328); παλινδορία (164); ἐλεφαντόπους (208); ἄγνωπτος (220A); ποδάριον (248).

Conclusions

What, then, may we conclude of the comic technique of each of the Old Comedians other than Aristophanes? I shall begin with some remarks about pre-Cratinean Comedy and then examine our findings with reference to the major Old Comedians of Cratinus' generation and later and add any observations that we can make of the technique of the lesser poets.

Of the nature of Athenian Old Comedy before the age of Cratinus we know almost nothing, for our evidence is extremely sparse. We have not in fact enough names to fill out all the gaps in the Victors' List for Comic poets at the Dionysia before Cratinus' own name, which is a sufficient indictment of our ignorance. Our most precious evidence is external, that of Aristophanes for the career of Magnes, from parabasis Eq. (518sq.), where we gather that the visual impact of the chorus was an important feature of Old Comedy in Magnes' day, as in fact it continued to be, but Aristophanes seems to select the visual ingenuities of Magnes as particularly memorable. He does, however, speak of Magnes' fall from popularity as due to the fact that his talent for making jokes failed him (ὅτι τοῦ σκώπτειν ἀπελείφθη), and this clearly refers to verbal jokes and not to any visual entertainment. The value of the statement in Corp. Gloss. Lat. 5.181 (on p. 72 in Kaibel) is dubious, as it claims knowledge that Aristotle disclaims (Poetics V) and the text is much corrupted, but we are there told that Magnes and poets of his generation did not write comedies of more than three-hundred lines in length (reading "trecentos" or "tricentos" for the mss. "tricens"). If this information is reliable, their plays would be half the length of Euripides' 'Cyclops', or rather less in fact, a scale of composition similar to that computed for Epicharmus by Birt, Antike Buchwesen pp. 496sq., whose theory is discussed by Pickard-Cambridge, Di. th. Trag. and Com. p. 281. In such a short composition the chorus must have dominated the play, if there was anything even approaching the later formal structure of an Aristophanic old comedy. There could scarcely be any room

for complexities of plot. Nevertheless, the value of such evidence is very dubious, and both Kaibel (v. Pickard-Cambridge, loc. cit.) and Pickard-Cambridge take a pessimistic view of its worth. Our fragments of Magnes, such as they are, are all iambic trimeters (where we have complete lines), save for a single trochaic tetrameter (Fr. 6), and none of the fragments suggests the chorus, but as Pickard-Cambridge observes (op. cit. p. 191), the ancient doubts about ascription and evidence of revision make it highly dubious that any of our citations represents what Magnes actually wrote. If his plays were extensively revised, an entirely new emphasis (and scale) may have been given them, and our internal evidence here is worth almost nil. For what their information is worth, the late sources tell us that early Attic Comedy was a disorderly affair (Tzetzes, Prol. de Com. 16, Kaibel p. 18, says that those of the time of Susarion τὰ πρόσωπα ἀτάκτως εἰσῆγον καὶ γέλωσ ἦν μόνος τὸ κατασκευαζόμενον). This seems to describe a form of Comedy in which individual scenes counted for far more than the overall plot, if there really was any worthy of the name, and in which laughter was the only object (Tzetzes goes on to speak of Cratinus' addition of τὸ ὠφέλιμον to τὸ χαρῖεν , which denotes the less sophisticated and less pointed fun of earlier Comedy. Really, then, we know so little of Attic Comedy of the early Fifth Century that we can form only the vaguest impression of what its character may have been, but our minimal evidence would lead us to expect visually entertaining performances with a number of scenes loosely connected to each other, in which satire and invective played a prominent part (cf. Aristotle's statement that Crates forsook the invective form of Comedy, implying that that was one of Comedy's features till that time, though he is probably thinking more especially of Cratinus' generation). The impact of individual scenes was, it would seem, the foremost concern in the composition of the plays, and there was probably no great sophistication in the construction of the drama as a whole, nor any allegorical subtleties or overriding political

purpose in the theme. Variety and novelty seem to have been prized, at which Aristophanes' comments in Eq. loc. cit. suggest that Magnes excelled.

With Cratinus our knowledge of Attic Comedy really begins, and he is the first Comedian for whom we have enough evidence to form any detailed assessment of his technique. His plays cover a variety of themes, and, although in several cases we cannot make out much of the plot, in a few plays we have a good notion of what the scope of the action was, and we have, of course, that precious hypothesis to *Διονυσιαλέξανδρος*. It is the last statement of that hypothesis that alerts us to the probability that the play was to a large extent allegorical, and, although the degree to which we should seek to trace the allegorical possibilities is debatable, it is likely that behind the god Dionysus we are to see Pericles, who was attacked by innuendo for bringing war on Athens, just as Dionysus had brought war on Troy by bringing Helen to that city. This is a most interesting parallel for the allegorical explanation that Bergk sought in *Νέμεσις*, and to these two plays we may add the *Πυτινή*, which was allegorical, although in a different way (there is, of course, no mythology involved). Pieters and Edmonds would add *Δραπέτιδες*, but the notion that it was an allegory is less securely founded. Pieters' view (Ch. VI) that it was Cratinus' achievement to reconcile the contemporary element of Comedy with the mythological tradition and to create the caricature of the leading citizen is probably correct, but one would like to know more about the nature of the Comedy which preceded Cratinus. Hermippus' *Ἀθηναίων Γοναί* may have been another attack on Pericles in mythological guise (mainly through Zeus' pregnant head). The chronological relationship between this play of Hermippus and Cratinus' *Νέμεσις* and *Διονυσιαλέξανδρος* is not known, and it is safest to say that Cratinus was at least a forerunner in this particular brand of Comedy, which is now especially associated with him. He could, however, write a burlesque which was not allegorical: *Ὀδυσσεύς* is an example of such. Another important fact learnt from the

Hypothesis is that there could be development of plot right through a Cratinean comedy just as much as in a play of Aristophanes (as 'Knights', but it is more normal for the dramatic development of an Aristophanic comedy after the parabasis to be slight). Platonius, π. δι. φ. χ. ρ. , p. 6 Kaibel, gives a different impression, as Norwood (p. 142) observes. Platonius remarks, "Although he successfully hits the mark in the conception (or opening) of his plays and in their build-up, as the drama advances he diversifies (pulls apart) his plots and does not complete his plays along the expected lines. 'Platonius' words may be true of the majority of Cratinus' comedies for all we know, but it is not the impression we get of Διονυσιαλέξανδρος from the Hypothesis, and it seems likely that Ὀδυσσεύς also must have had development of plot right through, as Norwood observes. Some incidental scenes in Διονυσιαλέξανδρος , perhaps after the arrival of Helen at Troy, may, of course, not be recorded in the Hypothesis, which probably concentrated on scenes essential to the action as a whole, and so may have given a more pronounced impression of dramatic development than we should gain from reading the play. But let us look at particular techniques of Cratinus' humour.

Cratinean comedy had varied political, literary, philosophical and social themes, with a substantial element of mythological burlesque and allegory, and some fantasy. The plays as a whole were characterised by a strong measure of criticism and invective, there was some obscenity (though not, it seems, on the Eupolidean scale), where parody occurred it tended to be of Homer and the older poets more often than in the works of Comic poets of the next generation, who concentrated more exclusively on Fifth Century Tragedy and lyric poetry, and there was a marked fondness for verbal inventiveness, word-play and what could sometimes be rather forced imagery, the working of a proverb into the text being probably a more noticeable feature of Cratinus' comedies than of most. Cratinus was critical of his rivals and seems to have been fond of using nicknames for them and for others. There is rather more evidence for breach of dramatic

illusion than for most Old Comedians, but in some techniques, such as excretory humour, he is not particularly well represented. There is as much evidence for visual humour as for most of his rivals, but he has no animal chorus attested, the nearest approach being the centaurs of *Χείρωνες*. Metamorphosis figured in *Νέμεσις* and a flying character (Perseus) in *Ξερίφιοι*, while in *Ὀδυσσῆς* there was a ship among the stage-properties. His particular butts were Pericles, Lampon and Gnesippus. His sexual humour could be severe on passive homosexuals, but he could make fun even of his own vice of drunkenness. Cratinus seems to have been quite a versatile Comedian, being capable of writing several different types of Comedy, but he did not write social comedies of manners of the sort that Crates and Pherecrates composed, and one can see also from the fragments left to us why he was considered a harsh, Archilochian Comedian (Platonius, πρ. διαφ. χττ. p. 6 Kaibel), and not altogether free of some of the primitive nature of the earliest Comedy (Tzetzes p. 18 Kaibel): Capable of severe censure, he was not generally so urbane and polished as Eupolis or Aristophanes, and one can readily believe in the essential truth of Platonius' statement that, "...in keeping with his emulation of Archilochus, he was harsh in his reproaches; for he does not, like Aristophanes, make the charm of his style run along with his gibes, removing through that charm the vulgarity of his censure, but he makes his denunciations of wrong-doers bare-headed, as the saying goes, and vigorously assails them even when they retreat." Both Tzetzes (p. 18 Kaibel, where he speaks of Cratinus' addition of τὸ ὠφέλιμον to τὸ χαρίεν in Comedy and of chastising offenders with the public whip) and Platonius (loc. cit.) speak of the moral purpose of Cratinus' censures, and it is probable that Comedy was first used as a weapon for influencing public opinion (or seeking to do so), on a large scale at least, in the hands of Cratinus and his contemporaries. Our fragmentary evidence supports the view, but we are not really well enough informed about Comedy before Cratinus to be really confident of that judgment, nor do we know the ultimate authority of the bare statements in Platonius

and Tzetzes. It would, however, seem likely that Comedy was first used for political criticism on the large scale by Cratinus.

Of Eupolis we may say that his overriding interest was topical criticism and that for fantasy and mythological burlesque he had no taste. Some scenes of his plays had a literary or musical interest (cf. p. 178 f), but the only comedy in which such an interest played a really major part seems to have been *Ἀἴγες*, where an ignorant rustic received training from a sophist-musician. Eupolis did not devote any play to full-scale criticism of Tragedy, as some of his contemporaries, including Aristophanes did (i. e. in 'Frogs'). His special method of attacking individuals was the sexual slander, but he employed all the other methods of ridicule also, and evidence for all sorts of political and other attacks abounds. He made fun of Hyperbolus in *Μαρικᾶς* and may have attacked Cleon in *Χρυσοῦν Γένος*, but he was probably more cautious in his attacks on the latter demagogue than Aristophanes was, for he does not seem to have attracted Cleon's personal hostility (cf. p. 55-56). His *Κόλλαικες* was directed at Callias for his squandering of his inheritance on flatterers and lavish entertainment, and his *Ἀυτόλυκος* represented the young athlete and associate of Callias as a catamite and his parents Lycon and Rhodia as equally depraved in their own ways. Such virulent pieces of personal satire and criticism seem to be typical of Eupolis' brand of Comedy. His *Βάπται* was aimed at the irreligion or religious novelties of Alcibiades and his set, and in his *Δῆμοι* we see the familiar reverence for the dead set against contempt for the inadequacies of the later leaders of Athens. In literary criticism, Eupolis but twice mentions any of the great three Tragedians (Euripides in Fr. 363 and Sophocles in Austin 98.7), but he does mention Acestor and Melanthius, and (as a lyricist) Gnesippus. He has more to say of Comedy, but not so much as Cratinus. Four or five passages speak of himself and his art. He says nothing of Epic, and it is his literary interest in lyric poetry that is best attested. He had some

interest in philosophy, for not only was there a sophist-musician in *Αἴγες*, but Protagoras was apparently a character in *Κόλακες* and Eupolis made fun of Socrates also. Cf. p. 109 ff for Eupolis and philosophy. Eupolis was especially fond of the exploitation of sexual and excretory humour, one of his plays, *Αὐτόλυκος*, probably being a competitor for the title of the most obscene play of the Old Comedy. His jokes are predominantly heterosexual, which is the regular balance (contrast Cratinus in this respect). He has no "Golden Age" fragments, but his dietary humour is not deficient, being of particular importance in *Κόλακες*, it would seem. There is little original high poetry in his work, but he can be felicitous in his use of imagery, even though he is, on the whole, less given to the use of verbal devices than Cratinus. His coinages are fewer in number, and rare words are distinctly less in evidence in his fragments, but he was aware of the potential of the pun and the *παρὰ προϋδοκίαν* joke. He shows far less interest than Cratinus in parody of non-contemporary poetry (he has very few debts to Epic), but he does borrow from the works of the Fifth Century Tragedians, more especially from Sophocles and Euripides. There is some evidence for his use of non-Attic characters (v. p. 188), and his *Βάπτται* is our best evidence for the parody of ritual outside Aristophanes (cf. also Lucian, *Bis. Acc.* 33, *καὶ τὸν Εὐπόλιν καὶ τὸν Ἀριστοφάνην, δεινοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπικερτομήσати τὰ σεμνὰ καὶ χλευάζει τὰ καλῶς ἔχοντα*). *Μαρικῆς* is the only allegory, which was a play that owed much to Aristophanes' 'Knights'. There is some indication that Eupolis could make use of visual effects, particularly in *Πόλεις*, where the chorus was individualised and in *Αἴγες*, where there was an animal chorus and also a shield-dance by the rustic, while in *Ταξίαρχοι* there may well have been a rowing-scene. The scene in *Αὐτόλυκος* where chamber pots were emptied is our nearest parallel for scenes of defecation and urination in Aristophanes, but it is likely that Aristophanes was not alone in being so explicit in excretory scenes, and there were probably closer parallels once in the work of his rivals. The two most striking charact-

eristics of Eupolidean Comedy are its predominant topical interest and its fondness for obscenity.

Pherecrates followed Crates in concentrating on the overall plot of his comedies and in composing plays of everyday life rather than works of topical comment directed against individuals in public life. Such is the information in Anon. π.κωμ. p.8 Kaibel, who says that τοῦ μὲν λοιδορεῖν ἀπέστη, πράγματα δὲ εἰσηγούμενος καὶ εὐδοκίμει, γινόμενος εὐρετικὸς μύθων. Our fragments support this lack of interest in invective, for there are very few instances in Pherecrates in proportion to the number of citations that we have. Cf., however, ll. 135, 139 and 155 for evidence that the trait was not utterly absent, even if weakly represented in his works. There is evidence of literary criticism (Frs. 89, 14 (Tragedy); 95, 96, 79, 185 (Comedy); 6 and above all 145 (Lyric), the last named from Χείρων, which may well have been predominantly a literary and musical-criticism play). He shows no interest in philosophy. His principal passage of sexual humour is Fr. 145, which is a piece of sustained double entendre, and there is a hint in Frs. 71, 72 and 73 that there was in Κοριαννῷ the motif of a father and son in love with the same courtesan. Besides these there are some further indications that sexual humour played some part in Pherecrates' plays, but the general impression is that his comedies were not particularly gross, although they did not shun occasional exploitation of sexual jokes. There is but one passage of excretory humour (88), but that element of Comedy is weakly attested in all but Aristophanes and Eupolis, as our evidence now stands. Dietary humour and Golden Age themes are, however, well attested, in keeping with the domestic flavour of many of his plays. He has, in fact, two "Heracles" plays, which no doubt had strong elements of dietary humour, apart from numerous other indications. Five of his dramas are seemingly either "women" or "courtesan" plays, viz. Γραῖς and Τυραννίς in the former category, and Κοριαννῷ, Ἐπιλήσιμων ἢ Θάλαττα, and Πετῶλη in the latter. He has a high number of coined words, but they

are not usually very memorable, and he has left no trace of a *παρὰ προσδοκίαν* joke. His imagery shows up best in his "Golden Age" fragments (108 and 130), and he can elsewhere embellish his style with light and colloquial images, but in general terms, outside a few set-pieces where his style intensifies, one would not say that imagery was a great weapon in his armoury. He shows but a limited interest in parody. *Μυρμηκίανθρωποι* was probably his most visually interesting play, with its chorus of ants and the ark of Deucalion.

Plato's comedies include many burlesques, such as *Φίλων*, *Εὐρώπη* or *Νύξ Μακρά*, some political plays (*Υπέρβολος*, *Πείσανδρος*, *Κλεοφῶν*, *Πρεσβείς*, *Ἑλλάς ἢ Νῆσοι* are the clear examples) and some literary plays (*Ποιητής*, *Σκευαί*, *Σοφισταί* (prob. so in part), and *Λάκωνες ἢ Ποιηταί*), as well as a few plays of uncertain type. He writes plays in both the Old and Middle Comedy style, and is a very distinct case of an author of the transitional period. None of his burlesques can be proved to be an allegory. He has far more topical comment than Pherecrates and must count in part as a political Comedian. Examples of most of the regular methods of vilifying individuals are to be found in his fragments. A few fragments are concerned with literary criticism, but the titles are our principal guides there. Comments on his own and others' comedies are not numerous, but he has a little to say on these matters. He betrays no interest in Epic, but four fragments concern lyric poetry. To what extent his *Σοφισταί* dealt with philosophy is not clear, for the term was evidently used in a broad sense (cf. Fr. 140). Like Pherecrates, he has left us a long passage of sexual double entendre (Fr. 174), and several of his burlesques probably had strongly erotic motifs, notably 'Phaon', from which we have two long fragments with erotic content (173 and 174). Sexual humour is better attested in Plato than in Pherecrates, and was probably an important part of Plato's technique. There are three instances of excretory humour, which is about what one would expect by analogy with the other Old Comedians.

Dietary humour was of some importance to Plato, but not so much as to Pherecrates (there is, for instance, no "Golden Age" passage), and two fragments in Ζεὺς Κακούμενος suggest that the game of cottabus was played on stage in that comedy while a meal was prepared for Heracles within. Most of Plato's visual humour probably came in the burlesques (e.g. Io as a heifer in 'Io'(?), Zeus as a bull in 'Europe'(?)). He makes fun of Cleophon and (?)Hyperbolus for their or their family's alleged inability to speak correct Attic Greek, and a few of his titles alert one to the possibility that non-Attic characters figured in the plays. He parodies Aeschylus once and Euripides several times, but it is not apparent that any of his burlesques was a take off any Tragic treatment of the same theme. Two plays, his Αἱ ἀφ' Ἑρῶν and Ἑορταί may have allowed scope for ritual parody. Our fragments give a good impression of Plato's capabilities in the use of imagery and some interesting insights into the way in which he could handle other aspects of verbal humour, but he was perhaps a little less given to coining words than Pherecrates.

Our conclusions with regard to the minor Old Comedians are mostly related to isolated fragments, for not much of their work survives, but we have seen that Strattis provides our best evidence for burlesque of Tragedy on a large scale and that Alcaeus Comicus was fond of burlesques with erotic themes, rather like Plato. Archippus was the exponent par excellence of the pun, for which he was notorious among his contemporaries. His Ἰχθύες is interesting as an "animals in revolt" play comparable to Crates' Θήρια and Aristophanes' 'Birds'. The specialised roles given to appropriate creatures was probably typical of the particular form of comedy that Ἰχθύες was: Aristophanes' 'Birds' has many similar features. The lack of personal attacks in our remains of the work of Crates supports what Aristotle says of him, that he turned away from the composition of comedies in which invective was paramount and began to compose themes and plots of a general nature. He was followed in the composition of such unpolitical Comedy by Pherecrates (though less exclusively), whereas two

contemporaries, Teleclides and Hemippus can readily be seen to have had strong political interests and to have followed in the tradition of Cratinus. Five or perhaps six fragments in Teleclides' relatively small number of citations make fun of an individual for his physical appearance, and there are further personal allusions in Frs. 6, 15, 16, 17 and 41. There are several allusions or possible allusions to Pericles, against whom Hemippus spoke in his *Μοῖραι* (Fr. 46). There is no evidence that Hemippus parodied Tragedy, but we have two passages of his in epic or didactic style (Frs. 63 and 82). Taken with Cratinus' preference for parody of the early poets, this may lead us to believe that parody of epic poetry and other early verse was more in vogue in the time of Cratinus and Hemippus than in the period of Eupolis and Aristophanes, who gave epic verse little attention. Hemippus seems to have employed the technique of the barbarizing parent of a political figure (Hyperbolus' mother in Frs. 11 and 12, it appears), a form of humour later used by Plato (Fr. 60). In his *Στρατιῶται* he seems to have derived humour from the physical discomforts induced by rowing (? Dionysus' rowing), a theme later exploited by Eupolis ('Taxiarchs') and Aristophanes ('Frogs'). There is now very little sign of literary criticism in Hemippus, though he does speak of the Comedian Phrynichus (Fr. 64), of "Nothippus" (Fr. 45) and of Diagoras (Fr. 42). Fr. 4 is evidence of a philosophical interest. Examples of obscenity in his surviving work are not numerous, but there are signs that he exploited dietary humour on occasions. There is no evidence of an animal chorus in Hemippus, but his *Θεοί* and *Στρατιῶται* may have had individualised choruses.

Such are our chief conclusions. In addition there are many minor observations which will be found on particular fragments or under particular topics. I hope also that the data compiled will prove useful to those who have occasion to work with the Old Comic fragments in the future.

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Notes

to

The Visual Element

- 1) On this point see Th. Bergk, Commentationes de Reliquiis Comoediae Atticae Antiquae, p.130 ff.
- 2) Parabasis and Animal Choruses, London, 1971, pp. 76-77.
- 3) This play was thought by Meineke (F.C.G.I p64) to be a revised version of the "Opvithes" of Magnes: "Aves Magnetis fuisse videtur comoedia a Cratete sub incudem revocata et novis curis emendata..." The view is hazardous when so little is known about either play (or version), and the title "Opvithes" recurs in Comedy. Meineke seems to me rather over-concerned to make the number of a Comedian's titles known to us square with the ancient statements of his output. Such statements are of rather dubious value and liable to be corrupt.
- 4) Edmonds' suggestion (ad loc.) that 'Eoprai' had a chorus of beasts (cf. Frs. 35 and 28) rests on inadequate evidence. Fr. 28 could be figurative. Cf. Metagenes 19A Edm for comparable imagery. Bergk, Comm. p.132 supposes that the chorus of 'Eoprai' were personified festivals: "Sed Platonis 'Eoprai' ita actae videntur, ut choreutae dierum festorum et solennitatum speciem quandam assimilarent." If Bergk is rightly guided by the title, there may have been an individualized chorus, but we should like a more definite indication of the choral identity.
- 5) The main chorus of initiates had no elaborate costumes (cf. Ra. 405ff) and so there would not be the expense of two sets of costly choral outfits, but the references to the frogs are all to their song (e.g. Ra. 205) and not to their appearance. One cannot help but feel, however, that it would be a disappointment to the audience not to see the frogs as well as hear them.

- 6) Bergk, Comm. p. 131, supposes that this play, like $\Delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\tau\alpha \eta \text{ Νίοβος}$ (as he conjectures), had the feature of a play within a play, like Shakespeare's 'Midsummer Night's Dream': "...verum cum in ipsa fabula quasi nova quaedam fabula media ageretur, plurali numero $\Delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\tau\alpha$ insignitae esse videntur, ita ut in altera comoedia Centaurus, in altera Niobus fuerit tanquam integrum drama representatum." This daring idea is rejected by Kock (C. A. F. I p. 460), who reports G. Hermann's theory of the content of the plays, again very conjectural. In fact, we have very little idea of the significance of the strange titles.
- 7) We know this from Hyp. Ar. Eq. in the former case and Hyp. Cratin. Dionysalex. in the latter (Pericles attacked for bringing the war on Athens). On the date of 'Dionysalexander' cf. esp. W. Luppe in Philologus 110 (1966), pp. 182ff, where he argues convincingly for 430 B. C. against Pieters' suggestion of 429.
- 8) The dating of Callias' career is to a large extent dependent upon identifying him as one of the poets in I. G. xiv. 1097. It is probably correct to do so, although I have drawn attention to the possibility that Ephantides could be the man involved in C. R. n. s. XXIII (1973) pp. 126-7. I have, however, overstated the strength of Ephantides' claim.
- 9) Bergk, Comm. p. 6, thought the fragment referred to the (sole) chorus of "censores acerbi" (ibid. p. 5), when they first appeared. Others have seen two semi-choruses in Ἀρχίλοχοι : cf. Baker in HSPH XV (1904) pp. 139f ("...concludere fortasse nobis licet unam tantum chori partem, de qua fabula tota nomen accepit, Archilochi fautores fuisse, alteram poetarum aliorum, Homeri et Hesiodi, comites."). M. Whittaker in CQ 29 (1935) p. 185 remarks on the agon of Ἀρχίλοχοι , "The altercation would take place between Homer and Archilochus, each supported by his half chorus, with Hesiod as a tertius gaudens".

- 10) F.C.G. II p. 402f.
- 11) Comm. p. 324
- 12) In his edition of Athenseus.
- 13) CQ 29(1935)p.184.
- 14) So Edmonds ad loc. and V. Ehrenberg, 'The People of Aristophanes' p. 21.
- 15) F.C.G. II p. 540. Contrast Bergk, Comm. p. 363.
- 16) Cf. Whitteker in CQ 29(1935)p.183: "Similarly in Eupolis' Πόλις frags. 231, 2, 3 are descriptions of three different members of the chorus of cities, Tenos, Chios and Cyzicus, who probably entered singly, carrying symbols for identification which would have been unintelligible without explanation."
- 17) Cf. K.J. Dover, Aristophenic Comedy, p.145.
- 18) G. Kaibel, Hermes xxx(1895)pp.80 ff, argued for semi-choruses in Ὀδυσσεύς ("... zwölf Gefährten des Odysseus und zwölf Kyklopen.." p.80). He is followed by Pieters, Cratinus, p. 35. The notion depends to some extent on accepting Welcker's ascription (KL. Schr. II 477) of Fr. 459K to Cratinus and to this play (Diog. Laert. quotes the line without naming author or play). Meineke (F.C.G. II p.101f) concedes the idea some plausibility, while Edmonds prints the line as a fragment of Ὀδυσσεύς. Bergk's reconstruction supposes that other Cyclopes arrive as in Od. IX 403sq., but he does not infer semi-choruses: on Fr. 137Edm (p.160 in Bergk) he observes, "Chorus autem alloquitur Polyphemum ceterosque Cyclopes quos ille convocaverat..." Given the events in Homer's version of the legend, the idea of a second chorus of Cyclopes has plausibility, but it has reasonably been objected that the chorus of Cyclopes would have little to do in the play and would not appear till near the end (Kaibel, however, contrives to find them a little more to do). Perhaps a few 'extras' played the Cyclopes, or perhaps

they were heard but not seen.

- 19) Bergk, having pointed out that the Cyclopes were not at first lawless and violent, but were once pious and cultured tenders of the land (Comm. p. 363f), declares himself at a loss to explain precisely how they were involved in the plot: "Sed Eupolis quo modo hac fabula usus sit ad propositam sententiam conformandam, nolo accuratius persequi (Comm. p. 364)". It is probably better, with Meineke, to emend the text, as we saw above.
- 20) Pieters, Cratinus Ch. III, points out the risk in emending away the play-title in Frs. 69, 70 and 66 of Cratinus. Two sources give it for different contexts. Cf. Bergk, Comm. 68 ff (where he accepts the title as genuine and argues that it dealt with Ephialtes' infringements of the Areopagus' powers). Goossens and Darquenne, CE xvii (1942) pp. 127-32 also see attacks on the democratic party in the piece. Meineke (F. C. G. I p. 57 and II p. 59 and 60) concurs in the opinion that the title is spurious. I should hesitate to reject the evidence for the play's existence when it is attested by two sources independently.
- 21) Comm. p. 181: "Videtur autem Cratinus hos Sophistas quasi Ienos quosdam duobus capitibus innumerabilibusque oculis instructos finxisse."
- 22) F. C. G. II p. 103.
- 23) Greek Theatre Production (2nd. Edn.) p. 58.
- 24) F. C. G. II p. 89.
- 25) Comm. p. 130: "... si statuamus chorum in orchestra legum tabulas prae se ferentem prodisse atque inde comoediam nomen accepisse."
- 26) Cf., for example, Pickard-Cambridge, Dramatic Festivals of Athens, 2nd. Edn., plates 62, 68, 70.
- 27) So the general view (Bergk, Comm. p. 384, Meineke, F. C. G. I p. 169, etc.). To whom he is speaking is quite another matter: cf. K. J. Dover in

CR LXIV(1950)p.7 for some of the possible answers. Cf. also Norwood, Greek Comedy, p.168.

- 28) Bergk, Comm. p.79: "...Cratinus finxit Periclem odeum in capite portantem..."; Meineke, F.C.G. II p.62: "...quem quum Odeum...in capite gestare dicit, respexit fortasse ad galeam Periclis..."; Kock, ad loc.: "Pericles Odeum in capite gestat tanquam galeam." The double entente which Norwood (op. cit. p.134) imagines he sees in this fragment is quite inane.
- 29) So Edmonds ad loc.
- 30) Fr. 29
- 31) His mention of the existence of a special mask for Μεθή (ibidem) must refer to Cratinus' Πυρίνη .
- 32) Cf. Bergk, Comm. p.430: "Iovis autem haec sunt apud Sannyrionem verba qui consilii inops est, quo pacto ad Danaem penetrare possit." So Meineke, F.C.G. I 264: "Quae Iovis verba esse suspicor in Danaes thalamum illapsuri."
- 33) Cf. Eratosthenes Catast. 25 (ap. Kock C. A. F. I p. 47, Edmonds I p. 57).
- 34) De Comoediae Atticae Prologis 40sq.: "Describit igitur apud Platonem quoque ille qui prologum profert, Mercurius puto, faciem personarum quae paulo post in scaenam processurae sunt. Ille qui lucernam in capite fert ipse videtur Juppiter esse."
- 35) Greek Comedy p.173
- 36) Plautus, Amphitryo, 140 sq.
- 37) Vesp. 1122sq.
- 38) Ach. 383 sq.
- 39) The ascription to Ἀῆμοι favoured by Edmonds is without sufficient justification.
- 40) Perhaps meant to be open to misconstruction, as ἔπενδύτην could be acc. of the noun ἔπενδύτης or dual imperative of ἔπενδύω .

- 41) On Kabeirion vases the glans is normally exposed even when the penis is in a flaccid state.
- 42) It seems to me clear enough that the phallus could be worn by male characters in Aristophanes' plays, although we cannot be sure that the majority did in fact have a visible phallus. The fact that Agathon's lack of the phallus is an indication of his unmasculine character and appearance (in Thesm. 141 ff) lends support, I think, to the supposition that the phallus was quite commonly worn. For a discussion of the problem cf. Pickard-Cambridge, Dramatic Festivals of Athens, 2nd. edn., pp. 220 ff and the literature cited there.
- 43) Commp. 271.
- 44) Quaestiones Comicae p. 29
- 45) F.C.G. II p. 785f.
- 46) Reported in Meineke loc. cit.
- 47) Bergk, op. cit. p. 271, supposes a pun on the proverbial $\sigma\upsilon\kappa\acute{\iota}\nu\eta$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon$, as in Ar. Lys. loc. cit., which is clearly correct, but adds mysteriously, "...quamquam fieri potuit, ut comicus simul hominis gracilitatem subindicaverit."
- 48) p. 160 n. 4 and p. 171.
- 49) "...suggesting effeminacy", Edmonds (I p. 831).
- 50) Cf. Vesp. 180 ff.
- 51) A fact to which MacDowell draws our attention in his note to Vesp. 181 (edn. 'Wasps', Oxford, 1971).
- 52) Cf. K.J. Dover on the crow and jackdaw in 'Birds' ad init. in Aristophanic Comedy p. 144.
- 53) Except for the fact that he differs from me in supposing that the second relative clause, although likely to refer to the plays of both Eupolis and Phrynichus, more definitely refers to Eupolis' play than Phrynichus': "Nam haec verba extrema (sc. $\acute{\eta}\nu$... $\acute{\eta}\nu\theta\iota\epsilon\nu$) ad Eupolidis Maxicam referenda censeo, et. i. simul ad Phrynichum

pertinere non improbable est, ut vult Scholiasta..." I consider the reference to Eupolis' *Μαρικᾶς* the less certain of the two.

- 54) F.C.G. I p.172 : "...matremque eius (sc. Cleophontis) piscibus devorandam obiecit..."
- 55) Ad loc(I p.616) : "Videtur mater Cleophontis ut in Maricante mater Hyperboli piscibus exposita fuisse... ad similitudinem Andromedae.
- 56) Observationes Criticae in Platonis Comici Reliquias, p.149. Cobet's objections are summarily dismissed by Kock, loc. cit.
- 57) A. Schoevaert, Platon le Comique, Ch. III, follows Bergk's view also.
- 58) Thesm. 1010 sq.
- 59) Act. Soc. Gr. I. I. pl. 33. Cf. Cobet, loc. cit. : "Fritzschius... multis exemplis ostendit Comicos in fabulis vetulas belluis obicere devorandas."
- 60) Cf. note 18 above.
- 61) Cf. Hephaestion 8.5: *εἰς γὰρ τοὺς Ὀδυσσεύς εἰσβάλλον τούτῳ τῷ μέτρῳ* (sc. *Κρατῖνος*) *ἐχρήσατο* (then follows Fr. 137 Edm). On the ship cf. Bergk, Comm. p. 156f: "Cratinus... ita videtur instituisse, ut navis Ulixem atque socios ferens renigio concitato usa in scena conspiceretur." Cf. Norwood, Greek Comedy, p. 130, who supposes a boat on rollers. His view that Fr. 144K (137 Edm) began the play overlooks Hephaestion's remark above, but is a plausible alternative on internal evidence to the general view, after Bergk, Comm. p. 160, that the lines came late in the play, when the Cyclops learnt the true identity of his prisoners (cf. Eur. Cyclops 708 f). Much depends on how closely one may press Hephaestion's words, but, although I once found it tempting to see Fr. 137 Edm as the first words of the play, I now consider it safer to follow Bergk's view, as Meineke, F. C. G. II p. 100, Kaibel, Hermes, XXX (1895) p. 81 and most scholars have done. K. J. Dover, Aristophanic Comedy p. 216, is inclined to interpret the fragment as Norwood does.

- 62) Ad loc. (I p. 240).
- 63) See my forthcoming article A Eupolidean Precedent for the Rowing Scene in Aristophanes' Frogs ? (CQ 1974)
- 64) In Pap.Oxy. Vol. XXXV(1968) ad loc.
- 65) Meineke, F. C. G. Ip. 212 comments: "In Διονύσω ἄσκητῆ Εὐπολίδις, ut videtur, in Taxiarchis exemplum sequutus, mollem et effeminatum deum duris athletarum et luctatorum laboribus exposuit..." Bergk, however, Comm. p. 431 doubts the title, which is so recorded only in Pollux III 150 (see Fr. 13 Edm), whereas Athenaeus twice gives the title merely as Διονύσος (650d and 658a: see Frs. 11 and 12 in Edm.). He suggests Διονύσος ἢ Ἄσκηταί, which would undermine Meineke's theory of the content to some degree. The latter (II p. 733) is prepared to accept Bergk's suggestion or postulate two editions of the play. I. G. xiv. 1097 line 10 gives (it seems) the first letters of the title Διονύ[σω], dating the play to 394 B. C. (ἐπι Διοφάντου), but does not help us resolve the problem of the precise form of the title. Metagenes wrote a Ὀμηρος ἢ Ἄσκηταί, but then a Διονύσος Ναυαγός is ascribed to Aristophanes or Archippus. There are thus parallels for both suggested forms of the title. A final decision is impossible without better evidence, but perhaps Bergk is right to argue that Athenaeus is unlikely to have dropped (or his copyists lost) the second word of the title in two places if the title comprise two words and not alternatives (therefore Διονύσος ἢ Ἄσκηταί ?).
- 66) Cf. Norwood's reconstruction in Greek Comedy p. 161, expanding Kock's theory (C. A. F. I p. 178) that two legends were combined in the play, the legend of the Flood and that of the ants changed to humankind by Zeus for Aeacus (the Myrmidons). Norwood specul-

ates that a meal-tub was used for the ark, but we do not know precisely what form the craft took. Fr.114 does, however, show that a spindle was used to contrive a mast, and so the boat may have been improvised also. The ingenious Bergk is silent on the play; Meineke (II p. 310) confidently (and rightly) dismisses a theory that the *Μύρμηξ* of Ra.1502 was attacked in the play, but expresses reservations in supposing that any ants changed to human form gave the drama its title. Bothe, Poetarum Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta p.103, sees a parody of the origin of the Mymidons, but guesses that the play dealt with low-born persons in high office under the Democracy at Athens, a suggestion ill-suited to Pherecrates' disinterest in political comedy. Bothe infuriates Kock by his dismissal of Deucalion in Fr.120 Edm (8 p.105 Bothe) as a slave's name... "nihil amplius". The other fragments suit the Flood too well for us to believe Bothe (cf. Kock on each), and Deucalion is not known as a slave's name.

67) Cf. Kock ad loc. and Norwood, op. cit. p.161.

68) F.C.G. II p.101: "Itaque *ἄθυρμα* ipsam hanc suam fabulam dicit Cratinus."

69) Ad loc. (I p. 59).

70) Hermes, XXX(1895)p.81: "... schliesst das Stück mit der Parabase, in der der Dichter selbst der Neuheit seines Gedichts sich rühmt, νεοχμόν τι παρήχθαι ἄθυρμα .

71) Greek Comedy p.130.

72) F.A.C.I p. 67(ad loc.).

73) The text is also given in Meineke I p. 532 and Bergk p.141, and, in abbreviated form, in Kock I p. 55 and Edmonds I p. 65: τοιοῦτος οὖν ἔστιν ὁ τῆς μέσης κωμωδίας τύπος, οἷός ἐστιν ὁ Αἰολοσίκῳ Ἀριστοφάνους καὶ οἱ Ὀδυσσεῖς Κρατίνου καὶ πλεῖστα τῶν παλαιῶν δραμάτων, οὔτε χορικά οὔτε παραβάσεις ἔχοντα.

- 74) Cf. K.J. Dover, Aristophanic Comedy p.134ff, for the production of the hauling scene.
- 75) Pax 741f.
- 76) Av.1574sq.
- 77) Cf. Strabo 10.487 (cited in Edmonds I p.95): οὕτω δ' ἔστι πετρῶδης ἡ νῆσος (Σέριφος) ὥστε ὑπὸ τῆς Ἰοργονος τοῦτο προεῖν αὐτὴν φασιν οἱ κωμωδοῦντες.
- 78) Edmonds' translation ("And all this house when it goes out must visit Apollo's shrine...") reveals that he took the words to be addressed to the audience. This is much less obvious than an address to the chorus, as the question of a torch-lit exit then seems less apt, but Edmonds' view is not impossible.
- 79) The action of this scene is considered in K.J. Dover's Aristophanic Comedy pp.10-12. For φορτικὸν τὸ χωρίον he prefers "This place is a slum!" to another possibility that he mentions, viz. "It's a commonplace motif", which is rather more how I should prefer to interpret the words.
- 80) On the revision of Nu. cf. esp. K.J. Dover in the introduction to his edition of Nu. pp.1xxx-xcviii.
- 81) K.J. Dover, edn. Nu. p.1xxxv. The relevant part of the scholium is ... ἐπεὶ πεποιήκεν ἐν τῷ τέλει τοῦ δράματος καιομένην τὴν διατριβὴν Σωκράτους καὶ τινὰς τῶν φιλοσόφων λέγοντας τοῦτο τοῦτο. ἐν δὲ τῆς πρώτης Νεφέλης τοῦτο οὐ πεποιήκε.
- 82) Our best evidence for ἡμιχόριον in Old Comedy outside Aristophanes is furnished by Psp.Oxy. 2741 (Austin Fr.95), which is a commentary on Eupolis' 'Maricas'. Cf. Austin ll. 29, 98f, 117ff, 121, 139, 186. Lines 117ff apparently indicate that the semi-choruses were of πένητες and πλούσιοι respectively. This specification of their identity points away from their being solely creations of the commentator (or his source's) reconstruction of the action.

- 83) It is Schol. Ar. Av. 365 where the fragment is cited.
- 84) F. C. G. I p. 205f
- 85) So Edmonds ad loc. after Kock I p. 601: "Videtur servus queri de ero qui laterum suorum nequaquam rationem habeat."
- 86) On the colourful imagery of assault sometimes employed in Old Comedy cf. below p. 237f.
- 87) Ach. 926sq.
- 88) Thesm. 1001sq. (cf. 930f).
- 89) Cf. Page, Greek Literary Papyri p. 205 (quoted in Austin loc. cit.).
- 90) Ach. 818sq. and 910sq.
- 91) Av. 1410sq.
- 92) Plutus 850sq.
- 93) For this fragment cf. Bergk, Comm. p. 241f, and Meineke, F. C. G. II p. 152
- 94) Cf. Demosthenes XXV 61 (ἀπεισθίει τὴν ρίνα τῶν ἀνθρώπων) and ib. 62 (τὸν ἀνθρώπων οὐ τὴν ρίνα ὁ μισρὸς οὗτος ἐσθίων κατέφαγεν).
- 95) Fr. 249A Edm. On the identity of the old man cf. Bergk's too fanciful guess, Comm. p. 358 (the father of Euthyphro, he suggests). Bergk adduces Fr. 244 to support the presumption that there was low-brow humour in 'Prospaltians'. Cf. n. 101.
- 96) Vesp. 1474sq.
- 97) Lys. 1242sq.
- 98) So Schol. Nu. 547.
- 99) Esp. L. Séchan, La Danse grecque antique (Paris, 1930) pp. 92ff and pl. iv, where the dance is illustrated.
- 100) Ad loc. in Oxy. Pap. XXXV (1968).
- 101) On the cordax cf. Pickard-Cambridge, Di thyramb, Tragedy and Comedy, pp. 166ff (and ib. p. 166 on the old man in 'Prospaltians')
- 102) Schol. Nu. 534 says Aristophanes had a cordax in Vesp., but cf. Pickard-Cambridge, op. cit. p. 167, MacDowell, edn. Vesp. n. ad 1478.

- 103) Cf. Pickard-Cambridge, Di th., Trag. & Com. p. 166.
- 104) Cf. Lobel and Austin ad loc.
- 105) Eur. Fr. 752 in Nauck, Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta.
- 106) See below p. 164f.
- 107) Cf. K. J. Dover, Aristophanic Comedy, p. 18 f.
- 108) For a brief description of which cf. Platnauer, edn. Pax p. 168 (n. ad 1242-4).
- 109) So Cobet, Observationes Criticae in Platonis Comici Reliquias, pp. 97-101 and Kock I p. 612. Cobet (p. 100): "tandem spoliatum fere omnibus, cruciatum fame eiectum foras suspicari licet..."; Kock (loc. cit.): "bonis suis spoliatus et cum ignominia ex lupanari eiectus quidquid superat fame coactus ad salsamenta emenda confert fr. 49."
- 110) Fr. 20.
- 111) Ra. 1378 sq.
- 112) Cf. on Fr. 23 Edm (the preamble to the citation).
- 113) Comm. p. 131: "In Cratetis quidem fabula, cui $\Pi\alpha\rho\delta\iota\alpha\iota$ nomen est, opinor choreutas variorum ludorum genera repraesentavisse, speciem quandam et instrumenta ludendi prae se ferentes."
- 114) ibidem: "... sed alia fabula eiusdem poetae, $\Lambda\eta\rho\iota$, manifesto inde traxit epellationem, quod chorus mulierum nimis ornamentis et quasi nugis quibusdam instructus in orchestram procedebat."
- 115) F. C. G. II p. 296
- 116) Thesm. 215 sq.
- 117) Ad 215.
- 118) So Bergk, Comm. p. 108 f, after Dindorf in his edition of the fragments of Aristophanes, p. 94. Dindorf says simply (on Schol. Ar. loc. cit.), "Neque enim dubium est quin eandem grammaticus dicat fabulam quam Clemens Alexandr. Stromat. VI p. 751 ed. Potter. "On the identification cf. Meineke, F. C. G. II p. 53f and Kock I p. 32. Not all have acc-

epted Dindorf's view: Cobet, Observationes Criticae in Platonis
 Comici Reliquias p. 76f, supposed that both titles (and Λάκωνες
 also) were bogus, deriving from faults of transmission. He comments:
 "Nusquam apparent, opinor, (sc. if Schol. Ar. loc. cit. were sound)
 neque isti Ἐμπιπράμενοι, neque Ἰδαῖοι, nedum Ἐμπιπράμενοι ἢ
 Ἰδαῖοι ... Nam multum vereor, ne ludificetur viros doctos fallacis
 Aristobuli auctoritas, qui aut corruptum scholion descripsit, aut
 ipse a librariis corruptus est." Meineke (V 17) quietly rejects
 Cobet's view, and so also does Pieters, Cratinus p. 12, though he
 is not without doubts about the theory of Dindorf. Luppe in his
 article on Hyp. Dionysalex. in Philologus CX (1966) pp. 184ff raises
 the possibility that Ἰδαῖοι was the alternative title of Διονυσ-
 αλέξανδρος (he supposes a semi-chorus of "Leute vom Ida") and
 rejects Dindorf's identification of Ἰδαῖοι with Ἐμπιπράμενοι
 (note 2 p. 186f). The view is not unattractive, as the Hyp. Dionys-
 alex. itself may indicate that there was an alternative title

(we read ΔΙΟΝΥ. -
 Ἡ
 ΚΡΑΤ

in the papyrus, and if the eta is not some chronological or other
 indication of order, it must mean "or" and intimate an alternative
 title). The principal difficulty seems to me that the citation of
 Clement of Alexandria from Ἐμπιπράμενοι is left stranded
 with its possible reference to the same context as Schol. Ar.
 loc. cit. (it is tempting to connect the title Ἐμπιπράμενοι
 with the scholiast's comment on the singing of Mnesilochus, as
 he is known). Space does not permit of a really minute consider-
 ation of the problem here, but I do not feel that Dindorf's theory
 can safely be set aside. For the purposes of the present chapter
 our chief concern is the visual implication, and it is not crucial
 to know what play is meant.

119) Vesp. 805sq.

120) Eccl. 311sq.

121) Lys. 920sq.

122) Cf. below p.116f.

123) Whose name is thus saved from oblivion. The conjectures of Kock (καπίλυκος = καί'Επιλυκος) and Blaydes(κεύπολις), which would reject the poet as a textual error, are disproved by the letters Λυκ[ις] in the Victors' List.

124) F. C. G. I 145.

Notes

to

Ridicule & Criticism

- 1) Cf. above p. 11
- 2) Cf. Plutarch, Pericles, 13
- 3) Plutarch, Pericles 3: ... Περικλέετ ... προμήκη δὲ τῆ κεφαλῇ καὶ ἀσύμμετρον.
- 4) F. C. G. II p. 85, followed by Edmonds. Kock objects that the "Carian Zeus" was perhaps unknown to a great many Athenians and conjectures ΚΑΡΑΪΝΙΕ as a distortion of ΚΕΡΑΪΝΙΕ. It is true that the "Carian Zeus" was not normally worshipped in Attica (in Hdt. V 66 the fact that Isagoras' family are said to sacrifice to Ζεὺς Κάριος is taken as a slur on the family origins by Plutarch, De Malignitate Herodoti 23, and the practice does seem to be mentioned as a peculiarity of the family), but the cult-title may have been familiar from its use in Boeotia (cf. Hsch. and Photius ap. Kock and I. G. 7. 3208 (Orchom.)) and it seems preferable to read a genuine cult-title which gives the desired pun rather than to accept a conjectural coinage which would pun not on a second cult-title (cf. Ξένιε earlier in the line), but on a simple epithet.
- 5) So Edmonds ad loc.
- 6) Fr. 112 Edm (93K)
- 7) Bergk, Comm. p 400, favours the emendation Κάρμηλον, but the transmitted text could be right and makes much the same point.
- 8) On the imagery of Plato 64 see p. 239 f.
- 9) Cf. now W. J. W. Koster, Scholiam Recentiora in Nubes (Schol. in Ar. I 3. 2), Gronigen 1974, under 'Anonyma Recentiora' on Nu. 537(b) and 540(h), where Hermippus is accredited (vaguely—ἐν τινὶ δράματι αὐτοῦ—) with jokes against bald men. The information, being so imprecise, is of rather dubious value (an inference in context?).

10) Fr. 2

11) Cratin. Fr. 295 has been thought to refer to him, as also Ar. Fr. 143.

Cf. Meineke IIpl84f, with the citation from Photius: Μελιτέγ κάρρον.

Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Γήρῳ λέγει ἀντὶ τοῦ Εὐκράτης, ἔπειθ' ἰδοὺς
ἔστι. καὶ γὰρ ἄρκτον αὐτὸν ἔλεγον.

12) Cf. Rogers' note ad loc. for the procedure involved.

13) The insulting animal simile is a regular feature of invective and lampoon: cf. *Iliad* I 225 for an early example of hot-tempered animal imagery. Semonides of Samos Fr. 7 Diehl is the locus classicus of Greek Literature for the use of animal imagery to explain or convey human character. The Roman satirist Lucilius also used uncomplimentary animal imagery (Frs. 109-10 Warrington, 1175 and 112-13 W) as a weapon in personal attack, and there are, of course, numerous other examples of such imagery outside Comedy.

14) On this play and on Hyperbolus' mother in Old Comedy cf. Bergk, Comm. pp. 308 sq.

15) Bergk, Comm. p. 357f guesses that it is Euthyphro's father who is meant, which is too bold a conjecture to inspire confidence. Cleophon's mother was said to be Thracian (hence Ra. 681: cf. schol. ad loc.) but any allusion to him is impossible if Goossens' dating of 'Prospaltians' is correct.

16) Eq. 128 sq. foretells the domination of a στυπαιοπώλης, a προβατοπώλης, a βυρσοπώλης and an ἀλλαντοπώλης. The first three are Eucrates, Lysicles, and Cleon.

17) Demostratus is nicknamed Βουζύγης, upon which Χολοζύγης in Ar. Lys. 397f puns. It has wrongly been taken that Pericles is meant in Fr. 99: cf. Meineke II p. 461 v. this idea. The role of the Βουζύγης in ritual at Athens is recounted by Toepffer in RE (s. v. Buzygai).

18) Cf. Edmonds ad loc. The text is confused, but our various testimonia

- ... suggest that something was said of Hyperbolus as a *κεραμεύς* (which Hsch. glosses *λυχνούργος*). Ar. Fr. 919 is inferred from the same testimonia.
- 19) His name does not appear in the lines we have. Various suggestions have been made of his identity: Jensen (*APAW* (1939) n14p. 6) prefers Cleophon, Schmid (*Phil.* 93 (1939) p. 414ff) Hyperbolus, Körte (*H* 47 (1912) p. 299f) suggests Syracosius, van Leeuwen (*Mnem.* n. s. 40 (1912) p. 132) hints Pisander. The man, to my mind, remains anonymous.
- 20) Bergk, *Comm.* p. 106, who, however, is too specific in thinking that Hyperbolus in particular was the target of the play (because of Fr. 1). We need clearer evidence to be confident of that.
- 21) Cf. Meineke I 233f.
- 22) Cf. note 15 above. Tzetzes in his comment on Ra. 676a (given in W. J. W. Koster, Io. Tzetzae in Ranas, in *Aves* (Schol. in Ar. IV3), Groningen/Amsterdam 1962) says *Κωμωδῆν οὖν τοῦτον (i. e. Cleophon) οὗτος (Ar.) τε καὶ Πλάτων ὁ κωμικὸς ὡς ὄντα ἠρήσσης μητρὸς, ξένου, δυσγενῆ, ἀμαθῆ καὶ φλύαρον.*
- 23) So Meineke's very reasonable suggestion (*F. C. G.* I p. 94).
- 24) The latter form is preferable: cf. *Καπνίης* of Ephantides in Cratin. 334 and the remarks on the termination — *ίης* in Buck and Petersen (p. 170). On *Σίκας* see Bergk, *Comm.* p. 123f.
- 25) As *Pax* 753 if *βαρβαρομύθους* — Meineke ex Schol. — be read.
- 26) Eupolis in Austin Fr. 100 (Pap. Oxy. 1087).
- 27) Cf. Bergk (in Meineke II 1163) and Kock ad loc. and also Dindorf, *Aristophanis Fragmenta*, p. 190f. It was St evem in his commentary on the 'Clouds' p. 62ff who first argued that Alcibiades was *Τριφάλης*.
- 28) *Obs. Crit.* 52sq. (reported in Kock I 333).
- 29) So Wilamowitz, op. cit. p. 54 adn. 44 (cf. Kock loc. cit.).
- 30) *Greek Comedy* p. 198
- 31) *GGL* I 4 p. 116

- 32) La Comédie Grecque I p.188.
- 33) Cf. above p. 7f and n.14.
- 34) F.C.G. II p. 541
- 35) In letters to Bergk, reported in Comm. p. 362: "In aliqua fabula Eupolidis (non in Maricante, ubi Cleon iam mortuus erat) Cleon acerbè exagitatus erat, ipseque in scenam prodierat."
- 36) Comm. p. 362
- 37) Comm. p. 361
- 38) F.C.G. II p. 556
- 39) GGL I4 p.116
- 40) Quaest. Arist. 146 adn.
- 41) F.C.G. II p. 571
- 42) Obs. Crit. 53. Cf. Kock ad loc.
- 43) Parabasis and Animal Choruses p.117 n. 51 (cf. p. 51)
- 44) Obs. Crit. in Platonis Com. Rel. p.169 f
- 45) As Kock points out ad loc.
- 46) Ad loc. (I p. 630)
- 47) op. cit. p.170: "Itaque perspicuum est ipsius Perialgis esse dictum, enumerantis, quas in rep. aerumnas exantlavisset, quum Demagogorum temeritati nequidquam adversaretur."
- 48) GGL p.148: "Ob aber mit dem Angreifer (fr.107) der Dichter sich selbst oder einen anderen (Aristophanes?) meint, bleibt ungewiß."
- 49) Ch. I. Schoevaert translates, "C'est moi, dit le poète, qui le premier ai levé contre Cléon l'étandard de la guerre."
- 50) Cf. below p. 116f.
- 51) The phrase βασιλεὺς σατύρων I take to charge Pericles with lustfulness, as Sintenis in ap. Meineke II 396 and others, most recently Luppe in Phil. 110 (1966) p.182. Some have seen an allusion to the chorus of satyrs in Cratinus' Διονυσιαλέξανδρος, where Dionysus is thought to represent Pericles: cf. first Croiset in REG 17 (1904) p. 309 f (who supposes that there is also a charge of

lustfulness). The idea is not implausible, but there does not have to be any such allusion, as Luppe loc. cit. points out. Pieters (Ch. VII) rejects the theory, dating Hemippus' *Μοῖραι* to 430 and Cratinus' *Διονυσιαλέξανδρος* to 429, but Luppe rightly attacks this dating (loc. cit. p. 182ff).

52) Platon le Comique, Ch. III p. 64

53) Luppe in his Kratinos ad loc. takes the man to be a dandy or homosexual: "Der Vers ist ein höhrende Anrede an einen älteren Mann, der trotz seines Alters ein Geck und Pousseur ist oder sich gar als *παριδικά* hingibt." On the name *Βάθειππος* cf. Luppe loc. cit. and Tanner in TAPA 51 (1920) p. 184f (the latter unconvincingly emends to *Βαθυ-* and suggests that Callias the Elder is meant).

54) For the expression of a male cf. Eup. 77 Edm.

55) Austin Fr. 96.122 has *ἰκράτης τοιχωρυχοῖ* (Comm. on *Προσπ.*)

56) The fragment is found in part in the Oxy. Comm. on *Μαρκῆς* at ll. 185ff of Austin Fr. 95. The mention of the *ἡμιχόριον* in l. 186 explains, I believe, the problem of part-division in our fragment. Lines 5-6 of the text in Edmonds belong to one *ἡμιχόριον* and lines 7-8 to another. The *ἡμιχόρια* were of *πλούσιοι* and of *πένητες* respectively: cf. Austin loc. cit. ll. 7ff, ib. 98 f. Cf. Ach. 557-61 for the twofold choral reaction to the preceding lines. Plutarch in citing the fragment describes the man whom Hyperbolus is interrogating as *τινὰ τῶν ὑπραγμόνων καὶ πενήτων*, which links up with our new knowledge that there was a *ἡμιχόριον* of *πένητες*. No doubt the rich men were represented as Nicias' champions in this passage and it is they who protest against the claim that he has been caught out made by the other semi-chorus in ll. 5-6. The Commentator in Austin loc. cit. is no doubt informing us of the part-division between the two *ἡμιχόρια* in l. 186 Austin. Nicias perhaps appeared as the adversary of Hyperbolus in

the play at some stage, but we have no definite indication of that. Bergk, Comm. p. 355f, already conjectured that Nicias was the Sausage-seller to Hyperbolus' Cleon, as it were: "Nam ut Aristophanes in Equitibus Cleoni finxit adversarium esse ἄλλαντοπώλην quendam, ita Eupolis Hyperbolo videtur Niciam opposuisse." In our present fragment Bergk rightly sees some ambiguity in προὔδιδου: he reminds us that the context in Plutarch is concerned with Nicias' liberality and suggests that the sense of "ante dare" attaches to the verb. There is a pun on the more common sense of "betray". Cf. the following words of the Oxy. Comm. (Austin 95.190ff):

πρὸς τὸ δίδου. [
 Κορινθίων. κ [
 ὅστις προδοσίας τ [
 κληθήσομαι εἰς δίκ [

Meincke reports Bergk's opinion, but is still not confident that he fully appreciates the line which inspired it(4). Norwood accepts the theory that Nicias is Hyperbolus' opponent in the play (Greek Comedy p.192) and adds that Eupolis in this fragment is deriding the wild and unscrupulous accusations of disloyalty to the State that demagogues loved to bring against distinguished conservatives. Eq., of course, has many gross accusations of corruption made by the Sausage-seller and Cleon against the other. Cf. for a few instances of such wild claims Eq. 278 f, 280 f, 282f, 475ff (esp.) etc. Cf. Teledid. 41 for Nicias as a victim of blackmail (allegedly).

- 57) Cf. Tzetzes' statement on Ra. 676 (in Koster, Schol. in Ar. IV3) that Aristophanes and Plato ridiculed Cleophon ὡς ὄντα ἐρησσης μητρός, ξένου, δυσγενῆ, ἄμαθι καὶ φλύαρον.
- 58) Cf. Bergk, Comm. p. 115f for thoughts on this fragment and on nicknames more generally.
- 59) F.C.G. II p. 199

- 60) Like Bergk, Comm. p. 202, I find it incredible that Aristophanes can intend any but the Cratinus here, in spite of Schol. ad loc. (Cratinus the Comic poet is also meant in Ach. 1173 in my opinion). If he had meant any other Cratinus he would have made his intention clearer, for surely no Athenian in 425 B.C. would interpret the name Cratinus of other than the Comedian without definite guidance.
- 61) Bergk, Comm. p. 318, would understand Hemippus 41 (from Μοῖραι : cf. Fr. 46 for Pericles) of Pericles-Zeus. This is quite possible.
- 62) Where she is perhaps to be equated with Helen.
- 63) Edmonds' idea that Alcibiades is meant runs clean contrary to the principle of the technique here illustrated. He tries to reconcile his idea with the regular form of this device by the suggestion that Alcibiades is contrasted with Pisistratus, which is a very bold conjecture indeed. It is more likely that someone whose name genuinely ends in --stratus or --istratus is intended. The exact significance of the compound is obscure ("Each-side-war-leaping-stratus"). Edmonds' theory depends on taking it to denote a turncoat, but it could perhaps describe an agile boxer (i. e. Damasi-stratus, whose name undergoes distortion in Eup. 408). Demostratus, the other obvious possibility, was a warmonger (cf. Ar. Lys. 391 ff, for example).
- 64) Unless there really was a Tragic poet "Nothippus". Pickard-Cambridge, Dram. Fest. of Athens p. 112 restores his name before that of Sophocles in the Tragic Victors' List (Dionysia) so:

Νόθ]ιππος I
(469-8) Σοφ]οκλήης ΔΓIII

In his note ad loc. (p. 117) he reminds us that Wilamowitz and Wilhelm identified Nothippus with Gnesippus. Cf. Athen. viii. 344C. The possible pun on γνήσιος and νόθος makes it tempting to see only one poet.

- 65) I p. 38: "Theseus... perhaps came in as Lampon."
- 66) Cf. Tanner in CPh (1916) p. 66 and Lee in Rh. M. XXXIII (1878) pp. 408-12.

Tanner does, however, wish to retain from Bergk's theory of the plot of Δραπέτιδες the idea that Lampon was a character of great prominence in the play.

- 67) Ch. VI
- 68) Comm. 46sqg.
- 69) CPh(1916)pp.65-94
- 70) GGL i4 p.79:"In diese Zeit(443)passen auch die Angriffe auf Lampon(fr. 57, 58, 62),der zur Zeit der Gründung von Thurioi am meisten hervortrat."
- 71) CPh V(1910)p.7ff
- 72) For a full bibliography on the Hypothesis cf. Luppe in Phil. 110(1966)p.169
- 73) As Luppe, op. cit. p.183, Norwood, Greek Comedyp. 122, Croiset, REG 17 (1904)p.308.
- 74) As Luppe, op. cit. p.177 and 183
- 75) As Norwood, op. cit. p.122
- 76) As Norwood, op. cit. p.122, Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, Gott. gel. Anzeigen. 1904 p.665.
- 77) As Luppe, op. cit. p.181 and 183.
- 78) Cratinus, 129f, 166ff
- 79) Comm. p.130
- 80) I p.47
- 81) Given by H.Jacobŭ in F.C.G. V p. xxxvi f: "De Ζεῦ Ξένιε ita existimat I. Zindelius, Bemensis, in litteris olim ad Meinekium datis, ut ipse Pericles exagitari videatur tanquam spurionum patronus ('beschtzer der eindringlinge') eo tempore quo amissis filiis legitimis iterum dux Atheniensium creatus ad populum tulisset λυθηναίων τὸν περὶ τῶν νόθων νόμον ... (cf. Plut. Per. 37 and 29)."
- 82) La Comédie Grecque I p.234.
- 83) Chronologie der Altattischen Komödie p.29 (he dates the play 429).
- 84) Greek Comedy p.125.

- 85) Wiener Studien 3(1916)p.85ff.
- 86) GGL I₄p.76
- 87) In CPh XXVI(1931)pp.423-6
- 88) Ch.VII & Ch.III(12f)
- 89) HSPH XV(1904)pp.61-75
- 90) F.C.G.I p.57(where he takes "Alexander" to be Alexander the Great of Macedon)and ib.I 413(where he has changed his mind in favour of Alexander of Pherae).Porson(v.Meineke I p.57)and Casaubon(An-imadv.ad Athen.p.228)had already supposed that the play belonged to the Younger Cratinus.Kürte,Hermes 39(1904)p.491f, traces some of the false theories of the plot of Διονυσιαλέξωνδρος upset by the discovery of the Hypothesis.
- 91) In Jahresb.über Klass. Alterumsw.152(1911)257f
- 92) Austin Fr.95 lines 118,149f.In 11.78ff we come nearest to evidence that the "master" is Δημος. There we read
- ἄλλ' ὄστα μὲν μ[
 παρὰ τὴν παρ[οιμίαν
 δημος αὐτημ. [
- Lobel rightly compared Eur.213, but thought only of Demos, son of Pylilampes(so also Austin).But Demos of the Pnyx also had his hearing troubles(cf. also Eq.43)and there may be some allusion to that here.Unfortunately we cannot quite be sure.Cf.Edmonds on Eur.213.
- 93) Edmonds' idea that Demos is dressed as a woman and is behaving as though about to give birth is entirely unnecessary.
- 94) For προσίσταμαι of indigestion cf.Plato 95.
- 95) So Meineke for mss. μαντίλη.
- 96) Edmonds takes it that Demos speaks, but the line refers to him in the third person.Perhaps a doctor speaks, or some other observer.
- 97) Obs.Crit. 49,50.Cf.Kock I p.344.
- 98) ad loc.
- 99) Cf.note 92 above.

- 100) Add Fr. 210, where Adimantus is mysteriously said to be son of Leucolophides, son of Porthaon (whose son in mythology was Oeneus). Kock says, "Porthaonis cognomine Adimantum militem gloriosum esse indicat." Meineke and Edmonds are less confident that they see the point, and rightly so. Perhaps we should look for a pun (παραθεῶ ??).
- 101) Above, n. 64.
- 102) Cf. 115Edm(99K), esp. with Kock's text. Cf. Austin 95.166 also.
- 103) Cf. above, n. 56.
- 104) In his edition of Nu. p. liv n. 2.
- 105) Contrast Ra. 1039 with the view of Lamachus as a warmongering placeman in Ach.
- 106) Hemes XIII.183
- 107) Aristophanes adapts this line of himself in Pax 749, either from Pherecrates or from a common original (Aeschylus might be a good guess). It is less likely that Pherecrates would borrow from a line where Aristophanes was speaking of himself and apply the adaptation to Aeschylus.
- 108) Even though some of his plays were performed after his death. It is conceivable that Crates 19, ἔπη τριπλήχη διτταλικῶς τετμήμ-
ίνε refers to Aeschylean diction, but there is no definite indication, and the reference could be to compound Comic words, for instance.
- 109) Line 2 describes θεοτήs and should not be in inverted commas, as Edmonds prints it: cf. Pax 44 and Pherecr. 154.
- 110) Bergk, Comm. p. 315 ("... aliquis in Euripideam poesin invehitur") and Meineke, F. C. G. II p. 593 ("... fortasse Euripidis Mousa compellatur") thought that the Muse of Euripides may be addressed in Phryn. Fr. 33. They are followed in this opinion by Baker in HSPh XV(1904)p. 163. The idea has plausibility, but we must remember that we have only eight lines of the play and do not know what female characters there were.

- 111) The references in the Ar. fragments are 129, 290, 328, 376, 471, 580, 628A, 633, 650A, 676b.
- 112) The passage is severely corrupt. The attempts of Hermann (ap. Meineke V p. 40 and Kock ad loc.), Fritzsche (cf. Kock ad loc.) and Edmonds (I p. 434) to restore the text do not inspire any confidence in our ability to do so. Both Kock and Baker (loc. cit. p. 153) infer that something was said of the substitution of a pair of verses from the chorus where one would have expected a "canticum" in the work of an earlier Tragedian. Baker observes, "Euripiden autem inrisit quod unum par versuum cantici loco ponere solebat." The lines are quoted by Schol. Eur. Medea 520 (in which context there are a pair of reflective verses from the chorus-leader between Medea's speech and Jason's), where the scholiast remarks on the diminution of the choral part in later Tragedy. Kock's inference would seem on the right lines, but what precisely was said is another matter.
- 113) In some cases they are mentioned but once by Ar.: so Ion (Pax 835ff), Thespis (Vesp. 1479) and Pythangelus (Ra. 87). The last name is thus saved from oblivion by a contemptuous mention.
- 114) Unless one recognises Nothippus as a different person. Cf. n. 64.
- 115) Fr. 150
- 116) In his edition of 'Wasps' p. 327. I find the idea quite unconvincing; for there is no parallel for such a "guest appearance" in Old Comedy, and I should have expected some degree of parody of Carcinus' sons' dancing styles, which it would be odd to ask of those dancers themselves.
- 117) Meineke, F. C. G. II p. 68, comments on $\sigma\upsilon\upsilon\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\psi\eta$, "actionem et argumentum fabulae rotundare et suis finibus circumscribere, ne temere diffluat et extra terminos vagetur." The passage is also discussed in Bergk, Comm. p. 124, Denis, La Comédie Grecque, II 65, Blaydes, Advers. in C. G. F. II 5, Headlam, CR XIII p. 5. Interpretations of the passage vary (Bergk, for instance, says, "Videtur. . Cratinus. . tortuosam et obsc

uram poesin, qua et alii tragici et Acestor tunc maxime delectabatur, reprehendere"). Like Baker (op. cit. p. 142) I find Meineke's interpretation the most convincing.

- 118) op. cit. p. 182: "...quibus vero Xenoclis, nomine meretricis famosae notati, et mores et artem perstrinxit."
- 119) Borthwick in Hennes 96(1968-9)p. 69 also sees double entendre in the passage (as in Pax 792). He surmises that "elaborate dance postures of a suggestive nature" prompted the second sense, a very plausible suggestion, but the link in jokes between versatility as a dancer and sexual activity (cf. Eup. 77) may have been less specific. Borthwick quite rightly dismisses the notion of Schol. Pax that stage machinery is in point.
- 120) The transmitted text needs supplementation and emendation. The supplement ἄισχρός in l. 2 (Herwerden, Stud. Crit. Poet. Scen. 77, Kock, RhM XXX p. 412) is a very plausible suggestion in view of Ar. Thesm. 168 and the following ἄισχύλου in Teleclid. loc. cit. In line 1 βσελύττεται (Duebner) or βσελύττομαι (Cobet) are possible restorations, the latter perhaps being preferable. Both Duebner and Cobet reasonably suppose that a personified Poetry or a similar figure (Muse of Aeschylus, Tragedy or suchlike) is the τάλινον. Cf. Kock ad loc.
- 121) Cobet (Obs. Crit. in Platonis Com. Rel. 184) offers the most convincing interpretation of the fragment and is followed by Kock in his reconstruction of the situation and the sense, though not in his emendation of the text (which is too bold for my liking: he proposes ἄψι μόνον τῷ δεκτύλῳ τοῦ Μορσίμου). Similarly Norwood, Greek Comedy p. 176 and Schoevaert, Platon le Comique Ch. IV, who thinks to discern two actors arguing: "...une discussion de deux acteurs qui veulent mettre en valeur chacun leur auteur préféré." She translates, "Touche seulement légèrement

mon Morsimos et je pietineraï a l'instant même ton Sthenelos."

Otherwise Edmonds, who sees the names as $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\nu}\ \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\delta\omicron\iota\kappa\acute{\iota}\alpha\upsilon$ for parts of the body (in the first case for the hand)—cf. Eccl. 97.

Cobet's view is safer, but Edmonds' idea is not impossible. Meineke (II p. 659) comments, "Non expedito."

- 122) The implication is not that there was any dramatic activity at the Adonia, only that the festival would suit the feminine wailings of a Gnesippus chorus.
- 123) Eur., Orestes 279
- 124) Bergk, Comm. p. 430 observes, "Iovis autem haec sunt verba, qui consilium ei inops est, quo pacto ad Danaen penetrare possit." Cf. Meineke I p. 264.
- 125) So the transmitted text. Kock and Edmonds approve the idea that the creature should really be a $\mu\upsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\eta$ (anon. ap. Dindorf), which does not convince me. Kock supposes that Hegelochus' cry that a $\gamma\alpha\lambda\eta$ (a marten, of course, not a cat) was coming would send a $\mu\upsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\eta$ scurrying to its hole. But is that the point? I take the sense to be that Hegelochus will betray Zeus' presence, not frighten him off, with his cry. As for the supplement needed in l. 2, some monosyllable such as $\pi\omega\varsigma$ ("somehow turned into...") would complete the line.
- 126) Meineke, F. C. G. I p. 224, opts for the former, followed by Kock and Edmonds. Edmonds argues that $\text{\textit{\u0391}\u03bd}\theta\rho\omega\pi\acute{\omicron}\rho\epsilon\sigma\tau\eta\varsigma$ is not so plausible a title as Pherecrates' $\text{\textit{\u0391}\u03bd}\theta\rho\omega\phi\eta\rho\alpha\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma$, as Orestes was not generally regarded as divine or as a demi-god, although he was worshipped as a hero at Sparta.
- 127) Cf. now Tzetzes (on Ra. 303) in Koster's Scholia in Ar. IV 3 (Io Tzetzae in Ranas, in Aves).
- 128) Attested only in Pap. Oxy. 2737. Fr. 1 col. ii. 15 (Austin Fr. *56, 49).
- 129) Cf. note 9 above.

It is possible in view of the mention of Aegina (cf. Ach. 652ff) that Teleclid. 43 refers to Aristophanes' baldness ("but he comes from Aegina with a face like a boil..."), but another possibility is that there is a hit at Pericles' deformity of skull. The simile seems to me to suit a balding man's high brow better than a defect of the crown of the head, and we have, after all, πρόσωπον and not κεφαλήν. If the fragment does refer to Aristophanes, it is our only independent evidence of an Aeginetan connection (some, of course, have thought that Ach. 652ff refers to Callistratus, the διδάσκαλος of that play, but I have never been at ease with that theory).

130) Cf. p. 17

131) Cf. p. 184.

132) That Μέθη was a character emerges from Schol. Ar. Eq. 400 (quoted in the editions of the Comic Fragments on Cratin. 181) and Pollux's mention of a Μέθη mask in IV. 142, presumably with reference to this play.

133) Quaest. Com. 19-22

134) Quaest. Ar. I. 281

135) Cf. Meineke II p. 126 and Baker, op. cit. p. 148.

136) Cf. for Fr. 136 p. 25 above (boats as stage-properties). The interpretation of Fr. 135 is doubtful, because it is not clear whether it can derive from a parabasis (cf. Platonius p. 4 and p. 5 Kaibel—the passages cited on Edmonds p. 64), though it is tempting to think so. Cf. Crusius, Philol. XLVII pp. 37f, and Baker, op. cit. p. 150. Edmonds' text is a trochaic tetrameter; Sifakis, Parabasis and Animal Choruses p. 49, interprets the fragment as Cratinean, with White, Verse of Greek Comedy, p. 23 (he does not specify his text). Kock and Cobet (Obs. Crit. 20-21) interpret the passage in a way which gives a favourable sense to τῶν Χυριξένης, which is less convincing

than the view that it is contemptuous of out-dated Comedy or of "old hat".

137) Cf. p. 203

138) Cf. p. 202

139) Plato is said to have come fourth (at the Dionysia, as one can see from the reference to being forced back to the Lenaean competition). We know from Hyp. Nu. that by 423 B.C. there were only three comedies performed at the Dionysia (at the Lenaea there were only three by 425 B.C., the time of Ach., and the reduction in the number of comedies at the Dionysia may have been made a few years before Nu.). This means that Ῥαβδούχοι must be earlier than 423 B.C. (i. e. Dion. 424 or earlier) and that Plato's successes at the dramatic festivals with plays produced through others must refer at the very latest to 425 B.C. (Plato did not compete at the Lenaea of 424—cf. Hyp. Eq.) and earlier, of course. He probably began to compete in the early 420s (cf. Cyrill. contra Iulian. I 13b, who sets him in the 88th Olympiad along with Aristophanes and Eupolis, i. e. 428/7 - 425/4). The word εὐδοκίμει need not refer to a first prize: cf. Schol. Nu. 528, quoted by Lobel in Pap. Oxy. ad loc.: ἄριστ' ἠκούσθη ἔντι τοῦ ἠὲδοκίμησαν, οὐ γὰρ ἐνίκησαν, ἐπεὶ δεῦτερος ἐκρίθη.

Thus our new evidence does not make von Luppe's argument from Hieronymus that Plato's first Lenaean victory was in 421/0 untenable. Von Luppe plausibly argues that Hieronymus wrongly sets Plato's first victory in 454/3 as a result of confusing two archon names, viz. those of Ariston and Aristion (the former 454/3, the latter 421/0). Hieronymus (St. Jerome) may also have set Euripides' first (Lenaean) victory in 469/8 (and not 433/2?) because of some confusion between the archons' names Apsephion and Apseudes. Luppe thus suggests that we can deduce from St. Jerome the dates of the first Lenaean victories of both Euripides and Plato. Our victors' list (see Pickard-Cambridge, Dram. Fest. of Athens p. 113) shows that Plato

had won no Lenaean victory before 427-426, and, as von Luppe points out, we know from the hypotheses to Ach., Eq. and Vesp. that he won no Lenaean victory in 425, 424 or 422. Cf. von Luppe in Phil. 114 (1970) p. 1 ff.

Our only other evidence that any Old Comedian other than Aristophanes produced plays through others, beyond, that is, cases where two plays of the same title have been suspected to be identical and to have been ascribed to both poet and διδασκαλος, is in Athen. v. 216d, where we learn that Eupolis produced his Αὐτόλυκος through Demonstratus.

140) In Fr. 99. So Meineke (I 162) and others, including most recently Sifakis, op. cit. p. 117 (n. 53). Cobet (Obs. Crit. in Plat. Com. Rel. p. 102 sq.) Kock (C. A. F. I p. 628) and van Leeuwen (Mn. an. XVI p. 267) argued that the fragment should refer to Aristophanes. Cf. also Baker, op. cit. p. 184, Norwood, Greek Comedy p. 166, etc. Schoevaert, Platon le Comique p. 16f, links Fr. 99 with the tradition that Plato's authorship of Συμμαχία and Λάκωνες ἢ Ποιηταί was doubtful (cf. in Edmonds, I p. 534f and ib. p. 510, where sources speak of Plato or Cantharus' Συμμαχία and of "the author of Plato's Λάκωνες ").

141) p. 57f.

142) Cf. 1553sq., 1569, 1470 sq., Cinesias in 1373sq., etc. Syracosius himself is named in 1297.

143) The title Διδασκαλίαι and our one fragment therefrom have led to speculation that the whole of that play was concerned with "recent dramatic history" (Norwood, Greek Comedy p. 139). Baker, op. cit. p. 147) hazards a similar conjecture. The idea is not implausible, but the evidence is too unsubstantial to form any really valid impression of the content. Meineke (I p. 58) suspected the title to be a corruption, while Bergk (Comm. p. 131) wished to identify the play with Βουκόλοι.

- 144) If one reads $\xi\pi\alpha\upsilon\sigma\alpha\nu$ for $\xi\pi\alpha\upsilon\sigma\alpha\nu$ with Bergk, Cratinus could be speaking of an achievement of his own. Alternatively, if one adopts Meineke's emendation (II 63), the chorus could be speaking of Cratinus. This latter view is adopted by Sifakis (op. cit. p. 117 n. 42). The transmitted $\xi\pi\alpha\upsilon\sigma\alpha\nu$ could, however, be correct and there may be no reference to Cratinus' own work. Emendation cannot really be justified merely on the grounds that we should like Cratinus to mean himself.
- 145) For the sake of completeness some fragments which are concerned more with personalities than artistic standards are included in the list of references.
- 146) Fr. 222 asks for the meanings of some obscure Homeric words; Ra. 1032 et seq. treats the works of Homer and Hesiod as sources of information on warfare and agriculture respectively; while the mentions in Pax 1089 and 1096ff and Nu. 1056ff are relatively trivial.
- 147) So Zielinski, Gliederung 242 and others have supposed. Cf. Baker, op. cit. p. 138f, Whittaker in CQ 29 (1935) p. 185 ("ὁ τυφλός must surely be Homer"), Pieters, Cratinus Ch. V (he sees Homer as supported by a demi-chorus, like Whittaker). Luppe ad loc. in his thesis Kratinos also finds the identification attractive: "Zielinski ... sieht wohl nicht zu Unrecht in ὁ τυφλός Homer."
- 148) Whether both Cratinus and Ar. Eq. 1287 mean the same Polymnestus is a problem that has received several different answers. Bergk (Comm. p. 230ff) and Meineke (II p. 221f) take it that both passages mean the same Polymnestus and that the Lyric poet of Colophon composed lascivious verses. Kock also assumes that both references are to the same man, but that neither is to the ancient poet, both being to a later writer of erotic verse. Rogers, edn. Eq. ad v. 1287, argues that Cratinus means the poet of Colophon, but that Aristophanes means a later figure, some libertine of the time of Eq. Bergk, loc. cit., quotes the evidence for the ancient Polymnestus;

I have discovered no evidence whatsoever of the existence of the 'later' Polymnestus, who seems to emerge solely from the conviction (cf. Kock) that a distinguished lyric poet could not have a reputation for obscenity. Cf. further Baker, *op. cit.* p. 145n. 5.

149) Cf. Meineke II p. 139 and Kock *ad loc.*

150) Cf. on this question Bergk, *Comm.* p. 229, and Meineke II 159 f.

151) Schol. *Nu.* 985. The spelling is doubtful: cf. K. J. Dover's apparatus in *edn. Nu.* and his note *ad loc.*

152) So K. J. Dover in his note on *Nu.* 985 suggests (as one possibility).

153) I. G. i². 770. Cf. Pickard-Cambridge, *Di th., Træg. and Com.*, 2nd. *edn.*, p. 30, for discussion of the identification of this man.

154) So Meineke, *F. C. G.* II p. 17, and others after him.

155) p. 175 f

156) Cf. Bergk, *Comm.* p. 70 sq. He sums up his thoughts on the theme of the play so: "Cratinus autem opinor Eunidarum choro ita fuisse usum, ut in depravationem artis musicae inveherebatur." Meineke, *F. C. G.* II p. 56, observes, "... ad musicam tamen artem pertinuisse et index et fragmenta fidem faciunt."

157) Cf. the love-duet in *Eccl.* 952a-975, with Ussher's note on 952a.

158) Cf. p. 110 below and p. 35 f above. Also cf. p. 178.

159) The only indication of date is the reference to Hipponicus in Fr. 19. He fell in the Battle of Delium (424 B. C.), but Fr. 19 is too brief to be certain that it was not said of Hipponicus after death.

160) p. 110 . Cf. Bergk, *Comm.* p. 335 (Prodicus), and Horstig *ap. Meineke* II 431

161) Cf. Fritzsche *ap. Kock ad loc.*

162) This is the order in which they appear in the transmitted text. Meineke (II p. 333) proposed the transposition of ll. 8-13 of the received text to follow l. 18 in order that Phrynīs should be mentioned before Cinesias. Schol. *Nu.* 971 says that Phrynīs won a prize at the Panathenaea in the archonship of Callias, either 456/5 or 412/11. If the former date is right, Meineke's transposition is

necessary (but Phrynus is not otherwise attested till Nu. 971), unless one feels, with Düring (p. 179 f of the article detailed below) that chronological accuracy was never intended. I do not find that so easy to believe if Phrynus was a generation older than Cinesias, as he would be if he won his prize in 456/5. Μουρική begins her complaints as though she meant to trace the chronological development of the outrages to which she had been subjected.

163) In Eranos 43(1945) p. 180.

164) *ib.* p. 181 f

165) *ib.* p. 183 f

166) In Hermes 96(1968-9) p. 66 f.

167) II p. 328 f

168) Exercit. Crit. I p. 37 sqq. : cf. in Meineke, *loc. cit.*

169) *Op. cit.* p. 185 f. Pickard-Cambridge, Di th., Trag. & Com. r. 44, follows this view.

170) *Op. cit.* p. 63

171) *Op. cit.* 186 ff

172) *Op. cit.* p. 68

173) *Op. cit.* p. 192 ff

174) *Op. cit.* p. 68 f

175) II p. 330 f: "nihil aliud significat quam cantillare aliquid, quod propter incredibilem sonorum varietatem et celeritatem fomicarum ultro citroque discurrentium similitudinem referat."

176) *Op. cit.* p. 70. Cf. Taillardat, Les Images d'Aristophane para. 784, who says of a Greek's interpretation of the image in Thesm. 100, "Il pensait aussitôt aux allées et venues confuses des fourmis à la sortie de leur nid ou dans les galeries tortueuses de la fourmilière." Taillardat's explanation partakes of both possibilities (cf. the wider context, *loc. cit.*).

177) In Geras, Studies presented to George Thomson on the occasion of

his 60th birthday, pp. 67-81 (v. p. 77).

178) p. 125ff

179) Cf. (Plato) Alcib. 118c (of Pericles): καὶ νῦν ἔτι τηλικούτος ὢν
Δάμωνι σύνιστιν αὐτοῦ τούτου ἕνεκα.

180) Comm. p. 375f

181) Cf. Eq 89 sq., ib. 349, Amphis 41, Demosthenes 19. 46, Antipater of Thessalonica XX. See Taillardat, Les Images d'Aristophane, para. 482.

182) So Erfurdt ap. Meineke II p. 662

183) "Qui cantu suo maciem affert Musis" is one of Meineke's suggestions (loc. cit.). He also reports Musetus's interpretation, that Lamprus was "musicus macilentus". This interpretation is assisted by Plato's use of σκελετός (Fr. 184) of the thin Cinesias.

184) ap. Meineke, loc. cit.

185) So Pickard-Cambridge, The Dramatic Festivals of Athens, 2nd. edn., p. 87 n. 2.

186) So Meineke (II 103), who interprets the Πανόπται as "sophistae versuti", following Bergk's general interpretation (Comm. p. 164sq.) Cf. above p. 10 for the appearance of the chorus.

187) Bergk, Comm. p. 181, specifically suggests that the chorus was ".. ex Hipponis discipulis compositus", and Kock and Edmonds report his view, the former echoing also Meineke's less specific identification. Edmonds (I 71) is more cautious here than Kock (I 60).

188) History of Greek Philosophy, Vol. II p. 364f. On Hippon cf. Bergk, Comm. p. 166sq. and 176sq. Bergk's idea that Hippon was charged with moral depravity in the play (p. 182f) is too conjectural: he guesses that Hippon is meant in Fr. 151, but the passage could be an incidental piece of slander against someone of slight importance for the play as a whole (as Ra. 426ff on the same theme).

189) p. 35f & 102.

190) Ar. Fr. 672 makes a very similar joke about a philosopher: ὅς τ' ἄρ' οὐ
<ἀεὶ> μεριμνᾷ, τὰ δ' ἔχει χαλεθὲν εὐθείαι.

- 191) Plutarch, Stoic. Repugn. 1047d, mentions Euripides, Alcaeus and Eratosthenes as subscribing to the belief that liquid drunk passed through the lungs. In his 'Timaeus' (70c) Plato also gives the lungs this function.
- 192) So Meineke II p. 491 interprets the situation. The view squares well with the evidence of the three fragments 146a, 146b and 147.
- 193) Cf. p. 35f, 110.
- 194) Pisc. 25: given in Edm. I p. 316, Meineke II. 552. The text is, *ἔχθρον Ἀριστοφάνει καὶ Εὐπόλιδι Ζωκράτην τοῦτον ἐπὶ χλευασίᾳ παραγοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνήν, καὶ κωμωδοῦσιν ἄλλοκότους τινὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ κωμωδίας.*
- 195) So Bergk, Comm. p. 308.
- 196) Cf. Bergk, loc. cit. Edmonds suggests that by "us" the Seasons are meant, or else the months or the days. I find such a complication much less credible than the simple supposition that "us"="human-kind", which saves having one or more Seasons, months or days in the number of the dramatic personae. As, however, the play from which the fragment comes is *Ἀθηνᾶς Γοναί*, at least in part a mythological burlesque, "us" may refer to the gods themselves. Perhaps there was some debate among the very gods about the nature of Time and other philosophical questions. We do not know. On Time cf. Critias Frs. 18 and 19, with W. K. C. Guthrie, A History of Greek Philosophy, vol. III p. 303.
- 197) Cf. Ussher, edn. Eccl. ad loc.
- 198) I p. 240
- 199) Cf. Webster, Studies in Later Greek Comedy pp. 50 ff, 110 ff. There is a brief survey of Plato in Middle Comedy in K. Lever's The Art of Greek Comedy pp. 176 ff.
- 200) GGL I 4 p. 162 n. 11
- 201) Cf. Cratinus Fr. 2 for *σοφιστής* in a wider sense.
- 202) Bergk, Comm. p. 369, first suggested that the plays were identical.

Notes

to

Physical Humour

- 1) Fr. 419
- 2) Fr. 446
- 3) Fr. 4. For doubts about the text see in Kock ad loc.
- 4) Her identity is not apparent. It need not be Sthenoboea herself. Edmonds supplies $\tau\upsilon\varsigma$ in l. 3, but it is not the only supplement that has been suggested: cf. Kock ad loc. I do not agree with Edmonds that a personal subject has to be expressed in the line: one can understand "for her" with the first line quite happily in my opinion.
- 5) Cf. esp. Adesp. 5A (possibly Aristophanic, for all we know) for the $\alpha\lambda\iota\sigma\beta\omicron\varsigma$ in Old Comedy. On $\mu\iota\sigma\eta\tau\eta$ cf. Meineke F.C.G. II p. 203.
- 6) s. v. For the two adjectives of a person cf. also Ar. Av. 668.
- 7) A History of Greek Literature p. 421: "...his running after Oeniscus ('little wine': depicted as a pretty boy)". Bergk, Comm. p. 141, had already taken the reference to be to a boy: "...ubi Poesis vinolentiam Cratini reprehendens vinum cum pulcro puero componit"
- 8) "... $\epsilon\pi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\varsigma$... would perh. be used of wine as well as women..."
- 9) Cf. Edmonds I p. 14, Meineke I p. 552, etc.
- 10) I p. 46f (where Meineke cites also ^(but disbelieves) Acron's comment on Horace Epist. 1, 19, 1 that Cratinus had mirrors --strategically placed--in his bedroom). Meineke believes in Cratinus the lyric poet, like the scholiasts to Aristophanes, but Bergk (Comm. p. 202) is right in my opinion to reject any such notion that Cratinus the Comedian is not meant in Ach. 851 and 1173: see p. 68 above and n. 60 thereto.
- 11) I p. 14f (note 'd'). Cf. Pieters, Cratinus Ch. I on the moral charges against Cratinus (he takes them to derive from contemporary Comedy).
- 12) For the associations of three acts of intercourse (an adequate display of virility to which old men in Ach. 994, Av. 1256 and prob. Eq. 1391 lay

claim) see Taillardat, Les Images d'Aristophane, para. 194. The subject of $\sigma\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota$ I take to be in one sense the wine, in the other the aged Cratinus' penis (by innuendo).

- 13) Comm. p. 255: "...ita vocavit mulierem, quae vel totius pagi impetum et convicia sustineat."
- 14) The theory derives from Bergk, Comm. p. 61 f: "Non tamen revera videtur mulieres Cratinus in scenam induxisse, sed iuvenes effeminatos et molles" (going on to interpret the $\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\alpha\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$ of Fr. 55 as such persons) Meineke (II p. 42 f) considers the plot of the play uncertain, save that "...titulus fabulae ad viros effeminatos et luxuria diffluentes spectat." The passage of Draco Straton. cited by Meineke (II p. 47), with its verdict that $\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\alpha\acute{\xi}$ was probably used of homosexual males in Comedy (where it did not signify women), is not sufficiently clearly related to Cratin. 55 for us to use it as evidence of the sex of the chorus. Pieters, Cratinus Ch. VII, accepts that the $\Delta\rho\alpha\pi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota\delta\epsilon\varsigma$ are male (companions of Lampon—who is derided as a pederast in Strattis (??—like Austin, I prefer ascription to Cratinus) Fr. 220. 100 & 104, one may now observe), but Luppe, in his Kratinos ad loc. (p. 42), asks, "Warum sollen nicht wirkliche Frauen den Chor bilden?" I quite agree that some positive evidence is highly desirable.
- 15) Cf. Lever, The Art of Greek Comedy, p. 71
- 16) Wilamowitz, Obs. Crit. 50, Hermes VII 145 adn. 6, who is quoted in Kock ad loc. For $\sigma\acute{\iota}\kappa\eta\mu\alpha$ of a brothel cf. LSJ II 1 (s. v.). To the references there add Aeschin. I. 74. The number "three" here is interesting, as it may be a hint of three doors in the stage-building.
- 17) If one accepts C. F. Hermann's articulation $\epsilon\upsilon\theta\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \rho\acute{\omicron}\phi\omicron\upsilon$ or Kock's $\epsilon\upsilon\theta\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \rho\acute{\omicron}\phi\omicron\upsilon$. Jacobs read $\epsilon\upsilon\theta\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \rho\acute{\omicron}\phi\omicron\upsilon$ (i. e. $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\acute{\omicron}\phi\omicron\upsilon$) and went unchallenged by Bergk (Comm. p. 342) and Meineke (II p. 44 l).
- 18) Ehrenberg, The People of Aristophanes, p. 133, cites the fragment, along with Pax 165 and Metagen. 4 (=Aristag. 2), to show that brothels were

often in the harbour-districts, which is likely enough in itself and plainly supported by Pax loc. cit., but there may be more than that to our passage.

19) Cf. above p. 60 ff.

20) Van Leeuwen in Mnem. n. s. 40(1912)p.132 comments, "Dicitur hic homo... ἡτριπικέναι, et in sordida fomice prostitisse, ubi ne erecti quidem possent incedere qui eum viserent." Page, Greek Literary Papyri, p. 209 (reading τινας) translates Austin's l. 27 oddly. His rendering of the whole context is, "He wouldn't even have copied our account, only he was ashamed before his friends—certain non-political piansies,—not the superior kind: why, you only had to nod your head, and away you must go to the knocking-shop..." The rendering is manifestly wrong in the sense it extracts from l. 27 Austin. Koerte, Hermes 47(1912), p. 298, renders the same line, "Nein er müßte mit gesenktem Haupt ins Bordell wandern..." Edmonds (Fr. 110B) has, "Nay 'twas eyes upon the pavement when a-wenching he would go", which may be one of Edmonds' euphemisms, or he may genuinely have thought that the man went (or rather "would go, would be going", as I take it) to the brothel for a heterosexual purpose.

21) After Page, loc. cit.

22) Cf. Schol. Juv. II 91 (Edmonds p. 330) & ib. 92 (ap. Meineke I 110) for effeminate dancing in Βάπτει. For the various conjectures on l. 4 cf. Kock ad loc.

23) II p. 494

24) Poetorum Com. Gr. Fragm. p. 175 (fragm. 18): "... mihi nescio quis vir severus Alcibiadem domi epulanten cum adulatoribus et scortis evocare videtur, hortaturus ut tandem vitam sapienter instituat; cui servus impudentissime respondet."

25) Xenophon, loc. cit., has (οἱ παῖδες) ... εἰς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐξέρχονται; Terence, has "nam is postquam excessit ex ephebis ..." The formula was perhaps (Ἀλκιβιάδης or whoever) ἐκ τῶν παίδων (ἐφήβων) ἐξίτω.

- 26) s. v. They do not actually cite the Ar. passage, but recognise the two senses of the verb which I give in other contexts.
- 27) Poetarum Com. Gr. Fr. p. p. 181 (Fr. 5).
- 28) In ed. Athen. Cf. his remarks in F. C. G. II p. 675 .
- 29) C. Q. xiv (1920) p. 140
- 30) Cf. above p. 117.
- 31) Cf. my forthcoming article in Mnem. on Eccl. 97 and Lys. 801 ff.
- 32) Cf. above p. 41.
- 33) v. note 31
- 34) v. Meineke F. C. G. II p. 676
- 35) Loc. cit. p. 141 f.
- 36) There is an article on the passage in Lys. by N. Shiel forthcoming in Euphrasyne (1974).
- 37) On the repetitiousness cf. Düring in Eranos 43 (1945), p. 179.
- 38) p. 103 ff.
- 39) On ll. 24-6 Edm see Meineke II p. 331 ff and Kock ad loc.
- 40) v. above p. 105.
- 41) Ad Ar. Ach. 554.
- 42) Hermes 96 (1968-9) p. 68.
- 43) v. note 36. There is no quotation from Pherecr. in the line (Fr. 179, but Aristophanes is surely making a joke against Pherecrates and not quoting him, and the 'fragment' should in my view be deleted).
- 44) Cf. p. 178
- 45) II p. 674. Elmsley's division of the line between two speakers was made in his edn. of Ach., ad v. 92.
- 46) So Gesner and Schweighauser (v. Meineke II p. 674) and others.
- 47) As Norwood, Greek Comedy p. 173, observes.
- 48) Vi z. Ἐπιλήσμων ἢ Ὀλέγγρα, Κοριαννώ, Πετράλη.
- 49) Like Plato's 'Laius'.
- 50) Vi z. 24, 150, 152, 269, 462, 353, 355, 579, 650 E Edm, 662.

- 51) Apart from the first scene (esp. 4, 9 f, 11 f, 13 f, 16 f?, 21, 24 ff, 42, 49), there are excretory jokes at Pax 99 ff, 138 ff, 151, 162 ff, 175 f, 241, 335, 547, 724, cf. 758, 1078, 1176, 1228 with 1231 f and 1235, cf. 1254, 1266.
- 52) Ecc1. 77 f, 366 ff, 371, whole scene 313 sq. (esp. 313, 317, 329 ff, 347, 350, 355 f, 360, 369, 372 f), 464, 640, 595, 832, 806 ff, 1061 ff, 1064 ; Ra. 3, 8, 10, 95, 145 f, 237 ff, 253 f, 295, 308, 366, 479, 482 ff, 483, 489 f, 543, 608, 1074 f, 1097.
- 53) Above, p. 42.
- 54) Edn. Nu. ad v. 9.
- 55) On the text cf. Kaibel in Hermes 25(1890) pp. 97-8. He argues that $\pi\rho\acute{o}s$ $\tau\eta\upsilon$ $\gamma\eta\upsilon$ is a gloss on $\xi\lambda(\rho)\gamma\lambda\epsilon$, perhaps correctly.
- 56) ad loc. in edn Vesp.
- 57) On this fragment see further p. 218 ff.
- 58) v. page 62 f.
- 59) Cf. note 64 to 'Ridicule and Criticism'.
- 60) v. p. 113.
- 61) Perhaps add Polyzelus' $\Delta\eta\mu\omicron\tau\upsilon\nu\delta\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\omega\varsigma$.
- 62) Cf. p. 113 above and note 4 of this chapter.
- 63) In his article The Idler's Paradise in Attic Comedy, G. & R. xxii(1953) pp. 49-60.
- 64) Comm. p. 197.
- 65) Ibidem. On the 'Golden Age' theme in general cf. Bergk, loc. cit. pp. 188 sq.
- 66) C. Q. 29(1935) p. 186 f.
- 67) Cf. Baldry, loc. cit. p. 53 f. and Bergk, Comm. p. 281.
- 68) We should note that in Fr. 14.4 the person to whom the promises are made speaks of $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ and not $\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$ (Denis, La Comédie Grecque, I p. 202 wrongly translates, "Mais a quoi cela nous servira-t-il?"). The persons denoted by the pronoun no doubt correspond to the people meant in the words $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ $\xi\mu\omicron\iota\varsigma$ in 15.2. In each case the speaker is declaring what he will do for "his own" people.
- 69) Another (Kock's) is that Amphictyon speaks; W. Hoffmann (Ad Ant. Att. Com

Diss. Berlin, 1910,

Hist. Symbolae. 24] suggests that Deucalion (father of Amphictyon) is the speaker; Bothe (Poet. Com. Gr. Fr. p. 122) guesses that it is Nature (Natura). We cannot be sure who speaks.

70) So Denis, La Comédie Grecque, p. 201 ("...deux personnages allégoriques..") and Norwood, Greek Comedy, p. 149 ("The two disputants are perhaps allegorical"), after Meineke II p. 237.

71) Loc. cit. p. 54.

72) Loc. cit. p. 149.

73) II p. 237. He follows Bergk, Comm. p. 282, who makes out the case more fully.

74) Cf. n. 69.

75) Loc. cit. p. 55.

76) Cf. Meineke II p. 300f, Kock I p. 174, Norwood, Op. cit. p. 162, Baldry, loc. cit. p. 55.

77) Loc. cit. (p. 162)

78) Loc. cit. p. 56.

79) I take διετριβουσε' in the same sense as Meineke (II p. 303)—"detinens", which it clearly must mean to be in keeping with the context. In the following line the transmitted ὡς ἔχει' is mysterious, and I consider Meineke's ὡς ἔχομεν much more convincing for sense. The speaker is surely impatient to get to the paradise he is hearing about. Bothe (p. 102) emends to ὡς ἔχω's (which Denis translates, La Comédie Grecque, I p. 205: "vu l'état où je suis"). For an attempt to make sense of the transmitted text cf. Baldry, loc. cit. p. 56. (With Meineke's ὡς ἔχομεν, of course, one omits τόν later in the line.)

80) Diss. de Pluto p. 75 (v. Meineke II p. 316).

81) v. n. 80

82) Loc. cit. (v. note 63 for full ref.), p. 57.

83) Nevertheless, the idea that Poverty is addressed is much safer than the suggestion that Plutus speaks. Is I. 5 happy in the mouth of Plut-

us himself, and does $\eta\mu\tilde{\iota}\nu$ in l.l. denote not "us rich people" but "me, Plutus, and the rich"? I feel that both lines must cause us some doubts about the identification of the speaker as Plutus. Ritter thought Plutus intended in Fr.131 also, but Meineke(II p. 319) prefers to think of Callias there, because of Eup.163, which uses very similar imagery of that spendthrift millionaire.

- 84) Greek Comedy, p.163.
- 85) v. n.82
- 86) GGL I₄ p.105
- 87) Parabasis and Animal Choruses p.50.
- 88) v. p.211
- 89) In his commentary on Ar. Av. p.42.
- 90) Aristophanis Fragmenta, p.177.
- 91) F.C.G. II p.1147
- 92) C.A.F. I p.516.
- 93) v. p.142, 229

Notes

to

Parody and Borrowings

- 1) On paratragedy in Aristophanes cf. P. Rau, Paratragodia.
- 2) p. 3 Kaibel.
- 3) Edmonds' supplement $\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\sqrt{\tau\acute{\omega}}$ is dubious:LSJ list no instance of the verb used with an infinitive.
- 4) Fr. 74 Austin (Pap. Oxy. 2742).
- 5) In Pap. Oxy. XXXV (1968).
- 6) For which see above p. 37f.
- 7) Cf. Eur. Hecuba 1, Bacchae 1, Troiares 1.
- 8) Eur. Fr. 752N.
- 9) v. p. 91f.
- 10) I p. 233
- 11) v. p. 19f, 269.
- 12) v. p. 92.
- 13) v. p. 19ff.
- 14) v. p. 21.
- 15) It is not Nicias to whom Aristides speaks: cf. Luppe in Phil. 116 (1972) pp. 36-8.
- 16) So Goossens and Darquenne in CE xvii (1942) pp. 127-132.
- 17) cf. p. 36 n. 18.
- 18) v. p. 21f.
- 19) Hermes 30 (1895) p. 81.
- 20) Greek Comedy, p. 130.
- 21) v. p. 22.
- 22) II p. 198 ("..vas vel instrumentum aeneum...")
- 23) Comm. p. 48.
- 24) v. p. 100 & p. 334 n. 147.
- 25) Comm. p. 71. Fritzsche (Quaest. Ar. I 241) referred the fragment to $\eta\rho\chi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\chi\omicron\iota$.

- 26) p. 6, 305 n.9.
- 27) II p. 21.
- 28) Comm. p. 27.
- 29) Jahrb. f. Philol. 129 p. 496 (cf. in Nauck ad loc.).
- 30) Cf. Diehl Fr. 79, 80, 81, etc.
- 31) So Lobel himself points out (Ox. Pap. XXXV p. 78) in making the tentative ascription.
- 32) In his review of the relevant Ox. Pap. in Gnomon 43 (1971) pp. 121 f.
- 33) cf. above p. 102, 110.
- 34) Nu. 1353sq.
- 35) v. Goossens in REA 42 (1940) pp. 157 ff.
- 36) 119.1 begins as Medea 395.
- 37) v. p. 89, 90.
- 38) II 477 ff.
- 39) For which attacks cf. p. 50 ff.
- 40) Comm. p. 130.
- 41) II p. 72 and cf. ap. Kock ad loc.
- 42) v. p. 149 f.
- 43) v. p. 149 f.
- 44) Or possibly he is just described in terms appropriate to his feminine antics (and dress?).
- 45) I p. 124sq.
- 46) For ref. v. Meineke I p. 119 (De Sacris Cotyttiis in Mythologia vol. II)
- 47) Greek Comedy, p. 189 f.
- 48) For whom cf. Bergk, Comm. p. 76sq.
- 49) Cf. Bergk, Comm. p. 34sq. and Kock's verdict (I p. 19) on Bergk's conjecture
- 50) On the 'procession' cf. Bergk, Comm. p. 40. He guesses that Cratinus was instituting a procession of his own, "... cui homines pro fligatissimi interessent."
- 51) Cf. p. 119 f.

52) CQ 29(1935) p.187.

53) p.246f.

54) ad loc.

55) cf. p.177.

Notes

to

Imagery, Vocabulary and Verbal Devices

- 1) So, for instance, Taillardat takes it(para 504).
- 2) p.113.
- 3) cf.p.113.
- 4) cf.p155.
- 5) Bothe's interpretation(Poet. Com.Gr. Fragm. p.43) is the same as Edmonds.He translates, "Iam(leg. tam)vehementer praedonibus famelicis adstrepit fretum", and comments, "Hoc dicit,nisi fallor, Comicus, tam acriter navigari a praedonibus fretum."
- 6) cf.p.137.
- 7) cf.p.46, 74,175.
- 8) See Austin 73.68n(Gregoire's conj.).
- 9) Comm.p.182.Cf.p.XX("verborum audax novator").
- 10) cf.p.174.
- 11) cf.p.176f.
- 12) p.201f.
- 13) As Schmid observed,GGL p.88(I 4).
- 14) cf.p.6, 305 n.9.
- 15) cf.p. 207f.
- 16) cf.p. 212, 259.
- 17) Greek Literary Papyri, Fr. 40 a.
- 18) BphW (1912)pp.830-32
- 19) BphW (1912)pp.861-2
- 20) Supplementum Comicum, p. 44(248).
- 21) Wilh. Schmid in Phil.93(1939)p. 414.
- 22) APAW(1939)n.14, p. 6
- 23) Cf.PIato 95 and 185.
- 24) Cf. Austin's note(from Jensen)on l.9.

- 25) Cf. Aeschines I. 25sq. and Arist. Ath. Pol. xxviii. 3.
- 26) p. 8f, 120.
- 27) Cratin. Fr. 336.
- 28) II p. 542.
- 29) p. 7.
- 30) (p. 133).
- 31) p. 206ff.
- 32) For the fragment as a whole cf. p. 149f.
- 33) For this fragment see p. 142, 231.
- 34) ap. Meineke (v. next note).
- 35) II p. 258f.
- 36) p. 125ff, 103ff.
- 37) cf. p. 130.
- 38) p. 147f.
- 39) (p. 133, 150. Σέλινον can = κύσθος).
- 40) I p. 77
- 41) Greek Comedy, p. 164
- 42) p. 199f.
- 43) p. 147sq.
- 44) cf. p. 125ff, 103ff.
- 45) p. 142.
- 46) For references see in Meineke II p. 322.
- 47) p. 107f.
- 48) p. 210 (& 239).
- 49) For the restrictions on the political activities of citizen πρόνοι
in fact cf. p. 118.
- 50) Cf. Edm. ad loc.
- 51) Chron. der Alt. Att. Kom. p. 40.
- 52) Greek Comedy, p. 167.
- 53) De parops. 6, reported in Kock.
- 54) Cf. K. J. Dover in C. R. LXIV (1950) p. 5ff. Prof. Dover is sceptical about

Bergk's identification of the man as Epicrates (because of Fr. 122's emphasis on his moustache or beard) and rightly points out that there is no positive indication that the man is anything but a true Spartan. Nevertheless, even though the fragment is cited to show that Spartans were meanly dressed, it does not seem impossible to me that the description is of someone who is treated as being Spartan in appearance rather than in nationality.

55) p. 210 & 239.

56) v. Edn. ad loc.

57) p. 122ff, 127f.

58) v. p. 97f.

59) Cf. Schol. Ar. Av. ad loc. Cf. also Plato 104 for the expression.

60) See Meineke II p. 719f for Casaubon's suggestion.

61) p. 151.

62) p. 84, 85, 107f, 234.

63) See p. 153.

64) p. 151f.

65) Greek Comedy, p. 167.

66) See also p. 86, 94, 210.

67) p. 120.

68) See further p. 116.

69) p. 38.

70) Cf. p. 57.

71) See p. 164.

72) p. 4ff.

73) p. 153.

74) I follow Luppe (Kratinos, p. 48) in seeing this word as Cratinus'.

75) Cf. p. 69, 210.

76) See n. 74.

Footnotes
to
Conclusions

- 1) On Magnes see p. 3.
- 2) See p. 71 f.
- 3) See p. 72
- 4) See p. 95 f
- 5) See p. 70.
- 6) See p. 46.
- 7) For which see p. 172 f.
- 8) p. 163 ff
- 9) p. 131 f.
- 10) p. 22 sq.

Additional Notes

- p. 50 Hemippus' Δημόται is perhaps also to be considered a play attacking someone for non-Attic extraction.
- p. 63 Add to Teleclides' attacks for theft, etc. Austin Fr. 98. 41 ff.
Add to Theft, etc. Lampon's extortion in (Strattis??) Fr. 220. 101 ff Austin.
- p. 88 Perhaps cf. Austin 220. 157 for ?Phry]nichus (the Tragic poet?).
- p. 90 Add mention of Xenocles? in Eup. Fr. 98. 84 Austin.
- p. 90 & 99 Add the possible mention of (Phry)nichus in (Strattis??) Fr. 220. 157 ff Austin (Comicus? Tragicus?).
- p. 106f I accept the ascription of the words ἐξαρμονίους, ὑπερβολ-
αίους ... κατεμέτωσε to Pherecrates and their insertion after μυρμηκίος in this fragment. Cf. Meineke II 332ff and Pickard-Cambridge, Di th., Trag. & Com. p. 46, for discussion of this point.
- p. 163 Teleclid. 39 is treated by Edmonds as evidence for full-scale parody of a Φρύγες of Euripides (otherwise unknown), but the text is severely corrupted and Edmonds' view is quite unacceptable (v. Meineke II p. 371f, Dindorf, Ar. Fragm. p. 23, and Kock ad loc. in C. A. F.).
- p. 188 Cf. p. 143f for the possibility of a Spartan character in Cratinus' Πλοῦται.
- p. 297 Add MEINEKE (A), Curae Criticae in Comicorum Fragmenta ab Athenaeo Servata, Berlin, 1814.
- p. 332f Cf. Luppe, Archiv. für Papyrusforschung, 21 (1971) p. 105 (he takes 'φ, βδ-
οὔχοι to date after 404 B. C., a possible alternative, but one which supposes that Plato secured no victory in his own name for a very long time).

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